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EDITOR'S NOTE

Dear All,

The Executive Committee of the South Indian History Congress entrusted me with the task of producing the 42nd volume of the South Indian History Congress proceedings for the 2024 session. The 41st volume, from the annual session held at GTN Arts College, Dindigul, Tamil Nadu, was completed. The proceedings of the annual session held at University College, Thiruvananthapuram, are now being disseminated to research scholars, faculties, and the public. This volume will be released at the annual session at Malabar Christian College, Kozhikode, in 2024.

The editorial work for the research papers presented at the SIHC annual session has become challenging due to the increasing number of participants. The editorial committee, supervised by senior professors and eminent scholars such as Professors B.S. Chandrababu, K. Gopalankutty, Ramachandra Reddy, D. Daniel, R.C. Misro, and Chenna Reddy, has been instrumental in this effort. Dr. Ganeshram, Dr. R. Jagannath, Dr. Haridasan. V., and Dr. Sakharia. T joined me on the editorial team. We meticulously scrutinized all papers uploaded to the online portal and those presented in various sessions for publication.

The SIHC has launched an online portal for its journal, displaying not only the latest issue but also all articles published since 1980. Members and well-wishers of the SIHC are pleased that these research articles are accessible worldwide. The journal's search feature assists scholars in locating articles relevant to their interests. The online availability of articles also facilitates the inclusion of links in online application forms, which can be verified by scrutinizing teams, thereby enhancing the visibility and credit of the contributing scholars. The Proceedings has been recognized as a UGC Care Listed Journal, providing scholars and academicians with recognition for their research work. The journal, which carries an ISBN, has become a valuable resource for scholars across disciplines. The quality and originality of the research articles published in the journal have been steadily improving. This journal has been a significant draw for scholars nationwide to attend the SIHC sessions each year.

The 42nd volume presents important findings through scientific research, emphasizing the need for scientific investigation in addressing contemporary societal issues. The journal has become a premier academic publication, offering both senior and junior scholars the opportunity to publish their findings annually. The South Indian History Congress's adoption of digital technology has significantly enhanced the democratization of knowledge produced by research scholars.

Thank You.

Best Regards,

Dr. Sivadasan. P

General Editor, SIHC

Senior Professor, Department of History, University of Calicut

GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT-2023

Good morning to all

Respected Chairperson, Chief guest, office bearers and Executive Committee members of the SIHC who are present in the dais, and dear delegates of the conference, for SIHC, I extend a warm greetings to all of you.

The 41st Session of the South Indian History Congress was held at Dindigul, hosted by Department of History, G.T.N. Arts College (Autonomous), during 21-28 August 2022. G.T.N. Arts College is a Telugu Linguistic Minority Institution of Tamil Nadu, affiliated to Madurai Kamaraj University. The South Indian History Congress would always be grateful to the Chairman for his wholehearted support for hosting the 41st Session. I would also like to use this opportunity to appreciate and congratulate the Local Secretary Dr. Balagurusamy, who is also the Treasurer of SIHC, for his sincere and dedicated efforts for the grand success of the event. The entire team of the Department of History and other Departments of G T N Arts College Dindigul, gave him full support for the systematic Organisation of the event.

The inaugural function was held on 26-08-2022, 10 AM at Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam Auditorium in the College. Dr. P. Balagurusamy, the Local Secretary of the 41st Session and the Principal of G.T.N. Arts College welcomed the dignitaries and the gathering. Prof. Sivadasan P, Professor, Department of History, University of Calicut, the General Secretary of the SIHC presented the annual report. The 40th South Indian History Congress Proceeding Volume and some other books were released in the function. Prof. Y. Subbarayalu, eminent Professor and former Head of the Department of Epigraphy and Archaeology, Thanjavur delivered the General President's Address. Professor Y. Chinna Rao, JNU delivered the keynote address. Prof. Adapa Sathya Narayana, Professor of History (Rtd), Osmania University, Prof. N. Rajendran, former Vice-Chancellor of Alagappa University, Ln. Dr. K. Rethinam MJF, Secretary and Correspondent of G.T.N. Arts College and Mr. Durai Rethinam, Director, G.T.N. Arts College were also participated in the function. In the function the Office bearers, Executive Committee members, invited guests and other dignitaries were honoured by the organizing committee of SIHC. Dr. P. Sangaralingam, Head i/c of the Department of History, delivered the vote of thanks.

The new Committee of the SIHC was elected during the last Session at Dindigul. Dr. A. Pazilathil was the Returning Officer of the election. The SIHC is grateful to him for the smooth conducting of the election procedure.

The following are the Office bearers, and E C members for the period 2022-24.

General Secretary : Dr. S. Ganeshram
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The Executive Committee during the last Session nominated Dr. S. Chandra Shekhar of Karnataka as the President for the 42nd Session.

The Executive Committee in 2022 nominated the following scholars as Section Presidents and Endowment/Memorial/Memorial Lecturers

Political History : Dr. M. R. Manmathan (Calicut)
Economic History : Dr. Gnaneswari (Bengaluru)
Social History : Prof. Thalapally Manohar (Kakatiya University)
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Prof. A. Sadasivan
Memorial Lecture : Prof. S.S Sundaram (Madras University).
Kasthuri Misra
Memorial Lecture : Prof. K. Sankari (Annamalai University)

The Proceedings

The Annual Proceedings of the SIHC has been a recognized journal in the UGC CARE List since 2019. The Executive Committee of the SIHC is always concerned about its quality and utility for the academic world. Hundreds of research papers are presenting every year in the annual Sessions of SIHC. A standard procedure is following for the publication of articles in the Proceedings. The Editor and members of the editorial board, based on the recommendation of the Section Presidents, scrutinize the papers, and do final selection for publication. Considering the increasing printing cost

and economic liability to the SIHC, from last Session onwards we are publishing Proceedings online. Today we are living in an age of information and communication technology (ICT). So, the SIHC is obstinate to extend its service to the members at its maximum by using the possibilities of ICT. As a part of that, the soft copies of all hitherto Proceedings of SIHC Annual Sessions (1980-2023) are made available in our website. Now anyone can download at any time from any parts of the world, the articles from any volumes by a single click. Professor Sivadasan, our former General Secretary and present Editor of the SIHC, is the brain behind this achievement. I use this occasion to appreciate and congratulate him for his sincere and dedicated hard work.

Online Registration

This year, as an experiment, we introduced online registration for the delegates. Sending multiple hard copies of research papers, submitting soft copies in CDs, paying registration/delegate fees through DDs etc. are very difficult for the delegates. As a solution to all these fetters, we introduced the online registration system. The entire procedures in the conference from registration to issuance of certificates are digitized. As it is an experiment this year, there may be some difficulties for the delegates and participants of the conference. Kindly cooperate with the organizers and put your valuable suggestions for improvement of the system in the General Body during the last day.

The Host

University College Thiruvananthapuram is a prestigious higher education institution of Kerala. We, the Executive Committee of the SIHC is proud to be here for hosting the 42nd Session of SIHC. Dr. A. Balakrishnan, HoD of the Department of History is the Local Secretary of this Session. Dr. Balakrishnan and his team did praiseworthy hard work for the systematic Organisation of this Conference. From yesterday onwards I am observing how the network of various committees are efficiently coordinated and doing its functions effectively. I use this occasion to appreciate the principal of this college, the Local Secretary, the faculty members of the Department of History and other Departments of this College and nearby colleges, the Convenors and members of various sub committees, the volunteers who are doing their duties without rest, and the dignitaries and public figures in the organising committee.

Once again, I thank all the dignitaries on the dais, off the dais, the most beloved delegates and members of the SIHC, the media persons and other participants of this conference.

Thank you all.....

Dr. Ganeshram

Former Principal

Sri S.R.N.M College, Sattur, Tamil Nadu

DECODING *PEMBILLAI ORUMAI*

CHANGING DYNAMICS AND REDRAWING RIGHTS

Anoop K S

Research Scholar, Kallayam, Chillithodu, Idukki, Kerala

Ever since man began to live in a social environment, there have been constant struggles for rights. If we look at the cause of social movements in any society around the world and in India, that is mainly due to the dissatisfaction of the people with the system.¹ Struggles of various eras to gain rights as individuals or groups have played a major role in history-making. When the social and economic exploitation faced by the plantation workers in Munnar was not resolved, the workers went on strike directly with the company without the support of the labour union or any other political party. Munnar was rediscovered by the tourism industry in the latter part of the 20th century if the plantation business had first "discovered" it in the 19th century. At 1600 meters above sea level, the hill station started to draw tourists from all over the world. The tea plantation has played a major role in making Munnar an important tourist place in India, the facilities surrounding the tea plantation are popular with tourists, but the plantation workers who created it have not received the support they deserve. It was a labour struggle that denied justice. Most of the participants in the strike were women; the movement overturned the general perception that an educated movement in a male-dominated society would not make much of a difference, and managed to garner mass support both regionally and through the media. This is not the first time in the history of Kerala politics that women have intervened for rights, Akamma Cherian, Gouriamma, Rosamma Ponnus and Annie Muskerin have also intervened as part of Kerala social reform movements.²

The movements that have taken place before and after the formation of the state of Kerala have played a major role in the transformation of the socio-political environment of Kerala. The Vaikom Satyagraha 1924, Kerala Salt Satyagraha 1930, Guruvayur Satyagraha 1931, temple entries are organized by Indian National Congress of Kerala branch.³ And the Mozgara struggle,⁴ Kayyur revolt,⁵ Punnappra Vayalar movement⁶ and Karivallur revolt⁷ which were held under the leadership of the communist party.⁸ All these struggles which have been marked in the formation of Malayalees political consciousness and the history of Kerala politics. All this happened with the support of some political organization or party. It is due to the ideological influence of individuals towards the organization. That's why the protests got huge popular support. The Congress and Communist political parties which have been ruling in Kerala for fifty six years can mobilize a large group and their supporters will also get the same support. That is why the efforts to achieve the rights are always with the support of any political forces.

But in such a situation unorganized resistance has taken place. Popular struggles have created decisive movements in our history. Environmental movements such as Plachimada struggle⁹, Protests against Endosulfan¹⁰, movements against feudal lords¹¹, peasant movements¹², forest, river, lake, land rights of tribal communities, policies related to evictions, garbage, climate change, gender relations, transgender issues etc. The struggles are over. Without these struggles, it is not possible for mainstream Kerala society to discuss these issues.¹³ Munnar plantation workers also had this realization and the protest which happened without any advance or support turned into a big movement. Unorganized movements are able to garner popular support and political power more than preplanned struggles under organizations. That may be because the participants are those who are suffering from the same

difficulties. This study examines the internal interactions of unorganized struggles and the social reconstruction they produce. Men turned to jobs such as painting, plumbing, tail work, street vendors and drivers, as plantation work paid less than the basic wages for other jobs. Steady work forced women to take care of families and children, attracted them to plantation work, and promises such as company hospital bonus incentives kept them there.

Human and Caffeine in the Making of Munnar

Munnar became popular in the 1870s with the visit of the British Resident of the then Travancore kingdom John Daniel Munro¹⁴. Munro traveled there to resolve a border dispute between Travancore and the neighboring state of Madras. The Munnar region was the *Jenmam land* of the Poonjar royal line, even though it was governed by the Travancore kingdom. Being a *Jenmam land*, the royal family had complete control over the land as the owner. The first Poonjar Concession was signed in 1877 between a British planter who controlled the area and the Poonjar royal family and began plantation operations centered on Munnar.¹⁵ Munro had a great interest in plantations. He identified the Kanan Devan hills as having the most potential for plantation crops out of all the hills in the area. Thus, in 1877, John Daniel Munro leased the Kanan Devan hills, which included around 1,36,600 acres of property, from Poonjar Koickal Rohini Thirunal Kerala Varma Valiya Raja for an annual lease rate of Rs. 3,000 and a security deposit of Rs. 5,000. The North Travancore Land Planting & Agricultural Society, founded by Munro in 1879, began growing crops in different regions of the region, such as sisal, coffee, cardamom, and cinchona. However, as it was discovered that tea was the best crop for the area, these plantings were abandoned. A.H. Sharp, a European planter, began growing tea at Munnar in 1880. At Parvathy, which is now a part of the Seven Mallay estate, Sharp cultivated tea on a plot of ground that was about 50 acres large. To oversee these properties, the Kanan Devan Hills Produce Company was established in 1897. The Tata-Finlay Group was established in 1964 as a consequence of an agreement between the Tata Group and Finlay. Tata Tea gave the new Kanan Divan Hills Produce Company Pvt. Ltd. ownership of its estates when it was established in 2005.

With the expansion of plantation estates, more Tamil Davits came to work in plantations, which led to the migration of large numbers of Tamil Dalits to plantation work through the *Kangani system* (paying off a person's debt in advance for a promise of employment). Men turned to jobs such as painting, plumbing, tail work, street vendors and driving, as plantation work paid less than the basic wages for other jobs. Steady work forced women to take care of families and children, attracted them to plantation work, and promises such as company hospital bonus incentives kept them there.

The trade unions of the popular political parties were the mediators in the negotiation process between the worker and the plantation company. These interactions often extend to livelihoods, housing, health facilities, water and other infrastructure. In this way trade unions played a crucial role in the daily life of the plantation worker.¹⁶ But the inability of the trade union and the government to represent the concerns of the workers gave way to alternative representatives such as *Pembilai Orumai* and others.

Forging Sisterhood

The case of *Pembilai Orumai* or women united in the Kanan Devan Hills village in Munnar grama panchayath Idukki district of Kerala is considered. The *Pembilai Orumai* gained popularity in 5 September 2015 when various media houses responded that the women plantation workers in numbers of a few thousand were staging protests against a plantation company in the region for wage-related issues. They demand an increase in daily wage from 232 to 500 matching the basic minimum wage of

other manual labor in Kerala and a 20% annual bonus. The work of plantation workers is from 6 am to 6 pm, and for working 12 hours, they get Rs 232 per day as wages. You have to work exactly 26 days a month. A person should hook at least 21 kg in 12 hours and those who hook more than 90 kg are given an incentive of Rs.1 per kg. But not getting proper incentives and bonuses made it difficult for the workers. Similarly, a protest that took place on 5 September 2015 can be related to the frustration that was slowly built around the employee-buy-out model. Through the employee-buy-out model (EBO), the employees of the plantation received certain shares of the company.¹⁷ This system addresses the problem surrounding the alienation of workers from the products, but it creates frustration with the actual amount the employee receives. Shares equipment was less than the employee expected. Although the company has negotiated several times through the labour unions to increase the wages according to the current situation, they have not been able to increase the wages. In the situation of not getting other basic needs, the plantation workers go on strike against the company without any political support. It was a struggle against all the mainstream political parties, against deep rooted patriarchy, against fake trade unionism. Most of the people who were protesting in front of the company office were mostly women, because most of the plucking work was done by women. Initially, the media addressed the movement of women workers wearing jasmine flowers as a jasmine revolution, but as the number of women increased, the movement was named *Pembilai Orumai*. At the end of the 9-day strike, *Pembilai Orumai* became the largest unorganized movement for wage hikes by women.

The Feminist-Intersectional Shift

The movement, which started with no aspects of gender sensitivity, with the sudden surge of women leadership showed intersectional and feminist patterns through widening of the spectrum of demands, i.e, by broadening the understanding of basic rights." Our group did not have any name or specific slogans," says Lissy Sunny, president of *Pembilai Orumai*, we shot whatever came to our minds. But we said "came straight from our hearts" They argued for an improvement in welfare measures, specifically about facilities in the plantation hospital¹⁸. The difficulties that only women have to face in the workplace change the movement's goals. Gender and race expectations had several kinds of consequences for plantation women. Despite having the same workload in the social situation, women do not get equal wages to men. It is a great injustice to have to work for only half of the basic payment received for other jobs.

A woman living in a masculine social structure has to take care of the family along with working. The recognition that by protecting a worker a family itself is protected points to basic needs that are being denied in the workplace.

The Movement is not only a rescue from the exploitation of totalitarianism but also the rescue of women from a male-centred society. The greatest victory of *Pembilai Orumai* was not the bone hike or the salary raise, Sunny says proudly it is the empowerment every woman feels now. women are now talking more about children's education, the kitchen matters in the workplace, the exploitation women face in society, about husbands' alcoholism and family expenses. Social movements can shape our conceptions of human rights.¹⁹ The movement calls for a better social environment to live in, along with awareness of human rights. The movement recognizes the need to provide workers with safe housing and health care. Most of the women who do plucking jobs in the plantation are mothers, and the fear that their children will have to do the same work for them who take care of the house and children is the motivation to get denied rights and improve their living conditions. Women leaders make decisions at moments of struggle and historical change²⁰. It was the demands of the workers that caused the movement to touch

the Kerala political system and it was because of timely women's intervention and decisions. A gender-friendly movement comes under the control of women as the goal of the movement changes. It has led to needs such as required holidays, easy access to hospital facilities, regular breaks in working hours, incentives and bones. menstrual leave, treatment for pregnant women, etc., the movement also calls for a better social environment.

Munnar Panchayat is a place where the Tamil Malayali Dalit section is crowded. The social distinctions of migration and social distinctions between the two create conflicts.²¹ It can be seen in the panchayat assembly elections where the candidate is infiltrated, in Munnar Panchayat only the majority of Tamils are chosen as candidates. In such a social environment, a cold war is going on with each other. The Dalit women workers' strike represents not only a challenge to the tea companies and corrupt trade unions but also an acclaimed Kerala model of development. On top of this, it was a reaction to the entrenched caste prejudices and ethnic stereotyping dalits face in India. The women plantation workers face multiple levels of discrimination because they are at the same time Tamil, subaltern, and female.²² A movement with the name Tamil *Pembillai Orumai* has brought about great changes in the social environment of Munnar plantation workers. Being able to come out of all kinds of social classes and come together for a cause creates a new social environment. The movement also challenged the negative caste prejudice and ethnic stereotyping of the plantation Tamil.

Conclusion

Pembillai Orumai was started to increase the wages of the plantation workers in line with their daily living expenses. The strike drew international attention and the plantation company agreed to increase daily wages and bonuses on 15 May 2015. The movement can challenge a political system that looks at caste, class and gender to select candidates for democratic election as the initiative proves that a highly organized political group can exist and has a place here. This is due to the recognition that employment-related income is most important. This movement has been able to simultaneously challenge capitalist-centric and male-centric modes of organization. That is why the movement becomes a women's only organization until it becomes a trade union and contests general elections. Unexpectedly, this movement has been able to give a huge boost to the other working class as well. The main political party and media in Kerala gave great support to the movement, which was contested without the support of local political elements. But what is more important is that the struggle led to the empowerment of a group that had been enslaved and exploited for generations.

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THE SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF THE OSSAN COMMUNITY IN MALABAR: A STUDY BASED ON THEIR OCCUPATION AND BELIEFS

Rasha Fathim Paikadan

Research Scholar, University of Calicut

Introduction

The Ossan community is a group of Muslims in Kerala, particularly in Malabar, who hold a low social status in the hierarchy. Even today, they face discrimination due to their occupation in society. Marriage alliances are still difficult to achieve for them. This study highlights the religious reforms that aimed to reduce mortality rates and suppress traditional illnesses and inequalities prevalent among Muslims, especially the Ossan community, during the 18th and subsequent centuries in Malabar. In this study, we will examine the role of the Ossan community in shaping and strengthening the Muslim community in Malabar.

The Origin of the Ossan Community

During the 12th to 16th centuries, there were several Islamic communities and trading networks in the Indian Ocean, leading to the exchange of ideas and religious practices, resulting in the formation of a unique Islamic tradition. ¹Although caste plays a crucial role in the Indian subcontinent. Comparing local customs with Islamic teachings, it is evident that the caste system is a distinctive feature of Hinduism. The Muslims of Malabar were known as the Mappila community and were descended from Arab traders or Hindus who converted to Islam. Their customs, language, and attire were similar to those of the Hindus or Christians of Kerala, indicating that they share similar origins and have many common characteristics such as religious practices, language, dress, and more.

Traders from across the Arabian Sea settled along the West Coast and intermarried with existing local communities, such as the Khojas and Bohras of Western India, the Nawayaths of Konkan, and the Mappilas of Malabar. According to Romila Thapar, these traders adopted many of the customary practices of these communities, which at times conflicted with the social norms of Islam. It is a known fact that a significant portion of the Indian Muslim population is believed to be descendants of lower castes and untouchables who converted to Islam. Only a small minority can trace their origins to Arab, Iranian and Central Asian invaders and settlers. Even though the Qur'an promotes social equality, the Indian Muslim community has various caste-like groups. Those claiming foreign descent are considered superior and refer to themselves as Thangals, while those descended from local converts are derogatorily called Ossan and Pusalan. ²

Before the 20th century, the Mappilas of Malabar were divided by caste and separated from their upper-class counterparts to such an extent that the concept of a unified community was almost non-existent. However, by the early decades of the 20th century, a self-aware Mappila community emerged in Malabar. Ronald E. Miller, the author of "Mappila Muslim of Kerala", describes three types of superior Muslims: the Thangal lineage (who are direct descendants of the Prophet), Malabaries (common people), and Ossan(barberies) and Puslan(fisherman) communities.³

The origin of the Ossan community has been a topic of controversy, with conflicting statements being made. Some sources claim that they were lower-caste Hindus who converted to Islam, while others, such as K.V. Krishna Ayyar, believe that the community was formed when one male member of a fisherman family was ordered to be raised as a Muslim to man the Navy and merchant shipping during the summer months. However, the Ossan community itself does not accept this theory. According to them, the community is of Yemeni origin and migrated to Kerala during the 17th century, along with the Thangals who came to expand their business. The Ossans became traditional Muslim barbers of the Malabar Coast and the pure form of the word "Ossaan" is "Otthaan," which is derived from the Arabic word "Khatthaan" meaning an expert practitioner of circumcision. The women (ossathi) of the community were skilled in pre- and post-delivery care of pregnant women.

Who are Ossans and Ossati ?

Ossan is a community status of a group of Muslims in Kerala, South India. Ossan men were the traditional barbers and circumcisers among the Muslims of the central Malabar coast. They were the lowest rank in the hierarchy. The barbers in many parts of the world had historically been recognized with the suffix-surgeon. Their wives were called Ossattis.⁴

The ossati played an important role in society. She acted as a midwife on delivery. Midwives paved the way for gynaecologists, and barber-circumcisers for medical surgeons, the process itself was not a swift rupture from earlier practices but one that was gradually finding its ultimate end in constituting the individual.⁵

The role of injustice in society affecting the Ossan community.

As a service caste, the Ossan was responsible for providing certain services to the village community, for which he was compensated and given exclusive rights. Ossan families were present in every village and were responsible for performing birth and death ceremonies.

During the haqiqa ceremony for a child, the Ossan received a measure of rice, betel leaf, coconut and a certain amount of money, as well as a white cloth. If an animal was sacrificed during the ceremony, the Ossan was entitled to the head of the animal. These rights were typically granted during grand haqiqa ceremonies, especially for the first child, which took place at the mother's home.

The Ossan who performed the haqiqa ceremony was brought to the house by the male party, while the Ossatti of the girl's village was entitled to receive the right hind leg of the sacrificed animal.

In the Malabar region, a ceremony called Markakalyanam, also known as circumcision, was performed on boys after they turned seven years old. The ritual was carried out by Ossan, using a sharp razor. It symbolized the boy's initiation into the Islamic community and was celebrated with lavish feasting and rejoicing, often accompanied by extravagant spending. Just like in marriages, the wealthy would print invitation cards to invite friends and family. Fireworks, Kalari performances, and caparisoned elephants were also part of this ritual. On the seventh day, a new attire was worn and the boy was taken to the nearby mosque. This day was called Ezhukuli, which means bathing on the seventh day of circumcision. Similarly, the Mappilas of Malabar observed Tirandukuli, which means bathing on the seventh day after puberty. On the seventh day, the girl was dressed in bridal attire and sweets made of coconut and jaggery were distributed to friends and family.⁶

During marriages, the Ossan would shave the bridegroom the day before the wedding, for which he received a handsome reward from the bridegroom. When a new bridegroom arrived for salkaram in any family of the village, the Ossan had the right to 'Kannadi Kanikkal' (showing the mirror), for which he

also received a handsome reward according to the status of the bridegroom. The Ossan had the right to be invited to the marriage, and at marriage feasts, he dined with the commoners. Even in functions such as haqiqua, aristocrats would feel it a humiliation to sit on a supra where the Ossan was seated.⁷

In certain places, it was the responsibility of the ossans to inform people about deaths. In some cases, elderly ossans performed bathing and 'kafan ceyyal' (covering the dead body in white cloth) and other rituals at the death location. During the mourning period (pula) at the deceased's house, ossans would shave the heads of visitors, and they were paid by the family for this service. In many coastal cities such as Calicut, Ponnani, and Tellicherry, Mappilas and Puslars have separate mosques for daily prayers and separate Jumma Masjids (which hold Friday prayers) and distinct burial grounds.

During the Hajj ceremonies, there is a high demand for barbers to shave heads. As a result, many wealthy individuals take ossans for Hajj, which would otherwise only be possible for well-to-do service groups in Kerala. Among the service groups in Kerala, only one community, the Ossans, has remained unchanged.

In ossan community, marriages took place within the community, and they did not marry outside the Muslim community. The reason behind this was that in Islam, a dry beard is considered karahath (it is a sharitat term that means it's not considered a sin if it is not done, or it's not considered good if it is done), so the money they received was from this. They used this money to raise their children. Therefore, the other Muslim community did not marry this community due to their occupation. This practice still exists today. There is another group within the ossan community, namely, the female ossatis, who have played a significant role during pregnancy, as midwives, and in other areas.

Before its medicalization and institutionalization, primary postnatal care in the Muslim community was a domestic activity managed by the ossathis/otthachis along with the vannatis. After delivery, ossattis lived in the house for 40 days to take care of the baby and mother. This period is known as prasavaraksha or postpartum. The first three months after delivery are crucial for the mother.

After childbirth, the uterus gradually returns to its normal position and the ligaments, muscles, and tendons associated with it regain their strength. During this period, the mother also recovers her mental strength, which may be low in the first week after delivery. To facilitate the process, the Ossati, the woman who assists the mother, will stay with her for 40 days in her home. The Ossati prepares herbal tea, drinks, and Ayurvedic medicine for the mother. In the morning, the mother is taken for a bath, and after eating, it is recommended that she use warm water for the bath, as water that is too hot or too cold is not good for her. It is also better to avoid taking a bath early in the morning or at night. Applying paste, especially on the abdomen, can help to get rid of itching and spots. The mother can use Lakshadi oil for this purpose. Rubbing oil on the back and bathing in lukewarm water can help relieve back pain. A mixture of Karinochiila, Vathamkollila, tamarind leaf, Parsukaplavila, castor oil, and Kurunthoti can be boiled together and used for bathing. The mother can also take steam baths twice a week. The Ossati prepares herbal food for the mother, and turmeric is added to enhance her natural glow. During the 40 days, the mother should take ample rest to recover fully. After 40 days, the Ossati returns home with rice, coconut, clothes and other gifts.

In the village of Ossatti, midwifery begins at the age of 10 for young girls. They accompany their mothers to assist with deliveries, typically working around 15 to 20 days each month. When attending a birth, they must stay with the expectant mother until the baby is delivered. If the baby is not delivered naturally, they use a technique where the mother eats betel leaves and is given hair to push the baby out, which may induce vomiting. In return for their services, the midwives receive one para of rice or paddy per

pregnancy as payment, while some also receive clothes. Unfortunately, due to their work, the midwives of Ossatti have less time to spend with their families.⁸

Two Ossathi women shared their stories of working as attendants at childbirths. One of them started at the age of 18, after her marriage. She used to go to the families where her mother-in-law worked as an eattumma. Each Ossathi has her own area of service.

The other woman claims that she began working at the age of 10, alongside her mother who was also an attendant. She has extensive knowledge about women's bodies and knows how to help women maintain their beauty after childbirth. After getting married, she was expected to continue working as an attendant to her husband's family.⁹

At first glance, one may assume that the caste system played a role in spreading knowledge through practical teaching and apprenticeships among the Ossathis and Vannatis. However, this is not the case. The caste system has hindered the dissemination of this knowledge by limiting these caregiving practices to certain social groups and labelling these professions as "unclean." As a result, these castes are seen as embodying impurities.

Thus, the traditional knowledgeable bodily carer has now become relegated to a 'dirty labourer' who merely cooks the herbal medicines bought from the Ayurvedic shop and washes soiled clothes, bathes the women and applies oils.

There are some forms of endogamy practiced within the Mappila community, which are theologically against Islamic principles. For instance, some members of the community refuse to marry Ossans. However, the younger generation of Ossans are now opting for alternative professions instead of sticking to hairdressing, which has been their traditional occupation. Most of the Ossathis and Vannatis who are currently working as eattummas, are above the age of 45-50. It is rare to find younger members of their families taking up the same work as they seek social and financial mobility.¹⁰

The rigid division of labour between Ossathis and Vannatis based on caste and religion has broken down and is now dependent on the local availability of carers and their financial needs

Conclusion

Caste still plays a significant role in the Indian subcontinent, even today, not only in the Hindu society but also among Muslims. Ronald E. Miller, the author of "Mappila Muslim of Kerala", describes three types of superior Muslims: the Thangal lineage (who are direct descendants of the Prophet), Malabaries (common people), and Ossan(barberies) and Puslan(fisherman) communities.

The origin of the Ossan community is a topic of controversy, with conflicting statements. Some sources claim that they were lower-caste Hindus who converted to Islam, while others like K.V. Krishna Ayyar, believe that the community was formed when one male member of a fisherman family was ordered to be raised as a Muslim to man the Navy and merchant shipping during the summer months. However, the Ossan community does not accept this theory. According to them, the community is of Yemeni origin and migrated to Kerala during the 17th century, along with the Thangals who came to expand their business.

The Ossans became traditional Muslim barbers of the Malabar Coast, and the pure form of the word "Ossaan" is "Otthaan". It is derived from the Arabic word "Khatthaan," which means an expert practitioner of circumcision. The women (ossathi) of the community were skilled in pre- and post-delivery

care of pregnant women Their role was significant in Malabar society, particularly in community formation. They faced numerous injustices in the society.

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THE VICTIMS OF CASTE ATROCITIES AT VENKAIVAYAL AND NANGUNERI IN TAMIL NADU: A STUDY

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The caste system in India originated in the Vedic period because of the classification of Brahmins and non-Brahmins¹. Based on that, four types of Varna systems were developed in Chaturvarma. The Hindu society was based on Varna system, Brahmins (white), Satriyas (Red), Vaishyas (yellow) and Shudras (black) were classified and this led to the formation of a new theory of “Varnasirama Dharma” in Hindu society². Vedas are divided into four categories; Rig, Yajur, Sama, Atharvana, Rig Veda is divided into 10 Mandals, the Tenth Mandal in the “Purusha Sukta” tells about the “Varna System³” which states that Brahmin is the configuration of Brahma, Sathyariya is emperor, Vaishya is mercantile and Shudra is shopkeeper⁴.

The Purusha Suktam hymns 1090 in the Tenth Mandal of the Rig Veda of Untouchability speaks of the four classes in Hindu society⁵. The fourth class was considered the outcasts of society. Shudras were used to perform all the dirty work by people deemed higher in society. This phenomenon has led to social practices like pollution and untouchability in society. Then caste unification was said to be Dharma Shastras⁶. Through this, people's work was determined based on the caste of their birth. Through this, the system of untouchability was created in Hindu society.

During the Sangam age in Tamil Nadu, the social structure was created based on five types of land. They were classified as Kurinji, Mullai, Marutham, Neithal and Palai⁷. The people living in the land of Kurinji were called Kuravar, those living in the land of Mullai were called Aayar, those living in the land of Marutham were called Plowmen, those living in the land of Neithal were called Bharatavar, and those living in the land of Palai were called Maravar⁸. And the people who lived here divided themselves into two groups, upper and lower.

Prevention of Atrocities Act

The Prevention of Atrocities Act is a law enacted to prevent atrocities against Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes in India and to arrest, prosecute and punish those who commit acts of violence against that community and protect their rights⁹. In India, the Abolition of Untouchability Act of 1955 was brought by the Parliament of India. It was renamed as the PCR Act (Protection of Citizenship Act) in 1976. The Act is applied only to Scheduled Caste and initially did not apply to Scheduled Tribes. Due to the ineffectiveness of this Act, the Parliament setup a committee headed by 'Illayaperumal'. The Prevention of Atrocities against Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Act was brought in 1989 on the recommendation of that committee. But this Act was implemented very late in 1995¹⁰.

The last Congress regime did not initially think of strengthening the Act and then in 2014 it was sent to a Parliamentary level committee to add some clauses to win the elections held in February 2014. The BJP government that came to power later brought the SC/ST Atrocities Amendment Bill in 2015. In August 2015, BJP's Social Justice Minister Thavarchand Gehlot passed new amendments in the Lok Sabha. The bill was passed in the Rajya Sabha the same month and President Pranab Mukherjee gave

his assent to the bill in December 2015¹¹. It was immediately published in the Central Government Gazette on January 1, 2016, and the Act came into force on January 26 of the same year¹².

Grounds for Punishment under the Atrocities Act

1) Encroachment of Panchami land by other communities, 2) Practice of the double tumbler system in tea shops, 3) Pointing by name of a specific caste.

Indian Penal Code

As the English rulers felt that a general set of criminal laws was necessary for the whole of India, various laws were enacted. Based on that, these laws were created in 1860. It was later implemented in 1862. The Act was drafted by Lord Macaulay and four other legal experts. The Act consists of 23 chapters and 511 Articles¹³.

Untouchability in Sangam Literature

The songs dealing with untouchability related to human life are present in the Sangam literature. Regarding untouchability, poet Kadiyalur Uttarankannan has mentioned the following in his Sangam literature entitled Perumpanatrupadai¹⁴.

It rained in Mathat Kamugin
Pudaisoo Nengin Mupudai Kealkai
Aru Selvam will satisfy the hunger of many people.
Stir in the sorrel.
Next to Veeya Yanar
Polygonal Elongated Bogi Nannagar
Turn on the window and ceiling lights.

Wealth of Vada Vall **Perumpanatrupadai, Lyrics -370**

People who live here tell us about the Valli Koothu that they see to make them realize that they are low class.

Palm Drink

Kal Kondik Kudikampakat Nath Korkai Yo: Nasai Peruga is a step learned from the Madurai Kanji song "The citizens living in slums in Korkai Harbor eat stone and rejoice in wealth". The practice of despising and setting aside the areas where they lived occurred during the Sangam period¹⁵. **Madurai Kanji, Lyrics 138**

Tamil tradition and Tamil people's welfare, untouchability and four caste discrimination existed in Tamil Nadu during the Sangam period¹⁶. **Purananuru Lyrics 183**

Thiruvalluvar spoke in detail about the caste inequalities in Tamil Nadu.

"Though born under Kalladhar
Sing all learned"

It says that an uneducated person is born in a high caste, but like an educated person born in a low caste, he is devoid of pride¹⁷. **Tirukkural, Political Power, Lyrics 409**

He interjects that in the slave society the shelter of the slaves was a simple hut like food and clothing etc., small huts thatched with straw and grass became their shelter¹⁸.

A large number of people Instead of allowing the slave people to build huts inside the town, he ordered them to build huts on the outskirts of the town¹⁹. **Pattinampalai, Lyrics 75 - 76**

According to Bharathiyar

There are no castes, papa

It is a sin to raise the pool

Justice is held in high esteem.

Those who have a lot of love are Melur

According to Thirukkural

It is special for begetting other living beings.

Do business diversity

Mahatma Gandhi Says

“Untouchability is a sinful Act.

Untouchability is a great crime.

Untouchability is an inhuman Act.”

According to Gandhi Many of us have read these lines in our textbooks. But the question arises in everyone's mind as to whether they are only marginal and not yet fully implemented. The untouchable events that took place in Venkaivayal village make us see that. The event has caused various shocks among social activists. Does anyone mix human waste with drinking water? How did they get this inhuman attitude to their minds? What kind of animals are they? It has raised various questions about whether the caste mentality is too cruel. It has been found that on December 25, 2022, some mysterious persons had mixed human waste in the overhead water tank for the drinking water use of Scheduled Caste People in Venkaivayal village under Muthukkadu Panchayat in Kandarakottai block of Pudukottai district, Annavasal union, Tamil Nadu²⁰.

Vengavayal at The Height of Caste

At a peak of caste discrimination in Venkaivayal village, some people mixed human waste in the overhead water tank used by the Scheduled Castes. Following this, local youths Muthukrishnan, Sudarsan and Muraliraja went to the top of the water tank and were shocked to see that the water was turbid and had faeces in it. In this regard, Mr. Kanagaraj along with his six-year-old daughter Gopika Sri filed a complaint on 26th December 2022 at Vellanur Police Station that some unknown persons mixed faeces in the drinking water. Based on this, a case has been registered under Indian Penal Code Section 277, 328, 3(a)(b) 3(1) and 3(2) and the police are searching for the suspects²¹.

District Collector Kavita Ramu and District Superintendent of Police Vanditha Pandey, who heard about the incident, went to the spot and heard the grievances of the affected people and the Vellanur police registered a case and questioned around 75 people²². Based on this, a special investigation team consisting of two Deputy Superintendents of Police and four Police Inspectors was formed under the

leadership of Pudukottai. Additional Superintendent of Police who investigations conducted on. When there was no progress, the then-DGP Sailendrababu ordered the transfer of the cases to CBCID²³.

Based on that, they investigated around 147 people and recorded their testimonies in the areas of Venkaivayal, Thayoor and Muthukadu for the last three months. Police suspected that around 11 people were involved in this case. A petition has been filed by the CBCID police in the Pudukottai Atrocities Court asking the suspects to undergo DNA testing.

It is at this stage that a new piece of information related to this case has created a stir according to which the results of the water test conducted at the Obstetrics Science Laboratory in Chennai have revealed that the excrement mixed in the overhead water reservoir is that of a woman and two men. Based on this, it has been decided to conduct a DNA test on about 11 people based on the court's order. Once the test results are available, the details of whose waste was mixed in the overhead water tank will be known. The CBCID police said that the real culprits would be found²⁴.

Formation of Special Investigation Team

In Venkaivayal issues, a sub-committee consisting of Social Justice Monitoring Team members Swaminathan, Devdas, Rajendran, Karunanidhi and Dr. Shanti Ravindran visited the site and inspected the overhead water tank where human waste was mixed. They conducted an inquiry with the people of the area and collected various details. Based on the investigation conducted by this committee, they opined that this incident seems to be an expression of violence and untouchability. And the affected people are in great distress. They said that they would report to the government after discussing the matter with the District Collector and District Superintendents of Police. Various organizations including CPM, VCK, Congress, Aamadhmi Party, Ambedkar Movement and Naam Tamilar Party have petitioned the Social Justice Monitoring Sub-Committee for an honest investigation into the issue of human waste mixed in the water tank and not to create false criminals²⁵. More than 90 days have passed since the case was registered under sections of the Prevention of Atrocities Act and Indian Penal Code regarding the incident in Vengaiavayal was transferred to the CBCID²⁶.

The case was taken up for trial in the presence of Chief Justice Raja and Bharatha Chakravarthi. Additional Chief Advocate Ravindran, appearing for the Tamil Nadu government, filed the investigation report of the CBCID police investigating the case in court. Expressing regret that there had been no progress in the investigation of the case more than 90 days after the incident, the Madras High Court ordered the Tamil Nadu government to set up a one-man inquiry commission headed by retired judge Satyanarayan. Further, they conducted a proper investigation into the Venkaivayal incident and were ordered to submit a report within two months, based on which the Tamil Nadu government has made arrangements for the same²⁷.

Prohibition of Entering Temples and Worship

The District Collector and the District Superintendent of Police heard that the Scheduled Caste people of the area had been denied permission to worship at the Ayyanar Temple in Thayoor for many generations and brought the Scheduled Caste people to worship at the Ayyanar Temple. The District Collector was greatly shocked when Samiyadi said that you should not go to the temple. Realizing that even God sees caste, the District Collector ordered immediate action against Singammal. On the order of the District Superintendent of Police, Nandita Pandey, Singammal was booked under the Prevention of Atrocities Act and arrested²⁸.

Double Tumbler System

Based on a complaint received by the district collector that the double tumbler system was being followed in the tea shops in the Vengaivayal areas, especially in Thayoor village, they went and inspected in person. Evidence of the use of the double tumbler method has been found in it. Immediately, a case was registered against the owners of the shop, Mukhaiyya and Meenakshi, under the Prevention of Atrocities Act and they were arrested. The district collector has also warned that whoever is connected with this incident will be arrested and appropriate action will be taken²⁹.

Nangunery Caste Atrocities

In an incident in Tamil Nadu earlier on 9th August 2023, a Scheduled Caste school student, Chinnadurai, was attacked by three students wielding a machete. His sister was also attacked while she tried to interfere. Scheduled Caste people continue to face violence in some form or the other across India every day. However, the incident, which took place on 9th August 2023, in Nanguneri in Tirunelveli district, shocked the State as the perpetrators were school students, who belong to the numerically dominant community in that region³⁰.

The Political Factor

The Dravidian parties - the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam - and all State parties have an incidence in the State. While it is true that these parties, apart from the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), do not support these caste organizations, the ruling parties rarely speak against them or take action when there are transgressions committed by these organisations. This is for the reason that these political parties are conditional on the vote bank of the numerically foremost OBC communities. There is political competition to conciliate them. The political parties, which see no contradiction with these caste organisations, are quick to form an electoral alliance with them if they manage to mobilize their communities²¹.

After opposing the hegemony of Brahmins and pursuing the politics of anti-Brahminism, the Dravidian movement did not do much to oppose the dominance of powerful OBC communities or speak about these issues vociferously. It is only Scheduled Caste and Left organisations and individuals who are spotlighting the extent of the violence that Scheduled Caste face that face in everyday life. Pandit Iyothee Thass's Thamizhan newspaper reported a lot of such incidents in the early 20th century. Intellectuals rarely speak about these evils in Tamil Nadu today. If Scheduled Caste flags the violence and prejudice, Brahmins are portrayed to be the common enemy and the voices of Scheduled Caste were disregarded and suppressed. In Tamil Nadu, Scheduled Caste has historically been at the forefront and continues to be ideological opponents of Brahminism. It is factual that Brahminical domination exists and should be conflicting. However, does that mean that the issues faced by Scheduled Caste should not be discussed and debated in a transparent manner³²?

Ushering in Reform

Rather than suppressing the Scheduled Caste critique, social and political organisations must acknowledge that there is an urgent need to address the issue of violence against Scheduled Caste in the State. They must discourage the formation of caste-based organisations, and delegitimize existing caste organizations. Governments must stop participating in 'guru poojas' and establishing memorials for caste leaders and the idea of equality should be propagated earnestly in schools, colleges and workplaces. In schools and colleges, monitoring committees that involve teachers and parents must be set up to handle

the issue of discrimination. The police must be held accountable where there is lethargic investigation and The Dravidian movement should stand for social justice. The criticism of Scheduled Caste activists, political parties and intellectuals is not to contradict the achievements of the progress on the social justice front in the last 100 years, but only to point out the chasm between its haughty ideals and the situation on ground in an effort to correct its course in the pursuit of inclusive social justice³³.

Nanguneri Incident

A 12th Class Scheduled Caste student and his younger sister were attacked with sickles inside their home at Nanguneri in Tirunelveli district on Wednesday night by three of his schoolmates hours after complaining to the headmaster in opposition to them. A 60-year-old family member of the victims, who was among those holding a complaint demanding police action against the suspects who belong to a foremost community, fainted and died.

The victims are students of a Government-aid school in Valliyoor. Their parents are daily wage employees. "The schoolboy was being hassled at his school by some 11th Class and 12th Class students who were supposedly forcing him to run errands for them. They still asked the boy to buy cigarettes for them. Unable to bear their torture, the Scheduled Caste victim shared the pestering with his parents and stopped going to school, recently, the school administration summoned him and his parents. The boy explained to the school headmaster the mental agony he was experiencing at the hands of the harassers. The school administration warned the Juveniles and advised the boy to return to class. After the class hours on Wednesday, the harassers confronted the boy in the school and warned him of terrible consequences for complaining to the headmaster," The same day around 10.30 pm, the three prevailing caste students barged into the victim's home and assaulted him with sickles. The boy's sister, who attempted to defend his brother, also suffered injuries. When some neighbours hurried to their house on hearing their cry for assistance, the attackers fled the spot. The siblings were rushed to Nanguneri government hospital with haemorrhage injuries and later to the Tirunelveli Medical College Hospital. Flaying delayed by the Nanguneri police in reaching the crime spot, the victims' relatives staged a roadblock demanding social justice.

According to the Superintendent of Police, Tirunelveli district, on Wednesday at approximately 10.30 pm, three students inwards at Chinnadurai's home and began assaulting him with sickles. The gang of students brutally attacked Chinnadurai with sickles and they targeted every part of Chinnadurai's body he suffered severe injuries and his house curved into a pool of blood. While Chinnadurai's sister intervened to stop the molestation, the gang also attacked her. The victim chinnadurai suffered 15 cuts on his body while his sister had five cuts. In this incident, six students have been taken into custody so far in connection with this Caste crime. The Nanguneri police booked 6 people, all aged between 16 and 17 years, under the Schedule Caste and schedule tribes (prevention of Atrocities) act and several other sections of the IPC as well as 294(b), 307, 352, 506(2) among others. The accused were detained and sent to the Juvenile Justice Board³⁴.

The incident sparked fury in the area as the relatives of the victims had held protests and blocked the road, demanding justice for the victims. Amid tension in Nanguneri, the Tamil Nadu State government School Education Minister Anbil Mahesh Poyyamozhi assured in a video "This is the government for Social Justice As an elder brother. I will bear the expenses for victim Chinnadurai's higher education. Nangunery incident shows how deeply Caste poison has permeated even the young students. The Nanguinary Caste crime has become yet another incident of how people are being discriminated against on the grounds of Caste in Tamilnadu, which Claims to be the land of Social Justice.

Chief Minister MK Stalin's constitution of a one-man committee led by retired Madras High Court judge K. Chandru is to identify ways to avert Caste induced aggression among school and college students and promote harmony among them.

One man committee headed by retired Madras High Court judge K Chandru recommended action to be taken on the issue and recommended to the government to create a situation devoid of Caste and communal discrimination among the school and college students. The committee would elicit opinions from academicians, students, parents, social thinkers and journalists among others and submit a report on the same remarking that the Nangunery incident suggestion has demonstrated that school and college students were needlessly involved in Caste and communal issues in some places.

Even if a separate committee or special commission is appointed by the government or the court to investigate untouchability scandals in society, there are more opportunities for criminals to get away easily. Only tough new punishments for those involved in such acts of untouchability can be suppressed with an iron hand, social activists and social thinkers insist. No matter which commission is set up to investigate the complaints of untouchability in the Tamil community, no matter if it investigates and sends a report to the government, political power through money power, the ruling class can easily get away with such crimes, no matter what law is passed and punishment is given, it is only the mind of man that needs a change. The Dravidian movements that rule by saying Dravidaman Periyarman talk about social justice, self-respect and women's liberation. The question arises, where are these movements today? The principles, theories and ideologies followed by social reformers like Thanthai Periyar, Vallalar, Vaikunda Samigal in Tamil Nadu are still only in name. This situation will change only when action is given to it. Indian society is divided in different ways based on gender discrimination, ethnic discrimination, language discrimination, religious discrimination, caste discrimination. In such circumstances, the learned lot must ponder how many more centuries would be required to end such practices of untouchability. The criticism of Scheduled Caste activists, political parties and intellectuals is not to negate the achievements of the movement on the social justice front in the last 100 years, but only to point out the gap amid its soaring ideals and the position on ground in an endeavour to correct its should course in the recreation of inclusive social justice.

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THE SITUATIONAL NATURE OF THE PROLETARIAN IDENTITY IN THE POLITICS OF TAMIL NADU

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Introduction

The introduction of a dual government system through the Government of India Act of 1919 by the British government marked the beginning of electoral politics in the nation.ⁱ The Madras Presidency, one of the prominent provinces of the British government had its first election in 1920. The Justice party which stood by the side of the working class, the women, the non-Brahmins and other depressed groups had success in it. The victories of the justice party in successive terms shaped the nature of electoral marketing in Tamil Nadu. The success of the proletarian revolution in Russia had earned a huge attraction and inspired hearts in Tamil Nadu. ⁱⁱIt has been the unwritten rule that, a political party which aims for electoral success, have to concentrate on the benefits of the depressed classes especially the proletarian. Though electoral politics is not a part of communism, the principle played a significant role in the elections in the region. The discussion on such a role is the prime motive of this article.

The initial electoral politics

Electoral politics began in Tamil Nadu in the year 1920. The most prominent parties contested in the elections were the Congress and the Justice Party. The region of Tamil Nadu had its nature of reflecting on the victories of the reformers. The communal GOs passed by the Justice Party were significant. They insisted on the education of women, reservations for Non-Brahmins ETC. During the period between 1920 to 1937, the congress party does not secure administrative privilege in the Madras presidency. The rule of the justice party and the movements led by Periyar resulted in the stagnated status of the Congress in Madras' presidencyⁱⁱⁱ.

Though the Congress Party provided a huge quantity of support to the working class, there were lesser groups were attracted to the party. After a period of 17 years since 1920, the Congress party gained a majority in the presidency. However, the office did not last for the full tenure. Both the Communist and the Congress parties were banned by the British government because of anti-war propaganda.

The Proletarian approach of EV. Ramasamy

EV. Ramasamy the prominent leader should not be ignored while discussing the political history of Tamil Nadu. Periyar remains one of the important pro-proletarian leaders. He visited the newly formed USSR in 1931. As a pro-proletarian activist, he participated in many strikes by the working class. He maintained a staunch relationship with the eminent communist leader, Singaravelu.^{iv} Periyar is one among the leaders, who proclaimed that the upliftment of the proletarian class would not be possible unless the eradication of imbalances insisted by the birth of people according to the Varnashrama.^v

Dravidian Politics and Proletarian Identity

With the formation of the DMK in the year 1949, Dravidian politics had been processed towards the diplomatic journey to achieve administrative power. The DMK was the first ever non-proletarian party which extended its support to the working class as part of electoral politics. During the late 1960s other than the CPI and CPM, a large number of labourers got engaged in the DMK. The party had

a significant number of eminent personalities in the field of art forms and literature. The most important thing which attracted the working class towards the party was the eloquent mastery of its leaders.vi

The episodes of the AIADMK in the electoral history of Tamil Nadu can also be considered during the discussion on proletarian identity. When the party formed out of the DMK, the Fan followers of MG. Ramachandran an eminent actor engaged in it. MGR during his days in DMK as well as AIADMK, provided various art forms supporting the proletarian class. After MGR, the vibrant and diplomatic leader J. Jayalalitha also formulated many eminent reforms for the benefit of the working class. As a staunch opponent of the DMK, the party extended support to the proletarian class to gain electoral strength. Another important and effective political party which advertised itself with proletarian identity as a tool was the MDMK. The party also had its origin in the DMK. The members of the party had participated in various proletarian struggles. As an adaptation according to time and situations, the party contests in the elections as a partner in the group of DMK or AIADMK alliances.

Marx, Ambedkar and Periyar

The three important personalities produced a huge impact on the electoral politics of Tamil Nadu, especially after the birth of Indian sovereignty. The two prominent communist parties such as the CPI and the CPM were born out of the influence and the impact of Marxism. These two were the official proletarian parties of Tamil Nadu.

The Patali Makkal Katchi, was founded by Doctor Ramadas in the year 1989. The Tamil word Patali itself means the proletarian class. The party at the beginning, adopted the principles of Marx and Ambedkar. According to the time and situation the party got blended with the Vanniyar Sangam. At present the politics undertaken by the party never depends on the proletarian aspects.

Another important political party which was founded in the year 1972 was the VCK or the Liberation Panthers. The party had Tamil nationalism at the beginning. In later times, it was influenced by personalities such as Marx Ambedkar and Periyar. The Party also believes in the advertisement through proletarian identity.

Conclusion

As a democratic mode of elections turned as a free enterprise way of obtaining power, marketing the identity is important. Most of the political personalities of Tamil Nadu throughout its electoral history, have done it with efficiency. Though they were influenced by various principles, they stabilized their presence in the limelight by adopting a soft corner towards the proletarian class. Though the CPI and CPM were founded with the intent of adopting a proletarian dictatorship, they adapted to the nature of time and situations, making them accessible for electoral politics. The DMK and other prominent parties, which were founded to participate in electoral politics, used Communist principles as an advertising tool to gain the support of the civilians from the working class for electoral success. Particularly in Tamil Nadu, most of the common civilians who are from the working class itself were attracted and attached to the parties which are electoral capitalistic than the parties which are proletarian-centric. The left-wing organizations were formed to criticize and counter the right-wing governmental policies and principles. The present-day conditions force them to act within the ruling principle cooperatively. The role of proletarian identity in the electoral politics of Tamil Nadu can be considered as a situational one. For example, Periyar quit communism to involved in the movements against caste inequality and other social imbalances in full swing. In contrast, the PMK, the party founded with the intent of uplifting the proletarian class, blended with the Vanniyar Sangam for the betterment of the Vanniyar caste. Thus a

conclusion can be made that the socio-political and economic situations and needs feature the role of proletarian identity in Tamil Nadu.

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ANALYZING THE EVOLUTION OF HISTORICAL DYNAMICS IN MALABAR, POST-BRITISH ARRIVAL

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Introduction

Britain was the last colonial entrant in the land of Malabar. When they established their dominance in north India and the East India Company acquired control of Bengal in 1765, almost the same time the British got a foothold over there in Malabar as well. After the fall of Tippu Sultan, they became the ever-powerful European colonial power in India. Following the establishment of its rule in Malabar how its administrative policies shaped a wider rift between the two major native communities- the Hindus and the Muslims and their influence radically transformed the entire social setup, revenue system, and the treatment of peasant classes and the landed gentry and the local chieftains and finally, all these factors culminated into various revolts and upheavals in the entire Kerala region during the British rule.

Emergence of the British Era in Malabar

The history of Malabar is an intricate narrative marked by centuries of cultural intermingling, trade, and colonial rule. This coastal region, today a part of the Indian state of Kerala, has a history that dates back to ancient times. However, it was during the British era that Malabar underwent significant transformations that continue to influence its identity today. The British presence in Malabar began in the 17th century when the British East India Company established trading posts along the Malabar Coast. Over the years, they extended their influence and eventually took control of the region. This marked the beginning of an era of British colonialism in Malabar, which had a profound impact on the land, its people, and its culture.

Like the other Western powers, the English also came to Kerala for the purpose of trade. In 1615, Captain Keeling concluded a treaty with the Zamorin according to which the English were to assist Calicut in expelling the Portuguese from Cranganore and Cochin. In return, the Zamorin gave the English freedom of trade in his dominions. In 1664, the Zamorin gave the English permission to build a factory at Calicut for their trade purposes.

By the end of the 18th century, the British established themselves as a major political power in Malabar. Malabar was ceded to the English East India Company by Tippu Sultan as per the Srirangapatnam Treaty signed on 18th March 1792. The new colonial rule not only transformed the traditional socio-economic and political system of this geographical area but also destroyed the basic equilibrium of the Muslim society in Malabar. However, according to Stephen Frederic Dale, the Muslims of Malabar did not feel this change as intensely as the displaced Muslim aristocracy and large 'Ulama' class in North India¹ The British triumph especially damaged the interests of the rural Mappila population, for in first defeating Tippu Sultan and then imposing their own administration they not only destroyed the autonomy of the Mappilas in the Southern Taluqs, but also made it possible for the propertied Hindu castes to

reassert their social and economic dominance of rural society. Those castes also acquired new powers of coercion and eviction over their tenants in the rulings which British officers and courts made to regulate Malabar land tenures.² By the time that these rulings and related measures concerning local administration were passed in 1818 there were already signs that some Mappilas would not readily accept their renewed but more rigid subordination in rural Malabar. The first act of defiance was openly sanctioned by a member of the Mappila *Ulama* thereby providing the first hint of the dominant role that the Muslim religious class would assume in the social and economic protests of Malayali Muslims during the British period. The genesis of the Muslim revolt could be opened here after the British defeated Tippu Sultan and also their triumph thoroughly damaged the interests of the rural Malabar population and destroyed their autonomy over their land. The Muslim *Ulamas* discontent with these policies also resulted in designing the operations against the British administrative excess.

With its new acquisition, the British East India Company had realized the ambition of every European trading nation to control the coveted Malabar spice trade. Until the worldwide wars with France in the middle of the eighteenth century the Company, unlike its Portuguese and Dutch predecessors and competitors, generally eschewed the use of armed force as a means of securing its trade. Indeed, until 1766 the Company's settlements in Kerala were small and its interests were strictly commercial. The transformation of its role between 1766 and 1792 was almost entirely the result of the altered political situation in the Carnatic and Haider Ali's rise to power in Mysore.³ By 1791 the East India Company's troops had gained control of most of Kerala north of Cochin, and they seized this unique opportunity to realize the long-frustrated European dream of controlling the spice trade by simply annexing the area.

The growing British hostility towards the Mappilas increasingly tended to be focused on the revenue question. The inability of the Zamorin to fulfil his Zamindari role forced the British to temporarily assume direct control of his revenue collections in 1796 CE. The Mappilas posed the greatest obstacle to revenue collections. In January 1797 the British discovered that their officer could not even complete a survey of the southern Taluqs because of the Mappila resistance, and even after two years, the situation was virtually unchanged. It was only when several Mappilas organised an open military challenge to their authority in January 1800 that officials finally turned to systematic military suppression of refractory Mappilas, and in the course of suppressing the revolt, they finally destroyed the autonomy which some Muslims had enjoyed for almost a generation.

British officials had from the very first promoted the restoration of the predominantly Hindu, *Jenmi* (land lords) class. Their policy was only tempered by the perceived necessity of conciliating the Mappilas. The eagerness of men such as Duncan to act upon "the general principles of justice" and restore the old landed class stemmed partly from the consideration of the British alliance with the Malayali rajahs against Tippu Sultan, but it was also founded on the belief that in Malabar they had discovered a system of landed property perhaps even "more perfect than that of England".⁴ Closely related to the policy of restoring the position of *Jenmis*, and later also connected with the problem of the Mappila outbreaks, was the preference shown by British administrators for upper-caste Hindus as local government officials.

It was the Mappila's willingness to challenge the existing order, particularly when that challenge was mobilized by the *Ulamas* that had prompted William Macleod in 1892 to deprecate the continued conversion of large numbers of fishermen, boats men, and coolies to Islam, a process he could almost observe from the Collectorate Office in Calicut. That is, as Muslims these castes shared an ideology.

There were, though, obvious analogies between the Mappilas' situation and that of other Indo-Muslim communities which were socially and economically subordinate to a landed Hindu class whose interests

were enforced by the mechanisms of British law and administration.⁵ The introduction of newer colonial laws, including the laws of property ownership, taxation systems, official attitudes towards the Muslim community, etc., created great discontentment among the Muslims of Malabar which resulted in the upheaval of this community against the lords and the state in the beginning of the 20th century. The following sections of the paper will examine these changes and the impacts of these on the Muslim community of Malabar during the colonial regime of the British.

Administrative changes in Malabar

In the form of the East India Company, the British came to the Malabar Coast in the seventeenth century. By 1694 they had established an important trading post, and factory, at Talassery in north Malabar. British commercial interests in India were a personification 'of merchant capital.'⁶ Though Malabar came into the hands of the British according to the terms of the Treaty of Sreerangapatanam, as mentioned elsewhere in this chapter, it was not considered expedient to take charge of the administration of the province straightaway. Rather, General Aber Cromby, governor of Bombay, was deputed to negotiate provisional agreements with local rulers regarding the collection of revenue for the coming year and to recommend an interim arrangement for the administration of the newly acquired territories in Malabar. On his recommendation two commissioners, Mr. Farmer and Major Dow, negotiated settlements for the collection of revenue with all the local powers including the Zamorin and the Raja of Chirakkal. Thus the first step they had taken was the action to ensure a fixed annual income to the company, as they had done elsewhere in India. Mr. Farmer and Major Dow were followed by Jonathan Duncan and Charles Beddam as the Commissioners. They evolved a new administrative system in Malabar. They allowed free trade of all goods in Malabar except that of pepper which was made the monopoly of the company.

In 1793 Malabar was divided into two separate administrative units north Malabar and south Malabar. Special Superintendents were appointed with their centres at Thalassery and Cherpulassery. The Chief Magistrate at Calicut was to supervise the activities of the superintendents. In 1800 the Malabar province was taken out of the Bombay presidency and joined with the Madras presidency. Subsequently, the posts of commissioners were terminated. One principal collector and three subordinate collectors were appointed in 1801 in Malabar. The Judicial administration was done in the early period of the colonial occupation by the Superintendents of the northern and southern areas. As per the judicial reforms introduced by Cornwallis in 1802, the Judicial and executive powers were separated. As a result of this, district courts were started at Calicut and Thalassery and a provincial court at Thalassery. Separate district judges were also appointed.

Nowhere in India have foreign trading and commercial and religious interests interacted with the indigenous socio-economic and political institutions more intimately than they have in Malabar. Reforms were also introduced in the provincial administration. As a part of the Madras Municipal Reforms Act of 1865, Calicut, Thalassery, Kannur and Palakkad were made municipalities. The Malabar Compensation for tenants' Improvement Act of 1887 was issued to give protection to the tenants from the forcible eviction of the landlords. However, this act when came into practice could not solve the problems of the tenants.

Changes in agrarian relations

Along with the petty trade, the Muslims of Kerala controlled the agricultural lands also from the early period. It is well known that some Muslims had already begun acquiring agricultural land in the sixteenth century, for Sheikh Zainuddin mentions that they were owners of both lands and gardens. ⁷The Hindu chieftains in the coastal regions needed the support of these wealthy and enterprising groups and granted

them liberal concessions in their trade and other businesses.⁸ Most of the Mappilas settled in the coastal towns were employed as petty traders, but a large proportion of them in the interior had taken agriculture as their livelihood. They enjoyed both the monopoly in the spice trade as well the political powers before the advent of the Portuguese. Both these powers of the Muslims started to deteriorate with the advent of the European powers on the Malabar Coast.

The British colonialist administration completely changed the land relationships in Malabar. According to tradition, the Malabar land system consisted of three parts: the *Janmi*, the *Kanakkar* (cultivating tenants) and the agricultural labourers. The Janmis had the hereditary right to the soil and were partially Nambutiris and largely Nairs. Before 1792 the Kanakkar held the land virtually as a freehold, which was not redeemable by the Janmi at all, although the Kanakkar paid the renewed fees every twelve years and on the death of the holder, for the privilege of continuing to hold the land.⁹ The agricultural labourers had only certain privileges in the land. The Kanakkars could not be evicted, even for the failure to pay the pattam (tenancy).

The British authorities were very much hostile to the Mappilas and considered them as the helpers of the Mysorean rulers. The Nairs and the Nambutiris were returning and re-establishing themselves, but during their absence, many Mappilas had taken possession of the land they had previously held. The British restored the right of these chiefs immediately after the withdrawal of the Mysorean rulers which aggravated the problem of agrarian settlement of the country by acting "in their avidity to amass wealth, more as the scourge and plunderers than as the protectors on their respective little states".¹⁰ The Mappilas opposed vehemently on the restoration of the Hindu rajahs and chiefs to their estates. The revenue assessment itself was unfair; the Mappila peasants had to pay higher rent than that of the Hindu peasants.

Thus, the new government had a difficult time reconciling the conflicting claims to the land of the Nairs and the Mappilas, particularly in checking the widespread Mappila banditry. The customary land rights of the various classes had been disturbed during the short-lived Mysorean rule, and the British administrators attempted to restore them in the course of their first land settlements by appointing the Hindu chiefs again. However, with the silent sanction of the Company administration and the courts, these chiefs implemented the chief forms of oppression like the eviction, of the peasants. These land policies of the British seriously affected the social structure of Malabar. All these policies ultimately resulted in the beginning of revolts against the oppression of the landlords. As one Mappila participant in the revolt of 1896 pointed out the reason for the outbreak was that 'poor folks who have only two or three paras¹¹ of land are ejected and put to trouble by the grant of melcharths (landed gentry) over their heads'.¹²

Most of the participants of these upsurges were the poor Mappila peasants as the rich did not directly come forward for these struggles, but helped the rebels for their motives, and they exploited the religious beliefs of the poor illiterate Mappilas. Mappilas themselves began to question the actions that were threatening the whole community, and some wealthier Mappilas began to exert pressure on the rebels.¹³ The aim of the rebels was freedom from the cruel exploitation of the *Janmis* and they fought against the British when the latter came to the help of the *Janmis*. Regarding the land revenue, in the case of wetland, they had to give 42 per cent of the gross produce to the cultivator, 35 per cent to the government, and 23 per cent to the *Janmi*, the rates fluctuating according to the type of land and the commutation method applied to the produce.¹⁴ The first outbreak occurred in 1836 and thereafter, between 1836 and 1854, twenty-two similar uprisings occurred of which two, one in 1841 and the other in 1849, were quite serious. In general, the outbreaks followed a similar pattern: almost invariably the

outbreak would involve a group of Mappila youths attacking a Brahmin *Jenmi*, a Nair official or *Jenmis'* servants; sometimes it also involved the burning or defilement of temples, and occasionally the burning or looting of landlords' houses.¹⁵

One can agree with the observation that the roots of these agrarian problems in Malabar during the modern period could be traced back to the political settlement of Malabar under the East India Company in 1792. When Malabar was brought under the hegemony of the company a powerful landed class known as *Janmi* or *Janmakkar* was created in this region by the authorities. By the introduction of the new revenue settlement in Malabar after its acquisition in 1792, the authorities completely neglected the customary right of the intermediaries and made a settlement with the new class of *Janmis*.¹⁶ Even the English courts provided the *Janmis* with absolute and unqualified right to the soil and approved that they could evict their tenants at their pleasure after the expiry of the contractual period of tenancy. According to Kurup, 'this kind of agrarian system was not conducive for a prosperous agricultural life and it became one of the reasons for the backwardness of the region and frequent riots in the nineteenth century'. EMS Nambootirippad, the first Chief Minister of Kerala and Miller also note that the problem of serfdom and poverty were the most frequently cited causes of these outbreaks.¹⁷

Emergence of the Anti-colonial literature

During the British colonial period in Malabar anti-colonial literature emerged as an important tool for expressing resistance against British rule and raising awareness about the tyrannical colonial policies and practices.

a. AssaifulBatarAla Man YuwalilKuffar

AssaifulBatarAla Man YuwalilKuffar (The sharp sword against those who commission non-believers (with our affairs)), probably the initial inspiration during the British reign of terror, penned with the aim of exhorting the Muslim community of Malabar to defy and fight against the imperialist forces and their supremacy over the native realm, authored by Syed Alavi. The author not only stood for the tenants of Malabar when they were wronged by the powerful landlords but he presented himself as a symbol of unity and communal amity among the Muslims and the Hindus. Having realized the British tactics of getting Muslims and Hindus fighting against each other ('divide and rule' policy), he brought to common people the fact that the British were the common enemy of both Hindus and Muslims.

b. UddatulUmara e walHukkam li lhanatilKafaratiwaAbdatilAsnam

UddatulUmara e walHukkam li lhanatilKafaratiwaAbdatilAsnam (Preparation of Amirs and rulers to subdue the non-believers and idol worshippers), another well-known anti-British piece of writing produced by Syed FadalPookoyaThangal, published in Arabia and was secretly distributed in the mosques of Malabar. Syed Fadal was a famous scholar, administrator and intellectual. The British eventually banished him to Arabia. The non-believers in the book are the British, and the idol-worshippers, who worked as the British stooges, predominantly consist of upper class chieftains and feudal lords. The essential aim of the work was to instigate the community leaders as well as common people to fight against British colonialism.

c. MuhimmatulMu'minin

MuhimmatulMu'minin (The tasks of the believers) is a 40-page booklet written in Arabi-Malayalam that shows the undeniable presence of the Muslim scholars in the anti-British protest of Kerala. This was one among those many works confiscated by the British. It contains important subjects like Islam's known

cooperation with enemies, the need to support the existence of Khilafat and the importance of preserving the holiness of Jazeerath-ul-Arab. The author, Pareekkutty Musaliyar was the Khilafat Movement Committee Secretary of Thanur of south Malabar, during the 'Malabar riot' period. He presents this work for the purpose of inciting the people to fight against the British colonialists. The issues and topics covered in the book by basing his arguments on the verses of Quran, sayings of Prophet and the words of eminent Islamic scholars. This book asks the Muslims of Malabar to accept the Turkey based Usmani Sultan as Khalifa and fight against the enemy, the British.

Creating inspiration from all these works, made the people to stand up united to fight the British vigorously with profound valour. Fierce battles were fought in different places of Malabar mostly centred on mosques. The British panic strode in front of the organised resistance movement of Mappilas. The religious tenets were incorporated into these works to stimulate the mass anger directed against the British brutalities. In this series of battles of south Malabar, many Muslim fighters and the British lost their lives. The authors of the aforementioned literary works instigated and motivated the general mass and the Islamic rulers of different empires to lead global struggles against the colonial and imperialist forces. Particularly the work composed and interpreted in Arabi-Malayalam was directly influenced the Muslim masses of Malabar.

Malabar Rebellions

Thirty-two Mappila outbreaks are known to have occurred in the Malabar District between 1836 and the Mappila Rebellion of 1921-22, with more than half of them recorded in the first sixteen years of this period. The British themselves had little understanding of how intensely Malayali Muslims felt themselves to be "strangers in a strange land", and if they had understood it seems unlikely that they would have had much sympathy for such an emotion. Their own attempts to resolve the problems of Mappila outrage did not recognise that British presence in Malabar was itself a basic aspect of that problem. During the nineteenth century, they found it difficult, first, to decide what exactly the outbreaks represented and, second, to formulate a coherent policy for dealing with this phenomenon. Some officials focused on the religious context of the attacks even on the religious objectives of some of the Shahids, whether in murdering apostates or simply pursuing martyrdom themselves. Others identified the problem as solely one of the agrarian exploitations. Then by the end of the nineteenth century, a few observers opted for explanations which stressed the interaction of social, economic, and religious factors, but sophisticated interpretations did not usually come complete with sufficiently simple remedies, and some individuals again began to have recourse to those great expectations of the gradual modernisation of society-roads, education and general economic advance -which echoed the aspirations of Jonathan Duncan and other eighteenth-century settlement officers. By the early twentieth century, such expectations seemed to have been justified, for after 1898 there were only two attacks, in 1915 and 1919, one of the lowest rates for any twenty years since the dating of the first outbreak to 1836. However, in August 1921 all those hopes were suddenly shattered when the Mappila Rebellion began, an upheaval which overshadowed the earlier outbreaks and recalled the chaotic period of the late eighteenth century.¹⁸

The outbreak of the Mappila Rebellion in August 1921 conclusively demonstrated that the British had failed to solve the Mappila problem. According to Dale "No one analysed the essence of the Mappila problem in the nineteenth century better than H.V. Conolly, who, after pointing out the parallels between the Malayali situation and that in Ireland, concluded that as long as the land tenure system remained essentially unchanged, the outbreaks could be expected to reoccur. Of course, William Logan made the obvious suggestions in 1882, to radically amend the Malabar land tenure laws, but his proposals foundered on the rock of private property rights and the Government's reluctance to alienate the

influential landed castes, predominantly Nambuthiri Brahmans and Nairs."¹⁹ According to him " the depth of that hostility was to be amply demonstrated in the Mappila Rebellion, but it is difficult to know what measures would have sufficed to have prevented that upheaval, in which the range of violence far surpassed the nineteenth century outbreaks, whether predominantly agrarian or religious in tone. In fact, the rebellion was not just an unusually serious outbreak;

According to Dale's analysis, "Historians of modern India have generally used the Mappila Rebellion as evidence to support their theories about the nature and impact of colonial rule in South Asia. Just as the nineteenth-century outbreaks have been perceived as the archetypical example of an oppressed peasantry rising to protest at the exactions of a newly imposed, imperially oriented market economy, so the rebellion has been interpreted, through both Marxist and nationalist influences, as the great Indian peasant revolt, the first modern popular uprising in twentieth-century India. This habit of exploiting the Mappila Rebellion to support preconceived political or historiographical ideas is remarkably reminiscent of the treatment accorded that earlier upheaval, the Indian mutiny of 1857-58. This probably occurred because the Rebellion, like the Mutiny, did exhibit features which, when viewed from afar, seemed to reflect modern social and political attitudes. The Mappilas did rebel against the British, they enjoyed widespread popular support among Muslims, and mass peasantry took part".²⁰

Conclusion

The Chronicles of Malabar's history, especially during the British era and subsequent transitions, reveal the resilience and adaptability of the region and its people. While British colonialism brought about significant changes in administration, education, and agriculture, the subsequent transitions, including land reforms and political movements, shaped the contemporary identity of Malabar.

British colonization in Malabar initiated a series of significant changes. The British East India Company's arrival marked the beginning of a period characterized by economic exploitation, as Malabar's abundant natural resources, including spices, textiles, and agriculture, were harnessed for trade and profit. These economic endeavours, however, brought about far-reaching consequences for the region. Colonial administration was established, introducing new systems of revenue collection and land tenure. These institutional changes led to shifts in land ownership and agrarian relations, shaping the socio-economic landscape. Concurrently, the British presence led to cultural exchanges, introducing Western education and the English language, which left an indelible mark on Malabar's cultural and social fabric. The colonial era was not without resistance, as the local population mounted revolts and uprisings against British oppression, notably the Mappila Rebellion in the 1920s. The struggle for independence gained momentum, and Malabar, like the rest of India, played a crucial role in this movement.

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THE MOON IN SANGAM LITERATURE

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Introduction

The moon as an element of the cosmic system, has always been an object of significance, throughout the world, even in ancient times. Such a phenomenon existed in the age of Sangam too, where, numerous Sangam classical texts refer to the moon while using it as an object of worship as well as an object of metaphor, to draw comparisons to various things. The paper attempts to bring about the significance of the moon during the Sangam age, using Sangam classical texts as well as other secondary sources such as works of prominent historians such as K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, G.L. Hart, N. Subramanian etc., The Moon's role in astronomy would be discussed in the article, along with how festivals like Karthigai and Panguni are impacted by the moon's alignment for the other planets. The moon, or crescent, would also be addressed from a religious standpoint in the article because young women worship it, especially at night, and because Siva, the god, wears the crescent moon on his head, thus making it a sacred object. The essay would further explain how the moon was revered for its white colour, which was compared to a king's parasol, and how the Sangam writings stressed that monarchs were expected to treat their subjects with grace, much like the moon did.

Object of Worship

The worship of the sun and the moon was practised in the Sangam age, as they were the two visible and useful celestial objects known. And out of these two, the moon was more intimately worshipped than the Sun. The 'crescent moon' was the most common object that was worshipped. This worship of the crescent moon has a vast history. The third phase of the moon, called the 'Pirai' (the crescent) is the 'crescent' worn by Lord Siva on his head. The worship of the crescent moon did not involve any rituals but was the simplest possible, but it was enjoined upon everyone who saw the crescent to worship and it was an ancient practice in Tamilnadu. Women, more than any others particularly favoured and worshipped the crescent moon, but at the same time, it was also mentioned in these Sangam texts that a married woman would worship only her husband and not even her favourite piraiⁱ. The moon was revered as a sacred item. The crescent moon, which appears to have been particularly cherished by ladies in the evening, the bard's lute, which was believed to contain a deity (ananku), and gods wherever they might be, whether in a temple, a tree, or a memorial stone were among the objects that were treasured in the Sangam eraⁱⁱ. In a certain Sangam text, authored by Kadampanur Sandiliyanar, The crescent moon is said to appear rapidly in the red sky, like a broken conch shell piece, for many to worshipⁱⁱⁱ. It was a common practice in the Sangam age to elevate natural forces to the status of gods. There are Sangam texts that describe the moon god as circling the earth, "demonstrating to even the most naive that there is waning and waxing, death and rise^{iv}." The only verse in Purananooru where the moon is referred to be a god, (Purananooru: 22), calls the moon a 'puttel', whereas in another Purananooru song (Purananooru:27), the realm of the puttel, which is probably paradise, is compared to the kingdom of the monarch. This word, which derives from the root putu ("new"), also implies stranger, strange woman, and novelty; And so, G.L. Hart quotes "unfortunately, the application of its etymology is not at all clear"^v.

Paripadal Texts

Some Paripadal texts draw comparisons to moon while singing the praises of Tirumal. One of the texts talks about the appearance of the moon, along with the five elements -fire, wind, sky, land and water, the sun, the lord of rituals, the five planets etc., from Tirumal and were sustained by him^{vi}. Another song from the same corpus talks about Thirumakal, the red-coloured goddess, being seated on Tirumal's faultless chest, which resembled a mark on the bright moon^{vii}.

References to Kings

Sangam texts often compare the moon to the king's umbrella, owing to its graceful nature as well as its white colour. In a certain Sangam text (Purananooru 60), by Uraiyur Maruttuvan Tamotarana, the Paraiyan worshipping the moon, along with his wife Virali was mentioned.

"In the vault of the sky where the red planet twinkled
like a lamp on a ship amidst the sea,
we saw the full moon standing at the zenith.
Then I and my Virali, her bangles few,
standing like a forest peacock in that wilderness
worshipped it at once, again and again,
as we considered how it resembled the umbrella
white, fearful, and garlanded
as it shields from the heat of the sun,
which belongs to Valavan whose sword does not err
and whose royal drum [murasu] roars in victory^{viii}.

The poem mentions the bard worshipping the moon, since it resembles the king's umbrella or parasol, both being white in colour^{ix}.

Among the Tamil Sangam monarchs, the umbrella—round in shape, enormous in size, and immaculate white like the "Moon"—was an obvious symbol of royalty. Since the umbrella was made of white cloth, it was also known as the Venkudai. It included golden tassels and a gold handle. Typically, the royal parasol or umbrella represented "royal clemency and gentle mercy." The umbrella like the 'Moon' shed 'cool lustre' on all the subjects of the king^x.

Sangam texts insist on the good behaviour of the kings while drawing a comparison to the moon. By ensuring the welfare of the populace and upholding law and order, the monarch was required to uphold the dignity of his office. He had responsibilities and rights. "A king goes to hell if he does not care for his subjects the way a mother cares for her children." It is often said that the King should treat his law-abiding and obedient subjects with kindness and mercy and punish offenders and law-breakers severely; in other words, he should be like the "moon," who "equally pleases all good men," and like the "sun," who "equally scorches" all bad men. He should also be charitable, like the very cloud that showers the rain^{xi}.

Pandya and Their Lunar Ancestry

The belief that the Pandyas were descended from the Moon God was perhaps the earliest belief which suggests the "Divine origin" for kings of Tamilagam. Moon (crescent) worship was a persistent faith with

the Tamils. The Tamil kings were elevated in caste by conferring on them genealogies which connected them with puranic dynasties of the solar and lunar race. The Pandyas were mentioned as descended from the moon and the Colas from the sun^{xii}. The belief that the Cholas were descendants of the Sun God was just perhaps an afterthought and a competitive title to match the Pandian lunar ancestry^{xiii}. One of the Sangam texts talks about a Pandyan king wearing a moon symbol, while he takes a stroll in a place called Parankunru^{xiv}.

Numismatics Reference on the Moon

The coinage of the early rulers of the Sangam age such as the Cheras, the Cholas, Pandyas, Malayaman and the Pallavas, depicted flora and fauna motifs along with the moon along with several objects such as arched hill, astamangala symbols which included the Srivatsa, wheel, conch, tree, triangular headed standard and so on^{xv}. A lead coin with Tamil script was found at Andipatti near Chengam in Tiruvanamalai district in 1968 and had the sun and moon in its obverse. The coin was assumed to be assigned to 1-2 century CE and might have been issued by Centan son of Athinana Ethiran, who was assumed to be a chieftain who ruled this region and issued coin in his name independently. Both the Sangam poem Malaipadukadam and the lead coin with the legend Centan belong to the same period, and so the coin was assumed to be a Sangam artefact. In the obverse, two parallel lines are noticed along with goad (ankusam) and two circles are noticed above this which may represent the sun and moon^{xvi}.

Element of Auspiciousness

Sangam texts refer to many occasions, that were conducted based on the position of the moon concerning other planets. Among them, marriages were mentioned. In Akananooru 86 written by Nallavur Kizhar, the marriage ceremony was said to have occurred "At dawn, when the curved white moon was not affected by inauspicious planets". The marriage ceremony is described in Akananooru136, written by Vitrotru Mootheyinanār quotes "As omens fell together favourably, as the vast sky shone with clear light, and as there was an unjeopardized conjunction of the moon and cakatam [the wagon, a constellation], they readied the marriage house and worshipped the god". Both songs describe the Sangam people's belief in the auspicious positioning of the moon on the planet.

Apart from marriages, there were certain festivals, which required the auspicious positioning of the moon, to be commemorated. The most often mentioned festival is that of Karthikai, celebrated on the night of the full moon which occurs around November to December. "The world's tasks have stopped, ploughs sleep. Clouds have ceased raining in the sky. The moon is full, and its blemish, a little hare, has appeared. It has joined with the Pleiades (*ammin*, "the six stars", which is in Sanskrit *kartikeya*). In the middle of the dark-filled night, they put out lamps in the streets and hung garlands. May he come to celebrate the festival with us, as many join together in the ancient city of victories"^{xvii}. Panguni Uttiram falls on the full moon day in the month of Panguni (March-April). The moon is then in the asterism 'Uttira' (Beta Leonis) and therefore the day is considered to be especially favourable for the worship of Siva and consequently is dedicated to that purpose.

Sangam people also possessed a wide knowledge of cosmology and concepts such as solar and lunar eclipses. Lunar eclipses are mentioned several times in Sangam texts, where a serpent (aravu) is said to swallow the moon. An Akananooru text talks about the eclipse, when describing the evening time in Mullai Tinai. In the evening time, the sun's hot rays become weak and it hides slowly behind the mountains, which would resemble, a snake swallowing the moon little by little^{xviii}. Another Akananooru

text compares a woman's forehead losing its brightness to that of the moon that has been swallowed by a snake^{xix}.

Women and References to the Moon

Women of Sangam age have always taken a special liking to the moon, and they were also worshipping it. One of the Sangam texts, written by Eyinanthai Makan Ilankeeranaṉ talks about the bright-jeweled women with spotted *thoyyil* designs and pallor spots worshipping the crescent moon above^{xx}.

Among the women's rites, the most popular was the ambavadaḷ or tai-n-niradaḷ by virgin girls. These baths were started on the first full moon day of the month of Magh. Maidens got up early in the morning and, supervised and advised by matronly elders, they initiated the vows. This vow and worship were for their being blessed with a fine husband and consisted of offerings to the river-goddess, and burning incense before the ritual image. The pavai-nonbu had also an altruistic element for the general welfare of the community and the world. From these two baths, in the month of Magh and Pavai-vow, the fundamental loyalty and religious fervour of young girls' laudable ambitions could be understood. And the days for these baths were decided, based on the moon's phase^{xxi}.

Several Sangam poems draw comparisons to the moon while describing the chastity of women. The moment when the woman's mind has accepted a man though physical consummation might not have followed, she treats the man as her lord. She would thereafter wear the Mullai flower indicative of Karpū and would refuse to worship even the crescent moon, for a 'married lady' recognizes none but her husband as her God^{xxii}.

A Kurunthogai poem written by Kadampanuṉṉ Sandiliyaṉaṉ, talks about the condition of a woman whose lover has left her to earn wealth while bringing the crescent moon into the poem. In this poem, the crescent moon suggests a broken bangle to the woman whose lover has left to find wealth: an object that is normally so auspicious that men worship it suggests to her the most inauspicious of all states, widowhood. When women are widowed in South India, their bangles are broken to help control the dangerous power that fills the new widow. Thus, to a woman, whose lover was not present, even her favourite Pirai could become inauspicious^{xxiii}.

Conclusion

The research provides information about the symbolism of the moon, during the Sangam age, using the Sangam texts as reference. Apart from the things mentioned in the paper, numerous Sangam poets use the moon as a metaphor to refer to beauty, the most common one being, the term "Pirainuthal", which means a woman's forehead that's shaped like a crescent moon. From the research, it could be understood, that the moon was not only revered as an object of veneration or as a cosmic element but has been perceived diversely. The significance of the moon, in various aspects of the society of the Sangam age, can be known from the paper. The reverence of the moon continued to be increasing in Tamil Nadu, even after the Sangam age. This could be evident in the later texts, such as Silappadikāraṁ, which appropriately begins with a prayer to the 'Moon-God' followed by one for the 'Sun- god', as well as, listing a temple for the moon in the Puhār city called Nilakottam, in which the prolonged significance of moon, as an object of reverence, in Tamil Nadu can be understood.

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WELFARE MEASURES FOR WOMEN IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY, SOUTH INDIA

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Introduction

Women in the Madras Presidency as their counterparts elsewhere in India suffered from the fear complex as they were illiterate and conservative. A large majority of women in this province were denied education and steeped in illiteracy, ignorance, superstition, male domination, high caste hegemony, discrimination, marginalization and exploitation. The dawn of the 19th century witnessed an era of change and it was during this period that many efforts were taken both by the British rulers and progressive section of Indian society to put an end to social evils. The twin movements like Social Reform Movement of the 19th century and the Nationalist Movement of the 20th century were regarded as the key to social transformation. They attempted to eradicate some of the social evils by applying rational and humanitarian criteria to the problems. Women's welfare was put high on the agenda of the social reformers in the 19th century. The main motive of the welfare programmes was to bring a positive change and development in the status of women and thereby in the nation.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, father of Indian Renaissance and the champion of women's rights had taken radical steps in the 19th century to improve the condition of women. The reform movement started by him with the inauguration of the campaign against sati in 1818 and the *Brahma Samaj* founded in 1828¹ aimed at eradicating all inhuman practices which inflicted suffering on women in the name of religious sanctity. As a result of his campaign Lord William Bentinck, the then governor general, banned this inhuman practice of sati by a government regulation in 1829. The agitation started by *Raja Ram Mohan Roy* and *Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar*. resulted in the promulgation of the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856 by Lord Dalhousie.² It was the beginning of the whole era of efforts to change women's subordination both by legal and social measures.

Formation of Associations and Organisations

By the 1870s significant steps were taken to improve the condition of women generally and in the marriage of widows specifically in the Madras Presidency. Widow re-marriage associations were established at different places. For instance, a widow re-marriage society was founded in 1873 at *Nagercoil* by *Sesha Iyengar* to promote widow remarriage. He set a precedent by getting his widowed daughter remarried. In 1874 the Madras Hindu Widow Marriage Association was founded by reformers like *P. Chentasal Rao*, *Rama Iyengar*, *Muthusamy Iyer* and *Raganatha Sastri*. In 1882 *Ragunatha Rao* founded the Hindu Women's Re-marriage Association. These organisations advocated that child marriage and enforced widowhood were not the preachings of *shastras*. The first widow re-marriage under the auspices of the Hindu Re-marriage Association was celebrated at *Mylapore* on 7th June 1883.³ Another veteran social reformer *Kandukuri Veerasalingam Pantulu* established a widow's home in *Rajmundry* (which was once a part of Madras Presidency) with a few girls. He appointed both men and women teachers to teach these widows and paid from his pocket. He taught the girls whenever he found time. In 1884 he formed the Widow Marriage Association and Committees for conducting and propagating widow marriages.⁴

Another watershed in the progress of women was the passing of the Age of Consent Act of 1891. It fixed the minimum age limit for the consummation of marriage for girls as twelve. The purpose of the Act was to protect the health of the female children. This Act was passed mainly due to the hard labour of *Behramji Malabari*.⁵

In 1892 the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association was founded replacing the old Madras Hindu Women's Remarriage Association. It aimed to promote female education and marriage reforms. In 1893 *Kandukuri Veresalingam Pantulu* performed ten widow remarriages in Madras. So the Government of India conferred upon him the title of *Rao Bahadur* in recognition of his services.⁶ In 1898 he opened a Widows Home at *Egmore* in Madras in which three widows were admitted. The government converted it into a training school and offered widows to train themselves as teachers.⁷ He was popularly known as *Vidiyasagar* of the South. He advocated widow re-marriage throughout his life, and was aptly known as the father of widow re-marriage.⁸ With the public awakening and rehabilitation process of widows, child marriage gradually became unpopular from the beginning of the twentieth century.

At the beginning of 20th century, many women rose to prominence by laying the foundation for women's struggle for empowerment. The heroic model of empowered women was set by Mrs. Annie Besant. She was an Irish lady, who became a part and parcel of Indian tradition and made India her abode and India's freedom her life's mission. She crusaded for women's education and opened schools and colleges for women in various places in India. Among them, the noted one was Adyar National College.⁹

In 1917, the Women's Indian Association was established at Madras as the pioneer of women's association. Its founding members were Annie Besant, Margaret Cousins and *Dorothy Jinarajadasa*. The main objectives of this Association were to educate women to understand their responsibilities as daughters of India, to secure for every girl and boy the right to education, through the schemes of compulsory primary education to get adequate representation of women in municipalities, *taluks*, local boards, legislative councils and assemblies, to establish equal rights and opportunities between men and women and to help women realize that the future lies largely in their hands as wives and mothers.¹⁰

Dr. *Muthulakshmi Reddy* had done great service through the legislature for the raising of the marriage age, for the abolition of the *Devadasi* system in the Hindu temples and for the suppression of sexual exploitation of women. Mrs. Reddy moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council for raising the marriageable age for both sexes. She declared that a girl would become a woman only after the age of 16 and a boy would become a man after 21 years. She appealed to all sections of the House to support the resolution wholeheartedly. Her effort saw the fruit on March 27, 1928, on the day the resolution was accepted and it was recommended to the Government of India. As a result, the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 was passed and the act stipulated the minimum age of marriage for girls as fourteen and for boys as eighteen.¹¹

Another important achievement of *Muthulakshmi Reddy* was her effort to abolish the *devasasi* system. She wanted to save the girls from enforced temple prostitution, and to that effect, she introduced a bill abolishing the *devadasi* system. Due to her tireless efforts, on February 1, 1929, the bill was passed by the Government and it issued orders to the collectors to free the *devadasis* from the obligation of temple service. But this enactment could not abolish it completely. However, she fought for nearly two decades and finally won the battle by abolishing the *Devadasi* system in the Madras Presidency by the Madras Act XXI of 1947.¹² The important service was her effort to close down brothel houses and protect girls from prostitution. She had collected funds for opening a rescue home for girls since the government

refused to implement the act in the absence of the rescue homes.¹³ She founded the *Avvai* Home in 1930 to house destitute women and young girls from undesirable environments and expose them to the right way of living. This home which was situated at *Adayar* in Madras gave asylum to orphan women, widows, battered women and fallen women. It served as a basic education centre which comprised pre-basic training for teachers, a mid-day meals centre and small-scale industrial unit. Hundreds of women were trained as teachers, midwives, nurses, health visitors, *grama sevikas* and homemakers in this centre.¹⁴

Meanwhile in the *Tirunelveli* region sister Amy Carmichael from London did a silent revolution to the cause of women. She founded the *Dohnavur* fellowship at *Dohnavur* near *Kalakkad* in 1926 for the sole purpose of rehabilitating a widow namely *Ponnammal* of *Pannavilai* near *Sawyerpuram*. Within a short period, it became an institution to offer asylum to orphaned children and deprived women and trained them in arts and crafts for self-existence. She rescued the temple girls from the cruel clutches of the temple authorities and called these children "Lotus Buds".¹⁵

During the same period, the leaders of Justice Party 1917-1925 and the self- Self-respectors 1925-1948 assured Madras women of their assistance in many of their major issues. The *Vaikkam* hero E.V. *Ramaswamy Nair*, founded the Self-Respect Movement. To liberate and safeguard the people he started the Humanist movement in December 1925.¹⁶ As a great humanist Periyar introduced self-respect marriage of a revolutionary character, to dispense with elaborate rites and abolish casteism. It is very simple, time-saving, less expensive and devoid of meaningless traditions and discrimination. The main aim of this marriage is to put an end to the slavery of women and to redeem them from abuse.¹⁷

At the Self Respect Conference held on November 28, 1927, *Tirunelveli* with EVR as President pleaded with the government to give equal rights to women like men to inherit or possess property as that would make them economically independent. As a result, the Government of India passed the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act in 1937. For the first time, Hindu widows were entitled to get the same share as of their sons and got the same rights in the property just as their husbands had.¹⁸

Development of Collegiate Education of Women

Women's higher education has had substantial growth since the second half of the 19th century. Accordingly, Missionaries, philanthropists and the Government had played an important role in the progress of collegiate education. Sarah Tucker Institution took the lead in it. This is the first college for women in South India established in 1895 by the Christian Missionary Society to provide liberal education to women. The seed was sown in 1895 as the Sarah Tucker College with 4 students has grown into an enormous tree with 2500 students now.¹⁹ The desirability for a separate non-sectarian college for women led to the establishment of the first Government College for women. In the budget meetings of 1911 and 1912 *Rao Bahadur T.S Balakrishna Ayyar* urged upon the Government the desirability of establishing a college solely intended for women in the Presidency.²⁰ Moreover, the increase in the number of Girls' High Schools raised the demand for women's higher education. As a result, the government opened Queen Mary's College as the first-grade college for women in 1914 with 43 students. It was the first Government College for women in the Madras Presidency.²¹ On July 7, 1915, the well-reputed Women's Christian College was opened in Madras as the first grade college. It was established by the joint efforts of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist and other free churches represented by twelve denominations.²²

In the meantime, Dr. Ida Scudder an American lady with vision and foresight started the Christian Medical School to teach the Licensed Medical Practitioner Course (L.M.P.) to women. It was inaugurated on

August 12, 1918, by the Governor of Madras *Lord Pentland*. The Government sanctioned a grant of Rs.12, 330 towards the maintenance of this school. Dr. *Ida* served as the first Principal and gave the motto “not to be served but to serve.” It was raised to the status of the first women Medical College for Women in 1942. Men came to be admitted to this college in 1947.²³

A minute recorded by the Madras Education Council in 1921 emphasized the need for the training of women teachers. So in 1921, the British Government started the Lady Wellington Training College.²⁴ To meet this demand *St. Christopher's* Training College was opened as a residential and International College in Madras in 1923.²⁵ In 1943 *St. Ann's* College of Education was founded at Mangalore. It was affiliated to the Madras University.²⁶ Similarly the Lady Hope College of Guntur came into being in 1944 under the management of Guntur Municipality. It was taken by the then Government of composite Madras State 1947.²⁷ There was no opportunity for the Muslims to get the higher education. So, the government started a Muslim college at *Royapettai* in 1946.²⁸ In 1946 *St. Joseph's* Training College for women was started at Guntur as a professional college.²⁹ At the time of independence there were seven Arts and five Professional colleges for women in the Madras Presidency.³⁰

Development of Maternity and Health Service System

Maternity and Child health included all matters pertaining to physical and mental health and social well being of women throughout reproductive cycle from 15 to 45 years and children of all ages from conception to adolescence. Maternal and child health services are personal health services which directly benefit mothers and children. The first women and children hospital at *Egmore* which was formerly known as the Lying-in Hospital and later known as the Government Maternity Hospital was opened in May 1844. It was shifted to the present site in Pantheon Road in 1882. It started with a total confinement of less than 50 in the first year. Its popularity and usefulness subsequently increased and in 1938 the total confinements exceeded 4,500. The maternity and child welfare movement in India was started with an attempt to train the indigenous dai for the practice of better standards of midwifery. The earliest attempt in this direction was made by Miss Hewlett of the Church of England *Zenana* Mission in 1866. In 1885 the *Dufferin* Fund Committee was established with the object of providing medical aid to the women of India through women doctors. It started a chain of voluntary hospitals called *Dufferin* Hospital in Madras, Delhi, Bombay and Agra to provide medical aid to women by lady doctors. Due to the effort of Lady Grant *Dufferin*, the Royal Victoria Caste and *Gosha* Hospital for Women was founded in 1885 at Madras. In 1948 it was renamed as Government *Kasthurba* Gandhi Women and Children Hospital. To reduce maternal deaths and the havoc of child birth, a training scheme for rural midwives known as dais training was started in 1902. Subsequently in 1918 with the help of the Dufferin Fund, Lady Reading Health School in Delhi was established for the training of midwifery supervisors to supervise the work of trained dais. Then in 1921, the Lady Chelmsford League for Maternity and Child Welfare was constituted. It collected funds for child welfare and supported maternity services all over India. In 1930 under the auspices of the Indian Red Cross Society, a Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau was established to promote maternity and child welfare work throughout the country. As per the suggestion of the *Bhore* Committee of 1946, Primary Health Centers were established to provide Maternal Health Care facilities.

Conclusion

Influential women of the Madras Presidency passed through two phases of their lives, the period of subjection and the period of liberation. The period of subjection is of long duration and stretches far back to the distant past. The period of liberation began from the period of the reform movement. The

seeds of women's welfare were sown by the Christian missionaries. The tireless efforts of social reformers like *Raja Ram Mohan Roy*, *Ishwar Chandra Vidhyasaar*, *Veerasalinam Pantulu*, *Mahatma Gandhi* and *E.V. Ramaswamy Nayakar* paved the way for a dynamic change in the societal attitudes towards women. Eminent women like *Annie Beasant*, *Margaret Cousins*, *Dorothy Jinarajadasa*, *Amy Carmichael* and *Muthulakshmi Reddy* fought for the liberation of women. So, on the eve of independence, the stage was set for the uplift of women from all social bondages.

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THE SPICES AND THE SEAS: THE HISTORY OF THE ECO-COLONISATION OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY IN ASIA

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The lure of exotic spices and the avenues offered by the beckoning seas to unknown lands, have been inextricably linked to the colonial history of Asia. The Banda Islands, the Kerala Coast, and Sri Lanka have shared experiences of colonisation during the seventeenth century. Yet they exhibit marked disparities too, in both the course and the consequences of colonial subjugation. As a species of indigenous flora was the primary attraction for the Europeans to flock to these tropical lands, their methods of extraction and cultivation inevitably led to disturbances great and small in the ecosystems of these lands.

Alfred W. Crosby used the term ecological imperialism (Crosby, 1986) to explain the role of biotic factors such as plant and animal species, as well as pathogens in the success of the colonising expeditions of the European nations. In his book, he examines how invasive plants and animals decimated the indigenous flora and fauna of the Neo-Europes of the temperate regions where the white population successfully established settlements. Moreover, a vast number of the native people succumbed to the new diseases carried into their land by the Europeans, against which they had no developed immunity. In the process, the local landscapes were irrevocably changed, having far-reaching effects on the ecology.

Environmental history documents the impact that human interactions with nature have created, study the nature of these interactions and tries to fathom how man is influenced by nature. The study of environmental history is ideally meant to prevent man from negative interventions in nature, which could prove catastrophic to humanity in future. The environmental history of colonised areas is invariably characterised by acts of economic exploitation, which lead to deforestation, species extinction, and expansion of cultivated areas. Populations experiencing precarity are frequently wiped out through disease, acts of genocide, or the inability to survive in the altered ecological landscape.

The spread of Protestantism among the Dutch population in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought them into conflict with the powerful Catholic nations of Spain and Portugal. Portugal sought to isolate the Dutch colonies which had gained independence from Spain and blockade their access to Lisbon, which was considered the spice capital of the world at that time. (Captivating History, 2019) In 1602, the United East India Company or Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, in Dutch, abbreviated as VOC, was established. It was endowed with the power to enter into treaties, wage war, imprison and execute people whom it saw as wrong-doers, engage in the slave trade, and establish colonies. Armed with the knowledge of Portuguese trade routes, the company sent numerous Dutchmen on successful voyages to various parts of Asia. It amassed more wealth and power than any of its rivals during the first half of the seventeenth century. Later its influence declined, became mired in corruption and debt, and was finally wound up in 1799. (2023, *Britannica*).

The network of sea routes that linked the East to the West were known as the Spice Routes since the main commodity that was traded along these routes was spices. There was a huge demand for spices like cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, turmeric, and pepper. Various fantastic properties were attributed to these spices, and traders wove imaginative stories regarding their source to increase their demand. Their value was estimated as far beyond their utility, as their possession became associated with social status. It was through the spice route that colonisers found their way to the Eastern lands and transformed their political and ecological topography.

Cinnamon, used as medicine and as flavouring was known in ancient Egypt where it was an essential ingredient in the process of mummification. The variety of cinnamon found in Sri Lanka was judged to be the most aromatic and became the most sought-after. Portugal had already established control of the cinnamon trade there when the King sought the help of their rivals, the Dutch. The Dutch East India Company emerged victorious in Sri Lanka and gained control of the cinnamon supply.

Originally cinnamon was harvested from the trees that grew wild. There was a particular group of people called Chaliyas who were traditionally engaged in peeling the cinnamon bark in Sri Lanka. With the arrival of the Dutch, there was escalating demand for cinnamon, which the workforce could not deliver despite incentivisation and threats. The Company started the cultivation of cinnamon and brought Tamil slaves from South India to work on these plantations. The Dutch established cinnamon plantations in some of their other colonies as well, including Kerala. Ultimately, this surplus production reduced the price of cinnamon and the profits declined. (Dewasiri, 2017) Other crops like tobacco and coffee were also cultivated by the Dutch in Sri Lanka. The alliance with the monarch against the British consolidated the position of the Dutch in Sri Lanka, but the silent rebellion of the Chaliyas who refused to meet the aggressive demands of their colonial masters formed a pocket of resistance against which they had to strategise. The imposition of the cultivation of cash crops in large plantations altered the land use pattern and affected various organisms and their habitat. The Dutch East India Company was virtually acting as a capitalist extracting the maximum productivity from their colony which could be compared to a factory. Food crops were relegated to secondary importance. Moreover, the establishment of plantations required the clearing of large areas of forest cover.

The Dutch came to the Malabar Coast of India after conquering Sri Lanka to take control of the spice trade in the Indian coast. Kerala was under colonial influence in the early 16th century, with the Portuguese being the first European power to establish a presence there in 1503. Dutch fleet headed by Steven van der Hagen arrived on the west coast of Malabar in 1604. The leading princes of Malabar when the Dutch arrived in the country were the Rajas of Travancore, Cochin, the Zamorin of Calicut, and the Kolathiri. The Zamorin had a secret ambition to be the supreme ruler of Kerala, but the Portuguese always thwarted the Zamorin's schemes of southern conquest and hence the relationship between them was not friendly. The arrival of the navigators from the Netherlands coincided with the Zamorin's engagement in warfare with the Portuguese in Kolathnadu (Gopalakrishnan, *Dutch in Kerala*). So, when the Dutch came to the coast the Zamorin welcomed them wholeheartedly. The Dutch signed a new treaty with the Zamorins in which they agreed to help the Zamorins in the "ruin and destruction of the Portuguese together with their associates" (Alexander, 1946). However, their interactions with the Zamorins resulted in their interventions in political affairs and finally to territorial expansion.

Unlike the Portuguese who were imperialists, the Dutch tried to establish a monopoly in the spice trade. The Dutch East Company established a trading post in Fort Kochi and initially, they focused only on trade and commerce. The Dutch engaged in trade with the local rulers of Kerala primarily for spices,

textiles, and other commodities. They recognised the immense potential of these spices and tried to establish a monopoly in trade. They actively encouraged the cultivation of pepper, cardamom, and ginger, which were highly priced in the international markets. They also introduced and promoted cash crops in these areas to steer their economic prospects. This promotion of cash crops had several economic, cultural, and ecological consequences in this region. It transformed the agricultural landscape of Kerala by making it more connected to the global trade networks. Traditional farming methods like subsistence farming were replaced by more commercial methods and it led to changes in land use patterns. They promoted plantation-style agriculture, where large areas of land were dedicated to single crops, which ensured efficient cultivation, harvesting and export. Dutch played a pertinent role in the experimentation and introduction of rubber, cocoa and indigo cultivation in different parts of Kerala. The promotion of these crops had a significant impact on Kerala's economy and some of these crops continue to shape the destiny of both the land and the people even today.

Hortus Malabaricus, a comprehensive work on the plants of the Malabar region was also motivated by the Dutch colonial interest. It was compiled by Dutch botanist, Hendrick van Rheede, as the Dutch wanted to document and understand the natural resources of the Malabar region. The rationale behind these is hinted at by an order issued by the VOC to its functionaries in Ceylon and the Coromandel instructing them to study medicinal plants to avoid importing drugs from the Netherlands. Despite this, the images reveal little about the medicinal qualities or therapeutic uses of the plants (Menon, 2023). It was part of broader European interest in cataloguing natural resources like medicinal plants, spices, and other valuable flora to exploit them for economic gain and trade.

The Dutch supremacy in Banda and the Maluku islands was also driven by the pursuit of economic interests and was marked by extreme exploitation and violence. In the mountain islands of Maluku, there were frequent volcanic eruptions that brought ruin and destruction to both the people and the land. But these eruptions brought to the surface an alchemical mixture of minerals and materials which in close contact with wind and weather created rare ecological compositions. This gifted a special botanical species that flourished only in the islands – a tree that produced both nutmeg and mace. Though these trees survived only in the special climate of the archipelago, it was used an exquisite spice all over the world. In the late Middle Ages, nutmeg became so valuable that a handful of it could buy a house or a ship (Ghosh, 2021).

The Portuguese were the first group of Europeans who arrived in the Maluku Islands, followed by the Dutch to compete in the spice trade. Banda islands soon became the epicentre of the intense warfare between the Dutch and the Portuguese. Bandanese themselves were skilled traders and they refused to sign a treatise that granted rights of nutmegs and mace entirely to the foreigners. Moreover, the Banda islands did not have a single ruler who could threaten and bully the subjects to obey the foreigners' demands. Bandanese continued to trade with other merchants and they even ambushed an army of Dutchmen in 1609. As an aftermath of this struggle, the Dutch under Jan Pieterszoon Coen decided to empty the island of its inhabitants to acquire a monopoly. In 1621 they launched a brutal campaign that resulted in the massacre or extermination of the Bandanese. Within a few months, the villagers surrendered and the inhabitants were captivated, deported, or sold as slaves. With this Bandanese, once a proud promising trading community ceased to exist. The Dutch swiftly secured a monopoly on the island and they constructed fortifications to safeguard their control over valuable resources in Maluku Islands.

Ecological interventions of the Dutch in these islands go in tandem with the colonial agenda of transforming territories to align with the European concept of productive land. This is akin to the modern theoretical concept of “terraforming”, which is often discussed in the context of space colonisation. It is the process of altering the natural environment of a celestial body to suit human habitation. Modern climate theorists integrate this idea into the context of colonisation and provide valuable insights and observations (Ghosh, 2021). The Dutch viewed the land primarily as conquerors and hence saw it as a resource to be exploited. In this perspective the land became synonymous with a factory and nature was perceived as something that could be tamed and devalued.

By the 18th century, the discussions, and anxieties about sexualities in Europe forced them to shun exquisite spicy food items. Europeans, who relished spicy food began to follow blandness in their cuisine and this resulted in the fall of demand and prices of spices in the public market. Limiting the cultivation of nutmeg to the Banda islands was a strategic decision made by the Dutch to control the availability of the spice in the international market. In Maluku, they started a campaign of extermination, this time of the tree that brought them there. Nutmegs in other islands were extirpated and this process continued for more than a century. Historical documents show that the Dutch were so engrossed in the process that many official records dealt with the results of extirpation alone. However, the Dutch failed in the mission, and the seeds smuggled out by the French and the English plant hunters flourished in large numbers in different parts of the world. In modern days the historical connection between the nutmeg and Maluku islands, especially Banda, was almost forgotten. Instead, the places like Barbados and Connecticut eventually came to be known “Nutmeg Island” and the “Nutmeg State” in the modern world. The colonisers in every part of the world pursued nature to its very hiding places. As Greg Grandin puts it, “as they did, they created a new set of commandments: ‘establish power over this world’ . . . ‘subdue nature’, ‘go forth’, ‘conquer a wilderness’, ‘take possession of the continent’, ‘overspread’, ‘increase’, ‘multiply’, ‘scour’, ‘clear’” (Ghosh 2021). Once they conquered the land, they lost all interest and they moved on to fresh fields and pastures new.

Pramod K. Nayar terms the vulnerability of human beings to environmental disasters as bioprecarity (Nayar, 2021, p 7). Colonialism as acted out by the Dutch East India Company treated the lands they gained control over as factories, to be used to mass produce the commodities they saw as profitable. Along with redrawing the topography of the land and wreaking havoc with the indigenous flora and fauna, they essentially robbed the inhabitants of the land of their agency. Their bodies were transformed into objects that could be owned and manipulated. Their places of residence, their ways of living, and the labour they engaged in, were all dictated by their colonial masters. In effecting this change, the Dutch company became not just a capitalist, but also a biocapitalist. In biocapitalism, certain bodies are present and absent simultaneously. (Nayar, 2021, p 130) They are present in so far as they serve to hold up the social order that their masters want to establish and sustain. However, they are absent because their contribution is never acknowledged. The empire-building of the colonial powers was carried out by manipulating the lives of their colonial subjects, yet they were erased from the history of the empires.

Slave labour sustained the plantations established by the Dutch to possess an abundance of spices which would bring them economic growth. People were forced to move away from their settlements, sever their kinship ties, and devote their bodies to further the agenda of the Dutch. Resistance was dealt with through various means, directly and indirectly. The people whose lives were extremely precarious suffered near extinction.

In Kerala and Sri Lanka, the negotiations were carried out with the native Kings, and treaties were signed. Even though they gained power in those territories, it was curtailed by the local leaders who resented their privileges being taken away. Furthermore, the presence of the Portuguese and the English who were constantly vying for supremacy, loosened their control. Powerful local armies, sometimes aided by the other foreigners, constantly attacked their holdings.

On the island of Banda, the people were a hindrance to the exploitative activities of the Dutch, as they did not cede monopoly of the nutmeg to them. Their relationships with traders from other parts of the world were not something they wanted to sever. Because of the lack of an organised political system and a political leader, their vulnerability was increased. They did not have an established army to fight systematically against the troops which were brought by the Dutch. The Dutch found it more convenient to wipe out the inhabitants, rather than struggle to build a relationship with the strange group of people they encountered. Their strangeness or otherness was increased by the fact that they lead their lives without a ruler dictating them. The nutmeg which they sought, was more than just a commodity for the islanders whose myths and songs and social life were permeated by its presence. Feeling intensely threatened by what they could not understand, or control, they expediently wiped out the community and repopulated it with bodies whose agency they had already taken away.

The ecological interference of the Dutch East India Company can only be described as extreme. With scant regard for the peculiarities of the landscape they encountered and the people who built their lives about those landscapes, they superimposed a model of cultivation that was ill-suited to the environment. Many of the species they transferred from one colony to the other had far-reaching environmental impacts which are even now not fully gauged. Cash crops drained the land of its water content and fertility over the years. Access to food was reduced for the precarious population groups as food crops were limited. Canals dug to irrigate plantations altered the flow of water and increased the susceptibility of some areas to floods, and others to droughts.

Donna Haraway thinks, the word 'Plantationocene' is more accurate than Anthropocene to denote the devastating damage that has been done to the planet and its life forms by the plantation culture which was unleashed on tropical lands during the colonial period.

The plantation system speeds up generation time. The plantation disrupts the generation times of all the players. It radically simplifies the number of players and sets up situations for the vast proliferation of some and the removal of others. It's an epidemic-friendly way of rearranging species life in the world. It is a system that depends on forced human labour of some kind because if labor can escape, it will escape the plantation.

The plantation system requires either genocide or removal or some mode of captivity and replacement of a local labor force by coerced labour from outside, either through various forms of indenture, unequal contract, or out-and-out slavery. The plantation depends on very intense forms of labour slavery, including also machine labour slavery, the building of machines for exploitation and extraction of earthlings. I think it is also important to include the forced labour of nonhumans—plants, animals, and microbes—in our thinking.

So, when I think about the question, of *what is a plantation*, some combination of these things seems to me to be pretty much always present across 500 years: radical simplification; substitution of peoples, crops, microbes, and life forms; forced labor; and, crucially, the disordering of times of generation across species, including human beings. (Mitman, 2019)

The very purpose of the colonising endeavours of the Dutch East India Company was plunder- plunder of the environment and the indigenous communities. It is hardly surprising that the history of such an exploitative mission speaks of environmental degradation which is directly linked to climate change.

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UNFAVOURABLE EXCLUDED OR UNFAVOURABLY INCLUDED ?: A SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS OF DALIT WOMEN IN THE KUDUMBASHREE IN KERALA

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Introduction

Robin Jeffery in his introduction to the New edition of the book *Politics, Women and Wellbeing* (1992) states that the broad argument that the title of the book puts forward is Politics + Women=Wellbeing. He elaborates on

A politically active, organised population, in which women are literate, move freely and take salaried jobs, enables people to demand and force elected governments to provide basic services in health, housing, sanitation and education. But in this recipe, there were no guarantees about economic development. (p. xxxviii)

Jeffrey related the Kerala Model to social conditions rather than public policy, he states that 'Not only will governments be forced to devise policies to enhance people's wellbeing, but citizens will see that policies to enhance people's wellbeing, but citizens will see that policies are work. Based on Jeffery's assertion about the strong public action in Kerala society, the present study tries to analyse the relational position of the dalit in the public sphere. The first part of the study dwells on the critique of the 'Kerala Model' concerning the positioning of the dalit and the trajectories that the dalits have identified for making themselves visible. The second part of the article makes a critical analysis of the schemes evolved by the Department of SC and ST development for their inclusive development. The third part is on the extensive fieldwork conducted among the special dalit neighbour Groups and neighbourhood groups in which dalit women worked with members from different communities.

Trajectories of Inclusive Development of Dalit Women in a Welfare State: A Review

Most of the literature related to Kerala's development experience has been dwelling on the idea of the 'Kerala Model of Development', which tried to analyse how Kerala could attain a high level of social development with very low levels of economic development.(CDS\UN,1977, Frank & Chasin,1994). Scholars have also attributed public action which includes social reform movements, progressive state interventions, a wide and active press, and adversarial politics to Kerala's social development and there have also been many critiques raising questions related to subalterns, environmental sustainability (Devika,2010, Veron, 2001, Oomen,2014). Devika (2010) has highlighted the two specific ways in which post-independence state policy has addressed the dalits: first, they have benefited from the remarkable extension of public services which has improved their access to health care and education, second, the Kerala Land Reforms Act(1969)provided the Dalits landless labourers with minimal amounts of land for housing and domestic consumption. Liberalisation and post-structural reforms have increasingly challenged the state's role in ensuring access for the marginalised sections to health and education. The phenomenal growth in the number of self-financing professional colleges and courses in the state has excluded the poor, especially subaltern groups from accessing engineering, medical and other professional courses. The primary health centres and subcentres which historically have been the key

source for preventive, promotive and curative services suffer from persistent deterioration in the quality of services. Research and academic studies have indicated that the land reforms has not benefited a large majority of agricultural labourers as they were given tiny pieces of land (3, 5 or 10 cents) of land were given to them immediately around their houses. (Mencher,1980, Sreerekha,2010,). For the agricultural labourers (Kudikidappukar) after lifelong threat and fear of eviction from their homes permanent rights over the land they occupied made a lot of difference. Joan P. Mencher has noted that

In Tamilnadu, the *cheri* (Harijan quarter) was always Harijan property. A large village landowner couldn't throw the people out of the *cheri* at will. Thus, one could argue that what legislation in Kerala gave to the landless labourers was something that Tamil agricultural labourers had all along. (Mencher,1980)

Mencher on a closer examination of the conditions of life of agricultural labourers on aspects like health and fertility, fertility and employment, land reform, nutrition, education and literacy and other facilities concludes on a pessimistic note that the poor of Kerala have no hope until they develop new leadership from their ranks. C.R. Yadu (2015) based on his analysis of NSSO's Employment and Unemployment survey brings out that social inequality in land ownership continues to be high in Kerala. The access to land by forward caste is five times higher in the case of land owned and more than eight times higher in the case of land cultivated. Thus he concludes that the caste-land nexus has not been implicitly broken by land reform.

Luisa Steur has tried to identify the forces that gave rise to the politics of indigenism among the subaltern movement. It begins with a discussion of shifts in the structuralist power context shaping subaltern action-particularly the impact of neoliberal restructuring and the new ideological environment created with the demise of the Communist block. She discusses political dynamics operating within this structural context that led indigenous activists to form a separate political movement. There is a consensus therefore among indigenist activists that the Adivasi and Dalit groups that mobilize together for social change should continue to emphasize their particular background, although in a language that would not stigmatize them or reinforce the caste system. Luisa Steur (2010) sees that preoccupation with the land is an "autonomous" vision of empowerment rather than being able to integrate into society through stable employment and secure rights to education, the idea of owning a piece of land is that of no longer being dependent on such social institutions for one's emancipation and goes hand in hand with the many "self help" initiatives among the subaltern population.

The State Policy Formulation and Stocktaking as Reflected in Figures and Facts

The Economic Review includes information on policies and programmes of the government departments. It discusses the performance of various departments and the issues to be addressed in the coming years. Concerning the focus of enquiry of the present paper about the inclusive development of the SC and ST population in the state of Kerala, an analysis was undertaken on the nature and processes of the different schemes of the department in the Economic Review 2018.

The following tables provides information about the major schemes of SC\ST department as cited in the Economic Review,2018

Table No.1 Comparative analysis of the major schemes of SC and ST Development Department

Name of the scheme	Objective	
	SC Department	ST Department
Educational schemes	Provides educational assistance to pre-matric and post –matric studies Running of model residential schools Functioning of ITIs	Provides educational assistance to pre-matric and post –matric studies Running of model residential schools
Housing schemes	Financial assistance for house to houseless, completion of partially constructed houses, improvement of dilapidated houses, construction of Padanamuri	Financial assistance for construction of new houses for houseless ST families
Land to landless	Purchase of land to the poor and eligible landless SC families for house construction	To provide at least one acre of land per family to landless ST people subject to ceiling of 5 acres based on a master plan
Development programmes for the vulnerable communities among SC	Rehabilitation of landless and homeless SCs belonging to vulnerable communities by providing assistance for purchase of five cents of land and assistance for house construction Providing infrastructure ,connectivity, communication facilities, education, treatment, drinking water, electricity, road etc	
Health schemes	Financial assistance for treatment to deserving individual cases based on proper medical certificate Recurring expenditure of Homoe dispensaries financed by SC Department Special mental health programme and setting up of Old age houses and of Geriatric care Medical Camps and De-addiction programmes in SC colonies/habitats with the help of Kudumbashree Mission and Health Department	Illness assistance for treatment of diseases such as TB, Leprosy, Scabies, sickle cell anemia, waterborne diseases

(Source: Economic Review,2018)

The comparative analysis of the major schemes of the Scheduled Castes and Schedules Castes indicate that the SC or ST Department have a resemblance in the lay out of the schemes even if the contextual analysis would have demanded a need based approach. The schemes need have more adaptability to locality based sustainable goals. The SC and ST Department have to make plans for specific needs of the population and have to more proactive to the structural disadvantages that the targeted population suffer from. The following table brings out more clearly how the gender roles are framed by the Department on the basis of the patriarchal societal norms.

Table No.2 Major Schemes of SC department

Name of the scheme	Objectives	Achievements
Assistance for marriage of SC girls	Financial assistance to daughters of SC parents to reduce the burden of marriage expenses @ 75,000/-	In 2017-18 59.46 crores was expended, 8,921 families availed the benefit
Self employment scheme	Financial assistance for promoting new ventures by SC	In 2017-18, 2.99 crores expenditure was incurred for benefitting 406 persons.

(Source: Economic Review, 2018)

Neighbourhood Groups as a Strategy for Inclusive Development

The “plan campaign” since 1996 has brought a wider section of women hitherto excluded from Kerala’s associational life into the centre stage of rural civic life. Not only is the institution of Gram Sabha new to Kerala but, following the rise of Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) at the sub-Grama Sabha level known as Ayalkoottams, a new dimension to decentralisation and participation has been added in the state (Cathukulam, 2003). To ensure comprehensive social protection through social mobilisation the women of the poorest sections were organized into a state-wide self-help group network under the aegis of the State’s poverty-alleviation ‘mission’, the *Kudumbashree*, which aimed to improve the economic well-being of families through women, directing them into micro-enterprises and thrift and credit activities. The *Kudumbashree* is composed of Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) which were federated into Area Development Societies at the ward level, which were in turn federated into a Community Development Society (CDS) at the panchayath\municipal level thus forming a Community-Based Organisation (CBO). These were formed exclusively of women from families identified as ‘poor’ through a non-income-based index. The modified bye-law No. 7.1.17 of the has sanctioned that

Special NHGs can be set up for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe. If circumstances demand, with the special permission of the State Poverty Mission, separate ADS could be set for the special NHGs (www.Kudumbashree.org)

The present study is a comparative analysis of the special Neighbourhood Groups formed after the special permission of the Kudumbashree Mission for poor women from Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and the NHGs in which the SC\ST women are working along with women from other communities. For the sake of the operationalisation of the concept, the special NHGs will be henceforth called **Homogenous groups** and the groups in which both SC\ST women are members along with members from communities other than SC\ST will be referred to as **Heterogenous groups**.

Methodology

The theoretical aspects and the empirical analysis of the intricacies of Social exclusion and inclusion of dalits in Kerala point to the need for an in-depth analysis of the causal and positional relative deprivations experienced by them. The universe of the study constitutes all the Dalit women in Kerala who are organized into NHGs under the Kudumbashree Poverty Eradication Mission. From all the districts in Kerala, four districts were chosen for sample collection. They are Thiruvananthapuram, Ernakulam, Kozhicode, Palakad. Regional representation is assured by selecting a district from northern Kerala i.e, Kozhicode, one from central Kerala i.e, Ernakulam and another from southern Kerala i.e, Thiruvananthapuram. Palakkad is the district in Kerala which has the highest percentage of Scheduled Caste Population. i.e 80 belonging to homogenous groups and 80 from heterogeneous groups.

Analysis of Data and Interpretations

Social exclusion and inclusion is a multidimensional aspect and its measurement in causal and positional terms necessitates a detailed in-depth analysis of the profile of the respondents. The understanding of social exclusion and inclusion is highly contextualised, all individuals perceive or experience the exclusionary and inclusionary processes from the position they hold in the social hierarchy. In the present study experiences of the dalit women in homogenous groups is analysed concerning Dalit women who belong to heterogeneous groups.

Personal Profile

The socio-economic and demographic features of the respondents were analyzed to figure out the characteristics of the sample selected. The highest percent of respondents were women in the group 36-50 years (46.9 percent) and the lowest percent were the respondents from the higher age group is 51-65. The highest percent (55.8 percent) of dalit women who in relatively young age group were in Heterogenous group. Most of dalit women who belonged to the Homogenous group were from middle aged groups, thus it can be assumed that most of the dalit women started to launch homogenous group after they had experience with working in mixed groups. Majority of respondents from both types of groups were married. In heterogenous group there were more percent of respondents who were married while in Homogenous groups the representation of single women was relatively high. Highest percent of respondents from SC\ST homogenous group were mainly Christians. Thus it can be seen that it was the concentration of the respondents in an area which was the deciding factor in the constitution of the group. In most of the Harijan colonies it was seen that conversion was very rampant which is reflected in the constitution of the group.

As the educational qualification of the respondents increase more of the respondents were represented in the Homogenous group .68 percent of illiterate respondents and 57.8 percent of respondents who were having educational qualification below SSLC were represented in the Heterogenous group .The evidence of the data indicates that educational qualification is positively correlated to their membership in homogenous groups. Percent of respondents from homogenous groups who claimed themselves to be NREGA workers were slightly higher than the respondents from heterogeneous groups. Thus it can be understood that being in homogenous groups has in not in any way limited them from seeking employment via NREGA scheme but on the other hand has better opportunities than the respondents who belonged to heterogeneous groups. The highest percent of respondents from the Below Poverty Level were represented in the Homogenous group than in Heterogenous group while more percent of respondents from Above Poverty Level were present in the Heterogenous group .Thus it can be safely assumed that more Dalit women from BPL status are represented in the SC\ST

Homogenous groups. Dalit homogenous group were more result of the collective interest among the poorest to mobilise themselves for fighting against poverty. More Dalit women who were part of the Homogenous group were having female headed households and the households where the head of the household was both male and female member together. On the other hand percent of Dalit women respondents who claimed that theirs was male headed households were mostly from Heterogeneous group.

The analysis of the ownership of any income earning property brings to light a very interesting fact i.e, compared to respondents from homogenous Scheduled Caste group and respondents belonging to heterogeneous groups, respondents belonging to Scheduled Tribes were having more ownership over income earning property. Thus on the whole it can be seen that income earning assets was comparatively owned more by the respondents from ST background rather than by respondents from Homogenous SC or respondents who belonged to Heterogenous groups. On the whole it can be seen that relative deprivation was more among respondents from homogenous groups which has forced them to form homogenous groups to carve a better place for them in the social hierarchy and to become more inclusive.

Profile of the Groups

In both types of group the highest percent of respondents were from group which had 10-20 members. But at the same time a higher percent of respondents from homogenous SC groups had more than 20 members in their groups. Thus it can be seen that regardless of the type of group, most of the groups had 10-20 members and slightly higher percent of respondents from homogenous groups were belonging to groups which were of larger size. Higher percent of Dalit women respondents from homogenous groups broke away from heterogeneous groups to become members of homogenous groups. Thus it can see that a significant percent of respondents from homogenous group broke away from heterogeneous groups. Attrition from the group was highest among heterogenous groups and was lowest among the homogenous groups. Compared to dalit women respondents from heterogenous group more respondents from Homogenous group have reported that new members were added. Thus it can be understood that SC\ST homogenous group were more open to adding more members.

The respondents belonging to heterogeneous group was enquired about whether they will break away from the group to form homogenous group. A significant percent has mentioned that they would like to start homogenous groups. Thus on the whole it can found that the respondents belonging to heterogeneous groups after gaining some experience in group building and working in the group like to venture into forming a homogenous group with members from their own caste. The most important reason cited by many of the respondents for starting a group of their own was to get additional benefits and schemes from the part of the government. In some cases the respondents themselves have come across situations in which the facilitators like CDS presidents or ward members asking them about the feasibility of homogenous groups for quick delivery of some benefits and sometimes to add more members from SC\ST community to beneficiary list. A large proportion of respondents reported that the relative advantage of homogenous group over heterogenous group will be more availability of financial benefits. Even a large percent of respondents from heterogeneous groups has mentioned that homogenous groups have relative advantage when compared to heterogeneous group.

Economic Inclusion or Exclusion

The inclusion and exclusionary practises with respect to economic aspect of the respondents was analysed. The respondents were enquired about their financial transactions and the way they conducted

their financial business within the group. The queries were ordered in such a way that a before after contextual analysis was possible.

On the query related to whether they consider to be economically better after becoming a member of NHG, higher percent of respondents from Homogenous groups compared to those from heterogeneous, have reported that they were experiencing an improvement in their economic position to a high degree. This finding can also be regarded as an indication of members from homogenous group feeling more inclusive in economic activities of group. Respondents were asked whether they had a saving account in the bank before becoming a member of the group. Highest percent of respondents from Homogenous group who reported that they did not had a saving account before joining the group. Thus the findings point out that the respondents from ST homogenous groups fared better than SC from Homogenous and from Heterogeneous groups. Thus it can be seen that respondents from SC homogenous groups have gained more inclusiveness after being member of the group.

How Often Do You Go to Make Bank for Making Financial Transaction for the Group

The group's thrift is deposited in the bank regularly after thrift collection during group meeting. The office bearers of the group or in some cases the residents of the house where the meeting was held often volunteers to make deposits in the bank. There may be other reasons like taking loan from the thrift account etc, which will necessitate visit to the bank. The dalit women respondents belonging to both SC\ST homogenous and heterogeneous groups were enquired on how often they make visit to bank for making transactions for the group. Responses on how often the dalit women respondents go to bank for making financial transactions for the group shows that majority of respondents have very often gone to bank for making financial transactions. An analysis on the basis of the nature of the group may throw more light into the details of the respondents from different types of group.

Table No.3 How Often Do You Go to Make Bank for Making Financial Transaction for the Group

Nature of group	How often do you go to make bank for making financial transaction for the group				Total
	Very often	Often	Sometimes	Never	
SC Homogenous	27 56.3%	17 35.4%	3 6.3%	1 2.1	48 100%
Heterogeneous group	39 48.8%	27 33.8%	1 1.3%	13 16.3%	80 100%
ST Homogenous group	16 50%	9 28.1%	5 15.6%	2 6.5%	32 100%
Total	82 51.3%	53 33.1%	9 5.6%	16 10%	160 100%

Highest percent of respondents belonging to all groups has reported that they very often go to bank for making financial transactions in the bank for the sake of the group. Compared to SC\ST homogenous groups lesser percent of respondents from heterogeneous group were very often making visit to the

bank. A significant percent of respondents from heterogeneous groups has also mentioned that they have never being to bank for making transaction on group's account. Thus the finding indicate that majority of respondents were at ease in making transactions at bank and that dalit women respondents from homogenous groups fared better than those from heterogeneous groups.

Have You Faced Any Discrimination in Getting Loan from Group's Thrift?

The service that 68.8 percent of respondents was helping them financially was taking loan from group's thrift .A large majority of respondents has reported that they have not faced any discrimination in getting loan from the group's thrift, only a small percent has reported that they don't know about it. Thus it is seen that discrimination is not much prevalent in the matter of providing loan. The data regarding whether respondents have faced discrimination can be analysed on the basis of the type of groups in order to find out whether SC\ST homogenous groups and heterogeneous groups has any difference in its approach towards providing loan to the members.

Table No.4 Have You Faced Any Discrimination in Getting Loan from Group's Thrift?

Type of group	Have you faced any discrimination in getting loan from group's thrift?			Total
	Yes	No	Dont know	
SC Homogenous	7 14.6%	40 83.3%	1 2.1%	48 100%
Heterogeneous	11 13.8%	68 85%	1 1.3%	80 100%
ST Homogenous	5 15.6%	26 81.3%	1 3.1 %	32 100%
Total	23 14.4%	134 83.8%	3 1.9%	160 100%

Majority of respondents from all types of groups has reported that they have not felt any discrimination in getting loan from group's thrift account. However slightly higher percent of respondents from ST homogenous group has reported that they have felt discrimination in availing loan. On the whole it can be seen that compared to respondents from SC\ST homogenous groups, respondents from heterogonous groups are not facing any relative discrimination .Thus it can be understood that Dalit women respondents who belonged to heterogonous groups, where they were working in close alliance with women from other castes were not facing any specific discrimination and that in the homogenous group some respondents were dissatisfied with the way loans were sanctioned from the group's thrift account.

Do You Think that Your Debt have Decreased after Becoming a Part of the Group

After participation in the group and contributing to thrift, taking contingent loans from group's thrift account has been meticulously practises by most of the members of the group. The above data analysis supports this argument. But how much the dalit women respondents feels content with their financial

condition, their perception of the debt situation they are facing was examined in the study. The respondents were asked whether they think that after becoming a part of the group their debt has decreased.

About half of the respondents have reported that their debt has decreased to a great extent after participating in the group. Another significant percent has reported that the debt has decreased to some extent. 12.5 percent of respondents were of opinion that the debt has not decreased after becoming a part of the group. On whole it can be understood that to a large majority of respondents their debt burden has decreased, only a lesser percent of respondents has mentioned that it has not decreased at all. The responses on whether the debt has decreased was analysed on the basis of the nature of the group.

Table 5 Do You Think that Your Debt have Decreased after Becoming a Part of the Group

ature of group	Do you think that your debt have decreased after becoming a part of the group				Total
	Yes to a great extent	Yes to some extent	No not at all	Don't know	
SC Homogenous	22 45.8%	15 31.3%	11 22.9%	0 0%	48 100%
Heterogeneous group	38 47.5%	32 40%	6 7.5%	4 5%	80 100%
ST Homogenous group	19 59.4%	10 31.3%	3 9.4%	0 0%	32 100%
Total	79 49.4%	57 35.6%	20 12.5%	4 2.5%	160 100%

A large percent of respondents particularly those belonging to ST homogenous groups have reported that their debt has increased to a great extent. At the same time a significant percent of respondents from SC homogenous groups has mentioned that the debt has not at all decreased. On the whole it can be seen that compared to respondents from ST homogenous and heterogeneous groups, respondents from SC homogenous groups have reported that their debt burden has not decreased to a great extent. Thus it can be found that more respondents from SC homogenous groups were experiencing burden of debt when compared to respondents from ST homogenous groups and heterogeneous groups.

Social Exclusion and Inclusion

Kabeer (2006) treats social exclusion as processes of disadvantage, although she does this through the lens of identity discrimination, by looking at social exclusion as a group or collective – rather than individual – phenomenon. A working definition of social exclusion is proposed as: structural, institutional or agentive processes of repulsion or obstruction. In the present study the experiences of the respondents regarding caste based exclusion was analysed in detail. The respondents were asked their opinion on a

series of issues related to caste based exclusionary practises they felt were prevalent in the society in which they live.

Do You Live in an SC\ST Dominated Area

In an effort to understand the geographic profile of the area where the respondents were resided, the respondents were enquired the nature of the area they were residing .During the fieldwork some of the groups were functioning in Harijan colonies and in Tribal areas. The respondents were asked to respond to the query regarding whether they were residing in an SC or ST dominated area. The purpose understanding this issue was to identity how far SC and ST homogenous groups are formed in certain areas.

The responses when analysed indicate that there was only a slight change in the way respondents were representing SC or ST dominated areas. While 55 percent reported that they were residing in SC\ST homogenous area, 45 percent reported that they were not residing in SC\ST dominated areas. Thus on the whole it can be seen that slightly higher percent of respondents were from SC\ST dominated areas.

Table No.5 Do You Live in an SC\ST Dominated Area

Nature of group	Do you live in an SC\ST dominated area		Total
	Yes	No	
SC Homogenous	38 79.2%	10 20.8%	48 100%
Heterogeneous group	29 36.3%	51 63.8%	80 100%
ST Homogenous	21 65.6%	11 34.4%	32 100%
Total	88 55%	72 45%	160 100%

Analysis of the data on whether the respondents thought that they resided in a SC\ST dominated area indicate that the highest percent of respondents from SC homogenous groups were residing in SC dominated areas, and slightly lesser percent of respondents from ST homogenous group reported that they were residing in ST dominated area. On the whole it can be seen that majority of respondents from SC homogenous groups were from SC dominated areas and even among ST homogenous the percent of respondents who reported that they were residing in ST dominated area was lesser. On the other hand majority of respondents from heterogeneous groups reported that they were from non SC\ST dominated area. Thus one reason behind the formation of SC and ST homogenous groups may be prevalence of more SC members in the vicinity.

How Did Your Physical Mobility Increase?

Majority of respondents belonging to all types of groups have reported that physical mobility has increased after becoming member of the group. Henceforth an analysis of the reasons that have caused an increase in their physical mobility was enquired into.Physical mobility or the freedom to move about

when enquired with the respondents, has provided the response that the highest percent of respondents reported that their physical mobility has increased by way of attending group meeting. Equal percent has reported that mobility rise was due to frequenting to bank and to Block or Panchayat office. Thus on the whole it can be seen that the highest cited reason for increase in physical mobility was attending group meeting. The magnitude of the change experienced by majority of dalit women respondents is still confined to their freedom to attend group meeting. On the other hand starting of microenterprises has lead to an increase in physical mobility of only a very small percent of respondents.

The responses related to the reason behind increase in physical mobility was examined on the basis of the type of the group to which they belonged.

Table No.7 How Did Your Physical Mobility Increase?

Nature of group	How did your physical mobility increase?					Total
	Going to bank	Going to Block office\ Panchayath office	Starting micro enterprises	Attending group meeting	Physical mobility has not increased	
SC Homogenous group	14 29.2%	8 16.7%	2 4.2%	21 43.8%	3 6.3%	48 100%
Heterogeneous group	13 16.3%	15 18.8%	2 2.5%	41 51.3%	9 11.3%	80 100%
ST Homogenous group	4 12.5%	8 25%	3 9.4%	12 37.5%	5 15.6%	48 100%
Total	31 19.4%	31 19.4%	7 4.4%	74 46.3%	17 10.6%	160 100%

From almost all types of groups the highest percent of respondents were of opinion that it was attending the group meeting that increased their physical mobility. However compared to respondents from SC\ST homogenous groups it was more percent of respondents from Heterogonous who reported that it was attending of group meeting that increased their physical mobility. More percent of respondents belonging to SC homogenous groups have stated that it was by going to bank for various purposes that has increased their physical mobility. In the case of a significant percent of respondents from ST homogenous groups, a significant percent has reported that it was going to Block office and panchayath office that has increased their physical mobility .Thus on the whole it can be seen that even if most of the respondents from heterogeneous groups have reported the physical mobility has increased due to attending of group meeting when it comes to the case of SC\ST homogenous groups a significant percent has mentioned that it was going to bank and to block office\panchayath office that has increased their physical mobility.

Do You Think that You became more Aware of Problems in Your Locality after Joining the Group

An important aspect of social inclusion is spatial in which the respondents will get an opportunity to interact within their community and participating in the community based activities. The respondents were asked whether they thought that after becoming a part of the group are they more aware of problems in their locality. Thus the respondents were asked about it.

More than half of the respondents have reported that after being a member of the group they presume that they have become more aware of problems in their locality to a great extent. Only 11.3 percent has reported that after becoming a group member their awareness about their locality has not increased at all. Thus on the whole it can be seen that among majority of respondents there has been an increase in their awareness of problems in their locality.

The responses on whether they think they have become more aware of problems in their locality was analysed on the basis of the nature of the group

Table No.8 Do You Think that you became more Aware of Problems in Your Locality after Joining the Group

Nature of group	Do you think that you became more aware of problems in your locality after joining the group				Total
	Yes to a great extent	Yes to some extent	No not at all	Don't know	
SC\ST Homogenous	45	31	4	0	48
	56.3%	38.8%	5%	0%	100%
Heterogeneous group	37	27	14	2	80
	46.3%	33.8%	17.5%	2.5%	100%
Total	82	58	18	2	160
	51.3%	36.3%	11.3%	1.3%	100%

The analysis of data presented in the table above indicate that more respondents from SC\ST homogenous groups have reported that their awareness about problems in their locality has increased to a great extent after becoming group members. At the same time only lower percent of respondents from heterogeneous groups has shared the same opinion and 17.5 percent of respondents from heterogeneous groups have also reported that they do not think that their awareness of local problems has increased. Thus on the whole it can be seen that it was more respondents from homogenous groups who reported that their awareness about local problems has increased after becoming a group member.

Have You Interfered in Any Social Issue as a Group

When the members assemble for group meeting they discuss about various social issues and the present study has also found that during group meeting the members discuss on the issues of social significance .At times this may also lead to formation of a collective interest and thus consensus among group members for a collaborative action. In the present study an attempt was made to find out how far the members of different group have interfered in any social issue. More than half of the respondents have reported that they have interfered in social issues. At the same time 42.5 percent has reported that they

have not interfered in any social issue. Thus it can be seen that a slightly higher percent of respondents have interfered in social issues. The interference in social issues can be cross examined on the basis of the type of the group they belong to.

Table No.9 Have You Interfered in Any Social Issue as a Group

Nature of group	Have you interfered in any social issue as a group		Total
	Yes	No	
SC\ST Homogenous	58 72.5%	22 27.5%	80 100%
Heterogeneous group	34 42.5%	46 57.5%	80 100%
Total	92 57.5%	68 42.5%	160 100%

The highest percent of respondents who reported that they have interfered in social issue as a group were from SC\ST homogenous groups, at the same time the highest percent of respondents from heterogeneous groups have reported that they have not interfered in any social issue. Thus on the whole it can be seen that most of the respondents from SC\ST homogenous groups were interfering in social issues compared to respondents from heterogeneous groups. It has been noticed that more percent of respondents from SC\ST homogenous groups were residing in SC\ST dominated area, thus it may lead to increased involvement of members those residing in the SC\ST dominant areas in the affairs of their local community.

The Social Issues in Which the Group have Involved

More than half of the respondents covered under the study have reported that their group have collectively worked on solving a social issue. The respondents have reported many issues and some of them were pertaining to the family of the group members and about the immediate neighbours. Other than 42.5 percent of respondents who reported that they yet to interfere in any social issue, the highest social issue cited by respondents was that they provided support to the grieved family of the deceased member of their group. A significant percent has reported that they have involved in solving family problems of group members as well in the case of immediate neighbours. All such involvement is planned during the group meeting and consensus it sought of all the members. The respondents were of opinion that as they can't take up activities at a large, they try to provide active support in solving the small issues, if unattended to, can lead to large scale social issues. 11.9 percent of respondents have mentioned that they have fought against brewing and selling of alcohol in their neighbourhood. Thus on the whole it can be seen that most of the involvement that the respondents make are within their immediate surroundings. With more active collaboration with other groups in the neighbourhood, the extent of socially relevant activities which the groups can take up can be further enhanced. The long term visions of the organising agency can bring about more social engagement of respondents channelized through group effort.

The involvement of respondents on social issues was examined on the basis of the group to which they belong to

Table 10 Social Issues in Which the Group have Involved

Nature of group	The social issues in which the group have involved					Total
	Fought against brewing and selling of alcohol	Provided financial help for cancer patients	Provided support to family of dead members	Solved family problems of group members\neighbours	Not interfered yet	
SC\ST Homogenous group	15 18.8%	13 16.3%	21 26.3%	9 11.3%	22 27.5%	48 100%
Heterogeneous group	4 5%	0 0%	12 15%	18 22.5%	46 57.5%	80 100%
Total	19 11.9%	13 8.1%	33 20.6%	27 16.9%	68 42.5%	160 100%

More than half of the respondents belonging to heterogenous groups have reported that they have not yet interfered in social issues. The highest percent from SC\ST homogenous groups who reported that they have interfered in social issues, reported that it was in the case of providing support to the family of the deceased group members that they involved actively. They consider it as a social cause to offer help and support to the family left behind after the death of their co group member. The support ranges from financial help to emotional support to help them to tide over the huge grief. In the case of respondents belonging to heterogenous groups the social issue they have dealt with is more about solving of family problems of the group members as well as that of neighbours. Thus on the whole it can be seen that there was difference in the way respondents from homogenous and heterogenous groups responded to social issues. It was found that it was respondents from homogenous groups who were more oriented to active involvement in social issues.

Political Inclusion and Exclusion

Political system of a region is a determinant of the freedom and the standard of life maintained by the citizens. The political process has potential of bringing about comprehensive changes in a society. In Kerala the political system is intertwined with all aspects of life. Communist ideology is deeply entrenched with Kerala being the first state in the world which had the first elected communist government to power. In the present study an attempt was made to understand how the political processes are influencing the inclusion and exclusion dynamics of the marginalised sections of society.

Whether a Member of Any Political Party

Membership in a political party was taken into consideration for understanding the political orientation of the respondents. They were enquired about their membership in political parties. Majority of respondents were not having membership in any political party while a significant percent had membership in political parties. Thus on the whole it can be seen that a significant percent of respondents were having membership in political parties while majority were not having membership

The analysis of the data on whether the respondents were having membership in political party can be cross examined on the basis of the type of the group to which they belong.

Table No 11 Whether a Member of Any Political Party

Nature of group	Whether a member of any political party		Total
	Yes	No	
SC\ST Homogenous	29	51	80
	36.3%	63.8%	100%
Heterogeneous group	23	57	80
	28.8%	71.3%	100%
Total	52	108	160
	32.5%	67.5%	100%

The analysis of the data indicates that a higher percent of respondents from SC\ST homogenous groups were members of political parties compared to respondents from heterogeneous groups. Thus it can be understood that when it comes to participation in active politics dalit women respondents belonging to Homogenous groups were comparably more active than those from heterogeneous groups. Again when the data was further analysed it was found that it was more respondents from SC homogenous groups who were more active political party members than those from ST homogenous groups.

Have Anybody in Your Group Stood for Elections

Self Help Groups has provided an ample ground for training in organising and getting in touch with the social issues. Socialisation of women through Self Help Groups has increased the political consciousness of women. There are evidences to show that Kudumbasree women have stood for elections and have proved their mettle in field of electoral politics. In wake this fact an attempt was made in the present study to understand how many of them have stood for elections.

The data collected from the field points out a significant percent 26.9 percent of respondents have stood for elections. On the other hand majority that is 73.1 percent has never stood for elections. The analysis of the data collected on the basis of the type of the group to which they belong may throw more light on the participation of dalit women in electoral politics.

Table No 12 Have Anybody in Your Group Stood for Elections

Nature of group	Have anybody in your group stood for elections		Total
	Yes	No	
SC Homogenous	6	42	48
	12.5%	87.5%	100%
Heterogeneous group	25	55	80
	31.3%	60.8%	100%
ST Homogenous	12	20	32
	37.5%	62.5%	100%

Total	43 26.9%	117 73.1%	160 100%
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The responses on whether anybody in their group has stood for elections reveal that relatively higher percent of respondents from ST homogenous and Heterogeneous groups claim that members from their group have contested in elections. Compared to both of these groups lesser percent of respondents from SC homogenous groups have reported that the members of their group has contested in elections. Thus it can be understood that more respondents from heterogeneous groups have contested in elections and in the case of ST respondents may be the limited geographical location of the community that may have provided them more opportunities to contest in elections. The findings indicate that more concerted efforts are needed to nurture leaders from SC dominated areas as even if the respondents from SC homogenous groups were more politically socialised, their active and direct participation in the electoral politics is not as desired.

Do You Think that Being a Part of the Group will Increase Your Calibre to Stand in Election

The respondents were enquired whether they thought that the membership in groups will enhance their calibre to stand for election. The question was asked in the background of increasing proportion of women in electoral politics particularly in the three their panchayath elections. After reservation of 50 percent of seats for women in the decentralised governance there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of women contesting elections. The present study tries to find out whether being part of the group has increased their calibre to stand for elections. Regarding how far they thought group will increase their calibre to stand in elections the responses seem to be that slightly higher percent of respondents believed that group has increased to some extent their calibre to stand for election. At the same time about 36.3 percent has reported that they do not feel that group has increased their calibre to stand in elections.

Table No.13 Do You Think that Being a Part of the Group will Increase Your Calibre to Stand in Le Election

Nature of group	Do you think that being a part of the group will increase your calibre to stand in election				Total
	Yes to a great extent	Yes to some extent	No not at all	Don't know	
SC\ST Homogenous	29 36.3%	23 28.8%	24 30%	4 5%	80 100%
Heterogeneous group	14 17.5%	31 38.8%	34 42.5%	1 1.3%	80 100%
Total	43 29.9%	54 33.8%	58 36.3%	5 3.1%	160 100%

More respondents belonging to SC\ST homogenous groups have reported that they thought that being a part of the group has increased their calibre for stand in election to a great extent. At the same time it

can be seen that highest percent of respondents from heterogeneous groups have reported that they do not think that being a part of the group has increased their calibre to stand in election. Thus on the whole it can be seen that even if the proportion of respondents who have stood in elections were more from heterogeneous groups, respondents from heterogeneous group do not believe to a great extent that it was membership in group that increase their calibre to stand in elections. On the other hand more respondents from SC\ST homogenous groups believe that the group membership has increased their calibre to contest in elections. Thus it seems that Dalit women respondents from homogenous groups are more optimistic of the group membership increasing their capacity to contest elections.

Conclusion

The causal and positional analysis of the Social exclusionary and Inclusionary process that the Dalits experience in Homogenous and Heterogenous groups was examined in the present study. The domains in which the relative deprivation of the dalits was analysed were mainly-economic, social and political. The parameters related to Economic inclusion and exclusion indicates that dalit women belonging to both homogenous and heterogeneous groups were better integrated to the economic institutions and respondents belonging to homogenous groups were more attracted to the financial inclusiveness they may gain. In the case of the Social Exclusion and Inclusionary practices it was found that it was more percent of respondents from Homogenous groups who actively involved in solving social issues and in identifying the pertinent local issues. Political Exclusion and Inclusionary processes indicate that more respondents from Homogenous groups were interested in electoral politics. The study points towards the need for incorporating more orientation programmes at the NHG level to create consciousness about social exclusionary processes at macro level and showcasing the best examples of social inclusion.

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HEALTH POLICIES OF THE DMK GOVERNMENT AND ITS IMPACTS IN TAMIL NADU

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Introduction

The state of public health in Tamil Nadu during the late 1940s was alarming, marked by rampant contagious diseases like malaria, smallpox, chickenpox, leprosy, tuberculosis, and polio. The healthcare infrastructure was notably insufficient, with traditional medicine serving as the principal treatment method. The situation was further exacerbated by a scarcity of nutritious food and inadequate medical facilities, compounded by poor transportation infrastructure. Amidst these dire circumstances, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) was founded by CN. Annadurai along with four other individuals on September 17, 1949. After CN. Annadurai, Mr. M. Karunanidhi succeeded him and served as the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu for five terms, during which significant developments were made. The DMK's administration recognized the inextricable link between sound public health and genuine social empowerment. Consequently, a multitude of health-improving measures were enacted, such as the expansion of medical facilities, the offering of free or low-cost medical care to economically disadvantaged populations, the distribution of preventive tools like mosquito nets to combat vector-borne diseases, immunization campaigns, and public health education. These multipronged approaches led to a notable decline in contagious diseases, reduced mortality rates, and increased life expectancy. This research aims to explore the impact and scope of the health policies implemented by the DMK, particularly during Mr. M. Karunanidhi's tenure, and their enduring influence on the socio-economic landscape of Tamil Nadu.

Spreading of Contagious Diseases at the Time of DMK's Foundation

At the time of the DMK's foundation, the health and sanitary conditions in Tamil Nadu were alarming, characterized by frequent outbreaks of contagious diseases. A host of diseases like cholera, malaria, smallpox, chickenpox, leprosy, tuberculosis, and polio also wreaked havoc on the population, with several people succumbing to these illnesses annually. Steps taken to control the spread of these diseases were not adequate to control them. The surviving populace became unwitting carriers of multiple diseases, mainly due to the absence of proper treatment, perpetuating the cycle of poor health.

Infant Mortality and shortage of medical professionals

As the DMK was founded, Tamil Nadu was grappling with a myriad of social issues that directly impacted public health, such as poverty, malnutrition, poor sanitation, and inadequate medical care. Among the most concerning health statistics was the rate of infant mortality. The health department's data revealed that maternal mortality was a concern not only in rural regions but also within urban areas. Additionally, the dearth of multi-specialty hospitals, transportation facilities, public awareness, and prevalent illiteracy combined with deep-seated beliefs in fate played pivotal roles in this tragic loss of life.

The healthcare sector in Tamil Nadu was characterized by a severe shortage of medical professionals and cultural restrictions during the early years of the DMK. At that time, there were only four medical colleges in the state, all of which were located in major cities. This meant that there was a limited number

of doctors available to serve the rural population. Additionally, the majority of doctors were male, which presented challenges for women who needed medical care. The DMK government, which came to power in 1967, recognized the need to address these issues. They implemented several reforms, including the expansion of the public healthcare system, the introduction of free or low-cost medical care, and the training of female doctors. These reforms helped to improve the availability and quality of healthcare in Tamil Nadu, and they had a positive impact on the health of women in particular.

Lack of Adequate Hospitals and Sanitation Facilities

Due to poverty and financial constraints, many could not afford the travel costs to reach faraway hospitals, exacerbating their health risks. Moreover, the state also grappled with insufficient road and transportation infrastructure, further isolating rural communities from essential healthcare services. When complications arose during pregnancies, many women opted not to seek medical help simply because they had no reliable way to get to a hospital. These limitations in hospital accessibility and transportation were significant factors contributing to high rates of maternal mortality, commonly known as *matricide*, as well as infant mortality in Tamil Nadu during that period. The lack of adequate sanitation not only compromised individual well-being but also contributed significantly to the spread of contagious diseases. The population suffered considerably due to these conditions, highlighting the state's urgent need for better sanitation infrastructure.

Establishment of Primary Health Centres: A Lifeline for Rural Tamil Nadu

Taking to heart Mahatma Gandhi's observation that "India lives in its villages," the DMK government embarked on a critical mission to enhance rural healthcare in Tamil Nadu. The DMK government in Tamil Nadu took a transformative approach to improve rural healthcare.

To address this issue, the DMK government established Primary Health Centres (PHCs) in even the most remote corners of the state. Between 1996 and 2000, a total of 28 new PHCs were constructed. Each center was staffed by at least one doctor, supported by trained nurses, and well-stocked with essential medicines.

In rural areas, expectant mothers often had to travel long distances to seek quality medical care, which could lead to tragic outcomes, including death during childbirth. To mitigate this risk, the DMK government introduced caesarean facilities in every PHC. These visionary steps had a transformative impact on maternal health in rural Tamil Nadu. The DMK government launched an ambitious program between 1996 and 2000 to build 261 new hospitals across the state. This massive expansion aimed to increase the number of healthcare facilities and bring them closer to the people who needed them the most. The DMK government also understood that improving the quality of medical care was essential. Existing hospitals often lacked modern, scientific equipment, which meant that residents had to travel to other states for treatment. The DMK government also invested in providing 26 new ambulances to medical college hospitals. This enhanced the emergency response capabilities of these hospitals, ensuring that patients could receive timely treatment.

Organizing Free-Eye Camps: A Vision for Health Empowerment

In recognition of the critical importance of eye health and its impact on overall well-being, the DMK government, led by Mr. M. Karunanidhi, initiated a transformative healthcare project focused on combating blindness in the state. The project, named the 'Chief Minister Kalaigai Karunanidhi Free Eye Camp Project,' was first introduced on June 3, 1972, with the primary aim of providing surgical treatment to visually impaired individuals. One of the standout initiatives was the implementation of mobile eye

hospitals in 26 districts across the state. The project's holistic approach significantly improved eye health and reduced preventable blindness throughout Tamil Nadu. The success of the initiative also symbolizes a notable step towards health empowerment, as thousands regained their vision and, with it, the ability to lead fulfilling lives. The project's holistic approach significantly improved eye health and reduced preventable blindness throughout Tamil Nadu. The success of the initiative also symbolizes a notable step towards health empowerment, as thousands regained their vision and, with it, the ability to lead fulfilling lives.

Establishment of Blood Banks

In a first-of-its-kind initiative in India, the DMK government established a blood bank at the Vellore Primary Health Centre. The immediate impact of this move was transformative: countless women were able to receive the right type of blood during emergencies, significantly reducing maternal mortality rates.

Providing Financial Assistance for Heart Surgery

In a society where healthcare is often seen as a privilege rather than a right, the DMK government led by Mr. M. Karunanidhi took transformative steps to change this narrative," particularly for impoverished children suffering from serious heart conditions. With a budget allocation of Rs. 1.05 crore, the scheme has successfully provided life-saving heart surgeries for 200 poor children, many of whom were of school-going age or even younger. Thus, by funding free heart surgeries for children in need, the DMK government made a pivotal contribution to the broader vision of healthcare empowerment in Tamil Nadu.

The Dr. Muthu Lakshmi Reddy Memorial Delivery Assistance Scheme

Mr. M. Karunanidhi introduced the Dr. Muthu Lakshmi Reddy Memorial Delivery Assistance Scheme on June 3, 1989. Named in honor of Dr. Muthu Lakshmi Reddy, a pioneering female medical practitioner and social reformer, this scheme has had a transformative impact on women's health in Tamil Nadu, especially those from financially constrained backgrounds. The scheme aims to provide financial assistance to pregnant women from low-income families during the advanced stages of pregnancy and immediately post-delivery. Initially, the scheme provided women with a sum of Rs. 200, which was later increased to Rs. 500 in 1998, a testament to the government's ongoing commitment to the program. The scheme is a glowing testament to the DMK government's determination to uplift and empower the women of Tamil Nadu.

Kalainger Kaippidu Thittam

In recognizing that good health is the cornerstone of social empowerment, the DMK government took a groundbreaking step in 2007 with the introduction of the Kalainger Kaippidu Thittam. Named after Mr. M. Karunanidhi, fondly known as "Kalainger," this healthcare scheme was crafted to respond to the critical health issues plaguing the people of Tamil Nadu, including diseases affecting the kidney, heart, and liver. It provided free treatment up to Rs. 1 lakh, allowing people from all socio-economic backgrounds to access high-quality healthcare without financial strain.

Varummun Kappom Scheme

Launched by the DMK government in 1996, the Varummun Kappom Scheme aimed to address the stark healthcare disparities between rural and urban areas in Tamil Nadu. Designed to bring medical services directly to the villages, the initiative has been a monumental success, significantly elevating the healthcare standards in rural communities. Under the scheme, mobile medical units comprising a team of skilled doctors and equipped with essential medical facilities, visit villages to organize free medical camps. These

units provide a range of medical services, from basic healthcare check-ups to specialized consultations, all free of charge for the community members. By any measure, the Varummun Kappom Scheme stands as one of the DMK government's most impactful healthcare initiatives. It reflects a commitment to equitable access to healthcare services and has laid down a strong foundation for improved health and well-being, particularly among the rural population of Tamil Nadu.

Vazhvoli Scheme

The Vazhvoli Scheme, introduced by the DMK government in 1999, was a groundbreaking initiative aimed at early detection and treatment of diseases among school- aged children in Tamil Nadu. The scheme targeted students from 1st to 12th standard attending government and government-aided schools, and mandated compulsory free medical check-ups for all. According to the scheme, any student identified with a serious medical condition during these check-ups would be referred to a government medical college hospital. There, they would receive top-tier medical treatment completely free of cost, ensuring their return to a healthy state.

Recognizing the dire need for more healthcare professionals, especially in the underserved areas of Tamil Nadu, the DMK government led by Mr. M. Karunanidhi embarked on an ambitious plan to establish more medical colleges across the state. The underlying principle was simple yet transformative: more medical colleges would mean more doctors, and more doctors would lead to better healthcare for all.

Free 108 Ambulance service

The inability to reach medical facilities in time during emergencies has often had tragic outcomes, especially for women in rural areas. Acknowledging this critical gap in healthcare, the DMK government led by M. Karunanidhi launched the Free 108 Ambulance Services in 2008. With just a call to the toll-free number 108, residents could have an ambulance at their doorstep in a matter of minutes, completely free of charge. Each ambulance comes equipped with a doctor, a nurse, two attenders, and essential emergency medicines, ensuring immediate first-aid and stabilization as the patient is transported to the nearest healthcare facility.

Financial Assistance for marriage

In a commendable effort to elevate the social standing and well-being of physically challenged individuals, the DMK government not only rebranded the term "Handicapped" to "Physically Challenged Persons" but also implemented financial policies to encourage inclusive marriages. Starting from the year 2000-2001, the financial assistance for those marrying physically challenged persons such as those who are deaf-mute or have lost a limb-was increased from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 7,000. This lump-sum payment serves dual purposes.

Makkalai Thedi Maruthuvam scheme

This scheme was introduced by DMK Government on 5 August 2021. The initial amount allocated for this scheme sanctioned was 258 crores. According to this scheme, the specialized medical facilities were sent to the people directly in the post-COVID scenario. Another scheme known as Inuyir Kaakum Thittam was introduced by Chief Minister M.K. Stalin on 17.12.2021. The main purpose of this scheme is to save people from road accidents. The initial treatment which is very necessary to save precious lives is being given by the medical facilities made available by this scheme.

Conclusion

The advent of the DMK government in Tamil Nadu marked a turning point for public health and social welfare in the state. Prior to the DMK's interventions, the healthcare landscape was bleak, with inadequate medical facilities, high maternal and child mortality rates, and widespread contagious diseases. However, the DMK's systematic and multi-pronged approach ushered in an era of remarkable progress and transformation. In summary, the DMK's unwavering focus on healthcare and social welfare has revolutionized the lives of the people in Tamil Nadu. The transformative changes are not just statistical figures, but they are also reflected in the improved quality of life and expanded opportunities for the people. The strides made in healthcare and social welfare are a testament to the DMK's effective governance, underscoring its lasting impact on creating a healthier, more empowered Tamil Nadu.

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COLONEL JOHN MUNRO: UNRAVELLING THE STRANDS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN TRAVANCORE

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Colonel John Munro is often depicted as the most efficient British resident in Travancore. His idealism and reformist policies indeed brought out various changes in the State. He was an able military officer throughout his career and proved his prowess in the Mysorean War. Impressed by his sincerity and resourcefulness, the British conferred him the title of 'Colonel'. The political circumstances of the Travancore required a man like him, to figure out the political turmoil in the state. The progressive reforms of Munro for transforming Travancore are numerous. His socio-political farsightedness is very much reflected in his neoteric policies. But there were certain hidden factors in his approach that catalyse British imperialism in the native State.

The political chaos in Travancore in 1809 and the death of Veluthampi made it impossible for then Resident Colonel Macaulay to continue in power. To overcome this insecurity that prevailed in the State, the Madras government approved the resignation of Colonel Macaulay and appointed Colonel John Munro as the Resident in 1810. When the old resident stepped down from his office an amount of Rs.18 lakhs was due which the Travancore had to pay to the British government. So he was found as an apt person to deal with the situation and entrusted to collect the dues as early as possible. Here the imperialist designs were evident rather than the progressive notions that is intended to be implemented in princely states.

On 23rd March 1810, he took up the office of resident in both Travancore and Cochin. A.Falconer, the Chief Secretary informed Col. Munro in his letter regarding the expectations and needs of the government and instructed him to take appropriate actions in taking the various issues of Travancore.¹ Even though he was appointed by the government in March 1810, joined the office only in October due to the turbulent situation in the State. At his time, the state was ruled by Maharaja Balarama Varma and the office of Dalawa was held by Ummuni Thampi. The state of affairs in the native country was unappealing to him. The main reason for the conflicts between the British and Dewan Veluthampi was economic. Travancore was not in a position to retaliate against the expenses then incurred and the annual subsidy to be paid. In these complex political circumstances, Munro was very prepared to execute the colonial interests along with the welfare of Travancore.

One of the most conspicuous acts of British imperial strategies was the modification of the terms of the Treaty of 1795. According to this, the English got the power to interfere in the internal affairs of the country. The British government furthered its colonial interests through this subsidiary alliance system. A dominant power was demanded by the political situation in Travancore during the period which included; the inability of the Dalawa to get through the crisis, the prevailing corruption, abuse of power, other political distortions etc. The sudden demise of the sovereign Bala Rama Varma fueled the circumstances.² The question of succession to the throne claimed by both Kerala Varma Ilaya Raja and Rani Sethu Lakshmi Bai was entrusted to the Resident. It was Munro who found a perfect solution to this crisis by selecting Rani Lakshmi Bai as the true heir to the throne. Munro decided to get rid of Kerala Varma, who was a staunch opponent of British imperialism. Both litigants staked their rights in the dispute over succession to the throne. But Munro rejected the claims of Kerala Varma who became a threat to their

imperial ambitions and took a stand in favour of Rani Sethu Lakshmi Bai. Later the Ilayaraja was transported to Chingelpet by the Madras Government.³

Sethu Lekshmi's loyalty to Munro could be seen in her memorandum, given to the Resident. She not only assured full support and veneration to the Company but also rule Travancore with their guidance. Travancore was completely relied on the political mechanism of the English. She entrusted all the affairs of the state to Munro, whom she considered as her elder brother. Munro's administrative reforms were contrary to the expectations of the Dewan Ummini Thampi, who thought of more discounts from the Resident.⁴ The royalty put the sole responsibility behind all the turmoils in her state up on Dewan and latter demanded his immediate expulsion. Resident supported Rani's claims and brought Ummini's matter to the attention of the Madras government. With their consent, Ummini Thampi was removed from power and Munro himself took over the office of Dewan. In 1812, Ummini Thampi plotted to kill the resident at Quilon and also started a rebellion. Later the conspiracy was unearthed and the culprits were banished to Nellore by the Madras government.⁵

Munro carried out administrative reforms in Travancore by using the powers of the Dewan and Residents together. He approached the administration of Travancore with some prejudice because of his previous perception that the natives were dishonest and recalcitrant.⁶ With this preconceived notion, he took the charge of the deanship of Travancore. His approach towards the people of Travancore with these prejudices never resulted in an oppressive rule over them. He advanced towards the existing problems in a more open-minded, humanitarian manner.

The colonial interests of the British were accomplished in the very first assignment of Munro. He was appointed by the Madras government to pay off the dues and debts of the princely state of Travancore by using every possible method. As a result of his strenuous efforts he was able to repay more than the amount expected by the government. Among his efforts, the reforms related to the administrative affairs of the state deserved special mention. Travancore was divided into three administrative units. Each of these was under Sarvadikkaryakkars who supervised all the affairs of the district. To achieve clarity and eliminate uncertainty in the department, he abolished the posts of Valiyasarvadikkars and Sarvadikkaryakkars.⁷ Moreover, Karyakkars who possessed judicial authority lost their jurisdiction and lowered their position as mere tax collectors. Their designation was modified into Tahsildar and given the responsibility of district administration. He thus separated the revenue department very logically and prudently.

Munro found that the administration of Travancore was under corrupt officials who enjoyed enormous judicial and political powers. The consequence of this situation was a ruptured central authority with little control over its bureaucrats. He was too convinced of the necessity of disciplined officers to confront this deteriorating circumstance. He thus reorganized the administrative mechanism by establishing order and regularity in its function. He was seriously irritated by the officials who intentionally made mistakes. They initiated severe punishments for those defaulters. He never dismissed any miscreants, which always justified his act. He turned his attention to the commencement of thorough reforms in the general administration in Travancore only by consulting diplomats and experts under the regulations of the early rulers. He formulated new rules by incorporating the laws in the *Dharmasastras* and the rules of the English East India Company. These regulations, later came to be known as 'Sattavariolas' were publicized with the approval of the Rani Sethu Lakshmi Bai on 30th Chingam 987 ME.⁸ Munro brought out some of the significant changes in the finance department. To restore its former equilibrium, he modified the department by creating new posts. As a result, the posts of superintendent and deputy superintendent were introduced. The department also adopted a system in which the officials properly checked and

accurately recorded all the expenditures and incomes of the State. The bills with the consent of the authorities can be disbursed from the treasury. All financial reports should be reported to Rani on the respective day. The public treasury in Travancore had the same crisis. There were several treasuries existed in the country for the various sources of income. The existing loose system made the department more corrupt. To prevent this, he abolished all the unnecessary treasuries and amalgamated them into a single public system. The authority in the public treasury can issue cash only after the bill is signed by the superintendent of the finance department, which was approved by the Resident.

The reforms that the Resident introduced in the Finance department and in the public treasury can be explained as another version of British imperialism. Because with these new changes, the Company get to know about the exact income of Travancore and thereby they can collect their due amount without compromise. Therefore the remedies introduced by Munro to prevent corruption had both positive and negative impacts.

There were several land tenures that prevailed in Travancore, but the absence of an accurate revenue system triggered the condition. Realizing this, Munro introduced a system of 'Puthucheethu' or 'Pattayam' to the ryots in every prowerthis. He also started issuing receipts for everything related to the land revenues. He abolished certain compulsory taxes like *Purushantaram* and *Prayschitham* forever. He took measures to prevent unauthorized pepper dealings and the black market. In the judicial department, Munro immediately introduced certain reforms to establish justice in Travancore⁹. The major changes were the establishment of a Court of Appeal and five Zillah Courts at Padmanabhapuram, Trivandrum, Mavelikkara, Vaikkom and Alwaye.¹⁰ In the appeal court, judicial administration was under four judges including Dewan. In the Zillah courts, there were two judges and a Sastri for jurisdiction.

Another significant attempt of Munro was the commencement of the reforms for the administration of the temple lands. The misuse of temple revenues by Uralars and the mismanagement of Devaswam lands were the major reasons for Munro to assume the administration of 348 major and 1123 minor temples along with their movable and immovable properties.¹¹ All landed property was brought under Land Revenue Department and later merged with the Public Exchequer. The expenses of the religious institutions are now defrayed from the General Treasury¹² and arranged on a liberal footing, that allows the performance of every ceremony consistent with established customs that a better-ordered devotion would call for the revenue accounts of 1812 revealed the total income from the major temples to be Rs 426774.¹³ Just as the government regulated the income from the temple lands, it was able to control their expenditure also. His radical reforms in the revenue department increased the gross income of the state ie, from below 30 lakhs to 38 lakhs.¹⁴ Her Highness was very much contented with the integrity and zealous efforts of the Resident. The state was indebted to him for his remarkable reforms.

The colonial interventions turned to be a bliss for Travancore, where order and discipline eventually restored. To a large extent, he could bring harmony and prosperity in the State, but his efforts were more loyal imperialist. The close examination of the facts unveiled a more different image. All these reforms seemed to be the strategies of a colonial power in order to exploit its colony economically, with the support of its people. The reforms of Munro reflected the colonial strategy of intervening and gaining control over governance. His reforms in revenue collection ensures a steady flow of income to the British government. He successfully managed to maintain an equilibrium between British and the natives which was one of the characteristics of British imperialism. The attempts of Munro detailed the multidimensional nature of British colonialism, which involved an assemblage of economic objectives, cultural adaptation, and political consolidation.

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BLACKSMITH AND THE FORMATION OF VILLAGE SETTLEMENTS IN MALABAR: A CASE STUDY OF ERNAD

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Introduction

The artisans and craftsman played a significant role in the society and especially the peoples of *kammala* are an essential part they were also called *Vishwakarma* and the emergence of the craft peoples along with the settled agriculture, habitation and traditional craftsmanship as part of human culture. The firsthand information about them gets in the *sangam* literature and most of the references about the blacksmiths in *tinai* songs, *akam* and *puram* songs, *kurunthokai* and so on. During the medieval times, the references about them in mostly related to the temple culture and most of all the *kammala* groups played play important role in it.

The term *Vishwakarma* is derived from the two words '*viswam*' and '*karma*', which means labour and duty or work respectively.ⁱ According to Edgard Thurston, the term *Kammala* claim that they are the descendants of *Vishwakarma*, the divine architect of the gods, and have had five sons, called *manu*, *maya*, *silpa*, *tvashta* and *daivangna* and these five sons were the originators of the five crafts.ⁱⁱ The *kammala* who are also called as *Nankuparisa* or *panchalas* are the artisan classes by LK Anatha Krishna Iyer.ⁱⁱⁱ According to T. Madhava Menon, *nanku parisa* is a generic term of a group of artisan castes, along with *Marassari* (carpenter), *Kallasari* (Stone Mason), *Kollan* (Black Smith), *Tholkollan* (Leather worker), *Musari* (Brass smith), and *Thattan* (Gold Smith). Generally, they were called under one generic term is *Kammala* and also called as *panchalas*, means that five faces.^{iv} The word *Kammala* in Tamil and Malayalam is related to the Sanskrit word *karmara*, which is popular in Telugu, Kannada and Tulu and also stated that the *ainkudi kammala* is the combination or group of *asari*, *musari*, *thattan*, *kollan* and *kallasari* or *chembotti*.^v They were called to be '*karmakara*' which is paralleled to Pali '*kammara*' and in Malayalam which is called as *kammalan* and it is commonly referred to as '*ainkammala*'.^{vi} Different types of classification regarding about the *kammala* groups, according to CA. Innes, classified as *asari*, *thattan*, *kollan*, *musari* and *chembotti*.^{vii} T. Madhava Menon states that the groups of *kammala* like *marassari*, *kallasari*, *kollan*, *tholkollan*, *musari* and *thattan*.^{viii} Apart from that, basically, they are *asari*, *musari*, *thattan*, and *kollan* are the common groups on the basis of analysis. According to L.K Anatha Krishna Iyer they were very early immigrants from the Tamil districts,^{ix} and Edgard Thurston stated that the "*kammalas* of Cochin and Malabar are said to be the very early immigrants from the Tamil district, and the existence of Malabar in the beginning of the ninth century".^x

The emergence of the *kammala* peoples along with the settled agriculture and habitation and they developed as part of agricultural life and culture and most of these passed down from generation to generation. Apart from that all the groups of artisans like *kammala* like blacksmith, brass smith has its own features and peculiarities.

Content

The term village community defined as “the village as a ‘little republic’ and self-sufficient.”^{xi} According to M.R Raghava Varier, the geographical peculiarities and the habitation referred had become in a village community and every village should have required the services of the artisans like *kammala*.^{xii} In every region the *kammala* peoples, carpenters mainly do the construction works, *musari* made the lamps and vessels related to temples, goldsmiths to make the jewels, and the blacksmiths were related to agricultural occupation, which is mainly important in the development of a village. The ruling groups retainers, other owning groups and the ordinary peoples should be needed the services from the *kammala* community especially the blacksmith and the carpenter respectively they were interconnected with their profession such as they were mainly made and repair specially in the agricultural tools and implements and they were inevitable part in our society.^{xiii} Apart from that, brass smith and goldsmith were not found in every villages when to be required the services from the brass smith and goldsmith they were become migrated to another places and mostly the needs of them to the royal families, temples and so on.^{xiv}

Blacksmith is one of the groups of the *kammala* community and they were distributed throughout in Kerala and they were traditional iron workers as well as the artisans of making and maintenance of iron tools and implements.^{xv} They were also called as *kollan*, *karuvan* and *karuman* and they work within burning iron was the specialty of them. Generally, they engaged with making most of the agricultural implements such as the plough, mattock, welding spuds, household articles like vessels, knives, locks and weapons for warfare as the shields, swords and daggers etc.^{xvi} Blacksmith was the part of the hereditary village community, they were integral part of the village system because of that every village have the agrarian basis and those peoples were must to manufacture the agricultural tools of production. Vijaya Ramaswamy states that the blacksmith referred in inscriptions as ‘*perum kollan*’, simply means ‘great craftsmen’, literally indicated that the master or the elder craftsmen of the blacksmith.^{xvii} According to Madhava Menon, *perum kollan* is one of the subdivisions of the blacksmith and is derived from *perum* (big), and *kollan* (blacksmith). According to Thurston, they mainly subdivided into six categories they are *ti* (fire) *kollan*, *perum* (big) *kollan*, *tiperum kollan*, *irumb* (iron) *kollan*, *kadachi* (knife grinders), *tolkollan* (leather worker or leather blacksmiths) and the last two among these divisions regarded as the inferior groups by their profession. The same divisions of the blacksmith mentioned by P. Bhaskaranunni and also stated that two kinds of *kollans* in his work such as *Ircha kollan* (Timber Sawyer) and *Kaikollan*.^{xviii} The word *kaikollan* is derived from *kai* (hand) *kol* (shuttle) and mainly their hereditary employment was weaving later they were called as *chaliyan*.^{xix}

The megalithic culture, which is prevalent in Kerala, indicate the growth of iron age and it began in southern India around 1000 BC, tools may have been used primarily for hunting and agriculture.^{xx} The iron ores have been found in different parts of the Malabar, like Arakkaparambu, Chembrasserry, Mankada, Melattur, Manjeri, Ernad and so on.^{xxi} More than that, Francis Buchanan came to Malabar in the early nineteenth century and describes in detail how iron was made in many parts of south Malabar and the traditional iron metallurgy also, in 1844, the British government had appointed a committee for the study of iron under the guidance of Dr. Cromford had submitted the report, says that hundreds of iron labour houses existed in Malabar and also he stated that four forges had supplied with iron ore near Colagodu and generally, the ore like black sand and was mixed with the clay near the river and finds out thirty-four forges at Velattur for iron smelting, the iron is composed of clay, quartz in the form of sand and the black iron sand, moreover the iron ores at Valanchery, the man who smelted to the furnace, the produce of the smelting was six *tulam* or iron, worth eight or nine fanams a *tulam* or forty-eight to fifty-

four fanams. According to Buchanan, the iron smelting process like, the person who take both wet sand and powdered charcoal in to mix well and it put in to the bottom of furnace and will be beaten, and formed so as to slope from the outer and upper edge, both toward the hole and the ground in front of the furnace. The hole stopped with clay and at the same time the clay pipes inserted in to the corner of the furnace. May a raw of the clay pipes are eight to ten and then laid on the surface of the sand at right angles to the back of the furnace. Their outer ends project into the front as the same time the inner ends to project in to the back and the front of the furnace is covered with the most clay, and its stoppers are placed in the outer mouth of the pipes. The workers remove these stoppers, look through the pipes, and to evaluate how the work is progressing.^{xxii} Furthermore, Connolly, the collector of Malabar reported that the divergent iron productive centers had found in the different parts of Malabar region and they generalized iron was found in many parts of Kerala itself and the available iron may have been refined and used by the black smiths, and there are seventy-two million tons of iron ore in the state, containing forty percent iron and is nearly concentrated in the Kozhikode and Malappuram districts also accounts for a minor share of iron deposits.^{xxiii} In Malabar region, the native peoples had produced iron in a few quantities and the native furnace, its height varying from six feet under and to needs this few of iron was smelted with required almost three baskets of charcoal and it spend with twelve hours and is used for the native purposes and the cost of making furnace is almost six to seven rupees. More than that, the charcoal also prepared by the natives in the process like, firstly they dig a pit in six feet and the depth in four and fill it with logs about a cubit, or more in length, stack them, and set the heap on fire and at the same time the pit is covered with wet sod, after the time water sprinkled to the dig. The process of the smelting black sand is to take measured sand in to three parts in equally and its weight like a little more than twenty-five pounds and eleven ounces avoirdupois and the two baskets of the charcoal put in to the chimney, and its above put it one third part of the sand and after that, the bellows urged with fire kindled, subsided of fire during this time, the remaining charcoal and third of the sand also put it and the fire urged into six hours. The front of the furnace is then broken, and on removing the walls a mass of iron is found at the bottom, which is taken out with forceps and cut into two blocks in this process can get the iron by hammering and finally, get the iron after this process is purer.^{xxiv} Some of the *oothala* have been continued the smelting in to three or more days and the iron block found is taken next morning after the cooling of furnace and removed the front of the clay blocks after sprinkling of water, during this process to get three types of iron like '*hallirumbu*', '*polayirumbu*', and '*kaychirumbu*' and they are was the most tough, malleable and obtained while crushing process is done and could be melted and strengthened so as to make rasps in respectively.

Generally, the iron furnaces are called as *oothalas* and referred to understand the importance of iron technology and the *oothala* had it's like, thirty feet length, five feet width and three feet high. According to V.H. Dhirar, he found twelve *oothalas* at Nirannaparambu and is had a length of thirty feet, width of five feet and three feet of height and the report of 1854 by Connolly, mentioned the *oothala* and apart from that sixty-nine *oothalas* in Walluvanad taluk, eleven in Ernad and fourteen in Nemmini village. A large quantity of iron tools had produced for the native purposes and the other *oothalas* are existed Karuvarakundu, Poonthanam, Arakkuparamba, Karad, Pandikkad, Mankada etc etc. The important *oothala* centres in Ernad taluk; nine in Mankada, two in Manjeri, Panthallor, Chengara and Pandikkad and only one in Alinkoor, Thrikkalangode, and Karuyad and almost these kinds of *oothala's* required seventeen to fifty-two rupees in the cost of the production of one *oothala* and moreover, *ayirumada*, the local name of the iron mining site and it existed in different parts of the taluk. Generally, two kinds of iron mines can see and it were digger in laterite stones where the lines of ore were seen and proceeded

in accordance with the presence of the material and other one is in the form of a trench has been consisting with two to three-foot width. Its depth depending upon the layers of the ore. The iron mines are found in the open places for it needs the good air and light and the ore mines were big caves, which had an entrance, the size of the mine to a particular size, small windows were made and further digging outs were done by through the windows. *Keedakallu* or the dross of iron are the remains of iron production and its remaining are seen in different parts of Malabar and look like shiny or the rough materials in black colour.^{xxv}

The peoples of the black smiths also used different kinds of tools for his professional work. Hammers, chisels, punches, drifts are most prime tools used by them. *Tamaru* is used to drill a hole, *kaival* used to cut iron according to the shape, *pidi aram*, used to cut and polish wood, *aram* used to sharpen tools and the early days these tools were made by themselves for their work but now they are also getting in the markets.^{xxvi} Compass stone is a large steel stone used for smelting iron and also known as *adakallu*, *koodam* is a large hammer with a long handle that can be used to make various shapes out of cast iron, *thana*, there will be a pit to hold the water in the work shed of black smith. Spade is the tool is one of the most important hand tools made by black smith and mostly used for the agricultural purposes like digging, mulching, earthing etc. is locally called as *manvetti*, *thoompa* or *kaikott*.^{xxvii} Spade mostly used for tilling, *koonthali* used for digging, *Kalappa*, used for ploughing, *vettukathi* for cutting and *arrival* for harvesting and these tools are mostly used in agricultural purposes.^{xxviii}

The group of the black smiths were also produced the traditional locks and still used today and the old locks found in temples, palaces, and houses like '*kol poot*, *aama poot*, *nera poot*, *pathi poot*' etc. Knife used for various purposes like warfare, household uses, hunting etc. number of knives that differ in name, shape and so on, such as; *vettu kathi*, *arrival*, *pichathi*, *palaka kathi*, *ambu kathi*, *mesha kathi*, *kshoura kathi*, *kathi val*, and *muna kathi*, etc.^{xxix} The Malappuram knife has its own history like, it mostly used Mappila for to kill the British soldiers in close-quarter fights. More than that, is a wide and easy to carry knife for agricultural purposes to frighten and to escape from their life and the ornament of the Malappuram progenitors.^{xxx} Knives of Malappuram, locks in Nilambur and Manjeri razor are most renowned one during that time.^{xxxi}

To reconstruct the village community only through the settlement registers and preservers the memories of the all communities in the form of place names and the field names, such as the occupational groups are artisanal peoples, weavers, oil mongers, potters, toddy tappers, astrologer and ritual dancers etc. all are repeated in every settlement.^{xxxii} The settlement register gives a wide range of information on a particular region which explained with number of *amsam*'s on that taluk wise and provides all kind of information about that particular region. Moreover, the place names are very close to those kinds of peoples had lived here and the remaining of the iron mines we could understand by the place names like; Karuvarakundu, Nilambur, Arakkuparambu, Angadippuram, Pandikkad, Irumbuzhi, Pattikkad, Chettiyangadi, Vaniyambalam, Kooriyad, Kadannamanna, Thottekad and Karuvambrum etc. these place names got their names from the iron mining and its *oothalas*.

The Ernad taluk comprised with number of *amsam* such as; Nilambur, Amarambalam, Kappil, Mambad, Areekkode, Irumbuzhi, Pappinippra, Narukara, Kidangzhi, Karuvambrum, Melakkam, Manjeri, Kottupatta, Aanakkayam, Vakkethodi, Vengaloor, Arukizhaya, Panthalloor, Nellikkuthu, Payyanad and so on.^{xxxiii} In the settlement registers can find the replication of the blacksmith will understand through the place names, those kinds of peoples have lived in once. The remaining as through the settlement

registers like, Irumbuzhi amsam like *Karumarakkottunilam*, *Perinkollanpatiparambu*, *Karuvarathodika*, *Karuvattiparambu*, *Karumarattunilam*, *Karumarakottunilam*, *Karumattunilam*, *Karumaralennupattukandam* and *Karumarakottupoyil*. Next in the Arukizhaya amsam highlights the existence of the blacksmiths like the place names like *Karumarathodikanilam*, *Karuvarakunduparamba* and only one place name existed in the Melakkam amsam like *Perunkollakandi* in the survey settlement register. As per those kinds of archival records, have no mention of any kind of blacksmith peoples remaining in the sense of the place names like in the amsam such as Pappinipra, Kidangazhi, Vengallur, Karuvambrum, and Kiluparamba. And next in discussed about in the resurvey settlement registers, here can see more remaining place names about the black smith more than the survey settlement registers. In Irumbuzhi amsam, *Perinkollankandaparambu*, *Kollathodiparmbu*, *Kollanthodika*, *Perumkollanpadiparambu*, *Perinkollankandiparambu*, *Irumbuthodikaparambu*, and *Irumbu thodikathottamparambu* are the important place names indicated to black smiths. *Perumkollan nilam*, *Kollanthodikaparambu*, *Karumarathodikaparambu*, *Kollaparambathuparambu* are referred to the blacksmiths in the Valluvambrum amsam, in the Pulpetta amsam, *Irumbuzhi padinilam*, *Irumbuzhi parambu* and *Perunkollankandiparambu*, in the Thrippanacahi amsam, *Perunkollankandiparambu*, and *Karumarathodikaparambu*, in Kavanur amsam, *Perumkollan kandiparambu*, and *Irumbukuzhikizhakkeparambu*, in the Iruveti amsam, *Perumkollan kandiparambu* is only place name. *Irumbukunnuparambu*, *Karuvarakandinilam*, *Kollarakandi parambu*, and *Karumaramoolinilam* are the place names in the Karakunnu amsam. In the Elamkur amsam, *Irumbankunnuparambu*, *Irumbankannakudiyirupp*, *Karumarakodunilam*, *Kollaraparambu* and *Kollaparambuthottam*, in the Thrikkalangode amsam, *Karuvanchola nilam*, *Perumkollakottumoola*, and *Perumkollathodika*. *Irumbuzhikavu* and *Irumbuzhi parambu* in the Manjeri amsam and in the Anakkayam amsam, *Karuvarathodiparambu* and *Oothalaparambu*. *Karuvarakunduparambu*, *Karumarakodunilam*, *Kollanthodikaparambu*, *Karumarathodichalakandi*, *Karumarathodikaparambu* and *Karumarakodunilam* in the Pookkottur amsam and finally, in the Wandur amsam, *Karuvaramundapoyil*, *Karuvaramunda nilam*, *Karuvamundapoyila*, *Karuvanpadanilam*, *Karuvapoyilanilam*, *Perumkollan kudiyirupp* and *Kollathodikanilam* are replicate or about the blacksmith settlements. No simple blacksmith settlements haven't existed in the *desams* like Karuvambrum, Payyanadu, and Narukara as per resurvey settlement registers. Those peoples played a significant role in the village settlement system and those of the key role reflected to the remaining place names.^{xxxiv} As per detailing of the survey settlement register one of the majorities of the *kammala* peoples is blacksmith and they are one of the huge sections of this Ernad taluk and in each and every amsam of this taluk had repeated *kammala* groups especially blacksmith group. The land names of this taluk have referred as the presence of the peoples had lived there, and the place names are the remaining source of the lived peoples of that particular region.

The great 'Moothedath palassery mana' have keeping their own log book called as 'Naal vazhi book' like a diary discussed lots of information regarding on that period related to this home and is a good source of knowledge and consisted with the details with dates and month as per Malayalam calendar such as, 1070 *chingam* 6, recorded that this ancestral home give six *anna* for to repair the tools and implements apart from that, two rupees for making axe, locks for temples, chopping knife, repair the tools and implements in different times of this home they get the remuneration like one rupee, eight *anna*, four and six *anna* etc. and which is shown that the representation of this community in this region

and could be one of the important source materials to shed light the presence of black smith community in Ernad taluk.^{xxxv}

The present situation about the blacksmith peoples in the Ernad taluk, they were scattered in this region. Manjeri, Kovilakam kundu, Padinjattumuri, Malappuram, Elamkoor, Karikkad, Thrikkalangode, Pullur, Mullampara, chettiyangadi etc. are the important area of the settlements of black smith and they lived, but at the same time the traditional pattern of profession of the black smith could see in rare.

Rajan, one of the existing black smiths worked in the Manjeri and lived at Karikkad as well as he will be continuing this profession with twenty-five years. In the earlier times he could able to maintain his family with this profession, but now it was a challenging factor to continue this profession to maintaining for their subsistence, because of only the repairing work was still on going. He doesn't get to made new tool or implement like that and faces a lot of problems like financial and health wise etc.^{xxxvi}

Unnikrishnan, was another blacksmith who lived in Malappuram and his work shed at Munduparamba, one of the important persons has doing the iron metallurgy and earlier does number of tools and implements like knives, chopping knife etc. But now, not only him but also the whole black smiths have faced the same problem like they get repairing works only.^{xxxvii}

Another person of black smith is Unnikrishnan, lived at Irumbuzhi and worked at Mullampara near Manjeri and worked as a black smith more than forty years and the present to get the repairing works only and in earlier times can get almost 400-450 rupees for a knife per head but now get only below 100-150 rupees only. In the present society, not much familiar with the *kammala* communities and their traditional pattern of work had been following as very challenge to the present conditions and have faced lots of problems like the socio-economic background of this community, availability of raw materials etc.^{xxxviii}

The exact number of the settlements of blacksmith community and their present status etc. are not available, here get some of the examples of whole this community. The blacksmith peoples were migrated in several parts of the state for the purpose of their traditional profession to get the raw materials and the younger generation migrated in to other professions as well as in the earlier times, they settled in a single region and gradually they shifted in to other areas. Traditional way of the profession and their heritage was decreased or lost and every region have the representation of each community of the blacksmith peoples had existed. Per day, the role of the blacksmith and their prestige and strength will be decreased and in very few of them still practiced by this traditional work. In which them, they are not interested in this field apart from that it still continues by the elders of each *kammala* groups as well as blacksmith. The younger generations are more selective and they were shifted from this profession to another.

Above discussed the blacksmith peoples has shown the few situations among the whole craft groups. Due to this, the people of blacksmith are facing a severe crisis as they are unable to maintain their heritage. Day by day, the traditional profession of blacksmith community also left out of the society. Today most of the artisans are struggling for their survival and all of them moved away from their traditional occupation to the better opportunities or professions. The technological advancement is made number of products in limited time as well as the finished technological goods were not following the traditional values and cultures. The laziness, unwillingness to spend much time and dedication, lack of creativity and scrutiny, lack of raw materials, absence of infrastructure like, the work shed, power, storage space, tools and equipment's, lack of investment and disorganization, strong leadership etc. are leads to the destruction of the traditional pattern of work. The advent of welding shops almost took over the

manufacture of tools by blacksmith and with the arrival of steel knives in the market for domestic use, coal was no longer burning in the trenches. Today, the welding workshops can be found in almost all areas for innovative forms of welds, however, in some areas olden work shed or the *ala* are still existing. Even though, the rise in prices of the fuel as same the import of the cheap iron sheets from the foreign places and will lead to the comparison of both as well as gradually the indigenous smelting was declined due to the foreign goods.^{xxxix} So, slowly, this traditional occupation began to crumble and the traditional technology of the black smith influenced both the history and cultural life of the peoples.

Conclusion

The traditional peoples like *kammala* community were played as significant role in the society and they were considered as one of the inevitable parts of the society especially in the village system. The *kammala* peoples like the *asari*, *musari*, *thattan* and *kollan* etc. and the blacksmith as a key role in every village settlement system. Generally, the blacksmith also called as *karuvan* and *karuman* etc. and they mostly related to agricultural patterns and they were divided into more sections as part of the historians, as well as all of them are connected with iron.

In the part of Malabar and Walluvanad region have found many iron ores, *oothala*, *keedakkallu* and so on and those are indicated that the representation of blacksmith peoples and moreover, the process of iron smelting and the details about the productions are explained in detail. And the analysis of available archival documents like survey and resurvey settlement registers of Ernad taluk highlights to the place names and other details shed light to the life of blacksmith or even had in earlier times had the representation of the blacksmith community. As per this analysis can understood in each and every settlement have the presence of *kammala* groups especially the blacksmith and carpenters are more in number. In the earlier times, the black smiths done by their traditional products to the society take in number of days but now the technological advancement and the welding workshops are to do made the products in limited time and became easier. The present situation very less peoples had followed this blacksmith as in a traditional way, and the existed peoples had struggled in more in their life. The modern technological advancement merely affected to the disappearance of the *kammala* community and blacksmith also and the remaining skilled peoples had suffered a lot of things to do maintain it. The unbelievable passion of the elder generation to promote, if they have still existed. If the skilled young generation will ready to come front to this traditional work, for an extent this pedigree will be protected and moreover, it is also our responsibility to give them all the help and co-operation can and bring them forward or at least make efforts to bring these groups to the forefront of our society by providing maximum support and encouragement as we can.

The traditional *kammala* groups can enjoy higher status in earlier society and but it is more unknown to the present generation they did not take any effort to know about it. The artisans and craft groups especially the *kammala* groups like *asari*, *musari*, *thattan* and *kollan* are prominent and they were involved in the social formation, occupied dominant in the social life of the entire society.

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EXAMINING MINORITY RIGHTS: PERSPECTIVES OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE KERALA EDUCATION BILL, 1957

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Introduction

The Kerala Education Bill, of 1957 was a landmark in the educational history of Kerala. The original Bill was first published on 7 July 1957, contained thirty-six clauses and it was divided into three parts: General Education, Compulsory Education and Miscellaneous. The 'General Education' part consisted of 19 Clauses related to the short title and commencement of the Bill, definitions regarding Aided School, Educational agency, Existing school, Local Education Authority, Private school, Recognised School, State etc. It also deals with Establishment of Schools and Registration of Institutions, State Education Advisory Board, Aided Schools Established and Maintained by Educational Agencies, Managers to Send a List of Properties, Restriction on Alienation of Schools, Managers of schools, Cognizance of offence, Recovery of amounts due from managers, Grants to Schools, State Register of Teachers, Appointment of Teachers in Aided Schools, Pension and Other Benefits to Aided School Teachers, Absorption of Teachers on Retrenchment, Taking Over Management of Schools, Power to Acquire Any Category of Schools etc. The second part i.e., 'Compulsory Education', consisted of Local Education Committee and its functions, Obligation to Guardian to Send Children to Schools, Exemption from attendance related to students, Penalty for Employment of Children or Interference with their attendance at schools, no fees to be charged and free books etc., to be provided in certain cases, Inspection of offences, books and accounts of Local Education Committees etc. The final and 'Miscellaneous' part consisted of 7 Clauses, which deals with matters regarding making rules for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the act etc.

The Bill has been subjected to severe criticism from different corners since the news regarding its introduction. From the very inception of the Bill, it was severely criticized by various newspapers like Deepika and Malayala Manorama, communities and communal organisations like Catholics, Mar Thoma Syrian Christians, Malankara Orthodox church, Church of South India, Nair Service Society, Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam and political parties like Congress, Muslim League, Praja Socialist Party etc. The minorities in Kerala especially the Catholic Church and other Christian denominations adopted an uncompromising attitude and extensively propagated that the educational move of the government was an infringement of the fundamental rights to teach their students according to Catholic principles or Christian principles.¹ The problem of minority rights in the bill was seriously addressed by ruling and opposition parties in and outside the legislative assembly. This paper tries to analyze the perspectives of each political party on the problem of minority rights in the Bill in the legislative assembly with the support of Proceedings of the Kerala Legislative Assembly etc.

The problem of minority rights in the Bill was first introduced in the Legislative Assembly by the Indian National Congress when the draft bill was presented and discussed on 13 July 1957. P. P. Ummer Koya argued that the "majority of the private schools of Christians and Muslims are running in Kerala to develop their own culture and traditions to the children of their community. In another way, these institutions are intended to develop and conserve their own culture and traditions"²

When the draft Bill was referred to the Select committee³ to it has recommended certain changes over it. The most important change that the Select Committee introduced in the draft bill was that sub clause 1 of Clause 38. It is stated that “Nothing in this act shall affect the rights of minorities under article 30 or the rights of Anglo Indian community under article 337 of the constitution of India”.⁴ But the Select Committee Bill came back for the consideration of the assembly on 27 August 1957 several amendments were proposed by all the members of the opposition parties. P.T. Chacko the then Opposition leader of Kerala argued that “clause 3 of the Bill shows that the idea is to regulate the primary and other stages of education and clause 38 would show that the rights of minorities under article 30 and the rights of the Anglo-Indian community under article 337 of the Constitution shall not in any way be abridged or limited by any of the provision of the Bill. He pointed out that under Article 30, minorities have a right not only to establish educational institutions but also to maintain and administer educational institutions”.⁵ Under Article 30 of the Constitution, the right to administer certain educational institutions is vested in minorities. So when one says that an educational agency can establish and maintain a school, the word ‘administer’ should also be there to be in line with Article 30.

The assembly approved only some amendments put forwarded by opposition members. One of the accepted amendments of the Congress was that of T. A. Thomman. He requested to delete Sub-Clause (1) in Clause 38. According to him, the result is one whether this Clause is added or deleted.⁶ P. T. Chacko supported the amendment of T. A. Thomman and he said that one cannot supersede the Articles of the Indian Constitution. Article 30 (2) of the Indian Constitution states “The state shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions discriminate any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority. Whether based on religion or language.” Thus finally the Education Minister approved the amendment of T. A. Thomman and excluded the Sub-Clause (1) in Clause 38 from the Select Committee Bill. The amended Select Committee Bill was passed on 2 September 1957 and then it was forwarded to the governor for assent and legal sanction. But the governor referred the bill to the President of India under article 200 of the Indian Constitution because of the bill was an infringement of minority rights. Then the President sought the opinion of the Supreme Court on the constitutionality of certain provisions of the bill. After that the bill was returned to the governor and requested the Kerala assembly to re-consider the provisions of the bill and make suitable and necessary amendments there in the light of the Supreme Court.⁷ The assembly took up consideration of the Bill on 24 November 1958. From the discussions that emerged on the reconsideration of the provisions of the Bill, suitable and necessary amendments were made therein in the light of the opinion of the Supreme Court of India on the problem of minority rights in the Bill.

Now the perception of the Congress was that, “We would not only welcome amendments which conform to the provisions of the Constitution on the fundamental rights of the minorities of the state, but we must see that as far as possible the grievances of the minorities are redressed, particularly with reference to the observations made by the Chief Justice that there are provisions in the Bill which make very serious inroads into the fundamental rights. So let us defer discussion on this motion and see what are the implications of the judgement of the Supreme Court on the reference of the President and after that take the question whether it is necessary to refer the Bill to a Select Committee or not.”⁸

E. P. Palouse was of the opinion that such amendments as are relevant to the directions of the Supreme Court are admissible. The question is what exactly the scope of the amendments is in order to make the Bill conform to the directions given by the Supreme Court and also how best the Assembly can amend the Bill without infringing the directions of the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court has very clearly declared who should be deemed to be the minorities for the purpose of the Bill under Article 30 (1) of

the Constitution. They have declared clearly that Muslims and Christians as minorities. This means that even though the Supreme Court wanted protection to be afforded to minorities, it was really presumptuous. If that be the case, it is clear that all sections of the pupil in the state will certainly deserve protection in one way or another so far as the application of Article 30. (1) of the Constitution is concerned. So it is only right that Supreme Court in its opinion has pointed out that Clauses 14 and 15 of the Bill may be deleted. That is the position with regard to the minorities. He submitted that there are very important provisions which, as has been pointed out by the Supreme Court, invade the rights of minorities.

When the draft bill was presented in the assembly, the Praja Socialist Party expressed a dissenting opinion on the problem of minority rights in the Bill. According to M. Narayana Kurup, "the Bill did not affect religious traditions of private agencies and the propaganda of their educational system. The government will not compel anyone to start educational institutions. If anyone starts and runs such educational institutions, they must obey the principles and models of government. Everyone had the right to start or run educational institutions, but they should not seek money from government, which they collected from the public as taxes, for the running of such educational institutions".⁹

When the legislative assembly took up consideration of the revised bill on 24 November 1958, the PSP also participated in the discussion very seriously. According to the Praja Socialist party, the most important problem related to the referred Bill by the Supreme Court of India was that there is no definition of Minority School by the Supreme Court of India. In the opinion of M. Narayana Kurup, "the legislation cannot determine the type of educational institutions that come under Article 30 (1); it is only possible with the help of a Court. So it is difficult to accept the amendments put forward by the Legislative Assembly on Article 30 (1)."¹⁰ Pattom A. Thanu Pillai argued that the referred Bill by the President should be sent to a Select Committee. Moreover, an amendment was put forwarded by Pattom A. Thanu Pillai to the referred bill by the President and Supreme Court. According to him, "minority schools mean schools of their own choice established and administered or administered by minorities who have a right to establish schools under Article 30 (1) of the Constitution."¹¹

When the draft bill was presented in the assembly the Communist party and the government totally opposed the argument of minorities that the Bill was an infringement on their rights. According to N. Rajagopalan Nair, "there was nothing related to minority rights in the Kerala Education Bill, 1957 and it will not curtail the right to establish schools of their own choice. The Bill is not against running educational institutions on the basis of their religious rationality of thoughts and aptitude. No person can stand against the running of schools of their choice so far as the Constitutional status is concerned. It is not possible to defeat the Bill by the propaganda that it included many things against religious principles."¹² K. Bhargavan argued that "the Bill was not an infringement of minority rights. Minorities in Kerala have the right to establish and administer educational institutions according to the minority rights guaranteed in Article 30 of the Indian Constitution. These rights were not intended for public educational institutions but it was intended only for separate schools which were conducted to nourish the special culture of each minority group or educational institutions of minorities. The Bill is not against the interests of such educational institutions. So it is wrong to say that the Bill is an infringement of minority rights".¹³

Joseph Mumndasseri's opinion on the issue was that "there was no school under the purview of the Kerala Education Bill according to the Constitution as stated by P. T. Chacko. What is stated in the Constitution is: "All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice." The schools that belonged to the above

constitutional criteria will not come under the purview of the Kerala Education Bill, 1957. Such kinds of schools may be started, maintained, administered, and introduced examinations, but these schools will not come under the category of government and recognized schools under the Kerala Education Act. Aided schools may be considered as schools of their own choice. In other words, the management of such institutions has the right to manage its administration and conduct examinations intended for its cultural matters. A management can decide whether to continue as a recognized school under Article 30 or not.¹⁴ Thus the Communist government had not received legal opinion on the amendment of P. T Chacko. So a demand arose in the Legislative Assembly to know the legal aspects of Article 30 (1) on the part of Congress.

When the legislative Assembly took up consideration of the revised Bill on 24 November 1958 the ruling party, the Communists also participated in the discussion. To the Communists, when a Bill has been sent back by the President for reconsideration, the scope of the discussion shall not be beyond the recommendations of the President. According to E. Chandrasekharan, here the recommendation is for reconsideration of certain provisions. His submission was that the Bill had been finally passed after it was referred to the Select Committee. When the Bill is sent for reconsideration the Legislature is empowered only to discuss those reconsiderations.”¹⁵ So according to E. Chandrasekharan, there is no provision here for reference to a Select Committee. According to Joseph Mundasserri. The Bill has been sent to the Supreme Court for enquiry and Supreme Court returned it to the Legislative Assembly after making its opinion.¹⁶

Certain amendments regarding the minority problem were added by Joseph Mundasserri on the referred bill by the President and Supreme Court. The Minister of Education moved in Clause 2, Sub-Clause (1), the following shall be added at the end, namely: “But shall not include educational institutions entitled to receive grants under Article 337 of the Constitution of India except such of them as are receiving aid in excess of the grants to which they are so entitled.”¹⁷ Thus the new provision read as “Aided School” means a private school that is recognized by and is receiving aid from the government; but shall not include educational institutions entitled to receive grants under Article 337 of the Constitution of India except such of them as are receiving aid in excess of the grants to which they are so entitled. Thus the Anglo-Indian schools of Kerala which received grants under Article 337 of the Constitution of India became excluded from the purview of the Bill.

Joseph Mundasserri moved the following amendment to Clause 2. “In Clause 2, after Sub-Clause (4) the following Sub-Clause shall be renumbered as Sub-Clause (5). (6). (7), (9) shall be renumbered as Sub-Clauses (6), (7), (8), (9), and (10) respectively. (5) Minority schools means schools established and administered or administered by minorities in the exercise of their rights under Clause (1) of Article 30 of the Constitution of India.”¹⁸

Education Minister moved “in Clause 14, after Sub-Clause (8), the following Sub-Clause shall be inserted, namely- “(9) Nothing in this section shall apply to minority schools.” Thus the amendment was put and carried. ¹⁹ Then the Minister moved “In Clause 15, after Sub-Clause (4), the following Sub-Clause shall be inserted, namely-(5) Nothing in this section shall apply to minority schools.” Thus nothing in Clauses 14 and 15 of the Education Bill is applied to minority schools of Kerala.

Another important amendment put forward by the Education Minister was that “In Clause 26, at the end of the clause the following explanation shall be inserted viz. “Explanation: A guardian of a child sending the child to a minority school shall be deemed to have complied with the requirements of this section”.

This amendment was also incorporated with the new Act. Thus the Bill was finally passed on 28 November 1958, and the President gave his assent on 19 February 1959 and the Bill became law.²⁰

Thus all the provisions of the Kerala Education Act except Section 12 (1), (2) and (3), Sections 21 to 31 came into force on June 1, 1959. The Kerala Education Rules, 1959 also came into force from the same date with exceptions of Chapter XIX. The provisions of Chapters XXIII and XXIV were enforced a month later. The Kerala Education Rules superseded the rules of implementation of the Private Secondary School Scheme which had been in force in the Travancore-Cochin area of the state from September 1, 1950 onwards.

Conclusion

The perception of the Congress on minority rights in the Bill was that the minorities in Kerala are running their schools to develop their own culture and traditions for the children of their community. They found the contradiction in the 3rd clause of the Select Committee bill with the provisions of minority rights in article 30 of the Indian constitution i.e., “administer”. To them, clause 38 of the Select Committee Bill is not valid. Moreover, they perceived that one cannot supersede the articles of the Indian constitution particularly article 30(2). They also amended to exclude clause 38 from the Select Committee bill. They not only welcomed amendments which conform to the provisions of the Constitution on the fundamental rights of the minorities of the state, but also they wanted redress of possible grievances of the minorities particularly with reference to the observations made by the Chief Justice. They also demanded the amendment of the Bill without infringing the directions of the Supreme Court. Moreover, the Congress wanted the protection to be afforded to minorities, it was really presumptuous and all sections of the pupil in the state will certainly deserve protection in one way or another so far as the application of Article 30. (1) of the Constitution is concerned.

Though the Praja Socialist Party was the part of Opposition, their perspective regarding the minority problem in the bill was quite different from the Congress. To them, the Bill did not affect the religious traditions of private agencies and the propaganda of their educational system and the government will not compel anyone to start educational institutions. If anyone starts and runs such educational institutions, they must obey the principles and models of government. Also, they demanded that referred Bill by the President should be sent to a Select Committee. They also gave a definition to minority schools i.e., “minority schools mean schools of their own choice established and administered or administered by minorities who have a right to establish schools under Article 30 (1) of the Constitution. However, the Muslim League was a part of the Opposition and they have not been involved in the discussion of minority problems in the bill but they severely criticized non-minority problems in the same.

The Communist party and the government totally opposed the argument of minorities that the Bill was an infringement on their rights. To them, there was nothing related to minority rights in the Kerala Education Bill, of 1957 and it will not curtail the right to establish schools of their own choice. Also, they stated that these rights were not intended for public educational institutions but it was intended only for separate schools which were conducted to nourish the special culture of each minority group or educational institutions of minorities. The Bill is not against the interests of such educational institutions. Moreover, they argued that there is no need to refer the referred bill by the Supreme Court Bill again to a Select Committee. They also provided a definition to “Aided School” means a private school that is recognized by and is receiving aid from the government; but shall not include educational institutions entitled to receive grants under Article 337 of the Constitution of India except such of them as are receiving aid in excess of the grants to which they are so entitled. Their amendment to Minority schools

means schools established and administered or administered by minorities in the exercise of their rights under Clause (1) of Article 30 of the Constitution of India. They also added that nothing in Clauses 14 and 15 of the Education Bill is applied to minority schools in Kerala. In Clause 26, at the end of the clause, the following explanation shall be inserted viz. "Explanation: A guardian of a child sending the child to a minority school shall be deemed to have complied with the requirements of this section".

End Notes

1. EMS Namboodiripad, *Communist Party Keralathil*, Trivandrum, Chintha Publishers, 1986, p. 115.
2. *Proceedings of the Kerala Legislative Assembly* (Hereafter *PKLA*), 13 July 1957, P.P. Ummer Koya, pp. 1650-1651.
3. The Draft Bill was referred to the Select Committee on 20 July 1957. It consisted of 9 CPI members, 6 Congress, 2 Muslim League and 2 Praja Socialist Party.
4. Kerala Government Extra Ordinary No. 96, 24 August 1957, p.1.
5. *PKLA*, 28 August 1957, P.T. Chacko, p.533.
6. *Ibid.*, 30 August 1957, T. A. Thomman, p. 714.
7. *Ibid.*, 9 September 1958, Shankaranarayanan Thampi, pp. 709-710.
8. *Ibid.*, 24 November 1958, E. P. Poullose, pp. 47-48.
9. *Ibid.*, 13 July 1957, M. Narayana Kurup, p. 1655.
10. *Ibid.*, 25 November 1958, M. Narayana Kurup, pp. 122-123.
11. *Ibid.*, 26 November 1958, Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, p. 239.
12. *Ibid.*, 20 July 1957, N. Rajagopalan Nair, p. 2247.
13. *Ibid.*, 18 July 1957, K. Bhargavan, p. 2090.
14. *Ibid.*, 28 August 1957, Joseph Mundasseri, p.536.
15. *Ibid.*, 24 November 1958, E. Chandrasekharan, p. 45.
16. *Ibid.*, 25 November 1958, Joseph Mundasseri, p. 122.
17. *Ibid.*, 27 November 1958, Joseph Mundasseri, p. 225.
18. *Ibid.*, 28 November 1958, Joseph Mundasseri, p. 226.
19. *Ibid.*, 27 November 1958, C.A. Mathew, p.309.
20. *Ibid.*, Joseph Mundasseri, p.441.

