South Indian History Congress

Proceedings of the First Annual Conference

February 15 - 17, 1980

Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai-625 021

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A Report of the First Annual Conference, February 15 - 17, 1980

The organization of the South Indian History Congress represents the realisation of a long cherished dream of the historians. The idea to provide a forum of historians for promoting historical studies on South India has been conceived by Professors like K. K. Pillay, K. Rajayyan, K. R. Hanumanthan, B. Sheik Ali, T.K. Ravindran, V. M. Reddi and B. G. Ray in their informal consultations. Thanks to the support extended by historians of different states, the South Indian History Congress has been formed.

As an all India organization it admits to its fold all the scholars who are interested in the history of South India and seeks to complement what the other organizations such as the Indian History Congress, Institute of Historical Studies and the Indian History and Cultural Society are doing in this field.

The First Annual Conference of the South Indian History Congress was held from Friday, 15th to Sunday, 17th February, 1980 at Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai. The inaugural function was presided over by Thiru C. Aranganayagam, the Hon'ble Minister for Education, Tamilnadu, while Dr. V. Sp. Manickam, the Vice-Chancellor of Madurai Kamaraj University welcomed the gathering. The Hon'ble Minister said in his presidential addrass that historical research in India must proceed on two parallel levels all-India as well as regional. He remarked that though there were reputed all-India-bodies like the Indian History Congress and Institute of Historical Studies, the emergence of similar organizations with interest in regional studies would only supplement what the other bodies do in this direction. He observed further that local patriotism need not be misunderstood as anti-nationalism and that by giving more emphasis on South Indian History " We are only adding to the sum total of the Cultural History of the whole of India." Referring to the golden age of Sangam Period, the Minister said that *Silapathikaram* revealed the highest watermark which the ancient Tamils had reached in the field of drama, dance and literature. He also explained the development of architecture during the Pallava rule. The Minister said that in the field of Philosophy too the South had made a massive contribution to the world through the teachings of Adi Sankara of Kerala, Ramanuja of Tamilnadu and Mathava of Karnataka. He also made mention of the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy of Tamilnadu and Veera Saivism of Karnataka and hoped that the South Indian History Congress would give greater emphasis on them. Thiru Aranganayaham stated that the South Indian History Congrese must have a clear-cut programme and objectives. First it must promote historical research on scientific lines and emerge as an authoritative organ of historical scholarship, imbued with

principales which had made history in the West almost an exact science. Secondly, it must co-ordinate the work of different agencies inside and outside India. Thirdly it must bring out a journal preferably a mothly, and finally it must prepare a Comprehensive History of South India bereft of all prejudicial accretion that had crept into it in the past. Such a venture should be undertaken in the light of latest research done in history at different universities as well as the latest archaeological discoveries.

Dr. V. Sp. Manickam, Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the Reception Committee, while welcoming the gatharing, stressed the need for a Central Institute for studies on South Indian History so that historians of the southern States could work together.

Dr. Raja Sir Muthiah Chettiar, Pro-Chancellor, Annamalai University, honoured Dr. K. K. Pillay, Director, Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras, with a *ponnadai* and a golden medallion bearing the superscription 'Fellow of the Academy of Historians of Eminence' on behalf of the South Indian History Congress. In his address Sir Muthiah Chettiar also underlined the importance of historical research, choice of a relevant topic for research and pursuit of historical scholarship. Dr. Nambi Arooran presented on behalf of the Madurai Kamaraj University a citation to felicitate Dr K. K. Pillay. In that citation, while highlighting the lasting contributions of Pillay, Dr. Nambi Arooran referred to him as an elder historian, an erudite scholar, a clear and critical thinker and a forthright and forceful speaker and writer

In his keynote address Prof. S. V. Chittibabu appealed to the Congress to see that historical research was given the needed thrust He pointed out that teaching without research was rootless and research without teaching was fruitless. Also he said that history teachers should be a source of inspiration and that they were expected to perform the twin function of instructing as well as inspiring the students. Unless the lecture was inspiring it would be only purile, futile and sterile. He wanted liberal government grants to the Congress.

Prof. Sankaranarayanan released the Souvenir brought out on the occasion. Prof. Noboru Karashima of Tokyo University released two books: *Untouchability - A Historical Study* by Dr. K. R. Hanmanthan, and *Early Cholas* by Mr. N. Seturaman. The first copies of these books were received by the Hon'ble Minister for Education and Dr. K. V. Raman of the Madras University respectively. Prof. T. Saktivelu declared open a book exhibition organized by the Macmillan Company, Ilakiya Pannai, University Publication Department and the new Century Book House. With vote of thanks proposed by Dr. K. R. Hanumanthan, the Secretary of the Conference, the Inaugural Function came to a close.

In the after noon an interesting symposium on periodization of South Indian History received full attention. Prof. Noboru Karashima acted as Moderator. Prof. B. Sheik Ali of Mysore University initiated the symposium by his illuminating talk. He was followed by Dr. M. G. S. Narayanan of Calicut University, Dr. K. V. Raman and Dr. C. E. Ramachandran of the Madras University. In the symposium all the participants felt the need for periodization in history for the sake of convenience and for all practical purposes even though the were all well aware of its limitations and artificiality. There was consensus among the speakers that periadization of the conventional type (ancient, medieval and modern or Hindu, Muslim and British periods) based on the European criteria could not be applicable to the Indian situation and more so in the case of South India. While emphasizing the need for a viable alternative, they however, expressed doubt as to the validity of the Marxian or economic interpretation of History, for the simple reason that terms such as 'feudalism' were yet to be defined clearly in the South Indian context. Prof. C. J. Nirmal of the Madras Christian College touched upon the theme: "Problems and Prospects of South Indian History". In his lively speech, Dr. Nirmal laid stress on the need for writting an intellectual history i. e. the concepts or the great ideas which moved the wheels of history instead of trodding on the beaten track viz. writting the same old dynastic histories.

The symposium was followed by a plenary session, presided over by Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, former Vice Chancellor of Madurai Kamaraj University. Four learned papers were read. Prof. Karashima discussed his paper: " Land Revenue System in the Chola times as revealed from the Thanjavur and Gangaikondacholapuram Inscriptions." On behalf of Prof. Dietmar Rothermund, Executive Director of the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University, West Germany, Prof. T. R Ramachandran of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, presented the paper entitled: "Impact of the Great Depression on Indian Agriculture and Politics". Many more interesting papers categorised under political, socio-economic and cultural history sections, were read and discussed in the various sectional meetings on the 15th and 16th. Dr. G. S. Dikshit, Dr. B. C. Ray and Dr. V. M. Reddy who served as Section Presidents shed light on the various aspects of South Indian History and problems allied to it. Dr. T.K. Ravindran, and Dr. Ibrahim Kunju and Mr. N. Sethuraman were the other participants who deserve a special mention.

In the afternoon of Saturday, the 16th, Thiru Narayanan Chettiar, Correspondent of Saraswathy Narayanan College and a leading industrialist delivared the valedictory address and Dr. K. Rajayyan, the General Secretary, proposed a vote of thanks.

The cultural programme of the Conference was well appreciated. A few items of Bharata Natya as well as folk dance were performed by the students of the Sri Meenakshi College, Madurai, and by Prof. Om Periasami and his team on the 15th and 16th evenings.

In the business session held on the evening of Saturday, 16th February, 1980, the General body elected Dr. T. V. Mahalingam as the President of the next Conference. The members of the General Body strongly felt that the South was neglected in the allocation of U. G. C. funds and other financial grants. Therefore, it was resolved that branch offices of the ICHR and UGC be opened in South India. It was also resolved that a symposium on 'Feudalism in South India' should be held at the next Conference and that Prof. B. Sheik Ali and Prof. M. G. S. Narayanan would be requested to submit a plan for writting a Comprehensive History of South India. As a mark of respect to the departed historians, the Genaral Body read out a resolution mourning the death of R. C. Majumdar, S. P. Sen, T. K. Ponwarn, D. V. Potdar, N. T. Vanamamalai, Narasiah and Antony Raj. On the following day a delighting local tour to the Jain caves, Meenakshi Temple and the Mahal marked the end of the Conference.

Dr. K. Rajayyan
General Secratary

Dr. S. Manickam
Editor

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

Executive Committee and Office Bearers for the year 1980

President	:	Dr. K. K. Pillay, Madras University
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Editor	:	Dr. S. Manickam

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3. Prof. K.R. Hanumanthan	:	Conference Secretary, M. K. University
4. Prof. K. Narasiah	:	Bangalore University
5. Prof. Narasimhamurthy	:	Mysore University
6. Prof. M. G. S. Narayanan	:	Calicut University
7. Prof. K. V. Raman	:	Madras University
8. Prof. T. K. Ravindran	:	Kerala University

9. Prof. B. C. Ray	:	Berhampur University
10. Prof. V. M. Reddy	:	Sri Venkateswara University
11. Prof. Sarojini Regani	:	Osmania University
12. Prof. Sheik Ali	:	Mysore University
13. Prof. Srinivasa Ritti	:	Karnataka University
14. Prof. R. Subramanian	:	Nagarjuna University

First Annual Conference, Madurai

General President

Dr. K. K. Pillay

Sectional Presidents

Section I (Political History)	:	Prof. V. M. Reddy
Section II (Socio-Economic History)	:	Prof. B. C. Ray
Section III (Cultural History)	:	Prof. G. S. Dikshit

Citation in Honour of

Dr. K. K. PILLAY

Presented at the First Annual Conference of the

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS

held at Madurai Kamaraj University on 15-2-1980

Dr. K. K. Pillay is our esteemed elder historian of India, who has earned national as well international reputation by virtue of his significant contribution to historical scholarship. Born in 1905 and educated in Trivandrum, Madras and Oxford, he became the Professor of History at the Presidency College, Madras, the Professor of Indian History at the University of Madras and the Director of the Institute of Traditional Cultures of South and South-East Asia. Dr. Pillay is an erudite scholar whose pen has given us numerous works of greater merit. He is quite at home with different aspects, problems and periods of South Indian history, and this is well illustrated in the collection of his papers recently published.

Among his works are the **History of the Local Self Government in Madras Presidency, The Suchidram Temple, South India and Sri Lanka** and the **Social History of the Tamils.** His Text-books in Tamil are popular among the University students. In his approach to historical writing he is dynamic, straightforward, forceful, frank, argumentative and highly critical. Strict vigilance in self-criticism has been the hall-mark of his writings. Tireless pursuit to accuracy, passion for original sources, balanced approach and unfailing commonsense in interpretation that mark the characteristic features of his historical works, have earned for him a unique place among the historians.

In short Dr. K. K. Pillay is a brilliant star in the galaxy of historians of eminence in India to-day. His conception of history is a lofty one. Its ultimate destiny is truth and accuracy. To quote him : "Chauvinism, regionalism, linguism and communalism threaten the objective approach to history . But this despondent apprehension is likely to vanish with the growth of time and promotion of real scholarship". Today the South Indian History Congress is proud to honour Dr. K. K. Pillay at this first annual conference. In honouring this devoted historian we feel honoured.

MADURAI
15th Feb. 1980

RECEPTION COMMITTEE
MADURAI KAMARAJ UNIVERSITY

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
MADURAI

RULES AND BYE - LAWS OF THE CONGRESS

1. The Association shall be called " The South Indian History Congress ", Madurai.
2. The South Indian History Congress has been founded at the School of Historical Studies, Madurai-Kamaraj University, in a meeting of the College and University history teachers of South India on December 7, 1978.
3. The Registered Office of the Association will be at the School of Historical Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai-625021. This office will be within the jurisdiction of the Registrar of Madurai district.
4. The business hours of the Congress Office is from 10-30 a.m. to 4 p.m. on all official working days.

The objectives of the Congress are :

a) To promote historical studies on South India.

b) To co-ordinate the research on different aspects of South Indian History.

c) To serve as a forum for the exchange of views through annual Conferences.

d) To bring out a journal.

e) To honour historians of eminence on South India.

f) To help in the preservation of historical relics and records.

g) To receive and administer funds for the promotion of above-said objects.

5. **Membership and subscription**

a) Membership is open to all those who are interested in South Indian Historical Studies.

The Members shall be of four categories.

Ordinary members	–	Rs. 20/- per annum.
Life Member	–	Rs. 250/-
Representative Institution	–	Rs. 500/-
Donors	–	Rs. 1,000/-

b) Any person whether to become member or life member shall apply in the prescribed form to the General Secretary and pay an admission fee of Rs. 5/- (Rupees five only) and the annual subscription to the treasurer. However, representative institutions and donors need not pay any admission fee.

c) Year is reckoned with calendar year. (January to December.)

6. **Executive Committee**

a) The affairs of the Association shall be administered by an executive committee. It shall consist of a President, five Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, two joint-Secretaries, a Treasurer and

an Editor and 21 members, all of them elected from the General Body.

b) The General Secretary, the two joint-Secretaries, the Treasurer and the Editor shall hold office for three years.

c) The President, the five Vice Presidents and the eleven members of the Executive Committee will hold office for only one year.

d) The elections will be conducted during the annual conference of the Association when members of the Generel Body will be present.

e) The General Secretary shall appoint the Returning Officer/Officers with approval of the Executive Committee. The Returning Officer shall be responsible for conducting the elections.

f) The elections shall be by single direct and secret vote. No postal ballot will be allowed.

g) The newly elected Executive Committee shall take charge from 1st January.

h) Any interim vacancy/vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled in through co-option by nomination by the General Secretary.

7. **Duties**

i) The President :

a) The President shall preside over all meetings of the Ceneral Body and the Executive Committee.

b) All questions arising at any meeting shall be decided by majority vote.

c) In case of equality of votes, the President or the presiding member shall have the casting vote.

ii) The Vice-Presidents :

a) The five Vice-presidents shall assist the President.

b) One among them will act for the President in his absence. The President shall nominate one of the Vice-Presidents to act on his behalf.

iii) The General Secretary :

a) The General Secretary shall be in charge of the working of the Congress.

b) He shall represent the Congress in all its legal and official transactions.

c) He shall be responsible for the implementation of the policies, programmes and decisions of the Executive Committee.

d) He shall be responsible for convening meetings and recording the minutes.

e) He shall maintain the records of the Congress and attend to all correspondence.

f) He shall file the authenticated balance sheet, Annual list of names, address and occupation of the members in roll and the details of the functioning of the Congress during the financial year to the Registrar, Madurai District regularly.

g) He shall present and report the activities of the Congress for the year.

h) The General Secretary shall during his absence entrust the duties to one of the Joint-Secretaries after informing the President.

iv) The Joint Secretaries :

a) The two Joint-Secretaries shall assist the General Secretary in all his duties for the smooth conduct of the Congress.

b) One of them will perform the duties of the General Secretary in his absence and help the General Secretary in regard to organisational matters.

c) The other will help the General Secretary in regard to holding of conferences.

v) Tresurer :

a) The treasurer shall be in charge of the finance of the Congress and maintain proper accounts.

b) He shall collect the membership fees and issue receipts.

c) He shall disperse money as authorised by the Executive Committee with the approval of the General Secretary.

d) He shall present the annual budget and the audited report to the General Body.

e) The funds of the Congress shall be deposited in the State Bank of India Palkalainagar Branch in the name of the "South Indian History Congress" and operated by the Treasurer.

f) He shall have an impressed amount of not more than Rs. 1,000/- at any time to be recouped periodically.

vi) Executive Committee :

a) The Executive committee shall discharge all the functions of the Association and shall be responsible for implementing the policies, programmes and directives of the General Body.

b) It shall have the right to consider applications for membership, pass the expenditure incurred and allocate funds for which demands are made by the General Secretary.

c) It shall consider representations from any member or member of the Congress and take suitable action.

d) It shall have the power to appoint sub-committees to go into any matter requiring detailed examination. Such sub-committee shall submit their reports to the Executive Committee.

e) It shall appoint an auditor to audit the accounts of the Congress annually.

f) It shall have the authority to consider and decide any other matter that may arise from time to time.

vii) General Body :

a) The General Body shall comprise of ordinary members, life members and one representative of each of the institutional members.

b) It shall be the competent authority to take important decisions affecting policy matters.

c) It shall elect the members of the Executive Committee and Office - bearers of the Congress.

d) It shall approve the annual report and the annual budget.

e) It will have the authority to approve the proposal of the Executive Committee and ratify the decisions of the

Executive Committee regarding all professional matters of the Congress.

f) It shall have the power to remove any member/members of the Executive Committee or office-bearers by a two-thirds majority of the members of the Association present at the meeting.

g) Any addition, alteration, deletion, or variation to the rules and by-laws shall be done only by the General Body by atleast two-thirds majority of the members present.

8. General Body Meetings

a) The General Body shall meet annually during the annual Conference of the Congress. The Annual Conference shall be held in the month of February.

b) For all General Body meetings one tenth of the numbers on rolls of the Congress shall form the quorum.

c) Resolutions may be moved in the meeting with atleast one day's previous notice and also with the permission of the chair.

d) The members shall be given a notice 21 days in advance about the conduct of the Annual General Body Meeting.

e) Any change in the name of the Congress, amendment of the bye-law and memorandum shall be done by specially convened General-Body Meeting with 21 days prior notice and with majority of the members present.

9 Executive Committee Meeting

a) The Executive Committee shall normally meet during the annual conference of the Congress.

b) In case of emergency the Committee may pass resolutions by circulation and place the same at the next meeting for approval.

c) The quorum for the Executive Committee meetings shall be half the number of its members.

10. Funds

a) The funds of the Congress shall be made up of the subscription collected from the members.

b) It shall be open to the Executive Committee to raise funds for the Congress by collecting donations and approaching agencies for aid.

c) The funds shall be deposited in the State Bank of India, Palkalainagar Branch in the name of the Congress and operated by the Treasurer.

11. Auditor

Mr. K. V. Padmanabhan, B. Com., A.C.A.,

N.G.O. Colony, Nagamalai, Madurai-625 019 will audit the accounts of the Congress.

12. Membership Privilege

They may be given access to the records such as balance sheet bye-laws, Register of members at free of charge. If they require the copy of it, each items shall be charged with a fee of rupee one only (Rs. 1/-).

13. Dissolution

a) The Congress shall not be dissolved except by a motion passed by a three-

fourths majority of all the members on rolls at a General Body Meeting of the Congress expressly convened for the purpose.

b) The funds of the Congress after meeting all the liabilities shall be disposed off in accordance with the decision of the dissolution meeting. We the undersigned promise that the above rules and bye-laws are the correct copy of the rules and bye laws of the South Indian History Congress.

No.	Signature	Post
1.	K. Rajayyan	Secretary
2.	R Venkatraman	Joint-Secretary
3.	K.R. Hanumanthan	Member Executive Committee
4.	S. Manickam	Editor
5.	S. Jeyapragasam	Life Member
6.	D. Daniel	,, ,,
7.	Y. Subbarayalu	,, ,,

Witnessess

1	S. Selvin Kumar	Lecturer in Medieval History Madurai-Kamaraj-University
2.	R. Shunmugam	Clerk, School of Historical Studies.

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
INAUGURAL SESSION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. K K. Pillay, M. A., D. Litt., D.Phil. (Oxon)

I deem it a great honour to be chosen as the President of the first session of the South Indian History Congress which is held in the historic city of Madurai. I thank the revered Raja of Chettinad, the pro-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, who inaugurates the Congress. My thanks are also due to the esteemed Vice-Chancellor of the Madurai Kamaraj University, Dr. V. Sp. Manickam, to the General secretary Dr. K. Rajayyan, his colleagues and the other members of the Reception Committee for having conferred on me this signal honour.

I have presided over the all-India History Congress several years ago in its 32nd Annual session held at Jubbalpore in 1970; but this Presidentship gives us a greater opportunity for us all to get into intimate contact with each other than that vast ocean. It is for the facility which compact organisations afford for the exchange of ideas pertaining to problems of South Indian History that it has been decided to organise this institution.

It is widely acknowledged that in the reconstruction of Indian history, the South has suffered conspicuous neglect. This was stressed not only by South Indian scholars but also by certain foreign historians of India. Vincent A. Smith, the first to provide a coherent history of India, rightly observed thus: "Hitherto most historians of ancient India have written as if the South did not exist." Prof. Sundaram Pillai, a versatile scholar, urged that "the scientific historian of India ..ought to begin his study with the basin of Krishna, of the Cauvery, of the Vaigai (in Madurai) rather than with the Ganjetic plain, as it has been now long, too long, the fashion'.

However, Sir Mortimer Wheeler and A. L. Basham, who revised Vincent A. Smith's *Oxford History of India* have explained that Sundaram Pillai's advice cannot be followed in practice because 'the materials available for the study of early Dravidian institutions are not yet sufficiently explored.' It is the purpose of institutions of this kind to rectify this drawback.

I need hardly stress that the approach to the problems of South Indian history or for that matter, of history in general should be thoroughly objective. It is frequently said that even with the best of efforts it is not possible to achieve perfect objectivity, dealing as we do with human problems. But while the difficulties and hurdles are recognised, the endeavour must be the attainment of objectivity to the best possible extent. Otherwise, the study of history has no place in the scheme of the true assessment of the past. The more we study the history of the different regions of the country and the more the categories of scholars engaged in the researches

on such history, the more possible it is to achieve the goal of objectivity without which the study of history is purposeless and even positively harmful.

I must state in this connection that apart from the usual snares there are certain ideologies of the present and future influence which threaten the historiography of our country. There is for instance the menace of what is called the Marxist or Leftist approach to the writing of history. Its advocacy for the present or future is another thing; but it should not transgress the legitimate approach to the writing of history. Similarly, secularism or religious faith or political creed as goals should be kept away from historiography. History cannot be employed as an agency of propaganda even in the best of causes.

One more menace threatening particularly beginners in the field of research is the temptation to adopt a so-called original view for its own sake. Even some elderly historians fall a victim to this temptation. One Professor, not of History though, assigns Tirujñānasambandar to the 10th century A. D. though he knows that Śaṅkarāchārya who lived in the 8th or 9th century A. D has described Sambandar as 'Drāviḍa Śiśu'. The same Professar holds that Kaḷabhras never entered Tamiḻ Nāḍu and that instead, only Western Gaṅgas came and stayed here for about a couple of years. A Tamil Professor quoting some unsustainable ground assigns the *Śilappadikāram* to the 11th century A D. Another temptation is to ante-date their cultures or institutions pertaining to them, under the delusion that antiquity based on proper source or not, provides glory.

Lemurian Theory

In this speech I propose to touch only upon certain controversial issues figuring in South Indian history. To begin with, the so-called Lemurian theory deserves more careful consideration than it had received in the recent past. Sometime in the early part of this century certain scholars advanced the view that South India was connected by land with Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia and Australia on the one hand, and Madagascar and South Africa on the other. Several European ethnologists and geologists including Sir Johan Evans, Sir John Holderness, Prof. Haeckel and Scott Elliott thought, monkey-like animals, Lemūr, as they are called, abounded in this vast mass of land in the misty past. When this theory was associated by Tamil scholars with vague and incredible ideas concerning the antiquity of the Tamil Śaṅgams on the basis of the Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷurai several scholars began to cast doubts on the Lemurian theory.

But with further exploration of the Indian Ocean and the adjoining seas, the Lemurian theory has received a new support. The study of the Indian Ocean which had begun several years ago was revived in 1886 when an expedition set about the work on an extensive scale. Russian, British, German and American expeditions explored the Indian Ocean in the succeeding years. However, a multi-purpose study began only in 1960, when American, French and Soviet research vessels mapped the main features of the bottom of the ocean. These revealed that islands of varying heights had lain scattered throughout the Ocean and the adjoining seas. In spite of all these, it is now held by expert oceano-

graphers that the Indian Ocean remains the least studied Ocean of the world. Perhaps many more facts may be unravelled which may throw more light on the chronology of the early appearance of mankind.

In this connection it may be noted that in 1935 a fossil skeleton of a pigmy man was discovered in Vadnagar in the Deccan. Even earlier, the bones of a pithecanthropus were unearthed in Java and later the bones of apemen were found in Africa. Speculations have been rife regarding the dates of the emergence of these ancestors of man. But until scientific investigations are completed the last word cannot be said. Ethnography and anthropology will provide the clue.

It has been held by some that the ancestors of the Dravidians were originally inhabitants of Lemuria and that they must have moved gradually in consequence of floods to South India as early as 50,000 B.C.. It is not easy to determine the exact date. But the collaboration of sciences of different branches is needed. The age of the Old Stone Age and the epochs prior to it have to be determined. Gneiss rock tools of the Lower and Middle Palaeozoic culture deposits in certain places of South India provide some indication in this respects. In the region of Karṇāṭaka R. V. Joshi[1] has discovered gneiss rock tools and hand axes of old. Similarly in Kunhirampuzhh of Kēraḷa two hand axes of the lower Plaezonic age have been discovered. In Kēraḷa the Lower and Plaezonic culture deposits of an early age have been found[2]. It is very significant that more or less similar gneiss rock tools, known as the Larsen type, have been discovered in Africa.[3] Without studying these scientific sources along with oceanography, anthropology and ethnology it is not easy to determine even approximately the period of time when Lemuria exisred, got dispersed and what the date of the Ist Tamil Śaṅgam was etc., although venturesome attempts have been made by several persons. While caution and patient study are needed on this side, those who deliberately bring down the antiquity of the Dravidian civilisation also have to wait and study the results of scientific pursuits. The late Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has condemned the Lemurian theory and the autochthon theory of the Dravidians in his book "Aryans and Dravidians", pp. 3–4. He says that "the view sometimes urged that the Dravidian speakers were autochonomous descendants of the neolithic folk seems to find no tangible support from any evidence either inside or outside the Tamil Land, but is a mere guess possibly prompted by " 'patriotism' calculated to deny all foreign origions and connections". Nor do the sources like Leakey's work in E. Africa and other archaeologists in Palestine and the Fertile Crescent support his contention. The evidence provided by Prof. Burrow, far from supporting his contention, run counter to it. On the possible connection between Lemuria and India, refer ence can be made to the section on Fauna in the 'Vedic Age' (History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. I, p. 114) where it is

1. "Pleistocene studies in the Malaprabha" Basin 1955
2. P Rajendran: *Current Science* 74, pp.125-26, 1975
3. C. F. Sohuge. P. G 'Geology and Archaeology of the Vaal River Basin,' *Ecological Survey of Africa Memoris*, 35, 1937. I am debted to Dr. C. K. Nair of Coimbatore for the Indication of these sources.

stated that 'the Lemurs in India are repres sented by the slow loris living in the forests of Assam and the slender loris living in the forests of South India'.

Therefore, the suggestion seems to be plausible that the Lemurian continent was the original home of the Dravidians.[4] This is not improbable because the Tamils have a tradition that their ancestors lived at a very early time far out in the southern sea, where it is believed, there flourished the Ist Tamil Śaṅgam. The word 'Śaṅgam' is no doubt of Sanskrit origin; that does not mean that an assemblage of poets could not have existed. Its earlier name was 'Kūḍal' or 'Avaiyam'. The reference to Kapāḍapuram in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata seems to support that the second Śaṅgam might have existed to the south of Kanyakumari, followed by third Śaṅgam at Vaḍamadurai. In due course the Dravidians had spread over the whole of South India, large part of North India, and even the 'Brāhuī in Baluchistan' are Dravidians.

Were there pre-Dravidian inhabitants in South India anterior to the advent of the Dravidians? One suggestion is that the Negritos in South India and Assam were the earliest. But they could have come probably from Lemuria. Another view is that the Austroloids represented by the Kols and Mundas were pre Dravidians But the Austric (Austroloid) family seems to have been connected with the languages of south east Asia, particularly Indonesia, though some writers had held that they, too, came from the Mediterranean region. Is it not likely that they were the earliest immigrants along with the Negritos from Lemuria? These require further investigation. However, they had inhabited certain parts of India in the east and south even before the advent of the Āryans.

The Āryans and Dravidians

Prof. K. A. N. Sastri begins his chapter on 'The Dawn of History' in his *History of South India* by the sweeping statement that 'History begins in the South of India as in the North with the advent of the Āryans'. This is patently incorrect. What does he say to the Dravidian words in the Vēdic language indicated by Kittel and Burrow? Let alone the Dravidians and Proto-Austroloids who had spread throughout India long before the supposed advent of the Āryans. What has he to say about the so-called Indus Valley civilizalion? He himself has stated in the Introduction to his *History of India* (p. 11) that 'the origin, history and affiliations of this civilization and its place in the history of India are still matters of discussion''. He does not assert that it was Āryan in origin.

And even regarding Dravidians he is not justified in brushing them aside. The late Dr. S. K Chatterjee, an authority on 'Race movements and Pre-historic culture' writing in the 'Vedic Age' in the *History and Culture of the Indian People* of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, states on p. 157 that 'there is evidence, both indirect and direct, that in

4. Dr. B.S. Guha, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I-pp. 144-5 seems to think that they might have come from the Mediterranean region. He speaks of the Paleo-Mediterranean type, found largely in Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam tracts. But comparing the evidence of the Lemurian and the Mediterranean theories the former seems more acceptable. The Paleo-Mediterranean type, if true, could have settled in North Western India.

Central India, in North India and in Western India, and possibly also in Eeastern India, Dravidian was at one time fairly widespread. In Baluchistan we have the *bloc* of the Brāhui speech, which is Dravidian; and it is quite conceivable that the Brāhui area is just a surviving fragment of a very wide-spread Dravidian tract which extended from Baluchistan and Sind through Rajputana and Malwa into the present day Maratha country[5] and the Dravidian lands of the south, and which also extended north and north-east in the Punjab and the Ganges valley, and possibly also north-west through Afghanistan into Iran". In this connection I venture to state that many brahmins of today are Dravidians. When I was serving in the Government College at Rajahmundry nearly fifty years ago an erstwhile colleague. Mr. Appa Rao by name, said that he belonged to the community of 'Dravida Brahmin'. It is more than likely that those brahmins, said to belong to Brihatcharaṇam are non-Āryans. If there is any purpose in holding the South Indian History Congress it is this. To repeat V.A. Smith, 'Some day, perhaps, the history of Dravidian civilization may be written by a competent scholar skilled in all the lore and languages required for the study of the subject, but at present the literature concerned with it is too fragmentary, defective and controversial to permit of condensation'. Dr. Chatterjee however thought that the Dravidians came very early from the Mediterranean regions but the evidence now procured from the lost Lemuria indicates otherwise. In any case there is no doubt that the Dravidians were occupying the major part of India even at the time when a large part of the Himalayas was covered with ice as the remains of flora and fauna there have revealed.

However, there is a view, first advanced by Prof. P.T. Srinivasa Aiyangar that there was no Āryan nor Dravidian invasion. This does not seem to be acceptable. He himself makes the distinction in his book *Pre Āryan Tamil Culture*. The Āryan did come from outside. How else are we to explain the Similarity between the Avesta and the Rig Vēda? Moreover, the Boghaz Kōi inscription supports this. It proves the existence of an archaic Indo-Iranian speech-form about 1400 B.C. Linguistic evidence derived from regions as distant from each other as Cappadocia and Syria, therefore, definitely proves that about 1400 B.C., there existed in those regions archaic Indo - Iranian speech - forms which are clearly older than the oldest Avestan on Sanskrit known to us. In Rig Vēda itself we find references to 'Dasyus' and 'Dāsās'. In the section on 'Āryan settlement in India' in "Vedic Age" of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, A.D. Pusalkar states (p 253) that many passages speak of them as the human foes of the 'Āryans'.

The Śaṅgam Age

Regarding the Śaṅgam age, it is not proposed here to delve deep into the literary glories of that epoch. That may be left to the scholars of Tamil literature. In passing I wish to mention that Prof. K. A. N. Sastri overrated the influence of Sanskrit in early

5. Viswanatha Khaire, a Marathi scholar, interested in the study of South Indian Culture, shows how Tamil was the language of pre-historic Maharastra. See *Journal of International Institute of Tamil Studies*, June 1979. This needs further investigation.

Tamil as may be seen from his statement in his article on the Tamil Culture of the Śaṅgam Age (17-4-1960) that "we do not possess a single line of Tamil literature demonstrably antedating the contact between the pre-Āryan Tamil and Āryan Sanskrit cultures". This is by no means accurate. Though some Sanskrit words entered even the Śaṅgam literature,[6] Tamil had developed a form and style of its own Let me quote Prof. Basham. He says, "The most ancient Tamil literature dating from the early centuries of the Christian era, or even earlier, was composed on Dravidian lines and independent of Sanskrit models." In respect of Telugu, Kanarese and to a lesser extent Malayalam also Basham held that 'the grammar and structure of the Dravidian speech differ wholly from the Āryan type, Basham proceeding further, has stated (Revised Edition of Vincent Smith's *Ancient India*, p. 42) thus, "When the Brahmans succeeded in making their way into the kingdoms of the peninsula, including the realms of the Āndhras, Chēras, Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas, they found a civilised society, not merely a collection of rude barbarian tribes The Dravidian religion and social customs differed widely from those of northern India". But Sastri writes that the Pre-Āryan Tamils had 'a rather primitive and poorish culture'.

The word Śaṅgam, though of Sanskrit origin, was the equivalent of Kūḍal or 'Avaiyam'. It denoted a gathering of poets, often under the auspices of a monarch or in the presence of the most enlightened poets. One scholar doubted whether there was any thing like a Śaṅgam at all.[7] He may with advantage look up the relevant poem of Appar or the reference in the Larger Śinnamanūr plates. In addition one can quote the incidental references in the Tamil classices of the Tamil Śaṅgam. For example :

"மறங்கெழு சோழந் உறந்தை **அவையத்து**
அறம்நின்று நிலையிற்று...." (புறம் : 39)

"ஆரங்கண்ணி அடுபோர்ச் சோழர்
அறங்கெழு **நல்லவை** உறந்தை...."(அகம்:39)

"மறங்கெழு சோழர் உறந்தை **அவையத்து**
அறம்கெடல் அறியாது..." (நற்றிணை · 400)

It is not true to think that all the poems of the Śaṅgam were sung in the royal courts. Generally speaking the Puṟam songs were sung in the royal courts and the Aham songs, usually products of imagination, were composed in solitude or in the company of the lovers concerned.

It is very likely that the third Śaṅgam lasted during the early centuries of the Christian era, and then there are endless discussions about the later works. In this connection I wish to stress an important need the proper approach to history not only from the standpoint of the Tamils but of the whole of South India. Frequently astronomical data are available in literary works and epigraphical records. But in the utilisation

6. In this connection several writers, prominent among them being S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, an intimate friend of K. A. N. Sastri, have provided lists of Sanskrit words which had entered even the Śaṅgam literature. See his *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, pages 41 and 42 and their foot-notes. Some of the Tamil scholars do not accept all his illustrations. On the other hand, several Santkritists trace Dravidian words in the Rig Veda. Tirujnanasambandan, Professor of Sanskrit, for instance, has pointed out that Dravidian words like kānana are not found in any Indo-European language.

7. *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Culture*. 1976, Jan. to Junė, p. 125.

of these data there have appeared remarkable differences. Prof. K.A.N. Sastri rightly stated in his *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 140: "As one wades through the results of Kielhorn, Jacobi, Swamikkannu Pillai and Sewell, one almost gets the feeling that ignorance at least of astronomy is bliss'. This is primarily because astronomy has not been systematically studied.

In North India astronomers like Āryabhaṭṭa (A D. 499), Varāhamihira (A.D. 550) and Brahmagupta (A.D. 628) were among the earlist. The Tamils had also acquired a certain measure of proficiency in astronomy. Verse 229 of the Puṟanānūṟu indicates that astronomy as well as astrology were known to the Tamils. It may be observed that Tamil names were in use for the lunar asterims and the signs of the solar Zodiac. The Tamils had the opportunity of being influenced by Greek and Roman astronomy. The astronomy known to the Tamils of old was first lunar and then strictly solar-sidereal. The vocabulary and inscriptions show that they had a fairly developed practical astronomy even before they came under external influences. It is said that the Jovian circle of five revoulutions of Jupiter of 60 years, which regulates the chronology of the Tamilians is no part of the Āryan system. The familiar circle of twelve years of domestic events among the Tamils is also said to have been independent. Those religious festivals which are distinctively of Tamilian origin varied in respect of time only with the fluctuations between diurnal and solar times and differed from the other Hindu festivals which vary extensively under the lunar - sidereal system of the Āryans.

Stars were called '*Minkaḷ*' in several Śaṇgam works, while the planets were spoken of as '*Kōḷ*' or '*Veḷḷi*'. '*Kuṭṭam*' meant, Baraṇi star (*Śilap*, XXII: 134). The month was known as *Tiṅgaḷ* and the year as 'Yāṇḍu'.

The day of 24 hours was, according to the Tamils, divided into sixty *nāḻigais*. *Nānmani*, 74: 2). Nāḻigai Vaṭṭil and 'Nāḻigai Kaṇakkar' also occur. The Tamils had framed a calendar. Dr. Gilbert Slater states that 'this unique calendar aims at a degree of astronomical accuracy and consistency beyond that of any other calendar in use'. How far this is true, only experts in astronomy can assess. It seems that in a large measure their early astronomical knowledge must have been empirical. Otherwise disparities in the reckoning of events recorded in Paripāḍal and Śilappkdikāram would not have occurred.

In *Kerala* of the medieval period, astronomy was studied and developed. Vararuchi invented the system of numerals known as the Kaṭapayādi system. Vararuchi was also the author of '*Chandra Vākyas*' used for calculating the position of the moon from day to day. Bhāskara I wrote his '*Mahābhāskariya*' expounding the astronomical system of Āryabhaṭṭa. Haridatta, an early authority in astronomy wrote his *Grahachāraṇībandhana* about A.D. 700. Mahōdayapuram, the capital of the Kulaśēkhara emperors, paid attention to it during the 9th and 10th centuries. An Observatory was organized under the patronage of these Chēra emperors beginning from the time of Sthāṇu Ravi (844-85). It has been acclaimed as the first of its kind in South India. The court astronomer was the famous Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa who was entrusted with the maintenance and development of the Observatory, which worked

in accordance with the principles of Āryabhaṭṭa's astronomy. It is interesting to learn that arrangements were made in Mahōdayapuram for recording the correct time and announcing it to the public from various centres by the tolling of bells at regular intervals of a Ghaṭika, equivalent to 24 minutes. Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa was the author of the astronomical work *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇīam'*. It was a commentary on the earlier work on astronomy known as *Laghubhāskarīya*, the date of which is not known. Probably it was written by a scholar, Bhāskara by name, and therefore it must have been produced prior to the 9th century A.D. The scholar was the author of another astronomical work *Mahābhāskarīya*. About A.D. 700 there appeared the *Grahacharaṇibandhana*, believed to have been prepared by Haridatta, a noted authority on astronomy. In the later periods, the Nambūdiris of Kerala devoted great attention to the development of studies in astronomy, astrology, āyurvēda besides religion and philosophy.

In the Deccan we hear of some progress in astronomy under the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. Simhaṇa, the Yādava king (A.D. 121047) was interested in astronomy. He patronised in his own court Chaṅgadēva and Anantadēva, two famons astronomers of this age. It is learnt that liberal royal patronage, coupled with gifts from the residents of the town and voluntary contributions in cash and kind enabled Chaṅgadēva to establish an astronomical College at Patana in Khandesh in memory of his illustrious grandfather, Bhāskarāchārya, the author of several works on mathematics and astronomy. Anantadēva wrote a commentary on a chapter of Brahmaguptā's *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* as well as on the work entitled *Brihajjātaka* of Varāhamihira.

In Kannada a brahmin Chāvuṇḍarāya wrote a work entitled Lōkōpakāra about A.D. 1025 which provided a guide to daily life containing facts bearing on various subjects such as astronomy, astrology and medicinal herbs. Rājāditya of the 12th century composed poems dealing with mathematical subjects, including astronomy in his works like *Kshētra-gaṇita* and *Līlāvati* However, on the whole, the progress made was not remarkable.

At present, only the University of Calcutta and the Lucknow University provide special facilities for the concentration on Astronomy. Studies in Islamic Science including astronomy are provided in Osmania. Dr. Nizamuddin has evinced a marked interest through a series of publications of the Osmania Bureau of Hyderabad. Recently an ambitious project is contemplated in the Kannada region. Much more remains to be done. The importance of astronomy for History, Epigraphy and Mathematics in particular is recognised and it would be desirable if attention is paid to the starting of Departments of Astronomy in some of Advanced Universities of South India as India as part of Metereology or Matscience.

The Sātavāhanās

The Sātavāhanās, commonly known as the Āndhras, were the earliest among the Telugus to build a great empire. But, as Dr. Ramachandrayya says "the Andhras have been always controversial, in the sense that nothing about them is accepted without question. Their achievements are disputed,

and their identity with the Sātavāhanās is doubted". Let us, therefore, examine the conclusions arrived at by the various specialists on the history of the Sātavāhanās.

In their inscriptions and coins they are variously described as Sātavāhanās and Sātakurṇis, while in the Purāṇas they are mentioned as Āndhras. Nor do all the Purāṇas give identical accounts. According to some Purāṇas, there were 19 kings of Āndhra dynasty, who ruled for 300 years, but according to certain others, there were 30 kings who ruled for more than 400 years. The duration of the dynasty is 460 years according to the Matsya Purāṇa 456 years according to the Brahmāṇḍa Purāna and 411 years according to the Vāyu Purāṇa and 300 years according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa. Some of the Purāṇic names are also found on inscriptions and coins, but many of them do not figure in the inscriptions and several royal names on coins, apparently of this dynasty, do not occur in the Purāṇic lists.

In spite of several scholars working on the basis of the epigraphs, coins and the various Purāṇas, the precise dates of the beginning and end of the Sātavāhana rule have not been unquestionably determined. E. J Rapson, V. A. Smith, R. G. Bhandarkar H.C. Raychaudhari, Gopalachari and recently D. C. Sircar and O. Ramachandrayya have tried to grapple with the problem, and the conclusions even now available are largely a matter of surmises. Differences on some of the dates persist, and the present position provisionally accepted is that the Sātavāhana rule lasted from about 235 B.C. down to A.D. 220. The variations in the number of kings found in the different Purāṇas may be explained by the circumstance that some like the Matsya Purāṇa might have given the names of the individual monarchs, while others like the Vāyu Purāṇa concerned themselves with the main branches.

It is taken that the Sātavāhana is the name of the Kula or family and Āndhra the name of the jāti origin. The Āndhras were often spoken of as Āndhrabṛityas i.e. Āndhra servants. Does it mean that the ancestors of the Sātavāhanas were employed under the service of the Mauryas or suṅgas? But why should they be called Āndhrabṛityas? The proper explanation in my view is that the Sātavāhanas were of Kannada origin and that they became subordinate to kings of the Āndhra race or jāti. 'Sātavāhana' seems to have been an Āryan word but it must be noted that the Āndhras were called Dasyus in the Aitarēya Brāhamaṇa. D.C. Sircar's view that the names Sātavāhana and Satakarṇi may be of Dravidian origin does not seem acceptable. Nor is it correct to associate these names with Austric names, as Pirluzki thinks.

The Chēras and Sātavāhanās are said to have fed the warriors in the Mahābhārata war. Could this indicaie any connection between the legends of the Sātavāhanas and the Chēras? Perhaps it does. But to go farther than this, that the Sātavahānas and the Tamils co-operated with each other in participating in the Mahābhārata battle is not history.

There is no doubt that the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravēla of Kaliṅga indicates that in the 2nd century B.C. there was a conflict between the Kaliṅgas and a confederacy of the Tamil kings in which the latter

were defeated. This provides a foothold for the chronology of the political history of the Tamils. In the *Śilappadikāram* there is mention of Nūṟṟuvar Kaṇṇanār. Kanakasabhai and M. Raghava Aiyangar identify them with Sātakarṇi (probably Yajnaśri Sātakarṇi) and I think they are right. This confirms also the Šeṅguṭṭuvan Gajabāhu synchronism. Whether that fixes the date of the Šilappadikāram is a controversy which will be discussed later.

Another interesting fact is that a bilingual Sātavāhana coin containing a Tamil legend has been discovered. This indicates the possibility of a contact between the Sātavāhanas and the Tamils. In this connection mention may be made of the *Brihatkaṭha* of Guṇādhya, a Sātavāhana minister. It was written in Paisāchi dialect but it is not available except through Sanskrit translations. The Tamil *Peruṅgadai* is the work of a certain Koṅguvēḷ but there are some differences. In Guṇādhya's work Naravāhana Dutta is the hero, while in *Peruṅgadai*, Udayaṇa his son, is the hero. Vaiyapuri thinks that the *Brihatkaṭha* was first translated into Sanskrit by a Gaṅga Durvinīta towards the end of the 6th century A. D. and that the *Peruṅgadai* could not have been produced before 750 A.D and that the Tamil work was a translation of the Sanskrit version. One reason given by Vaiyapuri Pillai is that *Nāladi* which shows its trace in the *Peruṅgadai* to about A.D. 700. This is not acceptable, because the dates of the Perumuttaraiyar figuring in the *Peruṅgadai* as also in *Nāladi* are not definitely settled. Could the *Brithaṭkaṭhe* have been an adapta- of the *Peruṇgadai*, as suggested by some? It is not likely.

There is no doubt that in the Sātavāhana age the Āryan influence was remarkably felt in the social organisation and social customs. An admixture of the *Ā*ryan and Dravidian practiees was clearly noticeable. The Sātavāhana kings claimed themselves to be brahmins, which is open to question. However, they performed many sacrifices, worshipped several *Ā*ryan gods like Vāsudēva, Indra, the Sun and the Moon.

It is notable that independent of the Brāhmins so-called, the society was divided into four classes. The first class consisted of the Mahrathis, Mahābhōjas and Mahāsēnāpatis. Were they Kshatriyas or warriors corresponding to them? Probably they were feudatories and not members of a distinct caste. Rapson thinks that they were identical with the Brahmins themselves. This is unaceptable; if they have to be classified under a caste, they must be considered akin to Kshatriyas rather than Brahmins. The 2nd class consisted of both officials and non-officials. To the non-official class belonged the Naigama or merchant; therefore, they may be taken as akin to the Vaiśya caste. To the third class belonged the miscellaneous group which may be considered as corresponding to the Śūdras; they included the Hālakiya (cultivator), gardener, Suvaṇṇakara (goldsmith), carpenter, blacksmith and fishermen. It is surprising to learn that even the Lēkhaka (scribe) and Vaidya (physician) were also included in the same group. Thus the division in the Sātavāhana country was rather peculiar; it was different from the Āryan and the Tamilian. It was based at once on birth and occupation. It may be considered to have been primarily of the Dravidian pattern in a stage of transition. It was not until the

5th or 6th century A. D. that the four-fold Āryan classification took shape in the Deccan. It is notable that even at present some Brahmins in Āndhradēśa describe themselves as 'Drāviḍa Brahmins'. Further, there was a great deal of flexibility between Brahmins and Kshatriyas and even between Vaiśyas and Śūdras Gradually, however, the Śūdras came to be subdivided into a number of sub-groups.

On the whole, the caste system had not assumed the rigidity of the later days. *Manusmṛiti*, taking the 2nd century B. C. as the date of the latest version, permitted Anulōma marriage between males of higher and females of the lower castes but not Pratilōma. However, food cooked by the Śūdras was not to be eaten by a Brāhmaṇa. The most striking development of this age is the increase in the number of mixed castes. Manu himself recognises this. Though Manu's code (X. 4 ff.) was applicable only to North India, it began to filter down to the South by the Sātavāhana age.

Manu treats the Śūdra ineligible for sacraments (samskāra) and for hearing the sacred texts. But in another place Manu mentions even Śūdra teachers and pupils. Apparently Manu's epoch marked a stage of transition, and that was applied to the Āndhra country with certain limitations because Manu had proclaimed that his code was applicable only to *Ā*ryavarta. Nevertheless, with the infiltration of the *Ā*ryans into the South his ideas gradually filtered down.

It is noteworthy that in the Sātavāhana period women had the right of owning property. They appear to have made gifts to religious institutions of their own accord. Naturally by virtue of their economic position they occupied a respectable social status. Stress was laid on morality. Vātsyāyana's time was about the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., according to some authorities. His emphasis on Dharma and his condemnation of immoral practices had some influence in the Deccan, too.

But Telugu or Kannada was not the language current in the Sātavāhana dominion, partly because the Sātavāhanas originally lived in the Vindhya region and northern part of the Deccan and they entered the south and east later. In the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa which is generally assigned to a date not later than 500 B.C , the Āndhras are mentioned together with the Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas as Dasyu or non-Āryan tribes living on the borders of the land occupied by the Āryans. That is the reason why the official language of the Sātavāhanas and of some of their immediate successors was what has been called the Middle Indo *Ā*ryan, consisting of Prakrit and Sanskrit written in Brāhmi script. There occurred a kind of fusion between this and the native language of the Dasyus in due course and that is the reason why only after about 450 A.D. Kannada, and later about A.D. 650 Telugu began to be used in inscriptions. This is the view of Prof. A.L. Basham though Prof. K.A.N. Sastri says that 'the beginnings of the language can be traced from stone inscriptions of the 5th and 6th century A.D., and its basic elements have unmistakable affinities with Tamil and Kannada'.

The Sātavāhanas had made commendable progress in the field of art, mainly due to Buddhist influence. Many Buddhist caves

were constructed. More striking were the Buddhist stupas at Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Amarāvati and Ghanṭasāla. S. K. Sarasvati states that the highest level of art was reached at Amarāvati in the 2nd century A.D. Serpents were found entwining stupas at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

Sculptures had appeared even before the pre-Sātavāhana period in the north and they were followed by various specimens of sculpture in the Vēṅgi region, where the reliefs showed that more attention was paid to human figures than natural scenery. Figures are sculptured in all poses and attitudes, sitting, standing, bending, flying and dancing. It is important to notice that experts hold the view that there is greater mastery of technique in Vēṅgi than in Sāñchi or Mathura. The Vēṅgi school reached its highest level of art at Amarāvati towards the middle of the 2nd century A.D On the other hand, the reliefs at Gummuḍiduru, Nāgārjunakoṇḍ and Goli, although belonging to the same school, rarely reach that level. The wall paintings of Ajanta also deserve special notice. On the whole, the Andhra—Sātavāhanas had left a rich legacy in art.

So far as the Tamils are concerned, besides the prodigious literature of the Śaṅgam age, they were unique in having developed the combination of fine arts known as Mutta miḻ, comprising Iyal, Iśai and Nāṭakam. It embraced, therefore, not only literature but also music and drama. Painting was also developed; and the Śaṅgam literature contains references to the paintings of figures of Gods as well as scenes of "Nature". The *Paṭṭinappālai* refers to pictures on the walls of the temple at Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam. The royal palace had a picture gallery containing art exhibits; it was called "Chittira Māḍam". The *Maṇimēkalai* speaks of one *Oviya Nūl*, a treatise containing prescriptions on painting Sculpture does not seem to have received notable attention. Wood and earth were employed for making figures Later, in the time of *Maṇimēkalai* images of stone also were carved.

The Kaḷabhras

It is believed that the glorious age of the Saṅgam epoch received a set-back from a group of invaders known as the Kaḷabhras. The earliest mention about them in Tamil is found in the Vēḷvikkuḍi Plates. Yet the identity of the Kaḷabhras is not indubitably settled. They have been known in later Tamil epigraphs and literature by different names like Kaḷaprar, Kaḷapparar, Kaḷappirar, Kaḷappāḷar and Kaḷappāḷar. Some Buddhist works speak of a certain Accutavikkaṇṭa of the *Kaḷabhrakula* during whose reign Buddhist monasteries and writers enjoyed patronage in the Chōḷa country. Late literary tradition in Tamil holds that he kept in confinement the three chief Tamil kings - the Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. Some songs about him are quoted by Amitasāgara, a Jain grammarian of Tamil belonging to the 10th century A. D. Probably Accuta was himself a Buddhist and the political revolution effected by the Kaḷabhras was provoked by religious antagonism. The name Accuta was borne by later Kaḷabhras also, and it is likely that the tribe had at times followed Vaishṇavism; perhaps that accounts for the name Accuta attached to their personal names. Several of the later Kalabhras were Jains, too.

The Kaḷabhars are stated to have uprooted several rules of Tamiḻ Nāḍu and ap-

kuiḍi. It is stated in the *Kēraḷōlpattai* and *Kēraḷamāhātmyam* that the Chēras, too, were affected by the Kaḷabhra incursions. The truth of this is not ascertainable, because these works are based only on tradition. But, in so far as Kēraḷa was then a part of Tamiḷ Nāḍu, the confusion caused in the heart of the country might have had adverse effects there, too.

Regarding the identification of the Kaḷabhras different theories have been advanced by several writers. M. Raghava Aiyangar, S. K. Aiyangar and Satyanathier thought that 'Kaḷappirar' were the same as Kaḷavar, who, under Pulli, are said to have ruled over Vēṅkaṭam T A. Gopinatha Rao identified the Kaḷabhras with the Muttaraiyan. It is too far fetched to identify Suvaran Māran with the Muttaraiyan (connected with Nandivarman Pallava). But Perumpiḍugu Muttaraiyan is described in the Śēndalai inscription as 'Kaḷvar Kaḷvan'. Even this does not help the proposed identification, because it does not mean Kaḷabhra. Further, if the Muttaraiyar were Tamils why should they have crushed Tamil culture, as the Kaḷabhras are said to have done? Moreover, the coins discovered by Ramayya mentioned below do not support this identification. Nor does 'Kaḷvan' suggest that the Kaḷabhras had come from Karnataka. The later Kaḷabhras in Tamiḷ Nāḍu were to doubt some of the feudatories of the Pallava having been defeated by Mahēndravarman I, Vikramāditya I and Vijayāditya. Probably these vanquished chieftains who had served the Kaḷabhra rulers earlier continued to rule as subordinate vassals. Were the Kaḷabhras the same as Veḷḷāḷas? M. Raghava Aiyangar equated Accuta Vikkaṇṭa of Buddhadatta with the person of a similar name occurring in the Mūrti Nāyanār Purāṇam of the *Periya Purāmṇam* He identified the Kaḷabhras with the Veḷḷāḷas, equated the Kaḷabhras with Kaḷappāḷar and suggested that the Kaliaraśan of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant was identical with the Kūṟṟuva Nāyanār of the *Periya Purāṇam* T.V. Mahalingam suspected a pun on the word *oḷi* which in addition to the ordinary meaning of light and splendour, also denotes a territorial division and the people living in it. Taking the latter sense he thinks that the Kaḷabhras were akin to the Nāgas. This is patently far-fetched.

A rational approach was made by K. R. Venkataraman in the Transactions of the Archaeological Society locating the home of the Kaḷabhras in Karnataka. He does so on the basis of certain inscriptions in the Mysore State He locates the original home of the Kaḷabhras round about Sravaṇabelgōḷa [8] Venkataraman suggests that the Kaḷabhras around Sravaṇabelgōḷā migrated eastwards and established a kingdom including Kōḷār, Bangalore and Chittor Distrlcts and that this unit as a whole was called Kalianāḍu, while their original home was known as Kaḷavappu (Sravaṇabelgōḷa). They then occupied the territories of the Pallavas, Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas He holds also that more than one propriated some brahamadēyas like Vēḷvi-

8 It must be noted that Sravaṇabelgōḷa itself was known in early times as Kaḷappuṇāḍu as is seen from 'Kannaḍa Inscriptions edited by Dr. M. Sidanandamurti, pp. 70-78 and *Epigraphia Carnatica*. Vol. X. Chintamani, 9.' Further, an inscription at Halmidi in Bēlūr Taluk states that the Kadamba king Śakustha was an enemy of the Kaḷabhōras (Kaḷabhras.)

family of Kaḷabhras ruled over the Tamiḷ Nāḍu, namely Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṉār, the king of Kalandai, Accuta Viccanta (Buddhist) of the Chōḷa country and another, probably a Jaina, who occupied Madurai. The reasons he has provided for the recognition of a Kali dynasty are based solely on Jaina tradition. Even granting that the Kali kings formed an historical dynasty, it is difficult to locate their residence in the Sravaṇabelgōḷa area on the similarity of Kalināḍ or Kaḷavarnāḍ with Kaḷvappanāḍ.

The crucial basis of my conclusion rests on the coins recently discovered by Ramayya from a fisherman at Kāverippūmṭṭinam and two others from the Madurai District. The former and one of the latter are stated to show some letters of the Brāhmī script of the 4th century A.D.; they have been read respectively as 'kaḷa bra' and 'ka ḷa va ra'. The obverse of the first coin is said to depict what appears as a "Buddhist chaitya with a dome and a spire on the top" and "on its right there appears to be a trace in railing"; the figure on the obverse of the second coin has been interpreted to represent Vināyaka. The reverse of the third coin also contains the scripts of the same kind which have been read as 'Kaḷabra'; the iconic figure on the reverse is believed to represent Muruga. I think these were Kaḷabhra coins and that they show Buddhist and Hindu figures. The coins confirm the view that the Kaḷabhras had come from the Mysore region and that the Kaḷabhras had come from the Mysore region and that the coins belong to the 4th century A.D. Apparently the Kaḷabhras were the invaders of Tamiḷnāḍ during that period.

Now, Dr. B G.L. Swamy, sometime Professor of Botany in the Presidency College Madras, raises certain doubts about the whole question of the origin and history of the Kaḷabhras were none other than Western Gaṅgas who undertook an incursion into the Tamil country in the time of Rājasimha Pāṇḍya I known also as Tēr Māṟan and that they remained here only for a short period of about two years. He thinks that Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi was only an epithet to Tēr Māran, identified with Rājasimha I. He uses Sivaraja Pillai's contention that Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi, was a later interpolation. When the Daḷavāipuram Plates are quoted in support of the details provided by the Vēḷvikkudi Plates Dr. Swamy says that it is a routine repetition. What he means by this Heaven alone knows. It may be noted in passing that K.A N. Sastri has stated rightly in his Pandyan Kingdom, p. 56, that Rājasimha I has been miscalled by epigraphists as Tēr Māran. It is also pertinent to note that he is not called Tēr Māran in the Larger 'Śinnamanūr Plates'. Regarding the donee, it is notable that while in line 31 he is stated as Narkoṟṟan, the recipient of it on appeal to the king was Narchiṅgan. They should have been ordinarily different persons. No kind of explanation can be offered by B.G.L. Swamy except perhaps to say that it is the engraver's error or that within two years the donee had changed. Dr. Swamy asserts that the Tamiḷ Śaṅgam was not destroyed by the so called Kaḷabhras, as is usually considered, and that the Śaṅgam itself did not exist. He states (on p. 125 of the Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, 1976 January to June), thus: "They (meaning the Gaṅgas) had absolutely no part in bringing the so called 'caṅkam' age to an end, even if such an age ever existed at all."

This reveals the motive of the writer in perverting history. Further, he states that there was no 'Kalıkula' mentioned in the Vēḷvikkuḍi Plates and quotes K.A N. Sastri's statement in 1929 that 'nothing is known of such a dynasty yet'. But how can one Pulakēśin II ? (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, p. 259). We learn from inscriptions *in* certain Jain temples that the cult of Kali Dēva was in vogue (Ep Ind XIX, p. 182). In this connection mention may be made also of an inscription of Bēḷūr in Mysore which speaks of a tribe of the region under the Kaḷabhōra (Mysore Archaelogical Report, 1936, No. 16, Line 2).

Regarding the extent of the country brought under the sway of these invaders, Swamy quotes various writers in support of the view that "Rajasimha I is said to have renewed the palaces and high ramparts" at Kūḍal, Vañji and Kōḷi. Obviously these places must have suffered at the hands of the invaders, meaning that practically the whole of Tamiḷ Nāḍu would have been attacked. If these were caused by the Gaṅgas why did they return home in two years? The Kaḷabhras, as we shall see, did not return in such a short time; on the other hand, many of them stayed back even after their defeat by the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas.

However, Seeni Venkataswamy's assertion that during the Kaḷabhra occupation, several Prakrit and Sanskrit words had become mixed with Tamil is little more than a piece of possible guess. The same writer goes on to add that some of the *Padineṇkīḻkaṇakku* works were the products of the Kaḷabhra influence. This also lacks positive proof. But his statement that Vajra Nandi's Drāmiḷa Saṅgha organized for the propagation of Jains was established by the Kaḷabhras is more convincing than Vaiyapuri Pillai's view about this Saṅgha. Probably the Kaḷabhras had converted some of the Tamils into Jainism and settled down here. It is not unlikely that some of them remained Hindus and became assimilated with the class of Veḷḷāḷar. The known facts about Meykaṇḍār lend support to this suggestion.

It is, however, undeniable that there were some Kaḷabhras who remained as subordinate chiefs even after their defeat by Kaḍuṅkōn and Simhavishṇu. In all likelihood these chiefs were the Kaḷabhras said to have been defeated by Narasimhavarman I Pallava and Nandivarman II Pallava (See Kūram Plates, Pullūr Plates and Paṭṭattāḷ Maṅgalam Plates). In this connection mention may be made of an inscription in the Koṅgu country of 9th century A.D. (Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXVIII, No. 6, p. 36) which speaks of a Kaḷi Nirupa Kaḷvan', alias Kōkkandan Ravi. This shows that Kaḷabhras were ruling over parts of the Tamil country down to the 9th century. N. Kasinathan of the Archaeological Department of Tamil Nadu, has drawn my attention to an inscription at Ponnivāḍi which speaks of the Kali Nirupa Kaḷvan, mentioned above as having had another title "Kaliniruva (pa)- kaḷva". This confirms the facts stated above.

The Pallavas

The origin of the Pallavas has been another subject of controversy. Venkayya unheld the theory of foreign origin because

the *Purāṇas* refer to the Pallavas as Parthians. The verbal resemblance between Pallava and Pahlava was upheld in support of this view by Rice and others. Venkatasubbier pointed out that one of the sculptures in the Pallava temple of Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ at Kanchi depicts a crown similar to that of Demetrius in his coins, thus indirectly reinforcing the theory of Parthian origin.

But this theory is now opposed primarily because its basis is the verbal similarity between "Pahlava" and "Pallava". Moreover, Raājaśēkhara, a writer of 9th century A.D., draws a clear distinction between the "Pallavas" of the north-west and the Pallavas of the south. There was no ostensible need either for the Parthians or the Pahlavas of the north-west to come to South India.

Opposed to the views of foreign origin, there are several views tracing the rise of the Pallavas to certain people within India. K. A. N. Sastri, for instance, thought that the Pallavas were of North Indian origin and that, having come down to the region of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, adopted local traditions, naming themselves after the land called Toṇḍai as Toṇḍaiyār, and in the Sanskritised form as Pallavas. Toṇḍai means a creeper and Pallava conveyed a similar meaning. But the theory of North Indian origin is not now accepted.

K. P. Jayaswal thought that the Pallavas formed a branch of the Vākāṭakas who ruled in the Vindhyan region. This is improbable because they would have had to defeat the Sātavāhanas before entering the south. Apart from this, the *gōtras* of the Vakātakas and the Pallavas are said to be different. Nor is it clear that the Pallavas were brāhmins at the outset, whereas the Vākāṭakas were.

Rasanayakam of Śrī Laṅka thought that the Chōḷa Neḍumuḍikilli married a Nāga princess and that he appointed the son born to her to be his Viceroy at Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. There was a legend of a Brāhmin Kauṇḍinya marrying a Nāga princess, belonging to the tribe of worshippers of snakes. But it is nothing more than a legend. Krishna Sastri has recorded that the Pallava Copper plates of Rāyakōṭa speak of a tradition that Aśvattāma, the Brahmin founder of the Pallava stock married a Nāga woman and that out of this alliance arose the Pallavas of history. But this tradition is not supported by epigraphy. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar suggested that the Pallavas were the descendants of Nāgas who were related to the Kaḷḷars of the extreme south. Nor can V.A. Smith's view that the Pallavas were the descendants of the Kurumbar, a Tamil tribe, be accepted These suggestions fall to the ground because the earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas were in Prākṛit and Sānskṛit and not in Tamiḷ.

Nor is the suggestion acceptable that the Pallavas were Sātavāhana officials, although we hear of an early Pallava inscription reffering to Āndhrapatha in charge of a region near Amarāvati. Really it appears that some of the feudatory powers of the Sātavāhanas like the Ikshavākus, Sālaṅkāyanas or Vishṇukuṇḍins had come down to the south after the decline of the Sātavāhana power. Whether all the feudatories had combined themselves or only one of them constituted the ancestors of thc Pallavas it is not possible to determine. They were not brāhmins though they

professed to belong to the Bhāradvāja gotra. It was the glamour for rulers of the Deccan to assume brahminical origin belonging to a brahmin gōtṛa. Their brahmin caste is as baseless as their Tamil origin associated with the Tiraiyar. The early Pallava inscriptions as well as their whole-hearted devotion to Āryanism and Sānskritisation clearly prove this. Religion, social organisation and even art were greatly influenced by the Āryan pattern. The caste system became rigorous under their influence. For instance, Mahēndravarman II Pallava enforced the strict adherence to the Varṇāshramadharma as the Kaśakuḍi Plates show. The Pallava kings, having been new converts to Brahmanism were enthusiastic supporters of Brahmins. Inscriptions like the Pullūr Copper Plates speak of gifts to 'Bappa Bhaṭṭārakar', meaning the great Brahmins. The Chēndalūr, Churā and Udayēndiram Plates refer to the great respect paid to the Bappa Bhaṭṭārakar.

Kēraḷa

Early Kēraḷa was part of Tamiḷ Nāḍu. But even after the 9th century A. D. when Malayalam began to develop as an independent language little attention was paid to history. Therefore, some materials regarding early and medieval history have been found from Sanskrit, Tamil, and early Malayalam works, coins, inscriptions and accounts of foreign travellers. The only historian of early Kēraḷa was the late Eḷamkuḷam Kunjan Pillai, who though a Professor of Malayalam, had studied Tamiḷ, Sānskṛit, inscriptions and foreign accounts. He was a level-headed historian and a true scholar. Professors K. V. Krishna Aiyar, T. K. Ravindran and A. Sreedhra Menon are the only other notable historians, but they cover the entire range of Kēraḷa history.

Here it is not possible to trace the history of early Kēraḷa. But I wish to touch upon three of the acutely disputed problems-one is regarding the supposed advent of St. Thomas, the second, Chēramān Perumāḷ's alleged conversion and third, the arrival of the Nambūdiris, pre-eminently the makers of Kēraḷa culture.

The tradition regarding St. Thomas is very old and is even now current in parts of Kēraḷa, Tamiḷnādu and particularly in the city of Madras. It holds that Thomas, the apostle landed in Malabar, converted some Brahmins there to Christianity, travelled to the East Coast and was martyred at Mylapore or St. Thomas Mount.

The account published recently, in a souvenir at Ernakulam, asserted that St. Thomos landed in Maliankara near Muziris in A. D. 52. converted several Brahmins and founded seven churches in the Malabar coast. Since there was trade relationship between Kēraḷa and the Mediterranean, the tradition need not be baseless. The traditional accounts preserved by the Jews who came to Cranganore on the West Coast in A.D. 68 contain a reference to the existence of a Christian community at the place. The statement of Plantancus, the head of the Alexandrian school, who visited Kēraḷa in the 2nd century A. D. that the found a flourishing Christian community in the West Coast is also advanced as an additional piece of evidence in favour of St. Thomas having founded the Kēraḷa church.

However, historically the facts regarding St. Thomas still remain uncertain. The first

reliable mention of St. Thomas's mission to Malabar is found in the Acta Thomae or Acts of Judas Thomas, an apocryphal gospel, the date of which is certainly not earlier than 200 A. D. Thomas who came, as a merchant, is said to have seen a Church in Malabar He brought another batch of Christians about A.D. 345.

James Hough in *The History of Christianity in India from the Commencement of Christian Era*, Vol. I of 1839 edition, writes on pp. 30ff. thus: 'The tradition which attributed to the Apostle Thomas the introduction of Christianity into India derives less support from authentic history, Eusebius who had an opportunity of knowing about it does not appear any where to allude to this Apostle's introduction of Christianity into India . . . La Crose . . . declares . . . that it does not appear to be entitled to credit . . . "

C M. Augur in *The Church History of Travancore* (1901 edition) pp. 4–8, writes : "La Croze and Hough with no mean arguments treat the whole storp as a legend and myth. Chaplain Trevor holds that "there is better evidence that the light of Christianity extended from Egypt where it was kindled by St. Mark, "and that the Syrian Churches appear to have been planted in the 4th century probably by Thomas, a monk from that country, whose name has been confoun ded with that of the Apostle . . . " Mr. Rae has shown that St. Thomas could never have visited Malabar and there is no historical basis whatever for crediting such a story. The eminent Orientalist, Dr. Burnell, doubted the tradition that St. Thomas founded the Church.

In St. Thomas Mount, Madras, there was a Christian community, but it is not known when they settled there. The earliest dependable reference to them comes from Marco Polo who wrote about A D. 1293. He speaks of them martyrdom of St. Thomas on the Mount but the shrine on the Bigger Mount was visited by not only by Christians but also by Hindus and Muslims. Early in the 14th century Friar Odoric found about fifteen houses of Nestorians near the Church but the Church itself was filled with idols. In the 15th century Nicolo Conti found about a thousand Nestorians in the City. It was with St. Francis Xavier that Christianity began to acquire a large number of followers 'n Madras and farther South. Some hold that Paraṅgimalai might have been named after St. Thomas. But others contend that Paraṅgl was the name used to designate all Europeans, the name being Paraṅgi a corruption for 'Frāṅcai' by which a French man calls himself. The Hindus say that the original name of the Hill itself was 'Briṅgamalai'

To conclude, the student of history has yet to wait for authentic evidence for proving the arrival of the Apostle St. Thomas to Kēraḷa and thence to Madras where he is supposed to have been crucified. But to say that is not to doubt that early in the Christian era, probably from the 2nd century A.D. Cosmos, the Alexandrian merchant, who travelled in South India in A.D. 522 found a Nestorian Church at that time. Moreover, Copper–plate grants to Malabar Christians appear from A.D. 774 onwards.

The Jews : Jews claim to have come to Kēraḷa. as early as A.D. 68. After the sack of Jerusalem by the Romans in A. D. 71 they appear to have moved towards Kēraḷa. But the first definite proof of the

Jewish settlement on the West Coast comes only from the Tamil charter of Bhāskara Ravivarman to Joseph Rabbān giving him certain privileges. Probably the charter belongs to the 8th century A.D. Therefore, all that can be said is that they had come to Kēraḷa in or before 8th century A. D. The fact that commercial relationship existed between Jerusalem and Kēraḷa indicates that the Jews might have settled there as traders. When exactly the original settlement was founded it is not easy to determine.

Similarly the Arabs might have come for commercial purposes even earlier than in the time of the Prophet. Parsis and Chinese were other early immigrants. But their history, too, is shrouded in mystery.

Chēramānperumāḷ and Islam : There is a legend about Cheramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār, the last of the Perumāḷ rulers of Kēraḷa (c. A.D. 80-44). It was believed by some persons, and by Muslims in particular, that he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca, became a Muslim and that from there he sent a message to the rulers of Kerala to receive Muslims warmly and to build mosques for them. It is mysterious that the Periyapurāṇam speaks of the same Chēra king as having been an ardent Śaiva saint and a companion of Sundaramūṛti. It is believed that ultimately Chēramān Perumāḷ ascended the Heaven along with his friend. There is every likelihood that the two Chēramān Perumāḷs are identical. Moreover, some Jains as well as Buddhists and Christians believe that Chēramān Perumāl became a convert to their faiths. Which of these beliefs is historical ?

Regarding his conversion to Islam, Muslim travellers like Masudi of the 10th century (approximately in A D. 917) and others who came later refer to the presence of Muslims in the Malabar coast where several mosques were also found. It is not known when the Muslims of Kerala were called Mappillas for the first time. However, the population of the Mappillas increased in due course and by the beginning of the 16th century their population formed nearly one-fifth of Malabar according to Duarte.

The Śaṅgam Chēra kings were known only as Chēras and not as Chēramān Perumāḷs. Perhaps this myth regarding Chēramān Perumaḷ was introduced by the *Keraḷōlpatti* and *Kēraḷa Māhātmyam*. It it remarkably striking that the date assigned by these legendary accounts to the last Perumāḷ is A.D. 428. This anachronism itself discredits the story. Actually the appellation Perumāḷ was another surname of Vishṇu, and the Travancore kings were devotees of this deity. This accounts for the name Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ. Regarding his conversion, as stated earlier, the Jains, Buddhists, Christians and Muslims claim him as one of their religion. Perhaps, some earlier Chēra king had been converted to Islam as Fawcett says, and that fact was erroneously associated with Chēramān Perumaḷ. If he had changed his religion Sēkkiḷār would not have included him as one of the Śaivitesaints.

The Nambūdiris : The Nambūdiris constitute a unique class of people in Kēraḷa. They contributed in no small measure to the regeneration of Kēraḷa culture. They have been an embodiment of Hindu orthodoxy and may be described as 'Brahmins among Brahmins'.

When did the Nambūdiris enter Kerela ? No one has provided a definite answer to

this. Various conjectures have been offered. The legendary view that they were led by Paraśurāma more than two thousand years ago does not constitute history. Kāṇippayyūr Śaṅkaran Nambūripāḍ, in his 'Āryanmmāruḍai Kuḍiyēṟṟam' Part I, written in Malayalam, after abusing Nayar historians, particularly Eḷamkuḷam Kunjan Pillai (pp. 99-100), asserts that nearly two thousand years ago, the Nambūdiris, pure Āryans, as he calls them, led by Paraśurāma, came from Saptasindhu. This is hardly history, supported by no reliable evidence. Eḷamkuḷam Kunjan Pillai refers to the inscription of 1102 A.D., engraved on a pillar in the Rāmēśvarattu Kōil at Quilon, which states that the Nambūdiri representatives forced Ramēsvar Kulaśēkhara, the last Perumāḷ emperor of Kēraḷa to provide certain grants of land to the temple as an atonement for the sin of offending them. He adds that the 12th century witnessed the commencement of the "Nambudiri Age" or their glorious period in Kerala history. As monopolists of wealth, power, education and spiritual authority, they became more authoritative than the kings themselves. (Eḷamkuḷam's 'Studies in Kerala History', p 348). He states that it was towards the end of the 11th century A D., that the supremacy of the Nambūdiris commenced. (See his 'Chila Kēraḷa Charitṛa Pṛaśnaṅgaḷ. p. 235, Considerably earlier, the Nambūdiris had established their spiritual and social supremacy. Perhaps no other class in the whole India organized such a systematic caste supremacy and abominable untouchability. They organized almost a scientific gradation of untouchability, unapporachability and unseeability among the various castes.

But neither Eḷamkuḷam nor Sreedhara Menon provides a satisfactory answer to the date of the immigration of the earliest batch of Nambūdiris or their ancestors. Eḷamkuḷam states that they might have come in the 7th or 8th century A.D. (Jenmi Sampṛadāyam Kēraḷattil', p. 8 and his Studies in Kēraḷa History. p. 129) and that Peruñchellūr was the earliest of the Nambūdiri grāmams (village) in Kēraḷa. Prof K.V. Krishna Aiyar too thinks that Peruñchellūr was an early Nambūdiri village, followed by Panniyūr, Parappūr and Cheṅkanniyūr.

Where and when did they migrate into Kerala ? Eḷamkuḷam states that Kannada inscriptions of the 7th century A D. reveal the Chāḷūkyas and the Āḷuvas as encouraging Brahmin immigrants to settle down in the Vanavāsi-Tuḷu region. No doubt this provides a clue ; but in the absence of inscriptions it cannot be held that they could not have come earlier. In fact, as Nagam Aiya states, the Nambūdiris themselves believe that most of them came from the regions between the Krishna and the Godavari rivers. *Taruṇanallūr Nambūdiripāḍ* is clearly of Telugu extraction. It is not improbable that some of the ancestors of the Nambūdiris came from the Āndhra country after the decline of the Sātavāhanas. The view of K.P. Padmanabha Menon and Justice Narayana Mārār that the Nambūdiris must have come to Kēraḷa even before the 4th century A.D. does not seem acceptable. The marriage custom adopted by them considerably latter cannot be employed for determining the date of their advent to Kēraḷa. Even among the successors of the Sātavāhanas, the Brihatphaḷāyanas ruled about the 4th century A.D. It is notable that their king Jayavarman of the 4th century A.D. was the first to initiate the establishment of *Brahmadēyas*. Perhaps the move started by him gradually spread and some reached the West Coast region. On the

whole it may not be too much of a conjecture to hold that from the 4th or 5th century, some brahmins settled first in the region of modern South Canara (Tulunad) and then in Kēraḷa. All of them might not have come from the Telugu region. According to Logan some could have along with the Western Chalukyas and Rashtrakuta invaders, and according to their own tradition quoted by Nagam Aiya, some came from the Maratha and Canarese countries while a few others were immigrants from the Kaveri region. It is said that 32 villages or grāmas were first established in Tulunad and another 32 in Kērala later by the 7th century A.D.

They must have all been organized into 64 gramas considerably later when they became numerous and powerful. This must have taken place about the 10th century. From about the 7th century A D. they became the spiritual heads of the middle Kēraḷa region where they settled. The term Nambi or Nambūdiris was assumed then to denote their respectable position and in order to mark them off from the local Brahmins

It is believed that the illustrious Saṅkarāchārya was a Nambūdiri born in Kālaḍi in Central Travancore about the end of the 8th century A.D. (c. A.D. 788-820.) Barth, in his 'Religions of India' says that Khalafat came to South India through Kēraḷa and adds that "it is precisely in these parts that from ninth to the twelfth century, those great religious movements took their rise which are connected with Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Ānandatīrtha and Besava out of which the majority of the historical sects came and to which Hindus an presents nothing analogous till a much later period" These are not acceptable. Even granting that Śaṅkara derived the idea of monism from Islam, where is the doctrine of Māya in the latter? Then, Rāmānuja preached qualified monism, while Ānandatīrtha stressed dualism, and Vīra Śaivism or the Lingāyat cult in the Karnataka and Telugu regions was based on twenty eight Āgamas. Fawcett even statest hat the Bhakti cult in the South itself arose mainly due to the influence of Islam. Obviously it is not necessary to refute this fallacy.

In Kēraḷa in the 11th century there appeared the so-called Hundred Years' War between the Chēras and Chōḷas The Nambūdiris could not keep themselves aloof from the conflict which resulted in radical changes in their social organisation, like the restriction of the marriage to the eldest son, to polygamy, to the younger Nambūdiri men having marriage connections with Nāyars, to the adoption of post-puberty marriage among the Nambūdiris and other customs. They participated in war, but in order to distinguish themselves from other brahmins, had their tuft of hair in front of their heads.

One interesting feature is that among the Nambūdiris those of the Payyanūr grāmam alone have been following the Marumakkattāyam or the matrilineal system or succession to property through the female line. it is notable in this connection that the Sātavāhanas had the vestiges of the Marumakkattāyam system, as seen from their practice of affixing their mother's name to their own, like Gautamīputṛa Sātakaṛṇi and Vasishṭīputṛa Pulumāyi. Even among the Ikshavākus who succeeded the Sātavāhanas and ruled in the Krishna-Guntur region, the officers affixed the father's as

well as the mother's name to their own. Do these facts confirm the hypothesis that some of the ancestors of the Nambūdiris had hailed from Āndhra Dēśa? Krishna Aiyar's explanation that it arose out of a quarrel between the Kolāttiri and Peruñchellūr and that Payyanūr sided with the former, was responsible for the different system of inheritance, is not convincing. It may be noted in this connection that Marumakkattāyam was adopted in Tuḷunāḍ from the end of the 13th century A. D., and that it received royal recognition at the hands of the Āḷuva kings only after 1444 A. D according to B. A. Saletore in his *Ancient Karnataka* (p. 366). But conservative to the core, the Nambūdiris of Payyanūr would not have changed their age-old system so late in their history.

The Chāḷūkyas of Vātāpi

Between the Sātavāhanas and the Vijayanagar empire, the history of the Deccan is dominated primarily by that of the Chaḷūkyas, of different groups viz-the Vātapi Chāḷūkyas, Eastern Chāḷūkyas and Later Chāḷūkyas, intervened by the Rashtrakutas and Gaṅgas.

The Chāḷūkyas of Vātāpi, otherwise known as the Early Chāḷūkyas or Western Chāḷūkyas formed a prominent power which emerged in the 6th century A. D. The origin of the Chāḷūkyas is a disputed question. Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkacharita* gives the legendary origin. Bilhana, the court-poet of Vikramāditya VI. one of the great Chāḷūkya rulers, regards Ayōdhya as their ancestral home. But this statement itself is unreasonable, because Chāḷūkya is not a Sanskrit word, though Bilhana transforms it in to Chāḷūkya and derives it from *Chūḷuka* meaning the hollow of the hand, and narrates the story of Brahmā creating the first Chāḷūkya from the hollow of his hand, when he was performing his pūja at the instance of Indra who had requested him to produce a warrior in order to suppress irreligious people in Kaliyuga. Obviously this is a myth. Another story that God-fearing demons were created by the Chāḷūkya king out of his palm is equally incredible. The view that the name was derived from an ancestor Chālkiya or Chāḷūkya by name seems acceptable.

Dr. Hoernle derives the word from a Turki root, *chap*, meaning gallop, and *chappaul* which denotes a plundering raid. In this connection it may be noted that in the Chāḷūkyan history the name Pulakēśin figures more than once as also the Chapas belonging to the Gūrjara group. Several other explanations are also offered. Perhaps the most acceptable one is that of Prof. R.S Iyer that the Chaḷūkyas or Śoḷānkis were allied to the Gūrjaras Dr. D.C. Sircar says on the other hand that "the name is sometimes associated with the Chulika people of Uttarapātha who are supposed to have been identical with the Sogdiāns and to have given their name to the Prakrit dialect called Chulika Paiśāchi". But there is no evidence in support of this conjecture. Sircar suggests another hypothesis that the name Chāḷūkya was derived from that of an ancestor, probably called Chālka, Chālika or Chāḷūka. But who were these ancestors? Specific instances are needed to sub-stantiate it. The Chāḷūkyas claimed to have belonged to the *Mānavya gōtra*, to have been nourished by the Seven Mothers, who are the mothers of mankind, to have acquired prosperity through the favour of God Kārtikēya and to have subdued several

princes. These also belong to the realm of myths. Turning to the known facts of history, it may be observed that Yuwan Chwang refers to Pulakēśin II as one who belonged to the race of Kshatriyas. Further, an Arab chornicle refers to a mission sent by Khusru II of Persia to Pulakēśin II.

There are numerous inscriptions pertaining to the Chāḷūkyas; they show that they belonged to an indigenous Kanarese family claiming the status of Kshatriyas An inscriprion of Pulakēśin I, taken to belong to A D. 543, has been discovered The later Mahākūṭa inscriptions of Kirtivarman and Maṅgaḷēśa refer to their conquests. The long Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakēśin II is a Sanskrit poem composed by Ravikīrti and inscribed on the wall of a temple Not only does it describe the conquests of Pulakēśin II but also traces the history of the dynasty down to the time of Jayasimha. While this record speaks of his victory over Mahēndravarman Pallava I, the Kaśākudi Plates of the Pallavas speak of a Pallava victory; the Kūram, Kaśākuḍi and Udayēndiram Plates refer to Narasimhavarman I Pallava defeating and killing Pulakēśin II. Thus Narasimhavarman Pallava deserves great credit for defeating Pulakēśin II who had himself won a victory over the famous Harsha Kīrtivarman II (746-53) was the last of the Early Chāḷūkyas whose power was crushed by Dantiduṛga Rāshṭṛakūṭa.

The Rāshṭṛakūṭas (745-93)

From the middle of the 8th century down to the last quarter of the 10th century A. D. the Rāshṭṛakūṭas were powerful in the Deccan. Their seat of power was Manyakhēta or Mālkhed. As in the case of several other powers of the Deccan, different views have been advanced regarding their origin. In particular, as they grew in power, they invented new theories exalting their glory. Some of them tried to trace their origin to Rajputana and claimed that they were the descendants of the Rāthors. But this is patently untenable, because we hear of the Rāshtrakūṭas in the south earlier than the Rāthors. Qualifying this view some held that they were indigenous Rajputs. This, too, is an ingenious invention. Some Rāshṭṛakūṭas held that they were of Telugu origin, stating that the name Rāshṭṛa is derived from Reḍḍi; but linguistic experts declare that such a change could not have occurred.

In all probability the most acceptable view is that the Rāshṭṛakūṭas were Marathas descended from the Rāshṭṛikas mentioned in the inscriptions of Aśōka. They came down to the south and in due course adopted Kannada as their mother tongue.

D.C. Sircar thinks that the name arose as an official designation, indicating chieftains of Rāshṭṛas or political divisions. In support of his view he quotes instances of Rāshṭṛakūṭa families from the Chāḷūkya inscriptions. He thinks that the Rāshṭṛakūṭas were originally subordinate chieftains of the Chāḷūkyas. It might have been true. But what does he say to the affinity claimed by the later Rāshṭṛakūtas to the Yādavas? Perhaps the Rāshṭṛakūṭas were originally Chāḷūkya officials and at a later stage the Yādavas also identified themselves with them.

The Western Gaṅgas or Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavādī or Taḷakāḍ

Their early history is obscure but they seem to have ruled for over four centuries. When Koṅgāṇivaṛman, the first king of this

dynasty, established the kingdom is a matter of controversy. The dynasty seems to have belonged to the Ikshavāhu family. From the later history of the dynasty it may be presumed that it appeared towards the latter half of the 4th century A. D., because Harivarman of the Western Gaṅga line and Simhavarman I Pallava were contemporaries.

One of the greatest rulers of the dynasty was Śripurusha (725-81). He had to fight several battles with the Rāshṭrakūṭas, but he was able to maintain his position. Rājasimha I Paṇḍya married a Gaṅga princess, probably Sripurusha's daughter. Rice has stated that the Gaṅgas may be said to have reached the height of prosperity during the long reign of Śripurusha, in whose time the kingdom was called 'Śrī-rājya' meaning 'fortunate kingdom'.

The Eastern Gaṅgas or Gaṅgas of Kaliṅgapura

One Kanarṇadēva I, the ambitious Western Gaṅga king, left his homeland and founded the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty at Kaliṅgapura or Kaliṅganagara. But the chronology of this dynasty seems to be an insolvable riddle. The earlier Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are dated in the Gaṅga era; but it is not certain when it was begun. B.V. Krishna Rao thinks that it commenced in A. D. 497. The grounds for his deduction are not free from doubt. Others, except Fleet differ from him on the basis of good reasons. Sewell and Burnell dated it to the 9th century A.D. Our definite knowledge begins only from Vajrahasta V (Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga), the 17th king who ruled about A D. 1038. This king is known to have issued 40 inscriptions. There are certain palm-leaf manuscripts kept in the Jagannāth temple at Pūri. These were used by Sir William Hunter and later by others in order to reconstruct the history of Orissa. But regarding the chronology of the Eastern Gaṅgas there is yet no unanimity. It is one of the themes on which research may be undertaken.

The Eastern Chāḷūkyas of Vēṅgi formed a branch of the Chāḷūkyas of Vātāpi. Vishṇuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakēśin II, the first king, had been appointed in A.D. 615 to this new kingdom by the elder brother who found that the old kingdom had grown in its extent. But with the defeat of Pulakēśin II in A.D. 642 by Narasimhavarman Pallava, the Eastern Chāḷūkyan kingdom became independent. However, their history is obscure for want of sources of information. There were frequent civil wars, and therefore, the prosperity of the kingdom was seriously affected. Moreover, the Rāshṭrakūṭas like Krishṇa I and Gōvinda III attacked Vēṅgi. Vijayāditya II (799-843) reacted against the Rāshṭrakūṭa invaders and attacked their kingdom. Vijayāditya II was a famous king of the dynasty and built a number of temples. Again, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Amōghavarsha defeated Vijayāditya III, the ruler of Vēṅgi, and though Bhīma I the Chāḷūkya dynasty recovered the independence of the kingdom, civil war broke out in the kingdom followed by Rāshṭrakūṭa attack by Krishṇa III. Again the Eastern Chāḷūkyas recovered their power after a time. Vimalāditya, the king, married Kundava the daughter of Rājarāja Chōḷa I and that paved the way for Kulōttuṅga I Chōḷa uniting in himself the Eastern Chāḷukya and Chōḷa dynasties.

Though the dynasty had to pass through a chequered history, culture flourished.

Both Sanskrit and Telugu were encouraged by the Eastern Chāḷūkyas from the 10th century A.D. In the latter part of the 11th century Mallanna rendered into Telugu verse a mathematical work in Sanskrit which had been originally written by a Jain scholar Mahāvīrachārya. Rāja Rāja I himself made provision for a Telugu translation of the Mahabharata. The son of Kulōttuṅga I, Vīra Chōḷa took steps for the establishment of a Vēdic college.

Buddhism and Jainism continued besides Śaivism and Vaishṇavism. There was little religious hostility between these various religions. One of the kings Vimalāditya was a Jain and Amarāvati continued to be a centre of Buddhism, while there were several other well known Buddhist places of pilgrimage in the Vēṅgi kingdom. But Hientsang who visited the country found Buddhism in a decadent condition.

The Yādavas of Dēvagiri or Sevunadēśa

They claimed descent from the Divine Lord Krishna. They ruled over Sevuna which extended from Dēvagiri to Nāsik. The founder of the dynasty was Bhillana (1187-1191), a former feudatory of the Chāḷūkyas of Kalyāṇi, took advantage of the decline of the latter and established the Yādava kingdom with Dēvagiri as its capital. But he was vanquished and killed by the Hoysala king, Baḷḷāḷa II.

Jaitugi (1191-1210) was an able general. He conquered the Kolhapur kingdom as well as the Kalachuris of Tripuri and Mahādēva Kākatīya. The Yādava kingdom became very powerful in the 13th century. Singhana (1210-47) was a great conqueror and a prominent member of the dynasty. Under one of his successors, Rāmachandra (1271-1309), there occurred the Muslim invasion under Malik Kafur. Rāmachandra was defeated and detained in Delhi but returned home agreeing to pay tribute to the Sultanate. Later when Ramachandra's son-in-law revolted, the Delhi Sultan's general Mubarak Shah marched against him and flayed him alive.

Bhillana had learnt the Vēdas and various Śāstras. It is notable that the son of the mathematician and astronomer Bhāskarāchārya, Lakshmīdhara was the king's scholarly friend.

Among the great personalities of the 13th century in the field of religion and literature mention must be made of Jñāneśvara, the reputed saint of Bhandarpur. An ardent devotee of the Bhakti cult, he wrote a Marathi commentary on the Gīta, besides other works which appealed not only to the scholars but also to the common devotees. It is said that his commentary on the Gīta was written when he was in his teens. Experts hold that though ostensibly a commentary on the Gīta, the Jñāneśvari, as it is called, is in reality an independent and philosophical treatise. The Jñnāeśvari is really the first important work in Marathi, and according to Dr. A.S Altekar, no other book can compare with it either as a piece of poetry or as a treatise on religion and philosophy. Though almost the first writer in Marathi, Jñāneśvara had supreme confidence in the capacity of this language to express the most profound thoughts.

Nāmdēv and Janābāi are famous for their devotional songs in Marathi. Nāmdev was a tailor by birth ; but he preached that there is only one God, that devotion to God is everything, that idol worship, pilgrimage and caste are to be eschewed. His hymns were

composed in Marathi with the exception of some in Hindi. The Yādavas themselves spoke Marathi and the capital city was Devagiri which was in the heart of Maharashtra. The age of the Yadavas is therefore very important in the history of Marathi literature, for it originated at this time.

Kākatīyas of Warangal : On the decline of the Kalyāṇi Chāḷūkyas, one Prola II founded a kingdom between the Krishṇa and Godavari. He defeated Taila III of Kalyaṇi the last ruler, about 1155 and founded his kingdom with the capital at Anumakoṇḍa. But it was the later ruler Pratāparuda I (1162-85) who shifted the capital to Warangal which continued till the fall of the dynasty. The most prominent Kākatīya ruler was Gaṇapati (1199-1261). He won victories over the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas and improved the economic conditions of his country. Rudrāmba (1261-91), Gaṇapati's daughter, was an able ruler, The next ruler, Pratāparudra II (1291-1323), was practically the last Kākatiya ruler. Ulugh Khan, the later Muhammad bin Tughlak, eventually defeated Prataparudra and wanted to send him to Delhi, but on the way he died. A rebellion on the part of his son, Krishnappa Nâyaka proved fruitless and the kingdom came under the Muslim sway.

In the sphere of arts and letters the Kākatīyas have had a notable record Pratāparudra built magnificent temples of Śiva and his ministers followed his example with the result that Teleṅgāna became famous as a land of temples. Moreover, Pratāparudra I was a scholar and a great patron of patron of learning. He is believed to have composed some *Nītisāra* in Sanskrit and Telugu. Sanskrit occupied a prominent place in literature and education; Telugu came second. The translation of the Ramayana and Mahabharata into Telugu was a great achievement of the Kākatīya age. Being a Vīra Śaiva, Pratāparudra patronised Vidyanātha who was proficient in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada.

The long reign of Gaṇapati was also famous for the creation of temples and patronage of learning. Gaṇapati had the magnificent temple erected in the Warangal fort. The temple is built of large blocks of neatly chiselled masonry; the floor is beautifully polished, and shines like a mirror. Another notable feature of this temple is the four gateways, the design of which resemble those of the tōraṇas of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchi.

The Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra formed the Hoysala kingdom in Mysore by Vināyāaditya I when the Chāḷūkya power became weak. Bittidēva (1111-21), the real founder of the Hoysala power, captured Gaṅgavaḍi from the Chōḷas. Though he was independent, nominally he acknowledged allegiance to the Chāḷūkya power. Actually it was Baḷḷaḷa II Hoysala who assumed imperial titles in 1191 and particularly from that time down to the rise of Vijayanagar the Hoyasals formed an important power. They effectively intervened in the affairs of the Chōḷas and later Narasimha II the Hoysala vanquished the Pāṇḍyas in order to save the Chōḷa. Sōmeśvara also interfered in the Chōḷa Pāṇḍya affairs. He was succeeded by Baḷḷāḷa III (1291-1342), the most powerful of the Hoysala kings. He effected extensive conquests but was vanquished by the Muslims who had established the Sultanate at Delhi. Practically the dynasty came to an end with his capture and execution by Ghyiyasuddin of Madura.

During the rule of the Hoysalas, Madhava preached his Dvaita philosophy and wrote several works in Sanskrit. In the 12th and 13th centuries Kannada witnessed a marked development under the Baḷḷāḷas and Hoysalas. Devotional songs in Kannada praising Viṣṇu appeared. Vīra Śaiva writing, particularly novels in Kannada prose, was a notable feature of the age. In respect of architecture the Rajasthan type was adopted with certain modifications in Mysore under the Hoysalas. The basic tower was decorated by repetitions of itself adorned by ornamental sculpture The figures were decorated by a plethora of jewels, almost to a fault. By the side of human beings, artistically shaped animals also found their place in the decorations. There was in the Deccan temples from the 7th to the 13th centuries an admixture of the northern and southern styles of art but it must be admitted, as Dr. Yazdani says, that during this period the architecture of the Deccan during this age was conventional to a degree, betraying a lack of spontaneity, though the structural temples were huge in size, forming products of skilled workmanship.

The Chōḷas, Pāṇḍyas and Chēras

In the South the Chōḷās had built up a great empire from the time of Vijayālaya I, and in spite of some reverses they formed one of the great powers roughly from the 9th to the 14th century. Rāja Rāja I Rājēndra I, Kulōttuṅga I were some of the great emperors of South India in the field of conquest, administration, art and architecture. Some of them even went up to the Himalayas on the one side and in the Far East across the seas on the other. Some of the finest temples and works of art of the Chōḷas still survive. Even the social organization was considerably reformed and stabilised. The age of the Imperial Chōḷas marked the heyday of Śaivism on the one hand and of Tamil literature on the other.

But they had to wage frequent wars with the Chāḷūkyas on the one hand and the Pāṇḍyas on the other. The Pāṇḍyas as seen earlier, formed an ancient power. But apart from conflicts with Chōḷas and Chēras from time to time, several of the monarchs were rather unwordly, greatly devoted to religion and literature. One cannot think of Tamil literature without the patronage that the Pāṇḍyas, extended to literature, down to the 16th century. One of the later Pāṇḍyas, Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya was himself a poet of note. They built a number of temples, too. In fact, in the field of art the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas occupy a pre-eminent position, followed by the Vijayanagar emperors.

In the Chēra kingdom after the Śaṅgam age the epoch-making event was the rise of the Kulaśēkhara empire (A.D. 800-1102) which is said to constitute a 'Golden Age' in Kēraḷa History. There were several subdivisions comprised in it; but they were all governed by some able monarchs. The age witnessed great progress in literature, arts and trade. Architecture was essentially wooden in character. Sculpture, too, was different from that of the rest of South India. Thereafter, there occurred a Chēra-Chōḷa war for about a hundred years in which there were successes and failures. In 1498 Vasco da Gama landed in Calicut and with that began the era of European interference, eventually leading to the establishment of British supremacy.

The Marathas

The Marathas belonged histroically in part to the western Deccan. Now Marathi is spoken in the region extending roughly between a line from Nagpur and a little beyond to Daman and another from Nagpur

to Goa. But in the 16th century the home of the Marathas was the territory now represented by the Nasik, Poona and Satara districts and portions of Ahmadnagar and Sholapur districts. The Konkan was then partly occupied by them. Thus in the history of South Indian Maharashtra also figures partly.

Shivāji was born in Shivner in the Deccan (near Ahmadnagar) and he migrated to his father's jagir at Poona. Jīja Bai, Shivāji's mother, was born of an officer of the Nizam Shah and a scion of the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri. Thus, Shivāji is really to be considered a South Indian hero, though he and his successors achieved great triumphs in the north. In the south Tanjavur fell under the Maratha kings. After Serfōji's son Shivāji died, Dalhousie annexed Tanjavur to the British power in 1855. The Maratha kings of Tanjavur particularly Serfōji was a great patron of learning.

Orissa: On the eastern side there lay Orissa, known in the past as Kaliṅga, the early inhabitants of which are mentioned in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. Aśōka's invasion of Kaliṅga is the first historical event known to us. Khāravēla was the next famous ruler of Kaliṅga we hear of. He ruled in the 2nd century B.C. His Hathigumpha inscription mentions a league of Tamil states that was 113 years old at the time of the victory of Khāravēla. Khāravēla invaded North India, too, and raided Rājagriha and Magadha in 175 B C. and 171 B.C. respectively.

After Khāravāla the Kaliṅga kingdom declined, and it came under the Eastern Gaṅgas among whom Anantavarman (1078-1148) was the most famous ruler. He invaded portions of North India, up to the Ganges. In the south he fought with the Chōḷas, but was defeated by Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa. After the Eastern Gaṅgas declined, the Gajapatis became the rulers of Orissa, as it came to be called. There were able Gajapatis like Purushottama (1470-91) who issued grants in the Oriya script for the first time. There were frequent invasions by Bahmini kings followed by the Delhi Sultans and the Mughals and Orissa was one of the earliest to come under the British.

Orissa made her won contributions to Buddhist and Hindu religions. Orissa is the prominent region which worshipped the Sun God. No wonder Orissa produced the *Samba Purana* in honour of Surya. There are a number of monuments dedicated to Surya as also to the Buddhists and Vaishnavite deities.

Orissa has made a distinct contribution to the art of India, and it is remarkable that the Muslim incursions did not affect the famous temples. Besides the Buddhist caves of note there is the celebrated Muktesvara temple at Bhubanesvar, which has been deservedly described as the "gem of Orissan art". The Sun Temple at Konārak is an old but a magnificently typical creation of Orissan art. It is most remarkable that at the cities of Bhubanesvar and Puri a continuous history of Hindu temple building can be traced from the mid-eighth century almost to modern times. The sculptures in these temples are of a high order. Altekar says that the sculptures of Bhubanesvar of about the 10th century illustrate in particular the fashionable ways of dressing the hair. The entire sculptural scheme is dominated by erotic groups, which display excellent workmanship.

One peculiar form of art found in Orissa is the practice of illumination on narrow

strips of palm leaf. The impression was first made on the leaf-strip with a stylus, and colour was rubbed into the impressions. When this tradition commenced it is not possible to state precisely. But the oldest known examples are of about the fifteenth century.

The Vijayanagar Empire

Some conflicting theories have appeared regarding the founders of the city and empire of Vijayanagar. One view is that the city was built and the empire organised by the Telugus. According to this, two brothers Harihara and Bukka, were the architects of Vijayanagar. They were some of the Hindus who under instruction from Muhammad bin Tughlak, had been converted to Islam and appointed as ministers of the king of Kampili in order to ensure loyalty to Muhammad bin Tughlak. But soon the Sultan suspected those ministers of loyalty. Consequently they renounced the Islamic faith and resigned their appointments. They sought the advice of the sage Vidyāraṇya, and Harihara, the elder of the two brothers, laid the foundation of a new city on the bank of the Tungabhadra and in 1336 had himself crowned with the blessings of the sage in the new capital city which was named as Vijayanagar or Vidyāraṇya.

But several objections have been raised to this theory. Basing their view on Ferishta some hold that the Hoysala King Ballala III of Karnataka was the real builder of the Vijayanagar city. They base their views further on the differences in the name of the Vijayanagara City. The names of Virūpākshapura, Hosapaṭṭina, Vidyānagara and Vijayanagara are alternative names applied to the city. It is added that an inscription of 1339 shows that Baḷḷaḷa III was ruling from his capital Virūpākshapura, the equivalent name of Vijayanagara. Two other inscriptions state that his son, Baḷḷaḷa's son, Harihara I was crowned at Hosapaṭṭaṇa in 1340. Harihara I's record of 1348 speaks of Vidyānagara as his capital. One inscription of 1352 speaks of Bukka I as ruling from Dvārasamudra while another of 1355 states that he was at Vidyānagara. Can it be taken that the two brothers were ruling at Vijayanagara, called by different names and that this is the cirumstance responsible for the confusion? According to this view the city of Vijayanagar is believed to have been founded in 1336 by the Hoysala king Baḷḷaḷa III. Thus, the origin is traced to the Karnataka source

But there are two copper plate inscriptions of Harihara I of the same date supposed to have been issued from Kolar and Nellore Districts, employing the name Vijayanagara Perhaps the dates of these inscriptions are entered erroneously. Ferishta on the one hand and S. K. Aiyangar on the other, support this view. The city is said to have been called after Vīra Baḷḷaḷa III's son, Vijayavirūpāksha Baḷḷaḷa. Vīra Baḷḷaḷa IV died soon after, and Harihara and his officers took control of the state. Dr. Saletore shows that there is similarity between the Vijayanagara and Hoysala kingdoms in respect of their organisations and adds that the early Vijayanagara kings patronised Kannada literature. Some writers including Fr. Heras and Dr. Venkataramanayya hold that this tradition was invented by the heads of the Śriṅgēri Mutt in the 16th century Ferishta wrote in the 17 th century and based his account on traditions.

The common view is that Harihara and Bukka were at first in the service of Pratāparudra of Warangal and that when the latter was defeated by Muhammad bin Tughlak they fled to Kampili. They were captured by the Sultan and sent to Delhi and forcibly converted to Islam. When there was a rebellion in Kampili they were sent down to the south to quell the rebellion. But as noted earlier, they were suspected of loyalty to the Sultan. It was then that Vidyāraṇya advised them to return to the Hindu fold and unite with the Āndhra nationalists who had just then succeeded in driving away the Muslims. The crucial doubt is whether Baḷḷāḷa III was responsible for the rise of the city of Vijayanagar or the Andhra nationalists. The most reasonable view seems to be that it was as a result of the combined effort of the Telugus and Karnatakas that the city of Vijayanagar was constructed and in due course the empire itself came into being. Even to-day both Kannadigas and Telugus claim the Vijayanagar heritage as their own.

The Vijayanagar empire was one of the most powerful and long lived of the empires of South India. It lasted from A.D. 1336 down to practically 1614, though it had sustained a severe defeat in 1565. Not only in respect of duration, but in respect of the outstanding emperors, Vijayanagara had a glorious record. Krishṇadēva Rāya was the greatest, but several others also were able monarchs.

Frequent wars with the Bāhmanis tried their strength, but they maintained their position and built up a sound administration. The Vijayanagar empire witnessed a great development of Telugu and Kannada literatures besides Sanskrit.

Art : The Vijayanagara empire is famous for the progress of fine arts. Unfortunately the stately buildings of Vijayanagara, the capital city, are now found in ruins. But we have vivid descriptions of the original buildings from foreign visitors like Nicolo Conti, Abdur-Razaak as well as Domingo Paes and Nuniz. Even the ruins show something of the magnificence of the buildings, particularly those of the Throne Platform and the Audience Hall. Some in a fair state of preservation include the Lotus Mahal, the Elephant stables and the two towers of the Zenana enclosure.

The empire was studded with numberless of marvellous workmanship. It has been rightly said that the intricacy, beauty and exuberant wealth of its rich decorative details appear to be bewildering. In the temple complex the pillars formed the major architectural scheme. Maṇḍapas and gōpuras also figured prominently. The Viṭṭhala is the most ornate temple. The Tamil country, too, was studded with several temples. They belonged to what is called the Madurai style.

It is notable that there were some Jain temples, too. But some of them contained Hindu icons as well. Near the Tungabhadra there was a Jain temple where images of Vishṇu were found, but they occupied a subordinate position to the Tīrtaṅkara, occupying the sanctum. Irugupa's temple was another notable Jain structure.

Muslim kingdoms in South India (1335-78)

The Sultanate of Madura was the first Islamic political power in the extreme south. The rule of these Sultans was generally characterised by the cruel treatment of the Hindus. Ibn Batûta, the African traveller,

though a Muslim, has given a gruesome picture of the harsh treatment of the Hindus by Ghiyasuddin, the 2nd Sultan. He says : 'This is shameful conduct such as I have not known any other sovereign guilty of' Gaṅga Dēvi, the Vijayanagar queen of Kumāra Kampana, has given a vivid but perhaps an exaggerated account of the havoc done. The temples of Šrīraṅgam and Jambukēśvaram were devastated. Chidambaram, originally called Vyāghrapuri, became literally the place for tigers. Naturally there was stiff opposition by the Hindus in the neighbourhood to the Sultans of Madura which lasted till 1378. In fact Kampana had weakened the Muslim power in the South though the last Sultan maintained his power till 1378, as may be inferred from the latest coin available.

The Bahmani Sultanate : But unlike the Madurai Sultanate, in the Deccan the Muslims built a strong power which provoked the acute hostility of Vijayanagar. The origin of the Bahmini Sultanate is traceable to the rebellion of the Deccan against Muhammad-bin - Tughlak. Malik Ismail started the rebellion but when he gave up the leadership on account of old age, Hasan who had played prominent role in the rebellion, became the Sultan and the founder of the Bahmani kingdom in 1347.

The break-up of the Sultanate occurred in the 16th century. The Bahmani Sultanate was dismembered during the decade following Muhammad Gawan's death, and the worthless ruler Muhammad III (1463-82) expedited its partition.

The nature of the Bahmani Rule : Most writers condemn the administration as cruel and fanatic. Perhaps the exceptions were Muhammad II (1378-97) and Mahmud Gawan, the adviser of Alauddin II who introduced a number of useful reforms.

During the Bahmani rule generally there were wars and massacres of Hindus. Tyranny was at its height in the reign of Humayun Drunkenness and debauchery were characteristic of many Sultans. The impressions of Nikitin about the misery of the people and the luxury of the nobles illustrate the narrowness of outlook characteristic of the rulers and nobles of the times Gawan was able no doubt, but he too was infected with the fanaticism of the age.

The education of the Hindus was neglected. On the other hand, the Muslims received a systematic education. In every mosque a Mullah was appointed who was at once the village priest and teacher. Higher education was in the hands of Kazis who were in charge of the education of the Colleges which were established in the cities. Arabic and Persian were taught in these institutions and the progress was considerable. The Colleges were called Madrasas. The greatest Madrasa was that built by Gawan in 1472 in three storeys, containing lecture halls, Professor's rooms, Library and mosque. Tombs and mosques in the various parts of the Bahmani kingdom were of a high order. There were mints, too, in several towns. On the whole, the administration was sound; but it was one-sided; it was a Muslim state while the majority of the people were Hindus.

One unfortunate feature in the Bahmani kingdom was the hostility between the Deccanis and the Paradesis (foreigners). The Deccanis were the domiciled Muslims;

the foreigners were those who had come outside the Deccan mostly from North India The foreigners wielded considerable influence and the Deccanis were jealous of their power.

By 1446 the Deccanis tried to suppress the foreign Muslims and the foreigners were gradually driven out. The Bahmanis unlike the Muslims of the Madurai Sultanate were excellent builders. Some of the mosques and tombs presented a combination of Persian and Indian influences. At Bijapur there was a flourishing school of Architecture. Fergusson and Cousens speak very high of the architecture of Bijapur in the medieval period. The Bahmanis had established a reputation in the field of military architecture, too.

The Nāyaks : After the battle of Talikota (Rakshasa Tangadi) the Vijayanagar power was enfeebled. The Aravīḍu dynasty continued the Vijayanagar authority but there was disorder in the South and the Nāyaks who were the feudatories of Vijayanagar, established their independent rule. The Nāyaks of Madurai, Tanjavur, Jinjee and Ikkeri became prominent. Except in Ikkeri where the Nāyaks claimed Yadava descent with Marathi as their mother tongue, in other places the Nāyaks settled Telugu people in various places of South India, particularly in the capitals of the Nāyak kingdoms. In Madurai and Tanjavur there was a remarkable literary and artistic activity. Sanskrit, music as well as architecture received notable attention.

In the struggle among the European powers the Portuguese were weakened first, then the Dutch and ultimately the French. It is important to remember that the British triumph over the French in the South and thereby over the Indian Ocean helped the the British to vanquish the French. Eventually the British established their supremacy over the whole of India. The Madras Presidency was formed in 1802.

Tanjavur continued to be under the Maratha rule. Serfōji (1799-1833), the most famous of these rulers was noted for deep learning and love of culture. He built up the famous Tanjore Mahal Libraay, consisting mostly of Sanskrit books and manuscripts, pertaining to a variety of subjects like medicine and dancing. In 1855 when Serfōji's son Shivaji died sonless, Dalhousie abolished the title of Raja.

The Marathas of the Deccan and Upper India were vanquished. Lower down, Haidar Ali and Tippu were put an end to by the British after a prolonged struggle. In the extreme south the Pāḷayakkār were suppressed and the British supremacy in the extreme south was established.

Conclusion : I have not been able to deal with the social, religious, literary and cultural history at length. But they constitute the essential the essential aspects of history. Confining our attention to literature alone, both in North and South India, for quite a long time it was essentially religion-oriented. One important feature which I wish to lay stress upon is that most parts of South India did not develop their respective literatures to the extent one would have expected. Marathi, partly South Indian and partly North Indian and Bengali showed marked development in the modern period. Urdu flourished greatly in North and in a part of the Deccan.

But what is the record of the South Indian languages? It is by no means satisfactory in modern times. This is what Krishna Kripalani, a former Secretary of the Sahitya Academy says: "What is surprising is the rather late and tardy resurgence in the four Dravidian languages, which had a longer and a rich literary past than the northern languages?" He admits that some notable figures have appeared, as for example, Puttanna and Kailasham in Kannada, Kēraḷa Varma and Chandu Menon in Malayalam, Bhārati and Kalki in Tamil, and Virēsaliṅgam and Guruzāda Appa Rao in Telugu, Fakirmohan Sēnāpati and Rādhanāth Ray in Oriya. But let me quote the authors final statement "It is worth observing that the youngest of the Dravidian languages, Malayalam, has responded to the new age more dynamically than the oldest, Tamil, which even now looks too wistfully to the past."

No doubt in Tamil, as in the other Dravidian languages, prose has developed in times. There have appeared journals, newspapers, short stories and novels, not all of them of an elegant type. Moreover, an undue attention has been paid to alliteration and verbosity rather than to simplicity, lucidity and brilliance. And what about poetry and drama? Where is high class literature after Vaḷḷuvar, Iḷaṅgō and Kamban? There are a few poets like Bhārati, Bhārati Dāsan, Kavimaṇi and Kaviñjar. But do they come up to the standard of the early gems? Moreover, they are politically or socially oriented. Therefore, if South Indian History teaches us anything, it is this we should not only have social equality and economic progress but also literary and cultural development.

CULTURAL HISTORY SECTION-PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By
G. S. Dikshit

President Dr. K.K. Pillay and friends,

I thank Dr. K. Rajayyan, the organiser of the South Indian History Congress, for giving me this opportunity to partcipate in it and conduct the proccedings of the section on Cultural History as its President. The School of Historical Studies of the Madurai Kamuraj University has given a bold lead to other Universities in the South which we hope they will follow and make the Congress a permanent institution. There could not have been a better choice than Dr. K.K. Pillay, the doyen of the South Indian Historians, for the presidentship of this Congress. Under his mature leadership, this Congress is bound to march ahead along its proper path.

One of the duties of the sectional President is to indicate and suggest new ways and avenues of research. I wish to suggest that the Dravidian contribution to ancient Indian culture is a fruitful subject of research and as a case study I wish to say a few words about (the Dravidian contribution to the evolution of the ancient Indian drama.)

(Indian culture is a synthesis and in the ancient period the two important components of this culture were the Dravidian and the Aryan.) Tagore has indicated in his inimitable way that the Dravidians might not be introspective or metaphysical but they were artists and they could sing, design and construct. The transcendental thought of the Aryan, according to him, by its marriage with the emotional and creative art of the Dravidian gave birth to an offspring which was neither fully Aryan nor Dravidian but Hindu. While Tagore has pointed out the quality of the Dravidian and and Aryan contributions, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee has estimated the extent of their contributions. He has said that the Dravidian is the most important of the non-Aryan elements in the Civilisation of India and the basic culture is certainly over 50 per cent Dravidian. But he has added that this Dravidian contribution is expressed in the main in the Aryan language. Chatterjee's statement that the Dravidian contribution is expressed in the Aryan language is illustrated by Bharata in his famous *Nāṭyaśāstra* (c 2nd century AD) where he has said that in the South there were many kinds of dances, vocal music, instrumental music, and *abhinayas*, graceful, lovely, intricate, sweet and delicate.

There is a view that the glorious tradition of the classical dance of *Bharata Nāṭyam* in the Tamil country points to the possibility of the South being Bharata's home country. A careful study of the dance has revealed the fact that it closely conforms to the spirit and procedure outlind in Bharata's *Naṭya'śāstra* (that is why it must have been called *Bharata Nāṭyam).* Both in essence and atmosphere it seems to be of southern origin, where it grew and flourished The Dravidian religious fervour and their traditional artistic temperament jointly helped in preserving this institution to this day.

But it is not only from Bharata that we can learn about the South Indian dance which gave birth to the drama, we have such evidence in the Sangam literature also. A

highly scientific dramatic art existed in the days of the Sangam *viz.*, the early days of the christian era. Though many texts on this art have disappeared a commentary on *Silappadikāram* says that there were nine kinds of expressions of feeling which an actor should know such as valour, fear, shame, wonder, joy, sorrow, mirth, justice and anger. Shivering in rain is distinguished from shivering in dew and similar distinction was made between a respectful greeting and a greeting of worship

Further in III canto of *Silappadikāram* there is a reference to a dance by a *Chākiyar*. The *Chākiyar* is always a versatile person well-versed in mythological stories and often combined his recitations with humour and satire and critics see in the Dravidian *Chākiyar* the ancestor of the *Vidūshaka* of the Sanskrit drames.

Finally, we have the evidence in the Buddhist work *Avadāna Śataka* which was translated into Chinese by the 3rd century A.D. of the mention of a dramatic troupe from South India enacting before the king of Śobhāvati in modern Uttara Pradesh, a Buddhist drama and the earliest reference to the South Indian stage. From this, it is clear that by the time that Bharata wrote this *Nāṭyaśāstra* in about the 2nd century A.D. dramas were enacted in South India.

In fact, it was this Dravidian stage which seems to have provoked Bharata to write his tex -hook. He implies that there was already a stage which did not observe any rules, but it was providing entertainment to the public. The *Sāhitya darpaṇa*, a later work, but containing earlier traditions, says that there were dramas in the popular languages which contained vulgar humour and low class elements and dances and love stories. Bharata wanted to create certain rules which would in his opinion make the stage acceptable to the higher classes.

Let us now observe the position of the Sanskrit drama at the same time. According to D.K. De, the origin of the Sanskrit drama is to be sought mainly in the great epics of India. He says that very early there were epic recitations in which the reciter *viz.*, the *Sūta* accompanied it with gestures and songs as the modern *Kīrtanakāras* do even now. Later on, the *Stūas* became the *Sūtradhāras* who conduct the Sanskrit drama. While it is clear that from epic recitations, dramas based on epics came into existence, it is not clear how the transition from epic recitations, to dramas took place. De says "It is not clear how the idea of dramatic conflict and analysis of action in relation to character were evolved". Drama means action on the stage and the character of the actors who are involved in this action is so well developed by a good dramatist that their action seems natural to the audience. Characterisation and action constitute the two arms of the stage and these two were lacking in the Sanskrit drama in the beginning of the Christian era.

I suggest that the gap which De thinks of was filled by two southern dramatists who wrote their dramas under the influence of the South Indian stage. They were Bhāsa and Śūdraka. In the time of Bhāsa, end of the 3rd century A.D., the Dravidian theatre may not have been as completely submerged in Kerala as later and hence it is quite possible that he was deeply influenced by it when he wrote his dramas. In his dramas which were

fonnd in Kerala, Balarāma is the presiding deity of the stage as in Tamil dramas. In them there are Dravidian words like *Āma* and *Sambandham*. Hence critics think that Bhāsa was a Keralite.

There are further proofs of his South Indian back-ground and his expertise in characterisation. Bhāsa wrote *Pratignā Yaugandharāyaṇa* and *Swapna – Vāsavadatta* which are said to be based on the Udayana story in the *Brhatkatha* of Guṇāḍhya. Sōmadēva, the author of *Kathāsaritsāgara*, is also indebted to the *Brhatkatha*. While the Udayana story in Sōmadēva is clumsy and rude Bhāsa's treatment of the same is like that of a poet. It is fine and it is delicate. Sōmadēva says that he has most closely followed his model *i. e.* Guṇāḍhya which means that either Bhāsa has improved on Guṇāḍhya or that his model is not Guṇāḍhya. It may have been the Tamil *Perumkathai* which is supposed to be better than Guṇḍhya's *Brhatkatha*. Further, Bhāsa was also capable of improving the characters in the Udayana story, from whichever source he may have taken them. This quality in Bhāsa can be seen in the way he has handled the characters of the epics. His Kaikēyi and Sīta outshine Vālmīki's. His Karṇa conquers the hearts of all. Regarding his ability to create a dramatic situation on the stage, the incident which justifies the title of *Swapna Vāsavadatta* to that story is sufficient.

In the hands of Śūḍraka, who is strongly suspected to be a southerner, the Indian drama reaches a high watermark in his *Mṛchchakaṭika*. Most scholars hold the view that this drama is an extension and completion of Bhasa's *Chārudatta*. In this drama, Śūdraka has extolled only ordinary men and some of them *viz*, the gambler and the policeman who connives at the breaking or law are from the underworld. Śūdraka had little love for tradition. For his wilful breach of traditions, he was scrupulously ignored by the orthodox in their anthologies and treatises on poetics.

Thus both Bhasa and Sudraka with their rich heritage of the South Indian stage contributed in no small measure to the evolution of the ancient Indian drama.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY SECTION - PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Dr. B. C. Ray
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Dr. Pillai, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I deem it a great honour to have been called upon to preside over this section of Socio-economic history, of the first session of the South-Indian History Congress at this historic place of Madurai. I am very much grateful to the Secretary, members of the Executive Committee and the organisers of the South Indian History Congress for this honour. With deep humility and awareness of my limitations I stand here to share with you some of my thoughts on socio-economic history.

It is needless to say that whatever definition you give history as a discipline deals with man and society and interprets the activities of man and actions and interaction of various forces, internal and external, in the occurence of events. Society is considered one and indivisible and cannot be strictly divided into water-tight compartments as political, social and economic. As human life is an organic whole, one cannot understand its objects, aspirations, success and failures in the compartmental frame or restricted vision.

Yet from the study of the human society it is noticed that man's activities are stressed on these three aspects i e. political, social and economic and worked in these three levels, simultaneously without any divisions of themselves into abstract men as political, social or economic. This is to be admitted that it is totally impossible as well as impracticable to isolate any one of these three aspects "however lively and continuous its existence within the whole".

Social life generally takes into account the way how the people live, the culture and the religion which they bring forward and the general political concept "which serve to rationalise their relationship to the community." G. M. Travelyan was of the view that social life comes between "what are usually called economic basis and the political superstructure." Scope of social life comprises the human society, and economic relation of different classes, the character of family, household life, the condition of labour and leisure, the attitude of man with nature, the culture of each age, the changing form in the religion, literature, music architecture, learning and thought. But it is not enough; it is often found that the trend is to go sometimes little further and bring the social history to the kitchen, wardrobe, sports-field, dancing hall and garden party. These fascinating places should have significant relationship with the wider world of which they form parts. Social historians should avoid the antiquarianism and the compilation of indigested facts without significance and inspiration. Social history of this type will suffer from defects and will lack a "central unifying theme".

Social history and economic history are interconnected. Social change leads to change in economic condition and economic transformation is another phase of social change. The economic changes have received special attention of the historians perhaps more since the Marxian interpretation of history have been brought to light. A study of economic history requires analysis and examination of all available economic factors. The historian on economic history should keep in his mind that economic activity is one of social activities and economic function is one of the functions which a society must discharge to live and strick together. Economic history is a study of a particular class of events which come out of economic choice in relation to resources. What is needed is that historian should know the social values of the people he writes about for an economic decision will be taken by him only in the context of services of those values.

For getting a clear picture of the society, which is dynamic, and to determine the economic trend and progress, non economic activities are to be considered. The two non-economic activities which may be mentioned here are (1) The search for what men think of good life (2) The political struggle for power and the enforcement of law. These are as essential part of the historical scene as the economic choice itself. Hence economic history is to be understood in the social and political context.

The idealistic philosophy of history of Hegel and materialistic theory of Marx are 19th century ideas and they claim that abstracts of human experience can give a unitary explanation of general history. But, taking into consideration the relation between economic activities and other functions of the society, the historian is led, not to accept the over-simplified generalization. Observations on historical developments have given the impression that operative causes in action in different times have been often not unified, rather different in intensity in their system and arrangement of relations. Thus smoothing away relationships or over-simplifying the process of human activities by a fixed set of principles or ideas may not be helpful rather puts obstacles on the proper historical understanding of man and society. It is therefore suggested that the life and truth of each historical situation is to be noticed in the situation itself.

Socio-economic history was given scant regard in the colonical period of British rule in India, because many British administrators were themselves historians. All they wished was to pay more attention to the problems of administration or law and order. Being confronted with rebellion from the native people, they thought it worth knowing the cultural background of the Indian people with a view to running a smooth administration in the far-off colonial possession. Because of their ignorance, combined with imperialistic out-look, the British historians exaggerated only the drawbacks in cultural setup, under-estimated or omitted more valuable brighter side or more important aspects of the growth of socio-economic life.

Again colonial economy in India was geared to British imperialistic interest. Reorientation of the British colonial policy in consequence of Industrials for use in British factories with a view to selling the manufactured articles in Indian market. India was an appendage to British colonial

interest which resulted in the economic drain from India or total annihilation of home industries. Salt Industry in India perished but salt manufactured at Liverpool was sold in Indian market. Similarly other industries like textile industry had to meet the same fate One of the baneful effects of the colonial policy was that once the economy underwent transition, the social life was dislocated. The British imperialistic historian to whatever extent, he was conversant with socio-economic transformation of India was perhaps not prepared to write against or criticise the system which was itself the creation of the British colonial interest.

Indian writers of the British period were few and wrote very little on this field Whatever they wrote, was more concentrated on only land problems and revenue affairs than on socio-economic growth in Indian society.

Socio-economic history has received more attention of the Indian historians after India's freedom. A number of works which have been written, in this field, are found to have been brought to light only in the second half of this 20th century. Most of them are regional. But some of them either have concentrated on social and cultural history or only economic history rather than on integrated socio-economic growth. Many of them have been sketchy or inexaustive in treatment.

So far South India is concerned some brilliant works have been done by great scholars like K. A Nilakanta Sastri, K K. Pillay and T V. Mahalingam. Though socio-economic condition has received special weightage in the books on general history, yet as I understand perhaps much has not been brought to light specifically in this aspect. Here it is felt, that there seems to be plenty of scope for study and research. Trade, commerce, agrarian system, land tenure system, currency, industry, technology, social mobility, demography and evolutionary process are some fields, where little work has been done.

The region of South India in the Indian sub-continent is rich in cultural and mineral resources. In this region is found the ancient art treasure and purity of culture that India knows. It is from this region that brisk maritime activities spread to the Indian Archaeopelago.

Instances are many to show that in political, social and economic fields South India played its prominent role. The careful study and analysis and evaluation of the inscription will throw light on the revenue system, tax pattern, rate of assessment, and land tenure system. Temple administration and impact of religion on social life and ideas are to be examined. References to the arrangement for redressing the grievances of the people and the anti-dowry rules in the performances of marriage are some interesting points which should have detailed study. For the medieval period, there are plenty of records. The Mackenzie Collections in local languages at Government Oriental Manuscript Library, provide information for building history The Nizam Papers at Hyderabad seem not to have been fully studied. Besides, the indigenous records in local language and contemporary writings of the travellers and missionaries are helpful The Portugese, the French, the Dutch and the English who established factories on the coasts of India, have

reported to the home authorities their activities and the conditions in which they were working. So the letters, records and reports of the European Trading Companies are to be studied.

Records of East India Company period and of the Crown period are exhaustive, valuable and interesting because, the British officers made efforts to give a complete picture of the territory which they ruled, though sometimes, they failed to see things as they were. The sletters, reports of the British administrator are very useful as they were prepared and completed with all care, by men of ability. Yet, the information so obtained is to be evaluated and examined in objective way and is to be verified with non-official sources if any.

One of the most essential pre-requisites for a researcher is linguistic knowledge. One cannot do justice to the Portuguese trade in India, without study of the Portuguese materials at Goa and Lisbon. Similarly the knowledge in French and Dutch, shall have to be acquired if one wants to give a full picture of coastal history of South India. Added to these knowledge in Indian languages is essential.

The study and research in regional history only enriches the main stream of Indian history and culture. That is why there is encouragement for research in the regional history of different states in India. A conference in a bigger region only creates a bigger forum for exchange of ideas and helps further in historian's persuit. It is very much heartening that historians of South India have taken the lead in this direction, inviting all who are willing to contribute to the history of this region.

STUDY OF REGIONAL HISTORY–PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOUTH INDIA-KERALA

BY

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The very use of the term regional history signifies an awareness of the fact that the region is a fragment of the whole. When we take up, for instance, the history of Karnataka or Andhra or Tamilnadu or Kerala or part of any of these regions, it its naturally understood that these regional cultures form part of the subcontinental civilization of India. This implies that Indian civilization forms a meaningful unit, within the framework of which the subnational cultures express indivudual variations. Therefore we assume that, for the explanation of basic ideas, institutions and trends of development we have fo refer to the general Indian context Moreover, the different regions did not always form separate entities. The evolution of regional cultural patterns has its own history. Thus it is really necessary for a proper study of regional history to keep in view the elements of the general Indian development and the specifically regional aspects in order to be able to understand and analyse the interaction between them and to bring out the different shades of mutual influence. Even to comprehend the development of caste system in a given area one has to follow the criss-cross pattern of migrations and conquests and the formation and dissolution of empires, dynastic networks etc. which cut across the regions at every stage. (In fact a meaningful study of regional history in India is possible only in terms of general Indian historical development and comparative study of more than one region.

The next point that has to be taken up is also related to the approach to regional history. As in the case of national history which in the past had often been turned into nationalistic history, regional history has for long been employed in the service of regionalism. (Apart from the fact that regionalism could often tend to be in conflict with nationalism and also with the regionalism of other areas, this is to be reviewed as a departure from the modern professional norms of the historian. History-universal, national, regional, local, religious, racial, economic, social or intellectual,-has been used for glorification and condemnation. It is also true that historical study cannot be completely extricated from regional and sectarian bias and subjectivity in the ordinarily understood sense. These dangers are all the more intensely present as one comes nearer and nearer to one's own personal interests, as the spatial boundaries contract. Therefore it is clearly noticeable that now they are present in alarming degrees in the studies of regional history in South India in our own times. While there are no universally acceptable standards in such matters, and there is no

panacea for all our illnesses, we may, however, try to bring into our discipline a greater awareness of the forms of bias most commonly met within recent studies and take all precautions to see that we are not carried away by them without our knowledge.

A third point which needs to be emphasised is the necessity for constant improvement of our technical know how and the tools of analysis. It is only recently, in the last fifty years or so, that there has been much activity and interest in the field of regional studies. The concentration on routine teaching vis-a-vis research, and the compartmentalised nature of subjects divided formally into economics, politics, literature, art, religion, etc., led to the stagnation of regional historical studies in our universities. Moreover, regional history was deemed to be of lesser importance for professional historians with the result that such studies were taken up mostly by language scholars and literay writers alone. While we have to be thankful to such poineers in the native languages for the stimulus they gave to regional historical writing, we have also to be conscious of their limitations from the point of view of techniques and perspective. Along with language scholars, the manual-gazetteer works directly sponsored by the British Government through district collectors also played an important part in getting regional historical work inaugurated. Much more than actual writing of regional history, the British and French governments in certain areas also contributed to this field through the liberal educational activities of their officials in the collection and conservation of monuments, relics, coins, records, etc. and the publication of inscriptions, manuscripts, photographs, etc. The names of men like Robert Swell, Col. Mackenzie, Fawcett, Jovean-Dubrevil, Hultzsch Burnell, Ellis Fleet, and Percy McQueen stand out in this category. A second line of lesser luminaries could be found in the district collectors and dewans of the native states. A third group of sponsors consisted of a galaxy of distinguished Christian missionaries who illumined the studies of regional history, grammar, literature and folklore. Among these are found eminent men of different talents like Heras, Kittel, Caldwell, Pope, Gundert, Heber, Paulinos and Whitehead. Their initial motivation was provided by their proselytizing zeal which also acted as a source of prejudiee. In the words of Max Muller, they wanted familiarity with the enemy's territory for purposes of reconnaissance. However their achievements in this field are considerable.

Small group of spokesmen for communities and castes like the Brahmins, Christians, Muslims, Vellalas, Chettis, Konganis, Nayars, Ezhavas, etc. have been taking much interest in regional history though their efforts are having all the limitations akin to those of the missionaries mentioned above.

With this not-so-brief introduction, highlighting the role of language scholars, government officials and missionaries in undertaking and propagating local and regional history, it must now be possible to identify the actual problems and their possible solutions with special reference to the study of the early history of Kerala. In this paper, attention is devoted mostly to early history upto A. D. 1500 since this is the area in which the writer has closer acquintance with the sources.

A brief overview of study, research and publication with regard to early Kerala may not be out of place here. Apart from a few Christian missionary efforts by scholars like Dr. Gundert to publish traditional chronicles like *Keralolpatti* and Portuguese accounts llke *Keralappalama* and to analyse the imperfectly understood texts of the Syrian and Jewish Copper Plates, the first attemps to produce a coherent story of the past came with the district and state manuals and gazetteers - *Malabar* (1886) by Achyutha Menon. These were followed by the individual projects of Shangoonny Menon (*A History of Travancore*) and his son K. P Padmanabha Menon *History of Cochin*, 2 Vols. Malayalam, 1912 & 14; *History of Kerala* 4 Vols., 1924 to 37). From the second decade of the present century onwards, organised administrative efforts to collect historical records resulted in the publication of hundreds of stone and copper inscritpions with introduction, text and notes in the ten bulky volumes of *Travancore Archaeological Series* (1910-'38), a few inscriptional texts of Malabar district, in the fifth and seventh volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* and a few Cochin records with texts and notes in the *Bulletins of the Sri Rama Varma Research Institute*. There was some interesting discussion of various aspects of these records in *Kerala Society Papers* and in the volumes of *Indian Antiquary* and *Epigraphia Indica*. A number of scholars, both trained epigraphists like Hultzsch, Burnell, Venkayya, Sundaram Pillai, Gopinatha Rao, and Subrahmanya Aiyar and freelance writers and scholars like T. K. Joseph, V. K. R. Menon, K. R. Pisharoti and Ulloor S. Parameswara Ayyar, contributed to the study of such materials, clarifying with cumulating efforts, their chronological sequence and socio-political importance. *The Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy* Madras, and of the Archaeological Departments of the native states of Travancore and Cochin piled up material for study and investigation. Literaty scholars were editing and publishing several Tamil, Sanskrit and early Malayalam works related in some way or other to Kerala history from centres like the University of Madras and old University of Travancore.

Very often the exact import of these works as source materials for political or cultural history was not immediately perceived. Thus it took several decades for scholars to arrive at the date and significance of the 11th century Sanskrit historical work known as *Mushakavamsakavya* discovered and summarised in 1912 by T. A Gopinatha Rao. Similarly the astronomical treatise called *Laghubhaskariya vyakhya* yielded its historical secrets only some time after its publication by tne University of Travancore. The unique importancc of Tamil Sangam works other than *Patirruppattu* and *Cilappatikaram* which were professedly dealing with Kerala kings and people, had been lost upon two or three generations of Kerala historians until it was dramatically exposed by Prof. Elamkulam P. N. Kunhan Pillai. This was because the political, economic, social and cultural unity and integrity of Tamilakam in the Sangam period was but imperfectly realised by Kerala scholars and Tamilnadu scholars 'alike. The partition and separation of Kerala from the Tamil joint family in the linguistic and

cultural sense took place only after the beginning of the 12th century when the Cera kings disappeared from the scene. For a long time writers on Kerala history did not wake up to the knowledge that many institutions like matriliny, suicide squads, Brahmin landlords, non-Brahminical folk-cults, temple theatre, temple dancing girls etc. were not after all manifestations peculiar to Kerala but part and parcel of pan Indian phenomena. Their all India character as well as the special Kerala idiom in which they were expressed in this part of the country due to special circumstances, could not be appreciated. Today we have, thanks to the late Professor Elakulam Kunhan Pillai, a sensible chronological framework for the early history of Kerala. Following the rather imprecise chronology of prehistory and protohistory in Kerala, the early historic Sangam period may be demarcated from about 3rd century A D. for Tamilakam as a whole. Then comes the period of extensive Brahmin Colonisation from Karnataka during the hegemony of Kadambas and Calukyas from 4th century to 8th century A. D. This was followed by the revival of the Cera Kingdom with a new capital at Makotai or Kodungallur in the beginning of the 9th century. After the fall of this kingdom in the beginning of the 12th century, an epoch of small principalities and feudal polity flourished until it was dismantled by the impact of the modern age.

(It is a pity that pre-historic and protohistoric archaeology has been almost completely neglected in Kerala even in recent years. Though sporadic exploration of megalithic sites went on, a detailed excavation of sites based on a comprehensive plan, with a view to arriving at answers to definite questions, did not materialise even after independence. This is partly due to the chronic ill-health of the State Department of Archaeology and partly due to lethargy on the part of old and new universities. Nothing on the scale of the taluk wise combing of sites undertaken by the Karnatak university recently has been achieved or even visualised in Kerala.

Since William Logan listed the megalithic sepulchral relics of old Malabar, Rawcett explored the Edakal cave and rock shelter in Wynad contiguous to Mysore plateau at the turn of the century. This was taken up by Panchanan Mitra also. Towards the middle of the century Arujan Achan undertook the survey and exploration of megalithic sites and other monuments in old Cochin State. He himself organised an excavation at Tiruvancikkulam near Kodungallur, the old Cera capital. At his instance the Archaeological Survey of India took up excavations at Porkalam under the direction of B. K. Thapar. These programmes had no follow up action till 1969-70 when the Survey conducted some digging operations in and around Kodungallur in which a Calicut University team also collaborated. However, such work has not continued. A few teachers and researchers from the Deccan College, Poona, were able to identify some palaeolothic relics in Palghat following a suggestion by Dr. Sankalia. Mr. Rajendran worked for two seasons there. Mr. Thampi of the same college has conducted preliminary studies in Marayur in the high ranges which exposed the neolithic character of the etchings and pottery at the rock shelter and the adjoining hill slopes. The evidence at Edakal in Wynad, at sites near the Palghat gap and at Marayur near Kottayam, - all on the eastern boundary line of Kerala on the Western Ghats-goes back to the neolithic stage. There are also clear indications of neolithic stone axes and microliths but fullfledged habitation sites

have not been identified. Therefore the early concept that Kerala is blank in the palaeolithic and neolithic epochs of South India continues to retain its validity even when it is modified by the new finds on the eastern frontiers of the state which are closer to the table lands of Karnataka and Tamilnadu.

With the advent of the iron age-there is no trace of the bronze age in these parts-in about 1000 B.C. it is possible that some parts of the Plains also came to be settled immediately or gradually by the iron using people. These people are represented in the archaeological record by the megalithic urn burials and rock-cut chambers in granite and laterite. These monuments contain iron implements, heads and pottery and the very shapes and materials of the structure have certain peculiarities in Kerala. In recent years also the Archaeological Survey of India has continued to collect such data but no comprehensive study about their distribution and characteristics has materialised. It is only when they are studied in relation to the megalithic remains of Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra, and their affinities with those in the Gulf Countries and North Africa on one side and South East Asia on the other have been traced in detail, that we will be in a position to answer questions regarding the migrations of these people and the conditions of their expansion, prolifiration and cultural innovations if any. The use of laterite in place of granite and the consequent new forms of Kudakkallu, Toppikkallu etc. have been observed as the distinctive features of the megalithic phase of culture in Kerala. Some common forms urn burial and the herostone have been celebrated in the Sangam works. This would bring at least the last phase of the megaliths to coincide with the earlist phase of literate society, thus bringing it down to the beginning of the Christian era. Here we have a definite link up with history and the sequence of neolithic, early megalithic and Asokan (Mauryan) layers in old centres like Brahmagin, Maski, Siddhapur etc. in Karnataka has much to tell us about the introduction of civilised society in South India. During these periods also, the study of regional history of Kerala is closely related to that of the all India history of the Mauryas and that of adjacent regions in South India. Then only we will be in a position to take up questions regarding the authorship of monuments and forms of culture.

With regard to Sangam age proper, there is greater scope now for comparative study of the results in archaeology and literature. Of recent the Sangam age sites, including old capitals, have been excavated in Tamilnad, but not even a single site is opened in Kerala. The Ezhimalai region, Cellur or Talópparamba, Tondi, Muciri, Parambimala etc. could easily be selected for excavation with the help of literature.