THE MEMOIRS OF MALABAR STRUGGLE: A CASE STUDY OF ERANAD

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Introduction

The Malabar struggle of 1921 played a significant role in the freedom movement. It emerged from the part of Mappila tenants basically, in the first half of the twentieth century. The imperialist view stated it was a Mappila fanatic out brake. The struggle is considered a part of the national movement by nationalist historians. Different studies occurred on this controversial matter. The Malabar struggle highlighted the quest for freedom. It was from the tenants who mainly belonged to the Mappila community, along with other caste groups of the Hindu community. The strike spread over the Eranadu and Valluvanad taluk of Malappuram district. A lot of massacres, looting, and forceful conversions occurred behind the banner of Khilafat. However, the Khilafath ideology was entirely different from this type of violence. They worked to expel the British from India through peaceful resistance.

The Malabar struggle was a movement of peasants against the local landlords and colonial government as argued by K N Panikkar. The basic reason for the rebellion was the grievances of the evicted tenants and their revenge against the British colonial power. At the same time, behind the banner of the strike, many unfortunate events happened in the affected areas of Eranadu taluk and its surroundings.

The oral traditions and memories have significant space in the study of local history. All memories represent the historical formation of a particular locale. By collecting memories, we are giving an auspicious space to the person in his/her locality. When we approach people who are in the last phase of their lives, they are very enthusiastic to disclose their nostalgic memories. The present study mainly focuses on five localities; Wandoor, Koorad, Manjappetti, Kallamoola and Chokkad of Eranadu Taluk. The memories have a remarkable space in the historical studies.

The current generation is getting a clear picture of the social insecurity that people felt during the Malabar strike. People say that their fathers or uncles have had to face similar deals related to the incident that took place a generation ago. Even the memories collected today are filled with the heat of the struggling conditions of those days.

Content

The society has also faced a lot of suffering after the struggle of 1921. Family life was difficult under the conditions where the male population were imprisoned. People lived in fear and were hiding in ditches and forests fearing the soldiers. 'Women used to put rice flakes in children's mouths when they were hiding. It was from the memory of KV Nafeesa (71), a native of Wandoor.¹ We can consider these incidents to be the steps towards the freedom that we enjoy today. The Malabar strike has been staged at different places. This study was conducted at Wandoor, Koorad, Manjappetti, Kallamoola and Chokkad in Eranadu taluk of Malappuram district. It is helpful to review the circumstances of the strike in relation to existing knowledge through the collection of memories related to the Malabar struggle. The images of the social insecurity of that time are revealed through the collection of memories. There are male and female memory holders. Their families have been a part of the struggle directly or not. The

locally acquired knowledge may not yet be recorded in the history of the struggle. The information of the person behind the valuable memories should also be recorded in the history.

This study tried to attempt to sketch the person had certain memories about the struggle. The area included Wandoor which had already been mentioned in the Malabar Manual by William Logan. He describes; 'Ernad taluk comprises the two old taluks of Ernad and Cheranad. It is bounded on the north by Calicut and Wynad, on the east by Nilgiri district, on the south by Walluvanad and Ponnani, and on the west by the sea. This taluk contains the largest number of Muhammadans usually denominated Mappilas, comprising as it does, a ratio of 23 per cent of the entire Mappila population in the district. Wandur in the amsam of the same name, 12 miles from Manjeri, and is the seat of a Sub-Registrar of Assurances, who is also a Special Magistrate. There is a Police station, also a good public bungalow which was once largely used by passengers travelling by the Sispara or Chichippara route to the Nilgiris. The road has fallen into disuse and is not now properly maintained. There is a mosque at this place; also, a Siva temple'.ⁱⁱ

It was the movement led by the discontent peasants and tenants against the local landlords who were under the direct control of British colonial power. Several peasant struggles occurred in Eranadu and Valluvanad taluk of Malabar district from 1830-1921. It acted as an agent of the freedom movement in the twentieth century. In the beginning face, during the 1830s, it was a local revolt against the *janmis*, but in the second face during the 1920 s it had a political nature as well. It was the beginning of the khilafat movement and the non-cooperation movement in all India levels. The chaotic situation of Malabar especially among the tenants who mainly belonged to the Muslim community, corresponded to the rise of the khilafath movement in Malabar. The suppressed classes awakened about their situation when they got an opportunity, and they lined up with the Khilafat leaders. A chain of incidents led them consciously or not to the struggle. Almost all these movements were against the landlords and the British.ⁱⁱⁱ Malabar became the storm centre of the peasant revolt against the British Colonial power during the first half of the nineteenth century.^{iv}

Even the memories collected today are filled with the feeling of the struggling conditions of those days. The memories shared were that people hid in various places for defence and had direct encounters with the British. The suffering faced by women, children and old people had no words to say. There are those who have hidden or avoided household utensils and other things in some places.

Parothodika Moosa, (82), is a good cultivator and woodcutter. He is located in the Pottikkundu near Koorad area. He shares memories from his father, the British army passed through Koorad towards the forest region. Most of them came to the river to take a bath. The local people were afraid of these military men. The women were also filled with fear about them. The army maid training from Veettikkunnu nearest to Nilambur. It belongs to a training campaign. Many pits were made in this forest by them. When they entered to the living area, they took pepper, banana and chicken for their maintenance. There was no murder reported in this area.^v

Sainaba Asarithodika, (75) located in Koorad had some memories of the rebellion from her mother. Pathumma had 10 years during that period. Her uncles were taken by the army. Pathumma had revealed her fear of this military power in her last days. In the subconscious mind, she called out, "ran; the military had come". Sainaba had memories about the passing of the military along with the field which is located south part of their home.^{vi}

TP Fathima (65) and TP Sainaba (62) from Koorad had also similar memories got from their aunty

Thanduparakkal Pathummakkutti. The military reached their home while they passing towards Koorad forest, they took chicken, pepper and so on. The sound of a whistle also rises with their entry.^{vii}

Fathima Pulath, (65) is a household located in Koorad sharing memories about the Khilafat incidents. They lived in the forest area belonging to old Amarambalam. This forest was a centre of army men during this time. The army men reached their homes for their own needs. They used the well situated in the corner of their land, used by army men to take bath. Their grandmother hides with her children inside the home. During this time, men were not in any house, and women were filled with fear. The army men gave up some pieces of soap which were large. But they did not take it for fear.^{viii}

RH Hitchcock, a British officer in his book '*A History of Malabar Rebellion*' gave imperialist aspirations. He took responsibility for the struggle with the Mappilas by refuting the nationalist view. He tried to hide the brutal policy of the British through the exaggeration of the protester's acts. He belongs to one of the British leaders who suppressed the people brutally. And he was appointed to write the history of the same. There are different opinions regarding the cause of the 1921 event. Mr. Hitchcock was appointed to write the history of the same yet he was a brutal officer to protesters. He concluded it as a religious fanaticism naturally.^{ix}

Still today, people have memories of 1921. Our parents and grandparents share the dreadful moments with their real nature through their memories. Neelambra Bapputti, (62) merchant by profession a small shop in Manjappetti near Koorad. He reveals some events about the struggle that took part in his area as part of 1921 rebellion. The British administration held in Pullengode estate. So many people got job opportunities from Maliyekkal, Manjappetti and Koorad side. It was Stanely Eaton who was the manager of the estate. He belongs to lovely towards the labourers. The anti-British attitude during this period made people against Eaton. He was the relative of the Malabar district collector of that time. He was hidden in the Palamala forest is located in the top of the estate. The protesters did not find him anywhere till his pet dog barked behind the grass. Then he killed brutally by cutting his neck. It was a gradual process when the British turned towards the native. The Eaton's murder made some another event. After this incident, the British officers introduced 144 and made life more fearful than before firing and killing. During this time so many people hide under Chinkakkallu near Vallippoola hills, and also well situated in Kallamoola. The rebels decided to break the Kallamoola bridge which was constructed by the British. The British force came with powerful weapons. The people scattered around. This army came towards Manjappetti and trampled the door of the mosque. The footprints with the boot are visible now also. While the army reached Chamaparambu near Manjappetti, a woman, who was the wife of Poovathi Ahammed Kutty, with her baby came in front of them. The army man holds the baby and kicks a football. Poovathi Moideen, the little boy who was deaf till his death.^x

Bengalath Nanyappa, (85) is a woodcutter, coolie as well as mollakka also a cultivator who had some memories of the Khilafath incident got from his mother. The British army jailed three of his uncles. Two among them were shot dead. One of his uncles Ayamootti killed from the public bungalow at Wandoor. Most of the persons rather than the caste base came to dead by the army. All of their hands and legs were bound. Their body buried on the field, near the present Wandoor bye-pass. He added his mother's words about these; the ploughing animals were afraid and became motionless when seeing human body parts by ploughing.^{xi} The details of Wandoor Public Bungalow are included in the Malabar Gazetteer. Two main rooms with bathrooms and outhouses, Pattambi is the nearest railway station (24 miles).^{xii}

'The Wandoor Police Station was established in 1895 as per official records. There is an Inspector Bungalow under the management of the Malabar District Board at a distance of two furlongs from the Police Station on Kalikavu Road'.^{xiii}

Payyasseri Thanduparakkal Nafeesa (75), from Koorad, who is a good reader has memories of the struggle of 1921. Her uncle Alavikkutti who catches by the British army. Then he was killed in this incident. The British army will shoot towards the men. Among this fear, they were hidden back of the coop with leaves placed on their head. Most of them were brought to their ladies to a house namely 'Kondottikykar'. The army will not reach there.^{xiv}

Mattayi Ayisha (75) in good health now located at Thekkumpuram near Koorad had some fearful memories about the rebellion. The army took two women who were the wives of the father-in-law's brother. One among them was fired and died near from Kallamoola region. She remembered most of the people were going away from their living place without anything. Things belonging to them were hidden in many places and pits. Most of them were unrevealed because of wrong memory. Another thing related to the Paryangad mosque. A rumour spread that the mosque would be destroyed by the army. Most of the male population went there as security. The women and children were trapped in fear. But the rumour was wrong and the Paryangad mosque was safe.^{xv}

Aminakkutty (75) is a strong householder living in Wandoor town near Wandoor police station. She is well known with the name 'Atti' a sweeper at block office Wandoor. She had the memories of the Khilafath incidents from her father Kacheri Mollakka, who lived behind the 'old kacheri'. A well included in their land can say some events related to khilafat incidents. Her father had seen bone fragments while they cleaned the well. Atti says some bones were long-lasting like 'okkaniyellu'. These events reveal the murders behind the rebellion. Now here the Wandoor co-operative college located and the well closed by them. Only a round mark can be seen there. Atti remembers some brutal incidents from the army side. A lady who lived nearest to the Kacheri was called by an army man with something in his hand. Kalluvettu kuzhiyil Mariyakkutty also had similar memories related to these. 'The army men gave food products like a bun while they were passing through Wandoor-Manjeri road. She began to receive it and was taken to their vehicle with them. At night she brought to home a dead body with a bundle of rupees. Another event was held in the south part of Wandoor, near the Manalimmal bus stand. There was a colony belonging to a scheduled caste. A pregnant lady was raped by army men cruelly being her husband bound outside their shelter. The stomach of the lady opened, namely get out of her, got died.^{xvi} It reveals a picture of the pathetic social condition during this period. As Madhavan Nair says, "the opinions of those who participated in the struggle are not recorded. The biased opinions are still powerful. Many incidents which happened during this time were not unfolded".^{xvii}

KP Kesava Menon says "the chief cause of the struggle was the unbounded attack by the British authorities to suppress the Khilafat movement". He denied the opinion it as against the landlords. He had the opinion that many people were involved in ghastly murders, cruelties, looting and forcible conversions. According to his view, the inhuman cruelties from Mappilas started only after the British atrocities occurred. Some Hindus helped the police to capture the Mappila protesters. It raised the density of revenge.^{xviii}

Neelambra Kunjamutti (66) located in the Manjappetti a good cultivator, has some memories related to the Malabar struggle experienced by his father Neelambra Ahamed. The army took him from the Kadincheri forest near Chokkad. During this time, the army came to Parakkal house belonging to a rich Muslim family in this area. The army released cattle from the coop of them. They began to shoot

towards the householder. Then promised he would be free if he found 40 rebels. The householder pointed his finger towards Kadincheri hills. Neelambra Ahamed was arrested with so many other rebels from the small caves in the Kadincheri forest. Then the arrested people to Andaman jail in a rush wagon from Pullengode. Ahamed had some duties in jail like making of ornaments and mats with horse tails. They were free to make food as per their needs.^{xix}

Pathumma (65) located in Panampoyil near Koorad had the memories while her father, Kutti Ali Kutti was a victim of this event. He was taken to the Tanjore jail. He sent to education what it may be created their father was too young. She kept a certificate from Bastail School in 1927 with her. Durai the jail superintendent helped their father very much. He got sanctioned to go out only within lady garments. Another memory was about the cruelty of the army. A woman was shot dead near Pallisseri Thodu. Her child was crying and playing with the dead body and had made a seen being harassed by the army.^{xx} Like this, some of the incidents share the approach of army men towards the people. Some of the arrested people were sent to school education and some of them were treated kindly.

According to Rolland. E. Miller, the Mappila rebellion aroused hostile communal passions and disturbed the relationship between Hindus and Muslims as no other previous incident. Before and during the rebellion they kept a good understanding with each other.^{xxi} 'The Arabs came with business and religious needs in different periods and permanently settled in Kerala coast. Some of them married Keralaites, this combined generation belongs to the Muslims of Malabar'.^{xxii}

Conradwood made a detailed study of the 1921 incident through his venture, '*The Mappila Rebellion and Its Genesis*'. He emphasized the role of the Khilafat movement and also Non-cooperation movement were the main inspirations behind the struggle. The members of the Mappila community organized acts of violence against *Janmi* and British rule from the time of 1792. The challenge to British rule was made by their social impacts occurred in Malabar.^{xxiii}

The famous Indian sociologist DN Dhanagare in his documented study, '*Peasant Movements in India 1920-1950*' explains the social structure, and the changing situation of the Mappila struggle that had taken place. He tried to give information about the agrarian class structure that prevailed here during that time. The concentration of land in fewer hands is a nature of Malabar compared to other parts of the Madras Presidency. Here the exploitation affected both Mappila and lower caste tenants alike, they selected several means to respond against this evil. The poor Mappila peasants were the core of the uprising of the nineteenth century. The poverty had grown with the increase of population. Moreover, this study gives a figure about the socio-economic and political scenario of the origin of the strike.^{xxiv}

M Gangadharan in his book '*Malabar Kalapam*' tried to give an account of several arguments regarding this event. He analysed all the matters including Mappila fanaticism, tenant-landlord struggle, and anti-British struggle like that. He explains the contexts with the support of facts and evidence. In his view, there is no decisive sphere for the struggle but wanted to study history with a free mind.^{xxv}

Mozhikunnath Brahmadathan Namboothirippad gave an authentic record of the Malabar incident. He helped the fighting protesters of Malabar with his nationalist feelings and humanitarian sentiments. For this reason, he was arrested and sentenced by the British. The work constitutes a good figure in the realm of studies. He felt the hardness of the struggle with all its cruelty. He was not influenced by his religious sentiments in social and economic facts of the struggle. It has several outlooks by him. It was

an anti-British agitation by the Mappila group, which also acted as a freedom movement for the uprising of tenants of the area.^{xxvi}

History Society and Land Relations of EMS Namboothiripad discuss the atrocities on the part of Mappilas towards Hindus during 1836 and 1898. 'Between 1836 and 1898 as many as 45 cases of criminal action by Moplah against Hindus are recorded in the Eranadu, western Valluvanad and north Ponnani taluks. The official historians of Malabar conclude that the Mappilas are a fanatical band of lawbreakers. The government had accordingly enacted special laws (Moplah Outrages Act) to protect the decent and law-abiding citizens from them'.^{xxvii}

K Gopalankutti in his Essay, 'Rumor and Rebellion in South Malabar' tried to analyse preliminary enquiry to the Malabar struggle. The role of rumour in a popular uprising in the region, concentrating on the Malabar Uprising of 1921. He also shares the study of rumour is a difficult and complex task. The rumour about Mampuram mosque played a significant role. The rumours spread with a definite purpose. The 'usefulness' of a rumour may also vary from person to person and from place to place.^{xxviii}

This study is helpful in understanding the local events that took place as part of the Malabar struggle. It includes many incidents that were not recorded in the history of the struggle. Through the collection of memory, the social dimensions of struggle can be approached in a different way. It also helps us to understand how the insecure social environment has affected the common people.

Conclusion

Many studies have been done on the Malabar struggle. Historians have expressed different views on this. This event, which was serious and gave impetus to the national movement, needs to be recorded in history. A mere collection of data from a few places in a taluk may not provide a complete picture of the event. However, the social insecurity of that time has indeed affected the lives of the common people a lot. By collecting such data, it is helpful to some extent to review the situation of the struggle about the existing knowledge. Many people have come forward to fight for the defence. Some people went directly to the strike on the call of the leaders. And some people have come forward to help them. There were women in the group along with men. Chaluvali Muhammedali (66), remembers his father Chaluvali Alavi, the head of their family living at Chokkad in Eranad taluk, arrested with his father as part of the struggle. When they were hiding in Vallipoola Hills, Alavi's wife used to cook food for them.

The women, children and old people of the family all suffered a lot while the men were protesting and resisting. There was a situation where could not even sleep due to fear. Everyone thought that the arrival of the soldiers was a nightmare. Many women were raped. Even pregnant women were brutally abused in an insecure social environment. In such situations, women took whatever means they could protect themselves. Kalluvettukuzhiyil Nafeesa (71), a native of Wandoor shared an event from her memory. A woman, who was Kokkadan Achu fell down and began to make a dreadful cry when she was in a trap of army. The army man said something like 'Beevi is not good'. That lady lived near the Public Bungalow, Wandoor. A lot of incidents related to the Malabar Struggle occurred near the bungalow. Many people have been trialled here by digging trenches on all four sides of the bungalow. And many people were shot dead here. The memory shared by Bengalath Nanyappa (85), a native of Koorad reveals the people who were killed near the Public Bungalow were buried in the nearby field. The cattle were stared by seeing the human body parts when ploughing the land.

Human bone fragments were found in a well near the Wandoor cooperative college. This points to an insecure social situation. Many lives have been lost due to this incident. People have been brutally killed

and suffered severe hardships irrespective of caste and religion. People have left their homes and other belongings and gone to distant places. Manjeri Karikkad Palisseri Mana Unnikrishnan Namboothiri (68) shares some events was written in his grandfather's diary. We can get the picture of verse social condition. The protesters were ganged in all places. Two women from this mana hid their gold ornaments in the courtyard fearing the protesters. They also left home and went to Trissur.

In the Vaniyambalam area, many people were killed in the river with their hands tied behind their backs. Wandoor Karumarappatta mana Mohanan Namboothiri (65) shared this event, he met a person who got injured and escaped through the river. Mohanan Namboothiri got the information about such a person while providing financial assistance in connection with the Vaniyambalam incident.

In short, this struggle should not be reduced to the fanaticism of the Mappilas. It becomes the response of the tenants to the native landlords, bitter opposition to the imperialist powers and also the stepping stone to the national movement. Many people have participated in small- and large-scale protests. Through these events, common people suffered a lot irrespective of caste and religion. Cruelty and inhuman attitudes changed the ideology of the struggle. Some of the people deviated from their original ideologies and turned to violence. The law-and-order situation has deteriorated. The social situation in the country has become very sad. People experienced extreme poverty. The lives and property of the people were threatened. A safe life became impossible.

The rumours made people provoking. Like the rumour related to Paryangad mosque, a lot of events may have occurred at that time. The plan of Kallamoola bridge attack dropped due to the strong opposition by the British. They made attacks towards British officers. The treasuries were looted. The army came from Burma and suppressed the strike. The leaders were arrested or killed brutally. The Khilafat leader Variyankunnam Kunjahammed Haji was arrested from Vallipoola hills near Chokkad and sent to Malappuram Kunnummal through Wandoor. The people suffered a lot even after the struggle. Even after a century, people still have memories of the Malabar struggle. Therefore, the struggle and related events need to be recorded in history. People should not think of another struggle for any reason. May the coming generations live here while maintaining the existing religious harmony and cooperation. There is information that the army released or sent to educate the arrested persons when they were found to be young. In some of the cases, the army did not attack the women who were found in front of them with babies.

Chaluvalli Alavi was a freedom fighter who got *Tamrapatra* out of the Indira Gandhi government. He was sent to Andaman jail with his father. After some years he returned with his father and gave service as a postman here. Some of the arrested people were returned after several years. However, some of them died because of severe health issues. Most of them did not get proper food, clothes, and treatment. There will be many people who have suffered severe torture like Mozhikunnath Brahmadathan Namboothiripad. Some of the people received financial assistance from freedom fighters. The locally acquired knowledge may not yet be recorded in the history of the struggle. The information of the persons related to it should also be recorded. The collected information can make a significant contribution to local history writing.

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RESILIENCE AND UNITY IN KALPATHY: A STRUGGLE FOR CULTURAL PRESERVATION

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Introduction

The Kalpathy *agraharas* in palakkad is one such place situated on the banks of river Kalpathy. The settlers here mainly belong to Brahmin community. The Tamil Brahmins moved to Kalpathy, which is on the outskirts of Palakkad town in Kerala, centuries ago from Tanjavur and the neighboring districts.¹ The community of Kalpathy has managed to preserve its distinctive culture and heritage, which is nonetheless very much influenced by those of its neighbours. The majority of the Tamil Brahmin population still resides in about 90 *agraharams* in the districts, with Palakkad serving as its centre. According to historical evidence, *nambuthiris*, who were afterwards referred to as Kerala Brahmins, must have been the first brahmins to migrate to Kerala following the sangam period.

Outsiders have always been intrigued by the settlement, and the yearly *Radholsavam* or cart festival at the nearby temple is a major draw. Especially from foreign countries, swarms of tourists stream in to experience the ideal fusion of music, ceremonies, and the pulling of the historic chariots.

In the twentieth century, caste rigidity reached its pinnacle. Malabar had a number of issues in the 1920s as a result of the caste system and its customs. Hindu society was split into numerous castes and sub castes, much like a watertight box. The lower caste was regarded as untouchables, and they were forbidden from entering the homes of higher castes or temples managed by them. Hindus were separated into two groups by this useless caste and religion.

In Kerala, several caste practices were upheld for years. The untouchable population was significantly smaller than other groups.² They are always subject to limitations and unfair treatment everywhere. They are denied the same civil rights as the wealthy. They had no legal right to temple worship and faced discrimination such as untouchability, distant pollution, etc. They forbid even them from utilizing public highways. Children from lower socio-economic strata did not have access to government school admissions. For the right to utilize the public highways for their everyday needs, there were numerous struggles in Kerala.³ The people from the lowest classes led those conflicts.

Every member of a society is permitted to utilize a road since it is public property. Every citizen had a basic right to travel legally. The people from the lowest castes made this point. The basis of the organization for all those conflicts was the debate. Most of the struggles resulted in success. However, not all of them were successful. Most members of the underprivileged population took part in these struggles⁴. However, many of the upper caste supported the campaigns and struggles as well.

There is a dark chapter in kalpathy's history which is little known. Untouchability was highly prevalent in kalpathy even in 1920's. The lower caste people, especially ezhava community were denied the use of the roads through this Brahmin village and the right to worship in the village Vishwanantha Temple. To counter this heinous practice, the members of the ezhava community in palakkad organized a rebellion. Despite the British presidency of madras, under palakkad and kalpathy fell, issued an order permitting ezhavas to enter kalpathy, the conservative Brahmins of the village resisted the attempt. Many ezhavas roughed up by the Brahmins for attempting to enter the village.⁵

The Kalpathy strike has gained increasing popular backing. Venkitachalam and Ananda Shenoy served as the movement's leaders. The Madras Legislative Council debated the Kalpathy issue. The *purity* of Kalpathy Street worried the government and *Savarna* Hindus. The government insisted that the Kalpathy streets are government-owned *purampoku*. It went on to say that the Palghat municipality had the power to decide how to handle the Kalpathy Street issue. The *Savarna* caste Hindus refused to let the lowest caste Hindus visit the Kalpathy post office and other government buildings, which were housed in agraharas, even after the government was constituted. The downtrodden classes were enraged by this and took revenge on the government's advice. Many organizations held meetings in opposition to this.

Arya Samaj was the channel for social revolution in Malabar. Following the arrival of Arya Samaj supporters in Malabar, they took the effort to convert the Ezhavas and other

oppressed classes. In the municipalities of Kalpathy and Palghat, Arya Samajist activities were almost successful. In Kalpathy, there was a mass conversion. However, the upper castes, particularly the Ezhava caste, were unwilling to accept equal standing with the converted people. Dharmapal was a forerunner in the Ezhava community's conversion. All Ezhavas and converted Ezhavas have the right to utilize these roadways in Kalpathy at any time, including during the *Ratholsava* festival, according to the collector. However, the collector's order was overturned by another court ruling. The converted Ezhavas found this inconvenient. They have no right to cross the threshold in agraharas or on public roadways, it stated. The use of these streets by Christians and Muslims was unrestricted. They are free to walk down the streets. People from the lower castes are well aware of the issue. The fact that roads were being used perplexed the Arya Samajists and converted Ezhavas. The debate lasted an extended period of time.

Islamic preachers and the Basel German Mission attempted to bring their religion to the Kalpathy region. Malabar has built an Islamic study centre. Christians had a significant impact on society. Other Hindus from the lower castes were persuaded to convert to these two religions. They were drawn to both religions. In Malabar, we can see a large-scale conversion. The Hindu organizations were taken aback by this. Several authorities attempted to dissuade the lower castes from converting. The conversion marked a watershed moment in the Kalpathy strike's history. Malabar's local authorities were concerned about the region's social predicament. They intended to start a few organizations to help the poor and downtrodden.⁶ They all joined forces to form one organization dedicated solely to the betterment of society.

The Hindu Maha Sabha in Malabar assured the lower caste people that they would abolish caste evils from Hinduism in a short period of time. All of the local leaders attempted to purge the Hindu faith of all societal ills. The Maha Sabha's local leaders were Manjeri Ramayya and K. Kelappan. They labored tirelessly to secure civil rights for the oppressed. The Hindu Maha Sabha was also led by Anandapriyan and Chandra Mani Motilal.

The lowest caste folks are represented by all of the local leaders. In Malabar, they established multiple Maha Sabha branches. The Hindu Maha Sabha began to expand its activity throughout Kerala. Thirunavaya hosted a conference. It had been a Hindu gathering. The early Kerala society, particularly the Malabar, is influenced by Hindu Maha Sabha. It demonstrates effective leadership. The Hindu Maha Sabha was presided over by Pandit Madan Mohan Malavia.

The Hindu Maha Sabha was a communal group founded on religious principles. It didn't have a political agenda. It was essential in safeguarding Hinduism. The name was changed to "Kerala Hindu Maha Sabha" by Kerala leaders. The protest against caste practices in society was attended by all caste-based institutions and other organizations. These Malabar-based organizations mostly fought to eradicate the caste system's bad behaviors. The activists of all organizations, as well as the tireless efforts of local

political leaders, contributed to the overall transformation of a society.⁷ At the time of the Renaissance, educated people led the battles.

The kalpathy rebellion had a simple philosophy that there must not be any bar on people travelling on the public roads constructed using money from the government exchequer.

An order was issued on 25th September 1924 from Fort St. George, Madras presidency, which declared illegal the prevention of any person from any religion or caste or community from entering public roads, government offices and places of public interest. It also allowed all people to draw water from all public wells. The order turned into a powerful tool in the hands of ezhavas and they demanded entry to kalpathy from November 13 to 15, 1924 to take part in the annual car festival.⁸ The Brahmins of kalpathy resisted their entry violently; stones were pelted on ezhava leaders. Fearing further clashes, British authorities clamped prohibitory orders in kalpathy and its surroundings, and the ezhavas retreated.

However, the issue was raised in the madras assembly by R Veerayyan, seeking steps to end the discrimination. Reformers Sree Narayana Guru and T K Madhavan had visited palakkad and extended support to the agitating ezhavas. The community decided to embark on another attempt to enter kalpathy on December 10, 1924, even though peacefully.⁹

Before that could happen, a five –member commission was constituted by the British government to look into the caste – based discriminations, and the rally was cancelled at its request. The commission conducted hearing in palakkad during first week of January 1925. There were heated exchanges between the 18 Brahmins and the 11 ezhavas who appeared before the commission. Finally, on January 1925 the historic order allowing people of all castes to enter into kalpathy roads had been promulgated. There ended the discrimination that had lasted for several centuries.

Conclusion

The success of kalpathy rebellion inspired many social reform movements in Kerala and it boosted the morale of all the untouchables of palakkad region. Many of Palakkad's agharhas have been transformed into concrete buildings in modern times as the idea of public space and communal lives have quickly evolved.

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RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL SPACE OF PALOTTU DAIVOM IN THE SOCIETY OF KUNHIMANGALAM IN KANNUR

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Introduction

Kerala is truly proud of its own traditional rustic art forms. Numerous developmental changes acquired in the recent past have borrowed in their authenticated style from the traditional forms. The ancient style has now become the mother style of all the latest developed artistic performances. The majority of the rustic art forms have their derivative inspiration from distinct forms of performing styles like *Nritham*, *Attom*, *Koothu*, *Thullal*, *Pattu* and *Kaali*¹.

Unlike any other artistic presentations of Kerala, Theyyam is more a venerable art form and a true replica of the venerable culture of *Kolathunad* once ruled by *Kolathiris*. This artistic performance gave expression to the aspirations of unity of the different communities by diversifying traditional practices to ensure a bonded communal amity.

Images of deities are designed and made into *Kolams*, for this tribal ritualistic art veneration and deity worship. It embraces almost all castes and classes of Hindu religion in this region. Theyyam is a typical form of ancestral worship². The diseased entities and numerous dead hero deities represent the imaginative Theyyam in form, shape and artistry that are quite different from other Theyyams, in form and meditative mood. It is difficult to trace the origin of such artistic rendition which is so technical and becomes controversial in creating such deities. Some Westerners, including a certain class of critics viewed Theyyam as 'devil dance'³. But to the then peasantry it all meant that the so-called deities are venerable gods with a sense of immense ability to shower blessings and cause unimaginable destruction. It is a pulverizing experience to view and appreciate the divine projection and presence of such deities.

Etymologically, the word Theyyam has derived its origin from the Sanskrit word 'Daivom' meaning 'God'⁴. The cult of Theyyam is very primitive in its origin. It had incorporated different forms of worship that prevailed among early societies. As a cult its origin can be traced back to rituals and practices of primitive society⁵. Thus, the cult in the form of a sacred dance, has an historical continuity.

The legendary *Keralolpathi* affirms that Parasurama, the creator of Kerala, has sanctioned the festivals like *Kaliyattam*, *Puravela* and *Daivattom* or *Theyyattam* to the Keralites⁶. He assigned the responsibility to perform Theyyam dance to indigenous communities like Pannan, Malayar, Vellan, Vannan, Thulluvellan, Koppallan, Mavilan, Munnoottan and Anchuttan who were exponents in performing Theyyams⁷.

The then social system prevented the low castes from entering temples and they were disallowed even to come close to persons of the Brahmin and Kshatriya communities. This led to the lower castes creating their temples in afforested areas known as *Kaavu*⁸.

There are about Four Hundred Fifty known forms of Theyyam, and each cult has its own style of performance⁹. Each has its costumes makeup and way of presentation. *Muchilott Bhagavathi*,

Kathivanoor Veeran, Vayanatt Kulavan, Kandanar Kelan, Vettakorumakan, Madayil Chamundi, Palottu Daivam etc. were some of the important Theyyam forms.

Since the origin of the *Theyyam* is deeply rooted in mythology, legends, and folk tales, they have a pivotal role in the preservation and transmission of the same from one age to the succeeding ages. For the folk and the performers, it is a cherished responsibility lovingly discharged.

Through their sacred presentations, the Theyyams have made it possible for the common folk especially the rural to experience the enthralling encounters with the god they reverse. Of the various notable centres of Theyyam performance, the *Malliyottu* temple of Kunhimangalam in Kannur adorns a unique place with its amazingly varied rituals and godly characters being performed on festive occasions in all the traditional costumes and expressions of Theyyam.

The present study is based on the historical background, and legendary and cultural importance, of Sri Malliyottu Palottu Kaavu. It is a pioneering attempt to trace the origin and development of Malliyottu Kaavu and its precincts based on primary and secondary data. This Kaavu occupies an important position among the Kaavus of North Malabar. The Malliyottu Palottu Kaavu offers very interesting fields of study were an in-depth analysis of the formation of the Theyyam performance and beliefs as conducted in later periods. For such an analytical and structural study, the *Malliyottu Palottu Kaavu* offers a virgin ground i.e., the significance of the present topic.

Significance of Palottu Daivom

North Malabar is famous for its *Kaavus*. In the *Kaavu*, the divinity of Shiva or Vishnu is attributed to historic martyrs or chaste women, and they are worshipped. They are depicted in the form of *Kolam* in front of the *Kaavu*. The *Kaavu* is generally in a countryside environment. The ritual of the Theyyam is conducted under the trees¹⁰.

Kunhimangalam is an area where people lived even during the ancient Stone Age period. There are mam- caves and cape stones in various places in Kunhimangalam which shows the existence of the ancient Stone Age in this area¹¹. Kunhimangalam was part of *Ezhimala* dynasty during ancient times. Later it falls under *Kolathiri*. Kunhimangalam is one of the thirty-two Tulu villages which is mentioned in *Keralolpathi*¹².

A Namboodiri family known as ‘Kunhimangalam *Tharavadu*’ ruled Kunhimangalam. They acceptably ruled the village, but over time this family started to become extinct and at last one mother and son left as the only members of the family. One day they went to river Kaveri to pray for their departed family members and when they came back, they noticed that soldiers of *Chirakkal Thampuram* triumphed over Kunhimangalam *Tharavadu*. Both the mother and the son were defeated and committed suicide by leaping into the fire. Later it is believed that the mother merged as goddess *Veerachamundi* and the son as God *Veeran*. Due to the high adoration and gratitude towards the Namboodirian family, the people around this area constructed a temple at the same place where *Tharavadu* existed, and they called it as *Kunhimangalam Melom*. The people started worshipping *Veerachamundi* and *Veeran* as their goddess and God and the village came to be known as Kunhimangalam¹³.

Kunhimangalam also has a rich cultural background. Ghost worship (*Bhootaradhana*), Snake worship (*Nagaradhana*). Tree worship (*Virksharadhana*), etc existed in Kunhimangalam. Kunhimangalam is also

well known for folk dance, Theyyam, *Poorakali* etc. The region of Kunhimangalam also maintains communal harmony. The Hindus, Muslims and Christians of Kunhimangalam live in harmony and unity.

Malliyottu Palottu Kaavu is situated extensively in the villages named Cheruthazham and Kunhimangalam. It resides in the heart of the Kunhimangalam village and people believe that it gave protection to the people. Each caste has its own Theyyam and this is true in most regions, since each form of the Theyyam represents each caste, it indicates the unity of a casteless society. These ritual art forms oppose the existing caste system. Moreover, Theyyam also declared that the people live without any caste discrimination. Thus, Kunhimangalam also reflects a casteless society.

It is believed that the *Paalottu daivam* originally was located at Azheekkal, a place in the southern part of Kannur. There is a story- which tells about the circumstances which brought it to Malliyottu. It is believed how one-day *Nagarathu Thattaan* and *Chaakkaami Aalappadi* went together for fishing at Azheekkal. They felt something caught in their net. *Nagarathu Thattaan* dived in and checked the net. That was a crown. It is also said that it was a crown plate. They placed the crown on a rock and sat beside it. *Murukkumcheri* Nair. The owner of that land came there. The people gathered to see the divine crown. The news was conveyed to the chieftain of *Kolathunaadu*. The astrologer found in his calculations that *Matsyavathara moorthy* lord Sri Vishnu Narayana Swami owned the crown. It was also found that, together with the semi god named *Karivillon* the god was coming to see *Ezhimannar's* land crossing *Noottettazhy* (the seas) based on that golden crown plate¹⁴. God who reached Azhikkoode from *Sri Paalkadal* (the sea, the abode of Vishnu) can be named as a *Paalaazhikottu daivam* was the conclusion which was reached by the astrologer (Kaniyan). God made the royal visit to Aduthila a place in the vicinity of Kunhimangalam based on the *Vellolakuda* (umbrella made of silver) which was held by Aduthila *Naalappadi*, on the seventh day of the festival. On the supervision of the *Kainattu Mootha Thandan* a chief of the Thiyyas *Paalottu Kaavu* was set up at *Athiyidam* for the god who reached Aduthila. It is believed that the *Paalottu daivam* was later brought to *Malliyottu* by some elderly devotees from Aduthila who visited the temple of *Paalottu daivam* at the place¹⁵.

All the families related in this mythical journey still have their own positions and rights in the *Malliyottu Paalottu Kaavu*. The family of *Chemmaran* Panicker, who was the leader to performs the rites and rituals of the Kaavu. Some other eminent persons are *Kuthirummal Kaaranavar* and *Kottarathil Kaaranavar* among the elders. The nearby family enjoys the *Narthaka sthanam* of the god (the exalted position to dance before him). The Vannan community who carried the Panickers betel box got permission to decorate the god. The *Paanachira* Kalari which has a place in the legend is thought to attain some divinity. This family has the right to perform the rites and rituals in the sanctum sanctorum of the Kaavu. The *Moolikkodan* family which belongs to *Maniyani* community bring upon the offering made up of milk. This milk is brought in the legendary cup carried on the head by the *Mulikkodan Karanavar* and offered directly to the god.

Kunhimangalam is a holy place as it is occupied by goddess *Veerachamundi* and God *Thrippanikara appan*. The *Paalottu Daivam* was a *Vaishanava* deity also which needed a place in this holy region. The legend tells that this god showed interest to come to this place which was a strong hold of goddesses of *Madayil Chamundi* and other demi-goddesses who initially hesitated out of the fear that their freedom would be curtailed if Vishnu was sanctioned a place in the Kaavu. However, when the leader of all gods *Thrippanikkara Mahadevan* came to know about this wish and requested goddess *Chamundi*

to show enough hospitality to *Paalottu daivam*. The request and warning of this mediator deity who was also the guardian deity of the Malliyottu Mana to invite and bring along *Paalottu Daivam* in to the Kaavu. She even gave her seat to the god and got seated herself a little northward within the premises. All the other goddesses also were removed a little from their original places is said to have become sad about this change of places. All these emotions are expressed even today in the songs and performance of Theyyam (*Kaliyattam*). The disappointment of the goddess is depicted very nicely in the ritual processions. This include *Madayil Chamundi*, 'the chief goddess' of the Kaavu going for the ritual of *Maalayedukkanpokal* journey to bring back the garland) to the Thrippanikkara Siva temple and on the fourth day of the *Vishuvilaku* festival in which during the time of milk offering the goddess walks halfway holding the head low and bringing the guest, Paalottu daivam for receiving the offering. After the arrival of Vishnu deity, the name of the temple was changed from *Cheerumba* and *Kaavu* to *Malliyottu Paalottu Kaavu*. The other goddesses namely *Knndora Chamundi* and *Kurathi amma* who were originally worshipped within the Bhadarapura tharavaadu were offered suitable positions in the surroundings of the temple.

During the *Vishuvilakku* festival, the practice of carrying god's idol on the head of the priest is a peculiarity of Malliyottu Kaavu. Earlier the low castes were not allowed to perform this ritual. *Kolathiri* gave this right to them. *Palottu Daivom* is the center of attraction for people during the festival. The deity wields a profound influence among the people of Kunhimangalam and other areas.

The society of Kunhimangalam consists of various caste and communities like *Nairs*, *Thiyyas*, *Kaniyans*, *Pulayas*, *Vannans* etc. Among them *Thiyyas* are prominent. Most of the Kaavus in North Malabar belongs to *Thiyya* caste. *Malliyottu Palottu Kaavu* is one of the most important Kaavus of the *Thiyya* caste. *Malliyottu Paalottu Kaavu* is the embodiment of religious tolerance and human brotherhood.

Logan describes *Thiyyas* "as a group of people who are engaged in farming"¹⁶. They are engaged in agricultural practices. *Thiyyas* forms the majority among the Hindu community in Kunhimangalam. *Thiyyas* mainly belonged to the laboring class and were depressed in the society. The family organization among them was not as stable as the Nairs. *Thiyyas* traditional occupation were toddy tapping.

The chief priest of the Kaavu belongs to the *Thiyya* family. *Andhithiriyar* is the official authority in charge of the Kaavu for the administration and conduct of the festivals. *Andhithiriyar* belongs to the family of *Malliyodan*. The *Andhithiriyar* also act as the representative of the people.

In this Kaavu, Nair communities have also possessed a place in administration. The representative of Nair communities is known as *Koyma*¹⁷. A Nair of *Paranthatta* family assumes this title in Kaavu. Moreover, it is considered that the *Naduvazhi* had appointed them as their representatives. In a way it reflects the dominance of higher caste in society. The members of the Vannan community had the right to perform the Theyyams in the Kaavu. Vannans are considered as the sub caste of *Thiyya*.

Malliyottu *Kaavu* is one among those *Kaavus* facing east, which face rising sun. The geographical area of Kunhimangalam is divided into four¹⁸. Among these representatives Malliyottu, Vadakkumbadu, Thalayi, Kathirummam are chosen to handle governance of the *Kaavus*. Each area had representatives of committees during the festivals like *Bharanivela* and *Vishuvilakku Mahotsavam*.

Malliyottu Kaavu leads a great influence in the social process of Kunhimangalam. The performance of *Palottu Daivom* is very much related to the cultural evolutions of the Thiyyas¹⁹. It is presumable that the *Palottu Daivom* reflects the symbol of strong resistance against the higher castes.

Every community participates in the rituals of Kaavu without any caste barrier and is evidence of human brotherhood. There are separate duties assigned for people of various castes. Brahmins also perform sender for the deities. The place for *Urayma* is for Nairs. The authority for *Kalasamedukkuka* is given to the Thiyyas²⁰. Vaniyans are responsible to provide oils for lighting the lamps. Kollan are responsible for making weapons and Aashari for wood works. The women of Vannan caste wash the clothes. The performers of Theyyam will be from *Vannan, Malayan, Velan, Maavilan, Kooppalan, Pulayar, Vedan* communities. The *Thottam* song is sung by Malayars.

Despite all the rituals sophistication and Brahmanisation most of the primitive and pre-Brahmanical religion practices connected with worship of the ethnic deities with a different name continued even today. And majority of the practices are visible in performance during the festivals of Malliyottu Kaavu.

By prescribing several formalities relating to the festival, Brahmanical supremacy is still maintained over the Kaavu. The festival in the Kaavu stands as a symbol of the solidarity of a community and the cooperation of different communities. For centuries *Palottu Daivam* has been a unifying religious factor among these communities. It has also created a sense of deep solidarity within the hierarchical structure of the Hindu organization consisting of different castes and divisions. The Theyyam has remained a living force and a link between the old and new religious and cultural concepts.

Conclusion

The historical perspective of *Malliyottu Kaavu* has remained an untouched area of investigation. Though the places are enriched with historical remains; no authentic study is made in this regard. This study is a pioneering attempt in this direction and has brought to light valuable facts which can help the historian to recreate a connected picture of the evolution of the social-cultural history of Kunhimangalam. The study brings out major findings made through the study can be summed up as follows.

The historical remains, legends and stories prevailing in Kunhimangalam prove that this place has a glorious past. The present study could bring to light the early unknown history of Malliyotu *Palottu Kaavu*. *Malliyottu* is a place of great historical antiquity.

The study reveals the cultural history of the Kunhimangalam society. The position of Thiyyas has been clearly explained in this work. The dominance and the undisputed power enjoyed by the Nairs reveal the existence of a caste system. This ritual art form of Theyyam in Malliyottu Kaavu is against the existing caste system. Brahmin and lower caste people like Kaniyan, Mooshari, Aashari, Vannan, Malayan, and Velan have still special rights in the temple.

Kunhimangalam was a land of secularism. The best example of this is the *Kaavu*. The history rituals, rites, and practices of the *Kaavu* show that it must have existed from the early period. It is one of the important *Kaavu* of the Thiyya community in North Malabar. Whatever it may be, this ritual art form Theyyam enters the mainstream, it becomes the art form of the whole society or the whole area rather than that of single religion.

This study shows that the worship of the Mother Goddess in the form of *Sri Kurumba* prevailed in the *Malliyottu* before the installation of *Palottu Daivom*. Two major festivals *Bharanivela* and *Vishuvilaku*

Mahotsavam in the Kaavu were conducted here. The speciality of the *Vishnuvilaku Mahotsavam* is that the consecrated idol is taken out in processions by the member of Thiyya family of *Malliyodan*, attracting the devotion of all kinds of people. This ritual was only seen in the Brahmanic temples. In other Kaavus of the locality, lower castes like Thiyyas were prohibited from this ritual. Here the rituals continued without any alteration.

Thus, *Malliyottu Kaavu* had a glorious past of its own. As a centre of cultural activities, Malliyottu gained much importance in the early days. However, the lack of sources and research relegated *Malliyottu Kaavu* into the background.

Limitations of time and source materials have put some restrictions on the study. Many aspects of its historicity are untouched. No study has ever been conducted in the history of *Malliyottu Kaavu* in detail. There is a scope for tracing the historical evolution of *Malliyottu Kaavu* from the pre-historic period, especially the growth and transformation of folk beliefs.

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SWORD AND SAIL: KUNJALI MARAKKAR'S RESISTANCE AGAINST THE COLONIAL RULE

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The Marakkars were naval commanders who led a century-long resistance against the Portuguese invasion of Kerala with the support of the Kozhikode Samoothiri. There were many military, political and ideological dimensions to the battles fought by the Marakas, who brought their unique naval tactics against the most powerful Portuguese naval force the world had seen in the sixteenth century. The history of India would have been different if the mission of the Kunjalis had been to chase the Portuguese groups, who were the first Western invading force, from the Indian shores.

There are many people known as Kunjali Marakars, but the four most famous ones were Kuttyali Marakars, Kutti Poker, Pattu Marakars and Muhammadali Marakars known as Kunjali I, II, III and IV. In the hundred years leading up to the annexation, hundreds of warriors emerged in Malabar and tens of thousands became martyrs. In that group, the most notable naval leadership was that of Marakamar. Or it means that the early anti-imperialist struggle in Malabar cannot be reduced to four Marakars.

There are different opinions about the origin of the Marakkar family and that name. It is generally observed that the word Marakar may have been derived from the Arabic word 'Markaba', meaning those who came in ships, or from the Tamil word 'Marakalam', meaning ship. William Logan observes that the word Marakar may have been derived from the fact that those who had Vedic books were called 'Markakars'. It is generally accepted that it is the title or honor given by the Zamorin to the leadership of his naval forces, and the word Kunjali means faithful and beloved. The possibility that the name of the Prophet's companion Ali, who is considered as the name of bravery in Islamic history, was called "Kunjali" in the meaning of brave cannot be ruled out. Another strong argument is that the Marakkans, who belonged to the Arabic family line who initially settled in Pantalayani Kollam from Tunisia, shifted their headquarters to Thikodi and then to Kottakal in 1524 after the Portuguese invasion. There is also an argument that they are the descendants of Ismail, Muhammad and others who were powerful in the commercial scene of Kochi and moved to Ponnani and later to Kottakal in Kozhikode after the Portuguese attack." But KV Krishnaiyar has opined that the original family of the Marakkars was in Ponnani and later moved to Tanur areas and later moved to Akalapuzha after the Portuguese attacks. Most of the people agree that the Marakkars were traders with naval skills and that Kottakkal arrived after the Portuguese invasion. Muhammad Ali, a leader who was inspired by the naval prowess of the Marakkars who arrived at Kozhikode, honored the Marakkars with the title of 'Kunjali', the right to wear special turbans and naval leadership by Zamorin. Muhammad Ali Marakar formed a navy with the chiefs Kuttyali Marakars, Valiya Hasan and Pachi Marakars with all the support of the Zamorin.

At the same time, there is an argument that the Kunjalis were not from Malabar and were of merchant lineage who came from Chozhamandalam in Tamil Nadu for trade. John Auchan Thurut observed that they traded with the Portuguese and helped them in wars until 1524, but then the Portuguese avoided them and traded with others, and the ensuing trade and economic disputes made them anti-Portuguese. He added that the woodworkers who fought for purely economic interests were later elevated to 'cult figures'. This observation, made based on one-sided Portuguese records, has been completely rejected by the world of history, ignoring the numerous offerings that indicate the close relationship and mutual

struggle that the Muslims had with the Zamorin. Within a few years, the Kunjalis had become anti-Portuguese due to constant fraud, treachery, blasphemy and imperial interests."

The assumption that the basis of the Marakkars' continuous struggle, handed down over a century, was merely commercial interest-driven 'Kashapisha' is insulting and mocking of the ideological basis of their courageous anti-imperialist resistance. Moreover, the anti-imperialist fatwas, books and debates (Tahril, Fathul Mubeen, *Tuhfatul Mujahi Deen*... etc) that emerged in Malabar influenced the Muslim community in general, the leadership and the youth in particular and became the ideological base of their activities. In Fathul Mubeen, Qadi Muhammad calls for anti-imperialist activities to be considered worship and to pray for the Zamorin who leads them. The entry of the Kunjali Marakkars into naval leadership under the Samuthiris takes place in an environment that incorporates various political and economic factors. An unbroken continuity of naval leaders and experts through four generations and a century from a single family with strong mass support. Pretending that the enmity arose out of a mere trade dispute only served to conceal the brutal aggression and plunder committed by the Portuguese in Malabar.

Vasco da Gama and his team reached Kerala on the evening of Sunday, May 20, 1498. One of Gama's first demands to the Zamorin, who welcomed his guests, was to sever all ties with the Moors (Arab Muslims), with whom he had been trading amicably for centuries, and grant them a trade lease. Leaving Kozhikode in August, he visited Kolathiri in Kannur and returned to Portugal on 20 November 1498. Gama arrived in Lisbon with a sixty-fold profit and received a huge reception. Sensing the increased profit potential, King Dom Manuel sent the next group with 1200 soldiers under the leadership of Pedro Alvarez Cabral." This military move is proof that Gama had understood Malabar's weaknesses in his first trip. Realizing that they could not survive without destroying the Samuthiri and Muslim traders, Cabral entered into a trade and military alliance with the King of Kochi, who was the enemy of the Samuthiri. In 1502, a large army was with The Second Coming of Gama.

Gama reached Kannur in October 1502. Then he visited Zamothiri and demanded that the Muslim traders be rejected. The port of Kozhikode was attacked and many people were killed for refusing an unjust demand. Then Gama, who came to Kochi, entered into an alliance with the king and built facilities including a military base and a school. It was against this backdrop that the Marakars, who were traditional traders and naval experts, entered the political and military arena of Calicut. There is no doubt that this gave the Samuthir military and administrative power.

In the early days of the Portuguese's arrival in Kerala, attempts to monopolize the trade of the Arabian Sea were made by exterminating the Arab traders. Gama and his team arrive in India with the strong support of Jesuit priests. Portuguese religious policy emphasized the intense Islamo-Muslim animosity produced by centuries of crusades. Hence, their main objective was to exterminate the Moors along with acquiring the monopoly of trade. As soon as they left Portugal, they received the required supports from the royal and religious leadership.

The fanatical hatred followed by the Portuguese was not confined to Muslims alone. They regarded Hindus as "prastos" (heiner) as superstitious and uncultured. Decree 35 of the Act passed by the Municipal Council of Portuguese-ruled Goa called for the burning of Muslim scriptures and decree 30 forbid the weekly holiday for practicing the 'false religion' of other religions". The attitude towards native Christians was no different. The intolerant Portuguese religious policy was hostile and aggressive. This even led to the later Kunan Cross Pledge (1653). Although the Portuguese attitude towards all religions was inhumane, they maintained that Nishkasana Vanja was bitterly hostile towards Muslims and Islam. From the day they set foot on the soil of Malabar, the Parangis had manifested an Islamophobia shaped by the

seething memories of a miserable defeat in the Crusades, the thirst for revenge, the throbbing jealousy of age-old Muslim commercial advances, and blind religious fanaticism. King Dom Manuel called for Muslims to be avoided as much as possible in trade and preference to be given to native Christians and then to Hindus."

The constant looting of Muslim Hajj ships and massacre of pilgrim groups including children, women and the elderly was the decision of the Portuguese clergy. In 1502, Vasco da Gama himself started these atrocities. On his second voyage, he killed four hundred pilgrims, including fifty women, and completely looted and burnt the ship". Attacks on Hajj ships continued until about 1697. At the same time, temples were also looted and destroyed. It is impossible to describe the brutality of the Portuguese gangs against the religious sects and communities in an article like this.

The Portuguese's attempt to gain a commercial monopoly in the Arabian Sea was not based on commercial strategies. They did not have any commercial goods to exchange for the products they bought from India. Their greed for profit was what drove their trade. Therefore, trade monopoly was achieved through fraud, deception, robbery and attacks. In 1500 when the Arabs bought a kilo of pepper from Calicut for 7 paise (0.38 (Crusados)) per kilo, the Portuguese did not have to pay a single paise (0.05 (Cusados)) as per the agreement made under pressure from the king of Cochin. The greed of the Portuguese robbers should be understood from the fact that one kilo of pepper was worth. Even in 1585, they insisted on the King of Kochi to supply pepper according to the contract price of 1503."

In a short time, the Marakars were able to defend themselves against the Portuguese by forming a strong naval base in the coastal areas from Gujarat to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Together with Maithune, the younger brother of the King of Ceylon, they were able to organize powerful battles. But at the last stage, Maithune withdrew and the army led by the Portuguese chief Ferreira dealt a heavy blow to the Marakkars.

After the death of Muhammad Ali Marakkar, Kutiyali Marakkar, who was the chief of the army, was appointed as the head of the Samuthiri navy in 1507. He is Kunjali Marakar I who led many strong battles. Learning from the failure of his predecessors, Kunjali strategically avoided a direct confrontation with the Portuguese, who had large naval forces. Then hundreds of boats called 'paravakals' and rowed by thirty to forty men were built and a new guerilla struggle started in the ocean. The tactic was to attack the large Portuguese ships with speed and surprise as they moved on the strong winds. This attack by Kunjali made it difficult for the Portuguese ships to anchor in the ports. A large naval armor had to be carried at all times. Several ships were attacked and captured by the Mappilas. Ultimately these raids under the Kunjali, seriously affected and slowed down the Portuguese trade. Viceroy's such as Al-Bukark described these dilemmas in their letters to the kings.

Gradually, the Portuguese made an unwritten rule that no ship could sail in the Arabian Sea without their permission. Kunjali I started trying to ship the products by challenging the Parangis. In 1523, he successfully brought eight large ships loaded with pepper from Kozhikode to the shores of the Red Sea in forty ships with a strong naval escort. At the same time, Kunjali's younger brother Ran Chinna Kutiyali also started naval activities centered on the Goan coast. Vasco da Gama sent Martin Alphonsa D'Souza to stop Kunjali's military movements in Kozhikode. During this period, many clashes took place between the two factions. In all these wars, Kutiyali and his team used the strategy of attacking with small battleships called 'paravas', avoiding direct confrontation with the fully armed Portuguese as much as possible. This resulted in heavy losses to the Parangis in many cases. Valiya Hasan in Kannur, Pattu Marakar in Calicut and Chinna Kuttiyali on the Goan coast led the naval operations. Valiya Hasan, who was also a relative of King Ali of Kannur, caused constant irritation to the Portuguese. Vasco da Gama

came to Kannur in person and demanded the king Ali to hand over Valiya Hasan. Valiah Hasan was imprisoned in the St. Angelos fort in Kannur and was hanged by the Portuguese leader Hendrie de Menezes within a few days. This inflamed the Portuguese anti-imperialist sentiment of the Mappilas. The newly established Samuthiri declared war against the Portuguese. In the fierce battle that lasted for five months on the coasts of Kochi - Ponnani, Kozhikode - Kannur, the victory alternated between the two factions. In October 1526, Menezes and his team, who came directly to Kozhikode to protect Parangikota, were strongly confronted by Kunjali and his team and were driven back. Meneses was killed due to injuries sustained in this battle.

Realizing the difficulty of confronting Kunjali's guerilla warfare strategy, the Parangi army resorted to the strategy of forcing direct open warfare. This caused losses to Kunjali's army. However, continuous attacks by Kunjali disrupted the Portuguese's Kochi-Goa relations and Kozhikode fort had to be abandoned. Kunjali managed to put a curb on the hegemonic ambitions of the Parangis right from the start. It also severely affected their future actions. Despite being strategic and strong, they had to completely abandon the Portuguese fort of Calicut in 1525. Built on the banks of the Kallai-puzha, this fort was strong and modeled on the Kochi fort."

After the death of Kunjali Marakar I in 1531, his son Kuttipokar was appointed as a naval captain by the Samuthiri under the name of Kunjali II. For forty years he remained in command and put up a strong defense against the Portuguese. But at that time the Portuguese were able to create strong pressure on the Samuthiri through vassals and various other means. In 1531, they captured some of the Zamorin ships that had gone to Gujarat and imprisoned Ali Ibrahim Marakkar and Kutti Ibrahim. Due to continuous wars, Samuthiri was forced to make peace with the Portuguese due to economic crisis. On that basis, in 1532, the Portuguese built a new fort at Chaliyam. Chaliyam, the center of Arab trade and the naval advance of the Samuthiri, was raised in this fort which provided many facilities to the Portuguese. Sardar K.M. Panicker describes this fort as "A gun pointed towards Zamorin's chest".

At the same time, through guerilla warfare, under the leadership of Kunjali II, powerful attacks were launched in the Coramandel-Ceylon region in 1530-1537. In 1537 the Samodhi army marched towards Kodungallur and drove the Portuguese away. But then he had to face a strong backlash in Kochi. During this period, Samuthiri sought help from many foreign countries to fight against the Portuguese and a naval force from Turkey even had to leave for Kozhikode in June 1538. But with the death of this Samothiripad, such activities slowed down. A treaty was signed in January 1540 at Ponnani with the subsequent Samuthiri and Parangis. Under this agreement, the Parangis were given exclusive rights, including a monopoly on the pepper trade in Calicut and special permission to trade through the Arabica toll. The royal rights of the Samuthiri were limited. Seeing the future consequences of the truce, Kunjali and his team opposed this agreement from the very beginning.

But this agreement did not last long. As usual, many of the terms of the agreement were not met by the Parangis. In the dispute between Kochi and Vadakkumkur, Samuthiri and Parangi became two separate alliances for them and the agreement broke down completely and things turned to open war. Kunjali's army, which was awake and active, launched a heavy attack on the Portuguese. For them to defeat the powerful paramilitary forces many times. In his Tuhfatul Mujahideen, Shaikh Zainuddin Makhdom describes the brave actions of Kunjali's army at this stage. The Parangis, who suffered heavy losses in Kunjali II's constant guerrilla warfare, turned out to be civilians. At the same time, Kunjali and his group attacked Parangi centers in North Malabar and retaliated strongly. In 1569, Kunjali defeated the army led by Dom Henrik and Menezes.

In 1570, a joint coalition was formed to drive the Portuguese out of the Arabian Sea. This group was an early example of a regional united front against the Western imperial powers, consisting of the Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar, the King of Ashin, Adin Shah of Bijapur, and the Samuthiri. The strategy was to attack the Parangi centers at the same time." To help Nizam Shah, Kunjali and his party arrived at Chaul and stayed there for twenty days. Although the Parangi suffered heavy losses, they finally escaped the counter-attack and reached the Kannur coast and clashed with Menace's army. Only two ships of the Mapilapada were remained and Kunjali II was martyred in this remaining battle.

Then Pattu Marakar, who in 1571 led the capture of Chaliyam Fort, a Portuguese stronghold in Kozhikode, was crowned as Kunjali Marakar III. The fall of Chaliyam fort was actually the beginning of the decline of Portuguese power in Kerala itself. Chaliyam fort was demolished by Kunjali through a planned attack by land and sea. It was not just a mere war victory but one of the beautiful moments of the anti-imperialist struggle formed through Hindu-Muslim unity. Khadi Muhammad's Arabic war poem 'Fathul Mubeen' details the battle of Chaliyam, which was planned together by Zamothiri, Nair army leaders and Kunjali woodworkers at Miskal masjid in Kozhikode.

According to the instructions of the Zamorin king, Kunjali III established the "Marakkar Fort" at Pudupanam near Vadakara. This place was later known as Kotakkal. This fort greatly alarmed the Parangis. They realized that they could defeat the Kunjali only with the help of Samothiri. They forced the Samuthiri, exhausted by constant battles, to obtain permission to build a fort at Ponnani. Kunjali III warned the Zamorin king that this would be a serious threat to Malabar but was ignored. This incident caused a rift in the Samuthiri-Kunjali Marakkar relationship and it became two birds with one stone for the Portuguese. After losing the help and support of Samuthiri, Kunjali began to strengthen himself and strengthened the defenses of the fort.

Kunjali III reorganized his army. Ships were built on the European model. It started producing its own weapons and ammunition. A Portuguese ship from China was captured. He fought and defeated many prominent sailors like Paule Dalima, Dunmus, Louis DeMallo and others. Realizing Kunjali's true power, they improved their relationship with Samoothiri and tries to isolate Kunjali from Samuthiri as much as possible. In 1588 they made Kozhikode their main trading center and in 1591 they obtained permission from Samuthiri to build a church in Kozhikode with special rights. However, the Pattu Marakkar managed to weaken the Portuguese hegemony from Goa to Ceylon. The fall of Chaliyam fort in 1571 further reinforced the Portuguese perception that the Zamoutiri-Kunjali unity was their biggest obstacle and they devised strategies to break it, and they accepted the reality that the spiritual military strength of the Kunjalis, which was repressed and retaliated and passed down through generations, could not be destroyed except through stratagem. Then, by exaggerating minor mistakes and spreading false stories, secretive moves were made to break the Samuthiri-Kunjali relationship and Hindu-Muslim unity in Malabar. This project gradually achieved its goal.

After the death of Kunjali Marakar III in 1595, Muhammadali Marakar Kunjali IV was installed in Pudupanam fort. Relations with the Zamorin, which had been collapsing since 1586, weakened further during this period, and Kunjali, foreseeing the danger, began to fortify his fort by 5100 land routes. The Portuguese did their best to keep the distance between the two groups as much as possible. Alvaroda Abrache, the crooked strategist, visited Samuthiri and reached an agreement for unification. A joint army of Samuthiri and Portuguese attacked Puduppanam fort on March 5, 1599. They also mobilized a large naval force, which was very famous in the Parangis. Six hundred Portuguese and five hundred Nair soldiers marched out, but Kunjali's brave soldiers held back with a strong counterattack.

The failure of the battle, which was conducted with all preparations, left the Parangis disappointed and humiliated. The leadership had to face severe criticism from the motherland. A formidable army under Furtadov was prepared against Kunjali. Furtado visited Samutiri and prepared a plan for a combined offensive by land and sea.

This essay is inadequate to detail the emotional end of Kunjali Marakkar IV's life. Kunjali IV and his gang were the living martyrs of a long generation who sacrificed everything for the motherland and fought against imperialist terror. Perhaps the biggest shock to them was that the successor of Sachivothaman, who had been resurrected by his predecessors, was positioned against him in the enemy camp. As the enemy camp became stronger, Kunjali was isolated in fort day by day without getting any help from the outside world or his friends. With the four sides of the fort surrounded by the enemy army, Kunjali said that he should surrender to his king and spare his life for the group of women and children who were with him. But Parangi army chief Furtado ordered the Samuthiri to hand over Kunjali to them. On 16th March 1600, Kunjali Chinna and Kutjali surrendered to the Samuthiri with his sword lowered, on the basis of a written guarantee of life and property for himself and his followers. Immediately Furtadov's army seized them by force and handcuffed them. The stunned Nair soldiers protested against this treachery, but Samuthiri intervened and restrained them. After looting the fort, the Portuguese took Kunjali to Goa and beheaded him in front of a crowd. Even then, their grudge against that brave man who stood in the way of their svairya vihara for so long was not over. The severed head was salted and sent to Kannur and the limbs were publicly hanged on the streets.

The end of Kunjali IV was not the end of one person. Parangi also marked the end of Malabar's valiant resistance to imperialist depredations. What distinguishes the history of the Kunjalis from other anti-colonial struggles is mainly the beauty of its continuity. It is very rare in history that for a century the struggle has been handed down through different individuals for generations in front of one of the most powerful armies in the world. Famous historian K.M. Panicker writes. "During the battle of centuries against the Portuguese, the Marakkar family produced a group of efficient naval leaders. They were equal to the greatest military leaders in the history of the world in terms of indomitable courage, willingness to undertake anything, skill in sailing, and determination to see things through to perfection."

The history of the Kunjalis has been the subject of many studies and researches. These contain different points of view and are mixed with truth and fiction. Many of the falsehoods spread by the Portuguese at that time to destroy the Kunjalis who had become a bulwark against their Indian colonial interests have found their place as authentic documents in later writings. For example, there are references to the fourth Kunjali trying to establish an independent rule centered on Kottakkall over the Samuthiri power and the Zamothiri being outraged by insulting a woman of a Nair clan who lived near the fort. In fact there was no Nair clan either near the fort or in the village of Kotakkal itself then or later. Moreover, the song "Kotakolamana Kunhalik Nairum Thiyaru Monnupole" by the Kunjalis of Kattathanadan Njarupatin shows the popular face of the amity across caste and religion.

Although many studies are available on the life and yajnas of the Kunjali Marakars, detailed and meticulous studies are yet to be done on the naval techniques or naval tactics developed by them. Unique Portuguese documents are an important contribution to this. Because there are no such references in Samuthiri Kottaram books, which are an important source of Kozhikode history. Religious and ritual references are more prominent in such documents than politics. In those days when war and strife were common, the leadership would not give much importance to such matters and would leave it to the Mappilas and get busy with the temple matters. The Mysore army has stepped in and now the Lords were discussing appointing the peacekeeper of the Triprayar temple!" At the same time, the Marakars

are quoted as having entered into military aid relations with many powerful countries of the contemporary world. A micro-interesting research that scientifically and critically re-reads the hidden historical sources and compares them with the unique techniques of regional navies. The study of the famous 'Hit and Run' guerilla attack style, which involved small naval fleets developed by Malabar in the 16th century and the naval techniques developed for it, is still to be done. Prof. M. G. S. Narayanan observes that the peculiarity of this method was to weaken it by causing maximum damage and then to attack unexpectedly with the groups. In the naval field they experimented with different and novel defensive systems by tying cotton and other light materials around small boats to secure them.

The Marakar Mutiny in Malabar is an important event in Indian naval history. Recognizing the naval tradition he cultivated, the Indian Navy observed the 400th death anniversary of Kunjali Marakkar IV. A postal stamp was issued in December 2000. Captain A.H. Mitannis has noted that in 1971, the Indian Navy used the blockade strategy against Pakistan which was used by the Kunjali woodsmen's army to subjugate Chaliyam Fort. They experimented with different and innovative defense systems in the naval field by tying cotton and other light materials around small boats to secure them." In memory of these brave patriots, the Naval Barracks at Colaba near Mumbai was named 'INS Kunjali'.

While analyzing the anti-imperialist struggles in Malabar, some common features cannot be overlooked. One of them was that the scholars of the period were able to turn religion into an ideological basis of response to political and social issues instead of confining it to a mere wall of rituals.

In 1571, when the war was going on under the leadership of Samuthiri to destroy the Portuguese fort at Chaliyam, considering the special demand of Samuthiri's mother, an all-party meeting was convened at Miskal Mosque in Kozhikode under the leadership of Qadi Abdul Aziz. The said meeting was attended by business leaders, Kamanakat Ahmad, Sufi scholar Sheikh Abdul Wafa alias Mamukoya, religious scholar Makhdum Adul Aziz, senior officer Shabandhar Koya, army chief Kunjali Marakkar and others from various fields. Besides, the leaders of Samuthiri Nair Pada also participated in the meeting called by scholars in the masjid. These histories point to a shift away from modernist texts that have narrowed down mosque and religion to a broader secular unity.

These histories are also indicators of the formation of theological positions of the Muslim minority in a secular country. But early historical lessons should be evaluated and critiqued in the context of that period.

Among the features of the sixteenth-century struggles against foreign powers in Malabar, four are particularly memorable.

1. **Continuity** : Instead of a structure that begins and ends with any one individual, it can be seen that the torch of struggle is passed from generation to generation. Ponnani-Kozhikode-Mambarm Thangals and Kunjali Marakars are examples of this.
2. **Assimilation (Acculturation)**: Embracing unique ways of life and culture on the basis of Islam, making maximum use of the possibilities of mutual unity and dealing with diversity with mutual respect. This helped broaden the secular horizon of Malabar.
3. **Synthesis**: Rather than the dichotomy of Hindu and Muslim, the different identities of the society found possibilities of synthesis against imperialism. This period presents many instances in which all the identities of the society be it king, general, scholar, Sufis, traders, farmers, masons, women were gracefully integrated. The Battle of Chaliyam in 1571 is just one example of this."

4. Philosophical Base: Whoever is leading the struggles that arose in Malabar has a strong ideological support from the scholars and leadership. It is on this basis that the fight against imperialism is Jihad, that praying for the Hindu Samuthir is obligatory, and that even writing poetry about war is seen as worship.

History needs to be able to fuel the present quest to forge a united front against usurpation and imperialism while maintaining differences of opinion and belief. The 16th-century resistance by the Marakars along the Arabian Sea coast was not merely a military operation. It was a multifaceted and touching interaction that created resonances throughout Malabar's economic, political and socio-cultural development. The most important thing is that Kerala did not remain a Portuguese colony like Goa.

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THE WELFARE SCHEMES FOR ELDER WOMEN IN TAMIL NADU

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The Government of India provided many welfare services to the affected people for the enhancement of society. Article 41, of the constitution of India provides the right to safety, protection and care to the aged. ¹Present day, social systems of family, society and the State are not geared up enough to provide social security to all elderly citizens. An increase in life expectancy on one hand and a decrease in mortality and fertility has contributed to an increase in population of 60 and above. This magnitude signifies the importance of providing social services to the elders but also physically challenged and transgender people. In India, the number of elderly care is higher in Tamil Nadu and Kerala than in any other state.²

Gender Discrimination

Gender discrimination begins before birth; females are the most commonly aborted sex in India.³ If a female fetus is not aborted, the mother's pregnancy can be a stressful experience, due to her family's preference for a son. Once born, daughters are prone to being fed less than sons, especially when there are multiple girls already in the household.⁴ Finally, a woman's health affects the household's economic well-being, as a woman in poor health will be less productive in the labour force.⁵

Welfare Policies in India

The Adoption and Maintenance Act of 1956, entrusts the aged to ask for maintenance from their children in case they do not have any means for subsistence. Section 125 of the Criminal Procedure Code 1973 makes it a natural and fundamental duty of the child to take care of older parents. An older mother who is unable to maintain herself should receive support from her children who have sufficient means. Such legislation will make it mandatory for the children to look after their aged parents or pay maintenance allowance. Such laws protect the interests of the aged parents by creating a responsibility among younger generations.⁶

The National Policy on Older persons was announced by the Indian Government in 1999 converting the fast-changing population dynamics.⁷ It envisages umbrella measures including support for financial security, health care education, shelter, welfare and protection against abuse and exploitation. They suffered a lot and longing for the care and concern. Due to rapid urbanization, breakdown of family system, growth of nuclear families and increasing longevity, the elderly and disadvantaged people are finding it difficult to sustain themselves. It has therefore become necessary that a system of social security is put in place for the elderly. The primary purpose of pension schemes is to provide social security to aged persons, widows, deserted wives and spinsters who do not have enough means of substance

Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act of 2007

In the year 2007, the Government of India passed the new act for the welfare of senior citizens named as Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act of 2007. This act provides more effective provision for maintenance and welfare of parents and senior citizens. This Act makes it a legal obligation for children and heirs to provide maintenance to senior citizens and parents, by monthly allowance. This Act also provides simple, speedy and inexpensive mechanism for the protection of life and property of the older persons. Indian Society lays high importance on providing care and protection for parents and elderly. Withering of joint family system has contributed to the challenges faced by elderly. But in the global scenario, they are forced to live alone and are exposed to various kinds of problems such as lack of physical, social, emotional and financial support. To overcome such difficulties and to face new challenges, the Government of India has enacted this law in the fifty-eighth year of republic so as to provide maintenance and protection to parents and senior citizens.

The state government formed the High Level Advisory Committee, in order to advise and supervise the effective and coordinated implementation of the Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act of 2007 in Tamilnadu. This committee consists of Chief Secretary as Chairperson, and 15 official members and 7 Non-official members. This committee monitor and supervise the works of the state and district social welfare department services related to the senior citizens.⁸

Old Age Homes Run By Non-Governmental Organisations with State Grant

In order to safeguard the life of the elders who are homeless and abandoned by their families, the State Government is providing maintenance grant for the Old Age Homes run by the Voluntary Organisations. Destitute elder persons who are in the age group of 60 years and above are benefitted in these homes. Food, shelter, clothing, health care, recreational facilities etc., are provided in these homes. State Government is providing grants to 28 Non-Governmental Organisations to run the Old Age Homes in 26 Districts. A sum of `2.00 lakh per year, per home is given as grant to maintain 40 inmates.⁹

Destitute Widows' Pension Scheme

This scheme was started in first June of 1975. Destitute widows of any age, who have not remarried are benefitted under this scheme even if they have legal heirs aged 18 years and above. An amount of Rs.400 is paid as pension under this scheme. The entire expenditure under this scheme is borne by the State Government.¹⁰ The Government of India has launched a new pension scheme on 19 February 2009 named as Indira Gandhi National Widow Pension Scheme. The Government of Tamil Nadu also implemented the scheme and the District Collectors identified the beneficiaries under the scheme and sanctioned the pension as per scheme guidelines of Government of India.

All widows between 40-64 years of age belonging to below poverty line households will be benefitted under the scheme. However, the other destitute widows who are receiving pension under the State Scheme not eligible under the National Scheme would continue to get their pension under the State Scheme. A sum of Rs.288.11 sum of Rs.300 Crore has been provided in the Budget Estimate.¹¹

Deserted Wives Pension Scheme

This scheme was started on 25 April 1986. This scheme benefits the deserted Wives and destitute women who are not less than 30 years of age and who are deserted by their husbands for a period of not less than five years or who obtained legal separation certificate from a court of law.¹² Deserted wives having legal heirs who have completed 18 years of age are also eligible for pension under this

scheme. An amount of Rs.400 is paid as pension under this scheme. The entire expenditure under this scheme is borne by the State Government. A sum of Rs.48.14 Crore has been provided in the budget estimate for the financial year 2009-2010 under this scheme.¹³

Destitute Physically Handicapped Pension Scheme

Physically handicapped destitute persons aged 45 years and above whose permanent disability is 50 percent or more are eligible for this pension.¹⁴ District Level Committees, constituted by the Government in all the districts functioning under the Chairmanship of the District Collectors and the District Medical Officers and District Social Welfare Officers as members, examine applications received from physically handicapped persons and sanction pension to them considering the individual hardship without reference to age limits prescribed by the scheme. Other conditions applicable to Old Age Pension (Normal) scheme are applicable to this scheme also. Patients suffering Leprosy are also covered by this scheme. Entire expenditure under this scheme is borne by the State Government. In the year 2007, 70,626 destitute physically handicapped persons are benefitted under this scheme.¹⁵

Destitute Agricultural Labourers Pension Scheme

This scheme was introduced in 1981 which covers the Destitute Agricultural Labourers aged 60 years and above. Beneficiaries under this scheme is applicable to Old Age Pension scheme are applicable to this scheme also.¹⁶ Entire expenditure under this scheme is borne by the State Government. There are 88,481 Destitute Agricultural Labourers are benefitted by this scheme in a single year.

Rehabilitation of the Disabled

The Government of Tamil Nadu is geared to provide an enabling environment for disabled people to achieve livelihood security, equality, full participation in community life, and more independence and self determination. The State Government has a vision to create a society where disabled and non disabled persons work together and are accepted as equal partners. This Government focuses on the prevention of disabilities and providing timely assistance to Persons with Disabilities to lead as normal a life as possible within the family and the community. This Government aims at early detection of disabilities and provision of comprehensive services in medical, vocational, economic and social spheres in order to make the disabled self-supporting citizens and integral part of the society¹⁷. It is the joint responsibility for the Government, NGOs, Entrepreneurs, Philanthropists, and the Community as a whole to work towards the welfare of the disabled.

The Department discharges certain functions for the welfare of the Disabled. The main work is to assess the nature and extent of the problem of the disabled, including the early detection and immunization against polio, measles, rubella, mumps, etc., besides free bus-pass, supply of simple aids and appliances suited to the needs of the individual in order to improve mobility and physical capacity. It further ensure that every disabled child is given free and compulsory primary education, either special education or integrated education, based on the level of disability of the individual and also to promote the integration of the handicapped students with normal students at every stage depending upon the capacity and level need of each handicapped child. This department also tries to develop the required skilled manpower by establishing Teacher Training Centres and develop a corps of competent Teachers in Educational Institutions and training Centres who have developed a deep understanding of the problems of the handicapped and to promote special supportive facilities like scholarship, free transport, supply of teaching aids, special aids and assistive devices, appointment of Resource Teachers, Hostel facility, etc., help the disabled to pursue appropriate higher education

Conclusion

Old age should be the golden age. But the lives of older women are a tale of hardship. Factors creating this are the feminine nature of ageing, society's discriminatory treatment towards female and ill treatment because of the traditional roles attached to Women in society. Such customs and conventions made life of women vulnerable. Owing to the changing lifestyle and urbanization in India have led to the total neglect of large number of elderly people.

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THE MIDDLE CLASS AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT IN MALABAR [1930-34]: A PRELIMINARY ENQUIRY

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The studies on the National Movement have come out in the last few years, but studies on Malabar are scarce. Day-to-day political activities in Malabar may be said to have begun with the civil disobedience movement. Some are about the riots of 1921 or peasant struggles, even the learning about the civil disobedience movement on the Madras presidency has been eliminated. In Malabar, many movements have arisen against British rule and they are the Malabar rebellion, Salt satyagraha, hunger strike, individual satyagraha, Quit India movement, civil disobedience movement, Kaiyur riot etc. In such revolutions the importance of the Middle class in Malabar is precious, such studies on it are very rare, this paper deals with the role played by the Middle class in the civil disobedience movement in Malabar.

The fear of the Malabar riots was in a state of complete non-existence, so some senior congress leaders thought that it would not be enough to go and participate in the protests led by C. Rajagopalachari without starting an open strike, but it was K. Kelappan who put aside the fears and came forward with the call to start the salt satyagraha in Malabar as well¹. Under his chairmanship, a decision was taken to start a salt satyagraha in the KPCC meeting near Kozhikode. On April 13, a group of thirty volunteers marched from Kozhikode to Payyannur and decided to break the salt law there. Civil disobedience movement can be said to have started in Malabar when congress volunteers broke the salt law at Payyannur on April 3rd. Fear of riots prompted congress leaders to avoid the riot areas from campaigning. This led to satyagraha generally being confined to North Malabar.

On April 13, 1930, a march started from Kozhikode to Payyannur under the leadership of Kelappan, which started the salt hunger strike in Kerala. He was accompanied by thirty satyagrahis, on 21 April they started a march, reached Payyannur carrying the spirit of Kerala's national freedom struggle. Happy to know that a group of strike fighters under the leadership of Kelappan went out to civil disobedience movement, this Gandhi's message inspired the strike members². Kelappan's fasting at the Guruvayur temple grounds created a strong response among the people of Kerala³.

During the Civil Disobedience Movement, the stances on the effects of colonial rule became most clear. The Nationalists said that India was kept as a colony for the interests of the British and the financial drain caused by this led to India's poverty. This idea was illuminated by Kuroor Nambhoothiripad in a pamphlet⁴. He highlighted the fact that India remains a market for British products. Articles published in Mathrubhumi propagated such ideas. Before the arrival of the British, India was a rich country, but due to British exploitation, India became a poor country⁵. Many of the songs sung by the volunteers in processions and public meetings were full of such ideas. Subramanian had earlier in one of his poems described the British as foreigners who had come in search of food. The fact that, the drain of wealth theory developed by Dadabhai Naoroji and other early nationalists in the second half of the 19th Century was under wide spread opposition in Malabar even in the 1930s indicates the importance of this principle. Most of the detailed studies and thought on colonialism, however, came with the advent of socialists. Nationalists saw the civil disobedience movement as a way to end British exploitation. They did not think that the British government existed only by military force.

In Kelappan's language, the British rule exists here because of the consent we gave to it. If we withdraw this consent then the British rule cannot exist here⁶. He said that earlier Indians begged for many favors, because people did not have faith in their power and that situation has changed. The nationalists did not see 'Swaraj' as a condition to be achieved only by gaining political independence and there was no place for untouchability in it. Kelappan said that there will be no swaraj as long as caste is marginalized⁷.

Satyagraha Strategies

The Guruvayur satyagraha can be seen as an attempt to integrate cultural struggles with political struggles. The place traditionally assigned to women in society was questioned during the civil disobedience movement. A.V Kuttimaluamma went to jail with a baby in her arms and many women participated in the satyagraha. The young woman who escaped to freedom in British India from a prison cell with no way home, as the main character of the short story⁸. Woman who escaped from the great hell of Marakuda, bravely entered the public arena and from the kitchen to the stage. A direct confrontation with the British government was possible only in the salt satyagraha.

As in other struggles, the congress tried to compromise rather than confrontation. Before the Kozhikode liquor shop picketing began, congress leaders invited liquor traders and asked them not to participate in the next shop auction. This request was acceptable to all who attended the meeting. The congress leaders tried to reach a similar compromise with the shop owners selling foreign cloths. Some traders requested to be allowed to sell foreign cloths as they stocked them for Diwali and after selling the stock, they all took a pledge to stop selling foreign cloths and only the shops of those who did not take such pledge were picketed. Many who gave in to the pressure and signed the pledge later violated it, first behind the secret shop and later in front of the shop. When the congress came to know about this, the picketing was restarted and the liquor shop owners took other strategies. Many people shifted the sale of alcohol to their own homes and some delivered alcohol to the homes of alcoholics. The bottom line is that there were changes in sales in pressure increased and decreased. A.K Pillai has recorded that to a peculiarity of the congress strike strategy was that the leaders tried to carry forward the strike based on the reaction from the government⁹.

K. Madhava Menon has written that he felt tired because there were no arrests and if there were any arrests, they would have won. Mathrubhumi reported that the salt satyagraha in Kozhikode was stopped. Because the government did nothing against it, even enough to stop the government passive satyagraha¹⁰.

Achievements of Civil Disobedience Movement

Breaking of salt laws, toddy shop picketing etc, was not sufficiently vigorous or wide spread to produce a significant reduction in the British tax revenue. Satyagraha and picketing did not lead to disruption of law and order and outbreak of violence. It is memorable here, that it was said that the consent of the people was necessary for the existence of any rule and it was because of this consent that the British rule continued in India and if it was withdrawn, Britain would not be able to rule India. Moyyathasankaran is recorded that with the spread of swadeshi, people began to criticize the British rule in a taboo way¹¹. Officials reported with concern that British officers were no longer receiving the honor and respect they once enjoyed at home and that public sentiment was rising in the government in general.

A Bureaucratic class cannot stand by as opinion grows stronger against the government. Those who sneer at civil disobedience as nothing gained are blind to the losses the movement inflicted on British rule.

Campaign Strategies

Nationalists expressed their protest through speeches and newspaper columns against police brutality and brutality against unarmed and innocent people, the subject of special mention being the lathi charge at Kozhikode beach. Police brutality played a major role in bringing people like K.Madhavannair, who had not actively participated in the civil disobedience movement in its early stages, to whom arrests, lathi charges and other forms of violence were enough to provoke outrage. The ongoing treatment of women satyagrahas has come under, particular criticism for the action of the Thalassery Magistrate, who bought Kamala Baiprabhu with her mangalya sutra along with other ornaments, in order to collect her compensation from the court after she was arrested for participating in the strike, leading to widespread protests. It can be assumed that this created a movement even among those who had no direct connection with the congress or the national movement ¹².

Propaganda through the action played a significant role in spreading anti-imperialist sentiment. Satyagraha always attracted a crowd and used it to win over their sympathies. Satyagraha also helped to undermine the legitimacy of the British government. An incident occurred on the shores of Kozhikode where the crowd did not just watch as spectators. The sub divisional magistrate voluntarily went to the beach and knocked over the pans brought by the satyagrahas to reduce the salt and made an attempt to remove the tricolor flag planted on the beach. This was an event that brightened up those who saw it. They surrounded him and knocked off his hat and threw sand on him. Although the congress leadership did not approve of such deviations from the non-violent method, this incident indicates the uniqueness of the campaign strategy of action. There may be a spread of the struggle and following the instructions of the spectators. The decision to take the salt cut short during the satyagraha to Kozhikode market and sell it was not taken voluntarily by the satyagraha, but it was following the suggestion of one of the spectators ¹³.

Picketing can be seen as one of the most important means of promotion and foreign clothing stalls and toddy shops are mainly picketed. Picketing of shops selling foreign clothes was mainly staged in Kannur and Kozhikode. Joul traders did not take native pledge, Kannur and Palakkat started picketing in July 1930, when foreign clothes became widespread and with this the picketing spread to places like Thalassery, Koothuparambu, Vadakara, Pattambi, Ottapalam. In some places picketing started, shop owners were ready to take the pledge and stopped because according to congress report of April 1931, 300 volunteers, 35 shops, selling foreign clothes picketing figures done was changing. While foreign garment smuggling enterprises are most active in the cities, the toddy shops have spread to the hinterlands as well. British officials described Malabar as the best picketing district in the Madras Presidency¹⁴.

A different type of propaganda was tried during the second civil disobedience movement, which can be described as propaganda by strike agitation. The unique nature of such a strategy is that different forms of struggle have been staged.

KadakamVanasatyagraha is a different struggle, vanasatyagraha can be considered to have started in May 1932, when volunteers marched from Kannur to the kadakam in a jatha and cut down trees. Just like the salt satyagraha, the forest satyagraha was a direct strike in violation of government law.

Court satyagraha is another protest campaign in which volunteers enter the court while it is in session, shout slogans, distribute leaflets, speak to boycott the British courts and this was mainly tried in Kozhikode ¹⁵. Hoisting of national flag in government offices was another protest campaign. In

Kozhikode collectorate, MSP Maidan and munsiff court, all where the national flags were hoisted. This was also happened in Thalassery.

The Train campaign was another innovative movement which consisted of stopping the train, shouting slogans, distributing leaflets and giving speeches. In Kozhikode and Kannur, film promotion was staged and the method of protest was distribution of leaflets during the interval of the film screening ¹⁶.

The congress postal service was a struggle to forcefully capture a service under government responsibility. Violation of the prohibition order and as part of the campaign, this strategy of struggle was staged as a march or a public meeting or both. From January to August 1932, Kozhikode was a regular violation of the prohibition order. In places like Palakkad, Koyilandi, Thalassery, Nadapuram, Kannur, there was a prohibition order article. Kannur and Kozhikode, this struggle continued till November 1933.

District Magistrate Makivan Kozhikode also enforced prohibitory order in the area. All the important centers like Kozhikode, Payyannur, Kannur, Nileswaram, Thrissur, were observed hartal. Then the prohibition order was implemented in the taluks starting from Ernad and Valluvanad. Public meetings and processions were held in violation of the ban ¹⁷.

T.K.Madhavan visited Mitavadhi newspaper editor C.Krishnan, Pandit K.P.Karuppan, N.Kumaran, C.V Kunjuraman, Sathyavarthaswamikal, M.N.Nair, Mamatha Padmanabhan and had a long discussion about the problem of vaikom and the struggle to be carried out in future ¹⁸. It was with the birth of Mathrubhumi newspaper that the campaigns of the national freedom movement got a boost. On March 18, 1923 mathrubhumi newspaper was published under the leadership of K.P Kesavamenon, K.Madhavan Nair, K.Madhavamenon, K.Madhavan Nair, K. Mahavamenon, K.Kelappan, P.Ramunminenon, T.R.Krishna swami Iyer, P.Achuthan, T.P Chathukuttynairetc, worked tirelessly for the birth of mathrubhumi ¹⁹.

The practice of meeting in secret passing resolutions, marching and marching out was adopted in many other places and the 4th of every month was celebrated as Gandhi Day, 24th – Swaraj Day, 26th–Jawahar Day, 29th –Border Day, and the last Sunday as Flag Day. Such extensive campaigns and agitations did not achieve a broad social base in the congress and the civil disobedience movement left out certain sections and thus included the majority of Muslims. Civil disobedience movement was opposed by many members of the rich section of the Thiyya community, educated, government officials, lawyers, pensioners and most of the opposition came from among them.

Some of the Thiyya community who were in close contact with the British, Butlers etc. were very anglicized. They naturally took a pro- British stance and their anti- congress propaganda through moderate style media created an impression that the members of the entire Thiyya community were against nationalism. Another reason why most of them did not participate in the movement, at the beginning of the movement was that in North Malabar they were unprepared, small farmers, tenants and laborers and the congress did not have a program to organize them. However, the congress itself reported 45% of the volunteers who went to jail were thiyyas and many of whom joined the movement with nationalist ideology ²⁰. Farmers and laborers were two other groups who did not participate significantly in the civil disobedience movement and the congress did not have any programs to specifically organize them

Due to insufficient funds, the congress had to depend on well to do families for food etc. for the volunteers, but this is a fact that points to the middle class nature of the movement. The civil disobedience movement was caste based which does not mean that the lower middle class did not participate in the movement, but there were the majority who went to jail. Old generation congress leaders like K. Madhavannair, Gopalamenon, Kongattil Raman Menon, RaghavaMenon, Krishnaswamier were also A

class prisoners. EMS Namboothiripad and Potheri Madhavan were class A, A .K.Gopalan, C.K.Govindan Nair, ManjunathaRao, and T.S Subramanyanthirumumbu were class B, of the 12 volunteers, who were arrested and sentenced till 2nd February 1932, five were class A, three were class B and the rest were class C prisoners ²¹. Along with violating the salt rules, the congress workers picketed the toddy shop in Payyannur and police raided the satyagraha camp and used the lathi- charge. The leaders of the camp, including MoyyarathSankaran were arrested and imprisoned ²². There were continuous struggles against the British in Malabar, such as the Malabar rebellion, salt satyagraha, hunger strike, individual satyagraha, Quite India Movement, Kayyur riot etc., more than 10,000 political prisoners were donated to many jails in India during many struggles.

But it has to be taken in to account that the congress leaders came from ordinary families and they did not make such effort to mobilize the lower sections of the society. The congress was able to regroup under Gandhi, when the first civil dis obedience movement was temporarily suspended, but the congress organization was fragmented by the severe repression that followed the second civil disobedience movement. Secondly, the movement was mostly confined to the cities and towns and the congress program had the greatest chance of spreading to the villages for liquor shops, but the congress did not have enough volunteers to picket all the shops in the village ²³. Nationalist movement re-emerged in Malabar with the civil disobedience movement which spread the ideology of nationalism in a strong manner.

After 1934 many changes took place in Malabar, one of the most important of which was the strengthening of the farmer's labor organizations. With this, the congress evolved into a mass based anti-imperialist organization. Those who spearheaded this change were those who entered the national movement with a breach of civil dis obedience movement. One of the main reasons why the nationalist movement did not gain strength in Malabar was the failure of the early congress leaders in the district to attract Muslims to the nationalist movement ²⁴.

Conclusion

An inquiry into the role of Middle class in the civil dis obedience movement in Malabar reveals that there has been a significant role in the political history of Malabar, particularly the contributions of Middle class professional like K.Kelappan. It was the Civil Dis Obedience Movement that gave rise to the political activities in Malabar. Gandhi mentions the role of Kelappan in Civil Dis Obedience Movement in Malabar. Mathrubhumi newspaper campaign created an opportunity to propagate the Nationalism in Malabar. AV KuttyMaluAmmu and MoyyarathSankaran played a major role in paving the way for the growth of Swadheshi movement in Malabar. A bureaucratic class cannot stand by as opinion grows stronger against the government. They used different types of campaign strategies like lathi charge, satyagraha through the sympathies, picketing, court satyagraha, hartals and public meetings, different types of propagandas included propaganda by strike agitation, Kadakamvanasatyagraha was a direct strike in violation of government law. A distinctive feature of the civil disobedience movement was its emphasis on the middle class, individuals like K.Kelappan, K.MadhavaMenon, Moyyarathsankaran, A.V Kuttymaluamma, T.K Madhavan, Mithavathi.C Krishnan, PanditK.P.Karuppan, N.Kumaran, C.V Kunjuraman, M.N.Nair, K.P.KesavaMenon, P.RamunniMenon, T.R Krishna Swami Iyer, P.Achuthan, T.P Chathukutty Nair etc. Some individuals included in the Thiyya community against the nationalism.

Farmers and laborers were did not participate significantly in the civil dis obedience movement and the congress did not have any programs to specifically organize them. Due to insufficient funds, the congress had to depend on well to do families for food etc., for the volunteers, but this is a fact that points to the

Middle class nature of the movement. The civil disobedience movement was caste based which does not mean that the lower middle class did not participate in the movement. Thus, the greatest contribution of the movement was that it laid the foundation for future political activities.

End Notes

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MAKING OF THE ROWTHER EMPIRE: 'U-TURNS' IN TIMBER TRADE AND FOREST POLITICS OF THE TRAVANCORE STATE

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Introduction

Travancore state had maintained very close relations with private timber contractors in the early 19th century owing to reasons- political, economic and ecological. Amazing was the extent to which these contractors enjoyed royal patronage. This is revealed through several letters and other correspondences between them and the state authorities. Fixation of agreements relating to timber extraction and trade was determined within this context of the rapport that these traders enjoyed with the native rulers. Construction of roads and other openings in the regions in and around Kumili, Peermade and adjoining areas was facilitated by the timber contractors. Opening up these inaccessible areas was highly essential for the traders in maximising their extraction of commercially valuable timber like teak and ebony. Angoor Nynar Rowther and his timber trade operations in the area stand out as unique episodes to uncover the levels of influence a timber contractor enjoyed in deciding timber trade contracts and to a greater extent, even the forest policy of the native state.

Timber trade in Travancore had a long chequered history. Though the native state carried on timber trade from a very early period, we have clear evidence of brisk timber trade only from 18thc onwards. The luxurious timber wealth of the princely state was mainly exploited for shipbuilding, railway expansion, making tea chests, and other domestic purposes. The main species of timber exported from Travancore were Teak, Blackwood, Anjily, Ebony and various kinds of jungle woods and softwoods. These timbers were mainly worked from the forests of Konni, Ranni, Shendurney, High Ranges, Malayattur, Shencotta etc. The main channel of export of timber in the state, which has a splendid water resource, was of course rivers themselves.

Rowthers were an influential Muslim family who settled in Travancore and carried on trade in different forest products. They hailed from Rajapalayam in Tamil Nadu¹. The earliest known member of this family was Meeravoo Rowther, father of Angoor Nynar Rowther. As early as 1036 M E (1861) he carried on trade in Aracanuts and pepper through Kumili and Peermade to settle himself with his family in Travancore. He also induced others to follow him and to settle themselves in those parts after clearing the jungles by rendering them all help in more than one way². Meeravoo Rowther had four children. They were C A Mohammed Nynar Rowther, C A Asanuk Khani Rowther, C A Angoor Nynar Rowther, and Anumanthamkudi C A Meera Rowther. Among them, the two younger brothers had actively carried on the timber business in Travancore³.

Angoor Nynar Rowther

Angoor Nynar Rowther was an influential timber contractor of Travancore who undertook the business in the middle of the 19th century. It is said that most of the lands in Kumili and Peermade belonged to him, which was handed over to him by the Raja of Travancore as a reward for his services. The Raja

also granted Pattas for these lands. This is evident from the fact that most of the lands in these places have two pattas. One in the name of Angoor Rowther (Angoor Pattayam) and the other in the name of persons who got the land during the Land Reform Act introduced in 1971⁴. The issue of 'Pattas' evidently points to the influence of Rowther in Travancore state. Angoor Pattas are living data in providing evidence to the great extent that he decided the forest policy of the native state, which in turn put him in a comfortable situation wherein he extracted timber resources as if his legal custodian.

According to the heirs of Angoor Rowther, the Maharaja of Travancore had granted him 2500 acres of land for Cardamom cultivation and in their view the first organised cardamom cultivation was started in 1880's by him⁵. According to the survey plan of the central vernacular department, Trivandrum it was found that the land was assigned to Angoor Rowther between 1060 and 1087 M E and he was given pattas for the same land⁶.

Even in issues like boundary disputes between the British and the Travancore state over the High Ranges, Rowthers played a crucial role in resolving them in favour of Travancore by producing critically relevant documents. The boundary dispute between the British government and Travancore regarding the inclusion of the High Ranges with the Kodaikanal hills was settled in favour of Travancore in 1845 because of the evidence produced by him and his family⁷. This proved to be an important evidence for legitimizing the claim of the native state. Thus he and his family acted as the revolving axis which connected the trade between North Travancore and the British territories of Madura and Tinnevely⁸.

He was a taxpayer to the British government to the extent of Rs.1100/- yearly and Rs.600/- to the Travancore government⁹. With the opening of roads at Peermade in about 1050 M E (1875) he had taken the contract of supplying cardamoms from the hills to the Alleppy Commercial department. Cardamom was also exported to London through Cochin¹⁰. As soon as the construction of public offices and buildings began he opened shops to supply daily necessities to the people including the coolies. He also brought large number of cows from Madurai to provide milk and meat. When he found that the government gained no profit from the jungle trees he put forward the idea to the then conservator of forest Mr.C.R Vernede to allow him to cut the timbers on the hills at his cost, and sell the same to himself on payment of the premium fixed by them. On the suggestion of the conservator, the government approved the contract. Two depots were opened for the purpose. By this the government began to realize a fair revenue of 10lakhs of Rupees per annum without incurring any expense¹¹. Since then he has been serving the Forest Department and the government in different ways besides being a mere contractor. He carried his business in the high range division, especially of the Ayyappancoil forest. He was a reliable contractor of the department and fulfilled the terms of his contracts to the full satisfaction of the department even during the period of Mr Vernede and that of Mr Bourdillion¹². This is clearer from the letter of the Supt: of the Cardamom Hills to the Chief Secretary to Government, Travancore, which reads as follows: "Angoor Nynar Rowther has been holding the timber contract at Kumili for the last 21 years both when the forest branch of this department was under the conservator and since. He has considerably explored the country and worked honestly and satisfactorily¹³". It is said that he had been instrumental in colonising the Peermade district and the present prosperity of the district can be owed to him¹⁴.

He played an important role in the development of Peermade and Kumili. Besides opening the cart roads he was responsible for opening the Kumili- Kottayam Road, Cumbam- Cumbam mettu road upto Kattappana etc mainly for the transportation of timber¹⁵. Apart from this, it is said that he had played an important role in the construction of Mullaperiyar Dam in 1884. When the government decided to put an end to the construction of the dam owing to certain financial problems it was Angoor Rowther

who organised a group of peasants in the Periyar region and moved a petition to the Madura collector for completing the dam work. Though the dam project was initially started as a work for Madura he was well aware of its benefits to the natives and it was due to his efforts that the construction of the dam was restarted¹⁶.

He possessed lands in different parts of Travancore like Kottayam, Changanasserry, Kanjirappally, Peermade, Kumili, Chakkuvallam, Vandanmedu, Pampadumpara, Mlappara etc. In Kumili alone he possessed 510 acres of land¹⁷. He had established guest houses in Trivandrum, Peermade, and Kottayam for carrying his timber business. In Cumbam alone he used to store timber in four places. The place where timber was stored was known as 'Petta'¹⁸. From the forests the timber was brought to Kumili in Pothuvandies (The cart drawn by buffalo). According to Haji A M Sultan about 10-15 Pothuvandies came at a time to Kumili¹⁹. He worked the forests of Ayyappancoil, Cheruthuruthy, Upputhurai, Kakkathodu, Peermade etc²⁰. It is said that he had donated 15 cents of land equally to a temple, a church and a mosque in Kumili town. Donation of lands can be seen as a strategy in winning over those influential religious segments in Travancore state and effectively carrying forward timber trade without challenges from any groups. A village in the name of Angoor Rowther exists even today in Goodalloor known as 'Angoor Village'²¹.

Angoor Nynar Rowther had submitted a petition to the government to grant him and his family 101 acres of land free of tax on Kudumba Poruthi tenure in the cardamom hills as a token of His highness appreciation of the loyal services rendered to the state by the petitioner and his father²². The Sarvadikaryakar had written to the government that it was not a usual practice to give the land free of tax as requested by the petitioner. He added that 101 acres of waste land could be given to him, taxed at the rate of 8 chukrams per acre²³. But the petitioner pointed out that His Highness the Aiyilliam Maharaja was pleased to grant 500 acres of land to Mr. Maltby the late commercial agent at Alleppey in consideration of his services rendered to the state by his father. His Highness the Raja had sanctioned 101 acres as applied by him. The letter from the Chief Secretary reveals this. "As a token, His Highness the Maharaja on appreciation of the loyal services rendered to the state by Mr. Angoor Rowther of Kumili on several occasions, His Highness had been pleased to sanction a gold bangle being awarded to him and the grant of 101 acres of land"²⁴.

Mr Rowther had developed a strong rapport with the government of Travancore which was evident from the testimonials provided to him by different personalities, especially the government guests like important officers of the state, the governors of Madras and several European and native officers from other parts who visited the high ranges. One of the testimonies given by Sankarasobiyyer, retired Dewan of Travancore on 1st February 1904 reads thus,

...I have known for several years how he has been making himself useful to the Travancore government in matter of providing supplies and coolies in connection with the visits of Governors and other distinguished personages to the Peermade Hills. During my Dewanship when Lord Wenlock visited those hills as the guest of His Highness the Maharaja, this Rowther was employed to arrange the needful and he gave full satisfaction to the whole party. Last year during my journey to the high range he accommodated me at Vandy Periyar and Kumili and commands considerable local influence and resources, which he uses in a commendable way...²⁵

Another testimonial given by O H Benseley, Superintendent of Police on 21st January 1904 was as follows:

On three occasions upon which I have been entrusted with arranging shooting expeditions for governors of Madras, Mr Angoor Rowther has done all the work providing coolies and supplies and has done the business in a thoroughly satisfactory way. Also on several occasions when I have had to make similar arrangements for myself and friends he has undertaken the arrangements with equal success. His Excellency Lord Ampthill was pleased to mark his appreciation of Mr. Angoor Rowther's services by bestowing upon him a handsome souvenir²⁶.

It seems that Rowther was making frequent arrangements for the visits of governors of Madras to shooting camps in Travancore which could be again seen from the words of O H Benseley which goes as follows:

This is, I think the fourth time you have assisted me in making arrangements for visits of governors of Madras to shooting camps in Travancore. The immense difficulties of providing coolies, supplies for both guests and camp followers and transport, have on all these occasions been overcome by you without a hitch, and I have always found you ready and able to cope with every emergency as it arose. In thanking you for your good work²⁷.

Rowther was sent gifts by the governors of Madras for the valuable services provided by him during their visits to the hills. This is evident from the letter sent by Benseley on 19th March 1907, Trivandrum. The matter of the letter was as follows:

I am sending by registered post a Gold and Enamelled Charm which has been sent to me to be presented to you from His Excellency the Governor of Madras, as a souvenir of his visit to the Periyar. Please acknowledge receipt²⁸.

The testimonial given by H A B Vernan, Secretary, Board of Revenue, Madras was as follows:

I have been on a shooting trip for the last six weeks and during that time C A Angoor Nynar Rowther of Kumili looked after my supplies, most satisfactorily. He is not only a good supplier but also exceedingly friendly and obliging and I have much pleasure in giving him this Testimonial. ²⁹

Roscoe Allan, Executive Engineer on Rowther,

"Angoor Rowther Sahib of Kumili has taken under me one or two large contracts since I came here such as supplying firewood for the tunnel and timber for the works. He has done almost exceedingly well and always given satisfaction. I always consider myself very fortunate in securing his services as he is a man of vast influence in Travancore and his position sufficiently attests his business capabilities³⁰

These testimonials reveal the vast resources and command which he enjoyed in the hill stations, and how he managed his relationship with the people of high office for getting concessions in the extraction of sylvan resources in the area. It seems that Rowther was running a parallel administration in the hills, like an uncrowned king.

As a contractor of the Kumili depot he had opened several forest roads leading to Kumili depot, which made the high range forest accessible to carts³¹. Between 1901 and 1903 A D he had opened a new cart road from Kumili to Chengra and to Ayyappancoil, a distance of 25 miles, at the cost of Rs 12,000. This made the Kumili depot attractive now to bidders in auction³². Hence, the Travancore government had given great consideration in all the dealings with him and his family. In all the business he had actively engaged his brother C.A. Meera Rowther and both carried the business together till the death of Angoor Rowther. The government and the Forest department were actively engaging them by providing all facilities for the exploitation of the forest in the high range division.

One of the agreements entered into with Mr Angoor Rowther was for the collection and delivery of Teak, Blackwood and other jungle wood from the forest of the Thodupuzha range, Kottayam division. The contract was given for an approximate amount of Rs 38,000.³³

An agreement was entered into with Mr. Angoor Rowther, for the collection and removal of teak timber on payment of mel-labhom³⁴ for three years from 1088³⁵. Even after the execution of the agreement it was evident that the government and the forest department were very eager to make changes in the agreement on demand of the contractor. Here in the above agreement Rowther made a demand on the change of the size of various timber parts which depends upon the local demand that regulate the business and profit of the contractor.³⁶

Another example was the request made by the conservator of forest Rao Sahib M Rama Rao Garu to the government to approve the arrangements involving a deviation from the terms of the contract entered into with Mr. Angoor Rowther. Here the original agreement was for the delivery and purchase of 96,000 c.ft a year among which he had to supply and purchase the timber in proportion of 75% of Teak and Blackwood and 25% of jungle wood. But later the contractor had given a petition to the conservator requesting the conservator to allow him to supply and purchase of Teak and Blackwood instead of 25% jungle wood as per the agreement. The reason he stated for the above was that the collection of jungle wood would be a loss to him due to the following reasons³⁷:

- 1) There was a wide distance between the felling area and the consumption centre.
- 2) Lack of transport facility
- 3) Low price for jungle wood due to competition from Messer's Aspinwall and co.

Therefore the conservator begs to the government that Mr. Rowther was one of the most energetic of their contractors and he had not been known to shirk a work he had undertaken to perform, so that the approval for the above changes should be considered positively. He also stated that

There are now lying in the forests about Ayyappancoil large quantities of Teak cut in previous years which are getting deteriorated by exposure and is liable to be destroyed by fire. As it is more advantageous to government to work down this timber to the depot than felling green jungle wood, I have ordered the Divisional Forest Officer to allow the contractor to work down these old teak timbers to the depot in lieu of the jungle wood³⁸³⁹.

The total quantity of jungle wood timber he had to work down during the two years according to the original agreement was 16000 c.ft against which he had delivered only 4515c.ft in 1085. For the year 1086 1000 c.ft of jungle wood trees were marked for felling which will give a total of 5515 c.ft of timber leaving a deficit of 10485c.ft for the 2 years. The conservator further state that if the old teak referred to above does not make up this deficiency the contractor would be allowed to fell fresh teak and Blackwood, though he pointed that cutting of valuable trees alone from a mixed forest is not desirable from a silvicultural point of view⁴⁰.

Such favours could be seen in changing even the methods of extraction. During the time of Kadir Sheik Meera Rowther and his partner they had complained that coupe sale system proved to be a great loss to them while working in the High Ranges. On the petition from him, the government cancelled the coupe sale system and sanctioned the working on the previous Mel-labhom system. The contract was for three years and they were allowed to remove 25,000 c.ft of timber every year paying a Mel-labhom at annas 9 and pies 6 per c.ft for teak and Blackwood sawn and Annas 3 and pies 9 for teak and Blackwood axed and Re 1 and anna 1 per dozen of teak felloes⁴¹.

When Angoor Rowther complained about the hardship and heavy cost due to the levy of toll at Kumili frontier, the conservator had made a recommendation to the government for some concessions as a result of which the government allowed a deduction in the Mel-labhom due by the contractor, to the extent of toll paid by him⁴². But later during the time of his brother Mr. C. A. Meera Rowther the conservator requested the sanction for concession to the inhabitants of Kumili in the matter of payment of tolls, which was purely aimed at mitigating the sufferings of the contractors⁴³. This can be understood from the words of the chief engineer, Kumili in response to the letter from government who enquired him about the need of the concession. He stated that Kumili was a small village with everything contained within the two gates and the residents of the village other than the timber contractors had no business or public avocation to conduct outside the gates. Timber contractors were the only men who suffer any hardship. The best way out of the difficulty was that the conservator of forest should give rebates to the contractors to whom it pressed hard⁴⁴. If we analyse all the correspondence between the government and the forest department it is clear that conservators often make recommendations on behalf of the contractors to get sanction from the government on matters which make conditions favourable and profitable to the contractors.

In between the correspondence of the Forest department with the government regarding the issue, Angoor Rowther died on 27th May 1913⁴⁵ even before the first sanction for the reduction in the Mel-labhom came. So another letter was sent to the government by the conservator to sanction the amount of Rs. 220 being reduced from the Mel-labhom of the late contractor's legal heir Mr Anumanthamkudi Meera Rowther⁴⁶. Another example of the breach of agreement was that one document spoke of the contractor cutting more quantities than those prescribed in the agreement. As per the agreement the contractor could remove a minimum of 40,000 c.ft of timber and a maximum of 50,000 c.ft⁴⁷. Contrary to the agreement the contractor and his agents had removed 56,108.396 cft of timber for which no action was seen to have taken in the records against the late contractor's brother, who had later taken over the contract of Angoor Rowther⁴⁸.

Hanumanthakudi Meera Rowther

On 7th Kanny 1089 M E (23rd September 1913) a contract was entered into between Anumanthamkudi Meera Rowther and the conservator of forest on behalf of the Travancore government. According to the agreement the contractor could collect from the Nagarampara and cardamom hills reserves in the high range division, 40,000 c.ft of teak axed and 50,000 c.ft of teak sawn annually for two years on payment of Mel-labhom rate at 7 annas 7 pies per c.ft for axed logs and 8 annas per c.ft for sawn materials⁴⁹.

Suggestion to change the Mel-labhom to coupe sale

This (1914, 1915) was the period of the First World War. During this period the conservator frequently wrote to the government for making changes in the existing timber trading system. A keen analysis shows that during this period there was a great demand for timber and the Forest department was very eager to get outside contracts and increase maximum profit. One suggestion from the part of the conservator was to change the existing Mel-labhom system of timber sales. He stated that this system was an antiquated and wasteful one. This should be withdrawn and introduce a more modern and popular system of selling tree-stands in coupe⁵⁰. A letter from divisional forest officer showed the limitations of the system. The letter reads:

I went and inspected his felling area as also the materials collected by him. The timber is felled from a place 6 miles from Ayyappancoil and 25 miles from Kumili. The forest here is very rich and abounds in

teak, Blackwood, Venteak, Irul and other species. But at present teak alone is felled by the contractor as there is no demand for any other species in the British market. Even in the case of teak, as the contractor has only to pay the Mel-labhom at the depot, only the best portion of a tree is converted and taken to the depot. The top ends and other smaller or slightly unsound portions being in most case rejected.⁵¹

The contractor enjoys the monopoly of collection and purchase of timber under the Mel-labhom system. Under this system he had to pay only fixed rates of royalty to government on the timbers actually removed through the depot, either in logs or in materials⁵². The financial aspect of this system was not advantageous to the government. So its continuance could not be justified even on consideration of income or profit⁵³.

Coupe sale system

Under the coupe sale system, also called the Lump sum sale system, the contractors had to pay for the whole of the marked trees in a coupe. As the purchaser pay for the whole of the marked timber it was his interest and look out to attempt the maximum utility of the purchased timber⁵⁴. In the words of the conservator “to secure fair competition and give petty contractors and small capitalists, a chance of purchase, the coupe may be had in one or two small lots, and sold away”⁵⁵. Until this time, the period of contract was for 2 or 3 years. But now the conservator raised the objection for selling the coupe contracts for several years in advance. He states that “the whole world is in demand of timber and timber value is day by day increasing and if we bind ourselves at a fixed rate for so many years the government may be losing heavily”⁵⁶. From analysing the documents, one can understand that other contractors were also coming into the business against which Meera Rowther had sent a long petition to the government along with a testimony of Angoor Rowther. In the petition he stated the services rendered by him and his family, especially his brother Angoor Rowther, to the government of Travancore⁵⁷.

In 1918 the Maharaja had sanctioned an agreement with Anumanthamkudi Meera Rowther for the purchase of 701 marked trees from a compact block opposite Thattathicooty in the Ayyappancoil forest for a lump sum of British Rs 32,000⁵⁸. In the same year another contract was sanctioned by the government regarding the sale of marked teak trees in the Ayyappancoil forest and at Perinjerkutty in the Vandanmedu range of the High range division to Anumanthamkudi Meera Rowther and Messer's Kadir Sheik Meera Rowther and Kala Rowther respectively for lump sum offers.⁵⁹ In 1915 His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore granted a contract for the purchase of 800 teak trees in a coupe in Ayyappancoil forest in the high range division to Meera Rowther at the rate of 15 annas and 9 pies per c.ft⁶⁰.

Conclusion

The paper explains how Angoor was able to establish his timber trade hegemony in the regions of Peermade and Kumili. It may be their involvement in the boundary dispute of Travancore that made the Raja of Travancore ‘at their will’. From there on wards we can see the Raja of Travancore freely donating lands to the Rowthers which reached amazing proportions during the times of Angoor Rowther. How he maintained his relation with the government is evident from the testimonials provided to him by Governors of Madras and other officers and guests of the Travancore government. Rowther was making inroads in to the personal and private spaces of the powerful elites, native and foreign in building a rapport that was solid and unquestionable. It was through these relationships that he tried to penetrate into important government policies regarding timber extraction and thereby getting these policies manipulated according to his whims and fancies.

It is crucial in placing the activities of Rowther against the broad contextual background of global trade in timber which was controlled by British administrative networks, western scientific notions and principles designed and conceived for catering demands from the colonial industry in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the opening decades of the twentieth century. The period when Rowther was operating his timber trade in Travancore coincides with the relentless search for timber in the colonies by the British. Travancore, the native state which was having a vast reserve of sylvan resources was very much revealed through the gaze of the colonial authorities and a system which was to serve the imperial interests was put in order there. Regulations were enacted by the native raja in the forest administration in tandem with the policies of the Empire. As we are aware, these regulations resulted in the consolidation of the authority of the state over forests and caused severe forest destruction purportedly aiming at progress. The whole Indian scenario was obviously moving in the direction of commercialisation of forest resources under the pretext of conservation. Angoor was able to tap this structural opportunity and turned the timber trade of the region as a personal domain with unconditional patronage from the raja.

Progress in the hills was cited as a reason by Rowther for getting more and more concessions in timber trade from the native state and these claims when certified by letters and other correspondence of the forest department won for him free and uncontrolled access to these pristine lands and complete sway over the extraction of valuable timber in the area. This idea of progress comes into the same line with claims of the British, who were also of the view that clearing of forests for plantations and other timber extractive activities were a sign of 'progress'. Maharaja of Travancore certainly was impressed with such claims, thereby facilitating brisk timber trade in the native state through contractors like the Rowthers in the Kumili- Peermade regions. What was emerging beneath these developments in the hills of Travancore was the Rowther Empire of timber trade.

End Notes

1. Personal testimony with Haji A M Sultan, Kandathil Veedu, Kumili. Interview conducted on 09/07/2016
2. Humble petition of Angoor Nynar Rowther, Periyar Bungalow Kumili, to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore..State Archives ,Trivandrum. Here after SAT
3. Personal testimony, with Haji A M Sultan, op.cit.
4. Ibid.
5. Personal testimony with Mushtaq Ahmed, grandson of C. A. Meera Rowther. Interview conducted on 9/07/2016.
6. Personal testimony with Haji A M Sultan, op.cit.
7. They have shown the evidence that the cardamom in the high range were collected and handed over to the government of Travancore for the kudivila. This served as important evidence in the determination of the dispute in favour of Travancore.
8. Petition from C A Meera Rowther, op.cit.
9. Ibid.
10. Personal testimony with Mushtaq Ahmed, op.cit.
11. Ibid.
12. Petition from Angoor Nynar Rowther, timber depot contractor ,Kumili, to the Maharaja. SAT

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13. Letter from the Supt: of the Cardamom Hills , to the Chief Secretary to Government, Travancore .letter No.734 dtd 21st July 1908. SAT
 14. Petition from C A Meera Rowther to the Maharaja. SAT
 15. Personal testimony with P H M Salim, Retired DFO, Rose Dale Kumili. Interview conducted on 9/07/2016.
 16. Personal testimony with Mushtaq Ahmed, op.cit.
 17. Personal testimony with Haji A M Sultan, op.cit.
 18. Personal testimony with Mushtaq Ahmed, op.cit.
 19. Haji A M Sultan op.cit.
 20. Personal testimony with P H M Salim, op.cit.
 21. Personal testimony with Jaffar Khan. Interview conducted on 9/07/2016
 22. Petition of C A Angoor Nynar Rowther, op.cit.
 23. Letter from Ayyappan Pillai the Sarvadikaryakar, to the government No.6457/1907. SAT
 24. Letter from the Chief Secretary to the government, to the superintendent and Magistrate of Cardamom hills No.6559,dated 28/10/1907. SAT
 25. Testimonials on C A Angoor Nynar Rowther, Cumbam &Kumili,1911,Sri Sarathambal press Madura. SAT
 26. Ibid.
 27. Ibid.
 28. Ibid.
 29. Ibid.
 30. Ibid.
 31. Petition of C A Angoor Nynar Rowther, op.cit.
 32. Ibid.
 33. Letter from the conservator, to the chief secretary to government No:882,dtd 22/11/1904. SAT
 34. Mel-labhom is calculated as the tariff value minus the kole-vila due to the contractor.
 35. Conservators letter to chief secretary to government, Trivandrum No:2292/89 dtd 10-06-14. SAT
 36. Ibid.
 37. Letter from the conservator of forests, Rao Sahib M Rama Rao Garu, to the Chief Secretary to Government Trivandrum. Letter No.5806/1086 dtd 29 may 1911. SAT
 38. Ibid.
 39. Ibid.
 40. Conservators letter, Development file No:272/23 B No:23..SAT
 41. Conservators letter,op.cit.,No:2292/89
 42. Conservators letter to the chief secretary to government Trivandrum No:1327of 1090 dtd 4-6-1915. SAT
 43. Letter from the chief engineer, Kumili to the chief secretary to government No:879 dtd 15-5-1915, SAT
 44. Conservators letter,op.cit.,No:2292/89
 45. Conservators letter to chief secretary No:5349 of 1089 dtd 10-06-14.SAT

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46. Conservators letter,op.cit.,No:2292/89
 47. Ibid.
 48. Agreement between Meera Rowther and the conservator of forest, Travancore. SAT
 49. Letter from the conservator,to the chief secretary to government, Trivandrum NO:3334 of 1090 dtd 4-10-1915.SAT
 50. Letter from the DFO,High Range Division,to the conservator No:5137 of 1090. SAT
 51. Letter from the conservator,op.cit.,NO:3334of 1090. SAT
 52. Ibid.
 53. Ibid.
 54. Ibid.
 55. Letter from the conservator to the chief secretary to government TVM No:985/tim of 1095 dtd 29th oct 1920. SAT
 56. Petition from Meera Rowther to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, SAT
 57. Letter from the palace Trivandrum No:361 dtd 6th Feb. 1918. SAT
 58. Letter from Mahadeva Iyer, chief secretary to government to the conservator of forest Travancore,No:644 dtd 20th Feb 1918. SAT
 59. Letter from the palace Trivandrum No:3759 dtd 6th Dec 1916. SAT

VADAKKAN PATTU CINEMAKAL: IMAGINING A GLORIOUS HINDUIZED PAST AND MALAYALI NATIONALIST IDENTITY

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Nationalism and Indian Cinema

Indian cinema has played a pivotal role in shaping Indian nationalism. The term 'Indian cinema' itself serves as a unifying force for all Indians. Scholars have made numerous observations regarding the connection between nationalism and cinema. Benedict Anderson had observed the role of print media in the formation of nationalism. But, Jyotika Verdi opines:

In India, however, where literacy rates are low, nonprint media are far more important, and Hindi cinema's influence is even more profound than that of state-controlled radio and television (2004:6).

She also observes that Indian popular cinema can undoubtedly be called as 'national cinema.' According to her,

Popular Indian Cinema, however, is a national cinema proper not only because it is produced and consumed predominantly within national boundaries, but also because of other factors that identify, and negotiate conflicts experienced by the imagined community, producing new representations of the nation, and constructing a collective consciousness of nationhood through special cultural references (Jyotika, 2004:7)

Invoking Anderson's image of a nation reading newspapers at the same time, Rich Altman talks of the movie screen marshalling peoples' attention at the same time and in one direction (Jyotika, qtd. 2004:218). Ramachandra Guha had identified Hindi cinema as one of the eight factors which held the nation together, the other factors being the English language, railway, cricket, civil service, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata territorial boundedness provided by the Himalayas and the oceans, and finally the integrative idea of India embodied in the constitution (Ramachandra, 2007:704)

India was not an independent and sovereign nation-state when Dadasaheb Phalke created the first Indian film. Consequently, nearly all the films produced in India before gaining independence were infused with the shared aspiration of a free India, even though they were made under the watchful gaze of British authorities. The Indian freedom struggle gained new impetus with the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as its leader. Gandhi's strategies and principles of protest, such as the boycott of foreign cloth, the eradication of untouchability, civil disobedience movements, and the empowerment of women, left a profound impact on the people. These ideas resonated in the realms of art, literature, and all aspects of life.

It was Dadasaheb Phalke who created the first full-length feature film that was entirely Indian in both content and technology. Kaushik Bhaumik suggests that the Indian film industry had a significant turning point when Dadasaheb Phalke, a stage magician and photographer, attended a screening of an imported film. Phalke was watching a lavish film based on the Christian bible: "While the life of Christ was rolling before my eyes, I was mentally visualising the gods Shri Krishnu, Shri Ramchandra, their Gokul and Ayodhya," the "father of Indian cinema" later wrote. "Could we, the sons of India, ever be able to see

Indian images on the screen?" (Hutchinson. Qtd. 2013). This profound thought gave birth to Indian cinema.

Being a devoted follower of Gandhian ideals and a strong supporter of the Swadeshi movement, Phalke was determined that Indian cinema should be authentically 'Indian' in every aspect. To realize this vision, he traveled to England to learn the art of filmmaking. Upon his return, he procured the necessary equipment and established a studio in a borrowed bungalow. He gathered a cast and crew to create what we can unequivocally consider a truly Indian film, "Raja Harishchandra."

Phalke's commitment to Indian cinema was so strong that he turned down offers from the foreign film industry. He believed in contributing, even if in a small way, to blocking the import of foreign products (Radhakrishnan. 2010.5). This determination led him to select themes from Indian mythology and reject foreign filming techniques and subjects. Through the concept of 'Swadeshi film,' he aimed to integrate the ideals of the Swadeshi movement and the freedom struggle into Indian cinema. He was followed by Baburao Painter, P.C. Barua, K. Subramanyam, and so on. Through the films based on Myths, folklores, puranas, itihisas, and hagiographies, they tried to express their aspirations for a free India and their anti-imperialist sentiments. In the post-independence era, Indian cinema continued its journey, aligning with Jawaharlal Nehru's vision of a welfare nation-state, reflecting the evolving aspirations and ideologies of the nation (Radhakrishnan. 2010.18).

Malayali Nationalism and Malayalam Cinema

Malayali nationalism can be defined as the sense of unity among the people of Kerala that arises from their shared identity rooted in language and regional identity. This sense of unity was fostered by various renaissance movements, nationalist movements, farmer's movements, and communist movements in Kerala, which played a significant role in the formation of a unified Kerala, the homeland of Malayalis. Malayalam cinema emerged within this socio-political context and contributed to the shaping of Modern Kerala by embracing the ideals of these social reformation movements.

Unlike other film industries, Malayalam cinema, in its early days, introduced an indigenous film tradition by focusing on social melodramas rather than films based on puranas and mythology. Although Malayalam cinema had its beginnings with "Vigathakumaran" in 1928, it truly flourished in the 1950s. Prior to that, Malayalam cinema largely imitated Tamil films and focused on family dramas. However, by the 1950s, it began to align itself with the aspirations of a unified Kerala and the modernization of the state.

The idea of creating a film with an all-Malayali crew and presenting Malayalam cinema in its entirety as a reflection of modern Kerala was a direct outcome of this alignment. This concept came to fruition with the production of "Neelakkuyil" in 1954, in which all the crew members, except the editor, were Malayalis. The team behind "Neelakkuyil" proudly claimed it to be the first 'Malayalam cinema' in all its aspects (Radhakrishnan, 2010, p.28).

Even films released before the formation of unified Kerala portrayed the state as a unified entity, the homeland of Malayalis, rather than highlighting regional divisions like Tiru-Kochi and Malabar. "Neelakkuyil," released in 1954, envisioned a modern, socialist, and unified Kerala free from feudal and caste systems. Films like "Navalokam" (1951), "Newspaper Boy" (1955), "Rarichan Enna Pouran" (1956), and "Mudiyanaya Puthran" (1961) took a strong stance against casteism and social inequalities. In short, Malayali nationalism emerged as a sense of unity among the people of Kerala, and Malayalam cinema played a crucial role in shaping and reflecting the ideals of a modern and unified Kerala.

Vadakkanpattucinemakal and the Imagination of an Hinduized Past for Kerala

"Vadakkanpattucinemakal" refers to a series of films based on the Vadakkanpattukal Vadakkanpattukal, also known as Northern Ballads. Vadakkanpattukal were songs that predominantly thrived among the lower caste communities in Malabar during British rule and in Northern Kerala. These ballads were primarily songs sung by lower-caste communities in the Malabar region during the British colonial era and in Northern Kerala. The Vadakkanpattukal narrates the valor, adventures, and heroism of warriors like Aromal Chekavar, Unniyarcha, Thacholi Othenan, and others. In the world of Malayalam cinema, there are a total of 18 movies that are based on the Vadakkanpattukal, which has led to the emergence of a distinct genre known as "Vadakkanpattucinemakal."

The first film in this category was "Unniyarcha," released in 1961. Although the formal unification of Kerala was technically accomplished by 1961, it did not truly resonate with the people's consciousness. As P.S. Radhakrishnan has noted, films, along with other art forms, played a vital role in shaping it into a mental reality (2010, p.42). "Vadakkanpattucinemakal" also contributed to this process. It emerged during a period marked by political uncertainty, brought about by the Vimochana Samaram and the central government's dissolution of the communist government. Vimochana Samaram had divided Kerala along caste, religious, and communal lines. "Vadakkanpattucinemakal" envisioned a unified Kerala founded on the principles of humanity and democratic socialism. While Vadakkanpattucinemakal portrayed the narrative of feudal warriors and their society, the underlying perspective within the cinematic narrative aligns more with that of a modern nation-state.

Upon closer examination, it becomes evident that Vadakkanpattucinemakal films have played a significant role in shaping a glorious past for Kerala, one deeply imbued with Hindu cultural elements and identity. Numerous scholars have observed how films based on mythology, folklore, and puranas have contributed to constructing a Hinduized historical narrative for India as a whole and for individual states. For instance, K.P. Jayakumar argued that the portrayal and reinterpretation of myths and folklore in films have presented a vision of a Hindu society with a shared past, tradition, and history (Jayakumar, 2023, p.62). This analysis can also be applied to Vadakkanpattucinemakal.

Vadakkanpattucinemakal are loose adaptations of Vadakkanpattukal, which were created by the lower-caste people in Malabar. When we delve into the content of Vadakkanpattukal, we can see that its creators embedded colonial and feudal history in their songs. They used their songs as a medium to critique the oppressive feudal system, and they attempted to document the arrival of the British and the establishment of British rule in Malabar. Vadakkanpattukal reflected a cross-section of Malabar society, displaying its pluralistic nature. However, when these ballads were adapted into films, the significance of the lower-caste creators was diminished. Lower-caste individuals were portrayed with less importance and often as comical characters. The narratives were narrowed down to heroic ballads, focusing on the valor of figures like Aromal Chekavar, Unniyarcha, and Thacholi Othenan. Additionally, they were depicted as followers of the Hindu religion, which did not accurately represent the beliefs of that era.

The influence of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata is evident in Vadakkanpattucinemakal, creating the perception that Vadakkanpattukal is a part of the Hindu purana tradition. Scholars who collected and studied Vadakkanpattukal attempted to infuse it with the tradition of grand narratives like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, thus Sanskritizing Vadakkanpattukal. This influence is particularly noticeable in the Puthooram pattukal, where stories from the Ramayana and Keralolpathi are incorporated. Among the Vadakkanpattucinemakal, Puthroom cinemakal stands out for its strong influence from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. For example, in the story of Unniyarcha, when she

vows not to tie her hair until she seeks revenge against Chandhu, it brings to mind Draupadi's vow in the context of the Indraprastha in the Mahabharata. Similarly, in Aromalunni, the illegitimate son of Aromal Chekavar, Chandrappan, is insulted in a dual combat, touching upon issues of caste and paternity, much like the dynamics between Karana and Duryodana in the Mahabharata. On the other hand, in Kannappanunni and Thumbolarcha, the influence of the Ramayana is more pronounced. When we analyze films based on Thacholi pattukal, a sense of Nair supremacy is prevalent in the narratives.

In conclusion, the Vadakkanpattu films attempted to reshape the narrative of Vadakkanpattukal by portraying it primarily as a tale of Hindu warriors, while diminishing the significance of the lower caste characters. This endeavor sought to foster a perception of Kerala's past as predominantly Hinduized. Moreover, by disregarding the multifaceted origins and historical importance of the Pattukal, a new narrative for Vadakkanpattukal was crafted.

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THE MEDIATING MEDIA: A STUDY OF SOCIAL MEDIA INTERVENTIONS DURING THE PANDEMIC IN KERALA

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Kerala different from the other states of India is its social, cultural and ecological structure. As in the case of the social structure, these differences are reflected in the political structure of Kerala as well. It is also worth noting that Kerala has the highest literacy rate in India.

It can be seen that the difference between the villages and the towns of Kerala is now diminishing from the north to the south. Therefore, if an economic, political or health problem arises anywhere in Kerala, it is reflected throughout the state. One such incident is the outbreak of COVID-19 and Nipah disease in Kerala. This study examines how the media, particularly social media, handled the situation, and what kind of social changes social media brought about in Kerala society, especially during the global outbreak of COVID 19.

Kerala has distinguished itself for its crisis management from the start of the pandemic. In its fight against the virus, it was extraordinarily proactive, starting a containment plan even before its first patient tested positive on January 30, 2020. The state had adopted the World Health Organization's test, trace, isolate, and support protocol by January 27 and had established a Rapid Response Team. On February 3, after Kerala's third positive case was confirmed, Kerala declared a state calamity and quarantined more than 2,239 travellers from affected countries. Despite being one of the first states to be hit by the virus, Kerala didn't record its first death until 28 March, and it took the state approximately 110 days to record its first 1000 cases. and the developed world was tired with rising cases, infections in Kerala were fallingⁱ.

It can be seen that the government and other public sectors have made good use of social media to deal with this kind of pandemic situation. Mainly to educate the people and take precautions, social media has made it possible to quickly convey the procedures and instructions to be followed after the disease has occurred. Similarly, it can be seen that the government has faced various difficulties through social media as misinformation information has reached people through these platforms.

Because of the intervention of social media, we can see both merit and demerit in many ways. The role of new media in a scenario, where society was confined to the individual and the home and was suddenly moved from the traditional public sphere to the digital public sphere is examined here.

Characteristic of Social Media

With the spread of internet, new media or social media has become the fifth estate. Unlike traditional media, cyberspace offers people the ability to self-examine and to be able to enter as well as exit in their interest. We cannot say for sure that social media is a place where values such as ethics, morality and authenticity exist because everyone here is a journalist and editor. Therefore individual can post or share anything with their own interest. But social media is often good at exposing the fake news, hoaxes, and political biases of traditional media. Another peculiarity of cyberspace is that the same person can be the editor, the audience and the reader, there is no gender based inequalities. Moreover social media is opens up freedom of expression that people have not had before, it is a open space there is no doorⁱⁱ.

Social media's contribution to information and news distribution in the twenty-first century has been significant. While they have created new channels for networking and communication, they have also

served as a fertile ground for the propagation of false information for a number of reasons: Social media viral nature enables knowledge to spread quickly and broadly. Before it can be verified, false or inaccurate material can spread swiftly, reaching thousands or even millions of people. New technological advancement also helpful for the digital public sphere to catch information's. Social media and information dissemination In Kerala, social media sites like Facebook, WhatsApp, and Youtube, Reels are very important for the spread of information. These platforms have made it easier for news and information to circulate quickly, but they have also helped spread incorrect and misleading information.

Entertainment is the first and most crucial component of social media platforms. The reels and YouTube have completely changed how consumers find and consume intriguing content. Short YouTube films have been created by social network educators on a range of subjects, such as teaching academics, ethics, and online skills like stock trading, using the equities and digital currencies, and spoken English instruction, among several others.

It's true that YouTube has established itself as a major hub for video production, and a lot of people use it to share their interests, pastimes, and knowledge in addition to having the ability to make money through various monetization choices. logging in particular has become quite popular since it enables content producers to offer a genuine and personal viewpoint on a range of subjects.

Stated there is a vast variety of Malayalam material on YouTube, from food and technology as well as political content to trip vlogs. This diversity demonstrates the platform's capacity to serve a wide range of audiences and interests. By allowing advertisements to run before, during, or after their material, creators can monetize their videos. Creators receive a portion of the revenue from these advertising through 'Google AdSense', which manages the ad revenue based on metrics like views, engagement, and ad interaction. Paid Campaigns or Sponsorship's; YouTube content creator frequently work together on paid campaign or sponsorship's there. This entails advertising goods or services within their short videos in return for payment. Which definitely means that political paid campaign and fakes news also create for revenue.

Facebook is a popular social media site that may be used for a variety of things, including political discussion and communication. Political,leaders, parties as well as individuals use Facebook to share information, interact with supporters, and spread their political agendas in Kerala and many other areas. Another well-liked messaging service that has been heavily utilized throughout India for political reasons is WhatsApp. It provides users with the ability to organize groups, post messages, photographs, and videos, making it a useful tool for political parties to broadcast information and enlist supportersⁱⁱⁱ.

On a daily basis, new features are being added to Facebook and Whatsapp. These media bring more and more information to people. Undoubtedly, such newly introduced features increase political communication in a highly literacy state like Kerala. Unlike other media, every social media users takes on the role of content writer, reporter and editor. This naturally creates a potential for misleading content and the dissemination of false information. In Kerala its already been reported that propaganda is being spread using social media. In addition, these media are being used to increase depoliticization^{iv}.

Memes are a different method for communicating effectively with others. It is a common type of internet culture that entail producing and disseminating amusing or funny images, videos, or text. They frequently make use of shared experiences, inside jokes, and cultural allusions. Memes have become a crucial component of online communication and have changed over time to take on numerous forms and styles. It is a well-liked strategy for successfully connecting with people. Users are getting increasingly active in both watching and creating memes. Memes are well-liked as advertising and marketing tactics in Political

communication Largely used by political activists against their opponent and government. Number of troll groups have in Malayalam for this purpose.

Social Media Key Interventions

Social media was a crucial instrument for communication and intervention during the COVID-19 pandemic in Kerala, a state renowned for its outstanding public health management. During the crisis, the government and a number of organisations took a number of steps to broadcast important information, offer assistance, and counter misinformation. The efficient way Kerala handled the COVID-19 pandemic has been widely praised, therefore exploring the specific function of social media in this setting could provide insightful information.

During the COVID-19 pandemic in Kerala, some of the important social media efforts might be:

Information dissemination: Government agencies and health departments aggressively used social media channels to inform the public in real time about updates, recommendations, and safety precautions. They exchanged data on vaccine campaigns, safety precautions, and virus spread. There were various Whats App groups in the ward and panchayat including villages to pass information.

Initiatives by the government: The social media gave great coverage to the numerous measures Kerala's government took to battle the epidemic, including as mass testing, contact tracing, and the construction of healthcare facilities. information on the pandemic that is current and factual. The Chief Minister's daily news conferences were extensively covered by the social media, promoting accuracy in reporting. And in Kerala, people followed the social media pages of the chief minister and health minister as well as various district collectors for updates.

Awareness Campaign and Crisis Communication: To raise awareness about the pandemic and the value of wearing masks, maintaining social distance, and practising good hygiene, social media campaigns were developed. These initiatives sought to instill in the populace a sense of responsibility. How to use sanitizer, how to wash hands and face with soap and how to wear a mask hoe to dispose of it were also short videos that could be seen on the pages of health officials as well as government officials. Such videos were quickly brought to masses through various platforms of social media.

Fighting Misinformation: Efforts were undertaken to fight rumours and false information about COVID-19. Social media was used by public health officials and organisations to dispel myths and spread factual information about the virus, how it spreads, and how to prevent it.

Remote health services: During the outbreak, telemedicine and virtual consultations significantly increased in popularity. Numerous healthcare providers used social media to provide COVID-19 patients with remote medical consultations, mental health assistance, and advice, reducing the need for in-person hospital visits.

Support and aid from the Community: Social media platforms were also used to help the pandemic victims receive support and aid from the community. Social media was used by a number of volunteer organisations and non-governmental organisations to plan the distribution of necessities including food, medicine, and supplies to people and families in need.

Promotion of vaccination: Social media was extremely important in boosting vaccination drives since vaccination became a major component of containing the pandemic. These platforms were used by public health organisations to disseminate information on the value of vaccinations, vaccination clinics, and the vaccination procedure.

Challenges and Criticism: While Kerala's reaction received praise overall, there were stories and conversations regarding difficulties, including as problems with quarantine facilities, holdups in testing, and the pandemic's effects on the economy.

Fake Reporting through Social Media

During the time of pandemic situation like Nipah virus, Covid-19 the political parties and pressure groups used the pandemic situation for their gain through creates propaganda against government policy, and spreading rumour against vaccination etc. Nipah virus actually affected in a panchayat of Kozhikode district, and we could see the responsible intervention of Kerala Government, panchayat and health authority. This was a panic situation not only in kerala but also neighbouring states and in our Country whole.

There were unfounded speculations and reports that the number of deaths caused by the Nipah virus was much higher than what was stated by reliable sources. The people became alarmed and perplexed as a result. Virus's mode of transmission was incorrectly reported, which resulted in misunderstandings about how the virus spreads. There have been some unfounded allegations that the virus can spread by water, air, and even casual touch. Fake Remedies and Cures on social media, a number of home remedies cures and treatments for the Nipah virus were shared. These cures had no scientific basis and might have harmed patients by deterring them from obtaining appropriate medical attention. Case of identification, when erroneous or unsubstantiated information about potential Nipah virus cases was spread, it unnecessarily stoked panic and anxiety in some communities.

Unverified Precautions; Misleading Precautions and Warning were circulated, confusing the public. This false advice included avoiding particular foods, wearing particular masks, or adopting untested techniques of viral prevention. False notifications that the virus was shutting down public facilities like schools were circulated, causing unneeded disruptions and feeding the widespread dread.

Kerala, like many other areas, witnessed the dissemination of false information during the COVID-19 outbreak via social media. During the epidemic, some of the false information that was spread in Kerala, several unsubstantiated cures and preventive methods were discussed, including the use of particular foods, plants, or medicines to either treat or prevent COVID-19. These assertions lacked any basis in science and might even be dangerous. Inaccurate information regarding the modes of COVID-19 transmission was disseminated, which caused uncertainty over the virus's mode of transmission. Some untrue assertions included the idea that certain foods, animals, or even 5G technology may spread the illness. There have been several fake news regarding the closure of all the check-post that Kerala shares with other states. Due to this there was law and order issue in palakkad Walayar, kaliyakyavila and kasargod.

False information concerning rescue activities and helplines has reportedly been circulated, according to sources. This made it difficult to coordinate actual rescue operations and caused misunderstanding among individuals who needed assistance^v.

Exaggerated Death toll: Some social media posts shared exaggerated death toll, which unnecessarily stoked public worry and anxiety. False Donation Appeals: On a number of sites, fake donation campaigns were launched, taking money away from actual relief efforts.

These cases of false information and fake news brought to light the difficulties presented by the quick dissemination of unreliable information on social media platforms during a public health emergency. The Kerala government and health officials were forced to actively combat these false narratives by

communicating factual information via authorized channels, using social media to post updates, and advising the public to rely on reliable sources for information. This epidemic brought home how crucial media literacy and critical thinking are in the digital age.

Conclusion

Kerala's approach to social media interventions during the pandemic is characterized by its commitment to transparency, fact-checking, and community engagement. This approach has contributed to the state's success in managing crises and garnering public support. However, it's essential to note that media's role in any such situation may have both positive and negative aspects, and critical journalism plays a part in holding authorities accountable while ensuring the public receives accurate and timely information.

The online platform has benefited the people of Kerala in such a time of crisis. Work at home, online markets and food delivery have become more popularized. Due to social distancing and as part of break the chain campaign, people had to rely on online money transferring like Google Pay, and phone pay forcefully and quickly and social media has given it the education and publicity it needs. Adequate encouragement has been given for this by the Kerala government.

During the COVID-19 epidemic, these social media efforts in Kerala served to build an informed and responsible society, lessen the impact of the virus, and promote a feeling of communal resilience.

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SWORD AND SAIL:KUNJALI MARAKKAR'S RESISTANCE AGAINST THE COLONIAL RULE

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The Marakars were naval commanders who led a century-long resistance against the Portuguese invasion of Kerala with the support of the Kozhikode Samoothiri. There were many military, political and ideological dimensions to the battles fought by the Marakas, who brought their unique naval tactics against the most powerful Portuguese naval force the world had seen in the sixteenth century. The history of India would have been different if the mission of the Kunjalis had been to chase the Portuguese groups, who were the first Western invading force, from the Indian shores.

There are many people known as Kunjali Marakars, but the four most famous ones were Kuttyali Marakars, Kutti Poker, Pattu Marakars and Muhammadali Marakars known as Kunjali I, II, III and IV. In the hundred years leading up to the annexation, hundreds of warriors emerged in Malabar and tens of thousands became martyrs. In that group, the most notable naval leadership was that of Marakamar. Or it means that the early anti-imperialist struggle in Malabar cannot be reduced to four Marakars.

There are different opinions about the origin of the Marakkar family and that name. It is generally observed that the word Marakar may have been derived from the Arabic word 'Markaba', meaning those who came in ships, or from the Tamil word 'Marakalam', meaning ship. William Logan observes that the word Marakar may have been derived from the fact that those who had Vedic books were called 'Markakars'. It is generally accepted that it is the title or honor given by the Zamorin to the leadership of his naval forces, and the word Kunjali means faithful and beloved. The possibility that the name of the Prophet's companion Ali, who is considered as the name of bravery in Islamic history, was called "Kunjali" in the meaning of brave cannot be ruled out. Another strong argument is that the Marakkans, who belonged to the Arabic family line who initially settled in Pantalayani Kollam from Tunisia, shifted their headquarters to Thikodi and then to Kottakal in 1524 after the Portuguese invasion. There is also an argument that they are the descendants of Ismail, Muhammad and others who were powerful in the commercial scene of Kochi and moved to Ponnani and later to Kottakal in Kozhikode after the Portuguese attack." But KV Krishnaiyar has opined that the original family of the Marakkars was in Ponnani and later moved to Tanur areas and later moved to Akalapuzha after the Portuguese attacks. Most of the people agree that the Marakkars were traders with naval skills and that Kottakkal arrived after the Portuguese invasion. Muhammad Ali, a leader who was inspired by the naval prowess of the Marakkars who arrived at Kozhikode, honored the Marakkars with the title of 'Kunjali', the right to wear special turbans and naval leadership by Zamorin. Muhammad Ali Marakar formed a navy with the chiefs Kuttyali Marakars, Valiya Hasan and Pachi Marakars with all the support of the Zamorin.

At the same time, there is an argument that the Kunjalis were not from Malabar and were of merchant lineage who came from Chozhamandalam in Tamil Nadu for trade. John Auchan Thurut observed that they traded with the Portuguese and helped them in wars until 1524, but then the Portuguese avoided them and traded with others, and the ensuing trade and economic disputes made them anti-Portuguese. He added that the woodworkers who fought for purely economic interests were later elevated to 'cult figures'. This observation, made on the basis of one-sided Portuguese records, has been completely rejected by the world of history, ignoring the numerous offerings that indicate the close relationship and

mutual struggle that the Muslims had with the Zamorin. Within a few years, the Kunjalis had become anti-Portuguese due to constant fraud, treachery, blasphemy and imperial interests.

The assumption that the basis of the Marakkars' continuous struggle, handed down over a century, was merely commercial interest-driven 'Kashapisha' is insulting and mocking of the ideological basis of their courageous anti-imperialist resistance. Moreover, the anti-imperialist fatwas, books and debates (Tahril, Fathul Mubeen, Tuhfatul Mujahi Deen... etc) that emerged in Malabar influenced the Muslim community in general, the leadership and the youth in particular and became the ideological base of their activities. In Fathul Mubeen, Qadi Muhammad calls for anti-imperialist activities to be considered worship and to pray for the Zamorin who leads them. The entry of the Kunjali Marakkars into naval leadership under the Samuthiris takes place in an environment that incorporates various political and economic factors. An unbroken continuity of naval leaders and experts through four generations and a century from a single family with strong mass support. Pretending that the enmity arose out of a mere trade dispute only served to conceal the brutal aggression and plunder committed by the Portuguese in Malabar.

Vasco da Gama and his team reached Kerala on the evening of Sunday, May 20, 1498. One of Gama's first demands to the Zamorin, who welcomed his guests, was to sever all ties with the Moors (Arab Muslims), with whom he had been trading amicably for centuries, and grant them a trade lease. Leaving Kozhikode in August, he visited Kolathiri in Kannur and returned to Portugal on 20 November 1498. Gama arrived in Lisbon with a sixty-fold profit and received a huge reception. Sensing the increased profit potential, King Dom Manuel sent the next group with 1200 soldiers under the leadership of Pedro Alvarez Cabral." This military move is proof that Gama had understood Malabar's weaknesses in his first trip. Realizing that they could not survive without destroying the Samuthiri and Muslim traders, Cabral entered into a trade and military alliance with the King of Kochi, who was the enemy of the Samuthiri. In 1502, a large army was with The Second Coming of Gama.

Gama reached Kannur in October 1502. Then he visited Zamothiri and demanded that the Muslim traders be rejected. The port of Kozhikode was attacked and many people were killed for refusing an unjust demand. Then Gama, who came to Kochi, allied with the king and built facilities including a military base and a school. It was against this backdrop that the Marakars, who were traditional traders and naval experts, entered the political and military arena of Calicut. There is no doubt that this gave the Samuthir military and administrative power.

In the early days of the Portuguese's arrival in Kerala, attempts to monopolize the trade of the Arabian Sea were made by exterminating the Arab traders. Gama and his team arrive in India with the strong support of Jesuit priests. Portuguese religious policy emphasized the intense Islamo-Muslim animosity produced by centuries of crusades. Hence, their main objective was to exterminate the Moors along with acquiring the monopoly of trade. As soon as they left Portugal, they received the required supports from the royal and religious leadership.

The fanatical hatred followed by the Portuguese was not confined to Muslims alone. They regarded Hindus as "prastos" (heiner) as superstitious and uncultured. Decree 35 of the Act passed by the Municipal Council of Portuguese-ruled Goa called for the burning of Muslim scriptures and decree 30 forbid the weekly holiday for practicing the 'false religion' of other religions". The attitude towards native Christians was no different. The intolerant Portuguese religious policy was hostile and aggressive. This even led to the later Kunan Cross Pledge (1653). Although the Portuguese attitude towards all religions was inhumane, they maintained that Nishkasana Vanja was bitterly hostile towards Muslims and Islam. From the day they set foot on the soil of Malabar, the Parangis had manifested an Islamophobia shaped by the

seething memories of a miserable defeat in the Crusades, the thirst for revenge, the throbbing jealousy of age-old Muslim commercial advances, and blind religious fanaticism. King Dom Manuel called for Muslims to be avoided as much as possible in trade and preference to be given to native Christians and then to Hindus."

The constant looting of Muslim Hajj ships and massacre of pilgrim groups including children, women and the elderly was the decision of the Portuguese clergy. In 1502, Vasco da Gama himself started these atrocities. On his second voyage, he killed four hundred pilgrims, including fifty women, and completely looted and burnt the ship". Attacks on Hajj ships continued until about 1697. At the same time, temples were also looted and destroyed. It is impossible to describe the brutality of the Portuguese gangs against the religious sects and communities in an article like this.

The Portuguese's attempt to gain a commercial monopoly in the Arabian Sea was not based on commercial strategies. They did not have any commercial goods to exchange for the products they bought from India. Their greed for profit was what drove their trade. Therefore, trade monopoly was achieved through fraud, deception, robbery and attacks. In 1500 when the Arabs bought a kilo of pepper from Calicut for 7 paise (0.38 (Crusados)) per kilo, the Portuguese did not have to pay a single paise (0.05 (Cusados)) as per the agreement made under pressure from the king of Cochin. The greed of the Portuguese robbers should be understood from the fact that one kilo of pepper was worth. Even in 1585, they insisted on the King of Kochi to supply pepper according to the contract price of 1503."

In a short time, the Marakars were able to defend themselves against the Portuguese by forming a strong naval base in the coastal areas from Gujarat to Ceylon (Sri Lanka). Together with Maithune, the younger brother of the King of Ceylon, they were able to organize powerful battles. But at the last stage, Maithune withdrew and the army led by the Portuguese chief Ferreira dealt a heavy blow to the Marakkars.

After the death of Muhammad Ali Marakkar, Kutiyali Marakkar, who was the chief of the army, was appointed as the head of the Samuthiri navy in 1507. He is Kunjali Marakar I who led many strong battles. Learning from the failure of his predecessors, Kunjali strategically avoided a confrontation with the Portuguese, who had large naval forces. Then hundreds of boats called 'paravakals' and rowed by thirty to forty men were built and a new guerilla struggle started in the ocean. The tactic was to attack the large Portuguese ships with speed and surprise as they moved on to the strong winds. This attack by Kunjali made it difficult for the Portuguese ships to anchor in the ports. A large naval armor had to be carried at all times. Several ships were attacked and captured by the Mappilas. Ultimately these raids under the Kunjali, seriously affected and slowed down the Portuguese trade. Viceroy's such as Al-Bukark described these dilemmas in their letters to the kings.

Gradually, the Portuguese made an unwritten rule that no ship could sail in the Arabian Sea without their permission. Kunjali I started trying to ship the products by challenging the Parangis. In 1523, he successfully brought eight large ships loaded with pepper from Kozhikode to the shores of the Red Sea in forty ships with a strong naval escort. At the same time, Kunjali's younger brother Ran Chinna Kutiyali also started naval activities centred on the Goan coast. Vasco da Gama sent Martin Alphonsa D'Souza to stop Kunjali's military movements in Kozhikode. During this period, many clashes took place between the two factions. In all these wars, Kutiyali and his team used the strategy of attacking with small battleships called 'paravas', avoiding confrontation with the fully armed Portuguese as much as possible. This resulted in heavy losses to the Parangis in many cases. Valiya Hasan in Kannur, Pattu Marakar in Calicut and Chinna Kuttiyali on the Goan coast led the naval operations. Valiya Hasan, who was also a relative of King Ali of Kannur, caused constant irritation to the Portuguese. Vasco da Gama came to

Kannur in person and demanded that king Ali to hand over Valiya Hasan. Valiah Hasan was imprisoned in the St. Angelos fort in Kannur and was hanged by the Portuguese leader Hendrie de Menezes within a few days. This inflamed the Portuguese anti-imperialist sentiment of the Mappilas. The newly established Samuthiri declared war against the Portuguese. In the fierce battle that lasted for five months on the coasts of Kochi - Ponnani, Kozhikode - Kannur, the victory alternated between the two factions. In October 1526, Menezes and his team, who came directly to Kozhikode to protect Parangikota, were strongly confronted by Kunjali and his team and were driven back. Menezes was killed due to injuries sustained in this battle.

Realizing the difficulty of confronting Kunjali's guerilla warfare strategy, the Parangi army resorted to the strategy of forcing direct open warfare. This caused losses to Kunjali's army. However, continuous attacks by Kunjali disrupted the Portuguese's Kochi-Goa relations and the Kozhikode fort had to be abandoned. Kunjali managed to put a curb on the hegemonic ambitions of the Parangis right from the start. It also severely affected their future actions. Despite being strategic and strong, they had to completely abandon the Portuguese fort of Calicut in 1525. Built on the banks of the Kallai-puzha, this fort was strong and modelled on the Kochi fort."

After the death of Kunjali Marakar I in 1531, his son Kuttipokar was appointed as a naval captain by the Samuthiri under the name of Kunjali II. For forty years he remained in command and put up a strong defence against the Portuguese. But at that time the Portuguese were able to create strong pressure on the Samuthiri through vassals and various other means. In 1531, they captured some of the Zamorin ships that had gone to Gujarat and imprisoned Ali Ibrahim Marakkar and Kutti Ibrahim. Due to continuous wars, Samuthiri was forced to make peace with the Portuguese due to economic crisis. On that basis, in 1532, the Portuguese built a new fort at Chaliyam. Chaliyam, the center of Arab trade and the naval advance of the Samuthiri, was raised in this fort which provided many facilities to the Portuguese. Sardar K.M. Panicker describes this fort as "A gun pointed towards Zamorin's chest".

At the same time, through guerilla warfare, under the leadership of Kunjali II, powerful attacks were launched in the Coramandel-Ceylon region in 1530-1537. In 1537 the Samodhi army marched towards Kodungallur and drove the Portuguese away. But then he had to face a strong backlash in Kochi. During this period, Samuthiri sought help from many foreign countries to fight against the Portuguese and a naval force from Turkey even had to leave for Kozhikode in June 1538. But with the death of this Samothiripad, such activities slowed down. A treaty was signed in January 1540 at Ponnani with the subsequent Samuthiri and Parangis. Under this agreement, the Parangis were given exclusive rights, including a monopoly on the pepper trade in Calicut and special permission to trade through the Arabica toll. The royal rights of the Samuthiri were limited. Seeing the future consequences of the truce, Kunjali and his team opposed this agreement from the very beginning.

But this agreement did not last long. As usual, many of the terms of the agreement were not met by the Parangis. In the dispute between Kochi and Vadakkumkur, Samuthiri and Parangi became two separate alliances for them and the agreement broke down completely and things turned to open war. Kunjali's army, which was awake and active, launched a heavy attack on the Portuguese. For them to defeat the powerful paramilitary forces many times. In his Tuhfatul Mujahideen, Shaikh Zainuddin Makhdum describes the brave actions of Kunjali's army at this stage. The Parangis, who suffered heavy losses in Kunjali II's constant guerrilla warfare, turned out to be civilians. At the same time, Kunjali and his group attacked Parangi centers in North Malabar and retaliated strongly. In 1569, Kunjali defeated the army led by Dom Henrik and Menezes.

In 1570, a joint coalition was formed to drive the Portuguese out of the Arabian Sea. This group was an early example of a regional united front against the Western imperial powers, consisting of the Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar, the King of Ashin, Adin Shah of Bijapur, and the Samuthiri. The strategy was to attack the Parangi centres at the same time." To help Nizam Shah, Kunjali and his party arrived at Chaul and stayed there for twenty days. Although the Parangi suffered heavy losses, they finally escaped the counter-attack reached the Kannur coast and clashed with Menace's army. Only two ships of the Mapilapada remained and Kunjali II was martyred in this remaining battle.

Then Pattu Marakar, who in 1571 led the capture of Chaliyam Fort, a Portuguese stronghold in Kozhikode, was crowned as Kunjali Marakar III. The fall of Chaliyam Fort was the beginning of the decline of Portuguese power in Kerala itself. Chaliyam fort was demolished by Kunjali through a planned attack by land and sea. It was not just a mere war victory but one of the beautiful moments of the anti-imperialist struggle formed through Hindu-Muslim unity. Khadi Muhammad's Arabic war poem 'Fathul Mubeen' details the battle of Chaliyam, which was planned together by Zamothiri, Nair army leaders and Kunjali woodworkers at Miskal masjid in Kozhikode.

According to the instructions of the Zamorin king, Kunjali III established the "Marakkar Fort" at Pudupanam near Vadakara. This place was later known as Kotakkal. This fort greatly alarmed the Parangis. They realized that they could defeat the Kunjali only with the help of Samothiri. They forced the Samuthiri, exhausted by constant battles, to obtain permission to build a fort at Ponnani. Kunjali III warned the Zamorin king that this would be a serious threat to Malabar but was ignored. This incident caused a rift in the Samuthiri-Kunjali Marakkar relationship and it became two birds with one stone for the Portuguese. After losing the help and support of Samuthiri, Kunjali began to strengthen himself and strengthened the defences of the fort.

Kunjali III reorganized his army. Ships were built on the European model. It started producing its own weapons and ammunition. A Portuguese ship from China was captured. He fought and defeated many prominent sailors like Paule Dalima, Dunmus, Louis DeMallo and others. Realizing Kunjali's true power, they improve their relationship with Samoothiri and try to isolate Kunjali from Samuthiri as much as possible. In 1588 they made Kozhikode their main trading center and in 1591 they obtained permission from Samuthiri to build a church in Kozhikode with special rights. However, the Pattu Marakkar managed to weaken the Portuguese hegemony from Goa to Ceylon. The fall of Chaliyam fort in 1571 further reinforced the Portuguese perception that the Zamoutiri-Kunjali unity was their biggest obstacle and they devised strategies to break it, they accepted the reality that the spiritual military strength of the Kunjalis, which was repressed and retaliated and passed down through generations, could not be destroyed except through stratagem. Then, by exaggerating minor mistakes and spreading false stories, secretive moves were made to break the Samuthiri-Kunjali relationship and Hindu-Muslim unity in Malabar. This project gradually achieved its goal.

After the death of Kunjali Marakar III in 1595, Muhammad Ali Marakar Kunjali IV was installed in Pudupanam fort. Relations with the Zamorin, which had been collapsing since 1586, weakened further during this period, and Kunjali, foreseeing the danger, began to fortify his fort by 5100 land routes. The Portuguese did their best to keep the distance between the two groups as much as possible. Alvaroda Abrache, the crooked strategist, visited Samuthiri and reached an agreement for unification. A joint army of Samuthiri and Portuguese attacked Puduppanam fort on March 5, 1599. They also mobilized a large naval force, which was very famous in the Parangis. Six hundred Portuguese and five hundred Nair soldiers marched out, but Kunjali's brave soldiers held back with a strong counterattack.

The failure of the battle, which was conducted with all preparations, left the Parangis disappointed and humiliated. The leadership had to face severe criticism from the motherland. A formidable army under Furtado was prepared against Kunjali. Furtado visited Samutiri and prepared a plan for a combined offensive by land and sea.

This essay is inadequate to detail the emotional end of Kunjali Marakkar IV's life. Kunjali IV and his gang were the living martyrs of a long generation who sacrificed everything for the motherland and fought against imperialist terror. Perhaps the biggest shock to them was that the successor of Sachivothaman, who had been resurrected by his predecessors, was positioned against him in the enemy camp. As the enemy camp became stronger, Kunjali was isolated in the fort day by day without getting any help from the outside world or his friends. With the four sides of the fort surrounded by the enemy army, Kunjali said that he should surrender to his king and spare his life for the group of women and children who were with him. But Parangi army chief Furtado ordered the Samuthiri to hand over Kunjali to them. On 16th March 1600, Kunjali Chinna and Kutjali surrendered to the Samuthiri with his sword lowered, based on a written guarantee of life and property for himself and his followers. Immediately Furtado's army seized them by force and handcuffed them. The stunned Nair soldiers protested against this treachery, but Samuthiri intervened and restrained them. After looting the fort, the Portuguese took Kunjali to Goa and beheaded him in front of a crowd. Even then, their grudge against that brave man who stood in the way of their *svairya vihara* for so long was not over. The severed head was salted and sent to Kannur and the limbs were publicly hanged on the streets.

The end of Kunjali IV was not the end of one person. Parangi also marked the end of Malabar's valiant resistance to imperialist depredations. What distinguishes the history of the Kunjalis from other anti-colonial struggles is mainly the beauty of its continuity. It is very rare in history that for a century the struggle has been handed down through different individuals for generations in front of one of the most powerful armies in the world. Famous historian K.M. Panicker writes. "During the battle of centuries against the Portuguese, the Marakkar family produced a group of efficient naval leaders. They were equal to the greatest military leaders in the history of the world in terms of indomitable courage, willingness to undertake anything, skill in sailing, and determination to see things through to perfection."

The history of the Kunjalis has been the subject of many studies and research. These contain different points of view and are mixed with truth and fiction. Many of the falsehoods spread by the Portuguese at that time to destroy the Kunjalis who had become a bulwark against their Indian colonial interests have found their place as authentic documents in later writings. For example, there are references to the fourth Kunjali trying to establish an independent rule centred on Kottakkall over the Samuthiri power and the Zamothiri being outraged by insulting a woman of a Nair clan who lived near the fort. There was no Nair clan either near the fort or in the village of Kotakkal itself then or later. Moreover, the song "Kotakolamana Kunhalik Nairum Thiyaru Monnupole" by the Kunjalis of Kattathanadan Njarupatin shows the popular face of amity across caste and religion.

Although many studies are available on the life and *yajnas* of the Kunjali Marakars, detailed and meticulous studies are yet to be done on the naval techniques or naval tactics developed by them. Unique Portuguese documents are an important contribution to this. Because there are no such references in Samuthiri Kottaram's books, which are an important source of Kozhikode's history. Religious and ritual references are more prominent in such documents than in politics. In those days when war and strife were common, the leadership would not give much importance to such matters and would leave it to the Mappilas and get busy with temple matters. The Mysore army has stepped in and now the Lords are discussing appointing the peacekeeper of the Triprayar temple!" At the same time, the Marakars are

quoted as having entered into military aid relations with many powerful countries of the contemporary world. Micro-interesting research that scientifically and critically re-reads the hidden historical sources and compares them with the unique techniques of regional navies. The study of the famous 'Hit and Run' guerilla attack style, which involved small naval fleets developed by Malabar in the 16th century and the naval techniques developed for it, is still to be done. Prof. M. G. S. Narayanan observes that the peculiarity of this method was to weaken it by causing maximum damage and then to attack unexpectedly with the groups. In the naval field, they experimented with different and novel defensive systems by tying cotton and other light materials around small boats to secure them.

The Marakar Mutiny in Malabar is an important event in Indian naval history. Recognizing the naval tradition he cultivated, the Indian Navy observed the 400th death anniversary of Kunjali Marakkar IV. A postal stamp was issued in December 2000. Captain A.H. Mitannis has noted that in 1971, the Indian Navy used the blockade strategy against Pakistan which was used by the Kunjali woodsmen's army to subjugate Chaliyam Fort. They experimented with different and innovative defence systems in the naval field by tying cotton and other light materials around small boats to secure them." In memory of these brave patriots, the Naval Barracks at Colaba near Mumbai was named 'INS Kunjali'.

While analyzing the anti-imperialist struggles in Malabar, some common features cannot be overlooked. One of them was that the scholars of the period were able to turn religion into an ideological basis of response to political and social issues instead of confining it to a mere wall of rituals.

In 1571, when the war was going on under the leadership of Samuthiri to destroy the Portuguese fort at Chaliyam, considering the special demand of Samuthiri's mother, an all-party meeting was convened at Miskal Mosque in Kozhikode under the leadership of Qadi Abdul Aziz. The said meeting was attended by business leaders, Kamanakat Ahmad, Sufi scholar Sheikh Abdul Wafa alias Mamukoya, religious scholar Makhdum Adul Aziz, senior officer Shabandhar Koya, army chief Kunjali Marakkar and others from various fields. Besides, the leaders of Samuthiri Nair Pada also participated in the meeting called by scholars in the masjid. These histories point to a shift away from modernist texts that have narrowed down mosque and religion to a broader secular unity.

These histories are also indicators of the formation of theological positions of the Muslim minority in a secular country. However, early historical lessons should be evaluated and critiqued in the context of that period.

Among the features of the sixteenth-century struggles against foreign powers in Malabar, four are particularly memorable.

1. **Continuity** : Instead of a structure that begins and ends with any one individual, it can be seen that the torch of struggle is passed from generation to generation. Ponnani-Kozhikode-Mambarm Thangals and Kunjali Marakars are examples of this.
2. **Assimilation (Acculturation)**: Embracing unique ways of life and culture on the basis of Islam, making maximum use of the possibilities of mutual unity and dealing with diversity with mutual respect. This helped broaden the secular horizon of Malabar.
3. **Synthesis**: Rather than the dichotomy of Hindu and Muslim, the different identities of the society found possibilities of synthesis against imperialism. This period presents many instances in which all the identities of the society be it king, general, scholar, Sufis, traders, farmers, masons, and women were gracefully integrated. The Battle of Chaliyam in 1571 is just one example of this."

4. Philosophical Base: Whoever is leading the struggles that arose in Malabar has strong ideological support from scholars and leadership. It is on this basis that the fight against imperialism is Jihad, that praying for the Hindu Samuthiri is obligatory, and that even writing poetry about war is seen as worship.

History needs to be able to fuel the present quest to forge a united front against usurpation and imperialism while maintaining differences of opinion and belief. The 16th-century resistance by the Marakars along the Arabian Sea coast was not merely a military operation. It was a multifaceted and touching interaction that created resonances throughout Malabar's economic, political and socio-cultural development. The most important thing is that Kerala did not remain a Portuguese colony like Goa.

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EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN THROUGH THE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN KERALA

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Introduction

In Kerala, there are 1200 Local Self-Government institutions, including a cantonment board that is excluded from the control of the state government. The local government in towns is municipalities; in cities, it is corporations. The district-level local government has jurisdiction over the rural areas of the district. In contrast, the rural area of every district is divided into blocks, where block Panchayat is the local unit of government. Grama Panchayats are the third local government level, with two to ten within its boundary. The system has no hierarchical relation, and each administrative level is autonomous. Once every five years, elections are conducted for these local governments, divided into wards, and each constituency elects its representative'

The Kerala Panchayat Raj System has a three-tier structure consisting of village, block, and district Panchayats. The state has 1200 Local Self-Government Institutions (LSGIs), 941 Grama, 152 blocks, 14 districts, 87 municipal councils, and six municipal corporations. These LSGIs form the rural structure of local governance, while municipal councils and corporations form the urban structure. The Grama Panchayats are the Local Self-Government in villages and minor cities.

The Panchayat structure is built around the Grama Panchayat. Ward members are the chosen representatives of the various districts comprising a Grama Panchayat. The Panchayat president is selected by the ward members whom the general public elects and he rules over the Panchayat council while it is in session. The village panchayat has its means of funding and receives a respectable sum in subsidies and taxes. The majority of plan money also goes to Panchayats.¹

Block Panchayat (BPs)

In Kerala, 152 block Panchayats in Kerala elected directly by the people. They elect the president and vice-president and have two standing committees, one regarding finance and planning and the other on welfare. They have 24 sectoral occupations delegated to pool technical expertise and extend technical services. They do not have the power to collect taxes but have the power to collect fees and provide loans to fund development programmes. Sector Panchayat (DPs) In Kerala, there are 14 district Panchayats. The presidents of the Block Panchayats located within the district Panchayat's boundaries serve as members of each District Panchayat, whom the residents of their individual Panchayath choose. A local Panchayat's president and vice-president are chosen by the members who were voted by the general public. The fifth section of the KPR Act lists the functions and obligations of the local Panchayath. The local Panchayats need more authority to levy taxes. They also have the authority to charge fees and finance initiatives promoting financial growth. The district Panchayats can issue revenue bonds and generate funds for economic growth. The state government's stipend is yet another source of income. Additionally, local Panchayats receive funding from the state's plan money.²

The Decentralized Planning

The decentralised planning practice in Kerala got impetus in July 1996, and various exclusive features were initiated, like the Government's resolution to set apart 35 to 40 per cent of the state's annual plan outlay for the projects taken up by the LSGIs. The LSGIs have a significant role in planning, and the

planning system is based on people's involvement in working groups, grama/ward sabhas, and development seminars. The decentralisation of powers is very much essential in a democratic nation. Local Self-Government involves decentralising powers so that the voted bodies may act independently with power and resources to bring in "economic development and social justice."³

Grama Sabha (GS)

People's participation in decentralisation is ensured mainly through the Grama Panchayat's ward-level Grama Sabha meetings. The ward member chairs this meeting, and it is mandatory that a minimum of ten percent of the voters be present to have the minimum quorum of the Grama Sabha. In all Grama Sabha meetings, GP officials and implementing department representatives should also be present. The block-level Grama Sabha consists of GP presidents and block samiti members, and the district-level Grama Sabha consists of GP presidents, BP Presidents and DP members. They are supposed to integrate the plans vertically. Neighbourhood Groups (NHGs) Ayalkoottam is envisaged as a sub-system of GS, formed as an alliance of 20-25 women members that identify themselves to form Self Help Groups (SHGs) and carry out the Women Component Plan (WCP).⁴

73rd Amendment and Women

The 73rd Amendment Act of the Indian Constitution in 1992 is an important step forward in the political history of India. The Act provided the much-awaited constitutional recognition to the long-standing demand of giving power to people at the grassroots level by ensuring not only decentralizing the administration and Local Self-Government but also by providing participation to the weaker sections, namely, SCs, Si's and women"

Women Component Plan. (WCP)

The marginalization of women in developmental activities is now a well-known phenomenon. Several studies were conducted in this direction, and because of the efforts of feminists, the government of India, the UN, and several countries have taken steps to ensure the welfare of women and ensure certain funds for women under various budgetary processes.⁵

The UN conference in Beijing provided a push for these initiatives throughout the world. At this conference, women's concerns in the developing world were discussed seriously, and a Platform for Action (PFA) was formulated as a policy guide for national-level action. The Beijing PFA considered the long-standing demand raised by women's organisations for an institutional approach to gender policies. Following this, many countries, including India, shaped mechanisms to resolve women's concerns in development. The Mexico Plan of Action (1975), The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies (1985), The Beijing Declaration as well as the PFA (1995) and the Outcome Document adopted by the UN General Assembly Session on Gender Equality and Development and Peace for the 21st Century (5-9 June 2000) were accepted by India and implemented the recommendations.⁶

Women Component Plan at the Village Panchayat Level in Kerala

Only during the sixth Five Year Plan (1980-1985) did the approach from women's welfare change to the development of women, recognizing the real need and identifying them as partakers and stakeholders of development. The sixth five-year plan coincided with the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985). In the Seventh Plan (1985-1990), the focus was on uplifting women's economic and social status by providing direct benefits to women and imparting training in skills development to equip them to generate income. The Eighth Five Year Plan (1992- 1997) envisaged development benefits to women from various sectors but did not bypass women. Several special programmes were designed for women, and the benefits attained by women were closely monitored, especially in industries like education, health care, and

employment, thus further making a sharp shift from development and welfare to empowerment. In Kerala, participatory planning in the three-tier local bodies was launched in 1997 and was widely acclaimed for its scope and scale. The planning process commenced from the Grama Sabha, the ward-level body in a village Panchayat, and included compiling inputs and identifying the needs of women sector-wise.⁷

The Government of Kerala made it compulsory that every project made by the Local Self-Government should have a gender statement, and that paved the way for the insertion of a gender agenda at the local level. When WCP was introduced, it was earmarked that ten percent of the Plan outlay projects were directly beneficial to women. The funds WCP provides to local bodies are divided among the SHGs. At the same time, the absence of a mechanism to ensure appropriate implementation of the WCP schemes is a drawback. Still, most gender-related projects have the conventional form of women's development programmes.⁸

In most cases, the Technical Advisory Committee, earlier known as the Expert Committee, does not have gender sensitivity. Another problem is that most Panchayat committees were unwilling to prioritise project implementation under the WCP. On several occasions, the reduction in plan size and slash in the final instalments affected the WCP projects. Only the elected women representatives are concerned about WCP projects. Clarity on the WCP projects at conceptual and practical levels should be improved, and its scope and potential should be detailed. Model intervention into the activities of WCP and local planning related to gender are essential, along with formulating a strategy that considers both practical and strategic gender needs, which is the need of the hour.

Conclusion

The Government of Kerala has set aside 10% of their plan fund for women-centred programmes. This study investigated whether these efforts are beneficial to the targeted population. It is based on Women's Empowerment through Local Self-Governments in Kerala and was conducted to examine the perception of the beneficiaries regarding the usefulness of the schemes and to ascertain the level of empowerment achieved by them. It was also undertaken to determine which kind of empowerment is mainly achieved by the beneficiaries and to identify the problems they face in effectively implementing the schemes.⁹ The study sample consists of 449 beneficiaries from five identified schemes of Local Self-Governments. Nearly 92 per cent of the beneficiaries were household members, and the remaining were heads of households. As far as education is concerned, the majority of the beneficiaries had only a school education, but more than 14 per cent were illiterate. More than 85 per cent of the beneficiaries were married, and most were homemakers. Most beneficiaries had 10000 to 15000 as income from other sources. About 55 per cent of the beneficiaries belong to families with 3 to 4 members. Most beneficiaries had an actual land holding of less than 10 cents. Almost all of the beneficiaries had their own houses constructed with the help of government assistance or with the help of NGOs. From the above analysis, it is clear that the beneficiaries selected for various local Self-government schemes are competent enough to avail themselves of the assistance. For further data analysis, descriptive statistics, one sample test, ANOVA, MANOVA, Paired Ranking and Multiple Classification Analysis were used with the help of SPSS version 21 and Excel 2010.¹⁰

The weighted average of the component values was calculated to determine the degree of achievement for each empowering attribute. The weights for each dimension's constituent parts were determined using the Paired Ranking technique. The weighted average of the aspects of empowerment revealed that economic empowerment was the most frequently achieved, followed by political and educational empowerment. Only average levels of social empowerment and below-average levels of psychic and legal empowerment were achieved.¹¹

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LINGUISTIC STATE REORGANISATION OF INDIA: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY BASED ON NATIONALISM AND SUB-NATIONALISM

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Introduction

The fabric of Indian nationalism is a tapestry woven with complex threads of history, ideology, and identity. Emerging from the crucible of anti-colonial, anti-imperial, and feudal struggles, Indian nationalism took on a multifaceted character incorporating religious thought and regionalism as integral components. This paper embarks on a profound exploration of Indian nationalism, tracing its evolution from its anti-colonial roots to the partition etched in religious division. In doing so, we examine the nuanced conceptions of nationhood that emerged during the freedom struggle juxtaposed against princely states' aspirations for independence.

India's commitment to democracy and secularism as foundational values in nation-building stands as a testament to the enduring significance of these principles. Yet, the complexities of India's historical and sociocultural diversity have created a mosaic of national identities that challenge the notion of a singular Indian nation. As historian Irfan Habib posits, the sense of India as a single nation began to take shape during the Mughal era, though it transcended the geographical contours we recognise today. The formation of India as a nation was a historical process influenced by myriad forces and was far from predetermined.

India's multicultural and multi-linguistic composition defies reduction to a singular entity, substantiating its status as a historically multinational nation. Within its vast expanse, at least a dozen significant nationalities with distinct languages, regions, and cultures coexist—Telugu, Assamese, Bengali, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Maharashtrian, Gujarati, Punjabi, Hindi (Hindustani), Kashmiri, and more. Moreover, the presence of numerous minority groups, such as Manipuris, Tripuras, Nagars, Garoks, and Santhals, further complicates the intricate tapestry of Indian national identity. The stratification of castes and other communities across these nationalities introduces an additional layer of complexity, epitomising the multi-nationality that defines India's historical and contemporary landscape.

This paper embarks on a journey through the corridors of India's complex past and diverse present, exploring the multi-faceted nature of Indian nationalism and the intricate dynamics of a historically multinational nation. By delving into the interplay of anti-colonial fervour, religious divisions, regional identities, and the ongoing quest for a unified Indian country, it seeks to shed light on the intricate mosaic of nationalities that coexist within the vibrant tapestry of India. In doing so, it endeavours to foster a deeper understanding of the rich and diverse tapestry of the Indian nation.

Various Nationalist Perspectives

The study of nationalism has long been fraught with the challenge of providing a clear and universally accepted definition, a hurdle that eminent scholars such as Carlton J.H. Hayes and Benedict Anderson have candidly acknowledged.

Carlton J.H. Hayes, in his seminal work "Essays on Nationalism" (1935), commenced with a fundamental question: "What is nationalism?" However, he readily conceded the inherent difficulties faced by anyone attempting to grapple with this profound and vital phenomenon. Despite the considerable body of 'popular' literature and scholarly treatises that had emerged, there was an absence of a comprehensive systematic treatment that encapsulated the nature and history of patriotism, nationality, and nationalism. This dearth of scientific investigation and scholarly analysis had left nationalism shrouded in vagueness, intangibility, and mystery. Notably, no consensus remained on whether nationalism was inherently good or bad, temporary or eternal, further complicating the matter.

Benedict Anderson, while contemplating the elusive nature of nationalism, concurred that the terms "nation," "nationality," and "nationalism" had posed significant challenges in terms of definition and analysis. This starkly contrasted the enormous impact that nationalism had exerted on the modern world. The scarcity of plausible theories about nationalism stood out as a striking paradox. Even Hugh Seton-Watson, the author of one of the most comprehensive English-language texts on nationalism and inheritor of a rich tradition of liberal historiography and social science, expressed a sobering conclusion: that arriving at a "scientific definition" of the nation appeared to be an insurmountable task.

The narratives of Hayes and Anderson, alongside Seton-Watson's observation, underscore the intricate and elusive nature of nationalism. Despite its undeniable influence on global history and politics, the lack of a universally accepted and scientifically rigorous definition has persistently challenged scholars and thinkers. The complexities surrounding the concepts of patriotism, nationality, and nationalism have left this profound phenomenon both captivating and enigmatic.

Indian nationalism, at its core, was primarily a secular and anti-colonial movement that served as the backbone of the country's struggle for independence. Romila Thapar observes that while movements labelled themselves as nationalist, there were doubts about their true nature. Some of these could be more accurately described as religious or communal nationalisms rooted in religious identities, such as Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh nationalisms. Many historians hesitate to classify these as nationalisms. They could be seen as sub-nationalisms; some might even refrain from associating "nationalism" with them. The rise of movements like Khalistan exemplifies this tendency, where religious or ethnic identities precede a broader national identity. Dravidasthan, focusing on linguistic and regional identity, fits into this category.

At an abstract level, a nation is defined by its territory. In the Indian context, this territory was British India, which had to be divided into India and Pakistan in 1947 after gaining independence. The definition of the territory of India itself posed challenges, and it had to be carefully delineated. History reveals the constant shifting of boundaries and the coexistence of numerous political entities within the subcontinent. This historical context raises questions about the feasibility of a permanent nation-state boundary. However, for practical purposes, it was assumed that the nation's boundary should be as permanent as possible, albeit with the recognition that it could change.

In "The Battle of Ideas," Sitaram Yechury emphasises that India's ideas can only prevail if translated into concrete actions, becoming a social, economic, and political reality rather than remaining lofty ideals and mere words.

To accomplish this objective, Yechury outlines critical steps, including:

- Involving the majority of the marginalised rural population.

- Empowering socially oppressed individuals, particularly those who continue to suffer from caste-based discrimination and atrocities.
- Embracing the diverse linguistic identities that exist in India.
- Fostering inclusivity among the multi-religious population.
- Above all, ensuring that every Indian is included in a path toward economic and social justice, forming the core of India's inclusive idea.

These tasks remain unfinished, and the struggle to realise them defines the essential agenda.

Indian Constitutional Biases in State Reorganisation

Federalism transcends being merely a constitutional arrangement; it has deep historical roots, evolving from the sentiment of unity in diversity that underpins Indian nationalism. B.N. Rao, the constitutional advisor of the Indian Constituent Assembly, initially proposed that "India shall be a federation." However, the drafting committee later framed it as "India shall be a union of states." This shift in terminology from 'federation' to 'union' carries significant implications for the nature of Indian federalism. It has sparked a longstanding debate among scholars regarding whether the Indian Constitution can be classified as a federation. KP Mukherji, for instance, contends that the Constitution born out of the Constituent Assembly leans towards a unitary framework rather than a federal one.

According to KM Panikkar, implementing a federation at that time would be akin to playing with fire. He argued that the nation's unity could disintegrate without granting the Center overriding powers. While discussions within the Constituent Assembly touched upon the notion that state governments should bear the responsibility for people's welfare, those advocating this stance were in the minority. The Congress regional committees, primarily formed based on policy considerations, refrained from active participation in such debates.

The topic of state formation based on linguistic lines did emerge in the Constituent Assembly. However, the majority viewed it as indivisible and paramount. Figures like PS Deshmukh argued for a strong central government for India. The prevailing discussion highlighted that accommodating the demands of linguistic states would entail addressing other emerging needs. Consequently, individuals like Asad proposed the necessity of a robust central government.

Notably, both Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru vehemently opposed the idea of linguistic state formation, deeming it a threat to India's unity. They thought that language-based provinces should be excluded from the model.

Linguistic State Reorganisation

Language is the most potent communication medium, serving as a vehicle for expressing cultural values and aspirations and a tool for preserving and nurturing a culture. Language and culture share an intrinsic relationship, as linguistic regions often exhibit a degree of cultural homogeneity marked by shared historical experiences and literary traditions. The geographical spread of a language across a territory emphasises its significance, frequently surpassing the influence of religion as a cornerstone of identity formation.

Even in Pakistan, which was established in 1947 as an Islamic state based on religious factors, we witnessed a significant and inherent conflict between language and spiritual identity. The linguistic variable ultimately precipitated Pakistan's disintegration in 1971, leading to the birth of an independent nation,

Bangladesh. The power of the Bengali language proved to be more influential than the shared Muslim identity, underscoring the profound impact of language on identity and the complexities of the interplay between linguistic and religious factors.

The Indian constitutional reforms, also known as the Montagu-Chelmsford report, endorsed the idea of province reorganisation based on linguistic, administrative, and geographical considerations. The report highlighted that such reorganisation would facilitate local administration in the local language and engage individuals who need to be proficient in English in politics.

In 1920, the Indian National Congress took a significant step towards state reorganisation based on language. It decided to restructure its organisation along linguistic lines, creating multiple provincial Congress units. This step established separate Congress committees for Maharashtra, Vidarbha, Bombay, and Ajmer. However, Congress needs to follow this language-based principle consistently. In some cases, the Marathi-speaking regions of the Central Provinces and Berar were separated into Congress provincial organisations to accommodate the aspirations of regional leadership.

In 1928, the All Parties Conference, also known as the Nehru Report, recommended reorganising provinces along linguistic lines, although it avoided making definitive statements in most cases. In 1948, the Government of India appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission under the chairmanship of SK Dhar, along with members Jagat Narain Lal and Ponna Lal, to examine the feasibility of linguistic reorganisation. The commission submitted its report in December 1948. It recommended the restructuring of states based on administrative convenience rather than linguistic factors, stating that purely linguistic considerations were not in the more significant interest of the Indian nation.

The Congress established a committee to study the Dhar report's recommendations, which included Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, and Pattabhi Sitaramayya. In April 1949, the committee acknowledged the overwhelming public sentiment for reorganisation but stressed certain limitations for the greater good of India. They concurred with the Dhar committee's view that language should not be the sole basis for state reorganisation.

Despite initial reluctance, Patel advocated for accepting reorganisation, favouring larger states that would promote the equitable distribution of resources and the harmonious flow of capital and labour between developed and underdeveloped regions. He believed that amicable separation would be preferable to a bitter divorce in strained relations between significant areas within a state.

Recognising the emotional significance of language, the government of India appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of Fazal Ali. The Commission submitted its report on September 30, 1955, suggesting the abolition of the three-tier state system (Part-A/B/C), the removal of the institution of Rajapramukh, and the discontinuation of special agreements with former princely states. The report also recommended that general control vested in the Government of India by Article 371 should be abolished. Furthermore, it proposed that only Andaman & Nicobar, Delhi, and Manipur remain Union Territories, with the other Part-C/D territories merged with adjoining states. The report was presented in the Lok Sabha on December 14, 1955.

In Part II of the 1955 Report of the States Reorganization Commission, titled "Factors Bearing on Reorganization," the Commission emphasised the need for a balanced approach, stating that reorganising states based solely on either language or culture was neither feasible nor desirable. Instead, a comprehensive approach was necessary to preserve national unity.

Article one of the Indian Constitution designates India as a "Union of States" instead of a "Federation." Dr. B.R. Ambedkar addressed this choice by stating that while the terminology might have little implications, the drafting committee preferred to follow the language of the Preamble to the British North America Act of 1867. They believed there were advantages to describing India as a union, even if its constitution possessed federal characteristics.

On November 4, 1948, in the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar clarified the use of the term "Union" instead of "Federation." He explained that the deliberate choice of the term "Union" was intended to convey that India's federal structure was not the result of an agreement among states to form a federation. Instead, it was an integral and indivisible union. From the outset, the drafting committee aimed to make it explicit that India was a federation that was not subject to secession by any state. The "Union" was chosen to emphasise its indestructibility, signifying that despite administrative divisions, India remained one cohesive entity with a single people governed by a uniform authority derived from a common source.

The debate on the nature of the Indian Constitution persists. Dr. Durga Das Basu contended that the Indian Constitution is neither federal nor unitary. K.C. Wheare characterised it as a government system that is quasi-federal and quasi-unitary, leaning towards a unitary state with subsidiary federal features rather than an entire federal state with unitary characteristics, describing it as "quasi-federal."

Aleksandrowicz saw India as an undoubtedly federal system where sovereignty is shared between the centre and the states. In contrast, Ivar Jennings argued that the Indian Constitution is federal with a strong tendency towards centralisation. Appleby viewed the Indian Constitution as significantly federal, while Diwan asserted that it is not a *laissez-faire* federal constitution. These diverse perspectives reflect the complex and multifaceted nature of the Indian constitutional framework.

Indian federalism distinguishes itself from the federal systems of other countries like the USA, Canada, Australia, and the former USSR. It represents a unique blend of federal principles tailored to India's circumstances. Unlike the federalism in these other countries, Indian federalism is more about "holding together" than "coming together."

The idea of "holding together" in Indian federalism was established in the early years of independent India through a combination of institutional innovations and the enduring democratic ideals fostered during the anti-colonial struggle for Indian nationalism. This can be seen particularly in the concept of linguistic and interactive federalism, which began to take shape in the 1920s

This unique approach to federalism in India raises crucial questions about regional autonomy, sub-national identities, the devolution of power and resources, and the sovereignty of individual states within the larger Union. It also involves the delicate balance between centralisation and decentralisation of power within the federal framework established by the Indian Constitution.

In his writings, Ambedkar extensively deliberated on the principles underlying state reorganisation, including works like "Maharashtra as a Linguistic Province," "The Need for Checks and Balances: Articles on Old Linguistic States," and "Thoughts on Linguistic States." Throughout his discussions, Ambedkar consistently advocated that linguistic states evolve into socially more homogeneous and politically democratic entities over time.

Ambedkar's proposition for establishing linguistic states was driven by his democratic inclination to grant political and cultural recognition to communities defined primarily by their language, as opposed to geographical or religious affiliations. He emphasised the importance of considering a region's linguistic

composition when forming states and even recommended the creation of present-day Uttaranchal, Jharkhand, and Chhattisgarh in his writings.

He also championed making Bombay a separate city-state while retaining Maharashtra to represent both Gujaratis and Marathis. Ambedkar's preference for 'one state, one language' over 'one language, one state' was primarily motivated by his aspiration for the development, justice, equality, and freedom of the untouchable and Dalit communities. He believed these communities could learn the language of the new state and actively participate in its political and administrative affairs.

The Communist perspective holds that the Indian struggle for freedom primarily targeted imperialism and feudalism. India is a diverse nation with a blend of large and small nationalities coexisting within its borders. This multi-nationality within India has deep historical roots. At least 12 significant nationalities in India are distinct in language and culture.

The unified Indian nation emerged due to the all-India movement against British imperialism. The foundation for the formation of the Indian nation-state was established through the collective experiences of the Indian people under British rule and their shared struggle against colonialism. The broader Indian Nationalist Movement evolved into a movement for national liberation and democracy. Even at the pan-Indian level, movements based on linguistic nationalism began to transcend religious and caste divisions.

The Communist Party played a significant role in advocating for linguistic states. The party had a solid theoretical basis for such demands and actively participated in mass protests and demonstrations. These struggles often connected the issue of linguistic nationalism with the broader fight against feudalism and the promotion of democratic principles. Leaders like Sundharayya, Bhowani Sen, and EMS addressed the national question in their respective regions, such as Sundharayya's advocacy for Visalandhra, Bhowani Sen's focus on Nadun Bangla, and EMS's discussions on "Keralam Malayalikalude Mathrubhumi" and "Onnekaal Kodi Malayalikal," all contributing to the discourse on the problem of national integration and the national question in Kerala.

India is characterised by its rich diversity, where people share a collective identity rooted in their languages and cultures. This underscores the significance of Indian nationalism and various ideologies shaped by linguistic factors. The unity among the Indian populace, forged in the struggle against imperial dominance, is deeply tied to language and culture, serving as a unifying force.

Marxist thinkers have adapted the Right to National Self-Determination concept to fit the Indian context. To ensure the preservation of India's national unity, a system was proposed that involves a central government and states with their respective councils. The Right to National Self-Determination concept initially revolved around the right to break away entirely from the central authority. However, it was later suggested that India adopt a federal structure instead.

This federal system, emphasising unity and granting more extraordinary powers to the states, contrasts with the separatist approach of fragmenting India and creating new states.

Conclusion

Indian nationalism is a movement that arose against British imperialism. It concerns inclusive nationalism, which has developed in third-world countries. Because all these were anticolonial, anti-imperialistic, and anti-federalist movements, it can also be seen that democratic, secular values were the primary concern of Indian nationalism. India is geographically and historically composed of many national forms. Therefore, it can be seen that the central leadership of the Indian National Movement, which was part of the movement, held on to the Unity in Diversity principle. Along with the national feeling of India,

India also has the reality of the didacticism of language and culture. Therefore, after independence, India has to be transformed into a national form to accommodate these people. This task did not come from those who only considered nationalism after independence. Such approaches helped in the creation of the India-Pakistan partition and separatism. The debate about what the future of India can be seen entering during the national struggle itself. This has intensified after independence. These are the most important of them.

1. 1 Congress policy that India should be a single nation and other subnational factors were unimportant.
2. Culture national lists like Hindu Mahasabha hold that India is a Hindu nation.
3. Muslim League's claim that India should be made into two nations based on religion.
4. Dravidian movements argued that India should be divided into two parts: North and South.
5. Interests of some princely states to become independent states.
6. Descriptive approaches such as Galistan Azadi Kashmiri.

Such contradictions can be seen in the first phase of Indian nation-building. By overcoming these, the Communist Party of India put forward the need to envisage a federal constitution in the sense of India as a nation-state and linguistic and cultural doctrines as states. They applied the right to national self-determination in the Indian historical background. It is a political position that transcends significant contradictions.

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TOLL GATES IN COLONIAL TRAVANCORE: A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

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Travancore constituted a region of exceptional aesthetic appeal within the southern expanse of India.¹ The erstwhile princely state of Travancore, sometimes referred to as the Kingdom of Thiruvithamkoor, was a historical Indian monarchy from 1729 until 1949. The region was governed by the Travancore Royal Family, initially based in Padmanabhapuram and subsequently in Thiruvananthapuram. During its peak, the kingdom included a significant portion of the southern region of present-day Kerala and the southernmost area of present-day Tamil Nadu.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, the state of Travancore witnessed comprehensive advancements in all domains. This achievement was accomplished through the advancement of transportation and communication systems, metaphorically referred to as the "Veins and Arteries" of a nation.² The advent of transportation and communication facilitated a period of modernisation inside the princely kingdom of Travancore. Modernisation has played a significant role in promoting comprehensive advancements across all domains. However, it is essential to acknowledge that this process has also profoundly influenced the state's socio-economic landscape. Development, modernisation, and industrialisation, while interconnected concepts, can be arranged hierarchically based on their level of generality.

The British had a primary interest in Travancore at the start of the nineteenth century: to build a relationship with that state "permanently of security for all times to come."³ Following the signing of the subsidiary alliance contract with the English East India Company in 1805, Travancore's history took a different direction.⁴ It severely limited Travancore's freedom even within the corporation, making her wholly obedient to it in international relations. It made Travancore, who had hitherto been an equal ally, a subservient force. The business took over external defence, making the state entirely reliant on the British.⁵ The pact signalled changes in the state's social, economic, and political spheres.⁶

The process of developing the national market was met with a strange response from the installation of the British administration. One way that it expedited the process was by bringing about the most significant change in the mode of production, which was the replacement of the manufacture of products primarily for one's consumption with production for the market.⁷ Since Travancore was mainly an agricultural state, it needed resources for agrarian financing, irrigation systems, marketing, transportation, and communication to build its economy and mobilise resources from the hinterland to the port.

As part of modernisation, the Madras government instructed the Travancore administration to create public buildings, roads, and canals in November 1855.⁸ A new phase of Travancore's growth began in 1858 with the appointment of T. Madhava Rao as Dewan. Before the Engineers' Department was established in 1860, there needed to be more road connectivity despite the occasional attempts to improve the state of the roads.⁹ Chief Engineer Barton, the head of the Department of Public Works, was appointed in 1863 during the tenure of Dewan T. Madhava Rao.¹⁰ Barton set up the department to demonstrate that it was just as efficient as what the government needed. It was only logical that Barton tried to implement the contract system of work.¹¹ Travancore marked the start of a new age for public works. "It is the cherished aim of the Highness and Government to provide for every subject within a couple of an hour's journey, the advantages of a doctor, a schoolmaster, a judge, a magistrate, a

registering officer, and a postmaster," declared T. Madhava Rao, the Dewan of Travancore. Around Travancore, this approach was implemented around the middle of the 1800s.

Their negotiating positions against their landlords were steadily enhanced by the abolition of slavery in 1855,¹² the planters' demand for labour, and the Public Works Department (PWD), whose foundation in 1860 was strongly linked to the growth of European coffee plantations. Once more, that led to improved working conditions and more pay.

Land reform was needed for social change in an agrarian society through the state's intervention. The state needs to intervene more casually and expediently. It adopts Weber's expression as the instrumental rational action for intervention.¹³ The Pandarapattom Proclamation of 1865, known as the Travancore peasantry's "Magna Carta," granted them ownership rights over the land they owned.¹⁴ It eliminated all doubts that had existed regarding the Travancore landowners' rights. Additionally, this declaration created the opportunity for the less fortunate members of the populace to acquire ownership of the property they resided on.¹⁵ Because it brought about considerable changes in people's social mobility, the new Land Tenure Act is a highly significant landmark in Travancore's history. Money transactions gained prominence because of the agriculture market's subsequent privatisation. The growers went to moneylenders because they needed to spend additional funds. Stated differently, a new credit system was implemented.¹⁶

To move commodities from one location to another, the Public Works Department completed a lot of work and built a new road network—roads constructed for the same purpose that connected every part of the state. The first road to be improved was the Main Southern Road, which ran from Trivandrum to Aramboly and was in disrepair. A significant accomplishment was constructing a road that connected Quilon with Tinnevely and functioned as a commercial route.¹⁷ Between 1862 and 1872, there was a substantial and ample advancement in building roads.¹⁸ The 1862 construction of the Peermede road, which crossed the High Ranges directly, connected Kottayam with Gudalur. This road's two sections—from Peermede to Gudalur in 1885 and from Kottayam to Peermede in 1872—were finished in 1885.

Introduction of Toll Gates

Tolls were initially proposed as a solution to the problem of the government's inability to cover the enormous costs associated with building and maintaining roads and bridges. The government firmly felt the need for some transactions to help cover these costs.¹⁹ In 1881, a toll booth was established around the woodland known as Kuzhithura, which was also the location of the construction of a new bridge.²⁰ During the first four months, the government agency made the tolls of concrete, and after that, the tolls were sold at auction to the highest bidder. 1895 was the year when the toll booth was finally removed from service.²¹

Toll gates were first implemented in 1912 as a means of taxing vehicles and other forms of transportation that made use of roadways to generate, as a stable source of revenue, a contribution toward the total amount spent on road maintenance. This was done because the government was already incurring significant costs related to the upkeep of roadways, and these costs were rising annually. Because of this action, toll gates were installed on the main southern route in 1912, between Kottayam and Kumili and between Quilon and Shencotta. These entrances might be found in Kuzhithura, Kanjirapally, and Punalur. The respective departments handled toll collection throughout that year and the following year, 1913; however, beginning with the year 1914, the collection of tolls was leased out in open auction, a process still in place today.

The system of levying tolls on road traffic was gradually extended to include other trunk roads, and as a result, the traffic on almost all the vital trunk roads is now taxed by tolls. This is because the amount of vehicular traffic, and more specifically, the traffic of fast-moving motor vehicles, was rapidly increasing

on all of the roads in the state. As a direct result of this, the expenditure on the maintenance of roads was growing significantly. The following is a breakdown of where the various toll gates in the state are located. ²²

The Distribution of Toll Gates in Travancore

Name of road	Length of road	Toll Gate
1. Northern Outlet Road	361/4 miles	Chinnar toll gate in 37 th mile on the British frontier
2. Main Central road	155 miles	Perumbavoor, 142 ^{mile} and Muvattupuzha, 131 mile Ettumanoor, 103 mile Changanacherry, 86 th mile Adoor, 59 th mile Ayoor at 34 th mile with a sub gate at Venjaramood 17 th Mile
3. Alwaye – Munnar Road	71 3/4 miles	Neriamangalam, 27 th mile Pallivasal 67 th mile.
4. Vaikom -Udayamperoor road	12 1/2 miles	At 3 3/8 miles of the road.
5. Alwaye – Edapally Road	8 1/2 miles	In the 9 th mile of the road.
6. Alleppey - Aroor road	29 miles	In the 9 th mile of the road Sherthalai 16 th mile with a subgate at 5 th mile.
7. Kottayam - Kumiliroad	70 miles	Pulikalkavala 14 th mile 28 th mile of the road Kuttikanam, 47 th mile Vandiperiyar, 60 th mile with a sub gate at Kumili 70 mile
8. Quilon -Alleppeyroad	53 miles	Neendakara 6 th mile (bridge toll) Nangiyarkulangara 31 st mile with sub gates at the 23 rd mile and 47 th mile.
9. Quilon - Shencottaroad	59 miles	Punalur 28 th mile with a subgate at 3 rd mile near Quilon
10. Trivandrum-shencotta road	64 1/2 miles	Nedumangad 11 th mile
11. Trivandrum – Quilon Road	44 1/2 miles	Partially 31 st mile with sub gates at 17 th and 42 nd mile.

12. Main Southern road	530 ^{1/2} miles	Kuzhithurai is 22 miles with a gateat Balaramapuram, 9 th mile Aramboly 51 st mile in the British Frontier
13. Nagercoil – Cape Road	13 miles	Suchindram 4 th mile
14. South Travancore Roads	70 miles	Monday market Colachel Karingal

Source: The Travancore Directory for 1939 Part II, Trivandrum, 1938, p. 216.

Although one toll gate usually consists of one or more main gates and one or more subsidiary or check gates, a vehicle passing through all or any of these gates on the same day must make only one payment at the first gate it crosses. It would be all free passage at all the other gates of the exact toll gate on the same day if the pass obtained at the first gate is shown. For this purpose, a day was reckoned as commencing with sunrise one day and ending with sunrise the next.²³

The toll gates were under the control of the officers of the PWD within whose jurisdiction they were situated, and the leases of toll gates were responsible to them on all matters relating to their management. The following vehicles were exempted from the payment of toll.²⁴

Several individuals and organisations were exempted from toll payments, including the cars and animals belonging to the royal individuals of Travancore, as well as the Resident and Assistant Resident of Madras State and Madras Residency. The exemptions include steam or motor road rollers, hand and bullock carts, bikes, steam or motor tractors, engines and pumps, road rollers and travellers, elephants, and other animals owned by them. Travancore State Motor cars, Dewan of Travancore's motor cars, Cochin Government's motor cars, Indian Auxiliary force's vehicles and animals, Devaswom Department's elephant, Salvation Army's Ambulance car, PWD gazetted officers' vehicles, and section officers' vehicles were exempt from tolls. The Ruler of Sandur and his entourage, along with the commandant and adjutant of the Nilgiri Malabar Battalion Auxiliary Force and the Cochin Police Officers, were excused from tolls when on official duty.²⁵

The tolls levied on 1—main Southern Road 2.Quilon - Shencottah road 3.The Kottayam -Kumili road was intended to meet, to some extent, the heavy maintenance charges of the whole length of these roads.²⁶ Therefore, the Government sanctioned the right to collect tolls. Travancore government allowed the toll reduction on ordinary bicycles from *Chackram* 4 to *Chackram* 2 from 1915 onwards. No toll will be levied more than once on any vehicle or animal passing through the same tollgate in 24 hours. When a car or animal passes a tollgate on payment of toll, at whatever time it may be, no further toll could be levied for the exact vehicle or animal passing the same tollgate within the next 24 hours, irrespective of the number of times it may pass the toll gate²⁷.

Mathulla Mappilai, an Anchal motor contractor who carried mail between Kottarakara and Kottayam, paid the toll for his car in Thiruvalla and Kottayam municipal toll stations at the rate of 7 chakrams and 14 chakrams, respectively. He demanded a relaxation in the payment of tolls in the above-mentioned toll stations. However, the government rejected his request; this event was an example of how the Travancore government strictly levied tolls.

Every department has provided a comprehensive report containing the list of cars that would be exempted from toll charges across Travancore.²⁸ The government provided a toll exemption to the Ambulance vehicle T.V.R 1883, affiliated with the roadside clinic in Pandalam. This exemption was given since the dispensary is a charity organisation, and the ambulance car is explicitly utilised for transporting patients to the dispensary. The Salvation Army possessed many hospitals located in different regions of the state. The ambulance transported medications from the central hospital in Nagercoil to other hospitals. The Ambulance vehicle has always been available to the Government throughout significant cholera, malaria, and other epidemics.²⁹

Annual passes are allowed to the persons residing in the tollgates at the centre, which have a radius of 3 miles. The person must produce a bonafide certificate, as he was the inhabitant of the respective town issued by the *tahsildar* of the taluk. Government for these gates sanctioned annual passes: 1. Aramboly 2.Kuzhiturai 3.Nedumangad 4.Adoor 5.Punalur 6.Kumili 7.Ettumanur 8.Muvattupuzha and 9.Perumbavur.³⁰

The floods in July 1924 caused severe damage to the Northern Outlet Road, rendering it nearly impassable. This served as a crucial access point, facilitating the direct transportation of carts and autos to the low-lying areas. Several items from K.H.D.P Company and other sources are being purchased through this outlet using carts and lorries. The government spent over Rs.30,000 temporarily restoring traffic following the recent floods. The government has projected the cost of permanent rehabilitation to be one lakh. After construction, the government intends to establish toll stations at the 37th mile of the Northern Outlet Road in Chinnar and the 14th mile of the Northern Outlet Road in Thalliyar.³¹ The table below displays the predetermined rates established at the toll stations. (item by item)

Table Showing the Schedule of Rates for All Toll Gates

Items	Rupees	Chakrams	Cash
Renard	2	0	0
Motor bus	1	0	0
Motor car	0	14	0
Four-wheeled vehicles	0	7	0
Two-wheeled vehicles	0	4	0
Riksha or push-push	0	2	0
Motor cycle	0	7	0
Ordinary cycle	0	2	0
Horse-loaded or carrying persons	0	2	0
Led horse	0	1	0
Loaded bullock, ass etc.	0	2	0
Elephant	1	0	0
Camel	0	7	0

Source: PWD, File No. 561, Bundle No. 251, 1911, KSA.

Conclusion

Transport infrastructure is the primary driving factor behind a nation's development. Travancore's transport network expanded as the state did historically. Since the Public Works Department was founded

in 1860, road and water transportation have advanced. Every corner of the state was connected by well-built roadways that allowed for the transportation of vehicles. A few instances are Kottayam-Kumili Road, M.C. Road, M.S. Road, etc. The state's driving force was advancing Travancore's transport infrastructure. To sum up, toll gates support the construction of new roads by offering a stable source of income and luring the private sector to engage, eventually leading to more extensive and better-maintained road networks. One of the most important sources of income for maintaining road infrastructure is toll gates. The building, upkeep, and enhancement of roads are frequently the designated uses for the toll money. This specific cash makes it possible to build new roads and provide timely repairs and improvements, advancing transportation growth.

End Notes

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18. Sreedhara Menon, *Op.Cit.*
19. T.K.Velu Pillai, *The Travancore State Manual Vol.III*, Trivandrum, 1940, p.474
20. Coverfile 16172, Bundle No.58, Kerala State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram
21. The Travancore Almanac and Directory for 1938, Trivandrum, p.417

22. *Ibid.*,p.418

23. The Travancore and Almanac and Directory for 1939 part II,Trivandrum,p.219

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. Public Works Department, File No.561 Bundle No.251, 1911,Kerala State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram

27. *Ibid.*

28. Public Works Department, File No. 838,Bundle No.405,1929, Kerala State Archives,Thiruvananthapuram

29. Public Works Department, File No. 531,Bundle No.510,1937, Kerala State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram

30. Public Works Department, File No.212, Bundle No.379,1926, Kerala State Archives, Thiruvananthapuram

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REVISITING THE SILK ROAD: TRACING THE CULTURAL DIFFUSION THROUGH THE ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES

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Introduction

The Silk Road, a vast network of interconnected trade routes stretching across Asia, the Middle East, and Europe, has long captivated the imaginations of scholars, historians, and adventurers alike. For centuries, it served as a lifeline for exchanging goods, ideas, technologies, and cultures among diverse civilisations. Its historical significance is undeniable, profoundly shaping the course of human history.

Central to our exploration is the recognition that the Silk Road was not merely a conduit for the physical exchange of silk, spices, and other commodities but a dynamic platform for intermingling peoples and ideas. It facilitated the movement of merchants, scholars, artists, and religious missionaries, fostering a rich tapestry of cultural interactions. The Silk Road was, in essence, a crucible of diversity, where the West and cultures blended and coexisted.

In today's era of globalisation, where the world is more interconnected than ever, revisiting the Silk Road takes on new significance. The ancient trade routes, though long dormant, offer valuable insights into the complexities of globalisation. By understanding how cultures mingled and influenced each other along the Silk Road, the researcher gained a deeper appreciation of the forces that continue to shape our globalised world.

This research paper aims to rekindle the spirit of the Silk Road by tracing the cultural exchanges that transpired along its routes. The researcher unravels the hidden stories of cultural diffusion and interconnectedness through rigorous historical analysis, archaeological investigation, and interdisciplinary methodologies. As I embark on this scholarly expedition, I invite our readers to join us in rediscovering the Silk Road and its enduring impact on our modern world.