The history of Kerala during the Sangam period is intimately connected with the history of Tamilakam of which it formed a part but historians have come to recognise this reality only recently. There are not many studies of Sangam society and culture with special reference to Kerala. For instance it is only with Prof. Elamkulam that Nannan of Elimalai figuring in the Sangam works was identified as a chief of Elimalai on the West Coast near Cannanore. This geographical identification clarified the references to Nannan's relation with Konkanam and to the territory north of his land called Molipeyar

Desam or area with a different language. The present writer has carried this further by connecting him with the Kosar invasion of Mokur and *cellur* and the Period of Narmuti Ceral who possessed the title of "Vanava-vampan", apparently the Tamil translation of Asoka's title of "Devenempiya". This gives us a clue to Nannan's period in the 3rd century B. C and suggests the possibility of this royal name being related to the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas at Pataliputra. Further, he could be the same as King Nandan described as an early Mushaka ruler in the 11th century historical work called *Mushaka-vamsakavy*. This would confirm his association with Ramghad hills near the Vindhyas which probably gave the title of Ramaghata Mushaka to the rulers of Elimala. The *kavya* further connects the Mushakas with the dynasties of the Haihayas and Cedis and cities like Mahishmati. These ideas invoke new questions regarding the pattern of migration and conquest in the Nanda-Maurya period which stimulated political as well as cultural changes in South India. Following such work, a young researcher has brought out the significance of Cellur as the earliest known Aryan Brahmin settlement of Kerala. It is interesting to see that an early Sangam poet has associated this place with the Vedic sacrifice of Rama with the axe i.e. Parasurama. Many other poets refer to Vedic sacrifices conducted by Cera kings. This would throw light on the Brahmanical process of conferring Kshatriyahood on aboriginal clan-chiefs by giving them a mythical puranic leniage.

For a long time, work on Sangam literature was limited mostly to grammatical and literary themes. Dr. Clanance Maloney has in his carefully written essay raised some basic questions and tried to suggest answers. In his view the stimulus behind the flowering of the Sangam culture came from Ceylon through the sea. The present writer has an alternate hypothesis based on the work of Pro. Elamkulam, himself and his associates, i.e. that the stimulus which transformed the tribal society of the Far South into civilized society came originally from the North, from the Nanda-Maurya empire. This could have operated through trade contacts, military raids and migrations of Brahmins, Jains and Buddhists. The Sangam poetry, much of which is oral poetry, contains the record of the slow emergence of tribal groups into civilization under the Prakrit-Sanskrit cultural influence. It obliterates the picture of Aryan-Dravidian conflict in ancient India and shows how a composite society evolved by absorbing several impulses and digesting them inspite of racial and lingustic differences. It illustrates the mutual borrowing between Prakrit, Sanskrit and Tamil languages which helped each other. It removes the racial basis attributed the varna system in ancient India and replaces it with a socio-economic network regulating the dynamics of change. The idea of a great Dravidian civilization prior to Aryan contact is a political myth propagated by people carried away by wishful thinking habits, as it is not substantiated by the archaeological record or literary evidence. To my mind existing evidence points in this direction but the further testing of this hypothesis leading to confirmation or rejection could be taken up only by a laborious process, the steps of which can be outlined here :

a) To correlate the evidence from excavations in Central India, Deccan and the

Far South especially those regarding the period between 4th century B.C. and 3rd century A.D.

b) To study in detail the parallelism and differences between Hindu puranic literature, Jain-Buddhist literature and Sangam literature.

c) To examine the subtle variations in script between Asokan Brahmi and Tamil Brahmi on the one hand and the linguistic development of Tamil from a dialect into a language on the other.

Thus it may be hoped that an intensive study of regional history in the South in the period between the Mauryas and the Guptas will throw light on the ingredients and the techniques which went into the making of the amalgum called ancient Indian society and culture.

The next important question in the regional history of Kerala has to do with the early Brahmin settlements there. How and when did the Vedic Aryan Brahmins reach Kerala in large numbers and build up their influence to such a great extent that in the medieval and early modern periods they acted as the chief advisors of rulers, the chief trustees of temples and the chief landowners of the region? To some extent these things had occurred in many parts of India but the case of Kerala is unique. In order to solve this riddle we have to be able to trace the course of the Brahmin migrations in South India. With the help of traditions and epigraphic evidence it is possible to establish that the Brahmins of Kerala who became Nambudiris were immigrants from the Westcoast of Karnataka. Therefore the Brahmin settlements in the Satabahana empire, in the first three centuries of the Christian era, in the Kadamba kingdom during the 4th and 5th centuries and in the Calukya kingdom during the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries have to be scrutinised carefully. Parts of Kerala had been brought under the hegemony of the Kadambas (Edakal cave inscription of Vishnu Varma) and the Calukyas if we take the claims of their royal titles in their epigraphs into account and this could have encouraged a continuous flow of Prakrit speaking Brahmin settlers in the southern region. In fact the later Cera kingdom from 9th century to the 12th century was a creation of the Brahmin settlers who had captured political leadership and initiative. The present writer did his Ph.D. work on the later Cera history and this is to be published shortly. The available data on Brahmin settlements in Kerala, both epigraphical and literary, has to be compared with that of similar settlements in the Alupa and Calukya-Rashtrakuta territories for a clearer picture of their constitution and performance. The groups known as Mahasabha, Uralar, Perumakkal etc. in different regions had almost the same status and functions with slight changes. The Hundred organisations which fixed their numerical appellations to political divisions had a common pattern probably indicative of hereditary militia, in different parts of South India. The weights and measures had a common foundation. The nature of Gupta monarchy has influenced monarchy in the post-Gupta period in the peninsula to such an extent that we find common suffixes like "Rajadhiraja Parameswara Bhattaraka" used by the Calukyas and the Ceras alike. The similarity would perhaps extend to Salais or Ghatikas, Caver or

Sahavasis of Garudas, Tevadiccis or Devadasis and revenue terms like Ulku or Sulka, Tenda or Danda etc. There was a whole genre of Devadasi literature in Sanskrit, Kannada and Malayalam languages in early medieval times. The guilds of Nanadesis, Hanjamanas, Ayyavolu etc. functioned in all parts of South India irrespective of political boundaries. The Holeyas of Karnataka and the Pulayas of Kerala were considered as serfs at the bottom of the social organisation. Therefore there is ample scope for inter-regional comparative studies in Peninsular India for half a millenium between the 7th century and the 12th century of the Christian era. In this period the common elements in architecture and sculpture, cutting across ephimeral dynastic formations, deserve scrutiny. Moreover, Aliyasantana in Karnataka and Marumakkattayam in Kerala have to be taken up for study similtaneously. With regard to matriliny in Kerala there have been two basically different views about its historical origins i.e. that it is a tribal heritage and secondly that it was later development under special circumstances. In Kerala the most universal adherence of Marumakkattayam was found among communities like the Kshatriyas, Samantas, Nayars and Ampalavasis which had the closest connection with Brahmins through the sambandham form of alliance.

The disintegration of the Cera kingdom at the beginning of the 12th century seems to have brought into existence conditions which are closely parallel to European feudel society i.e. the rise of a land lord class appropriating political power for itself by the ability to command the loyality of a specialised fighting class and the labour of serfs attached to the soil. The rise of such a society dominated by religious institutions and ideas may be noticed more or less at the same time in Karnataka and Tamilnadu following the collapse of the Rashtrakuta and Cola empires. Therefore it appears at the outset that there is a kind of uniformity in the polity and society that prevailed in South India at this time also. Whether we call it Segmentary state with Burton Stein or feudal state with Mahalingam the common features in Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Kerala in the period after the 12th century are observed with clarity and certainity everywhere. There is a possibility that the picture of Indian feudalism could be clarified much more effectively with South Indian source materials than has been possible in the case of North India.

Thus it would appear that there is much in common for peninsular India in which four stages of historical development may be delienated :

1) Old and New Stone Ages culminating in the emergence of the iron age by about the 10th century B.C. This is the period of large scale racial movements across the subcontinent and across the seas activated by a wander lust which established races and peoples in South India.
2) Early Iron Age tribal society slowly moving towards new territorial political formations between 10th century B.C. and 3rd century B C. So that a vigorous culture with regional identity was established under the stimulus of the Nanda-Maurya empire and their successors.
3) The first historic period of the Mauryas and Satavahanas in the Deccan and the three kingdoms in the Far South (300

B.C. - 400 A.D.) during which Aryan Dravidian racial synthesis came to be established; Brahmin, Jain - Buddhist creeds became popular, urban centres appeared and a vast corpus of literature in Marathi Prakrit and Sangam Tamil came into existence.

4) The advent of new Aryan Brahmin settlers and Brahminised monarchies like those of the Kadambas, Pallavas and Calukyas, followed by those of the later Pandyas, Ceras, Colas, and Rashtrakutas which transformed society through temples propagating the cult of Bhakti and a gradually crystallising caste hierarchy with Brahmins at the top and tribal serfs at the bottom, permitting innumerable occupational and tribal groups to be absorbed at varying points of the scale. This pattern continued with slight variations in different regions of South India from the 5th century till the beginning of the 12th century of the Christian era.

5) From 12th century onwards a general trend towards the decline of central government leading to the rise of new feudalised principalities may be noticed everywhere in South India. The rigidity of landlordism, the political anarachy caused by mercenary fighting groups, and the proliferation of subcastes became typical of this phase of society in all regions of South India.

From the foregoing survey the present writer wants to bring out the following proposals for further investigation.

1) There is a good case in South India for substituting dynasic history with the history of socio-economic development and political cultural trends which are found to have followed a more or less common course.

2) In the regional history of Kerala, most of the outstanding problems and puzzles, like the character of megalithic culture, the advent of Aryan Brahmin settlements, the evolution of Malayalam language, the development and consolidation of matrimonial system, the growth of Bhakti and Devadasi literature, the rise of Nayar militia and even apparently special characteristics like the popularity of Onam festival, the now extinct twelve yearly Mamakam festivel, the now Changatam and Cever systems, and art forms like Teyyam or Kathakali could be tackled properly and interpreted satisfactorily only in terms of and with reference to, developments in Tamilnadu or Karnataka or even the Indo Gangetic plains of North India.

3) This approach will utimately disclose the interrelated character of regional history in South India and also alter almost completely the notions about the general evolution of civilised society in India.

NĀRĀYAṆABALI AND MAṄGALĒSA

B. R. Gopal

The present paper is a short note meant to shed some light on the accession of Maṅgalēsà, to the Chālukya throne at Bādāmi. It is generally held that this king ascended the throne in 596 A.D., and this is based upon his Mahākūṭa pillar inscription which is said to be dated the 5th glorious year *(pañchama śrī varsha)* of Maṅgalēsà. The date details given in this record are stated to occur sometime between 25-10-601 and 21-10-602 A.D. The point that was noted by the editor of the record was that the style in which it is dated–*pañchama śrī varshē pravarttamāna Siddhārttha*-is rather unusual. The author also had consulted sri S. B. Dikshit who suggested to him a slightly different reading-*pañchatrimśe varshē*-which would take the accession of Maṅgalēsá to 566-67 A.D. This possibility was considered that Śaka 489 or 490 (562-68 A.D.) would be the first year of rule of Maṅgalēśa whose 12th year of rule would be 578-79 A.D.

The date of the Bādāmi cave inscription is Śaka 500 which is said to be the 12th year of rule. Following the apparently natural meaning it was taken to be of Maṅgalēśa himself. This would somewhat justify also the above surmise of 601-02 A.D. being his 35th year of rule. However, it has been generally held that the Bādāmi inscription noted above is of Kīrtivarma who, on that basis, is stated to have ruled from 566 A. D. to 596A.D. which latter date is arrived at on the basis of the Mahākūṭa inscription as the date ofaccession of Maṅgalēśa.

The Bādāmi inscription refers to the gift of the village Lañjīśvara for offering *Nārāyaṇabali* and on that occasion feeding sixteen *brāhmaṇas* and other mendicants *(parivrājaka)* daily in the feeding house (*sattra*). *Nārāyaṇabali* literally means an offering to Nārāyaṇa. But, in the *Grihya sūtras* it is described as a ritual to be performed for those who die an unnatural death, or commit suicide in any manner not sanctioned by the *śāstras* and for ascetics and provides that the same may be performed for those guilty of *mahāpātakas* after 12 years after their death. (P V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. IV, p. 302-05). If the last category is considered we find that maṅgalēśa offers *Nārāyaṇabali* to his elder brother in his 12th regnal year which would be 12 years after his brother's death. This would mean that Kīrtivarma might have died in 566 itself. Assuming 566 A.D. to be the first year of rule of Kīrtivarma, Pulakēśi's reign-period is fixed between 540-66 A.D. We know from the Aihoḷe *praśasti* that Kīrtivarma was involved himself in some conquests. If the present surmise is accepted we may have to assign a short period of 5 years of rule to this king from c. 560 to 566 A. D. But this cannot be, as shown below.

Kīrtivarma is known to have had 4 sons, Pulakesi II, Vishṇuvardhana, Dharāśraya Jayasimha and Baddhavarasa. In that case, Pulakēśi must have been born in at least 562 A.D. if not earlier. Hence, at the time of

his accession to the throne Pulakēśi would be at least 48 years old and 80 years at the time of his death. If Kīrtivarma's death is fixed at 596 A.D. as has been done, his eldest son was about 5 years old by then. Hence, at the time of his accession Pulakēśi would be hardly 20 years old. We know that Pulakēśi obviously laid claim to the throne when he came of age, but Maṅgalēśa continued to rule brushing aside the claim. It was also feared that Maṅgalēśa had designs to bring his own son to power. Pulakēśi had to become an exile from the capital, organise an army, have sufficient *mantra* and *utsāha śāktis* before he successfully launched a war against Maṅgalēśa to secure the kingdom that belonged to him by right. All these must have consumed some time, at least a few years-say 5 to 10 years before Pulakēśi ascended the throne in 610 A. D. This would certainly push back his presumed year of birth. However, it would be difficult to assume that he was 48 years old at the time of coronation as calculated above.

If, on the other hand, it is assumed that by the time Bādāmi record Kīrtivarma had passed away just then — 578 A.D. — which was his 12th year (and not of Maṅgalēśa), by then Pulakēśi would be 5 years old and in 610 he would be about 27 years old and around 60 years at the time of his death. This would certainly also explain the statements made in the Aihole record. At least for about 7 years Pulakēci had to strive hard against his uncle to get the throne.

Let us view the entire problem from another angle. Kīrtivarma II is stated to have participated in the Kāñchi expedition of his father Vikramāditya II. This might be the latter's third expedition which took place in, say, 743 A.D. by which time Kīrtivarma II might have been at least 20 years old. This takes Kīrtivarma's date of birth to 723 A.D. This would take his own father Vikramāditya II's date of birth to 703 A.D. However, we know that he assisted his father Vijayāditya in the latter's struggles against the Pallava around 700 A.D. by which time he must have been 20 years old, having born in 680 A.D. We know that both Vijayāditya and Vinayāditya, the grandson and son respectively of Vikramāditya I participated in the battles fought by him and also looked after the administration. The last year of rule of Vikramāditya I was 681 by which time Vijayāditya might have been more than 20 years old since he was looking after the administration of the kingdom and rooting out all troubles at home when his father and grand-father were busy otherwise. We have seen above that Vikramāditya II must have been born in 680 A.D., and so his father Vijayāditya might have been born in 660 A.D. On the same analogy, Vinayāditya might have been born in 640 A.D. and Vikramaditya I in 620 A.D. We have shown above that Pulakēśi might have been at least 27 years old in 610 A.D. It is quite possible that Pulakēśi had not married at all by then Vikramāditya I had three more elder brothers the first of whom might have been born in c. 615 A.D.

This calculation would fit into the surmise that Kīrtivarma I had passed away in 578 A.D. The *Nārāyaṇabali* rite was performed by Maṅgalēśa for his brother since Kīrtivarma's sons themselves were too young and not qualified as yet to perform the rite. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to say why or how Kīrtivarma passed away. Did he commit suicide or any one of the great sins?

TERRITORIAL DIVISION IN COASTAL ĀNDHRADEŚA : KONḌAVĪḌU MAHĀRĀJYA

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Introduction:-

The coastal *Ā*ndhradēśa, one of the three distinct and natural regions of which Andhra pradesh comprises, historically and politically was in two divisions namely southern Kalinga and Sāgara *Ā*ndhra. While the former consisted of the area embracing parts of Ganjam and Śrīkakuḷam and Viśākhapaṭnam districts, occasionally expanding upto piṭhāpūr[1] in the East Gōdāvari District, the latter corresponded to the Districts of East Gōdāvari, West Gōdāvari, Guṇtūr, Krishṇa, Prakāśam and Nellōre. Subsequently two fresh divisions-the Sarkārs comprising the entire east coast with the exception of the District of Nellōre and Carnāṭic including Nellōre District replaced them.

Formation of Terriotorial Divisions :-

The extensive coastal area was considered a single terriotorial division in the Sātavāhana Empire. Under their successors, the Ikshvākus, the pallavas, the *Ā*nandas, the Brihatpālāyanas, the Sālankāyanas and the Vishṇukuṇḍins, the region became divided into two divisions[2] namely Vēngidēśa corresponding to the eastern half with apex on the Gōdāvari, and *Ā*ndhrāpatha covering the southern segment with centre on the Krishṇa, primarily to its south. As time rolled on, in the empires of the chāḷukyas of Vēngi and the chāḷukya-chōḷas, with the birth of several new dynasties.[3]

The Divisions and their names :

The divisions prevalent in the costal area were Āhāra, Raṭhṭha, Rāshṭra, Vishaya, Manḍala, Nāḍu, Dēśa, Rājya, Daṇḍapāṭa, Sarkār, Bhūmi, Sīma, Koṭṭam, Bhōga, Paṭṭa, Vaḷi Paṭṭai, Kampanagalamu, Kampana, Sthala, Muyyalikuṭṭu, Sthiti, Sthāna, Prānta, Chenta, Paṭṭu, Vāḍa, Pēṭa and Grāma. In some instances, numerals were suffixed to the names of divisions indicating the number of villages they contained. Some examples are Kuḍūrahāra, Kammānkaraṭhṭha, Karmarāohṭra, Vēngivishaya, Āndhramanḍala Twelve Thousand villages[4], Velanāḍu Six Thousand, Udayagirirājya, Konḍapallidanḍ-

1. *Epigraphia Indica*(*EI*) Vol XII no.2.
2. Pliny (77AD), Ptolemy (c. AD 150), Megasthenes (300 BC)- J W. Macrindle: *Ancient India* p 66: Allahabad pillar Inscription of Samudragupta-J.F. Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions* ppl-21.
3. V. Yasoda Devi : *The History of Andhra Country AD 1000 - 1500* Subsidiary Dynasties. *The Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society (JAHRS)* Rajahmundry vols 18-27.
4. Andhramanḍaladvādaśa Sahasragrāma-Muḍiyānūr Copper Plate Inscription of Mallavarma Nandivarma of the Rāṇas-*Indian Antiquary* vol 15 p 175; *South Indian Inscriptions (SII)* vol III p.90.

apāṭa, Rājamehēndravaram Sarkār, Kōṭabhūmi, Śrīrangarājakonḍasīma, Paiyūrilangoṭṭam, Kavachakārabhōga, Āndhrāpatha,[5] Vaḍugavaḷi Twelve Thousand,[6] Tyagasamudrapaṭṭai, Chilakāpaṭikampanagalamu, Āmavakalakampana, Kammanāṇṭisthala, Yēnugukōṭivelijervulamuyyalikuṭṭu, Arivēlamusthiti, Asanapurasthāna.[7] Konḍavīṭiprānta, Damilapūḍivāuichenta, Gayapaṭṭu, Kukkuṭēśvaravāḍa, Eklāskhānpurampēta[8], and Nandigrāmma.

These divisions were of different grades. Vēngidēśa and Āndhrāpatha were divided into *Nāḍus*. But occasionally *Vishayas* in Sanskrit, Nāḍus in Telugu and *Vaḷanāḍu* in Tamil denoted synonymous divisions. The Nāḍus were subdivided into *sīmas* equivalent to *koṭṭams* in Tamil. Subsequently, the nāḍus, or *manḍalas* were reconstituted into *Rājyas* with durgas or fortresses as their citadels and sīmas, their sub-divisions, were in abundance in the coastal region. There were also *Mahārajyas* e.g. Konḍavīḍumahārājya[9]. The Rājyas and Mahārājyas were superceded by the Danḍapāṭas[10] and Mahādanḍapāṭas under the Gajapatis. The entire region was rearranged into Sarkārs[11] by the Kutbshahis named after their capitals with centre at Machilīpaṭnam. The name Sarkār was retained by the British.

The subdivisions simas equivalent to *Kampana* were further divided into *sthalas*, each sthala consisting of some villages. The sīmas and the sthalas,[12] also like the bigger divisions were not of uniform extent. The *grama* or village constituted throughout the area through the ages, consisting of several hamlets, the smallest territorial unit or division.

Predominant physical phenomena were taken into consideration in fixing the boundaries of divisions, for celebrated hills mountain peaks, pilgrim centres, sacred rivers, streams of local importance, big trunk roads are mentioned as boundaries for big divisions, while ponds, streams confluences of streams, temples, pillars, roads, paths, junction of roads, rocks, trees, and stones figure among the boundaries of smaller divisions. For example Konḍapaḍumaṭivishaya[13], that is, Śailapāśchātyavishaya as the name shows lay to the west of the hill referring to the Konḍavīḍu range of hills. Similarly Velanāṇḍu 6000 was mentioned as Āruvēlavelanāṇḍu on the coast of the Perāru, that is Krishṇaveṇṇānadīdaksiṇashaṭsahasra (grāmā) vaṇi in records.[14]

How the boundaries of the divisions were determined is not clear from inscrip-

5. Mydavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman of the Early Pallavas-*EI* vol VI no. 8.
6. *EI* vol. Xi pp 222-24; pp 230-231; vol III p. 76; *SII* vol IX-I no 5; Indian Antiquary vol XXIV p 75.
7. *EI* vol XVIII pp 55-58.
8. *SII* vol X no 753.
9. A. Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty (Ed) : *Inscriptions in Nellore District* vol I Copper Plate no 10.
10. *SII* vol X no 738
11. *SII* vol X no 752
12. Yenamadalasthala-63 villages-*SII* vol IV no 935
Konḍāristhala-18 villages-*SII* vol X no 521
13. It originally comprised 73 villages-*SII* vol VI no 683.
14. *SII* vol X no 58: 198 : 259.

tions. Regarding gift villages,[15] monitar lizards and tortoises were allowed to run and creep to fix the limits and another popular method was to make a devotee after bath, wearing red clothes blind folded carrying a flame in a pot to god on his head, with nine kinds of coin and food offered to god and sacred grass in hands was allowed to roam followed by another person. The bounds he walked were fixed with iron pillars in proxmity to trees and ponds etc.

Dēśādhikrita of the early *Pallavas*, *Dēśādhipati* of the Sālankāyanas, *Vishayamahattara*[16] of the Vishṇukuṇḍins, *Karapurusha* [17] of the Vēngi chāḷukyas was the officer in charge of the division *Dēśa*. *Vāpata or Vyāprita* was in charge of the division *Maḍnala* in the days of the Ikshvākus and the early Pallavas. eg. Amarāvati region [18]. *Vishayapati* was the official administering Vishaya in the days of the Sālankāyanas. Similarly *Raṭhika* was in charge of the division Raṭhṭha eg. Kammānkaraṭhṭha. The officer *Adhikāri* was in charge of a province eg Velanānḍu. The officer Nayak was charge of Nāyankara e.g. Nāyak of Addanki [19]. Raṭhaḍikamu or Reḍḍikamu of provinces was held by the officer *Raṭṭoḍi* or *Reḍḍi* e.g. Raṭṭaḍikamu of Prōlunānḍu. When applied to a village Reḍḍikam conoted head-manship and Reḍḍi was the headman in charge of its government (prabhutvamu) Similarly, *Śāsanuḍu* was the officer in charge of a village e.g.Tāḍūru. *Sthala Karaṇam* or *Sthala sādhyakuḍu* was the officer in charge of sthala, that is, a group of villages.

Princes of Royal families were appointed to rule over provinces as Viceroys from early times e.g. *Yuva Mahārāja* [20] of the Pallavas. The practice was continued by the Chāḷukya chōḷas, the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, the Gajapatis and the Kutbshahis. These princes were known as *Kumāras* [21] in Vijayanagar regime, *Mahāpātras* [22] by the Gajapatis, and *Subedars*,[23] by the Sultans of Golkonḍa. While Subedār was in charge of the five sarkars, *Amin* was the officer in charge of a single sarkar. Sarkars were divided into *Jillas* or Districts, and they were subdivided into *Pargaṇas* and Taluks. *Samutas* was the successor of the earlier sub-division sīma. All these divisions were manned by officials under the Kutbshahis and subsequently under the British

Konḍavīḍurājya:-

i) Natural Aspect :-

Among the few large divisions bearing names ending with all the suffixes *Durga*, *Rājya*, *Mahārājya*, *Danḍāpāṭa* and *Sarkār* in *Āndhrāpatha*, Konḍavīḍu was of crucial importance. Śailapura of Reḍḍi inscriptions

15. *Inscriptions of Nellore District* (*IND*) vol. I Gūḍūr no 53; N. Ramesan (Ed), *Copper plate grants in A. P.* Government Museum pp 193-97; Guṇupūḍi-Bhīmavaram C. P., 'Grant of Muhammad Kutbshah' *JAHRS* vol XXII pp 147-150.
16. *ARE.*c.p. No 79 of 1913-14. Bhārati vol VIIpp 463 480 The Polumbāru plates of Mādhavavarman.
17. *JAHRS* Vol IV parts 102 pp 72-76.
18. Mydavōlu plates of *Śivaskandavarman* *EI* vol VI No. 8.
19 *IND*, vol III Ongole No 83.
20. *Śivaskandavarman* ruling *Andhrapatha* from Dhānyakaṭaka-Mydavōlu plates, *EI* vol VI No.8.
21. eg. Kumārakampana of Udayagirirājya *IND* vol II Nellore Nos 28,29.
22. Praharēśvara Śaraschandra Mahāpātra of Konḍapallidanḍapāṭa- *SII* vol VI Nos 694.1170.
23. V. Yasoda Devi : *Territorial Divisions in Andhradēśa, chapter* I Introductory.

and Achalapura of Vijayanagar inscriptions[24] Konḍavīḍu means a hill town or hill fortress, and was celebrated for its impregnability. The Konḍavīḍu range of hills, the offshoots of the Eastern Ghats lie 15 miles to the South-west of guntur, occupying the north-eastern corner of Narasaraopet Taluk in guntur District. Their height is 1,500 feet and length in unconnected chain is 9½ miles in the north-eastern and south-western directions, and unconnected heights to the north extend it between two to three miles further [25]. The hills fortress lay 15 miles from Narasaraopet. There are two fortresses above the hill and one below. The hill range near Konḍavīḍu was considered holy as Kailāsadayuḍikonḍa.[26] The Konḍavīḍu region forges into limelight with the formation of the Reḍḍi Kingdom in the first quarter of the 14th century and shifting of the capital of the kingdom from Addaki to Konḍavīḍu in AD 1361 by Anapōta Reḍḍi.[27] It attracted the cupidity of the Rāyas of Vijayanagar, the Bahmani Sultans of gulburga and the gajapatis of Grissa, and there after, of the Kutbshahis who vied with one another for its possession.[28] Till late in the 19th century Konḍavīḍu retained its importance.

Early History:

As for its hoary antiquity, recorded tradition[29] has it that the earliest name of Konḍavīḍu was Kunḍinapaṭṭana, the capital of Vidarbhadēśa, that the territorial divisions of which Konḍavīḍurāshṭra was one, were effected by Karikāla. This Karikāla was another name for Rājēndra Kuḷōttuṅga, the first Chāḷukya-chōḷa emperor. Traditional date for Kunḍinapaṭṭana was AD 1225. The Manchāḷḷa copper plate grant (AD 1340) of Prōlayavēma gives the location of Kunḍini at the confluence of the southern and northern branches of the Krishṇa.[30] Prōlayavēma's Puvvāḍa copper plate charter[31] mentions the location of his capital Addanki in Kunḍinasīma. The capital Konḍavīḍu was strengthened by Anapōta according to his Manyamāpuram inscription. It was mentioned as Śrīkunḍinapaṭṭana[32] by Anavēma, the successor of Anapōta, in his Pedapalakalūru plates (AD 1378). The impregnability of the hill fortress and the splendour of the capital city is discribed by Kavisārvabhama Śrīnātha, the court poet of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms. He called it the powerful nuse for the three kings thereby implying the Rāya, the Bahmani and the Gajapati. When the Reddi kingdom which was like a buffer between the Rāyas and the Gajapatis, declined, the Rāyas and the Gajapatis came face to face and incessant fighting for the acquisition of Erstwhile konḍavīḍu kingdom was the constant factor in their mutual relationship, victory often changing in wooing the one or the other. The Bahmanis and the Kutbshahis were com-

24. Krishṇarāya's Mangalagiri epigraph *EI* vol VI No. 12-A. verse 29.
25. Mackenzie, *Kristna District, Monual* pp 190-91.
26. M.G. Sarma, *Konḍavīṭi sāmrājyamu*
27. *Manyamāpuram Inscription*-V. Appārāo (Ed): *Reḍḍi Sanchika.* (Rajahmundri) p41.
28. Chāṭu verse by Śrīnātha-Cited on pp106-107. prabhāgara Śāstri, *Śringāra Śrināthamu.*
29. C.P. Brown, *Local Records*, vol 57. pp 13, 47.
30. *Ibid* vol 12. p18.
31. N. Ramesan (Ed) *Copper Plate Grants* in A.P. Government Museum (Hyderabad) P 175.
32. N. Ramesan (Ed) *Copper Plate Grants* in A.P. Government Museum P 189. verse 25.

peting with the Rāyas and the Gajapatis for its acquisition.

The Formation of the division Koṇḍavīḍu-mahārājya :

While Sāḷuva Narasimka collided with Muhammad shah Bahmani for the possession of the coastel area, conquered the area as far as Rājamahēndravaram including Koṇḍaviḍu and Koṇḍapalli but subsequently lost it to the Sultan[33], Narasa Nāyaka reconquered it but it was lost to the Gajapatis again in AD 1514. Krishṇadēvarāya in his Eastern conquest in five phases, after taking Udayagiri, captured Koṇḍavīḍu consequent on aprolonged siege from the Gajapati, on 23rd June, 1515. This is attested by his Amarāvati epigraph(AD 1516)and Simhāchalam inscription (AD 1516) describing his storming of the fortress[34].

From the series of inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya in the coastal area, it is clear that Koṇḍavīḍu region was constituted into a Rājya, the familiar name for a province in the empire of Vijayanagar. The earliest occurance of the name Koṇḍavīḍurājya is in Krishṇarāya's Bezawāḍa inscription (AD 1522)[35]. In an earlier record of Krishṇarāya at Bāpaṭla, Koṇḍavīḍuvishaya is mentioned. The subdivisions in Koṇḍavīḍurājya, from Krishṇarāya's records [36] were a) Koṇḍavīṭisīma b) Pullanangāṇṭisíma and c) Addankisīma. As thanks offering for his great victory Krishṇarāya made gifts to Amarēśvara at Amarāvati, Telungurāya or Āndhravishṇu at Śrīkākuḷam, and god Rāghava at Koṇḍavīḍu.

Koṇḍavīḍurājya is mentioned as Koṇḍavīḍudurga in a record (AD1533) of Achyutarāya in Chandalūru but later, the Pōlēpalli plates of Achyutarāya [37] refers to it in larger terms as Koṇḍavīḍumahārājyamaṇḍala. From Rājya it has been raised to a higher status of Mahārājya and maṇḍala. The change was due to its extension towards the south for Kochcherlakōṭasīma also known as Yēruvanāḍu was absorbed into its limits. But there was a lull in the glory of Māharājya in the reign of Sadāśiva. It is mentioned as Rājya, though a new division Ammanabrōlusīma was attached to Addankisīma and is mentioned as a double subdivision, Addanki Ammanabrōlusīma, according to Sadāśiva's Chedaluvāḍa epigragh (AD1566)[38]. The conversion of Koṇḍavīḍurājya into Nāyankara is mentioned in a record (1558) of Sadāśivarāya. In a record at SingarāyaKoṇḍa,[39] Ponnapalli's location is given in Koṇḍavīṭimahāmaṇḍala attesting the south ward expansion of the division entitling it to be termed as Mahārājya and Mahāmaṇḍala.

Numerous Vijayanagar records by their provenance and contents, show that Koṇḍavīḍumahārājya comprised the area corresponding to the Taluks of Narasaraopet and Bapatla in the Guntur District and Ongole

33 M.H. Gopal (Ed), *The History of the Vijayanagar Empire* (Beginnings and Expansion) volume I (1978) pp 78-79.

34. *SII* vol VI Nos 694, 1170.

35. *EI* vol VI No 22.

36. *SII* vol VI Nos 248,148.

37. *IND* vol I *c.p No* 10.

38. *Ibid* Vol II *Ongȏle* No 29.

39. *Ibid* vol I Kandukūr No 13.

Taluk in the Prakasam District. Its frontiers were the Krishṇa on the north, the District of Kurnool in the west, Bay of Bengal in the East and District of Nellore in the south. Udayagirirājya was its southern limit.

Koṇḍavīḍumahārājya was transformed into Koṇḍavīḍu-Daṇḍāṭa by the Gajapatis when they conquered it. An undated record of Pratāparudra at Kommūru (Bapatla Taluk) mentions four villages Kommūru, Orugāṇḍi Rāvipāḍu and Gongulamūḍi (Gonasapūḍi) in Durgāprasāda Koṇḍavīṭidaṇḍapāṭa, endowed to god at Śrīśailam.[40] The territorial divison Daṇḍapāṭa was equivalent to Rājya of Vijayanagar Empire and Durgāprasāda means a gift conferred by Goddess Durga and attests the devotion of the donor Bahubalēndra Mahāpātra to the goddess on the Indrakīlādri at Bezawāḍa.

Under the rule of the Sultans of Golkanda, Koṇḍavīdu was renamed as Murtajānagar and the division came to be known as Sarkar, a Mogul legacy. The name Daṇḍapāṭa was shortlived and as inscriptions of the Kutbshahis show the earlier names of Koṇḍavīḍurāshṭra, and Koṇḍavīḍurājya were restored and the subdivison sīma was retained. For a record[41] of Muhammad kuli Kutbshah at Mangaḷagiri mentions Baṇḍaru Nizāmpaṭnam and uppalāyi in Koṇḍavīṭisīma, while another at Amīnābāda (Sattenapalli Taluk) refers to Koṇḍavīḍurājya and Koṇḍavīḍu as the capital of Karñaṭa.[42] This perhaps means further expansion of the division in the southern direction. Jāgarlamūḍi epigraph (AD 1598) of KuliKutbshah gives the name Murtajānagar[43] for Koṇḍavīḍu. Tradition says that under the Kutbshahis, Koṇḍavīḍurāshṭra Consisted of 14 dēśas of sīmas and 2048 villages.[44] The designation Sarkār came to stay under the rule of the Company under the British.

The name Kuṇḍinasīma of Koṇḍavīḍurāshṭra was revived by the Zamindars of the Vāsireḍḍi family during the Company regime. A chāṭu verse [45] speaks of the gifts of the Vāsireḍḍi ruler at Bāpaṭla, Guṇṭūr, Mōṭupalle and Chintapallē all located in Kuṇḍinasīma. Thus in the 19th century Kuṇḍ inasīma connoted the Taluks of Guṇṭūr, Sattenapalle, and Bāpaṭla. Why the name Kuṇḍinasīma was revived was possibly due to its hoary imaginary connection with Vidarbhadēśa. This speaks for the popularity of the historically fascinating territorial division-Koṇḍāvīḍurājya. It may be noted here that Kuṇḍini or Kuṇḍi, Brahmakuṇḍi and Kuṇḍiprabhā are the names of the river Guṇḍlakamma[46]. further south of the Koṇḍavīḍurājya, in the coastal area.

Officers in charge of Koṇḍavīḍurājya

After his conquest of Koṇḍavīḍu held by prince Vīrabhadragajapati [47] Krishṇadēvarāya appointed Sāḷuva Timmaru-

40. *SII* vol X No. 738
41. *SII* vol IV No 711.
42. *SII* vol X No 751.
43. *SII* vol X No. 752
44. M.G. Sarma *Koṇḍavīṭisāmrājyamu.*
45. D. Pichchayya Śāstri (Ed) *Chāṭupadyaratnākaremu.*
46. V. Yasoda Devi, The BrahmaKuṇḍi -*S.V. University Oriental Journal* volXl pp9-19.
47. Dharaṇikōṭa and Simhāchalam insriptions of Krishṇarāya (51437, 1438 respectively).

sayya as his victory of that province. Timmarasu leaving his brother Koṇḍayya, that is, Koṇḍamarasu as his representative there acommpanied Krishṇarāya in his eastern digvijaya. On his return from the expedition, when Timmarasu wanted to resume his duties as governor of Koṇḍavīḍu, his way was obstructed by Madhar-ool [48]- Mulk, a general of Kuli Kutbshah. He defeated him, reached Koṇḍavīḍu. made arrangements for its administration, and left an agent to govern in his name. Subsequently, under the Kutbshahis, the Muslim governor called Amīn in charge of Koṇḍavīḍu Sarkar was Murtajākhān after whom it was called Murtajānagar. Tradition says that in the 17th century Guṇṭupalli Muttayya was the Amīn of Koṇḍavīḍu Fourteen Sīmas from AD 1603 to 1623.[49]. Later the region came under the NizamShahi rule superceded by the British suzerainty.

48. R. Sewell: *A ForgettenEmpire* Nuniz's Account p307.
49. Sarma M.G. *Op.cit*.

THE CITY IN EARLY TAMIL POLITICAL HIERARCHY

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The country, to be a country had to have not only geographical boundaries but also political stability. We may loosely talk of the Tamil country but strictly speaking it was a cultural-linguistic area with Tirupathi as its northern boundary and Kanyakumari as the Southern with the Eastern and the western seas constituting the limits on the other two sides. (Classical literature does not speak of a Tamil Nadu and if we are to find in Nadu a conceptual equivalent of country there were at least five countries in the Tamil cultural linguistic region. CholaNadu, PandyaNadu, CheraNadu TondaiNadu and KonguNadu. Specific demarcations of each of these countries are found in classical literature.[1] Dr. N. Subramanian however seems to mix up the 'Nadu' concept and the cultural-linguistic region - concept. The references he has given in his translation of TamilNadu identify Tamil Nadu with a particular country and not an omnibus entity called Tamil-Nadu. The *Silappadikaram* references are not to TamilNadu but to Ten Tamil Nadu that is, the southern country of the Tamil linguistic region by which Ilango means the Pandyan country.

(The 'Country' Concept is very old in the Tamil region. Of the five 'Nadus' or countries three are famous. These are Chola, Pandya and Chera countries. Tondai Nadu or the Tondai country was a distinctive geo-political entity like the Kongu country. The point to be noted, however, is the country extended its political authority or lost some of its territory to a neighbour, but all the same, retained its identity as 'Nadu'. This situation gradually led to the next level of the hierarchy, viz.. empire.

Now we must explain whether, from what is apparent in classical Tamil literature, the hierarchy should begin with the 'country' or the 'ur'. Putting it differently, should we imagine the 'Nadu' first giving it a capital and calling it a Nagaram and also imagine that there was a kind of a feudal system in which the 'Urs' were under chieftains with specific obligations to the overlord. Normally such an approach would be tempting and also seem justified from a cursory look at the literary material. There is the Chola Nadu; Puhar and Uraiyur are its capitals at different periods. There is the Pandya Nadu with three or four capitals one succeeding the other for reasons attributable to nature's anger. There is also the Chera country with its capital Vanjimanagar. (Our purpose here would be to show that the hierarchy should start the other way about with the little '*Ur*' at the base, the '*city*' or the *Nagaram* at the second level, the *Country* at the third and *Empire* at the apex. The 'Urs' that find

1. Dr. N. Subrahmanian. *Pre-Pallavan Index* Page 488

mention in classical literature were the starting point of the political story of Tamil region. Innumerable 'Urs' with their chieftains must have distinguished the first stage of political development in the Tamil region. The 'City' must have crystalised from a combination of 'Urs' and their consolidation into a very large administrative entity. The 'Country' must have been an extension of the City in all directions and the earliest Tamil literature pictures that stage in Tamil history when the 'Country' concept had just emerged and with the City still the focul point of administrative importance. The 'Urs' such of those that still survive transcending their initial primitivism managed to retain their autonomy. If as one might be tempted to believe from a casual look at early Tamil literature, the Chola king had really absolute control over the whole of Chola Nadu. We are not aware of any effective system of provincial government as in the later Imperial epoch. In fact we do not have concept to denote provincial heads or governors. We are also not aware of the specific obligations of the Chieftains who were not always at peace with other chieftains. Again the control that the kings exercised over areas outside of the capital in the Country is also not certain. If anything, it could even be free for all business. Here is an interesting exhortation of the womenfolk to the men in the Pandyan country a little away from the capital. "People prosper in other places while our storehouses are empty. Does it mean that the Maravars have lost their courage? Or have they become good like the peasants? Have they forgotton the great art of waylaying travellers, for the brave Maravar's virtue lies in the heartlessness of plunder? Go you men; get drunk fully and bring our goddess, Her dues."[2] Here is the vote of thanks to the Goddess. "Accept the blood and flesh we offer you in thanks for the victories of our men who with your blessings could lift vast herds of cattle in their raids." Goddess may you send many travellers within the reach of our men so that our wealth may grow immense ..... Feast on our offerings so that when the world is asleep we will raid some far off farms beating our drums before our plunder begins ..... We live by plundering others' wealth and carry everywhere a tale of hunger, despair and death." This is just one of the numerous examples available in the early poetry of the looseness of the hold of the king in the territories outside of it. The Nagaram was the best administered part of the country, the 'Urs' were looked after by the velirs possibly with a notional allegiance to the king The capital had no system of government linking each part with what one might call the 'central administration'. The political picture that classical literature presents is the one in which 'Country' concept has just emerged but the city state is still powerful.

The city states first developed a set-up of administration that could be extended to the country state. All concepts of good government were developed within the city-state. While there was danger on the high ways far away from the city limits, the cities themselves put up a very brave show in respect of observance of law, safety of person and property. Here is what some wandering minstrels say about Madurainagaram to Kovalan: "You need not have any fear; even if you go there alone you will meet with no danger".

2. *Silappadikaram*: Canto xii

The *Maduraikanchi* is replete with instances of the special attention that the king had paid to his people's safety and security.

When we have brought up the concept of the city states we have to clear certain points likely to appear a little intriguing. First, how are we to explain the reference to three Nadus or Countries and the three cities as their capitals ? The 'country' concept had emerged but not fully developed Actually it was an extension of the city state; but it was a country with most of the focus of attention on the city which had emerged earlier and later became the capital of the country whose start ing point it was. Here is description of a typical greek city state. "The type of settlement emerging in many parts of ancient Greece was the 'polis' or city state. The 'polis' was a sovereign political unit. It had a fortified centre where the inhabitants took refuge from attack; a residential and commercial town. The town was surrounded by a dependent territory which served for agriculture and pasture. Large cities included villages subordinate to the main city. The society was agrarian. It consisted of wealthy landowners, small farmers, countless labourers, artisans and in some places serfs. The strong unit was the family

(Perhaps in the Pre-Pallava age which might be said to approximately close the sangam epoch, the three countries failed to develop into full fledged Country States; Pallavas could do that and even go beyond and visualise an Empire State. For one thing the Pallavas were not an indegenous dynasty and it was perhaps a matter of an exotic ruling race finding its fortunes in Tondai Nadu and with the background knowledge which it had brought, of country and imperial states, it could pitch its level of aspirations to that of an imperial state which it could achieve under the Simhavishnu line. Why before the Pallavas, the countries in the Tamil region failed to achieve even a full country status politically, it is not easy to answer. Was the Kalabhra incursion of such devastating character as to undo all that had developed in the three countries? Or did the velirs stake their claims to total independence and did they, like the canker worm, eat into the vitals of the city state? One or two velirs seem to be poking their noses into every political affair during what we may call the interregnum between the Sangam age and the imperial age of the Cholas and Pandyas. The Muttaraiyars, for example, are seen to carve out a small chieftaincy in a hitherto unknown place called Tanjavur and capitalise on the strained relations between the Pallavas and the Pandyas. The Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur seem to have attempted perhaps in a more straight forward manner than the Muttaraiyar an exercise at country making with no spectacular results though the relics of Irukkuvel rule in Kodumbalur and the neighbourhood in the present Pudukkottai District do testify to the velirs having attained greater prominence than even the Muttaraivars or the other velirs of a lesser grade. The 'City-State' concept seems to have lost its value in the Tamil region as in the west and was facing the diminishing returns of its prosperity about the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Pallava expansionism too might have been a factor but even before the Pallavas became of any consequence in Tamil history, the Kaveripumpattinam of *Pattinnppalai* had given place to a more modest city with many

of its past glories, only some of it gone under the sea as Dr. K. V. Raman would rightly point out on scientific evidence.

The hierarchy we have been speaking about could have developed independently on the Tamil soil but identities naturally prompt surmises regarding exotic inspiration and influence. The long excerpts we have given in respect of the origin and characteristics of the city states may contain parallelisms between the Western city state and the Eastern. The possibilities of the East and the West drawing on each other are very great. (That there had been uninterrupted commercial, political and cultural traffic between the Tamil region and the West particularly Greece and Rome cannot be denied especially in the light of the numerous Greek and Roman coins, utensils and other artifacts of culture being found all over the Tamil region the Pliny's lament over the draining of Roman gold into the orient only clinches the point about the intens character of the contact. The reference to Kaveripumpattinam and Madurai in foreign sources of the pre and post Christian periods evidences the high popularity and the incredible prosperity of the two great cities.)

I may conclude this paper with the following tentative positions :

1. There was no Tamil 'Nadu' but a Tamil region as a distinctive geographical entity as by Nadu we should refer to a smaller territory with the potential of becoming a country.

2. There were at least five Nadus or countries of which three were widely famous the Chola, the Pandya and the Chera.

3. The cities in the countries were the focus of administration as the cities of Western city states of ancient times. The 'Country as a geographical expression failed more or less to become a full fledged political entity in the Sangam age though the dim outlines of a country state had become discernible at that age.

4. The Pallavas were the first rulers in the Tamil region to have developed an Empire state.

5. The Cholas, Pandyas and the Cheras, however, had provided a territorial concept so that in the post Pallava period, the Chola country could aspire for and succeed remarkably in the establishment of a very large empire state in the very well developed administrative institutions including an excellent system of local administration.

6. A note of caution seems warranted. Whether the later Cholas in spite of their priding in an ancestry that would make them descendants of Karikalan were really hundred percent Tamil rulers of the Sangam Age or whether the vicissitudes of many centuries that intervened might not have resulted in a new brand of the family assuming Sanskritic names, swearing by the agamas, constructing temples for more Gods not purely Tamilian than those of the Sangam age propogating the Vedas deliberately, encouraging Sanskrit, drawing on the dharmasastras in their developement of political philosophy and even having marriage alliances outside the Tamil region These are matters for further research.

THE LATER CHŌḶA CONCEPTION OF MONARCHY AS GLEANED FROM THE MEYKĪRTTIS

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The Meykīrttis of the Later Chōḷas which are the official historical introductions to their records, lithic and copper-plate, throw some light on their Conception of monarchy. The Tirumukkūdal epigraph of Vīrarājēndra, son of Rājēndra I. states that he looked after his subjects much more than a mother did her childran[1] The Meykīrtti of Vikrma Chōḷa beginning with the words 'Pūmālai midainthu' describes him as a beloved mother to his subjects.[2] Similarly, the Meykīrtti of Rājarāja II, beginning with the words 'Pūmaruviya Poḻilēlum' describes him as father to the fatherless, mother to the motherless, son to the sonless and the soul of the people [3] Obviously, whatever their actual rule, the Later Chōḷas felt that they must be to their subjects what a mother is to her children. The royal responsibility for the total well-being of the subjects was thus well recognised.

The Chōḷa emperors claim to have upheld the dharma reached by Manu. The Meykīrtti of Rājādhirāja I states that he followed the code of Manu and performed Asvamēdha sacrifice.[4] Likewise, the Meykīrtti of Rājamahēndra Chōḷa states that he ruled according the Dharmasāstra, and followed the code of Manu.[5] Such general references to the adoption of the code of Manu by the Chōḷa rulers are found in the Meykīrttis of Kulōttunga I[6], Vikrama Chōḷa[7], Kulōttuṅga II.[8] Rājarāja II,[9] Rājādhirāja II,[10] Kulōttunga III[11], and Rājarāja III[12]. But these references are conventional except in a few respects. A general study of the Later Chōḷa administration shows beyond doubt

1. T.V. Sadasiva pandarathar--*Piṟkālā Chōḻar Charittiram* (1958), vol. I, Appx 1 p.276
'குவலயத்துயிர்கடீ பெற்ற தாயினும் பேணி'.
2. ,, ,, *op. cit.*, vol II (1957), Appx. I, p. 223 -- 'மன்னுயிர்க்கெல்லா மின்னுயிர்த் தாய்போல்'
3. *Ibid.*, p. 228 - 'தங்தையிலோர்க்குத் தங்தையாகியுந் தாயிலோர்க்குத் தாயாகியு
மைந்தரிலோர்க்கு மைந்தராகியு மன்னுயிர்கட்கு யிராகியும்'.
4. *Op. cit.*, vol., I Appx I, p. 273 -- 'விளங்கு மனுநெறி றசுவமேதஞ் செய்து'.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 276 - 'தருமநெறி நிற்ப மனுநெறி நடாத்திய'.
6. *Op. cit*, Vol. II, Appx-I, p. 220 - 'மனுவாறு பெருக'.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 223 - 'மனுநெறி வளர்த்து'
8 *Ibid.*, p. 226 - 'மனுவாறு விளங்க'.
9 *Ibid.*, p. 228 - 'மனுவாணை தனிநடாத்தி'.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 231 'அமைவில்லா மனுவொருங்க மாதியாம்படி நிலைநிற்க'
11. *Ibid.*, p. 233 - 'மனுவின்நெறி தழைத்தோங்க', 'செயல்வாய்த்த மனுநூலும்'.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 236 - 'பொருவில் மனுநெறிவாழப் பொல்மகுடம் கவித்தருளி'.
13. *Ibid*, p. 237 - 'ஒப்பரிய மறைநூலும் உரைதிறம்பா மனுநூலுஞ்'

that it was not based on the laws of Manu and that it was only a development of the old Tamil system of administration. But in some respects, the Imperial Chōḷa policy conforms to the dictum of Manu. For example, the Chōḷa rulers were proud of preserving the Varṇāshrama Dharma. They regarded it as their duty to protect and preserve the old social order viz the caste system.[13] The survival of the caste system and its growing rigidity were thus encouraged by the rulers themselves.

Though the Chōḷas were staunch followers of Śaivism they supported all religions and some of them refer to it in their Meykīrttis. Rājarāja II proudly refers to his revival of Vaishṇavism [14] The Meykīrttis of Rājādhirāja II state that he supported the six religions and promoted the practice of Dharma and Vēdic learning.[15] Rājarāja III also claims to have supported the six religions.[16] Rājēndra III, the last Chōla emperor, also describes himself as the establisher of all religions.[17] On the whole, the Chōḷas followed a generous religious policy patronising all creeds.

Regarding taxation the Meykīrttis are not informative, the exception being that of Rājādhirāja I. It states that he collected one sixth of the total produce from his subjects.[18] But inscriptions throw much light on this matter, and, as Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri points out, the State claimed something like one third of the gross produce besides other dues. Considering this and the numerous professional taxes, one is led to the conclusion that the burden of taxes must have been really heavy.

Vikrama Chōḷa's Meykīrtti beginning with the words 'Pūmālai miḍainthu' refers to the bell of justice kept in his palace and states that there was no cause to ring it.[19] The very fact of having such an arrangement for the redress of people's grievances shows the genuine interest of the ruler in administering justice. The other references are general.[20] The epigraphic sources suggest that the judicial system of the Imperial Chōḷas was very mild and certainly not identical with the Code of Manu.

Apart from protecting their subjects the Chōḷa rulers were expected to support the pious performing penance and

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13. *Ibid.*, p. 222 - 'சாதி ஒழுக்கமும் நீதி அறமும் பிறழாது'.
    Ibid., p. 228 - 'எல்லோரும் தனித்தனியே வாழ்ந்தனமென மகிழ்ந்து'.
    Ibid., p. 231- 'அமைவில்லா மனுவொழுக்க மாதியாம்படி நிலைநிற்க'.
    Ibid., p. 237 - 'நீதிதரு குலநான்கும் நிலைநான்கு நிலைநிற்ப'
14. *Ibid.*, p. 228 - 'விழுந்த அரிசமயத்தையு மீள வெடுத்து'
15. *Ibid.*, p. 231 - 'அறுசமயமும் ஐம்பூதமும் நெறியில் நின்று பார்ப்பத்'
    Loc cit., - 'சமையமாறுந் தலையெடுப்பத் தருமமு மருமறையு மோங்கி'
16. *Ibid.*, p. 237 - 'அறுசமயந்தழைத்தோங்கப்' The six religions are the six sects of Saivism like the Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, Kāḷamukhas
17. *Ibid.*, p. 240 - 'எல்லாசமயங்களையும் ஒப்பநிலைபெறச் செய்பவனும்'.
18. *Op. cit.* Vol I Appx. I, P. 273- 'ஆறிலொன்றவனியுட் கூறுகொள் பொருள்களும்'
19. *Op. cit.* Vol. II, Appx.I, p. 223- 'கோயிற் கொற்றவாசல் புறத்து மணிநா வொடுங்க'
20. *Ibid.*, p. 228 - 'அரசியற்கை முறைநிறுத்தி யல்லவை கடிந்து'.
    Ibid., p. 236 - 'நடுவு நின்று குடிகாத்து'.

yagas.[21] Protection of the chastity of women was a responsibility of the rulers.[22] Similarly, prevention of starvation and enmity among people were also regarded as royal responsibilities[23].

The Imperial Chōḷas were proud of fighting wars for their Meykīrttis glorify their military victories. In this respect they were in no way different from the other great dynasties like the Pallavas, Pāṇḍyas, W. Chāḷukyas, and Rāshṭrakūṭas, not to speak of the great dynasties of North India. The conception that war is an evil is essentially a modern one and so, it is not a special criterion in the evaluation of the work of ancient or medieval rulers. The Imperial chōḷas differed from their Sangam ancestors in ignoring the ethical rules of warfare. Besides plundering and destroying the enemy's territory, they seized their women and, in a good number of cases, mutilated them[24]. Even temples, Hindu and Jain, were not spared by the Chōḷas in the western Chāḷukya empire. There is no doubt that the Imperial Chōḷas were very harsh and inhuman in the treatment of the vanquished. Lastly, the deification of Chōḷa monarchy does not loom large in the Meykīrttis although the rulers are compared to different gods.

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21. *Ibid*, p. 226
22. *Loc. cit.*
23. *Loc. cit.*
24. *Op. cit.*, vol. I, Appx I, p. 271 - 'ஒண்டிறல் யாணையும் பெண்டிர் பண்டாரமும்'; p. 275 - 'தேவியர் குழாமும் பாவையரீட்டமு மினையன பிறவு முனவயிற் கொண்டு'; p. 276 - 'செற்றவன் சிரத்தினை யறுத்து மற்றவ, ளெருமக ளாகிய விருகையன் தேவி நாகலை யென்னுந் தோகையஞ் சாயலை, முகத்தோடு மூக்கு வேருக்கிப்'; p. 277 - 'வேகவெங் களிற்றினை விலக்கி வாகை கொண், டங்கவர் தாரமு மவர் குலதனமுஞ்'; p. 280 - 'மற்றவன் தேவியைப் பற்றி வென்று'; *loc. cit.* - 'அரிவையர் குழாத்தோடு மகப்பட பிடித்து'; p. 281 - 'தோகைய ரீட்டமு மாக்களத் தகப்படக்'; p. 282 - 'மற்றவன் மாதேவியரோடும் வஸ்து வாகனங் ளைக் கொண்டு; op. cit. vol. II, Appx. I, p. 234 'கெட்டுரில் எதிர்த்த வீரபாண்டியன் முடித்தலை கொண்டமர் முடித்தவன் மடக்கொடியை வேளமேற்றித்'.

JATAVARMAN KULASEKARA PANDYA II (OF ACCESSION 1237)

N. Sethuraman, B. Sc., D. M. I. T.

In the course of seven hundred years i e. from A.D. 1000 to 1700 scores of Pandya kings existed. They had only six names often repeated. The six names were Kulasekara, Srivallabha, Vira, Vikrama, Sundara and Parakrama. They were either Jatavarmans or Maravarmans. Kings of same name with same or different titles ruled jointly or concurrently. Overlapping of the reigns is common. The phenomenon is more prominent in the 13th and 14th centuries. When one tries to study the chronology of these Pandyan Kings, he is liable to be confused one with another.

Kielhorn (1907),[1] Jacobi (1910),[2] Swamikkannu Pillai (1913)[3] and Robert Sewell (1915)[4] publihed the dates of eighteen Pandya kings who existed between 1162 and 1357. Following their foot steps, in my book "The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology", I identified twelve more Pandya Kings.

The earlier scholars followed a system for assigning numbers to the kings of same name. The system is explained below.

From A. D. 960 to 1219 the Pandyas were subordinates under the Cholas. In the year 1219, Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (of accession 1216) defeated the Cholas and brought the entire Chola Mandalam under the Pandyan banner. His successors expanded the empire upto the banks of river Tungabadra and thus they attained the Imperial Status. Those Pandya kings who *lived* and *existed* between 1219 and 1372 are called the Imperial Pandyas. They are given numbers like Jatavarman Kulasekara I, Jatavarman Kulasekara II, Maravarman Sundara I, Maravarman Sundara II and so on. (After 1372 Madura was under the control of the Vijayanagar. The Pandyas who existed after 1372 are called the Later Pandyas and their records are available in Ramnad, Tirunelveli and Kanyakumari districts. Pandyas who ruled between A. D. 1000 and 1216 were subordinates under the Cholas. Some of them are identified. Most of them are yet to be identified. They are called Medieval Pandyas. They are not given numbers because they were subordinates under the Cholas and most of them are not identified.

In my book The Imperial Pandyas, I have dealt with the Methodology[5] adopted in identifying the Pandya kings and their records. For the convenience of the readers I shall repeat it here in a simpler form.

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1. *Epigraphia Indica (E I.)* IX pp. 226 - 229
2. *E. I.*, XI
3. *Indian Antiquary*, (*I.A*) 1913
4. *E. I.* X, XI and *I.A.* 1915.
5. N. Sethuraman, *The Imperial Pandyas Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology* pp 3-20 and 72-76.

1. Kulothunga Chola I (1070 - 1122) introduced the title Tribhuvana-chakravartin. Some of the Pandya kings adopted this title. Therefore if we find this title for any Pandya king we can conclude that the king existed after 1070.

2. Upto 1219 Pandyas were subordinates under the Cholas. After 1219 Cholas were subordinates under the Pandyas. Therefore records of the Pandya kings with the title Tribhuvanachakravartin found in Chola and Tondai Mandalams really belong to those kings who existed after 1219. Their records found in Pandi Mandalam are numerous.

3. Records of the Pandyas, who existed prior to 1216 will be found in Pandi Mandalam only.

4. When we try to identify the kings, we must have a firm grip over their *prasasthis*, epithets, surnames, natal stars, etc.

5. The Paleography of the record should also be observed.

6. The astronomical data are to be carefully applied satisfying 1 to 5. If the solar day is given along with the data, suitable and authentic date can be found after following the methodology described above. Astronomical data with the solar day will repeat once in 100 or 150 years. Therefore such kind of data must be closely observed and worked out. On the above basis let us see the dates of Jatavarman Kulasekara II

Jatavarman Kulasekara II (of accession 1237)

In the 12th and 13th centuries three kings of the same name Jatavarman Kulasekara existed. But in the research work the records of these kings were mixed up[6]. In my book "The Imperial Pandyas" I have identified and sorted out the records of these three kings. They existed as follows.

1. Jatavarman Kulasekara of the Pandyan civil war: — [7] He came to the throne early in 1162. His records begin with the Tamil *Prasasthi Putala Madanthai* (பூதலமடந்தை). In the year 1166 he advanced towards Madura, killed the then Madura king Parakrama Pandya and mounted the Madura throne. The subsequent events of the Pandyan civil war are known. Kulasekara was no more after 1178. Throughout his reign he was a subordinate under the Chola king Rajadhi Raja II (1166-80). Therefore this Kulasekara did not attain the imperial status and hence no number (like I or II) is assigned to him.

2. Jatavarman Kulasekara I: — [8] He ascended the throne between the 4th and the 28th June 1190. His Tamil *Prasasthi* begins with *Puvin Kilathi* (பூவின் கிழத்தி). He lived upto 1224. In the year 1219, his successor Maravarman Sundara 1 (of accession 1216) defeated the Cholas and the latter became subordinates under the Pandyas. Since Kulasekara lived upto 1224, he attained the imperial status in the last years of his reign. Therefore he is called Jatavarman Kulasekara I.

3. *Maravarman Sundara Pandya* I came to the throne [9] in 1216. His records contain

6. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandya Kingdom*, (1972), p. 125
7. N. Sethuraman, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-24.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 25; Cf., Kielhorn, *E. I* IX p. 226.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-34.

the Tamil *Prasasthi Pumaruviya Tirumadhum* or *Thirumadandaiyum* (பூமருவிய திருமாதும் or திருமடந்தையும்). He had the epithet "who took and presented the Chola country". His rule extended upto 1241. His successor was Jatavarman Kulasekara II whom we shall discuss below.

4. Jatavarman Kulasekara II :- [10] He came to the throne in 1237. His records begin with the Tamil *Prasasthi Puthala Vanidhai* (பூதல வனிதை). Swamikkannu Pillai surmised[11] that this Kulasekara came to the throne between the 16th June and the 30th September 1237. For necessary deductions he applied the Christian Calendar system. Let us see the records consulted by Pillai. We shall apply the Indian Calendar system[12].

Madura Minakshi Temple East Gopura Tower Record No. 62/1905:- The record belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara. The data are year 2, month Tula, ba 6, Thursday and Mirgaseera. The data perfectly agree with 30th September 1238. This makes Mirgaseera in Tula of 1237 the first year. The star was current on 10th October.

Tenkarai Mulasthanam Udaiyar Temple front Mandapa fifth Pillar record No 135/1910: The record belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara. The data are year 2, Mithuna 20, Su 13, Wednesday and Anuradha. The data perfectly agree with 15th June 1239. This makes Anuradha in Mithuna of 1237 the Oth year. The star was current on 7th June.

10 – 10 – 1237 = Ist year
7 – 6 – 1237 = Oth year

The king came to the throne between the 8th June and the 10th October 1237.

Tenkarai Mulasthanam Udaiyar Temple south Prakara wall Record No. 13/1894 (S.I.I.V, 301):- It belongs to Kulasekara and it contains his *Prasasthi Puthala Vanidhai*. It is in year 3. Line 35 mentions the grants made in the year 2, Tula, ba 6, Thursday and Mirgaseera. The data agree with 30th September 1238. (compare this record with 62/1905 above.)

Viravanallur Record No. 720/1916 - The record belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara. It contains his *Prasasthi Puthala Vanidhai*. The data are year 2, Mina 22, Su 10, Wednesday and Pushya. The data agree with 16th March 1239. This proves that the king did not ascend the throne till March 1237 and it agrees with the above finding.

Sri Vaikuntham record No. 440/1961-62:- The record belongs to Kulasekara. It contains his *Prasasthi Puthala Vanidhai*. The data are year 10, Mithuna 7, ba 13, Karthigai and Sunday. The data agree with 2nd June 1247. This date makes Karthigai in Mithuna of 1237 the Oth year. The star was current on 21st June.

21 – 6 – 1237 = Oth year
10 – 10 – 1237 = Ist year

The king came to the throne betwecn the 22nd June and the 10th October, 1237

Tiruvaliswaram record No. 370/1916:- The record belongs to Kulasekara. It contains his *Prasasthi Puthala Vanidhai*. The data are

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 35 - 37

11. *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 168; *E.I*, (1915); *XI*, p. 261

12. N. Sethuraman, *op. cti.*, pp. 3 - 8; The regnal year of a Hindu king is counted on the basis of his accession Star. Cf., *Journal of The Epigraphical Society of India*, vol. V, (1978).

year 3+7 or year 3 day 2690, Margali 20, Sunday, Saptami and Uttara Badrapada. The data perfectly[13] agree with 16th December 1246.

Year 3 day 2690 = 16th December 1246
Year 3 day 1 = 6th August 1239

On the 6th August 1239 star Visaka was current in the month Avani. Visaka in Avani of 1239 belongs to the first day of the third year. Therefore lst day of the first year belongs to star Visaka in Avani of 1237. The star was current on 31st July.

Jatavarman Kulasekara II of Puthala Vanidhai Prasasthi ascended the throne on Friday the 31st July 1237. His accession star was Visaka. His Tirunelveli Record No. 139/1894 (S.I.I.V 428) states that his natal star was also Visaka.

It is generally believed that this Kulasekara lived for a short time and died within 2 or 3 years[14]. Records prove that he ruled for a long time. The following records are assigned to Kulasekara and they contain his *Prasasthi Puthala Vanidhai.*

Jatavarman Kulasekara II (of accession 1237) Records with the Prasasthi Puthala Vanidhai:

Record No.	*Village*	*Regnal year*	*A.D. Date*
349/1916	Tiruvaliswaram	Lost	
720/1916	Viravanallur	2	16—3—1239
13/1894			
S. I. I. V 301	Tenkarai	3 day 35	12—9—1239
139/1894			
S. I. I. V 428	Tirunelveli	3 day 504	2—3—1241
673/1916	Sermadevi	3 day 2594	12—9—1246
665/1916	Sermadevi	3 day 2638	26—10—1246
370/1916	Tiruvaliswaram	3 day 2690	16—12—1246
507/1916	Idakal	3 day 2766	2— 3—1247
440/1962	Sri Vaikuntham	10	2— 6—1247
379/1930	Kattarimangalam	10	1247

We have identified the records of Kulasekara upto year 10. He was alive in 1247. There is reason to believe that Kulasekara could have lived upto 1266. The surmise is substantiated by the records of other kings.

Records of Maravarman Vikrama II

Maravarman Vikrama II ruled from 1250 to 1265. His records contain the Grantha *Prasasthi "Samastha Bhuvaneka Vira"* and the Tamil Prasasthi *"Tirumalar Madhu"* (திருமலர் மாது). His Tiruvennai Nallur record No. 462/1921 contains his Grantha *Prasasthi*. It is in year 6 corresponding to 1256. It mentions Annalvi Kulasekara Deva[15].

13 *A. R. E.*, 1917, p. 93.

14. Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit*, p 136; Cf. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *Pandyar Varalaru*, (1972) p. 124.

15. N. Sethuraman, *op. cit.*, p. 82

Vikrama's Tiruchinopoly record No. 322/1956 contains his Grantha *Prasasthi*. It is dated 1st September 1258. The record mentions a colony in the name of the mother of Ulagudaiya Perumal (உலகுடைய பெருமாள்) Kulasekara Deva[16].

Records of Jatavarman Sundra Pandya I (of accession 1251)[17]

Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I came to the throne in 1251. His records contain his *Prasasthis* "Pumalar Valar" (பூமலர் வளர்) in Tamil and "Samastha Jagadadhara" in Grantha He had the epithets "*Emmandalamum Kondarulia*" (who took every country) or "*Anaithulakum Kondarulia*" (who took all countries). He gilded the Sri Rangam temple and so he was called "Pon Meyndha Mahipathi" (great king who covered the temple with gold).

Chengleput District Tiruppukkuli record (*S I.I.* VI 455) belongs to Jatavarman Sundra Pandya The regnal year is not available. The record praises the king as "*Pon Meyndha Mahipathi*" (பொன்மேய்ந்த மகிமதி) and who took all countries (மண்டலம் யாவையும் கொண்டவன்). Sundara's Tiruppunduruti record[18] is in year 7 and it is dated 7th October 1257. The record states that Sundara performed Tulabara at Sri Rangam and gilded the Sri Rangam temple[19]. His Magaral record is in year 7 and it contains his title "Emmandalamum Kondarulia" (who took every country)[20]. Sundara adopted the titles in his 7th year. Therefore the Tiruppukkuli record was engraved in or after the 7th year say in 1258. The record states[21] that Sundara built a Mandapa in the temple for the welfare of the sacred shoulders of Perumal Kulasekara Devar (பெருமாள் குல சேகர தேவர் திருத் தோளுக்கு நன்ருக). It is evident that Kulasekara was alive in 1258.

Salem District Aragalur records 426, 429 and 425 of 1913 belong to Jatavarman Sundara I and they are in years 9, 9 and 10 respectively. From these records we come to know that in Sundara's 9th year, his minister Kandiyadevan built the temple Kulasekara Avudaiyar in the name of Sundara's Annalvi (elder brother) Kulasekara. A big lake Kulasekaran Periyeri was dug in the name of Kulasekara. It is evident that Kulasekara was alive in 1260.