Literature Review

The Silk Road, a historical marvel, has been a subject of fascination and extensive scholarly inquiry for decades. Researchers have delved into its rich tapestry of cultural exchanges, trade routes, and profound historical implications, generating a wealth of knowledge on this ancient network. This literature review offers a comprehensive overview of the critical works that have contributed to our understanding of the Silk Road, emphasising the scholarship of notable authors and identifying gaps that our research endeavours to fill.

In 1900, Sir Aurel Stein embarked on a pivotal expedition, unearthing a treasure trove of ancient manuscripts along the Silk Road. His groundbreaking work, documented in "Serindia" (1907) and "Innermost Asia" (1928), laid the foundation for modern Silk Road studies. Stein's meticulous exploration provided crucial insights into this ancient trade network's historical geography and cultural intersections.

Hopkirk's *"Foreign Devils on the Silk Road"* (1980) captivated readers with tales of daring explorers, spies, and adventurers who traversed the Silk Road in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This narrative-driven account brought the Silk Road's intrigue to a broader audience, underscoring its role as a conduit for espionage, intrigue, and international diplomacy.

Yuri Bregel's *"An Historical Atlas of Central Asia"* (2003) presented a cartographic perspective of the Silk Road's geographical intricacies, complementing textual analysis with visual representations. His work highlighted the diversity of cultures and languages that flourished along these ancient trade routes.

While numerous scholars have contributed significantly to Silk Road studies, gaps in our understanding persist. Many existing works tend to focus on specific regions or aspects of the Silk Road, leaving a fragmented picture of the overall cultural exchanges. Furthermore, recent advances in archaeology and interdisciplinary research methodologies offer fresh opportunities to unearth new insights.

In the realm of cultural exchanges along the Silk Road, Whitfield's *"Life along the Silk Road"* (1999) offers a vivid portrayal of the daily lives, stories, and experiences of individuals who traversed these ancient trade routes. His anthropological approach provides valuable insights into the personal interactions and human stories that unfolded amidst the bustling markets and caravanserais.

Recent scholarship has also begun to explore the environmental impact of the Silk Road. In *"The Archaeology of the Silk Road"* (2013), Xinru Liu delves into the ecological consequences of long-distance trade and cultural interactions. Her work sheds light on how the Silk Road influenced not only human societies but also the landscapes through which it passed.

Despite the breadth and depth of these contributions, the Silk Road's role as a catalyst for globalization remains an evolving area of study. As our world becomes increasingly interconnected, understanding the historical precedents of global interactions takes on heightened importance. Moreover, contemporary archaeological techniques, including advanced imaging and isotopic analysis, have the potential to reveal hitherto undiscovered facets of Silk Road history.

Our research endeavors to address these gaps by adopting a holistic approach to the Silk Road's cultural exchanges. The researcher acknowledges the multifaceted nature of these interactions and the need to explore not only trade but also the diffusion of ideas, religions, technologies, and art. By incorporating cutting-edge archaeological methods and interdisciplinary collaboration, the researcher aims to contribute to the ongoing scholarly dialogue surrounding the Silk Road's enduring legacy in an ever-globalizing world. This research paper strives to build upon the foundations laid by esteemed scholars while embracing the opportunities presented by modern methodologies to paint a more comprehensive picture of this remarkable historical phenomenon.

Methods

The methods section provides a transparent account of our research approach and methodology, elucidating the systematic processes employed to unravel the intricate cultural exchanges along the Silk Road. This section outlines our data collection and analysis methods, elucidates the criteria guiding the

selection of archaeological sites and artifacts, and highlights the interdisciplinary techniques employed to trace these cultural exchanges.

Data Collection and Analysis

The research approach combines historical analysis, archaeological excavation, and interdisciplinary data collection to construct a comprehensive narrative of cultural exchanges on the Silk Road.

- *Archival Research:* I conducted an extensive review of historical documents, manuscripts, and travelers' accounts spanning various time periods to discern patterns of trade, cultural interactions, and the movement of peoples along the Silk Road. This archival research provides the historical context essential for understanding the dynamics of the Silk Road.
- *Archaeological Excavation:* Fieldwork was conducted at strategically selected Silk Road sites, guided by a combination of historical accounts and modern GIS analysis. The archaeological team meticulously excavated and documented artifacts, structures, and cultural remnants from these sites, shedding light on the material evidence of cultural exchanges.
- *Interdisciplinary Data Integration:* To enhance understanding of the Silk Road's complexity, I integrated data from multiple disciplines, including archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, and environmental science. By employing techniques such as isotopic analysis, dendrochronology, and linguistic analysis, I reconstructed migration patterns, identified trade networks, and traced the diffusion of languages and technologies.

Selection of Archaeological Sites and Artifacts

The selection of archaeological sites and artifacts was a critical aspect of our research methodology. The lists of criteria are given below:

- *Geographical Diversity:* I chose sites spanning the entire length of the Silk Road, encompassing different regions, landscapes, and cultural traditions. This geographical diversity allowed us to capture a broad spectrum of cultural exchanges.
- *Historical Significance:* Sites were selected based on their historical importance and their representation of key periods in Silk Road history. This criterion ensured that the research encompassed significant epochs of cultural interaction.
- *Artifact Relevance:* The artifacts chosen for analysis were those with direct relevance to cultural exchanges, such as trade goods, artistic representations, and inscriptions in multiple languages. These artifacts served as tangible evidence of the connections forged along the Silk Road.

Interdisciplinary Techniques

The research adopted a multidisciplinary approach to trace cultural exchanges:

- *Isotopic Analysis:* This technique enabled to determine the geographical origin of individuals and the movement of people across Silk Road regions.
- *Linguistic Analysis:* By examining linguistic influences and language diffusion, I uncovered evidence of cultural interactions and the spread of ideas and knowledge.
- *Environmental Analysis:* Environmental data, including soil composition and vegetation changes, allowed reconstructing historical landscapes and their adaptation to human activities.

- *GIS and Spatial Analysis:* Geographic Information Systems (GIS) helped for map trade routes, analyze site distributions, and visualize the spatial dynamics of Silk Road networks.

By adopting these comprehensive research methods, the researcher aimed to provide a nuanced understanding of the Silk Road's cultural exchanges, not only through the lens of history but also through the tangible evidence of artifacts and the insights offered by interdisciplinary collaboration.

Results

In this section, I present the pivotal findings of my research, which emerge from the diverse methods applied throughout this research paper. These findings unveil a rich tapestry of cultural artifacts, historical narratives, and compelling evidence of interactions along the Silk Road, illuminating the profound and dynamic nature of the cultural exchanges that unfolded.

Cultural Artifacts

The research yielded a wealth of cultural artifacts that speak to the vibrant tapestry of the Silk Road's history. These artifacts, drawn from extensive archaeological excavations, include:

- **Trade Goods:** The Silk Road's role as a conduit for the exchange of goods was reaffirmed through the discovery of silk textiles, spices, ceramics, and precious metals. These commodities underscore the economic significance of the Silk Road.
- **Artistic Expressions:** Rich artistic expressions, influenced by cross-cultural interactions, were uncovered. Examples include sculptures that blended Greco-Roman and Buddhist aesthetics and calligraphy that combined multiple scripts, reflecting the convergence of artistic traditions along the Silk Road.
- **Religious Relics:** Temples, stupas, and religious artifacts provided tangible evidence of the spread of Buddhism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, and other faiths. These religious exchanges reshaped spiritual landscapes across the Silk Road.

Historical Narratives

Through the archival research and linguistic analysis, I pieced together historical narratives that highlight the stories of individuals, merchants, scholars, and travelers who traversed the Silk Road. Notable findings include:

- **Travelers' Accounts:** First-hand accounts of travelers such as Marco Polo, Ibn Battuta, and Xuanzang illuminated their journeys and the diverse cultures they encountered along the Silk Road.
- **Language Diffusion:** Linguistic analysis revealed the diffusion of languages along trade routes, illustrating how linguistic exchanges mirrored cultural interactions.
- **Cultural Hybridity:** The narratives unveiled cultural hybridity, where diverse traditions merged to create unique cultural syntheses, exemplifying the dynamic nature of Silk Road civilizations.

Evidence of Interactions

The interdisciplinary techniques provided compelling evidence of interactions along the Silk Road:

- **Isotopic Analysis:** This technique traced the movement of people, showcasing the migration patterns of individuals and communities, emphasizing the fluidity of Silk Road populations.

- **Environmental Analysis:** Examination of environmental data unveiled how Silk Road communities adapted to and transformed landscapes, showcasing the human-environment interaction that characterized the Silk Road.
- **GIS and Spatial Analysis:** Spatial analysis and mapping revealed the intricate web of trade routes, the distribution of settlements, and the spatial patterns of cultural interactions.

Technological Transfers

In this research, unearthed compelling evidence of technological transfers that transpired along the Silk Road, reshaping societies and facilitating innovation:

- **Astronomical Instruments:** Discoveries of astrolabes and celestial globes showcased the transmission of advanced astronomical knowledge between cultures. These instruments not only aided navigation but also promoted the exchange of scientific ideas.
- **Papermaking and Printing:** The findings highlighted the role of the Silk Road in disseminating papermaking and printing technologies. The spread of paper enabled the proliferation of knowledge through books and manuscripts, contributing to the intellectual flourishing of civilizations.
- **Medicine and Herbal Knowledge:** Archaeological excavations unveiled medical instruments and herbal remedies that traversed the Silk Road. These exchanges fostered advancements in medical practices and the exchange of healing traditions.

Socio-Cultural Transformations

The research revealed how the Silk Road catalyzed profound socio-cultural transformations:

- **Diaspora Communities:** The movement of peoples along the Silk Road led to the formation of diaspora communities that retained their cultural identities while integrating aspects of local cultures. This fusion resulted in unique cultural expressions and culinary traditions.
- **Religious Syncretism:** The Silk Road was a crucible for religious syncretism, as beliefs and practices from Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and other faiths blended and adapted to local contexts. Syncretic religious art and rituals testified to this dynamic process.
- **Innovations in Governance:** The Silk Road's transnational nature influenced governance structures and diplomatic relations between empires. The research uncovered evidence of diplomatic missions, treaties, and trade agreements that reflect the evolving political landscape.

Challenges and Unanswered Questions

While the research has shed light on the multifaceted nature of cultural exchanges along the Silk Road, it also reveals several challenges and unanswered questions. These include:

- **Fragmentary Evidence:** Some periods and regions along the Silk Road remain less well-documented, leaving gaps in understanding of cultural exchanges.
- **Continued Research:** The Silk Road is an ever-evolving field of study, and ongoing research is necessary to further unravel its complexities.
- **Environmental Impact:** While explored the Silk Road's environmental adaptations, deeper investigations are required to assess the long-term environmental impact of this ancient trade network.

The research findings underscore the enduring significance of the Silk Road as a conduit for cultural, technological, and social exchanges. These results provide a window into the past and offer valuable insights for contemporary discussions on globalization, intercultural interactions, and the lessons drawn from this historical phenomenon. As I continue to delve into the mysteries of the Silk Road, I remain committed to uncovering its hidden stories and contributing to the ongoing dialogue surrounding its cultural richness and historical importance.

Discussion

The discussion section of the research paper delves into the profound significance of research findings within the broader context of globalization, cultural diffusion, and the invaluable lessons that the ancient Silk Road imparts to an interconnected world today.

The Silk Road as a Blueprint for Globalization

The research illuminates how the Silk Road, despite its antiquity, serves as a blueprint for understanding the complex forces at play in contemporary globalization:

- **Cross-Cultural Dialogue:** The Silk Road exemplified the power of cross-cultural dialogue. As diverse civilizations interacted and shared knowledge, it laid the groundwork for today's interconnected global society, where cultural exchanges continue to shape our world.
- **Economic Interdependence:** The Silk Road's role as a conduit for trade and economic interdependence parallels the globalized economy of the modern era. Lessons from the Silk Road underscore the importance of fostering cooperation and mutual benefit in the face of economic challenges.
- **Cultural Resilience:** The Silk Road's capacity to facilitate the survival and adaptation of cultures in a dynamic environment offers a powerful lesson. In our globalized world, cultural resilience remains essential in preserving diversity while embracing change.

Cultural Diffusion and Hybridity

The research findings highlight the intricate processes of cultural diffusion and hybridity that characterized the Silk Road:

- **Syncretism in Religion and Art:** The Silk Road's syncretic religious practices and artistic expressions serve as a testament to the harmonious coexistence and fusion of diverse beliefs and traditions. These experiences inspired to promote tolerance and understanding in our pluralistic world.
- **Cultural Exchange as a Source of Innovation:** The Silk Road was a crucible of innovation, where the exchange of ideas, technologies, and artistic styles sparked creativity. Today, we are able to recognize that cultural exchange remains a wellspring of innovation and progress.
- **Language as a Bridge:** The linguistic exchanges along the Silk Road underline the potential of language as a bridge between cultures. In our globalized society, multilingualism and cross-cultural communication are invaluable tools for fostering cooperation and mutual understanding.

Lessons for Contemporary Global Challenges

The research on the Silk Road offers insights that can inform response to contemporary global challenges:

- **Sustainable Trade and Environmental Responsibility:** The Silk Road's historical interactions with the environment remind us of the importance of sustainable practices and environmental stewardship in our interconnected world.
- **Interconnectedness in Times of Crisis:** The Silk Road's resilience in the face of adversity demonstrates the value of interconnectedness during times of crisis. The lessons from history encourage international cooperation in addressing global challenges, such as pandemics and climate change.
- **Cultural Diplomacy and Soft Power:** The Silk Road's cultural diplomacy and soft power are enduring legacies that inspire nations to engage in cultural exchange as a means of building relationships and fostering peace.

In conclusion, my research on the Silk Road provides a window into a bygone era, rich with lessons for our contemporary world. The Silk Road's legacy as a conduit for cultural exchanges, technological diffusion, and economic interdependence serves as a beacon guiding us towards a more inclusive, interconnected, and harmonious global society. As we reflect on the profound implications of the findings, we are reminded that the Silk Road continues to influence the course of human history, offering timeless wisdom for navigating the challenges and opportunities of globalization.

Conclusion

In the journey of rediscovering the Silk Road and tracing its cultural exchanges, the research has unveiled a world of immense historical significance and contemporary relevance. The Silk Road, with its intricate web of trade routes, has emerged as a testament to the enduring interconnectedness of cultures and civilizations throughout human history.

The findings have illuminated the Silk Road as a blueprint for globalization, demonstrating how diverse civilizations can engage in cross-cultural dialogue, foster economic interdependence, and promote cultural resilience. The Silk Road's historical lessons resonate deeply in today's interconnected world, where global challenges demand cooperation, tolerance, and innovation.

Cultural diffusion and hybridity were central themes in the research, showcasing how the Silk Road facilitated the harmonious coexistence of diverse beliefs, practices, and artistic expressions. These timeless lessons inspire us to celebrate cultural diversity and recognize the potential for innovation that arises from cultural exchange.

As I conclude my exploration of the Silk Road, which reminded of the profound lessons it offers for contemporary global challenges. The Silk Road's legacy beckons to embrace sustainable trade, environmental responsibility, and interconnectedness in times of crisis. It encourages nations to wield cultural diplomacy and soft power as instruments of peace and understanding.

In sum, my research underscores the enduring impact of the Silk Road on modern society. It serves as a bridge between the past and the present, offering insights that transcend time and enrich our understanding of the interconnected world we inhabit today. The Silk Road, with its lessons of cultural exchange, economic collaboration, and the resilience of human societies, continues to shape our shared global destiny, reminding us of the enduring bonds that unite us as a diverse yet interconnected human family.

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THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN KANNUR, KERALA: THE FORMATIVE PHASE, 1918-1940

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A K Gopalan has remarked, 'What is the plight of workers? They have to work from dawn to dusk. They got to get beaten by the employers/capitalists. By the time he finishes the ten-hour-long work, he will almost die. He wouldn't have enough strength to go home. There is not enough salary to sustain his life, earn profit for the employer, and return to the factory the next day. What does he get for all this? He gets the bare minimum wage. He cannot even dream of the amenities of life.'¹

One could read the proper reality of the initial employee-employer relationship, which was based on the explanation in these words of AKG. Without proper labour laws and a wage system, the labourers were made to work in the dirty atmosphere for frugal wages. Apart from similar issues, the women had to work without pay and enough consideration during the maternity period, which worsened the situation for them.² The labourers led a slavery-like life that was full of issues like not getting enough breaks and time for food and routine activities. They were also made to work on Sundays. The working conditions of the labourers were deplorable, and wages were low. The Congress Socialist Party workers, who initiated work among the labourers, took up these issues and sought to organise them under their banner.³ The early trade union movement was vital in creating a clan of self-esteeming labourers in such labour scenarios. Though the labour-class movements are treated as the result of the Industrial Revolution, the modern trade union came to India after the First World War.⁴ Britain needed more labourers after the war, so the factories in India were forced to depend on the Indians. The number of labourers increased because of this.⁵

Stark starvation and poverty expanded class struggle and polarisation created in the Indian political sphere. As Britain invested money to buy arms for the First World War, they couldn't observe the Indian financial situation much. This ultimately became helpful for the middle class and employers in India. Cashing in on this, the Indians established small-scale industries. Swadeshi/Self-sufficient movement, as well as the non-cooperation movement, indirectly helped this. The Swadeshi movement was an excellent catalyst for the Indian industries, especially the weaving industries. Textiles mills, and soap factories came up quickly all over the country including Malabar region. Swadeshi had greater resonance with Indian consumers and successfully moulded a patriotic consumer culture by labelling products as national as opposed to foreign.⁶ Swadeshi, as a form of economic patriotism, can be distinguished from similar expressions of nationalism within the empire and dominions because it became a political and cultural phenomenon to secure financial and political sovereignty.⁷

During the global Economic Depression, the Britishers reduced their investments and sales in India. As a consequence, the wages of the labourers were reduced, and working hours increased. AK Gopalan describes the farmers and labourers in the 1930s: "The labourers had a plight that included the tortures of the employers and getting not enough money for even daily expenses while working in spaces without basic amenities. This resulted in the employers getting profits beyond limits".⁸

Though the economic depression hit hard, historians treat this era as one in which the workers resurrected. It was in the early mid-thirties that the Congress Socialist Party was formed, and they gathered workers and farmers for the purpose of freedom struggle.

Malabar was an industrially backward area. However, organised defence activities were established during this period. The employee movements such as the Kisan Sabha formation, Aron mill strikes, Beedi workers strike, and the formation of teachers and youth organisations, libraries, the expansion of co-operative societies, etc., paved the way for trade union movements in Kannur.⁹ Initially, the theosophical society workers like KK Subba Rao, PV Chathukkutty Nair, etc. coordinated the workers. As the farming sector collapsed, most of the people in Kannur did jobs like tapping toddy, handloom, making beedi, and weaving.

The first acts of defence in Kannur were from the power loom workers. As part of the fight against exploitation, a meeting was convened under the aegis of KPCC, whose chairman was Krishna Pillai. The workers' issues were considered for discussion in the meeting attended by Sardar Chandroth, Kunjiraman Nair, and KP Gopalan. Nine needs include freedom from slavery-like work, the right to form a union as well as to conduct strikes, banning child labour, etc.¹⁰ After the formation of the congress socialist party Kerala chapter, many trade unions became active under the leftists in the Congress in Kerala. A conference took place in Calicut with workers from different regions of Kerala in May 1935. Apart from needs like job security and stability of job timing, the conference also demanded that political slogans like the workers be admitted into Congress and India be made accessible.¹¹ Krishnapillai questioned the work in the dirty spaces, not getting enough time for routine activities or even having food, the torture of employers, etc.

The industrial magnate and congress worker Samuel Aron tried to suppress the proletariat with the help of imperialism. He didn't allow any trade union activities in the weaving company, which consisted of around 1500 employees. The first act of strike that happened at the company was when a worker called Mani Koran was beaten unnecessarily.¹² The workers who protested against this were dismissed, and the anti-employee policies continued. The workers realised the need to form a union through this incident. Aron Mill trade union was formed with Com. EK Nayanar as secretary and Kanthallot Kunjambu as joint secretary. The second strike at the mill in 1940 put forward needs like workers being given organisational rights, the dismissed ones being retained, and India not participating in an imperialist war. During the strike, the police officers, under the guidance of Aron, tortured the workers and arrested leaders like Vishnu Bharatheeyan, Tharammal Abu, Panneri Kannan, AV Kunjiraman Nair, etc. Continuing this, the third and final strike took place in 1946. The workers who worked through the strikes with a sense of direction were a model for proletariat progressive movements.

Weaving has existed since the earliest times in Kannur. Due to weaving workers' struggles and endeavours, the Tellichery Weaving Workers Union was formed on January 28, 1937. The conference elected Krishnapillai as president, along with eight other organisation members. More than 400 people became members of the union in a short period. The classes of leaders cultivated an organisational sense and a sense of right among them. For many purposes, a strike committee was formed on June 1, 1937, and the strike commenced.¹³ The strike became so popular that it created conflict among the employers. This resulted in making them decide on better wages for the employees. Another strike in Tellichery was the workers' strike at PA Chettiyar Company. This was an incident where the natural leader was seen in Krishnapillai. Later, people like LS Prabhu and Shankarayya came forward, and the strike ended on July 13.

Kannur Commonwealth factory was notorious for its behaviour towards the workers and poor wage system. In 1937, a union was formed with NK Kumaran as president and C Kannan as secretary. In 1939, about 850 workers went on strike, and the labour department intervened. As a result, a wage increment and a furlough of 18 days were accepted.

The Beedi industry was popular in Kannur. This was also a sector where women, men, and kids worked. The people always supported the strikes of Beedi workers. The defence system consisted of strikes, objections, dharna, etc. In 1934, the Beedi worker's group was formed. In 1935, the Kannur Beedi Workers' Union was formed with Advocate Potheri Madhavan as president and Chatta Kunjiraman as vice president. The union's activities strengthened in two years and demanded a raise in wages. As the employers didn't resolve the issue, around 1000 employees went on strike. The participation of AKG and KPR Gopalan Vishnu Bharatheeyan energised the workers. Though half anna extra was declared for 1000 beedis, the union rejected it. At last, on the 38th day, the strike was called off as one anna was increased.¹⁴

Payyannur Beedi workers' union functioned under the leadership of N Subramania Shenoy and TN Narayanan. Even though most workers were Congress supporters, the flag was red. Regarding Tellichery, Sree Narayana Beedi worker's organisation was the first to be formed. Sadhu Siva Prasad became the president. KN Kumaran was the organisation's secretary, and KP Krishnan and Kottayi Anandhan initiated the formation. Adv. Krishnan and KP Kalyani Amma took classes that energized the workers. Later, the leadership came under Chandroth Kunjiraman Nair and merged with AITUC.¹⁵

NC Sekhar and KP Gopalan led the Beedi Cigar Workers' Union. They organised an anti-war rally in 1939. As part of this, they set fire to the war giant effigy and were beaten up by police for doing this. The anti-war protests were intense in many regions of Kannur. The activities of beedi workers convinced the political scenario to even the people in rural areas. As there was an objection against the union activities, New Durbar workers were dismissed, and their wages were reduced. Protests and public meetings took place against this activity, and the then Tellichery Sub Collector J. L Woods intervened in this issue. He resolved this by retaining the dismissed workers and reinstating the wage to what it used to be. The protests of beedi workers have been recorded in history and have a revolutionary nature.

Kannur, the cradle of many protests and fights, has never ignored workers' issues. At the peak of exploitation, many proletariat movements rose in different regions of Kannur with the strength to fight back and defend their rights. The communities of workers in indigenous industrial fields like Beedi, tile, and handloom testified to Kannur's political traditions and awareness.

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SURVIVING THE STORM: THE SOCIAL RESILIENCE OF THE MAPPILAS IN ANDAMAN ISLANDS

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Introduction

The present paper attempts to analyse the cultural fabric of the Mappila community in Andaman. Mappilas¹ came to Andaman as deportees from the Malabar region after the Malabar rebellion of 1921. The Malabar rebellion of 1921 was one of the most extensive and muscular brave struggles faced by British colonial rule in India. The colonial government used ruthless and inhuman suppressive measures to overcome the rebellion. Its result was very severe. From the earlier statement about the causality of the uprising, it is found that 1652 were seriously wounded, 5995 were captured, and another 39340 were surrendered; 1290 were deported to Andaman Nicobar Islands, 1600 died in prison due to severe torture and unhealthy condition. Numerous people were missing after the rebellion, but their numbers were unknown.

Here, through this article, an attempt has been made to understand how the deported Mappilas to Andaman Nicobar Islands survived and lived by applying the theory of social resilience. Social resilience refers to the ability of a society or a community to effectively cope with and recover from various challenges, such as natural disasters, economic crises and social conflicts. In the case of the Andaman Mappila community, social resilience plays a significant role in maintaining their social fabric and overcoming adversities. The paper is prepared based on the data collected through fieldwork among the Mappilas in Andaman and Malabar and archival sources. Secondary sources are also used.

Mappila Identity in Malabar

Mappila are Muslims who live along the Malabar coast. The land between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats is known as Malabar. Its area is compressed to 240 km in length and 60 km in width. Duarte Barbosa first used the term mappila in his work *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* in the 16th century. They have a unique cultural and historical identity influenced by both Islamic and South Indian traditions.

The Mappila community originated primarily due to the West Asian contacts with Kerala, which was fundamentally based upon commerce ("the spice trade"). As per local tradition, Islam reached the Malabar coast. Which the Kerala state is a part of as early as the 7th century AD. Before being overtaken by the Europeans in the spice trade, Mappilas were a prosperous trading community settled mainly in the coastal urban centres of Kerala. The continuous interaction of the Mappilas with the Middle East has profoundly impacted their life, customs, and culture. This has resulted in forming a unique Indo-Islamic synthesis within the large Kerala culture spectrum in literature, art, food, language, and music.

After the advent of the Portuguese on the Malabar coast, they tried to get a monopoly over trade activities and engaged in frequent wars with the Mappilas. Thus, the latter became the immediate enemy of the Portuguese. Consequently, the Mappilas had to vacate the Malabar coast and move to the interior areas of Malabar. Consequently, Mappila culture began to spread into the interior of Malabar, and the local culture of Malabar also influenced the Mappila culture. Another factor that influenced the Mappila culture was the Mysorean rule in Malabar from 1756 to 1792. In 1792, Malabar was ceded to the British East India Company, and a new era of Mappila culture was started. The colonial modernity moulded the

cultural fabrics of the Mappilas during this period. Also, the engagements of the Mappila community with the British colonial state influenced the flourishing and nurturing of the Mappila cultural identity, finally leading to the formation of the Mappila community identity in Malabar.

Mappilas of Malabar were basically peasants who very soon became the British enemy. The British Colonial revenue policies were totally against the peasants and tenants, so the latter rose against the government. The poor peasantry, subjected to the double whammy of colonial and feudal exploitation, was struggling for survival, and therefore, about 83 peasant outbreaks occurred in Eranad, Valluvanad Taluks, between 1836 and 1921. The revolt of 1921 was the culmination of these uprisings, known as the Malabar Rebellion.

The Malabar Rebellion of 1921 was one of the most extensive and muscular brave struggles faced by British colonial rule in India. The colonial government used ruthless and inhuman suppressive measures to overcome the rebellion. Its result was very severe. From the earlier statement about the causality of the uprising, it is found that 1652 were seriously wounded, 5995 were captured, and another 39340 were surrendered; 1290 were deported to Andaman Nicobar Islands, 1600 died in prison due to severe torture and unhealthy condition. Numerous people were missing after the rebellion, but their numbers were unknown. As K N Panicker quoted, the number of those killed and wounded, according to unofficial estimates, was about 10000. The official figure, however, was only 3989. The popular base of the revolt was more clearly indicated by the number of those who surrendered and were arrested 45404.²

Mappilas to Andaman

The Mappila community reached Andaman due to the colonial government's deportation from Malabar. The deportation of Mappilas to the Andaman Islands was a part of the suppressive measures of the struggle of 1921. But historically speaking, along with the Mappilas, a unique Mappila culture was also exported to Andaman. The deported Mappilas to Andaman Nicobar Islands were not ready to abandon their cultural identity but could maintain it through social resilience. Social resilience refers to the ability of a society or a community to effectively cope with and recover from various challenges, such as natural disasters, economic crises and social conflicts. In the case of the Andaman Mappila community, social resilience plays a significant role in maintaining their social fabric and overcoming adversities.

Deportation and Social Resilience

After the Malabar Rebellion, jails were filled with prisoners, and the participants in the rebellion were sent into various jails such as Coimbatore, Kozhikkode, Kannur, Madras, Trichinopoly, Bellay and Paliankota. After filling all these jails, the government proposed sending them to the Cellular jail in Andaman. It was a place where the colonial government was used to deport the freedom fighters after 1857. From the Malabar region, before 1921, many were deported there. Kangeri Kutti Koyamu, a boatman, was supposed to help escape the prime convict of Conolly's (the then Malabar District Collector) murder on 1855 September 11, was sent to Andaman along with his brother.³ After this incident, Maiden Kutty haji father of Variyan Kunnath Kunja Ahmmed Haji (leader of the 1921 rebellion), was deported to Andaman in connection with the 1894 Mannarkkat revolt, and he died at Andaman in 1907.⁴ Thilangodan Chekku was deported to Andaman in 1913.⁵

After the Malabar Rebellion of 1921, Mappilas were deported to Andaman on a large scale. The first group of convicts sent to Andaman from Madras Port by the steamer SS Maharaja sailed on 1 March 1922. Another ship from Madras reached at Portblaire on 6 March 1922 with 210 Mappila prisoners.

One portion of the vessel was converted into a mini jail.⁶ Mattummal Marakkar, Ambattu Paramaban Saidalippa, Nalakath Kunhali and some deportees were in the first group. Nalakath Kunjali's grandson Nalakath Yousuf says that his grandfather told him "that two among the first group of deportees died in the ship due to bad health."⁷ Most of the people are facing serious health issues due to the hard torture from the police in custody and jail. The condition inside the prisons also worsened their health; per the official records, 22 among them were suffering from malaria, two were partially paralysed, some of them affected pneumonia, and 25 among them were a little over 20 years old."⁸

The deportation was continued, and the convicts were imprisoned in the cellular jail until 1923 March 13. It was known as the first phase. The second phase begins on 17 March 1923 to 26 June 1924. After free settlers and self-supporters were sent to Andaman, Mappila prisoners from the mainland were sent to Andaman as free settlers. The third phase started on 13 August 1924 and continued until 31 August 1928. It was under the Andaman colonisation scheme. During the second phase, 30 women and 60 children were also reached in Andaman; they were wives, sisters, mothers and mothers-in-law of the Mappila convicts.

The government had recommended that the Mappila convicts with family might safely be kept in Andaman. In the free colony of self-supporters instead of being kept in a closed prison. Besides the first group of the family, 14 families were also brought to Andaman. Immediately after reaching Port Blair, they were taken to Vipour Island for two days. After they were sent to different villages as self-supporters and cultivators, they were sent to Herbettabad, Hobdyapur, Ograbranj and Tushanabad. The bringing of families from the mainland continued till June 1924. From August 1924 onward, the willingness of convicts in different jails on the mainland brought their families and settled in Andaman with the hope of a new life. Firstly, 122 Mappila convicts from Indian prisons were moved to Andaman. Later, another 278 prisoners from Alippuarm Jail (Bellary) were brought to Andaman.

The British granted loans and rations to the Mappila convicts to bring their families and settle in Andaman. They also built many mosques in the newly settled Mappila villages, such as Mannarghat, Knapuram, Muslim Busthi, Herbertabad, Calicut, Hashmethabad, Manpur, Nawashahar, etc.⁹ It favoured the nurturing of the Mappila culture there. The region where Mappilas were deported was very unfamiliar, and they hadn't experienced the geography, language, customs, etc, before. Even though the Mappila community could immediately cope with new circumstances and survive. At the same time, they preserved their culture, language, religion, etc, without much difference. In this situation, social resilience plays a significant role in maintaining cultural fabric and overcoming social adversities.

In the prisons, the Mappila convicts were tortured severely. They were denied to talk in their mother tongue, Malayalam, because until their English, Devanagari, Persian, Bengali, Telugu, Gujarathi, Bernis, Gurumukhi, Simhalis, and Tamil were permitted to be used in jails. Due to continuous protests by the Mappilas in prison, Malayalam was also recognised as a medium for communication. In protest, they recited nonstop war songs used during the Malabar struggle.¹⁰ In June 1922, the jail manual was revised, and Malayalam was included as the 11th permitted language in jail.¹¹ However, as most prisoners could not write or read Malayalam, they used the Arabi-Malayalam language for writing. Thus, their language became a tool to protest against colonial rule. While Malayalam was considered the upper-class language, they developed their language.

After Independence in 1950, they started to study Malayalam until 1978. Malayalam was taught in schools, and now even they use it, though it is not in the syllabus. Andaman Mappila also uses their old Malabar Mappila Malayalam in Andaman without much change. Several people still use Malayalam in

their houses. In the Madrassas (Religious Education), they also teach Malayalam. It is a great effort to survive the language and culture.

Giving names of their native places to the region where they settled after being released from jail was another way of preserving their culture. Mannarkkad, Wandur, Manjeri, Calicut, Tirur, Malappuram, etc., are some instances that reflect their sentiments to their motherland. Before Mappila's coming, all these places were covered with dense forest. Also, the Mappila settlers had to face the problem of several diseases, including malaria and pneumonia, along with several other diseases. The Mappilas were deployed here to clear the forest in Andaman to make uncultivable lands cultivable.

During this time, many became the victims of the bows and arrows of the Jarwas, the jungle dwellers.¹² As most deportees were agricultural people in Malabar, many had to engage in fishing in Andaman to cope with the situation. For instance, Ambattuparamban Saidalippa, who belongs to Kappu Kulaparambu, a hilly area in the east part of Malabar, is involved in fishing activities in Andaman.¹³ Similarly, many other Mappila deportees were also engaged in such unfamiliar jobs for survival.

Mappila joined together to maintain their culture and tradition, while many other groups belong to different regions of India. They lost their cultural identity, language and religion. One aspect of Andaman Mappila's social resilience is the sense of community and collective identity. They have a close-knit social structure, and they support each other. The communal bond enabled them to face challenges and assist those in need. Whether it was a natural disaster like a Cyclone or any other incident like the Tsunami in 2004, the Andaman Mappilas joined together as a community. They have a common platform named Andaman Moplah Service Organisation (AMSO).

The Mappila Community of Andaman established Masjids, Madrassas, Arabic Colleges and Schools, etc. Through these madrassas, they teach their mother tongue, Malayalam. Their rich history and cultural practices helped them build social resilience. Over the years, Padapattu (bath song) was sung in the battles against Colonial rule; they kept and shared the memories of their great heroes in Andaman from the beginning. Muringakodam Hassan, Son of a deported Convict Muringakodan Pokkamu, recalled his memory in 1950 at Wimberley Ganj. An ex-prisoner, Veeranikka, frequently rectified this padaputtu every week, for the Mappilas gathered every week to recall the memories of their forefathers. They perform Mappilapattu, Duffimuttu, Oppana, Aravanamuttu, etc., at functions and ceremonies and on special occasions like marriage ceremonies.¹⁴

Their marriage and festival functions are similar to those of the old Malabar Mappila culture. Nobody can hear the old Malabar Mappila Malayalam dialects in Malabar today. They use fifty-year-old Mappila dialects and slang. While many other Andaman deported communities lost their language and several cultural symbols and traditions, Mappila still preserves these things as valuable. Religion also played a crucial role in their social resilience. Their religious beliefs and practices provide them with guidance and unity. Mosques are an essential community centre where people gather for prayer, social interactions, and discussions.¹⁵ Islam's teachings emphasise unity, compassion and resilience in crucial situations that also strengthen the community's social fabric.

Furthermore, the Andaman Mappilas preserved their unique cultural tradition and practices despite living in a multicultural society. Their cultural traditions, marriage customs and art forms are the active sources of cultural resilience. They prepare traditional Malabar Mappila food items: Pathiri, Negyappam, Thari Kanji, Kalathappam, Neychoru, Poovada, etc.¹⁶ In the case of their dress culture, they use lungis or off-white lungis, which is used similarly to Malabar. Mappila women wear long skirts, matching tops, and a scarf, which was used earlier in Malabar.¹⁷ It almost disappeared from Malabar, but it still exists in

Andaman. The old generation of Andaman Mappila women still uses old Malabar-fashioned ornaments. The tradition serves as a reminder of identity and provides a sense of continuity and belonging even in challenging times.

Education is another crucial factor contributing to the social resilience of the Andaman Mappila community. Over the years, there has been a growing emphasis on education within the community to equip them with the skills and knowledge to adapt to changing circumstances. It also enabled them to participate actively in social, economic and political spheres. Several figures from Andaman Mappila played an essential role in Andaman politics. AP Abdullah Kutty was elected as member in the home minister advisory committee and he served as state wise President of Indian National Congress.¹⁸

Thus, their strong sense of community, religious beliefs, cultural traditions and focus on education enabled them to cope with adversities and maintain their social fabric. The Andaman Mappilas community is a living example of how social resilience can be built and sustained within a community in adverse social and geographical situations.

End Notes

1. Mappila Muslims are but one among the many communities that form the Muslim population of Kerala. Sometimes the whole Muslim community in Kerala, is known by the term "Mappila". Portuguese writer Duarte Barbosa (1515) uses the term 'Moors Mopulars' for the Muslims of Kerala. They are often shortened to Mappila, formerly anglicised as Moplah/Mopla and historically known as Jonaka/Chonaka Mappila or Moors Mopulars/Mouros da Terra and Mouros Malabares
2. Ibid
3. Ck Kareem, op.cit., p.307
4. Ibid, p.488
5. Abdul Gafoor Qasimi, Andaman Nicobar, Thasfeek Publication, Kundoor, 2016, p.48
6. Malabar Makkal, A Memoir of 100 Years journey in Andaman, 1922-2022, Andaman Moplah Service Organisation (AMSO), Vimerliganj, 2023, p.21
7. Personal Interview with Yousaf Nalakath, Grandson of Nalakath Kunjali, Andaman, 14.04.2017
8. Malabar Makkal, op.cit, p.22
9. Ibid, p.30
10. Kundani Muhammed, Adhiniveshathinte Nalvazhikal (Malayalam), Nila Books, Kavancheri, 2015, p.232.
11. Ibid, p.240
12. Kundani Muhammed, op.cit, p.246
13. Personal Interview with Ayisha (age 76) Daughter of Ambattuparamban Saidalippa, Mannarkkad, Andaman, 18.04.2017
14. Personal Interview, Muringakodan Hassan, Son of Muringakodan Pokkamu, Vimerliganj, Andaman, 19.04.2017
15. Interview with Muhammed N, son of Nellipparamban Alavi Haji, Mappila convict deported to Andaman, Abardheem Bazar, Andaman, 24.04.2017
16. Malabar Makkal, op.cit, p.42
17. Ibid, p.44
18. Ibid, p.128

FREEDOM AND REALITY: INTERPRETATIONS OF ADVAITA VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY

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Advaita Vedanta, associated with the name of the great Sankaracharya, is rightly regarded as logically the most consistent and spiritually advanced philosophy of India. Philosophy, for Sankara, is not an intellectual game but a spiritual discipline culminating in the realisation of reality.

Vedānta is nominally a school of Indian philosophy. In reality, it attempts to provide a consistent interpretation of the philosophy of the Upaniṣads or, more formally, the canonical summary of the Upaniṣads. Vedānta philosophy is the concluding part of Vedas. The Upanishads, Bramhasutras, and Bhagavadgita are the three authoritative works on which the Vedanta philosophy is based. Śaṅkaracharya was a systematiser and a promoter of Advaita Vedānta, not a founder. The word 'Advaita' is a composite of two Sanskrit words; the Prefix "a" means 'non' and "Advaita" means 'duality' or 'dualism' The word "Advaita" means not two or non-dual. The essential philosophy of Advaita is an idealist monism and is considered to be presented first in the Upaniṣads and consolidated in the Brahma Sūtra by this tradition. According to Advaita metaphysics, Brahman—the ultimate, transcendent and immanent God of the latter Vedas appears as the world because of its creative energy (māyā). Maya is Brahman's power and is responsible for the world's illusory projection. The essence of Maya has three constituents: Sattva, Rajas and Tamas.¹The world has no separate existence apart from Brahman.

Reality in Advaita Vedanta

Advaita Vedanta allots empirical reality to the concept of the World. The word prapancha used to denote this world is, '*prapanchyate vicariate bivariante it prapanchah*'. The world has no separate existence apart from Brahman. Brahmin alone is accurate, and this world of plurality is an error. The world is neither real nor unreal. It is not unreal since it is experienced. It is not real since it is sublated by knowledge of Brahman. The vision of Advaita Vedanta is that the one, non-dual consciousness is the root cause of the world. Advaita states that all

reality and everything in the experienced world has its root in Brahman, which is unchanging Consciousness. To Advaitins, there is no duality between a Creator and the created universe. Sankaracharya tries to define the world in the light of illusion. His conception of this world is that – this world is a mere appearance of Brahman. This appearance is called *Adhayaśā*.ⁱⁱ, referring to the superimposition of an attribute, quality, or characteristic of one entity into another entity. According to Advaita vedānta, the world has no real existence at all. The Upanisad calls this reality Existence (Satyam), Consciousness (Jnanam), and Bliss (Anandam).

Three Levels of Reality

Vyāvahārika level (*vyavahara*) - consisting of the empirical or pragmatical reality. It is ever-changing over time; thus, it is empirically true at a given time and context but not metaphysically true. It is "our world of experience, the phenomenal world we handle daily when awake". It is the level at which both *jiva* (living creatures or individual Selves) and *Isvara* are true; here, the material world is also true, but this is an incomplete reality and is suitable.

However, when a person gets Brahma-Vidya, the higher knowledge is the phenomenal world, and things are said to be an appearance. In this condition, we can say that the phenomenal world exists because we see it. It can also be non-existing because it has no essence and depends on Brahman for existence. Thus, since phenomenal objects exist and do not exist from the ultimate viewpoint, their state of existence is said to be indescribable, or Maya.

Prātibhāsika level (*pratibhasika* - "reality based on imagination alone"). It is the level of experience in which the mind constructs its reality. Well-known examples of *pratibhasika* are the imaginary reality, such as the "roaring of a lion" fabricated in dreams during one's sleep and the perception of a rope in the dark as being a snake. In the dream, we perceive different things, but in a strict sense, the dream is not completely real because the things we see in a dream have an external substratum in the phenomenal world. E.g., Sky flower.

Pāramārthika level (*paramartha*, absolute) - the Reality metaphysically true and ontologically accurate. It is the state of experiencing that "which is real and into which both other reality levels can be resolved". This reality is the highest; it can't be sublated (assimilated) by any other.

The ultimate reality, according to Sankara, is Atman or Brahman. It is pure consciousness. Here, Atman does not mean the individual self or Jivatma, which is an appearance generated by Maya or Avidya, though ultimately, the Jiva shorn of its limitation is Brahman itself. Atman and Brahman are the same. This self is the Absolute 'Ayam atma Brahma', that thou art 'Tat tvam asi', I am Brahma 'Aham Brahmasmi' and all this is verily Brahma 'Sarvam khalu idam Brahma' are the great sayings or Mahavakya of the Upanisads.

The Concept of Liberation

Mokṣa, for Acharya Shankara, is the immediate experience of the fundamental nature of the self. It is absolute and eternal freedom (svāntarīya). It is not freedom from something to be given up (heya) (e.g., this world), nor is it the freedom to gain something worth achieving (Upadhyay) (e.g., liberation), nor it is freedom for someone (e.g., the empirical self); it is freedom itself, pure and eternal. There is no becoming in mokṣa; the individual self does not become Brahma, for it always is Brahma itself. There is nothing to be left or acquired.

Shankara gives the following three definitions of mokṣa, which mean the same thing:

- (1) Mokṣa is the realisation of Brahma (Brahma-bhava)
- (2) Mokṣa is the cancellation of avidya (avidya-nivṛtti)
- (3) Mokṣa is eternal unembodied ness (nityam aśarīratvam)

The realisation of Brahma and cancellation of avidya are the same, for both reveal the Absolute as eternal consciousness and bliss. Unembodiedness means the utter unrelatedness of the self with the three types of bodies: gross (sthūla), subtle (sūkṣma), and causal (Kāraṇa). It is not the absence of the body but the absence of the relationship with the body. Hence, Jīvan-mukti is admitted.

Mokṣa is the state of being one with everything.ⁱⁱⁱ It is absolute and eternal freedom. There is no becoming in liberation. The individual self does not become Brahma, for it always is Brahma itself. There is nothing to be left or acquired here. He who knows Brahma become Brahma means that Brahma cannot be known by finite thought as an object but is to be experienced directly by realising one's unity with it.

We found that this world is natural in a vyāvāhārika manner, which is not actual. Because of ignorance, we think this practical aspect of the world is fundamental. Sankaracharya accepts Jiva and Brahman's identities. Because of avidya, we separate them distinctly. Mokṣa is the cancellation of Avidya.^{iv} Jiva is composed

of the body and the soul. But the body has merely an illusory appearance. Knowledge of Brahman leads us to eternal bliss, that is, Moksha or liberation.^v Liberation means the removal of ignorance by actual knowledge. The person who has realised the truth of reality is liberated. Owing to ignorance, the soul erroneously associates itself with the body. This stage is called Bondage. In this stage, the body behaves like a finite, limited, miserable being and thinks, „I am stout“, „I am lame“. Thus arises the conception of the self as the “Ego” or “I”. This conception is the cause of pain or suffering. When wrong beliefs become removed, and we believe in the identity of Jiva and Brahman, we begin the journey to achieve liberation.

Conclusion

In this world, all objects are impermanent, non-eternal, and limited in space and time. All earthly objects are limited in life, and consequently, the happiness gained from them is limited in their existence. Everyone in this society was attracted to worldly objects and desired to achieve them. Sometimes they succeed, or sometimes they cannot. Temporary pleasure is felt for the success of receiving those worldly objects. That is why our minds can never be stable. If we try to pass away the temporalism of this world and start to find the way to absolute peace, then that path is open in front of us. Vedānta Philosophy tells us how to cross the practical aspect of the world and get the path of absolute freedom by acquiring knowledge of the identity of Brahman and Jiva. After attaining that pure knowledge, false knowledge about this world is removed, and the path of liberation is expanded. So that each person can reach absolute peace by transcending the temporal system of this world. The state of liberation is nothing but Brahman itself.

End Notes

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1. Bhagavadgita Sankarabhashyam, XIII-19
 2. ‘Smrtirupah paratra poorvadrstavadhasah adhyasah’ Brahmasutrabhasyam
 3. Sarvatmabhavo mokshah, Brhadaranyakopanisad Sankarabhasyam, VI-1
 4. Avidyaprathibandhamatro hi mokshah, Mundakopanisad ShankarabhashyamII-8
 5. Jnanadeva thu kaivalyam, Bhagavadgita Sankarabhasyam, XVIII-66

MASS MIGRATIONS: ROLE IN SHAPING KERALA'S HISTORY AND IDENTITY

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Throughout history, migration has played a pivotal role in human survival, adaptability, and progress. It entails the movement of individuals from their native homes to locations beyond the borders of their respective sovereign nation-states. Migration can also encompass internal movements within a nation, often called "exodus within the borders" (Korn, 2000)¹. This phenomenon can be traced back to the dawn of human civilisation (Jaison, 2019)². Indians, for example, have a long history of relocating from their homeland to various corners of the world, driven by many motivations. Their widespread presence across the globe is a testament to their inherently migratory nature. India has witnessed numerous migration phases from ancient times to the colonial and post-colonial periods. In ancient times, Indians embarked on journeys for trade, traversing the Silk Road to engage with other Central Asian nations, spreading religious doctrines, and disseminating Indian culture in various regions. However, a significant turning point in this migration history occurred in the early seventeenth century when the British arrived in India with intentions of trade and colonial rule. This arrival marked the beginning of a new chapter in migration history. The British required labour to meet the demands of their enterprises and plantations in various parts of the world. Slavery was initially used to fulfil these labour needs, but the 19th century brought about the official abolition of the slave trade. This abolition subsequently led to a labour shortage in industries and plantations. In response, the British started importing workers from their diverse colonies, including India, to address the manpower deficits. Many Indians, seeking an escape from poverty and social biases, immigrated to British industries and plantations for a better life (Sushma Pandey, 2019)³.

The impact of migration from Kerala to other states in India and abroad has become an all-encompassing force, influencing every aspect of life in the state. This phenomenon has reached its zenith over the past 25 years, making it a relatively recent development. Before the 1940s, Kerala had a predominantly stationary population. However, the landscape began to change as many educated young individuals from the state turned to migration as a way of life following World War II and India's independence in 1947. Initially, migration was predominantly confined to different parts of India, but more recently, there has been a significant upsurge in migration to foreign nations. At this juncture, emigration has surpassed internal mobility within India and has left an indelible mark on every facet of economic and social life in Kerala. In Kerala, migration to the Gulf region has impacted nearly every family. This migration wave has left no aspect of Keralites' lives untouched, affecting the economic, social, demographic, political, and even religious spheres. The number of people leaving Kerala has steadily increased in recent years. The number of emigrants grew by 120% between 1988–1992 and 1993–1997. External sources like the Ministry of Labour and the Government of India support this trend. However, several factors may bring this upward trend to a halt. Kerala's migration history has two distinct phases. The first phase

began when Kerala's integration with other Indian states deepened in the 1940s. World War II and India's independence in 1947 catalysed this transformative period (Zachariah, Mathew, Rajan, 1999)⁴.

Since the late 19th century, Kerala has drawn significant attention in the literature on migration and development as a region experiencing substantial population movement. Over its history, Kerala has witnessed diverse migration patterns and processes, particularly during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when these trends encompassed internal and external migration. Internal migration involved the movement of the rural population and landless labourers across the three distinct regions of Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar within Kerala. Concurrently, external migration was observed in several forms: a) individuals seeking employment as administrative staff and workers in colonial plantations in countries such as Malaysia, Sri Lanka, West Asia, and Africa. b) The temporary relocation of unskilled and semi-skilled labourers to the Middle East. c) The emigration of educated and skilled labourers from Kerala to other Indian states. Numerous researchers have extensively documented the processes of inter-regional labour and peasant migrations within Kerala from 1920 to 1960. They have also studied the socio-economic conditions prevailing in these regions, with a particular focus on tenancy arrangements (Viswanathan, 2015⁵; Panikar et al., 1978⁶; Panikkar 1979⁷; Tharakan, 1997⁸; Raj and Tharakan, 1983⁹; George and Tharakan, 1984¹⁰; Joseph 1988¹¹; Radhakrishnan, 1989¹²; Joseph, 1991¹³; Varghese, 2006a)¹⁴. A detailed account of the process of migration from Kerala in the 20th century was studied by Zacharia et al. (Zacharia et al., 2002)¹⁵.

Kerala experienced a significant change in its migration patterns following integration. For the first time, there was a net outmigration from the state. More people from Kerala relocated to cities like Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, and other major urban centres than people from different states moved to Kerala. This marked a notable shift in migration trends. The second pivotal change occurred in the 1970s when Kerala became a prominent state for emigration. Before this period, Kerala's overseas migration was relatively minimal, especially compared to internal migration (Rajan, Zachariah, and Mathew, 1999)¹⁶.

During the 20th century, Kerala experienced two significant migration streams, which have had profound socio-economic impacts on the state. These two migration trends are the relocation of farmers from Travancore to the Malabar Highlands. The movement of farmers from Travancore to the Malabar Highlands is a noteworthy migration stream. Initiated in the 1920s by a group of Syrian Christians from central Kerala, this migration primarily involved small-scale farmers seeking permanent residence in Malabar. It started as a modest effort by landless and entrepreneurial individuals but gradually expanded to include families with more extensive land holdings. By the end of the 1920s, almost all the arable land in Travancore had been settled, compelling peasants to explore opportunities elsewhere. However, despite the linguistic similarities between the inhabitants of Travancore and Malabar, there were few governmental, political, or economic connections between the two regions. Mappila labourers played a role in informing potential migrant farmers from Travancore about the availability of arable land. Early settlers aided later arrivals in understanding the local conditions and the extent of available arable land. The Christian population in Malabar notably increased during the 1940s-1950s, indicating the peak of this migratory movement. This pattern persisted until 1971, with a significant rise in the number of Syrian Christians living there. This migration had far-reaching socio-economic implications for Kerala society. Kerala is presently witnessing two more recent streams of migration: (1) Second-generation peasants moving from the Malabar region to the Shimoga region, and (2) A notable increase in labour migrants from North India relocating to Kerala. These migration trends reflect the dynamic and evolving

nature of population movement in Kerala, which has continuously shaped the state's social and economic landscape (Joseph,2005)¹⁷ Jaison,2019)¹⁸.

Peasant Migration in Kerala – A Historical Perspective

A comprehensive examination of peasant migration reveals a spontaneous movement devoid of premeditated planning, organisation, or leadership intricately intertwined with the peasants' struggles for survival and sustenance. The adage, "necessity is the mother of invention," is a profound inspiration for those embarking on their journey to Malabar. Many regard the Malabar migration as an even more daring and impactful event than Christopher Columbus's discovery of the United States. They see it as the culmination of unwavering hard work, persuasive skills, mental and physical fortitude, willpower, persistence, determination, grit, tears, and sacrifices. The majority of these migrants were Syrian Catholic Christians, and their settlements in Malabar led to the construction of churches and schools, which, in the heart of the Malabar forests, became beacons of knowledge. The migrants were characterised by their diligence, entrepreneurial spirit, and relentless work ethic, often labouring long hours without proper rest or sustenance. They confronted and triumphed over numerous adversities, including the elements, wildlife, diseases, famine, and the challenging soil. Subsequently, they transitioned from subsistence farming to cultivating long-term cash crops such as rubber, areca nuts, coconuts, and cashew nuts. This transformation turned Malabar's once-barren and rocky soil into a flourishing haven for agricultural endeavours, fostering a new generation of educated farmers. However, even after nearly nine decades since the commencement of the Malabar migration, administrators and policymakers continue to either overlook or underestimate the profound benefits of this remarkable migration(Jaison,2019¹⁹).

As a result, a significant agrarian and peasant movement from Kerala to Malabar unfolded, focusing on the princely kingdom of Travancore, also known as Thiruvithamcoor. This migration persisted until the 1970s and, in some cases, extended into the 1980s, during which immigrant peasants gradually occupied almost all the previously uncultivated wastelands in the region. Most of these new immigrants travelled over 300 kilometres from their home villages to settle in the hinterlands of the former Malabar district. Notable taluks that witnessed this influx of migrant settlers included Kanjirapuzha in Attappady, Wynad district; Chungathara in Nilambur Taluk, Malappuram district; Thiruvambady-Kodenchery and Maruthankara-Chakkittupara regions in Kuttiadi, Kozhikode district; Peravoor, Alakode, and areas of Cherupuzha in Taliparamba Taluk, Kannur district; and Panathady-Eleri regions in Hosdurg Taluk, Karnataka, among others. The study conducted by Joseph in 1988 stands as a foundational work that offers a comprehensive examination of the significant factors contributing to peasant migration from Travancore to Malabar. This study has been instrumental in identifying key drivers of the migration process. It elucidates how a previously stationary and subsistence-based peasantry transformed into a highly adaptable commercialised rentier elite using a historical structural approach. Throughout the upland areas of Malabar, from north to south, the migrants from Travancore cleared forests. They replaced them with paddy fields, plantations of rubber, coffee, and coconut trees, as well as gardens with areca and pepper. The impetus for development that fueled the migration of Travancore peasants played a pivotal role in shaping and reshaping land use patterns at various stages. Development was only achievable with the infusion of financial resources in the form of material assets. Naturally, migrant farmers introduced crops with the highest market value while abandoning those with lower market prices. The local population, previously uninterested in reclaiming arable wastelands, became motivated by the success of these ventures and established plantations and orchards across a significant portion of Malabar's interior (Joseph, 1988²⁰).

By exploring the historical and cultural contexts of migration, it was clear that the movement was from one region to another that was geographically close. Although the two territories had separate political structures, they shared a common language with some dialectal differences and broadly comparable populations and cultures. Therefore, for the migrants, establishing the state in 1956 represented the union of their places of origin and destinations into a single political and territorial entity under a single nation-state (Joseph, 2005)²¹. Hence, the Kerala economy underwent a turning point in 1970 with two justifications. First is an unparalleled exodus of labourers from rural regions, mainly to West Asia, and second, an acceleration of the commercialisation of agriculture with a focus on critical cash crops (Eapen, 1995)²².

Tharakan (1997)²³ investigates the factors that led people to migrate from Travancore to Malabar by highlighting the effects of population pressure on agricultural land, Christian inheritance practices, property fragmentation, etc. Tharakan (1984)²⁴ explores the demographic situation in Travancore and Malabar following the peasant movement between 1930 and 1950 in another study. Looking back at the state's lengthy migration history, we find that, up until 1947, net migration was negative (Rajan and Kumar 2010)²⁵. The Malabar region had recruitment centres that sent indentured labourers and Cherumas (scheduled caste) who migrated to avoid being exploited by landowners, according to an early account from the middle of the 19th century (Joseph 1988)²⁶.

When the peasants migrated and settled in Malabar with their families, they brought their capital, which they subsequently invested in agricultural endeavours. This practice of bringing personal capital for investment in their new homes is highlighted by Joseph (Joseph, 2005)²⁷. This approach of self-funding and investment underscores the resourcefulness and determination of the migrating peasants as they sought to establish themselves in a new region. According to Panoor (1989)²⁸, The migration of peasants from Travancore to Malabar had significant repercussions, including the potential extinction of indigenous groups. According to this perspective, the migration of the Christian community from Travancore to Malabar profoundly impacted the indigenous economy. The primary reason for the land alienation experienced by tribal communities, which resulted from their displacement from their traditional culture and settlements, is attributed to the influx of migrant settlers. Consequently, the migration of the peasantry from Travancore to Malabar in Kerala is seen as having substantial benefits for the Malabar region. The migration of peasants from Travancore to Malabar revealed certain novel traits.

1. The Travancorean peasants moved voluntarily to Malabar.
2. The migrating farmers made their homes in Malabar's sub-mountainous regions.
3. The migrant farmers had enough money from selling their meagre plots in their home country to invest in agricultural enterprises.
4. The migrant farmers did not come from the lowest social classes but were from the higher social classes.
5. Because cash crops generate more significant returns for their output than food crops, peasant immigrants choose to cultivate them in large quantities.

The peasant movement from Travancore to Malabar has been extensively studied, focusing on critical elements such as the predominance of the Syrian Christian community, the migrants' asset status at the time of migration, and the farming methods employed. These studies are attributed to Varghese (2006a,b)²⁹. Furthermore, Sebastian (2007)³⁰ conducted significant research within the context of migrant cultivators in the Kannur region of North Kerala. This research explored how migration and agricultural development influenced the human development characteristics of migrant households.

Sebastian's study revealed that the investments in human capital made by peasant migrants have substantially impacted growth and development in the migrant villages. This was established by tracing the relationships between education and human development across three generations of migrants in the Kannur district, shedding light on the far-reaching implications of migration on the region's growth. Varghese (2009)³¹. The historical context underscores that when the land in Travancore's central and eastern areas became depleted, a significant migration pattern emerged among Syrian Christians, primarily composed of small farmers. They embarked on a journey to the untapped and fertile lands in British Malabar, where nearly half of the available land for cultivation, excluding wastelands and forests, remained untouched by agriculture. Despite initial setbacks, these migrating populations in the Travancore and Malabar regions gradually prospered by cultivating fresh tracts of land in their territories. This success ignited further waves of population movement as more individuals sought opportunities in new lands. (Varghese,2009)³² 'Konnipadigal' (Mal), written by Joseph Kuravilangad (1991), contains a thorough history of the Malabar migration. Additionally, he describes 18 early Malabar migrant settlements, including Alakkode, Peravoor, and Chemperi, in the Kannur District. Mgr. provides the historical background of the Malabar migration and the early obstacles they encountered. Pazheparambil Thomas (1975) in "Swapnabhoomiyil," Sivaswammy K.G. (1945) in "The Exodus, which from the Kottayam division of Travancore State to Malabar 1943 & 1944," and Chacko A.C. (1993) in "History of Alakkode"(Retna Raj,2003)³³.

According to one estimate, Kerala is home to about 2.5 million domestic migrant workers, or about 20 per cent of the state's labour force, working in a variety of sectors (Narayana, Venkiteswaran)³⁴ Kerala's long-term trend shows that up until the 1990s, it was more prevalent among migrant workers from nearby states like Tamil Nadu. However, after that decade, it became more popular among long-distance migrants. Migrant labourers are more susceptible than local labourers; they have difficulties finding employment and obtaining better pay and living conditions. They are always in conflict and contestation while also being watched over by the government and locals(Peter and Narendran,2017)³⁵

Over the decades, Kerala has been marked by a rich history of immigration and emigration. The state has witnessed the influx of various groups over time, including Jews, Arabs, Christians, Konkans, Tamil Brahmins, and numerous others. Similarly, Keralites have ventured beyond the state's borders, seeking work opportunities in various regions of India and the global community. During the same period, the peasant farmers from the former princely state of Travancore also engaged in significant migration, moving to different districts within Kerala in large numbers. This dynamic interplay of migration, both inbound and outbound, has left a lasting imprint on Kerala's cultural diversity and historical narrative (Raghavan,2011)³⁶.

Comparative research on the Mappila Muslims of northern Kerala, the Ezhava Hindus of southern Kerala, and the Syrian Christians of south-central Kerala sheds light on the intricate interplay of identities in shaping their migratory experiences. These diverse ethnicities and community identities signify distinct social statuses, leading to differing migration experiences in nearly every aspect. These distinctions encompass the nature of the migration, the migrants' relationship with their destination, the type of migration undertaken, gender relations, educational backgrounds, skill sets, the kinds of occupations they engage in, and various social and demographic characteristics of their families in Kerala (Kurien, 2002)³⁷. Recognising the pivotal role of religion in migration becomes more apparent from a sociological perspective. This perspective illustrates how religion can significantly influence migration patterns by shaping societal structures, including the social positioning of different groups within society. These dynamics, in turn, contribute to the fundamental characteristics of these groups and can lead to

unequal state actions and treatment towards them. As a critical determinant, religion plays a vital role in understanding the intricate web of migration experiences and their sociological underpinnings.

(Kurien 2014: 534)³⁸

In summary, the migration of half a million individuals to Malabar constituted a substantial mass movement. This migration played a significant role in driving economic growth and prosperity in various localities. The extensive population movements characteristic of the modern era have far-reaching implications across social, economic, political, demographic, and ecological dimensions. This underscores that while migration has been a constant feature of human history, the scale and impact of contemporary migrations are of immense significance, shaping the course of societies and regions. (Aswathy & Pushpa Raj,2018)³⁹.

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SPECIAL EDUCATION: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INCLUSIVE PRACTICES

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Education is a fundamental human right, an essential vehicle for personal and societal development, and a cornerstone of social progress. It is a powerful instrument for empowering individuals, regardless of their background, abilities, or challenges. Yet, throughout history, the approach to educating individuals with disabilities has been marked by a complex journey characterised by discrimination, exclusion, and, thankfully, transformation. This journey has evolved from segregation and neglect to establishing inclusive practices, reflecting the ever-expanding understanding of all learners' diverse needs and potential. Special education is individually planned, systematically implemented, and carefully evaluated to help exceptional children achieve the greatest possible personal self-sufficiency and success in present and future environments. (Heward, 1996).

The history of special education and the development of inclusive practices is a tale of profound social, cultural, and educational change. It reveals the evolving values, attitudes, and policies that have shaped the educational landscape for individuals with disabilities. This story underscores the importance of recognising and supporting each learner's unique abilities and requirements and the broader societal commitment to equity and inclusivity.

This article embarks on a historical journey to explore the evolution of special education and the path to inclusive practices. We will delve into the roots of special education, tracing its origins through various historical epochs and unveiling the individuals, movements, and legislative milestones that have left an indelible mark on this field. The narrative presented here aims to shed light on how society's understanding of disability, combined with educational philosophy and policy, has been instrumental in developing inclusive practices that promote all students' full participation and success. From the earliest recognition of the need for specialised education to the modern embrace of inclusive classrooms, this article will offer insights into the remarkable progress and challenges that have characterised the history of special education.

In India's vast tapestry of diversity, education transcends mere instruction; it symbolises empowerment, equality, and opportunity. Within this mosaic, special education has emerged as a critical component of the broader educational landscape, advocating for the rights and inclusion of individuals with diverse needs and abilities. Special education in India is marked by progress, determination, and ongoing challenges, reflecting the country's commitment to providing quality education for all.

Historically, India has been a land of remarkable educational traditions that have nurtured scholars and thinkers for centuries. Yet, for those with disabilities or unique learning requirements, the path to education has been far from seamless. This article explores the state of special education in India, from its historical roots to contemporary challenges and opportunities.

Historical Background of Special Education in India

Special education in India has a rich and multifaceted history, marked by a complex interplay of cultural, social, and educational factors. The evolution of special education in India can be understood through several key phases:

Ancient Period: In ancient India, there were provisions for educating individuals with disabilities. The Vedic period, for instance, recognised the importance of education for all and did not discriminate against individuals with disabilities. Vedic texts mentioned the teaching of visually impaired students and individuals with speech impairments. These early philosophies laid a foundation for inclusive practices.

Medieval Era: During the medieval period, there was a shift in the approach to disability. Disability was often perceived through a religious and karma-driven lens, and this influenced the societal perception of individuals with disabilities. However, some charitable organisations, such as temples and monasteries, provided primary care and education for specific disabled individuals.

British Colonial Rule: The colonial era introduced Western education concepts and institutionalised education systems in India. Unfortunately, this period also witnessed a more exclusionary approach to individuals with disabilities, who were often left without educational opportunities.

Post-Independence Era: After gaining independence in 1947, India focused on social and educational reforms. The government recognised the importance of addressing the needs of individuals with disabilities and formulated the National Policy for Persons with Disabilities in 1977. This policy marked a significant shift toward inclusive education, emphasising equal educational opportunities and rehabilitation for disabled individuals.

Legal Framework: The Persons with Disabilities (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights, and Full Participation) Act of 1995 further strengthened the legal framework for special education in India. This act mandated equal access to education and vocational training for individuals with disabilities.

Special Education and the Development of Inclusive Practices in India

The roots of special education in India can be traced back to ancient texts and teachings that recognised the importance of individualised learning. However, in the mid-20th century, India began formalising special education services. The efforts of pioneers like Dr. V. S. Sunder, who played a pivotal role in advancing special education in India, cannot be understated. In 1954, India passed the landmark Rehabilitation Council of India Act, which was instrumental in regulating and developing programs for individuals with disabilities.

There are many policies and programmes for addressing the issues of children with special needs, as follows:

- a) *Kothari Commission (1964-1966):* The Kothari Commission was the first Education Commission to address the issue of children with special needs. Its significant recommendations included promoting the universalisation of elementary education and integrating disabled children into the regular school programme.
- b) *Integrated Education for Disabled Children (IEDC) (1982-1983):* This was a centrally sponsored scheme for training disabled children.
- c) *National Policy on Education (1986):* Specifies about training disabled and non-disabled children.
- d) *Project on Integrated Education for Disabled (PIED) 1987:* In 1987, with assistance from UNICEF, the *Project on Integrated Education for Disabled (PIED)* was started to strengthen the IEDC. Under this project, all the schools were converted into integrated schools, and teachers were trained to handle the needs of particular/disabled children in classrooms.

- e) *Rehabilitation Council of India (RCI) Act 1992*: The main objective was to mandate minimum education standards for exceptional teachers and educators who work with individuals with disabilities.
- f) *The Persons with Disability Act (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights and Full Participation), 1995*: The main objective was that every child with a disability could access free education in an appropriate environment until he reached 18.
- g) *District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) 1995*: DPEP aimed to address the issues of drop-outs, out-of-school children and early marriage by starting primary school in every village. And Alternate schooling with a flexible curriculum.
- h) *The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) 2000*: An ambitious programme seeking education for all by 2010.
- i) *The National Policy for Persons with Disabilities 2006* has also highlighted this need by saying that "there is a need for mainstreaming of the persons with disabilities in the general education system through inclusive education.
- j) *The Right to Education (RTE) Act, 2009*: This provides "the state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of 6 to 14.
- k) *Rights of Persons with Disability Act (RPWD), 2016*: The Government of India to comply with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. The act also facilitates full acceptance of people with disability and ensures full participation and inclusion of such persons.

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan: A Transformative Initiative for Inclusive Education

The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Education for All) program, launched in 2001, aimed to ensure that children with disabilities had access to quality education. In addition, various non-governmental organisations and initiatives have played a crucial role in advancing inclusive practices.

In the 21st century, India has made significant progress in special education and inclusive practices. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Education for All) program, launched in 2001, played a pivotal role in mainstreaming differently abled children into regular schools and providing support services to facilitate their learning. Various non-governmental organisations, grassroots initiatives, and special educators have also contributed to advancing inclusive education.

One of SSA's most distinctive and compelling features is its unwavering commitment to inclusive education. Inclusive education ensures that all students, including those with disabilities, learn together in mainstream schools, fostering a sense of belonging and providing equitable learning opportunities. SSA recognises the importance of including children with disabilities in the regular schooling system rather than segregating them into special schools. This represents a significant shift from previous practices and aligns with the principles of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, which India ratified in 2007.

Key Initiatives under SSA for Inclusive Education

Under the SSA, several key initiatives have been implemented to advance inclusive education in India:

- a) **Teacher Training:** SSA focuses on training teachers to cater to students' diverse needs. Special educators and resource teachers are trained to support students with disabilities.
- b) **Universal Screening:** SSA promotes universal screening and assessment to identify children with special needs. Early identification and intervention can make a substantial difference in these children's lives.
- c) **Provision of Aids and Appliances:** SSA supports the provision of assistive devices and appliances to children with disabilities to facilitate their learning. This includes hearing aids, Braille books, and mobility devices.
- d) **Ramp and Barrier-Free Access:** To make schools more accessible, SSA promotes the construction of ramps and barrier-free infrastructure, ensuring that schools are physically accessible to all children.
- e) **Community Participation:** The program emphasises community participation in planning and executing inclusive education activities. Parents, guardians, and local communities are actively involved in creating an inclusive educational environment.

The impact of SSA on special education in India has been profound. It has led to an increase in the number of children with disabilities accessing mainstream education. By providing financial support to schools and special training to teachers, SSA has improved the overall quality of teaching and created a more conducive learning environment for all children, including those with disabilities.

In addition, SSA has been instrumental in creating awareness about the importance of inclusive education. It has challenged traditional beliefs about disability and education, fostering a more inclusive and accepting society.

Challenges and the Path Forward

There is a need for continued investment in teacher training programs to equip educators with the skills required to cater to diverse needs. Adequate infrastructure, accessible learning materials, and assistive technologies are still lacking in many schools. India still faces challenges in providing comprehensive and inclusive education to all individuals with disabilities, especially in remote and underserved regions. However, ongoing efforts, including teacher training programs, assistive technology integration, and awareness campaigns, continue to shape the landscape of special education in India.

The historical journey of special education in India reflects a shift from ancient inclusive practices to periods of exclusion and discrimination during colonial rule, followed by a resurgence of inclusive values and policies post-independence. India's commitment to providing equal educational opportunities for individuals with disabilities remains an ongoing process, with strides being made toward a more inclusive and equitable educational system.

Despite significant progress, the journey of special education in India has been without challenges. Some key challenges include:

- a) **Access to Quality Services:** While India has made strides in creating awareness and legal frameworks, access to quality special education services remains uneven, with urban areas often having more resources than rural regions.

- b) **Stigma and Awareness:** Societal stigmas surrounding disabilities persist, leading to underreporting and the perpetuation of stereotypes. Raising awareness and changing attitudes is an ongoing battle.
- c) **Teacher Training:** Special educators require specialised training to meet the diverse needs of their students, and more comprehensive programs and professional development are needed.
- d) **Legislative Gaps:** The legal framework for special education in India is continually evolving, but there are gaps in implementation and compliance that must be addressed.

As technology advances, it offers the potential to bridge gaps in inclusive education. Assistive technologies can be harnessed to create more accessible learning environments. Teacher training programmes focused on inclusive education can equip educators with the skills and knowledge to address the diverse needs of their students.

Moreover, societal attitudes towards individuals with disabilities need to shift. This is not solely the education system's responsibility but also requires broader awareness campaigns and advocacy. Better infrastructure, more trained special educators, and accessible learning materials are needed to ensure inclusive practices are genuinely effective. Rural and remote areas often struggle to provide inclusive educational services, highlighting the urban-rural divide.

From its humble beginnings rooted in the belief of educating all individuals, regardless of their abilities or disabilities, to the more recent paradigm shift towards inclusive practices, this journey is a testament to our society's evolving understanding of diversity and its commitment to equality in education. In this concluding reflection, we recognise the profound impact of historical milestones and the remarkable transition towards inclusive education in special education.

Inclusion advocates for an educational environment where students with disabilities are welcomed into mainstream classrooms, fostering a culture of acceptance, diversity, and mutual learning. This transformation is not without its challenges, but it is undeniably a significant step towards breaking down the barriers that have historically separated students based on their abilities.

In this inclusive era, we have seen remarkable success stories of students with disabilities thriving alongside their typically developing peers. This approach benefits those with disabilities and enriches the educational experience for all students. It fosters empathy, tolerance, and a broader understanding of the human experience.

Conclusion

As we conclude this exploration of the history of special education and the development of inclusive practices, we can confidently assert that the future holds great promise. The journey towards inclusive education is a testament to the collective will to build a more inclusive, equitable, and compassionate society. It challenges us to continuously re-evaluate our approaches, provide support and resources to all students, and uphold the principles of justice, diversity, and opportunity for every individual in the rich tapestry of education. The history of special education tells a story of progress, and the narrative continues to evolve with the relentless pursuit of inclusivity and equality. Last but not least, special education stands as a beacon of hope, ensuring that no one is left behind in the quest for knowledge and empowerment.

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HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REFLECTIONS ON KURICHIYA'S HERITAGE AND THEIR CONFRONTATION WITH BRITISH IMPERIALISM

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Introduction

Wayanad, often called the "Verdant Eden of Kerala,"¹ is celebrated for its stunning natural beauty and a substantial indigenous population. Located in the Western Ghats, it boasts a remarkable 37 per cent forest cover, surpassing other districts in Kerala. Established as a distinct district on November 1, 1980, it is Kerala's twelfth administrative division and shares borders with Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. Wayanad's tropical climate graces the region with lush hills, picturesque valleys, and abundant forests, while its extensive plantations produce valuable cash crops.² It has emerged as a significant eco-tourism destination in southern India and is renowned for diverse religious and cultural festivals featuring tribal traditions. The presence of a significant Adivasi (tribal) population is notable.³ The Kurichiyas stand as one of the most advanced tribal communities within the Wayanad district. It is postulated that the nomenclature 'Kurichiya' is rooted in their application of 'Kuri,' signifying sandalwood paste, upon their foreheads and chests as an ingrained custom.⁴

Customs and Practices of the Kurichiyas

The tribes primarily serve as modest land proprietors, with agriculture constituting their predominant livelihood. They maintain stringent dietary and hygienic practices, ensuring pristine households, surroundings, and attire. Their societal structure adheres to a matrilineal system, fostering cohabitation within extended families. Their modest landholdings' primary agricultural focus centres on cultivating pepper and other crops. A paramount aspect of their cultural tapestry involves the selection of a leader, termed 'Pittan,' a process accompanied by rituals performed in reverence of their deities. This ceremonial undertaking includes an exuberant dance, and the chieftain dons a ceremonious silver-handled knife fastened to his waist on this occasion. The community's administration falls under this designated chieftain's jurisdiction, fostering a harmonious coexistence among the Kurichiyas. They enforce strictures such as polyandry prohibition and dietary regulations, with transgressors facing excommunication. Their customs are steeped in antiquity, and one notable practice involves the obligatory purification of a bath upon returning from a journey before entering their dwellings. The valorous history of the Kurichiyas resonates with their martial prowess, particularly in their collaborative efforts with Pazhassi Raja during the early 19th century in resistance against British colonial rule.⁵ Their remarkable proficiency in archery is acclaimed, and they demonstrate exceptional adeptness in hunting for game meat. An integral facet of their cultural expression is the Nellukuthu pattu, a traditional art form they have mastered. Wayanad stood at the forefront of significant native resistance to British colonialism, primarily by its peasant population.

The indigenous tribes of Wayanad, including the Adiyar, Cholanaikar, Paniyar, Kurumbar, Kurichiyar, Mullakurumbar, and Karimbalar, are believed to be descendants of ancient settlers. Still, historical records of their social group formation and interactions remain elusive.⁶ The tribulations and revolts of Wayanad's indigenous people began to gain recognition from administrators and scholars in the last

century. However, many of these tribal communities still grapple with landlessness, working as agricultural labourers. Incidents like the Muthanga struggle⁷ exemplify their deep frustration and fervent desire for land ownership. With a predominantly rural population, agriculture is the primary source of income, and the district's name is intertwined with its agricultural heritage. "Pazhassi Raja, the scion of the Kottayam Kingdom, emerged as a stalwart figure in the late 18th century, vehemently opposing the Kingdom of Mysore and later the British East India Company. His unwavering resistance against British encroachment upon Kottayam culminated in the Cotiote War, earning him the moniker 'Kerala Simham' due to his martial valour. Born as Kerala Verma on the 3rd of January, 1753, Pazhassi Raja hailed from the western lineage of the Kottayam royal clan. He ascended to prominence amidst the tumultuous second invasion of Malabar by Hyder Ali in 1773." Kottayam and the Malabar region were prized possessions due to the easy availability of the 'Black Gold' of the era, Pepper.⁸ "As the Mysore Kingdom relentlessly launched incursions into the fertile Malabar region for economic and territorial expansion, a significant shift in leadership occurred. The reigning monarch of Kottayam, responding to these invasions, sought refuge in Travancore, along with the royal family. In this power vacuum, Kerala Varma emerged as the de facto ruler and actively resisted the encroaching Mysorean military, earning the respect and admiration of his subjects. Pazhassi Raja initiated guerilla warfare against the Mysorean occupation due to limited resources. He briefly regained control of Thalassery fort in 1781 but lost it after the Treaty of Mangalore in 1784, which placed Malabar under Mysorean rule. His resistance persisted through Tipu Sultan's rule. Still, it was briefly aided by a compact with the British East India Company in 1791, which later lost effectiveness with Tipu Sultan's⁹ defeat in the Third Anglo-Mysore War,¹⁰ leading to the Treaty of Seringapatam and British control of Malabar.

The British appointed Veera Verma, an uncle of Pazhassi Raja, as a puppet ruler of Kottayam within their suzerainty. Subsequently, they enacted onerous regulations about pepper cultivation, imposing exorbitant levies on the already downtrodden peasants. Apprehensive of the relentless exploitation perpetrated by the British colonialists upon his subjects, Pazhassi Raja instigated a rebellion against their oppressive rule in 1793.¹¹ The persistent resistance campaign so vexed the British that they dispatched a formidable expeditionary force from Bombay to chastise the Raja. His palace was ransacked, yet he adroitly evaded capture, seeking refuge within the impenetrable recesses of the Wayanad forests. From this wilderness stronghold, the Raja orchestrated numerous military campaigns, relentlessly engaging the British by assaulting their forts and rallying the local populace without regard for caste or creed. The pivotal turning point occurred on the 18th of March in 1797 when a momentous triumph against the East India Company was achieved. A formidable regiment led by Major Cameron was en route through the treacherous terrain of Periya Ghat when it fell victim to a meticulously executed ambush by Pazhassi Raja's¹² resolute forces, resulting in its utter decimation.¹³ This triumph placed the British authorities in a precarious position, as they were concurrently entangled in conflicts with Tipu Sultan and the Marathas in the northern territories, contending with the French threat in the eastern domains, and embroiled in European disputes. Under these circumstances, the British reluctantly negotiated a peace treaty with Pazhassi Raja. This accord entailed the restitution of his territorial holdings and marked the cessation of hostilities. Nonetheless, this period of peace proved ephemeral as the culmination of the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War in 1799 prompted a shift in British focus towards Wayanad. Subsequently, in 1800, renewed hostilities erupted between Pazhassi Raja and the formidable British Army. His new adversary was Arthur Wellesley, the illustrious Duke of Wellington, renowned for his decisive victory over Napoleon Bonaparte.¹⁴ Arthur Wellesley devised a strategically intricate pincer campaign to apprehend the elusive Raja. However, the Raja, displaying remarkable cunning and resilience, repeatedly evaded capture. The

relentless and devastating guerrilla campaign orchestrated by Pazhassi Raja would ensnare Arthur's forces, inflicting substantial casualties upon the British military contingent.

In his official communications to authorities in England, Arthur Wellesley emphatically posited that the continued existence of Pazhassi Raja posed a formidable impediment to British victory in the region. However, owing to the concurrent exigencies of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, the Duke of Wellington was compelled to depart for England in 1804, leaving his campaign against Pazhassi Raja conspicuously unfinished.¹⁵ The guerrilla tactics he observed and confronted in his clashes with Pazhassi Raja would subsequently find application in his military endeavours against Napoleon's forces in Spain, proving exceedingly efficacious in that theatre of war. Recognising the resilience of the local populace despite brutal repression, the British authorities devised a strategy of coercion and inducement. They sought to intimidate the community into refraining from assisting the Raja and entice individuals to betray him. While the campaign of repression galvanised the locals to rally behind the Raja, the bribery efforts yielded more favourable results. Enticed by financial rewards, local turncoats divulged critical information regarding the Raja's whereabouts. There was an instance when the Raja's capture narrowly eluded them, thanks to his cunning escape. However, his commanders bore the brunt of the betrayal, with a few of them apprehended and subsequently executed by the British, delivering a devastating blow to the rebel forces. Yet, on the 30th of November in 1805, the fortunes of Pazhassi Raja took a dire turn as his covert sanctuary fell into British hands. The Raja and his loyal adherents had established their camp near the Kerala-Karnataka border, adjacent to the Mavila or Mavila Tod stream. In an abrupt and treacherous assault, they were ambushed and ensnared, setting the stage for a fierce and relentless battle that culminated in the tragic demise of the Raja. Acknowledging the valour of their formidable adversary, the British paid their respects through a ceremonial cremation, complete with full military honours. The Cotiote War, also called the Kottayathu War, unfolded over a relentless and protracted period of thirteen years, from 1793 to 1806. At its heart was Pazhassi Raja Kerala Varma, the valiant ruler of Cotiote, fiercely determined to protect his kingdom's sovereignty and unity. In stark contrast, the East India Company fervently pursued the annexation and dismemberment of his realm. This prolonged conflict emerged from Raja's unwavering quest for independence and a profound sense of betrayal, as the Company had previously pledged to uphold his nation's autonomy.

This feeling of betrayal, in conjunction with the persistent counsel of his distinguished nobles, Kaitheri Ambu and Kannavath Sankaran,¹⁶ acted as the driving force that ignited the fiery Cotiote War. The Cotiote War is the East India Company's lengthiest military campaign in their Indian subcontinent endeavours. It exceeded the duration of well-known conflicts like the Anglo-Mysore Wars, Anglo-Maratha Wars, Anglo-Sikh Wars, and Polygar Wars. Furthermore, it garnered the grim distinction of being one of the bloodiest and most demanding confrontations ever waged by the East India Company in the Indian subcontinent. The regiments of the Presidency army endured heavy losses, with casualties reaching an astonishing eighty per cent during a gruelling decade of warfare.¹⁷ The Cotiote army employed guerrilla warfare tactics in the rugged mountain forests of Aralam and Wynand, engaging in a vast theatre of conflict. The intensity of warfare peaked in the early years of 1797, 1800-1801, and 1803-1804. To counter setbacks, regiments from Bombay were replaced with a stronger force of Madras regiments, increasing troop numbers from 8,000 in 1803 to a formidable 14,000 in early 1804. The Cotiote War concluded shortly after the death of Pazhassi Raja on November 30, 1805.¹¹ After this prolonged conflict, the Cotiote kingdom was forcibly absorbed into the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency. The East India Company initially deployed 6,000 troops, increasing to 8,000 by 1800 and 14,000 by 1804. Notably, Arthur Wellesley oversaw operations from 1800 to 1804. On the Cotiote side, the exact

number of combatants remains uncertain, with estimates ranging from 2,000 to 6,000. The Cotiote forces initially had firearms but later relied heavily on bows and blades due to a shortage of musket ammunition after 1799. This decade of warfare resulted in a devastating 80 per cent attrition rate within the East India Company's military ranks, affecting European officers and native Sepoys. Unfortunately, records of the Cotiote armies' casualty figures are scarce. Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja symbolises unwavering liberty through his resistance against the British. His heroic legacy lives on in North Malabar's oral traditions and is celebrated in song. Several educational institutions in Kerala bear his name, honouring his indomitable spirit. Modern historians praise him as a selfless leader dedicated to his people's welfare. In the British colonial era, indigenous tribes in Wayanad, including the Kurichiyas, owned and cultivated land but grew increasingly discontent due to political and economic factors. This led to an uprising masterfully led by Pazhassi Raja, the renowned "Lion of Kerala."

The transformation of tribal society in Wayanad began when political power shifted to the Kottayam Royal family, who, in turn, delegated authority to upper-caste Hindus. This alienated indigenous communities like the Kurichiyas and Kurumas from their ancestral lands. The Paniya and Adiya communities became trapped in agricultural servitude, while Nayar Land Lords, in allegiance to the rulers, expanded rice cultivation in Wayanad. This expansion deepened the enslavement of tribal populations, pushing many into bonded labour. The Kurichiya Revolt, a seminal anti-colonial and agrarian uprising, occurred in 1812 and was orchestrated by the Kurichiya tribes of Wayanad, Kerala, known historically as the region's initial agricultural community with relatively elevated social status. The Transition from Kottayam Raja to British Dominion: Exploitative Rule. Originally under the dominion of the Raja of Kottayam, Wayanad experienced a significant shift following the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. It became a part of the British Empire, marking the onset of a regime characterised by exploitation and oppression. Tribal peasants suffered unspeakable atrocities, with some losing their extensive properties due to exorbitant tax demands. The establishment of pepper, cardamom, and coffee plantations attracted outsiders, complicating the lives of the indigenous population, particularly the Kurichiyas.¹⁸ Under the leadership of Rama Nambi, the valiant tribal people refused to accept their grim fate, launching a rebellion against the British. This revolt saw the involvement of various tribes and individuals. The Kurichiyas, in particular, played a pivotal role in supporting Pazhassi Raja's¹⁹ insurrection in 1805. The Kurichiyas, masters of archery and formidable warriors, were renowned for their unparalleled expertise with bows. Their name, Kurichiya, derived from "Kuri-Chavan," meaning "He who aimed." In 1812, this tribal community posed a significant challenge to the British colonial forces. Their resistance was so potent that T.H. Baber, the sub-collector of Thalassery, noted that if they had persevered, they could have potentially gained control over the entire state. Regrettably, the British government ruthlessly suppressed the rebellion, leading to the execution of Rama Nambi. Nevertheless, the memory of these unsung tribal heroes who sacrificed their lives for their motherland endures. After the ruthless suppression of the Pazhassi revolts, the British aimed to establish control in Wayanad. The tribal communities, who had supported Pazhassi Raja, endured relentless persecution and were forced into slavery under British rule. The Kurichias and Kurumbas, who had once lived freely in the forests of Wayanad, were now coerced into servitude, igniting a spirit of rebellion within them. They began contemplating an uprising against their oppressors. The British company officials, known as "vattathopikkar" or "round-caped people," were viewed as the murderers of their beloved leader, Pazhassi Raja. Adding to their misery, British revenue officers in Wayanad exploited the tribal people, compelling them to serve in domestic roles. The imposition of a new revenue settlement by Thomas Warden exacerbated their suffering. This new fiscal arrangement, introduced after the Pazhassi rebellion, became the primary source of the tribals' distress. Historically, Wayanad's tribals had paid taxes on goods rather than currency. However, the British

authorities insisted that taxes be settled exclusively in cash, rejecting the traditional practice of in-kind payments. The tribal communities, determined in their resistance, lacked the necessary currency as they primarily engaged in barter trade, exchanging forest resources for essential goods. Consequently, their tax arrears began to accumulate. Company revenue agents, keen to recover tax arrears, launched a campaign that involved confiscating tribal property, assaulting homes, looting belongings, and forcefully evicting people from their lands.

The actions of the Sheristadars, who seized and auctioned property, increased discontent. Incidents of distraint, property sales, and unwarranted home intrusions grew. The Kurichiyas were frequently seized and forced into servitude. This multifaceted oppression led to the tribal uprising in 1812, a meticulously planned endeavour that spread to areas like Munandadu, Cherankodu, and Nambolakodu. The tribal uprising turned aggressive as they boldly confronted British authorities, inflicting severe atrocities on Englishmen. Lower-ranking company officials, the Nair and Tiyyas, were aware of the Kurichiyas' well-planned uprising under Raman Nambi's leadership. Secretly dissatisfied with British rule, they lent support to the Kurichiyas in the later stages of the revolt. Tribal gods and oracles sanctioned the rebellion. Many Kurichiyas had served in the company's kolkaran group, and all but four resigned to join the rebellion. The Kurichiyas and Kurumbras evolved the revolt into a peasant uprising, using traditional weapons like bows and arrows for guerrilla warfare.

The police struggled to resist, particularly against their poisoned arrows, leading to a hasty retreat. Within days, the rebellion spread throughout Wayanad, with the Kurichiyas guarding access routes and severing British supply lines. This pattern matched the territorial nature of pre-20th-century peasant revolts in India. The Kurichya revolt, although intense, was confined to the territorial boundaries of Wayanad, limiting its scope and reach. This geographical confinement proved advantageous for the British, allowing them to swiftly quash the rebellion within two months. An important distinguishing aspect of this rebellion, setting it apart from other uprisings in India, was the absence of a well-defined leadership structure and a unifying messianic ideology. To suppress the rebellion, T.H. Baber, a British official, had to urgently call upon military forces from the neighbouring regions of Malabar and Canara. This move placed immense strain on the administration as it grappled with the logistical challenge of providing for the stationed Army during a crisis. The British resident in Mysore dispatched approximately 2000 Mysorean troops to secure the frontier, and Major General Wetherall mobilised a substantial detachment of troops from the garrison at Seringapatam.²⁰ Additionally, another battalion was deployed from Cannanore to aid the beleaguered troops. These fresh British forces, equipped with modern weaponry, advanced towards Wayanad. However, their progress was met with fierce resistance from the Kurichiyas when they reached the Kuttiyadi pass. Many Company soldiers sustained injuries in this confrontation, compelling them to retreat. The formidable British military, armed with modern weaponry, invaded Wayanad from multiple fronts to counter the guerrilla tactics of the brave Kurichiyas. Despite the valour displayed by the Kurichiyas, many succumbed to the superior British forces. Eventually, the Kurichiya leaders surrendered under relentless British pressure. By May 8, 1812, the rebellion had been brutally suppressed, though it lasted just two months. This uprising posed a significant challenge to British authorities, with the conflict taking a heavy toll on the English army. Major Welsh documented the unfortunate deaths of several officers stationed in Wayanad. Additionally, the casualties among the troops and their families were distressing. Nonetheless, the resistance against British colonial rule continued. Within the realm of Indian nationalist historiography, often influenced by a Eurocentric perspective, there is recognition of historical inaccuracies and a lack of precise evidence. In contrast, subaltern studies delve into the remote aspects of Indian peasant existence, shedding light on how the festering grievances of

peasants and tribal communities have sometimes erupted into open rebellions against oppressive forces. Colonial India, a hotbed of such discontent, saw various instances of overt rebellion, with the Kurichiya²¹ revolt of 1812 holding a distinctive place in history.

K. K. N. Kurup, in *Agrarian Struggles in Kerala*, scrutinises agrarian conflicts in Malabar, highlighting tribal involvement that led to their liberation from the ruling class's oppression²¹. However, liberated tribals remain subject to social oppression orchestrated by landowners, capitalists, and exploiters. The Kurichiyas are briefly covered. In "Land Alienation and the Tribals in Kerala," Kurup explores land ownership challenges for Kerala's tribal communities. "Peasantry, Nationalism, and Social Change in India" delves into the rise of British hegemony in Malabar, which sparked a peasant revolt, though not extensively discussed. "Modern Kerala" discusses British dominance post-1792, emphasising its profound socio-economic impact on Malabar and tribal communities. N. Rajendran's thesis, "Establishment of British Power in Malabar," delves into the historical process of Wayanad's subjugation under the Kottayam Dynasty's Pazhassi Raja. While Hyder Ali initially incorporated Wayanad into his Mysorean dominion, the Sreerangapatnam Treaty of 1792 yielded British control over Malabar, except Wayanad. However, the fall of Tipu Sultan²² in 1799 finally secured Wayanad under British authority. Regrettably, Rajendran's thesis doesn't encompass the agrarian framework or significant peasant uprisings like the Kurichiya revolt 1812. In A.R. Desai's "Peasant Struggle in India,"²³ the lives of colonial-era Indian peasants are meticulously examined. Desai delves into revenue policies and economic factors that ignited peasant rebellions,²⁴ driven by the fervent pursuit of grievance redressed. Notably, this work offers limited insights into the Kurichiya revolt.

Conclusion

The Subaltern historiography reshapes historical inquiry, highlighting the struggles of marginalised groups. It diverges from traditional structures, relying on collective memory and archives. The Kurichiya revolt wasn't solely political; it preserved traditional culture and exposed the Company Government's revenue policies. The Kurichiya uprising led to reevaluating revenue policies, prompting a more compassionate approach. Despite British rule in Malabar since 1792, the resolute resistance, including guerrilla warfare by the Kurichiyas from 1792 to 1805, was triggered by changes in tax collection, creating hostility among tribals, notably the Kurichiyas, towards the British. The Kurichiyas, skilled in archery, were vital to Pazhassi's army. Tribal participation in the revolt stemmed from colonial policies, historical rights, and the rise of feudal landlords. After Pazhassi Raja's sacrifice, the Kurichiyas faced harsh British suppression and lost land. Marginalised groups became slaves or bonded labourers. This led to a tribal revolt on March 25, 1812, preceding the 1857 independence struggle.

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THE ROLE OF VAKKOM MOULAVI AND OTHER RELIGIOUS REFORMERS IN TRANSFORMING MADRASA EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG THE MUSLIMS IN KERALA

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Introduction

Literacy or education is considered the most sensitive index of social development. The holy Quran gives more importance to education. The first word of the Holy Quran tells of the importance of education. It is said, "Read, in the name of God, Who created you in a clot of blood; he is the highest, Who gives you the ability to read and write." Madrasa education in Kerala would not have been completed without the contribution of various reformers. They spent their life, time and energy to uplift the community. They knew that education was the only medium to improve them. To improve them, Islam attaches great value to education and prescribes it as the duty of women and men to acquire knowledge.

Islamic education is naturally based on the Holy Quran and Hadith. In Islam, mosques serve as the main centres of education. According to Lichpenstaadter, fundamentally (Islam) has always considered learning at least a valuable accessory to being a good Muslim.¹ In the early education of Mappila Muslims, children used to be conducted in Ottupallis attached to the Mosque. Various names knew the teachers of the Ottupallis according to the local customs and traditions.² It is performed in two types of classes. That is, inside the Mosque and outside the Mosque. That is primary and secondary. The teaching method is oral. The teacher or instructor is called Mulla, Musaliyar or Mullaka³.

Madrasa is an Arabic word. It is derived from the triconsonantal Semitic root, Dars, which means 'Study' or 'learn'. 'Mafal' means a place where something is done, like recreational activities. There, Madrasa means 'a place where learning and studying take place'.

The Madrasa education in the state would not be complete without mentioning the contribution of various reformers. They knew that education was a powerful medium to improve them. They spent their lives, time, and energy to uplift the community. Sayyid Sanaullah Makthi Thangal, Chalilakath Kunjahamad Haji, Shaykh Mohammed Hmadani Thangal and Vakkom Abdul Khadar Moulavi was some of them.

In 1847 Makthi Thangal was born at Veliyamkod near Ponnani Taluk. He was an outstanding religious reformer. He was also a social reformer. His early education was with his father. He studied up to the fourth class in the primary school at Chavakkadu. In addition to Malayalam and Arabic, he was proficient in Urdu, Persian, Tamil and English. He was appointed an Excise Inspector under the British Government. Later, he resigned from his job and fought for the removal of un-Islamic practices and superstitions, such as merchants, saint worship, the Marumakkathayam system, and so on. For that, he propagated the fundamental principles of Islam and called upon Muslims to acquire modern education and knowledge of Islam.

He was perhaps the earliest Muslim scholar to encourage secular education when orthodox Ulema considered secular education forbidden. He vehemently asserted that education in Malayalam and English was inevitable for the progress of the Muslim community⁴. He opposed the view of orthodox Ulema that English is the language of hell. He drew up a scheme to improve Madrasa's education. He recommended

the use of a blackboard. He said that it could be more effective. He also noted that without learning Malayalam, the Muslim community would not be able to grasp the meaning of the Quran and Hadith. He was the pioneer social reformer among the Muslims of Kerala. Makti Thangal died on 18th September 1912 at Cochin.

Chalilakath Kunjahammad Haji was an outstanding scholar and educationist. He belonged to a merchant family. He was educated at a primary school in Calicut. He knew Arabic, Urdu, Persian, Tamil, Sanskrit, Malayalam and English.

In 1909, Kunjuhamad Haji joined the Vazhakkad Madrasa, which was later known as Darul-Uloom Madrasa. He was responsible for Madrasa education in Kerala⁵. The usual courses in Madrasa were Tafsir, Fiqh, Tasawwuf, etc. He was responsible for teaching logic, Astronomy, Geography, mathematics and other subjects in Madrasa. These Dars had given birth to numerous scholars with progressive outlooks. Teaching in the Dars was conducted with instruments and other things like Map, Globe, Charts and Athlas. Library facilities are also provided for the students. Malayalam, Tafsir, Hadith, Jurisprudence, Grammar, Logic, Astronomy, Geography, Mathematics and natural science were also subjects. He encouraged the people to read newspapers. He sent his daughters to school. At that time, girls' education was not considered suitable. He became a model for others. Haji started higher education in his Madrasa and called it Darul Uloom Arabic College. This madrasa introduced many new subjects and modern teaching methods. The renovations of madrasa education attracted attention and criticism. The orthodox ulema opposed him. He was forced to leave Vazhakkadu. He joined the Madrasa at Manarghat. But he died without fulfilling his wish. Haji was a pioneer in Madrasa education.

Sheikh Mohammed Hamadani Thangal was another one. He was born at Vaikkom in Thiruvananthapuram. He was a scholar of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu. After completing his education, he came to Vaikkom to rouse the Muslim community from its slumber and make it conscious of its backwardness in education. He organised like-minded young men and formed The Muslim Conference to promote education among Muslims. He published several articles in the Arabi-Malayalam journal, Muslim calling upon public-spirited young men to work for the spread of education among Muslims. He was also a member of Sri Mulam Praja Sabha. He wrote a book entitled Irfat-ul-Islam; in this book, he told the Muslims to discard all superstitious beliefs and practices. Hamadani Tangal and his disciple, Syed Muhammad Tangal, jointly prepared an Arabi-Sanskrit-Malayalam dictionary. He also wrote articles in Swadeshabhimani and *Muslim* journals of Vakkam Abdul Khadar Maulavi. Tangal called upon the Muslims to modern education. In 1922, Tangal died at Vaduthala.

Vakkam Abdul Khadar Moulavi pioneered the Muslim revivalist movement in Kerala. The nineteenth century was a renaissance period in Kerala's socio-political and cultural fields. Vakkam Maulavi was the early reformer who worked for the enlightenment and uplift of the Muslim community and other societies. Lack of education made the Muslim community believe that it was a 'sin' to send children, particularly girls, to school. Maulavi made a comprehensive diagnosis of the malady affected the Muslim community. He also started a movement to remove all non-Islamic practices in Islam, and he also took on the challenging task of reforming the Muslim community. He spent his time, energy and money on the upliftment of the superstitious and orthodox Muslim community.

Vakkom Abdul Khadar Moulavi was born on 28 December 1876 at Vakkom in the Chirayinkil Taluk of the erstwhile Travancore. His father, Mohammed Kunju, was a wealthy merchant. His mother was Hashubi. Abdul Khadar learned the Arabic language and acquired knowledge of the Quran, Sunnah, Logic and Islamic Jurisprudence, and Islamic History. He studied the Malayalam language and became

an elegant and influential writer. Sri Narayana Guru, the father of the Renaissance, constantly visited his house. Impressed by Guru, he read the writings of eminent Muslim reformers such as Ibn-Taymiyyah, Mohammad-ibn-Abdul-Wahab, Jamaludeen-Afghani, Mohammad Abdu, Rasheed-Rida and Shah-Waliyullah. Their scientific approach influenced Moulavi. He told Muslims to return to the Quran and authentic Hadith. He emphasised the religious and socio-economic aspects much more than the ritualistic aspects of religions. He also campaigned for the need for modern education, the education of women and the elimination of potentially harmful customs among the Muslim community.

In the meantime, Maulavi became a journalist. It was Al-Manar's influence that seduced him to the field of journalism. He used to read Al-Manar and periodicals like Malayala Manorama and Nasrani Deepika. The pathetic socio-political conditions in Kerala pained him at that time. An effective change for Travancore was the need of the hour. During the short visits, Sri Narayana Guru discussed religious, cultural, and Vedantic subjects. Maulavi attended and participated in such discussions.

The formation of a printing press was one of the significant things in Maulavi's life. He imported the press equipment from England for Rs. 12000/-. In August 1904, Pylopol, the magistrate of Anjengo, officially inaugurated the press, which was entitled Swadeshabhimani. Kerala Varma Valiya Koyi Thampuran himself visited the media and offered his blessings. The idea of a journal sprouted in his mind. Its first editor was Chirayinkil C.P. Govinda Pillai.

Swadeshabhimani started its first edition as the periodic journal of eight pages on 19th January 1905. The paper had the patronage and direction of many respectable personalities of that time, like Kerala Varma Valiya Koyi Thampuran, E.K. Moulavi, A.R. Raja Raja Varma, Dr. P. Palpu. The tone of Swadeshabhimani was something new to the people. The paper criticised the social conditions and political climate in the state. Particular pages were allotted to illustrate foreign news. Translations of the essays from Al-Manar were frequent. Moulavi himself wrote many articles for the paper. Many vital personalities fell victim to the onslaught of the daily. It had become a headache to those who wielded political and administrative powers. The Moulavi gave a free hand to his editor and believed it was the press's duty. Swadeshabhimani worked for the development and welfare of the people. Swadeshabhimani was the first journal to contact Reader, the international news agency. When Ramakrishnapillai became the editor, Swadeshabhimani became the most powerful one. Swadeshabhimani published a series of articles attacking the Dewan and the regime. Representatives of the ruling authority visited Moulavi at Vakkam and offered a handsome prize for selling the press to them. But Moulavi did not yield to their demand. The Dewan used his last weapon on 26th September 1910. Swadeshabhimani was banned, its press was confiscated, and editor Ramakrishna Pillai was deported.

Moulavi started a movement to remove all superstitions in the Muslim community; for this purpose, he published several journals like The Muslim in 1906, Al-Islam in 1918, Arabi-Malayalam and Deepika in 1931. His monthly journal 'The Muslim' was first published in January 1906. In the first issue, he wrote about the backwardness of Muslim society and that lack of education was the main reason. He wrote many articles in the journals and took charge of editorship. Maulavi wrote a series of articles in the journal Muslim entitled 'Islamic Religious Principles, a Resume', highlighting the correct principles of Islam regarding Tawhid (belief in one God), Intercession of Awulia (Friends of God), etc. The articles on the Muslims created a great stir among the orthodox Ulema, who held diametrically opposite views on these matters. In the meantime, the Islahi movement caught the public's attention. Several public debates were held between the Islahi (theological reform) Ulema and the orthodox Ulema on those issues. The journal's publication stirred the orthodox Ulema and organised a team against Vakkam Moulavi and his supporters.

In several places, the opposition even led to physical conflicts between the supporters of the two groups. But Islahi workers did not turn back. Maulavi was not a man to be easily defeated. Maulavi was the editor of yet another journal, Al-Islam. He realised that only a few understood Quranic principles. In every series of the Muslim and Al-Islam, he gave a topic based on the Quran.

Maulavi knew that his writings on the reformation movement undertaken by the Muslims did not reach all the people because a large section of the Muslims were not conversant with literary Malayalam. Both men and women could read Arabic, but Malayalam was forbidden. A knowledge of Malayalam was essential for getting an education. Maulavi decided to inculcate the spirit of awakening in the minds of Muslims with the help of Al-Islam, a monthly journal in Arabi-Malayalam ie. Malayalam is written in Arabic script. Maulavi was confident that as Muslim women were familiar with Arabic script, they could also read the journal. To print the magazine, he bought a lithographic press. He was greatly influenced by the ideas of the reformist journal Al-Manar (from Cairo) and started a journal named Al-Islam. Al-Islam was devoted to the cultural and religious education of Muslim women.

His last monthly journal, Deepika's first issue, came out in January 1931. It focused Muslims' attention on the need for their cultural advancement and educated non-Muslims on the greatness of Islamic teachings. This journal provided articles and comments of a high standard on religion, cultural, political, and literary subjects, which had a broader appeal.

The Quran's translation in Malayalam with commentary was featured in his journal, Deepika. He proved by quoting verses from the Quran that the veneration of saints, merchants, religious festivals in honour of saints, and the doctrine of Karamath (miracles) and intercession were against the basic principles of Islam. Vakkam Maulavi also owned two publishing houses: the 'Islam Publishing House' and the 'Ahalya Sunnath-van-Jam-ath'. A social worker, the Maulavi had very few equals in the Muslim community.

Maulavi fought against the un-Islamic practices. In his writings and speeches, he condemned Muhram, saint and Matyr worship, seeking their intercession with God, Marumakkathayam, Nerchas, Uruz festival visiting tombs by women, etc.

He wanted Muslims to learn science and modern knowledge. Throughout his life, he encouraged his co-religionists to pursue religious studies, learn sciences, and acquire secular education, which he regarded as the only means of progressing the community.

Maulavi fully realised the importance of the study of science. In his article "Religion and Science" (Mathavum Sathyavum), he wrote that religion and science would go hand in hand, and scientists had agreed that the Quran does not oppose science. Maulavi believed that Islam could meet the challenges of all ages and that the Quran was God's final code of conduct for human beings.

Maulavi found that traditional occupations of Muslims, such as trade, agriculture, and handicrafts, which had sustained the community through centuries, had degenerated due to a lack of education and proper training. He convened a meeting of the Muslim elite in Thiruvananthapuram to submit a proposal for promoting Muslim education to the Government. Their proposals include:

1. Appoint Arabic teachers to teach Arabic in schools.
2. Appoint two inspectors for the inspection of Arabic teaching in schools.
3. To grant scholarships to Muslim students from metric classes.
4. To disburse entire teaching grants to Muslim Schools.

He spent his time, money and energy on various organisations. Some organisations had a national outlook, while others were purely religious. They also started a local association in 1918 at Nilakkamukku, The Islam Dharma Paripalana Sangham. Sangham published booklets, organised a library, and also held seminars. A pamphlet named Zaus-Subha was written by Maulavi and published by this Sangham. Similar organisations were started in several places. They are Hadiggual-Islam-Sangham at Pallippuram, Chirayinkil Taluk Samajam at Chirayinkil, Muslim Aikya Sangham at Kodungallur etc. Various reformatory activities of these associations spread the reformist ideas quickly throughout Travancore and Kochi.⁶

Maulavi's humanism and patriotism were very conspicuous. During the First World War, the poverty-stricken people of the locality found solace in 'Vakkam Sahodara Samajam', an organisation formed at Maulavi's initiative. The organisation's motto was to help at least the people of Vakkam. They conducted a comprehensive census of the area, calculated the food needed for every house, and arranged for the same every week.

The constant and untiring work made Maulavi sick. Since 1906, he has been suffering from stomach trouble. By 1931, he was practically bedridden. His condition was getting worse. He was slowly moving to the critical stage. By dawn on 31st October 1932, Vakkam Abdul Khader Maoulavi breathed his last at the age of fifty-nine.

The entire Travancore was grief-stricken at the loss of Maulavi, who dedicated his life and wealth to society and country. The rich and the poor, the educated and the illiterate, the enlightened and the superstitious, all mourned the death of the Moulavi, whom they loved with all their heart and soul, that he loved them all. Vakkam Abdul Khadar Maulavi and his fellow Muslim religious leaders devoted their entire lives and unwavering dedication to the comprehensive advancement and well-being of the community. Their enduring commitment to this noble cause has left an indomitable legacy of selfless service and relentless pursuit of progress for the betterment of their people.

The reformers like Makthi Thangal, Hamadani Thangal, Kunjahammed Haji and Vakkom Maulavi guided the Muslim community of Kerala in the path of Reformation and Education. They asserted that they should return to the Quran and the Hadith principles. Madrasa education had a tremendous impact on Kerala Muslims. Because of the effects of Madrasa education, Muslims strictly follow the basic tenets of Islam, and they are highly concentrated on Tawhid. At the same time, Madrasa education should be oriented toward building generations through morals and models.

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JOURNEY FROM AN AGRARIAN ECONOMY TO A REMITTANCE-DRIVEN ECONOMY: A HISTORY OF THE KERALA MODEL

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Introduction

The state of Kerala, situated in the southwestern region of India, has long been a fascinating subject of academic research and public discussion, primarily due to its remarkable journey from an agrarian economy to a burgeoning investment hotspot. The transformation of Kerala's economic landscape has been both a case study and a source of inspiration for researchers, economists, policymakers, and development enthusiasts alike. This article delves into the intricate narrative of Kerala's economic transition, shedding light on the historical, social, and policy dynamics that have led to the evolution of what is popularly known as the "Kerala Model."

Kerala's economic metamorphosis stands as a testament to its unique development trajectory, which diverges significantly from the conventional growth models prevalent in India and other developing economies. While the state began as an agrarian society primarily dependent on agriculture, it has, over the past few decades, undergone a profound transformation marked by progressive changes in key sectors, leading to its present status as a vibrant hub for investments and human development. To comprehend this transition, it is crucial to navigate through the historical and sociocultural context of Kerala. This context is deeply rooted in the state's distinctive social and political fabric, which sets it apart from other Indian states. Kerala boasts high levels of literacy, a commitment to social justice, a robust public healthcare system, and a strong tradition of labor movements. These factors have all played a pivotal role in shaping the Kerala Model.

One of the cornerstones of Kerala's economic journey has been its significant emphasis on human development indicators. The state's focus on education, healthcare, and social equity has not only contributed to an educated and healthy population but has also fueled the growth of a highly skilled and productive workforce. Consequently, Kerala's labor force has gained a reputation for its adaptability and quality, attracting investments across sectors. The role of government policies and initiatives in driving this transformation cannot be understated. Kerala's government has been proactive in fostering a conducive business environment, promoting entrepreneurship, and providing essential infrastructure. Strategic investments in sectors like information technology, tourism, healthcare, and education have propelled the state into the league of top investment destinations within India.

This article will delve into the historical aspects of Kerala's agrarian economy, tracing the roots of its transition to an investment driven economy. We will explore key factors, including land reforms, labor movements, and public welfare programs, that have played a pivotal role in reshaping the state's economic landscape. Additionally, the article will analyze the government policies, incentives, and investment-friendly measures that have attracted domestic and international investments to Kerala. In doing so, the article aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the "Kerala Model" and its relevance in the broader discourse of development economics. By studying Kerala's successful transition from agrarian economy to investment hub, this article offers insights and lessons that may be applicable to other regions seeking sustainable and inclusive development. Kerala's journey serves as an illuminating example of how thoughtful social and economic policies can result in remarkable progress and transformation.

The Evolution of Kerala's Traditional Agrarian Economy

Kerala's agrarian economy was deeply intertwined with its unique social structure. Historically, society was divided into various castes, and labour relations were often hierarchical. The system of 'kudiyiruppu' (a traditional system of landlord-tenant relationships) and the 'janmi-kudiyan' system (landlord-serf system) characterized the relationship between landowners and tenants. These systems often led to exploitative conditions for tenant farmers. Landownership was concentrated in the hands of a few powerful landlords, typically members of the local royalty, and local aristocracy. The peasants were subjected to heavy taxation and rent, often rendering them impoverished. The feudal system led to considerable social and economic disparities, with a small elite class enjoying immense wealth and power while the majority of the population struggled to make ends meet. The arrival of the British East India Company in Kerala during the early 17th century brought significant changes to the traditional agrarian economy. The British colonial administration introduced new land revenue systems that further solidified the power of landholders and left peasants heavily burdened with taxes. This made the life of peasants even more difficult. There was continuous conflict between the Kerala peasants and the British authorities (Also with the feudal lords). The social system of Kerala was also exploitative.

After independence, Kerala began its journey as a democratic state. The years following independence witnessed a series of transformative changes in the state's agrarian economy. One of the most prominent and enduring changes in Kerala's agrarian economy after independence was the implementation of comprehensive land reforms. The government redistributed land from landlords to landless tenants. This was achieved through the imposition of land ceilings and the allotment of surplus land to those without land. Along with that, Tenants were granted security of tenure, which provided them with greater control over the land they cultivated and protected them from arbitrary evictions. These land reforms were pivotal in transforming Kerala's agrarian landscape, reducing economic inequalities, and providing a sense of security to tenant farmers. The social movements that happened during these years also helped to raise the standard of living of the people. Impact of 'New Economic Policy' on Kerala

The economic reforms of 1991, often referred to as the "New Economic Policy," were a watershed moment in India's economic history, and their effects reverberated throughout the country, including in the state of Kerala. Kerala, with its unique development model and cultural fabric, experienced a series of transformative changes as a result of these reforms. One of the notable effects of the economic reforms on Kerala was the transformation of its agrarian sector. Traditionally, Kerala's economy was deeply rooted in agriculture, with an emphasis on crops like paddy rice, coconut, and spices. The liberalization policies spurred a shift towards agricultural diversification, encouraging farmers to cultivate high-value cash crops, such as rubber, spices, and exotic vegetables, for both domestic and international markets. This

diversification brought increased revenues and a departure from the subsistence-based agriculture of the past. Farmers, previously bound to traditional crops, had opportunities to explore new and more profitable avenues. The following table shows about the sectoral contribution of GDP.

Sector	Share in GDP (2015-16-current prices)
Primary	12.07%
Secondary	24.27%
Tertiary	63.66%

Source: SLBC of Kerala

The industrial and service sectors also experienced significant growth as a result of the reforms. The entrepreneurial spirit was reignited, leading to a surge in private investments in various industries. New enterprises began to emerge, with particular momentum in information technology and manufacturing sectors. This change bolstered the state's economic landscape, offering employment opportunities and fostering economic growth. Kerala's service sector also expanded rapidly, with the establishment of IT parks, educational institutions, and healthcare facilities. The reforms incentivized private investment in these areas, creating a thriving service sector that contributed to the state's overall economic development. The increased liberalization under the economic reforms paved the way for greater Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Kerala. Key sectors that benefited from FDI included tourism and information technology. This influx of foreign investment led to infrastructure development and further boosted the growth of Kerala's service sector. The economic reforms brought about substantial social and economic changes in Kerala. On the positive side, there was an increased emphasis on education and the proliferation of educational institutions, including professional colleges. This led to higher educational attainment levels, fostering a more educated workforce.

However, these changes also led to an increase in the competition for employment, making the job market highly competitive, and sometimes leading to underemployment, particularly among the educated youth. The reforms also triggered a significant increase in migration, both within the state and to other countries, as individuals sought better employment opportunities.

Gulf Migration and Kerala Economy

The state's economy has been significantly influenced by the phenomenon of Gulf migration, a trend that has been ongoing for several decades. The migration of Keralites to the Gulf countries, particularly nations like Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar, has had a profound impact on the state's economic landscape. The Gulf migration from Kerala began in earnest in the 1970s when a substantial number of Keralites sought employment opportunities in the booming construction and oil industries in the Gulf countries. This trend continued to gain momentum, and today, millions of Keralites work in various sectors, including construction, healthcare, information technology, and hospitality, in the Gulf region. The remittances sent back by these expatriates form a vital component of Kerala's economy. In fact, Kerala receives one of the highest remittance inflows in India, with billions of dollars pouring into the state annually. These remittances contribute significantly to household income and consumption in Kerala, propelling many families out of poverty and enhancing their living standards. The impact of Gulf migration on Kerala's economy extends beyond remittances. The migration has led to a phenomenon known as the "Gulf paradox." While Kerala has a high rate of emigration, it has also achieved remarkable human development indicators. This paradox is attributed to the "Kerala model" of development, which emphasizes education and healthcare. Many families in Kerala have been able to invest in their children's

education due to the financial support from Gulf-based family members. This focus on education has led to a highly literate and skilled labor force, making Kerala's workforce attractive to both domestic and international employers.

Additionally, the Gulf migration has also played a role in changing the state's social and cultural dynamics. Keralites living in the Gulf have brought back not only remittances but also a multicultural perspective and exposure to global ideas and practices. This cross-cultural interaction has led to the diversification of Kerala's economy, with increased investment in industries like tourism, information technology, and healthcare, which have become key contributors to the state's economic growth. The remittances sent by Keralites working in the Gulf countries have boosted household income, improved living standards, and allowed for investments in education and healthcare. This unique economic model, coupled with the state's focus on human development, has set Kerala apart as a beacon of prosperity and social progress in India. While Gulf migration has been a lifeline for many Kerala families, it has also paved the way for a more diverse and globally integrated economy that continues to evolve and thrive. This migration phenomenon resulted in a substantial increase in remittances from expatriates, which became a vital source of income for many households.

The Table below Show the Remittance Flow to Kerala during 1991-2013

Year Remittances (Rs in Crores)	Year Remittances (Rs in Crores)
1991	3025
1992	3882
1993	6084
1994	7069
1995	9521
1996	10,761
1997	10,817
1998	13,692
1999	14,438
2000	15,732
2001	17,362
2002	18,465
2003	19,797
2004	21,251
2005	22,828
2006	24,526
2007	30,122
2008	43,288
2011	49,950
2012	60,000

Source: K C Zacharia and IrudayaRajan, Migration Monitoring Study, 2012

This table evidently shows that there is a rapid increase in the remittance flow to Kerala from 1991-2012.

Current Scenario of Kerala Economy

In recent years, the state has witnessed a transformation in its economy, with a growing emphasis on the service sector and an increased inflow of foreign direct investment (FDI), foreign portfolio investment (FPI), and foreign institutional investment (FII). This shift has played a pivotal role in shaping Kerala's contemporary economic trajectory. The service sector has emerged as a driving force in Kerala's economy. Traditionally, the state's economy was predominantly based on agriculture, with tourism and remittances from the Gulf countries also being significant contributors. However, in recent years, the service sector has experienced remarkable growth. This sector encompasses a wide range of industries, including information technology, healthcare, finance, and hospitality. Kerala's well-educated and skilled workforce has contributed to the growth of the IT and software services industry, leading to the establishment of numerous IT parks and tech companies in cities like Kochi and Thiruvananthapuram. The state government's proactive policies and investments in IT infrastructure have further facilitated this growth. This shift towards a knowledge-based economy has not only provided employment opportunities but has also increased the state's GDP significantly.

Foreign investments, including FDI, FPI, and FII, have played a crucial role in bolstering Kerala's economy. The state's open and investor-friendly policies, coupled with its strong human capital, have made it an attractive destination for both domestic and international investors. The service sector, particularly IT and healthcare, has been a major recipient of FDI. Multinational corporations have set up operations in Kerala, which has not only boosted employment but has also increased the state's overall economic output. FPI and FII have flowed into Kerala's financial markets, supporting the growth of the state's stock market and capitalizing on the economic potential the state offers. Kerala's government has actively sought to encourage foreign investments through various policy initiatives and incentives. These measures include tax benefits, streamlined regulatory processes, and dedicated investment promotion agencies. The government has also focused on improving infrastructure, including transportation, to facilitate the growth of the service sector and to enhance the overall investment climate in the state. The recent establishment of the International Financial Services Centre (IFSC) in Gift City, Kochi, has further solidified Kerala's position as an emerging financial hub.

Migration among the Youth

Kerala, a state in southern India, has a long history of migration, especially to the Gulf countries, and this trend continues to shape the state's economy and society. In recent years, there has been a notable surge in the migration of Kerala's youth to foreign countries, driven by various factors such as the pursuit of better employment opportunities, higher education, and the desire to experience life in different parts of the world. This current migration trend of Kerala's youth has far-reaching impacts on both the individuals and the state's economy.

One of the key drivers of the current migration trend is the quest for better employment prospects. Kerala, despite its impressive human development indicators, faces challenges in providing adequate job opportunities for its growing workforce. The Gulf countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar, have historically been attractive destinations for Keralites seeking employment in various sectors, including construction, healthcare, and information technology. The remittances sent back by these young migrants have become a critical component of Kerala's economy. It is estimated that Kerala receives one of the highest remittance inflows in India, with these funds significantly

contributing to household income, consumption, and savings. The migration of Kerala's youth has also led to a transformation in the state's education sector. Many young Keralites aspire to pursue higher education abroad, driven by the belief that international degrees offer a competitive edge in the global job market. This trend has resulted in a significant outflow of foreign exchange from the state for education-related expenses, such as tuition fees and living costs. However, it has also led to the emergence of a more globally aware and skilled workforce that can contribute to a diverse range of industries upon their return.

In addition to remittances and investments in education, the current migration trend has indirect effects on Kerala's economy. For instance, it has influenced the real estate sector, with many families investing in properties in Kerala using funds from abroad. Moreover, the experiences and insights gained by Kerala's youth during their time abroad can lead to the creation of entrepreneurial opportunities back home. Many returnees start their businesses or invest in new ventures, contributing to the development of a more dynamic and diversified local economy.

Despite these positive impacts, there are challenges associated with the current migration trend. The state faces the risk of a "brain drain" as highly skilled individuals often choose to settle abroad permanently. This outmigration of talent can potentially hinder the state's development efforts. The trend among the youth to invest and settle abroad will affect the future economy of Kerala, without a doubt. Moreover, the dependence on remittances leaves Kerala's economy vulnerable to fluctuations in the global economy, particularly in the Gulf region, which could affect the income of migrant workers.

Conclusion

From the light of literature, the slow growth and stagnation of the agricultural economy in 1980, changes in cropping patterns from food crops to plantation crops, abolition of social evils, social reforms, urbanisation, demographic changes, higher unemployment rate and trade union issues in the secondary sector are the reasons behind the transition of the primary sector to tertiary sector. In the 1970s Keralites started migration to gulf countries. As a result of the migration and inflow of remittance, the education and health sectors of the economy. Remittance may be sent to households, and they are spending it for improving the quality-of-life related activities more than investment. We all know that Kerala is a consumer state, for everything we depend upon other states of the country so the remittance is transferred to other States as part of the purchasing of goods and services. This is the term called leakage economy. So, these are the existing facts associated with the journey.

Kerala's transition from an agrarian economy to a remittance-driven economy, exemplified by the Kerala Model, has been a remarkable journey characterized by the rise of the service sector and increased foreign investments. Foreign inward remittance by Keralite emigrants working in foreign countries, mainly in the Middle East annually contributes more than one-fifth of the GSDP and NRI deposits in Kerala have soared to over Rs.1.48 lakh crore as of March 2017. While this transformation has propelled Kerala into a knowledge-based economy, attracting both domestic and international investments, it has also resulted in a brain drain and heavy dependence on remittances, making the state vulnerable to external economic fluctuations. Despite the challenges, Kerala's adaptability and focus on diversifying its economic base highlight the state's resilience and potential for future growth. This transition underscores the importance of human capital investment and serves as an inspiring example of progress and innovation in India, offering valuable lessons for other regions seeking to reshape their economic landscapes.

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MEDIA EXPOSURE OF MUSLIM KUDUMBASREE WOMEN: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

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The Kudumbasree is a community-based poverty eradication and women's empowerment program in the Indian state of Kerala. It was initiated in 1998 as a joint effort by the State Poverty Eradication Mission of the Government of Kerala and the Local Self Government. Kudumbasree units are self-help groups (SHGs) comprising women from various socio-economic backgrounds who address local development issues. These units engage in multiple activities, from micro-enterprises and skill development to social and community development initiatives, making them a cornerstone of Kerala's grassroots development strategy. Kudumbasree has played a vital role in improving the socio-economic conditions of women in the state and has received recognition for its innovative approach to poverty alleviation and women's empowerment².

The Kudumbasree units have emerged as powerful agents of change. Muslim women's involvement in Kudumbasree units has redefined their roles within their communities and garnered significant attention as a testament to their resilience and empowerment. Today, media, exceptionally social media, plays a pivotal role in shaping a society and its culture. It significantly influences the formation of public opinion and the portrayal of critical issues through the mass media³. Media catalyses inspiring women to unlock their full potential and become the driving force behind societal transformation⁴.

The essence of empowerment can be effectively conveyed through various media platforms, emphasising the importance of nurturing skills and education to help individuals realise their innate potential as leaders and innovators⁵. In addition, the media portrays the injustice faced by women⁶. Ardra, E.P & Jenitha, J.R, in their study, show that a significant part of Kudumbasree women use social media more than traditional media. Most of them use WhatsApp to share messages, information, and entertainment⁷. The entry of Muslim women into Kudumbasree units has accumulated significant media exposure, drawing attention to their remarkable empowerment and socio-economic progress journey. This transformation has not only reshaped these women's lives but has also become a symbol of resilience, breaking barriers, and promoting diversity in Kerala's socio-economic landscape. In this exploration, we delve into the unfolding narratives of Muslim women within Kudumbasree units, shedding light on the impact of their participation and the broader implications for women's empowerment in the region.

Reading Habit (newspaper and other reading materials)

Reading newspapers, magazines, and other written publications is essential. They provide up-to-date information on current events, locally and globally, helping readers stay informed about what is happening in the world⁸. They can inspire, sparking creativity and motivating individuals to take action based on the stories and content they read.

The study analyses the respondents' reading habits. The majority of them, 42.7%, reported that they sometimes read newspapers and weekly magazines. 30.9% said that they read newspapers and have a reading habit. However, 26.4% revealed that they did not read anything seriously. The study found that the respondents' reading habits improved after becoming regular members of Kudumbasree.

Time for Reading

Most women (homemakers) focus on household duties and care for their children. They are always busy with their family matters. However, few housewives try to spend their time reading newspapers. Here, the majority of them, 42.7%, said that sometimes they read newspapers and weeklies. And 10.0% reported reading anything daily, either in a newspaper or any magazine. Around 13.3% revealed that they read newspapers when they have time. Only 3.1% said they are interested in reading but need more time to spend on it. Finally, around 30.9% reported not reading anything like newspapers. But nowadays, online reading platforms have replaced traditional reading materials. However, these changes did not influence the respondents because most do not read anything seriously and regularly.

Watching Television

Television is a valuable source of news, documentaries, educational programmes and cultural content. It provides information and knowledge⁹. It offers a wide range of entertainment, like films and reality shows, and provides relaxation and enjoyment. Television can be a shared experience, allowing people to discuss shows and events and fostering social connections. It raises awareness about current issues and influences public opinion¹⁰. Through programming worldwide, it can help viewers learn about different cultures, traditions and perspectives. It can inspire people through educational programmes or by showcasing the achievements of individuals or communities. The study shows that more than half of them, 52.7%, watch television. Around 29.1% reported that they are not watching television. Only a few of them, out of the total 18.2%, reported that sometimes they do not watch television. Television is the only source of entertainment, but nowadays, mobile phones are used to watch many programs like TV.

Programmes they Watch

Watching television is an essential activity for the Kudumbasree members because it is an effective window for them to connect to the world. Television is a powerful and empowering tool that can raise awareness, generate interaction and enhance knowledge¹¹. Of the respondents, 30.0% watch all programmes like serials, movies, news and comedy programmes etc., but 21.6% reported that they only watch News. Only 7.8% of respondents said that they always watch serials and their favourite programmes are serials. Very few, 6.1% and 5.4%, reported watching comedy programmes and watching cinema. And 29.1% said that they are not watching television.

Use of Smartphone

Mobile phone usage is a widespread practice, with most people using smartphones. The prevalence of smartphones has significantly increased compared to the past. This study focuses on the smartphone usage of Kudumbasree women. The majority of them, 55.6%, reported having a smartphone, while 44.4% indicated that they do not use smartphones but rely on ordinary mobile phones for their basic needs. These women have expressed a desire for smartphones. Many of them lack familiarity with smartphone functionality, so they rely on their children and others to assist them with using these devices. Despite the widespread adoption of smartphones, it's important to note that many older individuals are not well-versed in smartphone functions. Today, virtually all organisations utilise WhatsApp groups to disseminate information, making smartphone usage necessary in this context.

Social Media

Social media is one of the most potent emerging tools across the globe. The use of social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter, and Linked In has become one of the popular ways of socialising. India ranks second in Facebook and third in Twitter usage. These social networking sites pave the way for

global communication and have also significantly empowered women¹². Most of the study population, 60.7%, reported being social media members. Only 39.3% said that they are not members of social media. Social media use is increasing day in and day out, and people are depending on social media for many things. Here, the study examines the respondents' social awareness, which changed better than after the membership of Kudumbasree.

Engaging in Social Media Platforms

One of the concerns in the study was assessing the respondents' use of social media platforms. The majority of them are using social media platforms. 39.3% of respondents reported that they are not social media members. Around 35.1% reported that they use WhatsApp. Only 21.8% of respondents said that they are using Facebook and WhatsApp. Only a few noted that 2.4% and 1.1% used Facebook and Instagram, respectively. Surprisingly, one member, 0.2%, has a Twitter account, and she is using Twitter. Most of them have accounts on WhatsApp and Facebook. Today, almost all of them are included in many WhatsApp groups, and through these, they communicate and share information with the group members. In the kudumbasree, members are also a part of such a group. So, most have smartphones, and the rest have social media accounts.

Activities Done on Social Media Platforms

Today, social media is very active. Everyone expresses their opinions and views. This study gives a detailed picture of how respondents respond to social media. Around 11.1% of respondents reported that they commented on any message or event, and very few of them, 5.1%, said that they put some posts on social media on certain occasions. Very few, 2.7% and 6.2%, but specific videos and various posts are shared on social media. However, the majority, 72.0%, do not use social media.

Feeling like Wasting Time using Social Media

Nowadays, people use social media for hours and hours. Youngsters spend most of their almost time on social media. An attempt has been made to study the opinion of respondents on whether using social media platforms is a good use of their time. 47.8% reported that using social media is not at all a waste of time. 17.6% said that sometimes, the use of various social media platforms wastes time. And 12.9% reported that using social media wastes everyone's time. Out of the total, 12.4% reported not caring about social media use, which wastes their time. The study found that here, most of them have no problem and never waste their time, and also, a majority of them have no social media accounts and never spend their time using them.

Problem with using Social Media

Today, many problems are affected by the use of social media, especially women and celebrities. The study analyses Muslim Kudumbasree members who have issues with using social media. 78.7% reported that they have no problem using social media. And 10.2% said that they don't know about social media issues. Only 4.4% reported that sometimes they felt that social media causes some problems. Only 0.9% of members said they have issues with the use of social media. 5.8% said that they are never bothered about social media issues.

The Kerala State Kudumbashree mission facilitates myriad programmes to eliminate poverty and empower women socially and economically. However, the majority of such programmes do not reach the grass-roots level. Mediashree¹³ did not deliver the intended results. Kudumbashree Performance Audit Report¹⁴.

The study draws a clear picture of the media exposure of Muslim women after entering into the Kudumbasree units by analysing reading habits in newspapers, magazines, periodicals and other reading materials, time for reading, watching television, programs they watch, use of smartphones, participation and activities done in social media platforms and problems to use social media. The analysis shows that there has been a significant improvement in the media exposure of Muslim women after entering the Kudumbasree Units.

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FLOURISHMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE SANGAM AGE

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The ancient Tamilagam, including the present Kerala, was the land of three famous kingdoms, the Cheras, the Cholas and the Pandyas. They were commonly called Sangam rulers. The Sangam works Madurai Kanchi of Mangudi Maruthanar discloses the interest of Sangam rulers in trade. Contemporary literary sources and foreign accounts also furnish plenty of reliable information related to the mercantile activities of Sangam Tamilaham. This work attempts to establish the fact that trade and commerce formed an integral part of Tamil society that ultimately led to all sorts of accomplishments. This study purports the magnificence of the Sangam Age in the flourishing of trade with substantial evidence.

Sangam Trade: An Archaeological View

The archaeological records of the Sangam age facilitate the examination of the trading goods of that time in the Indian subcontinent. According to the archaeological materials unearthed in different locations, it is ascertained that some of the trading commodities were sent for domestic purposes. Goods like forests and agricultural products were formed as goods for overseas trade. Besides, these goods were also consumed in many archaeological sites¹. The excavation report of ancient India listed the imported items such as ornaments, ceramics, coins and shells. The widespread discovery of these items in various localities portrays the transmission of the same ideas and trade contacts.² The Arikamedu excavations revealed that Pondicherry was a prominent trading centre between Tamilaham and the Greek-Roman Empire.

Trading Communities and Measurements

The Sangam economy had received a tremendous boost from the hereditary profession, and the Sangam people, by pursuing their ancestral works, amassed incredible wealth. Madurai Kollan Vannaganar, who authored the 285th song of Natrinai, gives reliable information about it. Besides, many Sangam literature lists traders with particular commodities; among them, the Kulavanigars and Aruvaivanigars were the dealers of palm leaves. Madurai Aruvaivanigar ilavettanar, Madurai Kulavanigan Seetalai Sattanar, Kaveri Poompatinathu ponvanigar, Beri sattanar were prominent individual traders of sangam age who were also poets. Aruvai Vaniyar was known for textile merchants. The western merchant community involved in trade with Sangam Tamils were known as Yavanas. The word Yavana denotes the Greeks. The Yavanas exported sugar candy, wine, brass and glass to Tamilnadu. Mullaippattu, a Sangam, focuses on the involvement of the Yavanas trade in Muziri. They purchased pepper, betel, ivory, pearls and muslin clothes³. The wine marked by Yavanas occupied an essential place in the social life of wealthy people.

Regarding the knowledge of the units of measurement of the Tamils through the ages, it is evident that the people had scientific knowledge. The standard vessel of grain measure in Sangam houses was known as Marakkal. Padi was another term used for measurement in the Sangam age, which is in vogue even today in the houses of Tamilnadu. Sangam works like Purananuru, and Mullaippattu denotes Nali, another equivalent term for Padi⁴. The goldsmith of the Sangam age applied “Kol”, a measurement of the rod, to balance their works. Kannam was also the measurement used by them to weigh their produce. The wealthy merchants used yardsticks made of ivory.

Trade guilds

The merchants of the Sangam age carried out the trade scientifically with the help of guilds and chambers of commerce. In due course, the Romans who had maintained trade with Tamilaham with large quantities colonised permanently in certain parts of Tamilaham, mainly on the west coast⁵. The traders who traded with villagers directly called “Vaniga Chattukkal”. They purchased goods in villages and transported them through bullock carts to the nearby towns. Sangam work Perumpanatruppadai informs that these Vanigachattukkal bagged pepper bundles to the size of Jackfruits and loaded on the back of asses to the markets. It is essential to mention that the guilds awarded the prominent businessmen Attipoo and Attipattam⁶.

Methods of Trade

There are two kinds of traders: hawkers were the first in huge numbers who carried commodities and sold them in various places, and the second category of traders were manufacturers who sold their product at the place of manufacturing itself, for example, salt manufacturers. Like the traders, the markets were also categorised into two types in big towns: Madurai, Puhar, and Muziri. Authentic information about two kinds of markets, Nalankadi (daytime markets) and Allankadi (nighttime markets) in Madurai, is available⁷. The market areas were also called as Avanam. This Avanam became a prominent market where large varieties and quantities of commodities were sold to the people and hawkers. All markets in the towns were crowded with buyers and sellers. The merchants stored their commodities in warehouses located very near the markets.

a. Barter system

One more fascinating trade method found during the Sangam age was the barter system, which extensively facilitated the exchange of goods. The barter system of exchange was standard in villages. The barter system was founded in ancient Tamilaham, the Neithal land (seashore areas), and the barter trade system⁸. Because of the progress of settled life, salt and paddy became the prime commodities of trade, so salt and paddy served as a measure of value.

The settled life pushed the ancient people towards a barter system; according to Kurunthogai, a shepherd exchanged his produce milk for some grains. In the same way, a hunter took the make and exchanged it with a farmer for money. There is a reference that the wives of Panars (a fishing community) used to carry the fish to the local village homes and exchange it for grains. Commodities like fish, fish oil, paddy, curd, milk, meat, and arrack were prominently sold in a barter exchange system. The well-known Tamil literature, Purananuru, mentions that rice and salt were famous in the barter trade⁹. Ahananuru, a popular Sangam work, states that the salt merchants travelled on their bullock carts and exchanged salt for paddy¹⁰. The appearance of fish bones and shells in the interior region of Tamilaham was definite archaeological evidence proving the exchange of goods.

b. Coinage

The archaeological sources exhibit the usage of coins in trade, particularly in foreign exchange. Prof. N. Subramanian, author of the book “Sangam Polity” mentions that coins traced during the Sangam period were mostly foreign. However, coins were believed to be issued in both land and foreign trade. The foreign trade enriched the economic activity through Roman gold coins and the availability of Greek and Roman coins in the excavations at Pondicherry in Tamilaham to find the existence of the Mint¹¹. Every year, Roman gold coins worth one and a half crores of rupees were imported into several parts of India in return for luxuries. According to Ahananuru, the Sangams were known about coins; the term Palingu

Kasu was used to denote coins, and it is unfortunate that the materials used for making coins were not used. Akkasalai, a place for minting coins, existed in Sangam Tamilaham¹². In short, the people of Sangam Tamilaham engaged in trade activities through coins and barter.

c. Mode of Transport

Transportation facilitates the Sangam people to take their livelihoods to magnificent heights. Transport by road and waterways plays an essential role in the magnificent development of the people's economy. Peruvali, known as highways, connected villages and towns¹³. Even goods and commodities were transported between North India and South India. Madurai, Puhar, and Musiri markets were established adjacent to Peruvali and on the roads. Trade centres known for waterways are also very connected to roads. The coastal waterways and backwaters were helpful transportation for carrying commercial goods. Sangam terms like Toni, Adam, kalam, and puna indicate the transport of waterbodies that carry human and goods traffic. In addition, Sangam Tamilaham finds transport for the hilly regions; asses and buffaloes have been used for it. The Sangam literature speaks about donkey carts but not about horse carts. So it was apparent that the horses were not used for transportation.

Commodities of Internal Trade

In Tamilaham, the internal trade was older than the foreign trade. The merchants had established markets in their region to sell and buy goods. The markets and bazaars were called Angadies. The barter exchange system was prevalent in local markets; salt, cattle, paddy, honey, grains, sugarcane, fish, and milk products were the principal items used for exchange. The housewives who visited the local markets purchased vegetables by exchanging paddy. The Sangam texts elaborate on the commodities sold in the markets of Madurai and Puhar. The articles like textile goods, bronze, perfumes, flowers, sandal paste, false hair, and dye were mainly sold in the markets located in towns¹⁴. The items were in abundance. Though paddy was the principal crop, grains like varagu and tinai were also sold. The names of items sold in the markets are noted in various Sangam works. Compared with Puhar, the bazaars of Madurai transacted high volumes of goods. Madurai had separate streets for diamonds, dresses, pearls, vessels, etc. Hence, it is clear that the internal trade in Sangam Tamilaham was very brisk, which paved the way for the prosperous livelihood of the people of the Sangam age.

Foreign Trade

The evidence derived from Kautilyas' Arthashastra shows that some essential commodities were exported during the Sangam age. It provides credible information about the pearls in the Pandya kingdom. Cotton fabrics from Madurai were the most in demand for export in the Western world. So, foreign trade enriched the economic conditions of ancient Tamilaham. In addition, commercial products like pepper, gingers, cardamom, turmeric, and sandals were in great demand in foreign markets. The ancient Tamils had trade contacts with Sumerians, and Indian teak was exported to Sumeria from the Malabar region¹⁵. The beautiful Muslin clothes known for their artistic beauty attracted the markets of Babylonia and Egypt. The principal import and export items between Egypt and Tamilaham were gold, ivory, silver, and plants. It is essential to mention that peacock feathers were exported to foreign countries. Sangam classic Kurinjippattu mentions the word "Tokai", which denotes the feather of peacock, which had taken place in the list of export commodities.

Apart from Babylon and Egypt, the Sangam Tamils maintained extensive trade contacts with the Greeks and the Romans through maritime in the 3rd century B.C. The Greeks adopted a Tamil name Oriza for rice, which attests to the close trade connectivities between the Sangam Tamils and the Greeks¹⁶.

Historically, after the expedition of Alexander, the king of Macedonia paved the way for a significant expansion of trade and commerce during the Sangam age. As a result, the Greeks became the prominent carrier of the south Indian trade, and it is gleaned from early Tamil literature. The merchants of the Western world who visited Tamilaham during the Sangam age were known as the Yavanas. Apart from the Western world, the Sangam Tamils ventured into brisk trade with the Eastern world. The record of the earliest trade contact with the eastern nation was China. The Chinese annals show the flourishing of trade between Sangam Tamil land and China as early as the 7th century. So, it is undoubtedly corroborated that the Indian articles reached China very soon. The Chinese coins belonging to the 2nd century B.C. unearthed in Mysore substantiate the above facts. In addition, authentic evidence is available to highlight the points of Tamilaham's trade contacts with South and Southeast Asia, including Ceylon, Burma, Java, and Malaya. Though literary evidence provides details about the trade of ancient Tamilaham with the aforementioned eastern countries, the archaeological evidence available in Ceylon is a strong example of the trade contacts between Tamilnadu and Ceylon. Brahmi inscription unearthed at Anuradhapura the ancient capital of Ceylon, refers to the existence of a big business centre there in about 2nd century B.C. Malaya had a trade relationship with ancient Tamilaham, but no credible records substantiate it. The study of Malaya's words for leaf, washerman, and marriage must have been traced to Tamil origin; it shows the solid cultural contact between Tamilaham and Malaya's peoples. The islands adjacent to Malaya, namely Sumatra, Java, and Bali, also had close cultural contact with south India in general and Tamil Nadu in particular. The literary works of the contemporary period mention the Tamil's trade with the island people¹⁷. The name of the East Indian islands is called Savagam, which denotes Tamil language. The ware sherds discovered at the Arikamedu excavation were typical in China and Southeast Asia.

Commodities of Imports and Exports

The rich naval base in ancient Tamilaham encouraged imports and exports far and wide. Ancient Tamil countries were involved in brisk trade with countries abroad. The articles manufactured in Egypt had been imported to Tamilaham, and the goods from Egypt reached the ports of Tamilaham through the ports of South East Asian countries¹⁸. Most prominently, the imported items from Egypt were always carried to Chola's coast. The Horses were listed as the chief import item, and luxury goods like gold and precious stones came next. In return, Sandals and Akil from the western Tamilaham and pearls from the southern region were exported. Coral from the eastern region of Tamilaham was exported to Egypt. The agricultural products of Ganges and Kaveri were brought to the markets of Puhar, from where they were exported to Egypt. Interestingly, the articles from Elam or Ceylon were also brought to the markets of Puhar and exported to Egypt. Much Sangam literature describes the bazaars of Buhari as always busy selling dyes, sandal paste, flowers, and wood of aromatic nature in abundance. The wholesale vendors and hawkers thronged in the bazaars of Puhar to purchase the cosmetics. The traders of northern India, too, came to Puhar to purchase the commodities. Traders of Tamilaham had cordial relations with their foreign counterparts called Yavanas. The Yavanas exported wine to Tamilaham Purananuru; the Sangam classic refers to the import of wine in ancient Tamilaham¹⁹. The articles like sugar candy and lamps were in great demand in the markets of southern India. Some scholars think that the lamp imported from an alien nation is called pave vilakku, the statue bearing in the folded palms the take or the can containing oil to light the lamp.

Tamilaham also exported gold ornaments. The foreign accounts of Periplus and Pliny mention the items exported to foreign countries from the markets of Tamilaham, known as coconut oil, bananas, rice, millet plants and tamarind. Among the markets of southern India, Muziri was a prominent centre for exporting

win coral crude glass, copper, tin, lead, linen, clothing and wheat. In addition, the fine qualities of pepper and significant quantities of pearls, ivory, and silk were also enumerated as the items that were greatly demanded in foreign markets and exported from Muziri²⁰. Though Sangam Tamils exported cloth, they have imported new varieties of soft fabrics from Northern India. Kalinga was the first place to import soft cloth next to Malaya. Tamils also exported pearls, gold, diamonds, and ivory to northern India. The Tamils exported commodities and animals like tigers, parrots, serpents, pythons, peacocks, etc., to other countries. It is noteworthy to mention that building materials were also used to import and export ancient Tamilaham. The widespread distribution of ceramics provides monumental evidence of the sophisticated life of the Tamils²¹. Many sites of the early historic period contain well-made ceramics. The red polished ceramics were discovered in the western region. The rouletted ware of the coast of the west was in great demand both in internal and foreign markets; this is predominantly grey pottery. These wares gained momentum because of their excellent manufacturing style and because they were products of the Mediterranean world²². The archaeological sources indicate that many goods were manufactured, including ceramic vessels. An analysis of the early trade of Tamilaham shows that some strategies were utilized in the manufacture of finished products or raw materials.

Ports of Sangam Age

The economy of Sangam Tamilaham was prosperous due to the availability of naval infrastructure, i.e. ships, harbours, lighthouses, etc. The trade was brisk through the seaports that connected by roads, meaning Peruvali in a good manner. The Peruvians did not hinder the transport of commodities to the ports for overseas trade. There were seaports on the western and eastern coast of Tamilaham; the Sangam classics pour the volume of information about the seaports of ancient Tamilaham and its busy trade transactions. Besides literary details, the foreign writers of the 1st and 2nd centuries gave their notes on trade activities in various ports of ancient Tamilaham²³. The most prominent among them was called Puhar (or) Kaveri poompattinam.

a. Puhar

The other name of Puhar is Kaveri poompattinam. The word “patina” denotes that it must be a commercial town. Puhar was an ancient prominent coastal city of the Cholas, once a seat of the Cholas²⁴. Located on the banks of the Kaveri River, the perennial river of Tamilaham, this ancient town was called Kaveri Poompattinam. Puhar is also called Poompuhar in literature. The Sangam literature Pattinappalai details the trade activities of Chola Port Puhar. Puhar was a coastal town in the Bay of Bengal and was a safe harbour for carrying trade containing bigger vessels, bundles, etc. The trading ships could enter the harbour without removing the slacking sail. The port officers sealed the commodities and kept them ready for export. Pattinappalai speaks about the checking process of chola officers in the port of Puhar during the import and export activities²⁵. On the whole, Puhar, the port city, became an emporium of foreign trade.

b. Muziri

Muziri was an ancient harbour and town on the Malabar Coast of the present Kerala. Historians and archaeologists found it challenging to identify the exact location of Muziri, but literary records and archival and archaeological materials discovered in various parts of ancient Tamilaham proved the existence of the port Muziri²⁶. According to Sangam's works, Muziri is remarked as the most important harbour of the West Coast region; as far as foreign accounts are concerned, the port Muziri is nothing but the present Canganore, but the later accounts do not justify this view. Pliny mentions that Muziri was the most prominent port of India where cosmetics were found, and it drew attention. Ptolemy also speaks

about the busy trade transactions at Muziri. The comparative study between literature and foreign accounts on the ports of Muziri supplies a volley of information about the brisk trade. Among the exported commodities from Muziri, pepper, clove, cosmetics, Sandal, and wooden items were placed prominently. Glass, costly stones, gold, and diamonds were essential imports at Muziri.

c. Korkai

Korkai, the hustle and bustle port town, was the first capital of the Pandiya kingdom, where incredible pearl trade, by and large, was carried out.²⁷ Korkai was situated on the southeastern tip of the Bay of Bengal and was a naval strategic point of the Pandyas. Ahananuru, a notable Tamil literature author, speaks about the glory of pearls in Korkai. The beauty and grace of pearls were elaborately described in Sangam's works. The Pandya kings Vetrivel Chezhiyan, Marappan Pandiyan, and Virartan Pandiyan very much encouraged the Korkai port by creating a conducive infrastructure for trade. To attest to the glorious contributions of Korkai port to the Pandiya kingdom's economy. Talayalanganthu Seruvendra Nedunjelian, the Pandiya king, provided commendable services to the region and fulfilled the expectations of the people of Korkai by giving rewards and ameliorative measures. The Sangam works, like Maduraikkanchi, Natrinai, and Ahananuru, contain numerous information about Korkai. It is noteworthy to mention that all the references to foreign accounts are found to be tallied with the available Tamil literary evidence. Both sources have confirmed that Korkai was the habitation of Parathavas and was the seat of the Pearl fishing industry of Pandya country. The foreign accounts and Ahananuru furnish fantastic information about the pearl divers and chank cutters of Korkai²⁸. The pearl fishery of Korkai was the principal source of the Pandya kingdom. The fisher folks exchanged pearls for toddy as barter. The females of Umanar, the salt producers of the Sangam age, used pearls as the sound, making the sportive kid. The elephants brought from Venkata Hills were used to protect the pearl industry.

d. Other Ports

As far as the other ports that carried commodities from the Pandya kingdom to foreign countries were concerned, Tondi and Alagankulam remained at the forefront. The foreign accounts of Periplus, Bakara and Ptolemy referred to more minor ports that engaged trade between Tondi and Muziri. Tondi was a harbour which carried goods to Elam or Ceylon. The countries of the East had involved trade connections with Tondi harbour²⁹. Sea goods, wood and cloth were the chief items of exports. Alagankulam, located in southern Tamilnadu in the present Ramanathapuram district, was a historical destination connected to trade and commercial activities. The archaeological excavations held at Alagankulam exhibit the coins of Greek, Roman and Eastern nations³⁰. The seals of various countries found there prove Alagankulam's vast trade contacts. Tamils maintained close maritime contact with Ceylon from Alagankulam port, which is located very near Ceylon. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to say that Alagankulam remained a trade hub between the East and the West.

Lighthouses and Storehouses

Trade activities in ancient Tamilaham had been carried out systematically. The Tamil traders and the Yavanas knew the commodities and the region well for its production and manufacture. The traders were well aware of the climatic conditions of both the destinations where their import and export business took place. The traders knew how to store their goods in storehouses³¹. Even the hawkers knew it was to store the grains and sell them in villages. The traders involved in significant trading activities had established warehouses in important commercial destinations. Most of the warehouses were built on the beach near the fisherfolk settlements³². The reason for selecting this site was that the duty of protection to the warehouses had been entrusted to the fisherfolk. Another reason for this was that the fisherfolk's

settlements were located very near the port, enabling quick trading activity transactions. Unlimited quantities of goods were collected in these warehouses and they were laid to board the ships. Pattinappalai refers to the Chola officers who fixed Tiger seals on the bundles in Kaveri poompattinam before boarding the vessel³³. The chief ports had lighthouses called Kalankavaivilakku cheddar that beckoned the vessel. There is no evidence of the specified structure of lighthouses. However, powerful lamps emanated a high volume of illumination on the top of the tallest building pedestal on the coast.

Thus, the Sangam age is considered the golden age of the Tamils, which pertains to economic and social life. The ancient Tamil classics, foreign accounts, and archaeological sources brought out the illustrious livelihood of the people with artistic and cultural fever. The Sangam texts show the spectacular scientific knowledge of the Sangam people in agriculture, trade and commerce. They sharply reckoned the climate seasons accordingly and fixed their economic pursuits. In short, the prosperity of trade and commerce of the Sangam people in ancient Tamilnadu was good in the light of the livelihood of the people of the Sangam age.

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PALAKULAM: 'CONTAMINATED' FAMILIES AND KINSHIP TIES IN THE MARGINS OF MEDIEVAL KERALA SOCIETY

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The caste hierarchy of medieval Kerala and its manifestations in the *Maṇipravālaṃ* literary texts help us to understand the everyday lives of lower caste people. The medieval *Maṇipravālaṃ* literature represents the lives of lower caste people from the perspective of the upper caste brāhmaṇa or any other literate members of the upper strata of the society. The *Maṇipravālaṃ* language and literature represent oppression and a 'tool' of the oppressor who used the literary culture to establish and maintain the hierarchy in society. The Brahmanical society envisioned in the *Maṇipravālaṃ* literature is stratified. The strict enforcement of the notions of purity and pollution through the medium of *Maṇipravālaṃ* literature. It is evident from the texts that it is a design that aims at maintaining the Brahmanical patriarchal notions of the female body and sexuality. The careful analysis of these literary works uncovers different layers of Brahmanical patriarchy. These scholarly works aim to appropriate and hegemonise various practices and kinship patterns of people belonging to various categories and communities into the brahmanical folder. Rich Freeman rightly points out that "the social hierarchy and its contests were further mapped across the earlier-noted disjuncture in literary in aesthetics, where the values of a Sanskritically scholasticized Brahmanism both confronted and accommodated the more Dravidian complex of popular forms. Shifting and hybrid formations of language and genre that emerged through time could thus mark the oscillations of cultural contest and synthesis in local social relations".¹

Aṅgāṭivarṇanam

Aṅgāṭivarṇanam is an integral part of *Maṇipravālaṃ* poetry which explains the attitude of the *nampūtiri* brahmin community or people belonging to the upper strata of the society on the everyday activities of the lower caste women and their household. Authors of the *Maṇipravālaṃ* literature portrayed the *nāyikā* or *naṭi* (whose caste affiliation is not available in the texts) as respectful, beautiful, and had control over resources. Furthermore, the upper-class *nāyikā* had given space within the brahmanical society. At the same time, the lower caste women were portrayed as ugly, impure, immoral and placed in the fish market, the lowest level of the market or *aṅgaṭi*.

'Composing' the Aṅgāṭi of Caste

The market is a public space where people from different walks of life come together to buy and sell commodities. The Brahmanical ideology emphasised the rigid caste rules and propagated the notions of purity and pollution. The *Maṇipravālaṃ* literature was composed by Brahmanical ideologues' and their perception of the market and the people who belonged to lower castes and other communities was also determined by strict rules and regulations. The use of caste hierarchy and the pollution associated with lower caste people helped the upper strata of the society to alienate the lower caste people to the peripheries, thereby controlling the resources. "An important aspect of the caste system is that those who have dominated the means of the production have also tried to dominate means symbolise production. This symbolic hegemony then allows them to control the very standards by which their rule is evaluated so that the perspective of the lower castes has no place in it."²

‘*Aṅgāṭivarṇanaṃ*’ is one of the literary manifestations of the exploitative social order based on caste. “The essence of caste at the ideological level is the necessity to protect the purity of the body of the brahmana; a purity that forbids him in engaging in acts of labour which would involve contact with defiling material. Reciprocally it requires that the ‘unclean’ castes must perform those tasks for the brahmana. Thus, the essence caste also requires that labouring bodies be reproduced so that they can be subordinated to maintain the upper caste in their purity.”³ The ‘composition’ of *aṅgāṭi* or market with various gradations based on caste and class is a peculiarity of the medieval *Maṇipravāḷaṃ* literature. The description of the market starts with the splendours of the market and ends with the quarrelling ‘ugly’ lower-caste women. For instance, the character of *Gandharva* in the text *Uṇṇiyaccīcaritaṃ* inspired by the conversation he had with *Cātraṇ* decided to visit *Uṇṇiyacci*, the *nāyikā* of *Uṇṇiyaccīcaritaṃ*. On his way to the mansion of the *Nāyikā*, *Gandharva*, who was accompanied by a *Cātraṇ*, reached *aṅgāṭi* or market. The *Gandharva* was sleepless, and after his early morning offerings to Lord *Śiva*, he started his journey.⁴ On his way to the mansion of *Uṇṇiyacci*, he reaches the market area. The text gives us a detailed description of the various segments of the market. It also gives us the details of the conversations and bargaining happening in the market. The description includes the communications between customers regarding the quality and other features of the items available in the market. And of course, the fish market, which comes last and he was disgusted by the behaviour of the lower caste women.⁵ As Uma Chakaravrti rightly points out “cultural oppression of women of the lower castes are far more dehumanising than economic exploitation, which we understand as the dominant feature of the class, by itself.”⁶

Paḷkulaṃ

As mentioned above, ‘*Aṅgāṭivarṇanaṃ*’ the literary manifestation of the casteist brahmanical society and attitude of the brahmanical ideologues towards the lower caste people. It also condemned the idea of being born into a lower caste family or community. “You deliberately committed the crime of being born into a community of *Cōṇiyar/taccari*”. The Brahmanical ideologues accuse the woman of being born in a particular community by saying that ‘she was aware of the fact that the community is inferior and how degrading it is to be part of such a community. She made a deliberate ‘choice’ to come out of such a ‘*cōṇi*’ (translated as *yōṇi*).⁷ There are instances where a community as a whole is referred to as ‘*paḷkulaṃ*’. There is an instance where questions had been raised by the brahmanical ideologues through the medium of ‘*Aṅgāṭivarṇanaṃ*’ regarding ‘eligibility’ of the community of *kammappulayar* access to ‘*tommu*’ translated as ‘*svattu*’ (property) or any other form of resources.⁸ This testifies the fact of various communities of landless people condemned to the most ‘impure’ space in the margins of the brahmanical society. The individual and the community ridiculed based on the *kulaṃ* (clan) they belong to. How one particular *kulaṃ* accused as a dread of society with horrible diseases (which is capable of destroying the entire society as well) is very evident from the following translated quote from the text *Uṇṇiyaccīcaritaṃ*. “The people who belong to your community are infected with leprosy. They should not be touched by others due to the infectious nature of the disease.”⁹ The persecution of a particular *kulaṃ* in the hands of another may have taken violent form as the literature suggests. “A heated *kūṭaṃ* (an iron object) pressed against your chest is a remedy to your ‘*doṣaṃ*’ or disease.”¹⁰

“*ayyēva (r) rollāyeṇ vīṭṭil*

teyvamāṭṭuṇṭu niṇ c

ārcce! kuḷ parayāte nin
*cārccaye tīyiliṭṭuve*¹¹

The lines, as mentioned above, give us glimpses of how these lower-caste women talk to their relations. The speaker in this verse seems like talking to one of her relations, who made a false accusation against her family; the relative accused her family practice *teyvamāṭṭu* at home.) Hence, the speaker wishes not to continue *cārcca* or kinship ties with the relative and express her wish to discontinue any kinship affiliation very rudely. These circumstances given in the texts suggest that the verbal abuse and threats were made not by the people of Brahmin or any other *Savarna* communities. Nevertheless, it might be the friction that existed among the *avarna* communities. The strategy of dividing or creating animosity among the *avarna* communities might have employed by the brahmanical forces.

“payttīnīparayi nin pottinil karuveḷaccanippova.
Nīcatti nī mattimīninnu pōra
mukkuvareyuntattiyeṛiṭṭumōṇreyti-
noṇṛīla pōl niḷlayecuṭu niruccūni-
yattōṭupō kaḷḷuṇṇippulayi nin piḷḷa-
yepperumaṭantaḷḷumattaviṭu virruṇ perā-
*muṛitale maṛutalecconṛiṇiccollukil*¹²

The lines mentioned above roughly translate the attitude of the brahmanical ideologues towards the female body, food habits, and the relationships of the lower caste women. It is said that parayi (the woman who belongs to the paraya caste) who eats cow meat, should suffer from smallpox. The speaker may be referring to her vagina by the term ‘*pottu*’, it is mentioned that her vagina may fill with smallpox (the translation suggests that the speaker referring to ‘*pottinil*’ as *navadvāraṁ*.)¹³ The speaker goes on to abuse the woman relating to her sexual misconduct as she had sexual intercourse or tried to seduce the fishermen. It may also be referring to how desperate and deprived of resources as she could not make a profit out of the sexual intercourse with the fisherfolk. The speaker asks the woman to burn her mother. (*ammaye cuṭu*) “burn your mother.”

Moreover, the following line is a curse directed towards a pulayi or woman belong to the pulaya community ‘*kaḷḷuṇṇippulayī nin piḷḷayepperumaṭaṁ taḷḷuṇ*’. The speaker addresses the pulaya woman as ‘*kaḷḷuṇṇippulayī*’ which refers to her drinking habits (translated as the pulaya woman who consumes toddy in excess) and says that her *piḷḷayepperumaṭaṁ* or womb will come out. The woman addressed as the “*Vṛittikeṭṭavaḷ* of Colūr” or the dirty woman of Colūr.

Explicit reference to the female body, particularly to the female breast, was common in Malayalam literature. The breasts figured as beautiful objects in the ‘hair to toe’ description of *nayika* and goddess in medieval Malayalam literature, in the *kaikottikkali* songs (*kaikottikkali* was a dance performed in homes by women), in *stōtraṁ* chanted every day in homes. The use of the word *mula* (breast) to simply indicate ‘female’ was common as for example, in the saying ‘two heads (mountain) may minds, four breasts never’ or in reference to the sexually mature female as ‘she whose hair and breast have grown.’¹⁴ However, the body mainly, the reproductive organ of the lower caste women portrayed in complete contrast to that of an upper-caste woman in the *Maṇipravāḷaṁ* literature. For instance, the text *Candroḷsavam* states

that she only wears not heavy ornaments, and she seems tired and lifeless.¹⁵ During the pregnancy, she sang beautiful songs every evening and played *vīṇā* (a musical instrument, a string instrument) along with it.¹⁶ She also read literary works like *Sāṅkuntalaṃ*, *Mālavikāgnimitraṃ*, and *Kādamparīcaritaṃ* and other *Maṇipravālaṃ* works as well.¹⁷ It also suggests that during her pregnancy time she became very fragile and only words like *mandāraṃ*, *kundaṃ*, *makarandaṃ*, *sitāravindaṃ*, *mandasmitaṃ* are suitable for her, and she could not even listen or exposed to harsh words (*paraṣaprayōge*) or sounds.¹⁸ There is a binary created in the literature of affluent *nāyikā* whose fragile, beautiful body versus the impure and 'infected' body of the lower caste woman.

The lower caste people and their household were ridiculed in the literature and looked down upon by authors of the *Maṇipravālaṃ* literature.

“*tampulunnūṃ kalattōṭe*
mīṇṭiṇmōḷ paṇṭuminṇaṇe
niṇ kuṭipulayāṭṭallā-
meṇkuṭikkumiyakkumō?”¹⁹

The above lines refer to the practices of a lower caste household. “she cooks fish and eats from the same utensil”. This shows not only the lack of utensils in the house but also tried to explain the lower caste women’s inappropriate behaviour. There is also a mention of ‘*pulayāṭṭu*’ translated as prostitution or adultery. It also sought to distinguish between the ‘good’ family of the speaker and the ‘bad’ household of the lower caste woman.²⁰ It is interesting to note that the upper caste elite women practising the sex work are considered as “*paṇivaiś ikaṃ*” and when it comes to the lower caste family as ‘*pulayāṭṭu*’.²¹

For instance, *Candroḷsavaṃ* portrayed a very prosperous *veśyā* household. Medinīcandrika, the main protagonist of *Candroḷsavaṃ*, built a mansion namely *Śrīmangalaṃ* before she organises *Candroḷsavaṃ* or the festival of the moon, resembling the *maṇimandapa* of *trialōkyalakṣmī*.²² The architects of *devas* and *asuras* praised the sculptures in the *Śrīmangalaṃ*.²³ The young men died because they were attracted to the *anganamāṇ*, and then they were reborn again as they were kissed by the same woman of *Śrīmangalaṃ*.

“*yatrāmaganānāṃ nayaneṣupātā*
nnihanyamānā niyataṃ yuvāṇaha
srigārasarvvasvarasāyanēna
jīvanti tāśāmadharāmṛteṇa.”²⁴

The mother of Medinīveṇṇilāvu mentioned in the text as belonged to household, namely *Puttuṇ*. Medinīveṇṇilāvu moves into her new mansion after she organised a feast for the *mahīmahindrāṇ* (kings/ rulers).²⁵ There is no stigma shown towards the upper-class *veśyā* women even though it tried to create a binary between *kulayuvati* and *vārayoṣā*.

The literature suggests that other *avarṇa* families also show stigma towards the lower caste family or *kuṭi*, which ‘practices *pulayāṭṭu*’. The mother of the *cerumi* woman is referred to in the text as *talḷa*, and *vallōṇ*, the person who married her mother (mentioned in the text as *nūlpūṭṭiṇa vallōṇ*). The

speaker did not say *vallōṇ* as her father but as the person who married her mother. The speaker asks the *cerumi* women that whether the *vallōṇ* who is married to your mother gave you *kallu* (toddy)?²⁶

The derogatory gestures, the 'objectionable' body language, moreover the abusive language used in their conversations are highlighted in the literature. The author compared lower-caste women with that of the barking dog, to express the contempt of the author about the way these women conduct themselves in the market. The poor behaviour of the women who were fighting each other in a public space 'attract attention' of the observer. The narrative gives us the idea that of lower-caste women were insulting each other. There is a possibility of a *parayi* degrading another belonging to the *pulaya* community or vice-versa.²⁷ The lower caste women are portrayed as people who are not aware of their surroundings, and as they 'behave badly' in a public space (body language, hand gestures and how they moved their body in a public space) The 'shameless' woman stood both the sides of the market and their 'ridiculous behaviour' made them laughing stock.²⁸ There are constant references of women cursing each other, 'wishing' the other terrible death or threat of physical harm and murder. For instance, it said in the *Uṇṇiccirutēvīcaritam* that "you shall be burned and buried", "your facial skin should rot".²⁹ There is another reference to how the lower caste women speak or argue. The term used is '*maruttu muraviḷikkuka*', it may be referring to the habit of the lower caste woman get into a verbal fight and react aggressively in public. The brahminical patriarchy does not allow the '*kulastrī*' or the upper caste woman to argue or talk back 'violently' as opposed to the dirty or polluted lower caste woman with injured or infected head.³⁰ The attack on the lower caste women and their bodies by the Brahmanical ideologues unfolds multiple layers of control exercised over women in general. In the words of J Devika, at the end of the 19th century, deliberate attempts were made to create a society characterised by the gender hierarchy in which women were given subordinate positions and double standard morality. With the emergence of the socio-reform movements, the traditional caste-based society began to decline.

Women were made inactive both inside the family and in the public sphere. *Taravaṭṭilpirannava!* and *candapeṇṇu* are two usages prevalent in Kerala. *Taravaṭṭilpirannava!* is the term used to address an honourable woman and *candapeṇṇu*; on the other hand, it is used to address women of loose moral character. The meaning of the term *taravaṭṭilpirannava!* is highborn or denotes her status as an upper caste lady who was born in a caravan? you, which is an ancestral home. The second term is *candapeṇṇu*, '*canda*' meaning marketplace. *Candapeṇṇu* can be defined as a girl who works in the market. *Taravāṭu*, the centre of 'traditional' values and caste-based social order and *canda* or market, is where people from different religions and caste groups mingle with each other, especially the interactions between men and women.

According to J. Devika, using these two terms to differentiate good and evil women is a prevalent trend in Kerala even today. The author also says that these are not just the remains of the traditional caste society. 'New elite' groups who advocated social reforms discarded old traditional '(gender) values' (*liṅga mūlyanga!*) and advocated a new way of life and values. However, these newly educated neo-elite groups reformed specific traditional values to create their new value system. The author argued that the period also witnessed the birth of '*Uttamastrī*'. Peace, love and affection should be maintained in a family, and only women are capable of it because they are instincts, and the new elite writers and missionaries advocated the same.³¹ Contrary to J Devika's view, concepts of *uttamastrī* and *candapeṇṇu* were not created in the 20th century. The elite upper-caste men reinforced an already existing Brahmanical idea as a 'standard' practice. *Āṅgāṭivarṇanam*, a feature of *Maṇipravālam* literature, is one of the evidence

(literary manifestation) for the existence of the binary of good and bad women based on their caste identity in the medieval Kerala society itself. The socio-religious reform movements normalised this casteist binary.

On the whole, Brahmanical patriarchy degraded the lives of lower caste people and demonised them in the literature. The kinship ties and households of the lower caste people and their lives were subjected to dehumanisation. They created different grades among the women, such as the good, bad and ugly, purely based on caste anomalies and, setting rules for women and controlling their sexuality.

Conclusion

To conclude, different categories of women, such as dancing girls, *veśyā* and lower caste women from the *cerumi* community, are all portrayed in the *Maṇipravālaṃ* literary tradition as ‘public women’. It also suggests that the women who belonged to non-normative households and had access to economic resources were portrayed as living within the Brahmanical society. At the same time, these literary traditions place the lower caste *cerumi* women and their families on the fringes of society. The portrayal of the lower caste people in the literary works and the ‘chosen space’ for the lower caste people within the literature explicitly gives us hints about the social dynamics of the era. In other words, the visibility of the lower caste women in the *Maṇipravālaṃ* texts only as *dāśi*, *toḷi*, *cerumi* and primarily associated with the marketplace outside the mansions of the elite *naṭi* or *nāyika*. How the “polluted and infested body” of the *cerumi* or lower caste women and their households illustrated by the authors clearly shows the ideas of purity and pollution prevailed in the society based on caste and class hierarchy. These narratives of ‘impure spaces’ to which the lower caste people had access also help us reflect on the production relations. These Brahmanical texts tried to construct the binary between the affluent households of the upper-class *veśyā*/*nāyika* and polluted *kuṭi* of the lower caste *cerumi* women.

End Notes

1. Rich Freeman, ‘Literary Culture of Pre modern Kerala’, in Sheldon Pollock, ed., *Literary Cultures in History: Reconstructions from South Asia*, New Delhi: 2003, p. 439.
2. Uma Chakravarti, *Understanding Caste: Through a Feminist Lense*, STREE, Calcutta, 2003, p.7.
3. Ibid.
4. *Uṇṇiyaccīcaritaṃ*, *Padyaṃ* 12, p.96.
5. Ibid., *Gadyaṃ* 12, pp.96-99.
6. Uma Chakravarti, *Understanding Caste*, p.7.
7. *Uṇṇicirutevīcaritaṃ*, *Gadyaṃ* 20, p.90.
8. Ibid.
9. *Uṇṇiyaccīcaritaṃ*, *Gadyaṃ* 13, p.100.
10. Ibid.
11. *Anantapuravarṇanaṃ*, v.96, p.41.
12. *Uṇṇiyaccīcaritaṃ*, *Gadyaṃ* 13, p.100.
13. Ibid.

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14. J Devika, *Engendering Individuals; The Language of Re-forming in Early Twentieth Century Keralam*, New Delhi, Orient Longman, 2007, p. 290.
 15. *Candroḷsavam*, v.7, p. 51.
 16. *Ibid.*, v.17, p. 53.
 17. *Ibid.*, v.18, p. 53.
 18. *Ibid.*, v.19, p. 54
 19. *Anantapuravarṇanam*, v.95, p.42.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. *Candroḷsavam*, part III, Verse. 1, p.79,
 23. *ibid.*, Verse. 2, p.79
 24. *Ibid.*, Verse. 4, p. 80.
 25. *Ibid.*, Verse.18, p. 83.
 26. *Uṇṇiccirutevīcaritam. Gadyam* 20, p.90
 27. *Uṇṇiyaccīcaritam, Gadyam* 13, pp.99-101.
 28. *Uṇṇiccirutevīcaritam, Gadyam* 20, p.90.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *Uṇṇiyaccīcaritam, Gadyam* 12, p.100.
 31. J. Devika, *Kulastreeyum' 'chanthapennum' undayathengane?*, Thiruvananthapuram, Centre for Developmental Studies, 2010.

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ENSLAVEMENT OF INDIA THROUGH THE LAND REVENUE

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Introduction

Land revenue is a tax or revenue that is levied on agricultural production that is based on land. A portion of the farm output has always been given to the Indian government as land revenue. It has historically served as the primary funding source for empires. It is deducted from the total crop yield as a percentage or as a fixed amount the farmer must pay for the land. It had done so directly or indirectly through intermediaries like revenue farmers, zamindars, and others who collected land income from cultivators and kept a portion of it as a commission. Although they occasionally owned some real estate in the region where they collected money, these middlemen were primarily land revenue collectors. Initially, EIC administrators functioned with the belief that, as we will see in this article, they had started to expand and confirm their annexation policy.¹

Land Revenue Policy and Administration

There were 22 districts and six divisions that made up the Madras Presidency in the early years of British administration. There were four districts in the Northern Division, Ganjam. The phrase "Zillah or" Visagapatara, Godavari, and Krishna No legal enactment defined "district," although they were regarded as synonymous based on usage. Under the Madras of 1865, local councils were granted the authority to alter the revenue districts' boundaries. The head collector was a government agent in each area. Who oversaw each area, whether directly or indirectly? Aside from the judicial inside the district's boundaries. In the past, the Collector had significant magisterial labiality. Taluks were used to divide each district. The mean population of Taluk was approximately 1 50,000. Every taluk had between fifty and one hundred villages. He obtained a Fatta, or "Kabala," from the "zamindar" and, in exchange, carried out a Kadapa in his favour. New Kabalas and Kadapas were only carried out following the passing of those who signed. Typically, agreements were reached for an entire year, but in reality, they continued forever. Two decades ago, Mustaiars with Pattas were honoured. With the estate's consent, the Mustalar could lease out the land. He lacked the authority to raise rent or file a revenue court lawsuit against the noncompliant tenant. Other than the lands in his possession, he had no occupancy rights. Ownership before his appointment.² It was his task to verify that all assessed land was occupied and that any land was made unsuitable for use in agriculture. Even though Mustajar's position was not inherited, the sons and close relatives of the Mustaiars who had passed away were given precedence. Need agars were chosen and dismissed by the estate's wishes. Minors could still make appointments. Women were equally qualified. Deaf people were also accepted. Being illiterate or not living in the village was not a loss of eligibility. Compensation at, but it appeared they took the job out of a sense of honour. Some received compensation as an abatement on the village's whole cist. Meanwhile, Hetta lands were given to some others, along with a rent reimbursement.³ In general, Hetta's land was fertile. Plot in the village that the estate assigned to the Mustalar without rent, or in exchange for a small rent payment this assistance. As

long as he kept going, he enjoyed it. Who was typically his son or a close relative, but There was no one occupying the Mustalar, and it was immovable. Nonetheless, Mustalar granted inconsistent payment.

In terms of his responsibilities as a Mustajar, he was essentially the village headman. He was necessary to set up the water's proper distribution. Among the multiple tenants, if a shared source of irrigation, and to maintain it in a suitable state to help the state subordinates identify offences against forests? To set up escorts for money and other essential transfers, the transfer of the estate officials' appeals, and finally, to take care of the estate officials' requirements and supplies. The i'tostaiara didn't need to maintain any written records or accounts of the holding in their villages. Despite receiving a receipt for the rent that he paid, Ssmsthanam was not providing the renters with receipts for the money they paid him. The record was the only one available for the village of Mustalarl. of right, which was ready for the land cess for the Collector register, which was created for this purpose every three years. Fixing the local boards required less payment in the District.⁴

Must have Jari System

Most of the villages in the Jeypore Estate used the ancient Mustajari land system, which is similar to the Gaontlahi system, in a position in Sambalpur. Mustalar worked as an operative for the rent collection. Theoretically, the riots elected him. However, in reality, the position was typically inherited by the village headman, or Balk and obtained a Fatta, or "Kabala," from the "zamindar" and, in exchange, carried out a Kadapa in his favour. New Kabalas and Kadapas were only carried out following the passing of one who signed. Typically, agreements were reached for an entire year but continued forever. Two decades ago, Mustaiars with Pittas were honoured. The estate's approval was required before the Mustalar could lease the land. He lacked the authority to raise rent or file a revenue court lawsuit against the noncompliant tenant. Other than the lands in his possession, he had no occupancy rights. Ownership before his appointment. It was his task to verify that every assessed land was occupied and any land. Declared unsuitable for use in agriculture.⁵

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Generally speaking, the Mustaiars were paid very little for their services. A few Mustaiars lacked remuneration, but they seemed to have accepted office for the sake of honour. Some were remunerated by abatement on the entire village site, while others were given Hetta lands in addition to an allowance in rent. Hetta land was generally a fertile plot in the town assigned to the Mustalar by the estate* free of rent or with a nominal rent as remuneration for his services. He relished it for the duration of his tenure in office, at which point it was handed to his successor, typically his son or a close relative. However, no one was occupying the Mustalar, and it was immovable. Nonetheless, more consistent payment needs to be granted.⁷

Inam System

The district had three types of Inam grants: gift or Dano Mokhasa, service, and gift. The grantee's payment to the Maharaja was alternatively known as Kattubadi* or Tonki, the former of which is an Oriya and the latter, a Telugu phrase Dano, or gifts were typically given for reasons of faith to the Brahmins. Mokhasas received in support of the Rajaes family or other influential people and were usually considered to expire upon the death of the direct heirs. Often, they came with a requirement that the

grantee show up at the meeting with a specific number of retainers, Dusserah Durbar, or to carry out specific additional services. The "Sarvamokhasa" Mokhasa grants were made accessible to all Tonki. In addition, regular service. The district had three types of Inam grants: gift or DanoMokhasa, service, and gift. The grantee's payment to the Maharaja was alternatively known as Kattubadi or Tonki, the former of which is an Oriya and the latter, a Telugu phrase Dano, or gifts were typically given for reasons of faith to the Brahmins. Mokhasas received in support of the Rajas family or other influential people and were usually considered to expire upon the death of the direct heirs. A condition was often imposed, and regular service grants were also awarded for trivial tasks such as worshipping particular deities, giving the Maharaja necessities for his home and carrying out housekeeping duties in the palace. In January 1863, the British took over as the primary administrators of the Jeypore Zamindari, now the Koraput district. Consequently, on January 1, 1865, the agency limits were further contracted, and the Collector was given significant new tasks and responsibilities. Zero When direct administration was assumed, at that point, tenants welcomed Jeypore with those zamindaris sections of Kurupam, Meranghi, Madgole, and Pachipenta inside the hills, as well as the Golgondah and Palcondah hill Muthas, The Kasipur hill zamindari.⁸

Ryotwari System

Mostly, the villages in the Rayagada subdivision used the Ryotwari system. Contracts like Cowles and Kadapas were signed by the landlord and the tenants through whom the latter obtained the property creation of the estate. The estate kept a record of all the ryots, known as the Demand Register, detailing each ryot's holdings and the rent for each ryotwari village due to him. Their local representative described the holding's names, and a general outline of their boundaries was provided, and the area was calculated using a plough or their seed. Every renter paid their rent directly to the Amin or a villager designated by the estate. While the Revenue Walk was visible from the Partially According to the Excluded Areas Enquiry Committee Report, there were just villages in the district that were ryotwari.⁹

Conclusion

The centrality of state policy in the assessment of the origins of poverty, vulnerability, unrest and famine among supposedly productive peasants in colonial western India. Analysis of the impact of state legislation, investment, taxation, welfare measures and relief – or lack of them – on agrarian society in Ahmednagar between 1870 and 1884 suggests that close involvement with the state was not to the population's advantage. Indeed, the closer the contact between the two, the greater the potential for harm. The Bombay Government was insensitive to the unreliability of peasant land as a factor of production and to the lack of either market or labour opportunities. It failed to invest in infrastructural support for any of them. Early state interventions in credit markets exacerbated exploitation, and the response to the Deccan Riots did more to undermine security than to redress the situation. However, the most critical factor of production, capital – which was always scarce – was expropriated by the moneylenders and also by the state itself through a tax system that many within it believed to be unreasonable and inflexible. Thus, the gradual slide into famine can be observed more clearly among small peasants than landless labourers, for whom the crisis was more acute. In the terms set out in the introduction, poor Ahmednagar peasants were chronically food insecure because their district was remote, arid and under-capitalised. Falling prices increased their vulnerability for their only commodities, jowar and bajri, reduced availability of credit, and the prospect of severe tax rises. Their ability to cope was undermined by mortgage foreclosures, restrictions on mobility, barriers to relief and the government's refusal to remit the revenue demand. Moreover, their recovery was threatened by the fact that every one

of these factors continued to affect them as much, if not more, after the famine crisis as before it. Therefore, the British East India Company took possession of all the natives' lands and enslaved them with their policy of power. These lands ensured the economic needs, incomes and livelihoods obtained through them.¹⁰

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RAMCHANDRA BABAJI MORE: AN EMINENT DALIT COMMUNIST LEADER

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Introduction

The Social And Economic Organisation Based On The Highly Complex Caste System Became A Unique Political, Economic And Social Structure In The Indian Sub-Continent Three Millennia Ago. However, Its Precise Historical Antecedents Are Still Ambiguous, And Different Interpretations Are Covered. Meanwhile, Modern Historiography, Ethnography, And Social Anthropology Do Not Leave Much Doubt about the Non-Static Nature Of This Unique Structure Of The Social Organisation. The Indian Society Is Divided Into Various Sects And Classes. This Is Because Of The Caste System, Prevalent in The Country.

The Roots Of The Caste System Go Back To The Ancient Vedas, Dividing People Based on Varna Or Occupation. The Dalits Are Also Called *The Panchamas*, The Fifth Varna or Asprushya, Characterised As Untouchable Castes In The Indian Caste System. Mahatma Gandhi Adopted The Word Harijan And Girijana, Translated Roughly As “*Children Of God*” Identify Untouchables. Indian Upper Caste Used Manu’s Manusmruthi as A Mantra To Exploit Dalits In Various Sectors; They Treat Dalits As Non-Human Beings. The Manusmruthi Is the First Document On Jurisprudence In India. It Strictly Prohibits The Hindus of Very Low Caste From Going Through ‘Vedas’ And The Ancient Recitation. The Phenomenon Of Caste Discrimination And Oppression Was Never A Monolithic And Static Structure. Powerful Ideological And Political Challenges Have Come Up Off And On, Resulting In Changes In The Dynamics Of The Caste System. Communist Party Of India Always Tried To Stand With The Dalits. The Communist Party has led many Dalit agitations. Comrade Ramachandra Balaji More Played A Vital Role In Dalit Movement.

Ramachandra Balaji More

Ramachandra More was one of the first and most ardent followers of Dr B R. Ambedkar. He is not to be counted merely as a follower of Dr Ambedkar, shining in the glory and Reflecting the lights of the Master. He Was Himself A Brilliant Star, Effulgent With Its Own Internal Energy. He Was The One Who Realize The Limitations Of Dr. Ambedkar’s Movement With The Strategically Important Working-Class Movement And Its Philosophy. He Was One Of The First Dalits From Maharashtra To Join The Communist Party. In The Struggle Of The Dalits For Liberation, He Should Be Considered One Of The Key Figures To Inspire Youth.

Life History of Ramachandra Balaji More

He Was Born On 1st March 1903 In A Dalit Family Of Agricultural Workers At The Ladavle Village In Mahad Tehsil In The State Of Maharashtra. At the age of 11, he began struggling against untouchability. He Was The Main Organized Of Mahad Satyagraha Of 1927. Which Was Led By Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Ramachandra More Was Also The organiser of Another Convention At Mahad Manusmriti Burning Day, Which Babadhab Ambedkar Also led. This Convention Took Place In 1927, In Which Thousands Of Dalits Gathered Publicly Buns A Copy Of Manuscript. None Joined the Communist Party Of India In

1930, Under The Influence Of Marxism And Leninism. He Also Participated In The Freedom Struggle Against The British And The Working-Class Movement. R.B. More Remained One Of The Most Respected Leaders Of The Cpi(M) Till His Death On 11 May 1972. He Was Elected To The State Committee Of Cpi(M) In 1964. He Started The Weekly Meeting Of The Cpi(M) Maharashtra State Committee On 14 April 1965, The Anniversary Of Ambedkar's Birth.

R.B. More Was Uniquely Talented. At a young age, I took a three-day walk to Alibaug. During this journey, he experienced for the first time the complications of being an 'Untouchable'. Because He Was Not Allowed To Enter The Dharmashalas That Fell Along The Way, He Had To Spend The Nights With Animals. He Took The Entrance Test Of The English School At Mahad. He Was The Only Dalit To Appear In Those Examinations, But He Scored The Highest Marks And Earned A Stipend. Yet, he was denied admission to the school because its landlord said that if allowed to enter, he would vacate the entire school. More Sent A Postcard To A Newspaper Against This Injustice. As A Result, The School Had To Admit Him, But He Had To Get His Education From Outside The Class, Sitting Near The Window.

With Ramachandra More's efforts, A Tea Shop Operated By A Mahar Was Opened. All The Untouchables Got Drinking Water, Which They Were Denied Earlier. This shop became the meeting place for more of His friends. Here, He Would Meet People, Write Down Their Requests, and get all the information about their problems.

In 1923, A Resolution Had Been Passed In The Bombay Legislative Assembly To Make All Public Places Accessible To The Untouchables. On The Very Next Day, R.B. More Organized A Big Convention For The Rights Of Untouchables. In his village, Dasgaon More Got Hundreds Of Untouchables Together To Drink Water From The Village Lake, Which Was Forbidden To Untouchables. He set up a program in March 1927 and invited Babasaheb Ambedkar. He visited all the villages in the Konkan Belt and mobilised thousands to join Babasaheb's program.

Ramachandra More Became A Chosen Confidante And Co-Worker Of Babasaheb. He was requested to stay with him in his house in Naigaum at Parel in Mumbai, and he started staying with Babasaheb. He used to help him bring out his journal and other work. He Also Used To Stay In The workers' chains and Had Many Conversations And discussions with Those Who lived with Him, Especially The Workers In Cotton Factories. He Has A Keen Interest In Cultural Activities. These All Strengthened His Relations With All The Worker's Communities. He started participating in all union activities, distributed pamphlets, wrote on the wall, prepared for strikes, etc. His Experiences Of Class Struggle Came Not From A Book But From The Lives Of People Just Like Him.

In 1964, More Sent A Letter To The Cpi (M) Party Leadership, In Which He Mentioned that The Dalit Society Is the Largest, Most Oppressed, And Exploited Part Of The Working Class. Only By Fighting The Social Exploitation Of This Section, Which Is A Moral And Ethical Duty, Can The Communist Party Attract Them To Its Movements In Large Numbers. He Dedicated His Entire Life To The Upliftment Of The Dalit Community, And He Always Kept A Close relationship with the Communist Party.

Conclusion

The Indian Society Is Segmentally Divided based on Caste. The Status Of Person Is Dependent On The Caste In Which He Born. In The Traditional Caste System, The Lowest Castes Were At The Bottom Of The Social Ladder. They Were Subjected To Various Caste Disabilities. The Dalits Were Also Not Allowed To Change Their Caste Occupation. The Extent Of Disabilities Was Such That They Were Made

To Live On The outskirts of Villages And Towns. The Downtrodden Dalits Raised Various Struggles To Fight Their Social Exploitation In All Forms. Ramachandra More Was A Dalit Communist Leader And Campaigner With A Particular Focus on the Struggle Against The Caste System In India And Class Exploitation In The Indian Subcontinent. More Acted As A Connecting Link Between Dalit Movement And Communism. On His 120th Birth Anniversary (On March 1st, 2023), His Contributions To the Dalit Movement And The Communist Party Must Be Gratefully Remembered.

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EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON SOCIETY UNDER THE VIJAYA NAGAR EMPIRE

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Introduction

The Vijayanagara rulers encouraged learning and the spread of education because they were educated. Bukka-I was a disciple of Bharati Tirtha and Vidyaranya, two of the literary giants of the age. Rajaguru Kriyashakti was the teacher of Bukka, Harihara, and Devaraya-I. Harihara-I acquired the empire of knowledge unattainable by the kings by the grace of Vidyaranya. He is called “Karnataka Vidyavilasa”, or cultivator of Karnataka learning. Devaraya-I was well versed in music and literature. Sometimes, the king instructed his successor, as the Keladi King Chikka Sankannanayaka did in the case of Venkatappanayaka, his successor, who was taught the rudiments of polity (saptanga). Venkatappanayaka has many works on poetry, drama, and Dharmashastra written by scholars, and he wrote some himself. When Queen Channammaji of Keladi chose Basavappa as the future heir, she gave him literary and physical education and training.

He was known as „Surinikara-Kalpadruma“. His efforts in the compilation of an Encyclopedia called Sivatatavaratnakara are well-known. Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali has a very detailed account of the education of Chikkadevaraya of Mysore. He had teachers to teach him different subjects. The poetry teacher taught him pronunciation and reading, and the course was known as „Lipigrahana“. A second teacher taught him a course known as „Padavakyapramana“ or Grammar. A third teacher taught him the Puranas, which, among other things, contained history and geography. The Prince also learnt instrumental music and became proficient in playing on the Veena. Finally, he underwent a physical education course similar to the one which has come down to modern times in the Indian gymnasiums. That this was a regular feature of the education of the princes is made known to us by Paes's well-known account of Krishnadevaraya.

Primary Education

Primary education was known as “Balabodhe”. In Mohanatarangini of Kanakadasa. The children learnt to write, on dust or sand, alphabets and combinations of consonants with vowels and figures up to a hundred, then multiplication tables and multiples of fractional parts by integers, and tables of money, weights and measures. All this was known as hulakshara “ or dust writing. Pietro Della Valle, who visited India in 1623 A.D, describes this stage in a village school of Karnataka. He saw some boys “...who having taken the lesson from the master, to get the same by heart and repeat the former lessons likewise and not forget them, one of them singing musically with a certain continued tone which hath the force of making a deep impression on the memory recited part of the lesson; as, „one by itself makes one“ and

the boys wrote the figures on the sand-strewn before them as they repeated the words. Pietro Della Valle appreciated this simple way of learning. "They learnt to read and write without spoiling the paper, pens or ink, which certainly is a pretty easier and securer way of learning. In Pietro Della Valle, have the first account by a Westerner of the monitor system an intelligent student assisting the teacher in teaching. This system is one of India's contributions to Western pedagogy.

From dust-writing (dhulakshara) they wrote on paper, to reading and arithmetic. Arithmetic proceeded from addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, to simple interest and the rule of three. Some scholars were also taught the names of the years and stars, the different points of the compass and various songs and verses celebrating the deeds of gods. But it was not only the three R's (reading, writing and arithmetic) taught at the early stages. Even at the earliest stage, Lakshmidhara, Minister of Devaraya-I, learnt as balabodhe (primary instruction).

Institutions of Higher Learning

The institutions of higher learning in ancient and medieval Karnataka were the agraharas, maths, temples, Brahmapuris, and ghatikas. The ghatika is rarely mentioned during this period, but Brahmapuris and temples continued spreading education.

Agraharas

The agraharas and maths carried on their educational activities. However, after Vijayanagara's downfall, various developments took place, which diminished their value as academic centres. Some of the agraharas went to ruin, and when they were restored, they were converted to Satras for feeding the Brahmins. An agrahara was intended to be a centre of education and learning.

Mathas

During the medieval period the mathas stood for an educational institution. In this period, as in the case of the agraharas, its educational activities were less prominent, though they were not completely forgotten. The feature which became most prominent now was that it became the pontifical seat of a religious teacher of a community. Teachers only developed various activities. Some had a library. Most were choultries or satras both for pilgrims as well as students. The Ikkeri Kingdom there were different kinds of mathas. They were Vasikrita-matha, Mahattumatha and Viraktamatha.

Educational Organisation: Subjects of Study

Someswara Sataka says that a king's Court would shine only if it contained poets, musicians, pauranikas, comedians, historians, astrologers, clever speakers and those well-versed in the military Science. Someswara, in another place prescribing the qualifications for Ministers, says that a Minister should know many scripts. At least one Minister had this qualification. Kondamarasa, a Minister of Krishnadevaraya, was an expert in reading various scripts. In a work written about 1420 A.D., the study subjects mentioned are the Vedas, Mimamsa, Nyaya, Grammar, Purana, Dharmashastra, Music, Medicine and Military Science.

Methods of Study

The Someswara Sataka says that one can learn from different ways. They were known the subject, learned works or Shastras, observing and own intelligence. There were no examinations at the end of the period of study as at present. In 1447 A.D. Adityaya, the author of Bhashyabhusha, was examined in a learned assembly in all the branches of study and all the learned men were pleased with him. The king then granted him the Nallangi Village. In an earlier example, a Kadamba King was examined the learned

candidates for the membership of an Agrahara. Krishnadevaraya tested the candidates who wanted rewards from him. These tests consisted in carrying out intellectual feats. His favourite method was to set down a half-finished verse and ask the poet to finish it in a particular manner.

Sciences-Medicine

The earliest work on medicine in the Vijayanagara period is Ayurveda Sudhanidhi of Ekambaranatha who wrote it on being asked to do so by Sayana. His grandson Srisailanatha also wrote a medical work called Prasnottararatnamale. Lakshmana Pandita wrote a treatise on Ayurveda known as Vaidyarajavallabham. The next writer was Sridharadeva whose work is known as Vaidyamrita, which includes the treatment methods, mantras or incantations. His successor was Salva who gives recipes for some human ailments. In about 1570 A.D, one Narasimha Shastri wrote a book called Vaidyasarasamgraha. Under Chikkadevaraya, a Jain scholar composed Vaidyanighantusara, a lexicon on Medicine. A work which concerns itself exclusively with the disease of women is the Strivaidya of Timarajagauda written in about 1750 A.D. The encyclopedic Sivatatvaratnakara composed by Basavaraja-I of Keladi, deals at length with the Dhanavantri, Ashwini and Charaka, who were living and unerring fountains of information for the author. After tracing the origin of Ayurveda it describes its eight parts (ashtanga) and four kinds of treatment. Then it goes on to deal with the qualities of a physician. The next subject treated is digestion. Then it analyses the six kinds of tastes, their nature and their effects. After dealing with diagnosis (rogaparikshe), it concerns itself with Anatomy. Then it describes the different kinds of pulse-beats working in different diseases. Windiness (vataprakopa), biliousness (pittodreka), and their causes are treated. The last subjects to be treated are drugs, their effects on the body, and the seasons suitable for various medicines. Lakshmana Pandita, mentioned as the author of Vaidyarajavallabham was the court-physician of Bukka-II. Singeyabhatta was a famous doctor. A record dated 1388 A.D says that he had no equal in medical treatment with mercury (rasavaidya). He was also a hydraulic engineer (jalasutra) who brought the Henne River to Penugonda. In the fifteenth century, in the time of Devaraya-II, there was a famous and learned family of doctors known as Salagrame.

Language and Literature

The Vijayanagara period is regarded as the golden age of literature in South India. The Vijayanagara rulers were patrons of literature and supported the composition of religious and secular books in Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannada, and Tamil. Scholars from various traditions, including Jain, Virashaiva, and Vaishnava, contributed to the rich literary landscape. The reign of Krishna Raya, known as "Andhra Bhoja" marked the peak of literary development. Hundreds of works covering diverse subjects such as religion, philosophy, literature, history, biographies, music, grammar, poetics, and medicine were composed during this period. Vyasarya, the patron saint of the Vijayanagara Empire, wrote a detailed work on Dvaita Philosophy. Vedanta Desika composed an epic titled "Yadavabhyudaya" and a poem called "Hansa Sandesa," after Kalidasa's "Meghaduta." Krishna Deva Raya himself, a renowned scholar, contributed to the literary wealth with works such as "Madalasa Charita," "Satyavada Parinaya," "Rasamanjari," and "Jambavati Kalyana." Mohanangi, the wife of Ramraya composed the famous epic "Marichiparinayam." The age of the Ashtadiggajas, the eight court-poets of Krishnadeva Raya, witnessed notable contributions to literature, including "Manu Charitra" by Allasani Peddana and "Panduranga Mahatmyam." Sanskrit was the language of higher culture throughout South India. Many Sanskrit scholars were patronised by the Vijayanagara Empire, including Sayanacharya and Vyasarya, who dedicated most of their works to the Dvaita philosophy. Shadgurushishya wrote a commentary on

the AsvalayanaSrauta sutra and the ApastambaSrauta. The achievements of Kumara Kampana, the second son of Bukka-I of Vijayanagara, are celebrated in a beautiful poem by his wife Gangadevi, Madhuravijayam (conquest of Madura). Among Jaina poets, Madhura patronised by Harihara II and Deva Raya I wrote Dhamanathapurana, Vritta Vilasa wrote Dharmaparikshe and Sastrasara, Bhaskara of Penugonda who wrote Jinadharacharite (1424) Bommarasa of Terkanambi wrote Santakumaracharite and kotesvara of Tuluvadesa wrote on the life of Jivandharaja in Shatpadi metre (seven line metre). Bahubali Pandita (1351) of Sringeri wrote the Dharmanathapurana. Jainism flourished in Tuluva country, and there Abhinava Vadi Vidyananda wrote Kavyasara, Salva wrote the Jaina version of Bharata in Shatpadi metre and Rasaratnakara, Nemanna wrote Jnanabhaskaracharite, Ratnakaravani wrote Bharatesha Vaibhav. TrilokaSataka, Aparajitasataka and someswara Sataka, Ayatavarma wrote Ratnakarandaka in Champu style (mixed prose-verse form), Vrittivilasa wrote Dharmaparikshe and Sastrasara, Kalyanakirti wrote the Jnanachandrabhyudaya (1439) and Vijayanna Wrote the Dvadasanuprekshe (1448), Managarasa III wrote Jayanripa-Kavya and other writings, Santarasa wrote Yogaratnakara.

Shaiva Poets

Veerasaiva literature saw a renaissance during this period. Singiraja wrote Singirajapurana, and Malabasavaraja Charitra, Mallanarya of Gubbi, whom Krishnadevaraya patronised, wrote Veerasaivamrita Purana (1530), Bhavachintaratna (1513) and Satyendra Cholakathe. Deva Raya II patronised several Virashaivas like LakkanaDandesa who wrote Shivatatwa Chintamani, Chamarasa who wrote Prabhulinga Leela, Jakkanarya wrote Nurondushtala. Guru Basava wrote seven works. Six in Shatpadi metre called Saptakavya, including the Shivayoganga Bhushana and the Avadhutagite. Shivagna Prasadi Mahadevayya and Halageyadeva were famous for their Shunya Sampadane.

Kallumathada Prabhuva, Jakkanna, MaggeyaMayideva, and Tontada Siddalingayati were other noted Vachanakaras (writers of Vachana poetry). Bhimakavi wrote Basavapurana (1369), and Padmanaka authored Padmarajapurana. Tontada Siddesvara, the guru of Virupaksha Raya II, authored 700 Vachanas called Shatsthalajnanamrita. Virakta Tontadarya wrote Siddesvarapurana.

Vaishnava Poets

Among **Vaishnava** scholars, Kumara Vyasa, patronised by **Deva Raya II**, wrote Gadugina Bharata. Timmana Kavi later completed this as KrishnaRaya Bharata (patronised by King Krishnadevaraya). Narahari wrote Torave Ramayana. Other important works were Bhagavatha by Chatuvittalanatha, whom Krishnadevaraya and Achyuta Raya patronised. Nala Charite, Haribhakthisara, Mohana Tarangini and Ramadhanya Charitra by the great saint Kanakadasa. Dasa Sahithya and Keerthanas and thousands of Devaranama by Purandaradasa Kanakadasa. Sripadaraya, Vyasatirtha and Vadirajatirtha Nanjunda wrote Kumara Rama Charit, and KereyaPadmarasa wrote Padmaraja Purana. Kanakadasa's Ramadhanya Charitre is considered a unique work on class struggle. Linganna wrote Keladinripavijayam and Kavi Malla wrote Manmathavijaya, Madhava wrote Madahaalankara (a translation of Dandi's Sanskrit Kayvadarsha), Isvara Kavi, also known as Bana Kavi, wrote Kavijihva - Bandhana (a work on prosody). Sadananda Yogi wrote portions of Bhagavata and Bharata. Tirumal Bhatta wrote the Sivagite and Thimma wrote Navarasalankara, and Ramendra wrote the Saundarya-Katharatna (a metrical version in tripadi metre of Battisaputtalikathe). Krishnadevarayana Dinachari is a recent discovery. The Vijayanagar period continued the ancient tradition of Kannada literature.

Tamil

Krishnadevaraya also patronised Tamil poet Harihara, who wrote *Irusamaya vilakkam* (an exposition on Saivism and Vaishnavism). Other Tamil poets of the Vijayanagar era were Arunagirinathar, who some scholars believe was a descendant of Dindima Kavis. Oottukkadu Venkata Kavi (1700–65) salutes him as Dindima Kavi in his composition, Bhajanamrta paramananda in Nattai. Arunagirinathar wrote Tiruppugazh containing more than 1360 songs in various meters and several songs in praise of Lord Muruga, Svarupananda Deshika, who wrote an anthology on the philosophy of *Advaita* in his Sivaprakasap Perundirattu and many poems like *Paduturai*, *Nanavinoda Kalambakam*, *Mohavadaipparani* and *Annavaipparani*. His pupil Tattuvaraya, who wrote a short anthology called Kurundirattu, Pugalendi, Jnanprakashar, Andari, Kacchiyappa Shivacharya wrote *Kandapuram* and Ilanjuriyar were also patronised.

Kannada

Madura, patronised by Harihara II and Devaraya I, wrote Dharmanathapurana, Vritta Vilasa wrote Dharmaparikshe and *Sastrsara*, Bhaskara, of this Penukonda.

He wrote Jinadharacharite (1424), Bommarasa of Terkanambi wrote Santakumaracharite and Kotesvara of Tuluvadesa wrote on the life of Jivandharaja in Shatpadi metre (seven-line metre). Bahubali Pandita (1351) of Sringeri wrote the *Dharmanathapurana*. Jainism flourished in Tuluva country and there Abhinava Vadi Vidyananda wrote *Kavyasara*, Salva wrote Jaina version of *Bharata* in Shatpadi metre and *Rasaratnakara*, Nemanna wrote Jnanabhaskaracharite, Ratnakaravarni wrote *Bharatesha Vaibhava*, *Triloka Sataka*, Aparajitasataka Someswara Sataka. Vrittivilasa wrote *Dharmaparikshe* and *Sastrasara*, Kalyanakirti wrote the *Jnanachandrabhyudaya* (1439) and Vijayanna wrote the *Dvadasanuprekshe* (1448), Mangarasa III wrote *Jayanripa-Kavya* and other writings, Santarasa wrote *Yogaratanakara*.

Telugu

In ancient times, the country of Telugu was often called Trilinga. This country contained or was bounded by the three Lingas of Kalahasti, Srisailam and Daksharama and Telinga-Telugu as the name of the country and language may be traced to this world. It is also suggested that Tel(n)ugu comes from tene, „honey“ or tennu, „way“. The beginnings of the language can be traced from stone inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., and its essential elements have unmistakable affinities with Tamil and Kannada.

Telugu initially had much in common with Kannada, and this affinity persisted at a relatively late stage in developing the two languages. Pampa and Ponna, two of the greatest Kannada poets, came from 91 Telugu, and the great Telugu poet Srinatha styled himself as a poet in Karnata-bhasha. Early Telugu prose and verse can now be traced only in inscriptions like those of the Telugu-Chodas and the Eastern Chalukyas. The well-developed verse in Sisa Metre adorns the grant of General Panduranga. Beyond doubt, there must have existed much-unwritten literature of a popular character that enlivened the daily life of the common folk; such desi compositions may have included lalipatalu (songs of the cradle), melukolupulu (songs of the dawn), mangalaharatulu (songs of festivity), kirtanalu (devotional songs) and udupupatalu (songs of the harvest).

In the seventeenth century, Vijayanagara lost its importance, and its place was taken by the feudatory courts such as Gandikota, Siddhavatam, Nellore, Gingee, Tanjore and Madura. Matli Ananta of

Siddhavatam and his grandson were poets and composed the Kakusthavijayam and the Kumudvatikalyanam, respectively. About the same time, Tarigoppula Mallana wrote a PrabandhaChandrabhanucaritra at the instance of PemmasaniTimmanayudu; attractive in its way, this Prabandha ranks far below the masterpieces of the age of Krishnadevaraya.

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COMMANDER SUNDARALINGAM: AN EMINENT FREEDOM FIGHTER OF SOUTH INDIA

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Introduction

The Indian liberation movement against the British occurred in stages. Thousands of people took part in the freedom struggle. People like Pulithevar, Marudhu Pandiyan, Velunachiyar, Dheeran Chinnamalai, Virupakshi Gopal Nayak, and Tippusulthan fought against the British to protect their people and palaces in Tamil Nadu. Commander Sundaralingam was a crucial player in the South Tamil Nadu freedom fight. Sundaralingam, a Dalit, played an important role in rallying and directing the movement against British power. His biography provides light on his courageous drive and unwavering dedication to the cause of independence.

Tamil Nadu has the distinction of initiating the first fight for independence at Vellore Fort in 1806, even before the Indian Rebellion 1857 took place in northern India. The sacrifices and heroism of the Bravehearts who took up weapons and laid down their lives in these conflicts are yet to be chronicled in historical records. But there is knowledge about these heroes in folk stories and oral literature. These folk stories and oral literature look into the grit and perseverance of these unsung warriors, demonstrating their steadfast loyalty to the cause of freedom. Their stories serve as a reminder of the rich history and struggle for liberation in Tamil Nadu, encouraging future generations to continue fighting for justice and liberty.

There is knowledge about these heroes in performance art forms such as Gummi and Villupattu. But there is not enough data on them. In this paper, we shall look at the commander of Kattabomman's Panchalakurichi Palayam, Sundaralingam, who resisted the British in this way. Sundaralingam's bravery and leadership during the war against the British highlighted his steadfast commitment to the cause of independence. Although not publicly known, his contribution to the resistance struggle underscores the sacrifices made by innumerable individuals in Tamil Nadu's quest for freedom.

Birth of Commander Sundaralingam

There were 92 villages under the Panchalankurichi Palayam.¹ Sundaralingam was born on April 16, 1775, in his native hamlet of Guvamagiri, to Kattak Karuppan, a scheduled caste, and Muthiruli Ammal. His full name is Kattak Karuppannan Sundaralingam. The village of Governagiri, where Sundaralingam was born, was a commercial post and the military centre of Panchalankurichi. Sundaralingam was getting martial training at the Kalaripalli, managed by Kollankinaru Kalari instructor Naganar in Govarnagiri.² He effectively battles and stops the neighbours from breaking the kanmai (pond) in his village in Panchalankurichi Palayam. When Kattabomman learned of this episode, he made Sundaralingam his unit commander³.

Due to the efforts of Commander Sundaralingam and the people in and surrounding Gavarnagiri, he joined the army of Panchalankurichi Kattabomman. Thus, with his gallantry and competence, Sundaralingam swiftly rose to become the deputy commander of all of Kattabomman's soldiers.

Sundaralingam's leadership and bravery protected the village's kanmai and gained him Kattabomman's trust and esteem. His ability to persuade the people of Gavarnagiri to join their cause displayed his influence and strategic prowess, ultimately leading to his appointment as the deputy commander of Kattabomman's army.

In 1790, the British obtained from the Nawab of Arcot the right to collect taxes in the southern parts of Tamil Nadu. In 1795, Robert Clive declared that the Nawab had no right over the Palaiyars. The colonists were to be subject to British rule. If they violate this, action will be taken against them, "he said. Kattabomman, who had not paid taxes to the British since 1792, strongly objected to this statement. In this case, Colonel Maxwell, who worked on the boundary of the palayams to collect taxes, connected the two villages of Arunkulam and Subbulapuram, which were adjacent to the Panchalankurichi Palayam, to the nearby Ettayapuram Palayam⁴. This led to the conflict between Ettayapuram Palayam and Panchalankurichi Palayam. The conflict between Ettayapuram Palayam and Panchalankurichi Palayam escalated as Kattabomman refused to pay taxes and challenged the British authority. The connection of Arunkulam and Subbulapuram to Ettayapuram Palayam further intensified the tension between the two palayams.

The Battle of Ramanathapuram and the Valor of Commander Sundaralingam

W. C. Jackson was appointed the Collector of Tirunelveli and Ramanathapuram on March 10, 1797. After Muthuramalinga Sethupathi's arrest, the administration of Ramanathapuram Palayam had been under the direct control of the British since 1795, and Jackson kept the Ramalinga Vilas, the Ramanathapuram Palace, as his office. They went to meet the new governor as a mark of respect.

Learning of Kattabomman's activities and that he had not paid taxes for the past six years, Jackson wrote a letter to Kattabomman on October 26, 1797. In it, he promised to pay the tax arrears immediately and to send sheep for food to the commanding officer of the British army, Davison, who was camping in Tuticorin. The builder didn't see it. On January 30, 1798, Kattabomman's minister, Sivasubramanian Pillai, alias Thanapathi Pillai, and his men engaged in a riot with the British at Alwar Thirunagari⁵. On February 3, 1798, Jackson again wrote to Kattabomman, complaining about it.

Kattabomman did not find this letter either, so a furious Jackson wrote to the Board of Revenue on June 9, July 25, and July 28 about Kattabomman's activities, pleading with them to try to arrest Kattabomman. On the third day of sending the letter, Jackson told him to meet at Ramanathapuram by 5.9.1798. Taking the advice of the Board of Revenue, Kattabomman decided to meet with Jackson. Kattabomman left for Courtallam with Oomaithurai, Thanapathi Pillai, and the deputy commander, Sundaralingam, to meet Jackson in Courtallam. I am going to Ramanathapuram tomorrow. "Come and meet me there," "Jackson said on 31.08.1798."

On September 9, 1798, Kattabomman sent a message to Ramanathapuram that he had come to meet Jackson.⁶ Jackson agreed to meet the next day. The Jackson-Kattabomman meeting was held at Ramalinga Vilas on the evening of September 10, 1798. Minister Dhanapathy Pillai was also present on the occasion. The Panchalankurichi soldiers, led by Commander Sundaralingam, waited at the gate of the Ramanathapuram fort⁷.

Jackson ordered the man's arrest. On hearing the news, the Panchalankurichi soldiers, led by Commander Sundaralingam, rushed towards the British forces. Sundaralingam, the deputy commander of the Panchalankurichi army, attacked and killed Lieutenant Clarke, the deputy commander of the British army, who was approaching Kattabomman at the gate of the fort.⁸

Appreciating Sundaralingam's bravery, he appointed him commander of Panchalankurichi. The above events led to Jackson's replacement by S. Lushington, appointed governor. S. Lushington, the new governor, was determined to suppress the rebellion and regain control of Panchalankurichi. He strategised a plan to weaken the rebels and restore British authority in the region.

Battle of Panchalankurichi

Major Bannerman was authorised by the British Revenue Commission on August 19, 1799, to go to war against Kattabomman after Kattabomman's minister, Thanapathy Pillai, looted a British-owned paddy field in Thiruvaikundam and killed its watchman. To suppress Kattabomman and his supporters, Bannerman called the troops camped at Trichy, Thanjavur, Madurai, and Nellai to Panchalankurichi. On September 5, 1799, Bannerman besieged the fort of Panchalankurichi and ordered the fort to be attacked.

The Panchalankurichi warriors, under the leadership of Commander Sundaralingam and the guidance of Veeramallu Naicker, deputy commanders of the Gandan armoury and the Potipakadai, launched an attack on the British soldiers. That night (06.09.1799), Kattabomman and his men left the fort and reached Kolwarpatti to fight against the British. After the departure of Kattabomman, the fort of Panchalankurichi was demolished by the British. On September 9, 1799, there was a big clash between the British and the Panchalankurichi soldiers at Kolwarpatti⁹. It was a big blow for both sides. Six people, including Kattabommu and Oomaithurai, escaped on horseback. Commander Sundaralingam is absconding. Thanapathi Pillai was hanged at Nagalapuram on 13.09.1799. Kattabomman and Oomaithurai were arrested on September 23, 1799, at Kaliyapuram, near Tirukkulambur. On October 16, 1799, Kattabomman was hanged from a tamarind tree near the old fort in Kayathar. All 16 of his relatives, including Oomaithurai, were jailed in Palayamkottai. The capture and execution of Thanapathi Pillai marked a significant event in the resistance against British rule. Despite the escape of six individuals on horseback, including Kattabomman and Oomaithurai, Commander Sundaralingam's whereabouts remain unknown.¹⁰ The arrest of Kattabomman and Oomaithurai led to their subsequent imprisonment, while Kattabomman faced a grim fate with his hanging on October 16, 1799.

Commander Sundaralingam Oomaithurai was Taken into Custody

On February 2, 1801, Commander Sundaralingam, who had gone into hiding after the skirmish at Kolwarpatti, gathered soldiers and proceeded to Palayamkottai Prison to rescue Oomaithurai. Commanding Officer Sundaralingam learned in advance of a party being held that evening at the house of Major Macaulay, a British officer, and planned to take Oomaithurai back to prison the same day. Macaulay's house was about a mile from the Palayamkottai prison. About 20 British officials attended the party with their families. Taking advantage of the situation, the Panchalankurichi soldiers entered the fort disguised as firewood sellers, concealing their weapons in firewood. The Panchalankurichi soldiers attacked the unarmed British guards inside the fort, broke the prison, and released the prisoners, including Oomaithurai.

Fort Panchalankurichi was Restored under the Leadership of Commander Sundaralingam

Oomaithurai set out to rebuild the fort of Panchalankurichi, which the British had demolished. The fort's construction was completed within seven days (02.02.1801–08.02.1801) with the people's help under Commander Sundaralingam's leadership. Oomaithurai, who rebuilt the fort, was crowned the Palayakkara of Panchalankurichi. The British administration took countermeasures after learning of

Oomaimathurai's escape. The next day, the British garrison at Sankarankoil was ordered to come to Kayathar.

The British detachment at Palayamkottai joined the force at Kayathar on February 6, 1801. On February 8, 1801, the British force set out from Kayathar and camped at Kalaiya Nallur after crossing 19 miles to Panchalankurichi.

Sundaralingam's Attack on the British Camp

The British soldiers were having dinner in the tent. At that time, about 1200 Panchalankurichi soldiers, led by Commander Sundaralingam, surrounded the tent on three sides and attacked the British soldiers. In the attack, which lasted for about an hour, 40 Panchalankurichi soldiers were killed, and only six were killed on the British side.

The Fall of the Fort of Panchalankurichi

In the early morning of 23.5.1801, the British soldiers led by Agnew attacked the fort of Panchalankurichi. The bodies of 450 soldiers were found inside the fort. The British captured six hundred men. After the fall of Fort Panchalankurichi on 24.5.1801, Oomaithurai and Commander Sundaralingam escaped with the fleeing soldiers.

Oomaithurai and Commander Sundaralingam left for Kamuthi on August 28, 1801. From there, they reached boyhood under the rule of the Marudu brothers. Agnew, who knew that Ummayathurai was a boy, invaded. He was accompanied by Home Guards from Ettayapuram, Pudukottai, Thanjavur, and Thiruvananthapuram and, along with the Marudu brothers, Oomaithurai and Sundaralingam fought against the British army led by Agnew.¹¹ At the end of the 4-month-long Battle of Sivaganga, the Marudu brothers were captured and executed on October 24, 1801. After capturing the Kalaiyar temple, which was under the control of the Marudu brothers, Oomaithurai and Sundaralingam went to Virupachi, near Dindigul.

The Death of Commander Sundaralingam

The British army rushed to Wirrubachi to capture Ummayathura. In the fierce battle that took place there, Oomaithurai retreated. Commander Sundaralingam and Oomaithurai, who were eventually arrested along with 65 soldiers, were brought to Panchalankurichi and executed at the artillery barrack there on November 16, 1801. Their relatives were also killed.¹² There are two kinds of information about the death of Commander Sundaralingam. It is believed that in the battle of Panchalankurichi in 1799, he destroyed the British armoury by setting fire to his body with his wife, Vadivu. But scholar Thamizhvel, in his book 'Panchalankurichi Padithadhipathi Sundaralinga Devendra', explains in 1801 that he was executed in a dumb manner, citing government documents as evidence.

Veeran Sundaralingam Transport Corporation was established by the Government of Tamil Nadu on May 1, 1997, in memory of Commander Sundaralingam, who fought against the British. But the caste Hindus vandalised and set fire to the buses named after Sundaralingam, saying that they would not travel in the Transport Corporation buses launched in the name of the Scheduled Castes. Buses named after Sundaralingam cannot enter the town in many areas. This led to widespread riots between the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in southern Tamil Nadu. Therefore, the Sundaralingam Transport Corporation was dissolved and renamed the Tamil Nadu Transport Corporation.

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ANALYSING THE FAIZABAD ANGLE OF NETAJI MYSTERY

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Introduction

Netaji's mystery revolves around the sudden disappearance and the reported death of Subhas Chandra Bose on 18th August 1945. It is widely believed that he died in a plane crash in Taihoku (now Taipei), Taiwan, while on his way to Tokyo. Over the years, various theories have arisen regarding his mysterious disappearance. For a long time, the plane crash theory, which ascertained the death of Subhas Chandra Bose in the plane crash, remained a widely accepted one. The findings of the two inquiry commissions, the Shah Nawaz Khan Committee (1956) and the Khosla Commission (1970), appointed by the Government of India, further affirmed the plane crash theory. However, four separate spot inquiries conducted by General Mac Arthur of the U.S. Pacific Army (CIC), Admiral Louis Mountbatten, Chief of the South-East Allied Army, British Global Counter Intelligence- Combined Services Detailed Intelligence Centre (C.S.D.I.C) and Mayor of Taihoku immediately after the alleged death of Subhas Bose in the air crash, discarded the plane crash theory and concluded that the reported incident was nothing more than a fabricated story.¹

Another prominent version is the Escape theory, which completely refutes the plane crash theory and suggests that Subhas Chandra Bose fabricated a plane crash story and escaped to the Soviet Union. Several British intelligence reports also assert that Netaji reached the Soviet Union. One such report says, "It seemed clear that Bose and his staff were trying to make a getaway to Russia."² However, the upholders of this view failed to prove what exactly happened to him in the Soviet Union.

The Faizabad Angle of Netaji mystery gained currency in recent times, according to which Netaji faked the plane crash incident and escaped to the Soviet Union, where he was captive in a Siberian gulag for some time. Later, he was released, and he made his way to India. He stayed in various places, including Lucknow, Neemsar near the Indo-Nepal border, Darshan Nagar in Faizabad, Lalkothi in Ayodhya, and Shrista in Purani Basti. He lived in various parts of Uttar Pradesh by concealing his true identity. By this time, he became a hermit, leading a solitude and an ascetic life. He was commonly known as Bhagwanji or Gumnamī Baba. In 1983, Bhagwanji moved to Ram Bhawan in Faizabad. He was reported dead on September 16, 1985. His disciples claimed that his spiritual quest prohibited his public appearances.³

Bhagwanji maintained a veil of secrecy regarding his true identity during his residence in India from 1955 onward. He operated within a network of informants, notably individuals from Netaji's circle of friends and associates. He frequently changed his location and received visitors to evade detection while remaining concealed behind curtains.

The discovery of items at Ram Bhawan, such as a pencil equipped with a torch (commonly utilised by military personnel for nocturnal map-making), maps detailing the residences where he and his associates stayed, documents, and newspaper clippings related to the investigation into Netaji's 'death,' intensifies the mystery surrounding this monk.⁴ Further, all his meetings were conducted with a strict emphasis on confidentiality.

Peculiarities of Bhagwanji

Bhagwanji's disciples encompassed a diverse array of professional backgrounds, including teachers, lawyers, doctors, artists, politicians, and highly educated women. Notably, Bhagwanji's appearance featured round spectacles and a round gold watch, strikingly reminiscent of the accessories associated with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, whose spectacles and watch were not recovered after his presumed death in 1945.

Bhagwanji possessed a collection of rare and original pictures of Netaji's parents, and he held in reverence an umbrella purportedly belonging to Netaji's father. Bhagwanji exhibited a keen interest in military matters and frequently referenced historical figures such as Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Mountbatten, suggesting a perceived connection with them. Among Bhagwanji's belongings, an original summons from the Khosla Commission in 1971 addressed to Suresh Bose, Netaji's elder brother, was discovered.⁵

Bhagwanji's residence in Faizabad, Ayodhya, and Basti during the 1960s attracted nighttime visitors, purportedly government officials, who spent extended periods engaged in discussions with him. His discourses primarily revolved around national and international politics and featured quotations from notable Indian and Western thinkers. His recollections of thoughts spanned various subjects, from the Indian freedom struggle to the Vietnam War and beyond. He would reminisce about past experiences, including a submarine journey. He visited places like Stuttgart, Berlin, Siberia, Tokyo, London, Kabul, Saigon, Singapore, and Calcutta.

His interactions included Hindi, Urdu, English, and occasionally Sanskrit, German, and other foreign languages. However, when engaging with his most trusted disciples, Bhagwanji conversed in his mother tongue, Bangla. It is worth mentioning that Bhagwanji had a notable habit of smoking.⁶

Notably, Bhagwanji admired German and Japanese soldiers, hinting at an affinity for these military forces.

Bhagwanji's Striking Resemblance with Netaji

Bhagwanji bore striking similarities to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in his appearance and various aspects of his life. He had a similar physical resemblance, matched Netaji's age, shared familiar friends, and exhibited comparable reading habits. Bhagwanji and Netaji shared certain physical traits, such as gaps between their teeth and a distinctive scalpel mark on their abdomens. In addition to their shared physical and linguistic characteristics, Netaji and Bhagwanji were Bengali and proficient in languages like English, Hindustani, Sanskrit, and German. Handwriting expert B. Lal's analysis concluded that Bhagwanji and Netaji's writings displayed joint authorship.

Notably, Bhagwanji's residence yielded rare documents, photographs, and souvenirs reportedly linked to the Bose family, adding to the intrigue surrounding his identity. Bhagwanji's attire, which included round spectacles and a round gold watch, closely resembled those associated with Netaji, whose glasses and watch were unaccounted for after his supposed death in 1945.

Bhagwanji's followers included individuals associated with Netaji, such as INA Secret Service operative Dr Pabitra Mohan Roy, Leela Roy, Sunil Das, and Trailokya Nath Chakravarty. Remarkably, Bhagwanji's birthday, celebrated every year on January 23 (Netaji's birthday), was a noteworthy occasion attended by several individuals, including Pabitra Mohan Roy, further strengthening the mystery surrounding his identity.⁷

Bhagwanji's Belongings

After Bhagwanji's demise in 1985, his possessions were catalogued and dispatched to the Faizabad treasury, following the order of the Allahabad High Court. Bhagwanji's belongings, roughly 2,700 items, were securely sealed within numerous containers. This court order was in response to a writ petition submitted by Lalita Bose, MA Haleem, and Vishwa Bandhu Tiwari in the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court, asserting that, as Bhagwanji might have been Netaji, it was imperative to safeguard his belongings.

This writ petition named the State of Uttar Pradesh, the Chief Minister, the State Home Secretary, and the District Magistrate of Faizabad as opposing parties. The petition emphasised the potential historical significance of the numerous books, literature, and material objects found at Bhagwanji's residence. It underscored the need for a proper inquiry to determine whether the material property, located at Ram Bhawan Faizabad and associated with a saint residing there for an extended period, truly belonged to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.⁸

In 2001, Justice Mukherjee, who inquired into the mysterious disappearance of Subhas Chandra Bose, visited Faizabad to collect the possessions of Bhagwanji. Among the discovered items were several that bore a remarkable resemblance to personal belongings of Netaji, including his gold Omega watch, round-rimmed spectacles, photographs of his parents, personal letters, an umbrella that had once belonged to Netaji's father, and a substantial collection of books and literature.⁹

Bhagwanji's collection encompassed newspapers, magazines, and books covering various topics, including fiction and non-fiction. He demonstrated an open-minded approach to multiple religions and cultures, delving into Sikhism, Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.

His nonfiction collection included significant works that closely mirrored Netaji's political vision. Bhagwanji underlined many of the paragraphs of the rarely available book 'International Military Tribunal for the Far East: Dissident Judgement of Justice Radha Binod Pal', showing his approval of Justice Pal's courageous pro-Japan stand.¹⁰

A set of photographs found at Ram Bhawan included images of Netaji's parents, Leela Roy's shradh ceremony, and notable individuals like Suresh Bose, former West Bengal Chief Minister Prafulla Chandra Sen, and Samar Guha. Moreover, articles and documents relating to the Khosla Commission's proceedings and findings were discovered, alongside the original summons sent by the Khosla Commission to Suresh Chandra Bose, Netaji's brother.

Bhagwanji's belongings included a typewriter, smoking pipe, razor, pencil with a torch, magnifying glass, wristwatches, binoculars, voice records issued by the Netaji Research Bureau, compact cassettes, and much more. These items added depth to the mystery surrounding Bhagwanji's identity and his potential connection to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Bhagwanji's Association with Netaji's Close Companions

Dr. Pabitra Mohan Roy, who had previously collaborated closely with Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, undertook a submarine mission from Burma to India, per Netaji's orders, to prepare for the INA's assault on Kohima. Dr Pabitra's prior association with Netaji left him unwavering in his conviction that Bhagwanji, whom he later met in Neemsar, was the leader he had served.

Suresh Bose, Netaji's elder brother, maintained contact with Bhagwanji. Lalita Bose, Suresh Bose's daughter, recognised the original summons from the Khosla Commission intended for her father. She

also identified her father's handwriting on papers containing statements from crucial witnesses before the Commission.

Leela Roy, a freedom fighter and a close companion of Netaji, initiated contact with Bhagwanji in January 1963. Despite Bhagwanji's initial reluctance to meet her, she became a significant source of support to him until her demise in 1970. Sunil Das, one of Netaji's closest associates, expressed his unwavering belief that Netaji was still alive. He explained his inability to delve into the reasons behind Netaji's absence during his deposition before the Khosla Commission.

Trilokya Nath Chakraborty, the leader of the revolutionary group, the Yugantar Party, had known Subhas Bose since the 1920s and maintained contact with Bhagwanji. Dilip Roy, Subhas Bose's best friend and schoolmate, received a letter from Leela Roy, delivered on Bhagwanji's instructions, confirming that "your friend, he is alive - in India." ¹¹

Analysing the Forensic Evidence

Forensic document expert B.Lal recently examined Bhagwanji's and Netaji's handwriting. He concluded that they are of joint authorship. He stated that Bhagwanji's Bangla and English handwriting matched the admitted handwriting (of Subhas Chandra Bose). B.Lal points to the habit, both of Bhagwanji and Netaji, of using insertion marks to introduce words between sentences, overwriting on letters and underlining and bracketing passages for emphasis, making strokes more prominent and writing letters in a specific combination. The findings of the handwriting analysis say: "As a result of detailed examination and comparison of questioned and admitted writings of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, based on the scientific principles, it is found that there are characteristic similarities in general and individual writing habits, strongly suggesting common authorship of relevant questioned writings and admitted writings (of Subhas Chandra Bose)." ¹²

Regarding the Bangla handwriting, Dr B.Lal Kapoor opines that "Even having time gap, the relevant questioned Bengali writing and relevant Bengali writing are showing characteristic similarities with natural variations and the collective occurrence of such similarities may not be found in the writings of two different persons as a matter of chance." He noted from the questioned document that "the writer has got a habit to write quite small size letters utilising every available space. This is a sort of oddity of the writer and is found in the case of questioned and admitted handwritings." ¹³

While examining the English samples of the questioned documents and admitted handwritings of Subhas Bose, Dr B.Lal Kapoor found fundamental similarities despite the time gap. "Through intense comparison of admitted writing of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose ..it has been shown that he is a skilful writer with more than one variety of letters at his command. Such pattern ..is also found in the relevant questioned English writings and such similarities are quite characteristic and have great identifying value." ¹⁴

B.Lal Kapoor also noticed that the writer of both admitted and questioned writings was in the habit of giving a peculiar sign when insertion of certain words, which, according to him, got a very high identifying value. He also emphasised that a writer can't change his writing habit completely. Even to hide his identity, the writer cannot leave his characteristics and other peculiarities found in his handwriting. There is such a faithful reproduction of some peculiarities that even a gap of time to the extent of decades cannot hide them. Even genuine writing has natural variation since the human hand is not an exact reproducing machine, and it is essential to consider this natural variation for a correct

conclusion regarding the authorship of writing. If natural variations are taken as differences, then there would be errors in the identification.¹⁵

B.Lal's report was supported by 460 large-size photographs accounting for each alphabetical letter appearing in the handwriting samples given to him. His finding was that Bhagwanji's handwriting showed natural variations, which are additional symptoms of genuineness, and there were significant similarities.¹⁶

The findings of Dr.B.Lal Kapoor were further corroborated by the recent findings of Carl Baggett in this regard. Baggett, a leading American handwriting expert, is an authority on document examination with over 40 years of experience and has completed over 5,000 cases. He was given the two sets of letters to analyse without being told the writers' identities.¹⁷ The book, 'Conundrum: Subhas Bose's Life After Death' by Chandrachur Ghose and Anuj Dhar mentions 130 letters written by Gumnami Baba to Pabitra Mohan Roy between 1962 and 1985. Roy had served in the Indian National Army (INA) and was a close associate of Netaji. These documents were accessed by the authors from the Justice Mukherjee Commission through RTI. After examining the letters written by Gumnami Baba to Roy and other revolutionaries and comparing them with letters proven to be Bose's writings, Baggett has concluded that the same person wrote them.

In his report, Baggett describes the methodology he employed for the examination. "The scientific methodology used in this examination consists of 'ACE' method, which means 'Analyse, Compare and Evaluate'. The FBI, US Treasury Department and the US Postal Services reportedly use this reliable method in their questioned document laboratories...In addition, this examiner adds the Peer Review Methodology, which requests a second independent examination by a qualified handwriting expert."¹⁸

Baggett's report says, "The handwriting on the Q(questioned) documents were enlarged and examined scientifically in a side-by-side comparison to the known samples, under a microscope and on a light table. Measurements of letter height, lateral expansion, angles, slant and line quality were examined under a microscope. Significant similarities in the handwriting characteristics displayed in the questioned handwriting were revealed compared to the known handwriting. Compared to the known handwriting, the questioned handwriting displayed similar and regular line quality, flow, size, shape, slants, the position of letters, stops and starts, and end and beginning strokes."¹⁹

In Baggett's opinion, the handwritings of the Anonymous Author/Person do not display many distinguishable differences from the known handwritings of the Anonymous Author/Person. Normal variations exist in all handwriting; none of the Anonymous Authors/Person has unexplainable significant differences. I find all handwriting on the Questioned documents matches the handwriting of the known records. His report concluded, "Based on a significant number of similarities of identifiable handwriting characteristics among the questioned handwriting, it is my professional expert opinion that the same person authored the handwritings of the Anonymous Author/Person on the Q documents."²⁰

Conclusion

In 1999, the Indian government established the Justice Mukherjee Commission of Inquiry to investigate the alleged death of Subhas Chandra Bose in a plane crash that occurred in Taipei on August 18, 1945. The Mukherjee Commission, after a thorough examination, could not find direct evidence to support the theory of Bose's reported death in the plane crash. Consequently, it rejected the plane crash theory, highlighting that the false news of Bose's demise had been disseminated to facilitate his passage to Soviet

Russia. Whether Netaji subsequently arrived in Russia or another location remains unanswered due to the lack of conclusive evidence.

The commission also looked into the theory concerning the holy man from Faizabad, commonly known as Bhagwanji or Gumnamī Baba, concluding that there was insufficient compelling evidence to suggest that he was, in fact, Netaji in disguise. Government reports on handwriting tests and DNA examinations of teeth found at Bhagwanji's residence yielded negative results, failing to substantiate the theory that the holy man in Faizabad was indeed Netaji in disguise. However, privately conducted handwriting tests in India and abroad by the authors of the book "Conundrum" yielded positive results in favour of the Bhagwanji theory. Although the Government of India rejected the report, the commission's findings shed new light on the mystery surrounding Netaji's disappearance.

The Bhagwanji angle of the Netaji mystery gained further prominence after an off-the-record comment made by Justice Mukherjee to an independent filmmaker became public in 2010. He firmly believed that Gumnamī Baba was, without a doubt, Subhas Bose.

In 2013, the Allahabad High Court carefully reviewed the entire matter. It acknowledged that substantial oral and documentary evidence *prima facie* warranted a scientific investigation into the identity of the late Gumnamī Baba.

These developments, including the disclosure by the former Supreme Court judge who investigated Netaji's mysterious disappearance for six years, raised suspicions that the Bhagwanji in Faizabad was, in fact, Netaji in disguise. Moreover, the positive results of handwriting tests conducted by India's leading handwriting expert, B. Lal and the prominent American expert, Caul Baggett, lent further credibility to this version. The handwriting of Bhagwanji, both in English and Bengali, closely matched those of Bose, providing the only direct and legally admissible evidence that Netaji was alive after 1945, possibly up to 1985.

The accounts of eyewitnesses and Bhagwanji's personal belongings, which included numerous books, letters, and photographs of Bose's family, added substantial weight to the Bhagwanji angle. Additionally, the letters from notable individuals like Prafulla Ghosh (the first Chief Minister of West Bengal), Leela Roy (a revolutionary and close associate of Bose), Pabitra Mohan Roy (former Intelligence Officer of the INA), and others underscored the need for a more comprehensive investigation into the Bhagwanji angle to uncover the truth.

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HEALTH AWARENESS PROGRAMMES: THE MADURAI CORPORATION MODEL

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Introduction

In India, public health has been given importance since independence. A separate ministry was established in 1950. The Ministry of Health and Family Welfare caters to the public's health needs. The National Institute of Health and Family Welfare acts as the nodal agency for coordinating various training programmes, including national-level medical campaigns. It has developed a separate module for every healthcare activity to cater to Public Health. The medical officers of Madurai Corporation also trained through these modules. The modules also help the medical officers to supervise different categories of health workers. These modules also serve as training resource material as well as a ready reference for medical officers of the Public Health Service and rural and urban medical officers.

Public Health

The term "Public Health" came into general use around 1840 AD. It arose from the need to protect "The Public" from the spread of communicable diseases. Later, it appeared in 1848 AD in the name of a law in England; the Public Health Act was passed in England to Crystallize the efforts organised by society to protect, promote and restore the people's health. In other words, Public health is community health. The approach to medicine that is concerned with the health of the community as a whole is Public Health.

It has been said that: "Health care is vital to all of us some of the time, but public health is vital to all of us all of the time." Whereas in developing countries, public health has not made much headway in terms of sanitary reforms and control of communicable diseases, it has made tremendous strides in industrialised Western nations, resulting in longer expectations of life and a significant decline in death rates

Health Department of Madurai Corporation

The Madurai Corporation has seven departments: Town planning, Education, Engineering, Revenue, Accounts, Public relations and Public Health. The Public Health department plays a vital role in creating a hygienic and safe environment and improving Public Health. It has a trained medical officer as chief and assistant Chief of the Department. The public health department of Madurai Corporation is well-established and also known for its public services. It established the first maternity home in 1873. It was established as a hospital under the Madurai municipality at Thirumalai Nayak Palace. During the British period, this hospital provided better health care to the public. From 1928, Onwards Madurai Municipality actively participated in the Freedom movement and social activities. Besides its services, it is renowned among the public. It caters to health service activities such as prenatal care for married women, health care guidance, and treatment for the general public.

The public health department of Madurai Corporation is responsible for all medical services, health-related works, and campaigns, and it has earned renowned popularity. It plays a vital role in creating a hygienic and safe environment and improving public health. Health care Guidance and treatment,

immunisation, awareness campaigns, and preventive programmes are also periodically provided to the public.

Functions: Out Patient Treatment

Seventeen dispensaries, 17 urban Health posts and 16 maternity Homes or centres are functioning. Every year, about 4,50,000 patients, 4,03,00 patients, and 3,331,000 patients are treated in dispensaries, urban health posts, and maternity homes. The number of patients floating in these homes is rising every year.

Natal Care Services in Maternity Homes

About 4950 cases are admitted annually for delivery conduction in the corporation Maternity Homes. An average of 380 deliveries have been conducted every month. Madurai medical team from the corporation is rendering valuable services in this regard. The maternity homes of Madurai Corporation also have scanning facilities. Ultra Sound Scan facilities have been established in three Maternity homes, namely "Muthu Saratha Centre, Sellur Maternity Home and EOC. Every year, about 15300 antenatal mothers are examined, and monthly, 1270 cases are being examined through these Corporation Centres.

Family Welfare Programme

The growing population of India is a great challenge to the economic as well as social growth. Hence the Government of India took many initiatives to control the population. Birth control at the rural level is to be achieved through local administrative bodies like corporations.

In Madurai Corporation, Family welfare operations are carried out in two maternity homes. The medical officers are given targets for family planning. If they cannot reach their target, they even go to society to achieve it. For this type of work, the medical officers, along with their nursing assistants, go to the streets and do what is necessary for the public. Corporation maternity homes, namely Rayalulyer Maternity Home and Pudur. Every year, about 800 sterilisation operations are done in the Corporation Centres.

Immunisation Performance

There are plenty of immunisation programmes announced by the central government. Among them, Under the mother and child care programme, every year 25,000. Ante Natal mothers and 22,500 children under one year are immunised. In Madurai Corporation. Twenty-two thousand eight hundred children are vaccinated by D.T. and T.T. Every medical officer is instructed to carry out their target in this regard. The medical officers, staff nurses, and sanitary workers take minute care on the immunisation table, which is provided to the patients. If the patient is not coming to the hospital, the staff nurses go to the house.² Pulse Polio immunisation is essential at the national level. The corporation achieved nearly 95%-100 % every year in their target.

Awareness Programmes

The corporation's medical team organised mass campaigns to provide community medicine. They also do sanitation work. The health workers are given a targeted package of services. The health department sponsors the expenses of these campaigns. Hence, the corporation provides good quality medical care and educates the community towards better public health care. The officials implemented smallpox (variola), Cholera, Dengue, Chikungunya, malaria and Chicken pox awareness campaigns and

eradication schemes. During the smallpox post-eradication era, the diagnosis of chickenpox is of great importance because it resembles mild smallpox. Laboratory diagnosis is rarely required as clinical signs are usually cleared out. The most rapid and sensitive means of diagnosis is examining vesicle fluid under the electronic microscope, which shows round particles and may be used to cultivate the virus. Madurai Corporation officials took many measures to control the spread of smallpox. For that, it implemented many sanitation measures.

The intense campaigns against dengue are conducted with sanitary workers, who instruct the public about hygiene and sanitation facilities. Every morning, corporation sanitary workers visited every house in a particular locality, creating awareness of dengue. The Medical team of Madurai Corporation organises constant and continuous campaigns to identify community diseases in their location. To reduce the mortality rate, they have gone through the streets of all the wards and submitted the report to the commissioner in the evening.

Intergraded Counseling and Testing Centers

Five ICTC centres are functioning in the Corporation. These centres guide the patients and appropriately counsel them. AIDS and other related counselling are done here. It addresses reproductive and child health problems such as prevention and management of complications of abortion, Reproductive Tract Infection (RTI), Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD), Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), and Adolescent health. It is an integrated and intersectoral programme with a Bottom-up approach. The focus is on the family and the community, and the emphasis is on the quality of service.

Facilitative Supervision and Management

Health workers function best in a work-supportive environment with facilitative management and supervision that motivates staff, enables them to perform their tasks well, and meets the needs of external clients.

Information, Training and development

For a facility to provide quality health services, staff must process and continuously acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to provide the best reproductive and overall services possible.

Primary Health Care

The concept of primary health care came into line – light in 1978 following an international conference in Alma-Ala, USSR. Essential health care based on practical, scientifically sound and socially acceptable methods and technology made universally accessible to individuals and families in the community through their active participation and at a cost that the community and the country can afford to maintain at every stage of their development in the spirit of self – determination. The primary healthcare approach is based on principles of social equity, nationwide coverage, self-reliance, intersect oral coordination, and people's involvement in the planning and implementation of health programs in pursuit of common health goals.

Community Medicine

The term “Community Medicine” is new. It is the successor of what was previously known as public health, preventive medicine, and social medicine. Community medicine is a recent introduction, and it has borrowed heavily from the concepts, approaches, and methods of public health, preventive medicine,

and social medicine. The Government of India has now introduced community medicine through its local body medical needs.

Importance of Community Need Assessment

Through the community need assessment approach, Medical officer can provide services to the community based on their actual needs, as these will be assessed systematically. Therefore, the services would help Medical officers in setting priorities, identifying the target as well as high-risk groups, leading to realistic estimation of services and matching of resources needed for the same, developing realistic action plans and work plans for the functionaries and service providers that would be relevant to local situations. The medical officers can use this approach for the distribution of family planning contraceptives such as oral pills and condoms, provide sexual and gender education and counselling and create awareness concerning family planning and child care, the Importance of breastfeeding and nutrition etc.,

In community health, epidemiological skills are needed to examine the whole population and select the most suitable diagnostic indicators to describe and explain health problems. The medical officer has, in fact, been making a community diagnosis to decide which strategy would be more effective in raising the population's health status.

District-level surveys are undertaken through non-governmental agencies appointed by the government on an annual basis. The medical officers survey issues related to pregnant women, Family planning, Unmet needs, Maternal Mortality and related matters, Knowledge of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome, and Human Immunodeficiency Virus.

Counselling

Counselling enables the client and patient to express their feelings and create a physical and psychological environment in which the client feels confident enough to make his own decisions. The work of a counsellor may appear easy and straightforward to master. In reality, it is a job that requires extra effort, such as Managing, Concentrating, Energy, and Patience. The medical officer possesses such knowledge and professional knowledge of medicine according to the socio-cultural milieu of the Block and the District.

Conclusion

Public health is so crucial for improving a community. The health department of Madurai Corporation provides community medicine, diagnoses communicable diseases, and includes sanitation facilities to the public. The hospital's medical officers treat individual patients one-on-one for a specific disease or injury. Public health professionals monitor and diagnose the health concerns of entire communities and promote healthy practices and behaviours to ensure our populations stay healthy.

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TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN KOZHIKODE AND CHINA, 1200-1500 AD

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Kozhikode was the most important port in South West India during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its rulers, the Zamorins, maintained a vast network of trading relations extending from the coast of East Africa to the Indian Ocean archipelago and the Far East. This is abundantly documented in the accounts of foreign travellers. Practically, all of them passed through the Malabar ports on the lengthy west-to-eastern and back voyages¹. Scholars have conducted several studies on the history of trade and commerce in Malabar. Very few studies have been undertaken by scholars on Chinese contact with Calicut. This paper tries to analyse the trade relationship between Calicut and China. A silk street in Calicut reminds us of the trade relations between Calicut and China. Chinese porcelain and pottery also testify to the maritime contacts between China and Calicut.

Geographers and historians first began to pay attention to this foremost of all pepper ports in the fourteenth century. The accounts of foreign travellers in South India reveal an oceanic trade system extending from the Red Sea to the China Sea, which was linked with the eastern Mediterranean. The centres of the Oceanic system were Venice, Alexandria, Hormuz, Aden, Cambay, Quilon, Calicut, Malacca, Canton, etc...Brief paragraphs on Calicut may thus be found in the Tao-i-Chih-lueh and the I-yut'u-chih. With Wang Ta-yuan's Tao-i-chih-lueh, there also emerged the Chinese tradition of explicitly designating Calicut as the most important harbour in the western ocean' or as the meeting point of all foreign merchants in the medieval world. The economic life of Calicut during the period depended on its commercial contacts with foreign countries, especially the Arabs and Chinese. During this period, Calicut developed into a major seaport where the Arabs and Chinese met to exchange the products of the West with those of the East.²

Trade relations between China and India are generally traced back to the last centuries BC. Chinese navigational works of the Ming period underline Calicut's function as a leading entrepot in the area. These works may also prove that Chinese sailors were well acquainted with the Malabar coast and that merchants frequently travelled to southern India. This early trade, mainly in raw silk, silk thread and silk fabrics, took a land route from the Chinese and Central Asian regions to the eastern part of the Roman Empire. By the middle of the first century AD, a part of the Chinese silk was going to the outside world via India. In the early centuries of the Christian era, one of the deviations of this trans-Asian silk route entered India through Bactria and branched off in two directions. From the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, we know that one of them came up to Barygaza(modern Broach) on the west coast while the other ran up to the coromandel regions on the Eastern Coast. Scholars have observed that by the middle of the first century AD, part of the Chinese silk was going to the outside world through India. China received several articles from the mid-millennium AD, a long list of articles brought to China by Persians. This list included black pepper also. The classical accounts refer to these parts of India, which adjoin the Malabar coast as the pepper country.

In Calicut, a Silk Street reminds us of the ancient maritime spice route between the second century BC and 15th century AD, connecting traders from India to China, Southeast Asia, Arabian peninsular, Somalia, Egypt and Europe. Arabs got goods from the West to exchange with the Chinese

and brought wares from the Far East. For four centuries, between 1125 (the decline of the Perumals) and 1498 (the arrival of Europeans in Kerala), Kozhikode flourished as a major seaport for trade. Chinese trade started with both coromondal (chola) Nagapattanam and Malabar ports during the Sung dynasty between 967 and 1279 A.D.

According to several scholars, Calicut was a famous centre of Chinese trade. Marcopolo, in 1292, records that the Chinese dominated trade in Malabar. At the port of Zaitun, Marcopolo saw many ships (Chinese ships for Indian trade). These ships traded with Malabar, especially with Calicut, with crews of 200 -300 each. These ships carried to home with 5000-6000 baskets of pepper³. Along with pepper, the Chinese had collected ginger, indigo, turmeric, etc.... from Quilon. These Chinese ships exchanged silk, gold, silver, copper, porcelain, cloves, etc...at Calicut. Chinese scholars think that in the 12th century, the Chinese knew Calicut. The Lingdaida clarifies that the Chinese had Calicut as Nambiraj. It could be from Calicut that Arabian traders like Haji of Siyang imported pepper into China during this period⁴. Chou-ju-kua, the Chinese inspector of foreign trade, compiled his work Chu -fan-chi about 1225. It contains valuable information about Chinese contact with Ceylon and the coast of Malabar⁵

Mahuan was a Chinese traveller, visited Calicut seven times as part of the imperial Chinese fleet under the leadership of Chengho, gives the details regarding the various aspects of trade at Calicut. Calicut he described as a great emporium of trade frequented by merchants from all the quarters⁶. He provides us with interesting ethnographic details of the people of those places. Effective measures were taken for the safety of the merchandise of foreigners. Facilities for storage, safe keeping, checking the qualities of goods, weighing, price making etc...were provided by the regional authorities. Due to the direct involvement of administration safety for the traders are looked after by them. The prices of goods were clearly fixed, it is clear from the statement of Mahuan. When a ship arrived from China, the king's overseer with a chitti went on board and a day was settled for valuing the goods. The price fixed never be changed. The price to be paid for pearls and precious stones were arranged by weinaki broker⁷. Chinese records give an account of the currency system in Calicut. Coins were made mainly of silver and gold. In Calicut, gold coins of panam and silver coin of taram were in circulation. King tried to use 60% purity of gold to mint coins. The coin had a diameter of 1.17 cm and a weight of 37 gms. The historians are of the opinion that this coin had the same weight and size as that of the coins of South India. Between 1403-1433 the Chinese representatives made several visits to Calicut (quli). Early in the fifteenth century Chengho the great navigator started a series of expeditions to the countries of the south sea and to India, Persia, Arabia and as far as East African coast. Chengho's first expedition reached Calicut in 1407. second quilon, kochi and Calicut in 1409. In 1431-33 Chengho again visited Ceylon and Calicut. During these expeditions China traded porcelain wares, textiles, metal vessels, perfumes, spices, medicinal herbs, pearls, coral and gems. Silk fabrics and some precious stones were presented to envoys when they visited their country⁸. A series of tribute delegations were despatched by the Zamorins to the imperial capital of Nanking and Peking and representatives of Calicut reached China in the years between 1403-1433.

Fei-Hsin has recorded that the market was on the seashore at Calicut. He refers to the pepper godown of Calicut. He also speaks of horses imported from the West worth hundreds of gold coins. According to him, the goods transacted by the Chinese at Calicut were gold, silver, coloured satin, blue and white coloured satin, blue and white porcelain, beads, quicksilver, and camphor⁹. He added that Zamorin (king) took adequate measures to safeguard the safety of foreigners' merchandise. Zamorin's agents directly supervise and arrange storage facilities, test the quality of goods, weigh the items, and fix prices. Due to

the direct involvement of the king through his officers, the trade at Calicut can be described as administrative trade.

Abdur Razzak, the Persian Islamic scholar, visited Calicut in 1443. He described Calicut: "In this city, wealthy merchants who sail the seas bring many goods from Daryabar. They unload them from the ships and store them in lanes and the bazaar as long as they wish without having to worry about guarding them."¹⁰ He gave ample testimony to the freedom and security traders had at Calicut. Calicut says Abdul Razzak is a perfectly secure harbour which, like that of the Ormuz, brings together merchants from every city and every country¹¹. Ibn Batuta, a famous Moroccan traveller, visited Calicut six times. During his visit, he gives an eyewitness account of the trade in Calicut. He describes Calicut as the most significant port in the Malabar. Merchants from all over the world are found here. He equates Quilon and Calicut with Alexandria. It was one of the most bustling ports with traders from Phoenicia, Arabia, China, Rome and Greece: this city became a regular halt. He refers to the brisk Chinese trade at Calicut¹². In Calicut, he saw three types of Chinese vessels. Batuta provides information that the Chinese Sea was navigated by Chinese ships only. The biggest they had from 3-12 sails made of stripes of bamboo woven like mats. Each of them had a crew of 1000 men, 600 of whom were sailors and 400 were soldiers¹³. Wangta-Yuan gave information about the pepper trade in Calicut in his work Tao-i-Chih¹⁴.

Trade in Calicut during the period under discussion was not confined to luxury items; instead, it centred around various articles and embraced the entire region from China to the Mediterranean. The trade and commerce of Medieval Calicut consisted of commodities ranging from necessities to luxury items. Commercial relations between South Asia and East Asia, China and Calicut in particular, had become very close due to the advent of the great maritime expedition under Chengho. There is disagreement among scholars about whether Chengho returned with the fleet or whether he died in Calicut or some other place during this voyage. According to some recent studies by Cheng I-Chun and Chuang Wei-chi, he passed away in Calicut during the return passage. A burial may have taken place in Semarang¹⁵. Although there is some textual evidence for this theory, we still lack definite proof. These connections between Calicut and China helped develop and understand their trade and cultural contacts. These Chinese admiral's visit to Calicut was a testament to the close relations the ports of Malabar on India's west coast had with China for centuries. The decline of the Chinese trade in Calicut started when the Bahrami traders took an upper edge at Calicut.

Even today, there exists reminiscence of Chinese influence in Calicut in particular, such as Cheenapattu (Chinese silk), Cheena chatty (Chinese pans), Cheena Bharani (Chinese jars), CheenamPally- A mosque in Panthalayani, Cheena Vala (Chinese net). Ceramic Shreds dugout during excavation point to a Chinese settlement at Pantalayani Kollam, and according to Dr Raghava Varier, this medieval port was the repair centre for Chinese ships. Chinese lived around what is known as Silk Street nowadays, close to the fortified factory- the Chinnakotta¹⁶. The Portuguese, Dutch, and English later occupied this area. The elements of Chinese influence in Calicut are clear evidence of trade between Calicut and China.

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 16. Garcia Da Orta writes in the middle of the sixteenth century A.D that the Cinakotta at Calicut was still standing there. *Colloquies on Simples and Drugs of India* , Delhi 1979 (londo 19130, p.122) The work was first published at Goa by Johannes de Endem on april 10, 1563

ISAI VELLALAR: HISTORISATION OF THE FORMATION OF A NEW CASTE IDENTITY IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

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The early Tamil literature distinguish two types of possible predecessors to the temple servants. The first type was the *atumakal*, *kontimakalir* and *muthuvay pendir* and the second type was the early bards namely *pannar*, *porunar*, *paricilar*, *virali*, *patina*, *kuttar* and so on, who represented most likely antecedents of the later temple women. Among them, *kuttar* and *viraliar* are open castes and *pannar* and *porunar* are reserved castes.¹ In modern Tamil term “*kutti*” came to mean “prostitute” as well as “dancer”.² In any case, the “bards” and “minstrels” of the early *Sangam* age, gender terms were not commonly referred as *kuttar* or *kuttikal*. However, the masculine forms *kuttan* and *kuttar* are exercised in the *Silappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* refers as the art of dance. The masculine *kuttar* and feminine *kuttikal* are clearly referring to dancers or singers.³

In the *Bakthi* literatures and devotional poems of the *Alvars* and *Nayanmars* (6th to 9th century), *kuttu* was often refers to the dance of a god especially Lord Siva. Who frequently named as *kuttan*. Other literary works refers *kuttar* are the caste of *vellala jati*, those who are fit for the job of dancing and who performs *bharati vrtti*, *vilakkiyarkuttu*, *kanakakkuttu*, *kalyanikuttu*.⁴ (In the colonial period *vellala* stands for a number of suffixes like *Mudaliars*, *Pillai*, *Pandaram* and many).⁵

Later Chola's temple servants were predominantly dedicated from the *Valangai* (right-hand) *Vellalars* and the *Idangai* (left-hand) *Kaikolars* caste groups, known as *Valangai dasi* and *Idangai dasi* a sacrifice to the god of one's own blood. This emblematic value of the tradition was a rival between *Velalars* and *Kaikolars* to create an alliance between each temple servants and the temple, which in turn reflected honor upon the family and caste.⁶ Basically the caste status was marked during temple festivals by symbolic acts of rituals. Therefore, the two sections were separated by caste identities, *nadus* (territories), and statuses were marked by their temple worship. Temples, rituals and *nadus* were the institutions in which right-hand and left-hand distinctions were utilized and given expression.⁷

The later inscriptions have found ample of references to *nattuvar* or *nattuvan*. Although we have only few references in the inscription explicitly mentions the *nattuvanar*'s connection with dance.⁸ In the majority of inscriptions, *nattuvar* are mentioned in the same context as *devadasis*, as receiving support from or acting as functionaries in the temple, but in no case is any special association between *nattuvar* and *devadasi* indicated, unless we consider importance the fact that, in the lists of temple servants, *nattuvar* and *devadasis* are frequently in close propinquity. Although it is possible that *nattuvar* in some cases acted as teachers to *devadasis* (in colonial period), it seems likely that *nattuvar* received support from the temple not so greatly for training *devadasis* as dancers, as for providing music. There are inscriptions mentions of *nattuvar* as being associated with drumming or the playing of wind instruments (*Nagaswarm*).⁹

Significantly we uncover inscriptional reference of the male temple servants named as *uvaccar* or *Oduvar*, *Oduvars* who sing *Tevaram* (hymns to the god) in the temples.¹⁰ The *uvaccar* or *Oduhuvar*

are very much evidence in Chola period inscriptions; for the most part they are described as drummers.¹¹ However there is no indications that *uvaccar* were linked professionally to temple women. There does seem to be a connection between *uvaccar* and *Nattuvan* (dance teachers). An eleventh-century inscription records that a *nattuvan* was assigned an *uvacca-kani*, and a thirteenth-century inscription describes a *nattuvan* as the head of a group of *uvaccar*. Some of the inscriptions give us a clue as to how the *uvaccar* a group that seemed essential to the ritual of the *Saiva* temples and were transformed into the *uvaccar*, the priests of local temples. The *uvaccar* may have been displaced from their ritual roles in the temples by *nattuvan*.¹² Correspondingly in the colonial reports, the *uvaccar* or *Odhuvar* referred as *Pandaram* " who was the non-Brahmin Temple priests and dance teachers to *Devadasis*, and are sometimes called *Nattuvan*¹³.

The Colonial days *Pandarams* are referred as the name of a caste, and of a class composed of recruits from various castes (e.g., *Vellala* and *Pillai*). The *Pandaram* caste is composed of people who are *Sanyasis* and priests of *Saiva mattams*, the administrators of the temples of Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevely, mainly those at Tiruvadudurai in Tanjore and Mailam in South Arcot. The caste *Pandarams* are staunch *Saivites*. They are said to have been originally *Sozhia Vellalas*, with whom today's *Isai Vellalar* intermarriages takes place. Even the *Pandarams* have two caste title divisions, called *Abhisheka* and *Desikar*, the latter title was often taken as respect among Tamil musicians e.g., *Muttuswamy Desikar* (one of the Tiruvarur Trinity).¹⁴

In terms of the relationships between temple women and *Kaikkolar*, the later Chola inscriptions refer that *Kaikkolar* women of northern Tamil region frequently became the temple women. The most interesting of these references are those that mention a woman named Aramutaiyal, the mother of a man who made donations both to the temple at Tiruvannamalai in North Arcot district and to the temple at Tiruvennainallur in South Arcot district. In the record from Tiruvannamalai, dated A.D. 1237, Aramutaiyal is described as one of the *Kaikkolar* community and she is said to be the *tevaratiyar* of the temple of the Lord of Tiruvennainallur.¹⁵

As for the other inscription report that son of one of the twenty-four *Tevaratiyar* of Tiruvannamalai made a number of gifts to the temple where his mother served, including undertaking to erect a shrine dedicated to the god *Pillaiyar* for the *Kaikkolar* to worship in endowed— Tiruvannamalai—here too there seems to have been an association between *Kaikkolar* and temple women. Although the kinship connection seems less explicit than was the case at Tiruvennainallur, there is the suggestion in a thirteenth century inscription from Tiruvannamalai of a family link between *Kaikkolar* and temple women.¹⁶

The complexity of the relationship of donor families and castes to the temple women and the persons they served is apparent. As wife givers and givers of service¹⁷ (though the *devadasi* women), the *Kaikkolars* ranked transactional as subordinates to the kingly god and the temple court. However, the symbolic marriage alliance underscored their devotion and special status next to God (as affinal kin). It seems, then, that in some temple towns in northern Tamil Nadu we see, at the end of the Chola period, the beginnings of an association between temple women and *Kaikkolar*. The small amount of evidence that we have for this emerging association suggests that it involves *Kaikkolar* women becoming temple women.¹⁸

The decline of the Cholas in the thirteenth century led to the decline of the great trade organizations and to the weakening of the military and political power of trading traders. Nuclear agrarian centers surrounded

by intimidating; tribal-occupied lands were replaced in the following later medieval period by military field. However, we locate the prolongation of the battle between Right and Life hands caste group dedication of their community women to temples as servants for the authorization over temples administration and political power in the subsequent periods till its decline in the colonial period.¹⁹

Although *dasis* were dedicated by *kaikkolars*, in their sons lacked clear membership in the *kaikkolars* caste because they were the offspring of mixed unions. *Kaikkolar* complained about the *Melakkaran* lineage (the male members of the *Devadasis*). Today the *kaikkolars* refuse to accept *melakkaran* as their caste groups, but *Melakkarans* say that they are *kaikkolars*. One of the purposes of the first district wide meeting of the *kaikkolars* caste *Sangam* entitled “the *Senguntha Mahajana Sangam* “in 1927 was to separate the *kaikkolars* as true *Sengunthars* from the *Melakkarans*, nonetheless, despite efforts to keep the two groups separate, there is little that behaviorally distinguished the two communities, and intermarriages do occur.²⁰

The *Sangam* was formed in part, therefore, to define who was a *Sengunthar* and who was not, and to deny that status to the *Melakkarars*. *Kaikkolars* dedicated girls as *devadasis*, but the *davedasis* ~~devad~~ the *Melakkarars*, were of mixed ancestry, the offspring of unwedded unions. *Kaikkolars*, therefore, opposed *Melakkarars* did not share the same ancestry. Second, they were of inferior status because of their licentious origins, and were consequently unsuitable for intermarriage even if they were of the same caste.

There are reasons for the delayed of forming the community association. Firstly, the caste was still commonly engaged in dance and music was awfully poor and degraded as a result of the Anti- *Nautch* movement. Secondly, the new forms of decorum relied upon the enforcement of conservative, patrilineal attitudes toward women that were traditionally held by men in the community—such as *Periya Melam* group (*nagasvaram* and *tavil* players) who were *not* associated with the quasi-multifocal lineage of *devadasis* and *Chinna Melam* (*devadasis* and *Nattuvanar* group), took place frequently whereas their own women were rarely given with in this group.²¹ The status of men who were associated with the *Cinna Melam* practices was contentious as often a source of embarrassment. Though among *Periya melam* the potential dominance of women as artists was kept under control through the structures of patriarchal, this was not the case for men within *devadasi* lineage who were usually economically dependent on their mothers and sisters. According to Srinivasan, men who lived or worked as part of the *devadasi* community perpetually felt a deep "need to develop a 'closed' patrilineal tradition for themselves within the *chinnamelam*, independent of their illustrious womenfolk".²² These tensions are clearly dramatized in the course of the anti-*nautch* debates. As result the men of this community who fight proactively for abolition and the complete restoration of patriliney in *devadasi* communities. Thus, the abolition process and its ultimatum to former dancing-girls separated them from the mainstream of the normal social milieu.

The above-mentioned historical factors were directly and/or indirectly influence the temple servants to shape their identity consciousness. There were three vital factors which perhaps forced this community member to approach together and generate a particular caste identity called “*Isai Vellala*”.

The Census: From “Devadasi And Melakkaran” To “Isai Vellalar”

The colonial administration also homogenized diverse groups of *devadasis* into one group: temple prostitutes. This reductive approach towards *devadasis*' multiple identities discussed above to only

prostitutes enabled the state to misrepresent and marginalize *devadasis*.²³ What underpins the colonial narratives are the understanding that the temple was sacred because it was a religious space whilst the profanity of prostitution was defiling such a space. *Devadasis* embodied such a profanity. In fact, the colonial representations of *devadasis* in photographs often placed them outside temples as if removed from sacred spaces. That the brothels operated to cater to the military personnel under the surveillance of the colonial government is noteworthy. Also, noteworthy is the hypocritical outrage of the colonial government against prostitution and their inability to understand the *devadasi* tradition.

The colonial government's arbitrary understandings and assumptions about 'what does and does not count as religion and certain types of practices and institutions (are) condemned, while others are ignored' enabled the colonial government to legally push *devadasis* gradually to the fringes of the society.²⁴

The hierarchy of the caste status was recorded dutifully in the government census each caste being listed, with the traditional occupation, in an order which reflected the ranking in the Hindu hierarchy of ritual purity. We have come across plenty of information on *devadasi* and *melakkarar* in the census as well as in the missionary writings. However, the colonial Census reports show, the gradual disappearance of the "*melakkarar*" and "*dasi*" categories from official census statistics in the twentieth-century points to "the first stage of their absorption into broader political communities organised around new, shared identities of non-Brahmin, Backward, or Dravidian status".²⁵

Here the details of the gradual disappearance of the caste details.

Table 1 Caste, Tribes, and Races²⁶

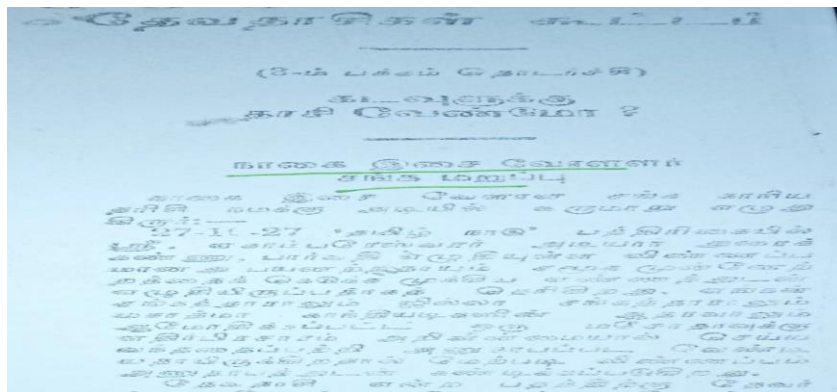
S.No	Designation	Number of persons comprised in each minor caste group of minor castes	Religion or Creed	Language Spoken
1	Kusavar (Potter)	11, 558	<i>Caivaism</i>	Tamil
2	Yeghali or Vannar (Washermen)	14, 362	-do-	-do-
3	Ambattar or Navidar (Barbers)	21, 667	-do-	-do-
4	The class of <i>Tevadiyalor Dasi (Dancing women)</i> including male actors and musicians. 1. <i>Dasi or dancing</i> women Nattuvanar or male actors and musicians	619 2,427	Partly Caiva and Partly Vaishnava	Tamil

Between 1901 and 1911, we could see the total desertion of both *Dasi* and *Melakkaran* caste details in the colonial census report. Since then, we have gotten the details of *Dasi* and *Melakkaran* from the community reports in the name of “*Isai Vellalar*” and their *Sangam* official magazines only.²⁷

Table 2 Caste, Tribes, and Races in 1901²⁸ and 1911²⁹

S.No	Caste, tribe or race 1901	Strength	Caste, tribe or race 1911	Strength
11	Karaiyan	8,737	Malaiman	7, 158
11	Karaiyan	8,737	Malaiman	7, 158
12	Sundarman	8,556	Muttiriyar	6,143
13	Pandaram	5,388	Maravan	4,718
14	Melakkaran	4,821	Nattaman	22, 409
15	Ambalakaran	4,525	Pallan	159, 658
16	Vallamban	3,304	Palli	257, 235
17	Kuttadi	1,187	Pandaram	7, 838
18	Dasi	867	Sombadavan	9, 088
19	Koliyan	588	Shanan	9, 331
20	Vedan	527	Vellala	223, 278

We don't find any official records of *Isai Vellalar* until 1951 census report. But we get general trace the use of the term *Isia Vellalar* in documents dated to the 1920s, and letters of support for legislative council bills (Anti-*Natuch* and Anti- Dedication) in the late 1920s. the letter heads often bearing variation on the name “*Isai Vellalar Sangam*” and “*Isai Vellalar Community*” members.



The late 1927s newspaper bearing “*Nagai Isai Vellalar Sangam*” against the Temple Dedication and newspapers clip of support for legislation bills³⁰

Census of India 1951: Glossary of Caste Names in Tamil Nadu³¹

S.No	Madras Caste Names Report	Tanjore District Caste Names Report	Trichirapalli District Caste Names Report
1	Irulan Vettaikkaran	Idaiyar	Indira Kulam
2	Irula Poosali	Ilamugar	Indirakula Vinnar
3	Irular	Indian Chirusthavan	Inji Kuravan
4	Irula Vannia Poosali	Indirakula Kallar	Iragu Naickar
5	Irula Vedar	Isai Vellalar	Irukudi Vellalan
6	Irumbu Asari	Islam	Irulan Vettaikkaran
7	Irumbukkollar	Izauvar	Irular
8	Isai Appar	Jadhi Pillai	Iruli Thomban
9	Isai Velalar	Jainar	Isai Vellalar

The first commission (1971) concentrated in Thanjore estimated their population in between one lakh to one and half lakhs, the second commission (1985) gave a much lower estimate of the population of *Isai Vellalar* as 58,327.³²

The abandoned of *Melakkaran* from *Kaikkolar* caste and their early association with Right hand *Vellala* might motivated them to claim their caste title with *Vellalar* group. Significantly the caste title was officially adopted by the caste association the *Isai Vellala Sangam* at a conference in Kumbakonam in 1948 only.³³ Though we find other modern version of the term *isai-karar* or *isai-panar* which referred to the early bards who performed this music in ancient times was also used in the reports.³⁴ Styled "*isai vellalars*," they now claimed the caste status of *vellalar* or *velalars*, and participated in a radical regional politics that permanently transformed the public sphere in Tamil Nadu.³⁵

Conclusion

The twentieth century political development, caste was seen by the British as merely extensive basis for political organization other than political parties. The loss of ritual rights from temples, conception of degraded status in the society and finally the abandoned of *Melakkaran* community by *Kaikkolar* caste created a separate identity consciousness between the temple servants to claim their traditional position in society in the mid twentieth century. the British saw caste as a natural framework for representing the shared special interests of its members, and *Isai Vellalar Sangam* leaders responded to this perception. It is not surprising, given British propensities to acknowledge caste interests, that the *Isai Vellalar* later formed their own caste *Sangaam*. *Isai Vellalar* did so partly in the hope of being better able to represent their special concessions had been sought and obtained by other castes. One of the primary concerns of the *Isai Vellalar Munnatra Sangam* was to disassociate them self-form *Kaikkolar* or *Sangunthars* and to seek recognition of their new community identity status.

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DIFFERENT NAMES IN KERALA KNOW DEVADASIS: EXPLORING THE TERM OF *THEVIDICHI* AND *KOOTHICHI*

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Introduction

In Medieval Period Society, There Were Some Practices Related To Women, And Among Them, The Devadasi System Deserves Special Mention. Devadasi System Flourished In South India As Well. Dance And Dancers Gained Prominence In The *Pooja* Cult, Which Flourished With The Temple-Centered Religious Lifeⁱ. Devadasis System Was Prevalent In The South Indian States Of Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Andra Pradesh And Kerala. Devadasis Were An Integral Part Of South Indian Temples.

Devadasi System in South India

The Term Devadasis Is A Sanskrit Word in Karnataka. ***Yellammapuram*** In Karnataka Was Famous For Devadasisⁱⁱ. Devadasis In Andra Pradesh Is Called Joginis Or Mathammas, Mathangi/ Murali In Maharashtra, Devaradiar Or Dasis In Tamil Nadu And The Devadasis Attached To The Temples In Travancore Were Popularly Known As ***Kudikars***ⁱⁱⁱ. Devadasis System Was Prevalent Among The Boyar Caste In Bellary, Mysore And Dharwad. Devadasis Were Reverently Referred To As '***Devakanyakas***' In A Kannada Inscription Of A.D. 800. Records Show That Two Large Reservoirs Were Built By Two Dancers In The Town Of Channaraja In Mysore. Devadasis Were Dedicated To The Temples During The Golden Age Of Pallava- Chola Kings In South India.

The Devadasis System Came into Vogue In South India In A.D. 8th Century, As Evidenced By The Carvings Of Dharma Mahadevi, The Wife Of Nandivarman, Which Belongs To The Mentioned Period. The Muktheswara Temple In Kanchi And The 42 ***Koothachis*** In The Temple Are Mentioned In The Inscription. K. Pillai Opines That Devadasis Might Have Associated With Temple Rituals In South India Since A.D. 8th Century^{iv}. This system began to gain more acceptance by the A.D. 10th century and came to prominence through the establishment of Brihadeeswara Temple, Tanjore, And Rajaraja Chola. The Major Rock Inscription from This Temple, Which Dates Back To A.D. 1004, Mentions the Dedication Of 400 Devadasis By Rajaraja Chola To The Temple. The King Gave Them Four Streets Around the Temple As Tax-Free Land. There Were Around a Hundred Dancers At Kailasanath Temple At Kanchipuram. Devadasis lived in the Hindu temple of Kanyakumari, which is also a place where the devadasis had a prominent role.

Kerala Historian Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai Marks The Growth Of the Devadasi System In Kerala By Analyzing Models Of The South Indian Temple Civilization And Devadasis System In Kerala's Cultural History^v. The Temple Culture In South India Emerged With The Arrival Of Aryans. As Per William Logan, Temples Became the Essence Of Kerala's Religious Life With Aryanisation in the 8th Century^{vi}. Rituals Started To Gain Significance As An Act For God's Favour In The Temple Centric Community. Tantricism Became Common In The Temples Of Kerala. Socio-Economic Life Of Medieval Kerala Developed Intertwined With Temples. Apart from being the centre of socio-economic and religious activities, the temples promote art forms like dance, drama, and music. Koothambalam was built on the

Temple Premises Of Kerala, Facilitating the Demonstration Of Various Art Forms. The Geography And Climate Also Perhaps Favored The Growth And Development Of The Devadasi System In The South.

Devadasis Known By Different Names In Kerala.

The Word *Devadasis* consists of Two Words: *Deva*, Meaning God Or *Diety* And *Dasi*, Meaning Servant Maid—a Devadasi Accepted Servitude To God By Marrying The *Deity* To Whom She Was Dedicated. “Thence Fourth, She Becomes The Wife Of The Deity In The Sense That She Formally And Solemnly Dedicates The Rest Of Her Life To His Service With The Same Constancy And Devotion That Is Faithful Wife United In Holy Matrimony Shows To Her Wedded Lords”^{vii}. It Was Only A *Sampradaya* Or Tradition. Her Duty Was To Dance And Sing For The Deity In The Temple Premises. She Wore All The Trappings Of Married Women, Like The *Tali* (Thin Chain With A Pendant), Toe- Rings, Etc. ‘The Term Devadasi (*Tevatichi*, *Tevaratiyar*) Occurs Not Earlier Than the Chola Period’^{viii}

During The 8th Century, Devadasi Occupies High Status In Kerala. There Are Several Classes Of Devadasi. They Are: ‘*Datta*’ Or One Given Herself As Gift To A Temple, ‘*Vikrita*’, One Who Sells Herself For The Same Purpose, ‘*Bhritya*’ One Who Offers Herself As A Temple Out Of Devotion, One Who Is Enticed Away And Presented To A Temple, ‘*Alankara*’, Open Who Being Well Trained In Professional And Profusely Decked Is Presented To A Temple By Nobles And Kings, ‘*Rudra Ganika* Or *Gopika*’ Who Receiver’s Regular Wages From A Temple And Are Employed To Sing And Dance.

In Kerala, Devadasi, Known As Thevidichi, Consists Of Three Words: Theva, Ati, Achi Or Deva, Padam, and *Dasi*. *Theva* Means *Diety*, *Anti* Means Feet And *Achi* Means Women/ Lady. Thus, *Thevidichi* Is The Woman Who Serves The God. Later, Their Dancing Style Was Denoted As ‘*Thevidichi Attom*’, Which Attom Implies the Dancing Movement. In Kerala, the Devadasi is known by the local name Tevadachi. This Practice Received Great Patronage From Several Rulers, One Of Whom By The Name Of Kulasekhara Alwar, A Chera Ruler, To Have Presented His Daughter Neela (Cherakula Nachiyar) As A *Tevidichi* In The Sri Rangam Temple And There Is A Shrine Dedicated To Her At This Place Even Today. He appointed 400 ***Tevaratiyar*** to the temple, and each of them was given some land for their maintenance. “The Earliest Record Of This System Is Found In An Chokkur Inscription Of Goda Ravi Varma Dated Kollam Era 107(932 A. D) Obtained From Malabar 70 Km Of Calicut, In North Kerala, It Contains The First Recorded Reference To The Devadasi System In Kerala,”^{ix}. It Is Only In K. E. 215(Ad 1040) That Devadasi Are Mentioned In Travancore^x.

Temple Provided Accommodation For These Dancing Women To Learn And Practice Dance. Devadasi were taught dance, music, and literature, and they became highly cultured and had to deal with the elite section of society. By The Status Given To Them, They Were Known Under Many Names:”

Thevidichi*, *Thevaradis*, *Thevaradiyar*, *Raayar And So On.^{xi} And Other General Terms Are Taliccerippentukal (Women Belonging To The Street Of The Temple), Nakkam, Patiylar, Rudranayika, Manikam And Talaikkoli Nanaiyar, Thalanga, Nangachi, Respectively^{xii}. Thus, The Devadasi System Found A Different Interpretation In Kerala. In The Census Report Of Travancore, N. Subrahmanya Iyer Says “The Total Strength Of *Dasis* Is 416. They Have Been Returned From 6 Taluks, The Longest Number (243) Belonging To Agasteeswaram”^{xiii}.

A Nedumpara Tali Inscription Of This Period Mentions Land Being Donated By Chittarayil Nangiyar For Temple Purposes And For Making Payments To ***Nangiyars*** (Dancing Girls, Devadasi Of Chokkur Temple) And *Nattuvanars* (Who Teach And Conduct Dance)^{xiv}. The 10th Century Chollur Inscription

Bears The Presence Of Women Temple Dancers Due To The Occurrence Of Words such As *Nangyar Tali*, Wherein *Nangiyar* refers to A Woman And *Tali* Stands For Temple. **Nanagai**, Also Mentioned As **Nangaiyar** Or **Nangacci** In Inscription, Were Temple Dancers. They Were Performers In *Kuttu* (**Kuttacci**, Meaning Who Performs *Kuttu*) And *Kudiyattom* (Dance Drama) In The Temple Theatre (Koothabalam). Some Of The Women Dancers (**Kuttu Stri**) In The Temple Were Dedicated As enslaved people At The Feet Of The Deity (*Tevadiyal*). A Few Of These Women At The Service Of God (*Tevaratiyal- Stri*) Was Of Noble Or Royal Wealth And High Socio-Economic Status, As Evidenced By The Case Of Trivhuvana Maha Devi (Daughter Of Kulasehkara Alwar) Alias Ciritara Nangacci, Who Figures As Donated Of A Land In The Nedumpura Tali Inscriptions Of The 11th Regional Year (975 Ce) Of Bhaskara Ravi. Although it denotes the Devadasi System, the term was not used in contemporary records. The Inscriptions above Register Ciritara- Nangacci's Land Grant To The Temple For Meeting The Rice Requirement Of The Temple. Plots Of Land Called *Nantaparampu* and *Nantaccaikunnu* Still Exist In The Vicinity Of The Chokkur Temple. Another instant Of Women of The Royal Family Dedicated Themselves As *Tevaratiyal- Stri* Is Seen In Inscriptions Of The Kandiur Temple. In Common Parlance, The Terms *Koothu Stri* and *Tevaradiyal Stri* become *Kuttacci* And *Tevaticci*, Respectively. (Rajan Gurukkal And Raghava Varior, 2018)^{xv}.

The Kandiur Temple Inscription Refers To *Tevidichi Unni* (Means A *Devadasi* Named Unni), The Wife Of The King Of Venad. The Ruler Of 'Venad' (Present Day's Districts Kollam And Alapuzha) Veera Kerala Varma's Spouse '*Unnikulathira*' Was A *Tvidichi/ Devadasi* Of A Temple Situated At Kandiur. The Ruler Of Odanadu (Mid Of 4th Century A.D.), Eravi Kerala Varman And His First Lady Named Kuttathi From Devadasi Community Of Cherukkara. She Was A Dancer Of A Kandiur Temple. The Kilimauro Plates Of Ad 1168 Record That *Tevitichis* Used To Perform All Kinds Of Duties In The Temples. The Thamra Inscription Reveals That When Varaguna Offered the Muruganchendhi As A Devadasi At Her Request, They Gave Up The Land Their Expenses. A. D 1056, According to Tali Inscriptions Chirithana Nangachi (Sridhara Nangachi), Was A Dancer, Donated Property To The Temple (Elam Kulam Kunjan Pillai)^{xvi}. The Thiruvalla Copper Plates Mention A Dancing Girl Who Paid 290 *Paras* Of Paddy To The Temple By Way Of Interest Against The Gold She Borrowed (Rajan Gurukkal And Raghava Varior, 2018)^{xvii}. Muruganchendhi (Aykula Mahadevi) Was The Daughter Of Tenganadu Kizhavan and was Entrusted With 32 Pots Of Seed (32 Pots Of Sowing Land) Under The Supervision Of The Perumakals (Brahmin) (Parameswaran Pillai . V. R)^{xviii}. Another Record From Natumpuram, Near Shornur Of Ad 939, Refers To Payments Made To *Nangyar* And *Nattuvanars*(Geetha Radhakrishnan)^{xix}. People Used To Donate Money And Other Valuables To The Temples For The Well-being of Devadasis, Which Was Known As *Thiruvadi Charthuka* (Adorn The Holy Feet Of His Excellency).

Conclusion

Several Names And Meanings In Kerala knew Deavadsis. Their Names Are Primarily Given By What Deavadsis Do In Temples. During The Medieval Period Of Kerala, The Temple Dasis Of Dancers was mostly called Thevidichis And Koothichis, And The Temple Dance was mostly called *Thevidichiattom* And *Koothichiaatom*. The Phrase Is The Origin Of The Mohiniyattom. The Reputation Of *Thevidichiattom* Has Favor And Esteem In Society. The Term Used For Devadasis In This Inscription Is *Tevatichikal* (*Tevar*- God, *Atichikal*- Players Or Dancers, *Attom*- Dance, Woman, And Maid- Servant, Wife, *Achi*- Mother). This Word Has Been Derived From The Tamil Name Of The Temple Dancers,

Tevaratiyal, Means A Servant Of God (One Who Plays Or Dances Of God). *Tevaticikal* Is The Tamil Word For Devadasis, particularly During The Period Of Swathi Thiruanal, The King Of Maharaja Of Travancore. After the Caste and feudal systems were introduced, *Thevidichis* became unfavourable. In The Later Stages, Devadais In Kerala Surrendered To The Patriarchal Dominance In The Temple Premises, Which Abused Them For The Latter's Pleasure. The System Continued For Centuries In A Degenerated Form As The Feminine Force Were Not Strong Enough To Deconstruct It While The Patriarchal Ideals Were Very Powerful In Serving Them. During this time, the position of devadasis has come down to a pathetic condition. Presently, Both In Malayalam And Tamil Languages, The Term Tevitichi is used Only To Denote A Woman Who Has an Immoral Background (Prostitute- *Tevitichi*). This Indicates The Deteriorated Society. The Other Term Used To Call Them Was *Kuttachi* (Dance Or Play= *Koothu*). Hence, It Would Be Ideal To Say That over time, This Institution became so corrupt, And The Different Terms Used To Denote Them Also Became Synonymous With Prostitute In The Malayalam and Tamil Languages

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THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT TAMIL NADU AS GLEANED FROM THE SANGAM LITERATURE

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Introduction

The oldest Tamil literature that is still extant is known as "Sangam literature." Although most of the art is thought to have been created between 100 CE and 250 CE, the Sangam age roughly spans from 300 BC and 300 AD. Literally, the word "Sangam" means "association." This instance alludes to a group of Tamil poets active in ancient southern India. Tradition has it that the first Tamil Sangam in Madurai was presided over by the Ancient Tamil Saint Agastyar. The Sangam Period encompasses this time frame. The Cheras, the Cholas, and the Pandyas were the three principal Tamil kingdoms at this time. Later academics invented the term "Sangam." There are around 2300 poems overall, attributed to 473 different poets.

There were primarily three Sangams called as Muchchangam. Archaeological, literary, and foreign accounts are the primary sources of information during this era. Sangam literature is split into Patinenmelkanakku and Patinenkilkanakku works according to the period of composition. The oldest extant Tamil poetry is Patinenmelkanakku, written between 200 BCE and 100 BCE. Patinenkilkanakku is a collection of 18 poems written between 100 and 500 CE. Most poems were written before the Pallava era, including Thirukkural, Palamoli, Naladiyar, etc.

Based on interpretation and context, Aham and Puram are the two sections of Sangam literature. Aham (inner) offers an abstract discussion of issues relating to people, including love, sex, and other things. The Puram (outer) discusses human experiences, including bravery, traditions, social interactions, ethics, and altruism.

Tamilaham, the historic Tamil homeland, was a glorious nation. It extended up to the southern seas from Thiruvengatam Hills. The Tamil nation was once split into five separate regions. "Thinai" was the name given to these tracts. Kurinchi, Mullai, Marutham, Neydal, and Palai are their names. Each realm has its style of life that defines it. The mountains, woods, fertile regions, seashores, and dry plains evoked a particular group of people, gods, flora, animals, and everyday social situations.

The Tamils were initially a homogeneous community divided into classes or groups based on occupation, money, education, sophistication, holiness, cleanliness, etc., but all classes coexisted peacefully. They needed to have a concept of untouchability, approachability, or shadowability. Men and women shared a liberal status and were supportive of one another. They spent the day working outside and the evenings sharing a roof. In the past, patriarchy and matriarchy were dominant. In Tamilaham, there were heroes and heroines, and women have never shown less bravery than men. The songs of Purananuru honour heroic mothers. Marriage was a personal decision. Most Sangham literature, particularly Agananuru, made it very obvious.

The Status of Women As Described By Well-Known Poets

The Sakti-Sivam Tatva, unique to the Saiva Siddhanta system of thought, was added to Hindu philosophy by the Tamils. The Tamils have traditionally held that Sivam and Sakti are different manifestations of the

same deity. At a ripe old age, Saint Appar realised in Tiruvaiyru that the Supreme God had revealed Himself in this Sakti-Sivam aspect in every category of existence on Earth. In one of the most beautiful, soul-stirring, and frequently repeated hymns, beginning with "Mdhar Piraikkanniynai," he describes the vision he received of this facet. One of the most adored and esteemed contemporary poets, Kavimani Dosika Vinyakam Pillai, sings in simple and chaste Tamil that one should have done extreme penance in the previous births to be gifted to be born a woman on earth.

According to a poem by Bhratidasan, a wife elevates her husband's life and directs him in the right direction. Further praising Tamil Nadu, a woman, he asserts that men grow more giving, morally elevated, and endowed with all the male attributes because of their feminine touch. When he claims that a woman considers her husband's grace towards her as the essential essence of her life despite the possibility that he may have abandoned her, his respect for the fair sex reaches a new level. Tamil Nadu's women are consistently praised throughout Sangam literature. The artistic achievements and moral behaviour of the ladies of the Sangam era set them apart.

"O Land, you may be a plain ground, you may be a forest, you may be a dale or a vale; when righteous folks live on You, You are also righteous", says Avvaiyar, the great poetess of extremely high literary attainments, unbridled wisdom, and power of purpose. The poetess emphasises that a territory lacks value or meaning unless inhabited by men with untarnished morals, character, and action in her effusion, which is captured in these lines.

Tolkappiyar asserts that the three foremost feminine virtues are "Acham." Nanam and Madam" "Madam" refers to pretending ignorance even though a woman may be a fountain of knowledge. "Acham" refers to a woman's intrinsic dread of being hurt to her modesty. "Nanam" and "Madam" refer to coyness and dissociation with anything incompatible with womanhood. Tolkappiyar also attributes to females the traits of self-control, mental calm, uprightness, speaking only when necessary, discernment between good and evil, and an incomprehensible intellect—inferring that women are to be the objects of love from the grammarian's definition of the word "Madhar" as love. The standard he establishes for women's behaviour is that their sense of shame comes before their passion for their own lives and that chastity is more valuable than shame in its own right. He also advises that knowledge gain, sin, and dread of judgement are all characteristics of men.

Life of Women before Marriage

Sangam literature provides enough evidence that men were distinguished by their ability to be heroes in battle. A Sangam poetess named Ponnugiyar sings that a young man should consider it his top priority to decimate the enemy elephants on the battlefield and triumphantly return home. The manly virtue that a man was born to fight on the battlefield is mentioned in another Purananuru poem. Women were expected to be friendly and gracious in contrast to these male traits. The Tamil Community eagerly established such a lady. Ainkurunuru music provides proof of this. It is a piece by the pure-hearted Brahman Kapilar. In this song, Kapilar claims that the hill country's ruler pleaded with God for a daughter. It is undeniable evidence that people welcomed infant girls during the Sangam era.

Education of Girls

The Sangam-age girls had excellent training in literature, music, and drama. In the Sangam literature, there is plenty of evidence that many women have made a name for themselves in music. Women received an education that was distinct from what was given to men. The art of combat, ambassadorial

duties, municipal policing, and numerous vocations for making a living were all taught to young men. However, the girls received sound instruction in household science.

The Heroism of Tamil Women

In Purapporul Grammar, "Mudin Mullai" refers to female valour. Women born into families committed to defending their nation were called "Mudin Makalir." We discover intriguing evidence from Purananuru about the fantastic bravery and intrepidity women show during times of war.

Bull Fights

Young women from the Mullai tract only want to marry warriors who have triumphed in bull combat competitions. They would never consider getting married to a wimp who avoided the games. Only heroes who had tamed the bull could woo girls with long, lovely hair. These internal indicators force us to deduce that winning the furious game and bullfighting were prerequisites for a match between a young man and a young woman of the Mullai tract. In traditional Tamil society, the wedding party would donate a sum to purchase diamonds to adorn the bride.

Tolkappiyar's Remarks on the Virtues of Wedded Women

According to Tolkappiyar, a married woman's transcendent virtues included chastity, love, feminine tolerance, mental fortitude, anxiety about welcoming guests, affection, and generosity to family, among many other admirable qualities.

Married Women upon Husband's Death

A wife who loved her husband dearly and sincerely passed away as soon as she learned of his passing. This was regarded as the height of chastity. Some women burned themselves to death along with their husbands' corpses because they believed their love belonged to the second category. Many women made the difficult decision to live the life of a widow. They were regarded as having the least amount of affection. Manimēkalai furnishes this information.

In prehistoric Tamilagam, sati was not frequently practised. Some women will commit suicide once their husbands pass away. According to archaeological evidence, sati was still a common practice during the medieval era.

According to the material on the Tiruvalakdu copper plates, Sundara Cholan Parntakan II's (957-970) queen Vanavan-M-Deviyar committed sati after her husband's death. Like Virama Devi, the queen of Kulothunga, I gave myself over to the flames engulfing her husband's body. Women who decided to live as widows were referred to as "A little Pendir." (In other words, they lacked the right people to look out for them. These widows supported themselves through spinning. They were, therefore, known as "Paruththippendir" (Cotton women).

Children

According to Tiruvalluvar, virtuous women are a family's lucky possession, and decent kids are its ornaments. The wife makes the house sparkle. She is glorious because of her kids. Sangam poet Ilanaganar extols the merits of a wife who has produced healthy offspring for the household. Another poet, Alangudi Vanganar, celebrates chaste mothers who bear upright offspring.

The Ultimate Lowering of Women's Status

The position of women in Tamil society then appears to have declined after the Sangam age. The husband perceives his responsibilities as his life, and the wife views her husband as her life starting to lose its significance. Because the following comments can be found in some of the Pathinen-kilkanakku compositions, we are saddened to find them: According to "Inna Narpathu," a male should avoid any woman who has a soft, rounded, bamboo-like shoot. Sticks have been used to beat women who were imperfect and irreplaceable. Later-day moralists condemned termagant wives, women who participated in legal disputes, and husbands who always feared their wives.

Conclusion

Based on its extensive literary sources and epigraphic evidence, ancient Tamilaham, the home of Chera, Chola, Pandya, and other minor chieftains, they had an authentic history. The status of women in pre-modern Tamil society is described in the Sangam literature. Women were given special consideration throughout the Sangam Age. The Sangam literature emphasised the inherent feminine attributes like Achcham, Madam, and Naanam. Chastity was their most prized quality. The people praised and worshipped Kannagi, the Silappathigaram heroine, for her chastity. During the Sangam era, women could select the men they wanted to be their life partners. In Agananuru, the idea of love has been thoroughly discussed.

In the Sangam era, wives saw their husbands as being on par with God. They were not allowed to be remarried or inherit property, and Sati, or the practise of self-immolating after losing one's husband, was not very common at the time. Nevertheless, several women from the royal family engaged in Sati. According to Sangam literature, a woman had to fulfil a variety of duties in the household, including that of a devout wife, a responsible mother, and a gracious hostess. There was also a focus on women's education in the Sangam Age. We get to know a few female poets whose verses appear in the Sangam literature, including Avvaiyar, Kakkai Padiniyar, and Nachchellaiyar. Sangam females were renowned for their bravery.

However, following the Sangam era, women's status declined. Many explanations have been put forth regarding why women have fallen from high societal status. One of them is that during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries A.D., Jain and Buddhist doctrines were widely practised in Tamilaham, and these religions propagated the idea that women were impediments to men's spiritual advancement.

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THE LIFESTYLES OF TRIBAL WOMEN IN TAMIL NADU: PROGRESS AND CONSTRAINTS

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Introduction

The term 'Tribe' denotes a group living in primitive or barbarous conditions. It is a social group with territorial affiliation, endogamous, and no specialisation of function. They have a headman or a chief who controls the activities of that group. Tribal have their own cultural and social life, thus essential in India. The social-economic status of tribal women is not satisfactory. In Tamil Nadu, the Jawadhu Hills, the Elagiri Hills, the Kalrayan Hills, the Yercaud Hills, the Anamalai Hills, the Sitteri Hills, the Palani Hills, Elamalai and the Varshanad Hills are famous. As per the constitution of the country, all, including tribal women, have equality. Tribal women play an essential role in their society's social and economic aspects. Compared to other sectors of society, they are still lagging behind them in various aspects like education, employment empowerment, etc.

Tribal Population and Tribe population in Tamil Nadu

The tribal population in the state of Tamil Nadu is analysed. According to the 2011 census, there are 37 categories of tribes in Tamil Nadu.

District-wise Tribal Population in Tamil Nadu

S.No	Districts	Total	Male	Female
	India	104,281,034	52,409,823	51,871,211
	Tamil Nadu	794,697	401,068	393,629
1.	Thiruvallur	47,243	23,692	23,551
2.	Chennai	10,061	5,207	4,854
3.	Kancheepuram	41,210	20,605	20,605
4.	Vellore	72,955	36,663	36,292
5.	Thiruvannamalai	74,859	37,570	37,289
6.	Viluppuram	15,702	7,943	7,759
7.	Salem	90,954	45,956	44,998
8.	Namakkal	119,369	60,489	58,880
9.	Erode	57,059	29,383	27,676

10.	The Nilgiris	63,044	32,130	30,914
11.	Dindigul	21,880	11,024	10,856
12.	Karur	28,342	14,245	14,097
13.	Tiruchirappalli	32,813	16,091	16,722
14.	Perambalur	3,561	1,739	1,822
15.	Ariyalur	3,756	1,847	1,909
16.	Cuddalore	3,034	1,466	1,568
17.	Nagapattinam	18,198	9,414	8,784
18.	Thiruvarur	575	297	278
19.	Thanjavur	2,584	1,292	1,292
20.	Pudukkottai	1,283	647	636
21.	Sivaganga	11,096	5,622	5,474
22.	Madurai	1,835	954	881
23.	Theni	8,064	4,095	3,969
24.	Virudhunagar	1,105	559	546
25.	Ramanathapuram	2,294	1,182	1,112
26.	Thoothukkudi	790	394	396
27.	Tirunelveli	10,270	5,109	5,161
28.	Kanniyakumari	4,911	2,466	2,445
29.	Dharmapuri	7,282	3,554	3,728
30.	Krishnagiri	22,388	11,419	10,969
31.	Coimbatore	10,722	5,274	5,448
32.	Tiruppur	5,458	2,740	2,718

Source: Census India 2011

Tribes Wise Population in Tamil Nadu

SI	Tribe	Male	Female	Population	Percentage of total Tribal population
1	Adiyan	2247	2179	4426	0.56
2	Aranadan	72	66	138	0.02
3	Ervalan	1438	1433	2871	0.36
4	Irular	94521	95140	189661	23.86
5	Kadar	325	325	650	0.08

6	Kammara	537	515	1052	0.13
7	Kanikaran, Kanikkar	1879	1958	3837	0.48
8	Kaniyan, Kanyan	1042	1095	2137	0.27
9	Kattunayakan	23360	23312	46672	5.87
10	Kochuvelan	4	3	7	0.0009
11	Kondakapus	265	256	521	0.07
12	Kondareddis	5028	4819	9847	1.23
13	Koraga	61	40	101	0.01
14	Kota	155	153	308	0.04
15	Kudiya, Melakudi	36	30	66	0.008
16	Kurichchan	3181	2919	6100	0.77
17	Kurumbas	3380	3443	6823	0.86
18	Kurumans	15949	15016	30965	3.90
19	MahaMalasar	43	34	77	0.01
20	MlaiArayan	75	97	172	0.02
21	MalaiPandaram	710	729	1439	0.18
22	Malai Vedan	3701	3514	7215	0.90
23	Malakkuravan	10013	9632	19645	2.47
24	Malasar	3259	3172	6431	0.81
25	Malayali	181704	176276	357980	45.05
26	Malayekandi	107	103	210	0.03
27	Mannan	99	112	211	0.03
28	Mudugar& Muduvan	661	589	1250	0.16
29	Muthuvan	200	190	390	0.05
30	Palleyan	114	117	231	0.03
31	Pallian	1146	1106	2252	0.28
32	Palliyar	2643	2648	5288	0.66
33	Paniyan	4898	5236	10134	1.27
34	Sholaga	3066	2899	5965	0.75
35	Toda	957	1045	2002	0.25
36	Uraly	6491	6495	12986	1.63
37	Generic tribes	27701	26936	54637	6.87
	Total	4,01,068	3,93,629	7,94,697	100

*Generic Tribes, i.e., those who returned as Anusuchitjan-jati, Girijan, Adivasi, etc.

Source: Census of India 2011

Status of Tribal Women

The status of women in a society is a significant reflection of the level of social justice in that society. The role of women in tribal communities is substantial and crucial. They constitute about half the total population, but in tribal culture, women are more critical than in other social groups. Because they are more brutal, and the family economy and management depend on them. Many also work as labourers in industries—households and construction, contributing to their family income. Despite exploitation by contractors and managers, tribal are more sincere and honest than non-tribal. However, tribal women face problems and challenges in getting a sustainable livelihood and a decent life due to environmental degradation and the interference of outsiders. However, there are wide variations across regions and tribes regarding work participation, sex ratio, economic productivity, social life and educational level.

Prospects and Schemes of Women Entrepreneurs in Tribal Regions

The women start business opportunities among tribal regions of Tamilnadu and develop socio-economical environments in the tribal areas. The following business opportunities are given follow.

- Progressing and branding for forest collection
- Fishing and marketing
- Ayurvedic Medicine
- Fruits and vegetables refrigeration and transformation
- Bamboo products
- Medicine from Bamboo
- Mushrooms cultivations
- Leaf plate and cup-making
- Flower markets
- Fishing markets etc.

Economic Condition for Tribal Women

Economics is a science of wealth. Science studies human behaviours as a relationship between ends and scarce means with alternative uses. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the tribal women. Now, tribal women are gradually empowered in all fields; likewise, on the economic side, they are also empowered to some extent. The women are undergoing self-employment such as tapping, clearing the weeds from the forest, goat, hen, and honey bee rearing, getting fuel wood forest, tailoring, and growing valuable things like pepper.

Tribal Women Welfare Programs

- Economic assistance to SHG—tribal women, men, and transgender self-help groups that are granted twice are eligible for economic assistance. 50% of the project cost, or Rs.3.75 lakh, whichever is lower, will be released as a TAHDCO subsidy.
- Providing training for women's development, such as Tailoring, Bamboo basket knitting, etc.

- Adivasi Mahila Sashaktikaran Yojana—The National Scheduled Tribes Finance Development Corporation (NSTFDC), under the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, provides loans to women of Scheduled Tribes for income-generating activities at a concessional rate of 4% per annum.
- Various rural development programs like
 - (MGNREGS)
 - Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana- Gramin (PMAY-G)
 - Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY)
 - Deenadayaal Antyodaya Yojana- National livelihoods Mission (DAY-NRLM)
 - National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP) brings improvement to rural areas, including tribal women
- Following Schemes by the Ministry of Women and Child Development Benefit, all women, including ST women
 - Beti Bachao Beti Padhao Scheme
 - One stop Centre Scheme
 - Women Help Line Scheme
 - Ujjawala
 - Rajiv Gandhi National creche scheme for children and working mothers

Tribal Women Problems

The migrant tribal women and girls faced several problems immediately after they migrated to cities, which included difficulty in communication in the local language, residential accommodation, employment, education of children, local contacts, adjustment to city life and environment, etc. They have a negative energy balance, high morbidity rate, and low child survival rate. They suffer from taboos and superstitions and remain deprived of the benefits of existing development and welfare programmes.

Problems and the Prospect of Education among Tribal Women

Education is required for tribal women to be able to participate and benefit from the development process. Knowledge can help women to enhance their literacy skills, better hygiene, care for family health, utilisation their leisure time to develop their vocational skills for their economic enhancement, to light against exploitation which they suffer for and that is indeed the more significant and foremost empowerment when women are educated their trust automatically disappears or at least decreases. As per the 2011 census, the literacy rate in India was reported as 74.04%, with a 14% increase from that in 2001, whereas that hike is maximum for rural women at 26% in the last decade, which may be attributed to the literacy mission of the Government of India.

Marriage Practices

Tribal marriages can be classified into the following types: Monogamy, Polygamy (Polygyny, polyandry), Bigamy, and Endogamy. Betrothal usually takes place when the girl is young and before she attains puberty. The marriage takes place in the groom's house. It is simple, but a feast is given to all relatives. Immediately after the marriage, it is usual to have a group dance in which both males and females take part separately.

Conclusion

The decision-making and community-level participation are explored to assess their awareness of cultural obstacles, home violence, health, and lack of nutrients. They often need more services at the

community and artistic levels. Thus, increasing the literacy rate and providing opportunities for gainful employment for tribal women will be instrumental in bringing about a change in the status of tribal women in India and handling challenges successfully.

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THE METAPHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIA'S MOST ANCIENT RELIGION

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India has long been renowned for its depth of philosophy and spirituality. One of India's earliest forms of devotion, Jainism, has been enhanced with additional metaphysical ideas that still need entirely derivable from contemporary scientific discoveries and guide its adherents on the road to enlightenment. Many of the world's historic religions, including the Abrahamic faiths, view their metaphysical elements as reflections of God or attributes of God's essence. A dead religion scarcely comprehends the concepts or the characteristics of the actual physical world that go beyond the currently deduced principles of science, save from those celestial disputes. The combination of scientific participation with intense spirituality elevates and distinguishes a religion.

The population of Jains in the nation is estimated to be 5 million. Despite making up 0.05% of India's population, they were more moral and religiously virtuous than the rest. The Jain conception of science includes all fields of knowledge, including the humanities, philosophy, theology, and physics. Fewer than a million people adhere to a religion that considers itself among the greatest and preaches morality for all people. Because of its metaphysical elements, Jainism could refute the accusations against most Indian religions, including mythology and fiction. Albert Einstein was impressed by these scientific aspects of Jainism and studied its traditional faiths, which emphasise logic and science more than other subjects.

Meta ta physical is a Greek terminology that states 'after the things of nature', later derived into metaphysics. Metaphysics is defined as the posited reality outside of human intellectuality. The scientific connotation beyond physics is generally considered metaphysics. Metaphysics is classified into,

- i) Ontology or General Metaphysics
- ii) Psychical or Religious Metaphysics
- iii) Physical Metaphysics

The theosophical nature of Jainism constituted a solid pathway for the religious, metaphysical characteristics, which shows why the charge has come into vogue and how it is to be answered. Jainism is neither a religion nor a sect nor a school of philosophy. It is the essence, the abstract, the undercurrent, and the religion of religions (Latthe, 1905). Jainism is a purified knowledge of rational sciences holding such advanced principles. Jainism is constructed on the base of truth, and it is the only religion that does not entrust the knowledge of truth into absolute wisdom. The Jain faith is not a blind insight; it is always opposed to sight and is a vague appreciation of truth due to past ages of ever-developing knowledge.

Theosophical Jainism provided a strong foundation for the religious, metaphysical features that explain why the accusation surfaced in the first place and how it should be addressed. In actuality, Jainism is neither a philosophy school, sect, or religion. It is the core, the underlying principle, the abstraction—that is, the religion of religions (Latthe, 1905). The advanced principles of rational sciences are purified in Jainism. The foundation of Jainism is truth; it is the only religion that does not place the knowledge of truth in the hands of absolute wisdom. The Jain faith is a vague appreciation of truth resulting from earlier ages of constantly expanding knowledge; it is not blind insight, and it is always opposed to sight.

The metaphysical principle of Jainism has influenced the subsequent doctrines of the religion in numerous ways. The question of the creation of the universe as apart from man does not directly relate to practical life; therefore, a theory of creation assumes its entire importance only as applied to man and his inner nature.

The Summum Borum (an ultimate end) of life in Jainism is not the gratuitous enjoyment of the present in utter disregard of the future; it is the sacrifice of the present to the future; it is the sacrifice of the flesh to enter into a life of the spirit, the annihilation of passion to enjoy the state of freedom from bondage—a state of bliss and beatitude and omniscience, attainable after much more endeavour from a pious home-sickness in the state of bondage in this earthly life is at the heart of Jainism (Nahar & Ghosh, 1917). Hitherto, Jainism is always a forward-thinking religion. Its visions are always set in the future. Consequently, their ethics are not of sensibility, where men sell themselves to nature, but are essentially ethics of self-realisation through self-rule and self-regulation.

As per the fundamental substance (dravyas) of the Jain metaphysics, Jainism is commonly labelled atheistic even though it is dualistic—that is, matter and souls are believed to be fundamentally separate material. Above all, a creator god is rejected. Since both matter and souls are eternal, the universe is uncreated. People may worship gods in the cosmos for various reasons, but nothing outside the universe is in charge. The same laws of karma and rebirth apply to gods and other supernatural beings as to humans. After death, karma—which is said to be a type of matter—that souls accrue through their deeds pulls them back into a body. As a result, all souls have lived an unlimited number of lives before, and—aside from those.

Moreover, the universe is the only reality. The word “reality” has many meanings, but as meant in Jain metaphysics, that which is natural is called substances (dravya). The universe is a universe of substances; by the universe, we mean everything and being that there is, visible or invisible, tangible or intangible, sentient or insentient. Though the universe is an alpha reality, it is not a single homogenous substance.

As the religious doctrines concern only living beings, the substance or dravya of the universe is divided into *Jiva* (alive) and *Ajiva* (not alive). All the living and non-living materials of the universe are categorised into these six fundamental substances. They are,

- I. Jeevastikaya (living matter or soul)
 - II. Pudgalastikaya (matter)
 - III. Akashastikaya (space)
 - IV. Dharmastikaya (an ether, the fulcrums of motion)
 - V. Adharmastikaya (an ether, the fulcrums of rest)
 - VI. Ahasamaya or Kala (time)
- Jeevastikaya: Jeevaca is something that possesses the quality of consciousness. Because the conscious soul is absent, a corpse cannot perceive or experience "I am pleased" or "Wretched." Even though a scythe is a tool for cutting, the tool and the cutter are independent entities. One can see by using a lamp, but the lamp and the seer are separate entities. Similarly, form, taste, etc., are perceived or felt through the senses (indriyas). The entity, however, is distinct from the senses. Neither white nor black nor yellow is Jeeva, Atma, or the soul. In actuality, it is colourless. As a result, we cannot see it, yet we can conclude that it exists (anumanapramana). All living things possess

certain qualities that include consciousness. Qualities do not exist apart from substance. There are two different sets of qualities,

- a) Visibility, tangibility & movement
- b) Self-activity, feeling, consciousness

They are all found in humans, animals, microbial organisms, plants, herbs, and all living beings. The second set is never manifested by pure matter, but the first set is manifested by matter. Living beings are found to be the compound of two different substances, namely, soul and body. The body is a temporary unit; conversely, the soul is one homogenous, irresolvable substance. In its pure state, the soul is invisible, just as water is colourless.

- Pudgalastikaya: The characteristic nature of the substance known as Pudgala is to be filled or combined and to be worn out or separated. While certain universe parts are visible, others can only be inferred. A pot, carpet, wood plant, palace, vehicle, etc., are examples of gross forms of matter since they are all made of highly subtle forms of matter that can only be perceived by inference. For instance, a molecule or other significant component of matter cannot form without atoms or other even more extremely minute portions of matter. Only delicate forms of matter, such as sound, light, heat, shade, sunlight, darkness, etc., exist.
- Akashastikaya: the primary quality of this dravya is to allow room for other dravyas to exist there, according to Akashastikaya. Akasha can be visualised despite not being visible to human sight due to its property of different things. Space related to "loka" (the live universe) is referred to as "Lokakasha," and space related to "Aloka" (the empty universe) is referred to as Alokakasha. The only factors responsible for separating the Akasha into Lokha and Aloka dharma and dharmarma are The area where the two dravyas above—dharma and dharm—exist, above, below, and all around us, is known as Loka. In contrast, the area outside Loka's sphere is known as Aloka. Jeeva and Pudgal's activity was only made possible by the combined efforts of Dharma and Adharma. These compounds do not exist in the area known as Aloka. No souls or even the tiniest substance particles can travel from Loka to Dharma and Adharma. The two concepts that support motion and inertia are absent, which is the cause of the problem. There is no end to space or ananta, meaning it is infinite. It has no end.
- Dharmastikaya: Dharma is described as anything that promotes the movement of Jivas (living things) and Pudgala. It is named "Astikaya" because it appears in a composite form called Pradeshas (occupational space). The words ast and kaya both refer to the pradesha. A fish can swim and has a strong urge to move about. However, it cannot stir if its working medium, water, is absent. Similar to this, a chemical that aids in the motion of both living things and inanimate objects is called as Dharmastikaya (medium of motion).
- Adharmastikaya: Adharma aids animate and inanimate objects in coming to rest or, put another way, aids them in their inertia. Moreover, it is an astikaya. Bhikshus are not coerced into going to a location where alms are distributed freely. Instead, they choose to travel there on their own. But the Bhikshus themselves travel and stay there for an instrumental reason: the free food distribution. Similarly, a seasoned traveller finds shelter and rest under a tree. The reason for this is the tree's cool shadow. Similarly, Asharmastikaya aids in the resting or inertia of both animate and inanimate objects.

- **Ahasamaya:** It is a minor perception in Adhi dewlap, according to Kala (the universe section where human existence exists). It is indivisible, lives as a single moment, and progresses in this way moment after moment. Therefore, it is unworthy of the name Astikaya. We discover that specific modifications occur in a particular type of tree depending on the season and the time of year. This demonstrates how time may be controlled. "The age of that student is less" or "This child's age is greater." Without the help of time, how are such things even possible? As a result, it is undeniable and straightforward to understand that time exists.

The Jain philosophy observes that these six dravyas (substances) are the only things on which the entire structure of the universe depends. Even modern scientists are starting to come to the conclusion that only the soul and matter are truly independent entities subject to motion or inertia, but they are assisted in this by the existence of some driving force or reality like "Dharmastikaya" or "Adharmastikaya."

Since every living thing has a soul, they can all be injured or helped. Living beings are ranked in a hierarchy according to the kind of senses they possess to determine the worth of deeds (see Ethics below); the more senses a being possesses, the more ways it might be damaged or helped. Only the sense of touch is shared by all living things, including plants, different single-celled creatures, and 'elemental' entities (beings composed of one of the four elements: earth, air, fire, or water). Many insects, including worms, can taste and touch. In addition to those two senses, other insects, such as ants and lice, also have the sense of smell. Along with other giant insects, flies and bees have eyes. Most terrestrial creatures, including birds, fish, and humans, have all five senses. Thanks to this complete set of senses, humans have access to a full range of knowledge, including the understanding of their predicament and the necessity of being freed from reincarnation.

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REMINISCING THE SAGA OF RIVALRY BETWEEN *THE HINDU* AND THE ANGLO-INDIAN PRESS BEFORE THE INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

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Introduction

The Hindu newspaper which was founded in Madras on September 20, 1878, was purely an Indian newspaper because it was started by six young men of India who are all belong to Madras. All these six young men belonged to an 'Triplicane Literary Society'. 'The six young men who are all founded 'The Hindu' newspaper were G. Subramania Aiyer, M. Veeraraghavachariar, P. V. Rangachariar, D. Kesava Rao pant, T. T. Rangachariar and N. Subha Rau Pantulu. The idea of starting 'The Hindu' newspaper in 1878 had one major reason. Sir Thiruvarur Muthuswamy Iyer who was an Indian lawyer was the first Indian to be appointed in the prestigious post i.e., the judge of the Madras High Court in the year 1877. But his appointment as a judge was criticized in unfair manner by the Anglo-Indian newspaper 'The Native Public Opinion' in Madras. From the beginning itself, The Hindu attempted to condemn the anti-Indian views of Anglo-Indian Press and succeeded in exerting wide influence against the British Raj.

The Hindu Vs Anglo-Indian Press

In its early days of 'The Hindu' newspaper it had a war with the 'Anglo-Indian Press I'. "Because the Anglo-Indian Press which created a more problem among the various communities; it also created a more doubts about the actions of nationalist persons; it takes measures for the downfall of the native Indian Press and Indian people. It created distrust and more confusion among the native people. For this thing the paper which supported was London Times and its Reuter's man.

The Hindu newspaper had along war with Anglo-Indian press i.e. British owned papers. The Anglo-Indian press who fought with 'The Hindu' was listed below. They are

- 1) Madras Mail and Madras Times. These two papers were the contemporary paper of 'The Hindu' paper.
- 2) The Times of India of Bombay.
- 3) The Englishman.
- 4) Statesman, Calcutta.
- 5) The Pioneer of Lucknow.
- 6) Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore.

These are the Anglo-Indian papers which 'The Hindu' newspaper had a long war with them. For Anglo-Indian papers the fight with 'The Hindu' paper was like an unequal war because they were very strong and more powerful than native The Hindu newspaper and this Anglo-Indian paper was well highly organized. In the speech on Madras in 1897 G. Subramania Aiyer said about the struggle of Indians

owned press against this Anglo-Indian press.ⁱⁱⁱ He also said that, "The journalism in India was a new chapter to us. Truly, I am saying that one of the benefits that we have due to British rule in India was the introduction of journalism in India. In India the journalism in its early life was completely owned by Englishmen and all these Anglo-Indian press worked for the welfare of the English person only. For a few years it went like that only afterwards only the natives get some knowledge about the country and they started following the ideas of educated Indians". He also said that the journalism of India was in the starting stage only but in future, it will develop gradually.^{iv}

G. Subramania Aiyer said, "The newspaper which is conducted in the English language was much to be respected and they are in the hands of educated Indians in fewer numbers only though they doing their work sincerely and truthfully."^v

The British newspapers i.e. the Anglo-Indian newspaper are stronger and have become more influential than the regional ones. They got an idea about the facilities they have and how to use them. But 'The Hindu' has a strong desire and they believe they can beat the British journals. Englishmen saw the journals as a business trade but Indians saw them as a way to express people's opinions and help to improve the levels of people. The regional newspaper is in great touch with the people but this is not the case with the English newspaper. The Indian journals know what is required by the people. And they are correct. Journalism also provides some help to the government in terms of information. In the meantime, Indian newspapers became a key thing than the British journals and the rivalry between them is intensifying day by day.

In the country, the government sees only one part of the question but they neglect the other part and no one is expressing their own opinion to oppose the government policy. Actually, no such things as opposition in the country and the main thing here are to remove the Indian newspaper from the British newspaper. But this action is often misunderstood.

The regional newspaper is expressing their thoughts which stands for the truth and doesn't compliment the Government but this thing was always wrongly understood by the concerns. But they believe they could overcome this with proper means. That is by connecting people and their representatives. Like said before Indian newspapers help both the people and the government. The writings of The Hindu in 1884 said to the Vernacular press that we feared the writings of the Bengal journals because they had given a weapon in place of rivals and it demotivated the regional language papers and also it demoralized the journalism.^{vi}

The Indian newspaper crafted a way and showed others how to write to the English newspaper and how to avoid wrong thoughts about a great country like India. Whatever it is given adds to the cleverness of The Hindu newspaper and avoids false promises. And one thing is press cannot take too much risk movement or action in avoiding blemishes. The strength of the adversaries must be calculated before itself. So, the struggle can be avoided and the resources can be maintained with the prejudices of the countrymen in England.

The Hindu's newspaper valuable word to the vernacular press:^{vii} "stays close to the minds and Cooperation and paths of the English newspapers to find the way of the progress smooth; but with resistance and antipathy it is possible to lose much to quality for and it will make indefinitely the introduction to the easiest and the most dangerous reforms. The state of mind should be in a calm and patience manner. There should be some tolerance. But it is not the ultimate fault of the English newspaper writers. On think it's not our business to vindicate the concession to assert the importance to

the English newspaper (Anglo-Indian newspaper) that is in the country with no primary duty or responsibility.

The Hindu on another event which happened in 1889, the role of the regional language press was praised by commenting on the criticism of the Anglo-Indian newspapers.^{viii} The Hindu newspaper also expressed that the regional press was jealous of the power given to the bureaucracy from the Viceroy downwards. And it also showcases in some warm language the wrong deeds and vagaries of the Government officials. And many of them have suffered under the comment that the power of the native newspaper was demoralized and destroyed the province. Apart from this thing, the influence of the individual officers was also come to great power. This one liberal the notions and also encourages people's spirit and showcases the hypocrisy. The only criticism of the government will be to understand the strong denouncement of the native newspaper rather than the English.^{ix}

The Hindu also said that the influence of the vernacular press was a grave crisis and it was instantaneous and on behalf of the government. About the crisis of 1885, the threat of the North-East European County over Afghanistan was disturbing the country's politicians. At the same time, the vernacular press resolved not to vex the government in the crisis. *The resolution made an effort that can be remarkably visible. And the efforts were so happy and made good progress. But one thing is sure the native press is thoroughly loyal to their governments. Vernacular press in the meantime improved its ascendancy.

It was not fair to end the construction even though some writers are also disposed to that. The solution is not building a system of direction connection between the newspaper and the government but teaching an evil how the better class of journals has to work and how to expand the education of the public to read the newspapers.

In a strong fight with the English newspapers in August 1887 by the Indian press in the Poona murder case and the arrest of Tilak. The Hindu addressed that almost all the important British newspapers are filled with lying malice against the country's people.^{xi} The C and M Gazette and some other newspapers abuse responsible journalism.^{xii}

In September 1897, The Hindu replied to the Madras Mail for rebuking its remark about 'The Hindu' newspaper. Now it's time for the Madras Mail to stop writing which is full of nonsense about them. If they are tried to play the Times of India's role in Madras it is not possible.

The arrival of Ruder's agency came in and joined hands with 'The Hindu' newspaper in June 1899 to send the tendentious report from India.^{xiii} The Hindu writes that the Reuter's agency where in India to wire some important news. And in other instances of mendacity, the part would happen to those who read newspapers regularly.

Conclusion

The Hindu was born out of revolutionary change which shook the Anglo-Indian Press which was owned and edited by the British. The six major founders of The Hindu newspaper protested against the Anglo-Indian Press and opposed the appointment of the first Indian, T Muthuswami Aiyer to the Bench of Madras High Court. The draconian measures of the British period were targeted by the Triplicane Six.^{xiv} Their main objective was to create confidence between the governed and the governors. They wanted to expose the abuse of power and despotism in bureaucracy. The Hindu strongly condemned the arrest of Tilak in 1897 in Poona without any fear. The Hindu wrote: "The only wise, beneficial and permanent arrangement is to transfer the chief control over the Government of India... to... the people who alone

are the rightful and competent guardians of the country's interests." The Hindu was saying 'Quit India' long before the Congress.

Though The Hindu supported the Home Rule movement of Annie Besant, it criticized views of her New India on the incarnation theory of J. Krishnamurthi and opposed the marriage of Theosophist G.S. Arundale and a 16-year-old Rukmini Nilakanta Sastri. The most epic battle of The Hindu was against The Mail and The Madras Times. The war of words happened between The Mail and The Hindu over the issue of the latter profiting from the advertisements of European businessmen. Thus, The Hindu strongly intertwined with the freedom struggle of India and became more successful in moulding public opinion against British Raj.

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ECO-SPIRITUALITY: EXAMINING THE ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS OF INDIAN RELIGIONS

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Introduction

Science and technology have made amazing advances in the history of mankind. The discoveries in the fields of electronics, information technology, transportation and entertainment industry have helped in changing the world and making it wealthier day by day. However, all these technological achievements have also brought several negative aspects. One of these problems is environmental pollution, which is threatening not only the advantages achieved by the technological developments but also affecting millions of people's living throughout the globe, causing havoc and becoming a global issue of concern. Air and water pollution have become so serious in many parts of the world today and we find the existence of "Cancer Villages". There are several reasons for environmental pollution, but the greedy rush for economic growth is the one behind the increasing imbalance in nature leading to climate change. Several recent environment summits have failed to persuade rich nations to share their capabilities with the poorer countries in order to solve environmental problems. Human beings have misused and abused their power and selfishly destroyed the species of animals, forests and mountains, natural resources and finally reaping the results of destroyed living environment of their own. All those damages and destructions to the ecology up to an alarming level are originated from the unwholesome and greedy mind of mankind. While the animals are seen as low-level beings, however fearsome as tigers and wolves may be, they never destroy the nature as badly as done by human. Only human can cause the most devastating destruction in this Earth. The hypothesis in this respect is that by following the teachings of religions and leading a spiritual way of life humanity can escape from the destructive aspects of science and technology and long for a sustainable development.¹

Global Warming

Environmental pollution poses a threat to our health in the form of climate change and global warming phenomenon at present. Global warming is the increase in the average temperature of Earth's near-surface air and oceans since the mid-20th century and its projected continuation. Climate model projections summarized in the latest International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report indicate that the global surface temperature is likely to rise a further 1.1 to 6.4 °C (2.0 to 11.5 °F) during the 21st century. For over 30 years, scientists have predicted increased greenhouse gases will cause unnatural changes. The Green house gases are the main culprits of the global warming. The green house gases like carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide are playing hazards in the present times. More or less all specialists studying the climate record of the earth have the same opinion now that human actions, mainly the discharge of green house gases from smokestacks, vehicles, and burning forests, are perhaps the leading contributors to this phenomenon.² It has been pointed out that India is one of the most vulnerable countries when it comes to the effects of global warming. It is because India has a vast coastal line and the rising sea levels caused by global warming will cause an ecological disaster. The reciprocal relation between human beings and nature is highly necessary for checking this menace. It has been contented that harmony or balance between humans and the rest of the nature must be maintained and promoted and in case it is upset, then it should be immediately restored.³ While it took a few thousand

years for man to pass from Paleolithic to Neolithic tools, it has taken less than a century to modify conventional weaponry to nuclear devices. Development has been so rapid that nature has not had time to adapt to these changes and to human requirement and greed. The ever increasing population growth placed a tremendous burden on natural resources. The food security problem, exploitation of groundwater and air pollution added fuel to the already burning fire.

To combat these problems, world bodies like the United Nations and the World Commission on Environment and Development have been formulating ideas for environmental protection and sustainable development. Several international conferences have been held on this subject, starting with the first one in Tbilisi in 1977. The Tbilisi Conference examined major environmental issues from, local, national and international points of view. The conference decided that the environment should be integrated into the whole system of formal education at all levels. Moreover, it was decided that environmental education should adopt a holistic perspective both natural and man-made which will examine the ecological, social, cultural, economic, technological and other aspects of problems. The Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro⁴, the Population Summit at Copenhagen⁵, the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg and several others are notable in this respect. It is evident that there has not been an appreciable change in lifestyles or the level of awareness even after these series of conferences. Countries have put their own interests ahead of environmental protection and the future of coming generations. The crying need of the hour is to educate the public and make them aware of their rights as citizens of this country to a clean environment, clean water, clean air and clean surroundings. It is high time to reverse the process of degradation of our surroundings, to give a chance to Mother Earth to heal her wounds, for which we do not inflict more grievous harm on her. All the religions of the world have traditionally expressed some ethical concern for the environment and its creatures. They have accorded some moral significance to other creatures, and proposed some ethical responsibilities on the part of humans. Greed and destructiveness are condemned, while restraint and protection are affirmed by most religious traditions. The development of modern scientific, economic and political institutions have taken the place historically accorded to religion, and traditional religious attitudes toward nature have largely disappeared in modern societies. This is also noted that some Indian religions were highly honoured over western religions for giving more stress for environmental protection. ⁶ Indian religions in various ways influence or shape our attitude towards the natural environment. Indian religions in various ways influence or shape our attitude towards the natural environment. During the earliest, formative period of their religion, Hindus first perceived the presence of God around them through nature. The natural forces that governed their daily lives were considered as manifestations of an almighty creator they called the *Brahman*. Ancient Hindus felt the presence of Brahman in everything around them. Since these divine forces sustained all living creatures and organic things on this earth, to please God, they felt they must live in harmony with His creation including earth, rivers, forests, sun, air, and mountains. This belief spawned many rituals that are still followed by traditional Hindus in India. For example, before laying the foundation of a building, a priest is invited to perform the *Bhoomi Pooja* in order to worship and appease mother earth and seek forgiveness for violating her. Certain plants, trees and rivers were considered sacred and worshipped in festivals. ⁷ Bhagavad Gita 3:12 says thus: "For, so sustained by sacrifice, the gods will give you the food of your desire. Who so enjoys their gift, yet gives nothing, is a thief, no more, no less." ⁸ Jainism is, in essence, a religion of ecology, of a sustainable lifestyle, and of reverence for life. ⁹ Their religion presents a worldview that stresses the interrelatedness of all forms of life or Jiva. To prevent even accidental damage to creatures, Jains may wear nose masks to prevent

inhalation of insects. They may sweep the ground clear ahead of them. Some do not wash for fear of killing body lice or other parasites.

Buddhist Attitude Towards Environment

Among the religions which teach for the preservation and conservation of the environment, Buddhism stands foremost. Buddhism is replete with perspectives on the long-term future. With its uncompromising quest for justice, righteous conduct and non-violence and with the spirit of universalism which pervades it, Buddhism also offers a rich reservoir of conceptual materials on all aspects of the human condition. Buddhism has been the inspiration in recent times for much practical work on environmental protection. It is often ranged against governments which seek to improve their economies by rapid "development" which often takes the form of damaging the environmental heritage. Buddhism treated human desires and the effects of the products of science and technology on our minds as the cause of environmental problems. Concepts of nature and environment which are seen in the doctrine of 'dependent origination' in Buddhism are similar to the concepts of ecology. According to this theory of Buddhism everything is somehow connected. Therefore, the very principles of bio-diversity and symbiosis of nature and living things are primary in maintaining our world.¹⁰ The Buddha followed a way of life that did not fall into either of two extremes-utter poverty and suffering on the one hand or accumulation and hoarding on the other. According to the Buddhist doctrine individual actions have immediate consequences in the larger world. This cause and effect is called the *karma* of Buddhism. Buddha taught that the well-being of all life on earth, not just human, is important and equally valuable. Just as human beings wish to flourish, so do the different forms of non-human life. The early Buddhist scriptures contained the evidences of a very great sensitivity showed to the natural world. The Buddha himself, as also his immediate disciples, lived close to nature. He was born in an orchard - his mother holding on to the branch of a tree. He gained Enlightenment at Bodh Gaya sitting underneath a tree. He died in the sal tree grove of the Mallas, stretched out between two sal trees. And of course he spent much of his time wandering from place to place, from village to village, in the open air.

The Buddhist teachings require every person to consider right livelihood and the impact that would have on society and the environment. According to *Cakkavattisihanvda Sutta*, the ideal king is expected to protect not only his subjects but also quadrupeds, birds and the environment. King Ashoka's Fifth Pillar Edict stated that he in fact placed various wild animals under protection which is one of the earliest recorded instances of a specific policy of conservation.¹¹ As per the teachings of Buddhism the environment refers to the total environment of humankind, biophysical and social, natural and anthropogenic, economic and cultural, with a past, present and future. Buddhism advocated that people must learn how to behave towards their environment not only from instruction but from their own experiences, good and bad, and from the example set to them by others in their society. It is a fact that environmental pollution is a problem of the modern age, unheard of and unsuspected during the time of the Buddha. Nevertheless, as Buddhism is a full-fledged philosophy of life reflecting all aspects of experience, it is possible to find enough material in the Buddhist literature to delineate the Buddhist attitude towards nature.

According to Buddhism nature is dynamic and everything changes in nature and nothing remains static. When mankind is demoralised through greed, famine is the natural outcome; when moral degeneration is due to ignorance, epidemic is the inevitable result; when hatred is the demoralising force and widespread violence is the ultimate outcome.¹² Mankind has to depend on nature for his food, clothing, medicine and other requisites. But they seldom cared for maintaining a harmonious relation with nature.

But if he is to enjoy the benefits of natural resources for a long time some moral restrictions are necessary. The ideal condition is that man must learn to satisfy his needs and not feed his greed. The resources of the world are not unlimited whereas man's greed knows no limits. Buddhism stood for cultivating compassion and sympathy for all living beings. Buddha promulgated the rule against going on a journey during the rainy season because of possible injury to worms and insects that come to the surface in wet weather. The same concern for non-violence prevents a monk from digging the ground.¹³ Gautama Buddha stipulated cleanliness both in the person and environment. He was very particular about selecting a silent atmosphere for constructing monasteries. Buddha hated polluted water and air. The Buddha and his disciples regarded natural beauty as a source of great joy and aesthetic satisfaction.

Gautama Buddha who lived in India approximately 2,500 years ago can be identified as the first environmentalist who introduced the concept of Sustainable development. While the world leaders are now busy in organizing the earth summits in various places for suggesting a simple way of life for preventing environmental pollution, Buddha suggested the principle even at a time when there was no threat on mother earth. Unlike the principles of western philosophers, Buddhism never stressed that limited resources can be expanded to satisfy unlimited needs of people. Buddhism recognised the limitations associated with natural resources. Therefore, Gautama Buddha has preached that unlimited desires may result unhappiness. Buddhism teaches to control human desires through Dana (charity), Seela (morality or self discipline) and Bhavana (meditations).¹⁴ Hence, Buddhists are taught to satisfy themselves with limited resources in a simple life. Right Livelihood is one of the eight noble practices found in Eightfold Path preached by Gautama Buddha. Prevention from engaged in livelihoods associated with meat, weapons and toxic substances is also a part of Right Livelihood. Meat trade is directly linked with hunting animals freely live in jungles. Weapons and toxic substances are dangerous to both flora and fauna. Hence, Right Livelihood practices promote environmental protection. Unlike many human centric western religions, Buddhism is eco-centric. Hence, Buddhism always recognizes and respect diversity.¹⁵ The best way to extend our compassion for unborn generations is utilization of natural resource in a sustainable manner. Unless we adhere to sustainable practices, there will be no conducive environment for future generations to sustain. Gautama Buddha realized this situation and preached that rulers are not owners of natural resources under their control. They are mere custodians or trustees who look after natural resources on behalf of general public. Therefore, rulers are duty bound to protect the natural resources and to hand those over to next generations. This is considered as the origin of principle of custodianship. Gautama Buddha always advised Kings such as Pasenadi of Kosala and Bimbisara of Magadha who turned to him for advice on governmental matters to preserve natural resources for future generations as their custodians.¹⁶ If powerful rulers in the present world follow this Buddhist principle, there will be no excessive carbon emissions to the environment.

Buddhism teaches us that if man is to enjoy nature's benefits, he has primarily to lead a righteous life. Today man's insatiate craving for all types of wants has made him to be more and more unrighteous. According to the theory of moral causation as taught in Buddhism, not only water but even the other resources that are needed for man's survival can become hard to find, unless they are mindfully utilized without destruction and waste. Man should neither try to subjugate nature or make her his slave, nor should he blindly do any harm to her aesthetic aspects that are in plenty. Lord Buddha not only respected nature but also pleaded for the preservation of the same. Buddha witnessed the four signs of suffering that tempted him to renounce the worldly life and be a recluse. He saw a vital difference between the attractive enjoyment of beauty as a mundane man, and the subtle appreciation of it at the supra- mundane level. Throughout his career, subsequent to the "Great Renunciation" his love for nature had been quite

prominent.¹⁷ The Jatakas, the richly narrated birth stories of Buddhism are abundant with poetic appreciation of nature. Passage after passage celebrates forests, waters and earth's wild life creatures. The first precept of Buddhism is "*Do not kill*". It is the realization of our affinity with all who share the gift of life. The Dhamma or Dharma of Buddhism has numerous values and principles that are correlated with deep ecology. Buddhism focuses on the extinguishing of suffering, which is caused by attachment to anything through ignorance or greed. To stop attachments, Buddhism provides the eight-fold noble path of right understanding: right motives or thoughts, right speech, right action, right means of livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. Thus Buddhism has a respect for all beings and approaches them with compassion and loving kindness, such as a reverence for all life. The blessings of Buddhists often state, "*May all beings be happy*," and, "*May all beings be peaceful*." On the Dhamma or Dharma in nature, it basically means that we (humans) are simply a part of life along with other living beings and that we are included in nature as just another species or living being among other living beings.¹⁸ It also means that there are laws in nature, like impermanence, that operate and apply to nature. Many of these values and laws from Dhamma or Dharma can be correlated with deep ecology.¹⁹ It was due to the influence of Buddhism that King Asoka established hospitals for both human and animals. He insisted on kindness to animals, and forbade their killing even for food.

Buddhism is completely averse to the notion that nature and all created things exist for the benefit of mankind. On the other hand mankind is part of the entire cosmic order but not in a position of dominance. Buddhism aimed at emancipation from all forms of suffering. The route to that emancipation is not the pursuit of power and possessions but the very opposite – the rejection of the pursuit of those materialistic goals which are so greatly imperiling the human future. Buddhism teaches that one does not have to traverse the length and breadth of the Universe to gain knowledge of what is right or wrong. All this knowledge is latent within oneself. Applying this to environmental protection, what is required is an internal change of attitude. Lastly Buddhism offers us a range of powerful concepts for the protection of the long-term future through such principles as interdependence, universalism, moderation, trusteeship, environmental protection, environmental education, sustainable development and a consciousness of the rights of future generations.

Treatment of Environment in Hinduism

Hindus believed that humans, gods and nature were integral parts of one organic whole. Ancient Hindu writers, later on, personified each of the divine force as a *Devata* or deity worthy of reverence and worship. The Hindus believed that divine natural forces were not only necessary for the sustenance of humans, but also for the sustenance of all living things around them – animals, plants, fish, and organisms of every kind. They identified the divine forces as air (vaayu), water (jala), earth (bhumi), fire (agni), and sky (aakaasha).²⁰ As early as in the time of Rig Veda, tree worship was quite popular and universal. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* prescribed various punishments for destroying trees and plants. Water is considered by Hindus as a powerful media of purification and also as a source of energy. Sometimes, just by the sprinkling of pure water in religious ceremonies, it is believed purity is achieved. Still today, many rivers are considered sacred. Among these, the river Ganges is considered by Hindus as the most sacred and respectable.²¹ The highest ethical standard that Hindus ought to apply, according to their *dharma*, is the concept of *Sarva Bhuta Hita*. That includes protection of the environment, the support of the poor and needy, the oppressed, the needs of children and those who are yet to be born and the welfare of other living beings.²² Hindu philosophy with its deep notions of trusteeship of earth's

resources and its reverence for nature as a sustainer of humanity had encapsulated within it the modern notion of sustainable development.

The Vedas which belongs to the category of sacred Hindu texts contain numerous references to the beauty and mysteriousness of the world. They include explanations of the creation of the cosmos and describe countless gods and goddesses who are personifications of the wondrous parts of creation, such as the river goddess Sarasvati and the earth goddess Prithivi.²³ The *Advaita Vedanta* tradition dismisses the significance of the material world by referring to it as illusion or Maya.²⁴ In the Upanishads there is a clear understanding of the interrelationship of everything in nature. "Ahimsa," forbidding the taking of life or causing injury to any sentient being, became very popular in the post-Vedic religious tradition of the Hindus. The term was interpreted by Mahatma Gandhi as 'non-violence' in a universal sense, and elevated to the foremost human quality. The Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagavad Gita, Puranas and Smriti contain the earliest messages for preservation of environment and ecological balance. The rishis of the past have always had a great respect for nature. Theirs was not a superstitious primitive theology. Forests and groves were considered sacred, and flowering trees received special reverence. Just as various animals were associated with gods and goddesses, different trees and plants were also associated in the Hindu pantheon. Hindus see divinity in all living creatures. Animal deities therefore, occupy an important place in Hindu dharma. Animals, for example, are very common as form of transport for various Gods and Goddesses. While describing the importance given by Hinduism to environment, Swamy B.V. Tripurari not even hesitated in raising a serious allegation over Christianity. He argued, "Our present environmental crisis is in essence a spiritual crisis. We need only to look back to medieval Europe and the psychic revolution that vaulted Christianity to victory over paganism to find the spirit of the environmental crisis. Inhibitions to the exploitation of nature vanished as the Church took the "spirits" out of the trees, mountains, and seas. Christianity's ghost-busting theology made it possible for man to exploit nature in a mood of indifference to the feelings of natural objects. It made nature man's monopoly. This materialist paradigm has dominated the modern world for last few centuries. The current deplorable environmental crisis demands a spiritual response. A fundamental reorientation of human consciousness, accompanied by action that is born out of inner commitment, is very much needed. One of the measures that could help a great deal to fulfill this need is to regenerate and rejuvenate basic values of Hindu culture and propagate them." ²⁵ Gandhiji went to the extent of saying "I bow my head in reverence to our ancestors for their sense of the beautiful in nature and for their foresight in investing beautiful manifestations of Nature with a religious significance." ²⁶ Most of the Hindu population in earlier times lived within self-sustaining villages. As the population increases, and as the modern lifestyle leads to a demand for consumer goods, the balance of sustainability may shatter.

Treatment of Environment in Jainism

Jainism is in essence a religion of ecology which gives maximum attention to the principle of sustainable development. In fact Jainism is not only a religion but a way of life. Jainism teaches us the art of living that we should practice. Jainism was perhaps the first religion in the world which suggested that the inanimate objects of nature also have life. Jainism says that five main elements of nature ie, Prithvi(land), Jal(Water), Agni (Fire), Vayu(Air) and Vanaspathi (Vegetation) are living creatures and must be treated as living beings. ²⁷ Mahavira lived in forest and jungle most of the times during his asceticism. He attained enlightenment on the bank of river Rijuvalika below a shal tree. The Acharanga Sutra of Jainism treated the destruction of natural plants as violence. Mahavira asked the Jain Sharavakas (male disciples) and Sharavikas (female disciples) to minimize their consumption level. Here it is worth while to notice that the maximum consumption of natural resources is causing the environmental problems like global

warming. The Jain ecological philosophy is virtually synonymous with the principle of ahimsa or non-violence. Ahimsa is a principle that Jains teach and practice not only towards human beings but towards all nature. Jain cosmology recognizes the fundamental natural phenomenon of symbiosis or mutual dependence. Anekantavada (the doctrine of manifold aspects) is the central principle of Jainism. Anekantavada describes the world as a multifaceted, ever changing reality with infinity of viewpoints depending on the time, place, nature and state of the one who is the viewer and that which is viewed.²⁸ This leads to the doctrine of syadvada or relativity, which states that truth, is relative to different viewpoints (nayas). What is true from one point of view is open to question from another. Absolute truth cannot be grasped from any particular viewpoint alone because absolute truth is the sum total of all the different viewpoints that make up the universe. Because it is rooted in the doctrines of anekantavada and syadvada, Jainism does not look upon the universe from an anthropocentric, ethnocentric or egocentric viewpoint. It takes into account the viewpoints of other species, other communities and nations and other human beings. The Jain believers maintain a life of moderation and restraint and utilized the resources of the earth in minimum level. It has been pointed out that the Jains took the earth's resources like "the bee [that] sucks honey in the blossoms of a tree without hurting the blossom and strengthens itself".²⁹ Jainism favoured vegetarianism and condemned all forms of cruelties to men and animals. To prevent even accidental damage to creatures, Jains may wear nose masks to prevent inhalation of insects. They may sweep the ground clear ahead of them. Some do not wash for fear of killing body lice or other parasites. No doubt the Jain people can use their experience of applying non-violent principles in meeting the present ecological needs.

End Notes

1. Religion can have the most powerful influence on the views, values, attitudes, motivations and decision-making capacities of human beings that can change the behaviour of individuals, groups & society. It defines the place of humans in nature including how they should act toward non-human beings and another phenomenon. For details about the role of religions in solving environmental pollution see Gosling, David L. *Religion and Ecology in India and Southeast Asia*. Routledge, London, 2001; Gottlieb, Roger S. (ed.) *This Sacred Earth: Religion, Nature, Environment*. Routledge, New York, 1995; Foltz, Richard. *Worldviews, Religion, and the Environment*. Belmont, CA, Thomson/Wadsworth, 2003.
2. For details about the phenomena of global warming and its contributory factors see Nigel Arnell. *Global Warming, River Flows and Water Resources*. Chichester, England: Wiley, 1996. Ronald Bailey, ed. *Earth Report 2000: Revisiting the True State of the Planet*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000; Roger Bate and Julian Morris. *Global Warming: Apocalypse or Hot Air?* London: Institute of Economic Affairs, 1994; John J. Berger. *Beating the Heat: Why and How We Must Combat Global Warming*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Hills Books, 2000.
3. David Kinley identified that the appropriate relationship between humans and nature should be reciprocal, i.e., human beings, not only should recognize interdependence, but also promote mutually beneficial interactions with nature. He holds the inaugural Chair in Human Rights Law at University of Sydney. He has previously held positions at Cambridge University, The Australian National University, the University of New South Wales, Washington College of Law, American University, and most recently was the founding Director of the Castan Centre for Human Rights Law at Monash University. His notable works include *Civilizing Globalisation: Human Rights and the Global Economy*, Cambridge University Press: UK, 2009; *The World Trade Organization and Human Rights: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Edward Elgar: UK 2009; *Commercial Law and Human Rights*, Dartmouth, Aldershot, 2002.
4. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as the Rio Summit, Rio Conference, Earth Summit was a major United Nations conference held in Rio de Janeiro from

- 3 June to 14 June 1992. 172 governments participated, with 108 sending their heads of state or government. Some 2,400 representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) attended, with 17,000 people at the parallel NGO "Global Forum", who had Consultative Status. The issues addressed included: systematic scrutiny of patterns of production, particularly the production of toxic components, such as lead in gasoline, or poisonous waste including radioactive chemicals; alternative sources of energy to replace the use of fossil fuels which are linked to global climate change; new reliance on public transportation systems in order to reduce vehicle emissions, congestion in cities and the health problems caused by polluted air and smog; the growing scarcity of water. An important achievement was an agreement on the Climate Change Convention which in turn led to the Kyoto Protocol. The Kyoto Protocol is a protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC or FCCC), aimed at fighting global warming; www.wikipedia.org free encyclopaedia, visited on 24-7-2010.
5. Ibid, The Copenhagen Climate Council is a global collaboration between international business and science founded by the leading independent think tank in Scandinavia, Monday Morning, based in Copenhagen. The councilors of the Copenhagen Climate Council have come together to create global awareness of the importance of the UN Climate Summit (COP15) in Copenhagen, December 2009, and to ensure technical and public support and assistance to global decision makers when agreeing on a new climate treaty to replace the Kyoto Protocol from 1997.
 6. The issue of religious attitudes toward nature was publicized in a widely-read 1967 paper titled "The Historic Roots of our Ecological Crisis," published in *Science* by Lynn White Jr. This paper more generally critiqued Western societies for using science and technology to dominate and degrade their environment, but he accused Christianity in specific of enforcing a human-centered worldview. He argued "Modern Western science was cast in a matrix of Christian theology...Somewhat over a century ago science and technology-hitherto quite separate activities-joined to give mankind powers which, to judge by many of the ecologic effects, are out of control. If so, Christianity bears a huge burden of guilt." Lynn Townsend White, Jr. was a professor of medieval history at Princeton, Stanford and, for many years, University of California, Los Angeles. He was President of Mills College, Oakland from 1943 to 1958; Lynn Townsend White, Jr, "The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis", *Science*, Vol. 155 (Number 3767), March 10, 1967, pp 1203-1207.
 7. For details about the role of Hinduism in environmental protection see Allchin, Bridget. "Early Man and Environment in South Asia 10,000 BC-500 AD." In *Nature and the Orient: The Environmental History of South and Southeast Asia*, eds. Richard H. Grove, Vinita Damodaran, Satpal Sangwan, 29-50. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998; Banerjee, Sures Chandra. *Flora and Fauna in Sanskrit Literature*. Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1980; Biardeau, Madeleine. *Hinduism: The Anthropology of a Civilization*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.
 8. W. J. Johnson - translr. publisher, *The Bhagavad Gita*. Oxford University. 1994. p. iii.
 9. For details about the relevance of Jainism in the context of environmental protection see Caillat, Colette, *The Jain Cosmology*, translated by R. Norman. Basel and Ravi Kumar, Bombay: Jaico Publishing House, 1981; Cort, John E. *Jains in the World: Religious Values and Ideology in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Mardia, K. V. *The Scientific Foundations of Jainism*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1996.
 10. Shuichi Yamamoto, *Environmental Problems and Buddhist Ethics From the Perspective of the Consciousness-Only Doctrine*, Springer, 2004, p.14; See also Harvey P., *An Introduction to Buddhism, Teaching, History and Practices*, Cambridge, 1990; Keown D. (ed.) *Contemporary Buddhist Ethics*, Curzon Press, 2000; Hinderey, R. *Comparative Ethics in Hindu and Buddhist Traditions*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1978; Keown, D, *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics*. Macmillan, London, 1992; Harris, E. J., *What Buddhists Believe*. Oxford, London, 1998; *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, internet journal: <http://www.buddhistethics.org/> or <http://jbe.la.psu.edu/>

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12. Lily de Silva. *The Buddhist Attitude towards Nature*, Klass Sandell (ed.) *Buddhist Perspectives on the Ecocrisis*, Buddhist Publication Society, 1987, p. 64; See also Lily de Silva, *Environmental Philosophy and Ethics in Buddhism*. Macmillan, London, 1998; Badiner, Allan Hunt, ed. *Dharma Gaia: A Harvest of Essays in Buddhism and Ecology*. Berkeley, CA: Parallax Press, 1990; Batchelor, Martine and Kerry Brown, eds. *Buddhism and Ecology*. Cassell, London, 1992.
13. Ibid.p.65
14. For details about the teachings of Buddhism See Chris Pauling, *Introducing Buddhism*, Cambridge, London, 1990; Walpola Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught*, Grove Press, New York, 1974; Sangharakshita, *A Survey of Buddhism: Its Doctrines and Methods through the Ages*, Windhorse Publications, Cambridge, UK, 1993; Sangharakshita, *Vision and Transformation: An Introduction to the Buddha's Noble Eightfold Path*, Windhorse Publications, Cambridge, UK, 1995; Sangharakshita, *Who Is the Buddha?* Windhorse Publications, Cambridge, UK, 1990; Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed., *Buddhism in Practice*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
15. Theravada Samadhi Education Association is very popular in publishing works on Buddhist themes. Its founder Bodagama Chandima Thero wrote a number of treatises on Buddhism. He has functioned as an international advisor to the President of Sri Lanka on religious and cultural affairs. For details see <http://theravada-samadhi.blogspot.com>.
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17. Ibid.p.78
18. Kabilsing Chatsumarn, *Buddhist Monks and forest conservation* in Sivaraksa Sulak, and others (eds.), *Radical conservatism: Buddhism in the modern world*, Bangkok. Network of Engaged Buddhists, 1990, p. 104.
19. Op.cit. Lily de Silva. *The Buddhist Attitude towards Nature*, p.82; See also Badiner, Alan Hunt (ed.). *Dharma Gaia: A Harvest of Essays on Buddhism and Ecology*. Berkeley, California: Parallax Press, 1990; Peter Harvey, Avoiding Unintended Harm to the Environment and the Buddhist Ethic of Intention, *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, Volume 14, 2007; <http://www.purifymind.com/BrahmaNetSutra.htm>; <http://www.accesstoinight.org/lib/bps/wheels/wheel386.html>
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21. For details about the importance of Ganga River in the religious see Alley, Kelly D. *On the Banks of the Ganga: When Wastewater Meets a Sacred River*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002. Alter, Stephen. *Sacred Waters: A Pilgrimage up the Ganges Rivers to the Source of Hindu Culture*. New York: Harcourt, Inc., 2001.
22. Banerjee, Sures Chandra. *Flora and Fauna in Sanskrit Literature*. Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1980, p. 68; see also Biardeau, Madeleine. *Hinduism: The Anthropology of a Civilization*. Delhi: Oxford University

- Press, 1989; Christopher Key Chapple and Mary Evelyn Tucker, *Hinduism and Ecology: The Intersection of Earth, Sky and Water*, Oxford University Press, 2001.
23. Keith, Arthur Berriedale. *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971, pp.172-74; see also Klostermaier, Klaus K. "Equality of Women." *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism*. Boston: Oneworld, 1998; Foltz, Richard C., ed. *Worldviews, Religion, and the Environment: A Global Anthology*. Toronto: Thomson Learning, 2003.
 24. Christopher Key Chapple, "*Hinduism, Jainism, and Ecology*," at:<http://environment.harvard.edu/> see also John Bowker, Ed., "The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions." Oxford University Press, 1997; "*Hinduism and Ecology*," at: <http://hollys7.tripod.com/>
 25. Swamy. B.V. Tripurary, *Ancient Wisdom for Modern Ignorance*, Mandala Publishing, New Delhi, 1995.
 26. Giriraj Shah, *Glimpses of Ancient Indian Culture*, Trishul Publications, new Delhi, 1989, p. 106
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A HISTORICAL JOURNEY OF EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE TEACHER MORALE

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Introduction

No educational system can thrive well without the help of competent teachers. The quality of a nation relies upon the quality of its citizens, the quality of the citizens rests upon the excellence of their education, and the excellence of their education depends upon the excellence, dedication and competence of teachers. Teachers play an essential role in education. Teachers can change lives inspire dreams and push the limits of human potential. They provide the motivation and support the students need to succeed. A human being is a positive asset and a precious national resource, which needs to be cherished, nurtured and developed with tenderness, and care coupled with dynamism. Each individual's growth presents a different range of problems and requirements at every stage from the womb to the tomb (National Policy on Education 1968). A variety of new challenges and social needs change the role of a teacher more than teaching. The teacher nowadays has to perform many roles to transform the student from an ordinary human being to a responsible citizen of the country. Teaching and learning are the two sides of the same coin interrelated and interconnected. In the new technology era, the role of the teacher has changed and continues to change from being an instructor to a constructor, facilitator, coach and creator of learning situations.

Teacher Morale

Morale can be defined as the professional interest and enthusiasm a person displays towards the achievement of individual and group goals in a given job situation.(Bentley and Rempel1980). Morale is the confidence, enthusiasm and discipline of a person or a group at a particular time. Teacher Morale is a fundamental factor in the quality of education. It is a strong driving force. High morale among teachers often leads to increased job satisfaction, improved teaching effectiveness and better student outcomes. High teacher morale is important for the overall well-being of a school. Teacher morale affects all aspects of the school and education system. In recent years the teaching profession has faced numerous challenges that have put a strain on teacher morale. These challenges include increased workload, administrative demands, and the pressure to adapt to new educational standards and technologies. Literature suggests different factors that impact teacher morale which include workload inside and outside the school(Mackenzie,2007); training, physical facilities of the school and resources (Hirsch&Emerick,2007). Every aspect of the educational process can be impacted by teacher morale.

When schools have teachers with high morale, they also have a good chance of having students with high morale, this has a direct impact on student achievement. The level of morale depends upon the strength of motivation and freedom to act. The teacher has the freedom to communicate with students in the classroom with the best tools in hand, which in turn enhances students' achievement and teachers' morale. Therefore more efforts need to be geared towards ensuring teacher morale for attaining educational objectives.

A History of Classroom Technology

In the Colonial years, wooden paddles with printed lessons, called Horn-Books, were used to assist students in learning. Over 200 years later, in 1870, technology advanced to include the Magic Lantern, a primitive version of a slide projector that projected images printed on glass plates. Radio in the 1920s sparked an entirely new wave of learning; on-air classes began popping up for any student within listening range. Next came the Overhead Projector in 1930, followed by the ballpoint pen in 1940 and headphones in 1950. Videotapes arrived on the scene in 1951, creating a new and exciting method of instruction. The Skinner Teaching Machine produced a combined system of teaching and testing, reinforcing correct answers so that the student can move on to the next lesson. The photocopier (1959) and handheld calculator (1972) entered the classrooms next, allowing for mass production of material on the fly and quick mathematical calculations.

Although the first computers were developed in the '30s, everyday-use computers were introduced in the '80s. The first portable computer was developed in 1981. In 1990, The World Wide Web was given life when a British researcher developed Hyper Text Markup Language or HTML, and when the National Science Foundation (NSF) removed restrictions on the commercial use of the Internet in 1993, the world exploded into a frenzy of newfound research and communication methods. The digital age brought about a paradigm shift with the internet. It seems like years since MySpace, was first introduced in 2003, Facebook (2004) and Twitter (2007) have changed both the communication and business worlds. Instant connectivity has branched out from merely a tool of personal communication to a platform for educational instruction and outreach. Social media is now being recognized as an accepted form of instruction in some instances, Many instructors use social media to communicate directly with their students or to form forum-style groups for students to communicate with each other, and the method seems to be proving valuable in providing one-on-one attention to student's questions and concerns. In recent decades, the rise of smartphones and tablets has enabled mobile learning, making education more accessible. Virtual and augmented reality technologies have introduced immersive learning experiences. Artificial Intelligence is playing a growing role in personalized learning, adapting content to individual needs.

The Transformative Potential of Technology in enhancing teacher morale Technology has a powerful role in enhancing teacher morale. Technology not only changes how we work, learn and interest. Technology has the potential to address many of the challenges affecting teacher morale. It can be a catalyst for positive change in education by providing innovative solutions to the challenges faced by teachers. In recent years, especially in terms of software, significant developments have been made with the rapid development of information and communication technologies. Just as other professionals utilize technologies as tools to enhance their work, teachers must likewise become adept in putting technology to use as the field of educational software evolves with the various academic disciplines. Regardless of grade level or subject, technology can support teachers in numerous professional activities, first and foremost in stimulating learning in the classroom and also in simplifying their administrative duties, improving personal productivity, and advancing professional growth. Various kinds of innovation appear all the time, increasingly making our activities and work more practical and effective, especially in teaching and learning. One of the technologies that has recently become a concern is Artificial Intelligence.

Artificial Intelligence: An Emerging Trend in Technology

The word AI was originated in the year of 1956. Marvin Lee Minsky, who is considered to be the founding father of AI has defined AI as the science of making machines to do this that would otherwise require intelligence if done by men. Such machines require high-level mental processes to function, such as; critical thinking, memory potential and perceptual learning. In simple words 'AI can be said to be the art of building computer programmes that are made to perform certain tasks which otherwise require human intelligence to perform David Bolter (1984)". AI is the process of modelling the way humans think and designing a machine to behave like humans or another term called cognitive tasks, which is how machines can learn automatically from data and information that has been programmed is the simulation of human intelligence processes by machines, especially computer systems. eg. Google search (web search engines), understanding human speech (Siri, Alexa), generative or creative tools (chat GPT, AI art), competing highest level strategic games (Chess and Go).

Role of Artificial Intelligence in Enhancing Teacher Morale

- AI assisted classroom environment can help teachers customize individual lesson plans based on students individual needs and go a long way in differentiating and adaptive learning that can build a solid foundation for all kinds of learners.
- AI help to improve teaching performance.
- Learning Management System (LMS) platforms like Canvas, Moodle or Blackboard often incorporate AI features that help teachers organize course materials, track student performance and deliver content effectively.
- AI-powered software, games and tools can set a strategy for students to learn at their own speed, time and requirements for repeated practice..
- AI helps to actively monitor classroom conditions and alert the teachers to any problems or areas where improvement is possible.
- AI helps to foster teacher-student relationships by improving communication and everyday interaction. An AI-enhanced system like chatbots and Reminds can automate communication with students and parents, sending reminders, announcements and updates.
- AI provides vital technological support to teachers.
- AI-enhanced NLP(natural language processing)tools like GPT-3 or Chat GPT can assist teachers in generating instructional content, answering student questions and providing language translation services.
- AI adjust lessons to meet students' needs in real time.
- AI helps teachers to facilitate self-guided student learning.
- AI saves time and creates better lesson plans. AI-enhanced tools like Canva, Grammarly, or even PowerPoint feature can assist teachers in creating, engaging and visually appealing educational materials.
- AI made the assessment so easy. AI-powered gradebook software, such as grade cam and gradescope can streamline the grading process, reduce errors, and provide insight into student performance.

- AI can help teachers grade assignments, monitor student progress, customize curriculum and identify learning gaps.
- AI can predict future academic outcomes based on historical data, helping the teacher to identify students who need additional support and interventions.
- AI can provide personalized professional development recommendations to the teacher, helping them improve their instructional skills and stay updated with the latest educational trends eg: Coursera
- AI-driven virtual and augmented reality can create immersive learning experiences, enabling students to explore subjects in a more interactive and engaging way.
- AI can generate educational content, such as quizzes, practice exercises and even lesson plans..
- AI can also curate relevant educational resources from the vast amount of online content available.
- AI simplifies and accelerates course development, by assessing student learning history and abilities, AI gives teachers a clear picture of the lessons and subjects requiring reevaluation.
- AI-based attendance tracking systems can help teachers save time by automatically recording attendance and generating reports eg. Classin
- AI-based plagiarism detection tools such as Turnitin can help teachers ensure the authenticity of student work
- AI helps to reduce the stress of the teachers.

Ai-based Tools for Teaching and Learning

- AI question paper generator: It helps to craft a question paper for any exam
- Carnegie learning: Help students understand difficult concepts and improve their Math skills
- Eklavya (AI Proctoring): It helps to analyse the facial expression and behaviour of students during an online assessment
- Courseera: It recommends various new courses.
- Querium: Help to assess the strengths and weaknesses of students and help to achieve their full potential.
- Dream box: It helps to improve the mathematical skills of the students
- Edmodo: It provides a range of tools and features for communication and collaboration
- Kaltura: It offers educators and students with video management system, a video creation platform
- Turnitin: Help to compare students work, detect plagiarism
- Kahoot: A game-based learning platform used to create quizzes and other educational games.

- Audio pen: It helps educators to create subject notes without typing, the teacher needs to just speak up about the content
- Chat GPT: It provides dynamic responses to your queries., act as a teaching assistant.

Conclusion

Educational technology is revolutionizing the education sector, providing students with personalized learning experiences and teachers with the tools and resources they need to support student success. The emerging trend in the field of educational technology is Artificial Intelligence. Artificial Intelligence continues to evolve and become more sophisticated, it has the potential to transform the way students learn and educators teach. AI helps to reduce the teachers' workload and enhance Teacher Morale. Improving teacher morale has many benefits in that it can help teachers maintain a positive attitude and be happier at work. Teacher morale affects all aspects of the school and school system.

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UNVEILING THE SARPA KAVUKAL: ANCIENT BELIEFS AND MODERN PRACTICES OF SERPENT WORSHIP IN KERALA

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The ways and manifestations of worship by primitive societies varied in different parts of the world; nature worship was a common practice. People revered the natural world's marvels and puzzles from generations, driven by their essential role in ensuring survival. This practice helped them understand and harmonise with their environment, fostering a vital connection between humanity and nature. Folk religion¹ originated in the deep connection early humans felt with nature, leading to the development of Animism. "Animism" is the belief that everything in the universe, including nature, has spirits. *In Kerala, Sarpa kavukal (serpent groves)* are rooted in animism, involving consecrating fertile land as offerings to revered deities. This tradition is prevalent in India, especially in Kerala.

KSavuka in general, holds great significance as a sacred geographical location where the deity is believed to reside and roam. These *kavukal* can be found all over Kerala, each with unique forms, traditional practices, and belief systems. "*Kavu*" in Malayalam means a garden or a consortium of trees. The fundamental inquiry in this context is what attributes render this *kavuka* so exceptional and consecrated. What prompts the preservation of these extensive tracts of land in their undisturbed state, and to whom are these lands devoted.



Figure 1 Family *Sarpa kavu* at Pathanamthitta district of Kerala, 2021. Photo by the author

The people of Kerala firmly believe in specific defining features that characterise a *kavu*: this *kavuka* are areas or gardens dedicated to the absolute use of deities. Central importance here is given to religious belief and worship concerns. *Kavuka* is protected because of the concept of "*sankalpam*." *Sankalpam* is a belief that when the deity resides in or frequently uses a grove, it transforms into a *cave*.² Upon further study of the *kavuka* in Kerala and after visiting multiple *kavukals*, it became apparent that people understood or considered the *kavuka* as a leisure garden for the gods. In this place, gods come and rest. A similar resemblance to this idea can be seen in Freeman's works. He understands these *kavuka* as "pleasure gardens" (*udyanam, aramam*).

In these pleasure gardens (*aramam*) and retreats, the gods and goddesses sometimes gather to catch the breeze, a total of fragrances from the flowers and groves. This means that these are places harbouring a religious conception (*sankalpam*). The *kava* is the place they have where they can ramble about. They

can only sometimes stay in the temple. In the pleasure garden, they will swing and sport. It must be that sometimes they are only conceptually present in the temple, while most of the time, they are actually in the *cave*. They take their food here [in the temple] and rest there (1999, p. 263).

If we dwell deeper, it is apparent that *kavukal* was exclusively designated for the divine beings who watch over them, and their intended use was solely dedicated to these deities. This statement unveils the creation of a belief system among the people, instilling reverence for these gods through the fear that causing harm to the groves might invoke God's wrath. As a result, individuals refrain from using these areas for personal purposes.

The sacred groves in Kerala have been categorised into three main types: *Ammadaiva kavukal*—dedicated to the mother goddess; *Purushadaiva kavukal*—dedicated to male gods; and *Mrigadaiva kavukal*—associated with animal gods, as documented by Unnikrishnan. Among these, the most prevalent are the *sarpa kavu*, sanctuaries dedicated to animal gods, primarily focused on serpent gods. *Sarpa kavukal holds profound veneration in Kerala; serpents are revered and adorned for a range of reasons, where fear and myths play a substantial part.* The paper's primary objective is to provide a comprehensive analysis of the prevalent attitudes and beliefs concerning the "*kavukal*" in Kerala, with a specific focus on the "*sarpa kavukal*." The study aims to explore how these beliefs have evolved and the resultant effects on Kerala's ecology, cultural traditions, and environment.

The origin of serpent worship goes back to remote antiquity. Contrary to the rest of India, Kerala is unique regarding serpent worship; hence, it is essential to give a brief account of it. Most of a Hindu family's ancient houses (*mana*) have a *sarpa kavu* (serpent grove). The tradition goes back to Lord Parasurama and is related to the time of the emergence of Kerala from the sea. According to the *Keralopathi*,³ it is believed that Lord Parasurama appointed prominent ancestral families in Kerala as the custodians of serpent worship. These families oversee vast tracts of land dedicated to serpent gods. Among the most renowned are Pampudmekkattu Mana — Thrissur district, Ameda Mana — Ernakulam district, Mannarasala — Alappuzha district and Aadimoolam Vetticode Shri Nagaraja temple —Alappuzha district.

These ancestral homes have transformed into some of Kerala's most revered serpent temples. These temples provide refuge for people dealing with serpent-related issues, whether on ancestral lands or linked to serpent curses, making them go-to destinations for solutions.

The rites and rituals linked to the *sarpa kavukal* exhibit various variations. However, a universal sentiment prevails across Kerala; no community would consider harming a serpent or dismantling a *sarpa kavu*. These dense areas reserved for the serpent gods are treated with great veneration. These areas are so sacred that no trees from the place are to be cut down, nor any plant is supposed to be harmed with any metal or, more specifically, iron weapons, for these are unholy things, making the serpent gods angry. In doing so it is believed that one can get affected by the *nagadosham* (serpent curse).⁴

Like other spiritual institutions, the *sarpa kavu* also significantly emphasises maintaining the purity of mind and body. Blighted patches all over the body, leprosy, blindness, loss of fortune, and infertility are believed to be the consequences of displeasing the serpent gods or causing harm to the serpent groves. Furthermore, natural calamities like floods or droughts, which impact the entire community, are also attributed to their displeasure.

It is evident that while one could argue that people's interest, faith in serpent worship and the preservation of *sarpa kavukal* would endure as long as India remains preoccupied with the fear of serpents, recent trends indicate that serpent worship. The status of *sarpa kavukal* has encountered

several challenges in Kerala because people appeal to conduct ceremonies to relocate the serpent gods from their original locations to more convenient spaces.

Hindu priests execute majorly three ceremonies to transfer the deity's presence, particularly for the serpent deity. The first ceremony, *kavumattam*, involves moving the deity within the owner's garden. The complete sacred grove is cleared, and the deity, in its spirit or material form (either aniconic stone symbol or iconic statue), is removed from the original *kava* and moved to a new spot within the garden. A single tree is planted at this new location. This ritual is straightforward and can be completed in a single day.

The second ritual, known as '*punaprathishtta*,' involves reducing the sacred grove's area and confining the deity to a single designated spot within this more miniature grove. During *punaprathishtta*, a significant portion of the ground is cleared, and all vegetation is removed except for one prominent tree, symbolising the ancient grove. The priest restricts the deity's space to a cemented floor, upon which a pyramid-shaped stone is placed. The serpent deity is then invoked ritually to choose this open-air shrine as its home. A concrete structure may be constructed in specific groves to shelter the deity. In such cases, the deity attains a higher status as an indoor god, and the structure is called a temple. Once the indigenous vegetation is cleared and the deity resides in a single concrete structure, the remainder of the site can be used for other purposes.

The third ritual, called *ozhippikkal*, involves relocating the deity from the grove to an existing serpent shrine within a central temple's compound. After this, the owners must wait twenty-one days before permanently clearing the sacred grove for other purposes. This ritual is typically performed when owners plan to sell the land or build a house and is mainly conducted by Brahmin priests, especially those belonging to specific serpent temples like Pampudmekkattu mana, Vetticode temple, and Ameda mana.⁵

Visiting these temples provided a deep understanding of these processes, a matter of significant concern. Here, one can observe the dilemma people are encountering. They view these creatures as protectors of the land. However, in this modern era, when land holds such immense value, one must find a way to abandon areas reserved for serpent gods. As a result, individuals are actively seeking solutions to their predicaments. One of the solutions they have come across is the transfer of the serpent idols from their original *sarpa kavu* to the temples that accept them with open hands.

An interview was conducted with the temple priest of Ameda temple. The temple is situated in Udayamperoor village in the Ernakulam district of Kerala. It was a massive temple with acres of land dedicated only to the serpent gods. What sets this temple apart is that besides the main idol in the sanctum sanctorum, it has an astonishing multitude of idols distributed throughout its premises. These idols can be seen everywhere, adorning the walls, scattered on the ground, lining the pathways, nestled beneath trees, and in every direction one turns. Many of these idols cannot be seen immediately, as they are concealed by surrounding shrubs and intertwined plants. However, upon closer examination, it becomes evident that idols are tucked away in every nook and cranny.



Figure 2: Distorted *sarpa kavu* at Ameda temple Kerala. Credits: The News Minute

But the question here was why only serpent idols were abandoned. When asked about the substantial number of serpent idols being left by their owners, Vasudeva Namboodiri, the temple priest, explained that the *sarpa kavu* has consistently played a significant role in the traditional beliefs of Kerala. The formation of a *sarpa kavu* is a natural occurrence, typically found in densely vegetated areas with abundant creepers and plants. Legends suggest that these were once the habitats of serpents. However, as residential areas have expanded due to space limitations, these sacred groves have been reduced.

"There is no alternative but to reclaim the *kavu* area, particularly when individuals sell it to non-Hindus or when land undergoes partition among family members. The deities must be transferred following 'tantric' protocols," explains Vasudeva Namboodiri.

In cases where a suitable location for relocation near the original *cave* is unavailable, the deities are brought to the Ameda temple.

"This entire process entails a lengthy procedure. Initially, a group of priests from Ameda will visit the location where the *kavu* is intended to be transformed or relocated. If the owner prefers the deity to be repositioned elsewhere, we accommodate their request. However, if they wish to have the deity removed entirely, we perform special rituals to determine if the deity consents to the move. If the deity is willing, we relocate to our temple," Namboodiri explains.

While the temple priests need to know precisely about the exact count of abandoned idols, they believe that the Ameda temple houses over ten thousand such idols. Nevertheless, they strongly disapprove of this practice. One of the priests draws a poignant parallel, stating, "Is it morally right to abandon your parents in their old age? The gods are currently facing a similar predicament. We feel compelled to bring them here; there seems to be no other suitable place for them." Namboodiri further asserts that only specific Brahmin families in the state are authorised to partake in this transfer procedure.

"The largest temple for this purpose, I believe, is in Ameda. There used to be one in Mannarasala, but they have discontinued the practice there. Even here, we are running out of space to accommodate all these idols,"⁶ Another compelling reason for discouraging this custom is its detrimental impact on the surrounding forested areas." The existence of a '*kavu*' inherently safeguards the nearby forested regions. People were reluctant to clear these areas due to their sacred associations," he explains.

During a visit to Aadimoolam Vetticode Shri Nagaraja, a highly esteemed temple in Kerala authorised to perform serpent deity transfers, *Agamana sarpa kavu* was disclosed. This separate area within the temple complex is a relocation site for serpent deities from their original *sarpa kavu*, signifying a significant factor contributing to the decline of sacred groves in modern times.

In Kerala, serpent worship embodies a totemic conviction or is held by its inhabitants as a *Sankalpa*. It involves cultivating faith in various elements of the natural environment, including plants, animals, and inanimate entities. This association also encompasses the rites and ceremonies affiliated with these convictions, amplifying their importance. However, as previously mentioned, the beliefs and fears associated with these deities and sacred groves have experienced substantial evolution and change over time. As we know, serpent worship in Kerala has been closely intertwined with nature reverence. These shifts impact Kerala's environment, making the conservation of nature and ecology increasingly challenging.

In the past, gods were considered as much a part of the natural world as plants and animals, viewed as inherently “natural” beings. In modern society, some individuals may believe in certain entities' existence. Still, they often advocate a viewpoint that categorises these entities as part of the “supernatural,” distinct from what is conventionally defined as “nature.” This shift in perspective is a crucial factor contributing to significant changes in traditional practices like 'serpent worship.'

The critical factor in conserving these natural resources was a sense of ‘fear,’ reverence or respect. As the fear of the supreme serpent beings gradually diminished from people's consciousness, they started selling these lands, harming these invaluable ecosystems. They relocated the serpents from their native habitats by adopting new traditional ritual practices, all to appease their conscience by believing they were relocating the gods to more suitable environments. This perspective has significantly shaped the fate of sacred groves.

If these groves continue to be depleted at such a rapid pace, it will also have a significant impact on these cultural practices. It is imperative to safeguard the authentic character of these divine sanctuaries within sacred groves to guarantee their ongoing function as sanctuaries for biodiversity. With such preservation, we risk a future where we all see vast temple structures lacking the natural spaces dedicated to the deities. Throughout history, dedicating areas to the divine has been a societal practice to maintain balance and equilibrium. While the fear may have dissipated, comprehending these concepts remains essential for survival.

End Notes and References

1. The Indigenous Religious Practices In Kerala, Such As *Theyyam*, *Sarpam Thullal*, And The Worship of The Sacred Groves, Are Commonly Referred to as Folk Religion or Dravidian Religion, Distinct from Brahmanical Traditions.
2. In The Interviews Conducted, Mr. Vasudevan Namboothiri, The Temple Head Of Ameda Temple In Kerala, Shared The Perspective That "Our *Kavu* Here Is A Religious Concept A *Sankalpam* That We Have. When We Mention A *Kavu*, It Automatically Signifies A Place Of Worship, Similar To A Temple." (Suresh, Personal Communication)
3. *Keralopathi* Is A Malayalam Hindu Literary Work That Deals With The Origin And Legends of The Land Of Kerala. The *Keralopathi* Is Largely An Elaboration Of The *Kerala Mahatmayam*, An Earlier Sanskrit Text Categorized As An *Upa Purana* (Sub-*Purana*) Within The *Bhoogola Purana*, A *Hindu Purana*.
4. *Nagadosham* Is Caused When A Person Intentionally or Unintentionally Hurts A Snake Or Knocks The Place Where They Reside. For Getting Rid Of *Nagadosham* People Perform Different *Puja* Or Offerings In The Temple. See Also Allocco (2013).
5. Serpent Worship, Originating From The Ancient Reverence Of Nature Predating Aryan Influence. In Traditional Hindu Households, A *Sarpa Kavu*, Or Serpent Grove, Was A Common Feature. However, It Is Believed That In Kerala, Certain Brahmin Families Enjoy The Unique Privilege Of Directly Worshiping These Serpent Deities, With Their Homes Having Been Transformed Into Temples Today.

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6. In Alappuzha, Also Known As Alleppey, Stands An Ancient Temple Devoted To The Serpent Deities, Specifically *Nagaraja*. Renowned For Its Vast Array Of Serpent Images, This Temple Holds A Unique Distinction As The Largest Of Its Kind In The Southern State Of Kerala. Notably, What Sets This Temple Apart Is That It Is The Only One In Kerala Where The Ritual Worship Is Conducted By A Female Priestess Known As 'Mannarassala Amma. See Panikkar (1900).
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EVOLUTION OF AGRI TOURISM AS AN ALTERNATIVE LIVELIHOOD, DIVERSIFICATION STRATEGY IN THE CONTEXT OF CLIMATE CHANGE, AND COVID-19 PANDEMIC WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KERALA

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Introduction

The agriculture sector is the mainstay of every economy. Anyway, recently, the service sector has been flourishing considerably across the globe, especially in developing countries. International changes in various agricultural practices along with price fluctuations of primary products have compelled countries to connect farming activities with other sectors to explore additional sources of income. Even though rich in resources the developed nations are also affected by the concerns of the agriculture sector, as the primary segment is essential for ensuring sustainability. In such an inevitable context, tourism has been identified as a relevant option. As a result, innovative tourism ideas have been widely accepted in different parts of the world. Many farm owners in developed nations have accepted a combination of both agriculture and tourism as an alternative income source (Philip et al., 2010).¹ Meanwhile, developing countries have also incorporated tourism activities into farming to achieve agricultural sustainability (Khanal & Shrestha, 2019).² Nowadays, agri tourism is one of the most attractive tourism ventures all over the continents.

Agri tourism is defined as farming-related tourist activity that attracts travellers to an agricultural land. The rural areas of India, especially the villages in Kerala have also started blending the traditional farming practices and the modern elements of tourism to generate additional income via 'agri tourism'. Promotion of agri tourism could bring a substantial positive impact on tourist demand, as it is an opportunity for special interest travellers to experience authentic rural life by tasting the genuine local food along with the cultural and agricultural peculiarities. A successful marketing strategy is inevitable for enhancing the number of farm tourists. The cost of travel, recreation, food and accommodation is least in agri tourism and this can widen the tourist base of the region. Even though the abrupt eruption of the COVID-19 pandemic has affected the tourism industry, the new trend reveals a hopefully optimistic picture of Kerala tourism, especially regarding agri tourism.

Anyway Kerala, as an internationally acclaimed tourist destination, needs special attention on the adequate promotion agri tourism. Among the major factors that can promote agri tourism, the climate of the location plays a decisive role in determining the long run survival of the business. Meanwhile, climate change has been producing a wide range of repercussions all over India in the recent years; whereas Kerala is one of the most affected states.. However, agri tourism can be explored as an effective medium to tackle the adverse conditions by creating awareness regarding the need to protect environment while practicing healthy habits of recreation. A systematic approach is required to study the different dimensions of climate change and the role of agri tourism in combating climatic variations with special reference to Kerala primarily in the wake of COVID 19 pandemic. Hence the objectives of the study intend to understand the role of agri tourism with respect to the issues of climate change, especially related to Kerala; and to analyse the relevance of agri tourism business in the context of the COVID 19 pandemic, mainly regarding Kerala.

Methodology

This study used secondary sources to analyse the subject matter intensively and systematically, by obtaining the relevant data in detail. The focus of the present study was on evolution of agri tourism all over the world, mainly with reference to India and Kerala. The study was conducted by carefully analyzing agri tourism survival in the context of climatic variations and COVID 19 pandemic. Therefore, various secondary sources including published articles were examined in order to fulfill the objectives.

Worldwide Evolution of Agri Tourism

The term 'farm tourism' is considered as a synonym of agri tourism or agricultural tourism in different countries. Irrespective of the label it refers to rural tourism in working farms, where the environment is part of the product from consumer view point (Roberts & Hall, 2001).³ In recent years, the new recreation trend is growing and different authors have predicted a further rise in demand for farm tourism (Clarke, 1996)⁴; and it will continue to flourish in Spain, Italy, Africa, Singapore, the United States, China, Thailand, Europe and Australia (Krishna & Sahoo, 2020).⁵ In Europe, especially regarding tourist destinations such as Austria, farmers have been entertaining visitors for over a century (Hummelbmnnner & Miglbauer, 1994)⁶; with a similar experience in Germany and France (Oppermann, 1996)⁷. It has been highly successful in the Western countries, including the United Kingdom (George & Babu, 2020).⁸ Even though informal in nature, it originated around 1800s when urban dwellers started visiting rural communities to escape from their city environment. During the 1920s farm visit was relatively accessible due to availability of transportation facilities. Farm based entertainment became popular in the 1960s and 1970s; then through the 1980s and 1990s interest in commercial farm tours increased (Hatch, 2008).⁹

Though in the United States of America farm tourism, as an alternative agricultural activity, is a newly flourishing business visiting farms for understanding agricultural practices and celebrating harvest festivals could be found as a long standing tradition (Chase et al., 2018).¹⁰ Nevertheless, farm tourism is considered as the oldest form of rural tourism, with a substantial development after the Great Depression and World War Second (Nilsson, 2002).¹¹ Farm tourism has been accepted worldwide since the early twentieth century (Busby & Rendle, 2000).¹² Recently, agri tourism has gained widespread popularity and there has been a steady increase in the number of tourists visiting farm based recreation destinations (Blekesaune et al., 2010).¹³ Rapid climate change and tourism induced pollution levels have resulted in rising demand for natural or rural destinations that can bring eco-friendly tourism experiences like agri tourism. Anyway, the development process of agri tourism is not uniform across the world, mainly due to the different levels of government support in various countries (Gil Arroyo et al. 2013).¹⁴

Global Significance Of Agri Tourism In Combating Climate Change And Covid 19 Pandemic

During the recent times the world has been suffering from certain alarming issues such as climate change and the COVID 19 pandemic, leading to severe environmental, economic as well as social disruptions. Emergence of coronavirus is connected with the effects of human activities on environment. The pandemic has also increased the concerns about climate change. COVID 19 pandemic has worsened the financial burden of millions. The COVID 19 pandemic has exposed the vulnerability of the world to global threats; and climate change has been creating difficulty in achieving most of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), even before the eruption of the COVID 19 pandemic (Stern et al., 2021).¹⁵

Even though there are several constraints, climate change can pave the way for offering more competitive services like agri tourism. Since farms are the most likely affected areas in terms of sensitivity to climate

change, farmers will be forced to ensure the integrity of agri tourism concept. In fact, agri tourism can contribute to soil organic matter as well as ecosystem resilience through appreciation of biodiversity and farming practices, apart from increasing the awareness of climate change impacts along with the adaptation and mitigation initiatives. Agri tourism can be considered as a viable alternative in terms of minimising the impacts of climate change and exploring the opportunities based on climatic variations (Mahaliyanaarachchi, 2015)¹⁶; and many farmers have interest in adopting agri tourism as an option to mitigate climate change (Mahaliyanaarachchi et al., 2019).¹⁷ Meanwhile, the COVID 19 pandemic could also influence the preference towards healthy tourist destinations. Agri tourism is more suitable as a sustainable adaptation strategy for enhancing rural livelihoods by supplementing agricultural income.

Agri tourism can be considered as a healthy form of recreation to combat the COVID 19 pandemic, mainly in terms of maintaining green environment and keeping social distance. The issues related to climate change can be resolved to certain extent while adopting agri tourism. Besides, prevention of future damage due to climate change can be considered as both investment and saving. The tourism development initiatives of the government, with a strategic plan that can influence the level of awareness regarding the effects of climate change in different locations, indicate a strong political will to use agri ecotourism as an economic driver for attaining the growth of a region (Hidalgo, 2015).¹⁸ With an efficient marketing plan, agri tourism can be developed as a strategy for diversifying the economic portfolio of farm families while adapting to climate change in a sustainable pattern (Valdivia and Barbieri, 2014).¹⁹

Anyway, the relevance of agri tourism as an opportunity for creating a new income source may depend on the net effects of climate change. This condition necessitates a cost-benefit framework for evaluating the viability of agri tourism business. If farmers consider that the negative effects are lesser than the overall positive impacts, agri tourism will be undertaken (Pratt et al., 2022).²⁰ Similarly, the COVID 19 pandemic has also produced both negative and positive impacts. The attitude and approach towards the measures to tackle the COVID 19 pandemic can be important in influencing the agri tourism business. Therefore, in the context of climate change and the COVID 19 pandemic, the experiences or evaluations of farmers as well as tourists can be significant in determining the long run survival of agri tourism. Global cooperation is essential for combating the impacts of climate change and the COVID 19 pandemic in a sustainable manner. Besides, further research is required to develop innovative sustainable solutions (Somani, 2021).²¹ In this context, agri tourism proves to be one of the most suitable solutions that can ensure long run sustainability.

Role of Agri Tourism Amidst Climate Change and Covid 19 in India

As a monsoon driven economy, India is one among the most affected countries due to both climate change and the COVID 19 pandemic. Being a long term weather pattern, climate may trigger the spread of the virus mainly during the peak monsoon season. Meanwhile, temperature could also be a reason for spreading coronavirus (Zhu et al., 2020).²² Thus, it is possible to expect a link between climate variables and the number of COVID 19 cases in India. In addition, there could be seen a positive relationship between rainfall and the number of COVID 19 cases in the region. This positive connection was proved when the COVID 19 cases in the country increased during the summer monsoon season in 2020 and 2021 (Veeran et al., 2022).²³

With persistent challenges in the form of unpredictable climate, uncertain cash flow and recurring debt trap, farmers can adopt agri tourism as an income generating activity that is suitable to strengthen the economic, cultural and ecological resilience of rural sustainability (Dey & Rauniyar, 2022).²⁴ Agri tourism is an emerging market segment of the tourism industry that can promote sustainability without much

depreciation or value erosion. Agri tourism has been proved as a healthy tourist attraction in tackling the COVID 19 pandemic also, as tourists have preference towards farm based recreation that cannot be offered by ordinary destinations. The global challenges, like climate change and the COVID 19 pandemic, can be tackled effectively by promoting agri tourism, especially in a country like India where most of the people in rural areas still depend on farming.

Climate Change and Covid 19 Pandemic from The Perspective of Agri Tourism Business in Kerala

In spite of the recent domination of the tertiary sector, Kerala is fundamentally an agrarian economy. Meanwhile, a major problem that affects the farming community in Kerala is migration from the agricultural land. Therefore, the contribution of the agriculture and allied sector must be enhanced to meet the growing requirements of the state, especially the need for food self-sufficiency and better standard of living in the villages. The share of the primary sector to the Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) of Kerala must be increased for attaining sustainable economic development. This is possible when more people are attracted to environment friendly agricultural practices and related services in the state. All the livelihood diversification opportunities available in the state should be inclusive and resilient in nature, leading to economic, social and environmental sustainability in the long run.

In order to achieve sustainability, the rural economy should be strengthened by propelling the agriculture sector. This revival can be augmented by bridging the primary and tertiary sectors of the state. Tourism is one of the most prominent industries that can be linked effectively with the agriculture sector for attaining self-sufficiency. In this sense, agri tourism receives wide attention in Kerala. 'Agri tourism', bestows the state with ample opportunities to generate additional income for the rural population by promoting farm based recreation. If properly promoted, agri tourism can become a promising financial alternative for the farmers (Deepthi & Davy, 2017).²⁵ Recently, the state government has launched 'The Kerala Agri Tourism Network' to support farming activities. As a part of the agri tourism strategy of Kerala, new ventures have been initiated in all the districts of the state to rejuvenate the hopes of farmers.

Alike the tourist locations all over the world, agri tourism destinations in Kerala have also been affected by constraints such as adverse weather and unavailability of resources including finance. Among the most widespread obstacles, the unexpected eruption of COVID 19 pandemic can be considered as a severe issue that affected the agri tourism activities of the state. Apparently, during the recent years, agri tourism business in the state has been disrupted to a large extent by the adverse effects of climate change, mainly in the form of extreme weather conditions such as flood or persistent heavy rain and high temperature along with humidity. Anyway, agri tourism business in Kerala has the potential to survive as isolated tourist destinations based on natural environment and farming activities are highly relevant for ensuring food safety or security as well as healthy recreation. A long term development plan cannot be effective if the community is affected by natural disasters and health issues. In the context of an increasing attraction towards nature-based recreation like agri tourism, there is an urgent need to address the effects of climate change and the COVID 19 pandemic in Kerala for ensuring the sustainability of the business in the long run.

Conclusion

The assessment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2021),²⁶ states that "climate change is already affecting every inhabited region across the globe, with human influence contributing to many observed changes in weather and climate extremes." Therefore, urgency is required to reduce emissions for tackling climate change. Though the pandemic originated recently and transmitted quickly within a few months, it could be brought under control mainly in terms of equitable access to vaccines

around the world (Mohammad & Pugacheva, 2022).²⁷ But climate change issues have been increasing over a century, causing profound impacts on environment and persistent measures are required to get the right solution, as it is a difficult task amidst the growing demand for material well-being. Thus, the compound effects of climate change and COVID 19 indicate the critical need to address the global challenges (Walton et al., 2021).²⁸

Meanwhile, the connection between the COVID 19 pandemic and the climate change issues can be analysed in terms of the lessons from the measures taken to combat the global challenges (Sarma, 2020).²⁹ Pandemic induced restrictions on mobility in many areas have produced temporary changes in air quality (Hammer et al., 2021)³⁰ and CO₂ emissions (Le Quéré et al., 2020)³¹. This fact indicates that, attention should be given to the environmental impacts of pandemic induced policy responses; and recovery from COVID 19 is an opportunity to promote climate change mitigation measures. If some of the positive behavioral changes in the daily activities caused by the pandemic are maintained in the long run, such good habits can combat climate change. For example reduction in work commutation can curtail carbon emissions. As far as Kerala is concerned, Agri tourism can be a viable strategy for the rural folk to generate extra income. It is evident that though climate change, especially in the form of flood or heavy rain, has disrupted the agri tourism business in Kerala, the agricultural entrepreneurs could survive with their own means. Despite having complete absence of visitors during the period of lock down due to the COVID 19 pandemic the owners of agri tourism destinations have tried to sustain their agriculture and allied activities, hopefully anticipating normalcy in future.

Since most of the global investments in the next two decades will be in the emerging markets or developing economies; and the nature of such investments can shape the future in terms of sustainability, there is scope for attracting sustainable investments in state agri tourism business to foster efficient, resilient as well as inclusive growth and development of the Kerala economy. Kerala has tremendous potential for developing farm tourism in a big way without much additional investment (Joseph & Sravana, 2012).³² In post COVID 19 scenario, farm tourism is a popular form of tourism attraction among visitors to Kerala. The increasing urbanization has been contributing to the growth of domestic travel, which aims at farm tourism development; as it can be a fuel for developing rural community and domestic tourism (Cantero et al., 2022).³³ Many farmers consider agriculture as a way of life instead of a mere occupation and those who know the multidimensional aspect of diversification will be the most successful entrepreneurs in farm tourism business. Agri tourism can be an alternative livelihood diversification strategy in combating global challenges like climate change and pandemic, especially in Kerala. A coherent support and guidelines from government can provide the solution in the long run. If the government adopts a proper policy framework by implementing speedy and effective measures through 'the Kerala Agri tourism Network' it is possible to explore the state agriculture sector as an engine of sustainable development in the long run.

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DETERMINANTS OF SAVING AMONG THE MIGRANT CONSTRUCTION WORKERS IN KERALA

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Introduction

Migration is a multidimensional process which has both positive and negative cost for migrants and their families. Migration can have many positive effects because it expands the opportunities for fruitful work and leads to a wider perception of many social issues among migrants and the population of host regions. Migration has been a definite instrument of improving economic well-being and escaping from poverty (Kundu, 2007). Migration is thought to be the product of asymmetrical development i.e. people from the backward regions move to the developed regions. These developed areas may either thriving rural areas or the regions of escalating urban areas where the people from the regions of less employment and income opportunities flock. Migration leads to economic development, income generation and employment creation in a society directly and indirectly (Prakash, 2006). This paper seeks to assess the economic impact of migration in terms of income, expenses, and savings. A logistic regression model is used to analyse the determinants of savings of migrants. The logistic regression result shows that, the native state of migrants, social category and quality of life are found to have a significant influence on the savings of the respondents

Data source and Methodology

The study is based on a primary survey conducted among the long distant migrants employed in the construction sector in Ernakulam and Trivandrum districts. In comparison with other districts, large numbers of long distance migrants are employed in these two districts. Relevant information was collected from a sample of 369 migrant construction workers selected randomly from Ernakulam and Trivandrum by using a structured interview schedule. Data collected through interview schedules were supplemented by interactions held with construction workers, recruiting agencies, builders and officials of the Labour Department of the state. Interactions with the labourers were held at their places of dwelling during the non-working hours by the researcher with the help of people who are familiar with the mother tongue of the migrants. Simple statistical tools like average and percentage were used for data analysis. Logistic regression is used to show the determinants of savings of migrants.

Logistic Regression model

Logistic regression models estimate the probability of an event to take place. For the case of a single independent variable can be written as

$$\text{Prob (event)} = (e^{B_0 + B_1X}) / (1 + e^{B_0 + B_1X})$$

Or equivalently

$$\text{Prob (event)} = 1 / (1 + e^{-(B_0 + B_1X)})$$

Where B_0 and B_1 are coefficients estimated from the data, X is the independent variable and e is the base of natural logarithms, approximately 2.718.

For more than one independent variable, the model can be written as

$$\text{Prob (event)} = e^Z / (1 + e^Z)$$

Or equivalently

$$\text{Prob (event)} = 1 / 1 + e^{-Z}$$

Where Z is the linear combination

$$Z = B_0 + B_1X_1 + B_2 X_2 + \dots + B_pX_p$$

On the basis of logistic regression model one can assess the determinants of savings of respondents. The dependent variable in the case of a logistic model is a binary variable which takes values 0 and

Theories on Internal Migration

Some of the important theories on internal migration are discussed under the following headings.

1. Ravenstein's Laws of Migration

In the work of the founding father of modern migration research and analysis, Ernest-George Ravenstein (1885, 1889) it was implicit that migration was in effect caused by economic development. He published two papers in the "Journal of the Royal Statistical Society" in June 1885 and June 1889. 'Migration means life and progress, sedentary population stagnation' (Ravenstein, 1889). A total of eleven laws, principles or rules of migration can be identified from the various writings of Ravenstein and these can be stated as follows (Grigg, 1977).

- The majority of migrants go only a short distance.
- Migration proceeds step by step.
- Migrants going long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry.
- Each current of migration produces a compensating counter current.
- The natives of the towns are less migratory than those of rural areas.
- Females are more migratory than males.
- Most migrants are adults: families rarely migrate out of their country of birth.
- Large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase.
- Migration increases in volume, as industries and commerce develop and transport improves.
- The major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centres of industry and commerce.
- The major causes of migration are economic.
- These generalizations were based on an analysis of the 1881 British census. The inherent desire in men "to better themselves in material respects" is the important factor influencing the decision to migrate.

2. Lee's Theory

Everett Lee (1966), over eighty years after Ravenstein, developed a general schema into which a variety of spatial movements can be placed. Lee argued that migration tends to take place within well defined "streams", from specific places at the origin to specific places at the destination, not only because

opportunities tends to be highly localized but also because the flow of knowledge back from destination facilitates the passage for later migrants (Hass, 2008).

Lee also divided forces exerting influence on migrant perception into 'pluses', 'zeros' and 'minuses'. While the 'pluses' pull the individuals towards them, the 'minuses' drive them away. The zeros refer to competing forces which are more or less evenly balanced. These forces are associated with the areas of origin and the areas of destination which are in their own way, governed by personal factors 'which affect individual thresholds and facilitate or retard migration'. Lee's theory is reflected in a broad range of studies, particularly those dealing with migrant selectivity and push - pull factor. Accordingly personal sensitiveness, intelligence and awareness of conditions elsewhere influence the migration decision. In addition to this, personal characteristics like attitude towards change, adventurism, enterprise, emotional factors, ambition etc also affect the decision to migrate.

3. Lewis-Fei - Ranis Model

The first well-known economic model of development to include the rural-urban labour transfer was that of Lewis (1954), which was later improved by Ranis & Fei (1961), and is also known as Lewis- Fei- Ranis model. This model considers migration as an equilibrating mechanism which, through transfer of labour from the labour- surplus sector to the labour- deficient sector brings about wage equality between the two sectors. The model is based on the concept of dual economy comprising a subsistence agricultural sector, characterised by unemployment and underemployment, and a modern industrial sector characterised by full employment where "capitalists" reinvest the full amount of their profit. In the subsistence sector, the marginal productivity of labour is zero, or very low, and workers are paid wages, which equal their cost of subsistence. Thus in this sector, the wages exceed marginal productivity. In the modern sector, wages are maintained at levels much higher than the average agricultural wage. In this dual economy, migration from the subsistence sector to the industrial sector increases industrial production as well as the capitalist's profit and since this profit is fully reinvested in the industrial sector, it further increases the demand for labour from the subsistence sector. This process continues as long as if the reserve army of disguised unemployed, whose supply to the urban industrial sector is assumed to be elastic at the given urban wage, exists in the rural subsistence sector. It might continue indefinitely if the growth rate of population in the rural sector is higher or equal to the rate of labour out-migration, but would come to an end eventually if the rate of growth of demand for labour in the urban area exceeds population in the rural areas.

4. Sjaastad's Human Investment Theory

In 1962, Sjaastad presented a human investment theory of migration, which treats the decision to migrate as an investment decision involving costs and returns distributed over time. The returns are divided into money and non money components. Non money returns include changes in "psychic benefits" such as a result of locational preferences. Similarly, costs include both money and non money costs such as cost of transport, disposal of movable and immovable property necessitated by a shift in residence, wages foregone while in the transit, retaining for a new job, if necessary. There are psychic costs too. Such costs include cost of leaving familiar surroundings, in many cases of giving up one's language and culture, and of adopting new dietary habits and social customs and of growing out one's ethos altogether.

Although Sjaastad takes into account money as well as non-money costs and benefits, in calculating net returns to migration he includes only money costs and non psychic benefits. He assumes that in decision to move, migrants tend to maximise their net real life span incomes and they have at least a rough idea

of what their life span income streams would be in the present place of residence as well as in the destination area and of the costs involved in migration.

5. Todaro (1969) and Harris-Todaro (1970) Migration Model

The basic Todaro (1969) model implies migration proceeds in response to rural urban difference in expected income rather than actual earnings. Some important features of his model are: (i) migration is stimulated by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs, mostly financial, and psychological; (ii) the decision to migrate depends on expected rural-urban wage differentials and chance of obtaining employment in the urban markets; (iii) the chance of obtaining an urban job are inversely related to the urban employment rate; and (iv) migration rates in excess of urban job opportunity growth rates are not only possible but rational also, this being so because of the outcome of continued positive urban-rural expected income differentials.

Later the Todaro (1969) model is extended to include a third sector, namely the informal urban sector. Todaro suggests that the decision to migrate includes the perception by the potential migrant of an “expected” stream of income that is a function of both the prevailing urban wage structure and a subjective assessment of the probability of obtaining employment in the urban modern sector. The important features of the model which are relevant to the present study are (a) Migration is stimulated by rational economic considerations of relative benefits and costs mostly financial but also psychological and (b) The desire to migrate depends on “expected” rather than actual urban rural wage differentials and the probability of successfully obtaining employment in the modern sector.

Results & Discussion

Income is an important factor from the economic point of view. As income increases standard of living also increases. The economic status of migrant construction workers is viewed on the basis of monthly income of the workers.

Table.1 Monthly Income of the Migrants

Monthly Income	Before Migration	After Migration
No income	17 (4.6)	0 (0.0)
2500	187 (50.7)	13 (3.5)
2501 – 5000	149 (40.4)	34 (9.2)
5001 – 7500	12 (3.2)	129 (34.9)
7501- 10000	3 (0.81)	167 (45.2)
>10000	1 (0.2)	26 (7.0)
Total	369 (100.0)	369(100.0)

Source : Primary Data

Note : Figures in brackets indicate percentages

While analysing the monthly income of the respondents we can see that nearly 1 percent of the workers are earning Rs 7500 to Rs. 10000 monthly, but after migration the corresponding figure increased to 45 percent. Only 3 percent of the migrants’ monthly income is between Rs 5001 to Rs. 7500. But after migration the corresponding figure increased to 35 percent (Table .1). It is inferred that 80 percent of the migrants earned monthly income of Rs. 5000 to Rs. 10000 after migration but before migration this figure

was only 4 percent. This is fairly a good amount and from informal conversations it was understood that the current income is three-four times higher than the wage rates in the native places of migrants. This difference is a crucial and prime factor behind migration. Also, the labourers are able to save a reasonable amount of money to send back at home. The study finds that the average monthly income of migrants during pre-migration period is Rs. 2571 but after migration the corresponding figure has substantially increased to Rs. 7328. The monthly expenditure of the migrants is given in the Table.2

Table. 2 Monthly Expenditure of the Migrants

Monthly Expenditure	No. of Respondents	Percentage
2000	17	4.6
2001-3000	237	64.2
3001-4000	73	19.7
4001-5000	22	5.9
>5000	20	5.4
Total	369	100.0

Source: Primary Data

Before migration, majority (64 percent) of respondents were spending Rs 2001 – 3000 in a month. 19.7 percent spend in a range of 3001 – 4000. That means almost 84 percent spend between Rs. 2001 – 4000 monthly. The study finds that the average monthly expenditure of migrants is Rs. 2934.

Saving Habit of Migrant Labours

The act of saving is influenced by several variables like the perception of saving of those who save, their assessment of its costs and benefits, their age, family size and structure, objectives and motivations for saving, investment etc. Different households perceive saving differently. For some, saving is money reserved for further needs, whereas for some others, it is the surplus of income over expenditure and for still others, it is purchase of land, construction of buildings, consumer durables or other household goods.

A comparison of expenditure pattern of long distance migrants before and after migration shows that there has been considerable increase in the expenditure on various items. As their savings in a society is an important catalyst in the economic growth of a society. It may appear that savings of the migrant labourers may boost up the economies of their home state. However the study shows that only a little more than half (54 percent) of the migrant workers have any savings. Remaining 46 percent of the migrants under study are not able to save money from their earnings, due to various reasons. The study found that only 54 percent of the migrants had savings. An attempt has been made to study the reasons for poor saving habit of the migrants. This is given in the Table.3.

Table 3 Major Reasons for No Saving or Poor Saving

Major Reasons	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Wages not enough	124	74.3
High expenses	29	17.2
Irregular wage	3	1.8
Others	13	7.7
Total	169	100.0

Source: Primary Data

The reason for lack of savings was analysed in the study. According to 74 percent of the respondents, this wages were too low and therefore they cannot save any amount. Low wages and higher level of expenses were the major reasons for low saving habit of migrants.

Factors Influencing the Savings of the Respondent

Only around one half of the respondents have savings. A logistic regression model was used to find out the factors influencing savings of the respondents by using the variables like native state, age level of the migrants, religion, social category, education, marital status, quality of life, mode of recruitment, monthly income etc.

Variables used for Logistic Analysis

1 Native state of migrants:

As the respondents belong to different states like Assam, Bihar, Odisha it will be more appropriate to examine whether native state is a factor influencing the probability of saving. The native state of migrants include Assam, Bihar, Odisha, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Respondents from Assam are taken as the reference category.

2 Age of the migrants:

Age at the time of migration is taken as the age of the migrant. It is classified into four categories. Different age categories are the following. Age 30, 31-40, 41-50 and above. Respondents whose age is 30 years is taken as the reference category.

3 Religion:

The number of respondents in Muslim and Christian communities are only nominal. So the migrants are divided into two categories: Hindus and others. Migrants in the Hindu category are considered as the reference category.

4. Social category:

Respondents have been grouped into three categories SC/ST, OBC and others. Migrants from SC/ST social category is taken as the reference category.

5. Educational level:

Migrants are classified into three groups; namely those who have studied up to primary level, completed secondary level and those who completed college level education. Migrants studied up to primary level are considered as the reference category.

6. Marital status:

Respondents were classified into two: currently married and others. Currently married migrants are considered as the reference category.

7. Quality of life

On the basis of quality of life constructed in section 5.13 respondents were grouped into three categories low, medium and high. Migrants who are included in the low well quality of life group are considered as the reference category.

8. Monthly income

Normally monthly income has a direct influence on the savings of the migrants. This is grouped into two: monthly income up to 7500 and above 7500. Monthly income up to 7500 are considered as the reference category.

The results of the logistic analysis for the determinants of savings of migrants are shown in the Table 4.

Table 4 Factors Influencing the Savings of the Respondents

Variables	B	Exp(β)	Significance
State			
Assam®	0.000	1.000	
Bihar	-1.308	0.270	0.036*
Odisha	-0.343	0.709	0.074
UP	-0.753	0.270	0.295
WB	1.611	5.008	0.065
Age			
<=30®	0.000	1.000	
31-40	1.371	3.984	0.916
41-50	1.736	6.830	0.996
51+	2.607	14.855	0.992
Religion			
Hindu®	0.000	1.000	
Others	-0.01	0.989	0.986
Social Category			
SC/ST®	0.000	1.000	
OBC	0.740	2.096	0.092
Others	1.361	3.902	0.021*
Education			
Variables	B	Exp(β)	Significance

Primary®	0.000	1.000	
Secondary	0.225	1.253	0.716
College	0.329	1.390	0.599
Monthly Income			
Up to 7500®	0.000	1.000	
Above 7500	0.904	2.469	0.062
Marital Status			
Currently married®	0.000	1.000	
Others	-0.163	0.849	0.754
Quality of life			
Low®	0.000	1.000	
Medium	2.202	9.048	0.010*
High	2.656	14.236	0.005**
Recruitment			
Through Agents®	0.000	1.000	
Others	0.540	1.717	0.254
Constatnt	0.714	2.568	0.412

®- Reference category, *- Significant at 5% level , **- Significant at 1% level

In the logistic regression analysis variables namely native State of migrants, social category and quality of life are found to have significant influence on saving habit of the respondents. Compared to migrants from Assam, migrants from Bihar have 73 percent lesser chance for saving money. The result is significant at 5 percent level, since P value is 0.036. Migrants from Odisha have about 30 percent lesser chance and respondents from Uttar Pradesh have 73 percent lesser chance for savings. At the same time respondents from West Bengal have five times higher chance for having savings, compared to migrants from Assam.

Compared to migrants in the age group up to 30 years, those in the age group 31-40 have about four times higher chance for having savings. Similarly those migrants in the age group 41-50 have about 6.8 times higher chance and migrants in the age group above 50 years have about 15 times higher chance for having savings.

Compared to Hindus, migrants from other religions have only about 1 per cent lesser chance for savings. Compared to SC/ST migrants, those who belong to the OBC category have about two times higher chance of having savings. At the same time, migrants belonging social category 'others' which includes forward castes have a 3.9 times higher chance of having savings ($P < 0.05$).

Compared to migrants with education up to the primary level, those having secondary level education have 25 percent higher chance of saving money. Migrants with a college education have a 39 percent higher chance of savings.

Compared to migrants with income levels up to Rs 7500, migrants with above 7500 have about 2.5 times higher chance of saving.

Compared to currently married migrants, others have about 15 percent less chance for savings. Compared to those in the low quality of life category, migrants with the medium category have about 9 times higher chance ($P < 0.05$) and the migrants with high quality of life have about 14 times higher chance of having savings ($P < 0.01$). Compared to migrants recruited through agents, others have about 72 percent higher chance of having savings.

The logistic regression result shows that the native state of migrants', social category and quality of life are found to have a significant influence on the savings of the respondents. Among the total respondents, only 200 had savings in different sources such as post office, banks, chit funds, gold and cash.

The saving habit of the migrants shows that most of them (59 per cent) preferred to hold their savings in liquid form as cash itself. 27.5 percent have bank account in the form of both fixed and savings accounts. Some (7.5 percent) of them had savings in post office accounts. A few of them (4.3 percent) held their money in chit funds and only a very small percentage (1.1 percent) held their savings in gold. Among the total respondents, only 55 respondents have bank accounts. So the study attempts to examine the type of bank account of the respondents.

Table 5 Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Type of Bank Account

Type of bank account	No. of Respondent	Percentage
Current account	1	1.4
Savings account	5	9.9
Fixed deposit	49	88.7
Total	55	100.0

Source: Primary Data

Among the total respondents, 49 respondents have fixed deposit accounts. Only 5 respondents have savings deposits. This clearly shows the low level of banking habits among the migrants. Remittances here refer to the earnings that migrants send to their state of origin. Remittances proved to be one of the major sources of household income. Hence the study makes an attempt to reveal the mode of sending remittances to their family.

Table 6 Mode of Sending Remittance to Family

Mode	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Own bank account	44	12.0
Other's bank account	243	65.7
Post office	17	4.6
Through friends and relatives	40	10.9

Through contractor	25	6.8
Total	369	100.0

Source: Primary Data

It may be noted that since the migrants have their families in their hometowns, they have to send money to them for their sustenance. An analysis of the mode of sending money shows that most of them (66 per cent) have to send money to other's bank accounts in their native places. An analysis of the frequency of sending money to their families show that, 93 percent of the respondents send money to their families monthly. 3.3 percent of the respondents send money weekly and 2.7 percent sent money occasionally. Remittances have critical role in the backward native places of migrants. Migration can have a direct effect on people's livelihoods, to the extent that migrants send money to their families for their subsistence. It is the remittances of the migrants that provide a social security mechanism for the poor households left back.

Table 7 Amount of Last Remittance

Amount of Remittance	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Up to 3000	44	11.9
3001-5000	255	69.1
5001-10000	70	18.9
Total	369	100.0

Source: Primary Data

It is found that the majority (69 percent) remitted Rs. 3000-5000 monthly, 18.9 percent remitted Rs. 5000-10000 and 11.9 percent remitted up to Rs. 3000 monthly. The study found that the average monthly remittance of migrants is Rs. 4366. The development potential of remittances can be assessed by examining the purpose for which remittances are used. If the remittances are used for productive purposes then it will lead to economic development of the family as well as the region. It is observed that most of the remittances are used for meeting household expenditures, agricultural purposes, education of dependents, repayment of debt etc.

Conclusion

The present study gives a detailed picture of the impact of migration, by analysing the income, expenditure, savings and quality of life of migrants after and before migration etc. Investments by migrants in housing, land and consumer durables are common and migrant income is also used to finance working capital requirements in agriculture, repayment of debt etc. Thus, rural out-migration provides some ability to poor migrant households to acquire small surpluses and strengthen their productive base. A comparison of expenditure patterns of distant migrants before and after migration shows that there has been a considerable increase in expenditure on alcohol, pan masala, entertainment etc. The logistic regression result shows that the native state of migrants; social category and quality of life are found to have a significant influence on the savings of the respondents. Migration provided the opportunity for the accumulation of household assets. To improve their standard of living, people are moving from one place to another. The effects of migration admitted that the economic status has considerably increased after migration. The analysis shows that there is a significant improvement in the quality of life of migrants after migration.

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V R NAYANAR: A PHILANTHROPIST, NATIONALIST AND EDUCATIONALIST

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Vayikkara Rairu Nayanar was a true disciple of Gopala Krishna Gokhale, the founder of Servants of India Society. He was a social philanthropist and activist. He organized the Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust for the relief activities and social reforms in Malabar. The trust organized numerous relief activities and social reform works in Malabar after the Mappila riots of 1921.¹ Nayanar stood for the poor and marginalized sections of Kerala society. He was also associated with the freedom movement of Kerala. His contributions in the fields of education and social emancipation were indelible, and he is considered a patriotic son of modern Kerala.

V.K. Nayanar was born in 1900, at Kunhimangalam in the modern district of Kannur in Kerala. He belonged to a wealthy and aristocratic *janmy* family in Malabar. His parents were Sri. Aiylyyath Rairu Nambiar and Smt. Kallyani Amma. His father served as a Tahsildar of the British Government and after retirement served as a manager in an estate.² Rairu Nambiar was a well educated sincere member of a traditional *janmy* family. Nayanar joined for M.B.B.S, out of the compulsion of his parents. He was not satisfied with his medical studies and discontinued his studies in Medicine. He visited many places in India like Bombay and Madras. It was a turning point in his life. During those days he came into contact with Gokhale and his ideas influenced Nayanar. He served as a librarian in the Servants of India Society office at Poona for a few months.³ He got training in voluntary social service also. He decided to serve the people of India.

Once Nayanar returned to Malabar, he was a full-time member of the Servants of India Society. It was a crucial period when the Mappila Rebellion devastated a considerable area of Malabar and its people.⁴ Nayanar served as a volunteer captain of the refugee camp organized by the society under the leadership of G.K.Devadhar.⁵ Many refugees came into the camps and the volunteers provided food, dress, shelter and security to the victims of the riots, and the victims were mainly women, children and aged people. Many branches of the Servants of India Society were established in various parts of India. A branch was started at Calicut due to the initiative of G.K. Devadhar.⁶ Devadhar's leadership and experience enabled him to extend his service to the weaker sections of Kerala society. Due to the scarcity of provisions and funds, Devadhar toured Madras and Bombay; while some of his colleagues were deputed to collect funds from Punjab, United Provinces and other places.⁷ They won in accumulating funds for the relief operation.

Twenty-one relief camps were opened in Malabar and Calicut. 26,000 refugees were accommodated. Relief camps were opened in Puthiyara, Mooriyad, Manjeri, Thirooranjadi, Thanur and other places. ⁸ At Manjeri, the camp was occupied by women and children. Devadar faced many problems and difficulties in these activities. Nayanar worked as his right hand. He managed the works of society in Malabar, whereas Devadar coordinated the works of the Servants of India Society in Madras. Devadar outlined the vision of the society and worked to fulfil that vision. He stressed the need for providing women's education, the upliftment of marginalized sections and social reformation. A trust was formed in the name of 'Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust' (DMRT) and registered in Kozhikode.⁹

The activities of the servants of Indian society were undertaken in Kerala. G.K. Devadhar, Hariday Nath Kunzru and Surya Narayanan Rao were the founding members of the trust. Nayanar served as the secretary of the trust. The Trust cooperated with the Indian National Congress during the struggle for India's independence. The trust raised the funds for Congress. Some important programmes of the congress e.g. the campaigns against untouchability and the caste system, and in promotion of the upliftment of women and the depressed classes, became the priority of the society also.¹⁰

Many scholars identified that one of the most important reasons of the Malabar Rebellion was the social and educational backwardness of the region. Gandhiji noted that Malabar was the blackest spot in the untouchability map of India, the worst forms of these practices are to be found in Malabar.¹¹ They realized that religious fanaticism, blind faith, superstitions and evil social practices can be reduced only through education. So the DMRT gave priority to the educational activities and schools in different places for imparting education to the people. During those days many schools didn't admit the untouchables and lower classes of the society. Many of them were compelled to sit on the floor or in the corner of the classroom. They were not allowed to mingle with the students of upper-class families. The teachers of the upper class also practised caste discrimination. Separate schools were opened for lower classes, which were called '*Panjama Schools*'.

Nayanar worked as a teacher in DMRT School. He had a secular outlook, hardworking qualities, a humanitarian approach and organizing skills. He created a group of sincere and hardworking teachers. They undertook all types of services to the society. He became an embodiment of selfless service. The trust established schools in various places, where the teachers and students lived together. These schools intended to provide education to all irrespective of caste, creed or sex. The trust established a school at Koyilandi for *harian* and backward sections. They named this place Gopalapuram to honour Gopalakrishna Gokhale, the chief architect of the Servants of India Society. When the outcastes and other backward sections were not even permitted to walk through the public roads, the social and educational service of Nayanar was indeed revolutionary.¹²

The DMRT started a school At Chelot in Wayandu for the education of Adivasi children. An orphanage was established for *paniya* girls at Muthukanjirat in Wayanad. The orphanage was occupied by both Muslim and *Paniya* girls. Later the Muslim children were taken to a Muslim orphanage near Calicut by the leaders of the Muslim community. Nayanar, the manager of these institutions worked hard to collect money for the provisions and clothes. These schools became very popular among the people because they contributed greatly to reducing caste and communal feelings and developed harmony and tolerance. After the death of Nayanar his wife Kayarat Madhavi Amma managed them. Due to the lack of able leadership, these institutions began to deteriorate.

Epidemics were spread in Malabar during the Second World War. The people lacked proper food and medicine. The cholera was spread. The *harian*s and the downtrodden suffered a lot. The DMRT, under the leadership of Nayanar, organized a group of Volunteers for voluntary Social Service, visited the colonies and houses, supplied medicines, food, and clothes and explained the importance of hygiene and cleanliness.¹³ The volunteers buried dead bodies cleaned the surroundings and looked after the orphaned children. Ayabandhu and P.K. Bappu, a wealthy philanthropist of Kannur supported Nayanar in his attempts. Nayanar had a liberal mind, selfless mentality and humanitarian outlook. He set up orphanages and *balikasadan*s for poor and backward children. V.R Nayanar Balika Sadhanam still exists in Calicut. Training in spinning, weaving book binding etc. was given in these institutions.

Swami Vivekananda inspired him to enter the field of adult education. He organized night classes for the adults. Hindu-Muslim unity and tolerance were improved. He still started to fight against superstitions. Adult education helped to remove untouchability and enmity between the Hindu sections. Other teachers also started adult education classes, where newspaper reports, epic stories, ancient Indian history etc. were taught. In 1937 another organization called 'Seva Samithi Scout Sangham' was started and the members of the *Scout Sangham* rendered voluntary service to the people.¹⁴

Nayanar served for the eradication of untouchability and the upliftment of *harijans*. He organized the Harijan Seva Samithi in Malabar and worked in collaboration with A.V. Thakkurbappa, secretary of All India Harijan Sevak Sangh. The poor Harijan students were admitted to the DMRT schools free of fees. Hostels were started for *harijan* girls and boys. Nayanar was profoundly influenced by Devadhar in this regard, for when Devadhar had presided over the South Indian Social Workers Conference in December 1922, he passed a resolution, urging non-payment of grants to such educational institutions refusing to admit children of all communities including backward and depressed classes.¹⁴ The benefits of *harijans* were given importance in all his endeavours. In his volunteer groups, the youth of the upper classes were enlisted and it yielded good results. The traditional orthodox Hindus opposed the upliftment of lower classes. Though Nayanar belonged to the upper caste, he didn't mind all these opinions. Through their activities, the volunteers succeeded in revealing the baseless of all these evil practices.

Nayanar and his followers worked against blind faith and superstitions. People believed that diseases were caused by evil spirits. So they resorted to magical cures. They went to black magic instead of proper medicines. Animals were sacrificed for relief. The DMRT workers opposed such evil practices and offered their necks to be cut by the priests. Nayanar endeavoured to draw the simple people away from such harmful practices and even collected money to send poor patients to the hospital. During those days public health centers were very few. Hence, Nayanar with the assistance of Dr. Cotniss, started 'Serve India Dispensaries' in selected places in remote villages and appointed graduate Ayurvedic Doctors to serve in these centres: consultation and essential medicines were supplied free of cost to poor people in ten selected centres.¹⁶ A group of Ayurvedic doctors and other professionals like Kaloor Neelakandan Viridian, Ramankutty Nair, P. K Raman actively supported Anaya in all these activities.

For the economic welfare of the people in Poona and elsewhere, as well as to serve agriculturalists from indebtedness, the servants of Indian society introduced various economic schemes.¹⁷ Anaya introduced such schemes in Malabar also. Cultivation of vegetables and agricultural products was promoted on a cooperative basis. Qualified agriculturalists trained the farmers, agricultural fairs were organized in different parts of the country to discover new markets and thus save the producers from the exploitation of the middlemen.¹⁸ Vegetables were cultivated in the DMRT schools. The products were distributed free of cost to the poor people. Employment opportunities were created in the villages with special training and financial assistance for poultry farming. Cooperative societies helped the people to take up spinning and weaving traders.¹⁷ Trade fairs were organized in various parts of the country to display the different crafts and commodities produced and this helped the people to improve their standard of living.²⁰

The servants of India Society initiated and coordinated the working of cooperative societies in different parts of the country. G.K. Devadhar, presiding over the congress of co-operative societies in Bombay in 1926, declared that the co-operative movement aims at unifying and vitalizing the best of the co-operative achievements of the people in thought and in action without any discrimination as to the colour, caste, sex or status of the workers involved.²¹ These societies helped to promote cordial relations, goodwill, tolerance and cooperation among the communities. To achieve this goal, a journal, *Paraspara Sashay*, was published in Kozhikode in which various aspects of the co-operative movement were discussed.

Anaya provided training in voluntary social service to a large number of young people. During that time the teachers of DMRT Schools were known as DMRT workers. They undertook various social reform activities and relief operations. They always helped the downtrodden and marginalized sections of the society. The volunteers campaigned against social evils. The major social evils of that period were the untouchability, the caste system, the consumption of liquor and superstitions. They worked hard to control the epidemics. Along with Anaya these volunteers visited the disease-infected areas carrying medicine, food, clothes etc., buried the dead bodies of the poor and untouchables who had died due to epidemics, cleaned the surroundings, and taught the need for hygiene and sanitation.²² These services developed tolerance and fraternity among the people. It strengthened the national unity and freedom struggle.