Jatavarman Kulasekara II was alive in 1260. There is reason to believe that he could have lived upto 1266

Darukapuram Record No. 578/1915 belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara. The data are year 23+6, Karkataka 27, Revathi and Friday. The data[22] agree with 23rd July

16. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 48 and 49; Cf. Nilakanta Sastri., *op.cit* p. 152
18. Tiruppundurutti Record No. 166/1894 *S I I.*, V. 459. *E I.* Vol. VI p. 307
19. *S. I I*, V 459 Lines 13 and 14 state".....பெருங்கடல் விரியிடை நிலத்திலங்குந் திருவரங்கம் பெருஞ்-செல்வம் சிறப்பப் பல்முறை பணிதுலாபாரமேறி பொன் மலையென்ன பொலிந்து தோன்றவும் பொன் மேய்ந்தருளிய.....etc,".
20. Magaral 218/1901; *S. I. I.*, VII, 431.
21. Tiruppukkuli Record No. 19/1899 *S. I. I.*, VI 455, belongs to Sundara Pandya. It states "வாழ்க கோயில் பொன் மேய்ந்த மகிபதி, வாழ்க செந்தமிழ் மாலை தெரிந்தவன், வாழ்க மண்டலம் யாவையும் கொண்டவன், வாழ்க சுந்தரமன்னவன் தென்னனேய், பெருமாள் குலசேகர தேவர் திருத்தோளுக்கு நன்ருக எடுத்தகை அழகியான் பல்லவராவர் செய்வித்ததன்மம்".
22. *A. R. E.*, p. 96.

1266. The date is authentic since it contains the solar day. Between 1190 and 1299 such a combination occurred[23] in 1266 only. So Kulasekara was alive in 1266.

Jatavarman Kulasekara II of "Puthala Vanidhai" Prasasthi came to the throne on 31st July 1237. His records are available upto year 10. He was alive in 1266. Probably he was no more after 1266.

His records after the 10th year are not many. But his existence is mentioned by his successors. Probably Kulasekara was sick between 1247 and 1266. This is confirmed by the Tiruppukkuli record (No. S.I.I. VI 455 above) which states that around 1258 a *mandapa* was built for the welfare of the sacred shoulders of Kulasekara.

Mannarkoil

Mannarkoil is a small village in the Ambasamudram Taluk of Tirunelveli District. The present Gopalaswami Vishnu temple of this village is a huge complex and it contains many Chola and Pandyan records.

The main temple was built by the Chera King Rajasimha in the reign of Parakesarivarman Rajendra Chola Deva I (1012-1043). This is evident from Rajendra's record No. 112/1905 of this temple. The record is in year 24 corresponding to 1036. The date of the temple is 1036. In the records of Rajendra and his successors the temple is mentioned as Rajendra Chola Vinnagar[24] called after Rajendra I.

In the reigns of the Imperial Pandyas additions were made to the temple. Within this temple there is another shrine called *Kulasekara Alwar*. The central shrine and the Prakara walls of Kulasekara Alwar shrine contain many Pandyan records.

Kulasekara Alwar shrine was built[25] in 1209 by one Sendalangaradasar in the reign of Jatavarman Kulasekara I. Sendalangaradasar continued to live in 1230, the reign of Maravarman Sundara[26] Pandya I. In honour of Sendalangaradasar, Sundara constructed a tank and called it as Sendalangaran Pudukkulam[27] (சேந்தலங்காரன் புதுக்குளம்).

Record No. 408/1916 of this shrine belongs to Kulasekara probably Jatavarman Kulasekara II. This is evident from the contents of the record. The regnal year is 11 Masi 25 corresponding to 18th February 1248. The record registers an order of the village assembly under the instruction of the king. It states that certain private houses which were required for constructing the second Prakara of the temple according to the Sastra were acquired and granted. The record is important as it conveys some interesting information to the present day Hindu Religious Endowment Board department.

Madurai Tirunjanasambandar Mutt

Tenkarai Mulasthanam Udaiyar record No. 13/1894 (*S. I. I.* V. 301) belongs to Jatavarman Kulasekara and it is in year 3.

23. Revathi in Karkataka of 1266 belongs to the 29th year. Therefore Revathi in Karkataka of 1237 falls in the 0th year. It was current on 15th July. The king did not ascend the throne till 15th July. This agress with the accession date 31st July 1237.
24. S. R. Balasubramaniam, *Medieval Chola Temples*, p. 312
25. 402/1916 of Jatavarman Kulasekara I year 19 read with 400/1916 and also with 397/1916 of Maravarman Sundara I year 14
26. 397/1916 Maravarman Sundara I year 14
27. 405/1916 Maravarman Sundara I year 14 Masi 25th (February 1230.)

Lines 6, 7, 17 and 22 state that the Thirunjanasambandar Mutt (திருஞானசம்பந்தர் மடம்) was in Madurai, the city east of Madakkulam. It is further learnt that as on 30th September 1238, the then presiding pontiff of the Mutt was *Tadpurusha Siva* one of the deciples of the *Tiruvarur Dakshina Golaki Mutt*. It is interesting to note here that the Madurai Thirunjanasambandar Mutt exists even today contributing yeoman services to Siva Sidhandha Philosophy.

Scholar in Tamil

Kulasekara's Tamil Prasasthi introduces the king as follows :- "பூதலவனிதை மேதக விளங்க மேதக மார்பினில் இந்திரை இருப்ப புயவரைத்தழுவி வயமகள் களிப்ப மயலது சிறப்பின் மாமுனி தெரிந்த இயல் இசை நாடகம் எழில் பெற வளர.....etc."

"Kulasekara has the blessings of Goddess of Earth, Goddess Mahalakshmi and Goddess Meenakshi. In his reign (Tamil) Prose, Poetry and Drama which were made known by the great sage (Agastiya) prospered with fame." It is evident that Kulasekara was a scholar in Tamil Prose, Poetry and Drama.

Viravanallur

Viravanallur is a village in the Ambasamudram Taluk of the Tirunelveli District. On the South wall of the central shrine of the Vikrama Pandyeswara temple, Kulasekara's record (720/1916) is found. It is dated 16th March 1239. The record states that one of the maid servants of the king serving in his Madura palace set up the image of Goddess and called it as "Sokka Nachiyar" after her daughter's name. She gave Jewels, Kalvadam, Padagam, Tiruchchari, Mugakkari, Mulaittadam, Haram, Mangiliyam, Pattaaikkarai, Todu, Vali, Panchasaram, Ekavadam and Talavadam to the image of Goddess. The date of the image of the Goddess in the Vikrama Pandyeswara temple is 16th March 1239. This date will be useful for the art historians.

Tiruvaliswaram

Kulasekara's Tiruvaliswaram record (370/1916) is dated 16th December 1246. The record registers an order of the king to the temple authorities that they should get the rice required for offerings from the paddy *to be husked by the dancing girls.*

THE NIDUGAL CHŌLAS – A BRIEF STUDY [AD. 1100 – AD. 1285]

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Introduction

During the period from eight to thirteenth centuries a family of Chōḷa feudatories known as Nidugal Chōḷas ruled in the North east part of Karnāṭaka with Penjeru or Henjuru (now Hemavati) and Nidugal as capitals, the former in the northern border of Sira taluk and the latter in the Pavugada taluk of Tumkur district. They also exercised control over the neighbouring districts of Chitradurga and Bellary. These local chiefs called themselves as "*Chōḷa mahārajas*" and "Lords of Uraiyūr" a place near Tiruchirapalli and claimed descent from the Solar race of Karikala Chōḷa[1] - the progenitor of early Chōḷa rulers of ancient Tamilnadu.

These Chōḷa princes were at first subordinate to the western Gangas and later shifted their loyalty towards the imperial Chōḷas. But again due to confused political situation, they retransferred their allegiance to the western Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa But the fact remains that the Hoysaḷas were hostile to them throughout the period as seen from their inscriptions which refer to frequent raids in the areas controlled by them until finally Nidugal was annexed by Hoysaḷa Narasimha II in A.D. 1285[2].

It is proposed to examine below briefly the administration of the Nidugal Chōḷas in the area occupied by them.

Political Relations

Robert Sewell and S Krishnaswami Iyengar have given a genealogical table of the Nidugal family[3]. The earliest chief mentioned in the inscriptions is Chōḷa Dhananjaya Eriga ruling over the Alvadi 600[4] along with one Cholika Muttarasa[5] jointly ruling in A.D. 750 as feudatories of Western Gangas. B.L. Rice[6] mentions that he must have been a subordinate to one Gangul Pallava Raja. Most probably these Chōḷa chiefs shifted their loyalty to the Pallavas when they were actively engaged in the war with the Chāḷukyas of Badami. By

1. *Epigraphia Carnatica (EC), XII,* 35, 50, 53, 79.
2. *EC., IV,* 60; *Ibid., V*
   C.H. Rao *Mysore Gazetteer,* Vol, II, Pt. 2. (Bangalore, 1930.) p. 1275.
3. Robert Sewell and S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India,* (Madras, 1932), p. 369
4. *EC., XII.*
5. *Ibid.,*
6. *Ibid.,* Introduction.

about the middle of the 9th century their country was overrun by the Rāṣḥṭrakūṭas and subsequently by Imperial Chōḷas till the expulsion of the latter from Karnāṭaka in about A.D. 1117.[7]

The main line of the Nidugal Chōḷas commenced from the beginning of the 12th century and continued to rule till the dawn of 13th century. During the sway of the Imperial Chōḷas over Tumkur district these Chōḷa chieftains seemed to have had close contacts with the Imperial Chōḷas which is seen from the epithets of their records. It is reasonable to assume that the Nidugal Chōḷas who claimed descent from the Śaṅgam Chōḷa as must have served under the imperial Chōḷas and later due to commercial contacts they must have migrated from the Tamil country to Nidugal.

The most prominent member of the Nidugal Chōḷa dynasty was *Mahamandalēśwara Virapāṇḍya Iruṅgōla Chōḷa I* a contemporary of Kulottunga Chōḷa I ruling in A.D. 1106[8]. The title "Vira Pāṇḍya" adopted by this ruler remains obscure but it can be conceived that some of his ancestors would have hailed from the Pandyan country or had family ties. He is referred to as governing Rodda 300, Sire 300, Harave 300 and Sindavadi 1000 - all these places constituting the surrounding Nidugal country, Irungōla is said to be the son of Govinda and Mahadevi[9]. There is another Mahadevi[10] who was the second wife of Hoysaḷa Ereyanga (A.D. 1063-1100?). She is reputed to have constructed a tank at Tereyur located in Tumkur[10a]. It is quite obvious that she was a local Chōḷa princess of Nidugal. Her father Irukkuvēl seems to have hailed from a local chieftain's family who served as military officials under the imperial Chōḷas. Irukkuvēl's father Pāṇḍya seems to have served in directing Chāḷukya Vikrama ditya by driving out his cruel brother Somēśvara II. C.H Rao, says thus :

> "This he should have done as an officer under the Chōḷa king Virarājēndra I"[11]

and even the latter's records claim to, as having captured the Rattapadi seven and a half lakh country and later granted it to Vikramaditya. Thus it is evident that due to the loyal service of these local Chōḷa chiefs, peace prevailed for a short period between the Chōḷas and the Chāḷukyas[12].

Diplomacy, an important and potent weapon in the keeping of cordial inter-state relations, is illustrated in the history of the Nidugal chieftains who succeeded in establishing amity with the Irukkuvēls of Kodumbalur (in the Kulattur taluk of Tiruchirapalli district) who had family ties with the imperial Chōḷas. The name 'Irungōla' or

7. There are two Tamil inscriptions one of the 31st year of Rājadhirāja Chōḷa Dēva - *EC., XII,* Kg. 2 dated AD. 1048 ; The other one of Rājēndra Chōḷa II dated A D. 1061 - *EC., XII,* Mi 76 - Both the record refers to some grant.
8. *EC., XII,* Cl. 16.
9. *Ibid., XII,* p. 43.
10. *Ibid., V.* AK. 102a.
10.a *Ibid.,* Introduction, p. XI XIII
11. C.H. Rao., *op cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. II, (Bangalore, 1930,) p. 1320.
12. H. Krishnasastri, *The Hoysaḷas* in *QJMS.*, II, p. 115.

"a man of firm action" is found scattered in the records found throughout the Tumkur and Anantapur districts.[13] The name itself indicates strongly the intimate relationship between the Irukkuvēls and Chōḷas and the epigraphs affirm the long standing traditional friendship with the Chōḷas.

Many Irukkuvēl Chiefs figure as officers and generals under the imperial Chōḷas. We have one Mūvēndavēlān the Irukkuvēl chief and famous general of Virarājēndra I who assisted him in the battle of Kūdal Saṅgaman and defeating the Western Chāḷukya Somēśvara I[14]. During this period the Nidugal Chōḷas developed their relations with the Irukkuvēls who in turn helped the imperial Chōḷas. It is rightly observed by M. Arokiaswami in the following words:

> "It would thus appear that the Irukkuvel race had helped the (Nidugal) Chōḷas to a very large extent in the successful prosecution of their foreign policy"[15]

We also have an inscription[16] of Irungola I which speaks of him as *Mahamandalēśvara Irungōla Cōḷamahārāj* who made an alliance with Rachamalla, the Sinda ruler of Kurugodu family, the reason is not known but most probably it must have been politically motivated. Irungōla Chōḷa III in A.D. 1276 joined the sevuna army in the capture of Dorasamudra[17] which is a positive evidence for the Nidugal Chōḷas who were hostile to the Hoysaḷas and subsequently they concentrated more on developing diplomatic ties to drive out their opponent i.e., the Hoysaḷas.

Administration

The Nidugal chiefs acted as the heads of *Panchamahasabha* [18] or town assembly assisted by a council of ministers and other assemblies. Thus we have one Hiriya Tantrapala Naman, a senior minister of Mallideva, son of Irungōla II who made grants to the family deity of Nidugal [19]. Bammana, the elder brother of Mallideva, was the *Varamantri* who ruled the Hemavati Kingdom i. e., Naravadi 500 (Nalavadi Vishaya) which was a portion of Kurnool district [20]. We also notice queens or princess like Sitadevi (wife of Malli-deva) making grants independently to the shrine of Nonambisvara which is reputed as the *Ghatika - Sthana* of Henjerapatna[21], a leading educational institution and the only one of its kind ever noticed in the Nidugal country during the sway of the Chola chiefs.

As *Mahamandalēśvaras* or heads of the armies, the Nidugal Chōḷas were entitled to maintain law and order in the areas ruled over by them. It seems that they maintained a formidable army of their own. It is said in

13. *A.R.E.*, 92 of 1912, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 103: *EC., XI,* (ii) 20
14. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 20.
15. M. Arokiasami, *Early history of the Velar basin*, (Madras, 1954), p. 115.
16. *EC.*, XI, Cl. 11, 16, 20.
17. *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 164, 165,
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 43.
20. *A. R. E*, 1935-36, II, p. 67, para. 24.
21. *EC.*, XII, p. 35

an inscription[22] that Irungola II was highly skilled in the use of archery and the other weapons of warfare which reveals the development of military system among the Nidugal Chōḷas. They also occupied a strategic position in their hill fortress of Nidugal. Irungōla III's son Bhoga whose son was Bamma gained reputation by constructing a line of fortifications connecting the forts of Harriya and Nidugal in the Pavugada taluk[23]. These hill chiefs built a chain of hill forts throughout their territories which acted as a natural means of defence.

The Nidugal fort is in the Pavugada taluk of Tumkur district. The inscriptions[24] mention that the hill was named *Nidugal* (lofty rock) because it touched the skies with its formidable peak. It was considered as the most inaccessible of all the hill forts in the Kannada country. Nidugal is also called as *Kālanjana* or hill fortress in some inscriptions[25]. During the ninth and tenth centuries it was held by the Nolamba Pallava rulers who ruled from Henjeru or Hemavati. Afterwards it passed into the hands of the local Chōḷa dynasty and finally into the possession of the Hoysaḷa Ballala II. Subsequently the Harati chiefs[26] who were the feudatories of Vijayanagar captured it. By AD 1761 Haidar and Tippu Sultan held Nidugal who finally submitted to the British.

Though the Nidugal Chōḷas were Śaivites following religious policy of the Imperial Chōḷas they promoted all religions equally well as can be observed from the regular grants made by them to the temples of different sects at Nidugal and Hemavati. In A. D. 1232 Irungola II made a grant to a Jaina *Basadi* situated on the Nidugal hill[27]. The Pārśvanātha Basti of the Hoysaḷa Dravidian style is said to be built by him.[27a] And in A.D. 1247 he is bestowed with the title "*Danva Murari*"[28] or "Lord Vishnu-the protector" which indicates the universality of all religions and as a saviour to his country.

Building activity received considerable attention from these rulers They constructed several tanks, canals, wells and temples. At Hemavati Mallideva renovated the well of a private person belonging to Akur in Rājarāja Valanāḍu, a division south of Mysore [29] and we also find a merchant from Tamil country who built a well at Henjeru.

Trade was carried on an extensive scale and mercantile organisations made frequent grants to the temples. The articles of trade were numerous and the local organisation concentrated more on exports. Nidugal and Hemavati towns seem to have important trade centres. Records refer to Dāsi Śeṭṭi who transported goods of the east to the west from north to south and south to north; we also

22. *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 50.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *EC.*, XII, p. 52 of A.D. 1232 and p. 54 of A.D. 1487.
25. *Kalinjar or Kalanjan* is a hill fortress in central India which was under the control of Chandelas, and the Kalachuris claim is that they have come from this place.
26. *EC.*, XII, p. 46.
27. *Ibid.*, p 52.
27a. *Ibid.*, p. 51; *M.A.R.*; 1938, p.6.
28. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 37.
29. *A.R.E.*, 15 of 1917.

have one Damodar Setti who is spoken of having made available the goods needed by the Malava, Kalinga, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya rulers.[30]

Thus we have a Chōḷa chief Tribhuvanamalla Chola and the *desi* merchants of four dialects (Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam) along with the cooperation of the *Nakaras* of Henjeru made a gift of fixed fee of all goods which were exported such as the following : Gold piece, rice, paddy, saffron, yak-tail, *cuscus*, cotton thread, beads, sealling wax, areca rock-salt, wax, resin, hemp, wool, sandal, silk-thread tiger-skin, lead, tin, grass, firewood, vegetable salt, sugar, sarees, lampōil, coconut, palm-wine and wheat [31] This long list of articles" as observed by Dr. A. Appadorai "put into market and the volume of exchange that such a trade should have involved in order to make the merchants endow a part of the profits there on, evidently indicates an advanced state of commercial progress and economic prosperity".[32]

The merchant communities also assembled at Hemavati and granted one *dalavisa* on each Kammata in the house of artisans and one *haga* per month on each *Kammata* in the street. The Nidugal Chōḷas followed a type of measure named as *Rājarāja Sanchika*[33] about which not much is known. The Nidugal Chōḷas also maintained a mint though its location and details of its function is not known. Mallideva is said to have granted 2 *Visas* and one *dala* in the mint where the coins were minted.[34] Thus it can be concluded, the Nidugal Chōḷas, though feudatory in character, maintained a sound administrative machinery and they encouraged trade and commerce, attracted merchants from all parts of the country.

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30. *E.C.* V, 22 dt., A.D 1188; 157, Dt. A.D. 1154 and 108 dt., A.D. 1255.

31. *A.R.E*, 8 of 1914; 1915, Pt. ii, para 36; 11 of 1917; 213 of 1918; *E.I*, IV, p. 297.

32. A. Appadorai, *Economic conditions in Southern India*, Vol. I, (University of Madras, 1936), pp. 338-442. Refer to towns and internal trade.

33. *A.R.E*, 8 of 1917; Kammata is a small movable furnace utilised by the goldsmiths for melting the precious metals; *Visa* or *Visam* in Tamil is the lowest denomination of the coinage system. Thus 16 *Visas* = 1 *pana* and 10 *panas* = 1 *gadyana*.

34. *A.R E.*, 499 of 1915; *S.I.I.* IX, 228.

KARNATAKA AND KERALA CONTACT AND ADJUSTMENT 1336-1606

K. G. Vasantha Madhava

Introduction

The history of contact and adjustment between the peoples of Karnataka and Kerala is an interesting chapter in the History of South India, but no serious attempt has been done for a study in this direction. The present paper seeks to throw light on this aspect in the medieval period. South Kanara district served as the meeting ground of the cultural corrents in Karnataka and Kerala.

Early contacts

The political contacts between the Karnataka and Kerala commenced from early times. Pulikesi II, of the Chalukya dynasty befriended the ruler of Kerala before he started the military campaign against the Pallava King Mahendravarman[1]. However the political relations between Karnataka and Kerala strained in the days of the Rashtrakuta King, Govinda III. He twice crushed the forces of Kerala[2]. An inscription belonging to the year 1117 A.D. informs us of the strained relation between the Hoysala ruler, Vishnuvardhana, and the kings of Kerala. According to this inscription, Punisa, one of the Commanders of the Hoysala King, Vishnuvardhana, put to death the Malayalas (North Kerala) and captured their forces.[3] It seems that Hoysala king Narasimha employed Malayalis in the administrative service. One such person who served the Hoysala king was Kunjambi. A court merchant and an expert in testing all manners of gems and was a famous diplomat, he brought about an alliance between the Hoysala monarch in the south and Ballaha in the North.[4]

In the religious field Sri Sankaracharya and Sri Madhava and other saints played prominent roles in bringing about contact and adjustment between the peoples of Karnataka and Kerala. It was Sri Sankaracharya who introduced Panchayatana forms of worship in the coastal Karnataka[5]. His name is associated with the centres of Sakti Worship in the coastal Karnataka. Similarly, Sri Madhvacharya is said to have defeated one learned Saiva Scholar, Vidyasankara, in the court of the king of Travancore and earned admiration.[6] Vimalasiva, a

1. P. B. Desai and Others ed., *A History of Karnataka* (Dharwar, 1970), p. 98.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 121 - 123.
3. *Epigraphia Carnatica* IV, Ch. 83, p. 10.
4. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 157 - 158.
5. Anandagiri, *Sankara Vijaya*, quoted by Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture* (Manipal 1975), pp. 270 - 271
6. B. A. Saltore, *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I (Poona, 1936), p. 419.

great scholar from Kerala, was honoured by the Kalacuriy kings of Karnataka.[7] The Malabar Muslims known as Mapillas, strengthened the commercial contact between Karnataka and Kerala.

The Vijayanagara Emperors and Kerala Rulers

The foundation of Vijayanagara had its influence on the political condition of Malabar. If, Malabar mentioned in the inscription dated in 1392[9]; from Barakuru, is interpreted as Malabar,[10] it is beyond doubt that the Vijayanagara empire extended up to Cannanore in North Kerala.[11] The rest of the kings in Kerala vaguely recognised the overlordship of the Vijayanagara emperors. In support of this, the following evidence may be cited. Ferishta, the court historian of Ibrahim Adil Shah I, says that Rayas of Malabar and others kept their envoys in the court of Bukka I and sent annually rich presents to the Vijayanagara kings[12]. A Persian traveller, Abdur Razzak, was of the opinion that the king of Calicut had both fear and respect for the Vijayanagara emperor, although the imperial sway did not extend to Calicut.[13]

The king of Quilan paid tribute to the Vijayanagara emperor Devaraya II as this is known from the accounts of Nuniz.[14] The study of the foreign travellers' accounts gives an impression that the king of Calicut was one of the tributary princes to Emperor Krishnadevaraya.[15] Probably for this reason, Krishnadevaraya showed indifference to Albuquerque's request for assistance against the king of Calicut.[16]

The emperors of Vijayanagara did not interfere in the internal administration of the Kerala rulers. But when the rulers in Kerala undermined the authority of the Vijayanagara emperors, the latter took stern measures to crush them. For example, in 1535 A. D. the king of Venad in the Travancore region, Bhutalavira Udaya Marthanda varma, incurred the displeasure of the Vijayanagara emperor, Achutaraya, by giving political asylum to Chellappa, a rebel feudatory of the Vijayanagara emperor. In this context Achutaraya sent a force under his brother-in-law, Salaka Timma, to punish the Venad ruler and bring back Chellappa. An epic battle took place between the forces of Venad and Vijayanagara on the banks of the Tamraparni. The Venad king was defeated and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Vijayanagara. He handed over Chellappa to Salaka

7. *Ibid*, p. 394.
8. Tulu Bobbareya Padadana, *Indian Antiquary*, XXV, pp. 239-41. Aigal, *Attavara Doyyongulu* (Mangalore, 1924), p. 2.
9. *SII*, VII No. 344.
10. K. V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara* (Dharwar, 1970), p. 158.
11. Panikkar K. M., *Malabar and the Portuguese* (Bombay, 1929), p. 12.
12. Briggs, Trans., *The History of the rise of Mahommedan Power in India*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1910), pp. 337f.
13. Sewell R., *A Forgotten Empire* (Delhi, 1962), p. 85.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 289.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 270, 355 and 369.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 120. With regard to this incident Prof. Krishna Ayyar remaaks "At Albuquerque's request Krishnadevaraya invaded the Zamorin's dominion in Palghat" *A History of Kerala* (Ernakullam, 1966), p.83. But we do not have any evidence either in Kannada or Portugues in support of this.

Timma together with presents of elephants and horses. Inspite of this defeat, Udaya Marthanda still continued to exercise sway over large portions of territory in the Tirunelveli region.[17]

Within a decade of this incident, the king of Venad Sri Vira Kerala Varma, again incurred the displeasure of the Vijayanagara emperor by attacking Kayal of the fishery coast and by withholding tribute to Vijayanagara. To tackle this situation, Ramaraya, the regent of Sadasiva, sent an expedition under his cousin, Viththala and Timma. The Vijayanagara army under these leaders won a victory. The king of Venad, Rama Varma, promised to pay tribute annually and ceded Tinnevelly to Vijayanagara. But he threw off the Vijayanagara yoke in 1558.[18]

Malabar and Kanara Chiefs :

It was in the Vijayanagara period that the chiefs of Kanara and Malabar came into contact. These contacts were of political, military and commercial nature. The chiefs of Kumbala had matrimonial relations with the Cochin chiefs. Although the chiefs of Kanara acknowledged the supremacy of the Vijayanagara emperors, these chiefs often concluded military alliance with the Malabar chiefs independently. It is interesting to note the chiefs Kolasterri showed high veneration to Gokarna Mahabalesvar and regarded this deity as their family God.[19] Further in the course of their conflicts the chiefs of Kanara often sought the help of the Malabar chiefs.

For instance, an epigraph dated in 1410 A.D. informs us that the Banga chief sought the help of Nilesvara Mutarsa against the Chauta. But the last one crushed the combined forces of the Bangas and Nilesvara forces.[20]

In the beginning of the sixteenth century the Malabar Muslims established their trade in the Kanara ports like Mangalore, Barcelore, (Basruru) Bhatkal, Honnavar and Mirjan.[21] It was the advent of the Portuguese that led to closer contacts between the chiefs of Malabar and Kanara. The chiefs of Malabar and Kanara were adversely affected by the predatory activities of the Portuguese. The latter decided to destory the Mapillas influence. For example, in 1502 A.D., the Portuguese forced upon the chiefs of Bhatkal and Honnavar not to admit ships from Calicut.[22]. In 1530 the Portuguese under Nuno Da Cunha came to Mangalore and constructed a fort with an intention of

17. N. Venkatramanayya, *Studies in the third dynasty of Vijayanagara* (Madras 1935), pp. 78 - 79. A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History* (Kottyam, 1976), p. 231; P.B. Desai, *op, cit.*, p 374.

18. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Vol. I (Madras, 1927), p. 162. A Sreedhara Menon, *op cit.*, p, 231f. Sathianathaier, *History of India*, Vol. II (Madras, 1973), p. 339.

19. M.G. Aigal, *Dakshina Kannada Jelleya Prachina Ithihasa* (Mangalore, 1923), p. 375.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 430.

21. *Livro Das Cidades* qutoed by B. S. Shastry, *the Portuguese in Kanara*, 1498 - 1763 (unpublished thesis Bombay 1969), pp. 106-7 Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa:* An Account of the countries bordering on the Indian ocean and their inhabitants. Trans. by Dames, (London, 1918) pp. 184 - 196,

22. Heras, *op., cit*, p. 187. B.S. Shastry, *Journal of Indian History* (April, 1974), p. 150. The ships coming from Calicut were managed by the Malabar Muslims.

punishing rich merchants there on acconnt of their collusion with the king of Calicut.[23] Further the Portuguese persuaded the Vijayanagara emperor not to allow the Moors of Malabar to have trade in the empire. It seems that they succeeded in their attempts as this clause is found in the treaty between the Vijayanagara and the Portuguese in the year 1546.[24] All these had repurcusions in the political condition of Malabar and Kanara. In the year 1521 Kuti Ali, the naval commander of the Zamorin of Calicut, succeeded practically in cutting off all trade connection of the Portuguese between the regions Cochin and Goa.[25] There is every reason to believe that he could have done it with the active help of the Kanara chiefs. The Malabar chiefs actively instigated the queen of Bhatkal Chennadevi Amma, against the Portuguese. The latter attacked Bhatkal in 1542 burnt it and forced the Queen to accept their terms. In that treaty the Queen was forbidden to have any commercial contact with the Malabar chiefs.[26]

After the battle of Rakkastangadi in 1565, the Portuguese predatory activities in Kanara and Malabar increased by leaps and bounds. The Portuguese decided to destroy the trade contacts of the Malabaris in Kanara.[27] In order to overcome the meance, the chiefs of Kanara very often sought the help of the Malabar chiefs and fought against the Portuguese. For instance in 1569, the Malabar chiefs incited Chenna Bhairadevi of Gerasoppe and Bhatkala to disown the treaty of 1546 concluded with the Portuguese.[28] Another Queen in Kanara known as Abbakkadevi II of Ullala, sought the help and assistance of the Zamorin against the Portuguese[29] in 1598. In the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Malabaries and Kannadigas succeeded in obstructing the landing of the Portuguese force at Kasargod.[30] The concerted actions of the chiefs of Malabar and Kanara alarmed the Portuguese. Thus in 1599 Kunjali III secured the alliance of the chiefs of Banga and the Queen of Ullala against the Portuguese. Realising that their trade interest in Mangalore would be adversely affected as the result of this, the Portuguese Viceroy sent Andre Furtado to Mangalore with the intention of disuading both chiefs of Kanara from assisting Kunjali[31].

Social Contacts

The social contact between the peoples of Karnataka and Kerala increasecl as the result of migration of the peoples in

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23. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
24. *Ibid*, p. 63.
25. K. M. Panikar, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
26. Heras, *op cit.*, p. 187.
27. B. S. Shastry, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 104 and 299; Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-298.
28. Shastry, *op. cit.*, p. 96. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 293.
29. G. M. Moraes, *Mangalore: A Historical Sketch* (Mangalore, 1927), p. 13.
30. Francoise Pyrard, *The Voyage of Francoise Pyrard of Laval to Indies, the Maldieves and Moulccas*, trans. by Albert Gray and H. C. Bell, (London 1887). pp. 344 - 45.
31. C. F. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India'* II (London 1894), p. 177.

these egions. This migration seems to have intensified from the fourteenth century.[32] The migration of Brahmanas from Kanara in the places of Gunavante, Dipapatana (Honnavara), and Idakunja (Idakunje) to Kolathanada in Kerala is known to us from the *Udyavarma Carita*, supposed to have been complete in composition in the fourteenth century. Similarly, a few Kannada inscriptions and literary works refer to the settlement of Malayalis in South Kanara. These Malayalis are the Nambudris, the Nayars and the Muslims In support of this the following evidence may be cited. An epigraph dated in 1389 A.D.[33] found at Kadri temple at Mangalore, refers to the Namburi settlement around the temple. The Mangalore version of the Gramapadati relates to us that Lokaditya Mayura Varma after assigning the thirty-two Gramas to Achichchatra Brahmanas, placed at their disposal Nayar people from Malabar to aid[34] them in the conduct of their agricultural operations. The existance of the Nair community in South Karnataka district is recorded in a few inscriptions. An epigraph dated in 1373, found at Barakuru mentions Takuru Nayar's service to the deity, Somadeva of that place[35] An unpublished copper plate inscription deposite dat Gurukula Basadi at Mudabidre, dated 1389 A. D speaks of the agreement between Flanje Kinnakka Heggade and Kannara Nayar regarding the land dispute at Malepadi village (S K.)[36]. The relics of the Nayar settlement are still found in South Kanara.[37] These Nayars took up agriculture[38] and military services under the South Kanara chiefs In the principality of the Bangas the Malabar Muslims and the Nayars were employed as soldiers The study of the Portuguese record of 1619 gives an impression that the Benga Chiefs employed the Nayars in the military service [39] Similarly other Malabaris were also enrolled in the military services of the South Kanara chiefs An inscription dated in 1598 A. D informs us that the forces of Kalasa - Karkala comprised 5000 Malabars.[40] As notice dearlier the migration of the Malabar Muslims in

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32. Unni N. P. "A Note On Udayavarmacarita", *Journal of Kerala Studies* (Jan., 1974), p. 169.

33. *SII*, VII No. 190

34. Saletore, B. A. *op. cit.* p 299. The Tulu Gramapadati was composed in the latter half of the fourteenth century. Saletore, B.A. *op.cit*, pp 345-47.

35. *SII*, VII No. 358.

36. Inscription discovered by me through the good office of Sri Devakumar Jain, Mudabidre.

37. The traces of the Nayars settlement are still seen in South Kanara. There is a tank called Nayarkere in the Kappegramma of Udupi Taluka. In the Nitturu in the same taluka, there is Nayar *Matha*. In Brahamavara in the same taluka are a few Nayars families; these are called Rakkenayar, Elenayar etc. In Mulki in the Mangalore Taluk is a Nayar temple of God Tistava. Near the same village there is a place called Nayarkodi. Among the Mundala Holeyas of Tuluva is a song concerning Nayar people. See B.A. Saletore, *Indian Antiquary*, LVI p 76.

38 A good number of inscriptions belonging to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries found in different parts of South Kanara mention Nayaramula in grants to Brahmanas. See *SII* VII Nos. 319, 344, 351, and 356. Here the Nayaramula may be interpreted as the ploughing rights on the ground that Nayar means in Tulu language Plough. See Manner, *English-Tulu Dictionary*, (Mangalore 1886. p 404.

39. P.S.S. Pissurlencar *Assentos Do conselon Do Estado* quoted By B.S., Shastry *op. cit.* p. 146.

40. *SII*, No. VII, No. 245. See K.V. Ramesh *op. cit.*, p 263.

the coastal Kanara and their commercial activities strengthened the commercial contacts between these regions. In the Tulu Padadana called *Attavara Doyyongulu* we are informed that the Mapillas occupied a high place in the government of the Banga chiefs.[41] Further the Portuguese sources say that in 1567 Queen Abbakka Devi I of Ullala had armed strength of six thousand Malabar Muslims and with this force the Queen resisted the Potuguese [42]

The study of the Talangeri inscription ascribed to the tenth century,[43] and other sources provide evidence to presume that the practice of succession, inheritance and rules of residence on maternal lines as practised in North Malabar gradually influenced the people and the rulers of Kanara. The synthesis of political contact between Karnataka and Kerala is seen in the Kumbala principality.[44] Here the rulers claim their origin to the Kadambas of Banavasi in Karnataka and other customs practised in the Cochin royal family of Kerala[45].

The contact and adjustment between the peoples of Karnataka and Kerala in the course of history led to the evolution of distinct cultural features in South Kanara district. These features are Bhuta Worship,[46] Nagamandala, Yakshgana and the fourteen Kattus and sixteen Kattales observed by communities belonging to the Aliyasanta system of inheritance. In all these a fusion of Karnataka and Kerala culture are seen.

41. Aigal, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
42. G. M. Moraes, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-1.
43. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXI, pp. 203-9.
44. *Annual report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1928-29, No 465.
45. A. Sreedhara Menon opines that the *Kambala rajas*, however claim descent from the legendary Cheruman Perumal. See Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala History* p. 202.
46. The fame of Kalkudaka Bhuta of S. K. spread to Kerala where he is known as *catu kuti*. See B. A. Soletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, p. 371.

ATĪVIRARĀMA PĀṆḌYA OF TENKĀŚI

T.S. Mira Devi

Ativīrarāma alias Śrivallabhadeva, son of Śālivātipa i Tirunelvēlipperumāḷ Kulasekhara, was one of the most important of the later Paṇḍya rulers of Tenkāśi Albeit a subordinate under the Nayaks, Ativīrarāma made himself illustrious comparable with the great Pāṇḍyas, in his wide patronage of Tamil poets and men of letters, himself being no mean a poet and philosopher. Most outstanding was his contribution as a builder of grand Temples. Among the scions of Later Pandyas he was indubitably the most distinguished as a poet, patron of letters and architecture and a gracious donor of several religious and charitable endowments. An attempt is made here to throw light on his contribution to literature and architecture, on the basis of a study of relevant stone inscriptions, copper plates and literary works.

Ativīrarāma, also known as Aḷagan Perumāḷ is referred to in his incriptions as Jalilavarman alias Tribhuvana Chakravartin, Kōnērmaikoṇḍāṇ Perumāḷ Alagan Perumāḷ Ativīrarāma alias Śrīvallabha. This later Pāṇḍya ruler seems to have taken an active part in the administration long before he was crowned. The first inscription to throw light on the association of this prince with the administration is dated Śaka 1478[1]. In the Kāśi Visvanātha temple at Tenkāśi there are fourteen inscriptions recording various grants, appointments, transfer of lands, etc, carried out on the orders of Prince Aḷagan Perumāḷ Ativirarāma[2]. Records of similar nature are found at Puliyūr[3], Ūrmēniaḷagiyāṇ[4] and Śolapuram[5]. All these inscriptions are dated between the seventh and ninth year of Kulaśēkhara Dēva's reign. They reveal the interest taken by the prince in temple administration. On his advice inefficient temple officials and defaulters were removed. New persons were appointed whenever the incumbents died without issue and steps were taken to preserve and maintain temples. It is no wonder that later as a king he proved himself to be the greatest patron of temple architecture.

Ativīrarāma was crowned in Śaka 1486 as mentioned in an inscription on the main Gōpura of Kāśi Viśwanātha temple at Tenkāśi. It is in a single verse recording the coronation of Aḷagaṇ Sīvalavēl on Monday, sixth tithi of Śuklapaksha, Twentieth of Chittrai of the year Rakthākshi, in Saka 1486[6]. This corresponds to April 16, A D. 1564.

1. *ARE* - 481 / 1917.
2. *ARE* - 1917.
3. *ARE* - 403 / 1917.
4. *ARE* - 617 / 1917.
5. *ARE* - 483 / 1909.
6. *ARE* - 509 / 1909.

Ativīrarāma must have ruled for more than forty years, though the Pudukkōṭṭai plates curtail his period of rule to twenty one years. The Pudukkōṭṭai grant dated in Saka 1505, Subhanu and in the twenty first year of Ativīrarāma purports to be granted by Śrīvallabha and Varatungarāma[7]. This Śrīvallabha is stated to be the brother of Ativīrarāma who was crowned on the death of the latter. The identity of this Śrīvallabha and the date of the death of Ativīrarāma are disputable and remain problematic. Ativīrarāma, himself had the name Śri Vallabha and it is rather curious that two sons should have been given the same name. Even if this is accepted as a practice not uncommon in the Pāṇḍya family, it has to be noted that there is no reference to a brother of Ativīrarāma in any other record. How is this to be explained? Mr. Krishna Sastry identified Śri Vallabha with Ativīrarāma himself[8]. But there is a clear statement in the Pudukkōṭṭai plates regarding the death of Ativīrarāma (Line 71). Yet the grant is stated to have been issued in the Twenty-first year after the coronation of Ativirarama (Line 136). If his brother Sri Vallabha had succeeded him and had issued the grant why should it have been dated in the regnal year of Ativirarāma and not in his own regnal year? Apart from this there are clear evidences to prove that Ativīrarāma was alive till Saka 1527 and continued to to rule till then. An inscription on the north wall of Lokanāyaki Amman Shrine in the Kāsi Viswanatha Temple registers a gift of land made at the instance of Ativīrarāma for offering worship to the Goddess Ulagamuḻudumudaya Nachiar as an abhisheka kattalai. It is dated Saka 1527, Visvavasu, Ani, Sunday, Dasami and it corresponds to the forty second year of Ativirarama (Sunday June 16th A. D. 1605.[9] Another inscription is Sri Kuttālanathar Temple, dated Saka 1527, Visvavasu, (corresponding to Thursday, June 27th A. D. 1605) is the last inscription of Ativirarama[10]. So it is evident that Ativīrarāma ruled for forty two years and could not have died in Saka as mentioned in Pudukkottāi plates 1505. Dr. Burnell refers to a copper plate grant that assigns Ativirarama's death in A. D. 1610[11]. So this later Pandya ruler's reign seems to have extended for more than 40 years.

Ativīrarāma distinguished himself not only as a patron of literature and learning but also as a renowned poet. He wrote a number of works of high standard. His work 'Naidadam' is written in elegant style and is supposed to be based on 'Sri Harsha's Naishada'. The study of this work is considered as essential for any poet to attain literary proficiency. The dictum 'Naidatham Pulavarukku Oridhaiham' reflects the popularity of this book. His Kūrma Purānam and Kāsikkāndam are translated works. The Lakshmi Stōtram, Śiva Satakam and Śakti Kavacham in Kāsikkāndam are commonly recited as prayers by devout men. Ativīrarāma is also supposed to have written Vāya Samhita, Lingapurānam and Karuvai Andādis, but this is not acceptable. Karuvai Padithrupattandādi, Karuvai Venba Andādi

7. *ARE* - 1912 Part II.
8. *TAS* - i.
9. *ARE* - 580 / 1917.
10. *ARE* - 460 / 1917.
11. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 104.

and Karuvai Kalithurai Andādi form this collection, known as Karuvai Andādis. Of these Karuvai Padithupattandadi is described as a 'Miniature Tiruvachakam' on account of its exposition of Bakti. In the customary prefactory stanzas in Naidadam, Kāsikkandam and Kūrmapurānam there is clear reference to their authorship[12]. Sri M. Arunachalam attributes Linga Purānam and Vāya Samhitai to Varagunarāma and Karuvai Andadi to Varatungarāma[13].

Ativīrarāma wrote a simple moral code Vetrivērkkai or Narunthogai. Though it is meant for children it is quite popular even among scholars who quote some of its maxims, e.g., கல்விக்கழகு கசடற மொழிதல். This work provides an insight into the concept of Ativīrarāma regarding kingsbip, code of conduct and education. He gives importance for learning, discipline and duty. He condemns tyranny of a monarch and declares that benevolent rule alone should be the guiding principle of a monrch.

All these literary exercises reveal Ativirarama's mastery of Sanskrit and Tamil and have secured for him an important place in Tamil literature and as Nilakanta Sastri says he rightly deserved the name Sāhityasārvabhauma. [14]

Ativīrarāma uphold the Pāṇḍya tradition of extensive patronage of talented Tamil poets and writers. Svamideva was his Guru and he pays his homage to him in his three important works. He gave patronage to Chērai Āsukavirāsar Tiruvaṇṇāmalai Chidambaranāthar and Naidadam Rāmakrishn a mentioned in Pudukkoṭṭāi plates. It is said that Āsukavirāsa composed Kalāthinathar Kattalai Kalithurai at the instance of Ativirarama.

Though Ativirarama's rule seems to have extended over a small area, most probably half the size of the present Thirunelveli District, he was able to mobilise resources for the construction of huge temples. Next to the Kāśivisvanātha temple of Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya, the temples constructed by Ativirarama stand out as the best monuments of the later Pāṇḍya period. He built the Kulaśekharamudayār temple named in honour of his father, on the eastern side of Dakshinakāśi, on the north bank of the river Chitra. The foundation inscription engraved on the north wall of the central Shrine commences with the words Bhuvanaikavīra and other epithets and records that the King was born in Punarvasu and constructed the temples of Kulaśekaramudayār, Kuḷalvaymoḷinangai Nāchiyar and the Parivāra Dēvatas and provided for the services and festivals in the temple [15].

This temple whieh is in neglected state is even now an impressive structure. The temple of Kulaśekharamudayār consists of a three tier *vimāna*, an *arthamaṇḍapa*, *mukha*, mandapa and a *Mahamaṇḍapa*. There are, separte *parivara* for Mahāganapathy and Subrahmanya. The idol of Subramanya is a sculpture of exquisite beauty.

Outside this enclosure on the left side, the shrine of Kuḷalvāymoḷi Amman is situated

12. *Naidadam*, Pub., Saiva Siddhantha Kazhagam.
13. M. Arunachalam, *Tenkasi Pandiyar*, (Gandhi Vidyalaya, Mayuram, 1977).
14. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 221.
15. *A R E* - 490 / 1917.

This also consists of an *arthamaṇḍapa, mukha maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* and a three tier *vimāna*, all of lesser dimensions.

Both the *vimanas* are in dilapidated condition. The Dhwaja Sthambha in front of both the Shrines are missing and only the foundations remain. In front of the Balipita there is a big *maṇḍapa* with a number of pillars. On the left side there is a *Kalyāna maṇḍapa* with almost all the beautiful sculpures on the pillars damaged.

The gateway has been constructed only upto the *adhisthana*. The size of this basement indicates that the king had planned to build a multi-tiered *gopura*. There is no evidence as to why the structure was left incomplete. As this temple was consecrated by the king in the fifth year of his reign itself there was plenty of time for him to complete the construction. The entire temple complex is enclosed by a massive *prakara* wall.

The incriptions on the walls of the central Shirine as well as in the *maṇḍapa* in the central Shirine mention the munificient grants and endowments made by the king to meet the expenses of worship, festivlas,etc. Inspite of that the temple stands as a monument of utter neglect and callous treatment by the later generations.

Ativīrarāma who was a great Siva bhakta built a Vaishnava temple also. The temple of Srīvalvaviṇṇavar Emperumān situated close to the Kulaśēkara temple was constructed by him at the same time as the Siva Temple. This reveals the Catholicity of his outlooks This temple of modest proportions consist. of the *garbhagriha, arthamaṇḍapa, mukkamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa*. Later in the same temple Ativīrarāma built the Rāmanuja kūdam.

He constructed a Shrine for Sokkanātha in the Kāśivivśanātha temple and provided for its worship.

Ativirarama seems to have made liberal grants for many temples, specially for the Kāśi Visvanātha temple at Tenkāśi and Kuttālanātha Temple at Kuttālam.

The foregoing is a record of the achievement of no mean ruler. Living as he did in that turbulent period nearly four centuries ago he had found it possible, in the midst of political and administrative occupations, to devote so much time, energy and his talents for the promotion of literature, art and archi tecture. He was indeed a great ruler and deser ves the title Bhoja which he liked to adorn himself with. His writings full of axioms and maxims remind one of the 'Reflections' of Marcus Aurelius.

TRAVANCORE AT THE ACCESSION OF MARTHANDA VARMA

M. E. Manickavasagom Pillai

In South Indian History in general and Kerala History in particular, there are quite a number of problems that need further investigations in the light of fresh evidences available in documents like the *historical ballads and archival material.*[1] The aim of this paper is to discuss, *the problem of Marumakkattayam Vs Makkattaayam in the last phase of struggle for domination in the royal house of Travancore during the first half of the eighteenth century.* At that time the kingdom of Travancore had not taken its *modern* shape and it was then known as the kindom of of Veeṇaṭu, with its headquarters at Padmanabapuram in the present Kanyakumari District of Tamil Nadu. Trivandrum was also used as the secondary capital of the kingdom as Sri Padmanabhaswamy Temple was situated in that city. It was Marthanda Varma who expanded the kingdom to its northern boundary at Northern Paravuur.[2] At his accession to the throne, he had to face serious threats. A confederacy formed by Raman Thampi and Pappu Thampi, the sons of the late king Rama Varma and the Piḷḷaimaar of the of the Eight Houses[3] who constituted the feudal advisory council of the king raised the banner of revolt against Marthanda Varma. The hypothesis made in this note is that the attempted *coup 'd etat* by the Thampis and the Piḷḷaimaar is not totally unjust or unconstitutional.

Marthanda Varma succeeded his uncle Rama Varma to the *marumakkattaayam* pattern of succession that was prevalent in the royal house of Travancore. It seems that the system did not enjoy unprecedened approval, until Marthanda Varma established it on firm footing by rooting out the Tampis and the Pillaimaar. Though positive evidence in support of any opposition that existed against the *marumakkattaayam* pattern before the time of Marthanda Varma is not available, it can be deduced from the circumstantial and conjectural evidences available in the nature and significance of the protracted struggle between the king on the one side and the confederacy of the Tampimaar on the other, at the time of Marthanda Varma's accession. *Marumakkattaagam*[4] as a social phenomenon was

1. R. Natarajan, and P. Sarveswaran, ed., *Tampimaar Katai*, (Madurai, 1977).

2. Prior to the conquest and annexation of the northern territories af Travancore, the kingdom of Veeṇaaṭu had the territories between Kanyakumari in the South and Edava in the north. Situated near Ernakulam.

3. The heads of eight families with house names like Ramaneeamadam, Kaḷekkuṭṭam Campaḷanti etc. were the traditional feudal advisers of kings of Veeṇaaṭu. Marthanda Varma did not like this domination. He rooted out their significance and domination, afterthe Tampimaar were killed by him. Afterwards the feudal council was abolishad.

4. *Marumakkattaayam* is the system of inheritance or the pattern of succession, through the sons and daughters of one's sister. More or less it can be identified with the matrilineal system. *Makkattaayam* is just the opposite of this system, son succeeding the father. It is the patrilineal system of succession.

unknown to Kerala, prior to the twelfth century A.D., and therefore in all probability, it might have been introduced in the Veeṇaaṭu royal house, only after that period[5]. Therefore it may not be a wrong conclusion, if we consider that it had to face some opposition, whenever the incumbent to the throne of his uncle happened to be weak, or the other contender for the throne happened to be an individual of strong will power or popular among the people.

Rama Varma, the king of Veeṇaaṭu, met a beautiful dancing girl by name Abhiraami from Tanjore, at the time of the Car Festival celebrations in the Suchindrum Temple. He was infatuated by the beauty of the girl and desired to marry her. The historical ballad, *Tampimaar Katai* gives a detailed account of this episode culminating in the marriage between the king and the dancing girl, to whom three children were born.[6] The eldest two were sons and the third, a daughter. The sons were Raman and Pappu Tampis, who posed a problem at the accession of Marthanda Varma by putting forward their claims to the throne of Veeṇaaṭu. The struggle that started towards the closing years of the reign of Rama Varma, continued even after the accession of Marthanda Varma. The Tampimaar got the support of the Piḷḷaimaar of the Eight Houses. The struggle ended only after Marthanda Varma defeated and killed the Tampimaar and rooted out the Piḷḷaimaar, and sold out their women and children to the fishermen of the coastal area. The problem raised in this paper is *Why the Tampimaar revolted against Marthanda Varma by putting forward their claim to the throne, and why and how they got the support of the Piḷḷaimaar, in case the Marumakkattaayam pattern of succession to the throne which was an accepted system.*

The *Marumakkattaayam* pattern of succession might have probably been introduced in the royal house Veeṇaaṭu, some time during the reign of Ravi Varma Kulasekara, because his successor Kodai Varma (1102 - 1125) is credited with the establishment of the *Marumakkattaayam* pattern of inheritance in Nanchinad, where he established his sway.[7] Perhaps, Ravi Varma Kulasekara and Kodai Varma were the early sovereigns of Veeṇaaṭu to succeed under the *Marumakkattaayam* pattern. Such a situation might have occurred, probably due to the reason that their predecessors had no son to succeed them. The Rameswarathu Temple Inscription at Quilon mentions the domination of the Nambudiri Brahmanas who were instrumental in introducing the *Marumakkattaayam* system in the royal house of Travancore[8]. With their peculiar type of patrilineal or *makkattaayam* system of inheritance, in which the solidarity of the family property without partition among its members could be maintained, the Nambudiris needed a way of life acceptable in the society to have conjugal enjoyment without any kind of responsibility. With this end in

5. K. K. Pillai, *The Traditions and History of the Nanchinad Vellalas*" in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures*, (July-Dec., 1973), Madras.
6. Natarajan & Saiveswaran, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp ii-iv. According to this Ballad, Adhirami's native place is Ayodya in North India. There are other accounts mentioning her home town as Tanjore. The later view is taken here.
7. K. K. Pillai, *opt. cit.*
8. *Ibid.*

view also, they might have introduced the *marumakkattaayam* system of inheritance in the Nair community with which they (the younger members of the Nambudiri families) used to have *Sambandam* relationship.[9] This peculiar situation might have been the main reason for introducing this pattern in Kerala.[10]

Now let us examine the central theme of this note on the struggle between Marthanda Varma and the Tampimaar. From early childhood, it seems, that no friendly relationship existed between the Tampimaar and the crown prince. *The Tamptmaar Katai* mentions that Marthanda Varma had a desire to marry the sister of the Tampimaar and approached the girl with that end in view, but it did not take place, as the girl seemed to have rejected the idea. Being faithful and loyal to her brothers, who were against the proposal, she rejected the alliance with Marthanda Varma. The Tampimaar had the idea of securing their father's throne and there is a tradition which attributes this idea of the Tampimaar to a supposed promise given by the king Rama Varma to Abhirami, at the time of their marriage that he would make her sons the rulers of Veeṇaaṭu. This tradition has no corroborative evidence to support its validity. However, this tradition might be a concocted story of later origin to legitimise the designs of Marthanda Varma against the Tampimaar and the Piḷḷaimaar. The Tampimaar Katai also is silent on this supposed tradition.

(Marthanda Varma succeeded his uncle as the king of Veeṇaaṭu. The Tampimaar also plotted against him to secure the throne for themselves, with the help of the Pillaimaar. The Tampimaar were able to get the assistance of the Nayaks of Madurai and Aḷagappa Mutali arrived with a contingent at Nanchinad to support the cause of the Tampimaar. On the other hand Marthanda Varma had the support of the Governmental machinery and the guidance of his able, Ramayyan, who later became the Dalavai, or chief minister. The Madurai general was won over to the royal side by Ramayyan, probably by paying a handsome amount as tribute to Madurai. The Madurai general was persuaded to leave the country. That was the first blow on the schemes of the Tampimaar. Now the scene of the struggle became local and open, and the sovereign was able to crush the attempts of the confederacy and killed the Tampimaar, one by one. The allies of the latter also met the same fate. Thus the king was able to wipe out the last vestige of feudal element that influenced the administration of the kingdom. It is a fact of history that Marthanda Varma triumphed ultimately But our quest is to judge, whether the Tampimaar and Piḷḷaimaar were traitors, as they are portrayed in the pages of Travancore History? It is nothing but a string of imagination to suppose, what would have been the situation, if the confederacy had won the struggle; but such an imagination had no place in scientific investigations.

The problem that is posed here for analysis is 'why the conflict should be viewed as

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9. Sambandam relationship is a kind of marriage of convenience. Under this pattern, the man responsible for the birth of the children by this responsibility holds no responsibility for the children.
10. M.E. Manickavasagom Pillai, *Culture of the ancient cheras*, (Manjula publications, Kovilpatti, 1970), p. 44.

one between two opposing systems, and not one between two groups of opposing individuals?. In his *History of Travancore*, P. Shangunni Menon a court historian - himself has given a clue to understand the nature of the struggle and the involvement of the Tampimaar and the feudal nobility in it. Even Shangunni Menon, whose only aim was to glorify the royal house of Travancore, has something to remark on the conflict in the following lines: Marthanda Varma planned and designed the murder of the Tampimaar and then signalled to root out his supporters, the Piḷḷaimaar of the Eight Houses, labelling them as traitors.[11] He further notes that the alleged attack of Raman Tampi and Pappu Tampi on the life of Marthanda Varma took place in 908 M.E. (1733 A.D.).[12] In the above remarks even Shangunni Menon cannot but remark that the attack on the life of the king by the Tampimaar was an alleged one. So it follows that Marthanda Varma had deliberately planned and designed to do away with the Tampimaar and to eliminate his supporters. Though Menon is not prepared to state that, what Marthanda Varma did cannot be justified. Perhpas, his intention was to legitimise the actions of Marthanda Varma. The historical ballad, *Tampimaar Katai*, is to be analysed in the light of the material available in the Archives and other documents, if we have to understand the nature and significance of the struggle between the king and the Tampimaar. The Ballad glorifies the valiant activities of the Tampimaar, who are the heroes of the work and explains the heroic death of the two brothers. It goes on to narrate how their only sister, committed suicide on hearing the murder of her brothers by the king.[13] Even now there is a local tradition in and around Nagercoil that the *Panchavan Kaaṭṭu Niili* is the spirit of that princely girl who committed suicide[14].

The evidences available in documents like the historical ballads. Suggest that the conflict was the result of the illegitimate claim that the Tampimaar put forward. But stronger claims and deeper involvements were there, and therefore the conflict has to be considered really as the last attempt made to fight against the *Marumakkattaayam* pattern of succession. But the victory of Marthanda Varma and his subsequent consolidation of the state of Travancore into a strong kingdom decided the question finally, in favour of the *Marumakkattaayam* system.

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11. P. Shangunni Menon, *History of Travancore*, Malayalam Translation by Kareem (State Institute of Language, Trivandrum), p. 96.
12. *Ibid*, p. 66.
13. Natarajan & Sarveswaran, *op. cit.*
14. According to this tradition, the spirit is also called Kaḷḷiyankaaṭṭu Niili.

THE ORIYA MOVEMENT

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The present Orissa was a part of the ancient Kalinga Empire. The ancient Kalinga was supposed to have extended from the river Krishna to the boarders of Bengal. There is no doubt that the people of Kalinga had attained great heights in cultural and military expansion. It is believed that the present town of Mukhalingam, now in the Andhra Pradesh, was the capital of the Kalinga Empire. There is a port-town, very near to this place known as Kalingapatanam.

It was possible that the decline started with the Kalinga War fought against Asoka. There were flashes of improvement for brief periods. Special mention may be made about the periods in which the great temples of Orissa were constructed. But, these periods were exceptions rather than a part of the general trend. The decline of Orissa and the people who lived here, reached the climax with the coming of the Moghuls in 1578. During the Moghul period from 1578 to 1751, the period was difficult for the Oriyas. By the time they left the province to the Marathas in 1751, it was a sad state of a affairs.

The Marathas occupied Orissa from 1751 to 1802. During this half century of their administration, they exploited the people and their resources to the worst possible limit. It was a total disaster for the Oriyas and little was left for their economic, social and cultural development. The Maratha period of nearly fifty years has been described as worse in its effect than the hundred and fifty years of Muslim rule.

The British period in Orissa began in different phases. The southern part of the present Orissa was taken by the East India Company in 1766. The Nizam of Hyderabad had handed over this portion to the East India Company as a part of the Northern Circar. The three northern districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore came under the Company Government in the beginning of the Nineteenth century.

There was a series of movements against the British in all most all parts of the province. The movement of the people had begun as early as 1766. The Raja and people of Ghoomusur had opposed the Company Government and the resistance had continued upto the middle of the 19th Century. There was a similar movement in Paralakemidi and the Company Government had to face great difficulty to meet the situation. The movement of Mohuri extended till 1850. The resistance in Sambalpur was no less. Under the leadership of Surendra Sai, the people of Western Orissa had opposed the British.

The Oriya movement assumed strength in 1817. In Khurda, that year, there was a

movement sponsored by the Paiks who had constituted the militia of the local Raja. The local people, specially the soldiers, had been enjoying privileged tenures for a long time. The British made enchroachment on the traditional privileges of the Oriyas and there broke out a serious rebellion. The Company's forces suppressed the movement and hanged Joyee Rajguru who was the minister of the Raja of Khurda and leader of the people. The Raja was pensioned off.

The Paik rebellion exposed certain basic problems connected with the British administration.

They were: The defective and injurious land revenue system, the exploitation done by the Bengalee officers and zamindars, the system of corruption adopted by the English officers, the need for a regenerating a people's movement and the need for local patriotism based on Oriya language, literature and culture.

The Oriya movement was also directed against the Bengalee people who had settled in large number in Northern Orissa. It was not merely a question of economic interest– it embraced a larger problem of general character, including that of language, education and culture. The Bengalees claimed that Oriya was not a separate language and they insisted that education in Orissa should be imparted in Bengalee. They thought that the same approach which they had adopted for Assam could be adopted for Orissa as well. This was wrong. There was great opposition in Orissa. The argument put forward by the Bengalees was that the Oriya literature was not developed, there were not many books in Oriya which could be taken as text books and there were not many teachers in Oriya. It was fortunate that during this period, the Missionaries of Sreerampore took up the cause of Oriya language and education. They printed Oriya books and took pioneering steps for opening schools for Oriyas. The Oriya movement could not have been successful without the support of the Missionaries.

The English officers too promoted education in Oriya. Special mention may be made of T. E. Ravenshaw who took active steps in this regard. In rememberance of the contribution made by Ravenshaw, the pioneer college of Orissa had been named after him.

In southern Orissa the people resisted the undue influence of the Telugus and Tamils. As the Bengalees came from Calcutta along with the officers of the Company, so also, these southerners came from the Madras office to assist the East India Company's administration. The influence of Telugu education was superimposing over Oriya and there was little scope for expansion of Oriya education in the district of Ganjam Koraput.

In the Western parts of the province, the influence from Central - Indian Hindi speaking people was superimposing. They wanted Hindi to be the official language. The arguments in favour of Hindi and opposing Oriya were almost the same as were the arguments in the northern and southern parts of the province.

Orissa was split into different parts and merged in different provinces, for the Oriyas were under the Government of Bengal, Madras and Central India. They had their

common language in Oriya. It was realised that unless they fought, they would not be able to survive as Oriyas. Thus began the Oriya Movement which culminated in 1936 in the formation of a separate Orisssa province.

The leaders who took active part in this venture were many. Fakirmohan Senapati, Gangadahar Mehera, Madhusudan Rao, Radhanarth Ray, Nandokisor Bolo and other writers of the period inspired the Oriya movement. The earlier writers included, Dhananjaya Bhanja, Upemdra Bhanaj, Kabisurya Baladev Rath, Sarala Das, Jagannath Das, Gopinath Nanda and Brajnath Bodojena. Also there were a number of public men who inspired the movement. Sasibhusan Rath of Gnjam started a leading daily for creating public opinion. His *Asha* became the vechicle of public feeling. The contributions of Maharaja of Paralakemidi, Maharaja of Mayurbhanj and other zamindars cannot be ignored. The sympathy of the British officers, as a contrast to the reaction of the officers coming from the neighbouring provinces, served as a factor favourable to the movement.

CHANNAMMAJI AND THE MARATHAS

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Kannada sources such as *Keladi Nripa Vijayam*, *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family* and other seventeenth century works throw light on the relations of the Marathas with the Nayaks of Ikkeri. Conseqnent upon the pressure of the Mughals, the Marathas decided to leave their capital and march to Gingee in the south. Rajaram started from Panhala about 30th June 1689 with his followers They split themselves into two parties, disguised themselves as pilgrims and moved through different routes in order to avoid the vigilance of the Mohals. Passing by the difficult and narrow route of Sahyadri, they arrived at Sonda and then proceeded towards Bednur in the South.[1]

Bednur which is also called Ikkeri was an important kingdom rising into greatness and glory under the able and cautious rule of Channammaji, wife of Somesekhara Nayaka. Her rule from 1671 to 1696[2] forms an important period in the history of Ikkeri.

It was to this kingdom that Rajaram and his followers came[3], on their way to Gingi. Arriving near Ponnali from Panhala, Rajaram despatched his men to the court of Channammaji seeking her help. Presenting themselves at the court, they revealed Channammaji as to why they had been flying from place to place and implored the help of the Rani for their escape to Gingi unnoticed by the Mohals.[4] Channammaji immediately convened a council of ministers particularly Kolivadada Bommaiya and Siddabasovaiah, and decided that it was impolitic and unjust to deny protection to a refugee king when he had come voluntarily for it. Accordingly, Rajaram and his followers were disguised and were escorted by the Rani's men up to Vasudhare passing across the Gajanur river and through Borenedehalli, Aduvalli, Kalasa and Khandya.

Rani Channammaji and the Moghals

Aurangzeb had already detached his forces in pursnit of the fugitives. They encamped in the neighbourhood of Bednore perpetrating horrible cruelties, ravages and brigandages. Prominent Vaziers were despatched to the Rani demanding the surrender of the Maratha Prince along with his followers whom she had been entertaining at her court. Channammaji was taken aback, but she sent a reply that it was true the Maratha Raja had passed through her territory but for the present they were not sojourning in her kingdom.[5] She also stated that she was

1. Kincard & Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, p. 158.
2. *Keladi Nripa Vijayam*, (Ke. N.V.) IX, p. 131.
3. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 236.
4. *Ke. N.V.*, IX, p. 161.
5. *Ibid.*

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able to take possession of the ornaments and clothes that fell from the Raja, while he was flying across her dominion. So saying she handed over to the Moghal Vaziers all the valuables that she had. Getting delivery of these belongings, the Moghal Vazirs wrote a strong letter to Aurangzeb, complaining that the Rani was repugnant to deliver the fugitives from concealment although she had handed over to them all the belongings of the fugitives; and further they had despatched the acquired valuables and surrendered four Maratha captives namely Ruppaji Bhosle, Santaji, Jagadapa Manoji and Morasharaja Rao to Aurangzeb with the said letter. The emperor received them gladly but later on, the despatches roused him to great fury.[6]

Determined on the extermination of Bednur, Aurangzeb ordered his son Azamatara to invade the kingdom. At the head of a large army Azamatara proceeded and encamped in the narrow valley of Banditimmayi of Madagadakere. A detachment was sent in advance under the command to Jansara Khan who conquered the fortress of Mahadevapura and Anandapura without encountering any opposition Finally the two armies encamped near Venupura (Bednur) in the year 1689.[7]

Channammaji was not much dismayed at the news; immediately resorted to prompt action. By collecting a huge army at the fortress of Bhuvanagiri, she despatched it to the fortress of Bidurur where a furious battle was fought inflicting terrible losses on the Moghals. The paths and valleys where the enemies were hidden were fully blocked; communications were cut off; the enemies were encircled as in a net and were completely reduced to surrender.[8] Thus Channammaji won a glorious victory over the Moghals. The Rani settled peace and the war came to an end.[9]

The Portuguese Viceroy in a letter of 1691 describes that Channammaji was forced to sue for peace with the Moghals.[10]

According to Persian sources the war was waged between the Mughals and the Marathas on the Bednur territory which at last came to a speedy termination by the intervention of Rani Channammaji who purchased peace by paying a small ransom.

Masir-i-Alamgiri (p.329) says : "Santa (Santaji) trimphantly opposed them, till at last the matter was settled by the Rani paying a small fine under the name of tribute".[11] Therefore it is clear that Channammaji neutralised the hostility and brought the war to an end only by paying tribute to Aurangzab.[12]

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6. *Ibid.*, pp. 161 - 162.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 162 - 163.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 163.
10. B. Muddachar, *Mysore Maratha relations.*
11. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 236.
12. C. Hayavadana Rao's conclusion, on this point requires revision. (*Mysore History*, Vol. I, p. 308).

Now, according to Kannada sources the Marathas had left Bednur before the arrival of the Moghals, but according to non-kannada sources the Marathas were still in Bednur and battle was fought between the Moghals and the Marathas till the matter was settled by Channammaji. It is most probable that the Rani purchased peace by paying ransom to the Moghals.[13]

After the conclusion of a treaty with the Mughals under Azamatara and Jansara Khan at Bednur, the Marathas started their onward march to the South. On their way, they reached Bangalore which was re-occupied by Khasim Khan, the Mughal foujdar of Karnataka.

13. Sarkar, *op cit.*,p. 236.

ANNIE BESANT AND INDIA: A STUDY IN THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGY IN INDIA

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H. F. Owen in an article dealt with Home Rule Movement and Peter Robb in another article attempted the relation of Annie Besant with the Government of India. As sound thought is prerequisite of a worthwhile action here an attempt has been made to understand the springs of her political action i e. the ideas and ideals behind her politics.

Need and Importance

Dwelling upon the need of political ideology Annie Besant said in 1895: In politics as in everythings else, in the choice of political methods, as in every other choice, a man needs sound thought to make right action [1] Every country, she believed had its own line of evolution. This she felt as essential for healthy growth of a nation. In an article: in *East and West*, she wrote in 1901 : A national ideal to be useful must be in harmony with the national character, and must grow out of the national past. It must be a native of the soil, not an exotic.[2]

Annie Besant made a study of ancient Indian polity which she found based on duty. But India during the last nineteenth and early twentieth century was a compound of conflicting theories and ideas. It was a strange compound of an ancient nation ruled practically by a modern people. Under such circumstances she held that the rulers must try to understand the basic ideas and ideals of the nation. She said: I stand for the ideal of ancient India and look on that as a thousand fold loftier than the mushroom civilisations that have grown up in later days, none the less am I bound to admit that we must deal with the country as we have it, and that where you are pushed into western methods, you must adopt your own methods somewhat, so as to meet the new conditions, so as to deal with the new ways of thought.[3]

Prevailing Political Ideologies

There were then mainly four different ideologies prevailing in Indian politics. From 1907 to 1915 Liberals or Moderates led the national movement. They tried to apply to India the Liberal doctrines of the West on such spheres as civil right, judicial reforms, and constitutional agitation. They realised that in the fields of social and economic matters, the problems of India were unique and that they could not, therefore, find their solution, by applying mechanically western

1. Annie Beant, *'India'*, Vol. IV, *Essays and Address* (*Madras*, 1913), p. 124.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
3. *Ibid.*, p 131.

ideas. Therefore the political ideology of Moderates was partly based on western ideas, 'which they found to be of advantage to India, and partly on their understanding of the Indian situation and their feeling that some of the western ideas could be modified to suit Indian conditions.[4]

The Extremists held that social reforms should not be undertaken prior to political freedom. They were aware of the basic economic conflict between the forces of Indian nationalism and British vested interest. Their political activities comprised of economic weapons such as swadeshi and boycott. They, therefore, promoted vigorious economic nationalism along with political radicalism. A vital feature of the political ideology of the Extremists was their emphasis on the collective freedom of the nation, as distinct from if not opposed to, the freedom of the individual. In this respect their views were in glaring contrast with those of the Moderates who always emphasised on civil and other rights of individuals.[5]

Main trends of thinking among the Indian Muslims were non-involvement in political activities, and concentration on matters connected with their social backwardness, education, and economic progress, co-operation with the rest of the people in their constitutional agitation for the extension of civil rights and political progress, indifference towards political views of Extremist leaders, separate electorate and weightage for the Muslims and formation of the Muslim League to protect their political interests.[6]

Influences on the Political Ideology in Indian Context

Some of the main factors which shaped the political ideas of Besant were :

(a) spirituality of India and her growing belief in greatness of the Indian thought.