Anaya has become an immortal being among the people of Kerala. His social reform activities and the relief works changed the face of Kerala and the lives of people. His noble ideals of humanism implanted in a multitude of people were great. His efforts under the banner of Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust were remarkable. The social reformers of Kerala like Sri Mahayana Guru, Chattambi Swamikal, Viacom Abdul Khader Moulavi, Ayyamkali etc. worked for the emancipation of their respective community. But V.K. Nayanar aimed at the upliftment of suffering humanity irrespective of their caste, creed, gender or religion. To Gokhale, the public service meant “voluntary service in the interest of our fellow beings”. In that aspect, Anaya was a true disciple of Gopala Krishna Gokhale. He had sacrificed his interest for the marginalized people of Kerala.

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THE INTERNAL IMMIGRANTS ASSOCIATION AND THEIR ACTIVITIES IN COIMBATORE

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Introduction

Coimbatore is the second largest City in the State of Tamil Nadu. It is the administrative headquarters of Coimbatore District. Coimbatore is also known as the “Manchester of South India”. Coimbatore is known for its Industrial hub, educational institutions, health care facilities, pleasant weather-friendly culture and hospitality. There is a significant majority of persons from North and West India people came to Coimbatore. As the number of families increased, immigrant people felt a need to have an association so they started an association in and around Coimbatore.

Shree Coimbatore Gujarati Samaj

As the number of families increased, Gujaratis felt they needed to have an association. So Shree Coimbatore Gujarati Samaj was founded in the year 1942 and was later registered under the societies registration Act in 1952. Shree Coimbatore Gujarati Samaj put up a small building of its own in the Syrian Church round on a piece of land donated by a leading Gujarati Sri Phanji to plan and carry on the work of binding Gujarat'is of the City and other social work for the local community. There are seven hundred families in Gujarati Samaj or more than 5000 people. The Samaj held periodic, monthly and yearly meetings. The members of the Gujarati community participated in the meeting.

At present, Shree Coimbatore Gujarati Samaj Functions under the regulation of the Tamil Nadu Societies Registration Act with a 16-member working committee elected for two years term. The present President is K. Sripratap, G. Raichura, Secretary Sri Harish G. Shah Treasurer Sri Mahendra R. Dave, immediate past present Sri D.G. Shah and 12 community members.

Activities of Shree Coimbatore Gujarati Samaj

The Samaj has had several stalwarts in the past to lead it in the path of service and fellowship among the Gujarati of Coimbatore. The Samaj can now boast of 65000 sq ft of built-up area with all facilities to hold weddings, meetings, seminars, and small get-togethers. It also has a huge open-air auditorium with 1100 seating capacity. The guest house with A/C and non-A/C rooms and dormitory are a great comfort to the travelling public. The Samaj is all the time buzzing with activities like holding medical camps, Tambola Anand mela, Gujarat Utsav, and Anthakshari. The various assistance like medical, education, house rent, and food grains, to the less fortunate members, is note worthy. The Samaj also runs a full-time medical clinic for the economically weaker section of the community. The Samaj acts as an arbitrator to settle disputes between members and issues marriage certificates for weddings conducted on this premises. A monthly magazine “ Kovai Gurjari ” brings out the activities of all the various affiliated associations in a detailed manner. The magazine is celebrating the silver jubilee year of its publication. Shree Baldevdas Kikani Vidyamandir a higher secondary matriculation school founded by the Samaj is run most efficiently with more than 2100 students. Shree Coimbatore Gujarati Samaj has celebrated the Silver Jubilee Golden Jubilee and Diamond Jubilee. This kind of social activity has brought the people closer and get involved in various welfare programmes.

Gujarati Mutual Welfare Society

A unique institution run by the Samaj to help Gujarati of Coimbatore financially is Gujarati Mutual Welfare Society under which Gujarati members are offered loans at low rates of interest from the deposits received from members of the Gujarati community for setting up businesses, purchase of durables, conduct of marriages, medical expenses etc. The turnover of such financial help has crossed 1.73 Core rupees in the current financial year alone.

The Gujarati community has strived to serve the local community and has adopted Coimbatore as its foster mother City. They have contributed their mite in times of need like drought, floods, or calamity in Tamil Nadu a large number of RAP (Rapid Action Force) personnel were housed in the Gujarati Samaj complex continuously for 3 months (free of charge) when the City was affected by a serial Bomb blast.

Shree Coimbatore Gujarati Samaj organized great relief work for Earthquake victims of the Gujarat Earthquake and sent lakhs of rupees worth of food, medicines, blankets, clothes etc. It collected about rupees 40 lakhs in donations which had been utilised for setting up a colony constructed with 43 houses named “Kovai Nagar” in Bhuj in Kach district of Gujarat.

Shree Coimbatore Gujarati Samaj built a spacious building complex in the year 1984-1985 on Mettupalayam road named “SREE GUJART SAMAJ BHAVAN” housing a library with 5000 books, a daily reading room and many books are available in the library.

Gujarati Samaj is publishing a monthly Magazine called “KOVAI GUJARI”. This has wide circulation in South India. It is established for the public convenience G.T.N. Raichura Hall, Maruti Dhan Hall, Annupurna Block Kitchen, ABJI Rany Patel Hall, Bhimani Hall, S.B.G.G. Hall, Dhanji Toran Hall, T.V. hall, Open A.C Auditorium, and Dining hall. The ten halls are used by the Coimbatore people for many purposes, wedding celebrations, official meetings, seminars, family gatherings and medical camps are organized in these halls.

Rajasthani Association

Rajasthani Sangh Bhavan is located at 579, D.B Road, R.S. Puram, Coimbatore. The total area of the Sangh is about 20,000 Sq.ft. The Bhavan building consists of A.C Auditorium, A.C. Dining hall, Roof Garden, 21 well furnished A.C Rooms, a Large kitchen, an AC conference hall, a Store Room, Adequate parking and restrooms.

The Bhavan can accommodate around 1500 persons for a function. Any person can reserve the Bhavan in advance as per the rules and regulations prevailing in the Sangh. The Bhavan has adequate amenities, vessels, water, generators, power, lifts, security, etc., for conducting the function smoothly and easily.

Apart from the “Rajasthani Samaj” building a small unit named “Rajasthani Nivas” located at 33, Periaswamy Road East, R.S. Puram is available for small functions which can accommodate around 500 persons. This unit includes 6 A.C. well-furnished rooms, Dining Hall, Kitchen, restrooms, etc. Both the Rajasthani Samaj and Rajasthani Nivas buildings are widely used by people of all walks of life to their utmost satisfaction. The surplus derived from these Bhavan buildings is utilized for maintenance and upkeep of the buildings and to create additional amenities for the Social welfare.

Facility of Rajasthani Sangh

A public library with a reading hall where every day an average of 100 persons also attend the library reading room where leading newspapers, magazines, educational books and novels, to the interest of the readers. In Hindi English and Tamil Language books are also available.

The auditorium is a fully air-conditioned hall with built-in dais connected by two rooms on either side for the bride and groom. The auditorium is fully furnished with eye-catching interiors and a spacious lobby at the entrance. It is also pre-equipped with sound systems and fancy lighting and is very well-suitable for marriages and conferences. The auditorium has a balcony and attached rooms. The auditorium can accommodate 800 people comfortably.

The dining hall is fully air-conditioned with all modern infrastructure and interior for luxurious dining. It is equipped with sound systems and fancy lighting. The dining hall is on the first floor of the building well connected with the kitchen for easy access to food items. Separate provision is made for drinking water and wash area etc., it can accommodate 250 seats.

The kitchen is located at the ground level with a spacious area and equipped with all modern equipment required to cook food for about 1000-1200 people at a time. The kitchen is well connected to the dining hall and utility like wash area, drainage, vegetable room, store room etc., all vessels for cooking and serving are made available at the store room adjoining the kitchen. Plenty of water for both cooking and washing is available in the kitchen itself. The roof garden at the terrace level is suitable for dinner for about 300 plus people open air. Fancy lighting, fixed canopies for the buffet and other equipment are available in the roof garden.

The room block of the Sangh consists of 21 fully air-conditioned and furnished. Rooms in the ground plus four-floor blocks and separate lifts are available for this block. Adequate lighting and ventilation are provided in all the rooms for the comfortable stay of guests. Fully air-conditioned hall with a seating capacity of 60 no's attached with a mini A/C dining hall at the basement level suitable for conducting meetings, conferences, educational training classes, birthday and family functions etc., facilities like podium, audio system and chairs and tables are available. Sangh has initiated a campaign to include domestic workers in the protection of women against sexual harassment under the Workplace Act 2000. Due to the efforts of the domestic workers movement in the Kongu Region, the domestic workers were brought under the purview of the act and ensured protection. The joint efforts of the internal immigrants have made the voiceless and visible domestic and migrant workers in the Kongu Region have their voices heard and have a face in the public.

Relief Works

When the nation was plagued with national calamities and crises, Rajasthani Sangh came forward donating liberally to various funds such as Sankara Eye Society, Rehabilitation assistance to Sri Lanka Refugees, victims of Maharashtra and Gujarat East Quaker, Orissa flood and Tsunami Relief and rehabilitation work etc.

The Sangh have performed civil duties during serial bomb blasts. The Sangh has donated a sum of Rs12,21,400 to the Gujarat Eastern Relief fund. Relief and rehabilitation measures were undertaken by the Sangh members in Tsunami tsunami-affected area at Cuddalore and relief materials were also distributed to the people affected by the catastrophe and earned the love and affection of the affected people.

Social activities of Malayalee Samaj

The Malayalee Samaj has been encouraging its members in creative arts and organizing quality performances, staging Malayalam Dramas, undertaking musical performances and other items of fine arts. The Samaj has also encouraged the members to write Malayalam Dramas, direct them and publish the drama books at their cost. Samaj is also conducting a Malayalam Coaching class and issuing

certificates for all those who are interested in learning the Malayalam language. There is a library with more than 6000 volumes and a reading room with about 30 periodicals and newspapers being provided.

There is a well-organized ladies' wing. The members of this lady's wing assemble every Saturday and undertake useful services, for the women's fold such as taking cooking classes embroidery classes, arranging sports and undertaking social services. The lady's wing makes the C.M.S an organization of families rather than individuals.

The members of the Samaj attend to requests from the members and render help to them at times of calamities such as death chronic diseases etc. The expenses are met and other arrangements are made at the cost of Samaj in deserving cases. Scholarships, fee concessions, free supply of books and uniforms to the students are also provided every year on a liberal scale. There is a well-organized sports wing with facilities for all types of indoor games and these are made use of by the men and women members in a very effective manner. Tournaments in the District level and other competitions are conducted regularly.

Eco-friendly activity-Garden Maintenance

As a corporate responsibility, the Kirtilal Kalidas Group maintains several way to divide genders in the City. They are Avinasalingam Garden, North Coimbatore Garden, V.O.C Garden, K.G. Garden, Race Course Garden, Coimbatore Airport Garden, and Coimbatore Railway Station Garden. The healthcare system has witnessed over the last three decades along with eco-friendly activities.

Due to the standing quality of work, the Rotary clubs in Coimbatore City have joined hands with the Kikani family in giving better service. Health care, and immunization centres for all are but a few of the services the Rotary has undertaken.

Medical Camps and awareness programmes

The Gujarati Samaj organized the following medical camps for the welfare of the people. They are Polio Camp, Children Camp, Eye Camp, and Free Medical Camp. Awareness programs like Diabetes awareness programs and Aids awareness programs were also launched for the people. In the field of social welfare, the Gujaratis are not far behind. Their roles in medical services are tremendous. At an affordable cost, they invariably offer medical services to the hand-to-mouth existing people.

The Gujaratis have always attracted the attention of Coimbatore. Gujarati are the most admirable and appreciable people in every part of Coimbatore. Gujarati may not be Soldiers, but they have been successful in capturing the hearts of the people wherever they went and settled. With an ardent faith, the Gujarati people moved to Coimbatore. The conducive atmosphere and the ambience of Coimbatore invited their attention. Upon their arrival, they were engaged in various health activities.

Medical contribution of Rajasthani Sangh

The Sangh in its main building also runs a "Free Public Dispensary" with renewed duty Doctors, to help the poor and needy patients. The dispensary is catering to the financially weak population, and the medical needs of the people in Coimbatore. Around 100-150 poor patients per day are treated at the Dispensary and medicines are also given free of cost.

The Rajasthani Sangh organized the following medical camps for the welfare of the people. They are Polio Camp, Eye Camp, B Vaccination Camp, Asthma Camp, Blood donation Camp, Bone and Joint Health Camp and, Acupressure Camp. Various medicare camps for welfare and health care of the poor and downtrodden in and around Coimbatore District camps are conducted regularly. Awareness programs like Diabetes awareness programs and Heart Awareness programs were also launched for the

social welfare of the people. Their roles in medical services are tremendous. At an affordable cost, they invariably offer medical services to the hand-to-mouth existing people. Donations for heart surgery, kidney transplantation and other medical assistance and educational assistance to the poor and needy are offered by the Rajasthani Sangh.

The Sangh has installed a bore well in Pondanur village and constructed an overhead tank at Thudiyalur for making drinking facilities for the villages besides installing water huts at the corporation bus stand, CMC Hospital, D.B Road, etc. A roadside park is also maintained by the Rajasthani Sangh in the heart of the City at "Race Course" in Coimbatore. It renders sincere medical service to all the people to have a good and healthy walk.

Today the community of Punjab both Sikh and Hindus have mingled so well with the local population that their food habits have changed and the next generation finds itself more at home speaking, Tamil than Punjabi. The older generation tries to generate an interest in the vivacious, rustic and colourful culture of Punjab. However, by integration with the local and cosmopolitan population through organizations like Sangam, the Rotary, the Lions, Jaycees and Round Table and their ladies' wings, the Punjabi have made their mark in Coimbatore and contributed to the entire society in no small measure. This is indeed an excellent example of National Integration at every level.

Sikh and art culture is synonymous with that of the Punjab region. The Punjab itself has been called India's melting pot due to the influence of invading cultures such as Greek, Mughal and Persian that mirror the influence of tigers from which the region get its name. Thus, Sikh culture is to a large extent influenced by this synthesis of culture. Sikhs owned separate shops in and around Coimbatore. This includes Jewellery shops, trading companies, travel agencies, automobile accessories shops electrical and electronic shops etc.

Conclusion

The internal immigrants are active in the socio-economic, cultural, educational and medical fields and contribute to the development of the region and nation. In due course, they will be assimilated to the mainstream of society. The attitude and activities of the government do not lead to any other conclusion. When the cultural assimilation is complete the problem of the internal immigrants will be wiped out instead of being solved. Thus, the immigrants contributed a lot to the cultural development of the ethnic inhabitants of the Kongu region and began to practice their customs and traditions also. More immigrants form as well as celebrate festivals like Pongal, Diwali, Navarathri, Christmas, Onam, Ramzan etc. with much pomp and pleasure. The immigrants studied the local art forms and produced new fusion art forms like Jumpa dance, Gymnastics, Thiruvathira etc. It brings the Kongu region to an extreme level.

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ORIENTAL INTERPRETATIONS ON THE INDIAN CASTE SYSTEM

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Introduction

Orientalism is a much-talked-about area of study in the scholarly world. A lot of works have been produced on Indian history by the propounders of Orientalism. 'Otherness' is the main underlying theme of Oriental studies. They tried to specify how Indian society was different from Western civilization. During the British period, most of the works were produced to help the administration in their affairs.

The Caste, a defining feature of Indian life have always been the quintessential topic which attracted both Indian and Western scholars. No other trait of Indian life has such a strong and deep-rooted influence than the caste. Oriental scholars have written about the connection between caste and Indian society and how it has influenced all aspects of India.

What Is Orientalism ?

Orientalism, the study of religions, literature, art, laws and histories of Asian societies especially that of the ancient period was and is still one of the most popular and explored areas of study. This particular field of research got its momentum due to the enthusiasm for everything "Indian" or Asian. Unlike the initial Anglicanism which argued for the rule of Asia according to Western values and rules, Orientalism sought the implementation of Asian or Indian norms. With time, to distance themselves from the stereotypical Orientalist identity they renamed their field of expertise as "Asian Studies".

The development and evolvement of History, Sociology and Cultural Studies in recent times with the framing and application of new theories have resulted in new conclusions and criticisms of Orientalism. The work of scholars like Edward Said talks about the stereotypical attitudes and conceptions these Orientalists had towards Asian and Arab cultures.

The fundamental theme of Oriental studies in the initial phase about Asia, was about the erstwhile legacy of Asia being the cradle of civilizations and how it ceased to be and went into a state of decay. Most of the scholars associated were related to the colonial government in one way or another. The area which attracted and thrilled the Orientalists as a flock is the corpus of Sanskrit. This discovery resulted in the rise of a comparative approach to Social Science and Humanities. The European-Sanskrit common lineage theory was also associated with this approach.

Studies on castes and the way they moulded the life of Indians were influenced by the imaginations of this "otherness" and differences in the perception of Orientalists. Their theory always led to the conclusion that caste was responsible for all social occurrences. Caste was given a totalitarian, pervasive, unique and uniform face by the respective scholars. The fundamental sources on castes from the colonial side were census and surveys.

Orientalism derived itself from naturalization, modernization and secularization of the understanding of the past and through this they wanted to frame a new picture of the events that happened. Colonial Anthropology focused on reaping the benefits from these Brahmanical ideas.

As Edward Said, the famous Palestinian-American scholar opines "Orientalism is a style of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction between the Orient and the Occident". This field of study categorized Indians and Asians as the "other than" Occident. The fundamental motive behind this approach was to establish the West as culturally and racially superior to the East and thereby cement

their imperialism over the colonized countries. The studies helped the European imperialists to define and illustrate the west as a “contrasting image, idea, personality, experience”.

Caste in India

While coming to caste or Jati as known popularly, is defined by one's birth. It's a static social group to which individuals are born and brought up and this hierarchical address defines a person's existence in India till his or her death. This social stratification system has social units differentiated into ranks that are endogamous and characterized by superordinate or subordinate relationships. The term caste traces its origin to the Spanish and Portuguese 'Casta' which means race, tribe or breed. But in the Indian scenario, the term can also be referred to mean lineage or clan.

Different theories roam around regarding the origin of the caste system including the Traditional theory which emphasizes the divine origin of the system and also its affinity to the Varna hierarchy, Racial theory which correlates Varna and caste, Political theory that considers caste as a political tool instituted by Brahmins to exhibit dominance in the social hierarchy, Occupational theory and Evolution theory. Even though these theories differ in their opinions regarding the origin of the system they all highlight the same features of hierarchy, segmentation of society, endogamy, hereditary status, food habits, practice of purity and pollution etc.

The features central to the caste system and hierarchy are subordination, exploitation, inequality and usurpation of land, labour and other resources from specific groups of people. The exploiters have created an order with themselves at the top by making use of mythology, religion and rituals.

India is fast developing but as social scientists thought caste is not disappearing on the other hand it has grown out to be both a social and sociological problem. A large number of evils happening in our country are directly or indirectly related to the existence of caste. Because of its widespread impact caste has always been the most discussed topic of Indian society by both native and foreign writers.

The British period saw a large number of studies being conducted on Indian society and its culture. These works were not only based on literary and archaeological evidence but also on empirical statistics. The initial writers often confused between Varna and Caste and always attributed inter-varna marriages as the reason for the origin of Jatis and Upajatis. Tribes and their life were also analyzed before producing such works.

The initial studies were not scientific as their theoretical framework was confined. These studies on Castes originated with the Catholic Orientals who were early modern explorers, merchants and local Catholics. However, the early missionary studies were overly religious and solely based on indigenous witnesses. They found Indians to be obedient slaves of the immobile hierarchy and Brahmanical way of life. The indigenous sources of India were deciphered in the frame of Catholic dogma. In spite of this, their efforts helped in getting a basic understanding of Indian castes, social hierarchy and the ideas behind the stratification.

The early European works helped in creating a framework of Indian caste, religiosity and social structure. Weber's *Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism* examines caste as the fundamental institution of India. The initial response towards caste was not to attack the system but to convert it into the norm of civil life that comes outside the frame of faith. The Portuguese seafarers were the first to use the term “casta” to refer to different tribes or clans of people. And then the term travelled to English and all over Europe. But for the colonial administrators caste was only a means of administering civil society.

Caste was used by the administrative forces for the taxing system also, each caste was forced to pay different amounts of tax and labour dues. Land alienation acts were enacted with the categorization of different castes and tribes as agriculturists and non-agriculturists. Caste was often used as a synonym for status.

Oriental Writings on the Caste System

Max Weberian's theory on caste is one of the most discussed areas of study. For him, caste is a global-historical enquiry while mainstream Sociology put forward the notion that caste is uniquely Indian. Weber was the first to have done a detailed comparison of social structure driven empirically.

A Brief View of Caste Systems of North-Western Provinces and Awadh by J.C. Nesfield which was published in 1855 was a pioneer work on the social structure of Ancient India. He opined that the hereditary division of occupations was the foundational stone for the evolution of the caste system. The earlier groups of agriculturists, artisans, traders etc. became different sects and later on developed into castes.

The French Indologist Charles Emilie Marie Senart made a distinction between Varna and Caste. He equated Varna's mobility to that of class while interpreting caste as an entirely autonomous entity. But for him caste hierarchy was real while the *Varnasramam* differentiation was artificial and conceptual. He opined that Brahmins in order to maintain their hegemony incorporated Indo-European lineages into the Varna system.

The colonial administrators who carried out the census also had their own take on the caste system and its evolution. Herbert.H.Risley linked racial factors with the rise of caste hierarchy. The nasal index or the length of the nose of individuals was analyzed by him to differentiate between Aryans and Non-Aryans. Risley's caste-based census had a huge impact and indirectly led to the consolidation of castes.

French Sociologist Celestin Bougle pointed out three characteristic manifestations of the caste-system namely: hereditary based occupation, hierarchy and repulsion. He gave a socio-economic interpretation to the origin of the caste system and negated the role of Brahmins to just legitimise the system. He even accepts the idealized concept of Varna and completely ridicules the racial interpretation of caste.

The scholar who gave a new interpretation of the caste system is Hutton who emphasized 15 characteristics of caste. Purity, pollution, environmental segregation, racial differences etc. were some of the features. He viewed the origin of caste as the coming together of different social groups. However, since his theory was ambiguous about the evolution of caste hierarchy, it didn't get accepted among the people. Hutton's notion about caste and its hierarchical system was more or less based on manifestations and assumptions.

The large-scale studies conducted by the imperial rulers on India and its socio-cultural milieu were mainly based on the conviction that to dominate the geographical area and its people effectively a proper understanding of the land was necessary. The encouragement given by the British government to the officials appointed in India and the establishment of institutions like the Asiatic Society resulted in the writing of a large number of works in the Oriental aspect.

Limitations of Oriental Studies on Caste

Castes and Tribes of India had the fate of being interpreted and analyzed vehemently by the colonial advocates of "Oriental others". The main purpose of Oriental studies as is evident from the works is that they wanted to create a manipulated or artificially derived version of India in contrast to Western

individualism or modernity. They wanted to show how uncivilized India was when compared to the civilized West by drawing out a comparative parallel.

The Western studies on India for almost thirty or more years after Indian independence were confined to the caste and social hierarchy of India. They made caste the only idea of existence and survival for India and it was only by the late 1970s that new criticisms and theories challenging this notion began appearing.

Most of the Oriental studies were concentrated on confining the focus to the intricacies of the caste system and thereby ignored the gradual evolution of the system. Because of this the conclusions given by these works were incomplete and dubious.

Developing an interdisciplinary critique of the caste system can improve the scope of studies being conducted in the area. The inertia behind the evolution and ever-growing influence of caste in Indian social structure can be analyzed by examining cultural, political, religious, economic, administrative and other diverse mechanisms. Studying the counter-caste practices of women and men within castes and sub-castes and also about the life and movement of subjugated people would give a new outlook to the area.

The post-colonial studies are also to an extent dominated by caste perspectives. Its contribution to caste criticism is almost null. Their studies were limited to racial capitalism and colonial racism and not to the intricacies of casteism. Anti-caste memories and hegemony of caste should be given significance which would make up a good critique rather than romanticizing the dominance of caste. More writings on the castelessness of society should be initiated which would emphasize on the subaltern livelihood.

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THE KODUMBALUR CHIEFS AND THE REVIVAL OF THE CHOLAS

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It cannot but be of interest to know the story of the fall of one of the greatest monarchies that, for several centuries, wielded marvellous power, displayed high military talent and performed mighty deeds of valour, which contributed to the formation of an extensive empire in South India, that adorned the country with admirable monuments, raised for the first time with enduring materials defying the destructive powers of nature, which tell the greatness of the glory of their founders and which are the forerunners ushered in a new era of literary activity bringing with it the North Indian culture and fostering it with care and assiduity. It becomes all the more fascinating as the fall of this power is closely connected with the revival of another more ancient one that had been supplanted centuries ago.

Introduction

The materials needed for the purpose are not abundant and the few that we have, lie scattered and uncared for. We shall endeavour to pick up the available materials and set them up in proper order so that their real value and significance, which are not quite patent, may appear better.

Anaimangalam grant, popularly known as the Leiden plates, which was the only authority for the Chola History available for the pioneers in the field of Epigraphy and Archaeology for a long time, did not throw any hint that the early Cholas had lost their kingdom, who had snatched it from them and when, and that it had to be got back. Nor does it say how or when it was regained. The grant simply mentioned that Vijayalaya was a descendant of Killi and then proceeded to give an account of his successors. The epigraphical field season of 1906 was very eventful in that it brought out of oblivion simultaneously a fine structural monument that came into existence in the days of the Pallava king Aparajita with some inscriptions of his time and a set of copper plates containing thirty-one lines with a massive ring and seal which furnished a more detailed account of the Chola family than the Leiden plates and revealed for once that Vijayalaya captured Tanchapuri and built in it a shrine for Nisumbasndhini and his son and successor Aditya I defeated the Pallava Aparajita in the battle and took possession of his dominions. The political events leading up to the capture of Tanjore by Vijayalaya and the acquisition of the Pallava kingdom by Aditya remain to be traced. We have to learn how these feuds of arms were affected by the father and the son and who helped them in their enterprise. We have also no information as to the immediate ancestry of Vijayalaya. The statement in the Tiruvalangadu plates has since been supported by further discoveries. One of the Tillasthanam inscriptions not only speaks of Aditya's extending his territory into Tondai-Nadu but also informs us that he bore the surname Rajakesari Varman and that he and the Chera king of his day Kantha allian Sthanu Ravi, powerful of his elephant forces, bestowed honours on a chief who had rendered valuable help to both of them. The Kanyakumari prasasti states that Aditya I, also called Kodandarama, killed Aparajita.

Vijayalaya's capture of Tanchapuri was a very bold attempt for a newly rising king, and it is certain that he must have been supported by some powerful chief. The result of the capture must have shattered for once the power of the Muttaraiyans, who had not only possession of this place until then but were also the chief supporters of the members of the second dynasty of the Pallavas.

We know that on the death of Paramesvaravarman II, the Pallava country was without a ruler and that a deputation consisting of the Matras, Mulaprakritis and the Ghatakayar waited on Hiranyavarman – Maharaja succeeded in getting for the vacant Pallava throne at Kanchi no less a person than that of the kings' son Pallavamalla. It is recorded and the event is sculpturally represented in the Vikuntha – Perumal temple at Kanchi when this prince Pallavamalla came to the city of Conjeevaram accompanied by Dharanikondaposar he was assisted by a large force under the command of Pallavadi Araiyyar and was received by Kadakka Muttaraiyar and other feudatories as well as the members of the assembly of merchants and the Malaprakritis and duly crowned king under the name Nandivarman and surname Videlvidugu and invested with the usual insignia of Pallava royalty.

The part played by the Dharanikonda Posar, Pallavadi Araiyyar and Kadakka Muttaraiyar and others in joining with the Mulaprakritis, ministers, etc., in getting and crowning Nandivarman Pallavamalla as king of the Pallava country effectively prevented the Cholas from availing themselves of one of the lines of opportunities to regain and revive their lost power. Further the successors of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla, Dantivarman, Nandivarman III and Nripatunga family. They became the chief feudatories of Pallavas and maintained a strong hold on the bordering territory of Trichinopoly, Pudukkottai and Tanjore and made the Konadu chiefs Pallavamalla's son Nantivarman was Marapiduvanar or Marapidugu. He figures in a fifth-year record of Nantivarman discovered at Kunnandarkoyil (kulatur taluk of Pudukkottai)¹. What is more interesting is that he had under him as a servant a certain Kalimarkka Ilavaraiya whose proper name was Vali Vadugan, evidently a member of the Kodumbalur family². Another Muttaraiyan chief who was in the service of Dantivarman eleven years later in his sixteenth year was Videlvidugu Muttaraiyan alias Kuvanan Sattan who excavated the rock-cut cave at Malaiyadippatti³. A certain Videlvidugu Vilupper Araisan alias Sattan Maran had for his mother Perumbidugu Perundevi⁴. His has been tentatively taken to be a contemporary of Nandivarman⁵. Nandivarman III had for his feudatory a certain Marapidugu Ilangovel⁶ and in Nripatunga's time flourished another Videlvidugu Muttaraiyan⁷. One of the inscriptions of Kudumiyamalai⁸ states that Varagunanatti, the queen of Sembian Irukkuvel⁹, evidently a Kodumbalur chief, was the daughter of Videlvidugu Muttaraiyan, this queen figures in a sixth-year record of Parakesarivarman. The late Sri Venkayya has taken Sembian Irukkuvel to be identical to Bhuti Vikramakesarin on account of his queen's name Varagunanatti. This identification is highly improbable as will be shown in the sequel.

From what has been said above it will be plain that the Muttaraiyars not only took a prominent part in installing King Nandivarman II Pallavamalla on the Pallava throne when Paramesvaravarman II died and strengthened their own position but were strongly supporting the second dynasty of the Pallavas for nearly two centuries and were keeping under the members of the other border family of Kodumbalur Yadavas against whom they had an ancient feud.

The combined action of the Pallavas and the Muttaraiyars effectively kept back the Cholas, whose territory the Pallavas had occupied a long time ago. This position of the various powers must be borne in mind to understand the future.

At this stage, it will be well to know something about the feud between the Muttaraiyars and the Konadu chiefs. Perumbidugu Muttaraiyar alias Suvaran Maran is said, in the Sendalai pillar inscription¹⁰ to have gained victories at Kodumbalur and Kannanur. At Kannanur the arms of the king, it is said, were directed to take refuge in a hill nearby. Though the enemy at Kodumbalur is not specifically stated, it may be assumed to have been fought against the Konadu king of the time, the place being the capital of that king.

We may by the way note how the Pallavas came to have possession of the Chola territory. From the Tiruvalangadu and the Velurpalyam plates, we are led to believe that Chola aggression, at first resulted in depriving the Pallavas of their capital Kanchi. We are told in the Tiruvalangadu plates that the Chola king Karikalas, who is said to have defeated Tirlocana Pallava, beautified the city of Kanchi, the capital of the Pallavas, with gold; and the Pallavas king Kumaravishnu had to capture it¹¹. The recapture of Kanchi was followed by a further attack on the Cholas by Kumaravishnu's son and successor Buddhavarman¹². Not long after, Simhavishnu conquered the whole of the Chola country which was watered by the river Kaveri and was ornamented by the paddy fields and areca palms. The latter's conquest was not a passing event. It ended in the permanent occupation of the Chola country by the Pallavas. The continuous possession by the Pallavas of the region watered by the Kaveri is evidenced by the formation and grant of rich villages as Simhavishnu Chaturvedimangalam, Kanjanur, Narasingamangalam, Tiruvadaturi, Mahendramangalam etc., and by the excavation of the rock-cut caves and structural monuments with inscriptions found at Tiruchirappalli, etc., and many parts of the Pudukkottai State. Besides the Cholas, the Yadava Irukuvels of Kodumabalur were vitally affected by the Pallava expansion and thus had to put up hard fights.

Though the Cholas had been deprived of their kingdom, the Pallavas were not left in undisputed possession of the territory which they had newly acquired. The Pandyas began to wage wars against the Pallavas as did the other powers of South India the Kerala, the Chalukya etc., which resulted in the weakening of the Pallavas. It is unnecessary to go into the details about them here.

The Velurpalayam plate speaks of a subordinate chief of Nandivarman III, who bore the name Kumarankusa and the title Chola-Maharaja. Of him, the plates say that he was 'the heroic head jewel of the Chola race, that the glory of his powers was well-known, that his liberality was that of Radheya and that his conduct was upright.' Though we are not informed of Kumarankusa's ancestry, the plates leave no doubt that he came from the ancient stock of the Cholas and was held in the esteem that he deserved by his birth. We are told that at the request of this Chola maharaja the Pallava king gave the village of Tirukkuattuppalli with its panchavaras of 1,999 kadi of paddy and with all other income with the king used to realise from it, as a devadana, to the temple of Yajnesvarattu Mahadeva.

The date of the record in which this Chola Maharaja figures is circa A.D. 828, the sixth year of the Pallava king, and it cannot be far removed from the date of the rise of Vijayalaya and his settlement as an independent king after a feat of arms. His capture of Tanchapuri is indeed a very bold endeavour. As there is no doubt that the city was in the hands of the Muttaraiyans, Vijayalaya must be considered to have wrested it from them. It is not unlikely that this action was preceded by something which gave the rising Cholas sufficient strength not only to dare an attack on the Muttaraiyars who were holding very high positions under the Pallava but also to earn the displeasure of the latter who were at the time wielding suzerain power in the Dekhan. What gave the boldness and strength to the Chola at this juncture was, we are inclined to think, the alliance which the Cholas had formed with the Yadava king of Konadu, who had an ancient feud with the Muttaraiyans and who had been made to hold a servile position under them. Besides, they were the bitter of the Pallavas, being equal partners with the Cholas in the suffering caused by the Pallava advance in the south. In this connection it is worth noting that the Kodumbalur inscription tells us that a Chola princess named Anupama of matchless beauty was married to the Yadava king Samarabhirama of Konadu and that she bore him the son named Bhuti, who earned by his own military deeds the significant surname Vikramakesari, a lion in prowess. Samarabhirama was ruling over Konadu in the years A. D. 883- 897, when his son Bhuti – Vikramakesarin, who was at the time a yuvaraja as indicated by the title Ilangovel assumed by him was with his two queens Nangai Varaguna

Perumanar and Karrali, staying in, if not solely in occupation of the country, which was previously under the possession of the Muttaraiyars. This Konadu prince figures as a feudatory of the Chola king Rajakesarivarman Aditya I. The position occupied by Vikramakesarin under the Chola king Rajakesari Aditya I and his taking the place of the Muttaraiyas, can prove that his father Samarabhirama took an active part in shattering the Muttaraiyars when the Chola king's father Vijayalaya captured the city of Tanchapuri from the Muttaraiyars and that Vijayalaya had after capturing the city of Tanchapuri from the Muttaraiyars, set up his relative Samarabhirama as his feudatory. Though it is only future discoveries that must show what daughter the Chola princess Anupama was, this much is certain: 910 that Vijayalaya was not far removed in point of time from Kumarankusa, as the latter figures in a sixth year record of the Pallava king Nandivarman III, in A.D. 828; and (ii) that the former had a rule extending up to A.D. 870, when his son Aditya I succeeded him and reigned till A.D. 907, the date of accession of Parantaka I. That the marriage of the Chola princess Anupama with the Yadava king Samarabhirama of Konadu must have taken place sufficiently early is certain for we find her son Bhuti Vikramakesarin, with his two wives Nangai Veraguas Perumanar and Karrali, remained while yet a yuvaraja as a feudatory and powerful ally of the Chola king Rajakesarivarman Aditya I. had the above facts been recognised, it would have been clear that Samarabhirama, who married the Chola princess Anupama and whose son Bhuti was, must have been an elder contemporary of Aditya and his predecessor Vijayalaya, and was ruling over Konadu with his capital at Kodumabalar. Another factor to note is Bhuti Vikramakesari's military achievements have not been appraised at their proper worth. The Kodumabalar Muvarkovil inscription states that he fought a sanguinary battle with the Pallavas and made the water of the Kaveri red with the blood of the Pallava army. Rajakesari Aditya I having killed Aparajita, the last of the Pallava kings, in some year prior to A.D. 890 corresponding to the twentieth year and extended the Chola dominion into Tondai nadu, the encounter of the Kodumabalar chief Vikramakesarin with the Pallava must only Chola, or sometime before that date, if independently; and in either case, while he was yet a crown prince. At any rate, it cannot be later for there could be no powerful independent Pallava then. We are driven to this conclusion by the fact that he styled himself Ilangoval even as late as the twenty-seventh year inscription of Aditya I corresponding to A.D. 897 in which he figures. Another factor that contributed to a distortion of the true date of Bhuti is the identification of Vira Pandya, whom he is said to have conquered in the Muvarkovil inscription, with the Vira Pandya who was an opponent of Parantaka II Sundra Chola and his son Aditya II Karikala; the last two Chola kings were the great-grandson and great-great-grandson of Aditya I, Bhuti's overlord. Ally and contemporary. This identification would not have been made if Bhuti's success over the Pallava had been given the consideration it deserved and had the date of the inscription of Rajakesarivarman twenty-seventh year of the reign in which he figures been noted. The high regnal year leaving apart the palaeographical or other considerations could have pointed out at once that the overlord and contemporary was Aditya I, for it was only he and the distant Rajaraja who had such high regnal years.

The four copper plate charters of the early Pandya that have been brought to light trace the members of the main line of the family leading to Rajasimha Pandya. It is just possible that there were others whose names have been omitted being outside the scope of the prasasti writer to treat them. It is also not very unlikely that the rule of the Pandya country was conducted by more kings than one, ruling at the same time over different parts of the kingdom, the chief among them having his seat of government at Madurai, as we find it in the time of the Pandyan war of succession of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. This possibility is suggested (i) by the reference to Maya Pandya in the reign of Sri Mara the successor of Varaguna Maharaja, (ii) by the mention of a ruler named Vira Pandya, whom Bhuti Vikramakesari the Kodumabalar chief and a contemporary of the Chola king Aditya I, is said to have defeated, and (iii) by

the mention of a servant of Vira Pandya in an epigraph of Sadaiya Maran discovered at Tirupudaimarudar in the Ambasamudrum taluk of the Tirunelveli district dated in the 2+18th year of reign, the method of dating suggesting that the king is Rajasimha III.

This Vira Pandya might have been either a contemporary or predecessor of Rajasimha. The end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth synchronised with the rule of the Chola king Aditya I, the Pallava king Aparajita and his opponent Varaguna Pandya II, the Kodumbalar chief Bhuti Vikramakesarain and his opponents Vira Pandya and Vanchi vel.

Bhuti's actual rule over Konadu whenever it commenced, seems to have ended in A.D. 913 from which date we find the records of his eldest son Parantaka. As such his encounter with Vira Pandya must have taken place before that date, when he was crown prince or ruler. The latter position he must have held after A.D. 897, though the exact date is not known. The utmost period of his rule is fifteen years from A.D. 898 to 913.

Conclusion

Rajasimha III's latest known regnal year is twenty-one. He appears as the opponent of the Chola king Parantaka I in A.D. 918. Presuming this date to coincide with the last year of his reign, his accession would be A.D. 897. Now this date for the accession of Rajasimha III would give his father a rule from circa A.D. 976 to 807, for Varaguna's Tiruchchendur inscription is dated in the thirteenth year opposite to some year which is lost and which may temporarily be taken to be two and this date A.D.877 is about ten years before death of Nriatunga. By this, one thing becomes certain, that Vira Pandya the king defeated by Bhuti cannot be a successor of Rajasimha III. It would be more so if Rajasimha continued to live after A.D. 918, As it seems very likely, his date of accession would be carried to a later date than A.D. 897. It thus becomes clear that Bhuti's opponent Vira Pandya must either be a contemporary or a predecessor of Rajasimha III. He must have been a collateral member or a subordinate of the main line of the Pandyas.

End Notes

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1. No. 17 of Pudukottai Inscriptions.
 2. Marapidugu criatAlambakkam and Marapidugu Perunkinaru at Tiruvellarai the latter of which was sunk by Vijayanallaya younger brother of KamabnAraiyan in the fourth year of Dantivarman must both have been called after the chief mentioned above. Soo Ep. Ind. Vol. XI. Pp.155ft and Vol. XIII.p.38.
 3. No. 18 of Pudukottai Inscriptions.
 4. No. 402 of A.R. 1905.
 5. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. P. 138.
 6. No.88 of A.R. 1910.
 7. No. 19 of Pudukottai Inscriptions.
 8. No. 337 of A.R. 1904.
 9. It will be pointed out below that this was another name for Bhuti VikramaKesarin's son Parantaka.
 10. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. Pp. 134ff.
 11. S.I.I.Vol.II.P. 510.V.8.
 12. Ibid.

TEMPLE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: THE OMPHALOS OF ANCIENT KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING IN TRAVANCORE

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The Temple education system has advanced over time and strongly emphasised the comprehensive development of the individual by embracing both the inner and outer selves. This system of education is mainly focused on the spiritual, moral, physical and intellectual facets of life. It promoted qualities like humility, honesty, discipline, self-reliance and respect for every aspect of creation. The temple educational system focused on learning and physical development, or, in other words, on a healthy mind and a healthy body. We can observe that the temple educational system in ancient Travancore has a heritage of being practical, achievable, and complementary to life. Travancore's medieval education system inculcated an extremely strong religious element. The dissemination of religious wisdom and values was its primary goal. As a result, traditional education's values were purely religious and individualistic.

As historic as the Sangam era is Kerala's educational system. Sangam age was followed by a 'long historical night'.¹ Sangam literature offers an insight into Kerala's early educational system. The Sangam age, or the period of the early Tamil anthologies that composed the early decades of the Christian era, possessed an excellent level of literacy and education.² At that period, Kerala enjoyed an exceptional level of literacy and education was universal.³ Every individual, regardless of sect or gender consideration, was granted the right to the advantages of a complete education, by the literature of the Sangam era.⁴ The communities such as *kuravas*, *parayas*, *panas*, *vetas* and others were held in high esteem by the kings and nobles. The *panas* were even superior to the brahmins of the day in their cultural and intellectual accomplishment.⁵ We acquire knowledge that the right to education was not neglected to females.

Education became the monopoly of certain individuals with the spread of Aryan culture. The implementation of caste division according to Chaturvarnya relegated the upper echelons of the society like panar, vedar, kuravar etc. to the background positions.⁶ The privileged status in society as well as the right to education were gradually lost by both women and the lower castes. Kerala society thus underwent a profound transformation during the time of the Nambudiri advent. It should be bourn in mind that when we think of education in ancient Kerala, we are mainly referring to the education that is accessible only to the higher class of the society. The Brahminic education system was created through a process. It was inextricably related to aryan cultural and social advancement. Early manipravalam works convey a general overview of Kerala's educational system.

After the 8th century, temples functioned as the hub for all cultural activities, which naturally consisted of educational institutions. During this time trade and commerce advanced alongside achievements in other sectors like art and architecture, education and learning.⁷ The emergence of the new temple culture paved the way for fundamental societal changes. The temples evolved into fully formed establishments that governed people's social lives and became the epicentres of new socioeconomic relationships.⁸ Educational institutions garnered special attention because they were a vital part of the temple complex during the period, which coincided with the rise of temples as an element of significance in the social and cultural life of the people.⁹ In various regions of medieval Kerala, Vedic schools were established along with the temples. These temple educational institutions were *salais* or *gathikas* and they were

centred on Brahminic - Sanskrit traditions.¹⁰ Elamkulam Kunjanpillai suggests that the establishment of educational institutions in the temple premises may have been copied from the Buddhists, eager to spread knowledge throughout the country.

During the ninth and tenth centuries, there were five salais as higher education centres. These were Kanthalursalai, Parthivapuramsalai, Moozhikulamsalai, Thiruvallasalai and Srivallabhaperumchala.¹¹ Some of the later inscriptions refers to the Sukapuram salai, Thirunelli salai and Kottarakkara salai.¹² They were residential universities attached to great temples and maintained by lands donated by generous individuals and rulers. Although these salais were initially established by temple trustees, the local rulers offered them the necessary backing and funding. The details of the land donated by generous individuals for the maintenance of these salais to the Uralar of the temple are detailed clearly in the inscriptions of that period. The temples covered all of the expenses of the students related to education, including food and lodging. Huzur plates make it clear that only Brahmin students were admitted to these salais.

Salais simultaneously taught Vedic and military training. Since their colonizing days, brahmins have placed a strong emphasis on the armed factor and reflect a quite militaristic personality. They tried to preserve these features of force and weaponry through the instruction imparted to the students. For the continuation of their tradition and to achieve social, political and economic hegemony over society, armed supremacy was inevitable. The curriculum in these educational institutions was geared to promote the Brahmanical tradition.¹³ The objectives of Vedic method of learning were to promote noble values, build character, preserve cultural traits and educate young people about their responsibilities to fulfil religious, economic and social duties. The emphasis was solely on disciplined interpersonal obligations and behavior, along with purity of living and belief. The ultimate goal was to obtain divine knowledge, which was thought to be superior to all other knowledge.

The students are referred to as '*chattar*', so the bhattas could be considered as teachers.¹⁴ Appropriate arrangements were made in these institutions for taking care of the teachers who resided there. Teachers were given wages in the form of land, cash and kind, based on their subjects and qualifications.¹⁵ The general public could receive social education on the premises of the temple. Some inscriptions refer to the institution of Mavarata Pattanmar in the temple.¹⁶ It was customary for the temples to assign an expert Brahmin to deliver lectures and recite the epic Mahabharata to the general public. This type of education also included the reading of Puranas and itihisas and interpreting them. Then there were other Bhattas who conducted discourse among themselves on sacred literature. The association of these persons with the temple deserves notice as it shows that the temple, which was primarily a religious institution, also catered to the needs of scholarship and culture.

Some of these salais were established in the early part of the Sangam age when the southern part of Kerala was under the Ay rulers. The Ay rulers were generous patrons of education and learning.¹⁷ The Parthivapuram copper plate of Ay king Karunanthdakan describes salais as 'padashala' specially meant for Brahmin Vedic scholars i.e., a Vedic institution or college.¹⁸ The namboodiri Brahmin students who were proficient in Vedic knowledge and military training were known as the cattar or chattas. Cattanam madham were the monastery or the residential quarters of the chattas.¹⁹ The Parthivapuram copper plate proves that the *chattar* or *cathirar* who were members of salai had military training and bore arms. It also describes the foundation of a salai for 95 *chattar* by the Ay king of south Kerala based on the model of Kandalursalai, in understanding the connotation of the term salai.²⁰

Kuvalayamala, a Jain work written in 779 A D is a testament to the fame of the salai, which spread throughout India. It is said that Udyothanasuri, a Jain monk was born in Javalpur in Rajasthan.²¹ When

the hero of Kuvalayamala reached Vijayapuri in the southern coast of India, he saw a Sarvachattanamadam, which is an ancient university. Most historians have observed that kandalursalai is the Sarvachattanamadam²². The Prakrit term Sarvachattanamadam means a school where all sciences are taught.²³ Vijayapuri may be an invented name or it may refer to a real historical city existing in the age of Udayotanasuri. Vijayapuri was probably an ancient Indian port in the far south. The country was full of trees cardamom, sandalwood, nandan trees, coconut trees etc. These descriptions would suggest the Kerala region.²⁴

More details about the wonderful paramilitary organization of cattar are available from the Jain Prakrit work, the hero kuvalayachandra, finds that in one place the cattar were engaged in practising archery, fighting with swords and shields and with daggers etc.²⁵ He found others learning painting, singing, practising on musical instruments staging plays or dancing. There were other groups inside the building engaged in discourses or teaching of different sciences like Vyakarana, buddhadarsana, mimamsa, naiyayikadarsana, anekantvad or lokayatika. Some groups were practicing arts a science like nimitha, mantra, yoga, anjanam, kuhava, yogamala, mantramala, garuda, jyotisha, svapnasastra, rasayana, indrajala, kanyakarma, visagaratantra, bhutantram etc.²⁶

In one place they were reciting the Vedas without caring for the meaning. These people are put to ridicule by the Jain writer while he is full of praise for the institution as a whole. They are described as young men of gluttonous habits, with undressed hair and big moustaches big fleshy bodies and high shoulders walking with a jerky gait, indifferent to dharma, artha and karma. It is stated that they had put on a good deal of flesh, obtaining free foods of others, that they were devoid of relations, friends and property and that they loved to gaze at young girls and other wives with the conceit that they were beautiful.

A direct reference to kandalursalai can be found in the 15th-century work Ananthapuravarnana. The kandalursalai which can be seen in the lines '*kandiyumchelvummikkakandalurshalakanalam*', will join the big Valiyasala in Thiruvananthapuram.²⁷ The Valiyasala Mahadeva temple has the trinity consecration of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The legend of the temple is that the Chera, Chola and Pandyas fought at the kandalur and all three kings were killed in the said battle their queens performed sati on the pyres where their dead bodies were cremated and the idols of the temple consecrated in the said pyres.²⁸ The mutilated inscriptions of Rajendra and Ravivarama found in the temple bear eloquent testimony to its antiquity.²⁹ This fragmentary inscription containing a portion of the historical introduction of the Chola king Rajendra Chola I, is found engraved on the slab stone in the Mahadeva temple at Chalai, a suburb of Trivandrum.³⁰

There are other works in Kerala, referring to the *cattar* or *cathirar*, are mentioned in the early medieval literary work of the 13th century *Unniyachi*, a *Manipravala kavya* about a courtesan of Purakilanadu, a *cattar* who is also called *cathirar*, takes a '*gandharva*' to the heroine's residence. There they see a large group of men including cathirar waiting upon the courtesan. The *cathirar* are said to carry eye black, eyebrow pencil charms, palm leaf and stylus, Sanskrit-Tamil books, swords, daggers and other instruments and blood-stained weapons evidently to impress the heroine with their liberality, scholarship and power in warfare.³¹

Criteria for admission in salai are, to have studied mimamsa, vyakarna and purohitya; should not possess any land and producing certificate from five cattars confirming the authenticity of the records being submitted.³² Certain rules of discipline are given from which we know that the cattar possessed proficiency in arms though they were prohibited to bring arms into the gatherings. Discipline seems to have been an issue then as it is now. The system of fine practice in salai tells us that the headache of

college administrators is nothing new. Any student who disparage another during class will be fined five kanams. Assaulting others would end up in a fine of one gold kash and the assaulted also had to pay half a kazhanch gold.³³

Any student who wounds another with a weapon will be immediately expelled from salais and wearing arms in classrooms is banned. They were also prohibited from quarrelling within temple precincts, injuring one another or the tenants of the salabhogam³⁴ and devadanam lands, playing dice within the temple and keeping concubines in their madha or residence.³⁵ In case the tenants defaulted in their payments to salai, the cattar was authorized to restrain their property and cultivation. From these regulations, we may gather that the cattar were the Vedic scholars whose main duty was to recite Vedas.

All philosophies were taught including Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain and very interesting lokyata or charvaka philosophy [which is a materialistic school] tells us about the Catholicity in the outlook of kandalursalai, compared to Nalanda and Takshashila, which kept Lokayata at bay.³⁶ More than the meaning of atheism, Lokayatha is associated with the concept of Kapilaka.³⁷ Dr Maheswaran Nair comments on the impact of the lokayata teaching at kandalursalai as: "Kandalur University deeply influenced the general outlook of the local people and shaped what may be called the heterodox point of view that is a unique feature of the Keralite reaction to established authority. The salient aspect of this outlook is the tendency to be always 'in amicable' to authority and an enormous degree of susceptibility regarding the prescriptions of a higher order. At a time when the Indian attitude was abiding by the authority of prescriptions the Keralite attitude was authority and even to fetch ruin thereby."³⁸ From the historical point of view, it is of utmost importance because the popularization of materialist thought by the kandalursalai had a profound effect on the general outlook of the common people and shaped the so-called heterodox outlook.

The origin and development of the temple educational institutions, add a new dimension to our understanding of the process and implications of the expansion of the orthodox Brahmanical culture. The salais were primarily temple educational institutions where the cattas, were taught the Vedas and sastras along with military training. These institutions were supported by the rulers, who considered the establishment and maintenance of such institutions as an exquisite privilege. A comprehensive description of these institutions in south Travancore is preserved in the Kuvalayamala and parthivapuram copper plates and reference to them can be detected in numerous inscriptions. The temple institutions played a crucial role for the spread of brahmin supremacy throughout Kerala. The members of these institutions safeguard the right of the brahmin sabhas and the supremacy of their royal patrons. It is also recognized that rulers considered it a matter of pride to be able to seize the salai of enemy kings, who naturally defended it with all their might. The armed community of Brahmin students performed a prime position in the expansion of the Vedic culture and tradition in south Travancore.

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ANALYSING THE CONFLUENCE OF CULTURE, HISTORY, FOLKLORES AND TRADITION IN THE FILM *KANTARA*

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Deities have always occupied a prominent place in the cultural consciousness of Indians. They have been manifested in myriad forms in the public domain as well as deeply embedded in the subjective realm of the individual faith of the great Indian civilization. Indian art forms, architecture, literature and films have grabbed this opportunity to delineate the deities and their divine intercession in the lives of people. Even in this post-covid era, the remarkable success of the movie *Kantara* shows the divine power of deities to enchant the masses across the globe. The deity in the movie is carved out of the spiritual ethos of the tribal community which lives close to vibrant nature. My paper tries to explore the culture, folklore, tradition and rich history of India embedded in the movie and how it depicts the worldview of different sections of society – the tribals, the landlords and the government.

The film *Kantara* is based on the culture and folklore tradition of Keradi village in Coastal Karnataka. The movie beautifully unravels the age-old tradition of Bhoota Kola, a rich dance held in honour of the local deities and is practised annually in various parts of coastal Karnataka especially around the Tulu-speaking regions. During the annual ritual of Bhoota Kola local folklores named Paddanas are recited to invoke the deity. This invites comparison to Kerala's rich tradition of Theyyam and Padayani. Theyyam originated from the Ancestor worship which later evolved into an elaborate dance ritual. Most of the Theyyam deities have their origins in people who belong to the lower castes of Kerala. Theyyam remains the most popular ritual form of dance worship in Kerala and Karnataka. It follows a thousand-year-old tradition, rituals and customs. People believe Theyyam to be a channel to reach God and seek his blessings. These ritual art forms were also used to settle family and village disputes. According to the legends, these dance rituals were also performed to resolve the conflict between man and nature. The history of Bhoota Kola is unknown but scholars suppose that this tradition dates back to 700 BCE with the migration of early tulus who worshipped Bermer (Brahma) and Panjuruli (the boar spirit). Bhoota Kola is a modified form of prehistoric religious rituals. In the film 'Varaha Roopam' is also mentioned which is one of the forms of the Vishnu avatar. The Bhoota Kola has also influenced the Yakshagana folk theatre of Karnataka. The depiction of Bootha Kola has invoked a pan-Indian Hindu identity.

Indian Art and Literature have always tried to explore the rich spiritual ethos and cultural imagination that is deeply rooted in our land. This creative bond that lies between spiritualism and art in India is a natural outcome of the 'dynamic inter-relation between different traditions' (Ramanujan 9). And A.K. Ramanujan proclaims this as the stamp of Indian culture. It is interesting to note that the performing art forms of India are immersed in the myths and legends of the *Puranas* and the *Itihasas*. Modern art forms like cinema could not divest themselves from the charms of myths, legends and folklores and the success of *Kantara* in the AI era vouchsafes this. The film moorings in myths and the invincible power of the deity quite brilliantly captures the mind of the viewers. Deities exist in the collective consciousness of the people and they remain as powerful presence in the lives of the devotees. The film presents spiritual ambience through evocative visuals and captivating sounds that disturbs us through out. The tone and pattern of storytelling in Indian myths and folklore is dexterously weaved into the narrative style of *Kantara*. The ancient tradition of imparting spiritual experience through narratives is carried over to the

present scenario too. The supernatural is raised beyond the realm of logic and language, and Karen Armstrong rightly point out that: “India reminds us that the sense of the sacred is best learned aesthetically – in poetry, music and ritual. It is pointless to try to prove these ancient insights rationally, because they require imagination and the ability to see what is not apparent” (49).

The film’s narrative opens with a King who sets out on a journey to find peace and happiness. Finally the deity – the ‘Kuladaivam’ named ‘Panjuruli’- promises to accompany the King followed by his companion, the ferocious spirit named ‘Guliga Daiva’. The King donates a large area of his land to the tribals in exchange for taking the stone God. The opening scenes of the film show the omnipotent and omniscient deity of the tribals who is a sublime presence throughout their lives. Further, the magical power of the vanishing deity or the ‘mayaka’ skill of the deity is brilliantly subsumed within the narrative structure of the film through engrossing visuals and awe-inspiring soundtrack. The folklore is fused to bring out the divine intervention of the deity who appears only before Shiva (Rishab Shetty) in the forest. Tribals take up arms to guard their crops against wild boars through elaborate ceremonies but for Shiva it is a way to cope with his nightmares. The other way he resorts to overcome his inner fear is to participate in Kambala.

But when it comes to King’s descendants, the landlord who wants to reclaim his land meets an unfortunate death as forecasted by the Booth kola performer possessed by ‘Panjuruli’. The Kings used to have a good relationship with the tribes when we look at history. The tribals headed by their Chieftains helped the Kings during wars and employed their own style of fighting to defeat the King’s enemies. In Kerala itself the custom of meeting the royal family during the Onam festival is still there. This relationship changed when the feudal landlords entered the scene. They treated the tribals as inferior slaves and out of their insatiable greed for money and power, grabbed their land and labour outputs. This created a conflict between them and the film also shows a landlord Devendra Suttooru (Achyuth Kumar) who uses shrewd ways to acquire the land. On one hand ‘Panjuruli’ is worshipped in King’s royal house in a Brahminical way but the same God is worshipped by the tribals according to their own rituals. The new landlord is not ready to believe the magical power of ‘Panjuruli’ god, the protector of tribals. In the movie ‘Panjuruli’ represents the enigma and extensiveness of the forest and its biodiverse ecosystem to which the tribes are inseparably connected physically and emotionally. Devendra Suttooru is not ready to learn any lessons from his predecessor who forces the Bhoot Kola performer possessed by Panjuruli to hand over the land to him and when the performer refuses he threatens to go to court. Performers warning turns to be true when the descendent of the King meets an untimely death vomiting blood outside court steps. Panjuruli deity plays a crucial role even in a sophisticated world shaping the events in the movie. The determination and power of the deity can be seen in his conversation with the royal heir who wants his land back and threatens the superpower with a court case. The following conversation attests to this:

Panjuruli: Do you have any questions? ...

Landlord: This place this property this land, none of these belong to the villagers...

Landlord: You have to ensure it is returned to me.

Panjuruli: That’s a great question, landlord! I will ensure it is returned to you! But you can return the peace I have blessed you with all these years?

Landlord: Won’t you be able to get it back for me? No problem. I know where to get my job done.

Panjuruli: So, you will go to the court, eh? But I shall pronounce your judgement on

those very stairs. The land belongs to the villagers. That decision will not be made today.

A day will come in the distant future.

Landlord: It belongs to the villagers? Is this the Demigod speaking? Or is it the performer?

Panjuruli: Is it the Demigod or the performer? Let it be decided today. If it indeed is the performer, may you find me again. However, if it is the Demigod ... (howls)

(*Kantara* 0:08:36-0:10:05)

As predicted by the deity, the landlord dies and his son turns out to be the villain in the remaining part of the narrative. The deity concept is underscored and heightened through gripping music, stylized and rhythmic dance and excellent cinematography. The long shots, close-ups and over-head shots are used dexterously to bring out the charisma of the deity which evokes devotion faith and fear in the devotees.

The film also projects two worldviews – the one that worships nature and the other that sees it as a commodity to be used and destroyed. The film also focuses on the impending ecological disaster that the technological world is facing. The depiction of the polarities between nature as God and nature as a commodity highlights the greed of modern man and the far-reaching consequences that ensues. The greed even prompts Devendra Suttooru to kill Shiva's cousin Guruva (Swaraj Shetty) a Bhoota Kola performer. This happens when Guruva refuses to impersonate Panjuruli and force the villagers to hand over the land during the next Bhoota Kola performance. Shiva deters from the Bhoota Kola performance due the trauma of his father's disappearance.

Murali (Kishore), the new Deputy Range Forest Officer, a representative of the government amidst the landlord and villagers – tries to protect the forest reserve. The government feels that Tribal villagers have unlawfully acquired the reserve forest and are utilizing and destroying it for their own benefits. But, Murali later recognizes that the tribals are the real protectors of the ecosystem of the forest and they deserve to live there peacefully. A conflict arises between Shiva and Murali and it is continued for a long period until Murali and Shiva recognizes the true villain Devendra Suttooru.

Towards the ending, Shiva and Murali get united for a noble cause and set aside their grudge and unite the village. Devendra and his henchmen attack Shiva and kill several villagers. After a severe fight, Shiva hits his head against Panjuruli's stone. Soon, he gets possessed by Guliga and brutally kills Devendra and his henchmen. The unexpected breathtaking climax once again underpins the power of God in the life of villagers who worships him for peace of mind and harmony. Shiva appears to be the next Bhoot Kola performer and disappears into the mysterious forest like his father before the eyes of his son, wife and the villagers. The movie ends where it has begun. Human beings are a part of nature and Shiva's father's observation in the beginning reinforces it: "Son, do you know where we humans go wrong? We assume that we own everything around us. But forget the reality of the true owner of it all. Once we become aware of the truth we can live peacefully" (*Kantara* 0:05:05 – 0:05:13). Tribals recognize this but modern man is not ready to take this truth.

To conclude, I would like to say that the film *Kanthara*, meaning the 'mysterious forest' faithfully coincides its title, hiding in its interior the pristine culture, tradition, folklore and history of a community which is on the verge of extinction from the exterior forces. Only the deity is there to protect the tribal villagers from the clutches of greedy human beings outside the forest. The film remains a clarion call to the people reminding the presence of a powerful God who appears in various forms to protect Mother Nature.

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THE CATALONIA CRISIS: REASONS BEHIND THE PERSISTING CONFLICT

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Conflicts over land, resources, and identity are not new in international politics; the case is similar to that in Spain. Spain is a multicultural country with various traditions, cultures and identities. The resulting complexity has created a challenging political and social situation for the central government in Madrid. One main example is its continuing conflict with Catalonia, a semi-autonomous region in northeast Spain, which is one of the most developed economies in Spain. The root of the modern Catalan movement and its struggle with the Spanish Centre can be dated back to when the region was called a county of Barcelona. In the late Middle Ages, Catalonia was a central component in the Crown of Aragon, With Barcelona as its de facto capital. The notion of Spain as a unified state was initially conceived in 1469 with the marriage of Isabel of Castile to Ferdinand II of Aragonⁱ. As a result of the dynastic union of Ferdinand and Isabella in the late 15th century, Catalonia, as part of Aragon, became united in a royal union with the Kingdom of Castile. Even after the merger, Catalonia had kept aspects of independence of governments with an entire legislative body, its own judicial body, and financial rights of its General Court. The region maintained this independence from the rest of Spain until the War of the Reapers when Catalonia rebelled against Spain during a war between Spain and France. The incident's after-effect was that Spanish troops were placed in Barcelona, and King Philip took control of important military points in Catalonia.

The subsequent significant loss of autonomy for Catalonia occurred after the War of Spanish Successionⁱⁱ. In the famous succession war of 1714, Archduke Charles of Austria was backed by Great Britain and the Netherlands against Philip V of Spain, whom France backed in a contest for the Spanish crown. The war ended with the surrender of the pro-Archduke forces to the Franco-Spanish army in 1714. The defeat of the Catalonia-backed side resulted in the end of the Principality of Catalonia as a political entity, as its independent institutions and legislation were suppressed and replaced by Castilian ones to establish absolutism. The defeat of the pro-Archduke forces also resulted in a phase where Spain evolved from a personal union of different states to a centralised kingdom with Madrid as its Centre. For the next several decades, Spain closely followed the French model project of centralisation under an absolutist monarchy with the imposition of a centralised state model. However, it was on the periphery, especially in the territory of Catalonia, that the earliest expressions of modernisation took place. By the middle of the 19th century, Catalonia's economic contrast with the rest of Spain became evident as the region contributed 22% of Spain's industry. In comparison, Madrid contributed just three per cent. As the century proceeded, Catalonia became the most dynamic centre of industrial and cultural power, leading the Spanish economy and a political movement of national affirmation named "Catalanism". It bloomed with exceptional strength. The Catalanism movement" had two primary goals: to achieve the self-government and the acknowledgement of Catalonia as a nation; and to transform and modernise the Spanish stateⁱⁱⁱ. Enric Prat de la Riba, the leading theorist of political Catalanism, described Catalans as Spaniards who wished to construct a different Spain. In 1898, the defeat of the Spanish military against the United States resulted in Spain losing its remaining overseas territories and exposing the vulnerability of the 'Spanish Fatherland'. The momentum gained by Catalanism and Fears regarding the country's dismemberment made the central authorities in Madrid particularly conscious of 'internal enemies',

especially Catalonia and the Basque Country. Over the years, a weak and ineffectual Spanish nationalisation project and the conflict over differing conceptions of Spain increased the tension between the centre and Catalonia^{iv}. In 1931, Catalonia tried to regain its autonomous rights by declaring itself a republic, but the attempt was shut down with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936. Franco's victory in 1939 was considered a victory for Spanish nationalism, and for almost the next 40 years, Catalonia was governed under a military dictatorship. Catalan culture, language and autonomy were heavily repressed, and the impact of brutal rule on Catalonia's regional identity was beyond anything previously seen. However, during this tenure, Spain had undergone massive economic modernization, and this rapid modernisation of the Spanish state had significant implications for the future trajectory of Catalonia. Madrid seemed to take the cultural mantle from Barcelona and other areas of Spain, closing the economic and cultural gap with Catalonia. As a result, Catalonia could no longer feel uniquely culturally sophisticated and industrialised, unlike other regions of Spain. But even after 40 years of repressive dictatorship and various exploiting fiscal policies, Catalonia remained one of the critical contributors to the Spanish economy. At the same time, Catalan nationalism and identity, which was dormant during the Franco era, reemerged more firmly than before the Civil War.

After 4 decades of political crisis, Spain entered a new democratic era by drafting a new constitution in 1978. After much debate between Catalan leaders and the government of Spain, a compromise was reached, and a semi-autonomous system was established. It gave Catalonia the power to have a Generalitat that can self-regulate and enact laws that deal with tourism, welfare, transportation, etc. The most crucial aspect of the new statute was that it declared Catalan as a nationality; however, the new constitution also again legally embedded the idea that the unity of Spain is a permanent feature. The Constitution granted nonetheless stability for about twenty years. However, problems were always present in some crucial areas like delimitation of responsibilities, the financing system of the autonomy, etc. The last two decades of the 19th century witnessed a long economic boom for Spain, but Catalan growth was stalled behind most of Spain's regions. As a result, cultural, language, and identity economic grievances became an increasingly important part of the Catalan political narrative in the late 1990s. Catalan political class became increasingly conscious of the condition and proposed profound revision to the Catalan Statute of Autonomy of 1979. The newly proposed Catalan text defined Catalonia as a nation, asking for improvement in financing, and previewed bilateral relations with Madrid on some issues^v. However, the final version approved by the Spanish parliament didn't agree to change the system of the state of autonomies, didn't recognise Catalonia as a Nation, beyond the rejection of the nationhood claim, conservative opposition and socialist ombudsman with the support of Spanish government went to the Constitutional Court requiring it to declare the most relevant parts of the statute unconstitutional.

In June 2010, the Court finally published its verdict and decided that the statute was unconstitutional for various reasons. It resulted in severe resentment from Catalan people, and millions of Catalans gathered in the streets with the slogan "We are a Nation, and we decide". The movement was followed by a demand to hold a referendum on independence by the end of 2014. However, the Spanish parliament rejected any constitutional possibility for the referendum. In elections held in March 2015, a coalition of independence supporters called Together for Yes won a majority in Catalonia's parliament. The independentists passed a motion that contained plans for independence, such as creating government institutions, but the Constitutional Court of Spain again rejected it.^{vi} The declaration of the Spanish court worsened the relationship between leaders in Catalonia and leaders in Spain. The tensions between Catalonia leaders' government and Spain's central government continued. Still, Carles Puigdemont was chosen as Catalan president in 2016 to improve the situation. To show the legitimacy

of their claim, leaders in the Catalan government decided to hold a legally binding vote on secession from Spain. Even before the voting took place, the Constitutional Court of Spain declared that voting needed to be suspended and could not continue. By sending national police to the Spanish government, they used physical force to prevent the secession of Catalonia. Over 2.3 million voters were able to cast their ballots in the referendum, though, with 92% voting for independence. After the referendum, Puigdemont declared Catalonia independent from Spain, and the Catalan parliament declared independence on October 27, 2017. In response to the declaration of Independence Spanish parliament invoked section 155 of the Spanish Constitution, which states that “If a Self-governing Community does not fulfil the obligations imposed upon it by the Constitution or other laws, or acts in a way that is seriously prejudicial to the general interest of Spain, the Government, after having complained with the President of the Self-governing Community and failed to receive satisfaction therefore, may, following approval granted by the overall majority of the Senate, take all measures necessary to compel the Community to meet said obligations, or to protect the abovementioned general interest.” Almost immediately after the verdict, an emergency was declared, the leaders of Catalonia were arrested, and the autonomous parliament in Barcelona was disbanded. Many influential leaders, including Carles Puigdemont, fled into self-exile. In 2018, some independence leaders were sent to preventive detention without bail and accused of crimes such as rebellion, disobedience, and misuse of public funds. The verdict delivered by the Supreme Court and violent suppression by the Spanish government sparked conflicts across the region. On 19 October, Catalan President Quim Torra called for talks with the Spanish government to reach an agreement; however, Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez refused to hold talks with the Catalan government and also rejected the idea of discussing Catalan Independence, stating that it was impossible under Spanish law. However, after Pere Aragonès replaced Torra as the Catalan regional president last year, the relationship between his government and Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez has been slowly improving^{vii}. Although the current situation is in peacekeeping mode, the main concerns remain unresolved, and tensions between Spain and Catalonia can always escalate.

Significant Efforts to Address the Conflict

The conflict between Catalonia and Spain is not a product of any immediate political cause. The problem of integration of Catalonia within the Spanish state exists, at least from the eighteenth century. In the meantime, attempts were made to resolve the issue between the periphery and the regional semi-autonomous state. The most crucial attempt was the democratic constitution of 1978, which gave Catalonia and 16 other regions their regional parliaments. The Constitution of 1978 established an intermediate level of government with political power and a legislative assembly and seemed to end the historic problem of integration of Catalonia. Beyond recognising the statute of autonomy, it also contained an implicit agreement that mainstream “Catalanist” parties would renounce their ultimate secessionist aspirations, and the leading democratic Spanish groups would support the more decentralised Spanish state^{viii}. The Constitution of 1978, formed after four decades of Franco’s dictatorship, helped grant stability for about twenty years. However, financial and economic problems were always present in some crucial areas, and attempts were made to address the conflicts. The draft of the new statute of autonomy in 2005 was another critical attempt to reach an agreement in conflicting areas. But instead of bringing peace, unfortunately, it worsened the situation. The rejection of this statute of autonomy produced an escalation from stable peace to unstable peace. The new draft was followed by attempts to organise a legally binding referendum; however, the Spanish central government never supported one. However, against all the odds, a controversial referendum for independence took place. Still, it only again fuelled the conflict between Madrid and Catalonia. Also, it resulted in an emergency

during which the leaders of Catalonia were arrested, and the autonomous parliament in Barcelona disbanded. International mediation by the EU seems the most plausible non-violent solution, and attempts were made for the possible intervention of the EU. However, European Union leaders sought to minimise Spain's crisis by describing Barcelona's secession bid as domestic and declining a mediation role^{ix}. The next major attempt for mediation was initiated in 2020 when a Catalan delegation led by then Catalonia president Quim Torra met Spain's delegation, including prime minister Pedro Sánchez in Madrid. The meeting didn't provide any breakthrough as Sánchez's cabinet didn't want to open any discussion regarding the possibility of a referendum. The efforts to reach any possible compromise are ongoing as newly chosen Catalan president Pere Aragonès is trying to reach an agreement with Madrid's counterpart.

Reasons behind the Persisting Conflict

Why has the Catalonia conflict not been resolved? Is there a solution, and why is it looming like a sword of Damocles over Spain? This question has been heard prevalently in different parts of the world. The best answer to the question is that the Catalanian crisis was never a result of any immediate or single issue. Political, historical, territorial, and legal aspects are behind the persistence of the Catalonia crisis. The main reason for the difficulty of integration lies in the historical asymmetry between political and economic power in Spain. The Madrid centre has concentrated political and military power throughout history, while the periphery, including Basque and Catalonia, has led the Spanish economy.^x Also, initially, it was in the periphery that the process of modernisation took place. As a result, by the middle of the 19th century, Catalonia's economic contrast with the rest of Spain became evident. Early industrialisation and a prominent role in the textile trade made Catalonia a supreme economic power inside the Spanish state. Unlike other European nations in Spain, the nation-state and the national market didn't go hand in hand. The economic weakness of the Spanish centre acted as a hindrance in the assimilation of former "peripheral" nations and cultures. It resulted in the survival of so-called peripheral nations, including Catalonia. Failure to redress genuine economic grievances is why the Catalonia crisis is unresolved. The Spanish state is seen from Catalonia as applying the French state model, where all economic processes pass through Madrid, and they believe that this economic system's structure was highly exploitative. It is criticised as a zero-sum game wherein benefits for Madrid could only mean losses for Barcelona. People in Catalonia also believe that there was a deliberate attempt by the Spanish central government to reduce the economic gap between Catalonia and Madrid using financial laws and a taxation system. The criticisms also exist because central government expenditure allocated in Catalonia is considered unsatisfactory by the people in the periphery. Catalan supporters also insist that it was because of the defect of the economic structure of the state that even during the long economic Spanish boom of 1997 to 2007, Catalan growth stalled behind most of Spain's other regions. As a result, From the early 1990s, economic grievances became an increasingly important part of the Catalan political narrative and the Catalan political class, after understanding the need for the renewal of the economic project, proposed a revision to the Catalan Statute of Autonomy of 1979^{xi}. However, the final version, which the Spanish parliament approved, disapproved many essential parts of the texts, and the financial regime remained unchanged. The decision created heavy resentment among the people and became a decisive factor in the ongoing crisis. Conflict doesn't seem to end anytime soon until the issues regarding economic grievances are sorted out.

The progressive deterioration of the Constitutional agreement is another reason for increasing the escalation between Madrid and Catalonia. The failure to approve a new "Statute of Autonomy" led to a constitutional and legal deadlock. Now, most Catalans believe that the present Constitution doesn't fit as the most appropriate framework for self-government to prosper in Catalonia. After the Constitutional

Court declared the “Statute of Autonomy” for Catalonia unconstitutional in 2010, Catalan society's frustration escalated. It induced a generalised solid belief that the agreements reached with the Spanish state were never respected. The controversial declaration of 2010 also seems to be a decisive event in the Catalonia independence struggle as the judgement shifted the main agenda from fiscal autonomy to complete independence from Spain. Then, the real fight for freedom had not started, and the immediate aim was a referendum on self-determination or the right to decide. However, the October referendum of 2017 led to the height of the conflict curve and resulted in complex political instability in Catalonia. The problem was worsened after the Spanish parliament invoked section 155 of the Spanish Constitution and suspended the regional government using constitutional measures. Although the government has been restored, the Catalonia crisis seems to be ongoing as Madrid-based centres are not ready for any compromise regarding a possible referendum for independence. Catalanists believe that democracy and the right to vote — are cornerstones of the modern political regime. At the same time, the central government, led by Socialist Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez, made it clear that there is no possibility for any referendum as the concept is in direct conflict with the Spanish Constitution, which expressly prohibits secession^{xii}. The crisis doesn't seem to end anytime soon, as the root cause of the issue lies in the constitutional design itself.

The Catalan goal of asymmetrical federalism is another structural reason behind the persisting conflict. Throughout history, Waves of asymmetric decentralisation were followed by “re-symmetrizing” governments enjoying absolute majorities. Even though autonomy was handed down to several regions through the autonomous system, the state had successfully utilised legal loopholes in the Constitution, organic laws, and its financial power to homogenise the process. Autonomous Communities with low-quality responsibilities of a somewhat more administrative than political nature seem to result from an ambiguous and insufficient constitutional design. At the same time, criticism was also dodged against the Constitutional Court regarding the interpretation made by the Constitutional Court of the power and provision of Autonomous Communities. Catalanist leaders claim that courts have usually issued somewhat restrictive sentences against autonomous governments, especially since the second half of 1990. A solution seems to be a difficult task as the root cause of the persisting conflict can only be redressed using a structural repair.

Catalanism is a cultural nationalism, and the language remains a critical symbolic issue as an essential basis of identity. The attempt to subjugate the Catalan language and attempt to crush the culture and identity is a vital reason behind the ongoing conflict. During the civil war and four decades of the Franco regime, there were regular attempts to crush the Catalan language and the Catalan identity. This has left a lasting feeling of otherness in the Catalans, and Franco's memory is fresh in their minds. As a result, For most of the 1970s and 1980s, culture, language, and identity were the central themes of Catalan revival and reconstruction sentiment-driven mass memory is more reluctant to ‘forgive and forget ‘; therefore, Post-Francoist attempts at building the political nation have never fully recovered from the original sin of Francoism^{xiii}. The verdict nullifying the inclusion of Catalan as the native language of Catalonia by the constitutional court was also seen as an attempt to crush the Catalan identity. These attempts by the central government to impose its cultural identity over Catalonia had a significant role in the region's decision to embrace secession as the potential solution and worsen the crisis.

International mediation by the EU seems the most plausible non-violent solution; however, the lack of active intervention in the mediation process by responsible institutions, including the European Union, points towards the potential for conflict to escalate further. The EU needs the tools and the will to tackle the separatist crisis in Spain. The commission's assessment regarding the issue is that it cannot simply step in as a mediator because it is bound to respect member states' independence and constitutional sovereignty and validate the crisis as an internal matter of Spain. Even though requests were also sent to leaders of the major powers from the Catalan side to be involved in the mediation process, most of them were silent as they believed there was no space for any intervention. As things stand, resolving the crisis without the intervention and mediation of responsible institutions seems challenging, and silence from the side of responsible sources indicates significantly less scope for the persistence of the crisis in the upcoming days, too. The polarisation created by the involvement of political parties for electoral gain also seems to be an essential reason behind the persisting crisis. Ending the conflict is becoming tricky as extreme ideologies supporting secessionism and centralising are gaining prominence, and parties in Catalonia are trying to utilise the polarisation for mere political gain. The particularities of Catalonia's political reality also complicate the ongoing conflict. In addition to a left/right political axis, there is also a pro-/anti-independence one, making the scenario more complex. The mediation process is hindered or adversely affected as the mediation between parties with extremely contradictory opinions seems to be a Himalayan task. It may prove difficult for a centre-right anti-independence party to reach an agreement with a pro-independence party of Catalonia, which considers Catalonia secession the sole solution for resolving the conflict. Along with the political parties, the media also play a vital part in escalating the tension between Madrid and Catalonia; for example, the football match between Catalonia-based FC Barcelona and Madrid-based Real Madrid football club has been presented as a political battle which sometimes eventually contributes to the growing tension.

The Catalan movement had now become one that was built mainly on Catalan identity and the perception that an independent Catalonia would benefit the regional development. The conflict of Catalonia with the Spanish centre has been fuelled by resentment and frustration sparked by the limitations of autonomy, the wounds of historical memory, and the anger engendered by the economic crisis. A compromise is difficult as Catalonians will likely back down their demands if they are assured of cultural protectionism and significant financial advantage. In the current scenario, the situation is even more critical as Catalanists are arguing for a referendum to decide about the secession, and the Spanish counterpart is making clear that there is no possibility of any referendum as it violates the constitution. Also, the Spanish government won't be ready to give away one of the country's most prosperous regions, and now there is generally solid resentment in Spain against the purported economic and political privilege that Catalonia enjoys.

End Notes

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VISUALISING THE EMPIRE:

THE PUBLIC WORK DEPARTMENT IN TRAVANCORE, 1800-1900

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We have witnessed tremendous changes worldwide in the latter half of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Colonialism has shifted its gear to imperialism. The Industrial Revolution in Britain has changed the nature of colonial exploitation. The enactment of Charter Acts in colonial India is the best instance. Following the three charter acts that commenced in 1793, the fourth Charter Act was passed in 1853 during the time of Dalhousie. With the effect of the Charter Act of 1853, the British East India Company was empowered to retain the revenues in India in trust for the crown. Unlike the previous Charter Acts, this Act of 1853 extended the company's authority indefinitely. And the crown could step in anytime and take over from East India Company. It was when the British took extensive measures to govern colonial India better.

The establishment of the Central Public Works department in 1856, with the initiative of Dalhousie as the technical branch of colonial administration, produced a ubiquitous array of utilitarian buildings and infrastructure. Through this, the British were significantly restructuring the Indian subcontinent, both spatially and technologically. In this regard, the Public Works Department constructed jails, hospitals, dispensaries, courts, posts, telegraph, police stations, education institutions, residential bungalows, traveller's bungalows and choultries in different locations to meet the needs of government officials, visitors and the ordinary people.¹ Public buildings were constructed by the colonial government to properly administer a state. It served as the accommodation of many officers. The Public Works Department was entrusted with the task of constructing public buildings for the use of the general public and officials at different locations.²

In colonial India, the Travancore region was one of the best visible examples of the framework built by the British Empire. The expansion of British power in Travancore forms an essential aspect of British imperialism in India. Travancore presents many unique features in its relations with the British. It was the first among the native states of India to sign a treaty with the English East India Company. But contrary to the experience of many other native states in India, Travancore was fortunate in saving herself from the impending danger of direct annexation. At the same time, by discharging the dual functions called carrot and stick policy, the British virtually eliminated the sovereign powers of the State.³ In the nineteenth century, Travancore also went through specific structural changes. British Imperialism marked changes in almost every field of Travancore society, and it was also reflected in the people's socio-cultural, political and administrative life.

From Maramath to the Public Works Department

Till the year 1008 M. E (1833), there was no distinct agency for the execution of public works. In that year, the maramath department was formed as a branch of the *Huzur Cutcherry* with an executive branch known as the *Panivagay Maramath* in 1011 M.E (1836). Hoarsely was appointed Engineer under this government. A small establishment consisting of an office of surveyor and a draughtsman, which had been attached to the residency at Trivandrum to work under the orders of Cullen, was absorbed in the P

W Department, which was newly created. Collins was appointed civil engineer of the state in 1035 M. E (1860). He was succeeded by Greenway, whom Barton, in turn, succeeded in 1038 M. E (1863).⁴

When we look into the history of chief engineers under this department, most of them were Englishmen and barely admitted Indians to the subordinate rank of this Department. The Travancore government was a mere puppet for the British government since it was under the indirect rule of the British. The selection and appointment of PWD was undertaken only by the British government. For that, European engineers were appointed to different parts of colonial India. But at the same time, the workers were native subjects. The British government took control of the planning, estimating and executing any construction works that came under the Public Works Department.

The budget system was started in 1047 ME (1872), and the department's expenditure was brought under new control.⁵ Ironically, all the spending came from the society of Travancore as a form of tax. The British never paid any salaries or bills from their treasury, even though it was filled with money from their colonies. Instead, they used the revenue from the colonised countries. The public made the budget for construction, but they never had any right over it.

To ensure greater efficiency and to place the department on a more efficient basis, the salaries of the executive and ministerial staff were enhanced in the year 1071 ME (1896). New rules based on those in force in British India were passed in 1073 ME (1898) to keep the expenditure within the sanctioned estimates, and the accounts branch of the department was strengthened. The PWD Code was introduced, and a new audit section was opened in the chief engineer's office in 1076 ME (1901). This system continued till 1086 ME (1911), when the department was reorganised again. A deputy chief engineer's post was created, and the number of executive engineers, assistant engineers, sub-engineers, supervisors and overseers increased. Their salaries were also enhanced.⁶

The Public Works Department was reformed through the years. And the prime beneficiaries of this department were, of course, the British officials. Their salaries and ranks were raised. The number of department members was increased, but the participation of Indian men in the same department was limited and questionable. Even an Indian man who was well-qualified in this field could not find a better rank or position in this department. There are no records of ordinary men who worked hard for daily wages to complete these works. Their basic payment or increase of payment was never mentioned anywhere. And off the record, several men lost their lives while working on these construction projects. And it's tough to find any Englishman who lost his life or mutilated under these constructions.

A new Irrigation Division with three subdivisions and nine sections was formed from the 6th Minam 1109. The waterworks and drainage branch were separated in 1110 ME (1935) and organised into a separate department under the control of the waterworks and Drainage Engineer, who was made directly responsible to the government. The Chief Engineer has since been in charge of roads, buildings, and irrigation.⁷

The Travancore society was purely agrarian-based, and agricultural income became a fifth of the six taxable incomes in Travancore society. The irrigation works were initiated to better the agriculture sector. Undoubtedly, the prime motive for the rapid construction of irrigation work was the agricultural tax.

There is an interesting observation of Arthur Thomas Cotton, a British General and irrigation engineer who has made a tremendous effort to improve irrigation works in South India, which needs attention. 'The total amount of treasure in the country in the shape of water may be thus calculated; if we allow on an average two feet of rain to run off the face of the country annually, then, after allowing for evaporation, there will still be two millions of cubic yards available per square mile, besides what falls on the ground

under cultivation, of which of course the profit is not lost. Thus, the water that falls off every square mile is worth, at the rate of 500 cubic yards per rupee, 4,000 rupees a year. The present population of India averages about 100 per square mile, but if the whole of the water that falls were made use of, no doubt the country would bear at least 400 to the square mile. The water then turned to account would be worth 10 rupees a head per annum, and as there would be 600 million people in all of India, the total value of the water would be 60,000 lakhs a year, or 600 million sterling.⁸

It's a typical example of how these colonial rulers transformed natural resources for economic benefit. He also admitted that water was a profitable treasure. The intention behind constructing irrigation works all over colonial India is again questionable. On the one hand, it improved the agrarian sector in favour of the British, but on the other hand, it must have helped to maintain the landlordism in favour of the elite class, especially in terms of Travancore. It is evident from the Travancore Income Tax Manual published in the year 1949 that 'It has to be paid to the Government or the *Sripandaravangai* or the *Sripadam* or as *Jenmi- Karam* or as rent to a landlord in respect of the land from which such agricultural income is derived'.⁹ In this, the term *Janmi-Karam* denotes tax payable to the landlord by the tenant. A society like Travancore, which had a high consciousness of caste bifurcation, indeed wanted to preserve the landlords so that any measures taken for the good sake of agriculture would be welcomed and entertained by both the British and the elite class of Travancore.

Public Work Department: a Conductor for Empire Making

This department has to be well organised for better functioning. The development and activities of the Public Works Department can be considered under eight categories: organisation and control, communications, buildings and other works, irrigation, *mara math*, railway, electric supply, waterworks, and drainage. The department also carried out non-government or private works, including those of local bodies.¹⁰

All public works department expenditures were subjected to the legislature's vote. But with the exceptions of the following items:

- Expenditure, which is obligatory under any law.
- Works relating to the palace, government houses, guest houses, Travancore houses, H. H the Maharaja's Garage and Stables.¹¹

The funds for the items mentioned above may be provided without reference to the legislature. This shows how the British regulated the expenditure rules for construction works. Exempting the palaces and buildings associated with the ruling family could be part of diplomacy to prevent any intercept or conflict with the ruler of Travancore. At the same time, no works were carried out without the permission of the British government. They made sure to exercise complete control over each department.

The Public Works Department needed administrative approval to incur any expenditure in the PWD on work initiated by or connected with the requirements of such administrative department. It is, in effect, an order to the PWD to execute specific specified works at a stated sum to meet the administrative needs of the department requiring the work.¹²

In 1053 ME (1878), the *Mara math* grants were readjusted to entrust the more important works to the Chief Engineer. The expenditure was regulated under a system of regular estimates, completion bills, and other necessary returns.¹³

The first stone of the Napier Museum in the Public Gardens was laid down by the ruler of Travancore in 1873.¹⁴ The Museum was named after a former governor of Madras. Mr. Chisholm, a consulting architect for the Government of Madras, designed the building.

Between 1864 and 1872, work was started on 20 critical roads, with an estimated cost of about Rs. 16.98 Lakh.¹⁵ Shortly after Barton assumed charge as Engineer (1873), he submitted a proposal to introduce iron screw pillars, girder bridges. Several excellent and helpful roads were opened in all directions.¹⁶ The public roads were constructed for better transportation and communications.

The Travancore had distinctive geographical features, so the British had to implement different kinds of transportation facilities to make transportation better for their convenience. The refined suspension bridge across the Kallada river at Punalur, the construction of which was begun in 1047 ME (1871-72), was satisfactorily completed for Rs. 2,74,451 and thrown open to traffic on 1055 ME (1879-80).¹⁷ The critical work of tunnelling through the Varkala cliffs commenced in 1044 ME (1868-69) and was completed the following year. Continuous water communication was established between Trivandrum, Alleppey, Cochin and even Tirur railway station in Malabar.¹⁸

A navigable canal from Kottayam to Vaikom was constructed in 1064 ME (1888-89). Decisive steps were taken in 1069 ME (1893-94) to extend and improve the road system in the interior parts of North Travancore. The total length of communications maintained by the department in 1081 ME (1905-06) was 2,224 miles, of which 330 miles were planters roads, 774 miles were village roads, 360 miles were traces, and 156 miles were canals and backwaters.¹⁹ Thus, the streets, canals, bridges, and tunnels were constructed commercially.

Barton took charge of the construction of new Sirkar buildings not long after he took charge of the PWD. Several new buildings were built, the most attractive of which was public offices. The Napier museum was constructed, and considerable progress was made in 1049 ME (1873-74). New *bathrooms* were built to accommodate travellers. The charity feeding home on the old lines of communication was removed and located on the new roads. Measures were taken in 1053 ME (1877-78) to provide a suitable building for the preparatory school at the capital and a courthouse, travellers bungalow, magistrate residents, and other buildings. The museum buildings and several bridges were completed, and others are progressing. The streets in the capital were illuminated with gaslights in 1073 ME (1897-9). The most important new buildings and bridges were constructed in reinforced concrete, a process first adopted in Travancore in 1075 ME (1900) and in which the state P W D has attained high efficiency.²⁰

The position of many of the public buildings has long been the subject of severe complaints by various classes of the inhabitants. The ordinary and only road to the cutcherry at *Suchindram* is through the Brahmin street and is only open to high castes.²¹ If ordinary men were unapproachable to these buildings, then how could they be categorised as public buildings?

The British-built public buildings stand out as a testimony of Imperialism. From the year 1800 onwards, the nature of British colonialism changed its form into imperialism. One of the significant features of Imperialism was that of the Empire Building. For that, the British adopted the Roman Empire style in which they built a visible structure or concrete embodiment of their supremacy wherever they went. By following this in India, they built buildings with uniform patterns that resembled the Empire of Rome. The Public Work Department functions as an agency that fulfils its mission. The meaning of these physical 'skeletons' has come to embody remains ambiguous.

Samuel Mateer, F. L. S of the London Missionary Society, narrates how he differentiated colonial public buildings from indigenous ones. 'Now a break in the street will occur, and we come to a large compound

shut in by handsome iron railings, containing a fine block of buildings designed by an English engineer and used as Government offices. Opposite, at some distance from the road, is the telegraph office, and a little higher up, a small whitewashed building with 'post-office in large letters on the front. In between the houses are groups of palms, the feathery cocoanut, the slender areca with its small graceful head, and the broad-leaved fan palm tamarind trees, which are both ornamental and functional, the scarlet flowering Poinsettia, the Bougainvillea, and other gay shrubs adorn our streets; At the same time, some of them are hedged in, instead of being walled, by the orange lantana, and bordered by rows of casuarina and other trees, affording grateful shade to all, but especially prized by the poor *cool* toiling at noon under his heavy load.²²

At first glance, visitors can easily recognise the visible structure of these public buildings. The empire building explores through architecture, even without mincing words. The idea of visible supremacy over natives by differentiating the architecture and structure from local buildings is evident here. Even after colonial rule, these buildings remained a visible example of the British Raj in India. When a European man visits one of the colonised countries, he will have to travel over the central city, which reminds him of his imperial ancestors. Finding the finest officials, materials and workforce for the construction of these buildings denotes that the construction was not meant to be temporary. However, they wanted to build to prove their art, architecture, and construction supremacy, which would last longer.

The advent of British power resulted in the enactment of a series of Acts that changed the traditional system of local self-government. Accordingly, the Town Development Act, enacted by the Government of Madras in 1871, recommended the introduction of local boards at taluks and district levels. At that time, Travancore was under the control and supervision of the Madras Presidency and adopted the same policy.

There was a book published in 1858 by Edward Balfour, a Surgeon-Major in the Madras Army who was also a corresponding member of Vienna's Imperial Geological Institute. His book is entitled *'The Timber Trees, Timber and Fancy Woods, 'and The Forests of India and Eastern and Southern Asia*. The author himself admits in his preface to the first edition, 'It had been suggested to me that persons whose avocations require them to attend to matters connected with the forest and with the timber trees, timber and fancy woods of India and of Eastern and Southern Asia would find assistance in a manual indicating the botanical and vernacular names of the plants that furnish these useful products and which would also give some information regarding the characters of their different woods and their other economic products, also noticing the forest in which they grow and remarking on those plans towards the greater extension of which a time should be chiefly directed.'²³ Interestingly, there are detailed notes on the Travancore region as well.

Hugh Cleghorn, the conservator of forests in Madras Presidency, wrote a book named 'Forests and Gardens of South India, which was published in 1861 and also wrote in detail about the forests of Travancore. He states that there keen competition which ensured among European and native traders led to an indiscriminate feeling of the most valuable timber, which threatened speedily to exhaust a forest and thereby deprive the state of those supplies which were indispensable to the public service.²⁴

The intention and interest behind the detailed study of these plants need some attention. Because railway construction was getting more rapid during this time, these detailed studies might have guided the colonisers to what they needed. Negotiations for the Travancore - Tinnevely and Shoranur - Ernakulam branch railways were completed in 1073 ME (1897-98). The construction of other Travancore branches of the S.I.R. was commenced in 1075 ME (1899-1900).²⁵ The construction of railway lines helped the

British get into the forest, and they could plunder and loot the immense treasure. They also held control over the forest. Making these forests under government law could legalise the plunder of natural resources. Because the records held and handled by the colonial rulers were not an exception to falsification, many needed to be corrected. The detailed studies conducted during these times have helped the British gain more knowledge of each region's natural resources. These studies don't deserve any scientific or humanitarian explanation. The extensive works of railways and roads need no more explanation than the economic benefit to the British.

When it comes to constructions, especially when we look into the condition of its production and reception, the specific logic characterises the field of cultural production and how it relates to the broader fields of power and class relations reflected.

The establishment of the Public Work Department in Travancore was a clear reflection of the British imperial policies. For them, empire-building in a princely state like Travancore under indirect rule was an easy task. Unlike the neighbouring princely states, Travancore was a complete subordinate of the British, and they had to accept the supremacy of the colonial government. The British treated Travancore as fertile soil for the exhibition of their ideology through different constructions. The PWD has functioned as an agency to achieve this.

End Notes

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UNCOVERING THE PAST: EXPLORING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS IN TAMIL HISTORY

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Introduction

Ancient Tamil Historical Sources Are Known Through Literature, Archaeology, Inscriptions, And Numismatics. Among These Sangam Literature Is The Most Important. In The Same Way, The Onset Of Written Records In South India Made It Possible To Move Away From The Tendency To Treat The Entire Peninsular Region As A Whole And To Isolate Smaller Regions Whose Texts Indicated Distinct Historical Trajectories. In The Southern Portion Of The Peninsula—The Region That Corresponds Roughly To The Present-Day States Of Kerala And Tamil Nadu—The Existence Of An Extensive Documentary Corpus, Both Indigenous And Foreign, And The Occurrence Of Inscribed Coins And Cave Inscriptions Have Given Rise To The Idea Of A Separate Ethnic And Linguistic Region Known As “Tamilakam” The Sangam Literary Texts Descriptions Of Ancient Tamil Nadu Society And Different Aspects Of Their Life. Many Of These Parts Are Accepted By Researchers As Reliable Data. Pre-Christian Greco-Roman Literature Gives Details Of Maritime Trade Between Tamil Nadu And The Roman Empire, Including The Names And Locations Of Many Ports Along The Coast Of Tamil Nadu. Archaeological Excavations In Tamil Nadu And Kerala Have Revealed Sangam Period Remains Such As A Variety Of Pottery, Inscribed Pottery, Industrial Wares, Brick Structures, And Rotary Screw Scrolls. Palaeontology, Ancient Writing Techniques Etc. Helped Predict The Age Of Sangam Artefacts. Excavated Artefacts Provide Evidence For The Existence Of A Variety Of Economic Activities Mentioned In The Sangam Literature, Such As Agriculture, Weaving, Blacksmithing, Gem Dressing, Building Construction, Pearl Mining, And Painting. Inscriptions Found In Caves And Pottery Are Another Source Of Learning About The History Of Tamil Nadu. Tamil Brahmi Scripts Have Been Found In Places Like Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Sri Lanka, Egypt, And Thailand, Many Of Which Were Authorized By Kings And People's Leaders Or Generals. The Sangam Community Also developed Other Things. Coins Issued By The Tamil Kings Of This Period Have Also Been Found In Their Kingdoms. Many Coins Had The Royal Emblem On Their Reverse. Symbols Like The Cherara Symbol Of The Arrow And The Bow Are Notable. ¹The Fact It Contained Some Iconography And Inscriptions Helped Coinage Experts To Da

Archaeological Evidence

The Antiquity Of Tamil Culture Can Be Traced Back To The Pre-Historic Period From The Archaeological Sites Excavated At Atrampakkam, Adichanallur, Sairapuram, Brahmagiri Of Mysore, Perunkarkugil In Coimbatore District, Baiyambally In Chittoor District, Tainaipatti In Pudukottai District, Karikkanthankal In Vada Arcadu Circle, Chengalpattu Circle In Kunnathur And Many Other Places In Tamil Nadu. Athirampakkam Is A Village In Thiruvallur Panchayat Union | Thiruvallur Panchayat Union, Tiruvallur District, And Tamil Nadu. It Is A Small Town, About 60 Km From Chennai. The Site Is The Oldest Prehistoric Stone Tool Culture Site In India. Athirambakkam Is One Of The Classic Sites In The Archaeological History Of Tamil Nadu. The Site Was Discovered In 1863 By The British Geologist

Robert Bruce Foote And Has Been Explored Intermittently For Over A Century (*Krishnaswamy 1938; I.A.R 1965-67*). This Site Is Important In India's Significant Conceptual Development Of Prehistoric Studies. This place is considered to be the centre for the production of stone axes. Athirambakkam Is One Of The Lower And Middle Palaang Neolithic Sites Located In The Floodplain Of Kotalaiyar In Tamil Nadu. At Present, 50,000m Of Tools In The Area Are Being Eroded By Rainwater Streams.

Madrasian Culture

It Is Also Called The Lower Palaeolithic Culture. This Civilization Flourished Before The Paleolithic Age. This Means That The Madrasian Culture Is Believed To Have Existed Before The Stone Age, About 2.5 Million Years Ago. The Artefacts Related To This Culture Were First Found In The Town Of Athirambakkam. This Culture Was Called Madrasian As This Place Near Present-Day Chennai Is Called Madras. After That, Artefacts Related To This Culture Were Found In Various Places Belonging To This Region. Stone Tools Like Biface Axes And Cutting Stones Have Been Found As Artefacts Of This Culture. Apart From These, Flat Stone Implements, Small Stones And Cutting Knives Have Also Been Found. Mostly, All These Tools Are Made Of Metamorphic Rock-Type Sedimentary Rocks. The Stone Artefacts Of This Culture Are Identified As Part Of The Second Precipitation Period Of Post-Catholic India. The English Archaeologist And Geographer Robert Bruce Foote Discovered This Type Of Specific Stone Industry At The Site Of Athirampakkam In 1863. Since His Discovery, The Site Has Been A Strong Source Of Late Palaeolithic Artefacts. Various Types Of Small And Large Artefacts Such As Stone Axes, Three-Faced Stone Tools, Cutting Stones, Single-Faced Stones, And Rock Flakes Were Found At This Place. In 2011, The Results Of The Excavations, The Testing Of The Finds, And The Cosmic Ray Exposure Dating Method Revealed That The Oldest Stone Tools Found Here Are 1.5 Million Years Old. It Is Believed That The Unprecedented Two-Faceted Technological Advances In This Region Are A Record Of An Earlier Era. People Belonging To The Madrasian Culture Gathered In Groups And Were Hunters. They Are Not Involved In Activities Like Keeping A Farm Or Rearing Animals. Today, The Lower Palaeolithic People Lived Mainly In Rock Caves And Thatched Huts.²

Pre-Historic Antiquities of Adichanallur

Adhichanallur Archaeological Site Is Located In Tuticorin District. Adichanallur, Also Known As "Adi Thachanallur" " is One Of The Most Excavated Cities In The World, Located 24 Km Southeast Of Tirunelveli, On The Banks Of The Thamirapharani River. It Appears That The First Excavations Were Carried Out At Adichanallur In 1876. Jagor, The First German To Visit Adichanallur, Conducted Excavations In 1876. Later, Surveys Were Conducted In 1896 And 1904. Alexander Rea, a British archaeologist who conducted research at that time, mentioned that this is the most extensive archaeological field ever discovered in South India. He Has Found And Recorded Thousands Of Ancient Objects. Among these are pottery, iron tools, weapons, jewellers, beads made of gold, bronze, rare stones, and bones that have been found. Archaeologists Believe That Adichanallur Was The Ancient Cradle Of The Ancient Tamil Civilization. Excavations Conducted Here In 2004 Are Considered To Be Very Important. 3,800-Year-Old Skeletons Have Also Been Found Here. The Potsherds Found Here Were Sent To The Beta Analytical Laboratory In The US To Date Adichanallur. According To The Results Obtained There, The Stratum At Depth BC. 750 BC, It Was Found To Belong To The Year 850.

The Duration Of The Layer Above Was Not Predicted. So, The Period Of This Place Is BC. 650 BC, It Is Predicted That There May Be Up To 850. This Was The Iron Age Period In Tamil Nadu, Especially In South India This Site May Be Older Than That. About 3,500 Years Old. In Later Times, It Was

Customary To Plant A Stone At Burial Sites. But no such stones have been found in any of the burial sites here. So This Site May Be Even Earlier Than That. All The Earrings And Metal Objects Found Here Have Been Found To Contain Zinc. All Products Contain 3-6 per cent zinc. "If A Metal Object Contains More Than One Per Cent Of Other Metals, It Means That They Have Been Intentionally Added. As Far As The Indian Subcontinent Is Concerned, Only Here And At Mohenjo Daro Was The Practice Of Alloying Zinc With Such Metal Objects.³

Edgar Thurston First Discovered The Bones Found During The Alexander Rhea Period And Then In The 1970s By K.A.R., Also Explored By Kennedy. According To Him, The People Who Lived Here Belonged To Different Races. As Far As The Skeletons Were Concerned, He Considered That The Skeletons Of The People Who Lived In Adichanallur Were Similar To Those Of The People Who Lived In Harappa. People Of Different Ethnicities May Have Lived Here. Many Grains Were Found In Old People's Bags Found Here. They Are Mostly Rice, Paddy And Gram. Based On This, It Can Be Concluded That The People Who Lived Here Cultivated Paddy And Passion Fruit. A Large Number Of Iron Products And A Small Number Of Copper Products Were Found Here. As Far As Iron Objects Are Concerned, Tools For Ploughing, Weapons Etc. Were Found. Presently The State Government Is Carrying Out Excavations Here. A Lot Of Information Can Be Found In It. "Taking Lots Of Material At An Archaeological Site Does Not Solve The Mysteries Of The Site.⁴

Alagankulam Archaeological Site

Alagankulam Is In The Village. At Present, The Tamil Nadu Government Archaeology Department Is Carrying Out Excavations At the Alaghankulam Archaeological Site. Alagankulam Archaeological Site Is Located On The Banks Of The Vaigai River, Three Kilometres From The Coast Of The Bay Of Bengal. In The 1980s, They Confirmed The Presence Of Archaeological Remains In Alaghankulam Village For The First Time. The Director Of The Tamil Nadu Archaeology Department Said That The First Five Pits Ten Feet In Length, Ten Feet In Width And Twenty Feet In Depth Were Excavated In The Alaghankulam Archaeological Field. Excavations At Alagankulam Have Yielded Shreds, Pottery Shreds And Jar Fragments Dating Back To 375 BC From Mediterranean Countries. Red Tiles Written In Tamil Brahmi Script Have Been Found Dating Back To The First Century BC. Other Artefacts Such As Beads, Perforated Tiles And Bricks Of Various Sizes Have Been Excavated Here. The Coins Found In The Ahagankulam Excavations Bear The Face Of The Roman Emperor On The Obverse And The Angel Of Roman Victory On The Reverse. With This, It Is Considered That These Coins May Have Been Issued By Valentinian II, Who Ruled The Roman Empire From 375 To 392 BC In 375 BC. Through This, The Maritime Trade Between The Pandyas And The Romans Is Known. Archaeologists Believe That The Area Of Alaghankulam During The Sangam Period May Have Been A Trading Town Or A Port City Of The Pandyas Around 300 BC To 300 AD. Also, In The Seventh Round Of Excavations, Trade With The Romanians And Commercial Settlements Of Roman And Mediterranean Merchants Were Found At Alagankulam.⁵

Sivagalai

It Is A Village In Sivagalai Panchayat, Thiruvaikundam Panchayat Union, Eral Circle, Thoothukudi District, And Tamil Nadu. It Is 30 Km From Thoothukudi, 10 Km From Tiruvaikunda And 6 Km From Eral. Around This Village, There Are Villages Like Nainarpuram, Parambu, Parakramapandi, Mankottapuram And Aawarangadu. The Archaeological Site Of 2000 Acres In Sivagalai Was Discovered By Who Works As A History Teacher At Srivaikundam Srikumaraguruparaswamy High School, Which Belongs To Sivagalai, 5 Years Ago. Excavation Work Is Going On. For This Purpose, The Tamil Nadu

Government Allocated Rs. 58 Lakhs For The First Phase Of Excavation. Currently, Rs. 34 Lakhs Have Been Given For The Second Excavation Phase, Which Is Being Carried Out At Nine Places Around Shiva. So Far, 40 Old People's Talismans Have Been Found In The Excavation Work In Shivalagi. In This, 16 Elderly Women Were Found In One Pit. Also, Objects, Including Ancient Stone Carvings, Have Been Found In Shivagarhi. The Archaeological Site.

The Keeladi Archaeological Site

The Archaeological Survey Of India Excavated Sangam Settlement And Operated By The Tamil Nadu Department Of Archaeology. The Excavation Centre Is Located At Palilchandhi Thital Of Keezhadi Village In Keezhadi Panchayat, Sivagangai District, Tiruppuvanam Circle, Tiruppuvanam Panchayat Union, 12 Km South-East Of Madurai In Tamil Nadu. This Is The First Large-Scale Excavation In Tamil Nadu By The Archaeological Survey Of India After The Adichanallur Archaeological Site. It Reveals The Tamil Culture That Developed On The Banks Of The Vaigai River. The Archaeological Site Is Estimated To Be Between The 6th Century BC And The 5th Century BC. The Excavations Are Also Related To The Indus Valley Civilization.

A Bone Stylus, Ivory Comb, Whetstone, Potsherds, Chess Pieces, Gambling Dice, Earthen Jar, Coral Beads, Clay Cast, Bull's Head, Human Body Part, Human Head Figure Etc. They have also been found in the fifth phase of excavation. Black And Red Pottery, Spiked Bone Implements, Spinning Wheels (A Tool For Making Ornamental Beads), Gold Ornaments, Beads, Etc. We also found More than 520 game objects, 13 clay figurines, 35 earrings, three animal figurines, gold, iron, and copper. Metal Artefacts And Pottery Inscribed With Tamil Brahmi Script Have Been Found. Houses Were Built In A Construction Technique Using Thin Clay, Brick, Lime Mortar And Iron Nails.⁶

According To Radiocarbon Dating, The Archaeological Site Is Known To Date Back To 600 BC. Subsurface Excavations Have Revealed Evidence Of A 2,600-year-old Vaigai Karai Civilization, And The Fifth Phase Of Excavation Has Revealed Drainage Systems In A Clay Pipe-Like Structure. At A Depth Of 47 Cm, A Pot Rim-Like Structure Was Observed During Excavation At YD6/3. When It Was Carefully Exposed Further, Two Well-Designed Flint Tubes Of Red Colour Were Found Aligned With Each Other. These Tubes Were 60 Cm Long And 20 Cm Wide. Each Of These Tubes Has Five Rings Like Flanges. Excavators believe these two pipes must have been used to safely transport water as they fit together well. Below This Flint Pipe, Three Barrel-Shaped Flint Pipes Were Found Overlapping Each Other. It Is, Therefore, Assumed That These Two Pipelines Must Have Had Different Uses. A Filter Is Also Found In The Barrel-Shaped Tube. The End Of This Pipe Joins A Two-Tier Pot. Therefore, The Field Researchers Believe This Barrel-Shaped Tube May Have Collected The Liquid Material In The Pot.⁷

The Fourth Phase Of Excavations Took Place Between 2017 And 2018. Of This, 5,820 Items Were Found. While The Department Of Archaeology Of India conducted the Three Previous Excavations, The Fourth Phase Of Excavation Was Conducted By The Tamil Nadu Government Archaeology Department. The 6 Samples Obtained In The Fourth Phase Of Excavation Were Sent To Beta Analytical, A Company In Miami, Florida, USA. In These Studies, A Sample Was Obtained At A Depth Of Eleven Feet B.C. Dated To 580 AD. The Writing Patterns Found In The Material Found During These Excavations Show Us A Cross Between The Indus Valley Civilization Script And The Tamil Brahmi Script.⁸

Conclusion

Ancient Tamil Society Contains Diverse Cultural Traditions And Historical Records. Such Elements Are Known Through Written Evidence Of The Ancient Tamil Society, Such As Literature, Inscriptions, Folk Customs, Traditions, Cultural Traditions, Etc. It is based on the Artefacts found from a particular period

and place of a particular period of society and the remains of that society. Archaeoculture Is The Basis Of The-Cultural Archaeology And Historical Archaeology. Most Archaeological Cultures Are Named After The Distinctive Artefacts Found At The Archaeological Site Or After The Location Of The Archaeological Site. For Example, The Differences In Pottery Found In The Archaeological Field Are Called Sumerian, Indus Valley, Ocher, Black And Red, Northern Glazed Black, And Gray Painted.⁹

The Cultural Archaeology Site Located On The Banks Of The River Was Also Named The Indus Valley Civilization. Tamil Culture Is A Monoculture. It Is A Combination Of The Customs Of Various Ethnic Communities. The Tamil Culture Is The Organization Of The Cultures Of The Different Ethnic Groups Who Were Living Within The Territory Of Tamil Nadu From North Vangadam To South Kumari, Maintaining Various Socio-Cultural Lifestyles And Speaking The Tamil Language. It Can Be Assumed That Such Morals Have Been Recorded In Tamil Literature In A Somewhat Concentrated Manner And Are The Basis For Understanding And Knowing The Cultural Discourses And Methods Of Ancient Tamil Society. It Is Through These That We Can Tend To Build Tamil Sociology. They Have Divided The Land Into Five Parts And Their Respective Seasons Into Two: Major Season And Minor Season. Each Land Has Special Pastimes And Activities That The People Who Live There Are All Located Together. Tamil Culture And Way Of Life Have Been Built On This Basis. The Recent Discoveries Of Archaeologists From Places Like Keezadi Are The Revelation Of The Truth That Explains The Culture Of The Time Before The Birth Of Christ. Tamils have left behind unique historical events in every artistic field, such as painting, architecture, dance, music, and literature. While Writing The History Of The World, Ancient Intellectual Texts Have Been Presented As True Documents; similarly, When Writing The Tamil Culture, They Have Used Inscriptions, Sculptures, Etc. To Transmit The History Of The Tamil Language To The Next Generation Through Writing.¹⁰

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APPROBATION OF WOMEN WITHIN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF TRIVANDRUM

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Introduction

The spread of Latin Catholicism in Travancore and the formation of the Archdiocese of Thiruvananthapuram occupy a pre-eminent position in the social mobilization and empowerment of unorganized sections of the society. Social mobilisation and empowerment are tools for the transformation of traditional society, affecting far-reaching changes in all aspects of individual and social life. It provides an opportunity for all-round development in terms of standard of living and social participation. The case of social empowerment comprises an amount of self-esteem and dignity for individuals, an opening up of the creative powers of ordinary people, recognition of their rights and powers, and social mobilisation. The most outstanding achievement of the Diocese is that it provides to the people of the Travancore society an exemplar of socialist, humanistic, progressive ideas, which assure the dignity of the individual and a sweeping development. In the case of women, mass development and changes have happened due to the longstanding situation.

Converts from the lowest castes always saw conversion as a part of escape from the caste system into a new and more flexible social order. The liberal role of the Catholic missionaries in empowering the oppressed and suppressed rungs of the society to bargain for their legitimate status within the society formed an essential part of social mobilisation. The introduction and spread of the Gospel, coupled with the spread of the modern education system, became the most potent catalysing agency in social mobilisation and creating social changes in Travancore's history.

In the context of Trivandrum, the Latin Catholics represented the poorest section of the society. Poverty, illiteracy, and lack of primary needs were some of the problems faced by the community, and most of the converters were mukkuvas. The unsolved problem of the dowry system made many families poor. The social status of women has not yet been enlarged, as in other communities. Most of the people in the fishing villages are gathered and densely populated. After the formation of the Trivandrum Diocese, the indigenous Bishops heading these dioceses ably channelised the surplus people getting accrued in the Christian agrarian villages to a variety of educational programmes and health-care projects and the chief beneficiaries often were the peripheral and marginal segments of the society, besides the members of own community, schools, colleges, hospitals and dispensaries set up by the church which revolutionised the sectors of knowledge diffusion and health care in the society. From the early period, the Christian missionaries provided spiritual support for one of India's first human rights movements, the Upper Cloth Revolt by the Nadar Women of Kerala. It shows that the Christian missionaries have always been on the side of the suppressed class people, especially for women and their education, and also fighting for their social, economic and political rights.

The establishment of catholic churches and parishes in Travancore, Women Empowerment is one of the primary targets of the Diocese in social development, implemented several programs to promote sustainable development of women. To employ the poor, unemployed women with the diocese's support, initiatives were taken to start spinning, weaving and tailoring centres under the multipurpose co-operative societies started in each parish. The primary goals of this program were the socio-economic upliftment

of women and to help them lead a dignified life with gender equality. The specific objectives include the promotion of saving habits among the members, helping to maintain good relationships among the members in the neighbourhood, helping to improve the social, economic and cultural status of women in their families and society, helping to enhance their leadership qualities, reduce their poverty and provide support to improve their engagement in addressing various issues which hamper their growth and advance. To encourage these programmes, the government was ready to give subsidies through Government agencies like Kerala State Social Welfare Board and Khadi and Village Industries Board, as well as provide instruments and training facilities to the new workers to enlarge the production of handloom products. The essential strategies adopted to achieve the goal or objectives were forming and strengthening women SHGs, capacity building and empowerment, collaborative actions and livelihood promotion.

After the formation of the Trivandrum Social Service Society by the Diocese, a lot of Women, Child and Family Welfare programmes were piloted. The activities for women are mainly focused on the Fish Vending Women's Forum and VanithaVedies. A significant concern in this area is the liberation of these marginalised weaker sections through socio-political and economic empowerment. The overall objective of the women empowerment programs was to enhance the capacity of participant women to engage actively in solving the problems they face in their day-to-day lives and in society. A series of activities were organised to achieve the objective. Conducting a Training of Trainers (TOT) program was one of the essential activities in the series. Its aim was to develop the women participants as trainers with confidence and competency by acquiring new knowledge and skills in designing, organising and facilitating training for peer educators.

Through education and empowerment, not many but several great women leaders, like Miss Watts, Miss Annie Mascarene, and Miss Daisy Muthunayagom, became embodiments of the empowerment of women in the Diocese from a very early period.

The prominent woman who steered through was Miss. D.H Watts was the daughter of Mr Frank Watts, the Chief Secretary of Travancore and the sister of the famous Mr M.E Watts, the Diwan of Travancore. She could be counted among the great women of Travancore who have rendered valuable service to the public. During his service as the principal of the Maha Raja's College for Women, she did a lot of work for the well-being of women.

Daisy Muthunayagom, Professor of English in the Maharajas College for Women, Trivandrum was appointed as tutor to Her Highness the First Princess KarthikaThirunal. Miss Daisy Muthunayagom was the daughter of Rao Bahadur A.M Muthunayagom Pillai, the Judge of the Travancore High Court. The appointment was made on the personal initiatives of Her Highness Maha Rani Regent. She was the founder and president of the Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, affiliated with the International 'World Union of Catholic Women's Organization' and involved in outstanding social work for the welfare of the women belonging to the Diocese.

Including the women in mission works, later the society witnessed the role of women in many struggles for social benefit. Nevertheless, the fish workers mobilised and took onto the streets of Trivandrum city to oppose the communist government of 1957 when it was a threat to remain illiterate. Alcohol has become the curse of society. Some Christian centres became notorious for illicit concentration. Several women participated in the alcoholism programme conducted by the diocese.

The greatest demonstration of women's empowerment in the diocese was the massive participation of thousands of women in the *Vimochanasamaram* in Kerala in 1959, Smt. Flory became a martyr

defending the cause of faith during the Liberation struggle. However, regrettably, the 'rise of women empowerment' in the diocese was not used constructively for social awareness and empowerment. It took another quarter century to mobilise them for a real social cause during the Fishermen's Agitation in the nineteen eighties.

The active participation of the Trivandrum clergy in the fishermen's agitation is to be seen in this context of theological enlightenment, along with Fr. Thomas Kocheri, Fr. James Culas, Sister Philomon Mary, who belonged to the Medical Mission, and a number of Catholic women who performed a leading role at the time of the fishermen's agitation and other fishermen's strikes.

To scrutinise women who have started businesses and have struggled to maintain the same, little help was given to support them in coming up well in their lives. Women engaged in business were selected and provided with entrepreneurship scholarships. A close monitoring system ensures they are improving their small-scale business into a livelihood-supporting system. To bring equal participation, gender equity, and justice for women into the church and society, the diocese formed *VanithaVed* (Women's Forum) in their working area. Forty-one units of VanithaVedies were active in the operational area of TSSS, and one of the prime concerns of TSSS was to enhance and strengthen women through training to involve and respond by way of immediate and appropriate actions to social issues.

Skill training focusing directly on the inner strength of women enabled them to open their third eye to social problems and respond empathetically, especially related to violence against women and children, as well as gender inequality. The women are on the path of transformation and are involved in social issues as part of their lives. It is the outcome of TSSS's continuous effort to form leadership and social commitment with Sakhi's collaboration. They conducted many rallies and dharna on violence against women and children in Kerala and gave memorandum with suggestions to safeguard the dignity of women in different times.

Through establishing the Dalit Catholic Mahajana Sabha (DCMS), the Diocese carried out all the activities for the Dalit community. To improve the condition of women in these communities, Dalit women SHGs were formed. The activities of DCMS were successful in the forages when the number of DCMS members was larger. Formation of DCMS units at the village level, formation of Scholarship distribution to Dalit students, leadership training and self-employment programme for SHGs and DCMS members, Justice Sunday Observation and dharnas against the injustice regarding the issue on the reservation were some of the major activities for this section of people. Through the DCMS, they organise themselves as a 'people movement' that is self-sufficient and bearable by their contribution to realising the vision of empowerment and building up selfless and committed leadership for social transformation. To train them for leadership and capacity building in parishes, dioceses, and regional levels to form themselves as committed leaders to work for the Integrated Development of the Dalit Community. To utilise education and personal power to empower Dalits, they promote their educational growth, help the poor and weak students through exceptional coaching and remedial classes, and follow the policy of reservation in education and employment. The main aim of the formation of SHG is the upliftment of Dalit women in all the areas of their socialism.

In the very beginning, the Travancore society was male-dominated. So, no natural social uplift occurred among Latin Catholic women in those days. However, by including women in their programmes, the situation changed. With various awareness classes, leadership training programmes, participation of multiple dharnas and strikes for their rights, and formation of SHGs, women dominate all the fields. The situation has changed; a far better improvement has happened in society, and it is not good to leave it

that changes. Opening several schools and convents in the nook and corner of Travancore provides educational opportunities for low-class people. As a result, women have many opportunities and political, economic, and social awareness. Starting here, the presence of women can be seen in many areas of struggle, and they were equal to men in all fields. They realised their importance, freedom, rights, and opportunities in society.

Conclusion

Compared with other parts of Kerala, it is noted that the role of Catholic missionaries was remarkable. They concentrated on the services, irrespective of caste or creed, even during the pinnacle period of untouchability in Travancore. The Catholic missionaries wanted to put an end to the subordinated attitude of men to women in society and mend the status of women by imparting education to them. Through its educational institutions and convents, education was imparted to women. Every Bishop gave more concentration to education. It was seen from the period of Bishop Benziger to the present one of Archbishop Susapakiam.

The participation and leadership of the Catholic Church in the Liberation struggle produced far-reaching results in the church and politics of Kerala. Thousands of women participated in the movement, and hundreds of them were jailed. this became an eye-opener for the church to channel their energy for empowerment. Etc. In this way, the Diocese's work emphasising women's empowerment has led to the creation of women in all fields. There has also been a change in human control of higher positions in education, government service, private service, and social and cultural sectors. Etc.

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SOCIAL DEGENERATION AMONG THE BACKWARD COMMUNITIES OF TRAVANCORE

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The study of the social degeneration among the backward communities of Travancore opened an interesting chapter in the social History of Travancore. From the primitive stage, History proves the prevalence of Haves and the Have notes in human society. Over time, the Haves exploited the lowest strata and thus the slavery system emerged in the world. In Travancore, the slaves were commonly known as *Chermakkal* or *Cherman* denotes the origin of slavery. It simply means sons of the soil or tillers of the soil. The survival of the privileged class mainly depends upon the very existence of serfdom and so they maximum encouraged to do *uzhium service* or bounded labour. This system emerged not only in European countries during the feudal age but also visible even in Travancore country.

The Sangam literature proves the existence of an egalitarian society in South India during the first five centuries of the Christian era¹. But after the Aryanisation complete change took place in the society. The Dravidian culture assimilated with the Aryan culture and the Aryans introduced *Chaturvarnya* system which was one of the major reasons for the emergence of untouchable communities in Travancore. The Aryans popularly known as the *uralar* community deliberately created this system for their survival.² They were more attached to the religious worships and temple administration. They utilised the aborigines for defence and agricultural production. Those who attached to the soil were called *Uzhavas* or the tillers. The tillers were gradually deprived of their social dignity and emerged as the slave class of the land.

The recent research work of Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai gives a vivid picture of the origin of the slavery system in Travancore. Before the 9th century AD slaves were rare in Travancore. But the latter half of the 10th century AD witnessed the Hundred Years' war in which the Cholas attacked the Cheras. When the Chola threat became too much havoc, the Nairs concentrated more on war and physical exercises. So the slaves were necessary for the cultivation process³. Moreover, the constant wars and conquests between the petty chieftains and the princes also caused the capture of war captives as slaves.

After the 11th century A D a new socio-political system emerged in Travancore. That was the period of feudalism⁴. The economic essence of feudalism mainly lay in the institution of slavery. Slavery was an imperative necessity for the maintenance of feudal nobility. So the high caste people deliberately pushed the peasant community towards the slavery system.

When the Aryan migration reached its zenith in Travancore during the 8th and 9th centuries of the Christian era they found the fact that the aborigines were black-coloured, uneducated and heathen character. So the Aryans, the white-coloured people easily made domination over them and pushed back them to the lowest strata in the society. Moreover, those dark-skinned people were beef eaters who were dominated by the high-caste Brahmins. They called the beef eaters a polluted class and never allowed them to participate in public meetings or temple worship⁵. In those circumstances, the majority of the Brahmins concentrated more on religious services and the remaining Nairs concentrated on the military. So they needed a peasant community for agricultural production which was satisfied by the untouchable slaves. At the same time, the land rights were not at all enjoyed by the slaves.

Before the 8th century AD, the land was possessed by the native people such as Pulayas, Parayas, Idayas, Vedas etc⁶. However, the Brahmin domination completely changed the situation. They controlled the temple property which was exempted from taxation. The ruling authorities imposed several taxes on the poor peasants. Unable to remit huge taxes, they gave up their lands for temples and Brahmins. Besides this, there was a belief that the Brahmins were the direct representatives of God on earth. The peasants thought that it was their pious duty to look after the material welfare of the Brahmin community. So they handed over their complete lands to the Brahmins. The ruling authorities granted lands to the temples and Brahmins as Devaswom, Brahmaswam lands and viruti lands to the soldiers. As a result, the landless farmers were forcibly pushed into the dungeon of slavery.

Three basis factors determined whether a man was a slave or not. Firstly, his birth decided his social position and dignity. Certain castes were considered to be born slaves such as Parayas, Pulayas, Vedas etc. They were more attached to the soil and were said to be born in bondage. It was their fate to indulge in the soil till the sunset. Secondly, slavery was imposed up on certain sections of the people in the society as a form of punishment by implementing severe laws or customs. eg: Mannappedi, Pulappedi, Adultery cases etc. The third factor was that the slaves were purchased by the lords on large quantities along with property. During the time of famine, parents sold their children for their survival. Their children were also considered as slaves and sold like cattle. They were paid in kind especially some small quantity of rice⁷. This is the best example to prove the prevalence of *uzhium* service or forced labour in Travancore.

The slaves were always employed in agricultural pursuits. They were confined complete services like manuring, ploughing, sowing, reaping and employed in watching cattle, transportation of goods, construction works etc⁸. For their selfless work, they were rewarded with negligence and persecution. They were not even allowed to walk along the public streets.

The social lives of the slaves were pathetic and miserable. They never enjoyed any kind of civil rights. They were considered as animals. If a Pulaya wanted to marry, he had to convey his desire to his master. With his permission only he could marry. After marriage, she also worked for her husband's master⁹. The Parayas were the largest single slaves class. Their status was inferior to the Pulayas. Two types of Parayas slaves existed- *Perrum Parayas* and *Monnay Parayas*. Those slaves never ate anything from the hands of other caste slaves¹⁰. Every Zamindar or the Nair lords possessed a certain number of slaves as they owned cows or buffaloes. Their masters had the power to put them to death or sell them without their prior permission¹¹.

Besides the Parayas and the Pulayas certain other portions of the population below the Nadars and the Ezhavas such as Kuravas, Vetas etc were also treated as slaves. They were considered a polluted class. A very considerable number of the slaves belonged to even the government. Thousands of them were sold annually like cattle and sent out of the country¹².

The slave trade was common in Travancore country. Three modes of transferring the slaves prevailed. The first type was that, the slaves were purchased by giving the full value and thus the slaves and their property were completely transferred to a new master. The second system was the mortgage system. Under this system, the slave proprietors mortgage slaves to new masters who had given particular amounts and small quantities of rice in turn for slaves. If a slave died while he was in the custody of the new master, he was responsible for returning a slave of equal number. The third way of employing slaves was by letting them for Paattom or rent¹³. In this case, a particular sum was given to the master. Those slaves were denied even the remote comforts of human life. They were systematically tortured both

physically and mentally. Those who escaped were chased and brought back and severe punishments were inflicted upon them. They were forbidden to wear upper clothes or clean dress¹⁴.

Social evils such as untouchability, unapproachability, unseeability caste system etc dominated the traditional Travancore society. Even the mere sight of a slave was enough to make the Brahmins consider themselves polluted. So they made some distance for each slave class¹⁵. A plunge bath in the tank or steam was the method of washing off pollution.

According to the traditional custom, the slaves were born to serve the higher communities. Even Manusmriti throws light on the duties of the slaves. They were never allowed to take any kind of revenge or punishment upon those who established the boundaries of slavery. If a slave had any grievances, he purified himself by taking a bath- that was all he could do. Their fate was obeying their master, had no right to protest or question them. Under this circumstance, the Christian Missionaries came to the soil of Travancore and rendered valuable contributions to the abolition of the worst practice named slavery.

The Christian Missionaries, who were moving among the common people with the motive of spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ, came into contact with the slaves¹⁶. It was the Missionaries who first raised their voice against slavery. With their inspiration, in 1812, Colonel Munro, the Resident Diwan of Travancore, influenced the government of Rani Lekshmibai and strictly prohibited the purchase and sale of all slaves other than those attached to the soil¹⁷. Under the continuous influence of Munro, Rani Lekshmibai adopted some rules for the upliftment of the slaves. She agreed on the non-separation of the father, mother, children etc without their consent. Also restricted the sales or transfer beyond a certain distance from the district of their birth. Assured full amount of wage when employed on government work. Prohibited child labour (below 12 years) except for domestic purposes. She fixed the allowance support during the special seasons¹⁸.

The Christian Missionaries found the fact that education was the only way to remove all the caste barricades and slavery. They took great interest in imparting education to the slave children. William Tobias Ringel Taube, the first Protestant Missionary of Travancore, established six schools for the untouchables¹⁹. His successor Charles Mead also devoted his whole life for the spread of Christianity, English education and the abolition of the slavery system. Free books were supplied to the slave children. As a result, some developments took place among them²⁰. The census of 1836 mentioned about 1, 64,864 slaves in Travancore, including the government slaves, got emancipation due to the work of Christian missionaries²¹. In 1854 the Church Mission reported that the wages of the slaves, to some extent, increased and their condition was somewhat better than before²².

Due to the continuous pressure given by the Missionaries, the Madras government sent a letter to the Travancore Diwan in 1853 which was the background of the historic proclamation of 1853. By this proclamation, the slavery system was abolished from Travancore. But unfortunately, it was not at all a perfect one. After the abolition, they continued the caste rules and slavery system²³. The high caste people like Nairs vehemently criticised the emancipation. They stated that this emancipation would cause the gradual dislocation of the economic structure which depended on slave labour. So the reform of 1853 was an unwelcome one to the caste people. Some slaves also disagreed with the emancipation. It may be due to the sentimentalism and personal affection of the slaves to their masters²⁴. Hence the Christian Missionaries clamoured for social reforms and thus the king of Travancore issued another proclamation for the emancipation of the slaves on 24th June 1855²⁵. Thus slavery system was abolished from the soil of Travancore.

The above study makes it clear that slavery, the worst and heathen practice, prevailed in the feudal age and marked a dark chapter in the social history of Travancore. The socio-political, economic, cultural, religious and intellectual domination and the exploitative nature of the high castes over the low castes resulted in the emergence of slavery system. It dragged the Travancore country to the dungeon of social degradation. But when the gospel of light was thrown onto the dark-aged society, slavery system was completely abolished from the soil of Travancore.

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NOVELTY BEHIND THE FORMATION OF THE MALAYALI MEMORIAL: A SAGA OF SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE IN KERALA

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Introduction

The Malayali Memorial of 1891's role is inevitable in Kerala history. It opened a new path for the educated groups of all native communities. It spread the light of hope for the low-income family members who sacrificed their lives to educate their young generation. This article attempts to trace the origin and development of the Malayali Memorial in Kerala. It also highlights the socio-political factors that transformed the Malayali Memorial into a novel agitation in the land of Kerala and the nation as a democratic tool. The advent of colonialism and its intervention through its various agencies penetrated Travancore's traditional society. It was reflected in replacing education, social outlook, and people's mentality and political perspective. These changes were the direct or indirect influence of colonial modernity, enabling the people to think and act through the socio-political transformation in this region. The colonial experience of people in the various areas colonised by European powers imbibed and reverberated in multiple ways, which turned by the scholars in the name of "Colonial modernity". There is no unanimous opinion among scholars regarding the concept of colonial modernity due to its nature of content and context.

The influence of such modernity sprouted out in the traditional society of Travancore in the form of a rudimentary beginning of political consciousness and adequate representation in government services of English-educated youth of the state who belonged to the natives of Travancore.

The land of Travancore was under the colonial rule of European powers such as the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, and the French. King Marthandavarma (1729-1758) paved the modern political history of the state as a new beginning. His rule created a foundation for enlightened government. With the intervention of British officials, there was a shift of absolute power possessed by the rulers in later periods. The *Treaty of Perpetual Alliance* was proposed between the Travancore and the English East India Company in 1795. This transformed Travancore as the hub of the Britishers. In 1800, a representative of the English East India Company, the Resident, was deputed to the state. Thus, the king lost control of political aspects.¹ The ancestral kingdom was degraded to a mere decorative or scarecrow position. The administrative system in Kerala introduced more structure and function in the hands of Britishers.

The power shift highly affected the administration, and the king had to seek the consent of the residents to implement any change in the system, primarily to appoint higher officials in the state. It was extended to a condition where the dewans (minister) showed more responsibility and loyalty to the Resident than the Raja. The Dewan and the Resident maintained a close connection and got advice on all administration matters. The Raja and the people became powerless in the socio-political aspects of the state. The posts in civil services of the state were appointed by a large number of non-Travancoreans by the Dewans. This affected a section of the native people severely as they felt discrimination with the appointments.

During the days of King Marthandavarma, most dewans posted were from outside Kerala for a smooth administration. The country's administrative structure was reconstituted by appointing trustworthy people from beyond the Ghats.² It was followed in the 19th century. Later, the successive kings also posted outsiders as dewans, bringing many people from Tamil-Telugu regions of their choice into the civil service. All of them were Brahmins. The natives of the state were not included in the creation of policies. Some officials appointed from outside the state followed nepotism and favouritism in their ruling system.

The social Renaissance and the national consciousness played a crucial role in purifying the injustice in the land. The people started to be strongly agitated and desired punishment from corrupt officials. They shared valuable instructions to the king to appoint qualified natives to the vacant posts. The letter submitted to Lord Connemara, a governor of Madras, provides the condition of the Travancore administration during his visit to Travancore in 1887.³ It states that the king acted like a tool in the hands of the Dewan. The king remained silent and powerless in the presence of the Dewan. Even a smile from Dewan could easily influence the highest officers of the state to make a final decision on a problem.

Appointment of own friends and relatives in all higher offices by the Dewans became a common practice. Finally, the native-educated youth with higher academic qualifications are restricted and denied a reputed post in government services in their land. This sprouted the beginning of the youths' violent agitation across the state. They joined together, and it became a mass movement intended to secure their space in public services, especially in top positions. This was a novel cause of unemployment among educated youth from all communities.

It is to be noted that the first organised agitation against foreign domination in the administration took the form of a memorial, which later came to be known as the Malayali Memorial. On 1 January 1891, this memorial was submitted to the Raja of Travancore, Sree Moolam Thirunal. Around 10038 persons signed the document.⁴ All these persons belong to different sections of the communities, including Nairs, Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims. The grievances of the memorialists had two stages; first, the educated among them could not attain their due share of government jobs in the circumstances they were obtaining; second, it was impossible to be silent spectators when non-Travancoreans were enjoying all privileges that there would have gone to the former.⁵ This memorial shows the strength of youth from all communities participating in their joint activities.⁶ It was submitted with the slogan, "Travancore for Travancoreans".

Barrister G. Parameswaran Pillai initiated this political agitation in Travancore. It was the first kind of a regular struggle on constitutional ways in the state against the despotic government of the state. He vigorously fought for the justice of the educated youths. His contribution to a series of articles marked the first phase of the struggle. It exposed the evils of the administration.⁷ History projects Barrister G. Parameswaran Pillai as a prominent leader because of his mastermind behind the Malayali Memorial. Dr P Palpu, C.V. Raman Pillai, and P Sankara Menon were also major leaders.

The Memorial raised the issue of denial and opportunity in a reasonable share in the government for the natives.⁸ The group arranged political meetings in different parts of the state to gather public support. Various presses in Travancore and outside provided major support for the Memorial.

In contrast, the government made many attempts to weaken the growing strength of the united opposition from the different communities. The government's response also echoed their discriminatory policy against the united opposition by appointing one community against the other. Thus, Malayali Memorial failed in the beginning. Later in the post-memory period, the motives were implemented, as the ultimate beneficiaries of the memorial were the Nairs.⁹ The communal opposition stood as a burden

for the monument. On the other hand, the Memorial, the pioneer of the political movement in Travancore, ensured the participation of all prominent communities in the state. It flourished the idea of united protest and struggle for the equal opportunities of the whole sections. Thus, it transformed into a socio-political movement in the land of Kerala

The Malayali Memorial had been in the embryonic beginning of a series of popular agitation that ceased with the establishment of responsible government. This resulted in the formation of a new memorial, the Ezhava Memorial of 1896, under the leadership of Dr Palpu.¹⁰ The primary need of this memorial was to achieve the fundamental right of entry into schools and government services for the Ezhava community. The Ezhavas, who formed the central non-caste Hindu community, derived inspiration from the teaching of Sree Narayana Guru, a saint turned philosophy who hailed from the Ezhava community.¹¹

The Malayali Memorial played a significant role in uniting all marginalised communities of Travancore to a common platform of agitation. It strengthened the educated sections to raise their responsibilities and achieve the rights and privileges of their community. It opened the socio-political thoughts of the educated groups in the state. The administration of their state became a direct access to the native people. The social unity and national consciousness enriched the growth of equal opportunity among all marginalised groups of Kerala.

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SOCIAL-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF KANI TRIBES IN THE TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT, TAMIL NADU

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Introduction

Nestled in the tropical forests, the Pothigai hills lie in the southern part of the Western Ghats, a mountain range in Kerala state in India. The Indigenous Kani tribes, traditionally nomadic people with a population of almost 15,000, are said to live in 57 places, including Kanyakumari district and Tirunelveli district.

The Kani tribes are a traditional nomadic community that now leads a primarily settled life in the forest of the Western Ghats of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The Kani tribes speak the Kani language, which is a mixture of Malayalam and Tamil. The Kanis also live in the hills regions of Tirunelveli district in Tamil Nadu. There are five Kani settlements in the Kalakkad Mundanthurai Tiger Reserve (KMTR) areas of the Western Ghats of Tamil Nadu. Servalar Kani Settlement, Agasthiyar Kani Settlement, Periya Mayilar Settlement, Chinna Mayilar Settlement and Inchikuzhi Kani Settlement.

The Social Conditions: Kani Means:

In Tamil, “Kani” means “land size.” Therefore, “Kanikaran” also means “Owner of Land.” Land and crop protection industry “monitors” were called similarly. They were named “Kankani” as ‘Kanikkars’ because they were watchers of the hills. The doer's name itself later became Warts.

Kanikaran Life

The Kanis are now Papanasam in the Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu. They live in the hills of Sengottai and the hills areas of Dovalai, Vilavangodu and Kalkulam circles in Kanyakumari district and Nedumangadu, Neiyaratargai in Kerala state. They also live in the hills areas of Kollam, Myilar, Agasthiyar Nagar, and Chervalar on Pothikai Hills in Papanasam. They live in Inchikuzhi, where they are found to be in smaller numbers. “A total of 15,000 people live in 57 places in the Kanyakumari district, such as Pachiparai, Perunjani, Arukhani, Manalodai, Mothiramalai, Wilsari etc. Their land is mainly near the river, and it is also found amid each oasis. The steep hill slopes of Aiyam received inferior. Their residences are located in the hills and on the land, which is why they live.

Residences

The areas where farmers live in large groups are called “Kani.” These dwellings are called by various names, ‘Khani’, ‘Kuppini’, and ‘Kanipattu’. So, in these areas, 10 to 40 families are found in each plot. So, in these Kani settlements, people are very different. But Kani people's transport facilities are very poor to reach their residential areas.

Structure of Houses

The landlords have ‘bell-walled’ houses. They have set the roof is made of veiolai (et al), daruvaipul and alapani olai. There are also houses built by decomposing bamboo (Satichu) and using them as perimeter walls. They often charge their homes.

Language

The Kani's Malayalam is spoken by Tamils, who also speak a dialect. Their language is called "Ghani Pasha" or "Malam Pasha." The census of 1961 indicated that Kanikkars speak a dialect of Malayalam, but Tamil is dominant in current discouraged communications.

They use the Kani language among themselves and Tamil when communicating with others. The Agasthiyalaingam, the Kani tribe's language mixer of Malayalam during marthadavarma in Malayalam, developed and migrated to Tamil. So, the Kani language is a mixture of Malayalam and Tamil languages.

Types of Food

Even before the government paid more attention to the fertile areas in the hills, they depended on wild animals, birds, reptiles and wild yams for food. They relied on fruits, etc. Now, there are many changes in their eating habits. The Maravallik killing is now their staple food. Both men and women drink Kountipanams and ethos. They also eat tuber varieties such as Noora, Kavala, Neduvan, Karukillanagu and Mukkilangu. He also eats Shanghai, and paranoia can also be used for food.

Dress

The Kani's most ancient dress of the peasants is called "Marauri". Over time, there have been many changes in their clothing. Now, they wear civilised clothes. The Kani people live in urban areas. Kani's are shorthand dark-skinned. They have round faces and stout but flat noses. The males have well-built bodies and appear to be vital and healthy.

Almost all are average at manual labour, like digging pits, removing earth, etc. The member of the older generation tie their hair into a knot at one side while younger men begin cropping their hair. In the Kani tribe, women part their hair in the middle and tie it into a knot at the back. The Kani's wear dhoties are used as loin cloths when they are at work. They also have a towel on the shoulder, which can be used as headgear, according to the mother tongue of all the Kani's in Tamil.

Ornaments

The accessory villages also wear ornaments, following the people's primary availability. In past centuries, they used natural materials like conch, oysters, tree nuts from rivers, leaves, and tiger claws as ornaments. They used accessories, among them later living in the Iron and Bronze Age. They also wore jewellery and got tattooed.

Profession

Hunting is the main occupation of the landrace, and these people also do Agriculture. Some of their occupations are honey extraction, fishing, crop cultivation, and tuber harvesting. Some people rent out their land to rural people and work on the same land for wages. The situation is gradually decreasing now. Some have also worked as mill distillers, custodians, etc., in the Government Rubber Corporation found. All the people in that land will one day be one.

It is the practice of "Substitute work" among the farmers. It is known as "matravelai" in Tamil. They give work to a person. There is no salary for this; only food is provided. Similarly, one person from even family in the villages should come and work for the jointer (Kuluthalaivar- Muttukani). He also has only food. He would give them. In those days, they used to boil and give the cassava tubers. But now, this time, the type of practice is not in these people.

Economic Conditions

The Kani people living on the land are increasingly exploiting them. Poverty leaves them with education, knowledge, ideology and living as a desire without planning and spending most of their income. But at present, the Kani people have been vigilant and try to get government jobs and other work.

The Economic Development

Without land holdings, the Kani people do not have economically developed tribal communities. One of the steps that should be taken is allocating funds for Kanit tribal communities to set up Tribal shops in the tourist places of rural and urban areas. The Kani Marketing Centre should be created to strengthen market linkage for Kani entrepreneurs and access financial support schemes for the people. In addition to land and forest-based activities, initiatives should be undertaken for imparting skills to the Kani tribal population near their habitations. A prerequisite is conducting a social and economic survey to determine the skills most relevant to the Kani communities.

Agriculture Development

The very tribes will be seen to announce the best shows related to it. The Kani people are the crop only after the first one sowed the seeds in this land. So do the harvest. The imperial system is not founded in the Kanyakumari district. The "Moothavan" is the expert in Agriculture in Kani tribes. So the hills areas should be landholders.

Kani people owe work for this area. The trees are harmful to the millet crops raised by moothavan. The Kanis find shade useful for the cultivation of Eapioca and pepper. Because of the difference in agricultural practice, there is a greater possibility of forest areas being developed agriculturally.

Labours

In most Kani people, men are employed in the lowest cadre jobs of the Forest Department as watchers. Their job is to prevent forest fires, forest theft and hunting. Very few men are permanent employees, and most are temporary workers. Some Kani people get a maximum salary of Rs.7250 per month. Men and women who are involved in coolie work for daily wages, a salary of 500 and 300 respectively per day. The Kani people got voting rights in 1957. Their grievances are not addressed to the Government by the Ministers. They find it very difficult to get the community certificate. This one sub-collector of that district helped them to get those certificates. They do not possess legal documents, community certificates, or birth certificates to claim their rights.

Though the Kani Tribes' main job is the honey collection, they cannot enter the forest without a pass. Those who collect wild honey without the notice of the forest officers are punished, and often, the officers catch hold of their honey. Many have fallen from the tree and died while taking honey. Hence, the Kani tribes cannot enjoy the benefits of their forest.

Educational Development

The land is tiny between ethnicities and has a large number of learners in education. Earlier primary learners make up approximately 40 per cent of the total population. Secondary Education students were found to be around 5 per cent. A few had studied higher education and engaged in government jobs. This was due to proper awareness of education. But now there is awareness among the people. There is progress in higher education by using the seats allocated by the government. The Kani people at present in the Aagasthir settlements are a government school for 100 students in years-old forest areas. However, primary education and secondary education students are helpful in forest areas.

The Implementation of Schemes for Kani Tribes

The Scheduled Tribes planning needs to be strengthened at the National Level. The ministries of social justice and Empowerment and Tribal Affairs need to lead the development, implementation and monitoring of scheduled Tribes sub-plan. At the State. At the institutional level, an institutional mechanism must be implemented so that the Chief Minister and the designated Nodal department can appraise the Schedule Tribes sub-plan. Fund allocation and utilisation under the Scheduled Tribes sub-plan should be monitored. The schemes of the central and state governments should be feasible for the Kani tribes. The Kani tribal communities should be trained and engaged in bolstering government efforts to maximise the coverage of education, employment, health, and other services. Non-tribals posted in Kani tribal areas are not interested in remaining there for long. Trained officials should organise the sensitisation programmes for the Kani tribes.

Conclusion

The Kani Tribes filed a personal observation survey, and interviews formed the basis of this study. The Kani Tribes' social conditions and kanikkar life, residences, structure of houses, dress, ornaments, profession and economic and agricultural development. It is clear from the above discussion that one should not balance the tribes for the depletion of forests. However, it is convenient to accuse the voiceless tribes who are present in the forest areas. In the tribe's areas, the scientific world accepts the traditional system. The appreciation of the various factors involved takes us beyond the tribal areas.

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RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THE JEWISH WOMEN IN COCHIN

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Introduction

Jewish women's religious and cultural life in Cochin was deeply rooted in their rich history and traditions. These women played a vital role in upholding and passing down their religious customs, such as observing the Sabbath and keeping kosher. They actively participated in synagogue services and various religious ceremonies and rituals. They also contributed to the vibrant cultural life of the community, engaging in music, dance, and storytelling that celebrated their unique heritage. The association of Jews with Cochin is attested to by the first decision of the 16th century on The German traveller Balthazar Springer, who arrived with the fleet of d'Almeida in 1506, noticed their presence in Cochin and referred to them as "a foreign element among the pagan population of Cochin." The further development of the Jewish Colony in Cochin was significantly affected in its numerical strength and ethnic composition by two waves of immigration that converged on Cochin in the early decades of the 16th century, namely by the flight of Jews from Cranganore after the destruction of its community and by the influx of Jews, Marranos, and New Christians as a result of the expulsion of Jews from Spain and Portugal. The increase of the Jewish population in Cochin was observed by the Jewish traveller from Yemen, Secharya to Saadya adh-dhahari, who, describing his 'three months' stay in Cochin around 1570, in his Hebrew-written "Sefer ha-Mossar" stated that 'though he had not found any Jews in Calicut, he met with many in Cushi (Cochin). Jesuit sources covering the period reveal additional details about the Jews in Cochin, their composition and their synagogues. The Jews of Cochin, under Portuguese rule, could not have survived the intolerance and pressure of the Portuguese and the inquisition, which was established in Goa in 1560, had it not been for the protection, benevolence and liberty granted to them by the rajah of

Cochin and his Royal House." The Rajah of Cochin and his royal house played a crucial role in ensuring the survival of the Jews under Portuguese rule. Despite the intolerance and pressure from the Portuguese and the Inquisition, the Jews found refuge and support in Cochin. The protection and benevolence granted by the rajah allowed the Jewish community to maintain their synagogues and practice their religion freely, ultimately preserving their heritage and identity. The Rajah of Cochin welcomed the new Jewish immigrants who had come either from Cranganore, Spain, Portugal or other parts of the Jewish diaspora, allotted them sufficient grounds to build their homes and synagogues—even in the proximity of his palace in Mattancherry, now known as Jew Town—and granted them complete religious and cultural autonomy. Jew Street in Cochin is noted for its antique shops selling curious pieces of crockery and wooden furniture. It is a narrow street between Mattancherry Palace and the Pardesi Synagogue. The colonial buildings lining the street add to its old-world charm. Jew Street in Cochin is a vibrant hub for tourists and locals, offering a unique shopping experience. The antique shops on this street are renowned for their collection of unique curiosities, including crockery and wooden furniture. As you stroll through the narrow street, the colonial buildings that line it transport you back in time, adding to the area's old-world charm. It is truly a captivating place where history and culture seamlessly blend. The aroma of spices wafts through the air, enticing visitors to explore the various spice shops scattered along Jew Street. The vibrant colours of traditional Indian clothing catch your eye as vendors display their intricate garments. Street musicians playing traditional tunes add a whimsical touch to the atmosphere. Whether you are looking for a souvenir to remember your visit or want to immerse

yourself in the rich history of Cochin, Jew Street offers an unforgettable experience that will leave you enchanted. Many Cochin Jews were eager to write the ancient traditions and historical experiences of the community and its glorious past, and it seems that individual Jews of Cochin welcomed every opportunity to put into writing the ancient traditions and historical experiences as transmitted to them by their forefathers. This sense of historical consciousness was undoubtedly stimulated, nourished and strengthened by having in their midst those ancient copper-plate inscriptions, these cherished relics of their antiquity, which Ezekiel Rahabi had transliterated into Rabbinic Hebrew and translated into the Malabari language and then into Dutch, with the help of native linguists. It is typical that when an opportunity presented itself to the leaders of the Cochin Community to communicate with the outside world, they incorporated details of their past and present structure into their letters. This found its expression, among others, in that letter of 1790 by Samuel Abraham, a prominent Jewish merchant of Cochin, who took the opportunity in his correspondence with the Jewish merchant of New York, Solomon Joseph Simmons, to convey to him a Hebrew-written “History of the Jews in the Land of Malabar,” the first contact of a Cochin Jew with the Jews in New York. This exchange of historical information highlights the strong sense of community and connection among the Jewish merchants of different regions. The Cochin Jews were eager to share their rich heritage and the story of their community's journey in Malabar. By sending this Hebrew-written history, Samuel Abraham not only established a new connection between Cochin and New York but also preserved their legacy for future generations.

In the realm of literature and culture, Cochin Jews can be credited with another contribution of great significance: their pioneering efforts to promote Hebrew printing activities for the Jews in India beyond the confines of their community. Printing activities in India began in 1556 in Goa by the Jesuit missionaries and were continued in Bombay from 1674 onwards, in Tranquebar from 1712 onwards by Danish missionaries, and in 1778 in Bengal. Hebrew types never appeared in those books published by the various missionary—printing establishments in India. However, the Baghdadi Jewish community, known for its strong entrepreneurial spirit, recognised the need for Hebrew printing to cater to the growing Jewish population in India. They established their printing press in Calcutta in the early 19th century, which became a hub for printing Hebrew books and religious texts. This initiative served the local Jewish community and facilitated the dissemination of Hebrew literature to other Jewish communities across India. The Baghdadi Jews' efforts to promote Hebrew printing in India played a crucial role in preserving and fostering Jewish culture and education in the region.

Religion and Jewish Women in Kerala

For centuries, Cochin Jewish women have sung Jewish songs in Hebrew and the Malayalam language of Kerala, their ancient homeland on the tropical southwest coast of India. Kerala Jews are unusual among halachically observant communities in the complex intertwining of female and male knowledge and performance throughout their musical repertoire. Now that almost all of them are living in Israel, Cochin women and men continue to share in singing their traditional Hebrew songs. Though Malayalam Jewish songs have always belonged to women, men in their community often heard them performed in Kerala. They are encouraging a revival of their performance by Cochin women in Israel today. This unique blend of female and male participation in musical traditions is a testament to the rich cultural heritage of the Cochin Jewish community. The shared singing of traditional Hebrew songs not only strengthens their connection to their religious roots but also serves as a way to preserve and pass down their unique musical traditions to future generations. The revival of Malayalam Jewish songs by Cochin women in Israel empowers the women and brings a sense of unity and pride to the entire community.

These women have taken it upon themselves to learn and perform the songs that were once exclusively sung by men, breaking through gender barriers and challenging traditional norms. Their dedication and passion for preserving their cultural heritage have empowered them and inspired others within the Cochin Jewish community. Through their efforts, a sense of unity and pride has been instilled as the community recognises the importance of preserving their musical traditions and passing them down to future generations.

In Kerala, Jewish women sang in Hebrew with men, joining in full voice to sing piyyutim in the synagogue, at the Shabbat family table, and at community-wide gatherings to celebrate holidays and life cycle events. In contrast to many other traditional Jewish communities, it was not their custom to prohibit men from hearing women's voices raised in song. Many Kerala Jewish girls were educated in Hebrew, and boys (sometimes in mixed schools, sometimes separately) learned from an early age to read the Hebrew prayers, the weekly Torah portion, and the tatami mikra for chanting it. Women attended synagogue on Sabbaths and holidays when the Torah was read from a second upper bimah (unique to Kerala synagogue architecture) on a balcony immediately in front of the women's section, separated only by an open lattice screen, where they could see the Torah scroll and follow along carefully in the readings and prayers. Confident olderwomen were noted for their proficiency in Hebrew, and sometimes a grandmother or "Aunty" coached young boys as they prepared to chant their first haftarah and Torah portions in the synagogue. These women were highly respected in the community for their knowledge and dedication to the synagogue. They played a vital role in passing down the traditions and teachings to younger generations, ensuring the continuity of Jewish customs. It was not uncommon to see these experienced women whispering words of encouragement and guidance to the young boys during their performances, instilling a sense of pride and confidence in them. The presence of these women on the second upper bimah symbolised inclusivity and equality within the Kerala synagogue, where everyone, regardless of gender, had the opportunity to participate actively in the religious ceremonies. These wise women were passive observers and active participants in preserving the rich Jewish heritage. They would often pray to the congregation, their voices filled with devotion and passion. Their presence and involvement in the synagogue demonstrated a progressive outlook that challenged traditional gender roles, making the Kerala synagogue a genuinely remarkable and inclusive community. The women also had an extensive repertoire of Malayalam-language Jewish folksongs, which they sang without instrumental accompaniment at home and in public gatherings during the life cycle and holiday celebrations. At times, they sang for all-female events, such as a women's party for the bride, but generally, they performed in mixed gatherings where the community's men listened respectfully. A few songs are attributed to specific male composers, but most were anonymously composed. These songs were passed down from generation to generation, preserving the rich cultural heritage of the Community. The women's voices seamlessly blended, creating a captivating and soulful experience for all who listened. These songs served as a form of entertainment and a way to express their joys, sorrows, and prayers as a community. The anonymous composition of most songs highlights the collective nature of their culture, where individual talent was valued, but unity and togetherness were cherished above all. Some are Jewish folksongs in the local Kerala style, populated with royal wedding processions, gold-clad brides with colourful flowers in their hair, an illustrious ancestor arriving by sea from Jerusalem in a wooden ship, and rulers who donated land and materials for the building of grand synagogues. Many songs are Biblical narratives spiced with classical midrash and occasionally with a distinctly South Indian element. Others are Malayalam versions of Hebrew piyyutim and blessings are available for particular occasions. A few are twentieth-century Zionist songs in Malayalam, preparing the Cochin Jews for aliyah. Some of the melodies are folk-style Kerala tunes; some are shared with the Hebrew repertoire of Kerala and some

Zionist songs are set to mid-twentieth-century Indian cinema tunes and political chants. The diverse range of melodies and themes found in Cochin Jewish music reflects the unique cultural blend of the community. The infusion of classical midrash and South Indian elements give the Biblical narratives a distinct flavour, while the Malayalam versions of Hebrew piyyutim add a touch of authenticity. The inclusion of twentieth-century Zionist songs in Malayalam not only instilled a sense of anticipation for aliyah among the Cochin Jews also showcased their adaptability by setting them to familiar Indian cinema tunes and political chants. This eclectic mix of folk-style Kerala tunes, Hebrew repertoire, and contemporary influences creates a rich and vibrant musical tradition within the Cochin Jewish community.

Beginning in the early 16th century, there was a new migration of Jews to Kerala. Some of the newcomers were Sephardic Jews, direct and indirect refugees from the Spanish and Portuguese expulsions, who came to India by way of Aleppo, Constantinople, and the Land of Israel. Others were from Iraq, Persia, Yemen, and Germany. The diverse backgrounds of these Jewish immigrants brought their unique musical traditions and styles, which blended with the local Kerala tunes and created a genuinely unique musical fusion. The result was a rich tapestry of melodies, rhythms, and instruments that showcased the cultural exchange and integration within the Cochin Jewish community. This vibrant musical tradition served as a unifying force, bringing together the different Jewish communities and creating a sense of identity and belonging among its members. In 1568, the Jewish newcomers, who were subsequently called Paradesis ("foreigners" in Malayalam) built a synagogue of their own next to the Maharaja's palace in Cochin. They adopted the Malayalam language and identified enthusiastically with Kerala customs and traditions, but at some point, they stopped marrying the Jews who had been there many centuries before them. In written accounts (especially by Western visitors), the Paradesis were often referred to as "white Jews" and the more ancient Malabari communities as "black Jews," though there is not always a clear distinction between them in terms of skin colour. By the 18th century, eight synagogues existed in five different Kerala towns and villages. As all but Parur were located within the kingdom of Cochin, the term "Cochin Jews" was eventually applied to all Kerala Jews. The Cochin Jews had a unique and thriving community in Kerala. They had a close relationship with the ruling Cochin royal family, which provided them protection and privileges. The community was known for its rich cultural and religious practices, with synagogues as important centres of worship and social gathering. However, with the decline of the Cochin kingdom and the establishment of the State of Israel, many Cochin Jews emigrated, leading to the gradual deterioration of their community in Kerala. Written sources indicate that the Kerala Jews observed mainstream religious law (halakhah) and had religious leaders they called hakhamim or rabbanim, though there is no record of anyone in Cochin undergoing traditional ordination or writing a responsum. These knowledgeable men made day-to-day halakhic decisions. Occasionally, they consulted with visiting scholars or even wrote for advice to rabbis in Jerusalem or Cairo. The Kerala Jews were known for their adherence to mainstream religious law, as they observed halakhah. They had religious leaders known as hakhamim or rabbanim who were crucial in making day-to-day halakhic decisions. Although there is no evidence of traditional ordination or writing a response in Cochin, these learned men occasionally sought guidance from visiting scholars or advice from rabbis in Jerusalem or Cairo. This exchange of knowledge and consultation ensured that the Jewish community in Kerala remained connected to the broader Jewish world. These connections also allowed the Cochin Jewish community to maintain their religious practices and traditions by halakhah. The chachamim and rabbanim acted as a bridge between the local community and the larger Jewish diaspora, ensuring that the Cochin Jews stayed up-to-date with any new developments Or interpretations of Jewish law. This exchange of knowledge and consultation not only strengthened the community's religious identity but also fostered a sense of unity and belonging among the Cochin Jews.

It is important to note that the Cochin Jews did not themselves belong to different castes and that they all shared a common culture, despite the caste system and Hindu social values undoubtedly having an impact on their internal social relationships. The Cochin Jews had a strong sense of community and shared values despite external influences. They held regular gatherings and celebrations where they would come together to practice their traditions and rituals. This sense of unity and belonging helped them preserve their unique identity and resist assimilation into the larger Hindu society. The Cochin Jews also upheld egalitarian principles within their community, treating each other equally regardless of social status. There is ample evidence of social contact among all the Jewish communities of Kerala, including business relationships, invitations to each other's lifecycle rituals, men studying Jewish texts together, women lending jewellery and exchanging songs, and the sharing of ordinary and ritual meals. As with Jews elsewhere, friendships between members of different communities were most common among people of the same class, education, and occupational standing.

Sarah Jacob Cohen

Sarah Jacob Cohen, the oldest member of Kerala's tiny Jewish community, passed away at her residence in Mattancherry, a Jewish town here. The News Minute reported that she was also one of the last remaining Jewish people living in Mattancherry. She died on Friday. Cohen was 96, her caretaker said. She would rest on Sunday at the cemetery attached to the ancient synagogue in Mattancherry. She had been staying alone at her home on the famous Jewish Street since the demise of her husband, Jacob Cohen, who passed away 21 years ago. They had no children. She ran a small embroidery shop next to the Paradesi Synagogue on Jew Town Street, The Week reported. The Hindu reported Yaakov Finkelstein, Cohen's grandnephew and Consul General of Israel, in Mumbai, said, "She was a Paradesi Jewish celeb in her sweet way. She was friendly and outgoing and liked to talk to people who visited, no matter how tired she might have been. Nearly everybody who visited the synagogue would stop to chat with her. Her relatives had gone back to Israel. She, however, preferred to stay back in Kochi. She was fondly known as 'Sarah Auntie' and would not hesitate to talk to tourists about her culture and traditions. Sarah's life attracted a lot of documentary makers and writers. After the birth of the nation of Israel in 1948, the number of Jews in Kochi dwindled due to their massive migration to Israel. A couple of years have passed since the death of Sarah Jacob Cohen, the icon of the Jewish community in India. Now, her house in Jew Street at Mattancherry in Ernakulam district has been converted into a museum that preserves the history of Jews in south India. Thaha, who looked after Sarah for over 30 years, is the brainchild behind the museum. "This is an attempt to preserve Jewish history for future generations," says Thaha. The museum showcases Sarah Cohen's rare photographs, embroidery tools, personal belongings, kitchen utensils, prayer books, traditional prayer tools, Jew caps (Kippah), bread covers (Challah covers), and literature on Jewish history in Kerala. The genial woman used to sit near the window of her home facing the street, clad in her colourful house dress and matching Kippah till she breathed her last in 2019. Many of her friends had migrated to Israel, but she stayed put in Mattancherry and became the most visible face of Jews in Kerala. Sarah was born in 1924. After her education at prestigious institutions in Ernakulam, she got married to Jacob Cohen in 1942. Sarah and Jacob lived together for 47 years before Jacob died in 1999. After Jacob's death, Sarah dedicated her life to preserving and promoting the Jewish culture in Kerala. She became an active member of the local synagogue and worked tirelessly to organise events and activities that celebrated Jewish traditions. Sarah's devotion and passion for her heritage made her a beloved figure in the community, and she was often sought after for her wisdom and guidance. Despite her challenges as the last remaining Jew in

Mattancherry, Sarah's resilience and determination ensured that the Jewish legacy in Kerala would not be forgotten.

Conclusion

The Jewish women in Kerala were active in all cultural activities. They are all active in craftwork, music, painting and religious activities rather than household work. The Jewish street in Cochin was an example of this. The women in Cochin had contributed a lot to the emergence and existence of Jew town in Mattancherry. The street has many antique shops, textiles, handicraft shops, art galleries, etc. Most Jewish women are artists, painters, etc.; the men are all merchant groups. The lifestyle of Jews is entirely different from that of the native people of Kerala. Their dressing, food habits, and customs

They are all different. They still believe that their homeland is Israel. And many of them were migrated. And now, there are only a small number of Jews in Kerala. And the antiquity of Jewtown was lost. The once vibrant Jew Town, with its bustling streets and thriving antique shops, has now lost its antiquity. The dwindling number of Jews in Kerala has resulted in a decline in their unique lifestyle and customs. The Jewish women, known for their artistic talents, and the men, who were once a prominent merchant group, have become few. Despite their differences in dress, food habits, and customs, the Jews in Kerala still hold on to their strong belief in Israel as their homeland, a reminder of their ancestral roots.

The synagogues that were once the heart of the Jewish community in Kerala now stand empty and abandoned, in stark contrast to their former vibrancy. Influenced by modernity and globalisation, the younger generation has chosen to migrate to other parts of the world in search of better opportunities, leaving behind a fading legacy. However, even in the face of adversity, the Jews in Kerala continue to celebrate their rich cultural heritage through annual festivals and gatherings, keeping their traditions alive in the hope of preserving their unique identity.

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THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT AND BRAHMIN-NON-BRAHMIN DIVIDE IN GRADUAL DECLINE

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The roots of the tripartite division between Brahmins, non-Brahmins and Dalits, as it exists in present-day Tamil Nadu, lie primarily in the emergence during the colonial period of the category 'non-Brahmin' in the context of Non-Brahmin Dravidian movement. The history of this movement, both before and after Independence, is a matter of noteworthy discussion.¹

In December 1916, the No Brahman Manifesto was published to protest the privileging of Brahman.² Issued by a new organisation set up to promote non-Brahmin interests, the manifesto quoted copious statistics to show that Brahmins, who formed 3 per cent of the population of the Madras Presidency, held an inordinate number of official positions (the territory of the Madras Presidency included most of present-day Tamil Nadu, plus coastal Andhra Pradesh, northern Kerala, and parts of Karnataka). For instance, in the provincial Civil Service examinations between 1892 and 1904, fifteen of sixteen selected candidates were Brahmins. In 1913, ninety-three of the 128 permanent district pontiffs (lower-level judges) were Brahmins, compared to twenty-five non-Brahmins and ten from non-Hindu groups. In the Madras High Court, four Indian judges were Brahmins. 1914, among the 650 graduates registered at Madras University, there were 450 Brahmins, 124 non-Brahmins and seventy-four from other communities. Eleven of the twelve elected members of the university were also Brahmins. These and other figures not only proved that Brahmins dominated the government service and university, but the same group also dominated the nationalist movement, as fifteen of the sixteen members elected in Madras to the All India Congress Committee were Brahmins, and only one was a non-Brahmin.

The manifesto acknowledged that Brahmins were ahead of other castes and communities in educational attainment. Still, it insisted that non-Brahmins had made significant progress and deserved a fairer share of government appointments. It also made it clear that non-Brahmins could not trust the Congress and therefore favoured the continuation of British rule, which was more likely to look out for their interests equally. It concluded by asking all non-Brahmins to pledge to continue improving education, making their voices heard, and for each community to get its own house to cooperate with others on equal terms.

The Non-Brahman Manifesto marked a turning point in the modern history of South India. It postulated an evident opposition, primarily in Tamil Country, between a small Brahmin minority and a large but highly diverse, non-Brahmin majority, which rejected the derogatory name 'Shudra'. The manifesto's publication was soon followed by the formation of the Justice Party to represent the interests of non-Brahmins – or, more precisely, their middle-class urban minority – in opposition to the Brahmin-dominated Congress. After the Justice Party won the elections to the Madras Legislative Council in 1920, the government introduced measures to ensure equal recruitment across different castes and communities, which marked the beginning of the reservation policy – 'affirmative action' in favour of the lower castes - in the province. During the 1930s, the Justice Party declined, and Congress was in power when India became independent in 1947. However, by then, the Brahmins were progressively replaced by non-Brahmins in the party. The Justice Party was eventually replaced by more radical Dravidian organisations representing non-Brahmin interests, first the Dravida Kazhagam (DK: 'Dravidian Federation') and then the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK: 'Dravidian Progress Federation'), founded

in 1949. In 1967, the Congress lost the state elections, and the DMK took power in Madras, renamed Tamil Nadu. Since 1967, with only brief interruptions, the DMK or its rival, the All-India Anna DMK (AIADMK or ADMK for short), founded in 1972, continuously ruled Tamil Nadu. At the end of the Twentieth Century, excepting J. Jayalalitha, the ADMK leader, the Brahmins had disappeared from state politics. One or two who remained almost had to renounce their Brahmanical identity to win the elections.³ Furthermore, the DMK and ADMK governments have significantly expanded the reservation system so that Brahmins are vastly outnumbered by non-Brahmins at all levels of government service and the public sector. Indeed, everything that the No Brahman Manifesto called for finally came to fruition during the Twentieth Century, so much so that the 'Brahman Raj', which at times seemed indistinguishable from the British Raj around 1900, had disappeared by 2000.⁴

In 1977, the ADMK came to power for the first time, and its populist policies were less violent against Brahmins than those of the DMK despite the expansion of the reservation system. Indeed, since the late 1970s, anti-Brahminism has steadily declined as a basis for government policy. However, the dichotomous division between Brahmins and non-Brahmins has remained. Nor is the Dravidian movement's broader claim that Brahmins were immigrants from the north, whose hierarchical, Sanskrit and "Aryan" culture imposed itself on that of the indigenous Tamils. On the contrary, the opposition between the two caste groups and all they represent has become increasingly entrenched, so much so that it is taken for granted as a fundamental feature of Tamil society, culture and politics. In the mid-1990s, Nicholas Dirks observed that non-Brahmin politicians keep alive 'the threat of the internal other, the Brahman', even though the dominance of Brahmins has dramatically diminished, and that 'caste – and particularly the division between Brahmins and non-Brahmins' – always seems to be the rhetorical point of over-determination in intellectual political debate in Tamil Nadu.⁵ One result of this situation, as M. S. S. Pandian has argued more recently, is that, as the polar opposition between Brahmins and non-Brahmins has become the naturalised language of politics in the region, it blocks the emergence of other identities, particularly that of the Dalits, who now face non-Brahmin hegemony, in the same way that non-Brahmins previously fought against Brahmanism.⁶ In Tamil Nadu today, caste politics are, in reality, defined primarily by competition among non-Brahmin groups, of course between themselves and the Dalits. At the same time, the Brahmins themselves have abandoned the competition.

Tamil Brahmins and Anti-Brahmanism

At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, non-Brahmins' opposition to Brahmins was first forged. The Non-Brahman Manifesto focused on injustice in government appointments, but on anti-Brahmanism, what it announced was always also fueled by a visceral resentment. The manifesto, in discussing why Brahmins were more educated than others, referred to their position as the highest and most sacred of the Hindu castes and sarcastically mentioned its belief that there are so many divinely ordained intermediaries without whose intervention they activate and bless the soul cannot obtain salvation.⁷ Marguerite Ross Barnett, who interviewed former Justice Party members in the 1960s, was struck by how they described the party's origins. Firstly, they mentioned the backwardness of non-Brahmins and the dominance of Brahmins in government and politics. But then, he said, the tone of the respondent tone would change, and he would emotionally recount some personal incident, insult to his dignity, or psychic harm suffered at the hands of Brahmins and link it to having been designated Shudra. ⁸ Another revealing example came from the autobiography of A. N. Sattanathan became a high-ranking Indian civil servant but was born into a low-income family belonging to the low-ranking Padaiyachi caste in southern Tamil Nadu. In the early Twentieth Century, most of the school teachers Tamil Brahmins were in the region. Sattanathan vividly recalled that they did not believe that education should be impartially imparted

to all their students. Their lack of humanity and traditional arrogance long held back non-Brahmin pupils, so hatred towards Brahman became almost natural to non-Brahmins. Brahman pupils also kept themselves separate from others. Sattanathan became acutely aware of the Brahmin's claim to intellectual superiority and social distancing. 9 There is no doubt that humiliating personal incidents described by Barnett and Sattanathan were expected and that non-Brahmin resentment against Brahmins was widespread.10

The non-Brahmin leader, E .V. Ramasamy, who started the Self-Respect Movement in the 1920s, called non-Brahmins to reject their Shudra status. He also fiercely punished Brahminism and mocked Brahmins. In the 1940s, Ramasamy and his supporters transformed the Self-Respect Movement into the Dravida Kazhagam, virulently anti-Brahmin.11 Occasionally, DK members took to the streets to demonstrate their opposition to the Brahmins and . everything they stood for. In the early 1950s, they desecrated temples and vandalism of deity images, a 'policy of heresy' that made DK unpopular among many Hindus, regardless of caste.12 In the late 1950s and again in the early 1970s, DK members attacked Brahmin homes and restaurants and assaulted individual Brahmins. Elderly Brahmins now remember those incidents with shudders, although cases of violence were actually few and far between and not many people were seriously injured. But the incidents were humiliating, especially when DK militants attempted to cut topknots of the Brahman men (kudu) and sacred threads (pun) of Brahman men.13 The sacred threads, worn on the left shoulder and chest, signify the initiated,twice-born status of adult male Brahmins. By the 1950s, many Tamil Brahmins living in urban areas had abandoned their superior position, distinctive knots and clothing. Still, DK activities have encouraged more people to do so to protect themselves in public. By the 1960s, as André Bételle's village ethnography showed, rural Brahmins were following suit.14

In the past, Brahmin men tonsured the front of their heads and tied the rest of their long hair in a topknot (sometimes hidden by a turban), while other men cut their hair in the conventional style. To cover the lower half of the body, Brahmins also wore longer clothes (vesti) than non-Brahmins and tied them between the legs in a unique way instead of simply wrapping them around the waist. South Indian men, who usually covered their shoulders with cloth, did not wear shirts, so the sacred threads of Brahmin men were visible. When Brahmin men abandoned their traditional hair and dress styles, they essentially copied those of non-Brahmins. Especially in urban areas, more and more men of all castes began wearing European-style shirts and trousers, which tended to hide the sacred Brahmin threads. Today, the only Brahmins who maintain the traditional style are priests at work, in temples, or their client's homes, and some priests even cut their hair short. The dress of Brahman women has also changed. Married Brahman women in ancient times wore nine-metre sarees tied elaborately between the legs, while other women wore six-metre sarees draped conventionally. The clothing of the Brahmin woman was considered purer than that of the non-Brahmin woman. However, the nine-yard sari has always been a visible marker of caste distinction. A Brahmin bride wears a nine-yard sari on her wedding day, and some conservative women stick to the old style, but the vast majority of Brahmin women now dress like everyone else. Middle-aged and older women usually wear six-yard sarees. Like their peers across India, younger women prefer the shalwar kameez (trousers and tunic). Many young women wear Western clothing, especially in the modern, "Westernized" cities of Bangalore, Mumbai and Delhi, but fewer do so in Chennai or other parts of Tamil Nadu. Sometimes, men and women wear distinctive jewellery or religious emblems that reveal them as Brahmins. However, in general, the overall effect of the change in dress is that Brahmins and non-Brahmins normally cannot be distinguished based on their appearance in public places today.

Indeed, caste can often be identified through language because Tamil Brahman and non-Brahman dialects vary considerably. The Brahmins, for example, tend to use more words of Sanskrit origin than non-Brahmins. However, the elimination of visible differences between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in public places because everyone now dresses the same is a significant change, which is intertwined with the long-term impact of the non-Brahmin movement and anti-Brahminism in Tamil Nadu, as has been the case with the most critical erosion of caste legitimacy across India since independence. The removal of caste 'surnames' such as Aiyar and Aiyangar reflects the same trend. In Chennai, the numerous streets named after famous Brahmins, such as C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar Road in Alwarpet, have been renamed to remove their honorific suffixes so that caste titles are officially absent in public space. Furthermore, in every type of context, during the second half of the Twentieth Century, Brahmins and non-Brahmins mixed much more frequently than in the past, even if particular dietary habits regularly differentiate them, for example, when they go to the office dining room.

Among some Brahmins, there is nostalgia and regret for the disappearance of their old way of life. Such sentiments are not limited to staunch conservatives. They are also expressed by those who support social progress and the eradication of caste inequality but still wish that traditional Brahmin customs had not been so overwhelmed by modern change and non-Brahmin tastes, as has happened, for example, in some festivals. A small but significant example is the autumn festival of Navaratri ('Nine Nights'), when Brahmin women set up elaborate displays of dolls in the likeness of gods and goddesses in their homes. Still, since non-Brahmins now do so, the style of dolls for sale is increasingly designed to appeal to them.¹⁵ A particularly eloquent expression of this nostalgia is *The Throw of a Lemon*, Padma Viswanathan's novel about the story of a Tamil Brahman family from 1896 to 1958, based on the story of the memories of her grandmother. The context of the novel, which is ethnographic and historically accurate, is urban migration, bureaucratic occupation, anti-Brahminism, the changing status of women and all other events of the period. Viswanathan sensitively evokes both the impact of these modern changes and the sometimes confusing loss they cause in her characters, particularly in the rural women who form the centre of the family.¹⁶

From time to time, in both urban and rural areas, Brahmins continue to humiliate other people, but they do so less frequently and much less noticeably than in the past, especially in public. Equally important is the fact that non-Brahmins, whether they care about the slights or not, today rarely suffer any 'psychic harm' because they do not consider themselves inferior to Brahmins, as many of their ancestors had done, albeit ambivalently, had done. But paradoxes and ambiguities abound in the contemporary caste regime in villages in southern Tamil Nadu inhabited by non-Brahmins and Dalits, both Christians and Hindus. Not only in towns but in Tamilnadu in general and probably in much of India, a "dear concomitant of the equalisation of public space" - and of the illegitimacy of caste inequality - "is the privatisation of caste distinction". However, caste feeling, which is considered a deplorable weakness of the mind, still exists but has entered the mind or heart. Many Dalits assume that the feeling of caste afflicts non-Brahmins who discriminate against them. Many non-Brahmins across Tamil Nadu probably think that this also underlies Brahmin attitudes towards all lower caste people.¹⁷

Today's Tamil Brahmins know that non-Brahmins do not consider them superior. They also know that they are not very popular among many people and are often called *parppan*, the Tamil term for "Brahman", which they consider offensive. However, Brahmins, whether they care about insults or not, usually still consider themselves superior to others and say so freely when speaking privately to each other (or to sympathetic foreigners), although they usually remain silent in front of non-Brahmins. Even without using this phrase, they tacitly admit their "caste feeling". Most commonly, Brahmins claim their

superiority on the basis that they are innately more intelligent and intellectually capable than people of other castes, which is supposedly demonstrated by their generally higher levels of education, as well as their broad participation in scientific professions and science and technology, more recently, information technology (IT). Since education and learning have always been Brahminical traditions, the contemporary claim is a transformation of the ancient one. Still, other reasons for claiming social superiority, particularly ritual purity, are less fundamental than they were fifty or a hundred years ago. The status of Tamil Brahman - the attributes considered to define a Tamil Brahman and his identity and status - was never fixed in any era. Still, it certainly changed considerably during the colonial and post-colonial periods, when an ancient caste elite came to the fore and turned into a modern middle-class group.

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MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE MEGALITHIC COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RAYALASEEMA REGION OF THE ANDHRA PRADESH

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The material cultural assemblage of the Megalithic people of peninsular India can be grouped into broad categories such as ceramic, iron and copper artefacts, beads of various raw materials, gold and silver ornaments, terracotta objects, objects of art and miscellaneous objects¹. The period of the 1st millennium BCE saw the transformation of the mode of human life from the earlier stage of incipient agriculture, hunting, fishing and pastoralism to urban biased agro-industry based on the economy. This contributed well settled urban life, irrigation-based agriculture, the construction of complicated funerary structures, a prolific Iron technology and soon. Archaeologically, this period is characterized by the dominance of a unique culture known as Megalithic culture.

Scholars have tried to understand the role of megalithic culture in the development of urbanism. Especially Gurukkal and Rajan ³ have discussed the various areas of interaction. His work in Tamilnadu has helped to trace the development and continuity of the Early Historic period. The excavations at Brahmagiri and Watgal ⁴ have already established the cultural development in the Early Historic phase in that region. Moorti⁵ have contributed a great deal to the understanding of the social and economic life of the Early Iron Age/ Megalithic culture of India.⁶

There were many years passed since Humanoids and Humans have evolved there has been a change in form as well as habits and all walks of life. The eating habits, social behaviour, tools, technology, dwelling places everything started changing based on the advancement of the application of the capacity of the brain. From early Hominoids to Homo Sapiens, Stone Age and up to Modern Humans, the transition is not in a short period. It took thousands of years with a lot of milestones, cultures, developments. The block of period of a similar culture is called Age. The three age system is the timelines of human prehistory into three consecutive periods, named respectively based on their main tool-making technologies: The Stone Age, Bronze Age, and Iron Age⁷.

Pottery

The common pottery type of the megalithic culture of peninsular India is black and red ware. The ceramic is represented by well-levitated fine fabric. It is thin in section and highly burnished. This is the most common type found in burials and habitation deposits of megalithic culture. The shapes are mainly rimless bowls of various sizes, dishes with convex sides, globular pots with flared outer rim, ring stands, lids with or without conical tops and animal figures, conical vases of different lengths, etc. Other associated ceramics are black slipped and red slipped ware. The shapes represent mainly bowls, globular pots, dishes, ring stands, and lids. Red-slipped ware is also represented by four legged jars.⁸

The south Indian megalithic sites have yielded a rich ceramic repertoire including Black and Red ware, red ware (both polished and slipped), black polished ware and also micaceous red ware at some places.⁹ The burials generally yield Black and Red ware along with red polished pottery. The red polished pottery

is mostly in the shapes of four-legged jars whereas the black polished ones have the hourglass stand and conical lids among them. The Tungabhadra region is mostly known for its white painted red ware. It has been argued that the white-painted russet-coated painted ware has its origin in this ware.¹⁰ Pottery from Kodumanal has also yielded some graffiti marks of Tamil Brahmi alphabets¹¹

Iron Artifacts

Iron is one of the distinctive traits of the Megaliths in South India besides pottery. Iron objects consisting of weapons, tools and implements for household and agriculture purposes are found in very large numbers.¹² In the Megalithic burial relics consist of a variety of Iron weapons. Such as swords, tagged daggers, wedge-shaped blades, barbed arrowheads, hooks, nails, spindles, spearheads, knives, rods with forked ends, tripod stands, axes, chisels, billhooks, iron wedges, and cutting tools. Various household and agricultural implements like flat iron axes, flanged spades, pickaxes, hoes, shovels, spades, sickles, and plough shares are also there. The tripods, lamps, crowbars, hook lamps, simple rods, tridents, etc. Probably of some ritual meanings and purposes are other artefacts.¹³ Rami Reddy¹⁴ and Sundara¹⁵ based on their limited excavations respectively at Palavoy in the Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh and Terdal in the Bijapur district of Karnataka which produced some Iron Age pottery and a few iron objects together with a few slag and ore fragments, revived the iron – smelting theory in the 70's. But the results of small excavations in the ash mounds at Kupgal and Kodekal carried out respectively by Majumdar, Rajguru¹⁶ and Paddayya¹⁷ brought to light exclusively Neolithic cultural material. So these added additional support to Foote's view ascribing these sites to the Neolithic Age.¹⁸ The existence of two iron smelting sites, one at Mudigal¹⁹ and the other at Kolimipalysm,²⁰ in the Anantapur district occurrence of iron slag, ash lumps and iron-containing hematite fragments mixed with the megalithic black and red pottery in the vicinity of ash mounds and megalithic burials as well as in the excavations of a few sites, suggest that they were industrial based iron working agricultural people.

Copper, Bronze Artifacts

In South India, archaeologists pointed out that there was no Chalcolithic or even a bronze age in South Indian archaeology. This argument is partly correct in so far as there is no stage of human civilization in South India when copper or bronze dominated their economy. The earliest metal artefacts from the South Indian archaeology record are of copper. They appeared in small numbers during the Neolithic and continued into the Iron Age. Unstratified context of copper artifacts include copper hoards which have been found in Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.²¹

The copper and high tin bronze artefacts mainly represent household appliances and ornaments. Horse ornaments made of copper are found at sites like Mahurjhari, Naikund, Raipur and Vyahad. At Porunthal a horse stirrups was from one of the excavated burials. The ornaments of copper represent mainly bangles and finger rings. A globular pot made of copper is a noteworthy recovery from Mahurjhari. Besides, copper bowls are found in the many excavated burials in peninsular India. A figure of a tiger made of copper inlaid with carnelian and sapphire was found placed inside a cist at Kodumanal.²² Copper or bronze figures of animals like buffalo, goat, tiger, cock, elephant and antelope were found inside urn burials at Adichchannallur during the excavation conducted by Alexander Rea in 1902-03.²³

At Nagarjuna Konda, A.P. from the megalithic cist burial found two human bones and a copper armlet.²⁴ The megaliths of the Nagpur region contained an umpteen number of copper objects. The pit circle from the Bargaonkhurd, Nagpur basin has yielded a copper bowl.²⁵ A copper bowl lid with

a finial motif was also found at the same site.²⁶ Three copper bowls, a copper pot, a copper dish, and copper ornaments of horse were also reported from the pit burials of Naikund, Nagpur plains.²⁷ From the megalithic pit burial at Mahbubnagar district in A.P. found a dagger with a copper hilt and a chisel,²⁸ from the same site, it was reported the evidence of two copper rings²⁹ from the pit burial at the Karapakula village, A.P. The Dept. of Archaeology has collected a copper bell with a bronze tongue and a few shreds of BRW.³⁰

Gold and Silver Artifacts

Gold and silver are mainly used for ornaments like necklaces, beads and ear ornaments, Mahurjhari, Takalghat, Naikund, Raipur, Kodumanal, Arippa, Tekkalkota and many other sites produced ornaments of these materials.³¹ The metal ornaments from the graves of Adhichanallur should have been made of the several gold diadems having parallels. There are references to several types of ornaments like necklaces, rings, earrings, pendants and studs of gold in the early Tamil Literature. This varied Jewellery implies knowledge and use of all the necessary equipment like the furnace, blowpipes, moulds and crucibles. Another site which yielded a lot of gold jewellery is near Pondicherry. Copper has also been used for making bangles, anklets and beads, and silver was utilized for beads.³²

Beads

Beads made of various materials like semiprecious stones, shells, steatite and terracotta are found in excavated burials and habitation sites. Shells and steatite beads are not found in excavated burials in Vidarbha. Terracotta beads are also rare from burials in Vidarbha. However, some other excavated sites in South India have given evidence of shells and terracotta beads. At Thandikundi steatite beads are found in large numbers from one of the excavated cist burials. Semiprecious stone beads are mainly of carnelian, banded agate, jasper, quartz, lapis lazuli, amethyst, quartz and garnet. Lapis lazuli beads are found mainly in sites like Sanur and Kodumanal.³³ Mahurjhari and Kodumanal probably were two regional bead manufacturing centres during the Megalithic period supported by circumstantial evidence.³⁴ Etched beads of various patterns like radial lines, zigzag lines, zonal bands and bands are found on beads of tablet, barrel and cylinder-shaped beads.³⁵ Radial lines are found only on tablet-shaped beads and are characteristic of south Indian megalithic etched beads. They were found in large numbers from Maski,³⁶ Kodumanal³⁷ and Porunthal.³⁸ Such beads are also found in Vidarbha but occurrence is less in number. An ear stud made of glass was found in a sarcophagus for child burial in Dhamnalanga.³⁹

The profusely used material for making a necklace of beads is a semi-precious stone, viz. carnelian, jasper, agate, onyx, serpentine, steeling, magnetite, lapis, lazuli, quartz, amethyst, etc. Besides stones glass, lacquer, shell and bone were also utilized. Beads manufactured out of these stones consist of a barrel, bicone, disc, round, collared, spherical, and areca nut shaped. Some of the carnelian beads were found etched with white designs. Most of these show similarities with others found elsewhere in habitation at comparable and later historical levels.⁴⁰

Stone Artifacts

Among the stone artefacts, a four-legged quern along with a muller from Borgaon and pounder stones from Naikund and Mahurjhari⁴¹ are noteworthy. Moreover, a recent excavation at Mahurjhari revealed several rounded stone pieces of various size and weight.⁴² These stone pieces might have some significance in weight and measure which need to be studied. A burial from Naikund has revealed a stone axe similar to south Indian neolithic tradition.⁴³ Megaliths are funerary monuments represented by various types and sizes. The term megalith etymologically means big stones. It is a generalized definition, which is not adequate and appropriate for urn and sarcophagus burials as they are found without any

surface indication of lithic appendages.⁴⁴

The stone balls found in Adaguppa ⁴⁵ resembling those found at Brahmagiri ⁴⁶ suggest to their being used possibly in hunting. This seems to be an auxiliary profession. This can further be supported by the arrow – head and dagger, both being the weapons of hunting, encountered at Adaguppa ⁴⁷ and Morlabanda ⁴⁸ graves respectively. It is also further suggests that the megalithic people might have carried tons and tons of gravel and cairn from Malakavaripalli ⁴⁹ and Morlabanda ⁵⁰ quarries for building their monuments. The construction of megalithic burials in imposing sizes certainly demands the effort of a large number of people and probably the whole community was required to work for this purpose. The finely carved slabs of a few significant dolmenoid cists, dolmens, anthropomorphic figures etc., suggest that they were specialized in stone cutting.⁵¹

Sarcophagus

At some sites urn and sarcophagus burials are also found in association with lithic appendages. At Chingleput and Kunnattur urn and sarcophagus burials were found placed within cairns or cists made of stones slabs⁵² and there are more examples from Tamil Nadu⁵³ and Andhra Pradesh⁵⁴ where urns and sarcophagi were found with lithic appendages such as stone circle, cist, dolmen and capstone. However, there are some arguments regarding the incorporation of the commemorative monuments of menhir and alignments in the megalithic culture. Broadly, megaliths denote a socio-religious and socio-economic mode of burying the dead in a grave with or without lithic appendages. It may be said that megaliths denote monuments made of stones or where stones were used as appendages to place the dead or in commemoration of the dead. Megaliths, mainly in peninsular India, are associated with early and extensive use of iron and characteristic pottery type known as black and red ware (BRW).⁵⁵

The sarcophagi either in pit circles or cist burials are found from South Arcot, Chengalpat and North Arcot districts of Tamilnadu, Kolar district of Karnataka and Cuddapah, Kurnool, and Mahaboobnagar, Krishna and Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh. The most common types are oblong cists with apsidal ends, vertical walls and thickly – grooved. The walls slightly bent inwards, resulting in a bulging body. Sometimes they are provided with two or three rows of legs, ranging from 4 to 21 or more in number, often hollow and pierced with holes as at Enner, Kunnattur, Sunur and Peddanarur.⁵⁶

Animal Remains

In India, association of animal remains with the human burials is noticed right from the Neolithic phase onwards, though domestication of animals is evident from the Mesolithic phase.⁵⁷ The association of animal remains and animals related material with the human burials is more common with the Megalithic communities.⁵⁸ A great variety of animals are associated with the Megalithic graves. They include, Horse,⁵⁹ Cattle,⁶⁰ Sheep,⁶¹ Pig,⁶² Monkey,⁶³ Mongoose,⁶⁴ Tortoise,⁶⁵ Rodent,⁶⁶ and even snake.⁶⁷ Burzahom has yielded skeletal remains of dogs and wolves ⁶⁸ either in association with the human burials or as exclusive burials for animals. Attachment to the horse is further evident by the discovery of bridle bits at Adichanallur,⁶⁹ Guntakal,⁷⁰ Janampet,⁷¹ Janapani,⁷² Mahurjhari,⁷³ Naikund,⁷⁴ Sanur,⁷⁵ etc. All these show that horse played an important role in the lives of the Megalithic people. That the Megalithic people were good riders is suggested not only by these bridle

bits, but also by the rock paintings assignable to this period, found at Hire-Benkhal.⁷⁶ In addition to these findings, Iron weapons like daggers, axes, lances, spear-heads and arrowheads, found in their funerary assemblage suggest their hunting and warrior qualities.⁷⁷

Recent Evidence in Rayalaseema Region

1. Bhogeswaram :-

A rock art site is located in Kundu river valley of Gadivemula mandal at a distance of about 4 kms from Bhogeswaram temple complex facing in Southeast direction in Kurnool district. A Rock Art site is located in the Kundu river valley of Gadivemula mandal at a distance of about 4 km from Bhogeswaram temple complex facing south-east direction, near to Nandyal region of Kurnool district. Depicted number of paintings by the Pre-historic man. The continuity of the Stone Age cultures from Late Mesolithic period to Neolithic and continued up to Megalithic and Historical times. That's why the site assumed with the name '*Bhaogeswaram*' (or) local people called the site as '*Bommala Gundu*'.⁷⁸

A human painting was noticed in white pigment, and he was quarrel with a wild animal, resembles tiger in all aspects and eventually, keeps his left hand noticed inside the mouth of the tiger, and his right hand is bending in a manner. Two humans are noticed in standing posture, and holding tridents both of them in their left hand only. Out of which one person is too short and stumpy, the other is lean and slim in appearance. Both of them are in the waist region, tightened with a sword appeared in horizontal manner. This shows the usage of Iron weapons or tridents is the basic feature of the Megalithic communities.⁷⁹

The Bhogeswaram rock art shelter occupied with different Stone Age people from late Mesolithic to Neolithic, (absence of domestic animals), availability of Stone Age tools, with a meager period and further continued with megalithic phase and further extends up to Historical period. Evidence of megalithic burials in the nearby localities, noticed in the form of Cist burials and cairn burials, located on the way to the rock shelter. Out of 5 burials, 3 are in intact position. Based on the availability of the Red ochre, White pigment and yellow ochre's signifies the different Stone Age phases. Based on the available evidences tentatively the chronological period extends from 6000 B.C. to 6th century A.D.⁸⁰

Buragamanda :-

Buragamanda is a serene hamlet amidst of a beautiful location on the Pincha river valley. There is traces of evidence found of the time periods of Neolithic, Megalithic, Early historic and Medieval periods. A pattern of continuation of cultures is observed in the same place. Two megalithic dolmens were discovered by Dr.V.Ramabrahmam earlier on the west side of the village, Sivakumarchalla found an another dolmen on the east side of the village in the recent field work. There is also a rock art with white and red ochre noticed inside the dolmen. There is a stone circle burial also found adjacent to the dolmen⁸¹.

Neolithic Celts :-

In the same village, it is observed that the Neolithic nicely polished hand axes are worshipped as female goddesses called Akkagarlu. Akkagarlu are normally considered as protector of the villages and temples are erected in the outskirts of the village. There are two such temples found in the village on the eastern side one old abandoned roofed temple and a modern living temple which is open without any roof. On the hill adjacent to the village there is a temple erected for lord shiva which seems to be an early historic times. In the temple premises there is a stone tool of Neolithic time is installed as an Linga on the ground on a cement platform⁸².

2. Devandlapalli :-

Devandlapalli village is situated in Rayavaram pachayat of Tsundupalli mandal in Y.S.R.Kadapa district. Here in this village a complex of 20 megalithic monuments were noticed and some of them were dolmens and remaining were dolmen encircles with slabs, the left over monuments, dolmenoid – cists encircles with slabs. All the monuments were disturbed by treasure hunters, every burial encountered with pottery pieces normally black and red ware, red ware etc, were noticed. Significantly, two of the dolmens on north western orthostat bearing on the inner surface depicting tortoise, leaf – like structures, human with weapon and sun like diagrams with red ochre and white pigments were noticed. Another dolmen depicted two elephants alongside each other and elephant, human figures drawn in white pigment.⁸³

3. Duppannagurthi :-

Duppannagurthi is a village which is situated 2 km. south from Kurnool-Bellary main road and 20 km. north-east from Devanakonda mandal in Kurnool district, towards southeast of present village at a distance of 0.5 km. there is a hillock locally known as ‘*Sekshavaligutta*’, ‘*Hill of Sekshavali (Muslim Prophet)*’, is situated. On this hillock there is a huge Megalithic slab circle monument was noticed, later in the medieval times, the megalithic burial were transformed into Muslim constructed monuments. In this site scholar or author observed a half anthropomorphic statue and disturbed cist burials surrounding the slab circle encountered. In the surrounding monument there are numerous pottery shreds of Black ware, Red ware, and Brown ware are collected.⁸⁴



Slab Circles, Duppannagurthi, Kurnool Dt.



Slab Circle with Anthropomorphic Statue, Duppannagurthi,

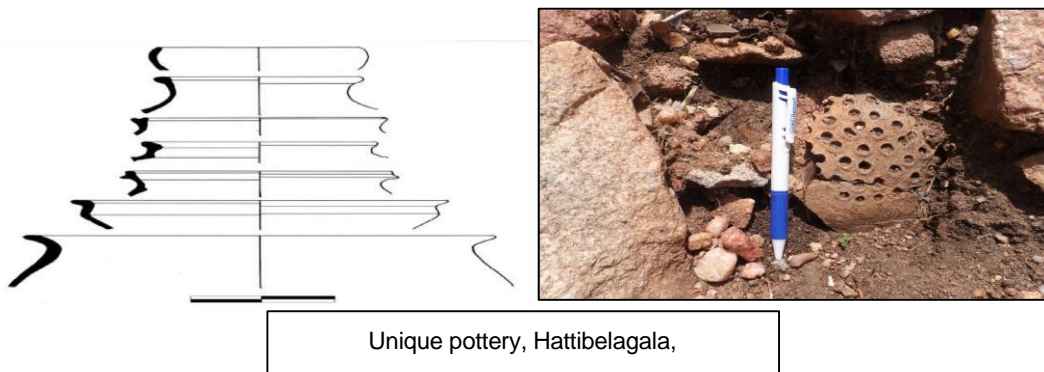
4. Edu Chutla Kota :-

A megalithic dolmen known as “Edu Chutla Kota” was noticed near Edu Chutla Kota village by the side of V.Kota – Gudiyatham route, in V.Kota mandal. The monument is in anti-clock-wise pattern. The villagers also call this monument as “Pandavula Kota”⁸⁵.

5. Hattibelagala :-

Hattibelagala is a village which is situated 4 km. south from Alur mandal headquarters in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh. Towards south west of present village with distance of 0.5 km there is a granite hillock locally called as “Urukonda” is situated, surrounding of this hillock with diameter of 500 meters there is thick habitation is situated with numerous pottery shreds of red ware, brown ware, grey ware, black ware, black and red ware, and extra. On top of Urukonda hillock there is lot of rock shelters are situated, in and around the rock shelters and on the huge granite boulders there is number of engravings were

depicted. Among the engravings animal pictures, human being pictures, humped bulls, hand impressions and more engravings are depicted.⁸⁶



6. Jilledu Budakala :-

Jilledubudakala village is located 15 km. northeast from Devanakonda mandal in Kurnool District, towards southeast of present village at a distance of 1 km. noticed agricultural tank, near to this tank three dyke hillocks were situated with engravings, in the vicinity of the engravings there is a megalithic site is situated with ten stone circles, among one of the stone circles dug by the local people for treasure hunting. Majority of the engravings are human with raised tails on backwards, some animal engravings are also identified.⁸⁷

7. Kadiriraya Cheruvu :-

A group of megalithic monuments were noticed on a small hillock known as “Mallela Banda”, about 2 km south east of Kadiriraya Cheruvu village in kalakada mandal. Totally 13 monuments were noticed. Eleven are dolmens and two slab circles. One of the dolmens encircled with seven rows of slab circles has the cap stone elevated on four orthostats. According to the size of the slabs outer circle consists of smaller slabs, while the size increases as we go to the inner circle. The villagers called this monument as “Educhutlakota”(Fort of seven circles)⁸⁸.

8. Kammaguttapalli :-

Kammaguttapalli village is located 6 km northwest of T.Sundupalle village and mandal in YSR Kadapa District. Towards southeast of the kammaguttapalle these megalithic monuments were noticed at distance of 2 km, noticed on a granite hillock, locally named as ‘Pandurajubandagutta’. The noticed monuments are Megalithic dolmens and Slab circles encircled in 3 to 4 circles.

Nearly 10 to 12 monuments are noticed, the dolmens are encircled with slab circles. The slabs are semi circular in nature with one circle to four circles. In one circle the slabs are reach to height of 2 to 2.50 m and width of 1.50 m., the slabs are packed with stone rubble for strength and support. Normally the slabs are 8 to 9 in a single circle. In the centre of these monuments dolmens are noticed with orthostats and the front orthostat of all the monuments are missing. One of the monument having four slab circles, the smaller circles are in the outer circle, going into the inner circles the size of the semi circular slabs are increasing in their size. In the second slab circle instead of Stone slab, a megalithic anthropomorphic statue was noticed with bottom in the form of a plank, in middle or in the waist region of the statue is narrow in appearance, in the pectoral or the proximal region of the statue noticed with two half jointed together without a head. In the place of the head region a ‘V’ shaped depression was noticed. This type of statues is noticed at ‘Midimalle’ in Chittoor district, explored by Prof. K.P.

Rao of University of Hyderabad. Over the entire site Kammagutta palle is a peculiar site having this type peculiarity with anthropomorphic statue noticed in YSR district. In the same mandal, another site 'Devandlapalle' was noticed within few km. In the surrounding places of these monuments megalithic pottery was encountered.⁸⁹

9. Kondajuturu :-

Konda Juturu is a village which is situated 9 km. north east from Panyam mandal headquarters in Kurnool District. Towards south west of the present village with distance of 1 km. there is a hillock locally known as "*Daddinala Banda*" is situated. On that hillock nearly 250 Megalithic burials are encountered with cairns, stone circles, stone circles with cairn packing with measuring 10 – 12 meters in diameter. Some of the burials were dug by the local people for treasure hunting.⁹⁰

10. Kotekkal

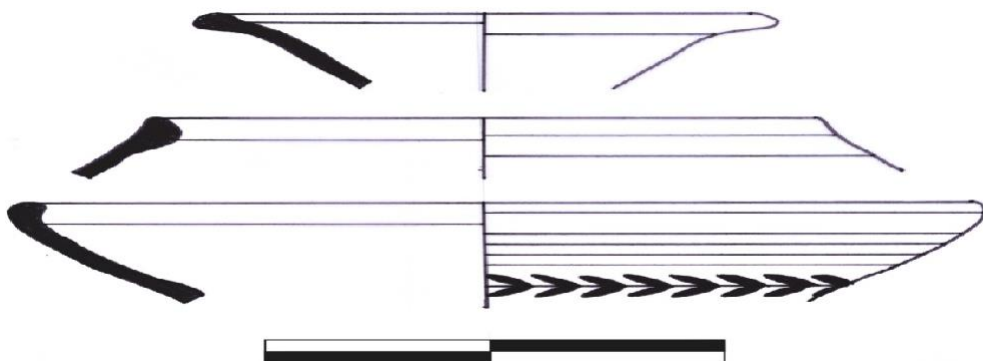
Kotekkal is a village which is situated 1 km. west from Yemmiganuru – Adoni main road and 15 km. south west from Adoni mandal head quarter in Kurnool district. Towards southern adjoining of present village there is a granite hillock locally known as "*Urugutta*", on the hillock there is a shiva temple locally known as "*Guttabasavappa*", on the hillock there is a multi cultural habitation and multi cultural evidences is available. Surrounding places a Neolithic hand axe is found. In the vicinity of the places five megalithic stone circles and early historical constructions are located. Different types of pottery shreds were collected like, Red ware, Black ware, Brown ware, and finally scholar assumes as this site is having evidences of Neolithic, Megalithic, and Early Historical phases.⁹¹

11. Motukupalli

A group of 12 to 15 Megalithic burials noticed in the Kadiri mandal of Motukupalli village in Anantapur district. The monuments are located at a distance of 4 km facing east of the village. Near to these monuments a water cistern was noticed on the north direction names as "Reddori bavi". Out of which are dolmens, stone circles and majority are slab circles. Megalithic Slab circles are more prevalent in the Anantapur district of Rayalaseema region.

In the present scenario all the monuments are fallen to the earth, few monuments are noticed on a granite bed and some are in the earth. The slab circles are encircled with two circles, in the middle with dolmen or dolmenoid -cist with Cap-stone. The first circle with nearly 9 to 12 semi circular slabs with a height of 1.5 m to 2 m; width of 1.5 m is noticed. The second circle arranged in the corners with half-anthropomorphic statues, two are noticed on one side and one is on another side. Few statues are fallen to the earth on other sides. These types of similarities are identified with Eguvakantala cheruvu anthropomorphic statue site in Chittoor district.⁹²

For all the monuments the front orthostat identified with port-hole on eastern direction. Almost all the monuments are in disturbed condition. Identification of Black and Red ware and Red ware were noticed in the nearby vicinity of the monuments.⁸⁸



12. Sogadaballa :-

A megalithic cairn burial (also known as Edu Chutla Kota) was noticed near Sogadaballa village, located 1 km North east of the village in santhipuram Mandal. The stones are arranged in seven circles one after the other like a puzzle. These structures are named as Pandavagullu, Pandavabandalu, etc⁹³.

13. Tenagal :-

Tenagal is a village in Kundurpi Mandal in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh. It is located 68 km. towards north from district headquarters. Tenagal is a small hamlet which is situated about 2.4 km southwest of Kalyanadurg town in Anantapur district⁹⁴.

Rock Art site Enuguvavisandu:-

The Rock Art site location locally known as “Enugulagavisandu” which means Elephant’s Cave Gorge, which is about 2 km southwest of Tenagal. This site was discovered by Dr.Rami Reddy(1971). There are eight natural caverns or shelters- all opening to the north situated on the northern slope of the gorge. It is experienced by many that there are some wild animals are inhabited in these caves. On two of the eight caves, the paintings which is basically human activity in white ochre were found⁹⁵.

Megalithic Dolmens :-

At the foothill of the hill is a plain surface consisting of plenty of Megalithic burials. The surface of the mound also yielded many of megalithic pottery and iron ore and slag pieces. These plain areas yield a lot of Black and Red ware, sometimes with white ochre, black ware and red ware which are typically classified as megalithic pottery. Rich megalithic habitation deposit at this site also yielded pottery and other material remains. Starting from the foot hill a vast place has numerous stone circles were also noticed here. Thus it can be decided to the chronologically Megalithic Age. The State Archaeology department conducted excavation and exposed two megalithic burials which had burial goods and tool implements⁹⁶.

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ST. THOMAS CHRISTIANS: A CONCISE STUDY ON ITS HISTORY AND TRADITIONS

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Introduction

Christianity in Kerala must be understood as a unique configuration arising out of two kinds of situations. The first is its historical dimension: It came to the coast of Kerala in the early centuries of the Christian era and was sustained by the churches of the Middle East. Second, it existed within a dominant regional culture ⁽¹⁾.

At the St. Thomas Day celebration in New Delhi on 18th December 1955, Dr Rajendra Prasad, the president of India, made the following observation in his speech: "Remember, St Thomas came to India when many of the countries of Europe had not yet become Christian's, and so those Indians who trace their Christianity to him have a longer history and a higher ancestry than that of Christians of many of the Europe countries. And it is a matter of pride to us that it happened..." This is a popular expression of a strong view shared by many scholars that Christianity reached India in the first century after Christ and was brought to this country by one or even two of the future Apostolate of Jesus Christ ⁽²⁾.

The origin of Indian Christians

The other view would ascribe the arrival of Christianity in India to the enterprise of merchants and missionaries of the East Syrian or Persian church. Those who proposed the Apostolic origin do not deny the role of the East Syrian church in reinforcing the East Syrian church ⁽³⁾.

From the fourth century onwards, significant churches have witnessed the tradition unanimously ⁽⁴⁾.

Despite their Western tradition, some scholars do not hesitate to deny that St Thomas ever went to India or any East Asian country. An influential group of scholars and writers, though not opposed to the North Indian Apostolate, consider the South Indian traditions more reliable than the acts. Most of these historians are products of South India; the others had intimate contact with the community of St Thomas Christians and its tradition ⁽⁵⁾.

Indian Tradition

According to the Indian tradition, handed from generation by word of mouth among the Christians of St Thomas and to some extent among their non-Christian neighbours according to the Indian tradition, St Thomas came by sea and first landed at Cranganore about the year AD 52, converted high caste Hindu families in Bangalore, Palayur, Quilon and some other places. This tradition seems to comprise elements of Malabar, Mylapore or Coromandel traditions and the East-Syrian church ⁽⁶⁾.

In the 16th century, the Portuguese discovered that the Christians of St Thomas had songs like Thomas Rabban Pattu and Margam Kali Pattu and written records commemorating the life, work, and death of St Thomas. However, most of these records were destroyed after the synod of Diamper⁽⁷⁾.

Coming from Arabia, Thomas the Apostle landed in Malankara in AD 50 in the month of Dhanu (December/January); after a short stay there, he went to Mailapuram (Mylapore) and went to China. Coming back to Mailapuram port, he sailed to Malinkara, being incited by the king of Thiruvanchikulam

(Modern Cranganore area), and founded seven churches there, in Cranganore, Kollam, Chaya, Niranam, Kokamangalam, Kottakkayal (parur) and Palayur⁽⁸⁾.

After a stay of two and a half years in Mailapuram, the Apostle returned to Malabar via Malayattur and visited the same old places – Cranganore, Kollam, Kottakkayal, Kokamangalam, Niranam, Chaya) Then, in AD 69, he departed to the land of the Tamils and performed several miracles ⁽⁹⁾.

During his visit to Malabar, the Apostle ensured the church adequately functioned after him by ordaining priests and consecrating. Bishops ⁽¹⁰⁾.

Oral Tradition

Quite a few families claim to have been converted from the namboothiribrahmins of Kerala. Even though they emigrated from their original locations over time, they remember many details about their origin. They can still point out their original compounds and localities in one of the places visited by St. Thomas. Some of them still use namputhiri names ⁽¹¹⁾.

About the family traditions, I would like to quote placed podiparaaveterm historian of the St Thomas Christians, who has taken great pains to explore their traditions. He says: “The tenacity with which family traditions have been held and the fact coming of the Portuguese. The Thomas Christians gave great honour to their families, and for many centuries, the prelacy and priesthood were confined to some of them. Some of the most important of their families are Pakalomattam, Sankarapuri, KalliKalikar, Koykkam, Madeipur, Muttodal, Nedumpally, Panakkamttam, Kottakali, etc. Sure, these families have him as the 50th or the 61st of his family, counting from the first, who is believed to have been ordained by St Thomas ⁽¹²⁾.

There is a rich tradition related to many old churches/communities. They, in certain respects, corroborate the family traditions. Christian and Hindu traditions say that when St Thomas converted some Brahmins of the place, the rest ran away to a nearby locality called vemmanat, which said *IniyatheKuliVembanat*e. “The next bath at Vemmanat”, which expression has become even a proverb in the language of Malabar. In Palayur, there is a compound called Kalath; in Vemmanat, there is the Brahmin family of Kalath, which, according to tradition, is one of the Brahmin families that ran away from Palayur to Vemmanat. Malabar families seldom take the original names of the compounds they live in ⁽¹³⁾.

Before we can draw any definite conclusion based on these traditional works, much work must be done to judge them correctly. The written accounts and literary compositions in their present form cannot be traced back to the 18th and 17th centuries. Nevertheless, the people of Kerala undoubtedly possessed a rich oral tradition, reflected fully or partially in their folk songs and even in written records ⁽¹⁴⁾.

Each community has its oral traditions, from out of its store to pressure; they’re even epic in oral narratives, genealogies, or lineages. Family members tell and retell their own stories—about how their family and community first came into being, how much adversity they suffered, or how great the good fortune that came to them or brought them honour and status⁽¹⁵⁾.

Within the Thomas traditions, details about the arrival of the Apostle Thomas, his landing on the Island of Malankara and events after his arrival seem to have been repeated by rote, in song and were for generations untold. There can be little doubt concerning the strategic importance of Malankara for the Thomas Tradition. As celebrated in song and verse for generations, untold lyrical says such as the Margam Kali Pattu, the RabbanPattu, and the Thomas Parham tell about the coming of the way of the son of God into the lineage of Families ⁽¹⁶⁾.

Interpreters of these traditions and various sources linked to them have faced the daunting task of reconciling the various separate narratives and attempting to integrate them while shifting and unknowing what may be solid grounds for establishing their historicity from outside the tradition itself ⁽¹⁷⁾.

Much more data supporting the Thomas Tradition rests upon internal sources found within South India. Their sources give a clear and more specific indication of how what is known as Thomas Christian, also known as Syrian Christianity, came into being, and they came to be concentrated in the Southwest corner of India, in what is now the state of Kerala. From the earliest centuries of the Christian Era, these preserved oral sagas, literary texts, genealogies, epigraphic and numismatics data on stone tablets and copper plates and coins of copper, silver and gold and architectural remains. Stone crosses of great antiquity, perhaps dating back to the second century and attributed to the Apostle himself, also can be found in Quilon, Kothamangalam, Kattukayal (Parur) Chayal and Palayur and Quilon ⁽¹⁸⁾.

The various sources and traditions are taken together to extend the story further. St Thomas preached the Gospel, Baptized people everywhere he went and founded churches. According to a stone inscription that the Christians of St Thoms read and interpreted for Ros, the Apostle connected the principal kings of India: the king of Bisnaga called by the Xoren (Chola) Perumal, the king of Pandi called PandiPerumal and the king of all Malabar called Xaran (Chera) Perumal. Fr. Guerrero found it recorded in a Syriac book that the Apostle had converted six kings and three emperors: the emperors corresponded to Ro's three principal Kings. The Pandi Kingdom, according to Guerrero, corresponded to the then-existing Kingdom of Cape Commorian ⁽¹⁹⁾.

The same sources further attested that many churches founded by the Apostle existed on the Coromandel coast in ancient times ⁽²⁰⁾.

The St Thomas Christians resisted, under the leadership of their Indigenous archdeacon, with disastrous results. The first solemn protest, the Coonan cross oath, took place in 1653 under archdeacon Saint Thomas Christian's leadership, who publicly swore that they would meet to obey the Portuguese bishops and Jesuit fathers. In 1665, an Antiochian bishop called Mar Gregorious arrived in India, and the dissident group under the leadership of the archdeacon welcomed him ⁽²¹⁾.

Conclusion

In 1912, a further split occurred in the West Syrian community when a section declared itself an autocephalous church and announced the establishment of the ancient Catholicosate of the East in India. This was not accepted by those who remained loyal to the Syrian Patriarch. The two sides were reconciled in 1958, but differences developed in 1975. Today, the community is divided into Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church and Jacobite Syraic Orthodox. In 1926, a section of West Syrian under the leadership of Mar Ivanios came into communication with the catholic church, retaining all the church's rites, liturgy and autonomy. They are known as Syro Malankara Catholic Church ⁽²²⁾.

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COURAGEOUS WOMEN OF THE VALLEY: TURNED DREAMS INTO REALITY

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Introduction

Kashmir, a land of breathtaking beauty and turbulent history, is also home to a remarkable cohort of successful women who have defied conventions and shattered stereotypes. In a region where tradition and societal norms have often delineated strict roles for women, these resilient and accomplished individuals have emerged as beacons of empowerment. Their journeys are stories of personal triumph and narratives that have contributed to the broader transformation of Kashmiri society.

Kashmiri women have long been the backbone of their families and communities, quietly navigating the complex fabric of the valley's socio-political landscape. However, the women we will explore in this piece have risen above the challenges, channelling their determination, skills, and aspirations into remarkable achievements. They have served as catalysts for change, inspiring countless others and demonstrating that women can excel in diverse fields. The profiles we will delve into encapsulate a broad spectrum of endeavours, from academics and literature to the skies as pioneers in aviation, from the world of journalism to the intricate landscape of psychology, and from technology to sports. Each of these women carries a unique story, showcasing the strength of character and the indomitable spirit emblematic of Kashmiri women.

In this exploration, we celebrate these Kashmiri women who, through their extraordinary achievements, have carved their paths to success and illuminated the way for others. Their stories are a testament to the boundless potential within the women of Kashmir, and their contributions extend beyond personal accolades. They serve as role models, advocating for change and inspiring the younger generation to dream, aspire, and, above all, believe that they can overcome any challenge that comes their way. Through their determination, these women forge a brighter future for Kashmir, challenge traditional norms, and create new possibilities for future generations. Their stories are beacons of hope, illustrating the potential for women in Kashmir and beyond to break free from the constraints of tradition and shape a future where equality, opportunity, and success know no gender boundaries.

Some Pioneer Ladies of Kashmir who made the Valley Proud

In every nation, some remarkable daughters bring pride to the country. The Kashmir Valley is no exception, having nurtured exceptional individuals who have achieved personal success and made significant contributions to the nation. Below, we present some outstanding daughters of Jammu and Kashmir who have made the country proud and challenged traditional perceptions, demonstrating that women can excel in any field and face adversity with unwavering determination.

ACP Dr. Ruveda Salam

Ruveda Salam is a multifaceted individual who holds the rank of Assistant Commissioner of Police within the Indian Police Services. Her journey is marked by numerous achievements, one of which includes

successfully passing the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC) test, fulfilling her father's aspirations. In addition to being an accomplished MBBS graduate, she's notable for her remarkable feat of clearing the UPSC exam not once but twice.

Throughout her career, Dr. Ruveda Salam has shared her inspirational story with young women in various regions, including Tamil Nadu, Hyderabad, and the Union Territory of Jammu & Kashmir. Her words have consistently boosted the confidence of these young women, inspiring them to pursue their dreams and follow in her footsteps by joining the Indian Police Services. She takes great pride in her profession and feels deeply honoured and appreciative when she sees young girls gazing at her with admiration, aspiring to emulate her success. She is the first Kashmir woman to serve as an ACP in Tamil Nadu.

Captain Sami Ara Surury

Captain Sami Ara Surury, a native of Sumbal Sonawari, achieved her Commercial Pilot License (CPL) in 1994, marking a groundbreaking milestone as the first Kashmiri woman to hold this license. Captain Ara's journey to this achievement was far from easy, as she had to defy her family's wishes that urged her to pursue an MBBS degree and lead a tranquil life. Her path was marked by challenges, particularly given her limited financial resources. She embarked on her journey by securing a job as a cabin crew member during the turbulent times in the Valley in 1987.

Despite the numerous obstacles she encountered, Captain Sami Ara Surury persevered, and her determined efforts led her to the United States, where she completed her pilot training in Texas. It took over half a decade, but she ultimately realised her dream by obtaining her CPL. Today, at 48, she serves as an Airbus pilot, setting a shining example for all young women aspiring to soar to heights in their careers.

Dr. Nyla Ali Khan

Dr. Khan is a prominent scholar and writer known for her notable publications. Her most significant work is "Islam, Women, and Violence in Kashmir." This book delves into the hardships faced by women in her native region of Jammu and Kashmir.

In 2015, Dr. Nyla Khan became the first Kashmiri woman to be selected for the Advisory Council of the Oklahoma Commission on the Status of Women. The University of Oklahoma and Rose State College have both welcomed her as a Visiting Professor. Dr Nyla Khan is well-respected for her innovative research and has received various honours and prizes for her efforts.

Nidhi Razdan

Ms Razdan is an award-winning journalist and TV personality born in Badgam, central Kashmir. Her most prominent career achievement is her position as the main character of NDTV's continuous newscast. Nidhi Razdan has received many awards for her work in the field of journalism. Among these honours are the Jammu and Kashmir State Government Award for Excellence in Journalism, the Ramnath Goenka Award for Journalism Excellence, and the Teacher's Achievement Award (TAA) for Communication (Electronic Journalism). With a commanding and influential voice, she fearlessly speaks the truth. Undoubtedly, Nidhi Razdan stands out as one of the most prominent and significant female news reporters.

Ufra Mir

Ufra Mir is the first and sole Peace Psychologist in the Kashmir Valley, dedicated to supporting women affected by the conflict in the region. Typically, disaster responses revolve around minimising physical damage and the loss of human resources. However, women, both individually and within society, continue to be ongoing victims of this conflict. Her passion for psychology began during high school, and she always wanted to utilise her expertise to aid her homeland. She employs a range of therapeutic methods, including creative writing, storytelling, and art therapy, to facilitate the healing process for her patients by allowing them to express their grief creatively.

Furthermore, she has collaborated with distinguished organisations like the US Department of Peace, the World Economic Forum in India, the Nobel Peace Prize Forums in the USA, and the Swedish Institute in Sweden.

Mehvish Mushtaq

Mehvish Mushtaq, a computer engineer residing in Srinagar, is renowned for her creation of the Dial Kashmir android app. Her app has garnered significant recognition and accolades for its utility, catering to the needs of both residents and tourists. Notably, she was honoured with the Nari Shakti Puraskar in 2018, a testament to her remarkable achievements.

Mehvish Mushtaq is a source of inspiration for young women aspiring to establish themselves in the technology sector, simultaneously contributing to the progress of their nations while staying aligned with global technological advancements.

Tajamul Islam

This eleven-year-old girl's tale is inspirational for its courage, tenacity, and optimism. This little Kashmiri girl is the youngest of the accomplished Kashmiri ladies shown in this work. While other kids her age were playing video games and eating dirt, she represented India and won the 2016 World Kickboxing Championship in Italy. Tajamul nearly coerced her parents into letting her enrol in the training school by threatening to leave her work if they didn't let her join Kickboxing when she learned that her older brothers were undergoing Wushu instruction. Her father allowed her to take up kickboxing lessons, but only on the condition that she bring home a gold medal. She's a kickboxing pro and a Taekwondo and Wushu master. She utilises her quick wit and positive outlook to help her face her concerns head-on.

Dr. Sharmeen Mushtaq

Dr Sharmeen Mushtaq is the first woman to compete in the Gulmarg Snow Automotive Rally. Dr. Mushtaq, a seasoned physician and avid follower of auto racing, says, "I have a platform and can provide it my best attempt." It's not about the outcome; what matters is that you take part. The title "The Woman with the Lamp" is a tribute to her hard work and captivating story. The people who live in the valley have always been considered to be aliens by the rest of the nation. Especially women, whose difficulties are compounded by the simple fact that they are, you know, female. Despite all odds, these Kashmiri women have significantly contributed to society and built impressive reputations.

Conclusion

In a world striving for progress and equality, it is essential to recognise that the scope of women's career counselling knows no bounds or barriers. It is not sufficient for a nation to have a handful of women achievers while the majority face societal dogmas that hinder pursuing their dreams. This challenge is not unique to one region or culture; it is a global issue. Kashmir has its share of ambitious women who

often find their dreams stifled by societal constraints. The women highlighted in this discussion are not just success stories but beacons of hope, determination, and resilience for the newer generations. Their achievements transcend personal accomplishments; they symbolise a broader aspiration for gender equality, individual empowerment, and social change.

As we celebrate the achievements of these remarkable Kashmiri women, we must also recognize that their journey reflects the broader struggle for gender equality. Their stories inspire us all to work towards a world where every woman, regardless of her background or circumstances, can pursue her dreams unencumbered by societal restrictions. Their legacy serves as a reminder that, collectively, we can break down the barriers that hold women back and create a more inclusive and equitable future for all.

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C.V KUNJURAMAN: AN EZHAVA VISIONARY OF TRAVANCORE

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Introduction

C.V Kunjuraman (1871-1949) Was An Extraordinary Genius Whose Contributions Have Much Significance In The History Of Kerala. In fact, History Has Done Injustice In Estimating The Contributions Of C.V Kunjuraman To The Kerala Society. He Was A Versatile Genius Who Markets His Identity As An Ideal Teacher, An Acclaimed Social Reformer, A Dauntless Journalist, A Prolific Writer And Above All, A Far-Sighted Political Leader.¹ C.V. Was A Powerful Presence In The Political, Social And Cultural History Of Kerala. C.V. was A Unique Personality Who Purified Language And Society Through His Sharp And Fair criticism and Was An Embodiment Of Simplicity, Radicalism And Sincerity. The Narrowness Of His Activities Might Have Taken Away The Full Growth Of His Personality. There Were, Of Course, Contradictions And Inconsistencies In His Attitude And Opinions. Despite All These, He Could Claim To Have Rendered Invaluable Service To The Public Life Of Kerala.

Analysis and Interpretations

Early Life

The Family Of C.V. belongs to the Pathathil Branch. He Was The Son Of Velayudhan And Kunjichali. The origin of his initial C.V. is called 'Callumpuaram' and 'Velayudhan'. He Was Born in 1871 in the Mayyanad Kollam District. In Kerala, Mayyanad is one of the most critical places where information has begun in cultural, social, literary, and educational fields. It also reveals that Myyanad had a glorious past associated with the Dravidian and Buddhist Periods. Mayyanad produced several social revolutionaries who initiated socio-political movements for the emancipation of the downtrodden masses.

S.N.D.P. And C.V. Kunjuraman

The Social Reform Movement Had Its Impact Upon Depressed Communities In Kerala By The End Of 19th Century. Ezhavas, One Of The Aggrieved Sessions Of Kerala Society, Challenged The Caste Stick Mass Through Their Prominent Leaders Like Arattupuzha Velayudha Panicker, Sree Narayana Guru, Kumaranasan, Dr Palpu And C.V Kunjuraman Etc. The Plight Of Ezhavas And Other Downtrodden Communities Were Elevated Through The Strenuous Efforts Of The Social Reformers And Thinkers. C.V. was one of the prominent thinkers who lived in that period and dedicated his whole life to the well-being of socially oppressed Ezhavas, Particularly other backward communities. There Were Many Branches Of Important Ezhava Families In Kollam. In the Mayyanad Area, There Were Four Important Branches: Moothchanankulam, Changathu, Pathathil, Pottiyarikattu And Elambathothathu.² C.V Played An Important Role In Temple Entry Movements and Abstention Movement. The Civil Rights Movement Started In Travancore.³ He Was Very Keen In Social Issues Even Though He Was Very Young. The Submission Of Malayali Memorial By G.P Pillai Enumerating The Grievances Of Educated Malayalis Had Attracted The Attention Of C.V.⁴ It Was The Political Agitation In Travancore For Getting Representation For The Non-Brahmins In Government Service. This Agitation Brought Out The People Belonging To All Caste And Creed To A Common Platform.⁵ The Speech Made By G.P Pillai On This

Issue At The Meeting Held In The Malayali Mandiram At Kollam Had A Tremendous Influence On The Life Of C.V . He Has Graphically Recorded How Much The Speech influenced him In His Book Entitled C.V Smaranika. ⁶Even Before The Advent Of G.P. in The Sphere, Dr Palpu, Who Had Been An Officer Of Mysore Government Service, Had Been Fighting To suppress such Grievances. It was C.V. who had been deputed to meet and extend solidarity to Dr Palpu, who had reached Travancore and asked for redressing the grievances of Ezhavas⁷.

In 1903 A.D., with the initiative of Dr G Palpu and Kumaranasan, an organisation was formed to benefit social, political, and economic deplorable teeming millions of Ezhava community members. Its Organization Was Registered As Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam. Sree Narayana Guru Blessings And Guidance Was A Boom Of This Newly Created Social Organization. Under the leadership of Dr G Palpu, several meetings were held at Mayyanad and Paravoor to create a new organisation to uplift the Ezhava community. ⁸ Dr Palpu, With Blessings Of Sree Narayana Guru, Established Ezhava Mahajana Sabha Around 1891. ⁹Later, under the initiative of Sree Narayana Guru, the committee was formed at Aruvipuram, Aruvipuram Kshetra Yogam. ¹⁰Later, discussion and deliberation were made to develop the Aruvipuram Kshetra Yogam into Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam. ¹¹ The Familiarity And Friendship With Dr Palpu Enabled C.V Kunjuraman To Work Together For The Uplift Of The Ezhava Through S.N.D.P. Yogam; at That Time, C.V Tried To Get A Government Job. He Was Appointed As A Clerk In Tourist Department. He Was The First Ezhava To Get A Job In That Department. In 1894, He Resigned From Service. ¹²Even Before His Involvement In The S.N.D.P., He Actively Involved Himself In Many Social Issues. He Realized That The Lack Of Education Was The Cause Of the Backwardness Of The Depressed Classes. To Uplift Them, He Took the Initiative To Establish A School At Vellamanal In 1894. ¹³This School Was Opened for All Communities' Education regardless of Caste Distinction.

He Reacted To All Civil Issues Of His Time. In 1906, the Nair-Ezhava Rebellion Broke Out On The Issue Of The Admission Of The Avarnas In The Public Schools. The Rebellion Was A '*Kudamadakkippulahala*'¹⁴ In This Revolt, The Neelakandapillai And The Ezhavas Led By C.V Kunjuraman And C. Krishnan led Nairs. ¹⁵ When The Rebellion Reached Its Climax, Both Leaders Decided on a Compromise, And The Meeting Was Known As 'Nair-Ezhava Maitri'. ¹⁶C.V Kunjuraman Was Aware Of Social Issues Even From Childhood. He Popularized The Pamphlets Enumerating The Hardship Of The Ezhavas Of Travancore. On These Issues A Mammoth Ezhava Meeting Held At Mayyanad Under The Leadership Of C.V Kunjuraman. In The Temple Entry Movement, Aiming At The Opening Of Temples To *Avarnas*, C.V Played A Crucial Role. ¹⁷ In Travancore, The High Court Judge Raman Thampi first raised The Demand For Temple Entry. When He First Raised The Issue, He Was An Advocate Practising In Kollam. While Delivering The Presidential Address In The Sree Narayana Guru Jayanthi Meeting Held At Kollam In 1918. Raman Thampi Argued That It Was Not Necessary For The Ezhavas To Construct New Temples And Should Start A Movement For Entry In Public Temples, After This Exhortation, S.N.D.P Leaders Began To Think Earnestly Over The Issue Of Temple Entry Demand. ¹⁸C.V Kunjuraman Had Put It In Black And White Necessity Of Temple Entry Through His Articles And Speeches. The Editorial That C.V. Had Written In '*Deshabhimani*' on December 1917 Had Far-Reaching Effects In Travancore. ¹⁹

The Temple Entry Movement Marked A Crowning Victory When Sir Chithira Thirunal Balarama Varma, The Maharaja Of Travancore, Issued The Famous Temple Entry Proclamation On November 12th, 1936. ²⁰It Was C.V Kunjuraman Who Created Favorable Circumstances For His Proclamation. Through His Articles And Speeches, C.V. Kunjuraman Created A Brain Wave Among The Avarnas By

Saying That The Only Solution for the Lower Caste Hindus, Who Suffered Under the Caste System, Was To Embrace Christianity. He Registered A Strong Protest Against The Upper-Class Attitudes. He Declared That 'The Practice Of Being Kicked While Praying And The Practice Of Praying While Being Kicked Can't Be Allowed Anymore'²¹ This Declaration Electrified The Entire Kerala Society With A New Wave Of Social Change. C.V. even Wrote A Book Entitled 'The Ezhavas And Religious Conversion', which strengthened The Conversion Movement.²²

C.V Kunjuraman was a close associate With Sree Narayana guru and an active participant in the intellectual and social activities of Sivagiri Mutt. C.V Hailed From Mayyanad From Kollam. There Were Many Branches Of Important Ezhava Families In Kollam. In the Mayyanad Area, There Were Four Important Branches: Mooth Chanankulam Changathu, Pathathil, Pittiyarikathu And Elambathothathu.²³ In Kerala, Mayyanad Is The Only Place Where reforms in Cultural, Social, Literary And Educational fields took Place At The Same Time. In The Shaping Of The History Of Mayyanad, The Ezhavas Played A Prominent Place. The Ezhavas Constituted The Majority Of Population In Mayyanad.²⁴ The Term Ezhava Is Firstly Referred In The Tarisapally Copper Plate Grant Of Sthanu Ravivarma. From This, We May Conclude That the Ezhava Community Played A Significant Role Even Before The Beginning Of the Kollam Era.²⁵ S.N.D.P Yogam Was Founded On 1st May 1903. After the Indian National Congress, The Oldest And Most Important Organisation was the Sndp Yogam. The Aim Of the Indian National Congress Was Political Freedom, But The Aim Of Sndp Yogam Was the Social And Educational Freedom Of The People.²⁶

The Founder Of Modern Kerala Is Sree Narayana Guru. The Notable Thing We Find In Sree Narayana Guru Is That He Could Influence Leading Figures Like Kumaranasan Sahodran Ayyappan. Ayyankali Etc.²⁷ The Ideas Of Sree Narayana Guru Spread To All Fields Of Kerala. The Ideals Brought About Tremendous Change Among Ezhavas C.V Kunjuraman Played An Active Role In Sndp Yogam Since His Childhood. After The Foundation Of Sndp Yogam,. C.V Took Initiative To Put Into Practice The Great Ideas Of Sree Narayana Guru.²⁸ The Two Important Persons Who Influenced C.V. Were G.P. Pillai And Dr. Palpu. After his first meeting with Dr. Palpu, he became interested in yoga. He Did A Lot To S.N.D.P Yogam. He acted as Sndp Yogam's general secretary From 1927 to 29 and later became general secretary.²⁹

He Delivered several Speeches About The Services Of Yogam In Kerala. He Opposed The Injustice Towards The Lower Caste People. The Chief Objective Of C.V Was The Transfer Of Knowledge To Those Denied It. He Thought That It Would Lead To Social And Cultural Reformation. Thus, He Became Famous As A Social Reformer. C.V Was Also Nominated To Sree Moolam Prajasabha And Sree Moolam Assembly. In 1905, The Second Anniversary Of Sndp Yogam Was Held At Kollam, With International Exhibitions Under The Leadership Of Dr. Palpu, Kumaranasan And C.V Kunjuraman Actively Involved In It.³⁰ The Exhibition And Other functions were Organized On A Large Scale—the Stall From Travancore, Cochin, and British Malabar Participated In The Exhibition. In The Function, Gurudevan Announced That The Thalikettu, Tirandukuli, Etc. Were The Social Evils And The Marriage System To Be Reformed? Based on the advice of the Gurudevan, the marriage of CVS's daughter was held.

In 1927 C.V Was Elected As Sndp Assistant Secretary. A meeting Of Sndp Yogam Was Held In Veliyanadu. As the Sndp Yogam General Secretary, I will always remember the services of C.V.³¹ The Programme Of The Abolition Of Untouchability Of The Congress And The Programs Of Services By C.V Kunjuraman In The Meeting Yogam Held In 1930. It registered a large attendance and Involvement of Yogam Members. It Was During his time as the secretary of Sndp Yogam that He Submitted Memorandums To the Simon Commission. The important

point of this memorandum is to provide special legislative assemblies for the Representation Of Lower Castes. The Second Demand Was Right For Vote Irrespective Of Caste. He Also Demanded a special legislative assembly for them.³²

In 1932, C.V. became The Chairman Of Ezhava Rashtriya Mahasabha At Kollam. That Meeting Discussed The Status Of Ezhavas. The Speech C.V. at That Meeting Reflected His Ideas On Social And Political Affairs.³³ He Staunchly Believed In Sree Narayana Guru And His Ideals. Discussion Between Gurudevan And C.V. On October 9th, 1925, Was Published In Kerala Kaumudi. This Became The First Debate In Malayalam Literature. On 25 February 1945, He Published A Poem Expressing His Devotion To Swamipadam. He Was The Only Person Who Expressed His Opinion Boldly To Sree Narayana Guru.³⁴ In 1927, The Memorandum Submitted To the Simmon Commission Did Not Give the Expected Result. In 1932, a meeting was held at Shanmugham Vilasam School, and Some important decisions were made. The Important One Was The Right To Vote Memorandum Were Signed And Submitted To The King.³⁵ But It Did Not Yield Any Result. In The Circumstances, Akhila Tiruvithamkur Samyukta Rashtiya Samithi Was Firmed. This Became a together Of The Ezhavas Muslims And Christians On 24th January 1933 At L.M.S Hall Thiruvithamkur.³⁶

C.V Kunjuraman also became the General Secretary of S.N.D.P Yogam From 1928-29 and 1931-32. He worked hard to uplift The Ezhava community and was joint-free, upholding the community's interests. During His Time, The Travancore Government Took Steps To Cancel The Licence Of S.N.D.P Yogam in Support of the Agitation For Responsible Government. Then, A Discussion Was Held Between The Diwan Sir Ramaswami Iyer And C.V. Later, Under C.V's Initiative, Yogam Members Withdraws From the Travancore State Congress. C.V Viewed That This Policy Would Favour The Interest Of The Ezhavas. Thus, He Proved Himself To Be An Unchallenged Leader Of His Community

Conclusion

C.V Kunjuraman Became The General Secretary Of S.N.D.P Yogam During 1928-29 And 1931-32. He worked hard To uplift The Ezhava community and was at the forefront of upholding the community's interests. C.V Did A Lot For S.N.D.P Yogam Since His Childhood. In 1927, He Submitted A Memorandum To The Simmon Commission. C.V Viewed That His Policy Would Favour The Interests Of Ezhavas. Thus, He Proved Himself To Be An Unchallenged Leader Of His Community. He Also Played A Significant Role In The History Of Social Protest In Kerala. Sree Narayana Guru Very Much influenced him. C.V. was Aware Of The Goal Before Him And Declared That Any Struggle For Freedom Must Be Led By People Who are Firmly Based On Social Equality. C.V Was A Great Fighter All Through His Life By Leading Revolutionary Struggles and Created A Golden Chapter In The History Of Modern Kerala

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LATER CHOLA TEMPLES IN TAMIL NADU : WITH SPECIAL REFERENCES TO POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF CHEYYUR IN TAMIL NADU

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Introduction

Seyyur is a critical area in history where temples are talked about the most. There are four famous temples here. They are Vanmeekanathar Temple, Kandasamy Temple, Kailayanathar Temple and Perumal Temples. Temples are not only places where the deity is located. It is a beautiful institution built by our forefathers to benefit the society. Over time, the importance of temples has taken us to another dimension. Only wombs are taken into consideration. The significance of the buildings built with black stone and the need to preserve them has diminished. They have made a historical mistake by giving new names to the images and figures placed around the temple walls. They made us follow a falsehood that the way of worshipping God should be like this. Temple is not only the abode of God—a beautiful institution built to benefit society. Inscriptions are the only witness that can tell us, along with historical evidence, how such temples were helpful in this society. Even those characters are now hidden. Our ancestors were not stupid. Everything that happened in their time is beautifully recorded in stone. We must protect it. That is what temples teach us today. Temples present us today as a beautiful historical document that helps us learn about the lifestyle of primitive man and as a social institution set up to benefit society.

The Most Critical Pre-Historic Places of the Cheyyur Division are as follows

“History should be constructed based on evidence of existing places of the people and institutions and ordered chronologically through systematic and scientific analyses of the primary resources. In this chapter, important and historical places of the Cheyyur division are to be mentioned.’ Alamparava”, 1 ‘Idaikkazhinadu,” and 2 ‘Kadappakkama’ are the most important historical places of the Cheyyur division. To prove these as historical places, ancient temple inscriptions of Vedal.”3, ancient poet of Sangam period, of ‘Nallur Nattattanar’s Sirupanarrupadai,”4 are taken as historical evidence.”

In Sangam Age, Cheyyur Division

In the Sangam period, the Kidangal Chief of Nalliyakkodan and the ancient port of Sopatnam, the Morden Ancient port of Marakkanam, are taken as historical evidence.” Vembanur”5 and Kadappakkam villages were also once part of the Cheyyur division. These places have a continuous historical background from the Sangam period.

In Thondainadu, Cheyyur Division

“In the temple history book, the name ‘Valavan’ is described as Cholan. The son of Kulothunga I, Aathonda Chakravarthi, ruled the Valavar area; during his period, people who settled here were called “thondaimandala Velalar” To prove this, evidence should be taken from the ‘History of Yazhppanam’, and we should come to the conclusion that the name and fame of the ‘thondaimandalam’ researched to neighbouring country’ Yazhppanam.”6

In the Cholas period, the Cheyyur Division

“Chola’s contributions are unlimited, and they have done a lot for the people of Cheyyur by modernising, renovating, and reconstructing the old temple. The temple in Cheyyur was restructured in the Kulothunga Colan I.”⁷

Name of The Chola rulers in Cheyyur Division.

Chola ruler's Names are listed here chronologically from 1063 B.C to 1178 B.C. They are...

1. Veera Rajendran - 1063 B.C.
2. Kulothungan I - 1070 B.C.
3. Vikrama Chola – 1118 B.C.
4. Kulothungan II – 1133 B.C.
5. Rajarajan II – 1146 B.C.
6. Rajathirajan – 1163 B.C.
7. Kulothungan III – 1178, B.C.”⁸

Political and Geographical Background of Cheyyur Division in Sangam Period.

In the Sangam period, this was the land of Neithal. Naga was the natural inhabitants of this soil. They ruled this land as Thondainadu”, and they built twenty-four Forts in various parts of the land for their administrative purpose. Later, Chalukyas, Pallavas and Cholas invaded and defeated Nagas, and Cholas changed the real Name of Thondainadu to “Thondaimandalam”. Based on the view of great historical writer ‘K. Neelakanda Sasthiri”, thondaimandalam, was considered the “Gateway of Political influence and intrusion on the Southern part of Tamizhnadu. Chola was the first dynasty with political power after defeating the Pallavas from the North part of Tamizhagam and directly used their power by changing the country name to “Jayamgonda Cholamandalam”.

Jayamgonda Cholamandalam consisted Nadu Nadu and Thondainadu. In Thondainadu, Chengalpattu. North Arcot, South Arcot, Vizhupuram, Tamilnadu, and Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh, are part of Thondaimandalam. To rule the occupied land smoothly, Chola divided the land into many sub-divisions, such as Kottam, Valanadu, Nadu, and Ur. Cheyyur was in the “Jayamgonda Colamandalam”.

Sembur kottam and poraiyur Nadu - a micro region.

“An attempt has been made on “Sembur Kottam and Poraiyur Nadu, a micro-region. This Sembur Kottam and Poraiyur Nadu were embracing the east and southeast of modern Chengalpattu in the Chittamur Union, the southernmost portion of Kancheepuram district, the capital city of the ancient Pallava. The analysis of political geography in its proper perspective of a country or a region is a forerunner to understanding its history in general and administration in particular.”⁹

Defining the boundaries of Seyyur in Tondaindu,

According to the inscriptions of the Shiva temple at Vayalur, near the Palar River, the Seyyur region was inevitably located in the Sembur region, Puraiyur Nadu. In Thondai Nadu, by defining the boundaries of the Seyyur division in this study, it is possible to know how many Kottam and how many Nadu were together with Seyyur's "Chempur Cottam—Poraiyur Nadu."

“On the northeast side of Palar River, near Vayalur, north of Seyyur lies the Amur kottam and the Montur Nadu.”¹⁰ To the north-west of Seyyur lies the Kalathur Kottam.”¹¹ Inscriptions found in the Shiva temple at Marudadu village on the Seyyur-Vandavasi road confirm that Venkundra Kotam and Vadavur Nadu were located in the west.”¹² As Seyyur is located in Sembur Division, Borayur Country, these

historical data help to find its present boundary. Inscriptions found at Nedungal near Karasangal railway station confirm that it was bordered by Edura Kotam and Nedungal Nadu to the south-west.”¹³ A contemporary inscription carved along with historical evidence at the Shiva temple in Indalure confirms it. Studies conclude that the Ethur region was the Indore region and present Indore was the headquarters of the Ethur region. “¹⁴ An inscription found in the Shiva temple built during the Chola reign at Marakanam confirms that Seyyur division is situated on the south side of Puraiyur Kottam and Oyima Nadu- Pattina Nadu, Eilapattinam and Oyima Nadu. Historically, the epigraphical evidence found in the temple at Marakanam confirms that the region between Dindivana and Marakanam was the Oyima Nadu, which Nalliyakodan ruled.”¹⁵

Contemporary Political Geographical Background of Cheyyur

Chengalpattu district came into existence on 29.11.2019; it was carved out of the Kanchipuram district. It was part of the Kanchipuram district from 600 AD to 900 AD. The region was under the Pallava rule. During the Pallava reign, the Chengalpattu region attained the maximum height of prosperity and cultural glory. As illustrated by the rock-cut temple of Mamallapuram and other temples belonging to the contemporary period along the East Coast, the temple architecture was of excellence during the Pallava period. Following the decline of the Pallava Empire, the Chengalpattu region came under the Imperial Cholas from 900 AD to 1300 AD. Another vital phase of the history of Chengalpattu district was reigned by the Vijayanagara Empire from 1336 AD to 1675 AD. Chengalpattu was formerly the capital of the kings of Vijayanagar after the Deccan sultanate defeated them in the battle of Talikota in 1565. The fortress at Chengalpattu, built by the Vijayanagara kings in the 16th century, was strategically important owing to the swamp surrounding it and the lake beside it. Chengalpattu was taken by the French in 1751 and was retaken in 1752 by the British Governor Robert Clive. After that incident, the fortress proved to be of great strategic advantage to the British. During the wars of the British with Hyder Ali of Mysore, the fortress withstood the latter’s assault and afforded refuge to the nearby residents. By 1900, the town was noted for its pottery manufacture and was a local market centre, especially for the rice trade. The district was home to cotton and silk weaving, indigo dyeing and tanneries. Extensive salt manufacturing also took place along the coast. Coming into the post-independence era, the town of Chengalpattu served as the headquarters of the combined Kanchipuram district until 1969, when the headquarters was shifted to Kanchipuram town.

Temples of Cheyyur

In Cheyyur, there are four ancient temples. They are...

1. Kandhaswamy Temple
2. Kariya Manikka Perumal Temple
3. Vanmikinathar Temple
4. Kailayanathar temple “¹⁶

1) Kandhaswamy Temple

Kandhasamy Temple is located in Cheyyur in the Chengalpattu district of Tamilnadu, about 25 km south of Maduranthagm. The temple is considered Thirupugazh or pedal petra thalam. Saint Arunagirinathar praises the presiding deity in his Thirupugazh hymns. It was constructed in the Dravidian style of architecture; the Cholas built the temple during the 10th century. Muruga is worshipped as Kandhasamy, along with his consorts Valli and Deivanai. A granite wall surrounds the temple, enclosing all its shrines.

In the Olden days, this town was known as Jayamkonda Chola Nallur and Virarajendra Nallur. As per epigraphical evidence, it belonged to Jayamkonda Chola Mandalathu Chembur Kotta Puraiyur. This town was also called Seioorm, Seigaiyampathy and Valavapuri. This place has a temple for Lord Siva, Puttridang Kondaar Temple and Kariya Mannikakam Perumal Temple. Arunagiri Nathar has revered the temple in his verses in Tirupugal. There are idols of 27 Vedhalams (Bhootganas/ghosts) representing 27 stars found in the temple, and it is unique and cannot be found anywhere else. Lord Brahma and Vishnu are standing as Dwarapalakas of Lord Shiva. The goshta images of Subramanya are unique the dancing Skanda, Skanda carrying bow and arrow, etc.

Architecture

Kandhaswamy temple has a flat Rajagopuram in the North, piercing the rectangular granite walls around the temple. There are two entrances to the temple. One is through the south-facing main entrance. There is an entrance through the East through which one can also reach the inner prakaram and the Artha Mandapa. The presiding deity Kandhaswamy is housed in the East facing sanctum, with Valli and Deivanai on either of his sides. The Dwarapalakas, Suveeran and Sujanan flank Kandhaswamy on either side. The sanctum is approached from the main entrance through the flagstaff hall, Maha Mandapam and Artha Mandapam. A five ft. (1.5 m) granite wall is in front of Kandhaswamy. The flagstaff is located in the flagstaff hall axial to the sanctum. An image of a peacock, the vehicle of Muruga and Surya, faces the main shrine in the Maha Mandapam.

On entering the temple, one can find the Somanathar, Meenakshiammai Shrine to the left of the front Mandapam. There are shrines of Vinayaga before Brahma and Vishnu, an unusual feature in Murugan temples that guards the Maha mandapam and the sanctum. Nandi is found in front of the shrine. The shrine of Thiripurasundari is located in the second precinct. There are separate shrines of Valli and Deivanai in South facing shrines diagonally opposite the sanctum. The image of Somanathar and Meenakshi are in the temple. The images of the 27 Bhutaganas, each 2 ft. (0.61 m) tall are sculpted in the niches around the sanctum. The first precinct around the sanctum houses the images of Nrithuya Kanthar, Bala Kanthar, Brahma Sastha, Sivagurunathar, Veduvar and Navagrahas. A unique feature of this temple is that all Goshta Devathas are different forms of Subramanya. There is a Sarva Vadya Mandapam in front of it..."¹⁷

Special Features

There are several pillars outside the temple's main entrance, indicating the presence of a massive mandapa once in front of the temple. These pillars also have a few intricate sculptures. Several beautiful sculpture panels can be seen on the temple's outer wall. The water associated with this temple is Chettikulam. It is situated on the western side of the temple Nandavanam, which can be found in the outer prakaram north of the sanctum. Nine Vinayagar shrines surround the temple on the four Mada Veethis (Streets). These Vinayagar shrines were said to have been worshipped Navagrahas and represent each planet."²¹

2 Kariya Manikka Perumal Temple

The Kariya Manikka Perumal Temple's shrine is dedicated to Lord Vishnu. The temple is quite ancient and is estimated to be at least 800 years old. Cheyyur is one of the ancient villages. Thayar Sannidhi was built at a later stage. Tiles are fixed on the walls, which look like a recent temple. The temple has a single prakaram. The Tiger face on the stomach of a bhuta/ dwarf on the prastaram valuable - this is bhuta vary, and the face in the belly is called Keerthi mukha / tiger belly - seems to be a standard feature in early Chozha temples.

In Cheyyur. There is an ancient rock temple (800 years old) for Lord Vishnu – Kariya Manicka Perumal. The temple mandapams, pillars, and compound walls were built by drilling rock, and hence, even after centuries, they are still seen in good shape and grandeur. The temple is situated on about half an acre of land. While entering the temple, you will find a shrine for Nava Santhi Vinayakar. When you go inside, there is a flag mast covered with copper, and in the Mandapam, next to that is a shrine for Garuda Azhwar. After worshipping Garuda Azhwar, one can see the shrine for the main deity of the temple – Sri Kariya Manickaperumal, along with Bhudevi and Sridevi. The deity appears with four hands holding Conch, Sudarshana Chakra, Abhaya, and Varada. On one circumference, the temple outside on the right side is situated in a small shrine for Perumdevi Thayar, and next to that is Sri Andal Sannidhi. Opposite this temple, there is a separate temple for Sri Anjaneyar. “18

3 Vanmikinathar Temple

The temple is inside the town of Cheyyur. It is a Chozha Period temple. The mandapam pillars in front of Ambal have many sculptures. Shiva and Ambal of various temples are sculptured on all the pillars. These pillars might be additions after a later stage. The name of the gods is Thiru Vanmikanathar and Thirumathi Mithambigai. Some of the important features of this temple are ...

The temple is facing east with a 3 tier rajagopuram. Balipeedam and Nandhi are in the outer prakaram. Dwarapalakas are Sudhan and Sumagan. Ambal dwarapalakas are Jai and vijay. In Koshtam Vinayagar, Dakshinamurthy, Lingothbavar, Brahma and Durgai.

One pillar has sculptures of Manuneethi Chozhan's story around four sides. In the main pillars leading to Ambal Sannidhi, the horses are driven by ladies, which I had yet to see anywhere. At the entrance of the artha mandapam, on the right side, Mayura Subramaniyar is worth seeing, dancing on his vahana Peacock.

In the outer prakaram sannadhi for Saptamatrikas, Vinayagar and Subramaniam and Chandikeswarar. In front of the temple is a Vinayagar Sannidhi and Murugan statue standing without sannadhi –in the open sky - also called Brahma Sastha. This temple is a Uthra Nakshatra temple. Three Tier Rajagopuram with Stone pillars to erect Pandal for the important functions (Similar arrangement also available at Thiruvavur Temple) Vanmikinathar Temple is dedicated to Hindu God Shiva located at Cheyyur town in Kanchipuram District of Tamilnadu. The presiding deity is called as Vanmikinathar. The Ambal here is in Lakshmi Swaroopam (in other temples, you will see Sakthi Swaroopam) with Padmam and Neelothbalam in her hands. This temple is a sculptural gallery and you will see exquisite carvings in black stones in the front mandapam. In the rainy season, the sanctum of Shiva will be filled with water until the avudaiyar, and only the top portion will be above water (still poojas will take place) – a sight to watch. This temple is devoted to the divine Shiva.”19

4 Kailasanathar Temple

Some of the details of this temple are... As per history, it was the first temple constructed in this area. This temple was built during the Chozha period. A lot of Tamil inscriptions are found around the Sanctum wall. This temple's mandapam and vimana are fallen. It was under renovation and then abandoned. During renovation, the stones were not placed in their proper place and in proper position and were cut in many places. Palalayam was performed and the Shiva Linga is in dismantled condition.”20

Conclusion

This article has been prepared using the sources found here. The inscription is considered to be very important. A few inscriptions state that there were monthly festivals and daily pujas in those days. But

today the situation is reversed. Vanmeekanathar temple in a reasonable manner. The condition of Kailasanathar Temple is very pathetic. But in Kandasamy temple in the town, a special puja is celebrated every year, Sakthi and Trivizha in the month of Aippasi. It is known that there was an all-instrumental group in this town until recently. The lamp has been found. It was about 200 years ago. The temples of this place are about 800 years old and were very special during the later Chola period. Later, maintained during the Zamin period, the temples are preserved in good condition today.

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HISTORIAN VS LITTERATEUR: DISCORD BETWEEN FACTS AND IMAGINATION

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Introduction

History refers to the study of past events and a historian is a person who engages himself in the study and practice of history. The word 'history' is derived from the ancient Greek word 'historia', which means inquiry or knowledge acquired by investigation. It covers many aspects like the different cultures, social structures, politics economics, conflicts and so on. History can be considered as an umbrella term because it tries to comprise the past events by discovering, collecting, organising and interpreting these events. In a way, history analyses the events from the past and tries to connect it to the present to shape the future. While writing history, historians use a wide array of sources like written records, oral traditions, artifacts and archaeological finds to gather and analyse information about the past. They seek to provide accurate accounts of the past by giving importance to historical facts.

"Great literature is simply language charged with meaning to the utmost possible degree."

- Ezra Pound

Literature refers to the works such as poetry, prose, novels, fictions, dramas and all the other creative forms of writing and litterateur is a person who is well- versed in literature or devoted to the study and appreciation of literary works. The word 'literature' is derived from the Latin language and it means the use of letters or writing. Literature as an art form includes various genres or categories that an author uses to describe the theme and the tone of his/her writing. Here a litterateur uses a wide range of imagination in order to convey the ideas of the mind to the readers. Literature is the process of documenting maintaining and conveying knowledge and entertainment. This also have a social, psychological, spiritual or political role in the life of humans.

Relationship between History and Literature

The relationship between history and literature is quite strong as they often go hand in hand. But there are some differences in the themes that they cover. History can be said as the representation of his own story of man while literature can be said as the interpretation of what a man sees or feels. When subjective matters or personal elements are approved in literature, history truly relies on facts. This means, history tries to depict itself based on facts and in the case with literature, it can be taken as an artistic form. While history provides readers with the knowledge and a deeper understanding of the past with the assistance of facts, literature provides readers in entertainment with the assistance of the imagination of the writer.

History and literature are two different fields of life which are very much interconnected with the society. Therefore, the themes discussed by both the fields are capable of influencing the society and through society its people also. Hence, the writers should pay special attention while presenting contents through these two fields, history and literature. Clarity and factuality are the two basic essential qualities needed within the contents. But unlike history, which is based on facts, there may be some contradictions in the

case with literature. When a particular event is described on the basis of facts in history, the very same event can be altered in literature due to the writer's imagination. A discord between history and literature happens here. This particular context can be explained by considering the example of the Taj Mahal, the most beautiful building in the world and its architect, Ustad Isa.

The Ethereal Taj Mahal

It is a universally acknowledged fact that the Taj Mahal is an architectural marvel and there is no dispute in its position as one among the Seven Wonders of the World. The Taj Mahal is an ivory-white marble mausoleum on the banks of the river Yamuna in the Indian City Agra, Uttar Pradesh. It is widely considered as a symbol of eternal love as it was constructed by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan in memory of his beloved queen Mumtaz Mahal and till date there is perhaps no other monument which is as grandeur as the Taj. It is the finest example of Mughal architecture and is a blend of Indian, Persian and Islamic styles. Sir Edwin Arnold, the famous English poet and journalist, the author of the 1879 book, *The Light of Asia or The Great Renunciation*, had commented about the Taj Mahal as, "Not a piece of architecture, as other buildings are, but the proud passion of an emperor's love wrought in living stones".

The Taj Mahal is considered to be the greatest and the most sophisticated architectural achievement in the whole range of Indo- Islamic architecture. The workers who were behind in the construction of this marvel too have to get the appreciation. For its construction, stone cutters, masons, carvers, calligraphers, painters, dome builders and other skilled workers were hired from the whole of the Empire and also from the central Asia and Iran. It is said that 20,000 workers took 22 years to complete this ivory-white marble mausoleum .The importance and hard work of the workers behind the construction can be well identified from the comment of a famous author and realtor, Vinita Kinra and that is "Taj Mahal was built as a team; without a team,it was a far dream".

Ustad Isa and the Taj Mahal

The names of several designers and the architects are mentioned in the official Mughal histories and the probability is that they all would have worked together to complete this marvel called the Taj Mahal. Among these, the name of Ustad Ahmad Lahouri (Ustad Isa) is the most prominent one and he is credited with the title, the chief architect of the Taj Mahal. Ustad Isa is known by many other names like Ustad Khan Effendi, Isa Mohammed Effendi, Ustad Mohammed,Isa Affendi and Isa Khan.In history, it is mentioned that Ustad Isa first displayed a drawing which embodied all the qualities that a dream monument should possess to Shah Jahan .Then he made a small wooden model and this model was met with immediate royal approval. This way the construction of the Taj Mahal began and it was completed in the year 1653.

Fact vs Imagination

There are many myths prevalent about the Taj Mahal. One popular myth is that Shahjahan chopped off the hands of the workers after the completion of the mausoleum so that they could never build an exact replica or anything better to the Taj. But in history, there are no facts , evidences or documents to prove this and all these remain as myth itself. Facts are very important in history because pure history relies on them. Facts are also called the backbone of history.

"History consists of a corpus of ascertained facts. The facts are available to the historian in documents, inscriptions and so on, like fish on the fishmonger's slab. The historian collects them, take them home, and cooks and serves them in whatever style appeals to him." [Hallet, 1988]

The main thing that should be noted is that myths or legends often emerge around famous historical sites or buildings. These myths provide a mystery but they should be evaluated critically on the basis of reliable historical facts or documents. In the case of the Taj Mahal, there are no substantial evidences or facts to support the myth that workers hands were chopped off after the completion of it. On the other hand, there are evidences in some history books through which it can be clearly stated that the allegation of chopping hands is just a myth and not reality. In a book titled "The Taj Mahal" by David Carroll, it is clearly mentioned that this allegation is just a legend and in reality people know almost nothing about the architects who designed the Taj Mahal and the workers who were behind in its construction. Famous historian S. Irfan Habib once commented that this is only an urban myth or like a jibe on Shah Jahan and there is neither any evidence to support this story nor any credible historian has ever made this claim.

'Journal of Historical Research' published by the Department of History, Ranchi University in 1971 also addresses the story as an urban legend only. The famous journalist Manimugdha Sharma who has written various articles about the misinformation targeting the Taj Mahal, once said in an article for the Times of India that "This story contrasts with available evidence and a vast settlement called Taj Ganj that still exists today. It was set up by Emperor Shah Jahan to house the thousands of masons, artisans and other workers who had assembled from the distant parts of his empire. The descendants of those workers still live there and practice the skills of their forefathers." 'Taj Tours', the official website of the Taj Mahal published a blog on December 2021, addressing this myth and in this it hypothesise how the myth might have come about. It says "In reality Shah Jahan imposed a moral boundation on his workers that they cannot work for any emperor. In modern time, we call it as a contract between the emperor and his workers. So, the saying " hands of the workers were amputated" came into being as these workers could not seek new work from any other emperor."

This prevalent hand chop myth on Taj Mahal has been taken to literature and some writers wrote works based on it. But a difference in the treatment of this myth can be seen in literature. Literary works are chiefly meant for entertainment and to make it more creative and appealing the writer may use his/her power of imagination into it. Like this, the hand chop myth has also been treated in literature in a different perspective. Two works chosen from literature for a comparative study in handling themes between history and literature are ഹംസഗാനം (Hamsaganam) by Yusafali Kecheri and ഷാജഹാൻ ഒരു കഥപോലെ (Shajahan oru kadhapole) by P G Somanathan Nair. ഹംസഗാനം is a poem and it comes under the collection 'കവിതാ സർവ്വസ്വം' (kavitha sarvaswam). The theme mentioned by the poet is that Shah Jahan constructed this beautiful Taj Mahal on the basis of a miniature made by Ustad Isa and the thought of not producing anything similar or better to Taj Mahal made him chop the hands of its architect. The poem says,

“മുതാജിനോമയ്ക്കായിമട്ടി ഞാ മണി
മന്ദിരമൊന്നു പടുത്തുയർത്തും!”
വിശ്വാസദാഢ്യം സ്ഭരിക്കും വിധമൊന്നു
നിശ്ചയിച്ചേവമരുളിമനസ്സു

ചേതോഹരം ആകുമി ശില്പം നിമിത്തം-
തേയുവിദഗ്ദ്ധമാം കൈകൾ ആണോ,
സംതൃപ്തർ ഷാജഹാൻ നീകും വിചിത്രമാം

സമ്മാനം എന്നവയ്ക്കുള്ളത് അത്ര!

“മറ്റൊന്നും കാണാത്ത മറ്റൊരു സ്‌മാരക-
മന്ദിരം തീർക്കാൻ പ്രതിജ്ഞ ചെയ്തേ.
ആകയാൽ എന്നുമീ മിന്നൽ കിടയറ്റ-
താകണം ആ മണി മഞ്ജുസുതം!”

ഈ മട്ടിലോരോന്നു ചിന്തിച്ചു ചിന്തിച്ചു
തീരുമാനമെന്തോ കൈകൊണ്ട് പോലെ,
മഞ്ജുളഹിമ്യ മധിരര മുകുത
വഞ്ചിച്ചു മനവർ: “ആരവിടെ?”

പാരിനൊ പൊന്നാട ചാർത്തിക്കും ആദിത്യ-
ചാരുകരങ്ങൾ അറുത്തു മാറ്റി,
ദില്ലിയിൽ അപ്പോഴൊരു ആകാശവീഥിയിൽ
മെല്ലെ പരന്നു കറുത്ത മേഘം! (Kecheri, 2004)

Another work of literature in which the hand chop theme has been adapted is *ഷാജഹാൻ* ഒരു കഥപോലെ by P G Somanathan Nair. It is a novel and is produced with a first person narrative point of view of Shah Jahan. Emperor Shah Jahan, who built a heaven on Earth for his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal to sleep endlessly, tells his own life story in this novel. It reveals the story of his past sins, betrayal, hatred and even patricide. In the 33rd chapter of the novel, the novelist clearly states that,

“ലോകത്തിന്റെ ഏതു കോണിലായാലും അത്തരക്കാരെ ഞാൻ തിരഞ്ഞു പിടിക്കും എന്റെ ആദേശങ്ങൾ ഞാൻ അവരെക്കൊണ്ട് ശിരസാ നിറുവഹിപ്പിക്കും... താജിന്റെ ആലേഖനങ്ങൾക്ക് വേണ്ടി ലോകപ്രസിദ്ധ ആലേഖന ശില്പി ശിറാസിലെ അമാനത്ത് ഖാനും കുന്ദഗോപുരം താഴികകുടങ്ങളുടെയും സൂക്ഷ്മ പാലിക്കാൻ തൃപ്പിണിയിലെ പ്രസിദ്ധ ശില്പി ഇസ്മായിൽ അഭിനിയുമായിരിക്കും ഇവിടെ ഉണ്ടാകുക അവസാനം പണി പൂർത്തിയായി കഴിയുമ്പോൾ ഞാൻ അവരുടെ കൈകൾ വിച്ഛേദിക്കും”

(Somanathan, 2018)

Conclusion

History and literature are said to be closely connected because history is often reflected in literature and literature has the potential to affect history. While history is a representation of man, literature is an interpretation by man. What history intends to do is to record events as accurately as possible and on the other hand literature tries to interpret historical events in an imaginative way. This way both history and literature vary in the handling of themes. Literature is a work of art and the many themes including history or historical events come as themes in literature. To make his work of art better, a writer often incorporates his power of imagination into it. When a writer does this to his history themed works, a discord happens between history and literature because those works would be a kind of contradiction to a person who reads literature with a background of history. But to a person who reads only literature

and without the support of history, these literary works show another side of history. Since literature has the ability to influence human mind, readers take it on faith when they read such literary works and in a way it tends to misrepresent history. Therefore it would be better if the writer can approach with a fictitious note while dealing the historical themes because it will work as a warning not to the readers that the writer's imagination has also become part of the work and the readers should not take it as granted that it is the fact. Not only this, the fictitious note provided by the litterateur will help the readers to read history and literature as separate.

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MEDIEVAL MARVELS: UNVEILING THE MYSTIQUE KAITHALI AND KATTILMAADAM TEMPLES

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Medieval Architecture of Kerala

Kerala, a picturesque state in southern India, is renowned for its rich cultural heritage. One of its most striking facets is the awe-inspiring medieval architecture of its temples. According To The Archaeological Survey of India, architecture in Kerala began in The Early Part Of The Ninth Century In The Age of Kulasekharas. This is attributable to the political revival of the Cheras, accompanied by religious upheaval, giving birth to temples built more or less in permanent material.ⁱ

These Sacred Edifices, Often Hidden Amidst Lush Greenery, Stand As A Testament To The Remarkable Architectural And Artistic Prowess That Flourished During The Medieval Period In The Region. The Architecture Of Kerala Temples Is A Captivating Fusion Of Indigenous Dravidian Styles, Enriched By Influences From Diverse Cultures, Including Those Of The Chera, Chola, Pandya, And Vijayanagara Dynasties. The Architectural Character Of Kerala Temples Is Defined By Several Distinctive Features That Set Them Apart From Their Counterparts In Other Parts Of India. The Following Are Key Elements Of Medieval Temple Architecture In Kerala:

Gopurams (Tower Entrances): These Towering Gateways Are Adorned With Intricate Carvings And Sculptures, Serving As The Threshold To The Sacred Precinct. The Gopurams Often Display Narrative Reliefs From Hindu Mythology, Creating A Captivating Visual Experience For Pilgrims And Visitors Alike.

Sreekovil (Sanctum Sanctorum): The Heart Of A Kerala Temple Is The Sreekovil, The Sanctum Sanctorum That Houses The Principal Deity. The Inner Sanctum Is Typically Constructed Using Stone Or Wood, With A Pyramidal Roof Known As The Vimana Or Shikhara.

Wooden Architecture: Kerala temples are renowned for their exquisite wooden architecture. Intricately carved wooden ceilings, Columns, And Roof Structures Are A Hallmark Of These Temples, Showcasing The Mastery Of Local Artisans.

Open Courtyards: Temples in Kerala often feature expansive open courtyards surrounded by colonial lands. These Courtyards Provide Space For Rituals, Performances, And Gatherings, Creating A Sense Of Community And Spirituality.

Koothambalam (Dance Pavilion): Many Temples Have Dedicated Spaces for Traditional Art Forms, such as Kathakali and Mohiniyattam. The Koothambalam is a uniquely designed area for these performances, characterised by its wooden architecture and vibrant frescoes.

Stone Sculptures: The Exteriors Of Kerala Temples Are Adorned With Exquisite Stone Sculptures That Tell Mythological Stories and Showcase the Craftsmanship And Artistic Sensibilities Of The Era.

Water Bodies and Gardens: Temples in Kerala Often Feature Sacred Ponds And Lush Gardens, Creating A Serene And Tranquil Ambience And Symbolizing The Harmony Between Nature And Spirituality.

The Architecture Of Kerala Temples has Evolved Over The Centuries, With Influences From Different Dynasties And Regions. The Intricate Detailing And Use Of Wood Are Inspired By Dravidian Architecture, While The Massive Gopurams Bear The Stamp Of Later Influences, such as the

Vijayanagara Style. This blend of various architectural elements has given rise to the unique style found in Kerala.

The Medieval Architecture Of Temples In Kerala is an architectural marvel and reflects the region's cultural and spiritual identity. These Temples Continue To Be A Source Of Inspiration, Attracting Devotees, Scholars, And Art Enthusiasts From Around The World.

In Contrast, To This Predominantly Dravidian Style, Kerala Also Boasts Unique Rock-Cut Shrines That Bear Testimony To An Entirely Different Architectural Tradition. Some Of The Rock-Cut Shrines In Central And Southern Kerala May Be Listed As The Oldest Surviving Specimens Of Architecture In The Region. Notably, locations like Kallil near Perumbavur and Chitral near Kulithura were initially Considered Chain temples. Still, they Were Later Transformed Into Hindu Temples, Displaying The Unmistakable Influence Of The Pallava Pandya Tradition. These Cave Shrines, Which May Have Belonged To The Period Of The 8th To The 19th Century, Showcase A Distinct Contrast To The More Traditional Temple Architecture Seen In The Region.ⁱⁱ

Kattilmadam

Kattilmadam Is A Historical Monument Situated Near Koottupatha, Along The Palakkad Guruvayur State Highway In Kerala, India. This Protected Site, Under The Supervision Of The Department Of Archaeology, Government Of Kerala, Showcases Unique Architectural Features. Believed To Date Back To The 11th Century, It Is Constructed From Granite And Exhibits Design Elements Reminiscent Of Early Pandya Or Chola Traditions. ⁱⁱⁱThe Temple Includes A Square Garbagriha (Sanctum Sanctorum), An Integrated Ardhamandapa, An Octagonal Griva And Shikhara, Both Carved From A Single Solid Stone. This Temple Is Of The Nirandhara Style, With An Internal Circumbulatory Passage. Notably, Its Adisthana Features Distinct Tiers Such As Upana, Jagathi, Flattish, Vritha Kumuda, Kantha, And Pattikas. The Temple's Vedika Serves As The Foundation For Kudyastambhas (Supporting Pillars) And Torana Arches—Corner Pilasters With Makara And Torana Decorations Adorn The Walls. The Prastara (Entablature) Of Kattilmadam Displays Well-Defined Uthara, Vajana, Vallabhi, Bhothamala, And Kapota With Kudas, Blending Early Architectural Styles With The Typical Kerala Tradition.^{iv}

Kattilmadam's Exact Religious Or Historical Origin Remains A Subject Of Debate, With Differing Opinions Suggesting It May Have Been A Jain Basti Constructed By Jain Monks Or A Buddhist Temple Established By Monks Sent By Emperor Asoka. However, There Are No Definitive Records Or Sources To Confirm Its Religious Affiliation Or Category.

The Monument Is Situated Near Koottupatha, A Small Town Along The Palakkad Guruvayur State Highway, And It's Named After The Place Itself, Kattilmadam. While It Carries A Rich Historical Tradition, Its Details Remain Elusive Due To A Lack Of Authentic Sources. At One Point, The Government Contemplated Relocating The Monument To Widen The State Highway, Which Sparked Protests. However, On January 6, 1976, The Government Officially Declared It A Historical Monument Under The Department Of Archaeology, Government Of Kerala. The Site Is Visible To All Travelers, But It's Devoid Of Rituals Or Sacrifices And Has Been Somewhat Forgotten By The Local Populace.

The Monument Is Made From Rock, And The Original Construction Materials Have Ensured Its Durability Over The Years. It Remains Largely Undamaged. Notably, Kattilmadam Is Carved From A Single Rock, And It Features Intricate Ornamentation. While some have attempted to classify it as Buddhist or Jain based on these ornamentations, there still needs to be a definitive classification.^v

Kattilmadam Lacks An Idol, And Authentic Sources About Its Purpose Are Scarce, Leading To Various Unconfirmed Theories. The construction resembles a cave temple because it uses rock, features an entrance, and internal ornamentation. Its Top Is A Dome-Like Structure With Engravings. While There Are No Documented Dimensions For The Monument, Its Inner Space Is Limited, Accommodating Only One Or Two Individuals. Local Accounts Suggest There Was Once A Well Inside, But It Has Since Been Closed Off To Prevent Accidents.

The Engravings And Ornamentation Are Notable Features, Yet No Scripts Or Edicts Have Been Identified. The most remarkable architectural aspect is that the upper and lower parts are stacked without any binding materials, which is a testament to their enduring strength. Some scholars suggest that many Jain temples are accompanied by wells or ponds, which means not only for the temple but also for the benefit of all living organisms. It's Believed That A Similar Well Existed Within Kattilmadam.

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Kaithali Temple

The Temple Kaithali, whose principal deity is Mahadeva, is four kilometres east of Valancheri Junction on Koppam Road and sixteen Kilometres Northwest of Pattambi.

Through The East Of The Temple, The River Thoothappuzha Flows Closely, Which Is A Tributary Of Bharatappuzha. This Very Ancient Temples Premise Is At Thiruveappura, Pattambi. The Temple Includes Three Important Deities: Lord Mahadeva, Lord Sankaranarayana And Lord Maha Vishnu. Sree Maha Vishnu And Sree Mahadeva Shrines Are Very Old, Datable Back To At Least Three Millennia. *vi

Sreekovils Exist For Both Shiva And Vishnu Deities, And Both Were Constructed Long Ago. However, In Comparison To The Srikovil, The Siva Is Significantly Older. The Legend Says That Sree Garuda, The Vehicle Of Lord Vishnu, consecrated the Idol Of Mahadeva. The Temple Was An Exhibition Of Pallava Style Of Construction. A significant feature of medieval architecture in Kerala, such as rock-cut structures, is that The Sreekovil was built on a single rock, unavailable in the Kerala Region. That emphasises the Importance Of The Structure. Unfortunately, The Evidence Of The Origin Of The Temple Was Unavailable

Myths Surrounding The Structures

A Lingered Myth Surrounds The Construction Of Kaithali Temple And Kattilmaadam Temple. The Tale Goes That Goblins Or Boothathans built Pattambi's Kaithali Temple, which remains An Unfinished Monolithic Structure. According to legend, Kattilmaadam was originally the roof of the Kaithali Temple, where goblins were constructed at a distant location. When They Reached Koottupatha, They Abandoned The Granite Roof By The Roadside Upon Seeing The First Rays Of The Rising Sun, Believed To Break The Spell Of Goblins. The Proximity Of Kattilmaadam To Kaithali Temple Adds To This Belief. Kaithali Temple Itself Appears Unfinished, With The Myth Suggesting That Kattilmaadam Was Meant To Be Its Upper Part.

Interestingly, despite this myth, people have not considered Kattilmaadam part of Kaithali Temple for worship. Some Scholars Believe There Was A Takeover Of Jain and Buddhist Temples And Monuments, With Many Being Abducted into Brahmanical Religion. However, Kattilmaadam Seems To Be An Exception To This Pattern.

Local Residents Near Koottupatha Have A Different Version Of The Myth, Claiming That Kattilmaadam Was Built By A Devil Known As Chekuthan. Allegedly, He Dug Seventeen And A Half Wells Overnight, And The Soil He Excavated Formed A Nearby Hill Called 'Kottottikkunnu.' Just Like The Previous Myth, The Devil Abandoned The Construction At The Break Of Dawn. Some Say It Was Due To The Presence Of A Nearby Mosque And The Islamic Call To Prayer, 'Subhi Bank,' Scared Him Away. The Wells And Kottottikkunnu Are Close To The Monument, But The Origin Of This Myth Remains A Mystery.

These Myths Surrounding Monuments Often Serve As Explanations For Things Beyond Human Control Or Understanding. Primitive Societies Worshipped Natural Forces For The Same Reason. While The Myth Might Be An Exaggeration, It Reflects The Belief That The People Of That Time Couldn't Have Created Such A Massive Rock Structure Without Divine Help. The Idea Of Attributing It To A Devil Or Evil Forces Likely Emerged For This Reason.

Additionally, Kattilmaadam Is Believed To Have Been A Trade Route With Historical Significance. 'Chumaduthanghi' And 'Sambarapathi' Structures Were Present Nearby, Indicating Its Role As A Resting Place Or Inn For Travelers And Traders. Memories Of Wells Inside Kattilmaadam Suggest It Offered Basic Facilities To Those Passing Through. Over time, as foot travel decreased, the monument's significance was waned, and its origin myths began to circulate.

The 'Chumaduthanghi' structures that were once seen along the road need to be included, perhaps destroyed or removed by those unaware of the rich historical tradition associated with them.

Assumptions and Interpretations

Kaithali and Kattilmaadam are two important marvellous rock structures In Kerala. It exhibits the features of the medieval architecture of Kerala, which was a contribution To Chera, Chola, Pandya, and Pallavas. The Prominent Kaithali Temple Was Built In the 9th Century BC And Was Protected Under

the Archeological Survey Of India In 1982. Katilmadam Is A Solitary Throne, A Structure Of Significant Importance. It Exudes A Sense Of Uniqueness. However, Its Placement Is Unusual; It Seems To Have Been Discarded Or Relegated To An Unimportant Location Intentionally, Despite Its Apparent Significance. This Neglect Is Puzzling, Considering Its Apparent Importance—evidence Where Found On The Origin Of These Temples. However, The Legends On Its Origin has cross Sections. There Is A Legend That Says The Kattilmadam Was An Upper Portion of the Roof Of The Temple Kaithali. Still, One Of The Structures of Kattilmadam Was Tangled In Devilish Stories. However, The Other Kaithali Got Prominence And Acceptance And Developed Into A Privileged Hindu Temple. No Community Was Ready To Claim Any Rights Over Kattilmadam. This Increases The Enthusiasm As a passionate Aspirant Of History. The Structure Have No Deities. From The Oral Tradition I Gathered The Information That There Existed A Well Inside The Structure And The Residing People Of That Place filled it Up.^{vii}

People Of That Place Say That Certain Chumaduthangis Existed Built In Laterite From This Structure To Koottupatha. But All These Chumaduthangis Were Demolished^{viii}. And Another Structure Like A Mandapa With Three Light Stands In Rock Along With A Nagashila Which Has A Relation With Jainism. From the field evidence and sight inference, I strongly believe that Kattle Madam has a long history tradition that is still unravelled. I Assume It Might Be A Light House Or A Granary that used To Store The Grains Or Agricultural Products Or May Be a Temporary Collecting Point For Further transportation of Food Grains. The Great Agricultural Tradition Of Pattambi Also Helps To Woven This Assumption.

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ETHNIC CRISIS AND THE TAMILS AT THE LAST STAGE OF WAR IN MULLIVAICKAL

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Tamil Nadu

Mullivaikkal is a village in the Mullaitivu district of Vanni, the northern region of Sri Lanka. It was here that the Sri Lankan army launched a brutal, all-out offensive against the Tamil Tigers with over 350,000 Tamil civilians trapped and became a war zone. Earlier, the Sri Lankan air force had dropped leaflets over the village urging Tamil civilians to come to government-controlled “safe zones,” also known as “No Fire Zones.” When the civilians took heed and moved to “safety” as directed, the Sri Lankan forces indiscriminately shelled the civilians, including children, using artillery bombardment and aerial bombing. The actions of the Sri Lankan military forces in Mullivaikkal are not to be mistaken simply for neglect or ignorance because the facts sum up to a calculated, premeditated genocide. The fact that the Sri Lankan government prohibited independent media from entering the combat region and kicked out human rights organisations from the area before the offensive further exposes this. Under the guise of “counter-insurgency” and fighting “terrorism,” the Sri Lankan government not only denies any responsibility for what it did in Mullivaikkal, it wouldn’t allow independent forensic investigations of the massacre sites. Moreover, in the aftermath of the genocide, only the Sri Lankan military had access to the sites to “clean up” the land, when really what was likely being cleaned up was the evidence of a massacre.

In the months leading up to the Mullivaikkal genocide, the so-called “international community” and the international media fell silent. Throughout the period of killings of Tamils by the Sri Lankan Army, the United Nations under Ban Ki-moon adopted a position of neutrality. During the months of the Sri Lankan army’s offensive, not a single meeting was held at the Security Council or any other top UN bodies to discuss the Sri Lankan military’s targeting of Tamil civilians. Using the 1979 Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) that gives the Sri Lankan police wide powers, Tamils who are merely suspected of any connection to or as being sympathetic to the Tamil Tigers are being subject to arbitrary imprisonment, disappearances and severe torture. Many survivors of the Mullivaikkal genocide who were taken prisoner are still not released. Tamils are held in detention for years without being charged because of a lack of evidence. From January 2009 through May 2009, which were by far the most deadly months of the war, the Sri Lankan government declared “no-fire zones” where hundreds of thousands of Tamil civilians gathered to avoid fighting between the Sri Lankan military and the LTTE. After concentrating Tamil civilians in these tight strips of land, the Sri Lankan military systematically and repeatedly shelled these safety zones. Additionally, even though the International Committee of the Red Cross provided coordinates of hospitals to the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE to ensure they would not be targeted, the Sri Lankan military used these coordinates to systematically and repeatedly destroy the hospitals in the war zone using aerial bombardment.

The Sri Lankan government even restricted humanitarian aid, such as food and medicine, to Tamil civilians. Furthermore, the Sri Lankan armed forces stand accused of rampant sexual violence, extrajudicial killings, and torture during these months. By May 18, 2009, the LTTE had been militarily defeated and eventually ceased to exist. Tens of thousands of Tamils who surrendered to the government, some affiliated with the LTTE and some not, were loaded in Sri Lankan government vehicles and taken

away. Their whereabouts remain unknown today. According to the UN, Sri Lanka has the world's second-highest number of enforced disappearances. The number of Tamil civilians who died during the final months of the civil war is often disputed, mainly because independent witnesses were not allowed in the war zone, and the whereabouts of the disappeared civilians remain unknown. A UN report in 2011 initially estimated that 40,000 Tamil civilians died during the months of January to May 2009, but an internal UN report in 2012 revised that estimate to at least 70,000 civilians. Population data from the World Bank indicates that over 100,000 Tamils remain unaccounted for from the final months of the war. The UN and international human rights organisations have accused the Sri Lankan government of committing grave war crimes and crimes against humanity during the final months of the war. After providing an initial death toll of 40,000, the UN found evidence suggesting that 70,000 were killed. Local census records indicate that at least 146,679 people are unaccounted for and presumed to have been killed. By examining different sources, including the United Nations, census figures and World Bank data, the International Truth and Justice Project (ITJP) found that the highest estimate of those killed during that final phase could be as large as 169,796. The UN Panel Report describes how "from as early as 6 February 2009, the Sri Lankan Army continuously shelled within the area that became the second NFZ, from all directions, including land, air and sea. It is estimated that 300,000 and 330,000 civilians were in that small area. The SLA assault employed aerial bombardment, long-range artillery, howitzers and MBRLs, as well as small mortars, RPGs and small arms fire; some of it fired from a close range. Benjamin Dix, a former UN staffer in northern Sri Lanka during the war, said, "It is very fair to say that the (Sri Lankan) Army committed genocide" against the Tamil people. On the other hand, the LTTE was notorious for its frequent use of suicide bombers, which often targeted civilians and its forced recruitment of child soldiers. During the final months of the war, the LTTE held over 300,000 Tamil civilians hostage and shot several civilians who attempted to flee LTTE-controlled areas. However, it should be noted that the Sri Lankan military caused the vast majority of deaths in the final months of the war. Moreover, unlike militant groups, governments have a fundamental responsibility to protect all their civilians regardless of their ethnicity or religion.

In 2009, the Sri Lankan government not only failed to protect Tamil civilians but deliberately murdered tens of thousands of them. Each year, on May 18, which is known as Mullivaikkal Remembrance Day, Tamils in Sri Lanka and around the world remember those who were killed or disappeared in 2009. Although Mullivaikkal is the name of the village where the war ended, today, the term 'Mullivaikkal' refers to all the mass atrocities that were perpetrated against the Tamil people at the end of the war. In Sri Lanka, efforts to mourn the Mullivaikkal massacre are often suppressed by the Sri Lankan state, which has increasingly militarised the northern part of the island since the end of the armed conflict. A Mullivaikkal memorial monument at the University of Jaffna was bulldozed in compliance with orders from the government. Even though the civil war ended in 2009, Tamils in Sri Lanka continue to face persecution today. Sinhala-Buddhist extremists, often in direct collaboration with the Sri Lankan military and police, have been demolishing several Hindu temples in predominantly Hindu areas and replacing them with Buddhist temples. A Buddhist monk, alongside police officers, blocked Tamil Hindu worshippers from visiting the Rajavanthan Hindu shrine in Trincomalee in eastern Sri Lanka. The Rajavanthan shrine and Maanikka Pillayar Temple at this site were destroyed. Efforts, such as Sinhalization or Buddhization, are aimed at transforming the character of these areas from being Tamil-Hindu to Sinhala-Buddhist. Since the end of the civil war in 2009, Tamils in Sri Lanka and the diaspora have demanded accountability and justice for mass atrocities perpetrated during the final months of the war. Since 2017, Tamil families of the disappeared have been protesting daily, demanding answers about the whereabouts of their loved ones who went missing in 2009. These protests, which have been largely

women-led, demand an international investigation into the mass atrocities perpetrated against the Tamil people since domestic judicial mechanisms have repeatedly failed to deliver justice for Tamils in Sri Lanka. The families of the disappeared live in constant agony, not knowing the whereabouts of their family members. They need answers. An international inquiry into the Mullivaikkal massacre would look into alleged violations of international law committed by Sri Lankan political leaders, Sri Lankan military leaders, and the LTTE.

Holding individuals accountable for their crimes is crucial to prevent these atrocities from occurring again. Additionally, Tamils in Sri Lanka continue to demand a long-term political solution that recognises the Tamils' right to self-determination. This does not necessarily entail a separate country for Tamils. Before and after the civil war, the political demands of Tamils in Sri Lanka have largely been based on the principle of federalism, where power is shared between the national government and provincial governments. At present, Sri Lanka plunged into its worst economic crisis since the country gained independence from the British. People all over the island suffer from soaring prices and food, fuel, and medicine shortages. Several factors are behind the crisis, but many relate to the Sri Lankan government's extremely negligent management of its economy. Massive protests across Sri Lanka have demanded that Sri Lanka's current president and recently resigned prime minister be held accountable for the current crisis. It is worth noting that both of these men are also war criminals who are partially responsible for orchestrating the genocide in Mullivaikkal. The dire economic crisis has resulted in an unprecedented political reckoning among Sri Lankans, particularly the Sinhalese youth, as they question their leaders in ways they never have before. In the protests, there has even been some acknowledgement of past wrongdoings committed against the Tamils and other marginalised groups. Whether this is a temporary display of solidarity or a moment that will lead to long-lasting change for Tamils in Sri Lanka is yet to be seen. The Mullivaikkal Memorial or Mullivaikkal Muttram is a memorial dedicated to the Mullivaikkal massacre, the killings of Tamil civilians during the final phase of the war between Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and Sri Lankan armed forces at Mullivaikkal in 2009. A considerable number of women victims of the war are very young – some of them are those who got married when they were as young as 15 years of age. Among them are many women who have lost their husbands after having surrendered them to the army during the final days of the war. Among them are ex-combatant women who continue to be under surveillance by the army. After the end of the armed conflict in Sri Lanka, women in the island's North and East are still waiting for justice and truth for human rights violations. Among the bold promises made by the government to the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2015, only an Office on Missing Persons was established in March 2018, two years after the Act of Parliament relating to its creation was passed. There are no signs of the promised Truth Commission, a special hybrid court and an office to provide Reparations.

A study by research organisation International Centre for Ethnic Studies (ICES) shows that as many as 50-60% of women have lost their homes or have had homes damaged during the war. Reconstructing their homes is an added financial burden, as housing reconstruction requires significant capital. For women in male-headed households, damage to housing is associated with a 30% increased probability of engaging in market work. Many young women were school-going girls during the beginning of the conflict. They had to abandon their studies due to displacement and subsequent early marriages, which their parents imposed on them to escape forced recruitment by the militants. With the end of the war, many of them found themselves to be widowed and with one or two children. Women in the North and East have been more affected by the conflict and its aftermath than any other group in Sri Lanka. Tens of thousands of war widows and wives of the missing have been forced to become primary income

earners, leaving behind traditional domestic roles and entering the public realm to engage politically, economically and socially.

Although the Civil War ended in 2009, the current situation in Sri Lanka has only partially improved. A large portion of the Tamil population remains displaced. While there are fewer political and civil rights issues, instances of torture and enforced disappearances persist even in recent years. Moreover, the Sri Lankan government often surveils and tracks people linked to LTTE. The Sri Lankan military still occupies predominantly Tamil areas designated as “high-security zones,” though to a lesser extent than during the war. The government’s Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) targets mostly Tamils. In a more subtle sense, the Sri Lankan government continues to disenfranchise the Tamil community. Through the process of “Sinhalization”, for instance, Sinhalese culture has slowly replaced that of the Tamil population. Sinhalese monuments, road signs, street and village names, and Buddhist places of worship became more common in predominantly Tamil areas. These efforts have infringed upon, and in some cases even erased, the Tamil perspective on Sri Lankan history, as well as Tamil and Hindu elements of the country’s culture. Perhaps the conflict has devolved into an ethnic issue, but it did not start that way. It may not stay that way, either. The Sri Lankan government has alienated the Tamil minority since the civil war ended, but, more recently, it has come to disappoint its Sinhalese constituency as well. The government’s actions since the end of the civil war have become increasingly undemocratic for Tamils and Sinhalese alike. Its response to the Black Lives Matter protests, for example, was only the latest instance in which the government exercised an unprecedented amount of power.

The Sri Lankan government began growing its power during the civil war—a conflict that stemmed from ethnic tensions rooted in the legacy of British imperialism on the island. The government continues to expand its authority now, many years later. What this means for the future of Sri Lanka is unclear. Still, one thing is for sure: even if the wounds caused by the Sri Lankan Civil War and its accompanying ethnic divisions heal, the country will remain haunted by much more significant structural issues in its history and government. However, a unified citizenry in Sri Lanka could be a powerful tool in responding to its government’s growing power. Ethnic unity on the island may be the key to a more secure future.

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THE ROLE OF GADDHAR IN THE TELANGANA MOVEMENT

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Introduction to the Telangana Movement

The world of politics is riddled with symbols. From flags fluttering high to iconic images that echo through the ages, symbols can define, represent, and empower movements. In the kaleidoscope of the Telangana movement, a pivotal symbol emerged, not as a tangible object but as a soulful voice that echoed the sentiments of millions – Gaddhar.

Telangana, a region rich in history and cultural heritage, has always been more than just a geographical entity in southern India. It's a land of stories, sacrifices, struggles, and aspirations. And while the tale of its fight for statehood is filled with numerous heroes and countless faceless warriors, one name resonates with unmatched intensity: Gummadi Vittal Rao, popularly known by his pseudonym, Gaddhar.

Gaddhar was not just an individual; he was a phenomenon. Born in the small village of Toopran in the Medak district, Gaddhar grew up amidst the rich tapestry of folk traditions and the raw narratives of rural India. His early life exposed him to the socio-economic disparities prevalent in society, shaping his perspectives and nurturing a revolutionary spirit within him. Imagine a young boy amidst Telangana's lush fields, internalising the peasants' struggles, the tales of their hardships, and dreaming of a land where justice wasn't just a word but a lived reality. This is where Gaddhar's story begins.

His formative years were marked by an immersion in leftist ideologies and a growing awareness of the plight of the downtrodden. But Gaddhar's true genius lay in his ability to merge his revolutionary spirit with his innate talent for music. For him, music wasn't just an art form but a powerful medium of expression. His songs, steeped in the rich folk tradition of Telangana, became anthems of resistance. It was like lighting a fire in a vast dark forest. His voice became the beacon that drew people together, united them in purpose, and channelled their collective energies towards the demand for a separate state.

To truly grasp Gaddhar's role, it's essential to understand the backdrop against which the Telangana movement unfurled. After India's independence in 1947, the states were primarily organised based on linguistic similarities. Telangana, with its dominant Telugu-speaking populace, was merged with the Andhra region, leading to the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. However, this merger soon unveiled various socio-political and economic disparities between the two areas. Despite its abundant resources, Telangana was marginalised, and the dominant Andhra leadership overshadowed its interests. This gave rise to a sense of discontent, which, over time, evolved into a full-blown demand for a separate state.

In this crucible of passion and protest, Gaddhar's voice emerged as the soul of the Telangana movement. His songs, with their poignant lyrics and haunting melodies, captured the essence of the region's struggle. They narrated tales of pain, hope, resistance, and the undying spirit of the Telangana people. More than just songs, they were the heartbeat of a movement, evoking emotions, stirring consciences, and mobilising masses.

Remember, this was an era without the pervasive influence of social media. Communication avenues were limited, and rallying people around a cause required more than just viral content. It needed soul, authenticity, and an undeniable emotional connection. Gaddhar provided all of this and more. His

performances weren't mere musical events; they were gatherings of solidarity, where every lyric sung and every note struck resonated with the people's dreams and aspirations.

One might wonder, what about music gives it such formidable power? Think of it as raindrops on parched soil. Just as every drop seeps in, nourishing the roots and bringing life to a barren landscape, Gaddhar's songs permeated the hearts and minds of the people, rejuvenating their spirits and strengthening their resolve. In an age of political speeches and rhetoric, his music was refreshingly genuine and heartfelt, making it an unstoppable force that the establishment found hard to ignore.

As with all influential figures, Gaddhar's journey wasn't without challenges. He faced arrests and threats and was often at odds with the establishment. But in the face of adversity, his resolve only strengthened. For him, the Telangana movement wasn't just a political struggle but a deeply personal quest intertwined with his identity and his undying love for his homeland.

Gaddhar's role in the Telangana movement is a testament to the unparalleled power of art in shaping socio-political narratives. Through his music, he gave voice to the voiceless, hope to the despondent, and redefined the essence of revolutionary spirit. While the history of Telangana's fight for statehood is vast and complex, the echoes of Gaddhar's songs will forever remain an integral chapter in this epic tale.

Historical Background

The Telangana Movement, demanding a separate statehood for the region, has been a long, complex, and multifaceted struggle. The movement has witnessed various phases for several decades, from peaceful protests to intense agitations. In this grand tapestry of resistance and demand for identity, one thread shines brightly, telling the story of a man who gave voice to the aspirations of millions - Gummadi Vittal Rao, fondly remembered as Gaddhar.

Origins of Gaddhar

Born in 1949 in the village of Toopran in Medak district, Gaddhar's early life reflected the typical rural setting in Telangana. He grew up amidst tales of feudal oppression, agrarian struggles, and the rich folk culture of the region. These foundational experiences would later play a significant role in shaping his music and his active participation in the Telangana Movement.

Gaddhar's Political Awakening

During college, Gaddhar was introduced to leftist ideologies and the Naxalite movement. His affiliation with radical left ideologies and participation in revolutionary activities solidified his commitment to fighting for the oppressed. During this time, he adopted the name 'Gaddhar', symbolising revolt, rebellion, and resistance.

The Power of Song

What set Gaddhar apart from other activists was his unique blend of revolutionary ideology with traditional folk music. He realised that while speeches and slogans might fade, a song could live forever and be passed down through generations. By infusing his compositions with tales of struggle, resistance, and hope, Gaddhar made the plight of Telangana relatable and palpable. His songs, resonating with raw emotion, became the anthems of the movement.

Role in the 1969 Agitation

The demand for a separate Telangana state intensified in 1969. This movement phase saw a large-scale public uprising, with students at the forefront. Gaddhar played a pivotal role by mobilising the masses

through his soulful renditions. His songs inspired the participants and documented the events, bridging the gap between the educated urban youth and the rural masses.

Journey through the Years

As the years progressed, so did the intensity of the Telangana Movement. Gaddhar's participation was not limited to singing; he actively engaged with people, organised events, and participated in rallies and protests. He faced numerous challenges, including arrests and threats, but remained undeterred. His home in Secunderabad became a hub for intellectuals, activists, and artists who supported the cause.

Legacy in the 2000s and Statehood Achievement

The demand for Telangana's statehood gained new momentum in the 2000s. By this time, Gaddhar was a revered figure, and his songs from the previous decades were reintroduced to a new generation. He was involved in the Joint Action Committee, crucial in leading the final push for Telangana's statehood. When the dream was finally realised in 2014, with the formation of Telangana as India's 29th state, Gaddhar's contribution was widely acknowledged and celebrated.

Gaddhar's involvement in the Telangana Movement is emblematic of the power of art in socio-political struggles. His songs, rich in folk traditions and revolutionary fervour, provided a soundtrack to the aspirations and struggles of the Telangana people. While Gaddhar passed away in 2019, his legacy continues to inspire, reminding everyone of his profound role in shaping Telangana's history and identity.

The State Reorganization Act and Gaddhar's Resounding Influence

India, having secured independence in 1947, embarked on a herculean task of unifying a vast and diverse land. The State Reorganization Act of 1956 was a historic and ambitious attempt to reorganise the political map of India, primarily based on linguistic similarities.

Telangana, a region deeply rooted in history and culture, predominantly spoke Telugu. On paper, it seemed logical to merge it with Andhra, another Telugu-speaking region, to form Andhra Pradesh. But was the union harmonious? Far from it. It was akin to mixing oil and water, where each retained its distinct identity, rarely blending seamlessly. Despite sharing linguistic ties, these regions' socio-political and economic landscapes differed vastly. Even with its abundant resources, Telangana found itself on the periphery, its interests often sidelined by the dominant Andhra leadership. This laid the foundation for the impending struggle for identity and statehood.

Gaddhar's Influence in the Movement: The Torchbearer of Telangana

Every revolution has its symbols, and in the case of the Telangana movement, it was the soulful voice of Gaddhar. But what made Gaddhar and his songs so influential? It wasn't just the melody or the rhythm; the raw, unfiltered emotion and the poignant tales of struggle resonated deeply with the masses. In Gaddhar, the people of Telangana found a voice that echoed their sentiments, aspirations, and dreams.

Songs of Protest: Anthems for the Heart and Soul

Picture a gathering. Thousands have come together, united by a common cause. Amidst this sea of humanity, a voice rises, singing, "Ooru Manadi Ra, Ee Vada Manadi Ra". The crowd joins in, and the collective energy is palpable. Gaddhar's songs were more than just music; they were declarations of intent, pledges of allegiance to the land and its people. They gave the movement an identity, a soundtrack that chronicled its journey.

Mobilising the Masses: The Power of Melody

Music, with its intrinsic ability to touch the soul, has always been a powerful tool for mobilisation. Gaddhar's songs transcended boundaries and united individuals from diverse backgrounds by a shared dream. Young or old, man or woman, rich or poor - his music spoke to all. It was a rallying cry, a source of inspiration, a reminder of the cause, and the dream of a separate statehood.

Challenges Faced by Gaddhar: The Thorny Path of Revolution

But revolutions are rarely smooth. Gaddhar, with his increasing influence and unabashed criticism of the establishment, became a thorn in the side of the powers that be. He was arrested multiple times, often under draconian laws. Threats became a constant in his life. But did these challenges deter him? Far from it. They only solidified his resolve. For Gaddhar, the Telangana movement was not a choice; it was a calling, a destiny he embraced with all his heart and soul.

Gaddhar's Legacy: Echoes Beyond Borders

When Telangana was finally recognized as a separate state in 2014, it was a victory of decades of struggle, sacrifice, and resilience. While the state had its geographical boundaries, Gaddhar's legacy went beyond them. He became a symbol of resistance, of the power of art in political movements, and of the undying spirit of the people. His songs continue to inspire, not just in Telangana but everywhere there's a fight against oppression.

To sum up, the State Reorganization Act might have been a political decision, a mere reshuffling of boundaries on paper. But its implications ran deep, sowing the seeds of a movement that would span decades. In this journey, Gaddhar's voice, with its haunting melodies and stirring lyrics, would become the soul of the movement, a beacon that guided it through its darkest nights and brightest days.

Continuation of Folk Music Tradition

Today, when you tune into Telugu folk music, can you hear the echoes of Gaddhar's voice? His legacy ensures that folk music remains alive, relevant, and rebellious.

Inspiration for Future Generations

Gaddhar, the poet, singer, and revolutionary, stands tall not only in the annals of the Telangana movement but also as an enduring symbol of resistance, hope, and unity. His legacy, woven into the tapestry of India's socio-political landscape, provides invaluable lessons for future generations. Here's a deep dive into the essence of Gaddhar's influence and how it remains relevant for the leaders and changemakers of tomorrow.

Unyielding Commitment to a Cause

In a world where fleeting interests and changing loyalties often sway many, Gaddhar's unwavering commitment to Telangana's cause stands out. His dedication serves as a reminder that real change requires patience, persistence, and an unbreakable spirit. For future generations, he epitomizes the principle that commitment to a cause is the cornerstone of meaningful change.

Harnessing Art as a Tool for Revolution

The potency of Gaddhar's songs lay not just in their melody but in their message. He showcased how art can be a powerful medium to express dissent, rally the masses, and inspire action. He bridged the gap between heritage and contemporary struggles by infusing traditional folk rhythms with revolutionary

ideologies. His approach underscores the fact that art, in its various forms, can be a formidable weapon against oppression.

Unity in Diversity

Gaddhar's music resonated with a diverse audience. His songs united people across social, economic, and generational divides from urban intellectuals to rural labourers. This unity underscores the importance of inclusive movements where every voice is valued and every story acknowledged. For future leaders, it's a lesson in building broad coalitions that harness the strengths of diversity.

Resilience in the Face of Adversity

Arrests, threats, and attempts to silence him were part and parcel of Gaddhar's journey. Yet, his spirit remained indomitable. His resilience is a poignant reminder that the path to change is fraught with challenges. Future generations can draw strength from Gaddhar's perseverance and understanding that setbacks are stepping stones to success.

Empathy and Connection

Beyond the revolutionary, Gaddhar was a poet who deeply felt his people's pain, aspirations, and dreams. His ability to connect with people at an emotional level amplified his influence. This deep-rooted empathy calls for future leaders to always prioritize human connection, understanding that real change emerges from the heart.

Legacy Beyond Geographical Boundaries

While Gaddhar's primary focus was the Telangana movement, his message of resistance and hope transcends borders. His life's work is a testament to the universal themes of justice, freedom, and identity. It's a beacon for future movements and struggles worldwide, emphasising shared human experiences and aspirations.

Gaddhar's life and work are a treasure trove of lessons for future generations. His journey, marked by passion, dedication, and resilience, offers a blueprint for effective leadership and impactful change. As society grapples with various challenges, the spirit of Gaddhar, echoing through his soulful songs and poignant poetry, stands as an unwavering source of inspiration. For the youth of tomorrow, he embodies the belief that with conviction and unity, no dream is too big, and no challenge is insurmountable.

Conclusion

The Telangana movement, a multifaceted struggle for identity, recognition, and autonomy, is a pivotal chapter in the rich tapestry of India's regional politics. Gaddhar was at the heart of this movement, lending it voice, emotion, and momentum.

Gaddhar wasn't just a singer or a poet. He was a symbol, a beacon, and, most importantly, a mirror reflecting the Telangana populace's hopes, frustrations, and aspirations. Through his soulful renditions and heartfelt lyrics, Gaddhar voiced the suppressed cries of a people yearning for recognition and respect. His songs weren't just melodies but anthems of defiance, unity, and hope.

When tracing the trajectory of the Telangana movement, one cannot overlook Gaddhar's magnetic influence. His music not only galvanised the masses but also bridged divides. From Hyderabad's urban corridors to rural Telangana's rustic landscapes, his songs resonated, uniting diverse groups under a single banner. Through Gaddhar's art, the movement found a language transcending words, speaking directly to the heart.

Beyond his artistic contributions, Gaddhar's life epitomised resilience and sacrifice. Despite facing immense challenges, including arrests and threats, he remained undeterred, exemplifying the spirit of the Telangana struggle. Even in the face of adversity, his unwavering commitment served as a source of inspiration for countless others, amplifying the movement's reach and impact.

As we reflect on the Telangana movement, the significance of Gaddhar's role is undeniable. He wasn't merely a participant; he was its pulse. Through his art and activism, Gaddhar ensured that the story of Telangana wasn't just heard but felt deeply.

In conclusion, the Telangana movement, with its complexities and nuances, is a testament to the power of collective will. In this collective, the voice of Gaddhar stands out, echoing the sentiments of a region, amplifying its demands, and ultimately celebrating its triumph. His legacy, intertwined with the very essence of Telangana, serves as a timeless reminder of the transformative power of art in socio-political movements.

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DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR AND THE REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM: A PATH TO SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EQUALITY

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Introduction

Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, known as Dr B.R. Ambedkar, is an iconic figure in India's struggle for social justice and equality. Born into a Dalit family in 1891, he faced discrimination and oppression throughout his life due to the caste-based hierarchy deeply ingrained in Indian society. Ambedkar's journey from a marginalised Dalit to a prominent jurist and leader is marked by his relentless pursuit of equality and justice for his community. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a well-known Indian jurist, social reformer, and the chief architect of the Indian Constitution, played a crucial role in the revival of Buddhism to promote social justice and equality, particularly for the marginalised and oppressed communities in India. His efforts in this regard were rooted in his deep commitment to addressing the social and economic disparities that had plagued Indian society for centuries. One of the most transformative chapters in Ambedkar's life was his conversion to Buddhism. This decision had far-reaching implications for both them personally and the Dalit community. This research article explores the motivations behind Ambedkar's embrace of Buddhism and examines the profound impact of his conversion on the social, political, and cultural landscape of India.

Historical Background

To understand Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism, it is essential to consider the historical context in which he lived. India, during the early 20th century, was still grappling with the oppressive caste system that relegated millions of Dalits, also known as Scheduled Castes, to the lowest rungs of society. The caste system perpetuated inequality, untouchability, and discrimination, leaving Dalits marginalised and deprived of fundamental human rights. Ambedkar was a vocal critic of the caste system in Hinduism, which perpetuated social inequality and discrimination. He famously wrote an essay titled "*Annihilation of Caste*," where he called for the eradication of caste-based discrimination. His conversion to Buddhism was a concrete step in this direction, as Buddhism rejects the caste system and emphasises the importance of individual merit and virtue. Ambedkar's approach to Buddhism was not merely a conversion but also a reinterpretation of Buddhist teachings to suit the socio-political context of India. He focused on the original teachings of Buddha, emphasising concepts like the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path, which promote ethical conduct, mindfulness, and compassion. Ambedkar saw Buddhism as a way to empower the marginalised and provide them with dignity and self-worth.

Rejection of Caste-Based Discrimination

Ambedkar was deeply disheartened by the insurmountable caste-based discrimination prevalent in Hinduism. His conversion to Buddhism was a deliberate rejection of the caste system, which he saw as a fundamental obstacle to achieving social justice and equality. Ambedkar found resonance in the teachings of Buddhism, which promoted values such as non-violence, compassion, and equality. He saw Buddhism as a path that could empower Dalits to break free from the shackles of caste-based oppression.

Ambedkar's conversion was a powerful symbolic protest against the Hindu social order. By leading mass conversions of Dalits to Buddhism, he sought to challenge the existing power structures and demand equal treatment for his community.

The Conversion Movement

Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism was not a solitary act; it marked the beginning of a mass movement. On October 14, 1956, he and thousands of followers formally converted to Buddhism in Nagpur, Maharashtra. This event, known as the "Dhamma Chakra Pravartan," signalled the resurgence of Buddhism in India. Alongside his conversion, Ambedkar established the Buddhist Society of India and various educational institutions, including the Dr. Ambedkar College and the Dr. Ambedkar University, to promote Buddhist education and values. These initiatives aimed to uplift the socio-economic status of the Dalit community and foster a sense of solidarity among Buddhists.

Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism had a profound and lasting impact.

The conversion movement empowered Dalits by giving them a new identity and a sense of dignity. It encouraged education and social mobility among the formerly oppressed communities. Ambedkar's teachings emphasised social and economic equality, challenging traditional hierarchies. His vision laid the foundation for policies and legislation to reduce caste-based discrimination and inequality. Ambedkar's conversion was a symbolic rejection of the caste system, which had oppressed the Dalits for centuries. By converting to Buddhism, he encouraged millions of Dalits to follow suit, providing them with dignity and self-respect. This mass conversion movement, known as the "Dalit Buddhist Movement," aimed to free Dalits from the shackles of caste discrimination. Ambedkar believed Buddhism offered a more egalitarian and socially just path than Hinduism. Buddhism's core principles of non-violence, equality, and compassion aligned with his vision of a just society. By embracing Buddhism, he sought to reform society and eliminate the inequalities perpetuated by the caste system. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism was a political act as much as a religious one. It signalled his commitment to the rights and interests of the Dalits and his determination to challenge the status quo. This mobilisation of the Dalits under the banner of Buddhism significantly impacted Indian politics, as they became a formidable political force.

Constitutional Reform

Ambedkar played a pivotal role in drafting the Indian Constitution, which enshrines principles of equality, social justice, and the protection of the rights of marginalised communities. His experiences and beliefs, including his conversion to Buddhism, influenced his approach to constitutional reform and the inclusion of safeguards for Dalits and other marginalised groups. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism left a lasting legacy in India. Buddhism has continued to be an important religious and cultural identity for millions of people, particularly among the Dalits. His teachings and writings on Buddhism have also contributed to the understanding and practice of Buddhism in India. Ambedkar's embrace of Buddhism had reverberations beyond India. His writings and advocacy for Buddhism attracted attention and support from Buddhists worldwide. His efforts to reinterpret and adapt Buddhism for the modern age left a mark on the global Buddhist community. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism had a profound and lasting impact on Indian society, particularly on the Dalit community. It was a pivotal moment in the struggle for social justice, equality, and the rights of marginalised groups in India, and it continues to influence Indian society and politics to this day.

Revival of Buddhism

Ambedkar's efforts contributed significantly to the revival of Buddhism in India. Today, there is a growing community of Buddhists in India, with many embracing Buddhism as a means of escaping the constraints of the caste system. Ambedkar's efforts to revive Buddhism continue to have a significant impact on Indian society, particularly among Dalits and other marginalised communities. The practice of Buddhism among these communities serves as a source of strength, identity, and resistance against caste-based discrimination. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's efforts to revive Buddhism were a significant aspect of his social and political work. He believed Buddhism offered a path to social justice, equality, and the empowerment of marginalised communities like the Dalits. Here are some of his critical efforts in this regard. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism in 1956, along with several hundred thousand followers, marked the beginning of a mass movement. This conversion was a powerful statement against the caste-based discrimination entrenched in Hinduism and a way to reclaim the dignity and self-respect of the Dalits.

Diksha (Initiation) Ceremony

On October 14, 1956, Ambedkar and his followers participated in a historic Diksha ceremony in Nagpur, where they formally embraced Buddhism. This ceremony attracted national and international attention, symbolising the rejection of the caste system and the adoption of Buddhist principles. Ambedkar wrote extensively on Buddhism, its philosophy, and its relevance to contemporary society. His seminal work, "The Buddha and His Dhamma," is a comprehensive account of the life and teachings of the Buddha. He translated many Buddhist texts into Marathi to make them accessible to a broader audience. Ambedkar emphasised the principles of non-violence, equality, and social justice in Buddhism. He encouraged his followers to live by these principles, promoting social harmony and rejecting caste-based discrimination.

The Diksha ceremony was held in Nagpur, Maharashtra, India, and it involved Dr Ambedkar and his followers converting to Buddhism. Dr Ambedkar, who had been a prominent leader advocating for the rights of the Dalits, had grown disillusioned with the caste system and Hinduism's treatment of the Dalits as outcasts. He believed that conversion to Buddhism would provide a path to social and spiritual liberation for the Dalits. During the ceremony, Dr Ambedkar and hundreds of thousands of his followers took vows to renounce Hinduism and embrace Buddhism. The conversion ceremony aimed to symbolise the rejection of the caste system, untouchability, and discrimination that had been deeply ingrained in Indian society for centuries.

The Diksha ceremony was a momentous event in India's history because it challenged the traditional social order and inspired many Dalits to follow Dr Ambedkar's lead in converting to Buddhism. It was seen as a way for Dalits to assert their identity, gain self-respect, and seek social justice and equality. Dr Ambedkar's Diksha ceremony and his advocacy for the rights of the marginalised continue to significantly impact India's social and political landscape. The legacy of this ceremony endures in the form of the Ambedkarite movement, which works towards the upliftment and empowerment of the Dalit community in India.

Establishment of the Buddhist Society of India

Ambedkar was pivotal in establishing the Buddhist Society of India, which aimed to promote Buddhism, research Buddhist scriptures, and organise activities to spread Buddhist teachings. Ambedkar's conversion movement gained momentum even after he died in 1956. Many Dalits continued to embrace Buddhism, and the Dalit Buddhist Movement spread to different parts of India. This movement aimed to build a new social order based on Buddhist ideals.

Ambedkar's efforts to revive Buddhism left a lasting impact. Today, millions of people in India identify as Buddhists, primarily among the Dalit community. Buddhist temples, institutions, and monasteries have been established, contributing to the preservation and propagation of Buddhism.

International Recognition

Ambedkar's efforts to revive Buddhism garnered international attention, particularly within the global Buddhist community. His contributions to the interpretation and practice of Buddhism influenced discussions on Buddhism worldwide. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's efforts for the revival of Buddhism were a crucial part of his mission to uplift and empower the Dalits and challenge the caste-based discrimination prevalent in India. His conversion to Buddhism and his advocacy for its principles continue to profoundly impact the religious landscape and the social justice movement in India. Dr Ambedkar's work in drafting the Indian Constitution and his advocacy for the rights of Dalits and other marginalised groups align with human rights principles. The United Nations and various international human rights organisations have acknowledged his ideas and efforts. The UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments reflect the ideals of social justice and equality central to Dr Ambedkar's vision. Dr Ambedkar's ideas and his struggle against caste-based discrimination have inspired Dalit rights movements not only in India but also in other countries with significant South Asian diasporas. These movements often draw inspiration from his writings and speeches.

Academic Recognition

Dr. Ambedkar's scholarly work on social and political issues, including his writings on caste and Buddhism, is studied and respected by scholars and academics worldwide. His contributions to sociology, economics, and political science continue to be the subject of research and analysis in international academic circles. Dr Ambedkar's statues and memorials can be found in various countries, particularly places with a significant Dalit population or Indian diaspora. These serve as symbols of his enduring impact and legacy. Dr Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism and his role in reviving interest in Buddhism among Dalits have international significance. Buddhism is a global religion, and his embrace of Buddhism as a means of social and spiritual liberation has resonated with Buddhists worldwide. Various international conferences, seminars, and symposia have been organised to discuss and celebrate Dr. Ambedkar's life and work. These events unite scholars, activists, and leaders worldwide to engage with his ideas. Some world leaders and public figures have acknowledged Dr Ambedkar's contributions to social justice and human rights. His work has been praised by individuals who advocate for similar causes on the global stage. While Dr B.R. Ambedkar is most celebrated in India for his pivotal role in shaping the nation's Constitution and his tireless efforts to uplift marginalised communities, his ideas and legacy have transcended national boundaries and continue to resonate with those who strive for social justice, equality, and the elimination of discrimination worldwide. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's role in the revival of Buddhism was a significant and transformative chapter in pursuing social justice and equality in India. This movement, initiated by Ambedkar in the mid-20th century, had profound implications for religious and societal spheres. In conclusion, it can be asserted that Dr Ambedkar's engagement with Buddhism symbolised a multifaceted approach to addressing the deep-rooted issues of caste-based discrimination and inequality prevalent in Indian society.

Conclusion

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism was a transformative event in Indian history. It was a bold step towards challenging the oppressive caste system and advocating for social justice and equality. His legacy endures through the continued practice of Buddhism by many Dalits and the ongoing struggle for

equality and dignity in India. Ambedkar's life and teachings inspire those committed to eradicating caste-based discrimination and promoting a more just and equitable society. His conversion to Buddhism remains a beacon of hope for marginalized communities striving for a brighter future in India and beyond. \First and foremost, Dr Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism and millions of his followers marked a break from the oppressive caste system that had persisted for centuries in India. Buddhism, with its core principles of non-discrimination and social equality, provided a platform for Dalits (formerly known as untouchables) to shed their social and religious shackles. This conversion was a powerful act of emancipation, allowing marginalised communities to assert their dignity and self-worth. Furthermore, Dr. Ambedkar's reformation of Buddhism can be seen as a step towards modernising and democratising the religion. By adopting an approach rooted in reason and social justice and rejecting traditional rituals and hierarchies, he made Buddhism more accessible to the masses. He aligned it with the values of a democratic and equitable society.

The revival of Buddhism under Dr Ambedkar's leadership also profoundly impacted India's political landscape. It was not just a religious conversion but a socio-political movement that aimed to secure the rights and representation of Dalits in all aspects of Indian society, including politics and governance. The conversion ceremonies organised by Dr Ambedkar served as a platform to mobilise Dalits politically and create a sense of solidarity. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's efforts to revive Buddhism were not merely a religious conversion but a powerful means to advocate for social justice and equality in India. This movement provided a spiritual home for marginalised communities and catalysed a broader social and political transformation. Dr Ambedkar's legacy continues to inspire the pursuit of a more just and equitable society, not only in India but also in other parts of the world where caste-based discrimination and inequality persist.

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MONITORING LAND USE/COVER CHANGE USING REMOTE SENSING AND GIS TECHNIQUES: A CASE STUDY OF KUTTANAD REGION, KERALA

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Introduction

Land holds a central position in existence and development. Humans used land for food, clothing, shelter and heat. They used land to meet their material, social and cultural needs. In this way, they modify the land resources in various ways, often with detrimental impacts on the environment and human well-being (Briassoulis, 2000). In this process, they have modified land in multiple ways. The natural forests and grasslands are changing to agricultural and grazing areas, and the wetlands are changing into agricultural, residential, recreational and industrial areas. The earth's natural land cover changes have occurred since time immemorial. Land cover may change under biophysical conditions, but it most frequently results from human-induced land use change. Land use and land cover change are influenced by various biophysical and social factors operating on several spatial and temporal levels and acting in intricate webs of place and time-specific relationships. The biophysical factors include climate and weather, topography, bedrock and soil type, surface water and groundwater. The choice of land use and decisions to change it are influenced by the size of the household, age, gender, education, employment, attitudes, values and personal traits of household members, site-specific conditions – accessibility, regional land use structure as well as by transportation costs, profits, parcel size, competition, cost of production, product prices, public and private financial support, land management practices, land tenure and ownership.

Study Area

The area selected for the study is Kuttanad region, lying 0.5 to 2.5 metres below mean sea level. It extends between north latitudes 9° 11' and 9° 48' and east longitudes 76° 18' and 76° 38'. It comprises 42 panchayats spread over Alappuzha, 27 panchayats in Kottayam and seven panchayats in Pathanamthitta districts (fig.1). The total geographic location of the region is 1136 sq. Km. is comprised of wetlands, dry garden lands, and backwaters. Kuttanad is bordered by Kaduthuruthy – Vaikom road in the north, Kaduthuruthy – Kottayam – Mavelikkara railway line in the east, Mavelikkara – Haripad – Thottappally road in the south and Thottappally – Alappuzha – Thanneermukkom road in the west: Manimala, Meenachil, Pampa and Achenkovil and their distributaries crisscross Kuttanad wetlands. The organic matter transported from high ranges makes Kuttanad a unique ecosystem worldwide. Kuttanad wetland comprises marine, estuarine and fluvial systems.

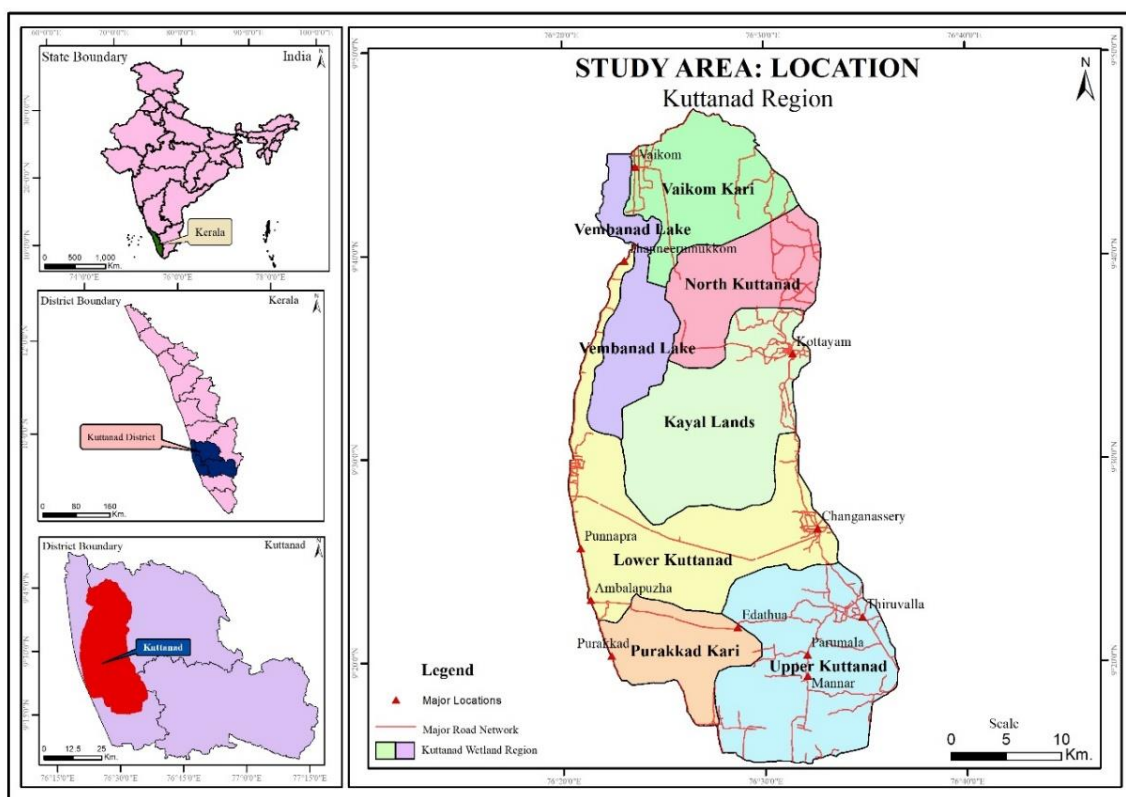


Figure 1. Study Area: Kuttanad

Objectives

- To identify the drivers of land use change in the Kuttanad region.
- To analyse the extent of land use change in the study area.
- To suggest possible management strategies for the environmental problems faced by the people in the Kuttanad region.

Materials and Methods

The Land use map of 1967 was prepared from the Topographical map of scale 1:50,000. Land use map 1992 prepared from Landsat 5 Thematic mapper with 24-metre resolution and downloaded from Earth Explorer with path 144 and row 054. The 24 m images were classified into four classes and adopted the supervised classification maximum likelihood technique using ERDAS Imagine software. The Land use map 2017 prepared from Landsat 8 Operational Land Imagery (24 m) resolution and downloaded from Earth Explorer with path 144 and row 053 dated, 18.01.2017. The 24 m FCC data has been converted to 15 metres by merging 15 m panchromatic data through the resolution image technique in ERDAS Imagine software. The 15m FCC were classified into four classes and used the supervised classification maximum likelihood technique.

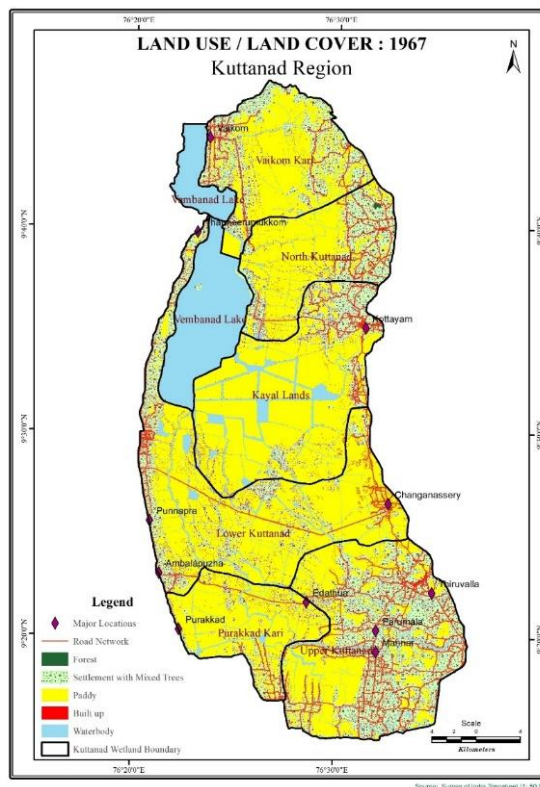
Results and Discussion

Land use 1967

Paddy constituted the most dominant land use category of the area in 1967. It occupied 52.49% of the total land use (Table 1). It was seen all along the region except in three areas: (i) In the northwest due to Vembanad Lake, (ii) In the northeast, and (iii) Southeast due to the concentration of built-up. Paddy fields were mainly aligned north to south following the middle/central part.

Table 1. Kuttanad Region - Land use in 1967

Sl. No.	Land use type	Area in sq. km.	Area in Percentage
1	Paddy	596.01	52.49
2	SMT	319.83	28.15
3	Water body	167.01	14.69
4	Built up	52.88	4.65
5	Forest	0.27	0.02
	Total	1136.00	100.00



Source. Survey of India Toposheet (1: 50,000)

Figure 2. Land use map of Kuttanad – 1967

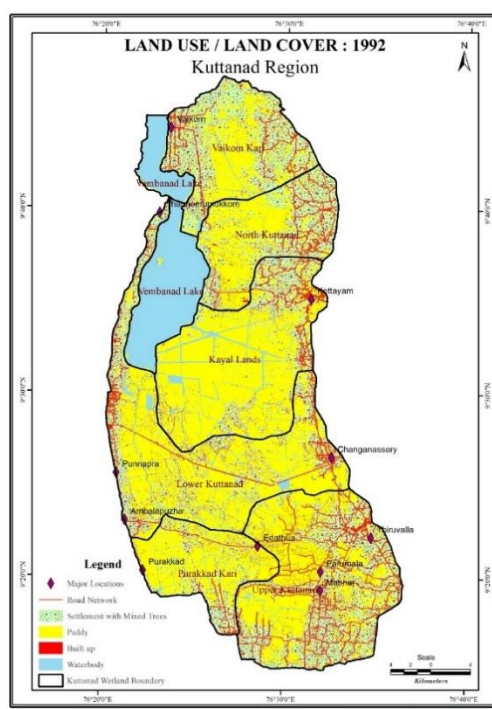
The land for SMT, the second dominant land use class, accounted for 28.15% of the region's total area. It was mainly distributed in two marked areas, one in the northeast and the other in the southeast and is absent in the central part. Water bodies constituted the third land use type and occupied 14.69% of the total land use. The Vembanad Lake is the largest water body in the area, and it is spread along the western part of the northern half of the region. Four rivers, the Pamba, Manimala, Achankovil and Meenachil, drain the region. Built-ups were a minor land use in 1967,, occupying only 4.65 % of the total area. Built-ups were mainly developed along the eastern part following the main central road (MC Road). Another small built-up concentration occurred along the western part following the National Highway (NH). Forests were an insignificant land use category in 1967,, accounting for a negligible area of 0.02%. It was grown as a small pocket in the north eastern part.

Land use -1992

Paddy fields and SMT remained the largest land use types in the study area in 1992. The land for paddy incorporated 51.33% of the total land use in 1992 (Table No.2). The distribution pattern of paddy fields was the same as in 1967. Next to paddy, the second land use type was SMT,, accounting for 30.72% of the total area. The main concentration of SMT occurred in the northern and southern parts. The central part also experienced significant development in this land use category.

Table 2. Kuttanad Region - Land use in 1992

Sl. No.	Land use type	Area in sq. km.	Area in Percentage
1	Paddy	583.12	51.33
2	SMT	348.94	30.72
3	Waterbody	139.01	12.23
4	Built up	64.93	5.72
	Total	1136	100



Source. Landsat 5 Thematic Mapper (24 m resolution)

Figure 2. Land use map of Kuttanad – 1967

The third most significant land use category was water body, which constituted 12.23% of the total area. The land for built-ups occupied 5.72% of the total land use and was developed in the northern and southern parts as concentrations and along the eastern and western margins as a linear feature. Built-ups followed the same pattern as in 1967: along the MC Road in the east and the NH in the west. The insignificant land use category of 1967, i.e., the forest, completely disappeared in 1992 due to the encroachment by other land uses, particularly SMT.

Land use 2017

Paddy fields and SMT together accounted for 80.25% of the total land use of the Kuttanad region (Table No.3). Paddy fields alone occupied 43.29% and were found mainly in the central part of the region. The south-central part also has a significant concentration of paddy fields. The SMT was developed sporadically throughout the region except in the central and north western parts. The maximum concentration of SMT occurs in the northern and southeastern parts. Waterbody occupied 12.19% of the total land use and was mainly found in the north-west. Built-ups accounted for 7.56% of the population and can be seen as a continuous network along the eastern part.

Table 3: Kuttanad Region - Land Use in 2017

Sl. No.	Land use type	Area in sq. km.	Area in Percentage
1	Paddy	491.75	43.29
2	SMT	419.85	36.96

Table 4. Kuttanad Region - Land use Dynamic Degree Index from 1911 to 2017

Land use category	Land Use Dynamic Degree Index	
	1967-1992	1992-2017
Paddy	0.088	0.628
SMT	0.364	0.813
Waterbody	0.671	0.014
Built up	0.911	1.290
Forest	4.000	...
Total	6.034	2.745

The higher land use dynamic degree index during 1967-1992 was due to forest land conversion. Since the forest was a negligible land use category (because it constituted only 0.02% of the total land use), its value can be eliminated from the cumulative land use dynamic degree index to identify the nature and trend of land use change. Excluding the value of forests, the land use dynamic degree index of the period was 2.034, which is less than the value for 1992-2017 (2.745). Thus, it can be recognised that the intensity of land use change was higher in the period 1992-2017 than during 1967-1992. This intensity of land use change can be attributed to the increasing population and changes in occupational structure.

As far as the individual land use categories are concerned, the highest land use dynamic degree index during 1967-92 was recorded in built-ups followed by water body and SMT (excluding forest value). During 1992-2017, the land use dynamic degree index was highest for built-up land followed by SMT and paddy. From these, the trend of land use change can be determined. The highest value of built-up lands in both periods signifies the increasing rate of urbanization in the Kuttanad region. The highest value for paddy during 1992-2017 signifies the increasing rate of urbanization in the Kuttanad region. The highest value for paddy during 1992-2017 signifies the highest paddy land conversion during the period than during 1967-1992. The comparatively higher values for SMT in both the periods made clear that more and more other land use areas are converted into SMT. The following conclusions can be made clear from the above discussion:

- The paddy land conversion was higher during 1992-2017 than during 1967-1992.
- The transformation of other land uses particularly paddy fields into SMT was more pronounced during 1992-2017. The area of SMT is rapidly advancing at the expense of paddy fields.
- The region is experiencing steady growth in urbanization. The urban land encroachment on other land uses was more pronounced during 1992-2017.
- The rate of decline in the area of water bodies has tremendously reduced during 1992-2017.

Land use Change: 1967-1992

The land changed significantly during the period. The loss of paddy fields during the

The period was 12.89 sq.km. Most of these paddy fields were converted into SMT. Paddy area transformation was more noticed in the north, central and southwestern parts. In all these areas paddy fields were replaced by SMT. As far as the loss of land is concerned, the most noticeable loss has occurred

in the case of water bodies which have lost 28 sq. km of area during the period. Most of the water bodies in the central and south-central parts have completely disappeared. Although an insignificant land use category in 1967, the forest land was completely replaced by SMT in 1992. Two land uses were gained during the period. They were SMT and built up. The area of SMT increased substantially from 319.83 sq. km. to 348.94 sq.km. The gain in area has occurred at the expense of paddy fields and water bodies. Where ever there was a loss in the area of paddy fields or water body the SMT will replace them. The built up lands which constituted 4.65% (52.88 sq.km.) in 1967 has rose to 5.72 % (64.93 sq.km) in 1992. The growth rate that experienced in built up lands during the period was 22.79% which was more than that experienced in the case of SMT (9.10%).

The increase in the area of built-up lands is a consequence of the increasing urban population and changes in occupational structure. The use and conversion of land is central to urbanization. Thus, more and more lands should be converted into urban built-ups to accommodate the increasing population. The increase in construction land occurred at the cost of other land uses namely SMT and paddy fields. Construction land displaced significant amount of SMT and paddy in the east, north east, south east and in the western parts. This trend in the expansion of built up area signifies the role of main transportation lines in urbanization (Main Central road in the east and NH in the west).

Land use change: 1992-2017

Land use change occurred considerably over the 25 years. The important characteristics of land use change during the period are;

- The proportion of SMT and built-up lands increased sharply during the period. SMT expanded during the period. SMT expanded by 20.32% and by built-up land 32.23%.
- There occurred a considerable reduction in the area of paddy. Paddy lands decreased by 15.67% during the period.
- The loss of water body area decreased substantially. The water body has lost only 1.53 sq. km during the last 25 years.

The dominant land use change during the period has been a large decrease in paddy area which decreased by 91.37 sq.km between 1992 and 2017. The transformation of the paddy area into built-up and SMT occurred in all the parts except in the central part. But the most noticeable change has occurred in all the parts except in the central part. Being the rice bowl of Kerala, the paddy land conversion has many environmental implications. As a wetland, paddy fields are very essential to maintain environmental stability. The facilitate ground water recharge and support the paddy land ecosystem. The increasing conversion of paddy fields in the Kuttanad region is due to many factors. Paddy cultivation is a labour intensive one. The prevailing wage rate in Kuttanad is very high. It is also uneconomical to employ machines in the small and fragmented fields. Most of the farmers felt it uneconomic to cultivate paddy. The return from the cultivation is low when compared to being put in other uses. Also, the increasing demand for land to construct houses and other buildings further accelerated the paddy land conversion.

SMT, the second most important land use category of the region, also experienced significant changes in its area. The area of SMT has increased by 20.32% during the period. This phenomenal increase in the SMT area has occurred at the cost of paddy fields. Gain in SMT area has occurred in the north, north-central, central, west-central and southern parts. The decline in the area of paddy fields is primarily caused by the accelerating encroachment of SMT.

Urbanization was one of the most important causes of land use change during the period. A dominant land use change in the region has been a large increase in built up areas which increased by 32.23% between 1992 and 2017. This increase in built up area directly affected the surrounding paddy and SMT areas, causing both a change in spatial pattern and a change in the ecological functioning of the landscape. The most noticeable transformation of paddy and SMT areas to construction land occurred in the eastern and western fringes along the MC Road and NH respectively. Urbanization encroached the surrounding paddy and SMT areas easily because the land owners gain more due to urban functions than by agricultural activities.

The change in the area of water body during the period was insignificant and negligible. The trend of land conversion in both the periods viz., 1967-1992 and 1992-2017 can be evaluated by employing a simple land conversion index. This index provides the annual loss or gain of land in different land use categories. During the period 1967-1992, water body has lost 1.12 sq.km of land annually to other land uses. But this has declined sharply from 1992-2017 when the rate of loss was only 0.02 sq.km per year (Table 5).

Table 5. Kuttanad Region – Land Conversion Index – 1967-2017

Land use	Land conversion Index 1967-1992	Land Conversion Index 1992-2017
Paddy	-0.52	-3.65
SMT	+1.16	+2.84
Built up	+0.48	+0.84
Water body	-1.12	-0.02
Forest	-0.011	...
Cumulative LC Index	3.291	7.35

SMT displaced 1.16 sq.km of land per year from other land uses during the same period. Built up land also occupied 0.48 sq.km of land annually from other land uses. On the other hand paddy area has decreased by 0.52 sq.km per year. During the period 1992-2017 SMT gained 2.84 sq.km of land per year. In the same period 0.84 sq.km of land per year was turned into built ups. The highest loss during the period was recorded in the case of paddy fields. An area of 3.65 sq.km annually was transformed from paddy to other uses. The loss per year for water body (0.02/km) was negligible during the period. character, paddy being the dominant crop cultivated.

Conclusion

The major factors influencing land use change are population, agricultural activities and other occupations, construction activities etc. The quality of the environment deteriorates when there is human intervention, mostly in settled areas and urban areas whereas in paddy cultivating land the influence is less. The study also reveals that the intervention of human beings makes the environment more polluted, whereas the quality of the environment is good where the human intervention is less. The land use change from 1967-2017 reveals that increase in Settlement with mixed trees and urban land use whereas there is a decline in water bodies and paddy land uses. The overall character of the study area also reveals

there is a slight change in the urban area, i.e., most of the area is rural, paddy being the dominant crop cultivated.

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THE CASTE SYSTEM IN TAMIL NADU IN THE ANCIENT PERIOD

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Origins of the Caste System in Tamil Nadu

The origins of the caste system in Tamil Nadu, like in the rest of India, are deeply rooted in ancient scriptures and texts. The Rigveda, one of the oldest sacred texts of Hinduism, mentions the concept of Varna, which forms the basis of the caste system. According to the Rigveda, society was initially divided into four Varnas - Brahmins (priests and scholars), Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers), Vaishyas (merchants and artisans), and Shudras (labourers and servants). This division was meant to reflect the functional roles within society rather than birth-based discrimination.

However, this system evolved, and in Tamil Nadu, it underwent its unique transformation. The ancient Sangam literature, dating back to the 3rd century BCE to the 3rd century CE, provides evidence of social hierarchies and occupational divisions, which laid the foundation for the caste system in the region. "Kudiyiruppu" in Sangam literature refers to the occupational guilds or communities, which later became associated with specific castes.

Development of the Caste System in Ancient Tamil Nadu

1. **Sangam Period:** During the Sangam period, Tamil society was divided into numerous occupational groups, each with distinct functions and privileges. These groups laid the groundwork for the caste system as we know it today. For example, the "Aayars" were associated with the warrior class, while the "Vellalars" were linked to agriculture and land ownership.
2. **Bhakti Movement:** The Bhakti movement, which swept through Tamil Nadu from the 7th to 9th centuries CE, played a significant role in shaping the caste system. It emphasised devotion to a personal god and rejected caste distinctions, advocating for spiritual equality. However, these egalitarian ideals coexisted with the existing caste structure, and caste divisions persisted.
3. **Medieval Tamil Society:** During the medieval period, Tamil society became more rigidly stratified along caste lines. The Chola and Pallava dynasties, among others, codified and institutionalised caste distinctions. Temples and religious institutions became essential centres for perpetuating caste norms and practices.
4. **Colonial Influence:** The arrival of European colonial powers, mainly the British, further exacerbated the caste system. The British adopted a policy of non-interference in Indian social customs, which allowed the caste system to continue to exert a stronghold over society. They also conducted censuses that classified people based on caste, contributing to solidifying caste identities.

Features of the Caste System in Ancient Tamil Nadu

1. **Caste Hierarchy:** The caste system in Tamil Nadu, as in the rest of India, was characterised by a rigid hierarchy. Brahmins occupied the highest position, followed by Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. Below these were numerous sub-castes and communities, each with a distinct social status.

2. **Occupational Specialization:** Castes were traditionally associated with specific occupations. For example, the Chettiars were known for trade and finance, while the Vanniyars were primarily engaged in agriculture. These occupational roles were often hereditary, and mobility between castes was minimal.
3. **Endogamy:** The caste system enforced strict rules of endogamy, meaning that individuals were expected to marry within their caste. This practice aimed to preserve the purity of caste identity and prevent social mixing.
4. **Discrimination and Untouchability:** The caste system also led to the practice of untouchability, where certain lower castes were considered impure, and their touch or presence was considered polluting. This discrimination had a profound impact on the daily lives of those deemed "untouchable."

Impact of the Caste System on Ancient Tamil Society

The Caste System had far-Reaching Consequences on Ancient Tamil Society

1. **Social Inequality:** The caste system perpetuated social inequality, with lower-caste individuals facing discrimination and limited opportunities. This inequality extended to education, economic opportunities, and political representation.
2. **Economic Disparities:** Caste-based occupational specialisation often resulted in economic disparities, with certain castes enjoying more prosperity and privilege than others. Caste also influenced landownership patterns, further entrenching inequalities.
3. **Cultural and Religious Influence:** The caste system profoundly influenced Tamil culture and religion. Temples were pivotal in upholding caste norms, and rituals and ceremonies were often caste-specific. The caste system even influenced literature and art.
4. **Political Power:** The caste system also shaped political power structures. Dominant castes often held sway in local politics and administration, further marginalising lower-caste communities.

Challenges and Reform Movements

Throughout history, the caste system in Tamil Nadu has been challenged. The Bhakti and Bhakti-inspired reform movements emphasised equality and challenged caste discrimination. Prominent figures like Ramanuja and Basava promoted social justice and inclusivity.

In the modern era, leaders like Periyar E.V. Ramasamy and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar played crucial roles in advocating for the rights of lower-caste communities. They sought to eradicate caste-based discrimination and worked towards social reform.

Conclusion

Like in the rest of India, the caste system in ancient Tamil Nadu has a deep and complex history. It evolved from ancient occupational divisions and gradually became a rigid social hierarchy. Its impact on society, culture, and politics has been profound, with positive and negative consequences. While the caste system still has a presence in modern Tamil Nadu, efforts towards social reform and equality continue to challenge its influence and aim to create a more just and inclusive society. Understanding the historical development of the caste system in Tamil Nadu is essential for comprehending the complexities of its contemporary manifestations and ongoing struggles for social justice.

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THE BRAHMADEYA SETTLEMENTS IN PANDYA COUNTRY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PAGANUR KURRAM

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Pioneering historians like K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, T.V. Mahalingam, and C. Minakshi have generally looked at these 'institutions as of educational and ritual importance and the *Brahmadeya* settlements as a tax – accessible villages created by ruling families conferred on the founder.¹ In the opinion of Noboru Karashima (1984), Kenneth Hall (1980), and Herman Kulke (1982), the *Brahmadeya* played a significant role in the peaceful and stable extension of royal power. Such settlements were loyal to the king, who created them in strategic regional positions to institutionalise and regularise local loyalties to the regime. Brahmana settlements (more correctly, households) were known in the Tamil region from the period of Sangam anthologies.² This paper aims to explain the emergence of Brahmadeya settlements in the Paganur Kurram region (Vadipatti Taluk in Madurai District).

Earliest References for Brahmadeyas

To begin with, in the period of the Pallavas and early Pandyas, that is to say, by the seventh century, the Brahmadeyams were getting established in the more fertile tracts of the Palaru, Pennaru, Kaveri, and Vaigai basins.³ The earliest evidence of the Pandya country that we have about the creation of such a Brahman settlement or *Brahmadeyam* is contained in the newly discovered and significant *Pulankurichchi* inscription of about the fifth century A.D, that inscription mentioned *Kudalur Nattu Brahmadeyam* (Brahmadeyam of Kudalur Nadu),⁴ and then second evidence of Varaguna Pandya's II inscription from Tiruchendur temple mentioned the name of *Kadungomangalm Brahmadeya*.⁵ This Brahmadeya might have been created in the sixth century A.D. by Pandya King *Kadungon*, or otherwise, his officials made it in his name. A seventh-century A.D. inscription of Maravarman Arikesari at the Vaigai river bed states that the Pandya king created many Agraharas.⁶ Several scholars opined that Brahmadeyas settlements are fewer in the Pandya country than in the Chola country because the Pandya country is not as fertile as the Chola country, Pandya kings always fight with their enemies. Brahmana people had not been much in the Pandya country, but Brahmana people had mainly been settled there in the Pallava and Chola countries.

Brahmadeyas in the Paganur Kurram Region

The *Brahmadeya* settlements were created in different parts of the Pandya kingdom and ancient and medieval periods in Paganur Kurram and the present Vadipatti region. They were named after their kings of feudatory chiefs such as Velvikkudi, Cholantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam,⁷ the city Cholakulantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam,⁸ Parantaka Chaturvedimangalam,⁹ Jananatha Chaturvedi Mangalam¹⁰ and Viranarayana Chaturvedimangalam.¹¹ This *Brahmadeyam* was divided into twenty-seven Cheri (ward) settlements.¹² The above-mentioned Chaturvedi Mangalam areas were Brahmin settlements in the Vadipatti region.

Velvikkudi

Velvikkudi was the earliest Brahmadeya settlement in the Paganur Kurram since the Sangam period to the eighth century A.D. Parantaka Nedunjadaya's Velvikudi copper plate mentions that Sangam Pandya king Palyagasalai Mudukudumi Peruvaluthi, who was donated to the land Velvikudi Korkai Kilan, purpose

for Korkai Kilan, performed the *Yajnas*. The land Velvikudi was enjoyed by Korkai Kilan and his descendants for a long time. After that, Kalabrah king Kaliyarasan came to power in the Pandya country and evicted the *Brahmadeyam* land from Korkai Kilan's descendants. After that, the Pandya dynasty destroyed the Kalabrahs and came to power in the sixth century A.D. by Kadungon, during the period of Parantaka Nedunjadayan, while Narsingan descendent of Korkai Kilan applied to the king his Brahmadeya land was captured by Kalabrah king Kaliyarasan, that land was again should be donated us. Parantaka heard the Narsingan appeal and requested him to show the document for that land; after Narsingan submitted the document to the king, he again received the Velvikudi as Brahmadeya village.

Parantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam

A recently discovered inscription in Tenkarai¹³ sheds light on the donations of Parantaka Nedunjadayan. The inscription says that Parantaka Nedunjadayan donated Velvikudi to Narkottran, and he also donated something along with it. This inscription was made during the reign of Rajaraja I in the year 12, corresponding to A.D. 977. It mentions that Cholvandan and its surrounding villages, Tenkarai, Mullipallam and others, were collectively called Parantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam and, according to scholars M. Chandramurti and V. Vedachalam *Andanar Maha Sabha*, had the ruling authority over the village, before the period of Raja Raja I, Cholvandan and its surrounding places were called Parantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam and were named after Parantaka Nedunjadayan. When Parantaka Nedunjadayan released the copper plate inscription of Velvikudi, he should have donated Cholvandan and surrounding villages like Tenkarai, Mullipallam and others in his name and called it *Devadana Brahmadeyam Sri Parantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam*. This information can be inferred from the stone inscription found in Tenkarai. Two kings ruled this place in two periods – Pandya King Parantaka Vira Narayanan and Parantaka Cholan, called Parantakan by the surname. However, these two kings cannot be associated with Parantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam. It will be more appropriate if we understand that Parantakan, who donated Velvikudi to Andhanar Sabha, may be donated to these villages, and hence, the Brahmin abode was called as *Parantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam*. However, not much evidence supports the idea of drafting the town.

After Parantaka Nedunjadayan, his son Sri Mara Sri Vallabha inherited the throne and ruled from A.D. 815 to A.D. 862. Even though he ruled the regions around Tenkarai, we could not find any more inscriptions about him. Just one stone inscription is found in the Siva Temple at *Tirumalnatham* village, which is closer to Cholvandan. This temple was built during his period. The stone inscription¹⁴ mentions the donation of goats to install temple lights (*Vilakku*). This king was called Avaniapsekara, and the region near Madurai, Avaniapuram must have been named after the king. After Sri Mara Sri Vallabha, his sons Varaguna (A.D 862 to 885) and Parantaka Vira Narayana ruled the region. Later, Rajasimha II came to power in A.D. 900 and ruled the Pandya kingdom until A.D. 920.¹⁵

Three stone inscriptions pertaining to Rajasimha II's ruling period were found in Tenkarai, two in Nottakarapillai Savadi in Tenur, one in a dilapidated Vishnu temple, and another in Cholvandan.¹⁶

Cholantaka Chaturvedimangalam Brahmadeyam

In the second year of Srivallabha, corresponding to A.D. 1102, the *brahmadeya* Cholantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam is mentioned in Tenkarai temple.¹⁷ This means that the city existed in the earlier days and was named after the surname of an earlier Pandya king, Virapandya. Ancient *Cholantaka Chaturvedimangala Brahmadeya* was created by the early Pandya king Virapandya. It is a prominent agricultural centre. This Brahmadeyam was situated at Paganur Kurram, on the north of the bank of river Vaigai.

Virapandya took the head of the Chola as a sovereign after defeating the king. He ruled from A.D. 946 to 966. Owing to his victory against the Chola king, he was given the title 'Cholantaka'. It is assumed that the city of Cholantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam was formed during his reign and named after the honorary title of the Pandya king, 'Cholantaka'.

Pallimadam Kalanathasvamin temple's fourth regnal year of Virapandya inscription states that an officer of the king who has assumed the title in the surname of Virapandya's called as *Cholantaka – Pallavarayan*,¹⁸ which is equivalent to '*Cholanralaikonda*'. His fifth-year record from Kilmattur refers to the erection of a stone lintel named Srikanthesvaram by Officer Tennavan Kandan-Sattan. A flower garden was also endowed and called "Cholantakan" named after the ruler's title. His 20th regnal year record has been found in the Erichchavudaiyar temple at Ambasamudram. It mentions his officers like *Cholantaka – Brahmarayan*.¹⁹

Jananatha Chaturvedimangalam

The mandapam in front of the central shrine of the Tenkarai Mulasthanam Udaiyar Shiva temple has two pillars with records. It registers the grant made to the temple of Madhubid in Tenur in *Jananatha Chaturvedi Mangalam*. Another record belongs to Rajaraja's 17th regnal year, corresponding to 1002 AD. It registers the grant made by god Nāduvil Sri Koil Sri Vira Kerala Vinnagardevar at Jananatha Chaturvedi Mangalam.²⁰

Cholakulantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam

The name Cholantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam was used to denote the city until A.D. 1124, which marks the end of the ruling of Jatavarman Srivallabha of accession A.D. 1101. In the records of the later kings, the brahmadeya was called Cholakulantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam, located in Paganur Kurram. The son of Jatavarman Srivallabha, Sundara Pandya (1104-1131), had the title Cholakulantaka, which is mentioned in the Sri Rangan inscription of Vira Kavy Aupendra, who was the son-in-law of the former. Cholakulantaka means Lord of Death to the Chola family. Most likely, the city must have been renamed Cholakulantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam²¹ because this name was first found in an eight-year Maravarman Parakrama (1143-1166) record. Until 1121 AD, the city was called as Cholantaka Chaturvedi Mangalam. In the Sri Rangan inscription by Vira Kavi Alupendra, he refers to his father-in-law Manabarana as Cholakulantaka. This Manabarana is Sundara Pandya, who ruled from A.D. 1104 to 1131. He had the surname Cholakulantaka.²² In the reign of Tirumagal punara prasasti Maravarman Parakramapandya, the name of the Brahmadeya was Cholakulantaka Chaturvedimangalam instead of Cholantaka Chaturvedimangalam. During the Pandyan Civil War in A.D. 1165 and 1170, under the reign of Kulasekhara, the city was called Cholakulantaka Chaturvedimangalam. The same name has been used to refer to the town for several years. The Kulasekhara was the king who killed Parakrama Pandya in A.D. 1166. The above sequence places Maravarman Parakrama Pandya of Tirumagal punara Prasasthi after 1131 and before 1166.

Summary

Paganur Kurram was one of the important administrative units of Pandya country up to the thirteenth century CE. Brahmanical settlements existed in large quantities in this area because this region was very wealthy and well-watered by the river Vaigai. Temple-based agrarian expansion through the Brahmana communities was large in this region as the Brahmanas were given a good amount of land as gifts by the king, landholders, and merchants.

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THE HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE MONOPOLY OF BRITAIN'S OPIUM TRADE AND IMPECUNIOUS INDIA

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Introduction

India is one of the largest global markets for trade; under British rule, their cunning and looting mentality, the opium trade made enormous profits for British merchants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the period, India emerged as a poppy-cultivated country; many poppies contain alkaloids, which are a source of drugs like morphine and codeine. As a result, opium was under British colonial control, and China was forced to become a vast market for opium by British traders. A consistent supply of opium from the Indian subcontinent to China was confirmed during the British era in India and by British authorities' rule over the Indian princely states, encouraging the transfer of economic surplus from China to Britain.ⁱ

The opium trade was highly lucrative, and the British government closely oversaw the plantation and large-scale manufacturing of opium in India. The primary goal of the English traders in India was to maximise their net profit from the massive production and sales of opium, but when international restrictions grew following World War I, ineffective attempts to slow the opium trade's collapse were regularly questioned. Despite this, the Indian leaders fiercely denounced the colonial discourse and opium prohibition. They were also adamantly against the drug. As a result, the Indian government was able to impose stringent regulations on the cultivation of poppies and produced opium. India would grow poppies solely for medical purposes and under tight government control in 1947.ⁱⁱ Consequently, for a variety of reasons, opium cultivation and processing were monopolised by the state during the British era. However, during the British era, opium bootlegging persisted widely as a violation of official control. Similarly, official sources have documented a significant overflow into the black market for opium despite post-independence India's aggressive attempts.ⁱⁱⁱ This study examines the history of provincial governance over poppy planting and opium production in British India, taking into account the obstacles faced by modern political diplomacy in trying to eradicate opium addiction.

The Origin of Opium and Consumptions of Humans

Poppies are a familiar crop in central and eastern Europe, ideally in the Balkans on and around the shore of the nearby Black Sea. The lovely flowers seem to have always had a unique bond with people. It's even possible that the plant's chemical makeup evolved to ensure people would take advantage of them. The poppy has a profound physical and psychological association with human life, like the disturbed land used for crop cultivation. Consuming opium relieves pain, and hallucinogenic images and dreams, such as experiences with poppy decoctions, are familiar and have been used to treat a variety of pain relief and cure processes.

British to Chinese Connections of the Opium Trade

Britain's voracious need for Chinese tea, George Macartney, a British diplomat to China, embarked on a mission to go to China for trade in 1793. The powerful allure of opium, which is extracted from poppy plants, ultimately shaped international trade and world politics, not tea. In the triangle trade in opium, Britain paid Chinese tea suppliers with opium that was trafficked from India into the Chinese market. The history of trade, the extensive exchange of things acquired by people, atrocities, and individuals who shaped India's whole monetary and economic structure are intricately linked to the history of human society. The seismic significance of silk, gold, oil, sugar, and other resources in bringing civilisations together, enhancing kingdoms and successful empires, and promoting the migration of bourgeois individuals and riches is examined as it follows the trade winds. The East India Company's Hindostan ship carried the English ambassador on a historic state visit to the Chinese emperor in 1793. First and foremost, the aim was to congratulate King Qianlong on his 83rd birthday on behalf of British King George III. The next was a significantly more pressing issue to persuade him to permit trade with China. Chinese tea addiction and British generosity were at stake. The British have been fascinated with tea since they were first exposed to it in the early 1650s.

An extraordinary situation existed at the beginning of the 19th century when the levy on tea accounted for 10% of Britain's total revenue. Britain's balance of payments faced challenges due to its rising tea consumption. Since the Chinese only wanted to deal in silver for their tea by the end of the 18th century, the British treasury was rapidly running out of precious metals. Macartney wished to promote trade for Britain's products in China. Significant financial and human resources were used to accomplish Macartney's purpose. Three thousand labourers, two hundred horses, ninety wagons, and forty barrows were needed to transport all of the various commodities into the capital city of the Chinese kingdom. There were hot air balloons, swords, linens, clocks, telescopes, barometers, and pistols, among many other things. However, the emperor was not impressed and continued to insist they were not using British products. Following an unsuccessful voyage, Macartney was forced to ship himself back to England.^{iv}

The British were desperate to create a product appealing to the Chinese market. During this time, they travelled to India, the jewel in the empire's crown, to obtain a good that the Chinese would have to purchase even if they did not want to. The potent opium, carefully plucked from the poppy plant, was what kept them alive. It produced an addiction that was unbreakable once it was established and could be eaten, smoked, and sipped. Throughout the 18th century, the British turned Bengal and Bihar's entire agrarian economy into opium-producing factories. In exchange for tea, their agents transported opium into China illegally, and the British found their treasuries suddenly bulging once again. The enormous opium triangle was in this region.^v

The British opium trade would fundamentally change the nature of the colonial economy; the two Opium Wars and the enormous amount of money in silver they produced for the British government and merchants are believed to have given rise to many of London's outstanding institutions and construction, colonialism would be radically different without the opium trade, but the British were far from the first to recognise the significance of opium. The British were complicit in the world's longest-running drug deal. They were deliberately dependent on millions of people in both China and India while both nations established anti-opium laws.^{vi}

Britain's Economical Diplomacy

The diplomatic way East India Company's trade evolved considerably differed from that of the Dutch and other European competitors. It operated in a competitive market rather than a monopoly one, relied on political kindness rather than coercion, and was a commerce substance as opposed to expensive luxury products. The profits, therefore, heavily depended on volume rather than scarcity. Because of the smaller area covered and the absence of armed personnel required to enforce the monopoly, English merchandising became more profitable than that of the Dutch corporation. It ran into issues of its own. The bullion exports were incompatible with the idea of trade monopolies, and the Indians would accept very little in exchange for their goods other than silver. This undermined Britain's economic diplomacy. To fix the silver shortage, the British created a national trading system akin to that of the Dutch and other Europeans, the profits from which went towards funding Britain's annual investment in commodities. The Madras presidency and Gujarat produced cotton goods and indigo, while Bengal supplied silk, sugar, saltpetre, and other commodities. From 1615 onwards, the land of Kerala engaged in a spice trade competition with the authority of Portuguese, Dutch and other European traders. After being transported to Southeast Asian nations, opium eventually served as the basis for the English-Chinese tea trade.^{vii}

The International Connection of The Opium Trade

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Western countries, notably Britain, carried and sold opium grown in India to China, a practice known as the "opium trade" in Chinese history. While opium addiction became common in China and caused social and economic problems, the British utilised the money they earned from the drug to purchase luxury Chinese products like porcelain, silk, and tea, which were much sought in the West. Turkey's opium products are made from the immature seedpods of the poppy *Papaver somniferum*. It was introduced to China in the late sixth and early seventh centuries CE by Arab and Turkish traders.^{viii} Up to the seventeenth century, the medication was taken orally to reduce anxiety and discomfort. At the time, opium smoking had spread swiftly throughout China, while tobacco smoking had moved from North America. From 1644 to 1911, the first century of the Qing period, opium imports and addiction increased. In 1729, the Yongzheng period 1722–1735 was so concerned about it that he banned the sale and use of opium. In 1796, the Jiaqing emperor banned the importation and production of opium when this failed to stop the trade. The opium trade prospered despite these regulations.^{ix} The Portuguese found early in the eighteenth century that they could get opium into China at a profit by importing it from India. The British discovered trade in 1773 and took the lead in supplying the Chinese market that year. In the Indian province of Bengal, the British East India Company held a monopoly on opium cultivation and found a means of producing opium poppies in large quantities at a low cost. The trade involving Turkish and Indian opium involved other Western nations as well, especially the United States. British and other European countries entered the opium trade as a result of their ongoing trade deficit with China. China had less need for European manufactured goods and other trade commodities than Europe did for Chinese tea, silks, and porcelain pots. Europeans were consequently compelled to pay in gold and silver for Chinese goods. ^xThe opium trade helped to close this ongoing trade imbalance by creating a steady demand for Western-imported opium among Chinese users. The East India Company transported no opium. Due to the Chinese restriction, the company contracted with local merchants and private brokers authorised by the business to ship goods from India to China. Local vendors sold the opium to smugglers along the Chinese coast. The traders' gold and silver from their sales went to the East India Company. The firm used the money and silver it had acquired to purchase goods in China that would sell well in England. ^{xi}

Details of Opium Imported in the Chinese Market

Sl.No	YEAR	CHESTS
1.	1729	200
2.	1767	1000
3.	1828-30	10,000
4.	1838	40,000

Source: Royal Opium Commission, Report of the Royal Commission on Opium: Minutes of Evidence and Appendices, Vol.1, Eyre & Spottiswoode for HM Stationery Office, 1800-1830.

Approximately 200 chests were exported in 1729, roughly 1,000 chests annually in 1767, and then approximately 10,000 chests annually between 1820 and 1830; opium imports into China increased dramatically. Depending on the place of origin, each chest's weight varied slightly, but on average, it weighed about 140 pounds (63.5 kg). The number increased to about 40,000 chests being brought into China annually by 1838.^{xii} The balance of payments started to move in Britain's favour and against China for the first time. In the meantime, a nationwide network of opium distribution had grown throughout China, often with the assistance of dishonest officials. The extreme addiction to opium harmed the official classes and imperial forces.^{xiii}

The Encounter of Opium Trafficking

In China, the opium addiction was seriously disrupting social and economic life. To enforce opium restrictions, the Qing government destroyed almost 20,000 chests containing 1,400 tonnes of the drug that British merchants had stockpiled in Canton in 1839. China's enforcement actions and the Western nations' reactions to them ultimately led to two military confrontations known as the Opium Wars, which China lost both times. As a result, the Qing dynasty began to decline and was eventually overthrown in favour of republican China in the early twentieth century. The 1st war of British vs China, which lasted from 1839 to 1842, ended Chinese attempts to halt commerce, although it did not legalise it. By creating five treaty ports where foreigners could live, work, and trade with whoever they wished, outside of Chinese legal jurisdiction, it further bolstered British economic advantages.^{xiv} Furthermore, China was forced to relinquish Hong Kong Island to the British and pay a hefty indemnity to them. While it did collect a small import price on opium, the Chinese government was obliged to legitimise the trade during the second Opium War 1856 to 1860, also known as the Arrow War and the Anglo-French War in China, which was fought between a British and French coalition against China. China granted British sovereignty over the southern part of the Kowloon Peninsula, which borders is nearby Hong Kong, among other concessions. By the end of the war, China was importing 50,000–60,000 chests of opium annually, and for the next thirty years, that number was very high.^{xv}

Opium Export from India to Abroad

Opium whole selling prices of export in Calcutta, Bombay, and Rangoon 1873=100

OpiumExport	1861-65	1866-70	1871-75	1876-80	1881-85	1886-90	1891-92
Bengal	104	100	102	98	100	87	81-89
Malwa	113	114	100	116	101	93	87-88

Source: Report on Indian Opium. Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). House of Commons. 1861- 92..

Essential details about British India's export and import of items in this opium trade activity; instead, it will only cover those combined values exceeding one million rupees. They are as follows: the decline of the order of very significance. From 1890 to 1891, the value of opium exports was Rs. \$9.3 million. The value of one Seer is 2.057 English pounds. In India, it was equivalent to 2.5 Rupees. In 1889–1890, raising the salt tax was very challenging because it disproportionately impacted those who were impoverished. Opium is not as profitable as salt, but in this case, the tax is paid to the Chinese instead of the Indians. As it is only levied on opium that is brought into China, it has virtually no rivalry. Excluding the substantial collection costs, the returns vary between Rs. 5 million to 6.5 million.^{xvi}

The state of the market and the fate of the crops have a significant impact on the outcomes. Two methods were used to impose the opium tax: first, a monopoly in Bengal and second, a tariff on all opium exported from the original states. The poppy cultivators in the farmland in India and significant parts of Bengal, the northwest provinces, and Oudh are allowed to cultivate in the British territory. In Punjab, monopoly districts spanning a few thousand acres are subsidized to prepare the land for grain production. After that, the complete product needs to be given, at a specific price, to an opium agent. This agent sends it to the state plants in Ghazipur and Patna, where it is processed for the Chinese market.^{xvii}

Each auction's quality of opium is announced a year ahead of time to prevent speculation and maintain consistent prices. Forty-eight thousand eight hundred fifty boxes were sold in 1892–1893 for an average price of 1247 rupees each box as opposed to the anticipated 1050 rupees. In 1893–1894, an average price of 1250 rupees was anticipated, albeit a poor harvest would mean that less would be sold. Numerous Rajputana and native states of central India also cultivate opium. These states have committed to preventing smuggling and adjusting their systems to the British system through agreements with the Anglo-Indian Government. The fee that all opium pays to Indian tax authorities was lowered from Rs. 650 to Rs. 600 per box. The success of the crop determines whether or not opium income grows in British India.^{xviii}

Impact of The British Opium Trade and Pauperized India

Moreover, poppies were cultivated by 1.3 million rural households in northern India. Cash crops accounted for 25% to 50% of a peasant's land. At the end of the nineteenth century, poppies impacted the lives of almost 10 million people in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. In two opium factories on the Ganges Doab, a few thousand workers cooked cakes, mixed and dried the milky liquid from the seed, and placed the opium balls in wooden boxes. Opium Trade with Asia was managed by the East India Company, a formidable multinational conglomerate founded for trade and commerce, which held a monopoly over business with Asia, according to a royal charter.^{xix}

Two battles that forced China to open its borders to the British opium trade and transport it to China, fighting the opium wars to secure its lucrative monopoly in drugs and take control of Hong Kong, were significant factors in the establishment of this state-run enterprise. The report of the Royal Commission on Opium was published in 1895; 2,500 pages spread across seven volumes containing data on the trade. It examined how the colonial authorities managed the production and consumption of opium, as well as the use and consumption of the drug in India, through the analysis of hundreds of witness accounts. India's peasants produced opium in the 19th century.^{xx}

Indian peasants were severely exploited by the opium trade, which made them impoverished. Poppy was cultivated despite a significant setback. These peasants would have had substantially better success." The East Indian Company operated in this manner. The Opium Agency was a powerful colonial agency that

oversaw poppy growers and used police-like authority to enforce contracts and quality. Two thousand five hundred clerks worked in its 100 offices. Each seer who provided opium on their beat received a commission based on the customary practices and volume measure, which is used across most of Asia. In the booming, state-run international trade, exports increased from 4,000 chests annually at the start of the nineteenth century to over 60,000 chests by the 1880s. In the nineteenth century, opium constituted the colonial state's second-largest revenue stream. Only land taxes were comparable. India continues to be the world's top producer of legal opium for the medical industry.^{xxi}

Local Landlords Compelled their Landless Tenants to Cultivate Poppy

One of the biggest businesses on the subcontinent, the British government's opium business produced several thousand tonnes of the narcotic, comparable to the output of Afghanistan's famous opium industry, which provides the world market with heroin. The harvest had a "long-term negative impact on millions of people's lives," which is more significant. Advance payments without interest were given to poppy farmers who could not obtain essential financing.^{xxii} This was not bad for companies making good profits in the international market. They were having trouble because the money they were losing from the sale of raw opium was not enough to cover the costs of rent, manure, irrigation, and hired labour. Peasants were not even compensated for the expenses of cultivation by the sum they were given for their opium. ^{xxiii}

They were entangled in a web of binding contracts they could not promptly free themselves from. Strict output objectives set by the Opium Agency also prevented farmers - small peasants were usually the ones growing poppies from choosing whether or not to manufacture opium. They were compelled to provide labour and a portion of their land to support the colonial government's export agenda. Landlords in the area forced their landless tenants to cultivate poppies, and if the peasants objected, they would be imprisoned, their crops damaged, and they would face criminal charges. The system was incredibly forceful.^{xxiv} By 1915, the primary market, China, had cut off the opium trade, and up to 1947, the British Indian opium monopoly remained in place. A small group of opium traders controlled millions of peasants by forcing them to cultivate a crop that was unhealthy for them.^{xxv}

The Decline of the Opium Trade

Opium's significance in Western trade with China had diminished by 1906, at which point the Qing government was able to start controlling the drug's importance and consumption. China signed the Ten Years' Agreement with India in 1907, agreeing to forbid domestic opium growing and usage in return for a proportional decline in Indian opium shipments, which would eventually end entirely in ten years. Consequently, the trade had all stopped in 1917. However, local opium cultivation was not eradicated by the weakened central administration that toppled the Qing authority in 1912; opium smoking and addiction persisted as a problem throughout India and China in the decades that followed. Opium production remained and even expanded in some sections during World War II, despite the temporary closure of opium trade routes from the southeastern and southwest regions of Asia. Opium smoking was ultimately outlawed in 1949 when the Chinese communists came to power.^{xxvi}

Conclusion

The shady opium trade by the British not only destroyed human health but also, directly and indirectly, damaged people's ability to think critically and analytically. In British India, poppies were grown, and opium was produced, even while the problem of opium addiction was being faced. The British authority was facilitating the world's longest-running drug deal. India is one of the victimised nations that have suffered very drastically from the drug trade, which has killed and murdered thousands of innocent

people. The virtuous Indians lost their rights and everything; ultimately, Indian peasants were forced, destitute and impoverished

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THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES IN UPLIFTING GIRL'S EDUCATION IN PONDICHERRY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO REV. FR. DUPUIS

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Introduction

Education is ever-living wealth and improves the quality of a person's life. It gives vision and protects discipline and good conduct towards people. Education was accessible for male rather than female personalities in the 18th and 19th centuries. In general, education was denied to women in those days. They believed that it was their fate and the nature of God's attitude to keep them aside from society's poor position. This superstitious belief confined them to the room, and they lived a prison life. In Pondicherry, innocent women's growth has been highly affected by the absence of education. Women who went out to pursue education were seen as taboo.

Right from the beginning of Christianity, the missionaries started to spread all over the world. In 52 CE, St. Thomas' mission in Kerala led to the establishment of Christianity in India. However, faith in Christianity among Indians increased only after the arrival of Europeans. After the French East India Company established their settlement in Pondicherry in 1674, they made an effort to elevate the status of women in French India by providing education. Because women in European countries were occupying a vital position in society due to the place assigned to the Blessed Virgin Mary by the Christians on account of her relationship with Jesus Christ, the French authorities in Pondicherry were interested in inviting the Christian missions to take up the task of educating girls in French India to develop the society. The task was successfully challenged by Fr. Dupuis, Missions Etrangeres de Paris (Society of the Foreign Mission of Paris). This paper has attempted to highlight Christian missionaries' role, especially Rev. Fr. Dupuis, in uplifting girls' education in Pondicherry.

Christian Missionaries in Girls' Education

The education of children and youth has always been one of the most significant concepts of Christian missionaries. French capuchins came to Pondicherry in 1632 and returned immediately. Later, in 1673, three Caucasians from Madras came to Pondicherry, along with Mr Bellanger de Lespinay, a French naval officer.¹ St. Francis Xavier was the first Jesuit who stayed in Pondicherry at Uppalam when he travelled from Nagapattinam to Santhome in 1542.² However, in 1689, the French Jesuits came to Pondicherry and started their missionary work. The Society of the Foreign Missions of Paris also came to Pondicherry in the same year.³ The Society of the Foreign Missions helped the Capucians and the Jesuits with great enthusiasm in mission work.

Their missionary work was encouraged by the French authorities. In 1735, Benoist Dumas, the Lt. Governor of Pondicherry, wanted to start schools for girls and invited the Ursuline Sisters from France in 1738. However, the missionary schools were administered by the government. The Ursuline Sisters stopped their educational activities in 1744 and returned to France because they disagreed with this rule. The interest in continuing education for the girls in Pondicherry was emphasised by the January 12, 1747, Ordinance, which insisted on educating people experiencing poverty and developing faith in

Christianity.⁴ So the Governor of Pondicherry sent an invitation to the Biggins, the nuns in Flanders. The nuns did not respond to the invitation to start the girl's school in French India.

In 1777, the Jesuits were forced to merge into the Society of the Foreign Mission of Paris. The Missionaries were interested in preaching the Christian faith in the local language of the people and developing downtrodden people.⁵ The Society of Foreign Missions realised that female child education was necessary for the development of society. Only in the 19th century would a newly established French women's congregation known as the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny be able to realise the dream of girls' schools. A great educator named Anne Marie Javouhey discovered it in 1807. She accepted the official invitation from the French Governor and sent a team of three sisters to Pondicherry in January 1827. On February 12, 1827, the first girl's school started in Pondicherry, a boarding school for white girls.⁶ Carmelites, another religious congregation of Pondicherry Mission, started a small school for orphanage children from 1780 to 1845. Apart from these congregations, the Society of the Foreign Missions of Paris was interested in establishing religious Congregations for women and spreading literacy to everyone. Under the mission, Fr. Louis Dupuis got a golden opportunity to promote girls' education during the Synod.

Early life of Father Dupuis

Father Louis Dupuis was born in Athian village, Sanz district, France, on August 18, 1806. His father's name is Etheme Louis Dupuis, and his mother's name is Victoria Ramy. He became a great scholar at an early age. In 1828, he attained the position of Father in the Christian religion. He came to Pondicherry on February 09, 1832. In 1840, Bishop Bonnard recalled Fr. Dupuis from Bangalore and appointed him as a manager of the Mission Printing Press 1840.⁷

Establishment of Congregations and Schools for the Development of Girls Education

In 1844, the Synod of Pondicherry was organised under the supervision of Bishop Bonnard by calling the Bishops from all over Tamil Nadu. In the Synod, Fr. Louis Dupuis expressed his idea about the upliftment of female education and the critical need to open a congregation of Indian Sisters in Pondicherry, who would be experts in educating young girls. He also expressed his thoughts about the disability of Indians' attitudes towards women's improvement and how they set aside the rights of women.⁸ The same was realised by Bishop Bonnard, who permitted him to take immediate action to establish the congregation and start the school for girls.

The image of Father Dupuis was pasted on so many walls with abusive words whenever he approached the women to explain the need for education. Despite these actions, Fr. Dupuis continued to work on improving the girl's education, and he met the girls' family members and made them realise the need for education. On discovering the hard work of Fr. Dupuis, Annammal, daughter of Savari, Bishop of Cuddalore, Therus Marry, daughter of Anthrayain from Pondicherry, and Sister Sauryammal from the Carmelites mission, came forward and helped him establish the congregation.

Fr. Dupuis believed the team of these women was enough to start the school; he took Amirdham Ammal's house for rent in Saint Teresa Street for Rs. 36 and started the congregation known as the Immaculate Heart of Mary on October 16, 1844. On October 17, 1844, he started the first school, Sacred Heart Immaculate Girls School, with one child on the first floor of the Congregation.⁹ Girls' admissions gradually increased. In 1858, more than fifty girls were enrolled. They were taught both Tamil and French. The first school in Dupuis was promoted to a middle school in 1926, a high school in 1955, and a higher secondary school in 1978. At present, with the contribution of Mrs. Sarathambal, this school has shifted to Mission Street. The school remains one of the outstanding schools in Pondicherry.

Fr. Dupuis's Method of Education in Promoting Girl's Education

He says education is like human eyes; it must live with us till death. The Dupuis method of teaching is very different. He insists that a separate school for female education is a must for the sake of their chastity, and only then will the female children be fearless and develop good customs. Well-trained teachers were only permitted to teach the students, which would only give good results. They must learn about the five divisions of the continent, its geographical conditions, and all the countries' details. Only then will they be able to educate the students without any doubt, and the students will also be able to give correct answers. He also insisted that they follow every student's day-to-day attendance and activities during reading time. He also emphasised that teachers identify students' weaknesses and rectify them. He was against the method of memorising or copying reading and emphasised understanding the concepts clearly.¹⁰ After establishing the school, he also supervised the quality of education and students' knowledge. He also appreciated the nuns for their perfect teaching methods. To increase students' strength and encourage creative ideas, he introduced the system of giving prizes and awards to Indian girl students. He also conducted examinations and selected girls based on merit in January 1850. It was the first award given to female students in French India.¹¹

Extension of Girls Schools

The good teaching skills of the teachers and their kind attitude towards the students inspired him to extend the schools not only for French Indian girls but also for British Indian girls. So he opened ten congregations and started twelve schools inside and outside Pondicherry. Pondicherry on 16th October 1844, Nellithope on 22nd November 1854, Purathakudi on 23rd September 1857, Michaelpatti on 2nd November 1859, Kumbakonam on 31st May 1860, Reddiarpalayam on 31st July 1861, Ariyankuppam on 25th April 1863, Tharangambadi on 14th January 1866, Tharmapuri on 8th March 1869, and Veerakaloor on 22nd April 1873.¹²

Fr. Dupuis's hard work in improving the quality of education inspired the French government. In 1871, they recognised the schools of Pondicherry, Nellitope, Reddiarpalayam (Oulgarate), and Ariyankuppam and provided them subsidies.¹³ In 1872, he was appointed superintendent of all twelve schools. These twelve schools have flourished into 116 educational institutions.

Dupuis Letter about the Improvement of Female Child Education

Fr. Dupuis wrote many letters to priests and missionaries. His letters in the year 1858 revealed information about the position of girls' education in Pondicherry. From his letters, it is evident that, at the beginning, no one was interested in attending school. Initially, girls from Christian families started coming to school, and later, girls from Hindu families began coming to school after they realised the importance of education. In his letter dated November 9, 1858, he mentioned the improvements in the reading and writing skills of the students. In his other letter to the priest, he also mentioned the non-Christianity-scheduled caste girls placed in the newly opened school at Ariyankuppam for their education. In his letter dated 26th October 1866, he noted that the students continued to study well, and many passed examinations.¹⁴ His letters also revealed the distribution of equal education to girls of Christianity and Hindus, including scheduled castes.

The Dupuis Document Helped Improve Female Education.

He wrote a will saying that his inherited properties should be handed over to the congregation for the girl's education in his absence. But in his presence, he received his properties and submitted 5,000 francs

to the Congregation for Girls Education. On 25th November 1852, 5.25 kaani land was purchased for the congregation using his money, rupees 1200.¹⁵

Dupuis's Simple Methods of Curriculum and His Writings

Dupuis interest in education was accessible to all, particularly girls. He thought he could communicate better with the students only if he learned the local language, Tamil. Therefore, he worked hard to learn Tamil and its literature. In addition, he also learned Telugu, Kannada, and English for the sake of female education. He formed the syllabus based on the moral, spiritual, and ideological aspects. Therefore, he selectively collected the lines from Thirukural highlighting gratitude, avoiding evil deeds, avoiding impropriety, following truthfulness, and the importance of learning, which were added to the curriculum of his syllabus. He used the ancient Tamil people's proverb to teach moral values most easily. He taught mathematics to students effortlessly and used simple division methods to teach them.¹⁶ He wrote and published many books and translated many books for easy learning. He also explains Tamil letters and their words, phrases, and entire Tamil grammar in his books.

Dupuis composed Vocabularies francis-tamoul, which consist of 420 pages, in his book entitled “Manuel de la conversation ou recueil de mots usuels et de phrases propres à faciliter l'étude du français 'et du tamoul” (Handbook on Conversation to Facilitate the Study of French and Tamil, 184 pages).¹⁷

His other contributions are to Tamil grammar connected with a French grammar book entitled “*Elements de grammaire française*” (160 pages). For Tamil-speaking people to learn French, “*Kodun Tamil: Grammatica latino-tamulica*” in 1843, “*Piransu Ilakkana Nullsurukam*” in 1845, 160 pages, “*Ilakkana Nulatharam*” in 1846, 80 pages, and “*Grammaire Française-Tamoule, ou les règles du Tamoule vulgaire, celles de la langue relevée, et celles de la poésie Tamoule se trouvent exposées au long*” (French-Tamil Grammar) in 1863, 544 pages.¹⁸ He published 41 books between 1840 and 1873, on Christian doctrine 14, on ethics 5, on grammar 2, on Tamil literature 2, as a dictionary 5, and textbooks 13. His book, written in Tamil, has gained great fame and appreciation from countries like Singapore, Karibian Island, and Indonesia. Bintang, Rangoon, the coastal region of Malabar, and in India, it has enlightened chiefly the people in Hyderabad, Visagapattinaam, Mumbai, and Calcutta.¹⁹

The Support Offered to Dupuis to Improve Female Education

He improved education and missionary activities by getting money, such as ten pagodas from a Christian institution, 14 rupees from the Ariyankuppam charitable mission, and money from the collection of prayer places. In 1862, the Governor of Pondicherry was given rupees 40 for the congregation and rupees 700 for the land purchase at Uzhavarkarai.²⁰ Many people helped Fr. Dupuis promote girls' education by giving money and other means.

Conclusion

God has given a great gift to Fr. Dupuis to realise the necessity of education for girls to improve their lives in society. He came forward and took measures to promote girl's education by establishing congregations and schools in Pondicherry. He fixed his step very profoundly in the field of girls' education, even though he was abused by most of the people during the period of French rule in India. Despite all these hurdles, Rev. Fr. Dupuis successfully provided education for girls, improving their position in society. The great man, Fr. Dupuis, died on June 4th, 1874. Congregations are still adhering to Rev. Fr. Dupuis' advice for the advancement of women through education. Now, it has also spread to various states and countries through congregations. The percentage of women's education was only 6 per cent when Fr. Dupuis started school in Pondicherry, but now it has reached up to 81.2 per cent as per the

census of the year 2011. Girls are performing better in education, and a passing percentage of girls have now surpassed boys in the present day. The great man, Rev. Fr. Dupuis, will be remembered forever for his services towards women's education, hard work, and sacrifices. Rev. Fr. Dupuis regards a great man for whom the people of India, particularly those of Pondicherry, will be eternally grateful.

End Notes

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THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN THE SALEM DISTRICT OF TAMIL NADU, 1882- 1905: AN HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION

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Introduction

The Freedom Movement In India Showed Interest In The Social And Political Affairs Of The Indian National Congress Restored To The British Rule Of In India¹⁰—The Region Of Organization And India Level Of Tamil Nadu National Congress. The British Had Their During 1882-1947, And The Whole The Country Was In Mass Resistance At The National Congress In Nagpur, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Allahabad, Madras And Tamil Nadu In State¹¹. The Congress Working Committee In 1883, In The Atmosphere Of Public Newspaper In The Commenced Independence War Of Liberty And Reported For At The Navasati¹², The Movement Of Congress Resolution In Based Started C.R.Das Bepin Chandrapal Tilak, Gokhale, Jinnah, M.A.Ansari, Madanmohanmalavia In Following Of India And Tamil Nadu Leadership In First Congress Committee And Freedom War In Organized On 1882 At Madras¹³. The Role Of Participation In The Congress Sessions Instead Of Nationalist And Politicals In The Congress Until 1880, And Involvement. The India National Congress Especially And Activities Of The Congress. In The Congress Defense To Their Met In Madras On 1887 Important And National Assembly As Real First Made In National Congress Of India. A.O.Hume Acknowledged And On 1893 To Role Nationalism¹⁴.

The Following Visited And Local Leaders Mass Political Meetings At Madras. The Congress Supports G. Subramaniam And C.Vijayaraghavachari To Be Involved In The Participation In Congress Worked Of Political. The Congress Scheduled In December 1894, A Session In The Permanent Of National Congress In Bengali Leaders And Popular In S.N. Banerjee Reach To Madras¹⁵. After In 1880 Started India Nationalist Of British Colonies Of New Viceroy Period. The Growth Of The National Movement In 1882, Most Of The Members Issued Indian Nationalists. The Whole Country Would Various Socio And Political Groups From 1883 To The First Create An India Organization Of Nationalist¹⁶. It Was The South Arcot And North Arcot Districts In Tamilnadu Under The Guidance Dr. B.R.Ambedkar And Others In Mahajansabha In Fire Of Congress In First Freedom Struggle Movement In Salem Districts And Others In Rasipuram, Namakkal, Attur, Tiruchengode, Sankagiri, Erode, Omalur, Dharmapuri And Coimbatore In Before The 1857 War Of The Beginning In Vellore Mutiny Of Tamil Nadu¹⁷.

The National Movement in Salem District

The First Independence War Started In 1798 At Panjankurish Pudukottai District Of Tamilnadu. In Freedom Fighters Of Veerapandikattapoman And First National Movement Fighters Of Nationalist¹⁸. The Nationalism And Spread Of Vellore Mutiny In 1806, Growth In National Movement On The South Tamil In British Rule And The Land Revenue Collection And The Not Only Taxes And Nationalism Through To India¹⁹. India Was Of The North India Movement To The Fire Of Whole Countries In The Second Independence War Of An 1857 Revolution Of India Nationalism After Tamilnadu²⁰. The National Movement In Tamilnadu Congress Committee Organised Modern Political Organization In Swadesh Native Sabha On July 1852 And A Conference In Madras. The Literary Shaba And Value To In 1830 On Swadesh Sabha At Carried²¹. The Swadesh Native Members In C.Eagamparammudaliyar, Lakshmanchetty, Sadagopucharlu To Again The British Revenue And Missionaries To The Region

Defeat Of British Government²². The Resistance Of The Swadesh Reported And Information In Salem, Cuddalore, Trichy, Tirunelveli To Spread Of Rebellion In The British Rule Blocked Of Tamilnadu And Service Of Swadesh Native It Information Of Including In Salem District²³. In Growth Of The National Movement And Social Power Of People In Political Involvement Of Congress Organized In 1884 And The Month May 16th At Madras Mahajana Sabha And Worked For The Congress Committee And Conference In 1885 On The Bombay Attended To The Madras Mahajana Sabha Twentyone President For Meeting In National Congress Committee At Before The Started In All District Of Tamilnadu²⁴. The Indian National Congress Conference In P.Rangai Naidu Leaders And G.Subramaniam, C.Vijayaraghavachari Conducted Of Conference In Madras. The National Movement Of Nationalists On 1887-1894 And Of India National Congress Organized At Madras, Allahabad, Delhi, Calcutta, Nagapur, Lahore And Lucknow At The Congress Conference Of Freedom Movement Awareness In Tamilnadu²⁵. It Was The Swadeshmitran Editor In Subramaniam Bharathi In 1895. The Poet Of The India National Congress Fire In Districts And Organized Public People And College Students In Officers Of Tamilnadu At Madras, Kumbakonam, Coimbatore, Madurai And Calicut In Kerala And Known The Swadeshmitran Spread Of Organized The National Movement²⁶ The Political Was In Resistance Of Districts Congress Committee On 1894, Tiruchy, Tanjore In North Arcot Districts And 1902 Chengalpet, Madurai. The Political Power Of Organized In **"Hinduyoungsabha"** In 1903-1905 Of Congress Committee In One Hundred Freedom Fighters In Salem District²⁷.

It Was That Following The Conclusion Of Congress Session And Public On The Issued. Student Participation In Politics Involved Two Congress Stalwarts, Swarendranath Banerjee And Pandit Madanmohanmalaviya, Who Participate In The Movement And Dramatized To Overshadow Other National Issues In The Participation Of Students In 1894²⁸. The Era Saw Emergency Of New Generation Of India's From With In The Congress Party Including C.Rajagopalachari, Subhaschandra Bose And Others Who Would Later On Came To From The Prominent Voice Of The Indian Role Of Movement²⁹. After The World War, Participation Struggle In The Non-Co-Operation Movement, Civil Disobedience Movement, Swaraj Party, Surat Split-Conference Salem District, And Terrorism Freedom Fighters. The Against Background Of The Congress Met From 26 To 31 On December 1920 Swing Towards Gandhi Among The Prominent Leaders Became Clear From The Very First Day. The President Of The Congress Session C. Vijayaraghavachari In Salem Districts In Non-Co-Operation Movement Gandhi, Bibinchandrapal, M.A.Jinnah Mention Of The Connection With British³⁰. The National Movement In The All Strikes Of Tamil Nadu, On 1905 In Nationalist An Eminent Of Terrorism. In Subramaniam C.Vijayaraghavachari G.Subramaniam, M.Veerarghavaiah, V.O.Chidambarampillai And Subramaniam Bharathi In Poet And Fire Of National Movement In Salem District³¹. There Was A Resolution Of The Movement In And Against The British Government In The Association Of Madras Native "Hindu Mahasabha" And "Madras Mahajana Sabha" Dominant British Period—The Congress Leader Of P.Rangaiah Naidu, Salem Vijayaraghavachari And The National Awakening In The Madras Presidency³². The Swadesh Movement Also Came At The End Of 1905 As One Of The Congress Rebels, A Prominent Gokhale Leader And A Moderate National Congress President. The Early Congress Period Of Strikes And The Several Large-Scale Organized Of Bombay Cotton Mills, Railway And Sometime Others In All Districts³³. There Set On Fire Of Subramaniam Chivadies At Pappapatti. There Was A Procession Carrying Flags Bearing The Words Freedom Movement Of Liberty And Peace At Salem District³⁴. Throughout The World And The Succeeded And The Attention Of Not Only Britain. But Other Countries An End To The Exploitative Of And British Rule In India. To Mass People Of India Thought At Only The India National Congress. That Could Help Them To Achieve Independence Declaring To The Congress Organization In 1887 On The States Of Tamil Nadu In Salem District³⁵. It Was Some

Consolation Hindu Mahasabha In Its Session Held Lucknow Expressed It Strong Opposition To Separate Take Any Prominent Of The All India-Congress Committee. Annie Besant, Tilak Gokhale And The Events Of 1907 Loomed In His Memory Who Was Presiding Over The 1914 Congress Session At Madras. The Task Of The British East India Company In The Mysore War The First Collector Of Salem Districts Was Captain Of Alexander To Implement Revenue Collection. The National Movement Political And British Administration Of Again The People In First World War. The Hindu Newspaper, Editor Of G.Subramaniyaier An The 1894 Congress Of Participation Public In Schools, And College Students Of Nationalism³⁶. The Freedom Struggle Of Non-Violence In The Tamil Poems Of Namakkal Ramalingampillai. The Mass Propaganda Campaign To The Movement Of Struggle. After The World War, The Membership In Congress Expanded Considerably, Owing To The Public Excitement Of The New Generation Leader, C. Vijayarachari, Who Was In Congress And Committed To Salem District ³⁷.

Conclusion

The Tilak Was India Fighters And The Activities. The Home Rule Leagues All Helped Promote In The 1918 Report That A National Committee Presided Over The British. Justice Rowlatt Describing The Anti-Government Activity In The Freedom Fighters In India Provided On March 18th, 1919 In Arrested People. The British Imperialist And India Since To Beginning Of The Twentieth Century Failure Of Montagu Chelmsford, At Same Time Provided In Salem Districts, For The Mass Struggle And The Organized M.Veeraraghavaiyer, P.Anandacharlu Were The Founders In Congress Committee At Mahajanasabha Report. The First Conference Was Held In December 1884; In Madras, India, The National Congress Association Attended A Conference And Met In Bombay. The Against Of 19th Session At Madras On 1903. The Worked Of India National Movement Of Tamil Nadu. Salem Vijayragahavachari Subramaniya Siva Subramani Baharathi At Conference Of Surat. It Was 1904 As Editor of The Swadesamitra, News In Extremist. India's Freedom Movement In Riched And People In Tamil. Hindu, Muslim, Sikh Christians and Others In Countries Including Tamil Nadu Districts In Arcot, South Arcot, Salem Coimbatore, Trichy, Tanjore, North Arcot And With The Activities Of The Group Of Administration In Against The British Rule. The C.Rajagopalachari On The Following Days After The Resolution In Tamil Nadu Districts, All The Leaders Were Imprisoned Under The Defence Of India Act²². It Also Carried Information About The World War Over India, The Indian National Congress, Nationalism, And Committees In The Mahatma Gandhi To The Early Time Of 1915. The Regional Of A District's Participation In Freedom Struggle And Role Of Individual Parts On The Fighters Of Contribution He Also Masses Supporters Of Tamil Nadu.

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THE POLITICS OF AUTOBIOGRAPHIES: A RE-READING OF DALIT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES IN MALAYALAM

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Kerala

Introduction

“A book should serve as the axe for the frozen sea within us” – Franz Kafka.¹

After going through the German Poet Christian Friedrich Hebbel's memoir, Franz Kafka expressed his reading experience in a letter to his childhood friend Oskar Pollack in 1904. A book should undoubtedly contain the power to shatter our utmost cold perceptions and prejudices. It can be seen that the intense narratives of Dalit autobiographies published in India have evolved to shatter these vicious perceptions and social taboos. These works have attempted to critically examine visceral human insights and autopsied society by questioning the filthy societal norms that still thrive. The striking feature of these autobiographies is the raw depiction of Dalit struggles and survivance. The self-consciousness that we are personifications of different stories gave impetus to Dalit autobiographies in Kerala and shaped their political motto. All Dalit autobiographies in Kerala stem from the realization that each of us is an autobiography. This is also the political slogan they uphold.

In essence, during the early years, the unspoken rule of the eligibility to write an autobiography was confined to those who had succeeded in their professional field or had led an exemplary life in society. The belief that individuals who have succeeded in their professional endeavors or have led exemplary lives in society and whose life experiences can serve as guiding lights for society defines autobiographical narratives. This definition has been a subject of much discussion, criticism, and revision in our era. The political and social situation in Kerala has created an environment where autobiographies are sought after by influential figures in society, individuals who may not have led exemplary lives, and others who write their life stories from a position of notoriety.

The growth and acceptability of Modern Democratic and Renaissance values has brought about a transformation in Kerala society. As a result of this transformation, all the prominent publishers in Kerala are now publishing autobiographical stories of different sections of society- thieves, transgender people, sex workers, nuns, civil servants, politicians, Naxalites, controversial heroes and heroines. These narratives bring to the forefront contemporary society's mysteries, controversies, contradictions, and autobiographical accounts. Kerala society now openly discusses and enjoys these revelations. An important reason for the success of these autobiographies is that they not only offer a glimpse into the private lives of others but also satisfy our voyeuristic curiosity about their personal experiences and journeys.

Definitions of Autobiography

The concept of autobiographical writing can be traced back to ancient civilisations. While these are not true autobiographies in the modern sense, there were instances of individuals chronicling their own lives or experiences. In the contemporary sense, the emergence of autobiography as a literary genre and critical term around 1800 coincided with the rise of the contemporary subject. This genre of non-fictional yet 'constructed' autodiegetic narration allows the autobiographer to delve into their identity and its

developmental trajectory. Looking back, they can weave together the story of their life from its humble beginnings to the present moment, revealing the process of self-discovery and growth. As Nietzsche aptly put it, autobiography explores the question of "How One Became What One Is."²

The term "Autobiography" can be defined only by summarising that the term "autobiography" implies the description (graphic) of individual human life (bios) by the individual himself (auto)³. Encyclopaedia Britannica explains, "Autobiography is the biography of oneself narrated by yourself. An autobiography is not just a mere retelling of one's life story but a profound introspection into the depths of one's experiences and emotions. It allows the author to convey their unique perspective, shedding light on their personal growth and transformation throughout the narrative.

In the opinion of Diane P. Freedman and Olivia Frey, "Autobiography is a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context"⁵. Autobiography, in its essence, is a powerful tool that allows individuals to not only share their personal experiences but also to situate themselves within the broader social fabric. By weaving their unique stories with the social dynamics that shaped them, auto biographers offer readers a deep understanding of their lives and the world around them. Through this genre, we gain valuable insights into the complexities of human existence and the intricate interplay between individual identity and societal influences. Autobiographies provide an intimate glimpse into both the personal and collective realms, fostering empathy and sparking meaningful conversations about our shared humanity.

The above definitions make it clear that autobiography is primarily about narrating the experiences of an individual's life. An autobiography is a written or recorded account of a person's life, written by that person themselves. The first autobiography in English is "The Book of Margery Kempe"⁶. The narrative of this autobiography revolves around a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

In India, Sultan Firoz Shah is the first Indian to pen his autobiography as a standalone piece of literature⁷. Ascending the throne of Delhi in 1351 AD and passing away in 1388 AD, Firoz Shah left behind a remarkable memoir titled "Futuh-i-Firoz Shahi." Written in Persian, this concise masterpiece spans only thirty-two pages.

About one hundred and fifty years after Firoz Shah came, Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty, with his Babur-nama or Tuzuk-i-Baburi in the Turkish language ⁸. Later, Gul-Badan Begum, following in her father's footsteps, penned an autobiography in Persian, chronicling the memories of her father, Babur and her brother Humayun. In his autobiography, Jahangir, the Mughal King, follows in the footsteps of his great-grandfather Babur, choosing to document his activities personally rather than rely on others. The first autobiography in one of India's vernaculars, Hindi, was written in 1641 by Banarasidasa, a Jain poet⁹, entitled the Arddhakatha or the Half-story.

In the realm of autobiographical literature, the Malayalam language saw its first work in the latter half of the 19th century, authored by Parameswaran Moothathu, popularly known as Vaikath Paachu Moothathu, was a renowned scholar in the field of Ayurveda, Sanskrit, Malayalam and History ¹⁰. The second autobiography in Malayalam is attributed to Kovunni Nedungadi, a prominent Sanskrit scholar and author of Kerala Kaumudhi grammar text who lived in the latter half of the 19th century. The third Malayalam autobiography is the work of the Swadeshabhmani Rama Krishna Pillai, titled "Ente Nadukadathal" (My Banishment) ¹¹. Subsequently, during the 20th century, numerous autobiographies were penned in the Malayalam language.

Dalit Autobiographies

The term "Dalit" was first used by Jyotirao Phule in the 19th century to refer to a community, using the term Dalitodharan (upliftment of oppressed castes) ¹². The term 'Dalit', connoting the state of being 'ground down' or 'depressed', has since the 1970s been used generically in India to represent the constituency of peasants, workers, women, tribals and ex-untouchable castes who together are seen to challenge the upper-class, north Indian, Hindu Brahmanic hegemony in the national-political scene in post-independence India. The Dalit Panther Manifesto of 1972 used the term to include 'members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, neo-Buddhists, the working people, the landless and poor peasants, women and all those who are being exploited politically, economically, and in the name of religion' ¹³. Its anti-Brahmanical, anti-upper class, anti-patriarchal ideological underpinning can be traced to the writings and socio-political activism of Jyotiba Phule, the lower-caste Maharashtrian social reformer who founded the Satyashodhak Samaj (Truth-Seeking Society) in 1875. B.R. Ambedkar initially used the term to describe not only his community but later to indicate oppressed classes in general. The popularisation of this term began in the 1970s with the formation of the Dalit Panther Movement in Maharashtra.

Sir Monier Williams researched and published in the Sanskrit-English dictionary and traced the origin of the name "Dalit." According to his findings, the root word "dal" in Sanskrit carries the meaning of "split," "broken," "shattered," "scattered," "crushed," or "oppressed" ¹⁴. In the context of the term "Dalit," it signifies those who have been oppressed, shattered, and marginalised. It refers to a category of people who have historically faced discrimination and oppression, often belonging to socially disadvantaged communities.

Arjun Dangle wrote, "Dalit is not a caste but a realisation and is related to the experiences, joys and sorrows, and struggles of those in the lowest stratum of society" ¹⁵. A "Dalit" person has undergone and faced societal discrimination, marginalisation, and attempts to subjugate their life experiences due to caste-based social hierarchies.

Dalit autobiographies hold a significant place in India's political and social history. They are a powerful medium for marginalised individuals to share their life stories, experiences, and struggles faced due to societal exploitation and discrimination. *Untouchable: The Autobiography of an Indian Outcast* (1951) by **Hasari** is considered the first Dalit autobiography, which delves into the hardships faced by an exceptionally perceptive and driven individual hailing from the most marginalised and Dalit segment of Indian society ¹⁶. Providentially, he found employment with successive English households as a domestic worker; from them, he received much kind treatment, which he would never dream of getting from an Indian. The autobiography ends when he embarks for Europe.

All these autobiographies offer insights into the complex and often harsh realities of being a Dalit in a society marked by caste-based discrimination. The common theme in these autobiographies is the desire to bring about change and raise awareness about the social realities faced by Dalits. These autobiographies reflect the author's responses to societal conditions and their efforts to bring about positive societal change.

Subsequently, numerous autobiographies have been written by Dalits in various languages in India, especially Marathi and English. This change and trend highlight the growing significance of Dalit voices and their autobiographical accounts in Indian literature.

Dalit Autobiographies in Malayalam

Dalit autobiographies in Kerala, a state in South India, have played a crucial role in documenting and sharing the experiences and struggles of the Dalit community. Dalits, who have historically been marginalised and subjected to discrimination in India, have used autobiographies as a powerful medium to voice their stories, challenge social injustices, and assert their identities.

The published academic books related to autobiographies in Malayalam do not specify which is the first Dalit autobiography in the Malayalam language. However, it mentions that Cornelius Houton, a student at CMS College in Kottayam in 1859, is one of the earliest Dalit students who wrote the first Dalit autobiography¹⁷. This autobiography was published in the 'Malayala Mitram', a magazine published by the Basel Mission Society, in 1892. Cornelius Houton, a native of Chalakudy, could study at CMS College for a period of three months only. Ravaged by caste discrimination, he escaped to Malabar and was raised by the Basel Mission Society as a priest. Houton himself read this autobiography out on the day of his priestly ordination.

In the "Malayalam Research Journal", published by the Benjamin Bailey Foundation, an article was written by G. Priyadarshan, a noted Kerala media historian, about the Christian missionaries David Arjavam and his son Israel Arjavam, who were originally from the Pulaya community in Kerala and was later converted to Christianity¹⁸. Israel Arjavam wrote a second Dalit autobiography, titled "Ente Katha" (My Story), published in Malayala Manorama on February 11, 1893, and holds significance as the first autobiography in Malayalam literature published outside of missionary publications. After this autobiography, he also wrote an article, 'Pulayar', in Malayala Manorama on July 28, August 25, and September 22, 1894, highlighting the life and history of the Pulaya community in Kerala.

However, these autobiographies were not published in book form. They did not gain prominence in mainstream academic texts or the history of language and literature. Professor Joseph Mundassery, literary critic and First Education Minister, explains in his autobiography, *Kozhinja Ilakal* (Fallen Leaves), that they were not accepted in the social, scholarly, and cultural domains¹⁹. Since caste and community defined the boundaries in the socio-cultural sphere, the Namboothiris and other high-caste people stood on one side and lower castes, including Ezhavas, were on the other. In the literary field, the Ezhavas and Christians could only approach their readers through community publications. Therefore, it was only through these community-oriented publications that the Ezhavas and Christians, who were engaged in the literary field, came into close contact with readers, as noted by Mundassery

In the subsequent years, numerous autobiographies with a touch of self-reflection were published in Malayalam. Within this literary movement, noteworthy autobiographical writings were undertaken by writers such as Kallen Pokkudan (*Kandalkkadukalkkidayil Ente Jeevitham* -My Life Among the Mangrove Forests), Prof.M. Kunhaman (*Dissent*), K. K. Kochu (Dalithan), C. K. Janu (*Mother Forest*), Mayilamma (*The Life of a Tribal Eco-Warrior*), Seleena Prakkanam (*Chengara struggle and my Life*), and Rajani Palambarambil (*aa nellimaram pulling - That gooseberry tree is just a grass*), to name a few. Following the publication of Cornelius Houton's pioneering autobiography, many Dalit autobiographies have emerged in the past 100 years, providing unaltered accounts of the experiences of caste discrimination directly from the broader society.

Autobiographies of Caste Discrimination

This article examines the autobiographies of several authors, including Prof. M. Kunhaman's "*Dissent*," Seleena Prakkanam's "*Chengara Struggle and My Life*," Rajani Palambarambil's "*Aa Nellimaram Pullanu*" (*That Gooseberry Tree is Just a Grass*), Kallen Pokkudan's "*Kandalkkadukalkkidayil Ente Jeevitham*"

(My Life Among the Mangrove Forests), and Sukumaran Chaligatha's "Bethimaran." A key theme in these autobiographies is their experience of caste discrimination from upper-caste neighbours, as well as in schools and colleges.

The autobiography of Prof. M. Kunhaman, 'Dissent', begins by describing his experience when he went to drink gruel at the house of an upper caste man in the neighbourhood. "I was fourteen years old when this happened - I had visited a landlord's house seeking gruel. The hole was dug, and gruel poured in. There was a frightful dog in that house. The house residents bade the dog to drink the gruel along with me. Approaching the hole with loud barks, the dog, in his haste to lap up the gruel, pounced on me and bit me out of his way. In retrospect, there was nothing between a dog and a human; the relation was that of two dogs sparring with each other for a swig of gruel".²⁰

Notably, in all these autobiographies, there are descriptions of caste discrimination faced while studying in schools in Kerala. Schools, which should teach modern human values like equality and fraternity, are the training centres for transitioning to a democratic system. It is in these educational institutions that caste discrimination exists and continues. Kunhaman's autobiography, "Dissent", describes the experiences of caste discrimination at school.

"There was a teacher in Class III, whom children looked upon with awe. He would not call me by my name; he would always call me Panan (a caste name). He would write math problems on the board and say, 'Hey, Panan, speak up.' Once, unable to endure, I spoke up: "Sir, I'm not to be called by my Caste name. Call me Kunhaman".

"So, what if I called you by Caste name, huh?" - he landed a slap on my face with a wide swing of his arm. He was a big man in the locality. "Hey, where's your book?" he further asked; when I replied that I did not have it, he continued with the ridicule, 'So, it's for gruel that you came to School, not for studies.' Having been beaten up, it was with a swollen face that I returned home.²¹

"Aa Nellimaram Pullanu" (That gooseberry tree is just a grass),²² powerfully narrates that when Rajani was a child in school, her teacher would address her as "Karumpi" (meaning dark-skinned girl) rather than calling her name. Rajani remembered that she asked the teacher why that name called her, and the teacher replied, I would like only call you Karumpi. Such shifts highlight the growing awareness that the concept of caste serves as a form of entrenched power, primarily wielded by dominant sections of society.

For instance, in higher classes, she recalls how upper-caste students used to occupy the first and second benches while Dalit students were deliberately made to sit in the third and fourth benches. This was an instance of caste discrimination that Rajani and other Dalit students were made to endure.

The autobiography Bethimaran,²³ written by poet Sukumaran Chaligatha, recounts an incident from his seventh-grade experience in a hostel. Someone stole the Hostel warden's money when he was in the hostel. The hostel warden and fellow students made an allegation against Sukumaran that he had stolen the money. After the caste humiliation he faced, Sukumaran chose to leave the hostel and return to his home. It was an emotionally distressing experience for him.

In his eighth grade, when he attempted to gain admission to another hostel, he was labelled a "thief" by the hostel's residents. The warden did not attempt to verify the truth or support Sukumaran in any way. This incident highlights the deep-rooted prejudices and discrimination prevalent in society, even in educational institutions, where stereotypes and biases can have severe consequences for those who are targeted chastely.

Seleena Prakkanam's autobiography, *Chengara Samaravum Ente Jeevithavum* (Chengara Struggle and My Life), narrates her college experience, where she was subjected to blatant caste-based discrimination. Even within the college campus, ²⁴ she faced prejudice and hardship. The authorities, fellow students, and even office-bearers displayed such harshness that she decided to bring her grievances to light and eventually concluded her studies. These experiences illustrate the deeply ingrained bias within the educational institutions and society at large, where Dalit students are unfairly treated and have to struggle for their rights.

In Kerala, Seleena Prakkanam often mentions that residential areas also have caste. ²⁵ Dalits usually reside in places with lush fields, dense forests, and no roads, where buses cannot reach. The establishment of such living centres for Dalits resulted from the eviction of lower-caste individuals by higher-caste landowners, which led to such residential spaces. While the benefits of Kerala's land reforms did not reach them, they were not included in the lists of beneficiaries or landless people. They did not gain from land redistribution, and in some cases, they lost their land due to this process.

Dalit Self-Assertion Empowers the Creation of Identity

The challenges faced by Dalits can be characterised as a state of oppression and powerlessness. They have been unable to attain self-sufficiency in various spheres of social life, including economics, education, law, religion, and culture. Their primary struggle is the persistent experience of oppression across all areas of life, preventing them from achieving self-sufficiency in any of these areas. The oppressed people never experience the true freedom of self-determination.

Self-identity is derived from the awareness of the state of oppression, which is central to narratives created from historical contexts. The term "construction of identity" represents a process, representation, and awareness. It is a modern set of values that seeks to perceive and interpret their past and future, actively engaging in transforming self-identity. These narratives allow us to see a collective of modern humans who participate in the reformation of self-identity, with the shared values of democracy, attempting to interpret their past and future.

The experiences of discrimination and humiliation, narrated through witness testimonies, contribute to the discovery of caste differentiations and injustices from the past. When such narrations unfold, they bring about a transformation in the autobiographical accounts related to Dalits. Even when individuals from higher castes celebrate life without caste distinctions and public acceptance, Dalits continue to experience life marked by the inescapable aspects of their caste. Modern societal awareness recognises that whenever there is a confrontation with the social and economic system, autobiographies play a role in asserting identity and empowering the reshaping of self-identity. Autobiographies are a powerful tool for Dalits to challenge the status quo and reshape their self-identity.

Dalit autobiographies strive to interpret society and their community. Through their representation, each individual contributes to the collective history by narrating their life stories. These narratives express anger and frustration but also reflect a desire for transformation and assertion of Dalit values. They serve as a means to uncover past injustices and lost histories and question and critically examine the socio-cultural and economic aspects of the present, often from a marginalized standpoint. In doing so, they provide a powerful medium to challenge the status quo and promote a broader social awareness of the issues faced by Dalits, catalysing social change and transformation.

Conclusion

Over the past two millennia, the Dalit community in India, who have endured oppression and discrimination, have experienced a profound transformation of their lived experiences through their literature and autobiographical narratives. They have brought forth a significant shift in their narratives, taking their status as oppressed individuals and transforming it into a powerful identity. They have turned themselves from being downtrodden to self-empowered and brought their homes along with them.

In India, where the dominant castes have tried to erase the memories of Dalits, their lives, protests, and artistic expressions are transforming autobiographies. These narratives serve as a testament to how the memories of Dalits are shaping history and will continue to do so.

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THE HISTORY OF DALIT CRITICISM IN MALAYALAM LITERATURE

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Introduction

The Word 'Dalit' Was First Experimented with In Maharashtra, In The Deccan Region Of India, To Emulate The Movement Heralded In The United States Of America For The Emancipation Of Blacks As 'Black Panthers'. Similarly, 'Dalit Panthers' Was Founded In Maharashtra In The latter part Of the 1960s, Which Eventually Paved the Way For Dalit Literature In Marathi. The Word Dalit Caught Up With Popular Mood And The Movements And Literature In Other Indian Languages Unhesitatingly Named Them As Dalit.

The Term Dalit Refers To A Particular Group Or Community In India. They Have Been Ostracized, Exploited And Humiliated Due To Caste Structure And Social Order Ardently Followed In India. The Etymology Of The Word 'Dalit' Can Be Traced to The Root Word 'Dal' in Sanskrit And 'Dalan' In Hindi, Meaning 'Broken Down' Or 'Broken To Pieces'. It Is Believed That Jotibharao Phule (1826-90) First Used The Term To Describe The Condition Of outcasts and Untouchables In India. Later, the term was popularised by B.R. Ambedkar, who used it profusely in his speeches and writings in Marathi. The Term Gained New Meaning In the 1970s Period Of Literary And Cultural Bloom That Witnessed The Birth Of Dalit Literature, And In The Present, The Term Refers To Belated Recognition Of The Dalit' Militant Claims Upon A History Of Humiliation And Suffering.¹

Since Its Origin, Dalit Literature Has Emerged As A Form Of Social Resistance Literature. According To Cultural Critic R. Nagaraj (1954-1998), Dalit Literature Is A Literature Of Decluttered Dalits, And Its Articulates Rights And Entitlements In The Liberal Polity². There For Dalit Literature Is Literature Of Resistance; An Outcry Against All Forms Of Humiliations Suffered Due To Caste Discrimination And Social Hierarchical Structures. Arjun Dangle, The Marathi Dalit Writer, Editor And Activist, Suggests, "Revolt And Negativism mark Dalit Literature, Since It Is Closely Associated With The Hopes For Freedom By A Group Of People, Who As Untouchables, Are Victims Of Social, Economic And Cultural Inequality "(Trans. Mukherjee). Dangle Traces The Origin Of Dalit Literature To Ambedkar. His revolutionary ideas encouraged Dalits to speak for themselves; therefore, Dalit literature is an expression of Self-awareness and an assertion of a dignified life.

The Source And The Inspiration For Dalit Writers Were Untouchability, The Literature Produced By The Inimitable Dr B.R. Ambedkar. He Was A Pioneer Of The Dalit Movement And The Dalit Critique Of Indian Society. As a literary movement, it continues to grow. New authors continue to add their voices to the collective outrage of resistance against caste-based discrimination and the humiliation suffered by all ages. Thus, Most Of The Dalit Literature Is Written By Dalit Writers/Activists Who Prefer To Document Their Experience In Their Language, Often their Mother Tongue, Which Is The Beauty Of This Literature³. But There Are Three Types Of Authors In Dalit Literature. The first is Dalit Writers, The Second One Is Writings Of Dalits, And the Third is The Life Of Dalits Portrayed By Dalit Writers⁴.

Dalit Literature in Malayalam

Dalit Literature Arose Out Of The Lives Of Abended, Discriminated And Movements Over Human Wrists. The Reform Movements Of Ambedkar And Other Social Reform Movements In India Have Influenced The Dalit Literary Activity. The Roots Of Dalit Philosophy Lies With Ambedkar's Thoughts Pattern Closely Aligns With The Ideas Of Buddha, Kabeer And Phule.

Initially, The Umbrella Term Dalit Comprised Of Poor, Poor Farmers, Women, Minorities And Lower Caste In The Caste Hierarchy. But Later, Poor Farmers And Minorities Alone Comprised In The Umbrella Term Of Dalits. So, The Wide Scope Of The Term Dalit Was Not Discussed With Importance. It Is The Rise Of Modern Literature In Malayalam That Literature Depicts The Lives Of Dalits Started To Appear In Malayalam Literature.

Within The Middle Of 19th Century Slavery, Feudalism Untouchability Began To Be Problematic Due To The Reforms Occurred In All Spheres Of Lives. The Changes Which Followed This Reformation Changed The Social Structure Of Kerala. This Was Reflected In Malayalam Literature Also. Drastic Changes In The Portrayal Of Romance, Sex And Love Occurred In This Background, Which Was Different From The Existed Portrayals. Three Processes With Such Examples Are 'Ghathaka Vadham' and 'Written By Mr And Mrs. Collins.' 'Pulleli Kunchu' Written By Arch. Deacon Koshi And 'Saraswathi Vijaayam' Written By Potheri Kunjambhu. These Proses Critique The Social Moralities Of That Time. 'Duravastha' Is An Example Of A Poem With The Lead Character Of A Dalit. Since then, the changes in Dalit literature have been evident. Several Studies On The Shift Is Also Noticeable.

The Trajectory of Dalit Literature Criticism

Malayalam Dalit Literature Works Has An Important Role In The Socio-Economic Political Sphere Of Malayalam Literature. Dalit Literary Criticism Has To Be Seen Along With This Context. Dalit Literary Criticism Interferes In The Fields Of Literature Art, Culture Etc.. Even Though Dalit-Subaltern Criticism Is Discussed For More Than Thirty Decades. This Area Has Needed More Attention⁵. The Major Reason For The Nature Of Modernity And Questioning Of The Identity Politics Of Those Who Rise and Interfere in This Process. This Questioning And Neglecting The Existing Beliefs, Truths And Power Has Not Received Enough Attention. The Discussions Have Been Reduced To The Quotation Of Gopal Guru, "The Theoretical Brahmin And Empirical Shudhra"⁶. This Summarising Is Limiting Historical And Literary Enquiries.

The Arguments Of Kancha Eliyappa On Dalit Bahujan Aesthetic Sense And The Knowledge Of Production Practices Have Been Neglected By Dominance⁷. This Was An Attempt To Stop And Nullify The Process Of Enquires On Knowledgeable Production. This Was Challenged And Opposed By The Dalit Criticism, And There Lies The Victory Of The Dalit Criticism.

Even Though The Foundation Of Dalit Criticism Lies With Ambedkar, Malayalam Has An Incredible Contribution Into This Area⁸. The Literary Works In the 1980s, Which Deals With Alienation and oppression, Did Not Give Much Attention To Caste Dynamics⁹. The Works Like 'Thottiyude Makan And Vellapokkathil' Written By Thakazhi, 'Thotti' By Nagavalli R S Kurup, 'Manikkan' By Lalithambika Antharjanam, Writings By Changampuzha, Plays By Thoppil Basi, Pomes By Kadammanitta, Etc.. Are They Mentioned About Ordinary People And Their Life But They Do Not Mention About Caste. They Used Terms Like Labour Class, Working Class, Instead Of Caste¹⁰. Terms Like Oppressed, Harijan, Labour Etc.. Were Also Used In Literature, But Caste Was Not Mentioned Anywhere In Those Works.

It Is Shri. Paul Chirakkarode was the first person To criticise these trends in the critical narratives of Malayalam literature. His Works Like 'Dalit Sahithyam' And 'Dalit Kavitha' Put Forth A Social Scientific Critique Method. Being A Novelist And Story Writer, Themes On The Problems Of Caste Come Across. He Criticised The Focus On The Other Aspects Which Shadowed The Real Caste Issues In The Society. His Examples Are 'Mathil', 'Nizhal', And 'Velicham'. The Writings Of Many Writers In That Time Questioned Caste And Its Power Dynamics. They Criticised The Whole Caste System But That Merely Identified As A Usual Deliberations Regarding Caste. Sahodharan Ayyappan, Also Known As 'Pulayan Ayyappan, ' Reminds Us About This Suppressed Paste In His Poem 'Onappattu'¹¹.

Writers Sahodaran Ayyappan, K P Karuppan, Poyikayil Appachan, K K Govindan, T K C Vaduthala In First Stage And C Ayyappan, Sunny M Kapikkad, G Sasi, S E James, Paul Chirakkarod In Second Stage Are Not Studied And Analysed By Our Existing Criticism Method Until 1990es. After that, we started discussing new thoughts that we had never discussed before. Afro-American Literature And Black Literature Are Already Established And Started New Reading In Their Literature Studies. It Influenced Enquires Regarding What Are The Roles Of Literature Among Common People. There Arose The Dalit Enquires Like Feminism, Environmental Studies, Studies About Democracy. It Made A New Reading Method That Criticised the Brahmanical Dominance And Its Narratives.