(b) Her new-found idealism in Theosophy.

(c) Indo-British friendship.

She held that India was the land of spirituality, and a great civilisation. She said : If religion perishes here, it will perish everywhere, and in India's hand is laid the scared charge of keeping aloft the torch of spirit amid the fogs and storms of increasing materialism. If that torch drops from her hands, the flame will be trampled out by the feet of the hurrying multitudes, eager for worldly good, and India bereft of spirituality will have no future but will pass into darkness as Greece and Rome have passed.[7] In February 1900 she expressed that with the revival of spirituality alone, that India could regain her greatness and behind it would follow other things intellectual strength, material wealth, and all the lower things that enter into the growth of national life.[8]

The second great influence in forming her political ideology was her new-found idealism in Theosophy. It convinced her that an empire could be founded on brotherhood, on righteousness and on truth, an empire

4. K.P. Karunakaran, *Indian Political Thought 1831-1832* (New Delhi, 1976), p. 12.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
7. *India.*, Vol. 1V, p. 1, Articles India's Mission among Nations.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

which was based upon peace and justice. Within which a new civilisation might gradually grow up, which should stand for peace, not war, co-operation, not competition, education not craming comfort, not pauperism. Thus, Mrs. Besant worked for the possibility of establishing a world empire based on the brotherhood of man in woich she believed the friendship of India and England indispensable.

As England and India had come together, Annie Besant wanted to strengthen their relations on the basis of equality and brotherhood. She pointed out that when two nations came into touch with each other, each had something to learn, especially when two such nations as India and England were concerned.

Mrs. Besant then explained the ways in which England and India could help each other. She said that with regard to political conditions both the nations had much to learn in mutual understanding and in adoption to the old civilisation for India of methods of thought, of rule, of social conditions utterly alien from her own conditions.

Main issues and her ideals

Annie Besant believed that the basis of Indian politics should be national and indigenous. It should be based upon the revival of her ancient literature and language, by awakening the youth of the country of the Indian Ideals of life, by building up the nation through encouragement of its national dress, manufactures, and arts.

While emphasising the role of the classics in the life of a nation, she pointed out that for hundreds of years in the west the cultivation of classic Greek, and Latin, was regarded as absolutley necessary for what was called the education of a Gentleman and those who were ignorant of the classics were regarded as uneducated. She held that the training of intellect gave a certain definite strength and refinement of expression. Similarly, she said that India also had her own ancient language which laid at the root of her vernaculars, knowledge of which opened out to her the grandest literature the world had yet produced.[10] The knowledge of that was of vital importance to the development of the nation.

She believed that the common language was not merely a conveyance, but was a tie which bound heart to heart and mind to mind. She said that the idea of having a foreign language as a common language would be laughed at in any other country. A common language like Sanskrit which was of the language of the ancient books, and another of vernaculars, she explained, would make one feel 'the tie of brotherhood, instead of different races and tend for more to the national feeling.

Annie Besant held that the education of the children should be based on ancient language and literature because enthusiasm in the young was easily aroused. She wrote:

If you familiarise them with the past history of their own country, if you wake their devotion to their national faith, the time will come when they will turn away from the west to the motherland. And these boys, grown into man shall be bound with

9. *Ibid.*, p. 209, 'England and India', October, 1902.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 85, 'The Means of India's Regeneration', 1895.

every bond that link the Indian to his home and from such men will come the salvation of India.[11]

Annie Besant held that the entire Indian nation could be built up by the encouragement of national feeling. by maintaining traditional dress, and ways of living. This was the point, she remarked, which went to the very root of Indian revival and was not simply a matter of sentiment. The wearing of Indian dress, she held, was a matter of health, of convenience and of economy; for the Indian dress suited the Indian climate, not only because it was light, but also because its material could go through water daily, and was more suited to a hot country than the western dress which was worn unwashed over again. There was no reason, she said, no common sense, which should make the Indian lay it aside, when the experience of thousands of years had shown it to be the best kind of dress for India. The inner feeling and outer expression often go together, and he who westernises his outer attires is very likely to grow western inside as well, and therefore instead of strengthening he really tends to weaken his motherland.[12]

Mrs. Besant emphasised upon the need of encouraging Indian manufacture and art. She explained, how superior were the Indian made goods as compared to the foreign goods. By buying foreign things the Indians, she felt, were destroying their own beautiful art by using inferior goods of foreign make. In this way, she pointed out, they were, extinguishing the Indian trade by continuing to encourage foreign goods, to the improverishment of India.[13]

What was her Political Ideology?

Annie Besant's political ideology was thus based upon India's religious social, economic and national revival. It would be seen that her political ideology was both wider than and different from the two main political ideologies prevalent in India.

It was wider in the sense that it considered in terms of the salvation of the whole world and not merely India. Through the revival of India she wanted to elevate the whole world. She thus thought in terms of establishing a Common Wealth of nations. Like Moderates she believed in constitutional means. But unlike them she believed in the spirituality of India, and the revival of Indian ideals.[14] Mrs. Besant differed from the extremists also. She never wanted to throw the foreign rulers overboard overnight. She wanted India to evolve into a self-governing nation. Like the extremists she wanted to revive the old customs and treditions in the administration and governance of India.[15] But she liked it to develop a thorough law-abiding and constitutional means and never advocated violence at any stage. She remained faithful to the Crown thinking it as a symbol of her kind of empire based upon brotherhood and equality.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 119
14. Interview with Montague, Theosophical Society Archives, Adyar, No. B. 111/20 p. 2.
15 Annie Besant England India, And Afthanistan First present in London in 1879, J.P.H. Adyar, 1931.

Thus Mrs. Besant cannot be dismised as merely a Moderate for her adherance to constitutional means or be labelled as an Extremist because she was ultimatley considered so by the government. That was one of the reasons why the government for quite some time could not make out if her activities were seditious or not.[16] And when in 1917 her position became clear she was interned by the government but this too did not make her Extremist in Indian politics because she did not use the extremist means. She succeeded for the time being in 1916 in providing a bridge between the Moderates and Extremists.[17] She believed that India's future could best be shaped by proper and clear understanding of its past. Thus her political programme had a social as well as religious background, and she insisted on the preservation of India's ancient tradition and culture, seeking only to adopt western democratic system to Indian conditions

16. i. Home Poll-4 Nov. 1915 No. 166-168.
Home Poll Part A July 1917.
ii. Nos 291-298 x KW.
iii. Home Poll A - March 1918 No. 247 x KW.

17. *The Commonweal*, 5 July 1918.

SADAT-UL-LAH KHAN-THE FOUNDER OF NEVAYET RULE IN THE CARNATIC

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Sadatullah Khan, the first Nevayet ruler, organised Arcot into an independent state.[1] Beginning his career in the service of the Mughals, he rose to the status of a mansabdar. Daudkhan, the Nawab of Arcot, appointed him as Diwan.[2] About 1707 when Daud Khan was recalled to Delhi, Sadatullah Khan was made Faujdar. In 1713 the Nizam of Hyderabad elevated him as Nawab of the two Carnatics, Arcot and Jinji.[3]

The death of Aurangazeb brought about significant transformation in the political status of the Carnatic. While Nawab Zulfikhar Khan and Daud Khan administered the country as the servants of the Imperial Mughal, Sadatullah Khan gained an independent status. It was difficult for the Mughal administration to control a remote province as Arcot was. In consequence Sadatullah Khan was compelled to rely upon his own resources and to build up his military strength. Added to these, with the death of Emperor Aurengazeb, the Empire itself entered into a state of rapid decline. This enabled the Nawab to free himself from the control of the central authority. Yet it seems that he continued to make remittances to the Moghul treasury.

When Sadatullah Khan took over charge of Arcot, a Rajput by name Sarup Singh consolidated his strength in the strong Fort of Jinji and evaded payment of rent.[4] Raja Desing succeeded Sarup Singh at Jinji. The young ruler with held the payments of tribute to Arcot.[5] Thereupon Sadatullah Khan sent Todarmal on a mission to collect the arrears. As this attempt failed the Nawab marched upon Jinji. In the battle that followed Sadatullah Khan killed Desingh and re-established Mughal sovereignity.[6]

The English at Fort St. George came into conflict with Sadatullah Khan over the possession of Tiruvottiyur, Nungambakkam, Vyasarpadi, Kattiwakkam and Sattankadu in Madras. A permanent grant

1. The origin of the world 'Nevayet' is shrouded in obscurity. It is supposed to be a corruption of the Hindustani term for a stranger. (Wilks. M., *Historical Sketches of South India*, Vol. I, p 150). Nevayet is the plural form of the word 'Nait', an Arab tribe. According to the historian Tabari, they were the descendants ef the children of Quraysh.
2. S.M.H., Nainar, *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* Trans. part I, (Madras, 1944) p. 64.
3. K Rajayyan, *History of Madurai* (Madurai 1974), p. 59.
4. Letters to Fort St. George, 1711, p. 89
5. Puhazhenthi Pulavar, *Desing Rajan Kathai*, ed. (Madras, 1973), pp. 29-30.
6. J.H. Garstin, *South Arcot District Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 329.

of these villages was included in the firman, issued by Emperor Farruk Siyar to the English in 1710, but the Nawab claimed the restoration of the five villages and demanded the rendition of Egmore, Purasawakkam and Tondiarpet too.[7] In 1711 he actually took possession of the five villages though he spared the rest.

However, Governor Joseph Collet set up the Company's flag in the villages. As Sadatullah Khan threatened to blockade Madras, the British offered to pay one thousand pagodas. Yet the troops of the Nawab occupied the villages and cut down the Company's flag staff.[8] Subsequently Joseph Collect sent an expedition and re-occupied the villages. At Jinji, Sadat Tiyar Khan and Abdul Nabi Khan, the Nawab's relatives fought each other and died. There upon he expelled the warring groups and established his direct authority.[9]

In 1726 Asaf Jah, the Nizam, reached Arcot to recover arrears of tribute. The Nawab gave five lakhs of rupees as present and settled the accounts. For the next few years the Nawab enjoyed peace in Arcot.[10]

Sadatullah Khan sought to improve the administration. He appointed his brother-in-law, Sadat-Tiwar Khan as Killedar at Jinji and consolidated his authority. A jumma musjid was built in the Jinji fort and an idgah at Chettikulam. An inscription was engraved over the porch of the great entrance-gate of the fortress indicating the day and year of the capture of Jinji by the Nawab. He also founded a new town Rani Pettai on the spot where Desingh's wife committed Sati.[11] Sadatullah Khan made grants to Hindu temples and sought to gain the good will of his people. An able ruler, he kept the Poligars under control and maintained peaceful relations with the Nizam and the English. As a result he gave peace to the country and consolidated his authority.[12]

7. *Epigraphists Report for 1904-5*, Part I, p. 3.
8. Public Minutes and Consultations, 1725, pp. 85-92.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
10. Narayanan, *Karnataka Rajakkal*, Mss. Part I, p. 364.
11. K. Rajayyan, *History of Tamil Nadu*, (Madurai 1978,) p 79.
12. Robert Orme, *Military Transaction of the British in Indostan*, Vol. I, 1861, p.31.

PUNNAPRA-VAYALAR REVOLT

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Punnapra and Vayalar are the two villages in north western Travancore. In October 1946 the working class of Ambalapuzha and Sherthalai taluks organised a rebellion against the Government under the leadership of the Travancore Communist Party. Since the main centres of the revolt were Punnapra and Vayalar, it is popularly known as 'Punnapra-Vayalar'. The organisation of industrial and agricultural workers in trade unions, the impact of Second World War on the industrial establishments and the consequent hardships of labourers, and the growth of Communist influence among them were the primary causes for the revolt. However, the Government under C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, the Diwan of Travancore (1936-47), suppressed the revolt with the utmost brutality.

The factory workers of Travancore who constituted a powerful section of the labour class had their own organisation known as the Travancore Labour Association, formed in 1921.[1] It represented to the Government the difficulties of workers, but received no immediate and favourable response. The condition of workers in factories was quite unsatisfactory. In some of the coir factories there was no prompt payment of wages and when it was done, they were paid in kind at inflated rates.[2] However, with the spread of political ideas among them a new spirit of class consciousness came and they turned more assertive in claiming their rights.[3]

During the War period (1939-1945) the labour movement entered a new phase. The Great War caused severe hardships, for coir manufacturing, was completely paralysed owing to the obsence of shipping facilities to the European countries. Most of the coir factories were closed down with the result that the workers were thrown out of employment.[4] Since the prices of foodstuffs and other essential commodities rose high, poverty and starvation became rampant.[5] In consequence there appeared "a cry for persistent demand for an increase in wages and dearness allowance"[6]. Ultimately these led to the organisation of the Travancore Trade Union Congress at Alleppey on 26 January 1942.[7] With the growth of trade

1. Travancore Coir Factory Worker's Union, Alleppey, *First Annual Report*, 10 October 1939, p. 1.
2. Presidential address of P.N. Krishna Pillai, *The Hindu*, 9 January 1938, p. 22.
3. *Travancore Administration Report*, (*TAR*) 1939-'40, p 114.
4. *TAR, 1939-1940*, pp 117-118
5. *Travancore Police Daily Bulletin*, (*TPDB*) Nos 171 and 250, 27 June and 2 September 1940.
6. *TAR, 1941-'42*, p. 103.
7. Inspector General of Police, Travancore, (here-in-after referred to as *I. G. of Police*) 27th January 1942, Report to the Chief Secretary to the Government (here-in-after referred to as *C.S. to Government*), Trivandrum.

unionism among the factory labourers, the agricultural workers too felt the necessity of an organisation. During 1942-'45 they engaged in organising *Kisan Sabhas* (Peasant Unions) throughout Travancore.[8] The administration on the other hand, arrested and imprisoned the workers and banned labour meetings. However, organised under a militant leadership the labourers worked out their programmes on Communist lines Taking advantage of the discontent among the workers, the Communist leaders from Malabar frequently visited Alleppey and guided them in their activities [9] The Communist Party set up volunteer camps, conducted study classes, and trained them in 'guerilla warfare'.[10] Slowly by the end of 1945 the labour population in Alleppey, 40,000 strong, passed under the direct control of the Communist Party.[11]

Under these circumstances, on 16 January 1946 C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer announced a constitutional reform to be introduced shortly.[12] In reality, however, the reform made no significant departure from the constitution promulgated in 1932. It kept the rights and prerogatives of the Maharaja in tact and retained overiding powers with the executive that was not responsible to the legislature. By introducing this constitutional reform, C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyer sought to safeguard his position as Diwan within the monarchical set up[13]. The Communist Party, now appealed to the people to rally under their banner to organise a struggle for terminating the diwan's rule for ever.[14]

While opposing the constitutional reform, the Communist Party directed its effort towards paralysing the administration. From the beginning of 1946 strikes became a regular feature of trade union activity [15] On the 5th of September 1946 the Travancore Trade Union Congress called upon the labourers to strike work in order to show their protest against what they called "the continued repressive policy of the Government on the labourers and Communists".[16] Though partially successful, this general strike gave the labour leaders an idea of their hold on the workers. While some of the employers gavec oncessions, others declared lock-outs.[17]

Determined to end the violent activities of the Communists, the Government ordered the arrest of prominent labour leaders and banned public meetings for three months

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8. *TPDB*, 18 September 1944.
9. I.G. of Police, Travancore, 26 March 1948, Short note on Communist Activity submitted to the Registrar, Secretariat, Trivandrum.
10. *Sri Mulam Assembly Proceedings*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, 31 May 1943, p. 163 (Statement of the Diwan-President)
11. I.G. of Police, Travancore, 22 March 1946, Fortnightly Report submitted to Registrar, Secretariat, Trivandrum.
12. *Travancore Information and Listener*, Vol. VI, No. 6, February 1946, p. 37.
13. *Sri Mulam Assembly Proceedings*, Vol. XXVII. No. 1, February 1946, p. 30.
14. I.G. of Police, Travancore, 28 February 1946, Fortnightly Report to Registrar, Secretariat, Trivandrum.
15. I.G. of Police, Travancore, 4 April 1946. Fortnightly Report to Registrar, Secretariat, Trivandrum.
16. Kunjan, K.K *Thiruvithāmkūr Mardhanangal*, (Leaflet in Malayalam), 8 September 1946
17. I.G. of Police, Travancore, 20 October 1946, Note submitted to Registrar, Secretariat, Trivandrum.

from 7 September 1946.[18] Protesting against the repressive measures the representatives of various labour unions met at Alleppey on 23 September under the leadership of T.V. Thomas and placed before the Government a nine point demand relating to political and labour problems. One of these demanded the ending of diwan rule and establishment of an interim government to frame the future constitution of Travancore.[19]

On 1 October 1946 the Government declared a state of emergency in the state.[20] Nevertheless, with a view to averting a possible crisis the Diwan convened a "Tripartite Labour Conference" at Trivandrum on 7 October 1946[21] with the representatives of employers, labour and the Government. Since it failed to bring about a settlement the Diwan warned the trade union leaders of 'serious consequences', if they observed a general strike. The 'Tripartite Conference', however, marked the breakdown of final efforts at peaceful settlement. The Travancore Trade Union Congress which met at Alleppey on 13 October decided to observe the general strike commencing from 22nd October.[22]

At this time there occurred conflicts between the groups of agricultural workers and the landlords. At Kadakkarappally, a village near Sherthala, there occurred clashes on 13th and 14th October 1946. It resulted in the death of a person, who was in the pay of a landlord[23]. The military arrested several workers. Protesting against this police action the Trade Union Congress called for a sympathetic one day strike at Alleppey on 17 October 1946. Most of the labour unions responded to this call.[24] After the strike at Alleppy some workers went in a body to Punnapra, and urged the local fishing workers to join the strike. A tense situation developed in this area, but on the arrival of the military the crowd dispersed[25] and formed themselves into labour camps in the interior places. They converted the office building of the Coir Factory workers' Union at Sherthala as the nerve - centre of their activities. By middle of October 1946 the situation appeared explosive.

Considering these as an "organised terrorist movement" the Government moved police and military to the disturbed taluks of Sherthala and Ambalapuzha.[26] By 19 October 1946 it declared as unlawful about sixty-three labour unions controlled by the Communist Party.[27] On 22 October the workers began the general strike as decided

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18. I G. of Police, Travancore, 22 September 1946, Fortnightly Report to Registrar, Secretariat, Trivandrum.
19. K,K. Kunjan, Statement in Malayalam, 5 October 1946.
20. Srikantan Nayar, N. *Vanchikkapptta Vēnād*, (Malayalam), Ernakulam 1947, p.5.
21. I.G. of Police, Travancore, 21 October 1946, Fortnightly Report Submitted to Registrar, Secretariat, Trivandrum.
22. George, K.C., *Punnapra-Vaylār*, (Malayalam) Trivandrum, 1972, pp. 42-43.
23. Statement of President and Secretary of All Kerala Student Congress, (undated, probably December, 1946).
24. District Magistrate, Quilon, 17 October, 1946, Report submitted to Registrar, Secretariat.
25. I.G. of Police, Travancore, 20 October, 1946, Note submitted to Registrar, Secretariat.
26. I. G. of Police, Trivancore, 20 October 1946, Report submitted to Registrar, Secretariat.
27. Ibid., 11 October 1947. Also *Travancore Government Gazette Extraordinary*, 19 October 1946.

which continued the next day too.[28] Taking advantage of the 34th birthday celebrations of the Maharaja on 24th October, an armed Communist mob, over a thousand strong attacked the Armed Reserve Camp at Punnapra, killed four police constables and seized their rifles.[29] The violent crowd advanced and in the encounter that followed the military shot dead twenty eight persons.[30] On 25th October the Government promulgated marital law in the taluks of Sherthala and Ambalapuzha[31] and placed the Travancore State Forces under the direct command of C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer.[32] With the assumption of the military and police power under his supreme command, the Diwan adopted stern measures to suppress the revolt.[33] Armed parties raided the labour camps and attacked the Communists. The agitators on the other hand dismantled the bridges, breached the roads and cut off telephone lines.[34] On 26th the military detachments fired at a violent crowd at Mararikulam in which a few labourers died.[35] In an attempt to disperse the Communist camps at Kattoor, a coastal village near Alleppey, a military detachment reached there and clashed with the Communists on 25th October. Two persons died in the firing.[36]

On 27th October incidents on a large scale occurred at three places in Sherthala-Olathala, Menasseri and Vayalar. A military detachment attacked the labour camps at Olathala and Menasseri in the morning,[37] and advanced to Vayalar in the afternoon, employing motor boats. Vayalar being surrounded by swamps and seas, was not easily accessible and was made a major centre of Communist activity.[38] A mob "numbering more than a thousand, armed with spears, arecanut-staves, daggers, swords, axes and country explosives and a few guns", boldly confronted the detachment.[39] In the fighting that followed the military resorted

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28. District Magistrate, Quilon, 22 October 1946, Report to Administrative Secretary to the Diwan, Trivandrum.
29. *TPDR*, C. No. 298 (S-B.), 25 October 1946.
30. Secretary to Government, Trivandrum, 29 October 1946, Letter to I. G. of Police, Travancore.
31. *Travancore Information and Listener*, Vol. VII, No. 4 December 1946, p. 44.
32. *The Hindu*, 26 October, 1946 p, 6.
33. The Diwan stated "... Because till now the civil authority had requested the assistance of military, I don't want to say that I am not responsible for the measures taken by the military. That is why I requested the Maharaja to give me the rank of a Lieutenant General, so that I could direct the military myself. There can be no shooting there except directly under my orders. If people want to blame anybody for these measures, let them blame me". *The Bombay Chronicle*, quoted in *Travancore Information and Listener*, Vol. VII, No. 4, December 1946, p. 46.)
34. *Travancore Administration Report*, 1946-'47, p. 5.
35. As per police report, four persons died and one injured K. C. George gives the number as six. (*Vide Punnapra-Vayalar*, p. 140.)
36. *Ibid.*, p 130.
37. In December 1946 a special Committee of the State Congress under T. M. Varghese visited these areas and reported that about thirty seven persons were killed at Menasseri. (I.G. of Police, Travancore, 19-December 1946, Report (Extract) Submitted to Registrar, Secretrariat). K,C. George gives the figure as 120. (*Ibid.*, p. 150.)
38. *Travancore Administration Report*, 1946-'47, p. 9.
39. *The Hindu*, 30 October 1946, p. 6.

to heavy firing[40] and the ill - equipped Communists died in large number.[41] This marked the collapse of the uprising. The leaders dispersed the camps and T. V. Thomas, President of the Travancore Trade Union Congress, appealed to the labourers to return to work.[42] The administration now withdrew the marital law with effect from 10 November 1946.[43]

Different views on this revolt have been expressed. K.C. George, the leading organiser of the rebellion, asserted : "The revolt formed a significant scene in the long fight organised under the leadership of the Communist Party and the organised labourers for the achievement of responsible government and for ending the rule of the Maharaja and the Diwan".[44] On the other hand, C. Narayana Pilla, a freedom fighter stated : "the incidents at Punnapra Vayalar are to be considered only as the criminal actions of a small group of leadership" and proceeded to condemn the Communist leadership on ground that it misguided the 'innocent' labourers to the fieid of carnage.[45]

The outbreak and the suppression of the revolt at Alleppey and Sherthala formed a significant event in the history of Travancore. For the first time the working class, making common cause with the political leaders, organised a violent fight against the Governmental machinery. In this sense, it left lasting marks on the labour movement in the state. Government regarded the revolt as an "organised insurrection" by a certain section of the public especially the younger generation with the help of the state Communist Party. In fact it cannot be denied that the Communist influence had its own role in the organisation of resistance. Yet basically the economic distress caused by the Great War and the discontent of the workers at the inability of the administration to afford relief contributed to the uprising. Though an organised one, the revolt failed to acquire a mass character. The Communist Party restricted its activities only in the predominantly labour centres in north Travancore while the other parts of the state remained mostly unaffected. With a view to ending the growing strength of the Communists, the Government ruthlessly put down the revolt. The absence of agitation in other parts of the State enabled the Government to concentrate on the trouble spots and to quell the agitation. As a result of stern military action, most of the prominent Communist leaders went underground. Their absence from the political scene enabled the State Congress indirectly to revive its influence.

40. About the military action at Vayalar the Kerala Students Congress stated; "several persons died of gun shot. Many tried to flee and escape, but such persons were pursued and shot. The houses in which people took refuge were set fire. It is said that *rowdies* accompanied soldiers and they pointed out the houses of those against whom they bore grudge and that the military set fire to these also; that all persons who took refuge-inside the cell in a house were shot to death inside it; . . . that the paddy and other articles in all the houses have been destroyed..."

41. Visiting Vayalar, The State Congress Special Committee gives the death toll as ninety four. (op. cit.) K.C George puts it as more than 150 *Vide* (*Punnapra-Vayalar*, p. 155.)

42. *Prabhatham*, (Weekly), 31 October 1946; p. 15

43. *Travancore Government Gazette Extraordinary*, 8 November 1946

44. K. C. George, *op. cit.* pp. 185 and 242.

45. C. Narayana Pilla, *Thirnvithāmcūr Swatantriya Samara Charithram*, Trivandrum, 1972, p. 1080.

REGIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA AND SARDAR K. M. PANIKKAR

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In this short paper an attempt has been made to examine the case for regional history with particular reference to the ideas of Sardar K. M. Panikkar, the celebrated diplomat-historian

Long ago in 1813 Major Charles Steward set a new pattern of writing history when he brought out *The History of Bengal* from the first Mohamedan invasion until the Virtual conquest of that country by the English in 1757. Stewart's objectives was, however, quite different in bringing out the volume. "To those therefore", he wrote, "who are looking forward to Bengal as their place of sojourn for several years, a work which faithfully details the events that have been transacted in the country they are about to visit, will I should hope, prove both instructive and interesting."[1] The new pattern could not strike roots, because its utility was then very limited. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas* and Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* made a mark as they could cater to the needs of British imperialism better. It is a well known fact that modern Indian historiography grew out of the British tradition of research in Indian history. Later, a team of older Indian historians took their queue from their English counterparts and gave direction to historical research in this country. It was but natural that they had taken a long time to overcome the British legacy and give a new orientation to historical studies. The interest of 'Pax Britannica' reigned supreme. The ruler's interest came first and very logically the emphasis was on political, military and diplomatic history which again had been presented from the point of view of an Englishman. In his Presidential address to the Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress in 1955, Sardar K. M. Panikkar rightly lamented that Indian history was written mainly in terms of dynasties and kings and "consequently Indian history has acquired a reputation of being dull and uninteresting".

19th century English writers were either civil servants or military officers who were themselves involved direclty or indirectly in those affairs about which they brought out volumes. Therefore, "in almost all early writings of Indian history we find the official British mind at work and the civil service mind at the bottom[2]." Indian history as it was written, was mostly a rationalisation of British historical experience. No better expression of this can be found anywhere other than what H.T. Prinsep wrote in his preface to the 'Memoirs of Amir Khan'. He wrote : "We conquer and take the country and make out our case before the world. These we

1. Charles Stewart, *The History of Bengal*, Preface.
2. See the article of T.S. Banerjee on "Methodology for Modern Indian History", *Concept of Indology* ed., Ramlal Parikh and Rasesh Jamindar, p. 91

combat with are dumb or silent. Everything is represented Coleur-de-Rose for European valour, European skill and energy, moderation and integrity and whatever other virtues the narrators might choose to claim for their compatriots ...".

It was a paradox that British Indian historiography in the 19th century was an antithesis to the development of regional history. As Indian history was approached from the ruler's point of view, the entire subcontinent was taken as one unit or entitt vis-a-vis the centre of power. Hence the emphasis either on macro works or such works which enabled the British rulers understand the erstwhile indigenous powers like the Rajputs, the Marathas or the Sikhs. After the transfer of power in 1858, the idea that the British had succeeded the Mughals in exercising the sovereignty over India gained ground slowly but surely reaching a culmination in 1876 when Queen Victoria assumed the title of *Kaiser-i-Hind*. This pompous expression of the British attitude was indicative of their approach to the Indian situation and studies on Indian History catered to the needs of the Imperial Power. Regional or local history remained a distant idea in the evolution of British Indian historiography But it would be wrong to suppose that the idea of regional history was altogether non-existent. It was a question of emphasis, and undoubtedly, the emphasis was on macro-history of India in which the problems and policies of the British in India were evaluated in the light of Indian response.

A new awareness regarding the regional or local history came in the wake of the changing pattern of modern Indian historiography. If history is expressed in the formula HfMTS (Men, Time and Space), then definitely a big change in the M factor was in the offing towards the close of the 19th Century. It may be noticed that a wind of change began to blow simultaneously with the intensification of the Indian nationalist struggle. During that period the M factor which has two properties- Quantitative and Qualitative- was under strain. The changes in the realm of thinking denoted a change in the qualitative property in the M factor which virtually disturbed the status-quo in the pattern of research and analysis. The emerging nationalist historiography prompted enquiry anew from different angles which were hitherto not the usual practice. Historical studies cannot be bare intellectual exercises unrelated to the life and conditions in a given society in which the writer finds himself face to face with new demands on his discipline. In such a situation the direction of enquiry will begin to change automatically. In the present century, particularly in the post-independence period interest in regional history developed not as a reaction to British historiography on India but as a genuine desire to know the history of the people more completely and intimately. "The apparent break away in the present century was nothing but an attempt to adapt to the changed conditions[3]. "Panikkar rightly observed at the National Central University at Nanking on 3rd June 1948 : "What we see in India is certainly not a break away from the past, not a denial of his own history, but an adjustment to the changed conditions of the world . . . . . "[4] K. M Panikkar himself

3. T. S. Banerjee, *Sardar K. M. Panikkar : The Profile of a Historian*, p. 9.
4. *Panikkar Papers*, File No. 4.

was among those Indian writers who wanted to study the history of India also in the confines of a particular region. His *Malabar and the Portugese* and *Malabar and the Dutch* (*1931*) became pace-setters in a sense. Later, in 1960 Panikkar combined these works to give a connected account in *A History of Kerala* (1498-1801) published by the Annamalai University.

Unfortunately, regional history did not make much headway in independent India for the first two decades. Some people always smell rat in the very concept of regional or local history, for a modern Indian historian lamented; "there is an erroneous impression in some quarters, not so much among professional historians as among politicians who want to use history as a tool for their conception of national integration, that regional studies encourage parochialism, local chauvinism and sectarian aggressiveness, ultimately leading to national disintegration[5]." It is true that there may be trouble if regional feeling of rivalry finds a play in the study of the history of a region. Much of the apprehension about regional or local history is due to the fact that it has not been clearly defined and its goal has not been satisfactorily set. What is, therefore, a regional history? Regional history may be defined as the history of a homogeneous, geographical or linguistic area in a given period. It may be a chronological account of a geographical unit or a thematic study within the bounds of a geographical unit. For purposes of fruitful study the geographical area may comprise a province, an erstwhile Native State or an area with a distinct socio-cultural pattern. In a sense what is called local history is nothing but a regional history in miniature. It is the extent of territory with distinct linguistic or socio-cultural pattern, the composite nature of the problem and a limited time-frame that distinguish regional studies from other works. To use a modern, technical expression a regional or local history is a micro-study within a macro-frame. The two-volume *History of Bengal* dealing with the Hindu period and the Muslim period is, perhaps, something more than a regional history and approaches a macro-work. The history of a linguistic region like Assam, Kerala, the Punjab, Orissa etc. may very well fit in the frame of a regional history. Again areas like Telengana, Chattisgarh, Choto Nagpur, Rarh (in W. Bengal), etc., may be taken up as the subjects for regional history. 'Slavery in Travancore,' 'Dutch trade and commerce in Gujrat', 'The Extremist Movement in Kerala', 'History of the Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh etc., and subjects like them do come under the purview of the regional histories. The study of a macro problem province-wise or region-wise may also come under the category of regional history. Similarly, local problems or histories studied under a broader context may very well be classed under regional history. To give an example, the study of the 'Abstention Movement' in Kerala, recently published (1976) by a Malayalam scholar, may be classified as a regional history as he has "treated a restricted local time in a broad-based, national setting.[6]"

It may be said that regional histories and a general history of India are not two

5. S. P. Sen, *Studies in Modern Indian History - A. Regional Survey* Introduction.
6. K.K. Kusuman, *The Abstention Moevment*, p. x.

mutually exclusive or competing concepts in the field of historical studies. One must remember that regional histories are but a part of the whole. They are complementary and not competing in substance. There may be several arguments in favour of the regional history. First, in a vast country like India proper development of regional histories has an added significance. Through these studies we can fully utilise the materials available in the language of a particular region, province or state or part of a state as the case may be. Secondly, these studies will help us to understand each other better, as works produced on the basis of the local materials, will certainly convey the inner voice of the subjects of these histories in a more convincing manner. For example, a socio-cultural history of the Tamil Nadu in the modern period written after tapping the available sources in Tamil will depict the picture more clearly than it is possible only on the basis of English source-materials. Thirdly, the monograph stage of Indian history will remain incomplete so long as regional histories are not taken seriously. When regional histories will be properly developed, it would facilitate the writing of a truely comprehensive history of India. Fourthly, in respect of some problems like the nationalist movement, any indepth study will necessitate the adoption of a regional approach. There may be wide differences between province and province in the nature, timing and intensity of such a movement. A study of the national movement, for example, will "hardly be adequate if one overlooks the regional differences[7]." Lastly, the era of colonial history is over and if a people's history of India has to be written, it will be best done through the regional histories.

Panikkar noted that "the school of thought which looks upon history as a national apologetics has but little justification in its favour."[8] There will be no cause for worry if the fervent appeal of Sardar K.M. Panikkar is kept in mind. He said: "I would only make one appeal to Indian historians and that is not lend themselves to the heresy of elevating regional glories as a result of their specialisation with certain periods or certain areas. Every region of India has contributed to the evolution of the Indian people; every group added to our common heritage. Every part of India has its heroic period and forgetting this the historians have often contributed to the false pride resulting from the glorified self-image of our different areas. This is the most dangerous development, which the historian has especially to guard against."[9] Therefore, "much depends on how the regional history is studied, in the narrow compass of the region unconnected with forces and developments outside its boundaries, or in a wider perspective reflecting its true character and significance on a larger canvas."[10] In a sense, the regional history can introduce an element of modernity in the traditional historical research and *elevate it to a more fruitful* level in the years to come.

7. S. P. Sen, *Historical Writings on the Nationalist Movement in India*, Preface.
8. K. M. Panikkar, *A Survey of Indian History*, p. 235.
9. *Presidential Address* of Panikkar at the Calcutta Session of the Indian History Congress, 1955.
10. S. P. Sen, *Studies in Modern Indian History*, *op. cit.*

HEROIC WOMEN IN SANGAM AGE

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In this paper an attempt is made to portray the heroic activities of the women of ancient Tamilaham with special reference to their role in military affairs. This study is mostly based upon the early grammatical work *Tolkappiyam*[1] and the Sangam literature.[2]

The women of early Tamilaham enjoyed a distinguished status in society. The early Tamil literature refers to the heroism of women. The heroic woman was termed as '*mudir pendir*'[3] or '*mudir mahalir*'[4]. Mothers considered that their sons were born to sacrifice their lives for the protection and peace of the country. It was believed that the duty of a mother was to give birth to heroes for the country.[5] Women took meticulous care to train their children as adventurous warriors. They were proud of the chivalrous activities of their sons, but could not bear the cowardice acts. Once a mother just after hearing that her son had absconded from the battlefield,[6] went to the warfront with a sword in her hand but found her son leying in the midst of cropses with wounds on the chest.[7] In another instance *Puranannru* states that a woman of a village asked a mother, "where is your son?", she replied that "my son could be seen in the battlefield".[8] A mother did not hesitate to send her only son to the battlefield. In *Purananuru* Okkur Masattiyar, a poetess, explicitly describes the heroic deed of the mother. She lost her father and husband in battle. As the battle continued, the mother felt that her country was more important than her son. She called her only son, combed his hair, gave the dress of a soldier and sent him to the battlefield, with the instruction to destroy the enemies who caused death to her father and husband.[9]

The married women always remained as a source of inspiration to their husbands. They used to garland their husbands[10], sent them to the battle, and prayed to the goddess, Korravai, for the success of their mission. Until their return from the battlefield the queen as well as the other women were plunged in grief. *Nedunalvadai*, one of the ten idylls, describes the dull and gloomy days of a queen in the absence of her husband.

1 The grammatical work *Tolkappiyam* was written by Tolkappiyar. It is the earliest Tamil work.
2. Eight Anthologies (*Ettutokai*) and Ten Idylls (*Pottupattu*) are the Sangam works.
3. *Purananur*, 19 : 15.
4. *Ibid* , 279 : 2.
5. *Kuruntogai*, 405 : 2.
6. *Purananuru*, 278 : 5.
7. *Ibid.*, 278 : 5.
8. *Ibid.*, 86 : 6.
9. *Ibid.*, 279.
10. *Purananuru*, 304 : 1.

who was engaged in wars. She dofted all the ornaments except the marriage tie,[11] never combed her hair and instead of golden bangles, her wrists were adorned with chanks.[12] The servant maid consoled her. In Mullaipāṭṭu there is a description of the sorrowful mood of a queen whose husband had gone for a military campaign.

"The wife sees not lord in slumber sweet,
Reposing by her side and plunged in grief
Directs her thoughts to him, Her loneliness
Now makes her sad, and quite upsets her mind
She then reflecting, long consoles herself
And sets her loosened bangles right. Again
She shakes with passion, deeply sighs and quakes
Like a paehen struck with arrows from her hands
Her bangles slip".[13]

Kovurkilar in *Purananuru* infers that women did not attend the *manram*, a venue for festivals, since their husbands had not returned from battlefield.[14] Wives of the warriors were dare enough to go to the battlefield after the war in search of their husbands and if they happend to see them in the pool of blood with weapons, then they used to pull out the weapons from the body of their husbands and stabbed themselves to death [15] From *Tolkkappiyam* it is known that the wives used to die by resting their heads on their husbands' faces.[16] They preferred it in order to escape themselves from widowhood.[17]

They voluntarily practicised *sati* or self-immolation. Perumkoppendu, the wife of Bhutha Pandian, escaped widowhood by committing suicide when her husband died in a battle with a Chola king.[18] The court-poet Kuttuvan Kiranar in *Purananuru* informs that when the militant chieftain Aye Andiran died, his wives jumped into his funeral pyre.[19] In a combat between Neduncheralathan, a Chera king and Verrdakkai Peruvirrkilli, a Chola king, both of them died. Thereupon their wives went to the battlefield and committed suicide along with them.[20]

The widowes who did not offer for *sati*, led a miserable life. They cut off their head locks, for they believed that only their husbands had the authority to touch hair.[21] Besides from *Purananuru* it is known that the widows would take bath in cold water

11. *Nedunalvadai*, 136, 137. This kind of practice is seen even today.
12. *Ibid.*, 141 - 142.
13. *Mullaipaṭṭu*, 80-84, Trans., J.V. ,Chelliah, *Pattupattu*, p. 93.
14. *Puṟanānūṟu*, 373 : 12.
15. *Tolkappiyam Porulathikaram*, 79 : 12.
16. *Ibid.*, 79 : 16-17.
17. T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 291.
18. *Purananuru* 246, 247 It is not known the name of the chola king.
19. *Ibid.*, 240 : 4-6.
20. *Purananuru* 62.
21. *Kuruntogai*, 225 : 7.
22. *Purananuru* 62. By taking bath in cold water, they controled the sexual temptation.

eat green leaves.[22] Along with the other women they offered sacrificial rice to appease the soul of the dead.

There is a graphic description in *Purananuru* about lementing of a woman when she found her husband's body in a battlefield.

"If I should cry aloud for help I fear
the tiger
If I strive to bear him off, my strength
fails me to lift his stalwart form
May tremblings like my own afflict the
pitiless death
Were it not easy for thee grasp my hand
and led me to the shades."[23]

Tolkappiyar in *porulathikaram-Karppu Iyal* states that soldiers never took their wives to the battlefield.[24] But Sangam literature indicates that women were in charge of watching the royal pavilion of the camp.[25] It seems that the women played a decisive role in preserving the morale of the fighting forces and they went to the battlefield to encourage the men. K.K. Pillay assets that women were animated by lofty ideals of martial spirit.[26]

23. *Ibid.*, 355, Trans., G.U. Pope, *Tamil Heroic Poems*, p. 61.
24. *Tolkappiyam-Porulathikaram* 175.
25. *Mullaipāṭṭu* 46-49.
26. K.K. Pillay, "The Early History of Nanchinad" *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XX, No. 2 and XXI, No. 1, p. 28.

LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENT IN COLA TIMES AS SEEN IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THANJAVUR AND GANGAIKONDACHOLAPURAM TEMPLES

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In the studies of economic history of the Colas or more generally of South India we find the mention of the assessment of land revenue recorded in various Cola inscriptions.[1] However, the examples given in those studies are usually not many, and they are often taken quite arbitrarily from the inscriptions in various parts of the country and also of different periods. Moreover, there is no warrant for the uniformity in the nature of information offered by each inscription[2] and therefore it is almost impossible to get a general view from the previous studies on the land revenue assessment in Cola times.

Among the Cola inscriptions, however, there are a few large inscriptions where the assessment of many villages in several localities is recorded and where the uniformity in the nature of information is somehow warranted. They are, two inrcriptions of the Thanjavur temple and one inscription of the Gangaikondacholapuram temple. In this paper I will analyse the informations in order to get a somewhat more general picture of the Cola land revenue assessment.[3]

The Thanjavur inscriptions (*SII*, II, 4 & 5 : afterwards abbreviated as TI)[4] record the royal order issued by Rajaraja I in his 29th regnal year that the particulars of the assessment of the land revenue (kanikkatan)[5] due to the Thanjavur temple from the villages granted by him as devadana to the Thanjavur temple should be engraved on stone. Subse-

1. For examples, K A. Nilkanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, 2nd ed., Madras University, (Madras, 1955), pp. 528-533, A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A. D.)* Vol. II, Madras University, (Madras, 1936), p. 677 and T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, 2nd ed., Madras University, (Madras, 1967), 159.

2. The assessment is usually found in those inscriptions which record the grant of a village or villages as *devadana* to a temple by the King. However, the assessment may possibly differ from case to case according to the condition of the grant sueh as the category of the village granted, the extent of the tax remission, etc., even if the cases are in the same locality and in the same locality and in the same period.

3. Dr. R Nagaswamy, Director. Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, first directed my attention to the Gangaikonda-cholapuram inscription. Dr. C. R Srinivasan of the office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, helped me in reading the Gangaikondacholapuram inscription. Dr. Y Subbarayalu of Madurai-Kamaraj University, helped me in locating in the map the villages recorded in the inscriptions and prepared the map. I am very much grateful to all of them.

4. Two inscriptions are continuous and there is still another continuous inscription (*SII*, II, 92) in the Thanjavur temple, but the last one gives only the name and assessment of the villages and not the area of village. Therefore, I shall omit it from the examination in this paper.

5. Though the word kanikkatan cannot be equated with the land revenue of the Government without any reservation, it is preceeded by the expression irai-kattina in the description of each village and therefore we may well be able to interpret it, in this case, as the land revanue of the Government which was now ordered to be transferred to the temple.

quent to this order they give the description of 40 villages granted in Colamandalam. The description of each village consists of 1) area of village, 2) lands to be deducted as taxable land. and 4) amount of paddy to be measured or money to be paid on the taxable land From TI, therefore, we can know the rate of assessment, i. e. the rate between the area of taxable land and the amount of revenue assessed on it in each village. However, the nature of taxable land cannot be known from TI.

The Gangaikondacholapuram Inscription (*SII*, IV, 529 : here after abbreviated as GI) seems to consist of seven parts, each of which begins with meykkirtti (eulogy) of Virarajendra and describes the grant of village(s) as devadana by himself and his predecessors.[6] As GI is very badly damaged we cannot know how many villages were described in the inscription or how those grants were related to the Gangaikondacholapuram temple in a few cases. However, the description of villages in this inscription is more detailed than that of TI and we can gather much valuable information. Namely, in GI, the measurement of every tax - free land is given in many cases, the taxable land is classified according to its nature, and the area of each classified land is also given. The parts of GI which provide us with such information are : the second part which describes more than 15 villages, the fifth part which records the grant of two villages and the seventh part where more than 7 villages are described. Even in those parts, however, the villages for which sufficient information is available are very few owing to the great damage to the inscription.[7]

Another point of importance of GI is that the 14 villages out of 15 recorded in the second part are the villages which were once granted to the Thanjavur temple by Rajaraja I and therefore recorded in TI. By examining description of these 14 villages of GI, therefore, we are able to know, to some extent, the nature of the taxable land of the villages of TI also.[8]

First, we shall examine the villages of TI. List I in the Appendix shows the assessment rate computed for each village : the rate is expressed in the amount of paddy in kalam or gold in kalanju per veli of land.[9]

From this list we learn that in the villages where assessment is made in paddy, the rate is roughly one hundred kalam of

6. The first parts seems to record the grant of a villege by Virarajendra himself, but all other parts refer to the grants made by his predecessors : the second part refers to the grants made by Rajendra I in his 23rd year, the third part to the one also by Rajendra I in his 24th year, the fourth part to the one by the same king in his 24th year, the fifth part to the one by the same king in the same year, the sixth part to the one by the same king in his 30th year. However, all these six grants from the second to the seventh seem to have been re-granted to some other deity by Virarajendra or simply re affirmed by himself.

7. The village names and their assessment described in GI are listed in R. Nagaswamy, *Gangaikondacholapuram*, Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, Madras, 1970.

8. In the descriptions of the same village in TI and GI some discrepancy appears in a few cases, but in most cases the details such as the area of a village, the classification of tax free land, the assessment, etc. are identical for each village in both the inscriptions.

9. Recently, N. Vanamamalai has examined the same inscriptions of the Thanjavur temple and also discussed the problem of assessment. However, his quotations from the incriptions and his calculations are often incorrect and his statement is based on no evidence in many cases. N. Vanamamalai, 'State and Religion in the Chola Empire : Taxation for Thanjavur Temple's Music and Dance,' *Social Scientist*, (Trivandrum) No. 27, 1974, pp. 26-42.

paddy per veli of land. but the rate actually fluctuates between 100 and 95 with one exception of 77 kalam. In the villages where assessment is made in gold, the rate is between 9.991 and 5.321 kalanju of gold per veli.

As to the nature of taxable land of those villages, such information as given in List 2 in the Appendix can be gathered from GI for 5 villages of List 1.

In the village No. 17 there are two categories of taxable land, namely, irupu-vilaiyum-nilam (two crops land) and puncey-nilam (dry land). In the village No. 30 there seem to have three or more categories of texable land. In the villages Nos. and 22, on the contrary, all the taxable land was nir-nilam (wet paddy field). Though nir-nilam in general may include both irupu-vilaiyum-nilam, nir-nilam in these villages must have been of one category only, i.e. either irupu-vilaiyum-nilam. Because, if there were both kinds of land in these villages, they must have been distinguished from each other by the expression irupu and orupu just as done in their villages. As to which was the case irupu or orupu, there will be little doubt, if we see the composition of taxable land in other village of this locality. It must have been irupu-vilaiyum-nilam. If this inference is accepted, it is quite interesting to notice that the assessment rate of the villages. Nos. 22. where all the taxable land is nir-nilam (irupu-vilaiyum-nilam), is exactly one hundred kalam per vali and that those of the villages Nos. 17 and 30, where puncey-nilam or land of some other category is seen beside irupu-vilaiyum-nilam, are below one hundred. Though the number of instances is only a few, this may suggest that the rate for nir-nilam or irupu-vilaiyum-nilam is just one hundred and the decrease from one hundred in rate seen in many villages may be attributed to the fact that there are included some less fertile land such as orupu-vilaiyum-nilam, or land of some other catetory in the taxable land of those villages.

However, in the villages where assessment is made in money, such suggestion cannot be made. For, the assessment rate of the village No. 20, where all the taxable land is nir-nilam like in the village No. 22, is 7.667 or 8.583, [10] either of which is much less than those of other villages in the last. We may have to seek some other reason for the fluctuation of rate in the villages where assessment is made in money.[11]

Now we shall proceed to the examination of the villages which are recorded in GI only.

In the third part of GI are there six villages for which some information on the taxable land and its assessment can be gathered. They are shown in List 3 in the Appendix.

10. In GI the assessment of the village is stated as 340 kalanju and 8 manjadi. If we take these figures, the rate will be 8.580.

11. Since most of the villages where assessment is made in money are nagarams (towns), some kind of commercial tax seems to have been included in the assessment. Needless to say, however, if nir-nilam of village No. 20 included orupu-vilaiyum-nilam also. the low assessment could be explained by it. In that case, we have to say that nir-nilam of village No. 22 happened to be composed only of irupu-vilaiyum-nilam

In the fifth part two villages are described and the information obtained is given in List 4 in the Appendix.

In the seventh part are found five villages. They are shown in List 5 in Appendix.

The first thing we notice looking at all the data given in the Lists 1-5 in the Appendix is the difference of assessment rate among the different parts of the description. The villages of the second part which constitute a part of the villages of TI show the rate about 100 kalam per veli.[12] The villages of the third part show the rate something around 50 kalam per veli. The villages of the fifth part, though only two, show the rate of more than 82 and the villages of the seventh part 20 kalam as average.

What would be the cause of this difference? One might seek it in the difference in time of the original grant of those villages. Actually however, there is no substantial difference in the time of the original grant so far the dates given in each part are concerned, and moreover it seems that all the villages in the above mentioned four parts of GI were re-affirmed by him.[13] Therefore, the difference of time cannot be the cause. One might suggest then the difference in the nature of the grant as the cause. However, the way of describing those villages are almost same in TI and all the four parts of GI examined here.[14] Moreover, in the cases of the third and fifth parts of GI in the word kanikkatan used to candidate the revenue transferred to the temple, as in TI.[15] Those two things may will be taken as suggestive of the same nature of those grants.

More plausible, perhaps real, cause would be the difference in locality. If we name the four parts of GI, i. e. parts two, three, five and seven, as G2, G3, G5 and G7 respectively, and also if we divide the villages of TI into six groups as specified below and name them T1, T2, T3, T4, T5 and T6 their geographical distribution will be as seen in the map in the Appendix.[16] TI consists of three nadus[17] which include the villages Nos. 5-12, 39 and 40. T2 consists of the nadu and part of another nadu (Velanadu) and includes the villages Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18. T4 shows the extent of one nadu and includes the villages Nos. 19 and 20. T5 indicates the location of one central and five subordinate towns (Nos. 33 - 38) in one kurram. T6 consists of two kandams, which include the villages Nos 21-32. T6 is almost identical with G2 where another village (line 80 of GI)

12. The figures of measurement of land and assessment retained in the second part of GI are too fragmentary to allow us to compute the rate of assessment. However, as already mentioned, those figures, though fragmentary, correspond exactly with those of TI in most cases, and we can safely presume that the assessment rate of the villages in the second part of GI is about 100.
13. See Note 6 above.
14. As to the type of village, we do not find any brahmadeya village among the villages whose name can be known in TI and the four parts of GI examined here.
15. In the cases of the second, fourth, sixth and seventh parts, the word Kanikkatan seems to have been lost due to the damage to the inscription.
16. In preparing the map, some villages are exactly located in the map; but many are not. However, nadus or other similar divisions where particular villages were situated, are located in most cases.
17. The inclusion of Takkalurnadu in the area indicated in the map is sentative

is also included. G3A seems to consist of three nadus (Tiruvalundurnadu, Vilainadu and Kurukkainadu) and to include more than 11 villages of the third part of GI (from line 91 to 137 and also from line 153 to 155). G3B indicates the extent of Vennaiyurnadu which seems to include more than 3 villages of the third part (from line 137 to 153). G5 indicates the location of the two villages of Uraiyurkurram in the fifth part. The location of Madurantaka-valanadu where the villages of the seventh part were situated is not certain, but it may be suggested to have been along the river Marudayar.[18]) If so, the area will be shown by G7.

It is clear from the map in the Appendix that the villages of each group show some distinctive territorial unity in different parts of Colamandalam. Considering this pattern of distribution of the villages together with the data given in the Appendix, we may be able to infer the following two things. Firstly, the villages of each group have the same agricultural setup, which in turn can differ from those of other groups. This inference will be easily made, when we notice the composition of the taxable land in each locality group in the data given in the Appendix.

The proportion of orupu-vilaiyum-nilam (one crop land) in the whole taxable land in each village of the third part of GI (G3A/B) is much higher than that in the villages of the fifth part of GI (G5) where there seems to have existed no orupu-villaiyum-nilam and where the proportion of irupu-vilaiyum-nilam (two crops land) is overwhelming. The composition of the taxable land in the villages of the second part of GI (G2) and also of the five groups of TI (T1-T5), may well have been same or nearly same as the composition prevalling in the villages of the fifth part. In the villages of the seventh part of GI (G7) do we find again proportionately more of orupu-vilaiyum-nilam than irupu-vilaiyum-nilam, than irupu-vilaiyum-nilam, beside which we find also varaku-vilaiyum-nilam (millet field) in cansiderable proportion.

Secondly, we can infer that the productivity of the land of the same nature also may differ from locality to locality. In the village No. 5 of GI there are 39 676 veli of irupu-vilaiyum-nilam and 12 464 veli of orupu-vilaiyum-nilam. The assessment on these lands is 2500 kalam of paddy. If we assume that the assessment rate of irupu-vilaiyum-nilam in this village be 100 kalam per veli just like in the villages of TI, the assessment on irupu-vilaiyum-nilam alone would exceed the assessment actually made on both the lands. Therefore, the assessment rate for irupu-vilaiyum-nilam in the village No. 5 must have been much lower than 100 kalam per veli, which leads us to infer that the productivity of irupu-vilaiyum-nilam in the villages of the third part of GI was considerably lower than that of the villages of TI.

From the examination above we may be able to suggest that the different agricultural set up and productivity in each locality will explain the different average rate of assess-

18. In the village No. 13 (line 212) a river called Marudaru is stated as flowing through the village. This Marudaru may be identified with Marudayar River running through the present Perambalur Taluk and Udaiyarpalaiyam Taluk of Tiruchirapalli District.

ment in each village group in GI. In case of TI whose 40 villages distributed in several localities show the same rate of assessment, we must say that the villages were deliberately chosen from those localities which had similar agricultural setup and productivity.

The picture we get from the examination of TI and GI concerning the land revenue assessment in Cola country is, therefore, not so simple, but it may be summarized as follows. There are differences in composition of the taxable land and also in productivity among the villages of different localities and that in the assessment of land revenue, both the nature and the productivity of taxable land were considered. That is the reason why the different rate of assessment is seen among the four parts of GI. At the same time, however, if we take up one nadu or a little larger territory than nadu, there are generally seen the similar agricultural set up and productivity. Such similarity will explain the almost similar rate of assessment among the villages of each group of GI and TI.

If we gather more instances of devadana grant made by the Cola kings and examine them closely, we may be able to get more substantial knowledge on the revenue assessment in Cola times. This study will serve, I hope, as the base for similar further studies.

APPENDIX (LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENT IN COLA TIMES)

LIST 1 (Villages in TI)

Territorial division & village		Area of taxable land in veli[19]	Assessment in paddy (kalam) or gold (Kalanju)	Rate
Arumolideva-valanadu				
Inganadu				
	1 Palaiyur	125.379	12530.759	99.942
	2 Arappal	107.614	10745.863	99.846
	3 Kirandevangudi	40.882	4070.468	99.564
	4 Nagank ..	21.834	21.834	100.000
(Nenmalinadu)				
	5 —[20]	115.260	11326.155	100.000
	6 Tannirkunram	34.199	33.199	98.780

19. I have altered the fractions customarily used in the measurement of land into the integers for the sake of convenience. The value less than 0.001 is omitted. In this calculation I have followed the traditional interpretation of kil that the fractions following kil are to be multiplied by the value of the last fraction before the kil, i.e. 1/320, (1/320)^2, etc, though I am not fully satisfied with this interpretation. Even if it is arithmetically true, the meaning of those microscopic measurement is not clear at all.

20. Though both names of nadu and village are lost owing to the damage in the inscription we can infer the name of nadu as Nenmalinadu, for we know from another inscription (*SII*, III, 209) that village No. 6 was included in that nadu.

7	Uccipadi	55.651	XX26.XXX	99.304
8	Kil-Vadugakkudi	26.471	26XX.XXX	99.731/98.371[21]
9	Kanjaranagaram	6.801	674.791	99.211
10	Usikkannangudi	5.449	518.684	95.185
Arvalakkurram				
11	Vadaviraiyanpallam	23.237	2383.801	100.002
12	Tiruttengur	29.746	297.218	9.991
Tirunaraiyurnadu				
13	Arakkangudi	6.904	656.614	95.096
14	Pidaraceri	5.402	535.874	98.869
Velanadu				
15	Manarkalappalli	49.950	4918.927	98.477
Uyyakondar-valanadu Tiraimurnadu				
16	Nerkuppai	37.364	3722.052	99.613
Rajendrasimha-valanadu Innambarnadu				
17	Maruttuvakudi	29.889	2967 854	99.295
18	Karuppur	?	549.624	?
Tiruvalinadu				
19	Tiruttevangudi	29.290	29XX.677	100.910[22]
20	Kuruvaniyakkudi	29.671	304.197	7.667
Rajasraya-valandu Paccirkurram				
21	Anbanur	75.750	5850.760	77.237
22	Ingaiyur	42.782	4278.291	100.000
23	Panamangalam	40.792	4072.156	99.824
24	Sattanpadi	18.838	1883 916	100.002
25	.... kkangudi	4.709	469.343	99.661

21. The first two blanks in the assessment can be read as either 40 or 04 The former figures make the rate 99.731 and the letter 98.371.

22. In GI the assessment of this village is stated as 2955 kalam and odd. If we assume the assessment to have been 2955. 677, the rate will become 100 910. However, in the description of measurement, there is some discrepancy between the two inscriptions and the rate 100.910 is liable to modification.

Kalarakkurram				
26	Mantottam	14.566	1456 489	99.988
27	Iraiyanceri	11.757	1169.729	99.485
Venkongudikkandam				
28	Venkongudi	48.101	4784.729	99.462
29	Makanikudi	23.157	2315 083	99.969
Cemburaikkandam				
30	Ciru-Cemburai	6.316	612.166	96.911
Paccirkurram				
31	Turaiyur	147.739	14888.509	99.429
32	Karimangalam	11.078	1083.052	97.764
Nittavinoda-valanadu				
Vennikkurram				
33	Venni	17.509	93.171*	5.321
34	Pudamangalam	25.157	246.518*	9.798
35	Miduveli	3.551	30.268*	8.522
36	Nagarakarikuricci	2.856	28.487*	9.973
37	Vadatamarai	6.753	64.843*	9.602
38	Venni-Tirappanpalli	7.870	77.800*	9.885
Arumolideva-valanadu				
Takkalurnadu				
39	Kodimangalam	50.518	5051.958	100.001
40	Pallavapuram	20.296	167.662*	8.260

LIST : 2 (Villages in the 2nd part of GI)

Village No. in TI	Line in GI	Nature of land	Area in veli
17	51	irupu-vilaiyum-nilam	29.XXX
		puncey-nilam	0.28X
20	59	nir-nilam	39.671
22	66	nir-nilam	42.782
26	72	(oru) pu-vilaiyum-nilam [23]	14.56X
		some other land?	?

Note : The mark * indicates assessment in gold (Kalanju).

23. Though the word "oru" was supplied to the damaged portion by the epigraphist, "iru" would be more probable, if we consider the high rate of assessment in tee villages of TI. This point discussed later.

30	82	irupu-vilaiyum-nilam	5.848
		....vilaiyum-nilam	0.060
		some other land(s)	?

LIST 3 (Villages in the 3rd part of GI)

1) Line 101 Name lost

Village area in veli	?
orupu-vilaiyum-nilam	31.851
orupu-vilaiyum-nilam	12.567
total area of taxable land	44.418
paddy assessed in kalam	2300
rate of assessment	51.779

2) Line 110 Name lost

village area	?
total area of taxable land	136.XXX
paddy	7500
rate	around 55

3) Line 114 Kalanivay....

village area	119.404
(i) orupu-vilaiyum-nilam	47.816
orupu-vilaiyum-nilam	63.XXX
total area of taxable land	111.065
paddy	X500
rate	?

4) Line 129 ....alanallur

irupu-vilaiyum-nilam	60.866
iruppu-vilaiyum-nilam	110.XXX
puncey-nilam	5.331
tenkantottam (coconut tree garden)	181.308
paddy	9000
rate	49.636

5) Line 134 Kondal

village area	53.5XX
irupu-vilaiyum-nilam	39.676
orupu-vilaiyum-nilam	12.464
total area of taxable land	52.140
paddy	2500
rate	47.947

6)	Line 149 Name lost	
	village area	44.413
	iruppu-vilaiyum-nilam	18.610
	orupu-vilaiyum-nilam	3.211
	mancal-tottam (turmeric garden)	1.421
	urnattattu-karinaiyum-valutataiyum-natalam-tottam (garden in the residential site for cultivation of yam and eggplant)	0.142
	puncey-nilam	?
	total area of taxable land	43.35X
	paddy	2040
	rate	47.058

LIST 4 (Villages in the fifth part of GI)

7)	Line 173 Karuppur	
	village area	250.725
	irupu-vilaiyum-nilam	245.406
	ellum-payarum-viccalem-nilam (land for sesamum and gram cultivation)	1.80X
	total area of taxable land	?
	paddy	2X585
	rate	over 82.34[24]
8)	Line 176 Vayalur	
	village area	201.962
	irupu-vilaiyum-nilam	161.889
	kamuku-tottam-nilam (area tree garden)	1.455
	ka . um mancalum-vilaiyum-nilam	1.XXX
	man-tottam-nilam (mango tree garden)	0.760
	curru-tenku . koti-tottam (betel garden surrounded by coconut trees)	0.159
	varaku-vilaiyum nialm (millet field)	0.846
	ellu-vilia....	X4.663
	... tottam-nilam	0 024
	karuniyum-valutalaiyum-vilaiyum-nilam	0.487
	total area of taxable land	184.810
	paddy	169XX.239
	rate	around 91.7

LIST 5 (Villages in the 7th part of GI)

9)	Line 197 Pavittiramanikkalanallur	
	village area	52.788
	iruppu-vilaiyum-nilam	14.XXX/16.XXX

24. If we assume the assessment as 20585 kalam and the total area of taxable land as 250 veli, we shall get the figures 82.34 for the rate.

curru-tenku-vaitta-tottam-nilam	0.25
varaku-vilaiyum-nilam	over 15
total area of taxable land	48.15
paddy	800
rate	15.743

10) Line 200 Ulakalandacolanallur

village area	23.870
irupu-vilaiyum-nilam	10.287
orupu-vilaiyum-nilam	7.XXX
tenkan-tottam-nilam	0.712
varaku-vilaiyum-nilam	3.925
total area of taxable land	21.85
paddy	344
rate	15.743

11) Line 202 Keralantakanallur

village area	36.867
– pu-vilaiyum-nilam	11.XXX/19.XXX
orupu-vilaiyum-nilam	over 15
curru –	0.109
varaku-vilaiyum-nilam	0.5
total area of taxable land	35.215
paddy	983
rate	27.913

12) Line 208 Ma—carinallur

village area	47.124
irupu-vilaiyum-nilam	18
orupu-vilaiyum-nilam	20 068
tenkum-mavum-vaitta-tottam	?
varakum-ellum-vilaiyum-nilam	4.2
total area of taxable land	42.80
paddy	1231
rate	28.761

13) Line 212 Irumudicolanallur

village area	67.207
irupu-vilaiyum-nilam	15.5
orupu-vilaiyum-nilam	21.25
varaku-vilaiyum-nilam	2X.XXX
total area of taxable land	60.231
paddy	?
rate	?

MERCHANT GUILDS IN THE PANDYAN COUNTRY

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The active functioning of trade and merchant guilds was an important feature of South Indian economy in the ancient and medieval times. We get a fairly good picture about their activities in the Chola and the Vijayanagar periods, but their activities in the Pandian country are not so well known because of paucity of evidence. Here in this paper the available evidences, mainly from the epigraphical sources, are presented. The early Tamil Brahmi inscriptions found in the vicinity of Madurai furnishes us with some scanty information on this point. The inscriptions record that many merchants like the salt merchant, the gold merchant, semi-precious stone dealers were responsible for the donations made to the Jain ascetics undertaking penance on the hills around Madurai like Anamalai and Tiruparankunram. An inscription at Mangulam near Madurai records the grant given by a member of a merchant guild of Vellarai village. The term used for the guild is *Nigamattor*, the same word by which the merchant guilds are mentioned in the Satavahana inscriptions of more or less the same date.[1] This should clearly suggest the active functioning of trade guilds in Pandiyan country even at the beginning of the Christian era. Further amplification of the commercial activity, the flourishing market at Madurai are obtained from the literary works of the Sangam and later periods like the *Madurai-kāñji* and the *Silappadikaram*.

Thus though the prevalance of the trade guilds can certainly be traced to the Sangam period, the large scale development of guild commerce in Pandyan country as in indeed for South India as a whole, can be traced only from 6th-7th centuries onwards, during the times of the Pallavas, Chalukyas, Pandyas, Cheras and later Cholas. Inscriptions in Pandyan country from 9th-10th century onwards give us a fairly connected picture about the activities of the merchant guilds as well as the individual activities of the members of the guild. Several facts concerniag their free movement from one place to another, their settlements, the names of the guilds their philanthropic activity both inside the Pandyan country and outside, are well attested by inscriptions. A record of the 10th century A.D. at Sirudavur in Chingleput district has recorded a grant made by a merchant of the Pandyan country to the Vishuu temple of that village. Similarly, a record of the 14th century mentions that the merchants of Pandyamandalam met in Tondaimandalam and undertook several charities in the area. Especally coastal town like Mayilapur and Mamallapuram seems to have had close links with the merchants guilds.

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1. K.V. Raman *Brahmi Inscriptions of Tamilnadu. a historical assessment* - Studies in Indian Epigraphy, Vol. I, pp. 104-118.

We are all familiar with the several types of commercial guilds that were functioning all over South India such as *manigramam, nānādesi thisaiāyirattu Ainūrruvas, Nagarattār, añjuvannattar,* etc. Many of them had a far flung trade connections both within and beyond the shores of India in the foreign countries like Srilanka, Malaya, Sumatra etc. Among them of course, the *Nānādesi-Tisai-āyirattu ainūruvar* had a long and chequered history. This guild seems to have been quite active in the area around Tirumayyam on the borders of the Pandya country even in the 9th century A.D. It was responsible for a charity of excavating a tank and for its maintenance throughout the year for which the guild instituted an endowment. The activity of the same guild in the Ambasamudram in Tirunelveli district, is attested by a record dated 1033 A. D. The guild donated lands to the Siva temple at Ambasamudram.[2]

The community which took the leading part in trade and commerce were the Nagarattars who were particularly active in the Pandyan country. By virtue of their long experience and enterprise in this field, they did yeomen service for promoting the commercial activities even with far off countries. The numerous public charities and donations made by the community clearly suggest their flourising position in the society and the abundant surplus they had. They were responsible for establishing and expanding the markets and market towns. A record of 9th century A.D. at Uggirankottai in Tirunelveli District mentions the active functioning of the Nagarattars in the *Rājasingapērangādi.* They belong to the guild called *Ainurruvar* evidently the *Thisaiāyirattu ainurruvar.* One of them was responsible for the construction of the outer courtyard of the temple which is hence called as Naganattartiruchurralai[3]. The merchant guild probably had substantial part of play in the formation of the fortified town.