Conclusion

Dalit Literature Focus On A Democratic Society, Which Dismantling The Entire Caste System. So It's Aimed To Flourish Suitable Language And Aesthetics Inclusive Of All. It can be identified as a process of recollecting the writings of those who were neglected in the past narratives. It Is Heartily Welcomed By Postmodern Literature. New Historicism, Feminism, Subaltern Studies, Nationalist Concepts, Structuralism Approach, and Post-Colonial Studies Helped The Evolution And Development Of Dalit Studies. Dalit Literature Criticism Is Developed As A Continuation Of Dalit Movements And Dalit Literature. So, We Can Say That Malayalam Dalit Literature Is Highly Embedded in the World's Literature Criticism And Study Methods. The Contemporary Cultural Practice That Evolves Within The Dalit Writings In Malayalam Is Vibrant With A Variety Of Voices And Divergent Perspectives.

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THE SOCIO-POLITICAL MILIEU OF THE TRAVANCORE STATE CONGRESS

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Introduction

From classical times onwards, history has been regarded as an account of the doings of the great.¹ According to this tradition, all creative efforts in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres centred around the charismatic leadership of the dominant sections, 'those who held power'.² Political history received the prime focus on the historical narration of that period. As per this school of thought, history conceived the experiments and experiences of the elites. It neglected the masses' history, political will, and political participation. The 'Great Men' effect was only replaced by social and economic history in the nineteenth century.⁴ Since the preoccupation with economic and social ends represents a broader and more advanced stage in human development than the preoccupation with political and constitutional ends, the economic and social interpretation of history may be said to represent a more advanced stage in history than the exclusively political interpretation.⁵

In turn, the nationalist historiography transcribed Indian nationalism as an idealistic movement that propelled the people from subjugation to freedom. It focused on the charismatic role played by individual elites as a triggering force in this process. The main feature of this historiography is that it emphasises the native elite as promoters of the cause of people and functionaries of their agency. This nationalist discourse tried to suppress the inevitable, irreducible, significant diversity and plurality of people and culture in this country.⁶ Travancore, a premier princely state in the southernmost part of the sub-continent, India, is predominant because of its social, political, and cultural heritage.

Socio-Political Milieu of Travancore

Since the last decade of the nineteenth century, Travancore witnessed some qualitative changes in the administrative sphere. Political modernization and representative politics found their expression in the administration. When the native state was considered, the people were allowed to associate themselves with legislative work.⁷ Theoretically, the assemblies were constituted to fulfill the wants and wishes of people and represented their views regarding the administrative measures adopted by the government.

Political agitation began in Travancore with Barrister G. Parameswaran Pillai spearheading a crusade on constitutional lines against the autocratic government of the state with unabated vigour and unflinching courage.⁸ As the first phase of the struggle, he contributed a series of articles that bristled with trenchant expositions of the evils of administration. He was remembered in history as the mastermind behind the '*Malayali Memorial*' submitted to the King on 11 January 1891. It was signed by ten thousand and thirty-eight persons and presented to the ruler, and thus, it was characterised as a united protest.⁹

The *Malayali Memorial* failed to achieve its immediate aim. The post-memorial period developments showed that the Malayali Memorial's ultimate beneficiaries were the Nairs.¹⁰ However, the Malayali Memorial popularised the idea of united protest and struggle to protect the rights of people. Its main motive was to manifold the grievances of people. They became conscious of the fact that the lack of fundamental civic rights is insufficient to attain the political rights.¹¹

The *Malayali Memorial* may be deemed the embryonic beginning of a series of popular agitations, ultimately leading to the establishment of responsible government.¹² It paved the way for the submission of *Ezhava Memorial*.¹³ to Maharaja in 1896. It was a protest against the government's attitude towards the lower sections of society, particularly the *Ezhavas*. The government's reply to the *Malayali Memorial* confirmed their attitude towards the plight of the lower caste. The *Ezhava Memorial* condemned that the government's attitude had been the main factor that kept the lower communities in perpetual backwardness. The government continued in its old moorings towards the demand of the *Ezhava Memorial*.

The significance of both these movements is that they ultimately brought all marginalized communities of Travancore to a common platform of agitation. From then on, the educated sections honed their responsibilities and realized the rights and privileges of the people. Moreover, under the impact of the enlightenment caused by education, several were inspired by a passion for freedom and clamored vigorously for the recognition of their claim to direct the administration of their state. It enabled the creation of social unity to a limited extent and induced a consciousness, which helped to start mass agitation for attaining social and political equality.

Beginning of the Political Agitations

The dawn of the twentieth century witnessed the gradual growth of political consciousness in Travancore. The social protests and the introduction of modern education and social legislation could create self-confidence among various marginalized communities. Several caste-based organizations started in the length and breadth of the state. This communal consciousness contributed to awareness among the people about their rights and duties. They realized that the social superiors would not permit the lower strata to enjoy security or opportunity in a caste-ridden society.¹⁴

The state jumped into the furnace of political revolts with the historic strike organized by the student community, protesting against the increase in fees as a result of the erroneous policies of the then Dewan, Raghavayya, in 1922.¹⁵ The explicit expression of this political attitude of the various marginalised communities channelised mainstream politics at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Travancoreans agitated against the inadequacy of the legislative reforms of 1919.¹⁶ The agitators requested the Maharaja Sri Mulam Thirunal to reconstitute the Legislative Council with an elected majority.¹⁷ The agitation had some salutary effects in the long future, as was evident from the fact that the council was reconstituted in 1921 with an elected majority.¹⁸

These agitations inspired the backward classes among the Hindus, with the backing of Christian and Muslim communities, to agitate for redressing their social and political grievances. It led to the origin of the Civic Rights Movement of Travancore.¹⁹ The aggrieved communities were denied appointments in the Land Revenue Department in Travancore on the pretext that it administered the temples to which non-caste Hindus and non-Hindus were denied the right of entry, and the Civic Right League took up the issue with the government.²⁰ Mass meetings were held in many places in support of the movement.²¹ The masses performed a fierce agitation, and finally, the authorities of Travancore were compelled to accept the demand of the people. In 1922, a Royal Proclamation was issued to bifurcate the existing Land Revenue Department into two separate departments. Revenue Department and Dewaswom Department were accordingly created in Travancore.²²

The success of the Civic Rights Movement inspired further struggle to address the more aggregated issues in society. Another tectonic effect that shook the political front of Travancore was its affinity to activities towards the Indian National Congress. When Mahatma Gandhi started the Non-Cooperation Movement

in British India, echoes were found in Travancore.²³ They positively reacted and started processions, meetings, and boycotts of foreign goods.

By this time, the Indian National Congress, under Gandhiji's leadership, adopted the removal of untouchability as one of the main agenda in its constructive programme.²⁴ The movement had particular relevance to Kerala, where untouchability draws its clutches most irrationally and oppressively. There was the custom of denying religious freedom to the *varnas*, and they were prohibited from accessing through the approach roads leading to Vaikkom Mahadeva temple. T.K. Madhavan, who hailed from the Ezhava community, took upon himself the task of fighting untouchability by organising a systematic campaign for getting these roads opened to the *varnas* as well.²⁵

The Kakinada session of the Indian National Congress in 1923 adopted a resolution calling upon Congress workers all over the country to take constructive action to remove untouchability. A Kerala Provincial Congress Committee (KPCC) meeting held at Ernakulam in 1924 appointed a special committee to chalk out a programme to abolish untouchability in the state.²⁷ The Vaikkom Satyagraha received the immediate attention of the committee at this juncture.

The movement highlighted the hollow claim of caste superiority and convinced the need to radically change Hindu society by eradicating the evil of untouchability.²⁶ They adopted Satyagraha and other Gandhian techniques for the struggle. Gandhiji visited Vaikkom in 1925²⁸ and, after discussing with W.H., the Police Commissioner, and other state officials, finalized the terms of a compromise for the early withdrawal of the struggle.²⁹ The result was that by 1928, the approach roads to temples all over Travancore were thrown open to all, irrespective of caste, under the orders of the Travancore Government.

For the first time, the people of Travancore were taught the primary lesson of the Gandhian agitation technique. During this time, Mahatma Gandhi's method of satyagraha was recognised. It was an organized agitation for the enjoyment of man's natural rights and thus can be called a struggle for freedom.³⁰ Further, it increased the scope of the national struggle.³¹

Travancore Youth League

Travancore came into contact with extremist and revolutionary ideas during the first decade of the twentieth century. The spread of Western education, the study of Western political thoughts and socialist ideas, and the rise of extremist and revolutionary trends in the Indian National Congress inspired this group. Its speedy growth under a separate organization started with the formation of the Travancore Youth League in 1931.³² The League became a center of attraction due to its radical and socialist views, and from the beginning onwards government kept vigilance on them and proscribed a pamphlet explaining the aims and objectives of the League.³³ Despite the attempts of the government to suppress its work, the Youth League continued its revolutionary activities.³⁴ However, they could not achieve their political programmes.³⁵ "Youth League held their annual sessions and passed resolutions urging upon the government to introduce responsible government in the state."³⁶

The formation of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 in Malabar created a favourable condition for the Youth League to engage in active political agitation. Meanwhile, as its president, the political meeting held in Trivandrum in 1937 under the leadership of Pattabhi Sitaramayya strongly demanded the establishment of a responsible government.³⁷

Formation of the Travancore State Congress

The annual sessions of the Indian National Congress from 1920 onwards vociferously demanded that responsible governments be set up in all the native states. During the period, the Congress party spent only some time and energy in confrontations and clashes with the colonial powers. Instead, they were actively involved in creative and progressive social movements. The Congress fought for freedom in areas directly ruled by the British, and in the native states ruled by the local kings, it gave importance to establishing responsible governments. The Haripura session of the Indian National Congress was held in February 1938. Subash Chandra Bose, its president, decided that the party's activities in native states must be organised under special committees.³⁸ Based on this decision, a meeting was convened in Trivandrum on 23 and 25 February 1938, and a committee of the Travancore State Congress with Pattam A Thanu Pillai as president was officially formed.³⁹

The political climate in Travancore became very turbulent with the formation of the State Congress. Then, the Dewan of Travancore, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer, detested this organisation. He was not ready to understand it as he felt it would stand in the way of his absolute power. As a result, the workers of the State Congress had to face terrible assault both in and outside their homes. The atrocities perpetrated on them under the orders of Dewan were much more cruel and terrible than the ones faced by the activists of Mahatma Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement.

The workers and their kith and kin were dismissed from government service to destroy the State Congress. On 7 March 1938, the government clamped prohibitory orders on its activities in Trivandrum region. Officially, the order ceased to exist on 6 May, but the effect of this control lasted for a long time in most parts of the state. To oppose the policy of assault being used by the government and demand responsible government, the State Congress decided to hold public meetings all over the state. *Dewan let Rowdies and ruffians loose on these meetings* to disrupt them. These *Rowdies* wearing *Dhoti* and *Khaki* shirts earned notoriety and were called the 'Five Rupee Police'.⁴⁰ They disrupted the public meetings conducted by the state Congress in different parts of the state.

At this point, Dewan adopted heinous techniques like getting the Congress leaders assaulted by goons and ruffians and getting the houses of the leaders robbed. The home of Annie Mascarene at Trivandrum was plundered on 29 April 1938 night while she was sleeping. The next day, a cyclist policeman was made to knock her down on the road while she was walking.⁴¹ On 13 May, a gang of ruffians cruelly beat up a State Congress activist

K.V. Parameshwaran. On June 17, State Congress secretary and a much-respected leader, K.P. Neelakanda Pillai, was struck on his head with an iron rod while he was walking on the street adjoining his home.⁴² Similar attacks were unleashed on the State Congress treasurer and the editor of the newspaper *Malayali*, M.R. Madhava Variyar, Mathew Muthalai, who was the Editor of the weekly *Malabar Advocate*. Senior leaders like Pattam A. Thanu Pillai and T.M. Varghese was also assaulted. All these incidents pointed to the poor rule of law and order that prevailed in the state. However, none of these disgraceful techniques succeeded in destroying the State Congress.

Dewan's Anger against *Kerala Kaumudi* and *Malayala Manorama*

A. Narayana Pillai, who had headed the formation of the State Congress, wrote two articles in the *Malayalee* and *Malayalarajyam* dailies on 8 January 1938. Charges of treason and inciting communal hatred were imposed on him, and he was arrested during this time. A Narayana Pillai's trial, which had garnered much public support, was going on, and A.K. Pillai had to face legal problems of a different kind. Alleging that he had made an inordinate delay in repaying the education loan that he had taken,

the Dewan ordered that his property be auctioned off. The Dewan targeted newspapers that vehemently criticised such condemnatory orders. This anger was mainly aimed at *Kerala Kaumudi* newspaper, owned by C.V. Kunhiraman, who presided over the meeting at which the State Congress had been formed. Moreover, the newspaper editor was C. Kesavan, a working committee member of the State Congress, whom the dewan considered his worst enemy. These factors increased his hatred towards these newspapers. So, when the newspaper published an article praising the responsible government, written by Barrister George Joseph along with his obituary in March 1938, the license of *Kerala Kaumudi*, the most widely circulated newspaper of Travancore, was revoked along with the *Kaumudi Weekly*.⁴³

Malayala Manorama newspaper had repeatedly published reports and editorials favoring the State Congress whilst criticizing the terrible, violent policies of the government. The newspaper proprietor, K.C. Mamman Mapillai, was summoned by Dewan and forced to write an editorial saying that the populace was too immature to assume the powers of the responsible government.⁴⁴ The Dewan was furious when the *Manorama* proprietors refused to comply with his instructions. When the daily continued to highlight the importance of the activities of State Congress and reported the trial of A. Narayana Pillai alleged that the newspaper license was canceled for treason in September 1938.

State Congress Memorial against the Dewan

In this tumultuous political scenario, the State Congress decided to submit a memorial demanding responsible government to the region's ruler. No system existed for submitting a memorandum to the King, so they were asked to hand it over to the Dewan. This directive was ignored, and the memorial was sent by post to the king. This incident occurred on 31 May 1938. During the period, the policy of the State Congress was mainly to oppose the Dewan instead of criticizing the King directly. Yet another reason was that the memorial alleged severe charges on the Dewan and demanded that a ministry enjoying the Dewan's powers should be formed and that the cabinet of ministers should be answerable to the legislature.

The conflict between the State Congress and the Dewan resulted in an atmosphere of fear and tension in the political sphere of the region. At many places in Travancore, there were severe clashes between police and people. In every field, the government resorted to adopting disgraceful and unjust methods. The disagreement between Dewan and the State Congress workers was at its crescendo on 11 July 1938 when the session of the Travancore Assembly began. All the State Congress members attended the session wearing Khadi clothes and Gandhi caps. Pattom A. Thanu Pillai presented an urgent motion regarding Dewans's detraction, stating that the State Congress was a destructive force to be discussed and debated in the Assembly. This demand was denied, so the State Congress workers staged a 'walkout'. This was the first incident of its kind in the Travancore Assembly when members walked out, challenging the absolute powers of the Dewan.⁴⁵

Civil Disobedience Movement

On 3 August 1938, the State Congress decided to launch a Civil Disobedience Movement in Travancore. On the instructions of Mahatma Gandhi, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur arrived in Travancore and tried to work out a compromise. But her attempts did not bear any fruit. On August 26, the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched. As a part of it, prohibitory orders were ignored, and a public meeting was conducted at Shankumugham Beach in Trivandrum. The government took reactionary steps and arrested all its leaders, including Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, T M.Varghese, and Annie Mascarene.⁴⁶ During the period, to destroy the growing strength of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Dewan turned towards the policy of divide and rule.⁴⁷ Hence, the leaders from communities other than the Muslim and Ezhava were

arrested and imprisoned. However, a communal polarisation on the lines that Dewan had hoped for was not absent in the state.

Palace March

Demanding the establishment of a responsible government and releasing all its leaders from jail, the State Congress convened a rally on 23 October 1938. This date is significant because it was the birthday of the ruler of Travancore. Thousands of Khadi-clad Gandhi cap-wearing Congress activists marched to the palace to submit the memorial to the King. They were denied permission to meet the King. So, they converged at Thampanoor. This rally, which was one of the first of its kind in the history of the State Congress, was led by Accamma Cherian, the twelfth and the last acting president of the State Congress, showing no fear or apprehension towards the large-scale deployment of police and the army, this 29-year-old young lady, led the massive crowd in a calm and composed manner as if she was the Goddess incarnate who would put an end to injustice.⁴⁸ Thus, Accamma Cherian became one of the most valiant women leaders of the Indian freedom movement. As a result, all the leaders were released from jail, and the ban against the State Congress and the Youth League was lifted.

Vattiyoorkavu Session

Vattiyoorkavu near Trivandrum holds a historically significant position in the history of the State Congress because it was the venue of its first anniversary celebrations. It was held on 22 December 1938 under the presidency of A. Kunjan Nadar. The venue of the meeting was surrounded by lathi and gun-holding police officers and army personnel. Ignoring their presence, Mannanthala Karunakaran, a bold Congress activist, climbed the areca nut palm erected in the ground and hoisted the tricoloured flag—the arrival of A. Narayana Pillai enhanced the fervour and spirit of the crowd. The government arrested all members who attended the meeting. But paying no heed to the government's opposition, the anniversary celebrations continued, which was a significant morale booster for the party.

After the successful end of the Vattiyoorkavu conference, the State Congress was forced to launch direct action against the government. As a result, on 25 March 1939, a seven-member Action Council consisting of Pattom Thanu Pillai, G. Ramachandran, T.M. Varghese, P.K. Kunju, V.K. Velayudhan, P.J. Sebastian and K.M. Boothalingam was constituted.⁴⁹ However, as per the advice of Gandhiji, State Congress leaders dropped all preparation for direct action against Dewan, but they continued their non-violent protests against the state.

Atrocities Perpetrated in Travancore during the World War II

The State Congress was engaged in the resistance movement to establish a 'responsible government' when the Second World War broke out on 3 September 1939. During this period, the government put a hold on the basic rights of the citizens, claiming that it was necessary to do so to create a situation that would help prepare for the war. Meanwhile, the annual meeting of the State Congress was held under the leadership of Kumbalathu Sanku Pillai on the 6th and 7th of September 1939 at Kuttivattom near Karunagapalli in Kollam district, despite the Dewan's opposition.⁵⁰ The State Congress also opposed the celebrations and festivities planned for the Dewan's 60th birthday on 2 November 1939. This provoked Dewan. Prominent leaders like Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, E. John Philipose, T.K. Narayana Pillai, etc., were arrested. The office of the State Congress was sealed.

Quit India movement was the most powerful mass movement against the British regime in India. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's slogan, 'Do or Die', thousands of people joined the movement. On 9 August 1942, the day the Quit India movement was launched, protest marches and meetings were convened at

the behest of the State Congress.⁵¹ The Students Congress formed at Trivandrum was an offshoot of the Quit India movement. The government reacted by banning public meetings and processions with immediate effect. Eminent leaders like C. Kesavan, T.M. Varghese, C. Narayana Pillai, Accamma Cheriyan, and Annie Mascarene were imprisoned.

World War II ended in Europe in July 1945, and many of the Congress leaders who had been put behind bars for having taken an active part in the Quit India movement were released. On 2 September 1946, Jawaharlal Nehru assumed the head of the Interim government of British India. On 20 February 1947, British Prime Minister Clement Attlee declared that India would become independent by 30 June 1948. Meanwhile, in January 1946, the Dewan announced the irremovable executive. It was not related to the elected legislature. Naturally, all the political parties in the state opposed it vehemently. In October, violent mass upheavals happened in Punnapra and Vayalar. These tragic incidents created a massive wave against Dewan and his policies.

In Travancore, Dewan published the final draft of Administrative Reforms on 8 April 1947. Through these reforms, Dewan made it clear that he was attempting to make Travancore an independent federation of the India Union. ⁵² On 11 June 1947, Dewan made another proclamation upholding the idea of an independent Travancore, which made the already troubled political scenario even more turbulent. As a result, the State Congress strongly demanded that Travancore merge into the Indian Union, which spearheaded a protest movement against Dewan and his ideals.

The government issued orders to District Magistrates to prohibit processions, marches and meetings. At the police firing that took place on 13 July 1947, a fourteen-year-old student, Rajendran and two others were shot dead at Pettah in Trivandrum. A furious crowd now had entered the battleground. At the state congress meeting held at Alapuzha on 2nd July, a motion demanding the dismissal of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer from the post of Dewan and also the motion of merging Travancore with the Indian Union was passed.⁵³ Thus, when the political scenario in the State was going through a terrible situation, a physical assault was carried out on Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer on 25 July while he was attending the anniversary celebration of Swathi Tirunal Academy of Music in Thiruvananthapuram.

Responsible Government Becomes a Reality in Travancore

As a result of increasing political pressure, the ruler of Travancore finally signed the pact to join the Indian Union on 13 August 1947, just two days before India attained freedom.⁵⁴ A new era began with C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer resigning from the post of Dewan on 19 August 1947 and thus ending his reign of terror and malicious policies. The State Congress abandoned all its protest movements at once, P G Narayanan Unnithan took charge as acting Dewan, and the government formally invited all State Congress leaders for talks and negotiations.

On 14 September 1947, the proclamation granting Responsible government was declared. The declaration also appointed a 15-member committee with representatives from various communities of Travancore for administrative reforms. Pattom Thanu Pillai was the Chairman of this committee. The committee's recommendations, which included universal adult franchise, dual membership, reservations in specific constituencies for the protection of minorities, and scheduled caste welfare, were accepted by the government.

Based on new administrative reforms, the General Election to the Constitutional Assembly of Travancore was conducted on 21 February 1948. In a house of 120 elected representatives, the State Congress got 97 seats. This Constituent Assembly later became the Legislature.⁵⁵ On 24 March 1948, the elected government assumed power with Pattom Thanu Pillai as the Prime Minister and C. Kesavan and T.M.

Varghese as Ministers. A.J. John held the post of Speaker. Thus, responsible government became a reality in Travancore after a decade of protests and struggles by the State Congress.

Conclusion

Through various mass movements and protests against the government, the Travancore State Congress targeted the feudal powers and the worn-out political systems. The main achievement of the State Congress was that it had succeeded in creating a strong public opinion against the maladministration of the Dewan along with the main agenda of fighting colonial powers. It bestowed particular importance on the developmental programs based on communal harmony, training people in non-violent methods, propagating the Hindi language and encouraging the spinning of Khadi and handloom garments. Despite the plight of people during terrible atrocities on the part of the government and the increasing number of police fires in which valuable lives were being lost, the Travancore State Congress succeeded in strengthening the perspectives about democratic administration and also created awareness on the horrible manslaughter that was taking place in Travancore. It further prepared the ground for the establishment of an independent government founded on democratic principles and for the formation of the modern Kerala State.

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THE TAMIL HISTORIOGRAPHY: WRITING THROUGH THE INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE

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Introduction

Tamil historiography, the meticulous exploration of historical records, narratives, and interpretations within the tapestry of Tamil history, stands as a discipline of paramount significance. Within its purview lies an intricate cultural heritage, evolving over millennia, embracing art, literature, language, religion, and politics. This article embarks upon a journey to elucidate the profound import of Tamil historiography in both preserving and unravelling the multifaceted history of Tamil Nadu. The roots of Tamil historiography, fascinatingly, trace back to the annals of ancient Tamil literature. Within the verses of Sangam poetry, a treasure trove dating from the 3rd century BCE to the 4th century CE, we discern cryptic references to historical events, the reign of dynasties, and the ever-evolving societal dynamics. Beyond this, the Tolkappiyam, revered as one of the earliest Tamil treatises on grammar and poetics, provides invaluable insights into the socio-political tapestry of ancient Tamil society. These early literary treasures, like ancient, weathered stones, laid the unwavering foundation for the evolution of Tamil historiography.

Tamil historiography, in its unwavering odyssey through time, assumes a pivotal role as the guardian of Tamil Nadu's cultural heritage. Through an unbroken chain of historical records and inscriptions, it becomes the beacon illuminating the construction of resplendent temples, the generous patronage of illustrious rulers, and the ever-shifting societal norms across epochs. Yet, one of its most remarkable feats lies in its profound ability to resurrect from the depths of oblivion, dynasties and kingdoms long-forgotten. Through scrupulous research of inscriptions and manuscripts, Tamil historiography has breathed life into the annals of lesser-known rulers and their indispensable contributions to the region's history. This renaissance has expanded our understanding of the region's political landscape and unveiled its intricate interactions with other corners of India and the wider world. Tamil historiography, in sum, emerges as a venerable custodian of a heritage that, while ancient, remains a wellspring of knowledge and understanding, enriching the present through its profound insights into the past. The tapestry weaves the chronicles of Tamil history, ensuring the legacy endures across the sands of time.

Preserving and Understanding a Rich Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage's multifaceted richness and diversity are indispensable in shaping societies and their identities—preserving and understanding this invaluable heritage stand as paramount pursuits in cultural conservation. Cultural heritage serves as a repository of historical narratives, providing insights into the evolution of human civilisation. It embodies the collective memory of societies and is a testament to their endurance through time. Cultural heritage is inseparable from the identity of communities and nations. It defines us and serves as a source of unity and belonging. Preservation is vital for the continuity of cultural identities. Many aspects of cultural heritage, such as art, architecture, and craftsmanship, hold immense artistic and aesthetic value. They inspire creativity and appreciation, transcending temporal and

geographic boundaries. Preserving cultural heritage requires dedicated efforts in conservation and restoration. This involves maintaining physical structures, artworks, and artefacts to withstand time's ravages. Investing in education and research is essential to appreciate cultural heritage truly. Scholarly exploration helps unravel the meaning and context of cultural practices and artefacts. Interdisciplinary approaches, combining fields like history, anthropology, archaeology, and the arts, enable a holistic understanding of cultural heritage. Cultural exchange programs and initiatives promote cross-cultural understanding, allowing individuals to connect with and learn from diverse heritages. Preserving and understanding a rich cultural heritage is a responsibility that transcends borders and generations. It embodies the essence of humanity's journey through time, connecting us to our roots and shaping our shared future. By recognising the intrinsic value of cultural heritage and committing to its preservation, we honour the legacy of our ancestors and enrich the tapestry of our global society. Tamil Nadu has long been regarded as a cradle of profound religious and philosophical thought. The annals of Tamil historiography meticulously document the ascent and diffusion of various religions throughout the region, encompassing Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Islam. Moreover, they delve into the theological dialogues and the profound influence exerted by illustrious Tamil luminaries such as Thiruvalluvar and Auvaiyar. The intricate tapestry of religious and philosophical contemplation, meticulously preserved within Tamil historical texts, provides an invaluable glimpse into the spiritual evolution of the Tamil populace.

Notably, Tamil historiography transcends the confines of the written word. The oral traditions and folklore of Tamil Nadu, faithfully transmitted through the ages, constitute an indispensable facet of comprehending the historical narrative of the region. These traditions, encompassing folk songs, myths, and legends, frequently harmonise with written records, thereby endowing us with precious insights into the everyday lives of ordinary people and their deeply ingrained beliefs. The endeavour to investigate and foster Tamil historiography through the examination of ancient texts, oral traditions, and contemporary scholarship is paramount. Such efforts are vital to ensure that this rich heritage remains comprehensible, celebrated, and bequeathed to forthcoming generations.

Evolution of Ancient Scripts in India

The Brahmi script is a pivotal milestone in the history of writing systems in the Indian subcontinent following the decline of the Bronze Age Indus script. This research explores the Brahmi script's origins, its dissemination in different parts of the subcontinent, and its transformation into regional scripts, such as Tamil Brahmi, Kannada, and Telugu. We will examine archaeological findings, historical records, and linguistic developments to do so. Ashoka's Inscriptions (c. 250 BC) One of the earliest known usages of the Brahmi script in the Indian subcontinent is evident in inscriptions commissioned by Emperor Ashoka around 250 BC. These inscriptions played a crucial role in spreading Buddhism and state administration.

Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions (5th century BC)

Tamil Brahmi script, a derivative of the Brahmi script, dates back to the 5th century BC. Numerous inscriptions have been unearthed in Palani, Erode in Tamil Nadu, Kodumanal, Adichanallur, and Anuradhapuram in Sri Lanka, shedding light on its early usage. Since 1886, archaeologists have diligently examined inscriptions and copperplates discovered within the Indian subcontinent. These inscriptions have been meticulously categorised as either Tamil Brahmi or Brahmi, and their contents have been translated into English, providing valuable insights into ancient languages and cultures.

Evolution of Tamil Brahmi: Over time, the Tamil Brahmi script transformed into a cursive form. It was meticulously etched onto the black stone walls of temples, indicating its importance in religious and cultural contexts.

Kannada and Telugu Scripts: The Kannada and Telugu scripts, with their origins traced to the Pattipirolu and Kadamba scripts, respectively, began to evolve during the 1st century AD. These scripts played a crucial role in developing regional languages and literature. The Brahmi script marked a significant milestone in the history of writing systems in the Indian subcontinent. This script has left an enduring legacy from its inception in Ashoka's inscriptions to its transformation into regional scripts like Tamil Brahmi, Kannada, and Telugu. The meticulous examination of archaeological findings and historical records has allowed us to unravel the evolution of these scripts and their role in shaping the linguistic and cultural landscape of the region. This research contributes to a deeper understanding of the rich heritage of written language in the Indian subcontinent.

Unveiling the Importance of Tamil Inscriptions

Tamil inscriptions are texts composed in the Tamil language. These inscriptions have endured for centuries and serve as valuable records that convey messages, offer insights into the language used during their creation, shed light on the individuals responsible for their authorship, and provide glimpses into the societies of their time. They are, without a doubt, crucial documents for uncovering historical information about the language and the society in which they originated. Tamil inscriptions rank second only to Latin in terms of global significance. According to a 2005 report from the Archaeological Survey of India, approximately 100,000 inscriptions have been discovered thus far, with a staggering 60,000 of them hailing from the region of Tamil Nadu. This abundance of Tamil inscriptions underscores their immense historical and cultural relevance. In Tamil Nadu, fossils from Adichanallur have found Paleolithic symbols and Tamil scripts. Various structures and artefacts, along with Tamil inscriptions and pottery with Tamil names such as *Aathan*, *Uthdiran*, *Kwiran-Aathan*, *Thisan*, etc., have been found in the Keezadi excavation centre. The information you provided discusses various perspectives and hypotheses about the Tamil Brahmi script and its historical development.

The Tamil Brahmi script's development needs a more precise chronological sequence, leading to confusion about its historical timeline. According to K. Rajan and Airavatham Mahadeva's classification, Ashoka Brahmi is associated with the second stage of Brahmi scripts in South India. However, the first phase should be re-examined beyond the proposed time frame. From the 5th century AD onwards, the Tamil Chera region used the Pandyan script, while the Chola and Pallava states used the Grantha or Tamil script for writing. Tamil Brahmi exhibits significant differences from the familiar Brahmi script used in Northern India. The Dravidian linguistic context influences it and is distinct from Northern Brahmi, which is written in Indo-Aryan Prakrit with four different alphabets. Tamil Brahmi script has been found in various locations in Sri Lanka, dating back to the 2nd century BC. This distribution has helped identify some kings and officials from the Sangam period and inscriptions on Ashoka's pillars. According to Airavatham Mahadevan's epigraphic evaluation, the Brahmi script reached Tamil Nadu through the spread of Jainism and Buddhism from South India. It was later adapted to fit the Tamil phonetic system. This hypothesis suggests that the Brahmi script in Tamil Nadu may have originated after the 3rd century AD, possibly during the post-Asokan or early Mauryan period. There is a debate about the Brahmi script's arrival timeline in South India. While some, like Ahmed Ghasan Dani, question the 3rd century BC timeline, others suggest it may have emerged in the 1st century BC. Overall, the development of the Tamil Brahmi script is a complex historical topic, and there is ongoing research and debate among

scholars about its origins and timeline. Different theories and perspectives exist, and more archaeological and epigraphic evidence may be needed to establish a definitive chronology.

Tamil Script or Dravidian Script

The Dravidian script, often called the Brahmi script, is one of the ancient writing systems used in South India for various Dravidian languages. Its exact origin is a subject of debate among scholars. Still, it is generally believed to have evolved in the southern part of the Indian subcontinent over a long period. The Dravidian languages, including Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam, have a long history of over 2,000 years. Early inscriptions in these languages were likely written. Some scholars have suggested that the Dravidian script may have been influenced by the Indus Valley script, used in the ancient Indus Valley Civilization (circa 3300–1300 BCE) in Pakistan and northwest India. However, this theory is still debated; no direct evidence has conclusively linked the two scripts.

The Brahmi script, which originated in northern India around the 3rd century BCE, is considered the precursor to many scripts in India, including the Dravidian script. The Dravidian script was likely influenced by Brahmi, widely used for writing Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages. Over time, the Dravidian script evolved into regional variations to suit the specific phonetic needs of different Dravidian languages. For example, the Tamil script is distinct from the Telugu script, although they share standard features. The earliest inscriptions in Dravidian languages date back to the 2nd century BCE and are found in southern India. These inscriptions provide valuable historical and linguistic evidence regarding the script's development. Dravidian scripts continue to be used today for writing Dravidian languages, and they have evolved further with the influence of modern printing and technology. While the origin of the Dravidian script has yet to be definitively known, it is clear that it evolved over a long period, influenced by regional needs and the broader cultural context of ancient South India. It remains an integral part of the artistic and linguistic heritage of the Dravidian-speaking peoples of South India.

The Dravidian script is not a single script but a family of scripts used for writing languages of the Dravidian language family, including languages like Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam, and others. These scripts share some standard features and historical origins but have evolved independently for each Dravidian language. Tamil is a Dravidian language with a unique script known as the Tamil script. The Tamil script has a long history and is used to write the Tamil language. While other Dravidian languages like Kannada, Telugu, and Malayalam have their own scripts, they are distinct from the Pallava script.

Pallava Scripts

The Pallava script was introduced in South India in Brahmi script, which was developed during the Pallava period in the 6th century AD. South-East Asian languages such as Kavi, Paipain, Burmese, Khmer, and the Thai language of Thailand are derived from the Pallava script. Chips bearing Tamil characters have been found in various places, from Egypt in the west of the Mediterranean Sea to countries like Thailand and Vietnam in the east. In 2008, a chip with Tamil Brahmi characters was discovered in Khor Rori, Oman.

Evolution of Writing in Ancient Tamil Culture

A Literature Review of ancient scripts and writing systems is essential for understanding any civilisation's cultural and intellectual heritage. This literature review explores the presence and evolution of writing in ancient Tamil culture by examining various historical texts. The first-century Jain texts, Samavayanga Sutta and Pannavayana Sutta provide valuable insights into the early forms of writing. These texts mention 18 types of writing, with Tamil being one of them. The references to Tamil in the Jain texts

date back to 300 BC (Samavayanga Suddha) and 168 BC (Pannavayana Suddha), indicating its historical significance as a written language. The Buddhist text "Lalitavistara," which narrates the birth of the Buddha and was translated into Chinese in 308 AD, contains Dravidian elements. This suggests that Dravidian languages, including Tamil, played a role in disseminating Buddhist teachings. Kamil Suvelab's mention of "Dravidalibi" and "Tamili" as the primary sources for the Tamil script underscores the importance of these linguistic elements in developing writing in Tamil culture. Early Tamil literature demonstrates the existence of literary correspondence, further highlighting the significance of writing. Archaic verses 16 and 17 references adding a dot to a vowel, offering insights into the evolution of Tamil script. Key Tamil literary works, such as Tirukkural and Silapathikaram, contain references to "writing" and "handwriting," respectively. These references suggest that writing was integral to various aspects of Tamil life, including commerce. The mention of writing in the context of marking merchandise exports at the port commercial centre of Cauverypoompattinam underscores its practical utility in trade and administration. The inclusion of the term "Kanneglathala" (scribe) in Silapathikaram further indicates the presence of individuals dedicated to writing and record-keeping in ancient Tamil society. Nadukal in Naladiyar and Purananuru Inscriptions References to "Nadukal" in the Naladiyar and Purananuru inscriptions provide additional evidence of the use of writing in various aspects of ancient Tamil life. Based on the literary studies and historical evidence presented, it can be inferred that the Tamils possessed knowledge of writing dating back to at least the 3rd century BC. This writing knowledge had significant cultural, commercial, and administrative implications for ancient Tamil society. This literature review provides a comprehensive overview of the historical evidence supporting the presence and evolution of writing in ancient Tamil culture, shedding light on its multifaceted role in developing the Tamil civilisation.

Unearthing the Enigmatic Mangulam Inscriptions

The Mangulam inscriptions, a collection of ancient Tamil epigraphs, have long remained an enigmatic treasure trove for historians, archaeologists, and linguists. Located in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, these inscriptions provide invaluable insights into the region's socio-cultural, political, and economic aspects during their respective historical periods. their historical context, decipherment, and the valuable information they offer about the evolution of Tamil society and governance. The Mangulam inscriptions are a series of stone inscriptions found in the village of Mangulam, situated in the Madurai district of Tamil Nadu, India. These inscriptions, written in Tamil and Sanskrit, are etched onto rock surfaces and temple walls, offering a glimpse into the region's rich history. The inscriptions span several centuries, from the Pallava period (6th to 9th centuries CE) to the Chola dynasty (9th to 13th centuries CE). This article will explore the significance and decipherment of these inscriptions and their relevance in understanding the history and culture of Tamil Nadu. To understand the importance of the Mangulam inscriptions, it is essential to consider the historical context in which they were created. The inscriptions date back to various periods characterised by dynasties and rulers. They shed light on the region's religious, administrative, and societal aspects during these times. The earliest Mangulam inscriptions belong to the Pallava dynasty, a prominent South Indian dynasty known for its patronage of art and literature. These inscriptions often mention grants, donations, and the construction of temples, providing insights into the Pallava rulers' religiosity and governance. The Chola dynasty, which succeeded the Pallavas, is renowned for its administrative prowess and temple-building activities. The Mangulam inscriptions from this period contain details about land grants, tax exemptions, and temple maintenance, highlighting the Cholas' commitment to religious and social welfare.

Decipherment and Language

One of the key challenges in studying the Mangulam inscriptions has been deciphering the ancient Tamil and Sanskrit scripts. Linguists and epigraphists have played a crucial role in decoding these inscriptions, making them accessible for research. These inscriptions provide valuable linguistic insights into the evolution of the Tamil language and the influence of Sanskrit on the region's linguistic heritage. The Mangulam inscriptions offer a window into the socio-cultural fabric of ancient Tamil Nadu. They provide evidence of religious practices, temple rituals, and social hierarchies. Additionally, these inscriptions record the names of local officials, which can be used to reconstruct administrative structures and systems of governance.

Bhulangurichi Inscription

The Bhulangurichi Inscriptions, located in the Phulangurichi Panchayat near Tirupathur District, Sivagangai District, Tamil Nadu, India, have captivated the attention of scholars and archaeologists since their discovery in 1979. Karu Rajendran, a dedicated village teacher and inscription researcher from Melappanaiyur, is credited with their unearthing. These inscriptions provide a unique window into the past, offering a glimpse into the religious, social, and political milieu of the Kalaprar period, particularly the 5th century AD.

The Bhulangurichi Inscriptions consist of three separate inscriptions composed in Tamil Brahmi and cursive script. These inscriptions reflect the cultural and religious diversity of the time. Notably, the Kalapras, responsible for these inscriptions, were patrons of both Jainism and Buddhism. Furthermore, they displayed a remarkable spirit of religious tolerance by donating lands such as Agrakaram, Brahmadayam, and Mangalam to the Antanars and contributing to Hindu temples. One of the most significant aspects of the Bhulangurichi Inscriptions is introducing the four varna system, comprising the Antanara (non-fighting class), King, Merchant, and Cultivator. This represents an essential historical reference for understanding the social hierarchy of the period.

The rightmost inscription among the three contains 13 lines with complete messages, preserving the essence of the inscriptions. The left inscription, however, presents a challenge as it is mutilated at the beginning and the end, making it difficult to decipher its entire content. Only fragments of the message remain intact in the middle section. The middle inscription, unfortunately, is almost entirely eroded, rendering its message indecipherable. Despite these challenges, the Bhulangurichi Inscriptions provide invaluable historical information. They reveal the benevolent nature of the Kalapras and exemplify the cultural and religious syncretism of the period. These inscriptions are a testament to the rich tapestry of beliefs and practices that coexisted harmoniously in the region.

The Bhulangurichi Inscriptions are notable for their script, which originated from Tamil cursive. They feature dots representing consonants and the characters 'a' and 'o' for vowels. These inscriptions are among the oldest Tamil inscriptions known to archaeologists and have been confidently dated to the 5th century AD based on their script and content. The Bhulangurichi Inscriptions offer a remarkable window into the past, revealing the religious, social, and political landscape of the 5th-century Kalaprar period in Tamil Nadu. They signify the coexistence of diverse spiritual traditions and the introduction of the four varna system. The decision by the Tamil Nadu government to declare these inscriptions as protected symbols ensures their preservation for future generations and underscores their significance in the study of South Indian history.

Rediscovering the Rich Heritage of the Mangudi Inscriptions

The Mangudi inscriptions are a series of ancient Tamil inscriptions found in the Mangudi region of Tamil Nadu, India. Though lesser-known than the Brihadeeswarar Temple inscriptions or the Gangaikonda Cholapuram inscriptions, these inscriptions hold immense historical and cultural importance. They provide a unique window into the Chola dynasty's reign and the development of the Tamil language and culture during that period. This research article aims to comprehensively examine the Mangudi inscriptions, shedding light on their historical context, decipherment, and the valuable information they offer about South India during the Chola period. The Chola dynasty, one of the longest-reigning dynasties in South India, saw its zenith between the 9th and 13th centuries CE. They witnessed significant art, architecture, trade, and governance advancements during this period. The Mangudi inscriptions, dated to various Chola kings' reigns, provide essential data regarding the dynasty's administration, societal structure, and religious practices.

The Mangudi inscriptions were discovered primarily in and around the village of Mangudi. These inscriptions are predominantly etched on temple walls, pillars, and stone tablets. Deciphering these inscriptions required expertise in the Tamil language and epigraphy. Scholars have painstakingly transcribed and translated these inscriptions to unveil their historical significance. The Mangudi inscriptions offer a treasure trove of linguistic and cultural information. They provide valuable evidence of the evolution of the Tamil language during the Chola period. Additionally, the inscriptions shed light on that era's artistic practices, religious beliefs, and societal hierarchies. They mention the construction and endowments of various temples, contributing to our understanding of Chola architecture and religious patronage. These inscriptions contain records of land grants, tax exemptions, and administrative appointments, offering insights into the Chola dynasty's governance and revenue system.

The titles and honours conferred upon individuals in these inscriptions provide a glimpse into the societal hierarchy and power distribution during the Chola rule. The preservation of the Mangudi inscriptions is of utmost importance, as environmental factors and vandalism threaten these invaluable historical artefacts. Digital documentation and conservation efforts are essential to safeguard this heritage for future generations. The Mangudi inscriptions are a remarkable resource for understanding the Chola dynasty's history, Tamil culture, and linguistic evolution. By delving into these inscriptions, scholars can gain deeper insights into the intricate fabric of South India's past. As these inscriptions continue to be studied and preserved, they will contribute significantly to our understanding of the region's rich heritage.

Jambai Inscription

The Jambai inscription is a Tamil Brahmic inscription found in Jambai, Tamil Nadu. Jambai is a small town situated in Villupuram district, on the South Penna river's banks, near Thirukkailur. This inscription is in a cave in the eastern part of this town. Due to its location inside the cave, it is not affected much by rain, sun, wind, etc.; it is still evident. Estimated to belong to the first century BC, this inscription is considered a significant inscription in the history of Tamil Nadu. This inscription was discovered in 1981 by a Tamil Nadu Archaeological Survey student who was the Director of Tamil Nadu Archeology at that time. R. Nagasamy studied this and published it in an English newspaper article. Although this discovery is one of the most important discoveries of recent inscriptions, many scholars doubt its authenticity. A unique feature of this inscription is that an inscription with the name of a Sangam king was found. Also, Athiyaman is referred to in this inscription as "Satiya Budho". Another feature of this is that it ended the debates about which dynasty was mentioned as "Satiya Budho" along with Chera, Chola and Pandyas in an inscription of Ashoka.

Buklore Inscription: Ancient Tamil Brahmic Inscription

Nestled in the town of Velayutham Palayam near the district headquarters of Bukhalur, the Arunatanmalai hill stands as a silent witness to centuries of history. At its summit, an ancient Murugan temple graces the landscape, drawing devotees and scholars alike. However, it is within the heart of this mountain that two caves, one on the north side and one on the south side, house a treasure trove of historical information - Jain beds adorned with inscriptions that reveal intriguing details about the Chera dynasty, Jainism, and the cultural tapestry of the region.

The Buklore Inscription is approximately 15 kilometres from Karur, which served as the capital of the Cheras in ancient times. It is believed to date back to the early Christian era, offering a glimpse into a bygone era. This inscription commemorates the generous donation of a cave-dwelling by the Chera king Yuma Katungo to a Jain monk. Notably, it distinguishes itself by mentioning the names of three generations of Chera kings, providing valuable historical context. The Chera kings featured prominently in the Buklore Inscription are Ko Athan Chellirumporai, Perungatungo, and llangatungo. Perungadungo, the son of Ko Athan Choral Irumporai, stands out as a central figure in this historical narrative. llangatungo, the son of Perungatungo, played a pivotal role in the inscription's context as he arranged to construct beds for Jain monks within the mountain caves. This charitable act marked llangatungo's coronation as a prince and underscored the deep-rooted influence of Jainism in the region. A remarkable linguistic connection emerges when analysing the names found in the Buklore Inscription.

The name 'Go Aden Sel Irumporai' resembles the 7th Padiruppattu leader, 'Selvak Kadungo Vazhi Aathan.' Furthermore, 'Perungatungo' echoes the name 'Palai sang Perungatungo,' and 'llangatungo' finds similarities with 'Marutham sang llangatungo.' These linguistic ties hint at a rich regional cultural and linguistic interchange. The inscription also provides insight into the Jain community in this period. The beds were dedicated to Inninnar, and though some parts of the inscriptions are damaged, the names 'Biton' and 'Kortan' remain legible. These names offer tantalising clues about the individuals who occupied these sacred spaces and their roles within the Jain tradition.

The Buklore Inscription is a valuable historical artefact that illuminates ancient India's interplay between religion and politics. This inscription provides a window into a fascinating era through its detailed accounts of Chera kings and their lineage, linguistic connections, and the significance of Jainism in the region. It invites further exploration and research into the rich history of the Karur district, shedding light on a hitherto lesser-known aspect of India's past.

Conclusion

The exploration of Tamil culture through epigraphical sources provides a rich and comprehensive tapestry of the historical and cultural heritage of the Tamil-speaking people. Through the meticulous examination of inscriptions, we can trace the evolution of Tamil society, its languages, religions, governance, art, and trade over centuries. Epigraphical sources have played a pivotal role in deciphering the ancient history of Tamil Nadu and the surrounding regions. They have shed light on Tamil culture's vibrant and dynamic nature, highlighting its interactions with other cultures, such as those of the Cholas, Pallavas, and Pandyas. These inscriptions offer glimpses into Tamil society's political, social, and economic aspects, including the governance structures, legal systems, and trade networks that existed in different eras. Moreover, epigraphical sources have been instrumental in preserving and understanding the literary and artistic achievements of the Tamil people. They have brought the contributions of Tamil scholars, poets, and artists to the forefront, showcasing the enduring legacy of Tamil literature, music, dance, and architecture. Additionally, these inscriptions have illuminated the religious landscape of Tamil

culture, documenting the spread of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and other belief systems in the region. They provide insights into the construction of temples, the patronage of religious institutions, and the spiritual beliefs of the Tamil populace. Tracing the tapestry of Tamil culture through epigraphical sources has been a fruitful endeavour, enriching our understanding of the Tamil people's history and heritage. These sources serve as invaluable windows into the past, allowing us to appreciate Tamil culture's complexity, diversity, and resilience throughout the ages. They continue to be a vital resource for scholars, researchers, and enthusiasts alike, ensuring that the legacy of Tamil culture remains vibrant and accessible to future generations.

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EXPLORATION OF SEGREGATION PRACTICES IN MADRAS EYE HOSPITAL DURING THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

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This paper explores the segregation practices in Madras Eye Hospital in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Initially, the hospital was started as an infirmary in Madras (currently Chennai), a town in colonial India. Segregation is a practice that divides people based on their race, religion, caste, and gender. This was one of the prominent features of the colonial healthcare institutions in India that embodied the existing notions of racial superiority of the Europeans and the social hierarchies in Indian society. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, segregation started with the emergence of hospital healthcare in the three major cities of colonial India - Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. Although racial categorisation, in general, did not assume absolute rigidity during this period, segregation in healthcare institutions became rigid. The Europeans, for whom the hospitals were established in the early days of colonial rule, did not desire to share them with their native counterparts.¹ This led to establishment separate hospitals for the natives by the end of the eighteenth century. Such hospitals paved the way for caste and religion-based segregation in colonial healthcare institutions.²

Segregation was not restricted to the General Hospitals where all the diseases were treated. Instead, it became common in specialised healthcare institutions, such as Lunatic Asylums and Eye Infirmarys.³ However, segregation practices were not uniform across these specialised institutions, as certain institutions like Madras Eye Infirmary were comparatively liberal in the case of such practices. Madras Eye Infirmary, the first exclusive facility for ophthalmic treatments in Asia, was opened to Europeans and the natives. But it was contrary to the existing tradition. This does not mean segregation practices were absent in the Eye Infirmary. This paper investigates various types of segregation practices in Madras Eye Infirmary during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and how they differ from the other healthcare institutions of the time.

The paper is based on primary sources such as government documents, annual reports, contemporary writings, and a few secondary sources. It is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the establishment of the Eye Infirmary in Madras and its openness to the local inhabitants, while the second part deals with racial, religious, and caste-based segregation practices and their reflections.

Part One: Establishment of the Madras Eye Infirmary and its Openness to the Natives

The Madras Eye Infirmary was founded in July 1819 at Compton Gardens, Royapeta (Currently Royapettah, Chennai), with Robert Richardson as its first Superintendent.⁴ The directors of Fort St George (the Headquarters of the Madras government) conceived the idea of establishing an Eye Infirmary in Madras upon the recommendation of Benjamin Travers. Travers was a well-known ophthalmologist who played a pivotal role in establishing the world's first Eye Infirmary in London in 1805. Rising ophthalmic diseases among the British soldiers of the Madras army in the early decades of the nineteenth century alarmed the directors at Fort St George. Consequently, they approached Travers (a consulting surgeon of the East India Company in London) to provide a permanent solution for the problem. Travers showed the excellent results obtained in the Eye Infirmary in London and recommended the establishment

of a similar institution in Madras.⁵ Upon accepting this advice, Robert Richardson, a Company servant who studied ophthalmology under Travers, was sent to Madras to found an Eye Infirmary.⁶

The Madras Eye Infirmary was conceived to attend to the European population living in Madras and its surroundings. However, the Eye Infirmary was also opened to the natives and Europeans from its inception. This was not a common practice at the time. Robert Richardson, who prepared the first annual report of the infirmary in 1820, referred to this.⁷ He stated that “the institution's benefits have not been confined to the Europeans alone but also to the native inhabitants.” He also recorded the various sections of the natives who received treatments for their eye ailments. Agriculturists, artisans, shopkeepers, paupers, lower castes, and native Christians comprised a significant portion of local patients at the Madras Eye Infirmary during its first year of functioning.⁸ Such variations suggest that the Eye Infirmary became popular with the labour classes of Madras in the beginning days. The Brahmans, who showed inherent aversion towards the European institutions in Richardson's words, greatly benefited from the Eye infirmary. Richardson considered this an exception, which suggests the credibility that the Eye Infirmary attained in Brahmans.

The opening of the Madras Eye Infirmary and its facilities to Europeans and natives can be seen as a momentous occasion in the annals of Western medical institutional history of early nineteenth-century India. Although the intentions of the directors of Fort St George behind this practice are unclear, the opening of the Eye Infirmary to the natives significantly contributed to the popularity of Western medicine in Madras.

Part 2: Segregation in Madras Eye Infirmary

Segregation has been a visible practice in Madras Eye Infirmary since the initial years of its existence. However, it appeared to have been absent in the first year of its functioning. The first annual report of the infirmary did not indicate such a practice, as no European was admitted.⁹ Segregation began in 1820 when the infirmary was transferred to a large apartment at Rundall's Road, Vepery.¹⁰ Although the reasons for the transfer are not clear, one may attribute this to the rising number of in-patients, as the earlier building at Compton Gardens was too small to accommodate them.¹¹

In the first half of the nineteenth century, segregation in the Eye Infirmary was predominantly based on the population's race. Alexander Lorimer, Garrison Assistant Surgeon at Fort St George (who prepared a report on medical topography and statistics of the Madras Presidency in 1842), indicated this phenomenon. He described the building structure in which the Eye Infirmary was housed. According to Lorimer, the Eye Infirmary consisted of a centre and two wings. The centre was the superintendent's residence, and the wings on either side of the centre formed the wards for the patients. One of these housed European civilians and sepoys and the other was designated for the natives. The native wing was further divided into four separate apartments. The first was for sepoys, the second and third were for civilians, and the fourth was for severe cases.¹²

Before 1838, both wings housed natives, as the Europeans were kept in Madras General Hospital. In 1838, the ophthalmic ward, where the European inpatients of the Eye Infirmary were housed, was converted to a leper ward.¹³ Lorimer also indicated the existence of separate cooking rooms for the Europeans and the natives.¹⁴ This indicates the special treatment given to the Europeans in the infirmary despite having negligible numbers. The Europeans were not only unwilling to share the wards with the natives. Still, they were also reluctant to share cooking rooms, therefore suggesting that the notion of racial superiority was deeply rooted among the Europeans. Information about the wards for the female

population was absent in Lorimer's description, but one may infer that an apartment in each wing was designated for them.

Some exciting developments occurred for Indians regarding internal segregation during the second half of the nineteenth century. The British became increasingly cautious of social customs after the sepoy uprising in 1857. This was reflected in the colonial medical institutions, as these witnessed the gradual implementation of religious and caste-based segregation. Madras Eye Infirmary was no exception to this. Religious and caste-based segregation was evident in Madras Eye Infirmary from the 1880s. In 1884, the private house at Rundall's Road was found unsuitable. Hence, the government sanctioned a new building for the Eye Infirmary at Egmore. Upon completing the buildings in 1886, the government moved the infirmary to Egmore and changed its name to the Government Ophthalmic Hospital.¹⁵ Mr. R. S. Chisholm, the architect who designed the hospital, had considered existing societal norms and facilitated the construction of wards based on caste and religion.

The hospital had three two-storied blocks. The administrative block consisted of an operation room, an examination room, and a medical store. The southern block contained three wards for female patients – one for the Europeans, Hindus, and Mohammedans, respectively.¹⁶ On the other hand, the northern block was designated to accommodate male patients, consisting of five wards - one each for the Europeans, East Indians, Mohammedans, non-brahmin upper caste Hindus, and lower caste Hindus, respectively.¹⁷ A native military ward and two wards for Brahmin patients (one each for males and females) were opened in 1888 and 1891, respectively.

The above description of the wards in the hospital leads to two prominent conclusions. The first is the reluctance of the Brahmins to mix with non-brahmins. When the new hospital building was opened in 1886, there were no exclusive wards for the brahmin population. It appeared that Brahmins did not wish to be admitted to the hospital as an inpatient. Being at the top of the Hindu social hierarchy, they considered it degrading to stay in the same ward with the people of other castes. Moreover, the Brahmins were not flesh eaters, and they found it extremely difficult to adjust with those who ate flesh, as existing social customs did not allow that. The British, who hardly intended to disrupt the existing social order, facilitated the construction of exclusive wards for the reception of Brahmins in 1891. The second conclusion regards a smaller number of Hindu females. Unlike the Hindu male patients for whom two wards were designated, only a single ward was allotted for the Hindu females in 1886. It can be inferred from the available statistics that the number of Hindu females who came to the hospital was lower.¹⁸ This strengthened the viewpoint that Hindu women were averse to the treatments by male doctors. The Government Ophthalmic Hospital did not employ female physicians in the nineteenth century. However, one can observe the increase in the number of Hindu women patients during the early decades of the twentieth century. One may attribute this to the rising awareness of western medicine in the masses of the Madras presidency.

Segregation was not restricted to the inpatient department of the hospital only, as it was also common in the outpatient department. But this was primarily racial in nature. The outpatient section contained a separate waiting room for the Europeans and a shed with a thatched roof for the natives.²⁰ This is an indication of the second-class status accorded to the natives. A similar trend continued in the early decades of the twentieth century. The construction of new rooms in the Government Ophthalmic Hospital in 1906 illustrates this. The authorities erected separate waiting rooms for the Europeans and natives, as the earlier facilities were smaller and hardly sufficient for the requirements of the patients. It should be noted that Accommodating the European and native out-patients in separate rooms was no longer a common practice in other contemporary hospitals in Madras. In the proposal of plans for the

separate waiting rooms, R. H. Elliot, the hospital superintendent, remarked that “it is objectionable to mix Eurasian and European women with the natives, and it would significantly reduce the popularity of the hospital.”²¹ Adding to this, P. H. Benson, the Surgeon General of the Madras government, commented that the provision of separate waiting rooms was of utmost importance, as many respectable European families would go to the ophthalmic hospital to improve their eyes.²² Remarks of these European officers reflect the notion of racial superiority and their discriminatory attitude towards natives.

Conclusion

Madras Eye Infirmary became the first Western-style healthcare institution to allow the reception of both the Europeans and natives. However, this does not mean the infirmary did not follow segregation practices. In the first half of the nineteenth century, segregation was primarily racial. However, the changing socio-political circumstances in the second half of the nineteenth century necessitated the British implementing caste and religious-based segregation in the Madras Eye Infirmary. The colonial government created wards along the lines of caste, religion, and race. The outpatient department, too, became segregated based on race. Such segregation in the Government Ophthalmic Hospital continued to exist even after the nineteenth century when the contemporary hospitals in Madras were no longer practicing it. The segregation practices of the Madras Eye Hospital indicate the deep-rootedness of racial superiority among Europeans, the discriminatory attitude of the state towards natives, the reluctance of the Brahmins to stay with non-brahmins, and the penetration of Western ophthalmic practices among the labor classes of the Madras Presidency and beyond. It can be concluded that segregation practices in the government ophthalmic hospital reflected the existing social norms of the Madras Presidency.

End Notes

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DEBATE IN THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ON THE MADRAS ESTATES (REPEAL OF THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT AND CONVERSION INTO RYOTWARI) BILL, 1947

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Introduction

The rent reduction through legislative measures only temporarily relieved the ryots of the Zamindry estates. Meanwhile, the Congress Party urged the removal of all intermediaries between the peasants and the state through a permanent legislature, and the rights of such intermediaries or the Zamindars should be acquired upon equitable compensation. The Madras government also decided to abolish the Zamindary system through a permanent legislative measure with equitable compensation to the Zamindars as soon as possible. Accordingly, a bill was drafted and sent to a Joint Select Committee consisting of twenty members from the Council. The Chairman of the Committee was P.Subbarayan.¹ The Committee reviewed the numerous representations received from various associations and individuals regarding the Bill. It also examined the representatives of the Zamindars, Landholders Associations, and Zamin Ryots Associations. The Zamindars opposed the bill and affirmed that they had proprietary rights over the land they held. They quoted various judgments from the subordinate courts, high courts, and the Privy Council to confirm the matter. The discussion over proprietary rights took a long time. The Select Committee sent the Bill before the legislature for a second reading in September 1948. Its various clauses were vigorously debated. Not less than four hundred amendments were tabled and discussed. Kala Venkata Rao, the revenue minister, moved the bill to the Assembly as amended by the Joint Select Committee for consideration. The State Legislature passed the Bill in November 1948 and received the permission of the Governor General on 2nd April 1949.² It became Law on 19th April 1949. The paper focuses on the members of the various political parties and whose stands on this Bill in the Legislative Assembly and Council because it was the most urgent one and also the socialist ideology of the Congress Party, which was influenced by external forces, including the Communist Party's prolonged struggles against the Zamindars, the other socialist leaders especially Dr.N.G.Renga's yeomen service to the peasant community in South India.³

Mahboob Ali Baig Sahib Bahdur

Three objects were visualised in the statement of objects and reasons: One is the abolition of intermediaries between the peasants and the state, the second one is the payment of equitable compensation, and the third is the conversion of these lands into ryotwari lands. Now, let us see whether these three objectives have been achieved, how far this legislation falls short of it and what the reasons are for., I will take up the questions of intermediaries first. It is undoubtedly true that permanent settlement will go, that the Zamindary system will go, i.e., one category of intermediaries will go. The pre-1936 teams also will go, but the 1936 teams will continue once before; I said that the

revenue minister struck to his guns even in the Select Committee stage. High Command is an outside authority and all that. We stand by the Congress Election Manifesto, a part of our election manifesto.⁴

K. Anandan Nambiyar

He spoke on the Bill. Indian National Congress has accepted the principle that the right of the soil belongs to the tiller and that property should be transferred to the underdog. Some Zamindars are given *binary pattas* for hundreds of acres of land; they are going to become the landlords hereafter, and they are going to enjoy the right, but the actual tiller of the soil does not get anything. The lands should be transferred from the Zamindars to the actual soil tillers without any intermediaries at one stroke⁵.

The Raja of Venkatagiri

He was speaking on this bill, 'I was submitting that my apprehension about the validity of the Bill was proving true. I oppose the abolition of Zamindaris until all intermediaries of whatever kind between the actual cultivator of the soil and state are removed. I feel that there is no case for the removal of Zaminadars. If at all there is any distinction. Therefore, even at this stage, I submit that the government should bestow sympathetic, earnest, and just consideration and work out a formula by which just compensation would be secured to us, thereby strengthening the legal validity of this measure. I feel that they must do justice and avoid the contingency of the measure being held invalid by courts⁶.

R.V. Swaminathan

He has argued the strenuous efforts of the revenue minister, Shri Kalavenkata Rao, to move this Bill. I thank him. I am against the Zamindars. That is not true; I am not against the Zamindars as such. I have got many Zamindar friends myself. But I am against the Zamindary system and want them to go. But one thing I must say about my hon's speech is that my Friend Mr. N.S. Varada Chary, who I see, is not here just now. Because the ryots will benefit from this Bill, he suggests a betterment tax might be levied on them. At the same time, he and his friends proclaim that they are the friends of the Ryots and are not against their interests. If I rise to point this out to those friends, my hon, friend Mr T.Viswanatham, immediately jumps up and says we are not at all against the interests of the ryots⁷.

Kaleswara Rao

He said that this Bill has not appealed to the imagination of the people, nor has it enhanced the prestige of the Congress as a socialist organisation, as the Prakasam Committee Report or the Vallabh Pant's Committee Report has been seen the light of the day only recently has done. Of course, I congratulate the Hon. Minister for Revenue for having had the opportunity to move such an important Bill of such a far-reaching character. But I cannot say that the Bill has justified the hopes and aspirations of the ryots. Judging from that point of view, this Bill harms the Zamin ryots and concedes many advantages to the Zamindars, so it is very unsatisfactory and reactionary. I join my leader, Mr. Prakasam, in saying that we shall only associate ourselves with that portion of the Bill that deals with the zamindaries' abolition.⁸

W. J. Fernandez

He has participated in this discussion further, saying that this legislation by the government is essentially revolutionary. A particular class of people who, for hundreds of years, felt secure on their holdings as owners of those estates but why are now being considered mere farmers of revenue or rent collectors are overnight to be wiped off the face of the land with which they have long been associated and ownership transferred to the ryots or the cultivators of the soil as the case may be. Such a reform

has far-reaching consequences and affects numerous interests, requiring the hon's skill and ingenuity. The Minister for Revenue and the secretarial department could bring to bear on it to evolve a measure that would secure the greatest good to the most significant number with the most minor injury, if any, to those affected thereby.⁹

D. D. S. Ramachandra Rao

The bill has become law, but it is still a problem, and I trust my hon. A friend will allow me to hold on for the next few hours. Sir, there has been an attempt to tar all the Zamindars with the same brush. Just as there are men and men, just as there are Congressmen and Congressmen, there are also Zamindars and Zamindars. No doubt, the whole assumption for the allegation has been, so far as I can judge from the nature of the speeches made here, that the Zamindari system has lent itself to luxury and, therefore, extravagance of expenditure. So far as I am aware, the Andhra University, if it owed its origin to any single individual, it owed it to the generosity of a Zamindar.¹⁰

Pyndah Venkatanarayana

Sir, I support the Bill, though it is very defective. However, of course, there were two other enactments, including the Prohibition of Alienation Bill. I may tell the House that when I rise to speak on the Zamindari abolition legislation, my main object today is that I am against the payment of any compensation to the Zamindar. The government themselves have said that the Zamindar is a mere agent and rent collector. While it is so, I do not understand how the Zamindar is entitled to any sort. Members of the House consider the behaviour and conduct of several Zamindars, and many will say that they are not entitled to any remuneration. I am myself a Zamindar. Though initially my family was not Zamindar family, we enquire! The estates and we are enjoying them. Though I cannot represent the Zamindari constituency in this House, I still know all these things perfectly well, just as any other member representing that constituency man knows. I wonder how the Zamindar is entitled to any compensation. The revenue minister has arrived at the figure of paying 20 or 25 times the annual rental to be paid as compensation. Even under the Land Acquisition Act, which is still in force, they will get much less¹¹.

G. Kumaraswamy

Mr. Speaker. Sir, I wholeheartedly support the Bill moved by the Hon, the revenue minister. As early as the Circuit Committee Report in the latter half of the 18th century, the status of the zamindar merely a rent collector was recognised. The same view is also expressed in Baden Powell's Land Tenure, which is authoritative for the last 145 years; there have been various landmarks regarding these estates—the Permanent Settlement Regulation in 1802 and the ameliorative measures of 1822. The Rent Recovery Act of 1865, The Estates Land Act of 1908 with its amendments of 1936, and the Estates Land Revenue Bills introduced in 1938 and 1939 in the Madras Legislature are some of them. Finally comes the present Bill, the Zamindari Abolition Bill, introduced by Hon. Sri Kala Venkata Rao, the revenue minister, which seeks to redress the grievances of the Zamindari ryot. More than half the country's land under Cultivation is, of course, the Zamindari area where famine and want fence, misery, poverty, and illiteracy reign supreme. Still, there is a tremendous awakening in the people who have opened their eyes, especially with the dawn of independence.¹²

I am sure he greatly benefited from this hill, the knot of the 20 taluks, including the sub-taluk, in the Andhra districts, which are full of Zamindari thrones. Of course, in my district of Vangapatam, there is not even one Government Lake. And then, in two lakes, you and only one Government village in earth taluk. In the remaining six taluk, which are mixed, you find a good number of Zamindari villages, and

the Government villages are only 450. Two-thirds of the district is zamindari. The whole Vince in general and the Andhra districts in particular surely welcome this, Bill. And the Bill will be applauded by one and all in the country.

But there is one question, Sir, which demands the attention of the Government. The revenue minister has already stated that minors and service names are exempted from the bill's operation. Sir, the petty enlarges who possess only 20 to 30 acres of land should be granted ryotwari patta just like in Orissa. Sir, it must also be noted that the Team Commission of 1862 could not decide the actual tenure in most villages. Instances do not want to prove this. Narasapuram, Mentada, etc., of Chipurupalli taluk of Vizagapatam district, are cases where accurate tenure could not be decided¹³.

T. S. Pattabhiraman

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not one of those who is very happy about the introduction of this Bill in this Legislature because I honestly feel, and I am sure I am expressing the opinion of thousands of those in this country when I say that this legislation has put the clock of progress back by one hundred years. In no other country will you see that there is compensation being paid to Zamindars and Inamdar and petty Rajas who have absolutely no right to exist these days and that too in the year 1947, the atomic age? Sir, the Zamindaris are an anachronism in the present structure, and we all want it abolished at one stroke. Still, on the other hand, the Hon., The revenue minister taking cover under the Congress Election Manifesto, has given existence to them. He has also ensured their long life and prosperity for five more years. I do not want to go into the merits of the question of payment of compensation. Morally, politically and socially, the Zamindars have no right to compensation. They will now harm their interests more vigorously if you give them this extension in their life span. I hope the revenue minister will take steps to acquire the Zamindaris immediately and without waiting for the stipulated period of five years¹⁴.

The Zamindar of Mirzapuram

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would request you to give me a mere time than the six minutes you have allotted for others as I am the only rupee Native who will be speaking on behalf of the Zamindars. I was Zamindari's question, but today I lved a telegram saying that he is well and at ale to attend the Assembly. Ninety-nine Zamindars out of one hundred oppose this bill, and nonoil wants the Zamindaris to be abolished and compensation paid to them. Sir, these Zamindaris are not gifts or presents to the landholders. They were given to them for their various deeds during the time of the East India Company and afterwards by shedding their blood and fighting in the battles.¹⁵ The arrival of the old is a bent 201 retrieved until now. If you ignore the decisions, the customs and the practice, you can certainly do it. You are powerful, and you can do whatever you like. A discourse of Zamindars cannot help you advance or get you votes. You are at liberty to go to the Zamindars to please other classes of people and get into power test time. As I have stated in Oxen with the Reut Reduction Bill, what happens to the zamindars today will happen to you next time. It is not far off. I am coming near. You may consider all these things and do proper Justice.¹⁶

As I have already stated, the Zamindars are against the abolition of the Zamindaris. They want them to be retained. Suppose you think that the rots are silvering, by all means. We are prepared to accept any reasonable proposal that the Government or anybody may make to rectify the defects and, at the same time, place our rights on the same footing as the Government. This will be effective in and from the notified date and the same as the widely expressly provided in this act, the Madras Permanent Settlement Regulation, 1302: the Madras Estates Land Act, 1908. I am not able to understand the

clause, Sir. All the, everything there is, they want to take over. Several sentinels have been cultivating Kini roils and thousands of caresses as much as possible to prove they are all private lands on the hill.¹⁷

P. Kandaswami Pillai

Mr. Speaker, sir, I am here to support the Bill before the House today. The main object of the Bill is to provide comforts and convenience to the Zamin ryots, which are enjoyed by the ryotwari; when such is the object unless we introduce new clauses and make necessary amendments in different portions of this Bill, it will not serve the purpose well. Act of 1944, passed. Under that Act, the tightness of the ryot is taken away. Under the Madras Estates Land Act of 1908, under section 6, once a land is let into the possession of the ryot, he is to get the occupancy right. The Zamindars cannot take back that right. According to the new Ordinance, passed in 1944 with the help of the Advisers Government, the zamindar can take back a land given to the Ryot once. Therefore, Act I of 1944 should be repealed. Clause 3 (a) of the present Bill states that the Madras Permanent Settlement Regulation, 1802, the Madras Estates Land Act, 1908, and all other enactments applicable to the estate shall cease to apply. I think it is insufficient, and it should be stated explicitly that Act I of 1944 has been repealed. That committee will not be fit to deal with such a significant matter regarding thousands of acres of land worth lakhs and errors. Such a committee would be able to help people. Persons with knowledge of men and things should be put on the committee.¹⁸ The Select Committee should consider some other basis for compensation.

Sri G. Rajamannar Chetti

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am constrained to place my views on this important treasure brought before this House by the Hon. Revenue Minister. He feels so because his constituency and the class of people he represents are about to be obliterated. I am one of those who do not want to pay compensation to zamindars because they played into the hands of British Imperialism: they helped British Imperialists to establish themselves in this country. This type of people would have been extinguished in any other country long ago. This Bill has been brought to Tate. It is already overdue. Members have been saying that the ryots have derived significant benefits because of the philanthropic potions of the Zamindars. Some Zamindars have had good intentions. But it cannot justify the continuance of such a class of people who will exploit the ryots if allowed to do so. I am now coming to the other class of people, who are diminutive Zamindars. I do not want to speak any further but to tell the Hon. Revenue Minister and the probable Members of the Select Committee to give up the idea of giving any compensation to these persons because it would mean further exploitation of the ryots¹⁹.

Conclusion

The above discussion is focused on the abolition of the cruel system of Zamindaris. The Indian National Congress Party's Election Manifesto urged people's prolonged struggle on land for tillers. The legislature members participated in favour of the Zamindars and ryots based on their political stands. The Communists and socialists within the Congress party vehemently supported the abolition of the evil Zamindari system; it was understood by the member's arguments in the assembly. The Select Committee toured various parts of the presidency and met different representatives of various organisations. It submitted a report that mainly concentrated on compensation but failed to understand the condition of the landless poor because it raised Zamindars' compensation from eleven crore to twelve crore. The Committee was silent to focus on redistributing surplus lands to the landless poor. In this way, the abolition of the Zamindary system gave much relief to the ryots. Though the steps were

taken earlier, the Congress Party brought the Bill. However, taking over the estates was completed only in 1951. After the conversion of the Ryotwary collection system, there was no harsh mediator, and the ryots enjoyed their holdings. Since then, only Ryotwary tenure prevailed in the Madras Presidency. The ryots began to work hard and enjoyed their hard-earned yield. In this way, one of the pernicious socio-economic problems of the Madras Presidency ended.

End Notes

1. G.O No. 211, *Legal Department*, dated 18th November 1949.
2. *Ibid*
3. *History of Land Revenue Settlement and the Abolition of Intermediary Tenure in Tamil Nadu*, Madras, 1977, p.157.
5. *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Report*, Wednesday, 27th October 1948,
6. Vol: XVII -No.1, p.134.
7. *Ibid*, p.64
8. *Ibid*, p.65
9. *Ibid*, p.66
10. *Ibid*, p.133
11. *Ibid*.p.134
12. *Ibid*, p.135
13. *Ibid*, p.135
14. *Ibid*.p.136
15. *Fortnightly Reports*, First Half of July,1937, p.1
16. *Madras Assembly Debates*, Vol.VII, dated 28th November,1947.
17. *Memorandum on the Report of the Prakasam Committee on Condition in Zamidary and Other Proprietary Areas*, Madras, 1939, p.20
19. G.O.No.211, *Op.cit*
20. B.S.Baliga, *Tanjore District Handbook*, Madras,1957,p.563.
21. Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Report, Wednesday,27th October 1948,
22. Vol: XVII - No.1, p.134. *Op.cit*
23. *Ibid*

THE DYNAMICS OF LAND USE PATTERNS IN TRIVANDRUM, KERALA

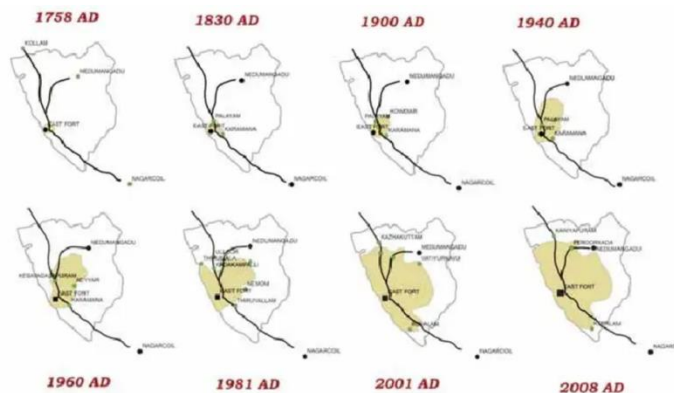
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Trivandrum, or *Thiruvananthapuram*, is the capital city of Kerala and is located on isolated hills on the coastal plains along the Arabian Sea. It has been the administrative centre of the erstwhile princely state of Travancore and continued to be the axis of rule in the colonial and post-colonial era. The inflow of people from different parts of the country in the medieval past and synthesis of cultural attributions is well reflected in the characteristics of the social and economic fabric.¹ Shifting of the erstwhile *Travancore State* Capital from *Padmanabhapuram* to *Trivandrum* in 1795 embarked the gradual evolution of Trivandrum into a modern urban space. Notified as a Municipal Corporation in 1940, the city now has 100 wards covering an area of 214.86 km². Nearing a population agglomeration of 1 million, Trivandrum city records spatial growth towards the peripheral rural areas and *urban outgrowths*.²



Source: Institute of Architecture, Thiruvananthapuram Centre

Figure 1: Evolution of Trivandrum

Land use change is interpreted as the change over time of the distribution of land uses of an area. *Land use* designates the composition, activities and input that a population make over a land cover type in order to maintain or change it. The rate of change of land use has a direct linkage with the activities of the human population in their environment. Land use may change spatially or temporally based on the sequential occupance of human beings over a piece of land. The nature of human interference and intensity of activities undertaken over a land parcel is reflected in the patterns and heterogeneity of the landscape. Thus, analysis of the land use change indicators provides reliable basis for comprehending socio-economic and environmental development pertaining to an area.³ The socio-economic profile of present day Trivandrum reflects a multitude of land use change patterns occurred over time. Imprints of the colonial past and introduction of infrastructural development in the post-colonial period is manifested in the urban form, structure and regional linkages of Trivandrum as a modern city. Referred to as *Ananthan kadu* in the ancient literature, Thiruvananthapuram was predominantly an agrarian economy under the

Chera dynasty. During the second half of the 18th century, nearly 21% of the total population were identified as Cultivators and a major share of the land was devoted to agriculture and related activities. Paddy farming dominated the land use pattern in and around the city, traditional labour-dependent *padashekharams* occupied a major share of the land within the notified area. Other economic activities of the population included trade, construction works, metal works, employment connected with textiles, professional services and Govt. services.⁴ However, drastic changes in the land use patterns of the city evolved after the establishment of the Town Improvement Trust of Travancore in 1870. Civic amenities like water supply, street lighting and sanitation were introduced during the reign of *Ayilyam Thirunal* which transformed the landscape profile of Trivandrum into an emerging urban form. Other developmental activities under taken by Swathi Thirunal in Thiruvananthapuram include establishment of Government Press, Observatory, Museum and Zoo, Kuthiramalika, Karamana bridge etc. brought about remarkable changes in the land use patterns and socio-cultural linkages with other parts of the state.⁵

With the inception of Trivandrum as a Municipal Corporation in 1940, the infrastructural projects introduced in the city transformed categorised the land use classes into clear-cut divisions of urban built-up land, mixed land use classes, water bodies and barren lands. The built-up environment increased due to the population explosion and the expansion of major roads connecting the city with the rest of the state. The Main Central Road, constructed in the 1870s, was expanded with several secondary roads to enhance connectivity with North Travancore. Arterial roads constructed after 1950 enabled better connectivity between the city and its hinterlands. The extension of Railways in the town in 1931 and further expansion of railway lines to the southern part of the Travancore state lifted connectivity and linkages of Trivandrum with the rest of India. Amplification of the rail-road infrastructure enhanced the linear mode of settlements, leading to settlement patterns changing from a compact to a spiral-out built-up settlement.⁶ The patterns of the built-up environment continued to transform along with the improvements in rail-road connectivity until 1990. The city has witnessed phenomenal changes in the land use pattern with the establishment of Techno Park at Kazhakkootam and the expansion of the Karode-Mukkola stretch of the NH-66 Bypass passing through the city. Moreover, the establishment of industrial units at KINFRA, Pappanamcodu, has reshaped the morphology of Trivandrum city in the last decades. Vizhinjam International Seaport is an all-weather, deep water, multi-purpose port constructed in Thiruvananthapuram's fringes. Post-2000, the land use patterns become more homogenous in the city's core areas while representing a heterogeneity in form and texture in the fringe areas. The increase in a built-up environment in the last three decades diminished land use under agriculture and the expanse of the aquatic environment in the city. Loss of area under Paddy cultivation was recorded by 70% between 1960-2005, with a few stretches of fields around Vellayani Lake and the Chanthavila-Pothencode region.⁷

Since its establishment as the capital of Travancore state, the growth of Thiruvananthapuram as an urban settlement was expeditiously compared to the previous century. Several factors contributed to the swift expansion of the city, ranging from the development of roads and public infrastructures to the migration of people from other parts of the state. Built-up development and connectivity between various places of Travancore state were given an impetus during the reign of King Rama Varma and Raja Kesavadas. During the British period, significant developments occurred in transport network development, the construction of public buildings, and the introduction of the railway in Trivandrum. These developments have led to further expansion of the city towards the fringes and attracted population migration from the mofussil. In the post-2000 era, Trivandrum has become a nodal

hub of education, health, and infrastructure, attracting tremendous growth in the influx of people worldwide.

Catalysts of Land Use Dynamics of Trivandrum

The factors identified as primary stimuli for the patterns of land use dynamics of Trivandrum are the role of Transport infrastructure and connectivity, Trade, Commerce and Industry, Built-up development and Public Structures, Influx of migrant Population, Role of Public markets in the City and Demographic transition. The origin of Modern means of transport in Travancore state dates back to the second half of the 18th century. Travancore is a land of numerous perennial streams, so water transport was a significant mode of transport. The princely state of Travancore had an uninterrupted natural transport network in the early 19th century. The public works Department known as the Maramath was established in 1825 to undertake public works in the Travancore state. Travancore's total road network length rose to 3579 km in 1906 A. The D.State Transport Department, established in 1937, further demanded the expansion of the present routes and the construction of bridges in the state. By 1947, the total road length of the state was 8957 km, consisting of 2164 km of metalled, 3741 un-metalled and 1610 km of village roads. The Trivandrum City Improvement Trust Act of 1960 was constituted to improve and expand the city after Independence and the formation of Kerala state.⁸ It aimed at street expansion, opening recreational spaces and provisioning modern urban amenities to the residents. Thiruvananthapuram Development Authority (TRIDA) was constituted in 1980 to implement planned and scientific development of Thiruvananthapuram city and adjoining areas. TRIDA is entrusted with coordinating the implementation of various development plans under the development authority area. Multiple places in the town interlinked with secondary and service roads funded by the Kerala Road Fund Board during the last two decades. Smart City Thiruvananthapuram Limited (SCTL) has completed several roads connecting core areas of the city, ie. East Fort and Thampanoor with the urban outgrowths of Kazhakkootam and Vattiyoorkavu during the last decade.

Trade and commerce during the colonial period significantly influenced the spatial growth of Thiruvananthapuram city. The English East India Company established a foothold at Vizhinjam in 1644 to expand its commercial interest in south Travancore. Under Dalava Ramayyan, Pantakasalas or warehouses were established at Padmanabhapuram, Trivandrum, Quilon, Mavelikkara and Muvattupuzha. Necessary Infrastructural facilities were constructed to support the trading system at the Pantakasalas, which increased the built-up density of these places. Improved road transport infrastructure was an obvious result of the trading posts in Travancore's northern and eastern parts. Parvathy Puthanar Canal, created in the 18th and 19th centuries, connecting Trivandrum with Quilon, has been a significant trade route. Trivandrum, the capital of Kerala state, retained its prominence as a trade and commercial hub after independence. It served as the commercial node between Nagercoil, Kanyakumari, and other towns of south Tamil Nadu, along with major cities in southern Kerala. Agricultural products from the immediate hinterland and mountainous eastern region were brought to Trivandrum and merchandised to North and South Travancore through waterways, and roads.⁹ Introduction of the Railway was a major step in enhancing trade and commerce in Trivandrum. Movement of cargo in and out of the city became much easier and cheaper due to railway connectivity in the second half of the 20th century. Along with traditional markets at Chala, Pazhavangadi and Karamana, several malls have opened at Akkulam, Pattor, and Enchakkal to promote trade and commerce. Currently, there are 108 acres of industrial area at Veli and 24 acres in Manvila and Pappanamcodu. Premier industrial units located in the city limits include Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre (VSSC), Inertial System unit (ISU) of ISRO, Reinforced Plastic Centre (REPLACE) at Vattiyoorkavu, Keltron (Kerala State Electronics Development Corporation),

Hindustan Latex, C-DIT The Centre for Development of Imaging Technology (C-DIT), Kinfra Apparel Park (KIAP) and English Indian Clays Ltd. The largest IT cluster, i.e., Technopark at Kazhakkootam, hosts more than 61 companies employing around 5500 professionals with several ISO 9001 certified companies. The city's Central Business District (CBD) coincide with Palayam, East Fort Thampanoor, and Manacaud with 7 second-order commercial nodes along major road corridors and NH-66. Based on the present land use patterns of the urban area, there are 9 third-order and 19 fourth-order commercial clusters within the urban limits of Trivandrum.

Built-up growth is a discernible outcome of land use change with urbanization characterized by transformation and fragmentation of land use/landcover features. During the reign of Maharaja Ayilyam Thirunal, the metamorphic transition occurred in Travancore's capital. Public structures like the Napier Museum and Natural History Museum were designed by Robert Chisholm and completed in 1880. Construction of these structures earmarked the evolution of the capital into a colonial primate city. Robert Chisholm incorporated the Victorian style with traditional Kerala architecture in designing these colonial structures, now stamp cards of Kerala tourism. The structures were designed with carved gables, bay windows, and verandahs for sufficient natural air ventilation. The public works department was entrusted with construction palaces as well as public amenities like hospitals, observatories, museums, zoos, markets, roads, canals, drainage and water supply, bridges, and Reservoirs. Corinthian and Doric styles were adopted for designing public structures in the initial phase. Built-up corridors were clustered and discontinuous during the 18th and first half of the 19th century. In the initial decades after the relocation of Travancore state capital to Trivandrum, the built-up land increase was mainly due to the construction of palaces by the Travancore dynasty and public buildings of gothic styles by the British.¹⁰ Settlement clusters were mainly concentrated around Padmanabha swami temple region during the 18th century. Beyond the East Fort area, settlement clusters bloomed east of Killi Ar around Karamana, Iramuttom, Kuriyathi, Singaratopu and Taliyal. Clustered linear settlements burgeoned rapidly along the coastal region from Poonthura to Karrikkakaom. Migrant settlements not only emerged around the East Fort but also at Karamana, where they replicated settlement patterns of Tanjavur.¹¹ Settlements gradually emerged along the roads connecting the city with Travancore's northern and southern regions. Isolated but linear patterns of settlements evolved along the central road linkages completed in 1890 to connect the capital city with various parts of Travancore state—however, connectivity to the east, ie. Nedumangadu and Palode regions were still limited. Topographic undulations and reserved forests in the highland regions of the state restricted the construction of paved roads and bridges during this period. Isolated village hamlets were connected by un-metalled roads through which cart tracks were used as the primary mode of transport. The city's built-up area skyrocketed in the second half of the 20th century due to an increase in migration and improvement in infrastructural facilities undertaken in the city. The floor area ratio of Trivandrum is one of the highest among the major cities of Kerala. Predominant contributions to built-up areas resulted from establishing industrial units, residential development, and population growth. Growth patterns of built-up are distinctive in various zones of the city. Although built-up in a linear fashion was observed in the second half of the 19th century, the pattern continued along the transport lines, but compact sectoral clustering of built-up zones emerged during the 20th century. The total built-up volume of the city is estimated to be around 32.48 sq. km, occupying a 6.15% area of the total land use in 1960. The built-up ratio increased to 26% in 2000, covering an area of 141.93 sq. km. As a result of the commercial and infrastructural development in the last two decades, the built-up area has tremendously increased to 225.15 sq. km, occupying 42.8%. Distinguishable functional zones can be delineated based on the present land use pattern within the city. The city, with its adjacent Panchayats, represents an urban-rural

continuum, with rapid fringe area development. The core area's functional character is exclusively urban, while semi-urban to rural zones are in the distant outskirts. The lowland regions, once dedicated to intense agricultural activity, now paved the way for built-up space for residential needs. The urban functional zones' land use concentration represents commercial, industrial, residential, public, and semi-public services. From 2000 to 2020, they witnessed maximum peri-urban development, fringe expansion, secondary urban core progression, and scatter development. The built-up area's concentration of 50-80% unfolded secondary urban core development. This has been observed at the outgrowths of Thiruvananthapuram city around Kazhakkootam, Vattiyoorkavu and Kovalam-Vizhinam zones. A discontinuous medium-dense built-up space constitutes the fringe development at the Kudappanakkunnu, Pallippuram and Vilavoorkal zones. Scatter development with discontinuous low dense built-up of less than 30% was noticed along the National Highway, State Highways and Railway lines.

Built-up concentration is derived through predominantly mixed residential activity in most cities. Along with a high concentration of public and semi-public infrastructure, the inner wards of the town have mixed residential land use and intense commercial activity. Rigorous commercial built-up development is observed at Kazhakkootam-Kovalam zones and in an east-west and north-south direction from Palayam following the transport corridors. Industrial built-up space occupies the northern part of the coastal belt and the southeastern part of the city near Pappanamcodu. The proposed draft master plan (2040) of Thiruvananthapuram city proposes 77% of the total land use zone for built-up development. It recommends three special zones encompassing a mobility hub, medical college expansion and special development zones with 14 built zones in the proposed land use zones. Two transport-oriented development corridors combining land use and transport planning have been envisaged per the draft plan to promote planned sustainable urban growth in high-density mixed land use³⁵. Employment zones, medical institutions, educational hubs and commercial centres are included in proposed TOD corridors NH-66 and NH Bypass traversing the city.

The increase in the Built-up environment and population influx into the capital city escalated after the adornment of the Sree Padmanabhaswami temple. Population concentration around Padmanabha temple swelled due to the state's initiatives to build up markets and streets. The state encouraged the migration of the Tamil-Brahmin community from Tanjavur to serve as priests at Padmanabhaswami temple and to perform religious rituals, resulting in the growth of a settlement cluster around the temple. The Tamil Brahmins from Brahmadesam were brought to Trivandrum by the Travancore kings to perform Mura Japam rituals in the Sree Padmanabhaswami temple. They settled in Agraharams (cluster settlements with streets) around the temple, Chalai and Karamana. Thus, a clustered settlement with urban character developed around the present-day Eastfort region, as depicted in the figure below. During his time, the construction of East Fort and West Fort was completed (started by King Marthanda Varma), roads running to the eastern side of East Fort were repaired and widened, and several shops for trade were opened. Between 1900 and 1950, a significant share of the migrant population in the city mainly included agricultural labourers and workers at restaurants and other commercial enterprises. This population influx was primarily from the different districts of the state and the adjacent state of Tamil Nadu. However, the 90s witnessed an exceeding out-migration above in-migration due to employment opportunities consequent to the bloom of the petro-economy in the Middle East. The patterns of migration saw a reversal in the last two decades owing to large-scale inter-state migration to Kerala. Post-2000 period, the transformation of Trivandrum as a hub of construction activities enticed migrant workers in large numbers from different states of India. A multitude of sectors, including food

processing, utilities, restaurants, and textile shops in various parts of the city, including Kazhakkootam, Menamkulam, Pothencode and Vizhinjam, employ migrant labourers from West Bengal, Odisha, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Northeastern states. The Kazhakkootam-Vizhinjam stretch of the NH Bypass has become a hotspot for construction activities, and many migrant workers are employed there. The city has a residential cluster of migrant workers at Kazhakkootam, Menamkulam, Thirumala, Eastfort, Akkulam, Kovalam and Vizhinjam. This trend of in-migrant population influx has an exponential impact on the urban profile of Thiruvananthapuram.

Urban growth of Thiruvananthapuram flared up with the introduction of public markets in Chalai and Pazhavangadi. Trade and commerce blossomed here, attracting more population concentration and connectivity with the rest of the state. Moreover, a market for trade near the Chalai region was spatially expanded and brought tradespeople there. The quatrains from 41 to 104 of the Manipravalam poem entitled *Ananthapuravarnanam* comprehend the descriptions of location, trade commodities, tradespeople, and market customers. According to it, the market might have been situated in the northwest area of present-day Chalai, known as Pazhavangadi. Pazhavangadi indicates 'pazhaya angadi' (old street or market or shop), which supports this argument. Ayurvedic medicines, textiles, jewellery, spices, vegetables, fish, etc., were sold on different market streets. Both foreign (Egyptians, Turks, Europeans) and local merchants (Tamil, Telungus, Kannadas and native peoples) brought their commodities and sold them here. Its location near Killi Ar and Karamana Ar and its linkage with other parts of the state by roads and streets made it the chief bazaar of Travancore, providing easy traffic for goods and commodities. Iron Bridge was constructed across Killi Ar and Karamana Ar to make transportation easier. The bridge in the Karamana River, popularly known as the Kundamonkadavu bridge, connects both sides of the Karamana River, and now it is a significant artery for connecting Thiruvananthapuram corporation with Neyyattinkara Taluk. Both water transport and road transport were developed in this period. All these reforms in the King Karthikathirunal period facilitate the development of Thiruvananthapuram city by providing infrastructure and economic development through promoting trade. Thiruvananthapuram has been a traditional collection and distribution centre of agricultural products, fish, and textiles from the ancient period. Improvements in road and rail transport have expanded the city's hinterland and increased the volume of goods transferred. Various consumer products from the adjacent states are distributed through the scattered market zones in the town. Most of these market clusters are spatially distributed along the traffic corridors. There are two main markets, Viz. Chalai and Palayam have four sub-markets, seven zonal markets and 46 local markets within the city limits.

As per the 1871 Census estimates, the Trivandrum region of Travancore state occupied an area of 77.69 sq. km with a total population of 50,486. The combined population total for Trivandrum North and Trivandrum South was 100413. The population was densest on the west and became less sparse towards the east. The average number of persons per square mile was 1014.27 during this decade. The rate increase for the whole period was 2.3. The region's total population rose to 51649 in 1881, with an average number of persons per square mile of 1040.26. The total number of houses in the city was 10549, whereas the number of occupied dwellings was 9815. The rate of increase in population compared with the last census is 5.12. The total urban population of the Trivandrum region (as designated as a Town by the 1891 Census) was 27887, and the rural population of 20952. The town boundaries were changed between 1891 and 1901. In 1901, the population of the town increased to 57882. Since the last Census, there has been an increase of 3082 (27.7%) in the case of occupied houses in 1901. The population of the per capita town increased to 63561 in 1911, an excess of 5679. The

Municipality has 12416 houses, out of which 10485 are occupied. The percentage of population increase in the town was 9.8. According to the 1921 Census, the capital city had a population of 72784, an increase of 14.5 compared to the previous census. The density of the population in the town during this period was 11 persons per acre, the highest in the state. Manacaud ward of the Municipality recorded the highest density with 58 persons per acre. The number of persons per house in the town was estimated to be 6.1 and that for rural areas is 5.5. As per the 1931 Census, Trivandrum Municipality tops the state's urban population with 96016 persons, who hold 17.14% of the total urban population of the Travancore state. The total population of Trivandrum Municipal Town rose to 128365 in 1941, representing a percentage increase of 33.7% during 1931-1941. The percentage increase of occupied houses during this period was 49.7. The density of the population also showed a remarkable increase from 8505 in 1931 to 10842 in 1941. During the Census period of 1941-51, Trivandrum was constituted as a Municipal Corporation and a Class I Town. Trivandrum had grown into a prominent town due to its position as the administrative capital and improvement in modern amenities during the last decade. The total population during the post-independence Census was 186931. The proportion of the male and female population was 95632 and 91299, respectively. The number of occupied houses in the 1951 census is 26842. An excess of 58566 persons was added to the total population figures compared to the previous census. The net variation from 1901 to 1951 was + 129,049. Several persons engaged in activities other than cultivation were 16187 for the male category and 16251 for the female category.

The total area of Trivandrum Municipal Corporation in 1961 was 44.52 sq. km, with a total population estimated at 239815. The male and female populations constitute 122318 and 117497. Number of occupied residential households during this census period was 37460. During the 1961-1971 census period, the area under Trivandrum Municipal Corporation increased to 74.93 km². The total population is 409627, with 206096 males and 203531 females recorded during this census period. The number of households increased to 67602, a percentage increase of 55.41%. The population of the core town Trivandrum in 1981 was 483086, with an outgrowth population of 16445 of Thumba. The female population during this period exceeded the male population and estimated a value of 242,158. Thumba Outgrowth and Kdakampally Non-Municipal Town recorded 37039 persons during this period. The number of households in Trivandrum corporation limits rose to 88863 in 1981. The total population of the Trivandrum in 1991 was 524006, occupying 60.39% of the total population of the Thiruvananthapuram city region. The population density was high among the towns of Thiruvananthapuram urban agglomeration (6994 persons/sq.km). Thiruvananthapuram Municipal Corporation accounted for a household density of 1440 for the 198-1991 period.¹²

In 2001, the city's total population ascended to 744985 while the density of population diminished to 5256. The city area increased to 177.7 sq. km, including Municipal Corporation and Outgrowths (Thumba, Kazhakkootam, Sreekaryam, Chervaiikal, Thiruvallam and Kovalam. The number of households during the 2001 census year was 174670. The decrease in population density may be attributed to several factors, such as an exceedingly high rate of suburbanisation, decreasing growth rates, and administration expansion of the town boundary. The population growth rate recorded was high during 1991-2001 (42.17%.) due to higher immigration and birth rates. Household density showed an increase of 22.2% compared to the previous decade. The spatial extent of the Municipal Corporation increased to 214.86 sq. km by incorporating adjacent panchayaths of Kadakampally, Attipra, Ulloor, Nemom, Kudappanakunnu and Vattiyoorkavu. By 2011, the Municipal Corporation had 100 wards. The city had a population of 788,271 persons, with 384,004 males and 404,267 females. As per the 2011

Census, the number of households increased to 196,202. The average density of the city was observed to be 3549. It was observed that the density of the population varies in different zones of the city. Decadal population growth diminished to 5% from 5.7% in 2001.¹³

Thiruvananthapuram served as the capital and administrative centre during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. It is the densely populated part of Thiruvananthapuram Urban Agglomeration (TUA). Modernisation of the erstwhile Travancore state was initiated by Maharaja Marthanda Varma (AD 1729-1758). Based on the orders of the Travancore dynasty, the colonial powers significantly contributed to the early phases of urbanisation in Trivandrum. Urban growth in Trivandrum was primarily influenced by Transport infrastructure and connectivity, Trade and Commerce, administrative and educational facilities, Public markets, and an influential population in the last century. The city has transformed from a traditional royal capital to a rapidly sprawling urban node with the development of IT-related industries and infrastructure improvements in the previous decades. Trivandrum is the most populous city in Kerala today and a rapidly emerging urban agglomeration in India.

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THE EDUCATIONAL DROPOUT RATES AMONG MUSLIM BOYS IN KERALA: A STUDY

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Education plays a significant role in everyone's lives. In the words of Amartya Sen, "Education's direct and immediate purpose is to make people better informed, more able, more skilled and more enlightened" (Sen, 2003, p. 3). To examine the history, the educational status of women is deficient, especially in Muslim women. Girls in Kerala also were behind boys in terms of higher education enrolment. Deviating from such experience, girls have recently achieved high educational empowerment and representation in higher education institutions of both professional and non-professional courses. Muslim women, who lag behind men in higher education in all other states, also have experienced such a higher level of enrolment rate. Such a development in education is a significant achievement in women's empowerment. At the same time, the high dropout level among boys poses new puzzles that need to be addressed. So, this study analyses the reasons behind the high level of dropout among Muslim Boys and the impacts of such a dropout on them as individuals and upon their families and society.

Education is one of the most essential instruments for developing and empowering any marginalised community. Muslims are the second largest populous religious group after the Hindus in India. Even though the education status of the Muslim community was inferior in the early years, they did not promote education, especially for women, compared to other communities. Conservative Muslims thought that the education system contaminated their faith, especially modern education, due to the entrenched customs and beliefs pushing them from mainstream society. Their socio-economic status is also very pathetic. Today's Muslim women's status has become better compared to the past. However, certain studies reveal that Muslim boys drop out of their education after the tenth or second level.

Drop Out Education and Sachar Committee Report

The Sachar Committee Report points out that Muslims are one of the most economically, educationally, and socially backward sections of Indian society. Undoubtedly, the report is beneficial for understanding the magnitude of this problem, as are many of the suggestions it provides for ameliorating it. The Government of India constituted the Justice Sachar Committee for the preparation of a report on the social, economic, and educational Status of the Muslim Community of India and the Justice Ranganath Mishra Commission for identifying criteria for socially and economically backward classes among the religious and linguistic minorities, and to suggest various welfare measures for minorities including reservation. The Sachar Committee has looked into the share of different communities in multiple institutions to assess their level of exclusion and discrimination in accessing various services. It has been observed that the shares of several of the religious minorities are far below those of other communities.

Suggesting the adoption of suitable mechanisms to ensure equity and equality of opportunity for Muslims in residential, work and educational spaces, the first-of-its-kind report makes a strong pitch for humanity's diversity, a key feature of public policy. The salient findings of the Sachar Committee are: The literacy

rate among Muslims is 59.1%, which is below the national average of 64.8 %; less than 4% of Muslims are graduates or diploma holders compared to about 7% of the population aged 20 years and above. It is estimated that only one out of 25 students enrolled on an undergraduate program and only one out of fifty students enrolled on a postgraduate program is Muslim. The percentage of Muslim men enrolling on a degree course is lower than that of women (Saima Iqbal, 2012).

Dropout Rate of Muslims in India

Higher education is a crucial aspect of social mobility and economic progress in India. However, policymakers and educators have been concerned about Muslim students' participation in higher education. Despite some improvement in recent years, Muslim students are still underrepresented in higher education, particularly in prestigious institutions. The high number of dropouts in the Muslim community is the outcome of many factors.

Firstly, economic factors play a significant role in the dropout of Muslim students from higher education. Muslims, particularly those from low-income backgrounds, face financial barriers in accessing higher education. According to a study conducted by the Indian Council of Social Science Research, poverty is the primary reason for the low enrolment of Muslims in higher education (Kumar, 2018). Moreover, the lack of scholarships and financial aid programs targeted towards Muslim students exacerbates their financial constraints.

Dropout of Muslims in Kerala

Kerala, a state in southern India, has been known for its high literacy rate and quality education. However, the dropout rate among Muslim students in higher education in Kerala has been a matter of concern. The dropout rate among Muslims in higher education is significantly higher than that of other communities. According to a study conducted by the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) in Thiruvananthapuram, the dropout rate among Muslim students in higher education is 42.5%, which is much higher than the overall dropout rate of 27.2% in the state (Centre for Development Studies, 2012). Another study by the Kerala State Minorities Development Finance Corporation (KSMDFC) found that the dropout rate among Muslim students in professional courses was even higher at 63.28%. There are several reasons for the high dropout rate among Muslim students in higher education in Kerala. One of the main reasons is poverty. Many Muslim families in Kerala are economically backward and cannot afford to support their children's education. This makes it difficult for students to pay for tuition fees, books, and other expenses, forcing them to drop out of college. According to a study by the Centre for Policy Analysis (CPA), poverty among Muslims in Kerala is more pronounced than among other communities.

Another reason for the high dropout rate among Muslim students in higher education is the lack of adequate educational infrastructure in Muslim-dominated areas. Many of these areas lack good schools and colleges, which makes it difficult for students to access higher education. According to the KSMDFC study, Muslim students from rural areas and smaller towns face more significant difficulties in accessing higher education than those from urban areas. Discrimination and bias against Muslims in higher education also contribute to the high dropout rate. Many Muslim students face discrimination and prejudice in colleges, which can negatively impact their academic performance and make them feel unwelcome. According to a report by the Sachar Committee, discrimination against Muslims in higher education is a significant problem in India.

Several measures can be taken to address the issue of high dropout rates among Muslim students in higher education in Kerala. One of the most important measures is to provide financial assistance to

economically backward Muslim students. The government of Kerala has already implemented several scholarship schemes for minority students, including the Post Matric Scholarship Scheme and the Merit-cum-Means Scholarship Scheme. However, more must be done to ensure that all eligible students can benefit from these schemes.

Another important measure is to improve the educational infrastructure in Muslim-dominated areas. The government should establish more schools and colleges in these areas and ensure they meet the necessary standards for quality education. This would enable students to access higher education without travelling long distances. Finally, steps should be taken to address discrimination and bias against Muslim students in higher education. The government should enforce anti-discrimination laws and take strict action against those who discriminate against Muslim students. Colleges should also be encouraged to create a welcoming and inclusive environment for all students, regardless of their religion or background.

Again, the study tries to identify the main reasons behind the declining trends in higher education among the Muslim boys of Kerala. A recent study has brought out that many Muslim boys who qualified plus two and tenth standard with good marks show no inclination to go for higher education but instead choose to work in mobile shops, textiles, restaurants, shopping malls, online platforms, etc. They make use of various fields to earn money very fast. The attitude of Muslim boys towards higher education is very harmful when it is compared with others. In short, they believe they achieve economic self-dependency at a younger age by abandoning their higher education. It is seen that Muslim boys do not opt for higher education. Only among the Muslim category can we know this reluctance towards higher education. They urgently need proper guidance and awareness in this regard. Boys think that even without higher qualifications in education, they can acquire jobs, and at the same time, they know that a lack of higher education will impact the economic standard of the family. Yet they shun higher education and embrace jobs of lower category.

Recent Studies Conducted to check the Dropout rate of Muslims in Kerala

According to the All India Survey of Higher Education (AISHE) 2017-18, Muslim enrolment in higher education in India is only 5%. A recent study has found a sharp decline in the number of Muslim boys going for higher education. Muslim boys want to be self-reliant and lead a happy and cheerful life. This prompts them to abandon higher education and find jobs to be self-independent. The fact is that a good percentage of them have good academic grades in school. On the other hand, compared to the past, the educational status of Muslim girls has drastically improved. Specific religious organizations also conducted studies or surveys related to this issue to find the significant reasons why Muslim boys abandon higher education at an early age. In these circumstances, a study that tries to determine the causes of this decline is highly relevant. Students belonging to higher classes typically enter into higher education, but in the case of marginal sections of society like Muslims and SC/ST, the dropout rate is very high. The main dropout categories are minority communities such as Muslims and tribal communities. Moreover, after the Covid pandemic, this trend has increased.

Another study was conducted under CIGI (Centre for Information and Guidance in India) about the educational dropout among Muslim boys in Kerala. The main dropout categories are minority communities such as Muslims and tribal communities. After the COVID-19 pandemic, this trend has increased. When the girl's educational status enhanced, then earlier that time, the Muslim boys' educational status came to be noticed and discussed in society. Examining the boy's educational details shows that they are not interested in studying in the higher education sector. Muslim boys drop their education at an early age. Specific organisations conducted studies related to this issue, and certain

studies analysed the dropout decisions of the students; there are two answers for the dropout. Some decided to stop their education, and others reported they were compelled to. Nowadays women's educational status has greatly improved. However, recent trends show that Muslim boys drop out of their education, and most of them do not complete their secondary education either. Moreover, there are many institutions starting studies or taking necessary steps to understand the current problem (Ramshad, 2019)

Findings and Conclusion

After analysis of the education dropout of Muslim boys in Kerala, the study found that Financial issues are the primary reasons for the dropout. Most of the boys made a self-decision to drop their studies. They found various mediums for making money very fast. Sometimes, they do the jobs for a kind of Mafia (manual mafia, drug mafia, etc.). It is hazardous, and therefore, they get money from that job, so they don't want to continue to higher studies. Most of the girls are not willing to marry a lower-educated man. Due to this, such men are not in demand in the marriage market. The trend of the educational dropout rate of Muslim boys has increased today. There are certain studies conducted by Muslim organisations about the issue. Boys need money to fulfil their necessities. They are not ready to waste a long time and have higher education. They involve themselves in some job or other. So that they would get some money and lead a life as they wish. Most of them are working in private firms. Nowadays, many more job vacancies are available online, such as swiggy, zomato, shops, etc. They want to get dressed, two-wheelers and food of their choice, and to lead a life of their own. Besides, getting a job means they have more freedom than before. In other words, they need economic self-dependency at a younger age. In short, the boys believe they achieve economic self-dependency at a younger age by abandoning their higher education. The boys are very well aware of the current situation in the society. These are the significant findings of the study. The study points out that the primary suggestions are that the related authorities (Religious or related institutions) should take immediate action to improve Muslim boys' educational status (Higher Education sector) in Kerala. They also provide and organise awareness programs to decrease the dropout rate in the higher education sector.

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ELIZA THE MUSE AND ANJENGO: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS THROUGH THE PERSPECTIVES OF WRITERS

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Anjengo or Anchuthengu, a narrow strip of land between the Arabian Sea and the Anjengo backwater, is a small coastal village primarily dependent upon fishing as its livelihood. Anjengo occupies a prominent position in Kerala's history. This small sandy land once accommodated the representatives of the English East India Company. The first British fort in Kerala was built in Anjengo; Leena More thinks that Anjengo's name started to appear in the British official documents in the 1670s; before that, its name cannot be found, and the fort was finished in 1699 as the foundation of the fort was laid only in 1696.¹ It was not the British who came first; the Portuguese were the pioneer Europeans who came to Anjengo. It is said that the Portuguese arrived here in connection with their trade and religious activities, and they constructed the Holy Spirit's Church to propagate Christianity². Dutch presence was also there; they conducted trade.³

The Britishers who came to Attingal, the kingdom ruled by the Attingal Rani, wanted to establish trade relations with them. They chose Attingal because they wanted a place with relatively less Dutch influence. They constructed factories at Vizhinjam and Edawa and were eager to build a fortification. They wanted a fort either at Edawa or at Vizhinjam. They approached the *Pillas* of the Rani for this purpose, but the Rani and the *Pillas* opposed a fort in Vizhinjam as it was a strategic location, and the *Pillas* said that the Rani didn't own the place and she had to give tax to the Travancore Kingdom. The Britishers then opted out of Vizhinjam and Edawa, and *Pillas* suggested Anjengo to the Britishers.⁴

The then Chief Captain or Commodore of the factories, John Brabourne, was desperate to build a fortification, came to Anjengo and finally decided to construct the fort at Anjengo.⁵ English trade at Anjengo flourished, but by 1721, the Attingal Revolt occurred, the first organised native revolt against the British in India. After the revolt, as compensation, the Rani signed a treaty with the English Chief at Anjengo, Alexander Orme and gave compensation for the revolt.⁶ In 1723, Alexander Orme, the then Chief of Anjengo, signed the Venad Treaty with the Prince of Neyyatinkara, who was Marthanda Varma, as a representative of Travancore, which offered various privileges to the English at Anjengo.⁷

Due to these treatises and the trade, Anjengo became the second significant English East India Company settlement after Bombay in India. However, this small settlement became famous in the European world not because of its historical importance but because of Eliza Draper, the muse of Sterne. Laurence Sterne, the Irish-born English novelist, wrote works such as *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*, *A Political Romance*, *Journal to Eliza*, etc. *A Sentimental Journey* and *Journal to Eliza* were dedicated to Mrs Draper. He wrote *Sentimental Journey* just after she departed from London, and his *Journal to Eliza* was posthumously published in 1904. It is written as a diary but was intended as a love letter to Mrs Draper.

Eliza's father, May Sclater, arrived in India on August 17, 1736, at seventeen; two years later, he became the Assistant Secretary at Bombay Castle. His wife was Judith Whitehill, Eliza's mother, the daughter of Charles Whitehill, who was land-paymaster and seventh in the Council at Bombay.⁸ Not much is available about Mrs Sclater, but her father, Mr Whitehill, was a prominent name among the British in India.

Eliza was born on 5 April 1744 at Anjengo. As she was born in India, she was referred to as East Indian, a common practice during the period. Her father, May Sclater, was employed in the English store at Anjengo. In the *Calcutta Review*, Volume 107, it is stated that an unsupported Masulipatam tradition describes Eliza as a “fair Eurasian with soft dark eyes.” It adds that there were three portraits of Mrs Draper known to have existed but not preserved.

Even though Eliza was born in Anjengo, she was taken to her grandfather, Charles Whitehill, at a very early age. As she lost her parents, then she left India and stayed with her aunt in London for her education. At the age of thirteen, she returned to India, and on July 1758, she married her husband, Daniel Draper; the former was fourteen years old, and the latter was thirty-four while getting married. In Arnold Wright's *Sterne's Eliza*, the authors say that Mr Draper fell in love at first sight with Eliza and adds that “Eliza was of a lovely disposition, full of the spasmodic complaint of the right arm- a sort of writers cramp... a poor sort of creature altogether to mate with a vivacious, impressionable girl of the character of Eliza.”

After her marriage to Mr. Draper, Eliza went to London, where she met Sterne, the literary laureate, at Mrs James' house. Sterne has described Eliza as “You are not handsome, Eliza, nor is yours a face that will please a tenth part of your beholders – but are something more, for I scruple not to tell you, I never saw so intelligent, so animated, so good a countenance...A something in your eyes, and voice, you possess in a large degree of more persuasive than any women I, read, or heard of...”. Sterne's acquaintance with Eliza lasted about three months, but Sterne was highly impressed by Mrs Draper. Sterne had made several portraits of Eliza; it is said that he even had a miniature of Eliza, which he often carried with him. But none of her portraits survived.

On April 3, 1767, Eliza returned to India, and Sterne was in grief and was busy writing *The Sentimental Journey*, which he had frequently discussed with Eliza and was written out of taking inspiration from their association. Undoubtedly, Eliza had made a deep impression on Sterne's heart, but the biographers of Sterne were obsessed with Eliza.⁹ They were trying to associate all of the Sterne's mentions to Eliza. Nothing much is available on Eliza's reaction to Sterne's death. In her private letters, she does not mention Sterne.

Eliza's letters to her relatives and friends can be considered sources of information about the life of English people in India. She has resided in Bombay, Surat, and Tellicherry, and she eloped from Bombay and took refuge at her uncle Whitehill's house at Masulipatam. At the end of 1773, Eliza returned to England; now she was popular among the people as she became famous through Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*; her popularity was not always in a good way; “some drawing – rooms at least would have been closed to the heroine of the Belvedere episode, if not to the “Bramine” of the Bond Street idyll” says Arnold Wright and William Lutley Sclater in their *Sterne's Eliza*.

During this period, she met Abbe Reynal, the French Priest and the author of *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissements et de Commerce des Europeens dans les deux Indes*. Her acquaintance with Reynal is considered the most significant literary episode in her life after her friendship with Sterne. He was an expelled Jesuit priest; in his work, he strongly eulogised British methods and enterprise in the East and sympathetically dealt with the entire British policy of colonisation.¹⁰

He visited London in 1778, and probably it was on this occasion he became close to Eliza. In 1780, he published his *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissements et de Commerce des Europeens dans les deux Indes* in 10 volumes at Geneva, which contain an account of the kingdom of Travancore embodying the famous rhapsody on Eliza.¹¹ In his rhapsody, Reynal says that the territory of Anjengo

is nothing but the place that gave birth to Eliza; a day will come when all the staples of commerce founded by the Europeans will be ruined, but Anjengo will not be erased from the people's memory as those who read his work would say there is that Eliza Draper was born. The British would proudly say that she was born to English parents.

He laments over her death and adds that Sterne was fortunate that he left the world before Eliza; otherwise, he would have been in so much pain like Reynal. He attributes her character to an "almost incompatible harmony of voluptuousness and decency" due to the influence of the happy climate at Anjengo. This statement of Reynal is baseless and cannot be taken into consideration.

It was Sterne and Reynal who raised her as a literary figure. Due to this, Eliza and her birthplace, Anjengo, became popular in the European world. Several English officials who came to India and visited Anjengo often associated Anjengo with Eliza. One important official was James Forbes, who wrote the *Oriental Memoirs*. Forbes was the warehouse keeper at Anjengo in 1772; he had already met Eliza in person at Bombay.

James Forbes was not a great admirer of Anjengo as the water was brackish and unwholesome, the weather was moderate, undelightful groves, no verdant turf or mossy bank roar of the surf, and the atmosphere was filled with the odour of fish. However, they opined that the place had a pleasing appearance due to the Portuguese church, white tombs, respectable fortress, and other accompaniments, surrounded by coconut trees.¹²

The author of the *Oriental Memoirs* comments about the Reynal's rhapsody at Anjengo and its connection with Eliza. Even though he couldn't immediately recollect it, he summarises the rhapsody's content. Further, he adds, "but it is, perhaps, not so generally known that Anjengo gave birth to Robert Orme, who has frequently been denominated the British Thucydides and the father of Oriental history.

Colonel James Welsh, who wrote *Military Reminiscences: Extracted from a Journal of Nearly Forty Years' Active Service*, is another writer who associated Anjengo with Eliza. In 1819, Colonel Welsh visited Anjengo. He remembered Reynal's rhapsody, which made him interested in visiting Anjengo. There was nothing much to attract him as the factory was abolished in 1810, and the town was declining. There were no traces of Eliza except for the house where she was born, and he was sure that within a century, that too would be ruined.

Jules James Cotton, a Madras Civil Servant, has written an article titled 'Anjengo' in *The Calcutta Review*, Vol—no—214 of October 1898. J J Cotton has provided a decent history of Anjengo. One of the most remarkable features of this article is that it connects Anjengo with Eliza and gives other writers views on Eliza and Anjengo. He points out that in the *Asiatic Annual Register* of 1803, Mr John Teddy Dyne, who was one of the last Residents of Anjengo, prepared a poem titled 'The Shade of Eliza Hovered Over the Scene' on Anjengo and Eliza, but he also mentions Orme, the historian.

The English East India Settlement at Anjengo had its significance in the history of Kerala. Still, this small settlement, which was once the second most important settlement of the English East India Company in India, was familiar to 18th-century Europe through the writings of Laurence Sterne, Abbe Reynal, James Forbes etc. Except Forbes, the other two tried to romanticise Anjengo as it was the birth place of their muse Eliza. Reynal has dedicated almost three pages for Anjengo and Eliza. Reynal has written much more than Sterne about Anjengo even though he haven't been to the place. However his rhapsody on Eliza and Anjengo had an impact on many and he succeeded in his attempt to immortalise Eliza and through her Anjengo too.

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WATER SUPPLY IN THIRUVANANTHAPURAM: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

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Introduction

Water resources play an essential role in determining the direction of development in any economy and also form the core of any economic activity. Recognising the history and significance of this resource in any region is crucial for implementing effective management strategies for economic and social development. Thus, The paper aims to provide an overview of water resources and the developmental history of the district of Thiruvananthapuram.

Water has been integral to India's history, culture and tradition. The importance of water to Indian society and culture can be easily seen in the hymns of Vedas, Puranas, Upanishads and many epics. The references concerning water in these texts give us an idea about how water management was present in India from the time of the memorial. The rivers in India served as the nerves that connected the people with different cultures, languages, lifestyles and beliefs (Narayanan, 2001).

The Indus Valley civilisation, with its significant centres like Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, was on the banks of the river Indus and its tributaries. This culture is also one of the most remarkable riverine cultures ever on this planet, with the highest population density around the rivers. The urban centres were often planned near the rivers or coasts. The big cities of the time were planned with efficient water management systems that had the complexities of modern times. Archaeologists have found hundreds of ancient water wells, water pipes, and toilets in these cities during this civilisation. Large-scale agriculture and irrigation networks were also present in these areas. The water infrastructure built in ancient India was also impressive; the reservoirs built in 3000 BC at Girnar and the step wells of western India are examples of how water was used and managed in India. It is to be noted that the death of this Indus civilisation happened due to an unprecedented agricultural crisis that occurred around 4100 years ago when the rivers failed, and drought hit this region. It is also to be noted that the climatic changes contributed to the further destruction of this civilisation. (Rita, Wright, Reid, Bryson & Joseph 2007). On the whole, water scarcity ultimately led to the destruction of this once flourishing civilisation.

The link that India has with water is profound. It can be seen that the work of 'Arthasasthra' contains records of measuring rainfall in the various parts of the country and methods of its application to revenue and relief work. It is also interesting to note that Varahamihira, the ancient Indian astronomer, presented methods to obtain potable water from contaminated sources. Water use and its management were given considerable importance in ancient India. Water also has deep connections with religion in India; its unique cleaning properties have played an essential role in all religious rituals. The depiction of water bodies in the epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata also highlights the importance of water in Indian culture.

The urban landscape of present-day Indian cities also emphasises the importance of water to development and growth in the country. The cities like Kolkata, Mumbai, Udaipur, and Hyderabad have

a vibrant legacy of water bodies. It also has to be noted that the development and growth of these cities were only possible because of ample water. However, the rapid and often unplanned growth patterns emerging in India are causing severe damage to the water bodies. The pollution in some of these water bodies has reached such levels that surface water pollution has become the leading cause of pollution of groundwater resources.

The eminent economist and the former prime minister of India, Dr Manmohan Singh, noted that India's economic growth rate has to be maintained. If all the country's people, especially those experiencing poverty and the vulnerable, are to share the benefits of rapid economic growth, two resource issues need priority consideration. These resources include energy and water (Sun-Joo Ahn, Dagmar Graczyk, 2012). This highlights the importance of water in development. Various factors, including the fast population growth, environmental challenges, and general geographical conditions, complicate India's water supply.

Water in Kerala Context

Kerala is located in the southernmost part of India, occupies only 1.2 per cent of India's land area, and holds around 3 per cent of the country's population. The state has a coastline of 590 km (370 mi), the width of the state varying between 11 and 121 kilometres (7 and 75 mi). Kerala is the twenty-third largest state of India and enjoys a tropical monsoon climate. The state is considered as a water surplus. Nearly 85 per cent of the total annual rainfall in the state is received during the monsoon season, between June and December. Kerala's yearly per capita water entitlement is around 3350.00 meters cube (Census 2011).

The water scenario in Kerala can only be genuinely comprehended by knowing the state's geography, which is characterised by a steep gradient that makes the water retention time under 48 hours. This is one of the primary reasons several pockets in Kerala are water-stressed even though the state has a water surplus. It is to be noted that nearly 62 per cent of the population of Kerala depends on groundwater for drinking, which includes dug wells and borewells. Most of these wells dry up during the summer months, causing seasonal deficits in water supply. (Census 2011). Kerala is blessed with small but fast-flowing 44 rivers, most of which end in the Arabian Sea. Kerala receives an annual average rainfall of 3000 mm and has many natural and artificial freshwater sources. The average annual discharge of water from the forty-four rivers in the state is around 78.041 MCM, of which 70.323 MCM is discharged in Kerala.

Thiruvananthapuram

Thiruvananthapuram is the southernmost district of Kerala and is situated between a North latitude of 8 16' 59" and 8 49' 59" East longitude of 76 28' 59" and 77 16'59", and it covers a total of 2192 sq. km. As per 2011 census data, the total population is 3,301,427, with a population density of 1508 persons/ sq.km. It can also be noted that the majority of the population in the district resides in rural areas. The literacy rate in the district is 92.66 per cent. (Census 2011). When analysing the district of Thiruvananthapuram from a physiographical perspective, three distinct units can be identified from east to west; this encompasses the lowlands, the midlands and the highlands. Sixty per cent of the land is dominated by the midlands, which includes valleys and hillocks. Among the four taluks, Neyyankara stretches across through the three physiographic divisions: Chirayinkeezhu and Trivandrum lie in the midland and lowland region, and Nedumangadu lies in the Midland and highland. Trivandrum has a tropical monsoon climate. The annual temperature variation in Trivandrum varies from twenty-one degrees Celsius to thirty-four degrees Celsius. The humidity is very high and rises about ninety per cent during the monsoon season. The average annual rainfall of the district is 2035mm. Due to its

geographical positioning, the district benefits from the southwest and northeast monsoon. (Census, 2011).

Administratively, the district is divided into four taluks/Sub-districts: Trivandrum, Neyyatinkara, Chirayinkeezhu, and Nedumangad. Table 1.1 shows the number of villages, towns, and Panchayats in the district of Thiruvananthapuram.

Table 1.1 Villages, towns, and Panchayats in the District of Thiruvananthapuram

District/ Taluk	Villages	Towns		Panchayats	Development Blocks
		Statutory	Census		
Thiruvananthapuram District	115	5	26	78	12
Chirayinkeezhu Taluk	28	2	6	22	3
Nedumangad Taluk	28	1	2	20	3
Thiruvananthapuram Taluk	30	1	9	10	4
Neyyattinkara Taluk	29	1	9	26	5

Source: Census of India 2011

Thiruvananthapuram: Development History

The capital of Kerala State and the district headquarters, Thiruvananthapuram, was established due to the linguistic Reorganisation of States in India on 1st November 1956. The name Thiruvananthapuram implies the abode of the sacred snake, God Ananthan, on whom Vishnu, the god of preservation, rests. Trivandrum is the anglicised version of the word Thiruvananthapuram. The district's history can be traced back to Neolithic and megalithic cultures. The south of Kerala, especially Thiruvananthapuram, has a very different socio-cultural history from the rest of Kerala, and this can be traced from ancient traditions, folklore, and literature. (Menon, 2010). The district's history is also intertwined with the history of the princely state of Travancore.

During the 10th century, the most prominent rulers were the ones from Venad. As we move forward in time, we can see the presence of the East India Company and its activities in Kerala during the period of the 1680s. The district also had a small presence of Portuguese and Dutch. It must also be noted that the British expanded their presence to other parts of Kerala from Thiruvananthapuram. The modern history of the district can be looked into from the time of Marthanda Varma, also known as the 'Maker of Modern Travancore.' (1729-1758 AD). (Pillai, Ramanpilla, 1998).

The era of Maharaja Swathi Thirunal during 1829-1847 was marked by significant cultural and economic progress. Education, health and administration took new direction and shape during the period of Ayilyam Thirunal (1860-1880). English education started in the district in 1834. The period from the 1860s also saw the establishment of different colleges for higher education. This period also saw the opening of several English, Malayalam and Tamil schools and also witnessed the inauguration of the Legislative Council in 1880. In the later periods, including the reign of Maharaja Sree Chithira Thirunal Balarama Varma in 1931, she witnessed multifaceted progress in the region. With independence, the policy of the democratically elected state government underwent radical changes (Menon, 2020).

Rich in cultural heritage, Thiruvananthapuram has served as the capital in pre and post-colonial periods, giving it the unique character of a small and elegant service town in the region. Thiruvananthapuram

District was formed on July 1st, 1949 and has been functioning as the administrative capital of the State of Kerala. Thiruvananthapuram was built on seven hills and has grown into a sprawling city. The town has retained its past glory and charm despite the fast-paced growth of the town, which is perhaps still one of the most sedate of the big cities of this country. The present trends in demography and income are interesting. The city has witnessed population growth of 45.6 per cent, 70.8 per cent and 42.1 per cent during 1941-51, 1961-71 and 1991-2001, respectively. This growth pattern in population led to the extension of city boundaries with the corresponding merger of adjoining panchayats with the city for better administrative convenience. Thiruvananthapuram is the second most populated district in the State, the first being Malappuram. In terms of density (1508), the district occupies the first position among the districts. With 837,877 households, the District occupies the 1st place among the districts. The district occupies the 8th position in the sex ratio (1087). In literacy, the district has the 10th position among the districts, with 93.02 per cent literate. The maximum share of employment in the district is being generated in the services sector. The district's income growth has been more significant than the state average. The tertiary sector is the major contributor to the GSDP, which means it provides the maximum income to employed people. The growth rate of the population in Thiruvananthapuram is, however, low compared to the districts in the North, at around 2.07 per cent. (Kerala Economic Survey, 2020). It is interesting to note that Thiruvananthapuram alone accounts for more than 68 per cent of the urban population in the District. It must be noted that urbanisation is more prevalent among the LSGs surrounding the Thiruvananthapuram Corporation. (Census 2011)

The administrative set-up of the district is divided into District, Revenue and local self-government. Further, the revenue system in the District is divided into the Revenue Division, Taluks and Villages. The local administration of the District is divided into Statutory Towns and Panchayats. Several development activities are implemented by grouping Panchayats into Community Development Blocks. There are 12 Community Development Blocks and 78 Panchayats in the District. The district of Thiruvananthapuram also has a reserve forest area of 495.145 sq km. which is spread over the Kulathapuzha range in the north side, the Palode range in the middle and the Paruthipalli range in the South. These forests are classified into southern tropical wet evergreen forests. The southern tropical and semi-evergreen forests and southern tropical moist deciduous forests. (Kerala Economic Survey 2020).

The major industries in Thiruvananthapuram include mineral processing, textiles, handicrafts, sugar milling, and rubber processing units. By the number of medium and large enterprises, the district ranks second out of the fourteen districts. The traditional industry pockets in the district cater to coir and are located in Anchuthenghu and Muppiri; the ones related to traditional Handloom weaving are present in Amaravila, Balaramapuram, Kulathur, and Chirankkeezhu. The cultivation of rice and coconuts and fishing have always been prominent in Thiruvananthapuram. (Kerala Economic Survey 2020).

Concerning connectivity, Thiruvananthapuram is well connected by rail and air. Even though it is a coastal capital, Thiruvananthapuram needs better connectivity through the sea route despite its proximity to the international sea route. The premier industrial units like ISRO, Keletron and Hindustan Latex exist in the district. The services sector dominates the district in economic terms of its contribution to value creation, a prime example of this being the presence of Technopark, India's largest Technopark, with more than 65 companies giving direct employment to more than 6000 IT professionals. Thiruvananthapuram also supports manufacturing clusters, especially in the traditional handicraft sectors. It has to be understood that the primary sector's contribution to the net domestic product has been decreasing continuously. (Kerala Sustainable Urban Development Project, 2005)

Understanding the Spatial Distribution of the land would give a picture of the district's economic structure. The spatial land use delineates non-agricultural activity areas from agricultural and forest land areas. The nonagricultural regions of the district can be seen concentrated around the lowlands and spread across a portion of the midland region. However, the forest area is focused mainly in the eastern part of the district. An enormous chunk of the agricultural area is concentrated along the midland region of the district. In the farm sector, there is a definite pattern in paddy and coconut cultivation distribution. Both paddy and coconut are concentrated in low-lying coastal regions of the district. LSGs towards the north of the Corporation show less concentration of paddy cultivation. The areas around and within the Thiruvananthapuram Corporation have very little agricultural activity, and most municipalities predominantly have secondary activities. The farming activities are concentrated in the midland areas and the forests located in the highlands (Kerala Economic Survey 2020).

Regarding the settlement character, scattered settlements are predominant. The urban-rural continuum phenomena are present in the district, which means that the metropolitan areas' ending point and the rural space's beginning are challenging to identify. Apart from the rural and urban patterns, semi-urban settlements are also present. This settlement character also influences the socio-economic situation of the district (Kerala Economic Survey 2020).

Water Resources in Thiruvananthapuram District

The district's major rivers include Neyyar, Karamana, Vamanapuram, Mamom, and Ayirur. The Neyyar River has a catchment area of 497 sq. km. It originates from the Agasthya hills, about 1860 meters above sea level, and joins the Arabian Sea near Poovar. This perennial river has a dendritic drainage pattern. With the help of the Neymar Irrigation Project, the state irrigates almost all of the southern parts of the Trivandrum district and the adjoining regions of the Kanyakumari district of Tamil Nadu state.

The Karamana River is also perennial in nature and exhibits a dendritic pattern. Originating from Chemmunjimalai, located 1717 m above sea level, it joins the sea near Pachallur. The total catchment area of this river is 703 sq. km. The dam across the Karamana River at Aruvikkara and Peppara provides Trivandrum with the necessary drinking water for Trivandrum.

The Vamanapuram, Mamom, and Ayirur river systems form the Vamanapuram drainage basin, which has a total catchment area of around 867 sq. km. They originate from Chemmunji Mali, about 1860 m above mean sea level. The river flows in a north-westerly direction and changes course to a south-west direction before joining the Arabian Sea.

There are also several backwaters in the western parts of the district. They include Poovar Kayal, Poonthura Kayal, Vellayani Kayal, Veli Kayal, Kadinamkulam Kayal, Anchuthengu Kayal and Edava-Nadayara Kayal. Only Vellayani Kayal is a freshwater lake in the district, and it supplies water to a significant portion of Nemom block. Harikumar, P. S. (2017).

History of Water Supply in Thiruvananthapuram

The history of water in India is marred with scarcity. The urban experience of water supply in India comes with no 24/7 water supply. Excluding a few, most of the population is pushed to face the reality of scarcity of water supply. Water quantity and quality are compromised in most of India's urban and rural localities. The municipal supply of water, which forms the backbone of water supply in the West, has never become an efficient and effective reality in India. Over the years, the importance of water supply has grown tremendously worldwide. It also has to be understood that the ideologies and priorities of the ruling class in any country strongly shape water supply policies that affect the general population. Understanding the history behind the introduction of the modern water supply system can help us identify the roots of some critical issues plaguing the sector in contemporary times (Acey, 2012).

The British introduced India's modern water supply system during the mid-nineteenth century. Building the contemporary pipeline system was a response to the phenomena of urbanisation. As more people began to concentrate on new habitable zones, later called the urban zones, the water supply had to be augmented further and made efficient. Apart from this, the idea of the spread of civilisation and enlightenment was also a significant driving motivation for the colonial engineering class to expand the water systems for whom their profession was being regarded as the vanguard of modern civilisation (Broich 2007, Nilsson 2016).

It must also be noted that almost all of the urban amenities related to the piped water were priced away from the commoner; the water supply was indeed the privilege of the rich. Only the Europeans and the Rich Indians could afford piped water services. This could be seen in the case of Bombay, whose urban population continued to rely on cisterns and public wells for their water requirement even after the completion of Bombay's first metropolitan water scheme, called the Vihar Water Project, in 1859 (Dossal, 1988). The profits primarily governed the infrastructural investments the investments would make during British rule. Understanding a water system is only possible by looking into the twin challenges of inequitable water access and the financial constraints of the water supplier.

Unlike many other centres in British India, Trivandrum was a regional town located in the southern corner of the empire. It was also the administrative capital of the small princely state of Travancore. The industrial and urban structures seen in many other centres in India needed to be present in this small town. Thus, Trivandrum had a very different character from many other regions in India. This also makes Thiruvananthapuram a unique case as far as the question of why a water supply system was established here.

To look into the history of water in Trivandrum, one must also look into the governance structure there. The British began to exert considerable influence in the daily affairs of the state only from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Significant influence was made possible for the British by introducing the residency system, through which a British envoy would take up the role of royal advisor or act as a personal advisor in the king's court (Desai, 2005). In Trivandrum, the sovereign power was kept by the king and the royal court, and the prime minister and Dewan vested the executive power. This structure advised the King on complex policy matters (Kumar, 2015). This structure was effectively used to implement water-related policies at the ground level. The policies relating to water had to consider the district's specific topography. The geography of Trivandrum was that of hills and dales. It was never a planned town with symmetric roads and planned streets. The affluent sections of the society occupied the higher parts of Trivandrum, including structures like the dewan's buildings, various public buildings and the king's palace. The people in administration or the administrative elite lived near the fortified

Padmanabhaswami temple. People experienced poverty, and the middle class lived near the paddy fields, which were densely populated. Trivandrum also had a significant presence of nucleated dwellings, meaning the houses had spacious compounds. The geographic setting of Trivandrum further made it not a great position for British rule as it was not favourably placed for large-scale industries. This town was seen as a town of distances rather than a very closely packed industrial city with dense settlements (Kumar, 2015).

The primary water source in the city was near the temple areas, where the water was brought from the Kiliyar River. Apart from this, the significant source of water used was wells; it also has to be noted that there were a lot of public wells in Trivandrum. Early intervention by the administration to improve the potable water in the area near the temple was done by constructing a channel in 1800, which made the water from Kiliyar come to the fort area of Trivandrum. The main aim here was to provide water throughout the year to this area, but later, it was found that the water availability needed to be more balanced during the monsoons and the dry months. The public works department, formed in 1833, along with the first scientific investigation committee, tried to improve the water supply to the fort's surrounding area. This particular task was undertaken by engineer W.C. Barton (Kumar, 2015).

The development of the water supply system, especially the piped water supply, can be traced back to 1882 to 1927. One of the most important historical facts about the water supply system in Trivandrum is that the development of this system was to be financed by the government compared to other cities, where the water systems were funded by money linked to tax collection raised by the British Empire. Trivandrum was not a densely populated city and did not face water scarcity, meaning the system could be developed at a lesser cost. Further, there was less demand for water from the industrial belt as the town lacked any solid industrial centres. A.H. Jacob suggested the idea of a full-scale piped water supply for the first time in 1879. The earlier proposals relating to water systems in the district, including the one to cover the entire geographic area by incorporating the higher parts and lower parts of the town, were rejected by the government, citing financial constraints. A scheme was prepared in 1885 by S. Horsely regarding the water system for Trivandrum that looked into providing the higher and the lower parts of the city with water throughout the year. This system was to be made according to the gravitation model. With this model, the Travancore state put off the project to bring water to the city; some other projects were taken up, especially for the irrigational needs (Ganapathy, 2019). The most notable is the Kothayar project, which irrigates thousands of acres in southern Travancore. This was designed between 1880 and 1900 (Historical and Brief Description of Scheme, The Government of Travancore, 1927–1928).

The Trivandrum Municipality came into existence in 1920. By 1946, the idea of providing water to lower and higher areas was again before the government. There was strong dissent from some quarters in providing water supply to the higher regions as it was suggested that these areas were essentially home to government buildings, the large private buildings had good water availability, and this area was scarcely populated. It was also suggested that the piped water scheme be extended to areas with water scarcity during the summer. Later, the government implemented a plan to provide water to the higher and lower regions and densely populated areas. Water supply was also extended to significant buildings and some areas outside the municipal limits. The water works in Trivandrum were entirely financed by the government. A plan was also drawn up to recover the cost of the piped water supply from the users; however, after the finalisation of all the technical details for designing this system, it was found that the demand for piped water in Trivandrum was deficient. Thus, It was decided to provide standard taps in various parts of Thiruvananthapuram to increase water supply or boost the market. Further, it was seen that the use of common wells was the reason behind the low water demand from the piped sources.

Thus, it was decided to close the common wells on the pretext of wells being a potential source of pandemic in case the wells were contaminated. (Ganapathy, 2019).

The expenditure to lay pipes for water supply in Trivandrum was much higher than in British towns, as in Trivandrum, longer pipes were required to cover the less dense village. The pipe system was made of cast iron, considering the particular needs of the town, and the design of cast iron made it costlier; to be exact, this system was three times more expensive than the piped water system in Madras (Agney, 2018). However, it is to be noted that the system designed in Thiruvananthapuram was not considered extravagant by the engineers despite the cost of establishing it. The laying of pipelines in Thiruvananthapuram municipality was completed by 1933; it has to be noted that the government, along with providing the initial costs of laying the pipelines, also provided additional funds for the completion of the second stage, which included the laying of pipelines for the distribution in the town. The water demand gradually increased over the years. The government allowed the supply of 100 gallons of water per household as a free daily allowance, irrespective of the rental value of the residence (Ganapathy, 2019). The distribution network connecting the entire municipal area was completed in 1939, and to cover the cost of this network, the whole area was brought under a tax structure. It has to be noted that the government buildings and the palace were exempted from paying the metered charges. Further, the places of religious worship were also exempted from paying the water charges. (Ganapathy, 2019).

The history of water supply in Trivandrum is unique because colonial engineering met its equal concerning a government that was more than keen to provide up-to-date water supply systems to its subjects. The geographical peculiarities of Trivandrum made it very costly and challenging to implement the water supply system compared to cities such as Madras. The private water connection, which could not be provided to a large population, was supplied through standard taps. It was impossible to give universal water connection, as cross-subsidization, which was necessary to raise funds for the project, was not a possibility at the time, and significant spending by the government was needed, which could also not be taken up as there was a shortage of funds.

In a nutshell, when we break down the water system in Trivandrum, it can be said that the piped water supply project in the city started as Wellington Water Works in 1933. This covered an area of about 30 square kilometres of Trivandrum and could serve a population of 1.35 lakh, which was the projected population of the district for the period till 1961. The facilities for water quality checks were also provided at various points in the city. This scheme was considered one of India's best in that time. The present drinking water supply in the city is augmented through the Aruvikkara reservoir, which draws its water from the Karamana River and the new facility at Peppara, located further upstream of the Karamana River.

Kerala Water Authority is the only institution that manages the drinking water supply in Thiruvananthapuram. It must be understood that most of the city's households receive piped water supply at their premises under KWA. The rest of the households depend on wells, followed by public taps and tankers, and others manage from various sources. Hence, most households' primary water sources are tap water or water from wells.

In the Western world, demand primarily regulates the water supply as the cost of laying the distribution networks can quickly be recovered from the general population. The main reason was that the general population in the West was comparatively better off than India's. In India, however, the quantity of water supply and the associated infrastructure that was developed had to be somehow adjusted with the

available funds. It has also to be noted that this was the reason why equitable distribution of water became difficult in India compared to Europe.

The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments in India have brought tremendous change to the decentralised functioning of the government. The 73rd Amendment aimed to strengthen Panchayati Raj Institutions, and the 74th Amendment aimed to enhance municipal-level governance in the country. Further, it has to be noted that the 11th and 12th schedules in the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments include water supply as one of the transferable responsibilities to Local self-government. This is needed since water is an area that would directly impact the socio-economic well-being of the citizens. The urban local body was considered a body that managed the water and provided water services to the citizens. To facilitate the devolution of administration further, the Kerala Water Authority (KWA) Act was amended, thus permitting local governments to take over from KWA an already existing water supply scheme or even to establish a new stand-alone water supply project (Government of Kerala, 2009). All these show the administrative and procedural changes concerning water management in Kerala. When water is being managed in such a decentralised pattern, it will have a considerable impact on the social and economic variables of the state and, hence, in the district of Trivandrum.

Thiruvananthapuram district enjoys much better water services than most of the state capitals in the country. It must be understood that around 80% of the households in Thiruvananthapuram city have piped water connections, and the continuity of water supply averages around 18 hours a day (Jacob, 2012). In contrast, the all-India figure hovers less than 50 per cent of the urban dwellers (Naster, 2014), and the continuity of water supply is limited to around 4-5 hours a day (McKenzie and Ray, 2009). Even while stating this, it must be understood that some regions face acute water shortages in the state and the district of Thiruvananthapuram. With this background, the study looks into the role of water in influencing the socio-economic variables of the permanent independent households in the district and vice versa.

Conclusion

The paper thus gives an overview of Thiruvananthapuram's water resources and provides a general briefing about the country's and state's water resources. It also offers a picture of the sources of water used in the district's households and the developmental history. The paper thus looks into the brief history of the water supply developed in Thiruvananthapuram. This overview is very much needed to understand and develop a comprehensive water supply system in the future.

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THE FORMATION OF THE MALAYALI WOMEN'S PUBLIC SPHERE: A STUDY BASED ON THE JOURNALISTIC ACTIVITIES OF DAKSHAYANI VELAYUDHAN

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Introduction

Malayali woman has her history. Many people are anxious to find out how women reached the present position and why the women of modern Kerala have to suffer many miseries even today. These questions prompt people to delve deeply into the history of Malayali women. During the 20th century, there were many modern and effective systems in historical study and writings, the reflections of which also reached India and Kerala. This happened due to the awakening of the downtrodden and proletarians worldwide during the second half of the 20th century. Concerning women, this period was critical because, till that time, the women's place and role were either disregarded or not mentioned in the historical studies. Moreover, the source materials about women in the history study were few. Besides, the scholars and historians of that time gave prominence to studying the matters connected with politics and society (public sphere), where women's presence was more or less nil. As a result, women were seldom allowed to enter politics or work in society. The men folk controlled all the high positions. The women's place, especially for the low castes and working women, was their home and workplace (coir work, agriculture labour, etc.). The conditions of upper-caste women were very pitiable. These women folk were neglected by historians in their studies and work.

Colonial Modernity in Kerala

During the colonial period, I witnessed the interaction of numerous subjective and objective forces, which had evolved over a long period and attained maturity within Kerala's social physiognomy. The revolt of mind against the oppression of dogmas and traditional authorities, beliefs and customs is necessary for freedom of thought and conscience. This requisite was brought by English education and the Renaissance movement in Kerala. In Kerala, the spirit of reformation and reconstruction first swept the domains of religious and cultural practices in the society¹.

The social structure of India, especially Kerala, was based on the caste system. People were divided into several castes and restricted from remaining in their community. A member of one community was never allowed to join another community or do the work allotted to another community. Thus, a kind of monopoly in the case of work and earning arose among the communities. This situation created a discrepancy among the people of the society, and specific rules or regulations for each community were formed or imposed which were inviolable. Soon, inequality and jealousy arose between the people of different communities. Thus, each caste in India began to be considered as separate identities. This situation seems to have prevailed only in India. And in Kerala, the rules and regulations of the caste system were severe and stubborn². So, a discrepancy in education, employment, dress and culture prevailed among all the communities in Kerala. Hence, the privileged high castes enjoyed rights from generation to generation. At the same time, the low castes remained in poverty for centuries, and this condition prevented their awakening very much³.

Colonial Modernity and Women

The conditions of low-caste women in Kerala were more miserable and pitiable than the conditions of upper-class women. The low castes like *Ezhava- Thiyya, Pulaya, Paraya, Kurava, Mukkuva* etc were considered untouchables.⁴ However, their hardships and miseries varied according to the order or rank of the low castes in society. The Ezhavas were clever in coconut cultivation, and many got an education. Similarly, Channars of southern Travancore also got an education; some even went to other places for better work and opportunities. During that period, the educated Channars and the Ezhavas slowly began questioning many of the prevailing traditional caste systems. The conditions of Pulaya, Paraya, Kurava, and Mukkuva were utterly miserable, and they were cruelly treated like slaves. In the year 1812, Rani Lakshmi Bhai of Travancore abolished slavery.⁵ But even after that, the attitude towards the low castes and slavery prevailed for many years.

The upper-class women were fortunate to enjoy leisure and entertainment at times. But the untouchable women had to work hard daily from dawn to dusk and never had leisure or security. However, as wives, they enjoyed more freedom at home than upper-class women. They could quickly obtain a divorce, and they were allowed to remarry. Similarly, the widows among them were also allowed to get married again. Migration was allowed for them to a certain extent. However, none of the upper-class women could enjoy these privileges.⁶

Despite the impressive social developmental achievements of the Malayali women during the twentieth century, their political visibilities remained minimal. Politics, as mentioned earlier, has been a male zone; as for the 'enlightened' female subjectivity, it and the community reform movements that projected it as a desirable attainment have been incisively criticised in recent feminist research. It has been pointed out that women were accorded a new role and social space shaped by and serving modern patriarchy that limited female agency to the sphere of contemporary domesticity and ultimately tied to the welfare of the larger collective- be it the community, the locality or the nation.⁷ There were efforts to expand women's social space in the 1930s - this, however, essentially made a robust case for women's presence in the public by emphasising that certain 'Womanly' qualities - capacities supposedly given to women by their 'natural' sexual endowment, like compassion, patience, gentleness and so on were necessary for the smooth running of modern public life.⁸

In this context, attempts to analyse the formation of the Malayali women's public space constituted by her journalistic initiatives become meaningful.

The severe and harsh caste system in Kerala was relaxed by the introduction of modern education and the reform movements of the social reformers of the 19th and 20th centuries. The British government and missionaries propagated and encouraged modern education in Kerala, and as a result, an awakening occurred among many people of the upper class. Some of them turned to journalism and writing. Several women also started writing, editing, and publishing magazines.

Women's Education

Compared to the other states in India, Kerala stands at the forefront of literacy among women and women's education.⁹ It is accepted that education was propagated by the 19th century through Christian missionaries. Still, even before that time, girls' teaching and education were conducted or performed in Kerala. Though not on a large scale, there were rural schools (*Pallikoodam*) for girls in several parts of Kerala. Small girls and boys were taught reading, writing, and some arithmetic. In wealthy families, children are given private coaching by a veteran teacher (*Asan*). Similarly, the girls of

the high castes and orthodox Nambootiri girls who were brought up under strict control were also given education at their homes.¹⁰

According to the 1930 census of Travancore, 43.2% of Nambootiri-Potty girls were educated. However, the % of educated Christian girls was 34.8%, and Nair girls were 29.1%.¹¹ Thus, it was the women who got an education from school and at home who later entered the field of journalism. Some of them became social reformers. Consequently, due to modern education, Kerala society was freed from traditional and orthodox beliefs, customs, and laws.

The spread of modern education became a blessing to the low castes (untouchables). Education awakened them, and they began to demand or fight for equal rights, such as breast cloth agitation (Channars revolt).¹² Many low castes began migrating to fertile places, and some entered business. Thus, several low castes made financial benefits. In 1865, the Travancore government declared that the tenants had become owners or possessors of the land on which they had been working. At the same time, the traditional upper-class people underwent specific changes. Similarly, there happened to be a change among the Christian communities. The widening of trade, business, marketing, and cultivation of commercial crops gave them numerous opportunities to improve their financial condition. Besides that, the facility for modern education strengthened their abilities and enthusiasm. Though the traditional power and rights of Nair families were depressed, they safeguarded their power to a certain extent through the modern education they received. As a result, they could continue their work and service in the administrative and cultural fields. Unfortunately, the Nambootiris hesitated to welcome the modern changes. As a result, their progress lagged for some time, but by the beginning of the 20th century, they also began to welcome contemporary trends and changes.¹³

The latter period of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was when severe criticism against the caste system arose. The missionaries and their supporters argued that God created all men who are equals before Him. Hence, it is insulting and crude to divide men into several sections and name them by castes. The system is shameful and against God and Nature.¹⁴ Besides the missionaries, certain educated writers who had read Western literature and were acquainted with Western thoughts wrote articles in contemporary journals. Both the missionaries and the new elite middle-class writers had the same opinion about one thing, which is the difference between men and women. According to them, men and women are different in nature, physiology, and psychology. Hence, their position in society and role in the family should be defined according to the three qualities above. So, they argued that a woman's space is her home, and her main activities are domestic work and rearing children. Similarly, her duty was to influence her family members psychologically, showing love, fondling, kindness and patience. The missionaries and new elite middle-class writers also argued that a home is a place apart from the outside world. And so, every home should be kept on track with peace, love, and kindness, and women should have abundant natural qualities. However, they pitied that the traditional family system didn't encourage or foster the aforesaid womanly qualities. So, in reality, women in conventional families seldom get a chance to express their personalities. And so, their life remained futile.¹⁵

Hence, to develop the real woman identity, the writers above suggested that facilities for women's education should be increased and a change in the traditional family system and marriage customs. They said the 'woman identity' can be achieved by fulfilling these conditions.¹⁶ These suggestions were put forward by most of the writers in the 19th and 20th centuries. However, even when they envisage a society where the caste system is completely eradicated, it is understood that the gender difference would remain in that society.¹⁷ This is the viewpoint that the gender difference was seen or expressed

by many writers and reformers in contemporary journals and newspapers. The changing notions of this gender difference or values in colonial Kerala society can be seen or observed in the writings of the women journalists of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Dakshayani Velayudhan (1913 – 1978)

Dakshayani Velayudhan earned several recognition and titles within a short time. She was the first low-caste girl to pass matriculation in Kochi and the first-degree holder among the low-caste women in India. Dakshayani was born in a Marumakkathaya Pulaya family in 1913 at the Mulavukkadu Island in Kochi. Her family members were interested in martial arts like Kalaripayattu, drama and folk acts. Her daughter Meera testified that once, their family staged a drama in a big boat in the sea. She added that the sea cannot be considered a monopoly of the rich and upper castes.¹⁸

Dakshayani's mother wanted to join the Christian community, but Dakshayani and another member remained in their caste. Her mother and young children converted to Christianity to get educational concessions from Cochin Maharaja.¹⁹

During her studies at the Mulavukkadu School, she wore upper clothes, which were prohibited for caste women. She was the first low-caste woman who disregarded the prohibition and wore upper clothes in that school. After her education, she earned a degree from Maharajas College in Ernakulam and Madras. She was the best student in all the classes she studied. Later, as a teacher, when she went to school along the road, she never gave way or moved away from the path so that the upper castes were compelled to walk along the side of the road. She objected to certain teachers' behaviour of throwing books towards the low-caste students. Again, when working in the Cochin Educational Department, she had to suffer the mocking of the upper classes by calling the 'Pulayathi teacher'.²⁰

While Dakshayani worked in the education department, she was attracted to the Gandhian principles and participated in the freedom movement. She admired Gandhi and his principles and was often called the spokeswoman of Gandhian ideals. During the 1930s, she resigned from her job and became a member of the Cochin Legislative Assembly. Later, she became a council member that made the Indian constitution. During that period, she became a member of the first Indian cabinet.²¹

She was also known as a staunch follower of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. While she was in Gandhiji's Wardha Ashram, she married Raman Velayudhan. The ceremony was conducted in the presence of Gandhiji and Kasthoorba. In the 1950s, Dakshayani Velayudhan withdrew from political activities for a time. But by 1971, she again entered politics. She had five children, the only daughter being Meera Velayudhan.²² Meera later became a scholar and famous historian.

Conclusion

The above account of Dakshayani Velayudhan's social background reveals that she came from a lower-caste family. With the support of her family, she came forward and fulfilled her dreams.

In that day, patriarchy prevailed in Kerala, along with numerous superstitions, evil customs and practices. Besides that, the concept of gender values and gender laws underwent changes that often were hostile to women. However, this woman overcame those difficulties with courage and determination, won her goals, and even adorned high positions in society and politics. The career and achievements of Dakshayani Velayudhan are so laudable that all women in Kerala in the state cherish her memories with great pride and prestige.

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DR MARY POONEN LUKOSE: A PATH MAKER FOR WOMEN IN MEDICINE

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Mary Poonen Lukose is one of the inspirational figures in women's education and empowerment. She was one of the well-known gynaecologist and obstetrician. She was praised as the first lady gynaecologist of Trivandrum.¹ Her professional career and political activities included many 'firsts'; she was the first woman graduate from the princely state of Travancore, the first woman to graduate in medicine from the University of London, the first female doctor in Travancore, the first woman surgeon general on the Indian subcontinent and first female member of the Travancore Legislative Council.

She was born on 2nd August 1886 in Aymanam, Kottayam, a well-recognized Syrian Christian family. Her father, Dr. E Punnen, studied medicine at Aberdeen in the 1870s before returning to work for the Travancore government as head of its medical department.² Mary was brought up by British governesses and had a lonely childhood with no one to play with. Since Dr.Poonen was close to the Royal Palace, he took her there with him. Maharaja Sreemoolam Tirunal had a paternal affection for her.³ She completed her schooling at Holy Angel's Convent High School in Thiruvananthapuram. After matriculation, she passed her FA exam (First Examination in Arts). Admission to a science subject at Maharaja's College was again denied her as she was a woman. So she had to content herself by taking up a BA with History as her main subject and Economics as a subsidiary.⁴ She was the only woman enrolled in her college and went on to become the first female graduate of Madras University.

She hoped to pursue medicine like her father and had to move to the UK for the same since medical colleges in India at the time denied entry to women. She was educated at state expense in England.⁵ She became the first Indian student to receive her MBBS from the London University. She also passed the London Music Examination at that time. During the First World War, Mary Poonen stayed on in the UK, undertaking postgraduate studies in medicine, including obstetrics and gynaecology at the Rotunda Hospital in Dublin (formerly the New Lying-In Hospital) and paediatrics at the Great Ormond Street Hospital (formerly the Hospital for Sick Children) in London. She also worked in various military hospitals in the UK during the First World War. Even though she got several employment offers from several hospitals in the UK, she returned to Travancore.

In 1916, she was appointed to direct the Women and Children's Hospital in Thaikkadu, Trivandrum. This appointment was not that easy to get because this post was reserved for white people. Though she had better qualifications than her predecessor, she was a "native, " so the local British administrators turned down her application.⁶ However, the help from the Palace was evident as her case was referred to the Secretary of State, Mr.Montague. Seeing her excellent credentials, he had no second thoughts; hence, she could get that post in 1916. (She continued in that post till 1938).⁷ The following year, she married Adv.K.K.Lukose, who later became the Judge of the High Court of Travancore. The Poonens had two children; the eldest was Dr.Gracie, who had followed in her mother's footsteps and became a surgeon. She was a spinster. Unfortunately, she passed away in a tragic accident at an early age. Her son K.P. Lukose, too, had studied in the U.K. On his return to India, he was taken up in the Indian Foreign Service without further examination. He became Consul General and Permanent Representative

of India to the United Nations in Geneva. Finally, he became the Indian Ambassador to Bulgaria. Unfortunately, he died suddenly following a heart attack on 16th May 1975.

In 1924, she was appointed as Durbar physician, heading Travancore's medical services, the first woman in India to head a significant department as the position of Durbar physician made her responsible for thirty-two government hospitals, forty government dispensaries, and twenty private institutions. In this new role, she also expanded her role in politics. She became the first female legislator in Travancore in 1922. Still, now, as head of the medical department, she faced explicit questioning and was sometimes called upon to defend policy decisions. Her presiding over the health system saw her even more involved in political life as she was expected to represent her department in the legislature and answer policy-related questions. She spearheaded significant public health initiatives in this period and made the most of a system allotted less than six per cent of the state's budget. Mary's job at the hospital was not easy. She not only had to face the troubles brought about by a lack of proper facilities and equipment but also societal mindsets that stopped women from coming to hospitals. In 1938, she became surgeon general—the first female to hold this position in India and worldwide.

Dr. Poonen Lukose was instrumental in implementing several important medical and public health programs, including developing innovative *thais* (midwife) training programs and establishing a tuberculosis sanatorium at Nagercoil, X-Ray and Radium Institute in Trivandrum. She travelled widely to inspect hospitals and visit school children and communities to discuss public health issues. She was also the founding president of the YWCA, the chief commissioner of the Girl Guides in India, and a founding member of the Indian Medical Association. Dr Poonen Lukose's approach of meshing medicine with public health and broader social interventions was visionary and should continue to serve as an example in Kerala, and a culture of over-medicalization, including very high rates of caesarean sections, is threatening its health and equity achievements) and other resource-poor contexts. Mary Poonen Lukose passed away in 1976 at the age of 90. She had received the *Padma Shri* in 1975. While Mary's achievements are remarkable for a woman of her time, we must also appreciate the socio-political context that enabled them and examine her position. This is to highlight the structural nature of women's oppression and how a progressive environment can help us better utilise our potential.

Not only did she advocate adequate health facilities, particularly for women, in Travancore, but also women's political rights. Dr Mary Poonen Lukose, despite the deep-rooted stigmas and stereotypes of her time, which relegated most women to domestic duties, made enormous strides in her personal life and acted as a catalyst for the progression of society. She did so facing much discrimination from those who deemed it imperfect for women to be holding such a high seat in society and overcoming great tragedies and unkind tribulations to become a fearless soul committed to the developing of a modern public health system and an icon whose life will remain an inspiration forever to all. Despite the stigmas and stereotypes against women during those times, Mary Poonen Lukose managed to fight. She achieved success in her life and led to societal progress. Although she faced much discrimination, she fought against them with a fearless, courageous soul.

End Notes

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ADOPTION AS A STATE POLICY: THE CASE OF TRAVANCORE

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Introduction

Historically, Travancore was known as Venad. There are conflicting viewpoints regarding the genesis, expansion, position, and branches of the Venad kingdom. Similarly, views on the Travancore Royal Family's succession plan are divided. Some historians believe that this royal family used the Makkathayam System of succession in the early days. However, during the 12th century, they started using the *Marumakkathayam*¹ System of succession. Under this system, the heir to the throne was not the king's son but rather the son of the monarch's eldest sister. It follows that the only male member of this royal line who can reign Venad is a guy. The lack of direct heirs to the throne resulted in various instances. The problem of the lack of heirs was solved using the adoption procedure. Therefore, the adoption process saved the Venad royal family from extinction. As a result, the research into the Travancore royal family's history of adoption needs particular focus and weight. This is a groundbreaking attempt to paint a picture of adoption in the Travancore Royal Family's history. The current study analyses the available materials and draws conclusions based on evidence from the epigraph, the archives, or other indirect sources. The study's scope could not be fully explored due to time constraints and a lack of necessary historical evidence.

Travancore Royal Family Succession Structure

There are varying opinions on the succession strategy used by the Travancore royal family in its early years. Some historians believe that the Travancore royal line first used the *Makkathayam* System of succession and only transitioned to the *Marumakkathayam* System starting in the 12th century. Prof. A.L. Basham claims that inheritance existed in the early Chera Kingdom of Kerala. There are varying opinions on the succession strategy used by the Travancore royal family in its early years. Some historians believe that the Travancore royal line first used the *Makkathayam* System of succession and only transitioned to the *Marumakkathayam* System starting in the 12th century.

According to Prof. A.L. Basham, inheritance was through the male line in the early Chera Kingdom of Kerala. Still, from the 12th century, a matrilineal system emerged regularly, according to which the heir to the throne was the son not of the monarch but of the eldest sister.² The Venad royal family used the *Marumakkathayam* succession system after the 12th century. Ravi Varma Kulasekhara, the son of Jayasimha, was the last monarch to ascend to the throne under the patrilineal method of succession. Following Ravi Varma Kulasekha's reign, Jayasimha

The *Marumakkathayam* method of inheritance began when Udaya Marthanda Varma, Jayasimha's nephew, succeeded Ravi Varma Kulasekha as king of Venad after Ravi Varma Kulasekha's reign. Regarding Venad's history, this system was quite significant. The Travancore royal family had to adopt several individuals due to their adherence to this method. When there weren't enough heirs, the adoption method benefited this royal dynasty. Following successional order was the Travancore royal family's practice. The kings of Travancore are descended from women, which means that if a woman has three or four sons and two or three daughters, the first is the king, and so on, and all other brothers inherit from one another. After all of these brothers have passed away, the king's nephew's son will inherit, as well as his other heirs after him, and after these have passed away, the children of the next sister.³ Thus,

succession is in the female line.

The following argument is that among the male members of the royal line, succession is governed by seniority in age. All these factors led to the adoption of females from collateral branches to save the line from extinction. There is no interregnum at all due to the paucity of male members. In full right, the oldest living female immediately succeeds the last male.⁴ When Raja Bala Rama Varma passed away in Travancore in 1810, leaving only two women who were adopted into the royal family, the elder of which, Rani Gauri Lakshmi Bai, ascended as the direct and lawful heir to the vacant throne, it served as an example of this. A collateral uncle contested her right, but Colonel Murno and the English East India Company rejected the claim.⁵ When a Prince was born to the Ran in 1813, and the kid was named Raja of Travancore, the Queen's Mother continued to rule as Raja's regent. This illustration demonstrates that, despite being permitted, a female could not rule the nation for an extended period. There was a demand for a male monarch. Adopting a female member who could conceive a boy or the future ruler became necessary. Adoption becomes significant in this situation. On multiple occasions, this adoption procedure has prevented the extinction of the Venad royal family.

The Adoption Procedure

Because Attingal was the Rajah of Venad's maternal home, the approval of Attingal Rani and the Trippappur Muppan was required to make an adoption. The Attingal Rani, the oldest female member of the Venad royal dynasty, possessed a great deal of power. So, to adopt, her consent was required. Adoption also requires Trippappur Muppan's permission.⁶ After receiving the consent of the Attingal Rani and the Trippappur Muppan, they operated one peculiar custom. It was referred to as *Thiruvulla Cheettezhuthiyidal*. Only during the early period was it used. By this custom, an adoption was chosen by drawing lots between the two small pieces of Palmyra with writing in favour of and against the adoption. The prominent priest of the Padmanabhaswami temple presented these pieces of palmyra to the principal deity while they were wrapped in two different silk garments. The Canadian monarch draws the names out of a hat the following morning. And the Palmyra with the writing "Yes" was taken as Peru's approval for the adoption. As a result, the decision to adopt was made using this draft.⁷ References to the use of this technique can be found in the Mathilakam Records from 1780.⁸

The royal family of Venad began the traditional adoption processes after receiving Sri—Padmanabhapperumul's approval. There were two kinds of ceremonies for adoption into the Venad royal line. The first is the *Arthapranaprathisidaream* ritual, and the second is the *pati* and *patiyettarn* ceremony. The former was only used when adopting a member of a royal family that had once been a branch of the Venad royal line but had since become independent. It is a complicated ceremony. The Brahmin priests recited the Vedic *mantras* for this. There was a notion that they could forge ties between the two completely different royal dynasties using this intricate procedure.⁹

A few rituals should be conducted in the case of a regular adoption. *Pati* and *Patiyettam* are their names. It is the *arthasamarpanam* ritual for Sree Padmanabha.¹⁰ The Travancore royal family considers this to be the most significant adoption. Since the adoptee would become a part of the Travancore royal family after this ritual. The *Pati* and *Patiyettam* rituals are finished in ten minutes.¹¹ The *Patiyettam* ceremony is held in the Sree Padmanabhaswami temple at an auspicious moment that an astrologer chooses. The temple's executive officer and Karastan (a temple servant) welcome the princes destined to be adopted with the accompaniment of *uadyamela* or musical instruments like *nagaswaram*, *khaki*, etc.

During the adoption ceremony, the individual who is intended to be adopted should dress according to Kerala culture. Women would dress in *mundu* and *nariadu* if they were the subject. The concerned person

walked through the designated entrance and into the temple. *Chempakathummoodu* Nada, which was solely for the members of the Travancore royal family. The royal family members and temple executive officer would welcome this person. The concerned party would next go to the flagpole, enter the *Abhisravana chamber*, and arrive close to the *Ottakkal Mandapam*.¹²

The Maharani of Travancore, the highest authority over the royal family, welcomed the concerned individual to the spartan and required them to bow down before the deity. Following this, the person performing the *patiyettam* ceremony must, at the Maharani's request, place a piece of red silk *pattu* and Rs. 101 in one-rupee coins at the sreekovil's main entrance.¹⁴ This money is the *pati*, or royal levy, which the concerned person has given to the ultimate "Perumar." With this, the elevation in position, or *patiyettam*, is finished. The *Ottakkal Mandapam* is ascended for this purpose using the side step in the south of the sreekoil.¹³ After the *pati* and *patiyettam* ritual, an adoptive is eligible to receive the *vattaka prasada* as a member of the Travancore royal family. The appointed priests only deliver it to the members of this family. In addition to *tulasi teertha* and *panchagavya*, it also includes sandal paste in a circular silver container, jasmine, *tulasi* strings formed into a medium-sized ball, *tulasi* bunches with sandal balls, *tenter* coconut, and betel leaf with an arecanut. *Vattaka prasada* is the collective name for them when they are served in a large, round, silver salver. This royal family had the privilege of receiving *prasada* from the Sreekovil's main entrance while seated on the *ottakkal mandapam*; others received *prasada* from the *mandapa* at the entry to the Lord's sacred feet.

The adoptee underwent the *pati* and *patiyettam* ceremony in front of the Valiya Thampuram, the senior most lady member of the family, who is the Attingal Mootha Thampuram, as well as other members of the royal family and representatives of the Kshatriya clans, local dignitaries, the official of the Temple and Palace, and the adoptee's relatives. To witness this act of self-submission to Sree Padmanabha Perumal, the *swamiyars*, temple priests, and other *Ettarayogam* members are present in their designated locations.

In the case of adoption, the adoptee, who is always a female, must also carry out this duty to obtain confirmation as a part of the family. The adoptee gave prayers and coins at the shrines of Narasimha Murthi, Thiruvampadi Krishnan, Ramaswami, Viswanathan, Narasimhan, Sastav, and Ganapthi following the primary ceremonies of *pati* and *patiyettam*. In the palace, she pays visits to Thevaram, Kalari, and the Sarppakkavu or Serpent temple. After all this, she receives the priests' blessing and Vedic chartings.

The adoptee would be welcomed to the palace of Travancore with a lighted *nilavilakku* and the blessing of the Kundiyar, Poojar, and Mavelikkata royal families once all of these formalities had been completed. After that, she was regarded as Sri Padmannabha's servant. After the adoption, the adoptee will get privileges from the royal family of Travancore. If the adoptee is a girl, the Travancore royal family will be responsible for arranging her wedding. Depending on seniority, she may be installed as an Attingal Muppu after her marriage, similar to Lamura, Munnam Mura, etc. The son of the oldest of them became the Raja of Travancore. Adoption, therefore, saved the Travancore royal family from extinction.

A Subsequence of Adoptions, 1305-1994

It is debatable when the first adoption took place and who the authoritarian figure was. P. Shungoonny Menon believes that during the 14th century A.D., when Aditya Varma was the ruling king of Venad, the Travancore royal was forced to adopt two females from the Kolathunadu royal family, and separate indices were built for them and installed as Dior and Junior Ranis of Attingal.¹⁴ According to V.S. Sharma and other scholars, when Itya Varma adopted two people from Lathunadu in 1305 A.D., they brought their family etc. They erected it in the Iruvarattukavu Temple in Attingal. The adoption of the 14th

century is anathema to Professor Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai. The adoption, in his opinion, is hypothetical.¹⁵

Aditya Varma had no ruler then; hence, if the option occurred in 1305 A.D., it was impossible. If Aditya Varma was the adopter, it was only possible after 1375 A.D.¹⁶ Udaya Marthanda Varman could be the adoptive parent if the adoption occurred after 1313 A.D. Thus, he concludes that Udaya Marthanda is accountable for the adoption. Sreedharan Menon also supports this view.¹⁷ Several historians, including P. Shangoonny Menon, T. K. Velu Pillai, and V. Nagam Aiya, support 1305 A.D. as the first adoption date despite these objections. Ravi Varma Kulasekhara Perumal, also known as "saragramadhira," was the king of Venad from 1299 to 1314, and some historians believe he was the first to establish the practice. Aditya Varma, who established the Attingal estate, made this adoption, according to P. Staingoonny Menon.¹⁸

A significant event that occurred after this installation was the first adoption. However, Sreedhara Menon dated the beginning of the Attingal estate to the time of Udaya Marthanda Varma. As a result, there was no agreement among historians as to which monarch initiated the first adoption into the Venad royal line. However, the bulk of them accepted 1305 A.D. as the adoption date.¹⁹ The subsequent adoption was a triangular one made in 1602 by the Trippappur Swarupam, Chiravay Swarupam, and the senior branch of Poka Thavazhi. In the senior branch of Poka Thavazhi, two Junior Princesses of Attingal were adopted. Aditya Varma and Vira Kerala Varma, a senior Pokam member, were adopted into the Trippappur Swarupam. Sponsors of this pact were Prince Marthanda Varma and Ravi Varma, leading members of the Chitavay Swarupam.²⁰

One of the Princesses was the mother of Anisham Thirunal Marthanda Varma, who was credited as the "Maker of Modern Travancore" and responsible for the creation of Venad. Umayamma Rani adopted two males and a female child from Kolathunad. The dates of the adoptions that took place under Umayamma Rani's reign are not explicitly supported by any evidence. Umayamma Rani's reign in Venad ended in 1684, and Ravi Varma took over. One of Ravi Varma's early acts was adopting two princesses and two princes from Kolathunadu, Unni Kerala Varma and Rama Varma in 1688 A.D. 18. even though these adoptions were finalised, there is no connection with a male monarch in 1718, heir apparent. Thus, Marthanda Varma's sister, Kanthikathirunal Parvathi Bayi from Kolathunadu Pain Kovijakarn, was adopted as the king of the Venad at the time, Unni Kerala Varma.¹⁹ The legendary Rama Varma, also known as E Aharna Raja, was the son of this adoptee.²¹ During the reign of Marthanda Varma (1729-58), there needed to be more female members to continue the line. Hence 1748, Marthanda Varma adopted four princesses from Kolathunad Palli Kovilakam.²⁰ From his reign, Venad came to be known as Travancore.

Dharma Raja was the monarch of Travancore following Marthanda Varma. Adoption became necessary during his reign as well. The younger Maharaja, the heir apparent prince, lost his other brother in 1786. Only a six-year-old brother was left after these deaths. In addition, a kid was unlikely to be born from the then-Ranis. Adoption, hence, became essential. Rama Varma adopted two princesses in 1789. From the Mavelikkara Kolathunadu family, Bharani and Uthram Thirunal came to Travancore. Swathi Thirunal, one of these adoptees, was the father of Rama Varma.²²

After Swathi Thirunal's tenure, Uthram Thirunal Marthanda Varma succeeded him as the monarch of Travancore. In 1857, Bharani Thirunal Lakshmi Bayi and Bharani Thirunal Parvathi Bai were adopted by Uthram Thirunal Marthanda Varma.²² These adoptees got married after reaching adulthood. However, Bharani Thirunal Lakshmi Bayi was unable to deliver a child. Only male offspring were born

to Bharani Thirunal Parvathi Bayi. These factors led to the need for adoption to save the royal family from extinction. Thus 1900, the Mavelikkara royal family's painter Raja Ravi Varma's grandchildren, Sethu Lakshmi Bayi and her sister Sethu Parvathi Bayi, were born. Sethu Parvathi Bai, one of the adopted princesses, was the mother of Sri Chithira Thirunal Ramavarma Maharaja.²³

1994 saw the final adoption into the Travancore royal dynasty. Adoption was required in that particular year. Because Lakshmi, the wife of the journalist M.D. Nalapat and, the granddaughter of the early adopted Sethu Parvathi Bai, who was also the niece of the Maharaja Uthradam Thirunal Marthanda Varma, had no children. She, therefore, wanted to adopt a child from the Mavelikkara Utsavamadam Palace. Thus, on November 14, 1994, the Travancore royal family adopted Miss Lekha of Utsavamadam Palace. The successor apparent to the throne will be the offspring of Lekha. The number of adoptions helps to realise its role in saving the Travancore royal family from extinction.²⁴

Conclusion

The Travancore Royal Family used the *Muramakkathayam*, or matrilineal system. In this arrangement, the family's women were given more power than the males, and it was their responsibility to fulfil the Royal Family's obligation to produce an heir. As a result, the Maharaja's nephew (his sister's son) was always the heir apparent to the kingdom. Additionally, the Maharaja's sister received the title of Maharani rather than his wife. This meant that no one could take the throne if the Maharani passed away and only left behind boys. There have been instances where the family lacked a girl to give the legitimate heir. They frequently adopted female children who could carry out this task in these situations. From the beginning, adoption was a frequent occurrence in the Travancore Family. It's interesting to note that Marthanda Varma was the adoptive son of a princess. The Kolathiri family, who had a similar reputation, was chosen for adoption.

The Royal Family adopted young girls who would become the Ranis of Attingal. As the Ranis of the Royal Family ruled it, Attingal was frequently called a Queendom. Until the reign of Marthanda Varma, who "amalgamated Travancore with Attingal," it was not directly under the control of the Maharaja of Travancore. The Royal Family of Travancore's lineage can be traced back to the Venad family, which adopted two princesses in the fifth century, granting them the right to use the proceeds from certain estates near Attingal. As a result, the Ranis of the Royal Family became known as the Ranis of Attingal. He made the significant decision in December 1749 to dedicate his realm to Sri Padmanabha and chose the name Padmanabha Dasa (servant of the Lord). Since then, Travancore has belonged to the Lord rather than any person, the Royal Family, or any other group of people. The last words of Marthanda Varma to his nephew, Rama Varma, were, "No deviation whatever should be made regarding the dedication of the Kingdom to Sri Padmanabhaswamy and all further territorial acquisitions should be made over to the Devasom."

It was Marthanda Varma's sister's son, Rama Varma who succeeded him, making the Royal Family of Travancore different from other Royal Families. Senior Rani of Travancore Royal Family; Maharani Lakshmi Bayi examples of such adoptions can be seen in 1857 and 1900. In 1857, two girls were adopted into the Royal Family. These girls were placed into the family as the Senior Rani (Maharani Lakshmi Bayi) and the Junior Rani (Maharani Parvati Bayi). Years later, the Junior Rani died, leaving behind three sons (Kerala Varma, Rama Varma, and Marthanda Varma), whereas the Senior Rani had no heir. This again left the family in a situation where adoption was the only option.

The difference between the Royal Family of Travancore and other Royal Families was that Rama Varma, the son of Marthanda Varma's sister, succeeded him—senior Rani of the Travancore Royal House,

Maharani Lakshmi Bayi. The years 1857 and 1900 provide examples of such adoptions. In 1857, the Royal Family adopted two girls. They were given the titles of Senior Rani (Maharani Lakshmi Bayi) and Junior Rani (Maharani Parvati Bayi) in the family. Later, the Junior Rani passed away, leaving three sons (Kerala Varma, Rama Varma, and Marthanda Varma) behind, while the Senior Rani had no heir. Once more, this put the family in a position where adoption was their only choice.

Aswathi Thirunal, the first Prince, and Elaya Raja Chathyam Thirunal, the Royal Throne's successor, passed away unexpectedly in October 1900. The Senior Rani, Maharani Lakshmi Bayi, passed away on June 15, 1901, worsening the situation. The succession position in the Travancore state is described in a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of India, stationed in Fort St. George. Due to a string of family deaths, there was no male heir to succeed the ruling Maharaja, Maharaja Mulam Thirunal, if he, too, passed away before his time.

The Senior Rani and Junior Rani, who had just been accepted into the Royal Family, were only four and three years old, respectively, so they could not bear an heir shortly. Second, even if one of them produced a male heir, he would have taken the title of Maharaja when he was eighteen. There would not be a male heir until 1930 due to this circumstance. Thank goodness, Maharaja Mulam Thirunal ruled for 39 years until 1924. Until the heir, Chitra Thirunal, turned eighteen and qualified to ascend to the throne in 1931, Maharani Sethu Lakshmi Bayi, the Senior Rani, served as regent.

The Travancore Royal Family remained Lord Padmanabha's most devoted followers. They oversaw the operation of the Padmanabhaswamy temple because he served as the Royal Family's primary deity. Previously, the Ruler of Travancore was regarded as the temple's custodian; however, in 1971, the constitution was amended to recognise the State of Kerala as the temple's custodian. Many people think the royal family donated significant sums of gold and valuable stones to the Lord, currently stored in the temple's hidden vaults. The tremendous sums of wealth that were recently found at the Temple are well-recognised around the world. Even now, there remains disagreement over who the rightful owner of this gem is.

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EMPOWERMENT STRATEGIES AMONG WOMEN OF THE KANI TRIBE IN THIRUVANANTHAPURAM DISTRICT, KERALA

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A tribe is a social group, usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity, and unifying social organisation. It may include several subgroups, such as sibs or villages. It may have a common ancestor as well as presiding deities. The families or small communities comprising a tribe are linked through economic, social, religious, blood ties, and kingship bondage. A tribe is a group of people, usually staying in jungle areas, in a small locality, fully living within their community, whose marriage always takes place among themselves, engaged in hunting and searching for roots, shoots and fruits as their vegetarian food and roasted animals as non-vegetarian food, utterly oblivious of the country's political and economic condition, resisting all efforts of development and have a strong dislike for strangers and educated modern community.

Primitive, geographically isolated socially, educationally & economically backwardness are the traits that distinguish scheduled tribes of our country from other communities. Tribal communities live in about 15% of the country's areas in various ecological and geo-climatic conditions ranging from plains to forests, hills and inaccessible areas. Tribal groups are at different stages of social, economic and educational development. While some tribal communities have adopted a mainstream way of life at one end of the spectrum, there are 75 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), at the other, who are characterized by a) A pre-agriculture level of technology, (b) a stagnant or declining population (c) extremely low literacy and (d) a subsistence level of economy. There are over 500 tribes, as notified under Article 342 of the Constitution of India, spread over different States and Union Territories of the country, the most significant number of tribal communities in the State of Orissa. The tribal population is concentrated in central India and the northeastern states. However, they have their presence in all States and Union Territories except Haryana, Punjab, Delhi, Pondicherry and Chandigarh. The predominantly tribal-populated states of the country are Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Union Territories of Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Lakshadweep. States with sizeable tribal populations and having areas of large tribal concentration are Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Kerala, Orissa and Rajasthan. The promotion of the all-round development of tribals inhabiting the length and breadth of our country has received priority attention from the government. There are numerous government policies for ensuring the welfare and well-being of tribals. The government at the state and central levels has made sustained efforts to provide opportunities for these communities' economic development by eradicating poverty and health problems and developing communication to remove the isolation of their habitats. The Constitution of India seeks to secure social and economic justice, equality of status, and opportunity for all its citizens, and it assures the dignity of the individual. There are over 700 scheduled tribes, of which around 75 are Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). Bhil is the most significant tribal group, while Gond is the second largest tribal group in India.

Kerala is the homeland of many tribal groups. Among them critical tribal groups are Adiyar, Aranadan, (Aranadan) Ervalla, Hill Pulaya [Malapulaya], kurumba Pulayan, Karavazhulayan, Pamba Pulayan, Irular,

Irulan, Kadar, [Wayanad Kadar] Kanikaran, Kanikkar, Kattunayakan, Kochuvelan, Koraga, Kudiya, Melakudi, Kurichchan, [Kurichiyan], Kurumans. [Mullu Kuruman, Kurumbas, [Kurumbar, Kurumban]' Maha Malasar, MalaiArayan, [MalaArayan], Malai Pandaram, Malai Vedan, [Malavedan], Malakkuravan, Malasar, Malayan, Nattu Malayan, Konga Malayan (excluding the areas comprising the Kasaragod Cannanore, Wayanad and Kozhikode Districts) Malayaraya, Mannan, Marati, Muthuvan, Mudugar. Muduvan, Palleyan, Palliyan, Palliyar, Palliyan], Paniyan, Ulladan, [Ullatan], Uraly, Mala Vettuvan, Ten Kurumban. Jenu Kurumban], Thachanadan Thachanadan Moopan [Cholanaickan [Mavilan[Karimpalan,Vetta Kuruman, [Mala Panickar]

The primary component of India's rich and varied cultural heritage is the various tribal communities with their colourful customs, dialects, festivals and occupations. Regarding tribal population, India is next only to the vast continent of Africa. In the tribal population of India, women constitute half of the population. The status of tribal women is like a moving equilibrium at various times and in different parts of the country. Tribal women have been playing a significant role in society's culture and will continue to do so in the future.

A tribe is a collection of individuals who share a common culture with a clear linguistic and political boundary. Women play a pivotal role in this boundary. They provide services to the family and the tribe without any remuneration or reward. However, the actual condition of women in a tribal society is connected with the growth and development of the tribal community.

The tribal people, in a sense, are living fossils of the past. The tribal people of Kerala, who appear to be the most ancient inhabitants now living in India, are concentrated chiefly in the southernmost part of the Western Ghats, stretching from Wayanad to Cape Comerin¹. They speak different languages and have distinctive cultures of their own. Homogenous elements are less. However, the heterogeneous features are visible in all tribal communities. Among 35 tribal communities in Kerala, *Kanikkar* exhibit unique features of tribal identity and culture². Kanis are mainly concentrated in Kollam and Thiruvananthapuram districts. The main settlements in the Thiruvananthapuram district are Neyyar Reservoir, Palode and Kottor Agasthyavanam Biological Park area. According to the 2001 census, the total population is 18872, with females numbering 9853 and males numbering 9019. Kani women are at the forefront of all changes. Even though they are transitional, they try to preserve their rich tribal identity.

The *Kani* society has had its social structure based upon the natural concept of equality, modified only to the extent of their population's subsistence needs and preservation. Women and men were equal partners in the socio-cultural and economic life; hence, women were traditionally assigned an essential role in society. The tribal institutions had a primary concern for the growth of their tribes, and the institutions of marriage and family were the product of this concern. The social structure of the tribal society centred on the family. As the pivot of the family life is women, her position and the improvements that have taken place in her status and her family life are the most important. *Kani* women enjoyed equal social status with their men folk. They were considered the torchbearers of their generation. *Kani* woman was the cornerstone of the social structure. The *Kani* women shouldered heavy responsibilities on the farm front besides keeping the house, feeding and raising the family, and maintaining social relations.

Kani women enjoyed an enviable position in their tribal community. The reasons for this unique cultural trait were women's economic and social equality from childhood. Teenage girls could house and care for the children and the elders. They worked on farmland and domesticated animals. Their brutal working nature benefitted them in attaining self-sufficiency in all matters. They were considered an economic asset in the family. The earnings of the wife helped the husband meet household expenditures. Matrimonial

relations were usually happy. The birth of a female child in the family was never a matter of worry or being displeased, as in many non-tribal populations. When the memories of the dead were erected, even the women got their place.

Kanis were culturally rich; music, dancing, and singing were pivotal in their culture. They had community entertainment with total participation, and the men, women, boys and girls all participated equally. They freely sang and danced with each other, and joking and laughing went freely. Especially on the occasion of marriages, men and women of all ages dance in ecstasy to the rhythm of the drums throughout the night. It was impossible to find such a community-wide equal participation of men and women, even in the most educated and affluent modern society where we delight in discussing the equality of men and women.

It was only in the tribal rituals connected with the religious practices that the men's fold got priority over the women's. The rituals and *puja* performed by the '*Plathi*' were under the *MuttuKanis*'s direction, and the sacrifices were also offered at the hands of men⁴. The women were silent spectators. During menstruation, the women were prohibited from attending religious functions. However, in the tribal tradition of gods, the Goddess occupied an important place⁵. *Men* usually performed *Chattupattu*. However, it is evident that the *Kani* women had a lower status in the ritualistic part of religion, but this did not put them at any specific disadvantage. They enjoyed an almost equal status with men except in rituals.

Kani followed a matrilineal inheritance system. *Kani* women had decision-making power in the family and were characterised by their deeds, devotion, and commitment. The consent of the bride was necessary in marriages. The girl's uncles usually made alliances with the bridegroom⁶. Her likes and dislikes were generally taken into consideration.

The British land revenue and administration system brought drastic societal changes. The implementation of the capitalist mode of production transformed the economic condition of *Kanikkars*. The end of shifting cultivation, the starting of permanent cultivation and the introduction of a patrilineal inheritance system changed *Kani* women's socio-economic and cultural conditions. As part of modernisation, new changes have occurred in *Kani* communities and the lives of *Kani* women. The plantation economy made *Kani*'s wage labourers. Permanent cultivation caused them to cultivate in particular areas. The government strictly prohibited the collection of forest produce by enacting many laws and legislations. *Kani* women were restrained from working in rubber plantations. They earned meagre wages for their hard labour. They were alienated from their lands for constructing dams and industrial projects by the government authorities. The self-sufficiency attained by *Kani* women was lost forever. They have to depend on their male counterparts for day-to-day household expenditures. They engaged in basket making and cultivation of turmeric, ginger and plantains. They get meagre prices for their products. Hence, the economic dependency resulted in the low status of *Kani* women.

We cannot say that there is no exploitation of *Kani* women. One of the significant problems that *Kani* women face is indebtedness. They are indebted to greedy merchants and traders. They got low wages for their labour and low prices for their products. They borrow money from the merchants and traders to meet their day-to-day expenses. The merchants lease a large amount of money from the honest *Kani* women, thus economically exploiting them. *Kani* women are considered a marginalised section, and we should meet our social justice.

In olden times, women mainly depended on *plathi* for treatment⁷. During delivery time, *Plathi*'s wife served as midwife. Now, they are turning towards the use of allopathic medicines. Still, the health

care facility for them is inadequate. Midwife services and medical aid are not widely available to them. In the prenatal and postnatal stages, there is a grave risk to the woman's life. Lack of adequate nutrition for the mother and child, non-availability of medicines and unhygienic conditions are the reasons that contribute to the death rate of the children and of the mothers. A health hazard that was, and still is, widespread in tribal areas and is primarily a gift from outsiders is venereal diseases. It is an example of moral exploitation, culminating in physical exploitation. Compared with other tribal communities in Kerala, the child mortality rate is low in *Kani* settlements.

Both women and men usually use betelnuts and tobacco. It is like a customary habit. However, the excess use of betelnuts and related items causes diseases like oral cancer and is prone to other dreadful diseases. Alcoholism among tribals also contributes towards the misery of *Kani* women in the house⁹. Apart from giving rise to conflict between the spouses, it also creates economic crises. In case of excess, the wife may even desert her husband. Most of the male members of the settlement are addicted to alcohol. They torture their wives. The expenditure on the house was not satisfied by the male counterparts. They have most minor concerns about their children. The liquor was widely prepared in the tribal areas by the outside people. They give liquor and a small amount of money to *Kani* men. *Kani* men help the outsiders in all necessary ways. The outsiders usually have a criminal background. The honest *Kani* men quickly became the prey of those criminals. The arrest usually resulted in the punishment of *Kani* men. The police machinery always sided with the people who have power and money¹⁰. The arrest of *Kani* men also has to be suffered by women. If the police officers took practical steps, the real criminals would be punished. Otherwise, the poor *Kani* men have been exploited. The *Kani* women and children are the most suffering section due to the atrocities of police and liquor merchants.

The leading political parties have no interest in looking after the condition of *Kani* women¹¹. To protect tribal rights, *Adivasi Mahasabha* has been coordinating various programmes. They concentrate on tribal matters in general. Recently, *Adivasi Mahasabha* conducted a programme to protect the biodiversity of *Agasthyarkoodam* and submitted a memorandum against the deforestation in *Agasthyarkoodam*, which was considered a protected global wealth by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)¹².

The government should take steps to improve the condition of tribal women. However, the laws and acts are not favourable for tribal women. Usually, money and power distort the facts, and the honest tribal people silently suffer all the atrocities.

The *Kani* had formed their modes of socio-political organisation. The women had a dignitary position in the political organisation, but the critical positions were vested in males only. As a result of a modern democratic system of Government, the powers and positions of the head of the settlements have been considerably reduced. *Oorukoottams* are frequently met under the supervision of Village Officers. In the meetings, the women's representation is nominal.

At first, *Kani* women did not receive an education. The Christian missionaries tried their level best to educate them. After independence and state formation, the government formulates educational policies. The seats are reserved in schools and colleges. The employment opportunities are given to them. However, the seats are vacant, with few qualified tribal students. The government sets up tribal schools and hostels to enhance the efficiency of tribal students. Grants and scholarships are given to them. The funds allocated to them have not been reached in honest hands. It is a significant problem that tribal women and children are facing today.

Family support is essential for children's growth and development. Even though the *Kani* mothers are uneducated, they want to give their children the best education. Women depend on their male counterparts for their day-to-day lives. Economic dependency creates problems in the family and affects the children also.

The customs and traditions of *Kani* women have unique characteristics. Their *lifestyle* corroborates Myths and legends. The rituals and practices show the simplicity and honesty of *Kani* women, though the customs and practices have passed through different ages. They still keep their tribal identity.

Kani women want to lead a calm and peaceful life. The infrastructure facility provided by the government needs to be improved to sustain their life. Their habitation was very close to their environment. However, the concrete buildings in the forest area destroy the peaceful atmosphere. It is essential to provide better habitation suited to their ecological system.

The marriage system, social functions, and women's positions are complex. Now, they are considered an economic burden. The bridge price is replaced with a dowry at the time of marriage. The girl is supposed to be a commodity, and her value is judged by the dowry she brings for her in-law. The dowry system in the *Kani* settlements has been destroying the peaceful family life¹³. The girls are an additional burden for their parents. The girls have to suffer mental as well as physical torture. The infiltration of urban culture destroys *Kani*'s traditional values and culture.

Illiteracy predominates in *Kani* populations, and literacy is negligible among tribal women. This is one of the primary reasons for exploitation, even in other spheres of life. The *Kani* women are unaware of their surroundings. The *Kani* women, the most innocent people, do not even know their correct age. They never bother about a better standard of living. They have no more tensions and worries. They led a life for leading in life. They are not aware of their rights and duties. They have employment opportunities in government services. Because of ignorance, they are exempted from the jobs.

Another social problem that the *Kani* women are facing today is the increasing number of unwed mothers. Consequent sexual harassment, incidents of death and murder have become common, and in almost every case, the culprits go unpunished¹⁴. Most murders are registered as cases of suicides. Compared with other tribal areas in Kerala, such incidents do not number high in *Kani* settlements. Even though the number is small, it has a threatening effect on *Kani* women and their children. All these indicate the deteriorating condition of *Kani* women. The Government of Kerala implemented a "*Sneha Sparsam*" programme to enhance unwed mothers' living standards by giving an amount of 300 rupees per month in the year 2010. In 2011, the amount was raised to 1000 rupees per month¹⁵.

To overcome the problems, *Kani* women should attain economic self-sufficiency. Women should be given all the support they need to standardise themselves. '*Vanasamrakshna Samiti*' is functioning in tribal areas. The activities of the samiti should be encouraged. A joint effort from the side of government officials and samiti is most necessary. The officials must work without racial discrimination.

Girijan co-operative societies are established for the welfare of *Kani* women. In order to make women self-sufficient, stitching and sewing are taught in the society. However, the societies are not in good condition. Even though the Tribal department funds them, matters go in the opposite direction. If the cooperative societies are working well, we should meet the self-sufficiency of *Kani* women¹⁶.

Gender disparity is visible in tribal areas. Women are considered weak and delicate, need to be protected, lack skills, etc. This growing tendency may harm *Kani* women. *Kani* women face many challenges. To

face all problems, it is essential to regain their lost bravery. Awareness through education is the only remedy for all issues. Through education, most of the problems will be solved.

Education is one of the most powerful tools for the overall socio-economic development of the *Kanis*. It is considered an essential instrument for empowerment, upliftment, and social change. Education empowers women to make decisions about themselves, their families, communities, and societies. It plays a vital role in bringing awareness among women about their rights and is an effective means to counter gender discrimination and enhance the status of *Kani* women. Women's education is a step toward assuring holistic family and community development.

Due to illiteracy, economic backwardness, and lack of communication, most *Kani* women remain unaware of government schemes. They have the right to demand their needs. They need to be made literate and provided with mobility and communication facilities, access to information, and means of income generation.

Genuine education helps the *Kani* women take responsibility for shaping their lives, their community, and their environment. Tribal education helps create critical awareness among women about their situation, empowers them to transform that situation, and enables them to build a new society. Empowerment should be done in their own way, considering their aspirations and feelings. A secular democratic approach is necessary. Trying to empower them rather than exploit them will be adopted as the motto for the development of *Kani* women.

Education imparted by the state should meet out social justice. The customs and practices followed by them should be left unaffected. Necessary steps should be taken according to their wishes and aspirations. They have the right of choice and selection. Measures for *Kani* women's development should be taken without disturbing the existing harmony. Priority should be on overall development of them with due emphasis on their aspirations. The right of choice on selection is to be solely given to them so that their cultural and traditional identity continues. Development is to be carried out without making any compromises. Existing evils of dowry, excessive use of intoxicants, especially alcohol and cigarettes, and mental as well physical harassment should be seriously dealt with, and measures formulated to wipe it out.

End Notes

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ENDEAVOURS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY THROUGH POLITICAL MOBILIZATION: APPRAISING THE EZHAVA EXPERIENCES

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The Ezhavas were the largest single category among the backward communities in Kerala. They are spread evenly all over the state.¹ Though they were known under different names with more or less variations in their customs and manners, they formed the same. Until the beginning of the 20th century, Ezhavas were considered untouchables, and many social prohibitions were extended to them. They were forced to live in social and economic depression. Political rights were denied to them. They were denied admission to educational institutions.² They could not use public wells or public places or could not enter the temples. If somehow, some Ezhavas got educated either in government schools or schools outside Kerala, they could not get entry into government service.

In the latter half of the 19th century, some attempts at social mobility sprouted among the Ezhavas. The coming of Sree Narayana Guru provided a strong social and spiritual background for the subaltern segment like the Ezhavas to attempt to achieve their basic human rights, which they denied for centuries. His temple installation movement and establishment of the SNDP Yogam gave momentum to the Ezhava attempts for social mobility. Through his attempts, the community received considerable progress in education, social rights, religious liberty and mobility

The political mobilisation led by several of its leaders opened expansive opportunities for attaining social mobility. It is a fact that political mobilisation is crucial in any social movement towards upward mobility. It gives direction, leadership and strength by establishing contact with the masses and spreading its ideology. Under the able leadership of a group of educated Ezhava elites, the community achieved their educational and socio-political rights, greater social mobility and a prominent place in the public sphere of Kerala. They realised the significance of political mobilisation for attaining greater political and civic rights.

Doctor Palpu and the Move towards Political Mobilisation

Doctor Palpu, considered the political *guru* of the Ezhavas, spearheaded the agitations against the denial of their civil rights and awakened the consciousness of the submerged Ezhavas towards social mobility. With the coming of Palpu on the scene, the frustration of the Ezhavas against the denial of the right to education, employment and other civic disabilities developed into an urge for protest. His emergence as a leader after his encounter with Sree Narayana Guru's spiritual dynamism sparked a mass movement whereby the Ezhavas tried to protest against their social, political, and religious disabilities and attain their rights through constitutional agitations.

The first and foremost attempt of Palpu was in the form of participation in the "Travancore Memorial", popularly known as the Malayali Memorial", a mammoth petition signed by ten thousand thirty-eight (10038) people, which was submitted to the Maharaja on 11th January 1891.³ Even though the memorial didn't improve the condition of the Ezhavas of Travancore, it became a landmark in the political awakening of the Ezhavas of Travancore. It provided a model of political campaigning and agitations. Palpu continued his efforts to assert the claims of the Ezhava community. He made several memorandums and remainders for the government, claiming the Ezhavas' right to education and employment.⁴

The Ezhava Memorial

Palpu realised that an organised agitation was necessary to change the government's attitude, which was not prepared to countenance the demands of the Ezhavas and treat them on equal terms with other advanced communities. By the middle of 1896, he founded an organisation called 'Travancore Ezhava Mahajana Sabha' to fight against socio-political disabilities.⁵ Deeming the memorial as a weapon of protest, Palpu collected the signature of 13176 Ezhavas to submit a new petition of rights to the Maharaja of Travancore.⁶ The 'Ezhava Memorial' was submitted to the Maharaja on 3 September 1896.⁷ It invited the attention of the maharajah's kindness to the disabilities from which the Ezhava community in Travancore suffered regarding the admission of their children in government schools and the appointment to the offices under the government according to their qualifications. The Memorial pointed out that converts from the Ezhava community and communities lower in rank to them and even persons that had merely assumed a non-Hindu name found all facilities for education and were freely appointed in the service of the state. The Memorial recalled the government that the Ezhavas were numerically the second largest community in Travancore and that their counterparts, the Tiyyas of British Malabar, had already acquired the same rights as the other castes and held some of the highest appointments open to natives under the British government.⁸

The government's reply⁹ to the Memorial was given on 31 October 1896, reflecting their traditional reactionary attitude. The endorsement said these caste distinctions were not recent, and this feature was marked in an ancient Hindu state like Travancore. Any revolutionary change in the existing social order would engender caste antagonism, arrest social progress and create violence to create communal harmony.¹⁰ Even though the Ezhavas did not question the existing customs, the Memorial became the "first charter of demands of the Ezhavas". It began an organised struggle, a mass protest of the Ezhavas to secure their rights and social mobility.

T. K. Madhavan and Political Mobilization for Social Justice

T.K. Madhavan was the best specimen of the emergent leaders who fought for the rights, privileges, and social mobility of the Ezhavas of Travancore. He was the real hero of the anti-untouchability movement and the attempts at temple entry by the Ezhavas. With the coming of T.K. Madhavan into the public sphere, the emancipatory and mobility attempts of the Ezhavas took a new turn. He mobilised the large mass of Ezhavas behind SNDP Yogam, and the activities of the Yogam under Madhavan's leadership marked a transition from the era of petitions to an era of active agitations and protests at a mass level.

Civic Rights Movement and Struggle for Equality of Opportunity

Even though the Travancore government's declared policy was that "public service in most of its branches was open to all without distinction of caste or creed and qualification would be recognised independently of religious belief",¹¹ the government followed a policy of betrayal to the aggrieved segments of the society. In theory, almost all the departments, except the Department of Devaswam, Land Revenue, and the Palace Department, were opened to the Ezhavas and others. The Ezhavas demanded the appointment of their caste men to those departments, too. They forwarded a representation at the 4th session of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly about their exclusion from the Land Revenue Department.¹² But nothing happened other than some undone assurances.

The Christians and Muslims, along with the untouchable castes, were not appointed in the Department of Devaswam and Land Revenue on religious and pollution grounds. It was in this background that the untouchable communities like the Ezhavas, along with the Christians and Muslims, came together and formed an organisation of protest known as Thiruvithamkur Paura Sabha (Travancore Civic Rights

League) in 1918¹³ to pressurise the government towards their demands of equal civic rights, bifurcation of the Revenue Department from Devaswam, to throw open all ranks in every department of public service to all subjects irrespective of race or religion, and the ending of untouchability.¹⁴

A deputation of the Civic Rights League led by E.J. John submitted a mammoth petition, signed by more than 26,000 people, to the Dewan M. Krishnan Nair on 20 February 1920.¹⁵ The memorial petitioned the exclusion of Ezhava, Christian and Muslim communities “from the higher ranks of the Revenue Department, which is the most important and influential branch of the public service, forming, in fact, the backbone of the administration”.¹⁶ The significant demands of the memorial were to accord to all subjects of His Highness, irrespective of caste and creed, full rights of citizenship by throwing open all ranks in every department.¹⁷

Motivated by the activities of the Civic Rights League, almost all sections of the deprived classes, the Muslims, the Nadars, the Kammalars, the Pulayas, the Kuravas and the like, began to clamour for proportional representation and began petitioning the government one after other to redress their grievances.¹⁸ Under the pressure of the Civic Rights Movement, the government appointed Krishna Iyengar, the Forest Settlement Officer, to study and report on the matter of bifurcation of Devaswam from the Land Revenue Department. Based on the recommendations of Krishna Iyengar, the government constituted a *Devaswam* Bifurcation Committee to report on the feasibility of separating the *Devaswams* from the Land Revenue Department. Based on the recommendations of this Committee, the government decided to bifurcate the Land Revenue - *Devaswam* Department into two separate departments, viz., *Devaswam* and Revenue.¹⁹ The government issued the *Devaswam* Proclamation on 3 September 1922, through which appointments in the Land Revenue Department were thrown open to all,²⁰ irrespective of caste or community.

In theory, all the departments in the Travancore civil service were thrown open to the Ezhavas, but a visible disparity in the distribution of government services was observable. During 1921-1922, in the Registration Department, out of 96 appointments, the Ezhavas received 11 temporary appointments, but no Ezhava got a permanent appointment. In 1922-1923, out of 124 temporary and 14 permanent appointments, they got 10 temporary appointments and only one permanent.²¹ Even in the Excise Department, appointments were not entirely fair to the Ezhavas. Out of 139 Ezhava applicants, only 21 were appointed.²² In the Registration Department, only 9 Ezhava candidates out of 25 applicants from the community were appointed. However, compared to their earlier representation, it was a better achievement for the Ezhava community regarding government service.

Anti-untouchability Campaign and Vaikom Satyagraha

Many public places in Travancore remained closed to the submerged people even in the early decades of the 20th century because of the proximity to temples, palaces, tanks, or Brahmin streets. This prompted the educated struggles for the reduction of the ritual distance of pollution by leading anti-untouchability movements. The Ezhavas, under the leadership of T.K. Madhavan, decided to start an intense agitation to gain access to temple roads and temples when they failed to get any result from their representations and Memorials. T.K.Madhavan met Gandhi at Tinnevely and got his approval and blessings for the agitation for temple entry in Travancore.²³ As Gandhi advised, at the Kakinada session of the Congress Committee in December 1923, a resolution had been passed under the initiative of T.K. Madhavan to take steps to eradicate untouchability.²⁴ In January 1924, the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee (KPCC) met at Ernakulam. It formed an Anti-untouchability Committee with T. K. Madhavan,

Kurur Nilakantan Nambudiripad, T. R. Krisnaswami Aiyar, and K. Velayudha Menon as members and K. Kelappan Nayar as Convener.²⁵

The Vaikkom Satyagraha

Vaikkom Sree Mahadeva Temple was selected as the centre of the Satyagraha to get the right of temple entry to the *avarnas*. It was mainly because the roads around this temple were closed to the low caste Hindus like the Ezhavas, while it was opened to the non-Hindus.²⁶ On 30 March 1924, Kunjappy, a Pulaya, Bahuleyan, an Ezhava, and Govinda Panicker, a Nair, the first satyagraha of the historic Satyagraha, went forward and as this first batch reached the prohibited line, they were stopped and arrested by the police.²⁷ This marked the beginning of the *satyagraha* at Vaikkom.²⁸ Every day after this, the Ezhavas and Pulayas submitted themselves to arrest as they approached the pollution distance. The news of the impending *satyagraha* greatly stirred the people as it was a novel method of action so far not resorted to in South India.

Narayana Guru and SNDP Yogam came out with warm expressions of sympathy and supported the *satyagraha* movement. Sree Narayana Guru blessed the campaign at Vaikkom with his presence, and his *Ashram* at Vaikkom was being utilised as the Satyagraha camp.²⁹ The Vaikkom *Satyagraha* got an Indian significance and turned into a new shift with the visit of Mahatma Gandhi on March 10, 1925. He consulted with all parties, and an agreement was reached with the government.³⁰ As a compromise settlement, the Travancore government agreed to remove all the thermal palapas along the approach roads, and all the streets around Vaikkom temple were declared open except two lanes leading to the eastern approach road, one from the south and the other from the north.³¹ Based on this settlement, after twenty months of relentless fighting, the *satyagraha* was called off on 23 November 1925.

The Abstention Movement and the Lead of C. Kesavan

The political mobilisation of the Ezhava community for social mobility achieved greater heights with the Abstention Movement for political representation and equal opportunities under the eminent leadership of C. Kesavan.³² The constitutional reforms introduced in 1921 sowed the seeds of the struggles for political rights, such as proportionate representation in the legislature and adult franchise. Four general elections were held between 1921 and 1931; the Ezhavas and other Depressed Classes did not have a single member elected through general elections. The community could not hold any of the polls because of the high property qualifications required to exercise the franchise. C.V.Kunjuraman, the then General Secretary of the SNDP Yogam, submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission during their visit to Travancore on 26 May 1928, in which he pointed out the need for communal representation and separate electorate for the Ezhavas as a method of safeguarding the rights of the community.³³

Like the Ezhavas, Christians and Muslims had such grievances. The Ezhavas, Christians, and Muslims constituted the majority of the population and the significant contributors of revenue to the state exchequer, but they were sparsely represented in the legislature. The educated and enlightened among these communities started thinking of political rights that were in tune with the development of the outside world.³⁴

The formation of the 'All Travancore Joint Political Congress' on 17th December 1932 was a landmark in the course of mobility attempts of the Ezhavas.³⁵ On 25th January 1933, the Joint Political Congress delegates assembled in the L.M.S. Hall. They unanimously passed the 'Abstention Resolution', which decided to abstain from participating either in voting or by contesting in the election as a candidate or accepting nominations to the Council. Those who had already filed their nominations were directed to

withdraw.³⁶ On 12th March 1933, the SNDP Yogam, in its historic meeting at Changanacherry, adopted the 'Abstention Resolution' moved by Thazhava Kesavan by 1500 votes against eighty votes.³⁷

The Abstentionists started mass agitations, but the government was adamant in its earlier stand and decided to put down the protests with an iron hand. They banned the meetings of the abstentionists, and prominent leaders of the movement were put behind bars.³⁸ Despite the government's rigorous policy, several meetings were held in different parts of the country to explain to the masses the pros and cons of the agitation.³⁹ The Abstention Movement's secret meetings were held at various parts of the state, and as prevention, the authorities issued prohibitory orders.⁴⁰

In a meeting in 1933, C. Kesavan, the new General Secretary of the SNDP Yogam, said, "We want adult suffrage...we are not getting justice from the Hinduism... so renounce this Hinduism.." ⁴¹ It was in January 1935, after a long period of struggle, that the Abstentionists achieved a significant victory. Due to the mounting pressure from the movement, on 4th January, the government passed new orders regarding recruitment to the public services. G.D. Knox, Judge of the Travancore High Court, was appointed Public Service Commissioner to report on the public recruitment system.⁴² Based on his report, the government passed orders on the issue. For recruitment, the public service was divided into three divisions – the lower, the intermediate and the higher. In the lower division, recruitments were made based on communal rotation, and the Ezhavas were one of the nineteen communities recognised for their separate representation. Forty per cent of vacancies in the intermediate division and 33.33 per cent in the higher division were reserved for duly qualified candidates of unrepresented communities.⁴³ Thus, through these measures of communal representation, the Ezhavas got admission to public services for the first time, breaking the monopoly of the upper castes.

Despite these victories, the Abstentionists continued their agitation to get communal representation in the Legislature. On 13th May 1935, the Joint Political Congress held its historic conference at Kozhencherry under the president of C.Kesavan.⁴⁴ The conference requested that the Maharaja dismiss C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar from the office of the 'Legal and Constitutional Advisor' to the Maharaja. For this seditious speech, Kesavan was arrested and prosecuted and was sentenced to two years of simple imprisonment and Rs.500 as acceptable.⁴⁵

Due to the continuous pressure, the government agreed with the abstentionists. It guaranteed a certain number of seats for the Ezhavas and other aggrieved sections in both houses of the legislature. The government appointed E.Subrahmanya Iyer as Franchise Commissioner, and he submitted his report containing the necessary recommendations for the franchise. Provision was made to reserve eight seats in the Assembly and two seats in the Council for the Ezhavas on a communal basis. The Muslims and Latin Christians also could get three seats each in the assembly through reservation. The franchise for the assembly was extended to everyone who paid one rupee or more as tax. In the election of April 1937, all the ten candidates put up by the Ezhavas came out victorious. It was the maiden victory of the Ezhava community in their attempts to secure a place in the Legislature through elections. The non-transferable single-vote system was established.⁴⁶

The Abstention Movement was the final organised attempt by the Ezhavas for their social mobility through political mobilisation. As a result of the movement, the Ezhava community got adequate representation, eight seats in the Assembly and two seats in the council, and it was a leading step towards their political authority over Travancore. Gradually, the representation of the Ezhava community in the legislature increased, and Ezhavas were recognised as a decisive part of the state's affairs. Thus, with struggles and agitations extending through several years, the Ezhavas gained ample access to education,

public service, temple entry, and representation in the legislature, which are some of the most imperative factors for higher social mobility.