A 13th century record at Pillaiyarpatti in Ramnadapuram district[4] gives interesting details of the Nagarattars who were colonising at different towns. It speaks about the origin of Rajanarayanapuram branch of Nagarattar. Thus at Erukkankudi, the Nagarattars were living in the street called *Ainurruvar perumteru*[5]. They purchased lands at Marudangudi for founding a new colony called Rajanarayanapuram Pilliyarpatti is stated to have been one of the 64 Davalams of merchant communities who organised themselves as associate bodies of Tisai-ayirattu *ainnurruva* (ARE. 1960-61 - p. 23.) Their guild called *Tisaiāyirattuainurruvar* was functioning at Pillaiyarpatti. The temple at Sivapuri was evidently built by them since the temple was called as Āiyirattu Ainurruvar Isvars udaiyar Ariviyūr near Sivapuri was known as *Nānādēsi Uyyavandanpattinam.*

Periodical meetings or conventions of the members of the guild for transacting certain common matters are recorded. They

2. 82 of 1907.
3. 199 of 1935-36.
4. *ARE.* 1935-36 p. 23.
5. *Ibid*, p. 23.

also levied and collected special cess for various purposes and for certain common endevours. Thus a record of the 14th century mentions that the representatives of *Tisaiāyirattu ainurruvar* met and decided that contributions proportionate to the volume of trade and business transacted should be made for charitable purposes. Another such occasions which took place in Kiramangalam is recorded in the 13th century inscriptions. Yet another occasion the merchants in the Ramanathapuram area belonging to Padinen vishiyattan, Valanjiyas, Añjuvannattar, Manigramatar met for similar common purposes. The Manigramator were also functioning at Velankudi and Kodumbālūr area.[6]

Valañjiyar

The Valanjiyar was another merchant guild operating in different places. The Valanjiar of Tennilangai or Sri Lanka was active in the Pandyan country. Due to close trade relations many of them were operating in Pandyan country and their contributions to local Siva and Vishnu temples are recorded. Thus a member of *Ten Ilangaivalanjiyar* guild was responsible for the construction of the Amman shrine in Sundaresvara temple in Aruppukkottai in Ramnadapuram District.[7] The Valanjiyar at Tirunelveli had the *Karanmai* right of lands of the local temple in return for certain services to the temple. The presence of Valanjiyar at Ennaiyaram in South Arcot district is recorded in the 11th century.

Añjuvannattar

Another merchant guild which had trade relations with Tamilnadu was the *Añjuvaṇṇaṭṭār*. It is considered as the guild of Arab or Syrian merchants. We get evidences for their activity on the east coast in places like Kiḻakkarai, Nagapattinam and probably Kāvalpattinam and Tondi Tithandodanapuram in Pandyan country. Probably they were engaged in importing horses from Arabia for supplying to the Pandyan kings and exporting spices, paper etc [8]

South India had horse trade with Arab country for a long period. One of the Sangam poems, *Pattinappālai* makes clear references to the import of horses from across the sea though the country is not specified. One particular class of traders called *Kudiraichetties*, is mentioned in later inscriptions as specially engaged importing and supplying of horses, possibly they acted as agents for the Arab merchants. We get a very graphic account of a busy trade in horses in 13th and 14th centuries in the account of Marcopolo and Wasaf [9]

Ayyavole

Opinion is divided as to whether Ayyavole guild was the same as the Ainūrruvar. We do get references to Five Hundred Svamis of Ayyavolapura (Aihole). This Ayyavole guild or Ayyappolil received patronage from the Chalukyas and later on the Cholas as

7. 466 and 407 of 1914.

8. Various explanations ono given for this term *Anjuvannam*. Some interpreted it as a corporation of five classes of craftsmen and according to others they denote five communities. But from Bhaskara Ravivarman's copper plates given to Jewish merchants exempting their guild from payment of customs, the term is associated with them. (M.G.S Narayanan). The term "Hanjamana" found in Telugu and Kannada inscriptions also (D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy - p. 21).

9. K.A.N Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 166.

well. It seems to have received patronage from the Pandyan country also.[10] Some records from Pudukkottai refer to the gifts to the temple of Ayyappolil Nacciyar.[11] A passage from the Piranmalai record describes Ayyavole guild as "*Aimpolir Paramesvarikkum Bhumidevikkum makkalagi* " The members were considered as the devotees or descendents of the goddess Paramesvari of Aihole.

An interesting record dated 1318 gives a graphic *prasasti* of the *Padinenbhumi-nagarattar* settled on the two banks of the Kaveri.[12] Details like their legendary ancestry, their favourite family flag (Garudahvoja) etc., are given. From the Kaveri basin many of these members entered the Pandyan country and settled down there. A record from Kiramangalam attests to the presence of the Padinen vishayattar[13] there. There is also their family tradition which states that in Kali year 3808 some nagarattars, on the request of the Chola king, settled down at various places in the Pandyan country like banks of the Vaigai and around Piranmalai. This date will take the episode back to the beginning of the 8th century when probably there was an influx of some nagarattars from the Chola to Pandyan country. But this may be one among the several such periodical settlements of the merchant classes at various places in the Pandyan country. We hear about the mobility of the merchants from Pandyan country to other places also. A record from Hoskote (Mysore) refers to a *Pāndya nādina settiyar*.

The foregoing brief notices will give us a glimpse of the activity of various types of the merchant guilds in the Pandyan country at various periods of history. They seem to have functioned from early times as part of a vast network of guilds that was operating in South India as a whole. The presence of the coastal land and proximity to the country like Sri Lanka gave certain special advantages to the merchants of the Pandyan country who could carry on their long tradition of promoting commerce and industry and contribute to the development of markets, trading centres and also cherish the tradition of philanthropy and charitable activities to the present day.

10. 138 of 1910.
11. Pudukottai State Ins 134 (A.D. 1156-57).
12. *ARE*. 1960-61 - p. 23.
13. 1935-36 - p. 18.

MEDIEVAL KERALA SOCIETY

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This paper attempts to study the observations of Medieval travellers on the social conditions of Kerala. The important travellers are Sulayman, Abu Zayd, Ibn Khurdadbih, Idrisi, Marco Polo, Barbosa, Varthema and Canter Visscher. Together with Shaykh Zaynuddin's *Tuhfat ul-Muiahidin*, one of the few outstanding native sources of information, they provide the basic source material for the study.

Shaykh Zaynuddin prefaces his account of the social customs of Kerala with the statement : "It must be known that among the unbelievers of Malibar, there are strange customs which are not in any other quarter of the world".[1] The strange customs mentioned are the *Cāvēr* (royal suicide squads), *Kudippaka* (family feud), *Kūrmatsaram* (family feud among the ruling houses), Debt Collection, Trial by Ordeal, *Marumakkattāyam* (matrilineal inheritance), *Sambandham* (loose marriage tie), polyandry, caste system and untouchability. The Cāvēr were a select group of Nāyar soldiers, who were sworn to die for their patron. If the patron King or Chieftain was killed in war, the cāvēr tried to destroy the enemy or perish in the attempt.

Abū Zayd, writing about 950 A.D., observed, "When they mount on the throne, some kings of India cause rice to be cooked which is then presented to them on the leaves of the banana. The King musters (on this occasion) three or four hundred friends (who attach themselves to him) .. After eating of the rice himself, the King gives of it to his friends, and each one of them, in his turn, goes near (him), takes a little of the rice and eats it. When the King dies or is killed, all those who have eaten of the rice (with him) should burn themselves voluntarily on a pyre, to the last man".[2] But this custom of Cāvēr burning themselves in the pyre of the departed raja or chieftain does not seem to have prevailed in Kerala, for Zaynuddīn who knew much of the local conditions, stated, that, "whenever a ruler is slain in battle, his troops rush blindly against his adversary, his army and his town till they have slain them all, or laid desolote the entire land of his enemy. On account of this they dread very much to kill a ruler".[3]

If a king or chieftain is killed, the enmity is perpetuated and the family members of the Cāvēr are duty-bound to attempt the slaughof the enemy. One such event was the killing of the Veḷḷāṭṛi Rāja, who died fighting to maintain his presidency at the Māmānkam sometime in the 14th century. Every 12 years thereafter when the Māmānkam was held, the descendants of the Veḷḷāṭṛi Raja's Cāvēr

1. *Tuhfat ul-Muiahidin* (S.M. Nusain Nainar's translation), p. 43.
2. K.A.N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*.p. 128.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

tried to cut down the Zamorin at the scene of Māmānkam. One such attempt was made in the Māmānkam of 1695, which was graphically described by Alexander Hamilton. "There were but three men," he wrote, "who would venture on that desperate action, who fell on with sword and target, among the guards, and after they had killed and wounded many, were themselves killed. One of the desperadoes had a nephew of fifteen or sixteen years of age, that kept close by his uncle in the attack on the guard, and when he saw him fall, the youth got through the guards into the tent and aimed a stroke at His Majesty's head and had certainly despatched him, if a brass lamp which was burning ever his head, had not prevented the blow; but before he could make another he was killed by the guards".[4]

Another interesting custom prevalent in medieval Kerala was *Kūrmatsaram* (family feud among the ruling houses). De Coute, the Portuguese historian, writing by the beginning of the 16th century had alluded to the enmity among the ruling houses of Kerala. "The people of Malabar", he wrote, " were divided into two parties on account of the hatred that existed between the King of Cochin and that of Calicut. These parties were known as *Paydaricures (Panniyūrkūr)* and *Logiricures (Covvarakūr)* - the former being the Zamorin's party and the latter that of the King of Cochin".[5] Shaykh Zaynuddīn, writing towards the close of the 16th century, corroborated this observation. "The rulers of Malibar form into two parties", he wrote. "One party supports the Samuri and the other the ruler of Koshi. This happened because of the enmity between the two rulers"[6]

Trial by Ordeal

People accused of crime had to prove their innocence by anyone of the numerous forms of ordeal. Among them were trial by ordeal such as the ordeal of the boiling ghee, ordeal of the red hot iron, the crocodile ordeal and ordeal of poison.

Sulayman states that when one man accuses another of a crime punishable with death, the accused is forced to go through trial by ordeal. They heat a piece of iron till it becomes red-hot and ask him to stretch out his hand on which they place seven leaves of a tree found in their country and then place the red hot iron over these leaves. The accused then walks backwards and forwards and throws off the iron from his hand. After that the hand is sealed with the seal of the King. After three days the accused is given raw paddy and asked to remove the husk with his hand. If there is no mark in his hand, his innocence is proved and he will not be executed. Then his accuser is sentenced to pay a *mann* of gold, which is appropriated by the King.

Another mode of trial which Sulayman describes is the trial by scalding water. Water is boiled in an iron or copper pot until it is so hot that no one can approach it. They throw an iron ring into it. The accused is asked to put his arm in and

4. *A New Accouut of the East Indies*, Vol. I, Ch. XXV.
5. Quoted in P.K.S. Raja, *Medieval Kerala*.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

bring out the ring. If the accused survived the ordeal successfully, without sustaining any hurt, the accuser is punished.[7] According to Duarte Barbosa, if a Moor is accused, they make him "lick with the tongue a red-hot axe, and if it is burnt, they take him to an open space and there slay him with the edge of the sword".[8] The accused were not always given the option of trial by ordeal. Extreme penalty was awarded to the accused, except the Brahmans, in the case of five serious crimes; murder of a Brahman, drinking intoxicating drinks (probably a crime only among the Brahmans), theft, disobeying teachers and killing of cows. Ibn Battuta stated : "They put to death any one who steals a single nut, and if a fruit falls no one picks it up but the owner".[9]

Brahmans were not punished except for very serious crimes. Even when punished, the punishment was loss of caste or banishment. Women and children were sold as slaves.

Marumakkattāyam (matrilineal inheritance): Friar Jordanus was probably the first foreign traveller to notice the custom of matrilineal inheritance in Kerala. "In this India," he observed, "never do the legitimate sons of great kings or princes or barons inherit the goods of their parents, but only the sons of their sisters". Barbosa, writing of the system of inheritance among the Kerala kings, stated : "The heirs of these kings are, their brothers or their nephews, sons of their sisters. They consider that these are their true sons, for they know who is their mother, and in this country for that the women are very free of their bodies, the true stock of the Royal descent is through the women [10]. Shaykh Zaynuddin, made a similar statement regarding inheritance in Kerala. He observed : "The inheritance both to property and Kingdom among the Nayars and those who are allied to them, belongs first to their brothers from the mother or to the relatives who descended from the mother, and not to the immediate of spring."[11]

Sambandham

The marriage tie among the people of Kerala, especially among the Nāyars, as reported by all foreign travellers, as very loose. According to Zaynuddīn, among the Nāyars, there is no marriage contact Among the Nāyars and their caste, two or four or more men have commerce with one woman, each in turn passing the night just as a Muslim husband divides his nights among his wives. Enmity and ill-will do not come into their minds on that account".[12] Barbosa and several other foreign travellers have expressed similar views on the marital relations of Nāyar women. "The Nayar women of good birth are very independent, and dispose of themselves as they please with Brahmenas and Nayars, but they do not sleep with men of caste lower than their own under pain of death. ....The

7. S. M. Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of South India*, pp. 109-110.
8. M.L. Dames (Transed), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 30.
9. H.A.R. Gibb, *Travels of Ibn Battuta* (Broadway Travellers Series), p. 232.
10. *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.
11. *Op. cit.*, p.44.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

more lovers she has, the greater is her honour. Each one of them passes the night with her without any disturbance or quarrels among them. If any of them wishes to leave her, he leaves her and takes another, and she also if she is weary of a man, she tells him to go and he does so or makes terms with her. Any children they may have, stay with the mother, who has to bring them up .. The Kings of the Nayres instituted it in order that the Nayres should not be held back from their service by the burden and labour of rearing children".[13] Zaynuddin was astonished to find that the Nayar women "are not veiled from the sight of anyone while the Brahman women are kept veiled. The Nayars adorn their women with ornaments and nice clothes and bring them out into great assemblies for men to be held and admire".[14] Petro Della Valle has stated that during one of the interviews of the Portuguese captain with the Zamorin, two of his nieces were present along with several other female members of the Zamerin's family, who viewed the scene from the balcony.[15]

Polyandry

Communities other than the Nayars also followed the custom of Polyandry. Zaynuddin observes, "Carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and others of that description follow this custom and more than one man unites with one woman. But such husbands in these cases are brothers or in some way related to one another so that differences may not happen in inheritance and disputes may be less in that account".[16] Barbosa, writing of the Tiyas, had mentioned that "Sometimes among them two brothers have one wife and sleep with her, and hold it nothing wonderful".

Caste System and Untouchability

Zaynuddin had stated that the people of Kerala "subjected themselves to a lot of unavoidable difficulties an account of their division into various castes If one of the high caste touches a man of low caste or approaches him nearer than the distance prescribed for intercourse with men of low caste, it is necessary for the one of high caste to bathe, and it is unlawful for him to eat before the bath. If he eats before the bath he will be degarded from his rank, and will not be readmitted into it. There is no redemption for him unless he runs to a place where he will not be recognised. Else the ruler of the town will seize him .. Or else the person comes to us and embraces Islam, or becomes a yogi or turns of Christian".[17]

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13. Duarte Barbosa, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp 40-45.
14. *Op. cit.*
15. Edward Grey, ed., *The Travels of Pietre Della Valle in India*, Vol. I[1], pp. 365-66.
16. *Op. cit.*, pp. 45-6.
17. *Op. cit.*, pp. 47-8.

THE MERCHANT COMMUNITY IN PANDYANADU IN THE 13th CENTURY A.D.

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The 13th Century A.D. saw the decline of Chola imperialism and the recovery of the Pandyas. It begins with the reign of Jatavarman Kulasekhara I. His successor Maravarman Sundara Pandya I waged a war of reprisal on the Cholas but, received a setback at the hands of the Hoysalas. The Pandyan empire reached the zenith of its power under Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (acc. 1251 A. D) in whose time the empire extended from Kanyakumari to Nellore. The last great ruler of the Second Pandyan Empire was Maravarman Kulasekhara I (1268 A.D. - 1312 A.D.)

In the *silambu* we come across references to the great traders by sea and land.

The merchants could be classified after the articles of merchandise viz – cloth, grain, salt, *horse*, oil, pearl, betal-leaf and so on. Besides these, they traded in drugs, pepper and the like spices, elephants, precious stones, etc. On these articles of merchandise, various taxes were paid by the merchants. They included Vali Ayam or tolls paid along highways, Angadipattam (shops), Irangu Sathu (imports), Eru Sathu (exports) etc.[1]

The localities inhabited by the merchants are distinguished by terms such as *perunderu*, *devalam*, *nagaram*, *niyamam*, *pattinam*, *puram*, *etc.*, and specified by certain numbers like the 500, the 2000, the 4000, the 48000, etc., which may not represent the exact number but the approximate. This is evidenced by the names of some temples, tanks, streets, towns, halls, mutts, etc.

The merchants were organised into powerful guilds or corporations which were formed with the following purposes : to promote corporate trade, to deal with competition, to protect their person and property, and above all to promote the common good. They enjoyed a good deal of autonomy and framed their own rules and regulations.

These guilds were known by various names such as the Manigramam, the Nanadesi, Anjuvannam, Ilangai Valanjiyar, etc. Besides these there were local organisations like the Nagarathar, the Vaisya-Vaniga nagarattar etc. The Manigramam is said to be the earliest of the guilds. It was organised through the coming together of representatives drawn from several market-towns on the coast and the capital cities.[2] It had a President called Pattana Swami or Pattana Kilar.[3]

The nana-desi corporation was the most celebrated of the guilds. The organisation

1 R Nagaswamy & N. S. Ramaswami, *Ramanathapuram District*, 1979, p. 9[illegible].
2 K.A.N. Sastri, *A History of South India*. (Madras, 1976), p. 341.
3. *Proceedings of the International Conference Seminar on Tamil Studies* Vol. I (Malaya, 1966) p. 503

traces its orgin from Ayyavolepura or Aihole in the Chalukya Kingdom. (Bijapur District) Ayyavole is referred to as Ayyapolil in Tamil inscriptions. An inscription in the temple at Vikkiramangalam refers to a gift of land by the Aiyampolil merchants to one Alagiya Thiru-chitrambalamudaiyar of Kilamadam, a disciple of Mudaliar etc.[4] In the Tamil country the Nanadesis are equated to the Tisai Ayirattu Ainurruvar. The number indicates the 500 of the 1000 directions rather than the number 1500.[5] They lived in their commercial centres called *virapattaras*. They were honoured by the King with charters of trade or 500 Vira Sasanas which have them certain special privileges. The Sasana embodied their code of conduct. They had their own flag and emblem. They followed various creeds, Saivisim, Vaishnavism or Jainism. They had various branches such as Vira Valanjiyar, Virakkodiyar which indicate that an army unit was associated with their guild for the protection of trade. The Nanadesis are associated with the Chitrameli organisation in many inscriptions.

The nagaram was a local guild associated with the same Chitrameli group. The nagaram denotes both the town of the merchants and their assembly, as distinct from the *ur* (village assembly) or *nadu*, the district assembly. The Chitrameli Perianattar (district assembly) took under its protection manigramams and nagarams and controlled the entire production of grain, its transport, import, export etc.[6]

Such benefactions of the merchant community to religion and society are countless, a few of which are cited below. The nagarathar of Kulasekharapuram endowed land for offerings and worship in the temple at Settur, Ramnad District in addition to their earlier endowments to the temples of Tirumalirunjolai (Alagar Koil) and Srivilliputtur in the time of Jatavarman Kulasekhara I.[7] The nagarattar of Pulam or Rajarajapuram in Tenkasai Nadu. through a member of their guild, made tax-free an endowed land for feeding mahesvaras and desantiris in the Kuparayan Madam (mutt) attached to the temple at Singikulam, Tirunelveli District.[8] The nagarathar and the nadu assigned, a levy on the income from imports, exports and sales within the town to a temple at Rishivandyam in South Arcot District in the time of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I.[9]

The Nagarathars built temples, set up images, arranged for the burning of perpetual lamps in temples, laid out flower gardens for the use of the temple and arranged for festivals. They took part in the administration of justice in conjunction with other communities. Also they patronised learning. The Chettis formed an important branch of the Nagarathars. Many Chettis along with

4. *SII*, Vol. V No. 303.
5. K.A.V. Sastri, *The Colas* University of Madras, (1955), p. 595.
6. K.R. Venkataraman, *Hoysalas in the Tamil Country*, (Annamalai University, 1950), p. 59.
7. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 40-41 No. 237.
8. *Ibid.*, No 237.
9. *ARE*, 67-68 No. 150 (unpublished).

the Senaiangadis, the temple angadis and the oil mongers, established two villages as Anjinan Puhalidam or places of refuge. Many field there to escape the cruelty of the rulers and the upper-classes [10]

However, occassionally there were disputes among the merchant communities. e g. a dispute between the betel - leaf merchants and the Kaikkolars. The latter staged a walk-out from the city to protest against the erasure of their inscription. To induce them to come back, it was re-inscribed.[11] Another instance of dispute between the Chettis of Aragalur and the oil merchants (Vaniya-nagarattar) over the night of conducting the festivals was amicably settled by the Chettis giving up their claim. But when the oil-merchants began to neglect the conduct of the festivals, the Chettis made a grant of a village Talaivoy for conducting the festivals in conformity with the wishes of the temple authorties.[12] Foreign merchants (Paradesis) who came to Pandyanadu also vied with the local merchants in their benefactions to temples. Sahala Bhatta, a member of the committee of Paradesi Savasi merchants endowed the Sri Renganatha temple in the time of Hoyasla Vira Ramanath [13]

Wassaf called Ma'bar as the key of Hind. 'The wealth of the Persian gulf, the beauty of other countries in part and their adornment From Irak and Khurasan, Rum and Europe are got from Ma'bar'. Kayal was the cheif emporium of the Pandyan Kingdom after Korkai the old part got silted. There was an active trade in horse. Horses were impoted from Arabia, Persia etc. As the merchants did not know to tend horses, their consequent death resulted in fresh imports of horse, which told upon the imperial treasury.

10. K. K. Pillay, *Tamilaha Voralaru*, p. 396.
11. *Epigraphic Report* 201 / 36-37.
12. *ARE* 1914 sec. 23.
13. K.R. Venkataraman, *op. cit* , p. 58.

THE SOCIETY OF MALABAR AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 16th CENTURY

P.P. Sudhakaran

Commending about the social divisions in Malabar Ma Huan, the Chinese travellers who visited this part of India in the first half of the 15th century wrote "There are are five classes of men in this kingdom... In the first class are those who shave their heads and have a thread or string hanging over their shoulder; these are looked upon as belonging to the noblest families. In the second are the Mahomedans; in the the third the Chittis, who are the capitalists; in the fourth the Kolings who act as commissicn agents; in the fifth the Mukwas, who are the lowest and poorest of all"[1]. He gives an impressive list of twenty one castes.[2] They were divided into three groups: the high comprising six castes, the low comprising eleven and the "outlandish" comprising four. The high were: Bramenes 2. Nayares, 3. Biabares (modern Ravari Nayar?) 4. Cuiavem (Kusavan), 5. Mainato (Vannattan?) and 6. Calotis (Chaliyan). The low were: 1. Tuia (Tiyan), 2. Manon (Mannan?), 3. Canaqua (Kaniyan), 4. Ageres (Asari), 5. Mogores (Mukayan), 6. Monquer (Mukkuvan), 7. Betunes (Vettuvan), 8. Paneens (Panian?) 9. Revoleens (Cheruman?), 10. Poleas (Pulayan) and 11. Pareens (Parayan). The "Outalndish" or immigrant castes were: 1. Chatis (Chetty), 2. Guzurates (Gujarati), 3. Mapuleres (Mappila) and 4. Pardesi (foreign Muslim).

The 'pardesis' he further divided into Arabs, persions, Guzarates, Curasanes (from Khorasan ?) and Daquanis (from the Deccan).[3] According to Dames, the an notator of Barbosa, the criteria for this classification seems to be occupation, religion, or nativity, with the first two broad categories grouped on the basis of occupation and nativity and the last on the basis of religion and nativity. But the rationale for the division of the high and the low is not easy to find out because, while some of the artisans like Kusavan and Chaliyan belonged to the high, Asari is ranked as low. May be, it was the use of metal by the so called 'Kammalas' of which Asari was one which decided the gradation; but then the higher status of the Nayar soldiers using metal weapons would become a problem. It may also be noted that the first two categories fall within the 'Hindu' division, though Barbosa never uses the term 'Hindu' or suggests such a grouping. In fact it is the differences

1. Cited in Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, pp. 163-64.
2. The Fortugues word 'caste' means brood, quality or nature. (Richardson Maria Peroira & Milton Pororia, *Modern Portuquese-English & English-Portuquese Dictionary*. Londou George Harrap & Co;, 1975, p. 60.
3. Duarte Barbosa, *The Book II* (London, 1918), pp. 58-78.
There are slight variations in spelling the names of the castes and in their order of mention in Ramusio's Italian version and the Spanish version of Barbosa. They also omit the 'Menon' from their lists. (See *Ibid*., pp. 70-71 noted 1)

between the first two groups that he emphasises by observing that the higher did not associate with or touch the lower under pain of death.[4] Evidently this resembles the description of caste system found in *Keralolpatti* traditions which also laid down conditions of pollution by touch and by proximity, and its remedies through *tali* and *Kuli* (sprinkling of water and bath).[5] But Barbosa does not show any knowledge of the traditional *Varna* classification, nor use the terms, Kshatriya, Vaisya or Sudra. If the term 'caste' is used by him as the equivalent for the Malayalam term *jati* then in currency, it has to be admitted that it is the same sense in which it is used even now. In common parlance Brahmana, Nayar, Tiya, Mappila and Chetti, all are *jatis*, and the distinctions of *varna, jati, upajati, sankirnajati* and religion get ignored. Barbosa's higher castes include along with the Brahmana those who polluted only by touch; while the lower castes included only those who polluted by proximity. This is probably an indication of the absence of *Varna* distinctions in Malabar during Barbosa's time.

Keralolpatti which claims that Sankaracarya laid down the rules of social observances in Malayalam names four *varnas* of Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra, with each having eighteen *kulas* thus forming seventy two divisions in all. But when it comes to actually giving the names of each *kula*, the number falls far short of seventy two, and about Vaisyas it says, it could not confirm whether there were any in Malayalam.[6] It mentions a strange group called *antaralajati* comprised of fallen Brahmans and elevated sudras, but does not fix them in any particular *Varna*.[7] The Chinese, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English are treated outside the fourth *varna* along with the Chettis, the Pandis and the Gujaratis, carrying pollution only by touch like the *Bauddhas* (most probably Muslims and Christians) who are, though, described as *mlechas*, born to Asuras. Ilavan, Mukkuvan, and the rest of the *jatis* down to Panan, Parayan, Pulayan and Nayati: carried pollution by proximity.

Zaynud-Din mentions four large groups i. the thread wearing group of "Brahmans and others" of "various degrees, high, low and intermediate grades" forming the highest, ii. the Nayars, "the soldiers of Malibar" divided into "different classes [of] high, low and intermediate ranks" forming the next; iii. Shanars, who were coconut gatherers and toddy tappers; iv. carpenters blacksmiths, goldsmiths, fishermen and other classes and v. "inferior castes" whose occupation was to "till the land, cultivate it and do such other work pertaining to it" following last. Though this classification does not agree with that of Barbosa or *Keralolpatti* in details, Zaynud-Din does mention the rules of pollution observed rigorously by the 'Unbelievers'. The absence of mention of the Kshatriya and Vaisya groups and the term 'Hindu' but only 'Unbeliever' also is significant.[8]

4. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
5. *Rantu Keralolpattikal* (Malayalam), *op. cit.*, p. 34.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
8. *Tuhfat, op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

Barros mentions four broad social classes : i. *Chingalas (Chatys)* who came from the Coromandel coast the mercantile caste; ii Moors of two kinds - a) the natives or '*Naiteas*' half Arab by descent, and b) the foreigners - Arabs, Persian, or *Guzarates* and others; iii. Jews and iv. Heathen of various classes.[9] Like Barbosa, Barros also uses the term 'caste' to denote any group, occupational, indigenous, religious or immigrant.

In the *Vatakkan Pattukal*[10] there is no direct mention of the caste system except in one context where reference is made to the origin of Kerala and the four varnas; but a number of functional groups like Kollan, Panan, Mukkuvan, Tiyan, Cekon, Mappila, Nayar (Palanquin bearers or body guards, soldiers etc.), Tattan and Viswa-karman, which are not different from the castes of Barbosa and *jatis* of *Keralolpatti*. There are descriptions of respects being paid by the low to the high by making gifts, standing up, refusing to sit down and prostrating but it is not always in line with the expected caste status and there is no mention of pollution of its remedies. There is a recurring picture of the *naduvali* (Nayar chief) refusing to sit in the presence of a Cekon[11] (an Iluva prize fighter) in them, which is against the inter-caste relationship prescribed in '*Keralolpatti*', and pictures of *Valunnavar* (Nayar chief) going to the hut of a fisherman and eating pounded rice and plantain offered by the fisherman.[12]

Social inter-course is described as more flexible, more intimate, and determined by the individual needs and impulses. This is at variance with the pictures drawn by Barbosa[13] and *Keralolpatti*, and it naturally raises the question whether such a social relationship as presented by the *Vatakkan Pattukal* ever existed in Malabar. If it did, the mere proscriptive nature of *Keralolpatti* and the dependence.

9. *The Book*, II, *op. cit.* Appendix I, p. 240.
10. *Si Vatakkan Pattukal, op. cit.*
11. *Ibid.*, Songs 1 and 4.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 7 and p. 85.
13. "In all Malabar there are eighteen castes of Native Heathen, each separate from the rest, so much so that they do not so much as touch one another under pain of death or forfeiture of their property, so that all have castes, customs and idol-worship of their own..." *The Book*, II, *op. cit*, p. 7.

CRIME AND CORRUPTION IN MADURAI UNDER THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

Dr. K. Gowri

In the presidency of Madras Madurai was considered as one of the most criminal districts under the rule of the English East India Company.[1] It consistently maintained a high record of crime and corruption. Statistics reveal that more people were convicted of grave crimes in Madurai than in any other district. The records of the period indicate that in the violation of law and order it stood at the top in the Presidency.[2] Because of robbery, violence and corruption the inhabitants lived in a state of anxiety and insecurity.

Proverbially poverty - stricken. the inhabitants of Madurai led a miserable existence. The frequent conflicts, over-assessments, vagaries of nature and general unemployment were so formidable that they experienced many of the ordeals of life. Famines frequently visited the region and reduced the people to abject poverty. Ignorance also led to the commission of Crimes. Large sections of people considered thieving as a proper means of earning a livelihood.[3] The jungles of Kallarnadu in Madurai was the abode of the Kallans, the Maravas and the Karavas. They trained their children in the art of thieving.[4] They remained a terror to the villages. The statistics reveal that the grave crimes in the district were mostly committed by criminal tribes.[5]

Nature of Crimes:

The crimes committed were of economic, social and administrative nature. The economic crimes included dacoity, highway robbery, house-breaking, torch-light robbery, cattle- lifting, burglary, incendiarism and theft. These crimes were mostly committed by the Kallans and the Koravas. When they resorted to house-breaking they effected a breach on the walls under the doors. A lad then crept in and opened the door for the elders. The party seized the valuables and kept them hidden in places like drains, wells and haystacks. The booty was either shared or disposed after the lapse of some time [6]

The Kallans seldom allowed any merchandise to pass through their country safely.[7] They threatened the cartmen and

1. *Manual of Madras administration*, Vol. II, (Madras, 1885,) p. 215.
2. W. Francis, *Madurai District Gazetteer*, (Madras, 1906), p. 215.
3. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, (Oxford, 1897), p. 667.
4. Note showing the Progress in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency, Madras, 1916, p. 62.
5. *Madurai District Record*. Vol. 9027, p. 365.
6. Note showing the Progress made in the Settlement of Criminal Tribes in the Madras Presidency, 1916, p. 62.
7. B. S. Ward, *Geographical Memoir of Madura and Dindigul*, Vol. III, Madras, p. 6.

turned their vehicle into the ditch. The unfortunate travellers were forced to sit by the side of the road with their back to the cart while their baggages were searched for and valuables seized.[8] Torchlight robbery was a speciality of this tribe. The members of the gang attacked a chosen house during a dark night. Stones were hurled in all directions. Bandy axes were used to break open the door of the house. After gaining entry they caught hold of the occupants, thrashed them severely and placed them under confinement. Then they laid hands on all valuables and deprived the women of their jewels. Information about the hidden treasure was often extracted by torture. At the slightest sign of danger the dacoits escaped with all the booty collected.[9] The Kallans being trained cattle lifters they resorted to cattle-lifting. They stole the animals and drove them over great distances into the jungles on the night of the theft. As pursuit became difficult by that time, the owners generally approached a nearest go-between in their attempt to get back the cattle and offered a fee for giving a clue. Thereupon, the owner of the cattle was given some information which was usually correct. If, on the otherhand, the matter was reported to the police no Kallan would help him recover his animal [10]

Social Crimes

Rioting, caste disputes, religious conflict and factional rivalry were some of the social crimes. Rioting was a frequent occurrence; they were mostly sectarian. Maravar-Shanar clashes[11] and Kallar Shephered riots occurred frequently. Grain riot broke out in times of scarcity. Land disputes and gambling frequently led to murder.[12] Cases of rape were common in the houses where the dacoity was committed. But they were not brought to light due to the reluctance of women to divulge these outrages. Prostitution was rampant in military cantonments. The fear of kidnapping the girls and selling them to be brought up as prostitutes prevailed in Madurai.[13]

Administrative Crimes

Fraud, bribery, impersonation, false complaints, false evidence, misbehaviour of the military guards, practice of torture by revenue and police authorities comprised most of the administrative crimes. Bribery was quite rampant during the nineteenth century. The native officials imitated their white superior. There were complaints of corruption against the Tahshildars of Melur, Madakulam, Nilakottai and Iyempully, Head Sheristadar of Madurai and Huzur Munshi at Madakulam. The petition registers in brief were filled with complaints against receipt of bribes by various cadres of revenue servants.[14]

Miscouduct of Military Officials

The frequent manoeuvres of the Company's troops and the system of supply of

8. W. Francis, *op. cit*; p. 90.
9. B. Shalini Devi, The History of Crimes and Punishments, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Madras University) p. p. 139-140.
10. Edgar Thurston, *op. cit*. p 65.
11. *MDR*, Vol. 1198, pp. 295-296
12. Judicial Consultations, Vol. 655, 11th February 1855, pp. 4982-4985.
13. *MDR*, Vol. 1230, pp. 84-85.
14. *Ibid*, Vol. 5339, pp. 245-49. Board's Proceedings, Vol. 1960, 20th March 1845, p. 3827.

provisions to the troops afforded room for certain crimes. Troops moved from place to place and were stationed in particular places in each district where bullock carts were changed. In Madurai District it was changed at Dindigul, Madurai and Ramanathapuram, hence there was a great demand for carriages. The revenue officials were in charge of supplying them with all requirements. On learning about the intended movement of troops the Collector issued instructions to tahshildars and the heads of the police to make necessary arrangements. An order from the Collector to supply the different items gave a splendid opportunity to the officials to coerce the innocent people to part with their belongings for no payment or for under payment. The bandymen who supplied the bandies had to accompany the troops leaving their homes. They were often unwilling to accompany the troops as they were either ill-treated or oil paid.

Detection and Prevention of Crime

When the Company took over the administration of the region there was no uniform agency for the detection and prevention of crime. The task of detection, prevention and apprehension of criminals was entrusted to the Kavalkarans. The English replaced the kaval system by a new police force and made it as instrument for the detection of crimes. It practised torture as a method of detection of crime. Help of the informers were also sought in this regard. To reapprehend the prisoners who escaped, branding of criminals continued till 1848.

With an intention of preventing the menace of the criminal tribes the government passed a regulation in 1805 which required them to produce their passports on their route to any other place. The *karnams* were required to maintain a register of all persons residing in or resorting to villages and forward them to the *darogahs*. The strength of the police force was increased after 1816. However, these measures appeared quite inadequate to prevent the depredation of the criminal tribes.[16]

Reforms of far reaching nature were required to prevent or minimise the occurrence of crimes Reduction of tax burden, spread of education, introduction of social and economic reforms and restriction of sale of liquor were suggested as remedies. But the implications of these reforms appeared so formidable that they were not tried.

Punishments

The Company's administration attempted certain reforms in the mode of punishments of criminals. At first the English substituted mutilation by hard labour and later on abolished it. So also, branding was abolished in 1849. Stocks and pillory were introduced for exposing the culprits to pubic scorn, but was discontinued after a period of trial. For the

15. *MDR*, Vol 5335, pp. 390-391 and Vol. 4672, pp 11 12.

16. Judicial Consultations, Vol. 22, 1807, pp. 112-118.

crimes like treason, banishment was prescribed. The jail at Chingleput was made a depot for receiving convicts before they were transported. Whipping, forfeiture of property,[17] imposition of fines, imprisonment, both simple and rigorous, were the other forms of punishments. Capital punishment was continued and special gibbets were raised. Thus we find that people lived in a state of fear as crimes abounded in this region. Though the days of war and plunder of the pre-British period ended, people were not freed from the menace of robbers and corruption of officials.

17. Madras Regulation XI, 1833.

THE UPPER-CLOTH REVOLT IN SOUTH TRAVANCORE

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Jean Jacques Rousseau in his 'Social Contract' theorised that 'Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains'. This bondage was the outcome of the growth of civilization and institutions which deprived the 'natural of man' of his natural rights to liberty and happiness. Hence 'revolt against the vicious and artificial system of his time' was the tenor of his writing.[1] Viewing from this angle it will not be difficult to understand that society in Travancore, a princely state in South India, in the 18th and 19th centuries had degenerated to such an extent that the lower castes were held in slavery by the so-called civilized ruling aristocracy and this vicious and artificial system gave rise to an epic struggle which is popularly known as the upper-cloth revolt.

In South Travancore[2] the Brahmins and the Nairs assumed a position of social superiority and oppressed the lower classes represented by the Shanars, Pariahs, etc. The enormities committed by the upper castes were such that it created a terror among the lower castes[3] With the advent of Protestant Christianity in South Travancore the lower castes, particularly the Nadars were emboldened to revolt against the established customs One such custom in Travancore was that the breast of women was bared as a symbol of respect to those of higher status.[4] With the ascendancy of the Brahmins and the Nairs[5] this practice was strictly imposed on the depressed classes to mark their inferiority and their women were forbidden to wear any clothing above the waist.[6] However under the influence of Portestant Christianity and its missionaries the poorer classes attempted to dress themselves properly and their efforts in this direction gave rise to the 'breast-cloth controversy'.[7]

As the women of the rich Nadar[8] families used to wear the upper cloth, poorer women of the same caste gradually toed their line.[9]

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1. C D.M. Ketelbey, *A History of the Modern Times from 1789* (London, 1956), p. 36 f.
2. The present Kanyakumari District of the State of Tamil Nadu formerly constituted the major part of South Travancore.
3. *Report of the Travancore District committee of the L.M,S., 1864,* "Santhapuram Mission District'. p. 4.
4. C.B. Morrison's remarks on the objections raised by Mead, Political Consultations, Sl. No. 193. p. 475.
5. 'Nair' an ordinary appellation of the Sudras of Malabar of the West Coast. means Lord, Chief or master (Samuel Mateer, *The Land of Charity* (London, 1871), p 35.
6. Silvester Horne, *The Story of the L.M.S.* (London 1904), p. 296.
7. Robert Hardgrave, *The Nadars of TamilNad,* (Bombay 1969) p. 59.
8. Rich Shanars were called Nadans.
9. Petition to His Higness the Maharajah of Travancore from Missionaries of the L.M.S, dated 7-2-1859, *Copies of Official Papers sent from India Touching the Recent Disturbances in Travancore,* pp. 39 f.

But the caste Hindus used every opportunity to molest those who went against caste dress stipulation. With the advent of Protestant missionaries their women converts realized that the traditional style of dress was quite incompatible with the modesty of women.[10] So they began to wear the upper cloth. This provoked the higher castes who started persecuting the lower classes. On hearing about the harrowing tale of sufferings of the poor Christians, Munro, the Resident of Travancore, issued an order to the officials asking them to see that no obstacles were put to the women converted to Christianity wearing cloths over their breasts[11] As the Nairs of South Travancore protested against this order, the Resident issued another order prohibiting the use of the upper cloth similar to the one worn by the Nair women. However they were permitted to wear a loose jacket.[12] Hence the lower classes solicited the favour of the Rani who permitted the women of the Nadar and such other lower castes to cover their bosoms 'agreeably to the Vedams of their religion'.[13] Encouraged by this permission the women took courage to wear the upper cloth along with the jacket. The higher castes could not compromise with this violation of a deep - rooted custom and hence tension mounted. Ultimately it erupted in the shape of an organized struggle for social equality

This struggle for social equality developed in three stages - the first from 1822 to 1823, the second from 1827 to 1830 and the last and final phase from 1858 to 1859. The disturbance started off with a few instances of the Nairs attacking Christian women in public places and on roads[14]. False complaints were lodged in courts. But the judgement of the Southern court at Padmanabhapuram in one of such cases went in favour of the Christians[15] and it relieved the Christians from illtreatment for the time-being.

As the Nairs resisted any attempt on the part of the lower classes to share the privilege of wearing the upper cloth, revolt broke out in 1827. The higher castes threatened the people going to attend Christian worship and forced them to render *uliyam* services. Their holy books were thrown on the streets or torn to pieces. Christian women were flogged in bazaars for wearing the upper cloth and their clothes were stripped publicly[16] The houses of the poor Christians at Attoor, Pilippanam and other places were set fire to. In the newly opened Neyyur Mission Station the atrocities of the Nairs went beyond limit.[17] Those who

10. C.M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore* (Madras 1903), p. 935.
11. Order from Munro to the Sarvathikariakars of Trivandrum and Neyyattinkara dated Quilon the 19th Dhanoo 188 (1812), Political Consultations, Sl, No. 193, p. 488.
12. Circular Order of Munro dated Balaramapuram, 7th Yedavam 989 (1813), pp. 463 f.
13. Proclamation of Dewan Soopyen Shangra Narainen dated 7th Meenam 990 (1815), pp. 462 f.
14. C.M Agur, *op.cit.*, p. 779.
15. Substance of Decree of the Court of Padmanabhapuram relating to the Upper Cloth, Vakeel No. 177, dated 7th Vykasi, 998 (1823), Political Consultations, Sl. No. 193., p. 297.
16. Silvester Horne, *op cit.*, p. 458 f.
17. *Ibid.*

sympathised with the oppressed were also persecuted.[18] The life of Mead of the London Missionary Society at Neyyur was also threatened[19]. Hence the missionaries made a representation to the government. In consequence Dewan Venkata Rao held an inquiry at Padmanabhapuram sent as an eye-wash. The inquiry only resulted in the reassertion of rules which denied Nadar women the right to use the upper-cloth[20].

In spite of all the restrictions imposed upon them, the Nadars under Christian instruction continued to dress in the manner of the Nairs. Their mode of dress exercised a great influence on the Hindu Nadars also.[21] Hence they were subjected to continual robbing and oppression. Poor Christians were arrested on grounds of false charges[22]. The missionaries made repeated representations to the government but redress was most difficult to obtain[22]. Under such circumstances the Proclamation of 1855 freed the sircar slaves[23] and it infuriated the higher castes.

The abolition of slavery served as the immediate cause for the final phase of the revolt[24]. The Nairs, as before, attacked Nadar women in the bazaars stripping them of their upper garments. Though a case of this kind was proved in the police court at Neyyattinkara, the offender was let off with so slight a punishment by fine that he soon afterwards committed several similar crimes[25]. The government officials inflicted great hardships on the poor Christians and the Mission workers[26]. As a result serious rioting occurred and the entire Mission was in a state of disorganization[27].

At such a time the British Crown took over the Indian administration. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 assured that 'all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of law' and enjoined all those in authority under the Crown that they should 'abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure[28]. This was interpreted by the Nadars and the Nairs so as to suit their respective convenience. Such interpretations fanned the flames of revolt. As soon as the disturbance was noticed, the Dewan issued a public warning that it was clearly wrong to violate ancient usage without authority and

18. Mead's letter to C.B. Morrison dated Mondaikad, January 16, 1826, Political Consultations, Sl. No. 193, pp. 453 f.
19. John A. Jacob, *History of the London Missionary Society in Travancore* (Nagercoil, 1956) p. 51.
20. Proclamation of the Ranee dated 23rd Tye (Makaram) 1004 (3rd Feb, 1829), English Records, Government Secretariat, Trivandrum, Cover File No. 215, p. 22.
21. Robert Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
22. F. Baylis to W. Cullen dated Neyyur, November 30, 1854, Political Consultations, Sl. No. 550, pp. 2014 f.
22. Silvester Horne, *op. cit.*, pp. 298 f.
23. Revised Draft Proclamation, Political consultations, Sl. No. 548, pp. 1345. f.
24. W. Cullen to T. Pycroft dated February 16, 1859, *copies of Official Papers ... p. 7.*
25. Samuel Mateer, *op. cit.*, p 298.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 300 f
27. *Report of the London Missionary Society for 1860*, p. 74.
28. Quoted by Hardgrave *op. cit.*, p. 64.

that whosoever did so would be severely punished[29]. Seeing in this proclamation of the Dewan a tangible proof of his partiality, the missionaries petitioned to Utram Tirunal Maharajah for the cancellation of Dewan's order. But the Dewan held that the Christians had no cause for complaint and that the only course open to the Nadars was to observe the order of 1829[30]. For the first three months of 1859 South Travancore was the scene of systematic outrages perpetrated by the caste Hindus.[31] The Dewan with the help of Captain Dally and the troops of the Nair Brigade restored tranquility[32].

In the meantime several letters were addressed to the Resident by the London Missionaries and others about the atrocities committed by the Nairs[33]. They also petitioned to the Maharajah[34]. As no reply was received, the missionaries brought the matter to the notice of Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor of Madras. Trevelyan took a serious view of the prevailing situation in Travancore and wrote to the Resident that "the whole world would cry shame upon us if we do not make a firm stand on such an occasion"[35]. Pycroft, the Chief Secretary of the Madras Government, insisted upon the observance of a system of toleration in a more decided manner[36]. Under such pressure from the British Government the Dewan and the Maharajah made up their mind to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Nadar women and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency without imitating the dress of the higher castes.[37] Accordingly a proclamation was issued by the Maharajah on 26th July 1859. In fighting the barbarous custom of not permitting the women of the lower castes to cover their bosoms, the Shanars took the lead and with the active assistance of the Christian Missionaries carried the struggle to a successful end.[38]

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29. Shungoonny Menon, *A History of Travancore*, Madras, 1878, pp. 504 f.
30. T. Madhave Row to W. Cullen dated Trivandrum, February 12, 1859, *Copies of Official Papers* ..., p. 8.
31. *Report of the L.M.S. for 1859*, pp. 76 f.
32. Madhava Row's Report to W. Cullen dated Trivandrum, February 12, 1859, No. of 196, *Copies of official Papers* .., p 8.
33. F. Baylis to W. Cullen dated Neyyur, January 1859, English Records, Trivandrum Cover File N.. 2115, pp. 49 f.
34. Petition of the Missionaries to the King of Travancore dated 7-2-1859, *Copies of Official Papers* .. , pp. 39 f.
35. Minute of the Honourable President dated May 7, 1859, *Ibid.*, p. 43.
36. Pycrofits Order No. 161 dated March 12, 1859, *Ibid.*, p. 36.
37. Letter from the Dewan to the Resident dated Tirvandrum May 17, 1859, p. 45.
38. Missionaries Petition to Trevelyan dated July, 18, 1859 (MSS, LMS) cited by Robert Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
39. Robert Hardgrave, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 f.

THE QUINQUENNIAL SETTLEMENT IN MALABAR UNDER THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

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Following the establishment of British authority in Malabar in 1792, they tried to find out a proper land revenue system. Since they were strangers and lacked definite knowledge regarding the revenue potentiality of the region, they adopted temporary settlements like quinquennial system as a matter of trial and error method.

The Company made these settlements with the native rulers. The main purpose of this policy was to obtain the support of the rajas in establishing the British rule in Malabar. Formerly, the Company executed agreements with the rajas of Kadathanad, Kottayam and Chirakkal for one year[1]. The same agreements were renewed and fresh agreements were entered into with the rajas of Valluvanad, Parappanad, Vettathnad, Kawalapara, Palghat and Calicut for one year with regard to the collection of revenue from their respective territories [2].

The system of one year settlement was found to be unsuitable to the Company as it was too expensive. As informed by the supervisor about the difficulty of the one year settlement, the Governor-General-in-Council sent orders for enforcing the quinquennil settlement with the native rajas.[3]

Accordingly, settlements were concluded with the rajas. According to these settlements, the rajas had no right to collect any other taxes other than those included under the head of *niguthi*[4] with the customary tax of 10% as charges of collection. The rajas and other inferior officers, who had assisted the Company's tahsildars in collection shall not be removed unless they were found guilty of peculation or other misbehaviour. Further, the abolition of *purushantarum*[5] from the Mapillas was confirmed. It also prohibited the collection of feudal levies during the festivals of Onam and Vishu. Thus the right restored to the rajas were the mere right for tax collection on a promise of perpetual fidelity and allegiance to the Company.

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1. William Logan, *Treaties and Engagements*, Part II (Madras, 1951 reprint), Nos. IV, V, VI, pp. 147 8.
2. *Ibid.*, Nos. XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX pp. 152-61, 165-9.
3. Fort William to the Court of Directors, dated 30 November 1794 in Y. J. Taraporwalah, ed., *Fort William India House* Correspondence (Delhi, 1955). XVII, p, 368.
4. *Niguthi* is the tax on property payable to government. This term is a corruption of the Mohammadan term Nakdi which means payment in ready money. See William Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms* (Delhi, 1968)
5. *Purushantarum* was the custom of taking a certain portion of property of the deceased Mapillas by the rajas. The general opinion is that it was not levied on all Mapillas but was confined to individuals possessed of Wealth.★

★ See *Graemer Report to government on the History and conditions of the people and the various branches of Revenue* in Malabar 1828. 109, A (Calicut, n-d) p. 85.

The amount fixed for each year was payable in three instalments. The assessment in respect of each territorial division is given in the following Table.[6]

Name of the Rajas	1794/95	1795/96	1796/97	1797/98	1798/99
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Kadathanad Raja	90,000	95,000	1,00,000	1,05,000	1,05,000
2. Kottayam Raja	55,000	60,000	62,000	65,000	65,000
3. Chirakkal Raja	1,05,000	1,10,000	1,15,000	1,20,000	1,20,000
4. Iruvalnad	20,000	21,000	22,000	23,000	24,000
5. Kawalapara	18,444	19,315	19,985	19,985	19,985
6. Palghat Achen	76,885	80,317	83,750	87,181	87,181
7. Mannur and Kongad Nairs	13,019	13,363	13,363	13,363	13,363
8. Koormenad Raja	17,700	17,783	17,866	17,950	17,950
9. Beypore Raja	13,000	13,199	13,395	13,595	13,595
10. Zamorins of Calicut	18,487	5,32,329	5,46,075	5,60,021	5,60,021
Total	9,27,535	9,62,306	9,93,434	10,25,095	10,25,095

The amount of revenue fixed for each year varied from that of the previous year. There was an increase in the amount in every subsequent year from 1794/95 to 1798/99. The Company expected that there might be an increase in the production and the rajas would be able to fetch the target. By the agreements the rajas were brought under the strict control of the Company.

The commissioners in Malabar borrowed liberally from the Bengal pattern. In their report, they stated that the entire administrative system which they had introduced in Malabar had been based on the Bengal pattern of administration with only a slight deviation.[7] The quinquennial settlement was also closely related to the Bengal system. This settlement had been enforced in Bengal as early as 1772. The settlement in Bengal had been mostly with the Zamindars. Here in Malabar it was with the native rulers, or the elite class of the society. Revenue officials like *kanakkars* and *pravarthikars* were appointed by the Company for the collection of revenue from the ryots. They were supervised by the Tahsildars. These officials, recruited from the elite class of the society, oppressed the ryots by exacting higher demands from them. The customary and just rights of the peasants were curtailed

6. Complied from the agreements between the Rajas and the Company. In some territories the amount was fixed in hoons which are changed into rupees in this table. 1 hoon is equal to rupees 3.125.

7. *Report of a joint commission from Bengal and Bombay appointed to inspect the state and conditions of the province of Malabar in the years 1792 and 1793.* (Madras, 1862), para 375-see also William Logan, n. 8, p 495.

for the benefit of the aristocratic land owning class[8]. As a result of all these, the ryots were dissatisfied with the Company.

During this period of quinquennial settlement, the Company faced a hazardous situation in Malabar. Although the rajas entered into agreements with the Company for paying them an exhorbitant revenue, with the purpose of securing the management of their districts, many of them failed to realise such huge amount due to the poor state of agriculture. For instance in 1795 itself the Company had to realise an amount of arrears to the tune of rupees four and a half lakhs from the total revenue of something more than rupees 14 lakhs. On these arrears, the Company charged a penal interest at the rate of 12% for the first 8 days, 24% for the next 20 days and 36% for the next 30 days.[9] It was mainly in the Northern part of Malabar that the revenue remained unrealised, where the Company had to face frequent revolts against its authority. The Company made the settlement of Kottayam with the Kurumbrand Raja, who was a distant relative of the Kottayam family. The Pazhassi Raja of Kottayam protested against this settlement. The frustrated ryots joined him in a revolt against the Company.[10]

During this period the Company also failed to maintain law and order in Malabar. Therefore the executive authority consisting of the supervisor and superintendents was replaced by the second Commission.[11] The President of the Commission was Thomas Wilkinson with Colonel Dow, William Handely and Robert Rickards as members. It divided the province into several circles and appointed circle collectors subordinate to the Commission. The Commission followed a policy of active resistance against the Pazhassi Raja and they finally succeeded in making a conciliation with him. As per that agreement the administration of Kottayam was handed over to the senior member of the Kottayam family.

On the failure of the Rajas to make regular payments, the Company assumed the collection of revenue before the expiration of the leases in 1799.[12] Since this period except in Kadathnad, Kurangoth-Kallayi and Cannanore in the northern Kawalapara and the three districts of Mannur, Kongad and Eddathara in the southern division, and the island of Chatwai held by the Raja of Cochin on a decennial lease, the collection of revenue in other places had proceeded under the direct management of the Company.[13]

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8. K.K.N. Kurup, "British Colonial Policy in Malabar and its Impact on Land Settlement and Revenue, 1792-1800". *Journal of Kerala Studies*, (1976) III Parts III and IV.
9. Logan. N. B. p. 605
10. Pameela Nightingale, *Trade and Empire in Western India 1784-1806* (Cambridge, 1970),p 112.
11. Logan. n. 8. p 625.
12. Firminger, *Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Dated 28 July 1812* (Calcutta, 1917) p. 239.
13. Commissioners letter to the Madras Govt. dated 4th August 1800, No. 565.

The policy of the Company gradually was to maintain its direct authority over Malabar and eliminate the rajas from their political responsibility. This policy was further strengthened after the fall of Tipu Sultan. The rajas were however given an allowance for their maintenance, which was known by the term *malikahana*.[14] The amount was 20% of the net amount realised by the government. The payment of the allowance was subjected to revocation upon proof established of flagrant misbehaviour or rebellious conduct[15]. The rajas could expect it only during their good conduct and loyalty to the Company.

The main reason for the failure of the quinquennial settlement was the Company's mistaken revenue policy. It was without knowing the revenue potentiality of the country that the amount was fixed. They did not respect the claims of certain rajas regarding their respective territories. It was later that they realised the defects in their revenue policy. The supreme government then recommended that the land revenue should be fixed on terms of greatest moderation with reference to the existing resources and ability of the country.[16] The Governor-General himself criticised the mismanagement of Malabar affairs under the Bombay Presidency. He wrote to Dundas :

"Malabar had been mismanaged by the people of Bombay, who were unquestionably the least qualified of any description of the servants of the Company in India to administer important concerns of revenue and government".[17] The government of Fort William finally decided to transfer the administration of the province to the Madras Presidency. According to the order issued by the Governor-General-in Council, Malabar was transferred to the Madras Presidency on 2 July 1800[18].

In brief the quinquennial settlement adopted by the Bombay Government in Malabar was a system borrowed from Bengal. The Commissioners had no knowledge of the definite revenue potentiality of the region. Therefore, they deviated from the contemporary system of permanent settlement and tried the quinquennial settlement which enhanced the demand from year to year. While making settlements, they rejected some of the valid claims of the rajas for such a settlement. It finally resulted in revolts of the peasants. The revolts adversely affected the revenue collection of the Company. It brought an end to the traditional royal houses of Malabar and Rajas were converted to mere land lords. It also put an end to the ambitious plans of the English officials in Malabar.

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14. Firminger n. 19, p. 243. Malikhana was an allowance assigned to the Zamindar or a properietory cultivator. See William Wilson. n. 6.

15. Lord William Bentincks' Minute with Revenue Board's letter to the Principals Collector, 5 May 1804.

16. Fort William to Lord Clive, 26 May 1800, Foreign Political Consultations No. 191, 5 June 1800 (Mss) Para 2.

17. Letter 7 June 1799 in Edward Ingram, ed. *Two series of British India. The Private Correspondence of Mr. Dundas and Lord Wellesly 1796-1801.* (Somenset, 1970), 162.

18. Logan. n. 1. No CCXIII, p. 335.

SOCIAL CONDITION OF AGRESTIC SLAVERY IN MALABAR UNDER THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

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The purpose of this paper is to examine, the nature of agrestic slavery in Malabar during the first half of the 19th century. Slavery, an age old institution, was widely prevalent in Malabar. But very few native documents are available about slavery during the 18th Century. The native Mappilas Kidnapped the Cherumar children and sold them at different places. In 1789 the Malabar Governor of Bombay issued an order prohibiting the sale of children.[1] But the question of slavery and slave trade attracted the attention of the English East India Company only after 1792. In that year a proclamation was issued by the Joint Commissioners prohibiting slave trade.[2] The law was intended only against the practice of kidnapping the childran.

Various reports submitted by the Company's officials in the 19th Century throw light on the social condition of slaves in Malabar.

The division of society based on caste system had contributed to the growth of slavery in Malabar. Manual labour was considered as the duty of the lower castes whereas the upper castes abstained from agricultural labour. So land owners, ruling authorities and temples purchased a number of slaves as agricultural labourers.

The slaves were usually called as Cherumars. They are of two sections Iraya Cherumar and Pulayar. The former enjoyed slightly higher social position. They were permitted to come as far as the premises of their employer's house. But it is codsidered that Pulayas conveyed pollution *(Pula)* to all whom they meet or approach.[3] Kalladee, Kanakkan, Irulan, Allun, Panien, Parayen, Numboovettuvan, Kongalen, Kudummur, Natalum, Malayan, Kurumbur, Puni-Malayan Adian, Moopen, Naiken, Pulayan, Walluven, Ooralen, Karimpalen, Mavillaven, Toloomavillaven, Preingola Vettuvan, Kallady, Kuravan, Rolers, Kongalla, Malla, Kadan, Vishanvan, Vortpulayan, and Ooiratty Pulayan were some of the sections of slaves in Malabar.[4]

It would be interesting to know about the mode of slave transaction and also the

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1. K. K. N. Kurup, *History of the English East India Company's Settlement at Tellichery.* (Unpublished Ph D. Thesis, Calicut University, 1967) p. 377.
2. William Logan, *Malabar*, Vol I, p: 149.
3. Logan, n. 2, p. 148.
4. *Ibid.*, also Correspondence on the subject of slavery in Malabar, S. No. 4055, 1819-22, pp. 39-171.

relative value of slaves in terms of certain domestic animals. A pair of slaves may be worth for four pair of bufalloes.[5] Earlier they were sold with or without the soil. They were sold, mortgaged or leased like the land.[6] The were sold, on mortgaged along with lands to which they were attached.[7] The rent of a Cheruman was 11 fanams a year. If given off on rent their value was 32 fanams a year. A Cheruman was given 11 fanams on *verumpattom*.[8]

Table showlng the value of Cheruman at different stages of transaction

Taluk	Sections	Jenmam	Otty Farans	Kanam	Panayam	Pattom	Verum Pattom
Caway	Cheruman	60	100				50 Dang of Paddy
	Cherumy	200					50 ,,
Chirakkal	Cheruman	100	70	50			3 Farans
	Cherumy	125			60		
Tellicherry	Cheruman	120	90	60	60	10	10 Farans
	Cherumy	30	22	15	11	?	
Kadathanad	Cheruman	40	20	20		10 Dang of Paddy	
	Cherumy	40	20	20		5 ,,	
Kurumbranad	Cheruman	40	20			20	20 Farans
	Cherumy	25	15			10	
Wynad	Cheruman	30	27½	16		3 Poddies of Paddy	
	Cherumy	20	17½	16		1 ,,	
Walluvanad	Cheruman	30	27½	15		3½ Poddies of Paddy	3 Poddies of Paddy
	Cherumy	3 Farans and 8 Reas				1 ,,	
Calicut	Cheruman	40	32		3		
	Chermy	30	30		1 to 2		

5. *Grame's Report*, n. 3, p. 8.
6. *Major Walker's Report on Malabar Tenures*, S. No. 2553, 20 July 1801, p. 99.
7. *Correspondence*, n. 8, p. 39.
   Jenmam was the heriditory proprietorship over landed property. Kanam was a land tenure by whick a sum of money is given to a landlord for obtaining land from him for a specific period. Pattom was a rent given to the land lord.
8. *Fanam* was a silver coin in Malabar, 4 to 5 was equal to one Rupee.

Early marriage was permitted among the slaves and the wife and husband were permitted to be together, the reason being that they would procreate more slave children and increase the property of the master. It was usual for a Cheruman to take the Cherumy belonging to another proprietor with and without the proprietor's knowledge. When taken with the proprietor's knowledge the Cheruman must give him 2 silver fanams. When taken without the proprietor's knowledge nothing was given. The children born from a Cherumy taken with the knowledge of the proprietor were divided. One to the father and the remaining to the cherumy's master.[9] Children born to a Cherumy taken without her masters knowledge were all to go to the Cheruman or his master. When divisions of this kind take place, the parties exchanged a document which was called *Pashoothy Ollah.*

The Cherumars supplied most of the agricultural labourers. Masters through the means of their steward gave presents of cloths, oil and grain or a few fanams upon the birth, death or marriage of any in the family of a slaves. In harvest times slaves were entitled to crops of certain portions of the different flelds as a compensation of watching them. This offering was termed as *punchakaval.*[10] In the case of the Pulayar a further fee of the same description was given to the headman whose duty was to prevent the inroads of cattle in field. According to the census of 1838 the number of slaves in Malabar was 1,44,371.[11] That constituted 1/7 of the total population of Malabar. In 1856 the number had increased to 1,87,758.[12]

Great economic changes had taken place in Kerala during the first half of the 19th century. Plantations and cash crops were developed on a large scale. The need for agricultural labourers also increased. The emancipation of slaves from their traditional masters was the only possibility for getting large number on agrictltural labourers. These and various other reasons forced the Company to take steps for the emancipation of slaves.

The Board of Directors in a letter of 27 July 1842 sent orders for the abolition of slavery[13]. In their second dispatch of 15 March 1843 they had invited the special attention of the Government of India to the question of slavery in Malabar. The Government of India there upon passed the Act V of 1843 which prohibited salvery in British India.[14] As part of the measures for emancipation, the Company adopted industrial and educational schemes for slaves. Yet the practice of mortgaging or leasing for a period or of hiring for days continued until 1856. The acting collector of Malabar, William Robins in his letter to the Board of Revenue in 1856 pointed out the fact that salvery in its severe from was still continuing to exist in Malabar. Slavery in Malabar was finally abolished by sections 370, and 371 of the Indian Penal Code, which came into force on 1 January 1832.[15]

9. *Correspondence*, n. 8, p. 167.
10. *Grame's Report*, n. 3. p. 22.
11. *Slavery in Malbar*, S. No. 7748, 1833-58, p. 38.
12. *Ibid.*, p p. 100-102.
13. Logan, n. 2 p. 149.
14. *Slavery in Malabar*, n. 2, p. 205.
15. Logan, n. 2, p. 152.

AGRARIAN RELATIONS DURING THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY IN A RYOTWARI DISTRICT : A CASE STUDY

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The purpose of this paper is to examine the nature of land-lord-tenant relations in Kasaragod, a ryotwari area in the Malabar coast, and trace the economic implications of the agrarian system under the British during the end of the 19th cenutury. The landlords were known as *Janmis* and a tenant was known as *Kudiyan*.

An analytical study of the document A, given in appendix to this paper, provides a good example of the pattern of land-lord-tenant relations based on written contract. The document pertaining to the year 1892 is an agreement executed in favour of the landlord by an incoming Mappila tenant who obtained the land on *kuzhikkanam* tenure. The land belonged to a Nayar *tarawad*, the joint-family of Kuttamath Kunniyur. The Kanarese term denotes the tenure of an original occupant or the right of a tenant holding a perpetual lease.[1] It is a perpetual lease from the state and as such an absolute right like *janmam* in Malabar provided that the holder should pay the land revenue. The right is also described as *mulvarga* or original proprietory right to an estate.[2] But the landlord could not sell or alienate the above right to any one because the registered holder of the property was a matrilineal family. Therefore the landlord could only lease out the property to a tenant for cultivation or effecting improvements.

The landlord had formerly leased out this particular land on *kuzhikkanam* right or *chaligaini* to one Velichappatan. That tenant who possessed *chaligaini* right had only a tenancy at will or occupation on paying for a short or indefinite term.[3] After the expiry of the lease enjoyed by Velichappatan the land was redeemed by the landlord. It was the custom that a tenant should be given the value of the improvements effected by him in the case of eviction or ejectment.[4] The tenant had constructed a homestead and also effected other improvements like planting of coconut, jack and arecanut trees. His improvements were estimated at a value of Rs. 70/- according to the customary rate. Now the land lord had to give him this amount. But he takes that money from the in-coming tenant and gives to the former tenant or the evicted tenant who was not extended a continuation of occupancy in that land.

The in-coming tenant, a Mappila trader, had liquid money as capital with him who

1. H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Administrative Terms* (Delhi, 1968 edn.), pp 353-4.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 354.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 9 .
4. In Malabar it was made a statuory provision by Malabar Compensation Tenant's Improvements Act. (Madras Act of 1887).

invests it in the land. Therefore, literally he makes a *kanam-kuzhikkanam* tenancy and obtains that particular land for a period of 15 years. He agrees to the payment for all improvements an annual rent of Rs. 30, 150 caconuts and 150 coconut palm leaves to the landlord. The price of 150 coconuts was fixed to Rs. 4.50 and palm leaves to Rs. 1.25[5]. Therefore, the income from that land in favour of the landlord could be estimated for 15 years as follows :

Pattam (rent)	Rs.	450 00
Coconuts		67-50
Palmleaves ...		18-75
Interest at the rate of 6% for the capital provided by tenant for 15 years.		63-00
Total		599-25
Balance after the deduction of land revenue at the rate of Rs. 4.06 per year for year for 15 years to the government ...		61-00
Net receipt-		538-25

The income per year would be Rs. 35-88.

Further the incoming tenant agrees to give the landlord half of the income as *pattam* or annual rent from the new improvements effected by him on their yielding of fruits. But the amount payable on this item could not be decided on that occasion of the contract and therefore left to the customary practice. That even reserves on occasion for future litigations between the landlord and the tenant. Generally coconut and jack trees take a minimum period of ten years for yielding. As such the landlord could expect only a small income on that item provided in the said contract.

After 15 years, again the landlord decides who should be the tenant of that particular property. In the case of an eviction of that tenant the landlord had to give him the value for his improvements, repair charges of the homestead and the said amount of Rs. 70/- deposited by him (a *kanam*) for paying charges due to the former tenant, Velichappatan. The customary rate applicable to each category of improvement is given in the contract.

	Rate		*Converted to*	
	Rs.	Anna	Pie	Rs. P.
Coconut tree	0	10	0	0.60
Jack tree	0	3	4	0.20
Coconut plants	0	0	10	0.05
Paper Vine	0	0	10	0.05[6]

The rate scheduled was the customary one that prevailed throughout North Malabar and Kasaragod. In 1882, the customary rate that prevailed in Chirakkal taluk was the same.[7]

During this period a tenant under the British government was not given a permanent occupancy right. The landlord could evict a tenant after expiry of the contract. An evicted tenant was always given compensation as a customary practice. As land was a status symbol and main source for investment, the members of the emerging trading

5. See document A given in appendix.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Ag. Tahsildar, Chirakkal Taluk, 17 June 1881, para 3 in *Report of the Malabar Special Commission on Land Tenures ; 1881-2* (Madras, 1896), para 77.

class usually deposited their liquid money or capital in the purchase of land on lease. The practice helped in the ousting of the poorer tenants like Velichappatan. The poor Velichappatan with his capital of Rs. 70 (could be equated at present in terms of price of coconuts to Rs. 2300/-) to another landlord to find out a strip of waste-land or landholding of an evicted tenant on *kuzhikkanam* lease or *kanam kuzhikkanam*. The process again repeats and the land with its improvements becomes a saleable commodity in the market. The duration given for a lease is the necessary time limit for yielding of coconut and jack trees. After that the law of demand and supply begins to function and the landlord finds out a new tenant who could give him a good amount in advance.

The system facilitated the landlord to fetch a competitive rent always equal to that of a market rent from his land. But the landlord had no investment at all in the land except the possession of a hereditary title. The improvements were effected by the tenant by his own labour and capital. The compensation given to him was a meagre amount hased on customary rate. An ordinary yielding coconut tree would provide 750 coconuts during the *Kuzhikkanam* lease for 15 years. In the case of leasing out the tree to another tenant, the landlord gets half of the yields or 375 coconuts which could be valued about Rs 11-25 at the rate existed in 1890's. But the compensation given to the tenant was only a paltry sum of Rs. 0-60.[8] In brief the system was not contributory to a progressive agrarian system. The tenants had no incentive at all to bring out more waste lands under cultivation. The government received its land revenue and the landlords their rent. The perpetual alliance between the landlords and the imperialists adversely affected the prosperity of the peasantry. The legal system also supported the existence of a land owning class who enjoyed a sacred right in private property. The tenant was only a contractual title - holder without proprietory or perpetual right in the land. Gradually the agrarian relations became strained and the landlord-tenant system provided for the emergence of a class conscious, militant struggle between these economic groups.[9]

The right of a traditional Nayar *tarawad* in the land was not an acquired right by purchase. Prior to the British occupation these feudal families had political responsibility as *desavazhis*. They provided soldiers to the chieftains and maintained law and order. For that responsibility they were assigned a portion of the produce of the respective area or *tara*. That is why their family was known as *tarawad* or the administrators of the tara or territorial division, the smallest segment of a *nadu* or couutry. But during the British occupation the chieftains were eliminated but they were given a new role. As they were the traditional rural elites, the government made revenue settlements with them. That group obtained a perpetual right in the land at the expense of other

8. See appendix.

9. A brief history of those movements in Malabar and Kasaragod is given in K.K.N. Kurup, *The Kayyur Riot : A Terrorist Episode in the Nationalist Movement in Kerala* (Calicut, 1968), pp. 7-49.

share-croppers. Therefore, during the nationalist movement, the main slogans of the political activists were : "Let British Rule Perish; Let landlordism Perish; Let Peasants succeed; and Let Revolution succeed."[10]

In the existing system of land tenures in Malabar and Kasaragod taluk, there was no provision for lease, etc. for a longer period and that actually resisted the possibility of starting of plantations of cash crops and thereby improving the economy. A lease granted for 99 years by the karavanan of a tarawad in Malabar was cancelled by the High Court of Madras. The court held that: "A court has no power to confer on Karanavans larger powers than such as are sanctioned by usage. If such powers are insufficient to secure to tarawads the full enjoyment of their estates, or if they are so limited as to interpose obstacles to the establishment of new industries, the extension of such powers must be sought from the legislature."[11] Therefore, the anachronous situation in which a *tarawad* was placed, along with its corporate life provided occasions for frequent litigations among the *tavazhis* or branches and the *tarawad*. There were a series of civil suits in the particular land owning family dealt with in this paper.[12] The 'legal battle' in a *tarawad* was a continuous process and its main purpose was to share the resources of a *tarawad* on parity with its other branches.[13]

Further, ceremonies relating to *talikettu kalyanam*, puberty rites, funerals, etc. involved considerable expenses for the *tarawad*.[14] These ceremonies were status-symbols and generally properties were assigned on *kanam* right to the tenants for raising capital. Some of these Nayar *tarawads* gave their females in marriage to Brahmins alone in the way of *sambandham*. But those relations brought only liability and never a proper maintenance for the females and their issues. They were left to live on the income of the *tarawad*. By the 20th century the *tarawad* institution had become so much deteriorated that statutory provision was granted for individual partition.[15]

The imperialist government also highly exploited the landlord or *tarawad* by way of land revenue. The landholding or *Patta* of a landlord often consisted of thousands of acres of waste or *kumri* land for which also revenue was demanded by the government. The system enhanced the total land revenue payable by a landholder. Thus revenue sale was a common practice regarding the landord properties of a *tarawad* in a ryotwari district. In each *fasli* or revenue year, the collection of land revenue was a real struggle between the

10. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
11. *I. L. R.*, III Madras 169, p. 743.
12. Rama Kurup *Vs* Chathukurup, Second appeal, High Court of Madras, 1325 of 1890. dt. 28-1-1892 (Wilkinson and Shepherd). The said suit was originated in the Court of the District Munsif of Kavai in O. S. No. 506 of 1888. Then appeal suit No. 108 of 1890 in the subordinate Judge's Court of North Malabar.
13. *Ibid.* It was a dispute over shit and that had been set apart for the maintenance of the tavazhi.
14. Krishna Kurup *Vs* Chinda Kurup, O. S. 67 of 1934 in the Court of the District Munsif, Kasaragod, dt, 24 October 1936.
15. See provisions of Madras Marumakkathayam Act (Act XXII of 1923).

the revenue officials on one side and the landlords and their tenants on the other.

In brief the landholding *tarawads* were passing through considerable difficulties in a ryotwari district under the imperial government. The backwardness of the social institutions also retarded the growth of individualism. The result was large scale rural poverty and "development of underdevelopment" of the agrarian system. Such a situation brought considerable misery and poverty for the toiling peasantry. It was a vicious circle under imperialism and the landlord served as an effective agent who controlled the productive units of farms and paid land revenue by employing tenants and sub-tenants and assigning land to the landless agricultural labourers.

APPENDIX *

DOCUMENT A

Yedrunudi. Kuikanam Yedrunudi executed on the 12th July 1892 to Kunhi Rama, Kudthaledar, conducting the management of the Tarwad, nephew of Kuttammath Kunniyara Unni Chinda Kurup, landholder, Nair, residing at Kuttanatha of Charvathur village, Thayaket Magani, Kassergod taluk by Yermullani younger brother of Koletha Moideen Haji, Mappila, trader, residing in the said village is as follows:—

I have obtained on Kuikanom the undermentioned properties which belong to your Muli right, which you redeemed from Thera Balachappada by paying him the value of improvements having obtained Rs. 70 from me, which belong to Hasadrug: Sub-District, Kassergod Taluk, South Canara District and you have obtained Rs. 70 from me according to the undermentioned particulars. Therefore excepting the improvement that we effected before and also the improvements that are effected by Balicheoppoda shall effect improvements in the vacant land of cocoanut, tangu, jack, betta & c, that are necessary and also repair the house that was built by Balichappada and I shall enjoy the properties for 15 years from-this date on Kuikanom right and continue to pay for all the improvements that now exist Rs. 30 in cash cocoanuts 150 Madlu Thadi 150 also per annum till the improvements effected by me bear fruits that is I shall pay cocoanuts Madlu also each year in the month of Makara and cash Rs. 30 in the month of Chingam of the respective years and obtain receipt from you. After the improvements effected by me yield fruit I shall pay half of the geni that may be seen and settle for the same along with the cash amount of Rs. 30/- When you pay after the expiry of the term of 15 years Re. 0-10.0 for cocoanuts Re. 0.3-4 for jack, Re. 0-0-10 for tangu, Re. 0-0-10 for Balli out of the improvements effected by me and the amount of costs incurred by me for the repair of the house and also Rs. 70 now obtained by you in a lump sum, I shall receive the same and surrender the properties &c. to you.

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* The document was originally registered in the Hosdrug Sub-Registrar's office on 13th July 1892 as No. 119 at pages 73 and 74 of volume 87 of Book I. A copp of the English translation was traced in the judicial proceedings of the High Court of Madras.

I have executed this according to the Kuikanom document executed by you to me in pursuance of this. The price of 150 cocoanuts is Rs. 4-8-0 and also the price of 150 madhis is Re. 1-4-0. The said amount of Rs. 70 obtained from me is to pay the value of improvements to the said Balichappada.

Description of the Property				
Magana	*Village*	*Varg No.*	*Name of the Warg.*	*Description of property*
Thaikat	Charvathur	92	Uni Chinda Kurup.	Thatched house, well and improvements.

Signed. Yeramulla, Younger brother of Keloth Mlideen Hajee, Moplah Merchant, Cheruvathur village.

AYYANKALI – THE SOCIAL REFORMER

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The introduction of *cāturvarnya* established the supremacy of the upper caste Hindus over the *Avarnas* of Kerala, including the Ezhavas, Pulayas and Parayas. Of these the Pulayas who observed *pula* or pollution, formed 10.1% of the Hindu population of Travancore as per 1901 Census.[1] They have been agriculturists from time immemorial and they are not addicted to any of the untidy habits attributed to the Cândâlas by the Dharmasastras. As early as the 11th Century they were engaged in agricultural labour as testified to by an inscription in the Parthivasekharapuram Temple in South Travancore. In the erstwhile British Malabar they are more generally known as *Cherumar* meaning a short-sized people. Despite the numerical strength of the Pulayas or Cherumars, the caste Hindus denied many of the basic social rights like freedom to enter roads, schools, offices, temples and other public places until recently.[2] Ayyankali (1863 1941), though illiterate taught his fellow castemen the need for being alert socially, politically and intellectually. The rejuvenation of the dormant social consciousness of the Pulayas was mainly because of the untiring efforts made by this pioneer Pulaya leader, whom Gandhiji referred to as the Raja of Pulayas. The present paper is an attempt to focus the attention on Ayyankali about whom there is only stray references, even in books dealing with Kerala's social transformation.

The conditions of the Pulayas in the 19th century continued to be very miserable. The caste system was so deep - rooted that people were divided into innumerable castes and subcastes, each in close endogamic group with taboos of intouchability, unapproachability and even unseeability. Right of way was decided by one's caste. Higher castes shunned lower castes, because they believed that their touch or approach or even sight within a certain distance caused pollution to them.[4] This obnoxions state of affais led to concerted attempts to prevent the outcastes from entering roads, and other public places. Thus the prescribed distance of pollution for the *Avarnas* was like this: 24 ft. for a Kammalan, 36 ft. for an Ezhava, 48 ft. for a Kanakkan, 64 ft. for a Pulaya and 72 ft. for an Ullatan.[5]

The mere sight of a Pulaya was enough to make a Namboodiri consider himself

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1. N. Subramoniya Aiyar, *Census of India 1901 : Travancore* (Trivandrum, 1903), pp. 341-43. Also See L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *The Ethnological Survey of the Cochin State - Pulayas* (Cochin, 1906), pp. 1-29.
2. P. K. Ravindran, *History of South India*, Vol. III, (New Delhi, 1979) pp. 215-19.
3. Mahadeva Desai, *The Epic of Travancore* (Ahamedabad 1937), p. 157.
4. A. Sreedhara Menon, *Social and Cultural History of Kerala* (New Delhi, 1979), pp. 67-69.
5. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala* (Ernakulam, 1933,) Vol. III. pp. 373-75.

polluted. At the same time there was no pollution in case a Muslim or a Christian touch a *Savarna*. The pulayas and other untouchables suffered these disabilities just because they were loyal Hindus.[6] But at the same time there were Pulayas and other *avarnas* who embraced Islam or Christianity with which the stigma attached to them was removed and they, in their new religious status were free to move along the same roads which were once closed for them. Ayyankali tried his best to prevent large scale conversion of Pulayas to Christianity or Islam.[7] The holding of umbrellas was prohibited to all castes except the Brahmins, though the rains were pouring upon them. Social exclusiveness of outcastes also prevented intermarriages and inter-dining. Agrarian relations and other economic problems also necessitated drastic socio-economic changes in Kerala during the period. The Ezhavas who had the grievance that they were being denied temple entry by the high caste Hindus themselves denied admission to the members of the Pulaya community into the temples owned by them.[8] Ayyankali realised the need for organzing an Association of the Pulayas after the model of S. N. D. P. Yogam of the Ezhavas founded by Dr. Palpu with Sri. Narayana Guru as its permanent President.[9] Accordingly he made frantic attempts to form a *Sadhujana Paripalana Yogam* in 1907, a body for the uplift of all the downtrodden. The Yogam made Ayyankali its General Secretary and to popularise the cause of the Pulayas a magazine, *Sadhujana Paripalini*, was also started during the same period.[10]

He submitted memorandums and petitions to the rulers of Travancore. His representations to Sri Moolam-Tirunal (1885-1924) made Ayyankali a popular figure in official circles eventhough many of his demands were turned down by the authorities for fear of the *Savarnas*. Yet he campaigned for the removal of social taboos and worked for the right of admission to schools and right to wear clothes.[11] The activities of the Yogam were so effective that Dewan Sir P. Rajagopalachari ordered for the opening of schools for the Pulayas and the Parayas.[12] But the *savarnas* succeeded in checking implementation of the order. However at Chavadinada near Venganoor a government school was started in addition to schools run by *Sadhu Jana Paripalana Yogam*. The Travancore Government nominated him as a member of the Sri Moolam Praja Sabha in 1912. He made his debut in the Victoria Jubilee Assembly Hall by his eloquent speech about problems confronting the Pulayas on the 26th. Feb.

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6. T. P. Sankarankutty Nair, 'Role of Malayalam and Malayalees in the Social Revolution of Modern India, '*18th Indian Historical Studies Conference*' Nagpur, 1979.
7. Palpu, *Palpu papers* (New Delhi), para 12.
8. A. Sreedhara Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 116.
9. T. P. Sankarankutty Nair, "Dr. P. Palpu, - The poineer Ezhava social reformer of Kerala", *40th I. H. C. Proc.*, Waltair, 1979.
10. Interview with K. Sivathanu, son of Ayyankali, on 5-1-1980. Also see Venganoor Surendran, *Ayyankali Birth day*, 111th *Souvenir*, (Trivandrum, 1974), pp. 18-19.
11. M. K. Sanoo, *Narayana Guru*, (Bombay, 1978), p. 234
12. T. K. Velu Pillai, *The Travancore State Manual*, (Trivandrum, 1940), Vol. II, pp, 700-701.

1912.[13] Stage by stage he pinpointed the issue affecting the Pulayas like the appointment of Pulayas to Government service, demand for mid - day meals for pupils of the Depressed Classes etc.[14] He continued to serve the Praja Sabha as a representative of the Pulayas for over two decades.[15] When the Pulaya leaders under Ayyankali tried to resist the policies of the *Savarnas*, it led to severe clashes in places like Perinad, Manacaud, Nedumancaud, Kanipuram, Kazhakuttom, and Balamamapuram.[16]

The Nayar-Pulaya riot of 1915 at Perinad near Quilon attract our attention in this connection. One of the local Pulaya leaders named Gopaladas was determined to secure for his womenfolk the right to wear ornaments made of valuable metals. In those days the Pulayas were allowed to use only recklaces or chains or bangles made of glazed stone (especially red) strings of bead and small shells. The attempt of Gopaladas was resisted by the Nairs of Quilon which finally brought them into blows. Atlast a public meetiag was convened under the chairmanship of Changanassery Parameswaran Pillai (1877-1940), one of the foremost of the N.S.S. in which he declared the right of the Pulayas to wear ornaments of their choice.[17] Immediately after his speech, the Pulaya women threw away their stone ornaments considering it as barbarous feature. The man behind this reform was Ayyankali.

When communal organisations sprang up, the Pulayas themselves thought of converting *Sadhunaja Paripalana Yogam* into a Pulaya Congress. In consequence to this change of attitude *Travancore Pulaya Mahasabha* was registered in 1938.[18]

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13. Travancore Gazette dated 5th Dec. 1911.
14. Sri Moolam Popular assembly proc. dt 7 March 1928 (Trivandrum, 1928), p. 1 6-47.
15. Kallada Sasi, *Speeches of Ayyankali in Sri Moolam Popular Assembly* (Trivandrum, 1976), *Passim*.
16. Appan Vanchiyur, *Ayyankali Commemoration Volume*, (Trivandrum, 1979), *Passim*.
17. C. Narayana Pillai, *Changanacherry, : Biography* (Trivandrum, 1942), pp. 80-83.
18. Vadayil Sadasivan, *Answara Prathibhakal*, (Trivandrum, 1975), p. 76.

A NOTE ON THE SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

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"Action should be according to the individual's own wisdom.
Accept what appears to be right and throw away the rest". — Periyar E.V.R.

The Self-Respect Movement which had its headquarters at Erode speread over a wide area, comprising the Tamil Nadu, and parts of Malabar, Burma, the Malay States, the Straits settlements, Ceylon and Andhra-desa. Its influence is greatest in Tamil Nadu. Founded about fifty - five years ago as a social movement it was intended to serve the non-Brahmin cause in the social sphere as the Justice Party was doing in the political sphere.

Articles by Kaivalyam[1] in the early volumes of *Kudi Arasu* indicate the basic views of the Self-Respect Movement. For example in a 1929 article entitled "Why the Self Respect Movement come into Existence" Periyar wrote :

"The Self Respect Movement came into existence only to teach the real truth of the ancients; a truth that existed where there were no differences between people and justice existed between people. It comes only to save the society. Some cheats had taken advantage of the ignorance of our people; of the poverty of our people and instilled into them so many shastras and puranas and told them that they were low caste. This movement comes only to assist the Shastras which said that there was only one God for all the Universe." "The Self Respect Movement comes to tell that God is common to all whether they are high or low caste people whether they are strong or weak."[2]

Adopting the same ideal of equal opportunities for all, it set out to demolish the social ascendancy of the Brahmins. If Brahmin superiority was to be destroyed, neither was the oppression of the lower classes and of women to be tolerated. The abolition of untouchability and caste and the liberation of women were, therefore, included in the Self - Respect programme. The reformers mixed freely with the depressed classes, ate and drank with them at social gatherings and strenuously fought for their rights to education, public wells, medical aid, etc. They dropped their caste designations (eg. Naicker, Pillai, Odayar). They interdined and intermarried with persons of other castes.

Women's Rights

They deplored the disabilities of Hindu women - child marriage, forced widowhood[3]

1. Swamigal Kaivslyam, a Saiva Siddhanta Philosopher generally referred to as Saint.
2. *Kudi Arasu*, July 27, 1929.
3. Periyar published in *Kudi Arasu* 1926, statistics showing that according to the Census of 1921 there were 11,892 widows in India below the age of 5.

and asserted their right to possess property like men.[4] They supported the Sarda Act (the marriage age for girls should be 16) and widow remarriage and for the sake of what they belived to be the fullness of woman's liberation, pleaded for easy divorce, free love and birth control.[5] Two self - respect institutions which aimed at promoting women's interests deserve mention here-the Marriage Bureau and the Self - Respect Institute for women. The marriage Bureau arranged for and celebrated marriages without calling in the Brahman purohitas, most of the marriages thus conducted, being inter-caste marriages and remarriages of widows and devorced persons. The institute for women was intended to teach poor and helpless girls the three R's, drawing, music, culture and good rational living, as inter-marriage, divorce and the rest.

Fight against Religions

Since the Hindu social system is based on religion, the Self-Respecters soon realized that they could not get rid of social evils unless they destroyed the religion which sanctioned and sanctified those evils. And so they started a violent campaign against Hinduism saying :

> Hinduism teaches that caste distinctions were created by God; the Vedas and Smritis say that the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudhas were born respectively from God's face, shoulders, thigh and feet. Hinduism is responsible for the ignorance, helplessness and cruel and slavish treatment of women who form one-half of society. It causes the money of the poor to be wasted on its innumerable festivals or to be given away to Brahmans at the meaningless ceremonies on occasions like marriage and death. It causes thousands, lakhs and crores of rupees to be squandered daily, weekly and yearly on idols and temples, for all kinds of deities, and thus impoverishes the country. In every respect it makes its followers slaves, beggars, fools and enemies to one another and does them no good . . . Therefore the whole edifice of Hinduism must be pulled down and then only can the foundations of caste and enslavement of women be destroyed.[6]

This fight against Hinduism soon developed into a general war on religion as such and even on God, on the plea that they were a bar to human progress. Buddhism and Jainism were included in this attack; Islam was cautiously attacked. Christianity, particularly Catholicism, was singled out for vulgar derision. They began to refer to the 'so-called God'. the 'so called heaven' and the 'so called hell'. With an idolatry truly worthy of bragging atheists, they enthroned Robert Ingersoll as their high priest and dosed out Tamil translations of his writings to an ignorant public, week by week, in the *Kudi Arasu* with headlines like 'Gods are the Toys of the people'. An article entitled 'Is God Dead?' in the *Puduvai Murasu* of May 5. 1932, closed with the words, 'Yet a short while, and the Self - Respect Movement will have destroyed all notion of God. Alas for Him'.

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4. All Self-Respect Conferences in 1929.30 emphasised this.
5. V. Anaimuthu ed., *Cintanikal, P XXXIII, Kudi Arasu, April 6, 1930.*
6. *Kudi Arasu*, August 21, 1932.

To carry out this anti-religious programme the Rational Books Publishing Society was founded in 1933 with its headquarters at Erode. Besides its monthly organ, the *Pahuthariyu*, it had published twenty-five books in Tamil which had a large sale.

They fall into three classes : translations of the publication of the Rationalist Press Association of London, translations of other atheistic books; and original works by Indian Self-Respecters. With unerring insight the Erode rationalists had chosen four of Ingersoll's lectures, two of Bertrand Russell's, one of Joseph Mecabe's, one of the Rev. Townshed Fox's, and the long exploded myth of Pastor Chiniguy, as the London lamps that were to enlighten the Tamil World! Other translations are Reason by a French apostate priest wit chapter-headings like : "The very Idea of God is Meaningless" - "All Religions are untrue" - "Religion is built on Supersition" - "The world was not created by Anyone" - God is not man's Friend but his cruel Enemy", Katherine Mayo's "Mother India" and "Slaves of the God" and "why I am an Atheist"— a collection of Bhagat Singh's letters to his father.

Among the original Tamil works produced by Self-Respecters are Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy's *Why Eve Became Enslaved*'[7], *Materialism*[8] and *Kudi Arasu Kalambagam*[9]. The theme of the first is that the Indian woman had been enslaved by the laws of religion and morality and that she could be freed only by breaking these laws.

Materialism argues that :

> God, Religion, Soul, Self, Sin, Virtue, Heaven, Hell, Morality - all are man's concoctions. They are the creations of a small class of selfish parasitical priests who, in order to have the goods of this earth to themselves, induce the people to renounce this world in order to possess the next. They should be destroyed by the Rationalists who ought to endeavour to reclaim the priest - ridden masses from a faith in the supernatural to one in Materialism. Science is on the side of the Materialists, and all the inventions of priestcraft ... are being pulverized under the sledge, hammer strokes of scientific progress .. Long live Materialism.

The *Kudi Arasu Kalambagam* discusses a variety of topics from the Indian native states to machine production, with a thinly veild Communist bias. In *Scientific Method* and *Ignorant Beliefs* Singaravelu informed his readers that if man had not invented language he would never have invented God. K. Brahmachary unearthed the theory of evolution as a substitute for creation in *The Origins of the World Gnana Suriyan* is an outspoken criticism of the Veads, Puranas and Smritis and of Brahmin 'priestcraft'. Influence of Socialism : Till Periyar's visit to the U.S S R. in 1931, the Self-Respect Movement had confined itself

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7. பெண் ஏன் அடிமையானாள். (ஈரோடு, பகுத்தறிவ நூற்பதிப்புக்கழகம், 1934)
8. பிரகிருதி வாதம்.
9. குடி அரசுக் கலம்பகம்.

to social and religious 'reform'. But immediately after his return from Leningrad, he announced its political programme at the North Arcot Conference in these words:

> How can we achieve social progress without working also in the economic and political fields? Are not economics and politics necessary for a people? Our Self-Respect Movement is not at all needed for attaining a progress which is not of the economic and political order. If its work is to be solely to affect Puranic superstitions and Brahmin machinations, then it had better cease to be.[11] He added : Away with the Capitalistic Government. Let us have a rule which will be to the advantage of the labourers ...We consider the Government as a shield to protect the idle and the rich. Another should therefore be set up which will safeguard the interests of the poor and the workers ...[12]

> King and government exist, not for the good of society and the removal of inequalities, but for protecting the wealth of the idle rich. Only in a country where God, religion and patriotism have been throughly destroyed are capitalist tyranny, idle life, starvation and inequalities absent. In it there is love of mankind, not of religion and country, no distinction between the rich and the poor, the capitalist and the labourer, the ruler and the subject... Not only our country but the whole world should be brought to such a position; and for this all young men must strive. That is the work before us.[13]

Similar pronouncements had been made by Mr. Singaravelu in a series of articles on 'The Work Before Us' : "Only on the day when the proletarian rule is established will the world be happy, free from hunger and war .. As communists in the legislature of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain and Scandinavia work for their communist programme so we too will enter and work in the Indian legislatures, municipalities, and district boards.[14]

The secret of all this faith in communism was an unbounded admiration for Russia.

> Russia is a new world, different from every other country . It has no place for jealousy, discontent, greed, rivalry and restlessness; and it has ensured for men true liberty and freedom from the ordinary cares of life.[15]

> Russia is today the only country where there is no unemployment. Russia stands foremost among the nations of the world in industry and in every other thing making for progress. The reason is that it is a Communist State.[16]

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11. *Kudi Arasu*, May 14, 1933.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Kudi Arasu*, November 20, 1933.
14. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1933
15. *Ibid.*, *Kudi Arasu*, March 12, 1933.
16. *The Tamilian*, July 12, 1933.

The Russian example was thus held up in a series of editorials in the *Kudi Arasu*. Accordingly, in January 1933, the Samadharma Party of South India was formed with the following aims. 1. The attainment of complete independence of the British and other forms of capitalistic government. 3. The cancellation of all national debts 3. The public ownership of railways, banks, shipping and other transport services, waters, lands, etc. 4 The public ownership of all agricultural lands, forests and estates. 5. The cancellation of all private debts and other obligations incurred by the workers and peasants. 6. The changing of all native states into one common Indian Federation under the rule of the workers and peasants of India. 7. The improvement of the life of the workers and peasants by securing for them not more than seven hours' labour a day, increased wages, state aid for the unemployed, health resorts, free libraries and other cultural facilities. This new party programme had been approved at all the local self-respect conferences.

To conclude, this glaring inequalities of of Hindu Society, the exploitation of the ignorant poor by the crafty rich, untouchability, child marriage, child-widowhood - any one who sets out to remedy these evils is certain to have a large following. [17] The secret of the success of the Self - Respect Movement is that it began with justice on its side.[18]

17. *Revolt*, Vol.1, No. 34, July 7, 1929.

18. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, No. 3. January 19, 1930.

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN MADURA (1900–1990)

A. Samuel Jebaratnam

The Protestant Missionaries from the United States established Missions to carry on their Gospel work in India Among them one was the American Madura Mission* established in 1834 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The American Protestant missionaries of this Madura Mission played a significant role in the social history of Madura District.

In the nineteenth century American missionaries thought that but for the British control India would be in chaos. Yet they were able to understand the political aspirations of the people. This is evident from their Annual Report to their Home Board immediately after the Surat split that 'the national movement was in line with the great awakening in all Asiatic countries".[1] But they called t "a rude awakening" as they could not appreciate the violence of the nationalist movement. They welcomed the Montague Chelmsford reforms and hailed the glad day when "India could take her place in the family of free nations"[2]

The point to note here is that there was a change in the American Protestant thought from the regeneration of the individual to that of the society. It was called the 'Social Gospel'. Raushenbusch in his "Theology for the Social Gospel" concluded that the Kingdom of God 'embraces the whole of human life' for it is nothing less than the 'transfiguration of the social order'[4]. In the realm of evangelism this new social approach expressed itself. Church Union Movement was a unique initiative of the American missions. An effort to unite the London Missionary Society and the Madura Mission was made in 1904[5] and it was crowned with success in 1905. In the year 1910 the plan known as the District Conference was inaugurated in Madura.[6] It was a scheme for the transfer and devolution of power from the mission itself to the Indian Church. All members of the District Conference enjoyed equal rights, and the Indian pastors were in the majority of the Conference [7]

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* The term 'American' has been used to indicate its origin in the U.S. Madura was a district in the Madras Presidency during British rule This Madura Mission is quite different from the Jesuit Madura Mission.

1. *Report of the American Protestant Madura Mission, RAPMM* 1908 p.1
2. *Ibid.*, 1919 pp. 1-2.
3. *RAPMM*, 1900 p. 48.
4. E.S. Gaustad *A. Religious History of America,* (Haper & Row New York, 1966) p. 252. *RAPMM.*
5. *Ibid., 1904 p 26.*
6. *Ibid., 1900 p 101.*
7. *Ibid , 1911 p. 11.*

The American protestant missionaries considered education as an essential adjunct to spreading thc Gospel. They established a sizable group of educational institution which were thrown "open to children of all castes".[8] This helped in rural uplift and the general spread of education. They tried to make the village school an integral part of community as a social centre, on the model of schools in certain areas of America. In 1904 there were 193 of such villages and stations primary schools with 5,872 children and 234 teachers [9]

Christian missionaries had been pioneers in the education of women. [10]. The American missionaries opened or managed schools for girls. From 1904 the Madura Girls Training and High school was established in Capron Hall and it was called Mangalapuram, Place of Blessing.[11] Miss Chandler was in charge of the Girls' Schools and Normal School in Mangalapuram, Madura.[12] All these schools were supported by the women's Board Mission, Boston[13]. In the Madura Mission the number of Boarding schools in 1900 were 8, number of boys were 405, girls 254, Total strength 659[14]. There was a Training school and a Theological Seminary at Pasumalai. In Madura the Lucy Percy Noble Bible school was started by Miss Swift of the Madura Mission.

Pasumalai college, the forerunner of the American college Madura was opened in 1881. This college in Pasumalai had removed its classes in 1904 to Madura and was connected with the High School located in the city. John. D. Rockfeller made a gift of $ 100,000 to enable a separate location for the college.[20] In 1907-1908 a beautiful hall and a hostel were erected and the college was renamed American College. It fell in line with the requirement of Madras University beginning with 1909. In 1913 the college became a first grade college[21]. Social gatherings were not neglected. Mr Zumbro and Wallace had been at-home frequently to the college students. The social life in the American college was very different from that of an Indian college. The occasional Saturday afternoon at homes given by the missionary ladies on the faculty promoted understanding and were greatly appreciated by the students.[22] This was an American innovation in Madurai.

To improve the economic condition of the people the missionaries had established several institutions in which young men and women were taught to earn their livelihood

8. *RAPMM.*, 1900, p. 122.
9. *Ibid.*, 1904, p. 42.
10 S. Neil, *The Story of the Christian Church in Indian and* Pakistan, ISPUCH C.E.S. 1972, p. 106,
11. J, S. Chandler, *Seventy Five years in the Madura Mission* (Lawrence Asylum Press, Mount Road, Madras), pp. 332 - 335.
12. *RAPMM.*, 1900, p. 128.
13. *RAPMM*, *1910*, p. 58.
14. *Ibid.*, *1900*, p. 131.
15. *Ibid.*, *1920*
20. J. S. Chandler *Seventy five years in the Madras Mission*, (Madras Lawrence Asylum Press), p 365.
21. *RAPMM.*, *1906*, p. 69.
22. *Ibid.*, *1912* p. 65.

by honest and intelligent labour. The Industrial training dignifies manual labour, encourages self-respect and self-reliance. It is wholesome, checking physical vice.[23] In the Madura Mission the missionaries had started an industrial school. This was not purely an industrial school as only 15 out of 47 boys learnt the trade with the idea of following them afterwards. The other boys received instruction in carpentary as part of their general education and "the ideas followed were mainly those of American Manual Training School".[24] The main purpose was to teach the boys to respect and to perform manual labour and so foster habits of industry and in time to develop independence, and true manhood. It was an uphill work for the Indian had a strong aversion to manual labour as in his mind that was the work of the uneducated, poorly paid artisan.[25] In Pasumalai a building for the Manual Training Department had been completed at a cost of about Rs. 13,000 and tools for classes in carpentry had been procured from America. Considerable attention had been given in 1909 to the making of relief maps and globes. Several of the globes made by the students had been valued at Rs. 50. Classes in Typewriting, Book Keeping, Commercial correspondence and Short Hand were formed.[26] The main development of the Industrial school had been in agriculture. The school farm was under the supervision of a Graudate of the Agricultural college. The farm was a valuable adjunct to the school work. That was the only High School in South India teaching agriculture. Besides supplying fresh fruits and vegetables, the farm had made a contribution of Rs. 700 towards the support of the school.[27]

In the case of Madura Mission Industrial Department Lucy Percy Noble School continued the lace making and they had begun the making of jams, jellies and marmalade. In 1918 they had introduced new courses of study and work viz domestic management, domestic medicine, gardening and systematic sewing. In all these plans they had the Indian home in view and had entertained the hope that by study and practice under these heads they might raise the levels of thought and practice in the home, and create also some idea of the possibility of utilising the small plots about the house as a means of home economy[28]. Though the technical schools and workshops started by the Americans enrolled only Christians the influence on the environment could not have been confined to them only. They had brought their concept of manual work within general education by following the American Manual Training schools. They were also quick to see training as a part of manual training. In this sphere, they were pioneers in bringing in technical expertise. Perhaps the Christian missionaries had known by instinct that a claim on Tamil is a claim on the hearts of the Tamils So they learnt Tamil to serve the people effectively. Three periodicals had been published by this Madura Mission at various times and two were still in existence in 1900, viz

23. *The Encylopaedia of Mission*, ed 2nd edition (Dwight H. O. & others New York 1904), p 328.
24. *RAPMM.*, *1903*, p. *36*.
25. *Ibid.*, *1906*, pp. *16-17*.
26. *Ibid*, *1909*, pp. *72-73*.
27. *Ibid.*, *1916*, p. *46*
28. *Ibid.*, *1918*, p. *38*

Sathiavarthamani or 'True News' and the 'Santhosha Seithi' or 'Joyful News.' In 1916 the Lucy Percy Bible school started the publication of a quarterly 'Rachanayapuram Varthamani[29]. Including books, tracts, almanacs, sermons, bills etc over and a half million pages had been printed by Madura Mission during the year 1905[30]. All these helped the growth of the habit of reading among the people.

The first American to compile a Tamil-English Dictionary in 1862 was Rev. Miron Winslow. In the 20th century it was felt that Dr. Winslow's dictionary of Tamil language had to be brought up to date. In 1911 the Rev. J.S. Chandler M.A.D.D proposed to the government of Madras the publication of a standard Tamil Lexicon based on the material collected by Dr. G.U. Pope[31]. The proposal was acceptable and he was loaned to the Government to compile a Tamil Lexcion for the University of Madras. The work on the Tamil Lexicon was begun in January in 1913. The editorial staff at first consisted of the Rev. J.S. Chandler the Editor and Chairman of the committee and three Pandits. The staff had been strenthened by the addition of Dr. Mark Collins, Professor of Comparative Philology as Joint Editor. His task had been to trace obscure words to their origin.[32] Special care was taken to secure accuracy of definition. The Rev. J.S. Chandler met the port officers, native pilots and the headman of native craft at Pamban to get the nautical terms accurately defined. He went to Jaffna and met Tamil scholars. Much assistance had been rendered by Dr. Henderson of the Madras Museum. Prof. Rengacheri of Coimbatore (animals, plants) Sydney Roberts of Cuddalore (courtwards) Surgeon-General Bannerman (Medicine)[33]. Unfortunately Rev. J.S. Chandler could not complete the undertaking due to his retirement [34]. The entire Lexicon now comparised 1,04,405 words as compared with the 67,542 of Winslow's Dictionary and the original collection of 80,000 words made by the Rev. J. S. Chandler and his committee and staff[35].

Medical work characterised the American mission from the beginning. Thousands suffered and died without proper medical aid. So they started medical work as part of their ministry The first medieal missionary to join the Madura Mission was Dr. Steel in 1837. It took over the District Board Hospital at Arupukottai in 1899. One new dispensary, the Manchester Dispensary at Manamadura was opened in 1900. Rev. E. Chester M.D. of Madura Mission managed a hospital at Dindugal aided from local and municipal funds[36]. When the American

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29. *RAPMM., 1916* p. *53.*
30. *Ibid., 1905* pp. *25-26.*
31. *Tamil Lexicon in volumes* (c) (University of Madras, 1935), P.LV.
32. *RAPMM.*, 1918, pp. 72-73.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.
34. K. Meenakshisundaram *Contribution of European Scholars to Tamil* (c), University of Madras, (Madras 1974) p, 276.
35. *Tamil Lexicon in Six Volumes* (c) (University of Madras, 1936), p. XII
36. W. Francis, *Madras District Gazetteers, Madura*, Vol. I 1906 (Government Press, Madras), p. 172.

Board Hospital at Madura required buildings., non-christians with the Prince of Ramnad at their head. collected almost all the funds required and presented the sum of Rs. 40,000 to Dr. Van Allan. It is a fact which is without parallel in the history of the Indian mission and is a notable testimony both to the skill of Dr. Van Allen as physician and to the liberality of the local people. The Albert Victor Hospital, Madura was a splendidly equipped building with accomodation for 44 in patients. [37]. In the erection of this Hospital almost every anna was a gift from the natives professing the Hindu faith to its endowment[38].

In 1877 the medical work for women was distinguished from the general Medical work and it was placed in charge of Dr. Pauline Root, the first lady Physician[39]. Her efforts eventually resulted in the erection of the Mission hospital for women and children opened in Madura[40]. In 1900 Miss. H.E. Parker M.D. was in charge of the Women's Hospital, Madura. In Madura Mission, an enterprise lately begun under the supervision of Dr. Parker, was a home for the lepers situated in Manamadura. Thus the American missionaries in Madura took on themselves not only the conventional part of it the employment of western medicine but also laid emphasis on special areas like work for women and children and leprosy relief. Madura owes something to these missionaries in the fields of popularisation of western medicine and medical relief.

The missionaries also took part in activities aimed in promoting social reform. Special work for the uplift of women was carried on through Widow's Homes. The Madura Widows Aid Socity of this Mission gave aid to widows and orphans. Aid was in the form of a monthly allowance during life for widows and until the age of maturity for orphans[41]. "It has never failed to meet an obligation" according to Rev. W.P. Holten Honorary Secretary[42]. A step to weaken the caste feeling taken by the Madura Mission was the formation of an Intercaste Marriage Association in 1913. Each member of that association pledged himself to marry outside his own caste [43]. Rev. H. C. Hazar of Madura Mission concerning the partial surrender of caste said that in a single station Boarding school, 16 different castes were represented, sitting upon the same benches, eating the same food which was dealt out by the pupils in turn at meal time. All formed one happy family. At the mission Bungalow when refreshments were offered, the caste Hindus took them without objection although prepared by untouchables[44].

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37. *Missionary Review of the world*, April 1910 p. 302.
38. W. W. Hunter. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol XVIII 1908, p. 403.
39. J.S. Chandler, *Seventy Five Years in the Madura Mission*, p. 441-442.
40. W. Frannces, *Madras District Gazetteers*, Madur vol 1906 pp 78 and 171.
41. *RAPMM* 1909 p. 103.
42. *Ibid*,, 1915 pp.59 60.
43. *Ibid* , 1913 p. 16
44. *Missionary Review of the world*, February 1900, p. 154.

The mission had never undertaken to interfere with social customs that did not contradict Christian teachings. While the missionaries had inculcated cleanliness, fitness and moderation in personal adornment and fashions, it had never required the removal of the tuft of hair so generally worn by Indians others than Muslims. The women of certain castes wore their ears with lobes stretched to a great length. But among the educated young women and students in Capron Hall it had come to be considered not good form to have such long ears and many of them with-long ears had a piece taken out of the lobe and the ear sewed up small. It was one of the common operations performed in the women's hospital.

For many years the 'Kallar' or Robber caste had presented a formidable problem in Madura district. The third caste in number, they had resisted all efforts of the community to assimilate them. The Madura Mission accepted the invitations of the Government, to take charge of a settlement for the kallars in this vicinity. In Arupukottai a wonderful experiment was begun in 1919. In the surroundings villages, Koravars who were house breakers had given a great deal of trouble. Madura Mission established 10 village schools, where these Koravar children studied. Government had paid all the expense. Thus the American Madura Protestant Mission "has done much in Kallar reclamation work"[45].

During epidemics and natural calamities also, American missionaries contributed towards removal of distress and suffering. In the history of Madura Mission outbreak of Bubonic Plague had often threatened. In 1903 Plague had raged in Madura[46]. In 1920 it went south of Dindigul and there broke out in great violence. In the Kumbum valley where in one village of 16,000 one quarter was wiped out. From there it spread to Thirumangalam and Madura. Although too late to save many lives the medical authorities were fighting it with the Plague innoculation and by its aid thousands of lives had been rendered immune[47]. American Christianity showed a renewed concern for the welfare of the people as a community and not just for the salvation of the individual man as a result of the 'Social Gospel'. Thus social service became much more reflected in the programme of American missions[48].

A close study reveals that American missionaries were playing an almost equal role in the missionary movement as well as the educational and social transformation. They were also the most potent agencies in making and American know each other. They contributed solidly to the educational progress, social amelioration and medical care of persons who came under their influence. Through intimate contacts with their students the missionaries created a corps of admireres and promoted understanding between the two countries. It was

45. B. S. Baliga, *Madras District Gazetteers* (*Madras*, Government Press, 1960) p. 140.
46. *RAPMM.*, 1903, p.35.
47. *Ibid.*, 1920 p. 39.
48. S.M. Pathak, *American missionaries and Hinduism* (Oriental Publishers and Booksellers, New Delhi, 1967), pp. 239-40.

an Indo-American span of living persons. The medical work of the mission evoked a friendly response. No other phase of missionary activity was so much liked by Indians as medical. It broke down opposition, dissipated prejudice and won its way to the hearts of high and low, the rich and the poor. The spread of education and the rise of reform movement accelerated the pace of emancipation of women[49]. The missionaries worked for the progress of secluded women through their Zenana ministry. They laboured to elevate the lower classes. They gave the untouchable a sense of belonging. This was acheived by preaching equality of all persons which gave them a better social relationship with others. Thus the American missionaries in Madura made a significant contribution to the development of new patterns in society. In brief, the work done by the American Protestant Madura Mission "is of incalculable benefit to India".

94 A. T. Fishman, *For This Purpose*, (Madras Diocesan Press 1958) p. 80.

PRODUCTION CONDITIONS IN TAMIL AGRICULTURE, 1820 - 1855

Arun Bandopadhyay
Visva - Bharati, Santiniketan

Most of the studies on the production conditions in Tamil agriculture during early British rule are in the main concerned with various land revenue experiments and their effects on the economy or with the many tenures and sub-tenures of landholding. By and large, the studies of land revenue administration and land tenures have failed to explain the functions and operations of the agrarian economy of the region. The failure stems from the limitations of the approach of the studies. Consider either the early important monographs of S. Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar (1893) and S. Sundararaja Iyengar (1916) or the later works of Sarada Raju (1941), Nilmani Mukherjee (1962) and Dharma Kumar (1965): instead of identifying the major economic and social determinants of agriculture and its operation, they take up aspects such as assessment or land tenure or labour or even prices in isolation; and the complex functioning of the agrarian economy remains unexplained.

However, the inadequacy in the treatment of the production conditions in Tamil agriculture has not prevented the existing studies from arriving at certain broad remarks about production pattern and tentative conclusions about production changes. There is a wide awareness, particularly in the writings of Burton Stein, Brian Murton and David Ludden that the most primary distinction of the cultivated area in Tamilnadu was a three-fold division of land into *punjai* (dry), *nanjai* (wet) and *totakkal* (garden), traditionally developed on the basis of certain range of cropping pattern controlled mainly by the relative availability of water. Since water is a scarce element in Tamil agriculture, most land naturally came under *punjai* category, producing mostly rainfed food crops like ragi, kambu, cholum and varagu, some pulses, fodder and even in a few cases market crop like cotton. The *nanjai* with channel or tank irrigation produced one or two crop paddy. Various fruits, vegetables and even cash crops like tobacco were cultivated in the *totakkal* land, mostly irrigated by wells. In the recent writing of David Washbrook (1976) there is a further attempt of the regional division of Tamilnadu into dry and wet areas based on what he understood as produtive organization, a division mainly to serve his political analysis of the region.

As regards the production changes in the period under consideration, the existing authorities are ambiguous, and sometimes, conflicting. R.C. Dutt and Professor Mukherjee think of a general decline and stagnation, the latter with reservation for "a few places like Coimbatore" which "appear to have flourished even under ryotwari system" On the other hand, Dr. Raju speaks of a general improvement, while Professor Kumar makes a negative statement that acreage did not increase greatly in the

early nineteenth century. However, no detailed statistical study of the changes in the extent of cultivation in Tamilnadu of the period has been made, probably because of the nature of labour involved.[1] My own study of the trends in Tamil agriculture clears out some of the existing ambiguities and indicates certain interesting features.[2] The most important one was the co-existence of agricultural growth and decline. Secondly, co-existence of growth and decline was also true of various localities within a district. One result of these mixed agricultural trends was the possibility of an element of adjustment in the agriculture of various districts, the various areas within the same district, and the various types of cultivation. Such an adjustment was attempted several times in different parts of Tamilnadu, a few examples of which have been given in my study.

The use and nature of land as an input in the production process was more complex than the mere working of the three - fold — dry, wet and garden — classification of land in Tamilnadu. First of all, there were certain regional variations of the broad physical conditions affecting the use of land in the region. Secondly, the cropping pattern and the cropping possibilities of land in the context of the prevailing technology indicated more than a three - fold use of land. By the early 19th century, the cropping pattern in Tamilnadu was influenced by a number of physical conditions, the most important of which were soil types, the extent and nature of irrigation and seasonal effects.

Probably the most powerful influence on agriculture in Tamilnadu was the nature and state of seasons. The overall average rainfall of the province rarely exceeded 40 inches. During the period under review, seasons in Tamilnadu widely varied. My own study suggests that, out of 30 years, about 15 seasons in North Arcot were positively bad, with a certain effect on cultivation.[3] As the great portion of agriculture was under insecure irrigation, the effect of seasonal fluctuations seem to have had a great influence over the broad conditions of agriculture.

Thus the varying use of land resulting from the multifarious physical conditions in the different districts of Tamilnadu in our period shows certain broad patterns. The pattern of irrigation, the soil types and the level of rainfall created conditions for the extent and security of wet cultivation. It was only in the deltaic Tanjore and the riverine areas of Tinnevelli which had a fairly secure paddy culture. Second, a relative degree of security of the supply of irrigation water was maintained in the Madakulam taluk and the Uthamapalayam region of Madurai district, in the two taluks of Mannargudi and Chidambaram in South Arcot, in parts of the wet taluks of Trichinopoly, in the lower taluks - especially

1. The primary data for such a study are mostly accounts of hundred or more pages appended to the settlement report of each district for each year.
2. See my dissertation, *The Agrarian Economy of Tamilnadu, 1820 - 1855* (University of Calcutta, 1979), Chapter IV, for a detailed treatment.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

in Namakkal - of the Salem district, and in the irrigated parts of Tinnevelli not included in the first zone. Third, extensive wet cultivation was done (through small or insecure river, and tank irrigation) in central and southern Chingleput, in southern part of North Arcot, in the taluk of Karur, Pollachi and Coimbatore in the Coimbatore district and in parts of northern and southern Tinnevelli. Fourthly, as far as dry land was concerned, certain division can be made in terms of soil types. By soil standard, parts of northern taluks of Tinnevelli, Tirumangalam and Dindigul taluks of Madurai and Coimbatore districts were of better varieties of land and more productive. By the same standard, in considerable parts of Salem district and the extensive dry parts of the dry taluks of Trichinopoly, land was inferior in the sense that it could not be continuously cropped.

The statistical information show certain interesting features of the regional distribution of the quantity of capital resources in Tamilnadu and the changes in it. Everywhere except Chingleput, ploughs were in short supply in relation to the total number of pattadars, but bullocks always outnumbered the latter by more than two times in some districts. In Salem in particular, ploughs were most scarce. The maldistribution of ploughs and bullocks amongst various sections of peasants is another thing to be noted. The distribution of bullocks per pattadar was higher than that of ploughs In Chingle put, the cost of the better variety of bulloks varied between Rs. 17 and 21 each. The poorer cultivators also suffered from the lack of adequate employment of cattle[4].

The extent and nature of government investment can also be taken up here. The creation of channals and any major repairs of both channels and tanks were always regarded as part of government responsibility. Yet the major investment in channel works and tank irrigation was negligible in comparison with the state revenue earned from the wet areas. This inadequacy of the government expenditure is due to the policy of irrigation expenditure was profit-oriented, as a result of which the sanction of any project by the Board of Revenue depended on how quickly the money would be returned with profits; as a result of the above policy even the genarally inadequate expenditure was limited to all those areas where wet cultivation was fairly extensive.

As a primary factor of production, the supply and nature of labour inputs were of particular significance in Tamilnadu during the early 19th century. However, the Course and organization of agricultural labour in this sense were determined to a great extent by the prevailing condition of agriculture. For most parts of Tamilnadu, the land-man ratio was particularly favourable; there was enough unoccupied land in spite of the problem of productivity and continuous use of lands in a considerable portion of the region, they were cultivable even with the prevailing technique. Such lands were mostly dry lands devoted mainly to the produce of low-priced food crops and fodder, and were mostly rainfed. The capital cost

4. Board's Cons 25 Oct 1824, BN 35 - 36, para 3.

of such cultivation was minimal. Moreover, the ownership of such lands was not restricted in terms of any social privilege like the mirasi, of which I shall speak later. Land was therefore a "free good" here, and the peasant - owner who was the pattaholder was the dominant form of labour.

Several forms of labour can be identified. First of all, the mirasidar cultivators, who were a small fraction of the group known as mirasidars, were directly engaged in agriculture in parts of South Arcot and Tinnevelli. Secondly, the peasant farmers, variously known as *pedda* ryots, *nattamaikars*, *matis* as well as sometimes *ulkudis*, cultivated through hired and tenant labour, generally known as *parakudis*. However, they would not form more than 3 to 5 percent of the pattaholding population in the non-mirasi districts. Thirdly, small peasants, with pattas - known as both *ulkudis* and *parakudis* - supplied the major working force in at least five districts of Tamilnadu, as well as in extensive parts of two other districts. Fourthly, peasant or tenant, without pattas - generally known as *porakudis* and *payakaris*, meaning here as a distinct category opposed to the mirasidars or even the pattaholding peasants - formed the major portion of agricultural labour in Tanjore, Chingleput and in the wet areas of Trichinopoly and Tinnevelli. Finally, there were hired labour as well as bonded labour. The hired labour was generally employed by the peasant farmer, or even by the considerable tenant, for which the labour of both *porakudis* and *pedials* was available mostly in exchange of grain wages. The bonded labour, known in Tamil as *pannaiyals* and sometimes called by their caste names as *pallans*, existed in Chingleput and Tanjore, and in the irrigated areas of Trichinopoly and Tinnevelli.

In short, in the extensive dry tracts of Tamilnadu where land-man ratio remained favourable in spite the increase in the size of labour force and landholding was not restricted by any kind of social previlege, the small peasant remained a very important phenomenon. In the wet areas where land-man ratio was not so favourable and labour to a great extent remained "unfree" it was not the small peasant, but the tenant and bonded labour supplied the bulk of the working force in agriculture. However, one significant feature of the various forms of labour in Tamil agriculture was a certain degree of mobility, particularly amongst groups which included small peasant-owners, tenants, hired labour and even occasionally bonded labour in certain parts. The distribution of labour as between different areas could also be affected as a result of such mobility. As for as the tenants were concerned, the increasing trend was to demand the landholding status through pattas particularly in areas where mirasi right was not strong and land was becoming waste. Even a few bonded labourers wanted to hold land left waste by the mirasidars, particularly in the 1840s when they started to emigrate from districts like Trichinopoly.

Another important condition of production in Tamil agriculture was the role of the product market. The economic laws of demand and supply were not fully effective in such condition. The land revenne was high, and one of the marked features of the ryotwari sysrem was the insistence of the payment of revenue in

money. Even under the revised ryotwari system which was introduced throughout Tamilnadu by the early 1820s, the assessment amounted to about 40 to 50 per cent of the gross produce, and in spite of the division of crop as a mode of revenue collection in certain areas the universal official preference was for cash payment. The commutation system of land revenue was increasingly practised since the 1820s. Its effect was felt in the very nature of the prevailing agricultural marketing. To a great extent, these markets were not for the disposal of surplus produce; to many, they were meant merely as the mechanism of meeting the state demand. For the vast number of small peasant owners throughout Tamilnadu, who had little or no surplus product, marketing was a sort of compulsion : they had to be involved in it irrespective of any loss or gain. Hence the quantum of produce marketed annually was far more than the actual marketable surplus of the year. The large number of of small peasants were compelled to be involved in a very imperfect market. The result was not merely the frequency of "distress sales", but the existence of an almost separate series of prices below the market prices, the former influencing the latter in the long run. A large number of cultivators were thus affected very badly by the market system. However, the fluctuations and disparities of prices over months and years as well as the local variations particularly helped certain influential sections of society participating more directly and with resources in the market such as the merchants, the substantial mirasidars and the rich peasants who made profit out of these. The bulk of the peasants suffered both from the fall and sudden rises of prices.

The nature of landownership in Tamilnadu; here I shall mention only some broad conclusions. First of all, while the revised ryotwari system did envisage in principle landownership by the ryots or cultivators of the soil to the extent that it did not conflict with the established mirasi right, the erstwhile intermediaries could well continue their function as "ryots', that is to say, as pattadars or virtual landowners. In non-mirasi areas, however, landownership was open, because cultivable (though mostly dry) land was abundant and because ownership was not confined here to any "groups of privilege". The result was that for a vast part of Tamilnadu, land was owned (or preferable held) by the actual cultivators of the soil. In mirasi areas, contrary to the view that land was monopolised by a privileged few even within the cover of a ryotwari system, the nature of landownership in practice was markedly different from the claims made by the mirasidars in several parts of these areas. Practices, particularly in Chingleput and South Arcot were markedly inconsistent with such claims, which were challenged by the occupiers of land. By contrast, ownership rights were virtually maintained and manopolised by the mirasidars in Tanjore and parts of Trichinopoly and Tinnevelli. The Pattern of ownership was thus not homogenous.[5]

5. See Arun Bandopadhyay, 'The nature of landownership in Tamilnadu from 1820 to 1855' in *Calcutta Historical Journal*, Vol III, No 1 (July - December 1978).

I like to draw two main conclusion from this paper. As far as assessment was concerned, the ryotwari system could not provide a single assessment policy for the whole of Tamilnadu; it developed a set of policies of assessment applicable to localities. The results was that the incidence of land revenue was highly unequal. However, agricultural growth and decline cannot be explained only in terms of moderate and high assessment, for in two districts where agriculture declined, it is well-known that assessment was high in North Arcot but moderate in Coimbatore, while there were different rates of assessment also in areas which developed. The second conclusion relates to the inadequacy of certain typology of the controlling structure in Tamil agriculture. Washbrook concieves two distinct controlling structure as far as Tamilnadu was concerned. The first relates to the dry areas of hinterland Tamilnad, where the small peasants were the mere "agrarian dependents" of a tiny elite of rich peasants, called the "rural-local boss". The second controlling structure was to be found in the wet region, where the "regional rural elite" was the fully privileged landholder and his domination of the agrarian production was complete. But Washbrook's analogy unduly simplifies the agrarian social structure. Mere division of the region into dry and wet areas does not help a proper understanding of the production conditions in Tamilnadu. Secondly, as far as the domination of the "rural local boss" was concerned, Washbrook's analogy is misleading for a number of reasons. (1) The size of land held by the dominant landholders in dry areas like Salem, Coimbatore and North Arcot was not great in our period. (2) It is true that the dominant landholders functioned as suppliers of credit in some dry areas, particularly in Salem but the land Registration Records (in Tamil) of the district during our period make it clear that Chetty businessmen were also active as money lenders in the area. (3) Most lands were held by small peasant owners, and their dependence for supplementary employment on substantial landholders was temporary. (4) Land was abundant and labour was "free" and the decisions of taking and relinquishment of land even by small peasants in most dry areas were theirs, guided mostly by economic considerations.

PRE-SANGAM TAMILS : THEIR MORAL AND MATERIAL PROGRESS

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The indegenous Tamil Speakers who occupied the whole of Deccan and upper India seemed to have been pushed Southwards by the advancing Aryans in the second half of the second millinium B C. Their debut in the Deccan was not violent.[1] The Aryan expansion around the middle of the second half of the second millinium B.C. in Central India and northern fringes of Deccan[2] had successfully replaced the northern Dravidian by Aryan languages. The Central Dravidian was relegated to refugee areas where it got divided into the forebearers of modern Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadabi, Gondi, Pengu, Munda, Konda, Kui and Kuwi languages.[3] At this point of time the Southern Dravidian which later broke into Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Kuruk and Tulu was not affected.

Archaeological evidence with the help of C14 dating of Paiyampalli finds shows that about 1485 B.C. the Southern Dravidians were living on the Palar basin,[4] and other regions of Tamilnadu. The distribution pattern of megalithic monuments shows that the megalithic builders occupied the whole of South India. They had attained a material culture and urbanisation. They were capable of exporting commoditiee. Tamil words spread to west Asian lands ten centuries before Christ.[5] Archaeological findings supported by anthropology and linguistics supply evidences to identify the megalithic folk with the Tamils. Megalithic builders were therefore the lineal ancestors of the people of the Sangam age.

Their moral and material progress

The megalithic folk had succeeded the neolithic and chalcolithic people. The Chalcolithic people developed the techniques of smelting metal and used copper for producing weapons and utensils. The calalistic agency in use was iron. a stronger metal with abundant local supply.[6] It triggered of a quickening process of the material culture in the hands of the people who were already in a proces of rapidity in progress. The megalithic monuments bore

1. N.R. Banerjee, *The Chronology of Megaliths in South India* : A review in International Conference on Asian Studies, Summeries of papers 1961, p.p. 26-28.
2. P. Joseph, *Dravidian Problem in South Indian Culture Complex*, (Longmans; Madras, 1972), p 95.
3. *Ibid* , p. 83.
4. *Ibid.*, p 83 and S.R. Rao, *Excavations at Paiyampalli*, N.A. Dt in *Indian Antiquary* 1964-65, pp. 22-23.
5. *The First Book of Kings* 10:22 and Asko Parbola, *South Indian Megaliths* (State Dept. of Archoeology, Madras 1973), p. 14.
6. P. Joseph op.cit., p. 17

witness to an advanced state of civilization in the megalithic age.[7]

The cultural and ethnic homogeneity of the megalithic folk had helped them for a community living. Their mutual contacts and settled community life and contacts with others for purposes of trade[8] contributed to a collective venture. Their co-operative attempts helped them to create irrigation tanks. Their sphere of activity still confined to the rocky high lands. Their habitation sites were situated near irrigation tanks.[9] The houses were small and thatched. Paiyampalli habitation site suggest that there were circular houses. The thatched houses were supported by wooden posts and reed roofs. The post holes indicate the use of timber in the construction of houses. Their common burials suggest that the villages had larger population and were organised in some from through an unifying force. The clan (*kulam*) and form of worship seemed to have been the unifying force. The recovery of trident, *vel* and mouth pieces suggest that they had places of worship, ceremonies and priests.

The communal living of the megalithic folk and their co-operative effort had helped them to revolutionise irrigation system and inaugurate the practice of tank irrigation. They dug tanks and raised tank bunds. In the monsoon belt, they raised two types of crops, the wet and dry. Adichanalloor findings substantiate this fact. Ragi, maize, and horse gram were raised as dry crops[10]. Paiyampalli excavation yielded charred grains indicating the cultivation of gram, green-gram, cereals, Sugarcane and co-conut palm.

Rice was the staple food. Paddy was stored in huge urns and walled graneries of stone[11]. They supplied rice to international markets through the Phonician intermediaries. There is evidence that the Phoneician merchants of King Soloman's time had obtained Indian rice.[12] Behind agrarian activity the practice of hunting continued to exist. The hunting instruments like spear and arrowheads indicate that the megalithians were fond of hunting.

Industry :

The megalithic pottery was black and red ware produced by inverted firing techniques in open kiln. The ceramic industry was mainly intended to produce ware to cater to the needs of an agrarian society. The different types in pottery show that they were used for all aspects of domestic use. At Paiyampalli a terracotta lamp, circular in size with eight lips for wicks was discovered. Their burial urns were of varying types and size. They produced even through-like

7. K.R. Srinivasan *Megalithic monuments of South India* Literature and tradition, *TA SSI* 1958-59, pp. 1-14
8. N.A. Banerjee, *The Megalithic problem of Chingleput in the light of Exploration* - *AI* No. 12-1956 pp. 21 24
9. B. M. Thapar AI - No. 13 p. 15.
10. R.A. Cole, *Memorandum on the Crombchs found in coorg* in PAS B 1869, pp. 54-59
11. Revs. Anglader and Newton, *Dolmens of Palani Hills*, *MANSI* No. 34 (1929) pp. 1-28.
12. K. A. N. Sastry, *History of South India* (1958) p. 136.

pottery in oblong size with row of legs to intern the dead. The urns and sarcophagi were thick with lids. In some cases they were painted with white and yellow pigments. The firing of the tube like coffins or zoomorphic recepticles was produced There were spouted vessals[13]. The pots of the burials exhibited a highly advanced and varigated shape.[14] The pots were generally polished and not glazed.[15] The size and colour of the ware show a gradual development in the ceramic industry. The white painted black and red ware was associated with rock cut phase and russet coated painted ware was associated with cist phase. Yet a few russet coated painted pottery are noticed in the rock cut phase also.

Metellurgy

The excavations at various megalithic sites yielded weapons, household utensils and ornaments of various types. Bowels, bells, rattles and hooks in copper, vessels, ornamental lids, bells, mouth jars, plaques etc. in bronze; diadem mouth piece, beads, stone mould etc. in gold; arrow heads, spear, javelin, dagger, swords, knives, sickles, nails, dishes and sauce lamp etc in iron were discovered from the megalithic burials.

Copper and gold were rare metals. Yet copper objects were found at different centres like the cairns of Hyderabad [16] Gaurimedu and Mangalam in Pondicheri[17] and Paiyampalli on the Palar basin.[18] Among the diverse burial objects copper objects too are found.[19] Tinnevelly burials show the profuse use of bronze articles[20] in artistic perfection. Gold was used for ornaments. Carburization of iron was with wood or charcoal after sealing it with clay. They termed this method as *urukku*. Through this process they obtained a dark metal and called it *irumbu*, through the root irual (dark). It was used for producing weapons of all kinds.

Structural works

The megalithic people inaugurated structural works with huge blocks of granite in the construction of burial monuments to the dead in the form of dolmens. The mobilisation of collective labour was necessary for lifting huge blocks of granite in the rocky high lands. They first created rough chambers by planting or placing huge blocks of stone in circular form and covering the top with a superimposed blocks of stone. In the natural sequence of time, in the succeeding stage they erected the dolmenoid cists, hood stones and *thopikal*. In the next stage they scooped out the soft stones in the laterite regions and created chambers. The chambers were the

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13. R.A Cole 'On the discovery of cromleches in Coorge' *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal 1868* pp 243 - 45.
14. Gururaja Rao., *The megalithic culture in South India* p 478.
15. R. Caldwell, *Sepulchral urns in Southern India*, IA vi 1887 pp 279 - 80.
16. E.H. Hunt, *'Hydrabad carirn burials and their significance' J R.A.* 154, 1929, pp, 140 to 159.
17. P. Joseph, op. cit. of, p. 83.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
19. Allchin, Bridget and Raymond, *Birth of Indiun Civilization.*
20. A. Roa, *Pre-Historic Antiguities in Tirunelveli, AP ASI*, 1902 - 03, pp 41 - 143.

products of pre-plan and collective and patient labour. Y. D. Sharma had noticed four types of caves[21]. They were the caves with a central pillar, caves without a central pillar, caves with top opening and multichambered caves.

Religious notions

The trouble endured for producing elaborate sepulchral architechure and the care taken for providing grave furniture show that the cult of the dead had taken strong hold on the people of the megalithic age. The veneration for the dead heroes in combination with the belief in a life after death, the cult of the spirit and their faith and belief in the spirits role in good harvests and prospereity[22] prompted the megalithic people to undertake the tedious job and produced the awe-striking monuments. The worship of the hero and the cult of the dead provided the base for their religion.

The Tirunelveli artifacts give clue to the religious history of pre historic Tamilnad. The trident is associated with the worship of Siya. The *vel* is associated with the worship of Muruga. The mouth pieces and diadems were associated with the priests. Sangam literature has recorded in detail the worship of the dead [23] with offerings like *perumchoru* and *perumpidi* in association with song and dance. [24] These were the legacies inherited by the people of the Sangam age from their megalithic ancestors.

21 Y. D. Sharma, *AI* No. 12 - p. 107.

22. B K. Gururaja Rao, *The Megalithic Culture in South India*. p. 475.

23. K R. Srinivasan, *Some aspects of religion as revealed by early monuments and literature of South India J.M.G*, XXXII - No. 1 1960 pp. 131-98.

24. *Puram* 211 : 13, 265 : 1 - 5.

THE ROCK-CUT SHRINES OF PĀṆḌINĀḌU- A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

G. Subbiah

The archaeologists, in recent times, have discovered a number of rock-cut shrines in Pāṇḍināḍu of the Tamil Country. They fall under the common genri called *maṇḍapa* or *maṇḍakam* [1] Instances are not wanting wherein they are denoted as 'stone-temples'.[2] Each of them consists of a *maṇḍapa* (pillared hall) with one or more shrine cells cut at the back wall or into the side walls. The simplest type presents a square shrine cell excavated into the rock without pillared hall or porch in front [3] The facade of the *maṇḍapa* type of shrines is formed of a pair of massive pillars and pilasters which are usually square at the top and bottom and octagon in the mid-region.

The rock - cut shrines of Pāṇḍināḍu have been excavated from hard rocks.[4] The hardness of rock-material which demands a greater skill and patience is possibly the reason why the rock-cut shrines of the extreme south are comparatively of moderate proportions. The same reason could also account for the limited number of sculptures and other embellishment in them.

Broadly speaking, the rock-cut shrines discovered so far in the Pāṇḍināḍu region fall under two broad groups : shrines excavated in granite rock, cells excavated in sandstone and used generally as residence by monks. The extant examples of the first group are, many showing varied types of plans and features. The examples of the second group are comparatively few - their total number being only six - and all of them are located in Tiruchendur Taluk.[5] On the other hand, the shrines excavated in granite rock,[6] may be divided into five groups on the basis of their plan and lay-out.

I Rock-cut temples consisting of a more or less simple square *sanctum* sometimes with a semblance of a porch or

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1. The Sanskrit word '*maṇḍapa*' means an open pillared hall. The Tamil equivalent '*maṇḍakam*' 'gathering hall' (*maṇḍu* + *akam*). Cf. K. R Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas*, 1964, p. 30.
2. The Foundation inscriptions of Malayadikkurichi (*ARIE*), 1959-60, No. 358 and p. 24), Anaimalai (*SII.*, Vol. XIV. Nos.1 and 2) and Tiruoparankunram (*Ibid.*, No 3) rock-cut shrines mention them as *Kaṟṟirukkoil*, *Kaṟṟali* and *Tirukkōil* respectively.
3. This type is rare in Toṇḍaināḍu but found in considerable number in Pāṇḍināḍu.
4. For an accouut of the technique of excavation of the rock-cut shrines in the extreme south, see K. R. Srinivasan *op.cit.*, p. 26-27.
5. For an account of these rock-cut cells see H. Sarkar, 'A Pāṇḍya Rock-cut Cave at Manappāḍu on Pearl Fishery Coast', *Damilica*, Vol. I, pp. 74-82.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 78 and fig. 2.

verandah in front. Examples of this type are found at Mahipalanpatti, Tiruchuli and Piranmalai in Ramanathapuram district; at Malayakovil (eastern) and Thirumayam (upper) in Pudukkottai district; at Kunnattur(2) and Arittapatti in Madurai district.

II. Rock-cut temples consisting of a simple squarish *sanctum* with a well-defined pillared porch or *mukha maṇḍapa* in front. Examples of this type come from Malayadikkurichi, Virasikhamani and Anaiyur in Tirunelveli district, Anaimalai (2) in Madurai district, Kunrakkudi (3) and Tiruttangal in Ramanathapuram district, Sittannavasal and Tirugokarnam in Pudukkottai district.

III. Rock-cut shrines consisting of a square *sanctum* in the centre of the excavation with well-defined *ardhamandapa* and *mukhamaṇḍapa* and having four pillars arranged variably. Examples of this type are found at Pillaiyarpatti, Tirukkalakudi, Mangudi, Muvaraiverran, all in Ramanathapuram district and at Kalugumalai in Tirunelveli district.

IV. Rock-cut shrines consisting of an oblong *mukhamaṇḍapa* with a *sanctum* at one of its shorter sides. The examples of this type are seen at Tirumalaipuram in Tirunelveli district, at Malayakkovil (southern) and Tirumayam in Pudukkottai district, at Sevelpatti in Ramanathapuram district and at Tirupparankunram (Umaiyandar shrine) near Madurai.

B. Rock-cut shrines consisting of an oblong *mukhamaṇḍapa* with *sanctum* cells on all the three sides. Examples of this type are found at Chokkampatti in Tirunelveli district, at Tirupparankunram (Subrahmanya temple) near Madurai and at Tiruchirapalli (lower temple).

More than thirty rock-cut shrines have been found in the Pāṇḍināḍu, all of which are definitely assignable to the intervening period between the seventh century A.D. and the tenth century A.D. Of them only three viz. the Siva rock-cut shrine at Malayadikkurichi,the Vishnu rock-cut shrineat Anaimalai (Madurai district) and the Subrahmanya rock-cut shrine at Tirupparankunram near Madurai have foundation inscriptions. Besides them, the rock-cut shrines at Pillaiyarpatti[7] and Kunrakkudi have short inscriptions engraved in an archaic script on the basis of which they may be taken to be among the early rock-cut shrines of the region. The Jain rock-cut shrine at Sittannavasal (Pudukkottai District) has a long inscription[8] stating that it was reembellished and added with a *mukhamaṇḍapa* by a certain Iḷaṅ Goutaman, teacher of Madurai through the 'grace' of the Pāṇḍya king Srīmāṟa Srīvallabha who reigned in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

Of the three rock-cut shrines with foundation-inscription, the Mahādeva rock-

7. *ARSIE*, 1935-36, No. 45 and p. 76; also referred to in *ARSIE*, 1936-37, pt. ii, para 6. On palaeographic consideration, R. Nagaswamy dates the inscription to in the fifth century A.D., and, therefore, assigns the same period as the probable date of the excavations of the shrine also. R. Nagaswamy 'Some contribution of the Pandyas to South Indian art', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXVII$_{1}$, p. 266.

8 *SII*, Vol. XIV, No 451; *Lalit Kala*, No, 9, 1961, p. 36.

shrine at Malayadikkurichi seems to be the earliest *maṇḍapa* type with a *sanctum*-cell cut on the rear wall. The foundation inscription[9], engraved on the corbel of the southern pillar of the facade, is dated in the seventeenth regnal year of the Pāṇḍya king Māṛan Chēndan, who probably ruled in the first half of the seventh century A.D.[10] It mentions that the 'stone-temple' was caused to be made by a certain Cāttan Ērān who had the title Pāṇḍimaṅgalavaḍiarasan as the headman of Sēvūr, under the orders of Māṛan Chēndan. The Yoga-Narasiṁha rock-cut temple at Anaimalai has two related foundation-inscription[11] – one in the early Grantha script and the other in the Tamil Vaṭṭeḻuttu engraved on the nitches on either side of the *sanctum* entrance. The Kali year 3871 (A D 770) is quoted in the Sanskrit inscription for the Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka alias Māṛañjaḍaiyan, as he is mentioned in the Tamil record. This Parāntaka alias Māṛañjaḍaiyan, is identificable with Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyan, the donor of the Vēḷvi-kuḍi grant. The inscriptions state that a certain Māṛangāri alias Mūvēndamaṇgalapēraraiyan, a *Vaidya* of Karavandapuram who was the *uttaramantri* of the Pāṇḍya king began the excavation of a rock-cut shrine for Vishnu. But, as he died subsequently, the work was completed by his brotherMāṛan Eyinan alias Pāṇḍimaṅgalavisaiaraiyan. The Subrahmanya temple at Tirupparaṅkunram also has two related foundation-inscriptions[12] of which one is dated in the Kali era. The inscription states that a certain Cāttan Ganapati, a *vaidya* of Karavandapuram, caused to excavate the shrine (*Tirukkōil*) and the tank (*Sritatākam*). Cāttan Ganapati, according to the inscription, was a *mahāsāmanta* of the king and wore the title Pāṇḍiamritamangalavaraiyan. Further it is stated that the shrines of Durgādevi and Jyeṣṭhadevi were excavated by Nakkankoṟṟi who is described as *dharmapatni*, obviously of the *mahāsāmanta*. The second inscription found on the lintel of the Durga shrine quotes the Kali year 3874, (A.D. - 773). As the name of Cāttan Ganapati occurs in this record too, it has been suggested that both the inscriptions were engraved in the same year.

Barring the examples mentioned above, the problem of fixing the precise date and authorship of the rest of the rock-cut shrines of Pāṇḍināḍu seems to be difficult, though they appear to have been excavated during the period between A.D. 600 and A.D. 950. The date and authorship of these monuments could be determined by an analysis of their earliest donative inscriptions, architectural patterns and sculptural styles. But, here again, the task is not that easy. The utter simplicity in decoration, the monotonous pillar types and certain stylistic anamolies among some of the dated examples provide less scope even to work out a relative chronology. For instance, barely an interval of three years separates the two dated rock-cut shrines viz. the Yoganarasiṁha temple at Anaimalai

9. ARIE., 1959-60, No. 368.
10. K.G. Krishna, "Madurai Inscription of Pāṇḍyan Chēndan", *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 4,1969, pp. 27-32.
11. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 37, *SII*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1 and 2.
12. *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 3; *ARIE*, 1951-52, App. B. No. 143.

(A.D. 770) and the Subrahmanya temple at Tirupparankunram (A.D. 773), yet the former is an example of all the Type II while the latter represents the Type V which is the most evolved of the types in Pāṇḍināḍu. Likewise the corbels on the pillars of the rock-cut temple at Malayadikkurichi show the *taraṅga* (wavy) rolls cut as incurved curls[13] whereas those of Yoganarasimha temple at Anaimalai which was excavated more than a century later, present simple curved arms. Circular medallions which decorate the cubical sides of the pillars and pilasters in the former are also absent in the latter. Similar instances could be multiplied which only suggest that the rock-architecture did not proceed strictly in an evolutionary order in Pāṇḍināḍu.

An attempt, however, has been made to connect the Śiva rock-cut temple (upper) at Tirumayam, the Śiva rock-cut shrine (eastern) at Malaiyakkovil, the Melaikkovil rock cut temple at Kudmiyamalai, the Satyagirīśvara rock-cut temple at Tirumayam and Gokarnēśvara rock cut temple at Tirugokarnam on the strength of the fact that all of them have an identical short label inscription reading "*Parivadini-e*" in Pallava Grantha script.[14] Likewise, it has been suggested that the Parvatagirīśvara rock-cut temple at Kunnandarkovil (Pudukkottai district), the Śiva rock-cut shrine at Virasikhamani and the Śiva rock-cut shrine at Kaviyur near Quilon in Kerala are of Pāṇḍya affiliation on account of an identical portrait-like sculpture (donor?) found on the wall of the *maṇḍapa* in all the three rock-cut shrines.[15] These eight rock-cut shrines are assigned to a period between A.D. 700 and 800, perhaps round about A.D. 750".[16]

The rock-cut shrines of Pāṇḍināḍu represent a regional manifestation of a widely spread architectural movement, yet they display certain notable features which distinguish them from those of their contemporaries, especially of the Toṇḍaināḍu region. In direct contrast to the rock-cut shrines of Toṇḍaināḍu, the *sanctum* cells in the Pāṇḍyan rock-cut shrines contain a rock-cut *liṅga* - in the case of Śiva temples- or the image of the principal deity in other examples.[17] The Yoganarasiṁha temple at Anaimalai, for instance, has a furious representation of Narasiṁhamūrti in the *sanctum* and the adjacent Subramanya rock-cut temple, locally known as Lāḍan-kōvil, has high-relief sculptures of the principal deities on the back wall of the *sanctum*. The images are identified as Lord Subrahmanya and Devasena. Sometimes, in the Śaivite shrines, the Nandi is also seen cut on the same rock in front of the *sanctum* as at Tirumalaipuram and Malayakkovil. The image of *liṅga*, in Pāṇḍya rock-cut shrines, along with its *pīṭha* which is usually square, occupies the

13. According to K. R. Srinivasan this 'is a feature indicating Chālukyan inspiration', *Temples of South India*, (1971), p. 55.

14. K. R. Srinivasan, 'Some Non-Pallava Cave-temples with musical Inscriptions', *Damilica*,, Vol. I, pp. 85-90.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 90; cf H. Sarkar *Monuments of Kerala*, (1973), p. 20. It may be noted that both Kunnandarkovil and Kaviyur fall outside the traditional boundary of the Pandya country.

16. K.R. Srinivasan, *Damilica*, Vol. I, p. 90.

17. The Śiva rock-cut shrine at Malayadikkurichi is an exception as the *liṅga* image in the *sanctum* is not cut out of the same rock.

centre of the *sanctum* leaving enough space all around. The *pranāla* is rare but in many examples there is a cistern cut into the floor of *sanctum* below the spout of the *liṅga* to receive the *abhiṣeka* water.[18]

The pillars and pilasters on the facade of the Pāṇḍya rock-cut shrines are comparatively short, heavy and plain resembling to a large extent the pillars of the early rock-cut shrines of Toṇḍaināḍu. Generally they consist of two cubical parts, one at the bottom and the other at the top with a chamfered mid-region of an octagonal shape. In some cases, however, they are comprised of only two parts viz. a square base and an octagonal shaft above as at Tiruttangal and Kalugumalai.

The rock-cut shrines of Pāṇḍināḍu lack the usual cornice decoration over the facade. The cornice, as seen in many examples, is a rough projecting ledge of rock, often crude and irregular in outline. In some of them, however, they are well-dressed and rarely decorated also with a row of circular bosses as at Chokkampatti. The entrance to the *maṇḍapa*, depending upon the height of its floor from the ground level, is obtained through a flight of steps. On the interior the *sanctum* front wall often shows a well-moulded plinth projecting out of the back wall of the *maṇḍapa*.

Another noteworthy feature of the Pāṇḍya rock-cut shrines is that many of them display a number of icons, all carved in high-relief on the walls of the *maṇḍapa*. Low relief sculptures or relief-compositions, as one finds in the rock-cut shrines of Mamallapuram, are very rare in Pāṇḍināḍu, the one exception being the Subrahmanya temple at Tirupparaṅkunram.[19] Of the images of divinities that appear in these shrines the Śiva-Natarāja, Lingodbhava, Harihara, Vishnu, Brahma, Ganeśa, Saptamātrika and Jyeṣṭha are noteworthy. Of them the last three appear for the first time in the Southern rock-cut shrines of Tamilnadu and Kerala. The image of Ganeśa seems to be more common as it is found carved in a number of rock-cut shrines either on the *maṇḍapa* wall or on one side of the facade of the shrine. The images of *dvārapālas*, usually found on either side of the *sanctum* entrance, are all two-armed but shown in various attitudes and attire. Generally they face the front, sometimes one of them is shown in profile. At least in one instance i.e, Kunrakkudi shrine No. 1 one of the *dvārapālas* has horns of large size.

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18. The contemporary Pallava rock-cut shrines and even their early structural temples do not have any original water outlet in the *sanctum*.

19. Fine bas relief carving belonging to the Jaina faith are seen on the rock-boulders at Kalugumalai, Anaimalai etc. but they do not form part of any rock-cut shrine.

A SUN TEMPLE IN DAMBAL

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Dambal is a small village in Mundargi taluk of Dharwar district. Dharmavolal or Dharmapura, as described in inscriptions, was a religious centre in the medieval period.

At present there are a few temples here. They are Doddabasappa Temple, Manikesvara Temple, Siddhalingesvara Temple, Isvara temple the remains of the Jaina Basadi and Buddhist Viharas. An inscription and two sculptures of the Sun god from Dambal, is displayed in the site museum at Lakkundi. We learn for the first time that a Sun temple existed at Dambal.

As the inscription is fragmentary hardly anything can be said with regard to the ruling king or family or date. On palaeographical grounds the record may be assigned to eleventh or twelfth century A D. The inscription containing the name of Dharmapura and Dharmavolal, speaks of an individual named *Lenka Nakiga*. This inscription extols him as "*Dharmada meru*". The inscription tells us about the construction of the temple (*Mādisidam Dinesavasamam*).

The existence of the Sun temple is corroborated by the two sculptures of the Sun god. Both the images are similar to each other in iconographical details. The hands of both the sculptures are broken. Both are almost equal in measurements i.e. 78 cms. (image 78 cms and including prabhavali 91 cms.). Both the figures, stand in *samabhaṅga*.

They are decked with *kirita mukutas*, *makara kundulas*, necklaces, *bhujakirtis*, *vaksba bandha*, *mekhala*, *vaijayanti*, armlets, anklets, chain and rings to the toes and also *yajnopavita*. Rajani and Nikshubha, the consorts of the sungod, stand on either side with *chauris* in their hands. On the *makaras* are Usha and Pratyusha and above them are Danda and Pingala. The pilasters ot the *prabhavali* carry *makara torana* with *simhamukha* at the top centre. On the edge of the *prabhavali* are probably the *asthagrahas*.

Normally, in Surya sculptures of this period mostly Usha and Pratyusha are depicted. But in the sculptures under consideration not only Usha and Pratyusha, but also his consorts and his attendants are shown - a feature very rare.

The two images are remarkable for their style of ornamentation, mode of display and the *prabhavali* with *makara torana*. In sculpture No. 1, the figure is rather stout and firm and the ornaments are also prominent and heavy. Its *prabhavali* is not perforated any where so as to give to the sculpture the round form and the *prabhavali* is slightly elongated and oval shaped and the surfaces on the sides of the pillars carrying *makara torana* are plain. In No. 2 the figure is slender. The ornaments are delicate. The *prabhavali* is perforated so as to give round form to the figure and the extreme sides of the pillars carrying *makara torana*, have series of lines and floral design. The *prabhavali* is more semi-

circular at the top and wide. These are but some readily noticeable differences. No .1, may be dated to the transitional stage of the Rashtrakuta and the Kalyana Chalukya style of sculpture i.e. last part of tenth century A.D. and early part of eleventh century A D. No. 2 is definitely of twelfth century A. D.

In view of the close similarity and their occurrence from the same place, there appears to be some link between the two. If that is so, in view of the style of the sculpture No. 1, the temple appears to have been constructed at the latest in the early part of eleventh century A.D. Probably, the image became unsuitable for worship owing, perhaps, to some damage. Some time later another image, therefore, was got made and reinstalled in the place of the original.

With due credit to the date of image No. 2, the inscription may be assigned to the twelfth century A D. The inscription therefore, presumably seems to record some grant at the time of second consecration in the temple.

With regard to *Lenka Nakiga* or *Nagadeva* mentioned in the inscription who is connected with the temple in some way some questions will arise. Was there a Lenka Nagadeva during early part of eleventh century A.D., who got constructed the temple and is he the same person referred to in inscription at the time of second consecration? Or was there Lenka Nakiga in twelfth century A D. who made some grants to the existing temple probably at the time of second consecration as suggested above. Has sculpture No. 1 anything to do with the Sun temple of the inscription and Lenka Nakiga? Or is it that Lenka Nakiga (twelfth century A.D.) himself who built the Sun temple? These questions can be answered only after relevant inscription, if there be any, pertaining to Lenka Nakiga are studied. The above suggestions are only hypothetical to start with the enquiries.

In northern Karnataka Sun worship was popular, since sixth century A.D. for e. g. the Ambigere temple, Surya Narayana temple etc. at Aihole belong to the early Chalukyan period. In the days of the later Chalukyas also there were many Surya temples in Karnataka. For e. g. in Lakkundi, is a temple dedicated to Surya facing Siva locally known as Kasivisvesvara. The date of this temple is twelfth century A. D.

Thus this inscription and the Surya images from Dambal indicate the existence of the Surya temple here in about the eleventh-twelth century A. D.

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION

1. ——sthaḷanivēsa——
2. ——mūnūrumada——
3. da padmōpajīvi śrīma——
4. ——rmmaḷakīrtti dāni Baḷagārakuḷa——
5. ——*Lenka Nākiga* Dharmmada mēru mēru——

6. ——denaldorevettudu Bhāshka (ska) rālaya/Jana——
7. ——ne nunvangeḍegoṇḍa Kalvesadinatyuttungamambhakta——
8. ——mam puṣyātmakam *Lenga Naga* nabhābhāsurakīrtti mū——
9. ——nnati–Idida mahōnnatiyam gelechelvinēlge——
10. ——se *Lenka Nāgadēvam* Nayaśāḷi Dharmapuramadhu——
11. ——nārjjisida Kīrttiya mūrttiyavoloppi to——
12. ——ntāge Chelvāytu Dharmavolaltattilakāya——
13. —— *mādisidam manōharam Dinēśāvāsamam* ——
14. ——dharābhāsama/Parama Śrīpati cha——
15. ——bhūpatiyalmahāmahimeya——
16. ——dā ratna vaiśyānvayambarasita——
17. ——vimānadolsenasutum nā——
18. ——nnoda dhamkarisuttirdda——
19. ——virppantoppi kā——
20. ——reṇbaru mama——
21. ——diṁbhāsa——

KĀKATĪYA STYLE OF ARCHITECTURE THE RUDRĒSVARA TEMPLE – PĀLAṀPĒṬ

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Temple building activity was in vogue in Āndhradēśa since the first quarter of the third century A D. The sculptured slabs that once adorned the *stupas* of Amarāvathi, Gōli, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Rāmiereḍḍipalli and Jaggayyapēṭa give clues to temple construction in Āndradēśa to very early times. But the actual structures were found during the course of the excavations in the Nāgārjuna Koṇḍa valley and belong to the Ikṣavāku period which followed the Śātavāhana period, with the fall of the Ikṣāvakus, the Pallavas came to power and established their sway in the southern and southwestern parts of Ikṣavāku territory.

Many styles of art and architecture flourished in Āndhradēśa. Of these, the early Cḥḷukyan, Eastern Cḥḷukyan, Kaliṅga, Kākatīya and Vijayanagara are important. The great temple of Pālaṁpēṭ marks the climax of the evolution of architecture in medieval Deccan. The Kākatīyas of Warrangal were great builders and lovers of art and raised numerous temples in their vast empire.

There are two types of temples, one a single shrine, and the other a triple shrine, generally known as *trikūṭa*. Among the single shrines, there are five varieties. The first variety contains the *garbhagṛha*, *antarāḷa*, and *maṇḍapa* with three porches on the three sides. The second variety contains the *ga bhagṛha*, *antarāḷa* and *maṇḍapa* with a single porch. The third variety contains only the *garbhagṛha* and *antarāḷa*. The fourth variety contains the *garbhagṛha* behind an open *maṇḍapa* and finally, the fifth variety contains only the *garbhagṛha*.

The bases of these temples are of two varieties. A few temples contain a double base with the *upapīṭha* and a broad *pradakṣiṇa* at its top and the *adhiṣṭhna* built above it inside the *pradakṣiṇa*. All other temples have the *adhiṣṭhana* only.

The artists of this time adopted numerous devices for decorating the outside of the walls of the temples. The wall surface contains alternating recesses and projections. The central projection contains miniature shrines one and sometime three one above the other. The other projections contain a pilaster or a *kōṣṭa* or *śālā* or a miniature shrine of the *Nāgara* order. The recesses contain a pilaster with a miniature *vimāna* of horizontal bands of a *kṇṭa-kōṣṭa*, or *vimāna* under a creeper.

On the edges of the roof are found a row of miniature *vimānas* built of bricks. This is the peculiar feature of the *Kākatīya* style. These *vimānas* are similar to the *pañjara śālā* of the Pallava temples and the *cuncu* of the Vijayanagara monuments.

The Pillars are of two varieties. One variety is made of black granite and lathe turned, polished and decorated with various geometrical and bead designs and human and deity sculptures. The second variety is made of sand stone and is mostly plain, though in a few cases there is figure sculpture of a high order.

These *vimānas* contain diminishing rows of distended *kūṭas* and wide *śālās* or miniature *vimānas*. There is often of *sukanāsa* added at the front base of the *vimāna*.

These are found in the recesses on the outerside of walls, on the outer side of the low *vēdis* on the *adhiṣṭāna*, on the architrave above the beam and canopies of the entrances of the *antarāḷa* and *garbhagṛha* and *mukamaṇḍapa*. The miniature *vimānas* contain five to nine *talas* of horizontal bands of diminishing size and sometimes a conical band in the centre of the front face. They sometime contain an *āyatasra* part above the *gaḷa* and are sometimes crowned by *śikharas* of the *Vēsara* Order.

Miniature shrines are complete temples with a canopy above and a low parapet with an opening in the centre in the front. There is a *kapōta* above the walls and a *vimāna* of horizontal bands of diminishing size crowned by a *Nāgara* or *Vēsara śikhara*. These shrines are found on the side Walls of the *antarāḷa*, on the architrave above the entrance and on the outerside of the walls of the *garbhagṛha*.

A remarkable feature of this style is the *dvāra* fixed in a large and wide frame consisting of the wall portion, pillars, pilasters and jambs with sculptures. Another feature relating to these *dvāras* is the projecting canopy above the cross beam. The major shrines are surrounded on the four side by a cluster of minor shrines.

The Rudrēśvara Temple Pālaṁpēṭ (Kākatīya)

The great temple of Pālaṁpēt, known as the Rudrēśvara Temple, is situated in the small village of Pālaṁpēṭ in the Mulug taluk of the Warrangal district of Āndhra Pradesh. An inscription set up in the courtyard of this temple states that in Ś. 1132 or 1213 A D. a Kākatīya general, named Rēcerla Rudra, constructed this temple named after himself in the town of Ātukūru and gifted a village to it.

This temple marks the climax of the evolution of architecture in medieval Decan. It faces the east and is situated inside compound. It consists of *upapīṭha, adhiṣṭhāna, garbhagṛha, antarāḷa, mukhamaṇḍapa* with three porches and a tall *vimāna* above.

The lowest member on the axis is the *upapīṭha*. There is a wide *pradakṣiṇa* on the top of *upapīṭha*. Inside the *pradakṣiṇa* is the *adhiṣṭhāna*. There are three porches in the east, north and south leading into the *mukhamaṇḍapa*. Above the *adhiṣṭhāna*, there is a low *vēdi* with openings on the east, south and north. The *vēdi* is decorated with four bands containing a row of elephants, eight petalled lotuses in compartments, a row of fine figure sculptures and a four petalled lotuses respectively.

In the south wall above the *adhiṣṭhāna* there is a broad band decorated with *makaramukha*, creeper, Gaṇapati seated with two elephants etc. The wall above the band is decorated with pilasters, recess with three

miniature *vimānas*, projections with pilasters and *tālās* etc.

In the north wall the band at the base contains four elephants, *makaras*, two elephants, *makaras*, Bhairava between two elephants, Gaṇapati seated between two elephants etc. The wall above the band is similar in decoration to the south wall.

The south wall has a band at the base decorated with *makara-mukhas*, creepers, elephants etc. The wall above the band is decorated with projection with pilasters with *tālās* above the two central pilasters, recesses with miniature *vimānas* and wide projection with three miniature shrines in a vertical row. The base of the lowest shrine contains on the east and west a miniature *vimāna*, a miniature shrine and a pillar. The lowest of the three shrines in the vertical row consists of double pillars on each side with a square projection on each containing a small niche. These pillars support a projecting *kapōta* in three sections with a row of lotus buds hanging on the underside. The second and third shrines are similar though smaller.

The west or back wall similar to the south wall in decoration. The base of these three shrines has on each side two pillars and two miniature *vimānas* on pilasters. The front side contains in a row, a pillar, a miniature shrine on a pilaster, Nandi, a miniature shrine on a pilaster and a pillar. Above is a miniature shrine in a projecting band with pearl decoration and above it is a recess. There is another band with elephants and *makaras* from whose mouths emanates creeper forming three arches with the figure of Sūrya below the central arch. There is another band above which has the figures of four lions in three compartments on the sides and two lions, swans and a woman fighting lion in the front. There are three *Nāgara vimana* on the architrave above the entrance of the *garbhagṛha* of the lowest shrine. The north wall is similar to the other two walls. On the three sides of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, on the *vēdi* there are thirty eight fine brackets attached to short pillars supporting the heavy roof above.

It is partly fallen and only four *talas* are visible. Each *tala* contains the distended series of *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, *tala*, *pañjara*, *kūṭa*, *pañjara* and *kūṭa*, There is a *śukhanāsa* projecting from the base of the *vimāna* and covering the *antarāḷa* below. Its siders are decorated with the series *kūṭa*, *pañjara*, kūṭa, *pañjara* and *tala* in two *talas*.

All pillars in the *mukhamaṇḍapa* except the four in the centre have finely carved bands in the centre and a rectangular block at the base and top. There is a roll and leaf capital above.

On the *vedi* on the edges there are seven minor shrines, one to the left of the *antaraḷa* containing the figure of Gaṇapati, another in the north-west corner of the *vēdi* housing the image of Durga, the third in the north-east corner containing the figure of Gaṇapati and the fourth, situated to the left of the entrance containing an icon of Bhairava. The other three are in corresponding positions on the southern half of the *vēdi*. The central pillars are beautifully carved with fine mythological sculptures.

The *antarāḷa* entrance contains a pilaster and a jamb on either side and contains fine sculptures. The portion above the jambs

contains fret work frames with circles containing the figures of dancers and musicians. The verticals and cross beam of the *dvara* are decorated with diamond cutting and the lintel has the figure of Gajalakṣmī. The architrave contains the figure of Naṭarāja in the centre and Gaṇapati and Dēvī at the extremes. In between are four dancing deities on each side.

The jambs on either side of the entrance of the *garbhagṛha* are in four sections and contain a vertical row of musicians and dancers, vertical row of lions with an elephant at the base and a vertical with creeper design. The lintel is carved into a miniature shrine. The architrave above contains five miniature *vimānas*. The central band of the *vēdi* above the *adiṣṭhāna* is decorated with dance figure in fine poses. In the centre of the *garbhagṛha* there is a *vēdi* with a huge linga.

THE WESTERN GANGAS OF TALAKAD AND JAINISM - MYTH AND REALITY

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The history of the Ganga dynasty which is one of the earliest royal houses of Karnataka (425 - 1004 A.D.) was reconstructed for the first time by B.L. Rice.[1] On the basis of some inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries, he presumed that all the rulers of this dynasty professed Jainism.[2] After B.L. Rice, the several scholars followed the opinion of Rice, although several inscriptions furnish fresh information on different aspects of the history of the dynasty. In the inscriptions of the earlier period there is not even an indirect clue to believe that the Gangas had any inclination towards Jainism. On the other hand they clearly reveal that the early rulers of this dynasty were the staunch followers of the Vedic religion performing various Vedic ceremonies and sacrifices.

It is necessary to examine the factors that prompted the scholars to believe that the Ganga rulers were Jains. One important and misleading cause is the story narrated relating to the origin of the Gangas to the effect that the dynasty came into existence under the Jaina aegis. Till very recently, it has been surmised by almost all the scholars that the Jaina saint Simhanandin had some thing to do with the establishment of the Ganga kingdom. A number of inscriptions of the 11th 12th centuries, which mostly do not belong to the Ganga dynasty furnish this story.[3] It goes on narrating the advent of the two brothers to Peruru, Simhanandi's compassion with them, his obtaining of a boon from goddess Padmavathi, the sudden appearance of a sword, Madhava's adventure of catching the sword and cutting off of the stone pillar into two parts and finally creation of the kingdom and a crown of Karnikara *pushpa* by Simhanandi, who confired the kingdom on the brothers putting the crown on the head of one of the brothers.

The gist of the above story appears for the first time in the Kudlur Copper plate of 963 A. D. of Marasimha III.[4] There is not even a single record which mentions the name of Simhanandi prior to this date. In case there was a person of the name of Simhanandi at the time of the establishment of the Ganga kingdom in the 4th century A. D. and in case

1. Mysore amd Coorg from inscriptions.
2. *EC*, VIII N. R. 35, *EC*, VII sh. 64.
3. *EC*, VIII N. R. 35, *EC*, II, sh. 54.
4. *Mysore Archaeological Report* (*MAR*), 1921, p. 19.

if the Ganga monarchs of the earlier period professed Jainism such important information would have been mentioned in the grants of the early kings. Therefore, it is undoubtedly the creation of the 10th century Jaina bards of the Ganga court. Two factors were responsible for the innovation of this story. Firstly, the Ganga kings of the 9th and 10th centuries became the followers of Jainism. Secondly, it became a matter of convention to connect the origin and genealogy of almost all the ruling families of South India to some Puranic dynasties. This fact has been very well pointed out by John Faithful Fleet in his "Dynasties of Canarese districts'.'[5] Even S. K. Iyengar upholds the above view, when, he says "Genealogy making was the past time of the eleventh century bards"[6]. Further Jaina influence in the establishment of the Ganga kingdom has been clearly refuted by Dr. B. Sheik Ali,[7] in his recently published work on the Gangas. The very idea connecting the establishment of the Ganga kingdom to the Jaina influence is far from truth. The history of Simhanandi is doubtful. If he were a historical figure, the same would have been recorded either in the early inscriptions of the Ganga kings or in the Jaina church history. It is worthwhile to note in this connection that a person bearing the name of Jata Simhanandi lived in the 7th century A. D.[8] But it is unwarranted to bring down the date of Jata Simhanandi to the 11th century to associate him with the above story. Therefore, the role of Simhanandi in the establishment of the Ganga kingdom does not stand historical scrutiny. Miracles like the obtaining of the boon of goddess Padmavathi, appearance of a sword, cutting of the stone pillar into two etc., are brought to the scene, which fact is against the historical dictum that "to admit the possibility of a miracle is to annihilate the possibility of history."

All the records which claim the Gangas to be Jains belonged to the latter period and they contradict what is contained in the early grants of the Ganga kings. A survey of some of the grants issued by the Ganga kings from Madhava to Sivamara II show beyond doubt that they were the followers of the Vedic faith. Even the very names of the early Ganga kings like Madhava, Harivarma, Vishnugopa, Tadangala Madhava, Sri-Vikrama, Bhuvikrama and Sripurusha show their leanings towards the Vedic faith. They also observed the Vedic rituals, ceremonies, and sacrifices as prescribed in the Vedic texts. They took titles after the Vedic dieties like Śiva and Vishnu, took pride in calling themselves as the upholders of *varnasrama dharma*, and constructed a number of temples to the Vedic deities. A record of Madhava II (370-390) states that he was not only well-versed in the Upanishads and Nitisastra but also devoted to the worship of the 'Guru Go-Brahmans'[9] Madhava II's son Harivarma was a staunch follower of the Vedic faith and gifted several villages to Brahmin asce-

5. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. III, p. 342.
6. *Ancient India*, n. 91.
7. *History of the Western Gangas*, p. 17.
8. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, p. 171.
9. *M A R*, 1925, p. 105.

tics and dedicated a temple to Mulastaneswara. [10] Further Harivarma encouraged a Brahmin scholar by name Madhava Bhatta by confirring on him the tittle Vadhibha-Simha for having defeated a Buddhist disputant. [11]

Harivarma's son Vishnugopa was a staunch follower (410-430) of Vedic religion and a great devotee of lord Vishnu. A number of records hail him as the worshipper of Guru Go-Brahmana .[12] In an inscription he is styled as the meditator on the feet of Narayana. [13] In several other records he is called Sakratulya Parakrama Narayana Charananudhyata [14] (as strong as Indra in valour and a humble devotee of Narayana). Harivarma's son Tadangala Madhava (430-466) was a devotee of God Thriyambaka [15] (Shiva). He converted several villages in Bellary and Kolar districts into *agraharas* and granted them to several Brahmins. He also revived the donation to the long ceased festivals of Gods and Brahmins. [17] Although Tadangala Madhava was a great devotee of Śiva he gave rich grants to the Buddhist and Jaina scholars. [18] This act of Tadangala Madhava speaks of his liberal policy.

Avinita (466–495), son and successor of Thadangala Madhava, was a follower of Vedic religion and a great devotee of Hara. For his great devotion to Siva he earned the title Haracharanaravinda Pranipata.[18] He also evinced keen interest in upholding and maintaining *varnasramadharma*.[19] He was the famous monarch among the rulers of the royal line, who performed a horse sacrifice. His Kodenjeruru grant declared that Avinita bathed in the sacrificial water of the uninterrupted horse sacrifice performed by him.[20] The same grant tells us that he distributed the income of that village to 72 Brahmins. His Sringeri inscription informs us that he granted a village to a learned Brahmin by name Keshavasharma of the Kasyapagotra.[21] He also patronised the Jaina scholar Ravikirthi and thus upheld the traditional religious policy of toleration.

His son Durvinita (495-535) who is one of the remarkable rulers of the Ganga dynasty was undoubtedly the follower of Vedic religion and enjoyed the titles like Madhava, Madhavanka, Madhavesa, Dharmamaharajadhiraja. Although he patronised the Jaina scholars like Pujyapada he was a great devotee of Lord Vishnu.[22] He is said to

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10. *MAR*, 1921, para 38 and 39.
11. *EC*, III Nj. 122.
12. *EC*, X. p. 132.
13. *MAR*, 1925.
14. *Ibid.*, 1914, pp. 67-68; *MAR*, 1916, pp. 343.
15. *Ibid* , 1923-3, p. 68.
16. *EC*, XIV, p. 335.
17. *Ibid.*, XVI, No. 78; *Ibid.*, X. p. 172.
18. *E.C* , X. Mr. 72.
19. *Ibid.*, IX. Db. 67.
20. *MAR*, 1924, No. 78.
21. *Ibid.*, 1916, para 62.
22. *EC*, XV, Madhugiri. 110.

have performed several Vedic sacrifices like *Hiranyagarbha*.[23] Durvinita has been compared to Vyvaswatha Manu Chanakya and Parasurama in his upholding Dharma, and possessing political sagacity and handling the *Astropastras* or the weapons of war.[24] According to several of his grants he constructed a number of temples to various gods. Likewise his successors, Mushkan, Srivikrama Bhuvikrama Sivamara I and Sripurusha, were undoubtedly the followers of the Vedic religion. A noteworthy feature of all the Ganga monarchs was that their liberal out look in religious matters which prompted scholars to regard them as having inclination towards Jainism. Until the reign of Sivamara II (788-814) we do not come across any reference to the construction of a Jaina Basadi by any of the Ganga monarchs. Further no Jaina king has ever performed any Vedic sacrifice. On account of these it can be concluded that the Ganga kings from its founder Madhava I to Shivamara II were undoubtedly the followers of the Vedic faith.

The reality the Ganga Kings were Jains from the reign of Sivamara II. The credit of embracing Jainism and constructing of a Jaina Basadi for the first time goes to Sivamara II. He was the most unfortunate monarch among the Gangas who has suffered imprisonment in the Rastrakuta capital Manyakheta twice at the hands of the great Rastrakuta monarchs Dhruva and afterwards Govinda III. During this period there lived great Jaina saints and philosophers at the Rashtrakuta court like Jinasena I, Jinasena II, Dhavala Nandi and Thorana Charya.[25] Shivamara II built a Jaina Basadi on the smaller hill at Sravanabelagola.[26] This is the first authentic record of any Ganga king ever building a Jaina Basadi. He also gave number of grants to several Jaina Basadis. The later rules built several beautiful Basadis, lavishly granted money and lands to the Jaina scholars and establishments and some of the kings ended their lives according to Jaina rite Sallekana On account of the patronage of the later Ganga monarchs Sravanabelagola and few other places became the centres of Jainism.

It can be concluded that it is far from truth to regard the Ganga house as a Jaina dynasty. The earlier rulers were the followers of the Vedic faith forming *agraharas*, bestowing gifts to the Brahmanas, worshipping the various Vedic deities and performing the Vedic sacrifices while allowing the followers of other religions to share their benefaction. Likewise the later Ganga rulers became the staunch followers of Jainism yet making grants to the Brahmanas. Their capital Talakad consists of a number of Shaiva and Vaishnava monuments and still remins as an important centre of the Hindu faith while Sravanabelagola which became prominent after the Ganga kings adopting Jainism and where stand all the important Jaina monuments including the colossal statue of Gommata, still attracting the followers of Jainism.

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23. Nallala Copper Plates, *MAR*, 1924.
24. *MAR*, 1924. Nallala grant, *QJMS*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 126.
25. *History of the Western Gangas of Talakad*, p. 94.
26. *E C*, II. Sb. 415.

THEFT OF ICONS AND ORNAMENTS FROM THE TEMPLES DURING THE CHOLA PERIOD

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A number of crimes connected with temple properties are alluded to in the inscriptions of the Cholas It is interesting to note that the custodians of the temples themselves were indulging in breaking the idols with a view to carry away the jewels and '*pattam*' of the deities.

An inscription[1] issued in the 6th year of Rajaraja III refers to the order of the king to punish certain Siva Brahmanas who had daringly misappropriated a part of the gold deposited in the treasury for making ornaments for Pasupatisvara temple at Pandanainallur. This was a serious crime and the king issued an order depriving the Siva Brahmanas of their offices. The amount thus realised was made over to the temple. The culprits and their descendants were also debarred from entering the temple.

In another case the culprits not only stole the gold which was kept in the temple with the purpose of making a front plate ornament to the God, but also melted it. In this case, the culprits were asked to pay a fine to the *Mahesvaras* of the temple.[2]

Another epigraph[3] from the Bhaktavasalesvara temple at Tirukkalukundam mentions the theft of '*Tiruppattam*' (plate) of the deity. This happened in the thirty fifth year of Kulottunga I A certain periyan who was the son of Naminandi, one of the temple authorities, was caught red-handed while he was removing the '*Tiruppattam*'. The assembly convened a meeting and decided unanimously to send the man out of his house at Madavilagam. Later the house was confiscated and sold.

An epigraph[4] found in the Arunjatesvara temple, datable in the 29th year of Kulottunga I, refers to the detection of the misappropriation of ornaments which was discovered by Senapati Nandiyaraja while checking the accounts of the temple. Later Kulottunga I issued an order that they must collect the amount (540 *kasus*) equivalent to the value of the ornaments misappropriated by them. Since the crime was committed by a group of people, the authorities collected the share from each culprit. But Pandan Kumaraswami, one of the priests, was a very poor man and he found it very difficult to pay his share. Therefore he voluntarily promised to give up his right of worship for $4\frac{1}{2}$ days every

1. *ARE*, 1931-32, No. 115.
2. *ARE*, 1916, No, 202.
3. *ARE*, 1932-33, No 149.
4. *ARE*, 1914, No. 46.

month in the temple. The Mahesvaras accepted this offer and sympathetic.

The inscription found on the east wall of the mandapa of the central shrine at Sivapuram, dated 22nd year of Rajaraja III, gives an account of the crime committed by the Siva Brahamanas. These Brāhmanas, Tiruchchitrambala - bhattan and his accomplice, stole the necklace *(Thirumuttumalai)* of the goddess and presented the same to his concubine. A servant of the temple who came to note it claimed his due share. The two Siva Brahmanas got angry and asked the Malaiyalar and accountants to put him in a solitary confinement in a cellar of the temple at Srimahesvaranallur. The king later came to know of this incident and sent a royal order to punish them. But the people humiliated the messengers by beating them and ducking them in water. Further they purloined the bronze gong and hid the image of the God in the beam at the entrance. The Trustees, *Srimahesvaras* and the residents (*Urom*) sat together and verified their crimes. They ordered that the miscreants must be deprived of the temple services. The *Kannadiyars* confiscated thier movable and immovable properties and ostracised them.

Another inscription[5] belonging to the fifth year of the Chola king, Rajaraja III, sheds some more light on this issue. The temple authorities had not only stolen the gold plates and jewels, but they had also broken the icons of the temple. The inscription of the above mentioned ruler is in the Kailasanatha temple at Udaiyalur (Tanjore district) mentions that Naduvayaludaiyan Uolaiyan and Thiruchchirrambalamudaiyan Vanavanayakan took away the images, ornaments and the vessels of the temple. After making a thorough investigation, the culprits were found out. Their lands and houses were sold and the proceeds paid into the treasury.

Another inscription of Rajaraja III, dated in his 24th regnal year[7] records the case of Andarandan and others who daringly opened the coffers of the Prananathesvara temple at Tirumukkudal and mutilated the image of God Then, the temple authorities and the residents of the village decided to confiscate the lands of Andarandan and others[6].

The theft of idols and jewels were common during the Chola period. The punishment meted out to such culprits were severe when compared with murder cases. Culprits against temples were not only deprived of thin right to temple service but also not allowed to enter into the temple for worship,[7] Murderers were only asked to endow lamps to temples.[8]

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5 *ARE*, 1927, No. 308; 1926-27, p. 84.

6. *ARE*, 1927, No. 225.

7. *ARE*, 1921, No. 218; 1935-36, No. 139; 1930 31, Nos. 45 103 & 80;

8. *ARE*, 1919, Nos 106, 263 & 279; 1906, Nos. 67 & 188; 1909, No. 352; 1932-33, No. 146.

SRI LANKA AND SAIVISM

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Sri Lanka is a land of many religions like Buddhism, Saivism, Vaishnavism, Islam and Christianity of which the most ancient being Buddhism and Saivism.

It seems from the evidence of the *Ramayana* that long before the advent of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, Saivism had been in existence. According to the epic, Ravana, the king of Sri Lanka, was an ardent votary of Saivism, and was well versed in singing the *Samaveda*, the most pleasing *Veda* to Lord Siva St. Sambandar in his *Devaram* refers to Ravana's devotion to Lord Siva. Manickavasagar mentions Mandothari's devotion to Lord Siva in *Yhiruvasayam*

The prevalance of Saivism in the 7th century A.D. in Sri Lanka cannot be denied as we have clear-cut testimoney that Trincomalee and Tirukketisvaram were than great centres of Saivism. The *Devaram* contains hymns sung by St. Sambandar in honour of the presiding deities of those temples. Ugrasingam of Sri Lanka who is said to have married Chola princess, erected the temple of Kandasamy at Mavittapuram in the 8th century A. D. "The queen (Chola) is reported to have made a special request to her father to send a Brahmin priest called Periyamanatular of Chidambaram to officiate as the priest of the temple. The request was complied..."[1] Rajaraja the great of the Chola dynasty built a Siva temple at Polonnaruva called Vanavanmadeveesvaram in memory of his mother Vanavanmadevi.

Though a few incomplete inscriptions of Rajaraja I, son and successor of Rajaraja I, are found in Sri Lanka it is likely that the endowments are either his or his subordinates to the Siva temple in Sri Lanka. A mutilated record of Adi Rajendra, son and successor of Vira Rajendra and the last king of the Vijayalaya Chola line, found in Polonnaruva, registers a gift of gold endowed by a certain Solavaraiyan of the Chola country for lighting a perpetual lamp in the temple of Vanavanmadevisvaramudiyar at Jananathamangalam.[2] Suthamalli Alvar, daughter of Kulottunga and queen of Vijayabahu I of Sri Lanka, endowed cash for lighting a perpetual lamp in the Siva temple at Magala.[3]

The epigraphical sources suggest that even Buddihist monarchs of Sri Lanka patronised Saivism. Nissankamalla, successor of Parakramabahu I and contemporary of Kulottunga III, was an ardent Bud-

1. K. K. Pillay, *South India and Sri Lanka* (University of Madras, 1975), p. 136.
2. *SII*, Vol IV, No. 1388.
3. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III.

dhist. He erected a Siva temple at Rameswaram[4] and also built and maintained a separate alms-hall.[5] Saivism enjoyed a royal patronage when the dynasty of Aryachakravartis came to power in Jaffna The *Dakshinakailasapuram* composed during the reign of Varotaya Segaraja Sekaran was in honour of the temple at Trincomalee which was called Dakshinakailayam or Tenkailai. Gunavira Pararaja Sekharan, who reigned Jaffna in the first half of the 15th century, built the main shrine at Rameswaram [6]

The ascendancy of the Portuguese rule in Sri Lanka marks the beginning of a new era not only in the political but also in the religious history of Sri Lanka. Saivism and Buddhism lost their royal patronage. Consequently Buddhist and Hindu temples were neglected and many were ruined. During the alien rule only a few literary works on the Saiva cult were produced. One of them is *Katiramalipallu*, which deals with the Lord of Katiramalai. Gnanapprakasar, the great preceptor of Saivism, belongs to this period. It is said that in his time the government of Sri Lanka had compelled everybody to give a cow to the state and so Gnanapprakasar left Sri Lanka for Tamil Nadu before his turn came. He then became an ascetic at Tirul vannamalai and engaged himself in the study of *Saivasiddhanta* and *Agma* works. Later he settled at Chidambaram where he excavated a tank which is now called after him. Another Saiva teacher of this period was Vaithinathatampiran, a younger contemporary of Gnanapprakasar. Born in Jaffna, he became an ascetic and settled at Chidambaram. There he composed a Tamil Work called *Vyagrapadapuranam*.

When Sri Lanka came under the rule of Britain, Christianity grew very rapidly. Alarmed at the increasing popularity of Christianity, Saivites tried to revitalise Saivism. The true founder of the revivamovement was Arumuga Navalar. He learnt English, started his career as a Tamil pandit and assisted Fr. Percevil in translating the Bible into Tamil. He dedicated his life for the cause of Saivism and established a number of schools. Subaratna Mudaliar of Jaffna was a great exponent of Saiva Siddhanta, Anantakumarasami, Arumuga Tampiran, Sabapathi Navalar, Verpillai, Kathirvel, Kasivasi Sentinathaier and also Ambalavana Navalar contributed to the prominence of Saivism in Sri Lanka.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 9.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 29.
6. C. Rasanayagam, *Ancient Jaffna* (Madras, 1928), p. 366.

ICONOGRAPHY OF ŚARABHAMŪRTI

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Śarabha was the name of a mythical animal. It was known since the later Vēdic period. It was considered to be a fabulous eight-legged beast, dwelling in the snowy mountains and preying on lions and elephants[1]. In Hindu mythology, it came to be associated with a minor incarnation of Śiva who is said to have subdued the virulent Nṛsiṁha. The latter was the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu who salyed the demon-king, Hiraṇya-Kāṣipu. After successfully accomplinsing the job, Nṛsiṁha is said to have become haughty and destructive. So, Śiva took the Śarabha form, combining in himself the features of a man, lion and bird who alone could overwhelm the fierce Nṛsiṁha.

In Hindu iconography, Śarabha is a rare form which seems to have developed in the early Cōḷa period as a by-product of Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava sectarian rivalry. In Karnātaka and Āndhra it was nurtured by the Vīra-śaiva sects. It has been suggested that in Tamilnadu the victory of a Śaivite god over his Vaiṣṇavite counterpart was hailed as a symbolic victory of Śaivism over Vaiṣṇa-vism.[2] Thus the origin of the concept of Śarabhamūrti is considered to be due mainly to sectarian bickering.[3] But, C. Sivarama-murti traces the origin of the concept of Śarabha to an earlier period.[4] At the same time he admits that the earliest depiction of this form in iconography is to be found in the early Cōḷa temples at Dārāsuram and Tribhuvanam, both in the Thanjavur district. Though Śarabha is present among the early Cōḷa temples, it is not noted in inscriptions or the medieval lexicons such as *Piṅgalam* and *Cūḍāmaṇi* as an appellation of Śiva.

The *Kāranāgama* and the *Śrītatvanidhi* contain the details on the iconographical features of Śarabhamūrti. The *Kāranāgama*[6] prescribes for Śarabhamūrti eight legs with long nails, three eyes, two hands and a body glowing like fire. His face is to be leonine. He has two wings which represent Durgā and Kāla.[7] The *Śrītatvanidhi*[8] presents a detailed

1. Macdonell and Keith, *Vēdic Index of Names and Objects* (Delhi, 1967,) II, p. 358.
2. Suresh B Pillai, *Introduction to the Study of Temple Art* (Thanjavur, 1976), p. 2.97.
3. *Ibid.*, 1.62.
4. C. Sivaramamurti, *Śatarudrīya: Vibhūti of Śiva's Iconography* (New Delhi, 1976), p. 98.
5. *Ibid.*
6. The *Kāranāgama* is one among the twenty eight *Māhāgamas* and belongs to the *Śaivite* group. Most of these *Āgamas* were composed during the 9th and 12th centuries A.D. *vide*. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Varanasi, 1971), I, Pt. I, pp. 55-8.
7. H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses* (Madras, 1916), p. 148.
8. S.M. Subrahmanya Sastri ed. & trans., *Śrītatvanidhi* (Thanjavur, 1963), I, 3-69. The *Śrītatvanidhi* is a work by Krishna Raja of Mysore (19th century A.D.).

account. Śarabha's body should be as mejestic as the Mēru mountain and burning like the Sun. He has eight legs and thirty two hands. His three eyes are none other than the sun, moon and fire. On his two sides are Durgā and Kāla. His *kēsam* (hair) is in the *ūrdhava* (erect perpendicularly) position. He is adorned with all kinds of ornaments. In his sixteen right hands he bears the *vajra* (thunder-bolt), *muṣṭi* (the clensed first), *cakra* (disc), *śakti* (lance), *danda* (staff), *aṅkuṣā* (elephant goad), *katti* (sword), *khaṭvāṅga* (staff with a skull at top), *paraśu* (battle-axe), rosary, a bone, *śūla* (trident), bow, pestle and *agni* (fire). One right hand is in *abhaya mudrā*. The sixteen left hands hold *pāśa* (noose , *gadā* (club), arrow, *dvaja* (flag), a saw, pig, *śaṅkha* (conch), snake, *khēṭaka* (shield), *padma* (a flower), *kapāla* (skull), *puṣtaka* (book), *kuntaṁ* (lance) and plough. One left hand is in *varada mudrā* and another embracing Durgā. He has protruding teeth and manes encircling the head which are intended to terrify the onlooker. His colour is red. Both the *Kāranāgama* and *Śrītatvanidhi* say nothing about the features of Nṛsiṁha.

The bronze image in the Kampaharēśvara Temple at Tribhuvanam[9] more or less conforms to the description of the *Kāranāgama*. In it the body of Śarabha below the hip and the face are leonine. He stands on hind legs and kicks Nṛsiṁha with his fore-legs. He has the tail of a lion and the plumage of a bird. He has four arms. He has bulging eyes and protruding teeth. The manes are arranged in the fashion of a semi-circular beard. He wears a *krīṭamakuṭa* as against the *jaṭāmakuṭa*, usually done for Śiva. He has also a *ūrdhva-liṅga* (erect genital organ), symbolic of virulity. Nṛsiṁha lying at Śarabha's feet is folding two of his hand in *añjali hasta*. The Dārāsuram image found in a *dēvakōṣṭha* in the Airāvatēśvara temple is of the same type. H Krishna Sastri has plated it as a sample to illustrate his note on Śarabhamūrti.[10] In this lithic image, Śarabha is in the rearing pose. He stands stamping his two hind-legs on the chest of the fallen Nṛsiṁha. The manes and wings are arranged prominently. The mouth is wide agape. He has no hands at all. The tail and plumage are visible. The fallen Nṛsiṁha has eight arms, two of them in *añjali hasta* and the others just suspended below.

Though Śarabhamūrti is a rare form in lithic and bronze or copper medium, it is a popular one in the wood carvings of Tamilnadu. From a study of the temple cars of Tamilnadu, the present author was able to trace the existence of thirty specimen from out of the 352 cars surveyed.[11] These specimen can be brought under three categories. Among them the first type conforms to the Dārāsuram and Tribhuvanam images of which eleven specimen are available (Nos. IV, X, XI, XII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XX, XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX). Out of them one (No. X) ie a remarkable piece. In it a bare-bodied Nṛsiṁha lies on the ground facing the earth. He wears

9. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, Plate E.

10. H. Krishna Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 149, Figure 94.

11. See Annex for the location and where-abouts of these thirty specimen.

a *krīṭamakuṭa*. Only one of his hands is visible which is in *bhūmispaśra mudrā*. On his back stands the eight legged Śarabhamūrti whose legs are arranged beautifully in a single row. The right thigh of the first leg alone is prominently chiselled while the others are partly visible. From above the hip, the body is human while the face is leonine. He wears a *kirīṭa-makuṭa*. His *jaṭābhara* is also shown flowing on either side of the head as in the bronze images of Naṭarāja.[12] The manes are there but not so prominent as in the Dārāsuram image This Śarabha has ten hands. The front two hands are in *abhaya mudrā* and *varada mudrā* The remaining four right hands bear the *paraśu*, sword, pestle and *triśūla*. The corresponding left hands hold a *ḍamarū* (small drum), a shield, a snake and a *kapāla*. The wings, tail and plumage are not depicted in this image Two more (specimen Nos. XI & XII) are of the same type. In these two cases Śarabha stands on the fallen Nṛsiṁha who lies on his back as in *prētāsana*. Five of the legs of Śarabha are depicted as standing on Nṛsiṁha. The legs are arranged in a zig zag way. Śarabha wears a *krīṭamakuṭa* behind which is shown a halo of burning fire The manes are insignificant. Eyes are not protruding Two wings are shown behind the shoulder in flying attitude. He has four arms. He is adorned with a *skandhamāla* and other ornaments.

A remarkable specimen (No. XXIX)seems to portray a she-Śarabha.[13] The hip in this image is thin, remidning the literary description of a feminine beauty. The chest is comparatively bigger. The breasts are also shown but no so prominently as in stone images The manes and male genital organ which are generally shown are missing here. This image has only four legs standing on the fallen body of Nṛsiṁha (Nṛsiṁhī ?). Two wings are attached just below the navel There are twelve arms of which the front right holds a *triśūla* and the left is in *abhaya mudrā*. Nṛsiṁha lying on his back is holding two hands in *añjali hasta*. He presents an ematiated appearance with even the ribs visible to the naked eye. Another specimen (No. XX) is a male version of the same description.

In one specimen (No. XIII) a standing human figure in the place of Nṛsiṁha is presented The latter here is represented like a pigmy before a giant Śarabha. His leonine mask is found torn away.[14] In this image Śarabha has only two legs He has four arms, two of which hold a long *triśūla*, thrust on the bosom of his adversary.

Another form of Śarabhamūrti is that in which he is found beating a standing Nṛsiṁha with one of his hands or wings or biting him. Five specimen (Nos. I, XXI, XXIII, XXIV & XXV) of this type are traceable from the temple cars. In one (No I.)

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12. Appar, the Śaivite savant and a contributor to the *Dēvāram* literature, calls it *pavitta caḍai* (vide. *Tirumurai IV*, Patikam 81, v. 4).

13. The presentation of Śarabhamūrti in female form is a very rare one. This could have originated as a result of the presentation of Nṛsiṁha in female form as Nṛsiṁhī. Narasamma (the female Nṛsiṁha) and Śarabhamma (the female Śarabha) are popular names in Andhra.

14. The presentation of Nṛsiṁha in human form as the redeemed Viṣṇu is very rare in iconography.

Nṛsiṁha is just falling down. His hands are in *añjali hasta*. He looks at Śarabha with frightened eyes. Śarabha standing on his hind-legs, catches hold of Nṛsiṁha at his hip with one arm and raises another arm (or wing ?) holding a club as though to beat him. In another piece of the same type, Ṣarabha is found biting Nṛsiṁha. In one (No. XXI) Nṛsiṁha is standing. His hands are in *añjali hasta*. Śarabha stands behind him and bites him, pressing his sharp teeth on the right shoulder of Nṛsiṁha. At the same two of his legs catch hold of the kness of Nṛsiṁha. Another specimen (No. XXV) is also of the same type. In one (No XXIII) Nṛsiṁha has four arms. Two of them are in *añjali hasta* while the other two bear the *cakra* and *śaṅkha*. Śarabha stands behind him. His four legs (two fore legs and two hind-legs) catch hold of Nṛsiṁha at the knee and thigh. Śarabha places his left hand on Nṛsiṁha and raises the right hand holding a club as though to strike at the head of Nṛsiṁha. His mouth is slightly opened in anger. This Ṣarabha has neither the lion's tail nor the bird's plumage.

Nṛsiṁhānugrahamūrti is another important form traceable from the temple cars. In this form Nṛsiṁha is seated in yōgāsana as Yōga Nṛsiṁha. Śarabha stands behind him placing two of his hands on the *kirīṭa* (crown) of Nṛsiṁha in blessing attitude. Perhaps this form conveys the idea of the condonation granted by Ṣarabha to Nṛsiṁha who has sat peacefully, giving up his descrutive activities. Four specimen (Nos VIII, IX, XIX & XXX) are examples of this type. In two (Nos. VIII & IX) Yōga Nṛsiṁha is seen squatting in meditative attitude. A *yōgapaṭṭa* runs around his loiṅs binding the legs also. His two front arms rest on the knees while the back hands bear the *cakra* and *śaṅkha*. Ṣarabha stands behind him placing two of his hands on the head of Nṛsiṁha. This has a remarkable coincidence with the Caṇḍēśānugrahamūrti form in which Śiva places a garland on the head of Caṇḍēśa. In one (No. VIII) Ṣarabha has four more arms bearing the *cakra* in one right hand and the deer, and *śaṅkha* in the left hands. Umā along with Bāla Gaṇapati is found standing to his left Two *bhaktas* (devotees) with their hands folded in *añjali hasta* stand to the right. In one (No. IX) the wings are carved. In another (No XIX) instead of Yōga Nṛsiṁha, a kneeling Nṛsiṁha is found in which pose Caṇḍēśa is usually depicted. Two of the hands of Nṛsiṁha are in *añjali hasta* while the back hands bear the *cakra* and *śaṅkha* In this panel Śarabha stands on his two hind-legs placing his two arms on the *Krīṭa* of Nṛsiṁha.

The invention of Śarabhamurti was due mainly to the intense sectarian animosity exhibited by the Śiva-Viṣṇu sects. The fact that most of these images are found in Ṣiva temples or temple cars prove this. In rare cases (Nos. III & XXIX) Viṣṇu cars also contain these images. In such cases the artists could have been Śaivities. By these ways the Ṣaivites found an opportunily to denigrade the supreme god of the Vaiṣṇavites by making him subordinate to Śiva. The Vaiṣṇavites to their turn did not remain quite. They also invented new iconographical forms to establish the supremacy of Viṣṇu. One such is called Aṣṭamukhagandhabhēruṇḍa Nṛsiṁha (the eight faced Nṛsiṁha) who is supposed to have devoured even the so-called Ṣarabha. These indicate the development of iconographical concepts which went hand in hand with the growth of mythology, cults and sects.

ANNEX

Location of the Images cited in the Text

Specimen number	Name of car★	Location of images★★ Side	Tier	Name of the temple	Place	District
I	Svāmi	Right	II	Ōṭṭāṇḍīśvara	Tirumalisai	Chengalpattu
II	-do-	Back	I	Jalānandīśvara	Thakkōlam	North Arcot
III	-do-	Back	III	Varadarāja Perumāḷ	Gaṅgāvaram	South Arcot
IV	Ammaṉ	Right	II	Naṭarāja	Chidambaram	-do-
V	Svāmi	Right	II	Ālanduraiyār	Kīlappaḻuvūr	Tiruchi
VI	-do-	Left	II	Saptaṛṣīśvara	Lālguḍi	-do-
VII	Ammaṉ	Left	II	-do-	-do-	-do-
VIII	Svāmi	Left	II	Bhūmināṭha	Manchanallūr	-do-
IX	-do-	Back	II	Ratnagirīśvara	Ayyarmalai	-do-
X	-do-	Left	II	Jambukēśvara	Tiruvānaikkā	-do-
XI	Ammaṉ	Front	II	-do-	-do-	-do-
XII	-do-	Front	II	-do-	-do-	-do-
XIII	-do-	Right	II	-do-	-do-	-do-

★ Some of the Śiva and Subrahmaṇya temples possess more than one cars. The additional cars are distinguished by either the name of the deity to whom the cars are used or the months in which the cars are used. Svāmi, Ammaṉ and Gaṇapati denote the deities to whom the cars are dedicated and Kārttikai denotes the month in which the concerned car is used for festival procession.

★★ The side to which ropes are attached to pull the car is the Front side. The rear side of the car is denoted as Back. Right and Left are the sides which lie to the left and right of a man if he stands facing the front side of the car. All the four sides have three tiers of sculptures. That which lies immediately above the axis is tier I. That which rests upon tier I is tier II which usually is in a tapering shape. Tier III rests on tier II and culminates in the pedestal of the car.

XIV	Svāmi	Right	II	Kampaharēśvara	Tribhuvanam	Thanjavur
XV	Ammaṉ	Left	II	Māriammaṉ	Nāgapaṭṭiṇam	-do-
XVI	Kārttikai	Back	II	Subrahmaṇya	Svāmimalai	-do-
XVII	Svāmi	Front	II	Pañcanadēśvara	Tiruvaiyāṟu	-do-
XVIII	-do-	Front	II	Śikhāgirīśvara	Kuḍumiyāmalai	Puddukkottai
XIX	-do-	Left	II	Ātmanāthasvāmi	Āvuḍaiyārkōyil	-do-
XX	-do-	Right	II	Tiruttaḷināṭha	Tiruppattūr	Ranmad
XXI	-do-	Right	II	Nallamaṅgaibhāga-svāmi (Ardhanarīśvara)	Pirānmalai	-do-
XXII	Ammoṉ	Right	II	-do-	-do-	-do-
XXIII	Svāmi	Right	II	Tirukkōlanāṭha	Tirukkōlakkuḍi	-do-
XXIV	Ammaṉ	Left	II	Vīraśēkhara	Sākkoṭṭai	-do-
XXV	Svāmi	Left	II	Svarna Kāḷīśvara	Kāḷayārkōyil	-do-
XXVI	Ruined Car	Left	II	-do-	-do-	-do-
XXVII	Ammaṉ	Right	III	Ādi Ratnēśvara	Tiruvāḍanai	-do-
XXVIII	Svāmi	Front	III	Vilvavananâtha	Kaḍayam	Tirunelveli
XXIX	-do-	Right	II	Vēṅkaṭācalapati	Tiruppatisāram	Kanyakumari
XXX	Gaṇapati	Right	I	Tirukkāmēśvara	Villiyanūr	Pondicherry

IV

1 Svasti arī Kṣṭṭāṇai-parumaṟki yāṇḍu nārppattaindāvadu Perum
2 bāṇ-iḷavaraisar Veḷāl-nāḍ-āḷa Peru[mu]gai Kaliaḍa-
3 kkiy[a*]r sevū(va)gaṇ Kaṭṭiya Pichchaṇ
4 aṟai kuttip-paṭṭāṇ

V

1 Svasti Śrī Kaṭṭāṇai-parumaṟku yāṇḍu nāṟpat-
2 ttaindāvadu Perumbāṇ-iḷavaraisar Veḷā-
3 l-nāḍ-āḷa Peru[mu]gai toṟu Vaṇa(Vāṇa) rāsar koṇḍa
4 ñāṇṟu Kaliyaḍakkiyār sēvagaṇ Kaṭṭi-
5 yach-Chāttaṇ toṟu mīṭṭup-paṭṭāṇ

VI

1 Kō-visaiya Mavī[n]-
2 dira-parumaṟku yāṇ-
3 ḍu ēḷāvadu Perum-
4 bāṇ-iḷavaraisar
5 sēvagaṇ [Nai yava-
6 ḍugaṇ ..... nā-
7 .....
8 p-paṭṭā[ṇ]

VII

1 Kō-visaiya [Na] rasiṅga-parumaṟki
2 Tagaḍū .... ṟinda ñā .....

SOME FRESH LIGHT ON THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF TIPU SULTAN

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John William Kaye in his *History of the Sepoy War in India* writes that it is a custom with the English people to take a native ruler's kingdom and then to revile the deposed ruler or his would be successor. Few Indian rulers have been so much maligned by British historians as Tipu Sultan. Thomson and Garratt have rightly observed that his memory "has been stereotyped into a monster pure and simple". As early as 1794 Moor in his *A Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment* goes to the extent of saying, "Of late years, indeed, our language has been ransacked for terms in which well disposed persons were desirous to express their detestation of his name and character : vocabularies of vile epithets have been exhausted, and doubtless many have lamented that the English language is not copious enough to furnish terms of obloguy sufficiently expressive of the ignominy wherewith they in justice deem his memory deserves to be branded". The reasons why they adopted such a hostile view is not far to seek. They regarded him as the most formidable enemy of the East India Company. Despite the English victories in Bengal and over the French, they had to face great difficulties in the South and Tipu became a thorn in their side. It took four Mysore wars to defeat the Mysore Chiefs. In reality the English had never tilll then been confronted with a more formidable enemy than Tipu, who fought with the fierceness of a tiger and the tenacity of a bull-dog. His life-passion was to drive away the British from the country for which purpose he used all his means, capacity and power, not sparing even his own life. He used to say that to live like a lion for one day was far better than to live like a fox for one hundred years. He never compromised his ideals, never deviated from his goal and never submitted himself to the paramountcy of a foreign power. He succumbed at last like Casear to the force and deceit of a relentless foe, but he did not fail to warn his compatriots of the danger ahead. As for himself he preferred death to political servitude. That was the reason why the British were so hostile against him.

In this paper an attempt is made to throw some new light on his religious policy, which is also a subject of great controversy. Early British historians have taken a lead in accusing Tipu of intolerance. Wilks, Bowring and others have charged Tipu of bigotry. Latest researches have disproved many of the accusations. His appointment of numerous Hindus to high offices and his grants and gifts to Hindu temples and to Brahmins falsify the wrong accusations. The twenty two letters preserved by Swamiji of Sringeri and discovered by R. Narasimhachar in 1916

throw a flood of light on the religious policy of Tipu. He furnished Sri Sankaracharya of Sringeri with funds for reinstalling the displaced image in the Sharada temple desecrated by the Pindaris of the Maratha army under Parshuram Bhau. Sringeri was not the only place which enjoyed the patronage of Tipu. To the Lakshmikantha temple at Kalale in Mysore District he gave four silver cups, a silver plate and a silver spitoon. To the Narayanaswamy temple at Melkote he presented gold and silves vesselr besides an elephant and a few jewels. The Srikanteswara temple at Nanjangud was presented with a jewelled cup and some precious stones by Tipu. The Ranganatha temple at Srirangapattana was gifted with seven silver cups and a silver camphor-banner. The Nanjundeswara temple at Nanjangud received a greenish linga, which was installed on Tipu's orders. Sri Ranganatha temple at Srirangapatna was hardly a stone's throw from his palace, and it is said that he always used to listen with equal respect the ringing of the bells from the temple and the Muizzin's call from the mosque. The pagoda at Rayakottai received an allowance from Tipu. When Haidar invaded Carnatic in 1780 he laid the foundation of the Gopur temple in Conjeevaram, but it was not finished during his life-time. Tipu paid 10,000 *kuns* and ordered its completion. When it was finished, he participated in the celebration of the Chariot festival. When there was a religious dispute between two sects of Hindus concerning the affairs of the Melkote temple, Tipu intervened and settled the dispute to the satisfaction of both parties. Thus there is copious evidence to prove that his religious policy was not dictated by any intolerance towards the Hindus.

Sometime it may be argued that gifts to temples and patronage of the Brahmins might be motivated by political intentions. When the Maratha army damaged such a sacred place as Sringeri, Tipu might have been prompted to react in a different way in order to draw political advantage from the situation, and win the support of the influential section of the Hindus. Everything is fair in love and war. But the point to note is that such treatment of Hindu temples and saints was not confined to the period when Tipu was at war with the Marathas, but it extended all through his entire regime. In peace time as well, he feasted the Brahmins, bore the expenses of Hindu religious ceremonies, gave liberal grants to temples, and held the Hindu Sadhus, saints and gods in high esteem. If he crushed the Hindus in Coorg, the Christians in Mangalore and the Nayars it Malabar, it was because of political reasons, for they were all in league with the English. He did not spare his co-religionists, if they were guilty of similar offences. The Mopalas, the Mahdevies, the Nawabs of Kurnool, Cuddapoah and Savanur were all punished in a similar manner. He was more hostile towards the Nizam than towards the Marathas. Hence, he did not political issues with religious affairs.

If some more evidence were to be required to make a clinching issue of his religious tolerance, I could present before you an interesting, unutilised and authentic letter of Tipu Sultan himself. This letter is in the bunch of Tipu's official correspondence with his numerous functionaries in the State and these letters are more than 3,000 in number. They are pre-

served in the Commonwealth Library former India Office Library) London. It is from this bunch of letters that Colonel Kirkpatrick culled out about 300 letters and edited them as *Select Letters of Tipu Sultan*. This selection is not only highly subjective but its editorial note on each letter is extremely misleading, being in the same tenor as that of other British historians, namely to depict Tipu in the darkest colour. A full publication of all the letters and correspondence of Tipu would give a better picture of this ruler. I have brought from London in microfilm form all the three thousand letters, which I hope to publish in the near future. I am discussing here about only one letter from this bunch which throws fresh light on the religious policy of the Sultan.

In the correspondence book there is a letter bearing No. 77 (c) on page 400 written by Tipu Sultan to Noor Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Ghyas on 5th of the month of *Wasiye* in the year *Julu* corresponding to 10th November 1787 from Bangalore relating to a personal affair of some one in his kingdom, but this affair has great significance so far as his religious policy is concerned, for it gives us an insight into the inner recesses of his thought, as these letters are of prime importance to know the real nature of the main character in the drama. The gist of this letter is as follows :

It was brought to the notice of Tipu that these two officers, namely Noor Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Ghyas, had harassed an individual by name Rao Rasi on the score that he being a Hindu had married a Muslim girl. Tipu says that he is amazed and astonished on the audacity of these officers who had interfered in the personal matter of a citizen. Tipu asks what business they had to probe into such affairs, and that they were guilty of serious offence in thus disturbing the peace of the country. Tipu is so put out that he thought that these officers might be off their head because of senility or oldage. He reprimands them that they did not hesitate to meddle even with the honour of a lady, and that they were ignorant of what was in the best interest of Islam. He tells them that such matter deserves to be ignored for they are purely personal in nature and that by giving a communal turn they would needlessly excite the Muslim feeling resulting in riots and disturbance of peace. This is never the intention of his State in which he wants all to live in peace and accord. He further says that such action of the officers would create a bad scene before the public which should be avoided. This is not the way to propagate Islam, and your recommendation to punish the person involved is a source of "great consternation to me, indicating that you are far from wise". Moreover, when the foreign Christians had appropriated hundreds of Muslim women, Tipu asks, where had their Islamic pride and honour gone. Therefore it is obligatory on their part that in future they should never try to interfere in such delicate personal and domestic matters, and that they have to be engaged in discharging the duties of the State entrusted to them and not in acts that are likely to excite passions and cause disturbances

This letter speaks a lot about the attitude of Tipu on matters that touch religious

affairs. Had he been a bigot and a fanatic, he would have approved of the action of Noor Muhammad who had taken to task Rao Rasi for being involved with a Muslim lady. The tone and the tenor of the letter indicates that Tipu would rather reprimand and punish those who would not understand the spirit behind the emotional problem than approve of the unwise step taken by the officer. His attention was so much concentrated on the foreigners that he says openly that the Muslim pride was not hurt when the foreigners appropriated hundreds of Muslim women after their military and political superiority. He also says that true service of Islam does not lie in such narrow minded action. In the entire selection of letters by colonel Kirkpatrick there is not a single letter which could throw a favourable colour on Tipu, and hence the publication of the entire bunch of letters would be of immense help to the scholars, not only for religious policy of Tipu, but also on several aspects of his administration

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K. Gopalankutty	The aided Primary School Teachers' Movement in Malabar, 1935 - 1940
Miss. G. Bhagavathi	Some Prespects of Prohibition
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