Conclusion

Travancore government made the historic decision to accede to the Indian Union, and on 4th September 1947, the Maharaja issued a proclamation granting responsible government in Travancore.⁴⁷ The establishment of a responsible government allowed the Ezhavas to enter the cabinet of the state and came to occupy a dominant position in Kerala politics. When the government formed a fifteen-member Reforms Committee, two Ezhavas - C.Kesavan and M. Govindan, and later R. Sankar- became its members.⁴⁸ On the recommendations of the Reform Committee, the first free election to the state based on adult franchise was held in February 1948. Two prominent Ezhava leaders, C.Kesavan and R. Sankar, were elected and became part of a representative body, the first of its kind in India, being elected to existence through an adult franchise.

When the first popular ministry in Travancore was formed under the Prime Ministership of Pattom A. Thanu Pillai on 24 March 1948, the Ezhava leader C.Kesavan became one of its Ministers. Thus, for the first time in history, an *avarna* became a minister of the state of Travancore. When the ministry expanded on 13 July 1948, another Ezhava member, A.Achuthan, also became a minister and thus, the number of Ezhava ministers in the first popular ministry of Travancore rose to two.⁴⁹ On 1 July 1949, Travancore and Cochin States were integrated, and a re-organisation of the cabinet and expansion of the Assembly took place. The Ezhava leader, C.Kesavan, became the Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin in 1951. An Ezhava, an *avarna*, had, for the first time, become the state's Chief Minister. The once-ruled became the rulers of the state. It was a significant advancement in social uplift and upward mobility.

The Ezhavas had achieved equality of opportunities in all social life from severe deprivation. They had shed their civic disabilities regarding dress, ornaments, houses, and general lifestyles. Through organised agitations, they achieved equality of opportunities in education, government employment, representation in the legislature and entry into temples. Now, the community has become a segment to be reckoned with, having economic prosperity, political authority, social status, educational achievement, and government employment. It emerged as a mighty portion of society, providing many government officers, administrators, Legislative members, Ministers and even Chief Ministers. For instance, C. Kesavan, the most prominent Ezhava leader of the middle decades of the twentieth century, became the President of the Congress Party, Minister in the Pattom A. Thanu Pillai's ministry in 1948 and finally Chief Minister of Travancore – Cochin State in 1951.⁵⁰ Later, another Ezhava activist and General Secretary of the SNDP Yogam, R. Sankar, became one of the most noted Chief Ministers of Kerala State. In short, from the position of untouchables and unapproachable, the Ezhavas have emerged as a mighty community with acquired education, economic advancement, socio-political advancement, and transformation under committed leadership. The community thus turned out to be a decisive factor in modern Kerala's socio-economic and political realms.

End Notes

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LEGAL REFORMS AND TRANSGENDER RIGHTS IN INDIA: A STUDY OF IMPROVEMENT AND CHALLENGES

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Introduction

In the rich tapestry of social justice and human rights, India's fight for transgender equality is a significant and continuous endeavour. The protection and promotion of the rights of transgender persons are fundamental aspects of a socially just and inclusive society. Understanding their path towards acknowledgement and parity is essential to advancing a future characterised by fairness and equality. This study thoroughly examines the historical milestones and present difficulties that have influenced the legal framework for transgender persons in India.

The historical narrative of India is characterised by a complex interplay of many cultural elements and traditional norms. However, it is important to acknowledge that history has also seen significant discrepancies and injustices about the rights and welfare of transgender persons. Throughout history, this particularly marginalised population has encountered many forms of social bias, discriminatory practices and legal obstacles that have impeded their efforts to attain personal fulfilment and equitable treatment. This study seeks to provide insight into the transformational process that India has gone through in acknowledging and protecting the rights of transgender persons.

This study examines the earliest challenges encountered by transgender persons in seeking recognition in the pre-independence period. This study explores the transformations and modifications in the legal and socio-economic framework after the attainment of independence, which have been shaped by crucial court rulings and notable legislative revisions. Through this process, the study reveals the constitutional provisions and obstacles faced by transgender persons, therefore establishing the groundwork for a more comprehensive examination of the ongoing impediments that hinder their advancement. The present-day concerns cover a range of complex issues, such as discrimination, restricted access to healthcare, hurdles in education, inequities in employment and social marginalisation. This study aims to highlight the pressing need for ongoing efforts to address these challenges. Moreover, this study examines the origins of transgender activism and lobbying, emphasising their historical importance in catalysing societal transformation and advocating for legislative revisions aimed at enhancing the safeguarding of transgender rights within the context of India.

Within the given background, this presentation will also examine the recent legislative amendments and their consequences, offering valuable perspectives on the developing legal environment. The study findings will enhance our comprehension of the complex legal landscape concerning transgender rights in India and emphasise the ongoing need for policy adjustments. The primary objective of this study is to shed light on the evolutionary trajectory of transgender rights in India, with a focus on acknowledging the advancements achieved and elucidating the future course towards a society that is more encompassing, fair and impartial.

Historical Background of Transgender Communities in India

India is recognised as a country that harbours a wide range of religious practises and cultural norms, making it one of the most diversified countries globally. India's extensive historical background serves as a prime illustration of the prevalent traditions and practices throughout that particular era. The observation that these rites and practices continue to be observed in the modern day is a noteworthy and significant phenomenon.

The existence of Hijras and other transgender persons in India is not a contemporary phenomenon, but rather has historical roots dating back to earlier generations, persisting as a cultural tradition throughout time. The holy literature of our country has several references to transgender individuals, such as Hijras, eunuchs, Kothis, Aravanis, Jogappas, and Shiv-n-Shakthis, among other members of the transgender community. The Kama Shastra is a historical Hindu text that is included in both the Vedic and Puranic literary traditions. The concept of the "third nature" is used to describe those who want companionship with members of the same gender, labelling them as the "tritiyapakriti" or third gender. The term "napunsaka" is often used to denote an individual who is infertile or incapable of procreation.

In the renowned epic Ramayana, after Lord Rama's exile from the kingdom for a duration of fourteen years, he proceeded to go into the wilderness. Prior to his departure, he issued a directive for all individuals, irrespective of gender, to return to the city. The hijras are the few individuals within his group of followers who do not see themselves as constrained by this methodology and instead choose to persist in their allegiance to him. According to historical accounts, Rama was reportedly motivated by the unwavering dedication of hijras. Consequently, he allowed them the authority to bestow blessings onto individuals during ceremonial meetings. This practice is said to have laid the foundation for the tradition of badhai, characterized by hijras engaging in singing, dancing, and exchanging blessings amongst themselves. According to Hindu mythology, it is believed that the Hindu goddess Bahuchara Mata assumes the role of protector for those belonging to the Indian Hijra community, ensuring their safety and well-being.

The narrative is further developed via the character of Iravan/Aravan, who is furthermore recognised as the patron deity of the prominent transgender group referred to as Ali. Furthermore, other manuscripts written in Bengali and Sanskrit, originating from the 14th century, such as the Krittivasa Ramayana, have contributed novel insights into the traditions of India.

Within some Christian denominations, there exists a mention of St. Wilgefortis, who is alternatively referred to as "Uncumber" or "Kummernis" depending on the geographical context. The figure of St. Wilgefortis is often shown as a lady with a beard and is widely seen as a representation of liberation from affliction. Certain transgender persons have derived inspiration from the narrative of St. Wilgefortis.

Transgender persons belonging to Muslim groups in India have historically been identified as "Hijras" (also known as KhawajaSira), a term that has been in use since the Mughal era in India and continues to be used in present-day Pakistan. The subject in question exhibits historical linkages with Islamic culture. The acceptability and societal position of Hijras within Muslim communities may exhibit variation since many Sufi traditions hold them in high regard as spiritual mediators with the ability to bestow blessings and curses. Although Hijras were once acknowledged and accorded significance in the traditional rites and customs of India, their status has progressively declined over time.

Colonial Era Stigmatization and Legal Persecution in the Pre-Independence Era: Early Struggles

The colonial era in India was a pivotal moment in the historical development of transgender groups. The

advent of European colonial powers, particularly the British, resulted in a surge of stigmatisation and legal persecution against transgender persons. During this era, there was a decline in the acknowledgement and approval that these groups had previously experienced in India.

Individuals who identified themselves as transgender, especially Hijras, experienced significant prejudice and persecution while living under British colonial control. The British authorities, under the influence of Victorian moral beliefs and strict binary gender rules and regulations, regarded transsexual populations with suspicion and contempt. They enacted a set of laws and regulations that systematically marginalised and stigmatised the Hijra people.

Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code was strategically used as a political tool to regain colonial dominance after the revolt of 1857. This was primarily aimed at suppressing what the British saw as a socially unorthodox minority group. The hijras had existed in South Asia for thousands of years, but their culture was fundamentally at variance with Western morality and gender norms. Early Sanskrit texts like Vatsyayana's Kamasutra (8 BCE), the Sufist tradition of poetry known as Rihki (13 CE), and the Mughal canon (17 CE) as well as ancient Sanskrit texts demonstrate historically that pre-colonial India demonstrated a culture open to sexual fluidity. The colonial rule's enforcement of societal norms and medicalization of the people led to the pathologization of any behaviors that deviated from heteronormativity. Sexuality is repressed and muted as a means of penalising individuals over extended periods. The colonial authorities exerted control over hijras by constructing a narrative that portrayed them as deviants, to classify them as a criminal category.

One of the most infamous pieces of legislation during this era was the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. This act classified transgender persons, along with various other marginalized communities, as "criminal tribes." The act imposed strict surveillance, forced settlements, and stigmatization on these communities, treating them as inherently criminal. This legal framework subjected transgender individuals to harassment, arrest, and institutionalization. To ensure the progress of legal processes, the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA/1871–1897) and the Indian Penal Code (IPC–1861) relied on forensic medical research to provide "logical" evidence between fluid sexuality and criminal behaviour.

The colonial rulers used forensic science to regulate hijras inside the judicial system. Unlike the pre-colonial age in India, which exhibited acceptance of sexual diversity, the hijras' identity underwent a transformation via the use of forensic science. This transformation resulted in the adoption of a narrative that associated hijras with discomfort and contamination, influenced by English culture.

The colonial state marginalised hijras and Section 377 had particular effects on the hijras' way of life and standing within society. Such policing stigmatised the group and left behind impacts that are still evident in modern-day India. Hijras struggle to get job, healthcare and justice since they are seen as outsiders in society.

Post-independence Developments

Following India's liberation from British colonial authority in 1947, numerous significant advancements in the area of transgender rights occurred. Although it signalled a fresh beginning, transgender people continued to face difficulties and problems.

The recognition of transgender individuals in the Indian Constitution was one of the most significant developments after independence. Adopted in 1950, the Constitution of India established the groundwork for recognising the rights of transgender individuals as citizens of the country.

Nehru and Gandhi expressed their opposition to Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code and its implications

for the tolerance of Indian society towards non-normative sexualities. Activists took to the courts to challenge Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code and its long-lasting effects on Indian society. In 1994, a petition challenging the constitutionality of Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code was dismissed based on the need to safeguard the social and moral values of Indian society. Ironically, the British had implemented section 377 IPC in 1864 using the same rhetoric about protecting moral values. Following two more unsuccessful challenges by the Naz Foundation in 2001 and 2009, the Supreme Court of India issued two progressive landmark decisions. In the 2014 case *NALSA (National Legal Service Authority) v. UOI*, the Supreme Court acknowledged the third gender and upheld the constitutional rights of transgender individuals. In 2018, the Court invalidated section 377 of the Indian Penal Code on the grounds that it violated the Indian Constitution's fundamental rights.

Recent years have seen a series of legal reforms aimed at addressing the ongoing challenges faced by transgender individuals. These reforms include policies to improve healthcare access, reservations in education and employment, and efforts to combat discrimination, demonstrating a commitment to improving the lived experiences of transgender individuals.

Societal attitudes gradually shifted towards greater awareness of transgender issues, facilitated by media coverage, public discourse, and educational initiatives. The increased visibility and understanding of transgender experiences played a role in reducing stigma and discrimination.

Key Legislative Reforms and their Historical Significance India has implemented many key legislative changes with unique historical importance in order to achieve transgender rights.

Constitution of India

The adoption of the Indian Constitution in 1950 was a pivotal milestone in history. The principles of equality and non-discrimination were upheld, recognising transsexual individuals as citizens of the country. The constitutional recognition provided a solid foundation for further modifications and paved the way for rectifying prior inequities. It upheld the principles of equality and non-discrimination, which were essential in the struggle for transgender rights.

Repealing of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871

In India, the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 is no longer in effect. The Habitual Offenders Act, 1952 was enacted to replace it. The Criminal Tribes Act was significantly changed by the Habitual Offenders Act and it came into force on September 1, 1953. It was designed to solve the issues raised by the Criminal Tribes Act. It aimed to rehabilitate and reintegrate those who had previously been labelled as members of "criminal tribes" according to the former legislation.

The Criminal Tribes Act's repeal and the ensuing laws signalled a substantial change in policy towards the impacted tribes, especially transgender people. The emphasis moved from monitoring and stigmatisation to recovery and reintegration into society. It is crucial to remember that although the Criminal Tribes Act is no longer in place, the stigmatisation and prejudice it caused in the past to the tribes it touched, especially transgender people, has had a lasting influence on their socioeconomic situation. There have been initiatives taken to remedy these past injustices and enhance the rights and welfare of these populations.

Amendment of the Indian Penal Code

The Indian Supreme Court invalidated Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code in 2018, therefore decriminalising same-sex unions that include consenting individuals. The repeal was a significant decision that affirmed the fundamental freedoms and entitlements of LGBTQ+ individuals, marking a substantial

advancement towards a more hospitable and all-encompassing society.

These legislative reforms represent a significant milestone in India's evolving stance on LGBTQ+ and transgender rights. They embody a shift in the approach to acknowledging the identities and rights of transgender individuals, fighting discriminatory laws, and striving for a more just and equitable society. Despite significant advancements, there are unresolved difficulties that need both social transformation and effective implementation. This is a component of the broader trajectory towards achieving transgender equality in India.

Ongoing Challenges and Barriers

In modern India, transgender people still struggle with several serious issues that prevent them from achieving societal recognition and equal rights.

Discrimination

In India, discrimination against transgender people is widespread and takes many different forms. Discrimination, which results from ingrained social biases and preconceptions, is still a major problem. People who identify as transgendered often experience bias in a variety of contexts, including their families, communities, institutions, and employment. Their mental well-being is impacted by this prejudice, but it also has negative effects on their ability to pursue school and work. Children who identify themselves as transgender may have their families reject them, leaving them without housing or financial assistance. The tale of Shivvy, a transwoman who experienced rejection from her family, is a moving illustration. She was left to fend for herself on Delhi's streets, highlighting the terrible effects of family prejudice.

Restricted Availability of Healthcare Services

Transgender people in India have a critical challenge in obtaining healthcare services. Numerous healthcare practitioners exhibit a deficiency in their knowledge and understanding of the specific healthcare requirements of transgender individuals. Transgender people are often reluctant to pursue gender-affirming medical therapy because of the negative societal perception towards transgender individuals. They have apprehension over potential maltreatment by healthcare practitioners, resulting in delay in receiving essential medical procedures, so impacting their overall state of health.

Challenges in Education

Transgender students often encounter an antagonistic educational atmosphere. Harassment and bullying are widespread occurrences, and educational institutions lack comprehensive measures to safeguard transgender students. Transgender students have sometimes been compelled to withdraw from school as a result of persistent bullying. The absence of inclusive and secure school environments greatly impedes their education and future opportunities.

Disparities in Employment

Transgender persons encounter job discrepancies in the workplace as a result of prejudice. Even when transgender people have the necessary qualifications for a job, they are denied employment solely based on their gender identification. They ultimately find themselves employed in a poorly remunerated position, facing financial instability or even unemployment. Transgender persons continue to face a substantial problem in terms of discrimination in both recruiting practices and workplace dynamics.

Social Marginalisation

Transgender persons often encounter social exclusion and solitude. Rekha, an individual who identifies

herself as a transgender, recounted the instances in which she encountered derision and scorn from her neighbours and members of her community. As a result of these encounters, she ended up living in seclusion, completely detached from society.

The concrete and far-reaching implications of discrimination, restricted healthcare access, educational barriers, employment inequities, and social marginalisation significantly impact the lives of transgender individuals. To tackle these issues, a comprehensive strategy is needed, including legislative revisions, educational initiatives, and assistance networks that enable transgender persons to live meaningful lives with respect and fairness.

Transgender Activism and Advocacy: A Historical Perspective

The activism and lobbying of transgender people and their allies have had a major impact on the process of attaining transgender rights in India. The historical importance of transgender activism is outlined here, along with examples of how it has sparked cultural changes and influenced legal changes that would better safeguard transgender rights in India.

Background of Transgender Activism in History

The history of transgender activism in India is extensive. The transgender community, notably Hijras, has a long-standing tradition of organized groups and collectives that were vital for mutual support and safeguarding their rights. In the past, Hijras developed a system of guru-chela (mentor-disciple) connections that assisted in transferring knowledge, customs, and support networks within their society. Transgender activists have played a significant role in raising awareness of the difficulties that their group faces and calling for equal rights. Early transgender activists who had a significant impact on the cause were Laxmi Narayan Tripathi and A. R. Evathi. These activists played a significant role in challenging social inventions and promoting legislative changes that acknowledged and protected transgender people.

The Creation of Activist Groups

The struggle for equal rights has benefited greatly from the contributions made throughout time by transgender activist groups and organisations. These organisations have relentlessly pushed for cultural acceptance and legal changes. The National AIDS Control Organisation (NACO), saw the necessity for focused HIV/AIDS interventions for transgender populations.

In order to reduce healthcare inequities, transgender activists' cooperation with NACO has been essential.

Legal Obstacles and Successes

Transgender activists have been a major force in the fight against discriminatory legislation and the advancement of legal changes. The Supreme Court recognised the third gender and defended the constitutional rights of transgender people in the historic verdict through the 2014 case of NALSA vs Union of India. This ruling paved the way for several legislative reforms and increased support for transgender rights.

Public Education and Awareness

Educative and public awareness projects have been spearheaded by transgender activists. They have worked to lessen prejudice and stigma against transgender people via workshops, seminars, and public speaking engagements. These initiatives have significantly changed public perceptions.

Advocates' Current Efforts

India's current transgender movement is diverse and complicated. It includes continuing initiatives to deal with the difficulties that transgender persons encounter daily. Activists are still fighting for improved educational opportunities, social inclusion, and better access to healthcare. They collaborate with legislators, judges, and medical specialists to better the lives of transgender people. In India, transgender advocacy and activism have achieved substantial progress, resulting in public acceptance and legislative changes. An atmosphere that is more favourable to ensuring the rights and dignity of transgender people has been developed as a result of the persistent work of transgender activists and evolving public opinion. However, the battle for transgender equality continues, and cooperation between activists and decision-makers is still crucial for assuring advancement.

Conclusion

In India, the fight for transgender equality has spanned an extensive and complicated historical course, marked by notable turning points and persistent difficulties. This research has gone into the historical background, looking at the rich cultural tradition that recognised transgender people like Hijras and eunuchs in ancient literature, as well as the following stigmatisation and legal persecution throughout the colonial period. The legal system in India has seen significant changes since independence, notably the Constitution's recognition of transgender people as citizens and the Supreme Court's historic rulings in the NALSA and Section 377 cases. The Transgender rights have advanced thanks to the historical relevance of legal changes including the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act and the decriminalisation of consensual same-sex relationships. Despite these developments, several problems still exist, such as social exclusion, restricted access to healthcare, impediments to education, and job inequities. These problems highlight the continual need for all-encompassing plans that include legislative changes, educational programmes, and support systems. Transgender campaigning and activism have been instrumental in bringing about these reforms. Laxmi Narayan Tripathi and Revathi were pioneering campaigners who increased awareness, disproved prejudices, and pushed for legislative improvements. More recent organisations and networks have done the same. To reduce healthcare inequities, the National AIDS Control Organization's cooperation with transgender activists has been crucial. Campaigns for public education and awareness have also been crucial in easing stigma and promoting an inclusive society. In opposing discriminatory conventions and altering public attitudes, activists have made great progress.

Although India has made considerable strides in recognising and defending the rights of transgender people, the road to complete equality is still far from completion. To create a society that is more accepting and equitable for transgender persons, continual work, collaboration between activists and policymakers and the adoption of new regulations are all necessary. To establish a future that is fair, equitable and equal for everyone, constant policy adjustments are required given the changing legal landscape and India's overall trend towards transgender equality.

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EVOLUTION OF TAMIL NADU: PURSUIT AND VENTURE OF THE DRAVIDIAN MODEL

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Introduction

The Dravidian model government of Tamil Nadu is a significant political movement that has shaped the state's policies and governance for more than five decades. The movement emerged in the mid-20th century as a response to perceived social and economic inequalities faced by the Dravidian people, primarily the dominant ethnic group in the state.

The Dravidian model of government emphasises social justice, equality, and progressive policies. The government's focus has been on addressing the needs of the marginalised and underprivileged sections of society, including the Dalits, backward castes, and minorities. Land reforms, reservation policies, and affirmative action programs have been implemented to uplift these communities and bridge the socioeconomic gap.

What is The Dravidian Model

The Dravidian model refers to the system of governance in Tamil Nadu that follows the Dravidian ideology. This rhetoric was popularised during the tenure of the present Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam chief minister, Mr. M.K. Stalin's regime.

The Dravidian model of ideology originated in the mid-twentieth century and was popularised in the twenty-first century. The concept of Dravida Nadu had its roots in the anti-Brahmanism movement in Tamil Nadu, which aimed to end Brahmin dominance in Tamil society and government. The political party backing this movement was the Justice Party, which came to power in the Madras Presidency in 1921. Countless leaders have fought against Aryan domination, but only one's name is disputed here.ⁱ

It is unsurprising to hear the name Periyar wherever the word Dravidian appears. Because there is no doubt that Periyar was a great Dravidian revolutionary. However, Dravidianism is not the property of Periyar; instead, Periyar is the ultimate property of Dravidianism.ⁱⁱ It is a fact that before Periyar, countless thinkers and revolutionaries have worked for Dravidianism. For example, Maraimalai Adigal, Vadalur Ramalinga Adigal, Iyothedasa Pandithar, Dr. C. Nadesanar, Taravath Madhavar, Pitti Thiagarayar and many others can be mentioned. The early demand of this movement was social equality, but Periyar added two more demands, the Eradication of Caste and Women empowerment, which made him glorious.ⁱⁱⁱ However, it demands a sovereign state for the Tamil people over time.

Dravida is a topographical name that usually refers to the region south of the Vindhya Hills. Historically, this term was used to refer to the people who lived in the South.

The Dravidian governance model is about peace, progress, and prosperity, achieved by pursuing the principles of social justice, rational thought, and action firmly rooted in equity.^{iv}

This translates to inclusive financial planning, access to education, housing, nutrition, and health for all, a meaningful implementation of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, encouraging independent decision-making in structures of democratic governance at all levels, and the State adhering to the Indian Constitution in letter and spirit on all issues, including religious and personal freedom.

Although Periyar opposed the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam during his lifetime, the Parties who hold Dravidian ideology today are the branches of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam itself.^v

The Dravidian movement was primarily led by two major political parties, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK). These parties, under various charismatic leaders, have alternated in power and have played a pivotal role in shaping Tamil Nadu's governance and policies.

Education

Education has been a critical priority for the Dravidian model government. Tamil Nadu has pioneered broad-basing entry into school education through many incentives, the noon meal scheme being the most well-known. Tamil Nadu is known for its robust public education system, emphasising quality, accessibility, and affordability. The state government has taken measures to ensure widespread literacy, provide free education, and promote skill development for its citizens. This emphasis on education has contributed to the state's high literacy rate and the availability of a skilled workforce. Over time, mobilisation and policy response fed into the creation of school and college infrastructure, apart from expanding the horizon of aspirations among lower caste households, and enabled one of the highest enrolment rates for women and people deceived by the social order.

Finance and Industry

Another primary focus of the Dravidian model government has been economic development and industrialisation. Tamil Nadu has become a prominent industrial hub, attracting investments and creating employment opportunities. The government has implemented policies to promote entrepreneurship, encourage foreign investments, and foster a favourable business environment. Sectors such as automotive, IT, textiles, and agriculture have witnessed significant growth under the Dravidian government.

The DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) and AIADMK (All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam), two major political parties in Tamil Nadu, have had their respective terms in power, and each has contributed to the state's economic development in different ways.

DMK's Contribution to Economic Development

During DMK's governance, there was a significant focus on infrastructure development. This included roadways, electricity, and transportation investments, which enhanced connectivity and facilitated economic activities.

The DMK governments have often emphasised industrial development, particularly in Tamil Nadu. The state has successfully attracted investments, leading to the growth of industries, especially in sectors such as automobile manufacturing, information technology, and textiles.^{vi}

DMK administrations have implemented policies to support and promote small and medium enterprises, contributing to the growth of the entrepreneurial ecosystem within the state.

The DMK government is known for introducing social welfare schemes to improve people's living standards, focusing on education, healthcare, and poverty alleviation.

AIADMK's Contribution to Economic Development

The AIADMK, under leaders like MGR and Jayalalithaa, also prioritised social welfare programs and initiatives aimed at supporting the marginalised and economically weaker sections of society.

The AIADMK governments have also worked on agricultural reforms to improve conditions in farmers' and rural economies. Initiatives for land distribution and support of farming practices have been notable.

Like the DMK, the AIADMK administrations have furthered industrial growth and invested in infrastructure, contributing to Tamil Nadu's overall economic development.^{vii}

In their respective tenures, the DMK and AIADMK have contributed to Tamil Nadu's economic development by focusing on different aspects of governance. Their policies and initiatives have often overlapped in infrastructure development, industrial growth, and welfare programs, with each party bringing its unique approach. Overall, the alternating governance between these parties has led to the continuation and evolution of economic policies to advance the state's development.

The Dravidian model government has also strongly emphasised healthcare and social welfare. The state boasts a comprehensive healthcare system that provides affordable and accessible medical services to its residents. Various welfare schemes have been implemented to support vulnerable sections of society, providing financial assistance, healthcare benefits, and pensions.

Furthermore, Tamil Nadu has been at the forefront of progressive social reforms. It was the first state in India to enact a law prohibiting caste-based discrimination and untouchability. Initiatives have been undertaken to empower women, promote gender equality, and eliminate child labour. The government has also been vocal in calling for social justice, speaking out against social ills such as dowry and honour killings.

Challenges for the Dravidian Model

Any government that fails to protect the welfare of the people will face downfall. The tussle between the DMK and AIADMK will allow other forces to enter. AIADMK's tendency to support the Bharatiya Janata Party will harm the entire Dravidian force.^{viii}

Undoubtedly, the BJP's ten-year rule will not impact Tamil Nadu. However, the trend of Dravidian parties seems to give other forces a chance in Tamil Nadu.

Conclusion

Dravidian model government of Tamil Nadu has significantly shaped the state's policies and governance. Its focus on social justice, education, economic development, healthcare, and social welfare has led to substantial progress and improvements in various aspects of society. The success of the Dravidian model government has made Tamil Nadu an exemplary state of governance and has influenced political movements in other regions of the country. To maintain this, the Dravidian parties must unite and excel in people's welfare projects; otherwise, the Dravidian parties will be thrown out in the South just like the Congress was thrown out in the North.^{ix}

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ROLE OF THE VISUAL MEDIA IN ACCELERATING THE FAME OF JANMASHTAMI JAYANTHI OF GURUVAYOOR TEMPLE: A STUDY

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Introduction

Janmashtami also known as Krishtashtami or Gokulashtami is an annual Hindu festival that celebrates the birthday of Krishna, the eighth avathar of Lord Vishnu. In Gita Govinda, Krishna has been identified as the supreme God and the source of all avatars. It is an important festival in Guruvayur temple of Kerala. It is the main festival of Guruvayur temple which lasts for ten days. Visual media is giving huge coverage to this festival. Most of the television channels give the news about this festival. The greatness of this festival has now reached more people, as many people post videos and reels on Janmashtami day on Instagram, and YouTube, which is the most followed by the new generation. Visual media by covering a large number of programs on Janmashtami day among the devotees, increases the popularity of the temple increase and also the scope of religious tourism increases.¹

Guruvayur Temple

The Guruvayur temple is a Hindu temple dedicated to God Gurupayurappan, a form of Lord Vishnu but popularly known as Krishna. Guruvayur temple is one of the holiest and oldest temples in South India and is located in the small town of Guruvayur - Kerala. The temple is also known as Dwaraka of the south. It is one of the most popular pilgrimage destinations in Kerala. The architectural style and individual elements inside the temple are beautiful representations of the history of the place. The temple is managed by Guruvayur Devaswom under the control of the government of Kerala. Every year Guruvayur Devaswam will serve a feast for many people on the occasion of Janmashtami, the birthday of lord Krishna. The feast competes with payasam is served at the Annalekshmi hall and the kenada hall of the Guruvayur temple.²

Krishna Janmashtami

Krishna Janmashtami or Gokul Ashtami, the appearance day of Bhagavan Sree Krishna is celebrated during the Krishna Paksha of the Krishna Paksha of the Bhadrapada month. It was on this day in the Rohin Nakshatra that Lord Krishna appeared. The Bhavisyottra puana states that the home where Krishna Janmashtami is celebrated would be free from any form of scarcity argument or dispute, as well as the death of a life partner. Additionally, it states that even if one fasts unintentionally on Janmashtami, Lord Krishna will still grant all of one's wishes to someone who observes the rather with love, commitment and the right understanding such a devotee undoubtedly makes Lord Krishna happy, and he grants them residency on his spiritual planet. According to Skanda Punanana, anyone who observes the Janmashtami vritha promises that they will remember lord Krishna when they pass away and that all their efforts will be successful. Another important custom of Sri Krishna Jayanti is the singing of Hindu Bhajans

(devotional songs) during the Janmashtami festival. People are involved in dance performances that portray the life of Lord Krishna. To commemorate the birth anniversary of the Lord, Rasa Lila or the dramatic performances of the life of Krishna are performed by devotees. Lord Krishna is found to be a foodie during his childhood, as stated in the epics. He is very much fond of butter. So, people make a lot of dishes, savoury items with a lot of butter in them and offer them to Lord Krishna during the poojas. As Lord Krishna's birth 'Avathaaram' is said to have taken place at midnight, women, especially Namboothiri women, stay awake till midnight and keep a vigil to the Lord. Time has passed with recreational activities and merriment. Girls usually perform the graceful Kaikottikkali and sing songs.³ It is only after performing the traditional poojas at midnight that the devotees partake in things that have already been offered to the Lord. As part of the Janmashtami celebrations people adorn temples, homes, and even public areas in worship of Lord Krishna to mark the day. To illustrate Lord Krishna's epic tale, some people also dress up like him.

Visual Media

Visual media presents information in the form of visual representations. Types of visual media include digital and printed images, photography, graphic design, videos, animation and more. Visual media is regularly viewed on bill boards, smartphones, televisions, computers, and various other mediums and devices. It plays a role in advertising, and, communication, education, business, and engineering. Visual media is often used as a learning and teaching aid, such as in presentations and training guides. Our brains tend to retain 90% more information in the form of a visual as compared to information that is simple text. This is one of the main reasons why visual media is on the rise. The importance of video as a visual medium can be corroborated by the fact that 78 percent of internet users watch video every week and 55 percent watch videos every day. Major platforms like YouTube have helped videos become a huge success, and not to forget that all social media platforms like Facebook, and Instagram, allow videos.⁴

Role and Importance of Visual Media in Promoting Janmashtami Festival of Guruvayur Temple

Festivals make people united and the experiences of those participating in festivals can have a significant influence on others and social media provides the perfect channel for sharing their experiences. In this digital era, the growth of the internet has changed the world and with the content that is available online, people can rapidly find all the information they need. Janmashtami celebration of Guruvayur temple is not only a crucial part of festival tourism but also an integral part of the society of Kerala.

Visual media played a vital role in promoting the Janmashtami Day festival more popular among the devotees. Devotees obtain enough information from visual media and it helps them make the right decision about travel and visiting the temple. Most of the devotees depend on visual media to understand the exact time and date of the Janmashtami celebration because information is available 24 hours a day on social media platforms.

People generally use social media in their daily lives, connecting with friends, and posting pictures and videos about the "Uriyadi" celebration. These make people interested and they became motivated to read more comments on that post. This makes them want to join the Janmashtami festival. Next, they search for more information about the festival when they decide to join the Janmashtami festival they may explicitly share their intention with the words "eagerly waiting to see my Kannan". They may also chat with their friends and invite them to go.⁵

During the festival, they show their actual participation in the Janmashtami festival by posting photos, making comments about their experience during the events, or taking live recordings of the Janmashtami festival. These activities allow their online friends to share the Janmashtami festivals (uriyadi, Radha and

Krishna) images. Those at the festival also share their feelings and emotions while they are at the festival. All these accelerate the fame of Janmashtami and Guruvayoor temple.

After the festival people often comment, express their opinions or publish memories and photos on social media. This action is an easy way for temple authorities to access the feedback of visitors and work out how they can improve their services.

Visual media is an essential tool for analyzing devotees' attitudes. Through visual media, Guruvayoor Devaswom easily connect with devotees from different parts of India. Devotees can make use of the online service of devaswom to make their offerings and bookings for Janmashtami darsanam and other services. These all popularized Guruvayur temple especially Janmashtami Jayanthi.⁶

Conclusion

This study analyzed factors regarding the impact of social media on the Janmashtami festival of Guruvayoor temple. Social media networks allow people to connect with the festival and through their posts express their feelings experiences or opinions. Visual media increases the likelihood of temple visitors having a good opinion of a festival. Visual media provides devotees with a better search engine and other temple visitors from other states can read the comments of other users about their experiences and opinions. It also provides an interaction channel for one-to-one, one-to-many and many-to-many communications. Janmashtami in Guruvayoor temple is very famous before the advent of visual media, however, the influence of visual media is very big. The role of visual media is very important in making the devotees inside and outside the country understand the specialness of Janmashtami Jayanti. The reason why ceremonies like "Uriyadi" at Guruvayur temple on Janmashtami day have gained so much popularity is only because of visual media and the person who dances dressed as Krishna on that day is now suddenly famous and trending only because of this platform. Only those who go there on that day know that there will be ceremonies like this before, but now everyone knows. The contribution of visual media in making Janmashtami Jayanti a popular festival is immense.

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CONCEPTUALISING THE DISTINCTIVE DIMENSIONS OF THE ANTI-CASTE DISCOURSES OF SAHODARAN AYYAPPAN

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Introduction

Recently, historians and research scholars have begun to pay more attention to the social reform movements of downtrodden sections against the caste consciousness of Kerala. These studies have become part of the assimilation of past historical narratives. The present research delves deep into the embodiment of knowledge and the distinctive dimensions of the anti-caste discourses of Sahodaran Ayyappan in modern Kerala. The significance of the work is that it briefly deals with the inclusive history of the marginalized and the different ways of their oppression. It also focuses on how the experiences and the exclusions of the life of the marginalized in general and the life of Ayyappan in particular influenced him to carry out the anti-caste movements. Available evidence shows that the Hindu society of Kerala was parcelled out of innumerable castes and subcastes at the beginning of the 19th century. It was the product of a long, complex historical processⁱ. The caste system, the product of Brahmin influence, resulted in a complex historical process in Kerala. A system of exclusion and exploitation was practised in the name of caste. Kerala society was unequal and based on different categorizations of pure and impure concepts. The people were categorized as superior and inferior, and the latter experienced many socio-political-economic disabilities and were excluded from the mainstream of society in all senses. Their unchangeable experiences, even in modernity, made them protest in various forms.

Many people from the downtrodden community started to fight against the all-caste laws of society. Among them, Ayyappan, the most underrated social reformer, played an essential role in conflicting with caste laws. In this article, an attempt is made to unravel the knowledge of Sahodaran Ayyappan in his movements against the caste system. It also tries to introspect how far this great man's experiences, involvements, writings, and activities engraved an immortal image in the history of social reform movements in Kerala. Being a poet, social reformer, journalist, thinker and politician, Kumalathuparambu Ayyappan holds a supreme position in the social and cultural history of Kerala, and he was instrumental in effecting revolutionary changes that ultimately led to creating the social consciousness of the public also. It is visible how he highlighted democratic ideas like liberty, equality, and fraternity, as well as rationalism, secularism and humanism in his interactions. The experiences and the submerged consciousness of the marginalised Ayyappan's experiences with his family were among the most critical factors that made him different. The study of Hindu Puranas and scriptures made him aware of how the Chaturvarnya and its principles work in these Sanskrit texts. He entered the world of knowledge by interpreting Sanskrit literature and practically accepting English literature, which was denied to the people for centuries. The inter-dining experience at the English school prompted him to organize a 'Panthi Bhojanam', a revolutionary movement in the later period. He firmly believed that interdining and intermarriage bring incomparable social changes in society. His association with Guru and Kumaran Asan helped him to get internal and external strength to start a new thought and revolution in Kerala. Ayyappan was a faithful follower of Guruⁱⁱ. He had great affection and respect towards the teachings and principles of the Guru. His stay at Trivandrum helped him to get closer to Guru and his activities. He decided to propagate the teachings and philosophy of Guru. To do it, he joined the SNDP. When the guru started a night school for the deprived castes, Ayyappan was stipulated. Where he could

also associate with Kumaran Asan. The experiences of Ayyappan with these people helped him create a new wave of thought and action in the later period.

The concept of *panthibhojan* is the embodiment of knowledge of Ayyappan. The people from different communities sat together and consumed their food respectfully in a familiar place. It was the proclamation of equality and fraternity of human beings. Through the *panthibhojan*, he challenged the existing fascism in the Indian social structure. He stressed that no caste laws have the right to encroach on human freedom. Ayyappan advocated intermarriage for several reasons. It was essential for promoting friendship and cooperation among different communities. Ayyappan argued that religion, science, reason and experience all attested to the fact that intermarriage was advantageous to man. He advocated intermarriages as a solution to the communal differences that generated problems in India. He knew it was the best practice to bring cultural tolerance among the various sections of society. He came to such a thought based on universal humanity. As far as the caste-based society was concerned, the popularisation of intermarriage was difficult. But here, he could have been successfully done to achieve the goal of preparing the way for it by removing the taboo by law. Ayyappan achieved that by putting pressure on the passing of the Cochin Civil Marriage Bill in 1931. As an act in 1935, the act provided legal sanction for intermarriages between members of different castes and religions. Ayyappan was a rare personality who tried to realise the philosophy using his powers.

He advocated interdining and intermarriage as part of the social struggle. He intensified his activism in 1917 by launching the anti-caste agitations and organizing a movement for inter-dining at Cherai. It marked the beginning of a social revolution. In a meeting held at Cherai on May 29, 1917, Ayyappan recommended interdining. Initially, only three people, Koru Vaidyar, Raman Pillai, and Naikan Aandi, accepted it as a challengeⁱⁱⁱ. Gradually, many people joined the venture. Though it was a new venture, it created many societal controversies. The organisers of this movement were outcastes, so it earned the titles Pulayan Ayyappan, Pulayachan, etc. Ayyappan was labelled an outcast and a rebel. However, the initial harsh treatments did not stop Ayyappan. Further, he strongly advocated interdining as the only way to eradicate caste distinction. But when the entire society opposed this movement, he secured permission and advice from Guru. Guru wrote that “whatever may be the religion, language, custom, caste or dress of individuals, there is nothing maleficent in inter-marrying and inter dining between them since they belong to one caste^{iv}. The support of Guru was the best example of the movement's success. The movement began at Thundiparambu and has continued in the different parts of the state. Later, the movement received broad appreciation, and many joined in it. Though partially successful, it could have reduced the disparity between castes. It further eliminated the distinction among the sub-castes of Ezhava. But after this incident, he was discriminated against by some of the Ezhavas.

Ayyappan laid a platform for the deprived to uphold and enunciate their fraternity. He developed an idea of social equality without the distinction of religion, caste, gender, class and sexual orientation. He uplifted their rights and aligned them under the banner of universal brotherhood. His benevolence and the philosophy of love resemble Sahodara Sangam's foundation. As an association of brotherhood, he conducted social reform activities and propagated the ideology of Guru. Ayyappan's speeches, pamphlets and articles popularised his vision. Very soon, many people became followers of these principles, and they propagated the ideas of Guru and Ayyappan. Ayyappan's revolutionary writings, especially in the newspaper, defended and intimidated the Savarna's thoughts and laws. When his writings faced a setback from the fascist media in Kerala, he countered it with the establishment of a publication of their own, which resulted in the beginning of a new journal, Sahodaran, in 1917, and he acted as its editor by 1956. This was the turning point in the *Sahodara Sangham's history* and Kerala's social reform movement. The

vision and mission of Sahodaran was ultimately Brotherhood. Ayyappan stated that everyone should think and act above the caste and love and respect each other. It covered diverse topics, which shows his vast knowledge of various subjects and his aim of bringing social equality. He advocated secularism through Sahodaran, which stressed the greatness of principles of truth, liberty, equality, fraternity, etc. Sahodaran is used to spread the ideas of removal of caste, social justice, socialism, and fraternity among the people in Kerala. It popularised the principles of interdining and intermarriage. Sahodaran attacked the caste and social issues like untouchability and superstitions and highlighted the activities of EV Ramaswami Naikkar and Sree Narayana Guru. In his editorial, he envisioned modern Kerala through the abolition of the zamindari system, granting titles for farmers and tenants, equal wages for men and women, compulsory education till the age of 16, nationalisation of large industries and transport, etc. He shared various topics with the people through his writings and achieved some success on many issues.

Ayyappan founded public journalism and mass media culture in Kerala. As a part of it, he supported the new writers ideologically and financially. P N Krishna Pillai, Vaikom Muhammad Basheer, Kothamangalam Papukutty M P Varkey P Kesavadev, etc., were necessary. Malayalam literature turned into historical writings on the life of the downtrodden sections. He introduced the modern philosophies of communism, socialism, secularism and internationalism to the youth of Kerala through his writings.^v Through its publications, his name came to be associated with the like Mithavadi Krishnan, Deshabhimani TK Madhavan Swadeshabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai, Yukthivadi MC Joseph, etc. It came to be called as the Sahodana Ayyappan. During these years, Malayalam literature and the history of the oppressed began to develop hand in hand. He realised that along with the growth of literature, there was a need to get new historical writings on the downtrodden. Ayyappan played an essential role in making this situation a reality.

Buddhism became popular among the social reformers from the downtrodden community. The prevailing casteism is promoted by many to see the ideology of Buddhism as against Brahminism. Kumaran Asan, the most renowned leader of SNDP Yogam, admired Buddhism. C Krishnan, a prominent social reformer, advocated Buddhism and did a commendable service to spreading Buddhism through the press and platform in his search for values to bring about an egalitarian society. Ayyappan was very fascinated by Buddhism, to Ayyappan. Buddha was the herald of universal brotherhood. No wonder that Astanga Marga and non-injury as preached by Buddha and his denunciation of the authority of scriptures and casteism, the silence on the existence of God and the emphasis on universal brotherhood made an appeal and appeal to men like Ayyappan in the context of awakening against the evils and superstitions and the struggle for democratic values^{vi}.

Ayyappan believed that Buddhism would bring great moral benefits to man as a religion that inculcated a higher ethical consciousness based on the values of humanism and egalitarianism. Ayyappan felt the Buddhist Dharma could lead man to achieve international cooperation and peace and the establishment of human greatness and human freedom. It was against this background that Ayyappan was induced to Buddhism as an ideological base for his struggle against casteism and discrimination. That challenge of Buddhism to Hinduism and its negation of casteism were the basis of his rational approach.^{vii} He reformed Kerala's language, culture and society through his radical political democratic interventions and nationalist practices and questioned the social evils that existed in the society.

Ayyappan was one of the pioneers of the rational movement in Kerala. He expressed logical, sensible and scientific sense in many stages of his life. While he was a student, he began to think and doubt about the traditions and caste system. He used to ask several questions himself and Guru but never accepted the reply of anyone, including Guru until it satisfied his thirst. He followed a critical approach to everything

and was a liberal thinker in the true sense. Ayyappan's struggles against casteism were a clear example of the same. Ayyappan launched the anti-caste discourse against Hinduism and Hindu society. By challenging the Hindu religion, he directly rejected the discourse of Guru, as against the metaphysical nature of Guru Ayyappan, who was revolutionary and created by modernity and turned against Hinduism.^{viii} While Ayyappan criticised the Hindu religion for its anti-human aspects, Guru upheld religion's humanitarian and ethical role across culture and society. He modified the message of Guru to include one caste, one religion, and one God for man into 'no caste, no religion, and no god for man'. Seeing humanity as one, the Guru upheld the slogan of one caste, religion, and God for man. Sahodaran Ayyappan raised the slogan no caste, no religion, no God for man from a socio-political atmosphere that was so tainted by the name of caste. If we analyse the principles of Gru and Ayyappan, we can see that both are put forward in the same way.

Sahodara Sangham, begun by Ayyappan, was an actual nationalist organisation. Even the sahodaharan published some writing against superstitious believes and evil practices in the society. Ayyappan took the initiative to begin another nationalist journal, Yuktivadi, along with C V Kunjuraman, CK Krishnan and MC Joseph in 1929. The meaning of rationalism and the purpose of the journal had been explained in the first volume of the journal by Ayyappan as "rationalism is not a dogma but a philosophy it is a mental attitude of accepting only knowledge based on religion".^{ix} The journal was continued till 1960. Religious reform was not his target. Instead, he stressed social reform by eradicating discrimination at social levels. He even advocated that the objective of all religions should be equality. He was an ardent advocate of free thinking. These were advocated as the prerequisites for the progress of the community. The first target of Ayyappan was to fight against the Bharani festival in the Kurumba Bhagwati temple at Kodungallur. He led a campaign against the obscene songs and animal sacrifices at Bharani Fest. Ayyappan and the hundreds of followers marched towards it with the slogan "Don't go to Bharani" he made a speech against it and blocked them. The hungry devotees tortured them by throwing the blood and pieces of the animal upon them. Even after the incident, he continued this mission and also gave you a petition to the king of Cochin to pass legislation against it.

Through yuktivadi, the religious perceptions of Gandhi and Tagore were criticised. He openly criticised Gandhiji for his positive attitude towards the varna system Ayyappan never accepted and vehemently criticised the Hindu Mahamandal formed by Mannatha Padmanabhan and R Sankar. Yuktivadi openly mocked the habits of nature of the 33 crores and more Gods of the Hindu religions. Through his editorials, Ayyappan also criticised the intermediate role played by the priest. He wrote some poems on rationalism and published them in the first volume of Yuktivadi. He used the pen as a weapon against inequality and social evils. Poetry was his medium to spread his message of equality, and he wrote many forms to propagate it. From 1917 to 1940, he wrote about 70 poems, half of which were on freedom, like Swatantratsavam, Swatantra Gatha, and Jivan. His poetry covered various topics like Dharma kingship, freedom, rationalism, Buddhism, Onam death, etc. Through these works, he shaped the literary culture of Kerala.

Conclusion

While considering Kerala's situation, the varnas' struggles for a better life became much more arduous and problematic. The social reform movements were against structural domination and played an essential role in nurturing and facilitating through an ambivalent role about the downtrodden. These movements created mass unity based on modern secularism and scientific thinking, as well as being one. All these movements attacked the symbolic order of the day. Different ways and means are essential to counter the prevailing customs. While we consider the situation of Kerala, it was conducive to better

societal changes. If they entered into such struggles either passively or radically, it was for a common cause. If there are differences, it could be sorted out to work toward a common cause in society. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak observes that people may adopt different strategies to fulfil their intentions, and taking advantage of the people in society is essential. Every committed social reformer in Kerala was very much concerned about the harmony of the people, and their concern about this concept was visible in their organisational movements. When the social reformers used the organisation as a means of activism, the scattered people began to gather together.

It is to be noted that the socio-religious and political ideas of Ayyappan were highly revolutionary, and the people who belonged to the different afflicted communities were highly influenced and became conscious of their ideas. Through activism, all the reformers worked hard to modernise the society in which they lived and opened a new world of ideas. To some extent, the will of the individual succeeds in destabilising the structural layers through organisational networks and collective actions. They have given birth to a tradition of struggles in many areas, not only on cultural and ritual issues but also on breaking feudal bonds. The movement initiated by the reformers provided a new dimension to reform movements in Kerala. When we look at the social reformers of Kerala, we find that the initiative towards social reform was undertaken by the lower caste personalities like Vaikunda Swamikal, Sree Narayana Guru, Ayyankali, and Poikayil Sree Kumara Gurudevan and so on. The reform leaders from the upper castes never opposed them but joined hands with them to eradicate social inequalities. Thus, almost all reforms in Kerala started from the lower ranks, and the reformers belonged to untouchable communities. The state of deprivation indirectly created a shared sense among the downtrodden. It also paved the way for social movements and directly led to the people's collective consciousness in Kerala. In Morrison's words, social movements emerge from 'Collective Consciousness' of relative deprivation. Ideologically, 'Collective consciousness' is a fundamental sociological concept that refers to shared beliefs, ideas, attitudes and knowledge common to a social group or society. Kenneth Smita, in her work entitled *Emile Durkheim and the Collective Consciousness of Society: A Study in Criminology*, "The collective consciousness informs our sense of belonging and identity, and our behaviour (Smita 2014, 122). The founding Sociologist developed this concept to explain how unique individuals are bound together into collective units like social groups and societies. There are some causes for individuals to act similarly and predictably. Remarkably, many of the leaders of the oppressed castes and movements shared common ideas, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge, which form the 'collective consciousness'. All these reformers could make the people conscious of their legitimate rights. In other words, 'collective consciousness' was created in the minds of the downtrodden from the lower strata of society with the interference of social reformers, who shared in common the collective's fundamental ideas and attitudes, leading them to resist.

The resistance and struggles since the nineteenth century have brought about substantial changes in the socio-cultural scene in Kerala. The social transformation of Kerala society was steered by the radical fervour, dynamism, enthusiasm and desire for progress demonstrated by the marginalised, whose rebellions and agitations assumed significant dimension and took the role of liberation Movements, which played a crucial role in moulding modern Kerala. The period of the awakening of submerged consciousness among the *Avarna* castes saw a shift from feudalism to representative democracy. Among them, Sahodaran Ayyappan provided fuel and intellectual and ideological orientation to those struggles intended to achieve the rights and liberty of the marginalised. It demanded a democratic society that should give importance to all sections of society. His ideas, like modernity, have been associated with public education and cultural and intellectual movements. Such modern thoughts filled the minds of socio-religious reformers who organised people to fight for freedom and equality. The main intentions behind

this social activism were 'being public', 'humane' and 'democratic'. From the above, knowledge practised by Sahodaran Ayyappan made a significant change in the socio-cultural scenario of Kerala. His thoughts and ideas positively changed the minds of the public. He believed modern society could be built only through scientific thinking, so he challenged caste rules in different dimensions. A deep understanding of all his activities can reveal the embodiment of knowledge in his anti-caste discourses.

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THE ROLE OF ANJALAI AMMAL OF CUDDALORE IN THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT: A STUDY

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Introduction

Anjalai Ammal is a native of Cuddalore. Due to her sacrifice, she was revered as the goddess of the South Arcot District at that time. She was born in 1890 to Muthumani and Ammakannu at Sunnambukkara Street in Cuddalore.¹ With her low education, She entered into the field of Indian freedom struggle in 1921 and fought for the liberation of the motherland just like men. Being a mother of six children, she was constantly involved in protests and went to prison throughout her life.² Various struggles faced by Anjalai Ammal at the time of the Freedom Movement are discussed in this article in detail.

Anjalai as Cuddalore Martyr and Orator

Numerous persons followed the advice of Mahatma Gandhi and were involved in India's freedom struggle. Personalities like Bhagat Singh, Lala Lajpat Rai, V.O.Chidambaranar, Subramania Siva, Bharathiyar and many more went to jail and even sacrificed their life for the welfare of the nation. In this vast list, the contributions of Anjali Ammal must be mentioned in the ranks of those who have worked with dedication for the country.³ Cuddalore Anjalai Ammal, who fought countless struggles on the streets with patriotism throughout her life for the freedom of India, was remarkable. She was imprisoned nine times. Anjalai Ammal, who lived through struggle and imprisonment, had emerged as the best speaker in the community at that time. Anjalai Ammal was the one who grabbed people's attention with her eloquence. As a result, she got much support from women and was revered as the Martyr of Cuddalore.⁴

Anjalai Sheltered Subramanya Siva

In the year 1908, Subramanya Siva was arrested and imprisoned at Salem Jail along with V.O. Chidambaranar, who was affected with leprosy. Despite being sick, his voice against the British did not rest. With a whole spirit, he raised his heroic slogan against the British. There was great reluctance among the congress party to accommodate him because he was a leprosy patient.⁵ To respect and protect Subramania Siva, who was severely affected by leprosy, Anjalai Ammal established an ashram for Subramanya Siva and gave shelter. In the ashram, Subramania Siva trained the youth.

Increased Provision of Food to Prison Inmates

In 1923, the Congressmen who participated in the Toddy Shop protest at Madurai were arrested and planned to be imprisoned at Cuddalore Jail. The British officials ordered not to give food to the prisoners. They were planning to shift from Madurai to Cuddalore by rail. This information came to Anjalai Ammal's notice. Immediately after reaching the station, Anjalai Ammal arranged to give food to the prisoners, but the British needed to give permission. About a hundred people lay down at the railway station and said they would only leave if they gave food. The British permitted Anjalai Ammal to provide food without any other means.⁶

Khaddar Cloth Campaign and Toddy Shop Protest

Anjalai Ammal carried out various activities in the freedom movement against the British. One such notable activity was the Khaddar Cloth Campaign. She carried Khaddar cloth on his head and sold it in the streets of Manjakuppam area of Cuddalore. In the Cuddalore area, she took several women along with her husband and held a protest in front of the toddy shops carrying the flag of the Congress Party.⁷ She preached the ill effects of drinking toddy and, in return, what. The family lost who was involved in these addiction activities. She also preached and made various people realise that the Independence required for the country was necessary at that hour. Due to her continuous protests, the number of people who used toddy gradually decreased. In addition to this, she also made these people who gave away toddy drinking involved in the freedom movement. The British officials observed all these activities of Anjali Ammal and attacked her. She unconsciously fell. Even though she was down in that situation, she held the congress flag tightly. After gaining consciousness, she got up with the flag in her hand and started her protest against the British by standing.⁸

Protest to Remove Rudiment Neel Statue

During the 1857 Sepoy Revolt against the British, then United Province, which is now known as Uttar Pradesh, One British commander named George Smith Neel attacked many Indian sepoys and brutally suppressed the revolt. The British government erected a 12-foot-high statue near the Spencer Plaza building in Annasalai, Chennai, to honour Commander Neel.⁹ Later, knowing the brutality activities of George Neel, the Congress party protested to remove the Neel Statue at this place in 1927. As a part of this Neel statue removal protest, Anjalai Ammal took many women from Cuddalore and other parts of Tamilnadu and brought them to this place by rail and protested. Due to this incident, Anjalai Ammal was sentenced to one year imprisonment for her involvement with the British.¹⁰ Along with Anjalai Ammal, her daughter AmmaPonnu, who participated in this protest, was sentenced to four years imprisonment. In addition to this, Anjalai Ammal's husband Murugappan, who took part in this historic protest, was sentenced to six months imprisonment at Trichy Central Jail. Three people belonging to the same family were jailed. The involvement of various members of a single family in the freedom movement and their simultaneous imprisonment for protest against the removal of the Neel Statue happened only in the Anjalai Ammal family, which was notable.¹¹

Southern Jansirani by Gandhiji

In 1934, Mahatma Gandhi toured Madras Province to make people aware of and organise people against the British Government. On 17 February, Gandhiji came to Cuddalore. On this occasion, the British government ordered the people of that area not to receive or visit Gandhi at railway stations and the other regions. This information came to Anjalai Ammal's notice, who was shocked. With determination and courage, she dressed up with Burkha and met Gandhiji at Cuddalore railway station. She also took Gandhiji to her home with boldness. Gandhiji was surprised by Anjalai Ammal's activities. He appreciated her cleverness and braveness and praised her as Jansirani of South India .¹³

Salt Picking Protest

At the time of six months after Anjalai Ammal's release from Trichy Central Jail, the Congress Committee committee of South Arcot District announced Salt Satyagraha.¹⁴ Anjalai Ammal came to know this news meanwhile. She thought that the British government was cautious about disenfranchisement. It keeps taking away our rights like miles and miles. We are still fighting. We are willing to go to jail any number of times. In the end, they also taxed the salt we eat. Finally, after this deep thinking, she was involved in the protest and was imprisoned¹⁵. In the meantime, as opposed to this, various leaders, including Gandhi,

Rajagopalachari, and others, went to jail for picking and boiling salt.¹⁶ It was then that Anjalai Ammal, who had been in jail for three months, came to protest in Nallur to leave Chennai. Sugar factory workers have asked everyone in Cuddalore to participate in the protest. At that, Anjalai Ammal was pregnant.¹⁷

On Devanampatti Road, Congress Committee administrators got together and held a protest against this arrest and imposing a tax on salt. Anjalai Ammal came to know about this protest and immediately tried to participate in it, being a pregnant lady. Seeing her condition, the party officials asked her to stay aside. But the patriotic Anjalai Ammal did not accept it and participated in the protest with self-determination and courage and raised statements such as 'Don't tax, Don't raise tax, Don't impose tax for salt in our motherland, Don't stop, Don't stop us from taking salt from other motherland' were the voice chanting in the fields near Devanampatti beach. She got down from it, picked a handful of salt, and raised her voice against the British. Immediately, she was surrounded and arrested for involving in the struggle with a handful of salt. The police beat the people who ever stood there.¹⁸ Anjalai Ammal, with courage, came out from the arrest and, who went to save them, was also beaten with sticks. As she was pregnant, the police went to call her alone and produced her in court. The Magistrate issued a warrant confirming the six-month sentence for Anjalai Ammal, Murukappan Kavirayar and others.¹⁹ Anjalai Ammal was sent to Vellore Women's Jail as the only person to be sentenced for a second time in the salt brewing campaign.²⁰

Conclusion

Anjalai Ammal was a brave woman who led various protests and led them clearly with plans and suffered various cruelties from the British. She went to jail and spent most of her life for the sake of her country. She is a beacon to Cuddalore and, in particular, to the women's community. Let us hope that the History of Anjali Ammal will be printed in the school and college books of both the State and Central Governments shortly. This will help the younger generation to know that courage and patriotism will be built of no doubt, and in return, they will understand the sacrifices made by her and many in the events of the freedom movement.

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REINTERPRETING THE HALAGALI BEDAS UPRISING: UNEARTHING THE HIDDEN NARRATIVES

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Introduction

The Halagali Bedas uprising, an important moment in Karnataka's regional history, has long been viewed through a narrow lens. This research paper aims to redefine our understanding of this uprising by exploring untold stories.

Historical Context

In the Freedom struggle against colonial powers, innumerable patriots laid their bodies and souls for the cause. Not only imprisonment, some have been hanged, and the canons have blown some. In this paper, we are focusing on the sacrifice of the whole village, which stood against the colonial power and was entirely burnt down and became a graveyard literally: Halagali, a small town in the Mudhol state, presently in Bagalkot district of Karnataka. The village was inhabited mainly by Bedas. The Bedas are a warrior-class tribe famous for their bravery and loyalty. Their traditional occupations were hunting and serving in the army. That's why it was necessary to possess weapons for their subsistence. And they worshipped their guns as "gods".

Meanwhile, in the backdrop of the Great Revolt of 1857, the Company Government passed the 'Disarmament Act' on 11th September 1857, and the same was implemented in October 1857 in Mudhol state, which was under the Company's control. The people in the capital city of Mudhol State protested against it. However, the primary resistance came from the people of Halagali. The people of Halagali arose against this Disarmament Act, as their weapons were not only a means of their livelihood but also objects of their worship. They considered the hand covering of weapons as a dishonour to their pride.

The officials of Mudhol state went to Halagali and tried to persuade the people of Halagali to register their weapons and get their licenses. On November 11, 1857, even a Kharabhari called Krishnarao tried, but the Bedas sent him back with solid opposition to register their weapons. On November 22, some representatives forced the gathering of Bedas in Maruti Temple. But they were also sent back forcibly. Stone pelting also took place in this incident. The people from the surrounding villages, like Mantur and Alagundi, also supported the Bedas of Halagali.

Predicting the Company's next move, one group of Bedas with their arms gathered on the local hilltop fort; Lalgadha and others guarded the whole village to protect it from possible attack. On November 27, the Cavalry of Bijapur came to the Lalgadha fort. Meanwhile, the company troop from Kaladagi came to join the cavalry. It had to face armed resistance by the guards. Bhimanna, one of the guards, had killed seven enemy soldiers with his single hand and became famous as 'Mandagai¹ Bhimanna'. Beda leaders like *Jadaga, Bala, Hanama, and Bheema fought to protect the rights of Bedas.*² On November 29, at midnight, the British troops entered the village by a secret trench and a surprise attack was held.

They blindly fired on the huts of Bedas. A fierce battle took place. Lieut. William Alexander Kerr, the leader of the company troops, ordered the burning of the huts of Bedas. More than 100 huts were burnt. In this armed conflict, 60 Bedas and others were killed, including the leader Babaji Nimbalkar. The British troops destroyed the Lalgadha fort. The Company forces arrested 290 people, and after a nominal enquiry by a *military court*, *19 Bedas were given death sentences. 13 people were hanged on December 11, 1857, on a market day in Mudhol. The canons blew out the remaining six people on December 14 in Halagali.*³

Existing Interpretation

Colonial accounts of the Halagali Bedas uprising have largely portrayed them as aggressors, labelled them as “Criminals”, and described them *as always ready to join in such crimes as dacoity and highway robbery.*⁴

Methodology

A multidimensional approach was employed to reevaluate the uprising. Colonial accounts were complemented by oral history, e.g., Ballad. This multidimensional method enabled a comprehensive analysis, leading to a holistic understanding of the uprising.

Reinterpretation of the Uprising

By examining colonial and oral records, we reveal the Bedas' agency and resilience amidst adversity. Even this uprising was a joint effort, as many nearby Villages supported it, which challenged the prevailing notion of a singular Halagali Beda revolt. Even in the beginning, the Bedas were guided by a non-Beda leader, Babaji Nimbalkar. Eventually, he also laid down his life for the cause.

At this crucial moment, Mudhol State remained loyal to the company. It was a story of betrayal on the part of Mudhol State. To save the crown, the King and his officials of Mudhol State rendered their service to the Company and ignored their people. Bedas were their subjects, and it was the king's dharma to protect and be compassionate with them.

The interpretation also reveals the British's un-Britishness. Britishers portrayed themselves as ‘Gentlemen’, and they were holding the burden of converting ‘uncivilised’ Indians into ‘civilised’ ones. But their atrocities were severe *as the whole village was plundered. The little infants died. Burning Halagali, they reduced it to ashes. It was destroyed to disappear from sight.*⁵

The most critical finding was the ‘Rami’- a warrior Beda woman who not only participated and fought against the Company soldiers but also *shot three men with bullets in the head.*⁶ Contemporary Queen Rani Laxmibai, who fought against the British in Jhansi, is glorified in History. But an ordinary tribal woman belonging to a subaltern group is neglected and never mentioned in History books.

The Impact and Implications

This reinterpretation significantly impacts our comprehension of the uprising. By acknowledging the complexity of the Bedas' experiences, we contribute to a more accurate representation of their struggle. We can even re-examine similar historical events in context-specific interpretation.

Conclusion

In re-interpreting the Halagali Bedas uprising research paper, we critically analysed current narratives to better understand the event. It shines like *a rare instance of a proud community of people who did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives to defend their rights and honour.*⁷ The mixed method strategy sheds new

light on the uprising. The Unbritishness of Britisher, the betrayal of Mudhol State, non-Beda leadership, multi-village support and a woman's heroic act make this uprising one of the most important wars of Independence.

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LOCATING THE PUBLIC SPACES: THE POSITION OF PRESS IN KERALA

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Every society creates its own public space where individuals convene, interact and socialise in regular routines. This is where ideas are developed, and the collective awareness of the public is formed. Entrikin's book, 'The Betweenness of Place', published in 1991, uses a geographical approach to defining 'space'. It considers space as a 'meeting point of language in the personal and impersonal perspective. The social space is where individuals come together, interact, and socialise regularly, leading to the formation of opinions and the moulding of the collective mindset. It is a physical materialisation¹ of the public sphere.

The press created a textual space for the formation of public opinion and the creation of a new print public in Kerala society. Newspapers made a popular public sphere possible in Kerala society. Malayalam journalism, which began in the middle of the 19th century by Christian missionaries to propagate Christianity and European Enlightenment values, outgrew its infancy and reached trustworthy journalism by the end of the century.

Newspapers developed a secular and popularly² accessible prose style that was quite different from the language used by society's elite. This secular and unified style of prose was not merely a linguistic innovation; it was an intellectual basis for questioning social institutions such as the caste system, religion-based principles, colonialism, monarchy, and feudalism. The printing press and the printed book were the cultural icons of the Renaissance that shaped modern Kerala society.

The caste-based social reform movements in the late 19th and early 20th Century ushered in a new space. It was built on resistance to the traditional order. There was a need to create shared spaces for people of different castes and religions. Most of these spaces were an 'opening-up' of the public sphere to people from lower castes. The creation of social spaces in early modern Kerala was, therefore, a means of opening up public spaces to members of the downtrodden communities.

Malabar region, under the direct control of English rule, was part of the Madras Presidency. Compared to Travancore and Kochi, Malabar lagged in social and educational progress and was more exposed to the freedom struggle. The area became the marathon centre of the nationalist movement. Freedom fighters and leaders wanted to spread ideals and anti-colonial activities, organise public meetings and conduct training programs for the masses. They also wanted to attract people to the freedom struggle. They realised that print media is the best tool to attract people. Since the early 19th century, leaders have taken up the role of protecting civil liberties, including freedom of the press, and protested vigorously against restricting freedom of the media. The period from 1870 was focused more on political propaganda and education to shape and disseminate nationalist ideology and mobilise public opinion. Newspapers hold a crucial tool in the hands of leaders and nationalists for this purpose. They used the newspaper to create a public awakening on the eve of independence.

Journalism in Kerala did a lot in evolving, identifying and locating new spaces. Christian missionaries published several books and periodicals as part of the propagation of the Christian religion in the 19th Century. But before that, the Portuguese missionaries had established the first press in Kollam in 1578 AD. Another one was found at Vipinkotta near Cochin in the middle of the 16th century. It was in the year 1772 that the first Malayalam book, *Samkshepa Vedartham*, was printed by Fr. Clement Piyanius in Rome.³ But the first Malayalam book published on Indian soil was the translation of the *New Testament*, translated by Philippe Rampan and printed at Courier Press in Bombay in 1811⁴. 1821 Benjamin Bailey started the first printing press in Kottayam and printed the first book, *Cherupaitangalku Upakarardham*, in 1824.⁵ In 1829, Bailey designed a new set of Malayalam types and printed the *New Testament*. In 1845, Rev. Herman Gundert, a famous German scholar and a missionary of the Basal Mission, set up a litho press at Illikkunnu near Thalasseri in Malabar, where he printed the first newspaper in Malayalam named *Rajyasamacharam* in June 1847.⁶ The publication of *Rajyasamacharam* reveals the role of Christian missionaries in laying the foundation for Malayalam journalism in the State. With this, newspapers entered the public space and started to occupy a place in the minds of the people of Kerala. In October 1847, Gundert started another publication called *Paschimodayam*, with Fr. Muller as its editor. The magazine published articles on geography, history, natural science, and astrology. Next year, Arch Deacon Koshy and Rev. George Mathen published *Jnananikshapam*, which contains articles that denounce the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic Church in Travancore. *Jnananikshapam* was a monthly Malayalam magazine published by the Church Mission Society (CMS) in Kottayam in November 1848. It was the third among the publications in Malayalam after *Rajyasamacharam* and *Paschimodayam*. It was the first newspaper printed in the press, started by Rev. Benjamin Bailey⁷. Considered to be the pioneer of newspapers in Kerala, this magazine, unlike its predecessors, gave importance to propagating Christian Evangelism and focused on bringing major news events worldwide to the people. A news column in this magazine named '*Loka Jalakam*' is an excellent example of this.

Herman Gundert was noted for his outstanding contribution towards the Malayalam language. He compiled a Malayalam grammar book, *Malayalabhaasha Vyakaranam*, in 1859 and the first Malayalam-English dictionary in 1872. He is also credited with translating the Bible into the Malayalam language. In 1864, '*Paschima Tharaka*' (*Western Star*) started publishing in Kochi. ⁸ *Vidyasamgraham* was the first educational publication started by CMS College in 1864 from Kottayam. This quarterly had a variety of articles published in English and Malayalam written by different scholars, who positively contributed to the nourishment of language promotion in education⁹. However, it ceased its publication in 1867.

Due to the great efforts made by the Christian missionaries to spread Christianity, newspapers in Kerala grew enormously and became a decisive force in shaping Kerala society. In the early stages, the Basel Evangelical Mission and the Church Mission Society played a leading role in developing the press in Kerala. The primary purpose of journalism during that period was the dissemination of knowledge relating to Christianity among the people. They emphasised the propagation of their views and news.

Newspapers have been crucial in social and political crises since the early days. The criticisms in *Santhishtavadi* against the authorities related to administrative policies of the time underscore this argument. *Santhishtavadi* was a Malayalam monthly started by W.H. Moor, a European Missionary in 1867 from CMS Press, Kottayam. It was considered the Malayalam Edition of the *Travancore Herald*, started along with *Santhishtavadi*.¹⁰ It was the first banned newspaper in the state. In 1893, the Travancore Government banned it for its severe criticism against Dewan Madhava Rao's administration and educational policy.¹¹

The role played by *Sathyanada Kahalam*, a Catholic newspaper that started as a fortnightly in 1876, was remarkable in publishing much valuable news for people's daily lives. Local news, international affairs, court proceedings, and columns on various topics were featured on *Sathyanada Kahalam's* pages. It was published thrice a month and became a weekly in 1904. In 1926, the name was changed to *Sathyanadam*. In 1970, it was merged with *Kerala Times*, a daily from Kochi. *Sathyanadam* was then published as the Sunday supplement of *Kerala Times*. However, *Sathyanadam* ended its publication in 1999 when the *Kerala Times* was closed.

Another periodical that appeared around this time was *Keralopakari*, a magazine published by the Basel Mission Society from Mangalore in 1878. It published articles on Christian literature, essays, proverbs, parables, stories with moral content and Western literature. In response to the activities of Christian missionaries, particular Hindu and Muslim leaders started their journals and newspapers to enlighten their communities. Thus, most early Malayalam newspapers were inspired by a zeal for socio-religious reform rather than political issues.

Kerala Mitram, a weekly newspaper, was launched on 1st January 1881 from Cochin by a Gujarathi businessman named Devji Bhimji. Most of the journals published in Malayalam hitherto were considered missionary publications. However, *Kerala Mitram* was entirely different from the existing publications and perceived from a secular viewpoint. Kandathil Varghese Mappilai was its first editor. It was the first systematic newspaper organised as a business proposition with a full-time editor. This publication entered into public space and supported the people. It can be seen that Ulloor S Parameswara Iyer, one of the great poets of Malayalam, nostalgically referred to *Kerala Mitram* as one of the newspapers he used to read regularly in his childhood¹². Its founder, Devji, wanted to expose the rampant corruption in the Kochi Government's administration. Devji Bhimji was a prominent personality in the fight for freedom of the press in Kerala¹³. It constantly criticised the government. Unfortunately, it could not continue publication after the death of its founder, Devji.

However, the actual pacesetter of Malayalam journalism was the weekly *Kerala Patrika*, founded in 1884 by Chemgulathu Kunhirama Menon, often referred to as the *father of Malayalam Journalism*.¹⁴ It emphasised promoting nationalistic sentiments and opposing the tyrannical performance of the bureaucracy. The weekly feature was about current affairs, politics, literature, and public events. It was a news-oriented journal committed to supporting the freedom struggle of the state. It became the voice of the Indian National Congress in Malabar. Kunhirama Menon represented India at the World Editors' Conference in London in 1895, along with the editors of *The Hindu* and *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*¹⁵. Another publication that severely criticised the British rulers and the caste system¹⁶ in the state was *Kerala Sanchari*. It was a weekly series that started in Kozhikode in 1886 and was run by Poovadan Raman Vakil, the publisher of *Malabar Spectator*. Later it was amalgamated with *Mithavadi*.

The introduction of the Printing Press made a significant impact on the public. By the end of the nineteenth century, people had begun to develop an interest in contemporary socio-political affairs. During this period, two prominent newspapers emerged. One of them was *Nazrani Deepika*, and another one was *Malayala Manorama*. *Nazrani Deepika* was started as a fortnightly publication from St. Joseph's Press at Mannanam in Kottayam on 15th April 1887, under the leadership of Nidhirikal Manikkathanar. From 1895 onwards, it was published thrice a month, but in 1899, it became a weekly, and in 1927, it became a daily. Its main aim was to promote the Christian community's social, political and cultural upliftment. In 1938, the name *Nazrani Deepika* was changed to *Deepika*, and the place of publication was also shifted from Mannanam to Kottayam. It is regarded as the oldest surviving newspaper of the State.

Malayala Manorama opened its pages to all castes and creeds of Kerala. The Travancore government confiscated the paper in 1938, and the editor was arrested and imprisoned for its active involvement in establishing a responsible Government in the State. However, it resumed its publication after Independence in 1947 and soon grew to become one of the most potent publishing groups in the country. It played a significant role in bringing out society's injustices and social evils and created public awareness.

A literary journal that served as a voice of the underprivileged communities was *Vivekodayam*. It was a bimonthly Magazine started in 1904 by SNDP Yogam as its official publication from Thiruvananthapuram. It worked under the editorship of well-known Malayalam poet Kumaran Asan. It fundamentally acted as a voice for the social reform message of SNDP Yogam. Even though it primarily aimed at uplifting the Ezhava community, it also focused on Kerala's socio-cultural and political awakening by including literary, political, and social themes. It published many original literary works, literary criticism, and informative writings.

Malayalam newspapers of that time did not have any means of receiving international news directly and used to depend on English newspapers for foreign news. *Swadesabhimani* was the first Malayalam newspaper to contact Reuters¹⁷ directly to receive global news. C.P. Govinda Pillai was its first editor, and K. Ramakrishna Pillai took charge as its editor on 17th January 1906. He was a strong opponent of corrupt bureaucracy. He fearlessly criticised the authoritarianism of Dewan P. Rajagopalachari. In 1907, the press was shifted from Vakkom to Trivandrum. Ramakrishna Pillai continued his severe criticism against the erring bureaucrats, including the Dewan and even dared enough to criticise the King. Ramakrishna Pillai was the first editor to use the term '*Pouran* (Citizen) instead of '*Praja*' (Subject) in his newspaper. However, his editorial related to the admission of Pulaya children in school was not empathetic towards the depressed class. It remains a black mark on the reputation of Ramakrishna Pillai as a progressive journalist. He was deported from the princely state by a royal proclamation from the Travancore Government on 26th September 1910.¹⁸ Ramakrishna Pillai was a pioneer who fought for the freedom of the press in the state and the country.

One of the newspapers that spoke for the backward class in Kerala was *Mithavadi*. It was a weekly event started in 1907 in Thalassery by T Sivasankaran. Murkoth Kumaran was its first editor. The publication was stopped when Kumaran left the newspaper's editorship in 1909. After Kumaran, C. Krishnan took over the editorship and restarted the publication as a monthly from Kozhikode¹⁹ in August 1913. C. Krishnan was a fighter for the rights and privileges of the backward classes²⁰, especially the Thiyyas of Malabar. The educated standard class created due to colonial modernity in the first half of the 20th century was attracted by newspapers like *Mithavadi*. It fascinated its readers. *Mithavadi* created a new class with simple and humorous articles for the public to read²¹. But *Mithavadi* ceased its publication in 1938.

T. K. Madhavan, the Editor of '*Desabhimani*' and a brave patriot, created a sense of unity and self-respect among the depressed and backward classes inspired to fight for their rights. Other prominent social reformers like C. Ayyapan through *Sahodaran* in Cochin and C. Krishnan through *Mithavadi* in Calicut appealed to the sense of right and wrong of the high caste in their campaign against social injustices intrinsic in Kerala society. They used newspapers to speak to the people regarding their rights and privileges.

Another vital publication that protected the interests of the backward communities in Kerala was *Kerala Kaumudi*, started in 1911 by C. V. Kunjuraman. CV Kunhiraman was one of the eminent editors who

cleverly used his newspaper to exhibit how journalism can be used effectively for social justice. C V Kunjuraman defended the atrocities against the downtrodden through his strong editorials and acted as a warrior in the struggle for social justice²². *Kerala Kaumudi* newspaper actively promoted the renaissance of Kerala by supporting and propagating the ideas of Sree Narayana Guru²³. The role played by *Kerala Kaumudi* in supporting the Vaikom Satyagraha and the agitation of the temple entry movement was very remarkable²⁴. Questions raised by Mahakavi Kumaran Asan in the Travancore Legislative Assembly regarding untouchability and the government's reply to the same were published in the *Kerala Kaumudi* newspaper during that time²⁵. The news of protest and struggle against untouchability, published in newspapers, disturbed the upper caste²⁶.

Mathrubhumi, one of the top newspapers in Kerala, has played a responsible role in creating a public awakening in the light of social enlightenment. In the wake of the independence movement, *Mathrubhumi* was started at Kozhikode in February 1923 to propagate the principles and policies of the Indian National Congress and to involve the people of Malabar in the independence struggle. It could be described as a people's daily of Kerala State. It was the first major newspaper with a definite political agenda and published a high standard of articles on various subjects. Due to the role it played in time, it became the most popular nationalist newspaper in Kerala, extended its circulation to remote villages, and reflected the people's will. *Mathrubhumi* newspaper has been able to delve deep into local issues and the everyday life of ordinary people²⁷. *Mathrubhumi* has tried to solve a local problem through its continued interventions. The 'follow-up'²⁸ was an integral part of *Mathrubhumi*'s media ethics. It intensively helped to mobilise public opinion and inspire the people through various columns. The newspaper helped criticise, interpret and evaluate public issues through Patriotic songs, stories, cartoons and features. Great poets like Vallathol Narayana Menon inspired the freedom fighters by expressing patriotic feelings through the columns. *Mathrubhumi*.

AL-Ameen was another major newspaper based in Malabar during this period. It started publication in 1924 as a tri-weekly with Muhammed Abdul Rahman Sahib as its editor. On 25th June 1930, it became news daily. It has the image of a Muslim publication that attempted to bring the Muslim Community to the mainstream in the freedom struggle. Since it provoked the authorities²⁹, it had to stop its publication. However, the paper continued its publication as an evening daily. *Chandrika* started its publication in 1934 from Tellicherry as a weekly official organ of the Muslim League. In 1939, it became a daily routine and was shifted to Kozhikode. *Chandrika* stood for the protection of the interests of the Muslim community in Kerala.

The Press acted as an informer and interpreter of the vital social issues of contemporary Kerala society. The Press offered a genuine platform to the common man to put forward their grievances and resolve them. It was an ultimate victory of the general will. Even the public began to criticise the ruling authorities. The ever-increasing literary rate and sound reading habits of the people contributed positively to the growth of the press in the State. Generally speaking, the decade preceding independence was the period of consolidation and augmentation of the media in Kerala. These newspapers had a broad reach and stimulated the creation of the public space and sphere in Kerala society. It reported many events that influenced the people's hearts and ultimately led to tremendous changes in society. It could quickly enter the public's minds and prepare the way for the enlightenment of Kerala.

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KURIYEDATH THATHRI: AN UNTOLD HISTORICAL ANECDOTE OF BRAHMANISM IN MEDIEVAL KERALA

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Introduction

The life of Namboothiris in Kerala was not always as glamorous as it is portrayed everywhere. We just hear of them owning everything, being landlords and reaping every fruit of poor. Every high position in the old society was dominated by them. They also practiced priesthood, thantric magic & medicine. But real situation was far worse and very different from this wonderful exterior. The namboothiris lived in traditional Manas (homes of the caste). Only the eldest son was allowed to marry within their caste. It was to ensure the wealth and land shall stay undivided. The younger sons were allowed to take wives from lower caste. This was called sambandam. But the relationship was just visiting their homes at night and making kids. The kids didn't even have the right to call him father.

This system created a big problem. Number of females and males were somewhat equal among namboothiris. But as only the elder son of a family could get married majority of the namboothiri woman couldn't find a husband. Even the thought of marrying someone of a lower caste was sin. So the only solution was to marry off these girls to the already married elder namboothiri. Many women even had to remain spinster for their whole life due to this.

So, the patriarch of the family had many wives. They weren't ashamed to pick girls as young as their granddaughter as wives. These young girls would become widows in their early twenties and had to live on minimum food, sacrificing every comfort & luxury. They were treated as bad omen and had to wait for death inside the walls of the home. Smarthavicharam existed during this period.

It was finally in 1905 that one woman broke the shackles. Call her brave, cunning, callous, whatever, but she was the first to rebel. This is the story of that beautiful Namboothiri Antharjanam who decided to use her body to lash out at society. She was Thathri. The smarthan (prosecutor) and three Namboothiri scholars questioned Thathri, who accepted all the charges but stated that the rule of law has to be administered equally.

The Story of Kuriyedath Thathri and the End of Smarthavicharam

Kuriyedath Thathri" is a popular Malayalam play written by C. V. Raman Pillai. It's a social drama that deals with issues related to women's rights and societal norms in Kerala during the early 20th century. The play is considered a classic in Malayalam literature. Thathri was the woman who bravely fought against the smarthavicharam.

Smarthavicharam

Smārthavichāram (meaning 'inquiry into the conduct'), was the trial of a Nambudiri woman and fellow male adulterers who were accused of illegitimate sexual relations. [If the accused woman was found guilty, she and the men found involved with her (known as jāran) were excommunicated from the caste (Bhraṣṭu)

and banished. The trial was mainly conducted by the smarthans from three Bhattathiri families. They are pattachomayarath mana, vellaykat mana and moothamana. Moothamana bhattathiris did the smarthavicharams in Travancore, vellaykat mana bhattathiris did the smarthavicharams in Malabar and pattachomayarath mana bhattathiris had the right to do smarthavicharams in whole of Kerala. The permission of the Mahārāja (king) was necessary to start a smārthavichāram. The practice is nonexistent today and last reportedly took place in 1918.

Whenever a Namboothiri Antharjanam's chastity is doubted, she is handed over to her society for enquiry, no considerations for personal affections or public policy intervening. The first stage of this trial procedure is interrogating the 'dāsi', the maid, of the accused female member. If a Nambutiri housewife (antharjanam) was suspected of sexual misconduct then she was at first placed under restraint, and as a first step, her dāsi (maid), was questioned.

If there is substantial evidence (sangayum thurumbum) on the antharjanam's sexual misdeeds, she is isolated to a special cell. After the woman is isolated, transferred to an isolation shed (Anchampurayilackal - Pacholapura). The family-head informs the king about the case. Then a formal request for Smarthavicharam (inquiry into the conduct) is filed with the required monetary deposits made and the local king rules if one should be conducted. The maharaja then appoints a Smarthan (Vedic arbitrator) and names his assistants for the case. The king will constitute a committee headed by the Smarthan, 4 Mimamsakas and a representative of the king. The smarthan will be a male selected from the namboothiri community. The mimamsakas were experts in caste laws and they will be responsible for the framing of the questions to be raised to the sadhanam. Further proceedings will be in front of the Anchampura. A couple of observers (Akakkoyimma and Purakoyimma) are also appointed. The enquiry & questioning is very ritualistic and goes on for days and sometimes weeks or months. During this period the entire group has to be maintained by the affected girl's father. Finally a verdict is reached (if guilty) and the girl is evicted from her caste and funeral rites are conducted for her. Until then she is considered inanimate or as a 'Sadhanam' (ਸਦਾਨਮ). After trial she is considered dead, her umbrella and white coverings are removed, and she is cast off into the streets..

Kuriyedath Thathri and the relevance of Smarthavicharam in Kerala

Thathri was born in Ezhumangadu village into the Kalpakasseri Illam, a prominent Namboodiri clan. It is said that an astrologer told her father that her birth was "destined to bring calamity and destroy the family's honour". Thathri did just that, but in a way that was monumental in the liberation of many Malayali women. Despite being barred from pursuing education, Thathri showed keen interest in literature and performing arts. She was extremely intelligent, and often, tactical and mischievous.

At the age of 11, she was married to 60-year-old Chemmanthatta Kuriyedathu Raman Namboothiri. Raman had multiple wives (from Namboothiri community and Matrilinear castes like Ambalavasis and Nairs), and regularly hired prostitutes (ranging from upper to lower professional caste). While the accounts of the exact reason Raman and Thathri split differ, the most popular ones say that he abandoned her after she protested against him bringing other women into their home. When Raman left, Thathri took up sex work.

It is said that Thathri was extremely beautiful, and that many men flocked to her. These men came from across different castes and some were extremely powerful and influential. They didn't know she was an antharjanam for a number of reasons. She arranged these visits through her thozhi (servant or companion), who would communicate with the men and set up the visits on her behalf. Namboodiri women were not allowed to be seen by any man other than the father before marriage, and husband

after marriage, so hiding her identity was not difficult for Thathri. Things changed with the visit of a particular old man. Satisfied with their union, the man asked Thathri, whose face had been hidden behind a veil the entire time, to let him have her permanently. He lifted her veil, and her identity was revealed. The man, who was none other than Raman himself, was enraged that his young wife had chosen a career like this for herself.

On 13 July 1905, she was put to trial for her infidelity and promiscuity. A part of the Namboodiri tradition was the ritual of Smarthavicharam, which means 'inquiry into conduct'. This practice existed specifically to put Namboodiri women and their fellow adulterers on trial if they were accused of illegitimate sexual relations. If found guilty, the woman was excommunicated and branded as sadhanam, which literally meant 'inanimate object'. Her family would conduct irrike pindam, which are the last rites of a living person. The general practice at the time was that the male adulterers would pay a sum of money to the women to keep their names out of the trial. So, the woman single-handedly bore the consequences, while the man got away scot-free.

During the trial it was revealed that her jarans (men who have illicit relation with ladies) included 30 Namboodiris, 10 lawyers (paradesi Brahmins, Tamil Brahmins or Pattars), 13 ambalavaasis, 11 Nairs and 1 Moplah. Many men she named denied being involved, but she confirmed their identities by recalling moles and birthmarks on their bodies, and even remembered the exact date, time and place of their visits. These men lost all credibility in their community. What's more is that because of the power these men held, the community suffered a severe economic loss due to their ostracisation. There was a huge public outcry against this, but the King agreed to administer equal justice - the men who are guilty to be given the same punishment as she gets.

There were threats on her life because of which the trial had to be shifted from her village to different places and then later to the Hill Palace at the Capital of King of Cochin. During the trial, which lasted over 6 months, she named 65 people who had shared the bed with her. On the night of 13 July 1905, the king stopped the trial abruptly. Rumor has it that the King was afraid that his name might come up next and so stopped the trial immediately.

She not just named her lovers but went on to give great details about the union. She knew the names of their families and relatives, exact dates and places where they met. In many cases she handed over love letters and other gifts she received from her lovers. She pointed out the birthmarks they had at private parts and identified these people in identification parades. Only two persons whom she named was not found guilty, one because he was a Muslim (other religions are not subject to this jurisdiction) and other had given her false name while meeting and so was not able to track.

The case of Kuriyedath Thathri came before the King of Cochin in 1904. When she was asked to co-operate with the trial, she set a condition that if she was guilty, then so are the men who slept with her. No woman had ever made such a demand. This shook the whole society. There were people of high social class and standing among her adulterers- Kathakali artists, musicians, government officials, scholars and many more. There was a huge public outcry against this, but the King agreed to administer equal justice - the men who are guilty to be given the same punishment as she gets.

Kuriyedathu Thathri a Play by C.V Raman

"Kuriyedathu thathri" a play by cv raman continues to hold immense social relevance due to its profound exploration of women's rights, societal norms, and gender-based issues in early 20th-century Kerala. It serves as a literary and cultural milestone, addressing the following critical aspects:

1. Gender Equality and Women's Rights:

The central theme of "Kuriyedathu Thathri" revolves around the struggles faced by women in a patriarchal society. The play portrays the character Thathri, a courageous woman who challenges societal norms and stands up for her rights. Her journey highlights the importance of gender equality and women's rights, issues that remain pertinent in today's world.

2. Critique of Traditional Norms:

The play offers a critical analysis of the traditional norms and customs prevalent in Kerala during that era, particularly within the Nair community. It calls into question the restrictive roles imposed on women and the limitations placed on their autonomy and aspirations.

3. Empowerment and Agency:

Thathri's character embodies the spirit of empowerment and agency. Her determination to break free from the shackles of societal expectations and seek justice serves as an inspiration to women striving for independence and self-determination.

4. Historical Insights:

"Kuriyedathu Thathri" provides valuable historical insights into the matrilineal system of the Nair community and the societal transformations occurring during the early 20th century. It is a literary lens through which one can examine the historical context and the evolution of societal norms in Kerala.

5. Cultural Identity:

The play is deeply embedded in Kerala's cultural identity. It is a testament to the region's literary and theatrical traditions and continues to be an integral part of its cultural heritage.

6. Ongoing Discussions on Gender and Society:

The themes explored in "Kuriyedathu Thathri" resonate with contemporary discussions on gender equality and social justice. The play's relevance extends beyond its historical setting, as the issues it addresses remain pertinent in the ongoing struggle for gender equality worldwide.

Cultural Reflection: "Kuriyedathu Thathri" is part of Kerala's cultural heritage, reflecting the region's literary and theatrical traditions. It continues to be a symbol of cultural identity and history.

Conclusion

Smarthavicharam, deeply entrenched in Kerala's historical and cultural fabric, presents a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon. Rooted in the caste system and the regulation of traditional customs, it has had significant social implications, particularly in terms of caste discrimination and gender inequality. While it continues to be controversial, ongoing efforts for reform and abolition reflect the evolving nature of Indian society and the commitment to creating a more just and equitable future.

In conclusion, Smarthavicharam is a stark reminder of the complexities and challenges associated with caste-based traditions and practices in India. Its history, social implications, criticisms, and efforts for reform provide a lens through which we can better understand the country's ongoing struggle for social justice, individual rights, and equality. It is a practice that continues to be debated and contested as India marches toward a more inclusive and egalitarian future.

In summary, "Kuriyedathu Thathri" remains socially relevant as a literary work that addresses gender-based issues and advocates for women's rights and empowerment, making it a valuable text for discussions on social change and historical context in Kerala.

In conclusion, "Kuriyedathu Thathri" is a literary masterpiece with enduring social relevance. Its exploration of women's rights, societal norms, and the fight for justice continues to inspire and inform discussions on gender equality and social change. This play remains a timeless cultural and social reference, reflecting both historical context and contemporary relevance in the ongoing quest for a more equitable society.

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FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND THE U-SHAPED FEMALE LABOR FORCE FUNCTION OF CLAUDIA GOLDIN

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Introduction

Claudia Goldin's U-shaped female labour force function theory, which traces the historical evolution of women's labour force participation, is at the heart of this theoretical study. Goldin's unique U-shaped pattern reflects women's transition from traditional domestic roles to phases of increased participation, notably during the World Wars. This study's central inquiry revolves around the continued relevance of Goldin's theory in the 21st century, considering significant societal & economic shifts. The objective here is to highlight the lasting importance of Goldin's work, providing valuable insights into contemporary female labour force dynamics & intricacies.

Claudia Goldin's U-shaped theory, often called the "U-shaped female labor force function," offers a theoretical framework for understanding the historical pattern of female labor force participation in developed countries like the United States. This theory depicts a U-shaped curve on a graph, mapping labor force participation over time. The curve reflects periods of relatively high female labor force participation, followed by significant declines and subsequent rebounds. The U-shaped pattern is influenced by various factors throughout different historical phases. Early industrialisation & economic necessity drove women into the workforce during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The World Wars, notably World War II, marked a peak in female labor force participation due to the need for women in the workforce while men served in the military. Post-war shifts in social norms emphasised domestic roles, causing a decline in female labor force participation. However, in the late 20th century and beyond, a resurgence in female labor force participation emerged, attributed to evolving social attitudes, increased educational and career opportunities, improved workplace policies, & economic factors.

Theoretical Underpinnings and Empirical Evidence

Goldin's U-shaped theory is anchored in several theoretical foundations. The Human Capital Theory highlights the significance of education and skill development, enabling women to better prepare for workforce participation. Institutional and Policy Factors consider the influence of labor laws, family policies, and societal norms, which can shape women's decisions regarding labor force engagement. Economic Factors, such as wages, job availability, and economic cycles, support the U-shaped theory by showcasing historical fluctuations in female participation, with studies exploring the contributing role of these economic factors to the U-shaped pattern.

Contemporary Relevance of the U-Shaped Theory

Claudia Goldin's U-shaped theory of female labor force participation, rooted in historical trends, remains relevant in the 21st century as a valuable framework for understanding women's evolving workforce dynamics. In the early 21st century, female labor force participation has risen due to improved education & career opportunities, but a mid-career challenge akin to the descending phase of Goldin's U-shaped

curve persists. Balancing work and family responsibilities during prime childbearing years often leads to career interruptions. The theory's continued relevance is underpinned by factors like human capital development, changing work arrangements, & the influence of policy and workplace support. It offers a critical lens for comprehending contemporary female labor force participation, emphasizing the importance of addressing opportunities & challenges in promoting gender equality.

Factors Influencing Female Labor Force Participation

1. **Economic factors:** Economic factors influence migratory tendencies, with individuals seeking better employment opportunities, better living standards, and healthy lifestyles for both male and female populations.
2. **Socio demographic factor:** Socio-economic factors significantly influence human migration, including family conditions, job search, and educational opportunities. Studies suggest female labor force tends to return to their native places when provided with suitable employment.
3. **Cultural factors:** Bardhan and Teernik's micro-level studies reveal cultural factors, agricultural practices, land usage, and labor employment significantly influence the migratory characteristics and increased rate of the female labor force.
4. **Amenities and services:** Adepoju's 1998 study suggests that the lack of schools, healthcare, and modern housing facilities is the primary factor driving female labor migration. Despite having these opportunities, many lack employment, leading to massive outward migration for human capital formation.

Literature Review

- **Kapsos, Silberman and Bourmpoula 2014;** The ILO study highlights the significant contribution of female labor force participation to GDP growth, highlighting its empowerment status and employment benchmark, asserting that female labor force members enjoy equal privileges and benefits.
- **According to Fatima and Sultana (2009) and Mujahid (2014),** Employment rates significantly impact a country's economic growth, indicating advancement in social and economic structure, and human capital formation contributes to increased economic potential and prosperity.

Hypothesis of the Study

- H1: The Economic factors have no positive impact on the female labor force participation in a specific economy.
- H2: Cultural factors have no significant impact on the female labor pattern in an economy.
- H3: Socio demographic factors have no significant impact on the employment tendency of the female labor force in a specific economy.
- H4: The employment characteristics of the female labor force in an economy have no significant impact by amenity and basic services.

Methodology

Collection of Data

- The study analyzes model descriptive statistics, using correlation, VIF, multicollinearity, and unit root tests to determine variables' relationships, stationarity, and the connection between dependent and independent variables. Sample of the study was selected based on Cochrane formula which had a sample size of 280 equally divided between urban and rural. The total

population includes 667. The rural sample includes 140 and urban 140. From each district I choose 5 from organized labor force sector and 5 from unorganized sector. The respondents were selected based on snow ball sampling.

- Secondary data collection included publications by MOPI, census report etc.

$$n = \frac{n_0}{1 + \frac{(n_0 - 1)}{N}}$$

Variables and Model

The study normalizes data due to structural disparities, with female labor force as the dependent variable and other indicators as regressors.

The equation in the model is represented hence as follows

Model Specification

$$\ln \text{FLFPR}_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln \text{ECO}_{it} + \beta_2 \ln \text{CUL}_{it} + \beta_3 \ln \text{SOC}_{it} + \beta_4 \ln \text{AME}_{it} + u_{it}$$

Where;

$\ln \text{FLFPR}_{it}$ =Female labour force participation rate in time 't'

ECO_{it} =Economic factors that affect the dependent variable in time't'

CUL_{it} =Cultural factors that affect the dependent variable in time't'

SOC_{it} =Social factors that affect the dependent variable in time't'

AME_{it} =Amenities and services that affect the dependent variable in time 't'

u_{it} =Stochastic error

Data Analysis and Results

The study aims to develop descriptive statistics for a model using VIF testing, correlation analysis, multicollinearity assessment, unit root tests, and the Ordinary Least Squares approach to determine relationships between dependent and independent variables.

Correlation

	INDIA	BRAZIL
Pearson Correlation	1	-.797
Sig. (2-tailed)		.413
N	3	3
BRAZIL Pearson Correlation	-.797	1

Sig. (2-tailed)	.413	
N	3	3

AMENITIESANDSERVICES * PERCENTAGE Crosstabulation

Count

		PERCENTAGE					Total
		5	10	16	23	46	
AMENITIESANDSERVICES	GLOUSESHOESHELMET	0	0	1	0	0	1
	HOME	0	0	0	1	0	1
	LOAN	0	0	0	0	1	1
	MOBILE	1	0	0	0	0	1
	SPOUSEJOB	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Total	1	1	1	1	1	5

Table 2: Correlation Estimate of Expenditure

VARIABLES

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AMENITIESANDSERVICES	1	25.0	25.0	25.0
	CULTURAL	1	25.0	25.0	50.0
	ECONOMIC	1	25.0	25.0	75.0
	SOCIAL	1	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	4	100.0	100.0	

Table 3: Cross Table Representation of Amenities and Services

PERCENTAGE

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	11	1	25.0	25.0	25.0
	20	1	25.0	25.0	50.0
	30	1	25.0	25.0	75.0

39	1	25.0	25.0	100.0
Total	4	100.0	100.0	

Table 4: Factors affecting LFPR

Residuals Statistics^a

		Statistic	Bootstrap ^b			
			Bias	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower	Upper
Predicted Value	Minimum	2008.00				
	Maximum	2022.00				
	Mean	2016.00	-.05 ^c	2.64 ^c	2011.00 ^c	2021.00 ^c
	Std. Deviation	6.325	-1.047 ^c	1.753 ^c	1.000 ^c	8.083 ^c
	N	4	0 ^c	0 ^c	4 ^c	4 ^c
Residual	Minimum	.000				
	Maximum	.000				
	Mean	.000	.000 ^c	.000 ^c	.000 ^c	.000 ^c
	Std. Deviation	.000	.000 ^c	.000 ^c	.000 ^c	.000 ^c
	N	4	0 ^c	0 ^c	4 ^c	4 ^c
Std. Predicted Value	Minimum	-1.265				
	Maximum	.949				
	Mean	.000	.000 ^c	.000 ^c	.000 ^c	.000 ^c
	Std. Deviation	1.000	.000 ^c	.000 ^c	1.000 ^c	1.000 ^c
	N	4	0 ^c	0 ^c	4 ^c	4 ^c
Std. Residual	Minimum	.				
	Maximum	.				
	Mean	.	1.798E+308 ^d	.000 ^d	.000 ^d	.000 ^d

Std. Deviation	.	1.798E+308 ^d	.000 ^d	.000 ^d	.000 ^d
N	0	1 ^c	2 ^c	0 ^c	4 ^c

a. Dependent Variable: FLFPR

b. Unless otherwise noted, bootstrap results are based on 1000 bootstrap samples

c. Based on 982 samples

d. Based on 320 samples

Correlations

			Economic	Socialfactor	Cultural	Amenitiesandser
Spearman's rho	Economic	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.000	-.333	.316
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	1.000	.667	.684
		N	4	4	4	4
	Socialfactor	Correlation Coefficient	.000	1.000	.000	-.316
		Sig. (2-tailed)	1.000	.	1.000	.684
		N	4	4	4	4
	Cultural	Correlation Coefficient	-.333	.000	1.000	-.949
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.667	1.000	.	.051
		N	4	4	4	4
	Amenitiesandser	Correlation Coefficient	.316	-.316	-.949	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.684	.684	.051	.
		N	4	4	4	4

Residuals Statistics^a

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	2008.00	2022.00	2016.00	6.325	4
Residual	.000	.000	.000	.000	4
Std. Predicted Value	-1.265	.949	.000	1.000	4
Std. Residual	0

ANOVA

FLFPR

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	118.000	2	59.000	29.500	.129
Within Groups	2.000	1	2.000		
Total	120.000	3			

Table 5: Relation between FLFPR and Social Factor (one way ANOVA)

ANOVA

FLFPR

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	102.000	2	51.000	2.833	.387
Within Groups	18.000	1	18.000		
Total	120.000	3			

Table 6: Relation between FLFPR and cultural Factor (one way ANOVA)

ANOVA

FLFPR

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	120.000	3	40.000	.	.
Within Groups	.000	0	.		
Total	120.000	3			

FIXED EFFECT MODEL

Dependent Variable: FLFPR

Method: Least Squares

Date: 12/31/22 Time: 16:10

Sample (adjusted): 1 4

Included observations: 4 after adjustments

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	1987.215	3.181471	624.6214	0.0000
ECONOMIC	0.418692	0.045479	9.206343	0.0116
R-squared	0.976947	Mean dependent var	2016.000	
Adjusted R-squared	0.965421	S.D. dependent var	6.324555	
S.E. of regression	1.176086	Akaike info criterion	3.469113	
Sum squared resid	2.766355	Schwarz criterion	3.162261	
Log likelihood	-4.938227	Hannan-Quinn criter.	2.795748	
F-statistic	84.75676	Durbin-Watson stat	2.945567	
Prob(F-statistic)	0.011594			

Dependent Variable: FLFPR

Method: Least Squares

Date: 12/31/22 Time: 16:11

Sample (adjusted): 1 4

Included observations: 4 after adjustments

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	2012.872	8.687329	231.7021	0.0000
SOCIALFACTOR	0.245315	0.615442	0.398600	0.7287
R-squared	0.073595	Mean dependent var	2016.000	
Adjusted R-squared	-0.389608	S.D. dependent var	6.324555	
S.E. of regression	7.455490	Akaike info criterion	7.162631	
Sum squared resid	111.1687	Schwarz criterion	6.855778	
Log likelihood	-12.32526	Hannan-Quinn criter.	6.489265	
F-statistic	0.158882	Durbin-Watson stat	0.708863	
Prob(F-statistic)	0.728717			

Dependent Variable: FLFPR

Method: Least Squares

Date: 12/31/22 Time: 16:15

Sample (adjusted): 1 4

Included observations: 4 after adjustments

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	2011.042	3.088253	651.1908	0.0000
AMENITIES	0.536047	0.244722	2.190434	0.1599
R-squared	0.705796	Mean dependent var	2016.000	
Adjusted R-squared	0.558694	S.D. dependent var	6.324555	
S.E. of regression	4.201458	Akaike info criterion	6.015593	
Sum squared resid	35.30450	Schwarz criterion	5.708740	
Log likelihood	-10.03119	Hannan-Quinn criter.	5.342227	
F-statistic	4.798001	Durbin-Watson stat	1.801946	
Prob(F-statistic)	0.159883			

Dependent Variable: FLFPR

Method: Least Squares

Date: 12/31/22 Time: 16:16

Sample (adjusted): 1 4

Included observations: 4 after adjustments

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	2027.762	3.440408	589.3957	0.0000
CULTURALFACTOR	-0.540767	0.145028	-3.728701	0.0650
R-squared	0.874239	Mean dependent var	2016.000	
Adjusted R-squared	0.811359	S.D. dependent var	6.324555	
S.E. of regression	2.746934	Akaike info criterion	5.165700	
Sum squared resid	15.09129	Schwarz criterion	4.858848	
Log likelihood	-8.331401	Hannan-Quinn criter.	4.492335	
F-statistic	13.90321	Durbin-Watson stat	3.008992	
Prob(F-statistic)	0.064992			

Figure 6: One-Way ANOVA -AMENITIES AND SERVICES

Table 7: Relation between FLFPR and Amenities (one way ANOVA)

HYPOTHESIS	RESULTS
H1: The Economic factors have no positive impact on the female labor force participation in a specific economy.	Rejected
H2: Cultural factors have no significant impact on the female labor pattern in an economy.	supported
H3: Socio demographic factors have no significant impact on the employment tendency of the female labor force in a specific economy.	Rejected
H4: Amenity and basic services are the most important factor that stands as the driving force behind the female labour force employment character of an economy.	rejected

Limitations of the Study

1. Most respondents were unable to provide accurate answers and most of their responses were self-contradictory.
2. The random effect and Hausman test were not feasible due to the limited sample size.
3. The study was unable to conduct a comparative analysis of pre and post-Covid due to the lack of a suitable data source

Conclusion

This exploration of “Female Labor Force Participation and the U-Shaped Female Labor Force Function of Claudia Goldin” has covered the complex landscape of women’s involvement in the workforce. We discussed historical trends, theoretical frameworks, contemporary relevance, and various factors influencing female labor force participation. The paper examines the relationship between female labor force employment patterns and cultural, social, economic, and basic amenity services. Findings suggest a positive association between these services and an inverse association with cultural factors. Data was collected from 100 participants in Trivandrum using a fixed-price model.

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PRESERVING HISTORICAL HERITAGE IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING URBAN LANDSCAPE: CHALLENGES TO HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN FORT KOCHI

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Heritage is the legacy of a society's built and intangible characteristics inherited from the past, upheld in the present, and given to future generations for their benefit. Objects of tangible culture, including structures, monuments, landscapes, works of art, and artefacts, are included in cultural heritage. It also contains living representations or intangible cultural traditions passed down to us from our ancestors. The value of preserving cultural heritage is widely accepted. However, there are significant difficulties in maintaining heritage precincts and buildings, especially in the developing world. The rapid upward trend of urbanisation of modern society represents the most crucial obstacle on the way. The stresses of urban growth pose a substantial threat to urban heritage as population and economic pressure escalate to expand cities and construct new buildings and infrastructure in heritage sites. Urbanisation has emerged as the most pivotal demographic transformation globally over the last two decades, with over 50% of the world's population now residing in urban areas. The UN World Urbanization Prospects² predicts that by the year 2050, approximately 66% of the global population will call urban centres home, with an overwhelming 90% of this surge concentrated in Asia and Africa. Notably, India is witnessing a continuous rise in urbanisation, predominantly fuelled by internal migration patterns. This rapid urbanisation, among other challenges, exerts substantial pressure on Indian cities, particularly impacting regions with delicate cultural heritage. This phenomenon has raised concerns about preserving numerous heritage sites throughout the country, which are at risk of damage and the erosion of their ethnic identities due to urbanisation. Recognising the significance of this issue, the Ministry of Urban Development has implemented a series of initiatives to conserve the nation's heritage sites. This research paper scrutinises these government-driven endeavours to preserve urban heritage sites across India, focusing on the conservation activities initiated within the heritage zone of Fort Kochi, an esteemed member city of the Indian Heritage Cities Network (IHCN) Foundation.

The rapid urbanisation process, characterised by the concentration of populations within specific regions, presents many complex challenges for historic heritage cities and towns. These locales, distinguished by their unique visual, architectural, cultural, and historical attributes, grapple with significant disruptions as the physical landscape transforms in response to contemporary society's evolving social structures and needs. Across the globe, numerous cultural heritage sites have felt the reverberations of widespread urbanisation, with historical cities losing their distinctive identities. As urban centres continue to expand, heritage sites often find themselves encroached upon by new construction, thereby leading to physical harm to the invaluable historic structures and landscapes. Also, new buildings are usually built to accommodate increasing urban activity within a landmark structure, destroying its atmosphere and sanctity, and similarly, old buildings are destroyed by the trappings of modernisation and development, constantly blurring the character and idea of heritage⁴. In developing countries, there is a general tendency for historic buildings to be renovated and used for modern purposes. Further, due to the paucity

of funds, the economic costs of preserving landmark buildings often do not justify their preservation. As a result, they are removed in favour of new buildings that offer more economic promise.

The detrimental effects of heightened pollution and environmental degradation inherent in rapid urbanisation can gradually deteriorate the materials and structures that constitute these sites. Urbanisation also brings an influx of residents and visitors dwelling near historic locations. This increased human presence inevitably leads to heightened foot traffic, increasing the potential for vandalism and contributing to the wear and tear of these landmark structures. Inadequate visitor facilities, such as insufficient parking and sanitation amenities, can further exacerbate problems by fostering overcrowding, which poses a direct threat to the preservation of these sites. Furthermore, inconsistencies in zoning regulations or their lax enforcement can foster incompatible developments close to heritage sites. The economic incentives tied to tourism, especially in the context of historic sites, can exert pressure to develop tourism-related infrastructure in their vicinity. If not managed carefully, this development can erode the unique characteristics that define these landmark locations. This research explores the multifaceted challenges wrought by urbanisation on historic heritage cities. It provides insights into strategies to mitigate these threats while safeguarding the preservation of these invaluable cultural treasures.

Various studies conducted by UNESCO have shed light on a concerning trend affecting numerous historically significant urban areas across Europe, Asia, Latin America, and the Islamic World. These areas have experienced a shift away from their traditional functions, and as a result, their historical and artistic characteristics are gradually eroding. In response to this alarming situation, the General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention of UNESCO passed a resolution in 2005, calling for establishing an international framework to guide the development of historic sites while preserving their essential historical values. Subsequently, in reaction to the 2005 resolution, a global collaborative effort resulted in the creation of non-binding guidelines known as 'soft law.' These guidelines laid the foundation for adopting the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation (HUL) during the UNESCO General Conference 2011. The HUL approach to managing historic urban landscapes represents a pivotal shift in perspective, as it combines the objectives of urban heritage preservation with those of social and economic development ⁵. This method views urban heritage as a multifaceted asset, encompassing social, cultural, and economic dimensions that play a pivotal role in the development of cities. It extends beyond the mere conservation of the physical environment and encompasses the entire human environment, including tangible and intangible aspects. Furthermore, it advocates for including heritage considerations in urban planning and development processes, ensuring that heritage conservation is seamlessly integrated with broader urban development initiatives. By considering the existing built environment, intangible cultural heritage, cultural diversity, socioeconomic factors, and environmental variables alongside local community values, the HUL approach strives to foster sustainable planning and design interventions. It seeks to harmonise urban development with heritage preservation, promoting historic urban landscapes' enduring vitality and cultural richness ⁶.

India stands as one of the premier global destinations for heritage tourism. A vast repository of cultural treasures awaits discovery within its borders, with approximately 3,600 centrally protected monuments under the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) purview. Additionally, India proudly boasts 38 sites that have received recognition as World Heritage sites, encompassing a diverse spectrum of 30 cultural properties, seven natural sites, and one mixed site. Regrettably, this rich tapestry of history is currently facing formidable challenges. Urban pressures, neglect, and structures considered national, state, or local significance in India pose severe threats to the preservation and integrity of these invaluable heritage assets.

The rapid growth of urban populations in India has given rise to a distressing trend: the alarming disappearance of heritage. Astonishingly, until recently, India lacked a cohesive and dedicated approach to heritage preservation, a stark contrast to some of its Asian counterparts. For instance, nations like Sri Lanka and Bhutan have instituted well-defined and specific policies to safeguard urban heritage. In contrast, despite a well-established administrative framework, India has not focused strategically on urban heritage preservation. The evolution of heritage legislation in India largely stemmed from the apprehension that developmental changes and pressures could erase the historical essence of places⁷. Activities related to the conservation of urban heritage were predominantly managed by urban local bodies, often operating in isolation from broader urban planning processes and service delivery considerations. Consequently, heritage areas needed more attention, were teeming with overcrowding, and needed more essential basic services and infrastructure, such as water supply, sanitation, and roads. Basic amenities such as public toilets, signage, and street lighting were absent. Furthermore, the challenges were compounded by a complex landscape of multiple institutions and an unclear regulatory framework governing the financing and management of urban heritage assets and landscapes. These challenges were further exacerbated by the limited capacity of urban local bodies (ULBs) to manage these heritage cities effectively.

In 2015, the government of India launched the HRIDAY Scheme, officially known as the Heritage City Augmentation and Rejuvenation Yojana. This scheme was designed to encompass 12 cities with rich cultural, natural, and built heritage amalgamations. Remarkably, the central government allocated 100 per cent of the funding for this initiative. The HRIDAY Scheme's overarching objective is to foster these cities' development, emphasising preserving and revitalising their unique heritage identity while catering to a substantial influx of visitors. The twelve towns designated heritage cities under this scheme include Ajmer, Amritsar, Amaravati, Badami, Dwaraka, Gaya, Kanchipuram, Mathura, Puri, Velankanni, and Warangal. These cities are home to many heritage structures celebrated for their religious significance and unique cultural heritage. The primary aim of the HRIDAY Scheme is to enhance civic infrastructure within the core heritage areas. This encompasses revitalising public utility spaces surrounding historic centres and preserving and improving assets linked to religion, community life, and tourism. Furthermore, the scheme seeks to upgrade essential services, including water supply, sanitation, water treatment, solid waste management, street networks, pedestrian walkways, lighting, tourism facilities, electrical infrastructure, landscaping, and other essential services designed to enhance the quality of life for residents.

While the HRIDAY Scheme emerged as a commendable endeavour, research studies have unveiled shortcomings in its execution. Notably, the approaches adopted by HRIDAY appear to be primarily geared towards serving the interests of tourists, often sidelining the desires and needs of the local community. Unfortunately, the development methods have not yielded complete success, as city residents grapple with common issues such as disorganised development, traffic congestion, inadequate open spaces, and parking facilities. The repercussions of these initiatives have significantly impacted the livelihoods of residents who were relocated from the heritage core to other areas, leading to substantial disruptions⁶. Furthermore, in-depth case studies focusing on stakeholder participation in managing historic cores within selected HRIDAY cities have revealed that, while communities are gradually becoming more central to the heritage management process, the roles and responsibilities of various stakeholders still need to be clarified⁸. Another significant initiative aimed at heritage preservation is the Indian Heritage Cities Network (IHCN) Foundation, established in 2006 as a UNESCO program and officially endorsed by the Ministry of Urban Development. IHCN operates with the mission of supporting Indian cities as they work towards the conservation and sustainable utilisation of their heritage resources.

This support is facilitated through various activities, including policy advice, capacity building, the exchange of best practices, awareness campaigns, technical assistance, and the fostering of partnerships. The concept behind IHCN was to create a member-driven organisation. Since its inception, it has made a network of historically significant cities, universities, institutional members, and numerous NGO partners worldwide. The Network comprises 32 Indian member cities, 9 French member cities, 13 academic partners and 21 NGO members. Cities that join the Network are expected to undertake several specific actions, including establishing a heritage cell within the municipal administration, developing heritage regulations and guidelines, organising heritage festivals, and creating heritage walk itineraries within the historic city. These itineraries highlight the multifaceted heritage aspects encompassing these historically prosperous cities' cultural, natural, and intangible dimensions ⁹.

Kerala in India has many historical heritage sites, including the iconic Fort Kochi. This historic gem is nestled within the Ernakulam district, the most urbanised district in the state. Fort Kochi holds a special place in the heritage conservation landscape, as it is a proud member city of the Indian Heritage Cities Network Foundation. Notably, Fort Kochi is India's second city to enter into a partnership for urban development with a foreign city, following in the footsteps of Udaipur in Rajasthan. This unique distinction underlines Fort Kochi's commitment to sustainable urban development and heritage preservation.

Fort Kochi, the earliest European settlement in South Asia, was established to safeguard European maritime interests and facilitate the spice trade. Over time, it evolved into a significant social and economic hub for Portuguese, Dutch, and later English trading companies. Situated at the mouth of an extensive inland waterway system, this port played a vital role in the trade, storage, and transport of spices, primarily pepper ¹⁰. In 1503, the Portuguese laid the foundation for the first European building on the peninsula, naming it Fort Manuel after the King of Portugal. They collaborated with the ruler of Kochi to secure labour and materials for its construction. This square-shaped fortress was constructed using large palisades filled with earth and was fortified with bastions at all its corners. Over time, this structure underwent renovations, transforming into a complex that included churches, monasteries, warehouses, and civil buildings. The St. Francis church, built by the Portuguese in 1516, was India's first European church and remained under the Order of St. Francis until the Dutch occupation in 1663¹¹. The church was converted into a Protestant place of worship during the Dutch period. Following the takeover, Fort Kochi became the largest Dutch installation in the country. Its urban planning, influenced by Dutch practices of the time, was more compact than the sprawling Portuguese phase.

The Dutch approach in Fort Kochi differed from their predecessors in that they displayed less interest in constructing grand churches and supporting missions. Their focus leaned toward practicality, resulting in the development of utilitarian structures and facilities. The Dutch settlement at Fort Kochi can be described as a micro-urban structure within a walled enclave that set it apart from the rest of the port city. The buildings constructed for commercial purposes had a more rudimentary character. The critical structures within the fortified village encompassed the governor's mansion, warehouses, the captain's office, barracks, soldiers' barracks, a Protestant church, a hospital, an orphanage, a school, and a prison. These facilities catered to the various needs of the company's workers. Additionally, the settlement featured an esplanade, a cemetery, a market square, and freshwater wells. In 1795, the British took control of Kochi Fort when Dutch troops surrendered to the English East India Company (EIC). Following this power transfer, the British embarked on a series of renovations and alterations, aligning the landscape of Kochi with their own English national aesthetics to assert their presence and authority in the region.

Notable renovations included restoring the Dutch commander's house, the secretary's office, and warehouses in 1799. In 1804, the British also demolished several buildings within the fortress.

Following India's independence in 1948, the city was renamed Fort Kochi in honour of its historical origins as a fortified settlement. As governance and economic activity gradually shifted to Mainland-Ernakulam, Fort Kochi lost its previous vibrancy and settled into a more tranquil existence. However, in 1991, the Kerala Tourism Development recognised the heritage potential of Fort Kochi and initiated extensive restoration projects to revitalise the city as a tourist destination. Today, Fort Kochi boasts a rich heritage and numerous tourist attractions, encompassing 19 historical sites. Notable among these are the Church of St. Francis, the Basilica of Santa Cruz, the Gate of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), public spaces like Vasco da Gama Square, the Parade Ground, and the Dutch Cemetery. Restoration efforts have been instrumental in mapping colonial sites on a heritage map and have transformed them into well-preserved remnants of colonial culture, showcased as on-site exhibitions for visitors¹¹. The architectural landscape of Fort Kochi now displays a harmonious fusion of European influences, characterised by its remarkably preserved Portuguese, Dutch, and English buildings. This amalgamation has solidified its status as a popular heritage tourist destination, with bungalows, street houses, grand edifices, and bustling bazaars acting as prominent historical landmarks that testify to the architectural significance of mediaeval times¹². A network of streets crisscrosses Fort Kochi, each possessing unique and historically valuable elements. However, over time, the city's heritage assets have faced degradation due to neglect and a lack of community engagement, exacerbated by the rapid pace of urbanization¹³. As urbanisation continues to surge, Fort Kochi grapples with the challenge of conserving its invaluable heritage. During urban development, mainland areas have often taken precedence, while the old city areas have been marginalised and, in some cases, neglected.

The Government of Kerala took a significant step in heritage conservation by enacting the Kerala Tourism (Conservation and Preservation of Areas) Ordinance in 2005. Through a Gazette notification, Fort Kochi was designated as a Special Tourism Zone, signifying its critical role in the conservation, preservation, and organised development of the region¹³. Under this ordinance, stringent regulations were introduced, necessitating that all developmental activities adhere to particular guidelines designed exclusively for the preservation of heritage buildings, heritage precincts, and natural features. These guidelines are crafted with three overarching objectives:

- Controlling and guiding developmental activities within the notified area of the Special Tourism Zone, Fort Kochi.
- Preservation of buildings, artefacts, structures, areas and precincts of historic/aesthetic/architectural/cultural and environmental significance, and
- iii)Conservation and preservation of natural features, landmarks and sites of environmental significance and scenic beauty.

The comprehensive heritage conservation efforts encompass preparing a list encompassing buildings, artefacts, structures, areas, and precincts of significant historical, aesthetic, architectural, cultural, and environmental value. Each entry in this list is accompanied by a brief description, and specific standards for their maintenance are outlined. To streamline the process, heritage buildings and precincts are classified into three distinct categories based on their significance and value: Heritage Grade I- richly deserves careful preservation, Heritage Grade II -deserves intelligent conservation and Heritage Grade III- deserves intelligent conservation (on a lesser scale than Grade II). Three built forms are identified to preserve buildings in the zone: the street form, the country yard form, and the bungalow form. It is stipulated that the existing built form has to be maintained for that street.

Elements to be conserved	Streets to be conserved
Chinese Fishing Nets Vasco Da Gama Square Pierce Leslie Bungalow Old harbour house Koder House Delta Study Santa Cruz Basilica Loafer's Corner/Princes Street Vasco House VOC Gate Parade Ground The United Club The Bishop's House Fort Immanuel The Dutch Cemetery David Hall The Cochin Club St. Francis Church Bastion Bungalow Holland Bastion (Light House) Gelderland Bastion (Thakur House) Pattani Mosque Fort Kochi Juma Masjid (Calvathy Mosque) The house where St. Francis Stayed Location of Old St. Cruz Church Taverna - Our Lady of Hope / Life: Oduthappadi (Dutch Gate) Santa Cruz Maidanam	Princes Street -Street Form Burger Street Fossc Road Lilly Street Napier Street Dutch Cemetery Road Quirose Street Petercelli Street Rose Street Parade Road River Road Church Road Tower Road Bastian Street Bellard Road Dispensary Road Calvary Road Elphinstone Road Bishop Karithara Road

Source: Guidelines for Special Tourism Zone, Kerala State Tourism Department, 2005

An ambitious agreement was forged 2012 between Kochi Corporation and the French city of Lorient, facilitated by the Centre for Heritage, Environment, and Development (C-hed). C-hed serves as the research and development arm of the Kochi Municipal Corporation, operating within Urban Development and Governance, Environment, Tourism, Culture, and Heritage. However, regrettably, this agreement failed to materialise, and C-hed has only initiated substantial heritage conservation projects just now. Subsequently, UNESCO formulated an action plan for the conservation and management of the heritage zone following the city's participation in the Indian Heritage Cities Network Foundation (IHCNF) program UNESCO. Despite the conceptualisation of the Fort Kochi and Mattancherry heritage conservation project in 2011, with an estimated budget of Rs. Fifty crores, its implementation remains pending. Many heritage conservation projects proposed for Fort Kochi are still conceptual. Moreover, despite the comprehensive guidelines outlined as part of the unique tourism zone regulations, there is a widespread issue of unauthorised modifications to existing structures and the construction of new buildings that violate heritage preservation norms within the area. Another disheartening aspect is the diminishing level of public engagement in heritage conservation initiatives in the region. There needs to be more information exchange and a dearth of public hearings for most projects¹⁵. As the urban regeneration process approaches its final decision-making stage, it has been identified that public opinions and suggestions often need to be more adequately incorporated, leading to passive or non-participation by the public. This presents a critical challenge to the region's effective heritage conservation and urban development.

Fort Kochi, a venerable port and trading hub in Kerala, is a repository of cultural artefacts and monuments boasting significant heritage value. However, the relentless march of rapid urbanisation and unchecked developmental activities has taken a toll on the heritage elements of Fort Kochi, resulting in their degradation. The historical connections of the region with foreign kingdoms in the past hold promise for collaborative efforts aimed at preserving its rich heritage. Nevertheless, the state and local governments have thus far struggled to translate these plans into action. Several vital challenges could improve the conservation of the zone's heritage. These include insufficient funds for heritage preservation, a need for more political will, and a notable absence of active public participation. These obstacles collectively impede the effective conservation of Fort Kochi's invaluable heritage, making it imperative to address these issues to safeguard its historical and cultural legacy for future generations.

The preservation and management of heritage must be an ongoing and proactive effort that involves carefully maintaining and protecting these invaluable assets to prevent their destruction due to negligence. It is of utmost importance to raise awareness about the significance of heritage monuments, as both residents and visitors often need more proper knowledge about their historical and cultural importance¹⁶. Regrettably, remnants like those of Fort Immanuel, constructed by the Portuguese in the 1500s and visible on the Fort Kochi beach, are sometimes carelessly treated by visitors and locals due to a lack of awareness. To address this issue, collaboration between the public and private sectors is vital to launch awareness campaigns at the local and regional levels. Distributing pamphlets featuring images and descriptions of heritage spots in Fort Kochi to various segments of society, including the local community, tourists, tourism stakeholders, investors, and officials, can be a part of these efforts.

The "Heritage Walk" concept proposed by IHCN can be implemented by involving community members, students, and tourists. Initiatives like cleanliness drives for heritage sites and programs such as "Adopt a Heritage Site" can be implemented with the participation of organisations, corporations, and institutions. Encouraging residents and students to engage in regular cleanliness drives for heritage sites near their homes can significantly impact them. The areas designated as heritage zones by the Kerala Tourism

Department should be safeguarded from alterations and the demolition of structures. Any encroachments should be addressed, and alternative arrangements should be made as necessary. Furthermore, officials involved in protecting and managing cultural heritage should be encouraged to participate in workshops to enhance their knowledge, skills, and attitudes regarding heritage. Despite Fort Kochi's possession of historic monuments like St. Francis Church, one of the oldest European churches in India, and the Dutch Cemetery consecrated in 1724, none of these are recognised as UNESCO World Heritage Sites. There is a need for proactive lobbying with solid arguments and steps to include these heritage elements on the UNESCO World Heritage Site list. This recognition would increase revenue and improve the management of these historic sites.

Local governments can seek international collaboration to preserve and manage the city's heritage elements. Additionally, government spending on the conservation of heritage zones should be prioritised. Currently, government spending on tourism in Kerala is one of the highest in India, with a significant portion allocated to infrastructure. However, most funds must be earmarked for basic tourism infrastructure, including heritage conservation and management. Recognising the economic potential of heritage tourism can create jobs, improve infrastructure, and increase tourism, contributing to regional and national economic growth.

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UNDERSTANDING 'MALANADA' TRADITIONS AMONG THE KURAVA COMMUNITY IN SOUTHERN KERALA

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Introduction

Malanda is a revered worship centre in southern Kerala, specifically in the Pathanamthitta Kollam and Aalazupa districts. It holds a special place in the religious and cultural landscape of the region. This sacred site is primarily associated with the *Kurava* community, who consider it their primary related to the *Kurava* community who consider it their primary place of worship and pilgrimage.

One distinctive feature of *Malanada* is its location atop a hill. The hill upon which the temple or worship centre stands is an integral part of the spiritual experience for pilgrims. The elevated position provides a sense of elevation and proximity to the divine and offers breathtaking panoramic views of the surrounding landscape, adding to the overall spiritual ambience.

Devotees and pilgrims visit *Malanada* to participate in various religious ceremonies, rituals, and festivals that are integral to the Kurava tradition. These rituals often involve intricate dances, music, and offerings to appease and honour their deities.

The rituals and practices at Malanada reflect the deep-rooted cultural and religious heritage of the Kurava community. They contribute significantly to preserving and passing down this community's unique traditions to future generations.

The Kuravas, one of the earliest primaeval communities in Kerala, widely spread their prevalent religious tradition, known as Malanda's. Today, the Kuravas' religious tradition can be categorized as a Dalit religious tradition. The Kuravas are followers of primal religious tradition. The *Mananada* religious tradition is a mixture of tribal and Dalit religious identities.

Kurava worshipping traditions is traditionally called as Malanada religious tradition, they were also known as Tree worshippers, *Kaavu* worshippers, Ancestral worshippers and Spirit Worshippers, but now their worshipping centres are known by different names at different places, such as *Chavarunada*, *Appooppan Kaav*, *Ammoomma Kaav*, *Kaav Malanada*, *Malanada Moorthy Kaav*, *Muhurthy Kaav*.

Distinct features of Malanada Religious Tradition

The worship centre of the Kuravas is generally called as Malanadas.¹ Malasadas are the worship places situated on hillocks, where people worship their deity but do not have any idols or complicated rituals. The devotees visit the place, lighting lamps and offering *tobacco*, arrack and coconuts.²

Malanadas tree worships, the worship places of kavas, were situated on hillocks, where people worshipped spirits but did not have complicated rituals. The groves were the innermost focus of *Kuravas* Malanada religious tradition. The presence of groves in the worship centres reminds us of their primal religion. Tradition, *Kurava* worshipped nature and the spirits of them. *The Malanada tree worship and Malanadas and Groves* were associated with *Ooralees* palace. *Ooralees* were considered the rulers and

the priests of the Kurava community. They erected *Altharas*. *Altharas*, a rectangular platform usually constructed on the burial place of the ancestors in the groves where they worshipped their ancestors or deities. *Kuravas* worshipped nature and the spirits of their ancestors. The groves were unique; significant centres of *Kuravas* religious tradition were found in Kerala before the emergence of Dravidians. *Kuravas* have been the protectors of forests since the earliest times. Some of the famous hill groves that existed in the *Kollam and Pathanamthitta* traditions are *Peruviruthy Malanada* at *Poruvazhy*, *Elambrakottu Malanada* at *Chadayamangalam*, *Mayankottu Malanchavaru Malanada* at *Pavithreswaram*, *Ennaserry Malanada* at *Sooranadu*, *Kunniradathu Malanada* at *Anayadi*, *Kaithavarathu Appooppan Kaavu* at *Mulankadakom Kollam*, *Poreekkal Ammoommakkavu* at *Edavattom*. *Kunnathumala Appupan kaavu* at *Kunnathumala*. *Appooppan kaavu* at *Navayikulam*,

Kuravas Nature Worshipers, the early inhabitants of Kerala, were also initially practitioners of nature worship. The meaning intended to be conveyed by nature, worship, or similar terms is that the impression made upon the mind of primal people by the universe around them was that of an indefinite number of animated or self-acting powers in more or less intimate relation to themselves, capable of affecting or controlling their life and well-being in practically every respect to words that, therefore, are hardly personified in the first instance they adopt an attitude of reverence or worship.

Kuravas, the Spirit Worshipers, and the spirits worshipped are known as *Chavu* or *Chavar* lit,ning death or the dead. Whose aid is always piously invoked by the hill tribes when oppressed by disease or starvation. The spirits represent the manifold aspects of human life, both domestic and social, in the rural and tribal context; *Kuravas* believed that only certain souls have powers over them, and there was hardly any conception of a Supreme Being presiding over the universe. They usually worshipped kinds of deities: spirits, minor and super divinities. The name of *Appooppan* and *knows the deities Ammoomma*.

Symbols in Malanada Worship Centre

Aalthara (Platform)

Kuravas Worship Centre, due course, stated to erect a square or rectangle-shaped platform on the graveyard they believed their ancestor's spirits should be in. It is the continuity of the belief of the ancient period to build stone images around the burial place, the *veerakkal*; it is also a part of *Veera* worship. It was also practised in ancient days, where the dead body was placed in a clay pot or buried. A stone ring was used to bind around the urn. The clay pot was considered the home of the dead, and the stone ring was supposed to prevent the person from coming out from the burial ground. Later, the stone rings were changed into *Aaltharas*.

Aaltharas have no roof or side walls. They used to light a lamp in this place. A grove may slowly grow surrounding this platform. They *Aaltharas* not only for their ancestor's spirit but also for their deities and other spirits. In the *Malanada* religious tradition of *Kuravas*, spirit worship has become more powerful and predominant than tree worship. That may be why the *cantharis* became the centres of attention for the *Kuravas'* religious tradition. In this place of *Sreekovil* and deity, we could see only a raised platform called *Althara* or *Mandapam*.

Malanadas: The Kottaram (Palace of the Oorali)

The *Oorali*, the community's chieftain, lived in a place associated with groves. As the *Sangam* literature mentions, *Kurunila Mannar* had their capitals on top of hills. Their principalities comprised a few hills and a large number of villages situated in their valley. Thus, the *Malanadas* were known as *Kottaram: Mayamcodu Kottaram, Kaduthamssery Kottaram, Chembitta Kottaram, and Arakkal Kottaram*.

Oorali – The Chieftain and Kings

The chieftains or headmen of *Kuravas* were called Oorali. The people of the particular area elect a person as their *Oorali*. The Oorali is considered the leader of the people in that place. They are responsible for performing the priestly duties. The Ooralis are the primary religious functionaries of the Malanada religious tradition. The *Oorali* is their ruler as well as their priest.

Ritualistic Elements of *Malanada* Tradition

The following objects are commonly placed in the Malanada worship centre. each of them has its socio-religious significance.

The Wooden Stool

The wooden stool, or *Kurandi*, is an important ritual object in *kava* community worship places. The short wooden stool symbolises the throne of the ruler or the power of spirit. The wood stool is the central position of worship centres, and it is part of ancestral worship.

The Umbrella

This umbrella, popularly called Malakuda, is specially made for the festival seasons and the Oorali's procession. It has a long wooden handle, symbolising the Oorali's ruling power. This decorated umbrella has a colourful look and three folding steps.

The Sickle

A long-handled sickle. It also symbolised the socio-political and religious power of *Ooralis*. It has been a long tradition for the chieftain to hold the sickle in the hand. During the festival and on special occasions, the Oorali would hold the sickle and stand before the people. The sickle mainly signifies their living conditions in forests and agricultural land.

The Conch

Conch has a prominent place in the *Kuravas* worship centre. The Conch symbolised the power and authority of the *Kuravas* in the olden days. When they blow the conch, it makes a sound, which is when they start their rituals and actions. The *Oorali uses the conch* to gain scientific knowledge and skills in astrology.

The Flag

The flag of *Malanada* has its socio-religious significance. This flag is different from other flags used on Hindu temple premises. It is actually in the shape of a dead body hanging without a head. It has two legs, two hands, and a body that resembles a headless dead body hanging in the air, a Flag representing the power of their community. Later, there were so many changes in the flag. *Kuravas* hoist this flag in their worship centre as a symbol of the inauguration of their festival.

Conclusion

The *Kuravas Malanada* religious tradition is widely spread all over Kerala. It has a distinctive religious nature, history, tradition, art, culture, music, and religious teaching. This religious tradition mainly focused on the continuity of ancestor worship. The history of the Malanada religious tradition in Kerala started along with the history of the Kuravas community in Kerala. Sangam literature, Kurava culture, and religious symbols are significant sources for tracing the distinctive characteristics of the Kurava religious tradition.

Malanada religious tradition has immensely helped to elevate Kurava's socio-economic and political conditions in the present day. This paper helped me to discover unique religious traditions. The origins of the *Malanada* religious tradition can be traced back to the inception of the Kurava community in Kerala, with valuable insights gleaned from *Sangam* literature and Kurava community in Kerala, with valuable insights gleaned from *Sangam* literature and Kuravas cultural symbols. Over the years, this religious tradition has not only preserved the artistic legacy of the Kuravas but has also played a pivotal role in uplifting their socio-economic and political conditions in contemporary times.

This paper illuminates the distinctive features of *Kuravas*'s religious tradition, highlighting its influence on the community's present-day circumstances. The comprehensive study conducted this unique religious practice and has also provided valuable insights into the broader context of Kerala's cultural and religious diversity.

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LOCATING THE PUBLIC SPACES: THE POSITION OF PRESS IN KERALA

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Every society creates its own public space where individuals convene, interact and socialise in regular routines. This is where ideas are developed, and the collective awareness of the public is formed. Entrikin's book, 'The Betweenness of Place', published in 1991, uses a geographical approach to defining 'space'. It considers space as a 'meeting point of language in the personal and impersonal perspective. The social space is where individuals come together, interact, and socialise regularly, leading to the formation of opinions and the moulding of the collective mindset. It is a physical materialisation¹ of the public sphere.

The press created a textual space to form public opinion and a new print public in Kerala society. Newspapers made a popular public sphere possible in Kerala society. Malayalam journalism, which began in the middle of the 19th century by Christian missionaries to propagate Christianity and European Enlightenment values, outgrew its infancy and reached trustworthy journalism by the end of the century.

Newspapers developed a secular and popularly² accessible prose style quite different from the language used by society's elite. This secular and unified prose style was not merely a linguistic innovation but an intellectual basis for questioning social institutions such as the caste system, religion-based principles, colonialism, monarchy, and feudalism. The printing press and the printed book were the cultural icons of the Renaissance that shaped modern Kerala society.

The caste-based social reform movements in the late 19th and early 20th Century ushered in a new space. It was built on resistance to the traditional order. There was a need to create shared spaces for people of different castes and religions. Most of these spaces were an 'opening-up' of the public sphere to people from lower castes. The creation of social spaces in early modern Kerala was, therefore, a means of opening up public spaces to members of the downtrodden communities.

Malabar region, under the direct control of English rule, was part of the Madras Presidency. Compared to Travancore and Kochi, Malabar lagged in social and educational progress and was more exposed to the freedom struggle. The area became the marathon centre of the nationalist movement. Freedom fighters and leaders wanted to spread ideals and anti-colonial activities, organise public meetings and conduct training programs for the masses. They also wanted to attract people to the freedom struggle. They realised that print media is the best tool to attract people. Since the early 19th century, leaders have protected civil liberties, including freedom of the press, and protested vigorously against restricting freedom of the media. The period from 1870 was focused more on political propaganda and education to shape and disseminate nationalist ideology and mobilise public opinion. Newspapers hold a crucial tool in the hands of leaders and nationalists for this purpose. They used the newspaper to create a public awakening on the eve of independence.

Journalism in Kerala did a lot in evolving, identifying and locating new spaces. Christian missionaries published several books and periodicals as part of the propagation of the Christian religion in the 19th Century. But before that, the Portuguese missionaries had established the first press in Kollam in 1578 AD. Another one was found at Vipinkotta near Cochin in the middle of the 16th century. It was in the year 1772 that the first Malayalam book, *Samkshepa Vedartham*, was printed by Fr. Clement Piyanius in Rome.³ But the first Malayalam book published on Indian soil was the translation of the *New Testament*, translated by Philippe Rampan and printed at Courier Press in Bombay in 1811⁴. 1821 Benjamin Bailey started the first printing press in Kottayam and printed the first book, *Cherupaitangalku Upakarardham*, in 1824.⁵ In 1829, Bailey designed a new set of Malayalam types and printed the *New Testament*. In 1845, Rev. Herman Gundert, a famous German scholar and a missionary of the Basal Mission, set up a litho press at Illikkunnu near Thalasseri in Malabar, where he printed the first newspaper in Malayalam named *Rajyasamacharam* in June 1847.⁶ The publication of *Rajyasamacharam* reveals the role of Christian missionaries in laying the foundation for Malayalam journalism in the State. With this, newspapers entered the public space and started to occupy a place in the minds of the people of Kerala. In October 1847, Gundert started another publication called *Paschimodayam*, with Fr. Muller as its editor. The publication published articles on geography, history, natural science, and astrology. Next year, Arch Deacon Koshy and Rev. George Mathen published *Jnananikshapam*, which contains articles that denounce the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic Church in Travancore. *Jnananikshapam* was a monthly Malayalam magazine published by the Church Mission Society (CMS) in Kottayam in November 1848. It was the third among the publications in Malayalam after *Rajyasamacharam* and *Paschimodayam*. It was the first newspaper printed in the press, started by Rev. Benjamin Bailey⁷. Considered to be the pioneer of newspapers in Kerala, this magazine, unlike its predecessors, gave importance to propagating Christian Evangelism and focused on bringing major news events worldwide to the people. A news column in this magazine named '*Loka Jalakam*' is an excellent example of this.

Herman Gundert was noted for his outstanding contribution towards the Malayalam language. He compiled a Malayalam grammar book, *Malayalabhaasha Vyakaranam*, in 1859 and the first Malayalam-English dictionary in 1872. He is also credited with translating the Bible into the Malayalam language. In 1864, '*Paschima Tharaka*' (*Western Star*) started publishing in Kochi. ⁸ *Vidyasamgraham* was the first educational publication started by CMS College in 1864 from Kottayam. This quarterly had a variety of articles published in English and Malayalam written by different scholars, who positively contributed to the nourishment of language promotion in education⁹. However, it ceased its publication in 1867.

Due to the great efforts made by the Christian missionaries to spread Christianity, newspapers in Kerala grew enormously and became a decisive force in shaping Kerala society. In the early stages, the Basel Evangelical Mission and the Church Mission Society played a leading role in developing the press in Kerala. The primary purpose of journalism during that period was to disseminate knowledge relating to Christianity among the people. They emphasised the propagation of their views and news.

Newspapers have been crucial in social and political crises since the early days. The criticisms in *Santhishtavadi* against the authorities related to administrative policies of the time underscore this argument. *Santhishtavadi* was a Malayalam monthly started by W.H. Moor, a European Missionary in 1867 from CMS Press, Kottayam. It was considered the Malayalam Edition of the *Travancore Herald*, started along with *Santhishtavadi*.¹⁰ It was the first banned newspaper in the state. In 1893, the Travancore Government banned it for its severe criticism against Dewan Madhava Rao's administration and educational policy.¹¹

The role played by *Sathyanada Kahalam*, a Catholic newspaper that started as a fortnightly in 1876, was remarkable in publishing much valuable news for people's daily lives. Local news, international affairs, court proceedings, and columns on various topics were featured on multiple *Sathyanada Kahalam* pages. It was published thrice a month and became a weekly in 1904. In 1926, the name was changed to *Sathyanadam*. In 1970, it was merged with *Kerala Times*, a daily from Kochi. *Sathyanadam* was then published as the Sunday supplement of *Kerala Times*. However, *Sathyanadam* ended its publication in 1999 when the *Kerala Times* was closed.

Another periodical that appeared around this time was *Keralopakari*, a magazine published by the Basel Mission Society from Mangalore in 1878. It published articles on Christian literature, essays, proverbs, parables, stories with moral content and Western literature. In response to the activities of Christian missionaries, particular Hindu and Muslim leaders started their journals and newspapers to enlighten their communities. Thus, most early Malayalam newspapers were inspired by a zeal for socio-religious reform rather than political issues.

Kerala Mitram, a weekly newspaper, was launched on 1st January 1881 from Cochin by a Gujarathi businessman named Devji Bhimji. Most of the journals published in Malayalam hitherto were considered missionary publications. However, *Kerala Mitram* was entirely different from the existing publications and perceived from a secular viewpoint. Kandathil Varghese Mappilai was its first editor. It was the first systematic newspaper organised as a business proposition with a full-time editor. This publication entered into public space and supported the people. It can be seen that Ulloor S Parameswara Iyer, one of the great poets of Malayalam, nostalgically referred to *Kerala Mitram* as one of the newspapers he used to read regularly in his childhood¹². Its founder, Devji, wanted to expose the rampant corruption in the Kochi Government's administration. Devji Bhimji was a prominent personality in the fight for freedom of the press in Kerala¹³. It constantly criticised the government. Unfortunately, it could not continue publication after the death of its founder, Devji.

However, the actual pacesetter of Malayalam journalism was the weekly *Kerala Patrika*, founded in 1884 by Chemgulathu Kunhirama Menon, often referred to as the *father of Malayalam Journalism*.¹⁴ It emphasised promoting nationalistic sentiments and opposing the tyrannical performance of the bureaucracy. The weekly feature was about current affairs, politics, literature, and public events. It was a news-oriented journal committed to supporting the freedom struggle of the state. It became the voice of the Indian National Congress in Malabar. Kunhirama Menon represented India at the World Editors' Conference in London in 1895, along with the editors of *The Hindu* and *Amrita Bazaar Patrika*¹⁵. Another publication that severely criticised the British rulers and the caste system¹⁶ in the state was *Kerala Sanchari*. It was a weekly series that started in Kozhikode in 1886 and was run by Poovadan Raman Vakil, the publisher of *Malabar Spectator*. Later it was amalgamated with *Mithavadi*.

The introduction of the Printing Press made a significant impact on the public. By the end of the nineteenth century, people had begun to develop an interest in contemporary socio-political affairs. During this period, two prominent newspapers emerged. One of them was *Nazrani Deepika*, and another one was *Malayala Manorama*. *Nazrani Deepika* was started as a fortnightly publication from St. Joseph's Press at Mannanam in Kottayam on 15th April 1887, under the leadership of Nidhirikal Manikkathanar. From 1895 onwards, it was published thrice a month, but in 1899, it became a weekly, and in 1927, it became a daily. Its main aim was to promote the Christian community's social, political and cultural upliftment. In 1938, the name *Nazrani Deepika* was changed to *Deepika*, and the place of publication was also shifted from Mannanam to Kottayam. It is regarded as the oldest surviving newspaper of the State.

Malayala Manorama opened its pages to all castes and creeds of Kerala. The Travancore government confiscated the paper in 1938, and the editor was arrested and imprisoned for its active involvement in establishing a responsible Government in the State. However, it resumed its publication after Independence in 1947 and soon grew to become one of the most potent publishing groups in the country. It played a significant role in bringing out society's injustices and social evils and created public awareness.

A literary journal that served as a voice of the underprivileged communities was *Vivekodayam*. It was a bimonthly Magazine started in 1904 by SNDP Yogam as its official publication from Thiruvananthapuram. It worked under the editorship of well-known Malayalam poet Kumaran Asan. It fundamentally acted as a voice for the social reform message of SNDP Yogam. Even though it primarily aimed at uplifting the Ezhava community, it also focused on Kerala's socio-cultural and political awakening by including literary, political, and social themes. It published many original literary works, literary criticism, and informative writings.

Malayalam newspapers of that time did not have any means of receiving international news directly and used to depend on English newspapers for foreign news. *Swadesabhimani* was the first Malayalam newspaper to contact Reuters¹⁷ directly to receive global news. C.P. Govinda Pillai was its first editor, and K. Ramakrishna Pillai took charge as its editor on 17th January 1906. He was a strong opponent of corrupt bureaucracy. He fearlessly criticised the authoritarianism of Dewan P. Rajagopalachari. In 1907, the press was shifted from Vakkom to Trivandrum. Ramakrishna Pillai continued his severe criticism against the erring bureaucrats, including the Dewan and even dared enough to criticise the King. Ramakrishna Pillai was the first editor to use the term '*Pouran* (Citizen) instead of '*Praja*' (Subject) in his newspaper. However, his editorial related to the admission of Pulaya children in school was not empathetic towards the depressed class. It remains a black mark on the reputation of Ramakrishna Pillai as a progressive journalist. He was deported from the princely state by a royal proclamation from the Travancore Government on 26th September 1910.¹⁸ Ramakrishna Pillai was a pioneer who fought for the freedom of the press in the state and the country.

One of the newspapers that spoke for the backward class in Kerala was *Mithavadi*. It was a weekly event started in 1907 in Thalassery by T Sivasankaran. Murkoth Kumaran was its first editor. The publication was stopped when Kumaran left the newspaper's editorship in 1909. After Kumaran, C. Krishnan took over the editorship and restarted the publication as a monthly from Kozhikode¹⁹ in August 1913. C. Krishnan was a fighter for the rights and privileges of the backward classes²⁰, especially the Thiyyas of Malabar. The educated standard class created due to colonial modernity in the first half of the 20th century was attracted by newspapers like *Mithavadi*. It fascinated its readers. *Mithavadi* created a new class with simple and humorous articles for the public to read²¹. But *Mithavadi* ceased its publication in 1938.

T. K. Madhavan, the Editor of '*Desabhimani*' and a brave patriot, created a sense of unity and self-respect among the depressed and backward classes inspired to fight for their rights. Other prominent social reformers like C. Ayyapan through *Sahodaran* in Cochin and C. Krishnan through *Mithavadi* in Calicut, appealed to the sense of right and wrong of the high caste in their campaign against social injustices intrinsic in Kerala society. They used newspapers to speak to the people regarding their rights and privileges.

Another vital publication that protected the interests of the backward communities in Kerala was *Kerala Kaumudi*, started in 1911 by C. V. Kunjuraman. CV Kunhiraman was one of the eminent editors who

cleverly used his newspaper to exhibit how journalism can be used effectively for social justice. C V Kunjuraman defended the atrocities against the downtrodden through his strong editorials and acted as a warrior in the struggle for social justice²². *Kerala Kaumudi* newspaper actively promoted the renaissance of Kerala by supporting and propagating the ideas of Sree Narayana Guru²³. The role played by *Kerala Kaumudi* in supporting the Vaikom Satyagraha and the agitation of the temple entry movement was very remarkable²⁴. Questions raised by Mahakavi Kumaran Asan in the Travancore Legislative Assembly regarding untouchability and the government's reply to the same were published in the *Kerala Kaumudi* newspaper during that time²⁵. The news of protest and struggle against untouchability, published in newspapers, disturbed the upper caste²⁶.

Mathrubhumi, one of the top newspapers in Kerala, has played a responsible role in creating a public awakening in the light of social enlightenment. In the wake of the independence movement, *Mathrubhumi* was started at Kozhikode in February 1923 to propagate the principles and policies of the Indian National Congress and to involve the people of Malabar in the independence struggle. It could be described as a people's daily of Kerala State. It was the first major newspaper with a definite political agenda and published a high standard of articles on various subjects. Due to the role it played in time, it became the most popular nationalist newspaper in Kerala, extended its circulation to remote villages, and reflected the will of the people. *Mathrubhumi* newspaper has been able to delve deep into local issues and the everyday life of common people²⁷. *Mathrubhumi* has tried to solve a local problem through its continued interventions. The 'follow-up'²⁸ was an integral part of *Mathrubhumi*'s media ethics. It intensively helped to mobilise public opinion and inspire the people through various columns. The newspaper helped criticise, interpret and evaluate public issues through Patriotic songs, stories, cartoons and features. Great poets like Vallathol Narayana Menon inspired the freedom fighters by expressing patriotic feelings through the columns. *Mathrubhumi*.

AL-Ameen was another major newspaper based in Malabar during this period. It started publication in 1924 as a tri-weekly with Muhammed Abdul Rahman Sahib as its editor. On 25th June 1930, it became news daily. It has the image of a Muslim publication that attempted to bring the Muslim Community to the mainstream in the freedom struggle. Since it provoked the authorities²⁹, it had to stop its publication. However, the paper continued its publication as an evening daily. *Chandrika* started its publication in 1934 from Tellicherry as a weekly official organ of the Muslim League. In 1939, it became a daily routine and was shifted to Kozhikode. *Chandrika* stood for the protection of the interests of the Muslim community in Kerala.

The Press acted as an informer and interpreter of the vital social issues of contemporary Kerala society. The Press offered a genuine platform to the commoner to put forward their grievances and resolve them. It was an ultimate victory of the general will. Even the public began to criticise the ruling authorities. The ever-increasing literary rate and sound reading habits of the people contributed positively to the growth of the press in the State. Generally speaking, the decade preceding independence was the period of consolidation and augmentation of the press in Kerala. These newspapers had a broad reach and stimulated the creation of the public space and sphere in Kerala society. It reported many events that influenced people's hearts and ultimately led to tremendous societal changes. It could quickly enter the public's minds and prepare the way for the enlightenment of Kerala.

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THE TEMPLE ENTRY QUESTION AND THE *EZHA VA* COMMUNITY ASSERTION OF TRAVANCORE

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Introduction

The theme of the Temple entry Proclamation constitutes one significant chapter in the socio-political history of Kerala. The proclamation was issued on 12 November 1936 by the last ruling sovereign of Travancore, Sri Chithira Thirunal Bala Rama Varma, with the 'able' assistance of his prime minister Rama Swamy Aiyer.ⁱ By this royal proclamation, for the 'first time', temple doors were opened before the lower caste people of Kerala, and this ended the age-long discrimination against the lower or the oppressed sections of the Kerala society in the narrative posed by the mainstream literature. As we know, the proclamation by the prominent political leaders of the time, like Gandhi and Rajagopalachari, deserves to be mentioned as the Magna Carta and the People's Charter for Rights.ⁱⁱ The press communicate issued at that time equated the proclamation with Asoka's Charter of Rights. As we know, history as an academic discipline must include a holistic perspective while analysing the facts related to it. Therefore, the paper analyses the episteme received on the temple entry question from different quarters.

Historical Antecedents

The idea of temple entry, especially to enter into the temple owned by the high castes or the government, was initially put forward by the *Ezhava* castes.ⁱⁱⁱ The temple was considered the highest abode of the worshipping practice of upper-caste Vedic religionists, and its origin dates back to the Gupta period in Indian history thanks to foreign contacts, especially with the Greeks. There was no mention of the term or concept of the temple in Vedic or later-day texts until the fourth century C.E. With the Hinduization process of Kerala; the structural temples began to be introduced as the most remarkable institution of the Nambuthiri Brahmins.^{iv} Unlike today, the temple was the title giver of people in society. It enjoyed the legislative, executive, and judicial powers as the religious abode of the most outstanding tradition of the land.^v Historical literature highlights the role equivalent to that of a government authority of the present day. Apart from the legislative, executive, or judicial powers, it acts as a financial institution, like banks.^{vi} As scholars have opined, it was in and around this institution, and based on the service tenures of the temples, caste status emerged in pre-modern Kerala society. Thus, temples stood as the status giver of the population of the period. This status was based on the pan -Indian concept of the caste system, which was based on the purity and pollution dichotomy. The social formation of India, as well as Kerala, was based on the caste system, which believed in the hierarchically degrading caste system.^{vii} Thus, under this system, the concept of purity pollution was implemented. In most cases, the Indigenous labouring classes were assigned the status of impurity as against the privileged oppressor, being the high caste or *savanna*.^{viii} As far as the lower caste or *Avarnas* were concerned, fundamental human rights were denied to them, sometimes even the right to live, as evidenced by the right of *Kollum Kolayum* by the privileged sections of the society. Thus, there was no guarantee for the life of low-caste men, women or children under this apartheid concept.^{ix}

The lower caste had to suffer relative deprivation from all walks of life as their existing caste determinism instead of economic. They were prohibited from using acceptable language, eating good food, and living

decent lives, and there were restrictions on mobility, subsistence, etc. The pan -Indian caste was introduced in Kerala soil with a slight difference here the Nambuthiri-Brahmin, Nayars, and Samanthas were the savanna sections, and other castes from Ezhavas in the caste ladder were the oppressed *varna* caste devoid of any comforts of life but had deprivations exclusions and humiliations.^x

Agency of Change

The coming of European colonialism by different nationalities led to the country's changing concept of human relationships. More specifically, British colonialism and its imposition of culture in the form of modernity led to the changing perspective of Indian people. This was achieved in different ways, the most significant being through English education. Thus, the introduction of colonial modernity and the emergence of a public sphere in the then-Kerala society led to a change in the concept of human relationships.^{xi} New ideas like liberty, equality, and fraternity reached the people like fresh enlightenment, and this new consciousness led to the transformation of the traditional caste-based society of Kerala into an egalitarian one. Western Education as the catalyst of change in the caste society of Kerala led to the emergence of a public sphere in Kerala through the reformers, students, teachers, literary figures, etc., the idea of new concepts like citizen instead of the concept of *Praja* stirred the minds of the people. They waged many wars to achieve the status their brethren outside the world have been enjoying.^{xii} This was made possible through different modes of struggle against the hegemonic states.

The abolition of some of the rights and privileges of the upper castes and the bringing of power into the colonial hand considerably reduced the status of the high caste, especially the *Nambuthiris*. Thus, the change in the power relations of the erstwhile local powers gave them more opportunity to assert the rights of the oppressed sections.^{xiii} This eventually led to the emergence of socio-religious reform efforts, which were encoded in the term renaissance. But considering the extreme differences between the European Renaissance and the one in Kerala, the academia precluded the concept of Renaissance in Kerala as here it was not the re-birth of the traditional knowledge; instead, it was the imposition of enlightened European concepts like humanism, liberty, equality or fraternity that changed the conventional unequal society an egalitarian one.^{xiv}

Temple as the Site of Struggle

In the social fabric of the 18th century Kerala, people were hierarchically arranged based on caste status. While the *Nambuthiris*, *samathas*, and *Nairs* stood as privileged sections, other castes remained oppressed, and the conditions of the *Ezhavas* began to transform thanks to linking the Kerala economy to the global market. This 18th-century *Ezhavas* had the status of an intermediary caste rather than lower as the steady economic progress made them equivalent to another high caste like *Nairs* in their financial strength. This made them reinforced as a prominent community along with the privileged as evidenced from the colonial census. Thus, colonialism, which made merit the criteria rather than caste status, led to the steady growth of an *Ezhava* as a prominent community in terms of wealth, numerical strength, education, etc, but without social status due to low caste affiliations.^{xv} This educated middle class began to clamour for citizenship rights, and as a step towards it, erasing the ritual inferiority was inevitable. For this purpose, they considered entering into the public temple as the most excellent way to achieve equality on the same footing as that of the elitists.

The social reforms raised demands mainly related to some rights forbidden to the low caste body as the body became the visible objects of caste. So the 18th and 19th century social reforms raised demands for the bare minimum rights and other rights and freedom. Thus, the period was noisy, with the right to walk along the public roads, go to government public schools, speak and express, and finally get direct

access to the 'public temples' in the country. Here, temples became sites of struggle for the people. Temples, being the highest visible symbols of religion, have been exerting their influence throughout the history of India and, for the first time, became the sites for contestation between different social groups because the very idea of caste and related deprivations in erstwhile Kerala people got from this same institution. In the pan-Indian scenario, the issue of temple entry came at the time of Ambedkarian reform movements as a part of the mobilisation of the masses. When the mobilisation was completed, the demands changed to economic, political, and other channels beneficial for the commons.^{xvi} In Kerala, when other demands, including the right to walk and access to public educational institutions and jobs, were achieved, they raised the demand for temple entry as a part of civic or democratic rights. Entering the public temples was equal to breaking the monopoly of the high castes, was the common belief in that period, as the lower caste people had temples of their own like the Aruvippuram temple constructed by Narayana Guru with his 'context smashing' intervention in the upper caste religious sphere.^{xvii}

Different quarters they highly criticised this move as an attempt at *Sanskritization*. The idea of temple entry of the exterior castes germinated in the minds of high castes. But it was carried over by the intermediary caste of the period, i.e., the *Ezhavas*. One interesting point related to this was that the prominent social reform leaders always put forward different demands. The silence of Narayana Guru and Ayyankali, poikayil Yohannan and other leaders were examples of this. In the Pan-Indian scenario, Ambedkar demanded temple entry for the first time (Kalaram Satyagraha). Of course, he dropped the demand and began to clamour for other rights that would ensure decent living for the people of his caste. To him, entering into the temples of higher castes would perpetuate the caste system and, thereby, Hinduism, which finally led to the subordination of the masses. In Hinduism, though, the common masses were outside the frames of this great culture, acting as the base to support the superstructure of elitism.

Discussion and Conclusion

As already stated, the temple was the ultimate status assignee in the caste-oriented hierarchical society of Kerala and the highest law of the land. This was also the highest hegemonic institution and political power. All these led to the ousting of the oppressed *avarna* sections from the precincts of the temples of the government. The lower caste, including the *Ezhavas*, had temples of their own as the one consecrated by Sri Narayana Guru at Aruvippuram in 1888. Even before that, instances of temple consecration were such as the one built by Arttupuzha Velayudha Panikkar some 36 years before Guru, and many local temples had access to the lower castes in Kerala.^{xviii} But here, the demand was to enter the high caste or state-owned public temples, which signifies the breaking of the hegemonic authority of the elites. As M N Srinivas opined, the dichotomy of Westernisation and Sanskritisation worked as an agency behind the social reform initiatives in India. While Northern India followed the model of Westernisation like the "objectification of culture" and "Semitization", the construction of Hindu religion took place. The South Indian reform initiatives, though they seem to be in line with Sanskritisation, could model in that fashion but not wholly. There were instances of compromises in the Sanskritisation project as the society displayed a different cultural trend in the then society.^{xix} Thus, a full-fledged social reform initiative flourished in the state, filled with several 'demands'. Like the pan-Indian scenario demands for reforming the religion, being the core of discrimination was highlighted. Religion, the highest ideology of the then society, was the central ideology for popular mobilisation.

The temple entry movement deserves to be mentioned in different ways in the socio-political history of Kerala, as many questions and arguments about it persist. Some of the prominent are the movement's main actors and major objectives. The incredible transformation of the *Ezhava* community in 18th-century Kerala society brings forth this contention on the site of public temples to achieve equality with the

privileged sections. Apart from mere religious freedom, people became aware of the necessity of human rights due to the change in international scenarios due to the link with colonialism. Thus, the hegemonic temples, which have assigned them the status of high, oppressed or slaves based on the service tenures, are placed at the centre to erase the same unequal status assigned by it. In addition, the quest for temple entry also sought to enter into the most significant Hindu identity as 19th-century nationalism sometimes equated with the project of the construction of Hinduism and the identification of it as a most extensive identity representing Indian nationalism.^{xx}

Another feature of the Socio-religious efforts of the former Kerala state represents the support of the low caste efforts by the elitist sections like the *Nairs* and the idea of Temple entry first advocated by the *Nairs*. The humiliations imposed by the *nambuthiri brahmins* upon the *Nair* community in the form of an illegal marriage system or Sambandham placed the Nair youth in a subservient position. The denial of the critical position to *Nairs* in the bureaucratic services and other customary slavery imposed by the *Nambuthiri* hegemony prompted the Nair youth to support the reform efforts of the *Ezhava* castes. Along with this, the publishing of census data led to the creation of a concern for the increasing numerical strength of the non-Hindu sections like the Christians and Muslims by the act of conversion led to the change in the attitude of the *savanna* in terms of a Hindu numerical strengthened position for Travancore. This led to the creation of the *Nair-Ezhava* alliances of the period. Apart from this, the increasing political pressure on a large scale in the form of the right to walk or temple entry, as evidenced by the Vaikom, Guruvayoor, Suchindram, etc, were staged, which led to a great popular movement and pressured the government a lot. The elitist *Ezhava* leaders successfully mobilised a considerable section of the oppressed sections for temple entry. The struggle for responsible government was also in the air. Thus, the Travancore state was forced to proclaim that it would sustain its status quo, culminating in a declaration on 12 November 1936. The people of the possibility of entry of the slave caste questioned the rules followed by the proclamation. It was hailed as the glory of the period and advertised as a significant event by undermining the people's revolt or the fundamental issue behind the act. There are also speculations regarding what extent the secondary contradictions were fulfilled satisfactorily, as the caste stigma exists in every inch of the psyche of Indian or Kerala people except for the removal of some of the obnoxious provisions of the caste system.

End Notes

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C.V KUNJURAMAN: AN EZHAVA VISIONARY OF TRAVANCORE

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Introduction

C.V Kunjuraman (1871-1949) was an extraordinary genius whose contributions have much significance in the history of Kerala. History has done injustice in estimating the contributions of C.V. Kunjuraman to Kerala society. He was a versatile genius who marketed his identity as an ideal teacher, an acclaimed social reformer, a dauntless journalist, a prolific writer, and a far-sighted political leader.¹ C.V. was a powerful presence in Kerala's political, social and cultural history. C.V. was a unique personality who purified the language and society through his sharp and fiery criticisms and embodied simplicity, radicalism and sincerity. The narrowness of his activities might have taken away the total growth of his personality. There were, of course, contradictions and inconsistencies in his attitude and opinions. Despite all these, he could claim to have rendered invaluable service to the public life of Kerala.

Analysis and Interpretations: Early Life

The C.V. family belongs to the Pathathil branch. He was the son of Velayudhan and Kunjichali. The origin of his initial C.V. consists of 'Callumpuaram' and 'Velayudhan'. He was born in 1871 in the Mayyanad Kollam district. In Kerala, Mayyanad is one of the most critical places where information began in cultural, social, literary, and educational fields. It also reveals that Myyanad had a glorious past associated with the Dravidian and Buddhist periods. Mayyanad produced a number of social revolutionaries who initiated socio-political movements for the emancipation of the downtrodden masses.

S.N.D.P. and C.V. Kunjuraman

The social reform movement impacted depressed communities in Kerala by the end of the 19th century. Ezhavas, one of the aggrieved sessions of Kerala society, challenged the caste stick mass through their prominent leaders like Arattupuzha Velayudha Panicker, Sree Narayana Guru, Kumaranasan, Dr. Palpu and C.V Kunjuraman, etc. The plight of Ezhavas and other downtrodden communities was elevated through the strenuous efforts of the social reformers and thinkers. C.V. was one of the prominent thinkers who lived in that period and dedicated his whole life to the well-being of socially oppressed Ezhavas in particular and other backward communities in general. There were many branches of important Ezhava families in Kollam. The Mayyanad area had four critical branches: Moothchanankulam, Changathu, Pathathil, Pottiyarikattu and Elambathothathu.² C.V. was essential in the Temple Entry Movements and the Abstention Movement. The civil rights movement started in Travancore.³ He was very keen on social issues even though he was very young. The submission of the Malayali memorial by G.P Pillai enumerating the grievances of educated Malayalis had attracted the attention of C.V. It was the political agitation in Travancore for getting representation for the Non-Brahmins in Government service. This agitation brought out the people of all castes and creeds to a common platform.⁴ The speech made by G.P Pillai on this issue at the meeting held in the Malayali Mandiram at Kollam had a tremendous influence on the life of C.V. He has graphically recorded how much the speech had influenced him in his book entitled C.V Smaranika.⁵ Even before the advent of G.P. in the sphere, Dr

Palpu, who had been an officer of the Mysore Government service, had been fighting to redress such grievances. It was C.V. who had been deputed to meet and extend solidarity to Dr Palpu, who had reached Travancore and asked for redressing Ezhavas' grievances⁶.

In 1903 A.D., with the initiative Dr G Palpu and Kumaranasan, an organisation was formed to benefit socially, politically and economically deplorable millions of the Ezhava community. Its organisation was registered as Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam. Sree Narayana Guru's blessings and guidance boomed this newly created social organisation. Under the leadership of Dr G Palpu, several meetings were held at Mayyanad and Paravoor to create a new organisation to uplift the Ezhava community.⁷ Palpu, with the blessings of Sree Narayana Guru, established the Ezhava Mahajana Sabha around 1891.⁸ Later, under the initiative of Sree Narayana Guru, a committee called Aruvipuram Kshetra Yogam was constituted at Aruvipuram.⁹ Later discussion and deliberation developed the Aruvipuram Kshetra Yogam into Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam.¹⁰ The familiarity and friendship with Dr Palpu enabled C.V. Kunjuraman to work together to uplift the Ezhava through S.N.D.P. Yogam.¹¹ At that time, C.V. was trying to get a government job. He was appointed as a clerk in the Tourist Department. He was the first Ezhava to get a job in that department. In 1894, he resigned from service.¹² Even before his involvement in the S.N.D.P., he actively involved himself in many social issues. He realised that the lack of education was the cause of the backwardness of the depressed classes. To uplift them, he took the initiative to establish a school at Vellamanal in 1894.¹³ This school was opened for the education of all communities regardless of caste distinction.

He reacted to all the civil issues of his time. In 1906, the Nair-Ezhava rebellion broke out on the issue of the admission of the avarnas to public schools. The rebellion was a '*Kudamadakkippulahala*'¹⁴ In this revolt, Nairs were led by the Neelakandapillai and the Ezhavas led by C.V. Kunjuraman and C. Krishnan.¹⁵ When the rebellion reached its climax, both leaders decided to a compromise, and the meeting was known as 'Nair-Ezhava Maitri'. C.V. Kunjuraman was aware of social issues even from his childhood. He popularised the pamphlets enumerating the hardship of the Ezhavas of Travancore. A mammoth Ezhava meeting was held in Mayyanad under C.V. Kunjuraman's leadership. In the Temple Entry Movement, aiming at the opening of temples to *varnas*, C.V. played a crucial role.¹⁶ In Travancore, the High Court Judge Raman Thampi first raised the demand for Temple Entry. When he first raised the issue, he was an advocate practising in Kollam. While delivering the presidential address at the Sree Narayana Guru Jayanthi meeting held at Kollam in 1918, Raman Thampi argued that it was not necessary for the Ezhavas to construct new temples and should start a movement for entry into public temples; after this exhortation, S.N.D.P leaders began to think earnestly over the issue of temple entry demand.¹⁷ C.V. Kunjuraman had put in the black-and-white necessity of Temple Entry through his articles and speeches. The editorial that C.V. had written in '*Deshabhimani*' on December 1917 had far-reaching effects in Travancore.¹⁷

The Temple Entry Movement marked a crowning victory when Sir Chithira Thirunal Balarama Varma, the Maharaja of Travancore, issued the famous Temple Entry Proclamation on November 12th, 1936.¹⁸ It was C.V. Kunjuraman who created favourable circumstances for his proclamation. Through his articles and speeches, C.V. Kunjuraman had dated a brain wave among the arenas by saying that the only solution for the lower caste Hindus, Who suffered under the caste system, was to embrace Christianity. He registered a strong protest against upper-class attitudes. He declared that 'the practice of being kicked while praying and the practice of praying while being kicked can't be allowed anymore'¹⁹ This declaration electrified the entire Kerala society with a new wave of social change. C.V. even wrote a book entitled 'The Ezhavas and religious conversion'. This strengthened the conversion movement.²⁰

C.V. Kunjuraman was a close associate of the Sree Narayana guru and an active participant in the intellectual and social activities of Sivagiri Mutt. C.V. hailed from Mayyanad from Kollam. There were many branches of important Ezhava families in Kollam. In the Mayyanad area, there were four critical branches: Mooth Chanankulam Changathu, Pathathil, Pittiyarikathu and Elambathothathu.²¹ In Kerala, Mayyanad is the only place where cultural, social, literary and educational reforms co-occurred. In shaping the history of Mayyanad, the Ezhavas played a prominent place. The Ezhavas constituted the majority of the population in Mayyanad.²² The term Ezhava is first referred to in the Tarisapally copper plate Grant of Sthanu Ravivarma. From this, we may conclude that the Ezhava community played a significant role even before the beginning of the Kollam era.²³ S.N.D.P. Yogam was founded in May 1903. After the Indian National Congress, the oldest and the most crucial organisation is the SNDP Yogam. The aim of the Indian National Congress was political freedom, but the objective of SNDP Yogam was the social and educational liberty of the people.²⁴

The founder of modern Kerala is Sree Narayana Guru. The Notable thing we find in Sree Narayana Guru is that he could influence leading figures like Kumaranasan Sahodran Ayyappan—Ayyankali, etc.²⁵ The ideas of Sree Narayana Guru are spread to all fields of Kerala. The ideals brought about tremendous change among Ezhavas C.V Kunjuraman, who has played an active role in SNDP Yogam since childhood. After the foundation of SNDP Yogam, C.V. took the initiative to put into practice the great ideas of Sree Narayana Guru.²⁶ The two essential persons who influenced C.V. were G.P. Pillai and Dr Palpu. After his first meeting with Dr. Palpu, he became interested in yoga. He did a lot to S.N.D.P Yogam. He was acting General Secretary of SNDP Yogam from 1927 to 29 and later became General Secretary.²⁷

He delivered several speeches about the services of yoga in Kerala. He opposed the injustice towards the lower caste people. C.V.'s chief objective was transferring knowledge to those who denied it. He thought that it would lead to social and cultural reformation. Thus, he became famous as a social reformer. C.V. was also nominated to Sree Moolam Prajasabha and Sree Moolam Assembly. In 1905, the second anniversary of SNDP Yogam was held at Kollam, with international exhibitions under the leadership of Dr. Palpu, Kumaranasan and C.V Kunjuraman actively involved in it.²⁸ The exhibition and other functions were organised on a large scale. The stall from Travancore, Cochin, British Malabar participated in the exhibition. In the function, Gurudevan announced that the Thalikettu, Tirandukuli, etc, were social evils and that the marriage system had to be reformed. Based on the advice of the Gurudevan, the marriage of CVS's daughter was held.

In 1927, C.V. was elected as SNDP Assistant Secretary. The SNDP Yogam meeting was held in Veliyanadu. As the SNDP Yogam General Secretary, C.V.'s services will be ever remembered, including the congress's programme of abolition of untouchability and the services by C.V. Kunjuraman in the Yogam meeting held in 1930. It registered a large attendance and involvement of Yogam members. During his time as the secretary of SNDP Yogam, he submitted memorandums to the Simon Commission. The important point of this memorandum is to provide special legislative Assemblies for representation of lower castes. The second demand was the Right to vote irrespective of caste. He also demanded a special legislative assembly for them.²⁹

In 1932 C.V. became the chairman of Ezhava Rashtriya Mahasabha at Kollam. That meeting discussed the status of Ezhavas. C.V.'s speech at that meeting reflected his ideas on social and political affairs.³⁰ He staunchly believed in Sree Narayana Guru and his ideals. Discussion between Gurudevan and C.V. on October 9th, 1925, was published in Kerala Kaumudi. This became the first debate in Malayalam literature. On 25 February 1945, he published a poem expressing his devotion to Swamipadam. He was

the only person who boldly expressed his opinion to Sree Narayana Guru.³¹ In 1927, the memorandum submitted to the Simmon Commission did not give the expected result. In 1932, a meeting took crucial decisions at Shanmugham Vilasam School. The important one was the right-to-vote memorandum was signed and submitted to the King.³² But it yielded no result. In the circumstances, Akhila Tiruvithamkur Samyukta Rashtriya Samithi was firm. This became a get-together of the Ezhavas Muslims and Christians on 24th January 1933 at L.M.S hall Thiruvithamkur.³³

C.V Kunjuraman also became the General Secretary of S.N.D.P Yogam during 1928-29, 1931-32. He worked hard to uplift the Ezhava Community and was in the joint free upholding of the community's interests. During his time, the Travancore government took steps to cancel the licence of S.N.D.P Yogam to support the agitation for responsible government. Then, a discussion was held between the Diwan Sir Ramaswami Iyer and C.V. Later, under C.V's initiative, Yogam members withdrew from the Travancore state congress. C.V. viewed this policy as favouring the interests of Ezhavas. Thus, he proved himself to be an unchallenged leader in his community.

Conclusion

C.V Kunjuraman became the General Secretary of S.N.D.P Yogam during 1928-29 and 1931-32. Therefore, he worked hard to uplift the Ezhava community and was at the forefront of upholding its interests. C.V. did a lot for S.N.D.P Yogam since his childhood. In 1927, he submitted a memorandum to the Simmon Commission. C.V. viewed that his policy would favour the interests of Ezhavas. Thus, he proved himself to be an unchallenged leader in his community. He also played a significant role in Kerala's social protest history. Sree Narayana Guru very much influenced him. C.V. was aware of the goal before him and declared that any struggle for freedom must be led by a people firmly based on social equality. C.V. was a great fighter throughout his life, leading revolutionary struggles and creating a golden chapter in the history of Modern Kerala.

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LIFE IN THE PRINCELY STATE OF TRAVANCORE: UNDERSTANDING ITS ECONOMY, 1800 - 1880

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Introduction

The economic history of Travancore from 1800 to 1880 reflects a period of agricultural development, infrastructure growth, international trade, and limited industrialisation. The efforts of the Travancore rulers to implement land reforms and invest in education and infrastructure laid the foundation for future economic advancements in the region. From 1800 to 1880, agriculture played a crucial role in the economy of Travancore, a princely state in present-day Kerala, India.

Agriculture

Travancore's economy primarily relied on agriculture during this period. The fertile land and favourable climate supported rice, coconut, spices (such as pepper and cardamom), cashews, and rubber. The cultivation of cash crops increased during these years, contributing to economic growth. Rice was the primary crop cultivated in Travancore. The region's fertile soil and suitable climate provided ideal conditions for rice cultivation. Different rice varieties, including Kuthiran, Kerala Gandhakasala, and Navara, were grown in different parts of the state. Alongside rice, cash crops became increasingly important during this period. Culturing cashews, coconut, and spices like pepper and cardamom and later introducing rubber cultivation played a significant role in the economic growth of Travancore. These crops were in high demand and facilitated domestic trade and export to foreign markets. Enhancing irrigation was a priority for the Travancore administration during this period. The government undertook numerous projects to build canals, dams, and reservoirs, enabling farmers to irrigate their fields and mitigate the impact of fluctuating rainfall patterns. In the 19th century, we witnessed the introduction of new agricultural techniques and technologies in Travancore. Improved ploughing methods, the use of bullocks for agrarian activities, better seed varieties, and the adoption of modern farming implements led to increased agricultural productivity. Overall, agriculture in Travancore between 1800 and 1880 focused on traditional crops like rice, along with the introduction of cash crops and technological advancements. Implementing land reforms and farmer welfare programs played a significant role in improving agricultural practices and boosting Travancore's economy.

From 1800 to 1880, I witnessed significant changes in the agricultural landscape. During this time, cash crops began to play a pivotal role in the region's economy, leading to profound social, economic, and environmental transformations. This essay explores the emergence, development, and impact of cash crops in Kerala during the aforementioned period. The arrival of the Portuguese, Dutch, and British traders in Kerala during the 16th century expanded the region's international trade connections. As a result, various cash crops entered Kerala, leading to a shift in agricultural practices. Pepper, cardamom, coffee, rubber, and tea emerged as the prominent cash crops during the 1800-1880. From the early 19th century, pepper became one of Kerala's most significant cash crops. Its cultivation expanded rapidly in Malabar and Travancore due to favourable climatic conditions. Pepper plantations gained traction, attracting both indigenous and European planters. The demand for pepper in European markets fueled its cultivation, transforming Kerala into a significant exporter. During the same era, cardamom

plantations flourished in the hill regions of Idukki and Wayanad. The British planters introduced and cultivated this valuable spice, gaining attention in domestic and international markets. Cardamom became a symbol of status and wealth among the planters in Kerala. Towards the latter half of the 19th century, British planters introduced coffee and tea plantations in the high ranges of Kerala. The hilly regions of Munnar and Nilgiri became prominent coffee cultivation areas, and tea plantations emerged in Wayanad and Idukki. The demand for these beverages in Europe prompted extensive cultivation of coffee and tea crops, further transforming Kerala's agricultural landscape. The cultivation of rubber gained momentum in Kerala during the late 19th century. The British introduced rubber plantations, utilising the region's suitable climate and fertile soil. This initiated a significant shift in Kerala's agricultural practices. By the end of the 19th century, rubber cultivation had become a driving force behind economic growth and development in the state. The cultivation of cash crops in Kerala during the 1800-1880 period had profound and lasting impacts on various aspects of society and the environment.

The Issue of Land and Reforms

During the 19th century in Travancore, significant land reforms were undertaken. These reforms aimed to address issues of inequality and exploitation in land ownership, distribution, and agricultural practices. Abolition of the "Jenmi-Kudiyan" System: Before the 19th century, the land tenure system in Travancore followed the "Jenmi-Kudiyan" system, where a few privileged landlords (Jenmis) owned vast tracts of land, while the actual cultivators (Kudiyans) worked the land but had limited rights. Under the land reforms, this system was abolished to reduce the economic disparity between landowners and cultivators.

The Travancore government implemented various land revenue reforms to ease the burden on farmers. They aimed to revise and rationalise the land revenue rates, provide relief from excessive taxes and enhance the welfare of cultivators. These reforms aimed to ensure a fairer distribution of land revenue and alleviate the financial burden on farmers. Land reforms in Travancore focused on recognising and enhancing the rights of cultivators. Measures were taken to secure the tenancy rights of cultivators, ensuring that they were protected from arbitrary evictions and had access to a fair share of the produce from the land they cultivated. The government also introduced measures to promote tenancy cultivation, where land was rented out to farmers. The aim was to broaden access to land for those who did not possess it, helping to break the concentration of land ownership and providing opportunities for small-scale farmers. The government implemented measures to regulate the collection of land revenue, ensuring transparency and accountability in the process. This helped prevent exploitation and corruption in revenue collection and ensured a fair share of revenue for the state. The Travancore government undertook initiatives to improve irrigation infrastructure by constructing canals, tanks, and other water storage systems. These measures aimed to enhance agricultural productivity, boost agricultural incomes and provide farmers better access to water resources. These land reforms in Travancore during 1800-1880 were crucial in addressing inequality and exploitation and improving the overall agrarian economy. They brought about significant changes in land ownership, cultivation practices, revenue collection, and irrigation, contributing to the welfare of the farming community in the region.

Infrastructure Development

Travancore witnessed significant infrastructure development during this period. Infrastructure projects included the construction of canals, roads, bridges, and marketplaces aimed at facilitating the transportation and trade of agricultural products. These initiatives enhanced connectivity and trade within and beyond Travancore. From 1800 to 1880, Travancore witnessed significant infrastructure development under the visionary leadership of the Maharajas of Travancore. The Maharajas focused on

improving the transportation network in Travancore. They constructed several roads and bridges, connecting remote villages and urban centres. The most notable road project was the construction of the Kollam-Theni highway, which linked the western and eastern borders of the state, facilitating trade and commerce.

The construction and expansion of canals and waterways were vital in enhancing transportation and irrigation. The well-known Kuttanad-Madathil Canal was developed during this period, enabling the transportation of goods and services between central and western Travancore. The introduction of railways revolutionised transportation in Travancore. In 1904, the first railway line was opened, running from Trivandrum (the capital of Travancore) to Quilon (now Kollam). This railway line significantly improved connectivity and boosted trade within the region. The Travancore rulers recognised the importance of education and established several educational institutions. Notable among them is Maharaja's College, which was established in 1875 in Trivandrum. It became the beacon of higher education in Travancore and was crucial in producing generations of scholars and leaders. The Travancore rulers focused on developing ports and harbours to facilitate trade and boost economic development. The construction and expansion of Trivandrum and Neendakara harbours and modernisation measures facilitated coastal trade and commerce. Agriculture is the backbone of Travancore's economy, so various irrigation projects were undertaken to improve agricultural productivity. The Anayadi Irrigation Project and several check dams and reservoirs helped irrigate agrarian lands, ensuring stable food production. The rulers of Travancore also took the initiative to construct public buildings and healthcare facilities. The construction of palaces, museums, hospitals, and public health centres was undertaken to cater to the population's growing needs. These infrastructure projects undertaken in Travancore between 1800 and 1880 significantly transformed the region, improving transportation, education, healthcare, and agriculture. These developments laid the foundation for Travancore's subsequent growth and modernisation and contributed to its flourishing economy.

Trade and Commerce

Travancore was active in international trade during the early 19th century. European traders, particularly the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, established trade relations with Travancore to access its rich agricultural resources. The state's ports, like Thiruvananthapuram, Quilon (Kollam), and Alappuzha, played a crucial role in facilitating this trade.

From 1800 to 1880, Travancore, a princely state in southern India, witnessed significant developments in trade and commerce. Travancore had well-established trade routes both within the state and with neighbouring regions. It had access to crucial maritime trade routes connecting it to countries like Sri Lanka and the Persian Gulf. The major ports of Trivandrum, Quilon (Kollam), and Alleppey (Alappuzha) facilitated trade with the outside world. Agriculture formed the backbone of Travancore's economy during this period. Cash crops such as rice, coconuts, spices (like cardamom, pepper, and cloves), rubber, and tea were cultivated and exported. The fertile lands of Travancore contributed substantially to its economic growth. During the 19th century, European traders, especially the British, established their presence in Travancore. They played a significant role in trade, introducing new technologies and methods and promoting export-oriented industries. The British also facilitated the export of goods from Travancore to other parts of India and beyond. Trade within Travancore was vibrant. The kingdom had a well-developed network of rivers, canals, and backwaters, which facilitated the transportation of goods. Local merchants and traders exchanged commodities such as textiles, spices, handicrafts, and other locally produced items. The major commercial centres of Travancore, such as Trivandrum

(Thiruvananthapuram), Quilon (Kollam), and Alleppey (Alappuzha), were bustling hubs of economic activity. These cities served as significant marketplaces and trading centres for local and foreign merchants. The Travancore state had a structured revenue system called the “jam-Kuriyama” system, where landowners collected rents and taxes. The revenue generated from trade and agriculture played a crucial role in the state's treasury and helped the region's overall development.

During this period, Travancore witnessed the beginning of industrialisation, primarily through the establishment of cash crop plantations, the coir (coconut fibre) industry, and the introduction of tea cultivation. These industries considerably contributed to the state's economic growth and employment opportunities. It is important to note that trade and commerce in Travancore during this period were influenced by colonial forces, European traders, and traditional systems. The expansion of trade and the flourishing agricultural economy played a significant role in the socio-economic development of Travancore during the 19th century. While agrarian practices dominated the economy, the period also saw the initiation of industrial activities in Travancore. Manufacturing units for products like tiles, pottery, and coir (coconut fibre) were established, providing employment opportunities and diversifying the economic base. Travancore recognised the importance of education in its economic development. The establishment of schools and colleges, including the famous Maharaja's College in Thiruvananthapuram, increased literacy rates. Education, in turn, played a vital role in promoting social and economic mobility.

Industrialisation Efforts

From 1800 to 1880, the princely state of Travancore, located in present-day Kerala, witnessed significant industrialisation efforts. Under the rule of Maharaja Swathi Thirunal Rama Varma, Travancore adopted modern governance principles and embraced industrial development. Maharaja Swathi Thirunal took several measures to improve the economic condition of Travancore. He implemented land reforms that redistributed agricultural land, increasing farm productivity and creating a surplus for industrial development. Travancore took advantage of technological advancements and embraced modern machinery and techniques. The state introduced mechanised farming techniques, like ploughs and other agricultural tools, which improved productivity. The textile industry gained prominence in Travancore during this period. Maharaja Swathi Thirunal established several textile mills, including the Thiruvananthapuram Spinning and Weaving Mills, to promote textile production within the state. This not only created employment opportunities but also brought revenue to the state. The Maharaja founded institutions like the Royal College of Engineering and the Industrial School to foster industrial growth. These institutions aimed to provide technical education and training to individuals interested in various industries, such as engineering, metalworking, and carpentry. The construction of roads and bridges facilitated the movement of goods and services across the state. The introduction of railway lines, such as the Trivandrum-Nagercoil line, further improved connectivity and played a significant role in the growth of industries in Travancore. To promote industrialisation, collaborations were established with foreign companies. For instance, the British company Cochran & Co. assisted in the establishment of the Trivandrum Steam Power Company, which aimed to harness steam power for industrial purposes. Maharaja Swathi Thirunal encouraged domestic and foreign investment in Travancore's industries. This attracted entrepreneurs and investors who saw opportunities for growth and development within the state. Overall, industrialisation in Travancore between 1800-1880 was characterised by targeted economic reforms, technological advancements, textile manufacturing promotion, industrial institutions, infrastructure development, foreign collaborations, and capital investments. These efforts paved the way for future industrial growth in the region.

Education and literacy

During the period from 1800 to 1880, Travancore, which is now a part of the southern Indian state of Kerala, witnessed significant developments in the field of education and literacy. Travancore saw several educational reforms initiated by the kings and local administrators during this period. The state's ruler, Maharaja Swathi Thirunal (reign: 1829-1846), initiated various measures to promote education, including establishing schools and colleges—the government-led efforts to develop a network of schools throughout Travancore. The madrasa system was also reorganised, and Arabic and Persian education were given importance alongside Malayalam and English. The rulers of Travancore were particularly interested in English education, which was considered crucial for administrative functions and connecting with British authorities. English was gradually introduced into the curriculum and became a significant component of education in the region. Several educational institutions were established during this period. The Maharaja's College in Thiruvananthapuram, founded in 1834, was one of the prominent institutions providing higher education. Other colleges and schools, like CMS College, College of Fine Arts, and Girls' High School, were also established in various parts of Travancore. The establishment of printing presses played a crucial role in disseminating knowledge. The first Malayalam printing press, CMS Press, was established in Kottayam in 1821, followed by other presses in Travancore. This facilitated the publication of books, newspapers, and journals, making educational resources accessible to a larger audience. Efforts were made to promote education among women during this period. Female schools and colleges were established to educate women, such as the Female School in Thiruvananthapuram and Maharani's College. The government and social organisations launched various literacy campaigns to enhance the overall literacy rate in Travancore. One significant campaign was the "Changampuzha Kavithakal" campaign, which distributed free copies of renowned poet Changampuzha Krishna Pillai's works to promote literacy. Initiatives were taken to bridge the educational gap among different communities. Scholarships and incentives were provided to students from disadvantaged castes and communities to encourage their participation in education. Overall, the period from 1800 to 1880 witnessed significant progress in education and literacy in Travancore. The establishment of educational institutions, the promotion of English education, and the expansion of printing facilities played a crucial role in improving the region's educational opportunities and literacy rates.

Conclusion

During the 1800-1880 period, Travancore underwent significant economic reforms that contributed to its industrialisation. These reforms aimed to modernise and diversify the economy, promote industrial growth, enhance trade, and improve the overall living conditions of the people. Travancore implemented various land reforms to improve agricultural productivity and land ownership. The state redistributed land to peasant farmers, abolished serfdom and feudal practices, and promoted the cultivation of cash crops such as rubber, tea, and coffee. The state introduced modern farming techniques, including new tools and machinery, irrigation systems, and improved farming practices. This led to increased agricultural productivity and the growth of cash crop industries. Travancore encouraged the establishment of industries to diversify the economy and reduce dependence on agriculture. This period saw the growth of industries such as textile mills, coir factories, rice mills, and metal foundries. The state provided incentives and infrastructure support to attract investors and promote industrialisation. Travancore invested in developing transportation and communication infrastructure to support industrial growth. Roads, railways, and harbours were built to facilitate trade within the state and other regions. Travancore implemented liberal trade policies to boost commerce. The state abolished internal trade barriers, levied

reasonable taxes and tariffs, and established trade links with foreign countries. This facilitated the export of agricultural and industrial goods, improving the overall economic growth. The Travancore government provided support to local entrepreneurs in establishing their businesses. Financial incentives, low-interest loans, and technical assistance were provided to encourage entrepreneurship and promote economic development.

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UNDERSTANDING THE TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION IN KERALA IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALISATION

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Globalisation is one of contemporary society's most ubiquitous and highly challenged practices and progress. This is evident from the overflow of writing and essays focusing on the process.¹ Globalization refers to the increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of countries and people around the world through economic, political, technological, and cultural processes. According to Kenichi Ohanae, it is a borderless world.² It is a process of the growth of supra-territorial relations between people opines Scholte. In other words, it refers to the process of integration of countries with the world economy. It has been a topic of discussion and research among scholars from various disciplines. Globalisation is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, and researchers hold diverse opinions regarding its implications and effects.

Theodore Levitt, an American Economist, introduced the term globalization. The concept emerged in the late 20th century with the rise of advancements in communication, transportation, and technology. These developments facilitated the flow of goods, services, capital, and information across borders, leading to increased global integration. Globalisation has been driven by trade liberalisation, foreign direct investment, rapid technological advancements, and the emergence of multinational corporations.³

Proponents of globalisation argue that it has brought numerous benefits. Economic theorists suggest that globalisation enhances efficiency, promotes economic growth, and raises living standards by allowing countries to specialise in producing goods and services where they have a comparative advantage. They believe that globalisation increases productivity, job creation, and higher incomes. Additionally, advocates argue that globalisation promotes cultural exchange, spreads knowledge, and fosters peace and cooperation among nations.

Some critics argue that globalisation benefits the wealthy and powerful while exacerbating income inequality within and between countries. They suggest that globalisation often exploits workers in developing countries through low wages and poor working conditions. Critics also raise concerns about local industries' displacement, cultural diversity loss, and the negative environmental consequences associated with increased global trade and consumption.

Cultural researchers focus on the impact of globalisation on cultural identities and practices. While some argue that globalisation leads to cultural homogenisation and the dominance of Western values, others emphasise the resilience and adaptability of local cultures in the face of globalisation. Cultural researchers also highlight the role of media, technology, and migration in shaping cultural interactions and hybridisation.

Political scientists examine the effects of globalisation on political power and governance structures. Some argue that globalisation weakens the authority of nation-states as global actors such as multinational corporations and international organisations gain influence. Others contend that globalisation provides opportunities for states to enhance their power and influence through economic integration and diplomatic cooperation.

The History of Globalisation

Long before modern globalisation, ancient civilisations engaged in trade across vast distances. For example, the Silk Road connected East Asia and Europe, fostering the exchange of goods, ideas, and cultures. In the 1st century BC, goods were transported from China to Europe. The transportation of goods took place along the Silk Road. The Silk Road route was very long in distance. This was a remarkable development in the history of Globalization. This is because goods were sold across continents for the first time.

Globalisation has continued to grow gradually since 1st BC. Another significant development took place in the 7th century AD. This was the time when the religion of Islam spread. Most noteworthy, Arab merchants led to a rapid expansion of international trade. By the 9th century, there was the domination of Muslim traders on international trade. Furthermore, the focus of trade at this time was spices.

The age of colonialism and European exploration from the 15th to 19th centuries played a significant role in globalisation. European powers established colonies, creating trade and cultural exchange networks that extended across the globe. European merchants connected European merchants—and conquered America from Europe.

Industrialisation and technological advancements in the 18th and 19th centuries brought significant advancements in transportation, communication, and production. These advancements facilitated the expansion of global trade and interaction between nations. From the 19th century, Great Britain dominated the world. There was a rapid spread of international trade. The British developed powerful ships and trains. Consequently, the speed of transportation greatly increased. The rate of production of goods also significantly increased. Communication also got faster, which was better for Global trade.

The development of Global Institutions like the United Nations, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund in the 20th century aimed to promote global cooperation and reduce trade barriers. Finally, in the 20th and 21st Centuries, Globalization took its ultimate form. This was a massive aid to Globalization. Hence, E-commerce plays a considerable role in Globalization.

The beginning of globalisation in India can be traced back to the 1990s when the country started opening its economy to foreign investments and liberal trade.⁴ This period saw significant economic reforms and policy changes to integrate India with the global economy. The move towards globalisation in India resulted in increased foreign direct investment, multinational corporations' entry, and export-oriented industries' growth. It also brought about changes in various sectors and led to the expansion of information technology, services, and manufacturing industries.⁵ Overall, globalisation has profoundly impacted India's economy, society, and culture.

Globalisation in Kerala can be traced back to the latter half of the 20th century. With the expansion of global trade and transportation and communication technology advancements, Kerala gradually became interconnected with the global economy.

One of the earliest areas where globalisation impacted Kerala was the emigration of people to foreign countries for better job opportunities. This led to solid remittance flows, greatly influencing the state's economy. Kerala's expatriate community significantly brought global influences, including ideas, capital, and technology, back to the state.⁶

Additionally, Kerala's tourism industry started gaining prominence during this period, attracting international tourists and contributing to its integration into the global economy. The state's natural beauty, cultural heritage, and traditional practices became popular among global travellers. Furthermore, globalisation had

an impact on Kerala's agricultural sector. The state became known for exporting cash crops such as tea, coffee, spices, and coconuts to international markets.

The growth of the information technology (IT) and business process outsourcing (BPO) sectors also played a crucial role in Kerala's globalisation. The state witnessed an influx of IT companies, leading to job opportunities and economic growth. Kerala's healthcare and medical tourism sectors have gained global recognition. Several international patients visit Kerala for affordable, high-quality medical treatment and wellness services.

It's important to note that globalisation's impact in Kerala is multifaceted and has influenced various sectors of the economy, society, and culture. However, a comprehensive understanding of globalisation's origin and impact in Kerala would require a detailed study, analysis, and research.

Transformation of Education

Curriculum Expansion: Globalization has led to an expansion of the curriculum in Kerala. There has been an increased emphasis on including global perspectives in educational materials and coursework. Subjects such as global studies, international relations, and global issues are now integrated into the curriculum to give students a broader understanding of the world.⁷

Technological Changes

Globalization has resulted in technological advancements that have transformed education in Kerala. Technology integration in classrooms has facilitated access to online resources, e-books, video lectures, and interactive learning platforms. Students can now access vast information and engage in more dynamic and interactive learning experiences.

International Interventions

Globalization has facilitated international collaborations and partnerships between educational institutions in Kerala and other countries. This has led to the exchange of ideas, expertise, and best practices in teaching and learning. Collaborative programs, exchange programs, and joint research projects have become common, offering students and educators valuable cross-cultural learning and collaboration opportunities.

Cross-cultural Exposure

With increased globalisation, educational institutions in Kerala have become more diverse and inclusive. Students now have the opportunity to interact with individuals from different cultures and backgrounds through international student exchanges, study abroad programs, and intercultural events. This exposure promotes cultural understanding and prepares students for a globalised workforce.

Career Preparation

Globalization has reshaped the career landscape, and educational institutions in Kerala are adapting to meet the changing demands. There is an increased focus on providing students with skills relevant to the global job market, such as communication skills, critical thinking, problem-solving, and intercultural competency. Institutes offer career counselling, entrepreneurship programs, and industry collaborations to enhance students' employability in a global economy.

New Teaching Methods

Collaborative and Project-Based Learning: Globalization has emphasised the importance of collaboration and teamwork. Teaching methods in Kerala now focus on encouraging students to work together on

projects and assignments. This approach allows students to develop interpersonal skills, critical thinking, problem-solving abilities, and cross-cultural understanding.

Technology Integration

With the advancement of technology, teaching methods in Kerala have embraced digital tools and resources. Educators now utilise multimedia presentations, online learning platforms, educational apps, and interactive teaching aids to enhance the learning experience.⁸ This enables students to engage with content more dynamically and interactively.

Global Perspective

Globalization has led to a shift towards incorporating a global perspective in teaching methods. Educators in Kerala strive to provide students with a broader understanding of the world by integrating global issues, diverse cultures, and international perspectives into their lessons. This helps students develop a global mindset and promotes empathy and cultural sensitivity.

Experiential Learning

Globalization has highlighted the importance of real-world experiences. Teaching methods in Kerala now focus on experiential learning, which enables students to apply their knowledge in practical situations.⁹ Field trips, internships, simulations, and hands-on activities are incorporated into the curriculum to give students first-hand experiences and a deeper understanding of concepts.

Critical Thinking and Problem-Solving

Globalization has emphasised the need for critical thinking and problem-solving skills. Kerala's teaching methods now encourage students to analyse and evaluate information, think creatively, and develop innovative solutions to complex problems.¹⁰ Activities such as case studies, debates, brainstorming sessions, and project-based assessments foster critical thinking skills.

Effects of Globalisation and Malayalam Language

Globalisation has significantly influenced Kerala's language, which is primarily Malayalam. While globalisation has had an impact on Kerala's language, Malayalam continues to be the primary language spoken in the region. The influence of globalisation has resulted in a linguistic blend that reflects Kerala's changing cultural landscape.

Vocabulary

Globalization has introduced new words and phrases from various languages into the Malayalam vocabulary. Words from English, Hindi, Tamil, and other languages have made their way into everyday conversations as people interact with the global community. For example, words like "computer," "internet," and "mobile" have become commonplace in Malayalam vocabulary.

Loanwords

As Kerala became more connected with the world, it adopted loanwords from different languages to fill gaps in its lexicon. Words like "pizza," "coffee," and "chocolate" have been incorporated into Malayalam, reflecting the influence of global cuisine and culture.

Slang and Colloquialisms

Globalization has also influenced the slang and colloquialisms used in Kerala. With increased exposure to global media and communication platforms, people often incorporate English words or phrases into everyday conversations, especially among younger generations.

Communication Styles

Globalization has influenced communication styles in Kerala, particularly in urban areas and among the younger generation. Social media and messaging apps have led to the adoption of shorter, more informal language styles, blending English and Malayalam in a phenomenon commonly known as "Manglish" (a mix of Malayalam and English).

Language Learning

Globalization has increased the emphasis on English education in Kerala. English proficiency has become crucial for many seeking job opportunities, higher education, or global interactions. As a result, English has become more integrated into daily life, affecting the language patterns and preferences of the population.

Language Education

Emphasis on English: Globalization has increased the focus on English education in Kerala. English has become a vital language for communication in various domains, including business, technology, and higher education. As a result, many schools and institutes in Kerala offer English language courses to equip students with the necessary skills for global communication.

Language Learning Opportunities: Globalization has opened up new opportunities for language learning in Kerala. People can access online language learning platforms, apps, and resources that enable them to learn different languages, including English, more conveniently¹¹. This has facilitated the growth of language learning and enhanced language proficiency levels in the region.

Cultural Exchanges: Globalization has facilitated cultural exchanges and collaborations between Kerala and other countries. This has resulted in the introduction of foreign language courses in educational institutions. Students now have the opportunity to learn French, German, Spanish, and Mandarin, among others, in addition to English and their native language, Malayalam.

Multilingual Education: With increased globalisation, there has been a growing recognition of the benefits of multilingual education.¹² Schools in Kerala now encourage learning multiple languages, promoting a more inclusive and well-rounded language education system. Students can learn English and other regional and foreign languages, fostering linguistic diversity and cultural understanding.

Career Opportunities: Globalization has created a demand for individuals with solid language skills, particularly in English. Proficiency in English has become essential for various job sectors, including information technology, tourism, hospitality, and customer service. Consequently, language education has adapted to meet these demands, offering specialised programs and courses to prepare students for global career opportunities. Globalisation has broadened language education opportunities in Kerala, encouraging learning English and other languages, promoting cultural exchanges, and enhancing career prospects in an increasingly interconnected world.

In conclusion, globalisation has played a crucial role in shaping the development of the Malayalam language in Kerala. Through increased cultural exchange and the availability of digital resources, Malayalam has experienced new opportunities for growth and preservation. Globalisation has also

influenced the education sector, introducing new techniques and approaches to teaching the language. This includes integrating technology, multimedia tools, and online resources, making learning Malayalam more accessible and engaging. As a result, the impact of globalisation has contributed positively to the evolution and promotion of the Malayalam language, fostering its continued vitality and relevance in an interconnected world.

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THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT AND KNOWLEDGE CREATION IN TRAVANCORE

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Introduction

Libraries are institutions that preserve valuable materials like literature, lore, manuscripts and records. They are the treasure houses of knowledge, the cradle of culture and heritage of a country. The role of libraries in the creation and dissemination of knowledge is immense. They conserve creative ideas, scientific advancements and historical records of place and time. These institutions support novel concepts, creative thinking, and scientific investigation. The development of libraries is included in the famous historical and conceptualisation of society. One must first rely on these institutions to comprehend the mass culture of the different periods.

Libraries were unthinkable until writing was developed in Mesopotamia and Egypt some 5,500–6,000 years ago. Few surviving early libraries exist, and nothing is known about them. Because they were inscribed on transient surfaces, parts of the written works they held disintegrated, conquerors burned certain libraries, and people who could no longer read the texts abandoned themⁱ.

Library in Antiquity

Libraries were a feature of large cities throughout the ancient world, with famous examples in Alexandria, Athens, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Nineveh. They are usually designed for visiting scholars to study and copy whatever interests them most. It was only in the Roman period that truly public libraries allowed everyone to come and read as they pleased. Texts in ancient libraries were usually kept on papyrus or leather scrolls, inscribed on wax and clay tablets, or bound in parchment codices. Books were acquired through purchase, copying, and donations but were among the items carried away by conquerors from cities. Such was the value given to knowledge in ancient timesⁱⁱ.

Libraries in antiquity were only sometimes designed for the public to freely consult texts or to check out texts independently as libraries operate today, although some did offer this service. Many libraries in the Near East and Egypt were associated with sacred temple sites or were part of an administrative or royal archive, while in the Greek and Roman worlds, these practices continued, but private collections became more common. When libraries were open to the public, they were usually aimed at allowing visiting scholars to consult and copy texts, much like a modern reference library or the archive of a research institution.

Ancient texts could take many forms, such as scrolls made of papyrus or leather or inscribed on wax or clay tablets. The subject matter of ancient texts involved all aspects of ancient societies and included religion, sciences, mathematics, philosophy, medicine, and the correspondence of rulers.

Genesis of Libraries in India

Public libraries arose worldwide along with growth in education, literacy and publications. Monarchs, wealthy people, and philanthropists have all contributed to society by developing public libraries. Libraries in ancient India were established mainly under the patronage of emperors, prominent capitalists and scholars. Indian emperors and kings supported scholars and scholarship. There is evidence of well-

developed libraries even in the 6th century. The famous Nalanda University in Bihar has a magnificent library with a vast collection of manuscripts covering the universe of knowledge. Access to the library was restricted to scholars. Ancient universities like Taxila and Vikramashila also had valuable libraries.

The Muslim influence in India in the 13th century AD marked the dawn of another epoch of learning and scholarship. The period gave further impetus to the growth of libraries. Mughal rulers gave considerable importance to libraries and appointed scholars as librarians. During the reigns of Babur, Humayun and Akbar, many new libraries were established, and existing ones were further developed. Mughal libraries had magnificent buildings, rare manuscripts and scholarly libraries. In the history of library services in India, the names Maharaja Sawai Man Singh of Jaipur and Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab will be remembered with admiration. The famous Saraswati Mahal Library was started in the 17th century AD by the Maharaja of Thanjavur. It remains a unique institution like collections and servicesⁱⁱⁱ.

Libraries founded by kings and magnates functioned like private institutions, so access was limited. Public library service had to wait for the advent of the British^{iv}. Unfortunately, the arrival of the British and the resulting political disorder was a huge blow to India's cultural heritage. When libraries began to develop in India in the early 19th century, they were a Western product.

In 1808, the Bombay Government directed libraries to become registered, and they were to be provided with copies of books published from "funds for the promotion of literature". According to the "Sinha Committee", this was the beginning of the first phase of public library development in India. In the first half of the 19th century, public libraries were in the three Presidency towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The most important was the one in Kolkata, established in 1835. This library later developed into the National Library of India. Almost simultaneously, subscription libraries were started in many Indian cities^v. Of course, public libraries were not in the true sense of the term and did not provide free books to all. Established in imitation of their Western counterparts, the use of these libraries was confined to small, wealthy sections of society.

The first three decades of the 20th century were the golden age of the Indian library system. The Imperial Libraries Act was passed on 31 January 1902, and in 1906, Lord Curzon converted the Calcutta Public Library into the Imperial Library^{vi}.

Another phase of the library movement began in 1937 with the establishment of democratic governments in many provinces. Between 1937 and 1942, several rural and travelling libraries sprang up in Assam, Bihar, Punjab and Travancore. In 1942, it was estimated that there were about 13,000 rural libraries in India^{vii}. Another notable development was the Government of Bombay's 'Library Development Committee' with A.A.A. Faizi as the Chairman. The committee ambitiously recommended implementing a comprehensive library system in three successive phases. Due to financial constraints, the government could implement only some of the recommendations.

During the post-independence period, the growth of libraries in general has been remarkable, though more impressive than that of academic and specialised libraries. At the time of independence, when India was facing a horde of challenges, illiteracy was a significant obstacle in the pathway of her development. Of the rural population, 88 per cent of the total was almost illiterate. Traffic was terrible, and the media was marginal. However, the public library scene in India improved significantly in the post-independence era, although it still needed to be improved in many areas. The situation in India in the field then gave the impression that there was a long way to go before India's public libraries could be compared on an equal footing with those of the developed nations.

When India conducted its first post-independence census in 1951, it was found that there were 2,843 local governments in urban and rural India, of which 320 were rural district boards. Only about one-third of the local governments maintained public libraries, about 950. In addition, there were about 1,500 subscription libraries. The supposed public libraries were mainly reading rooms with hundreds of books.

Genesis and Growth of Libraries in Kerala

Numerous reasons contributed to the establishment of libraries in India. The colonialists demonstrated interest in constructing educational institutions, including libraries, as did the rulers of princely states operating under their guidance. The colonialists did this for their gain; nonetheless, the libraries became the focal points of the social movements rising against the colonial rulers and the feudal power system. To maintain and strengthen their intellectual domination, the elite segments of society became interested in establishing libraries. The oppressed groups saw libraries as their weapon in the fight for social justice.

With libraries' increasing acceptance in society, efforts were made to bring them under an umbrella organisation. Such an organisation was necessary to share the libraries' common grievances and present them before the rulers. The All Travancore Library Workers' meeting held at Neyyattinkara was such an attempt. This was the first of its kind.

Political organisations also made decisions to organise libraries. Under the direction of Annie Besant, the Malabar District Congress met at Palaghat on May 4, 1916. It adopted a resolution establishing autonomous panchayats, which would have complete autonomy in establishing schools and libraries in every hamlet. At the KPCC's annual meeting in Ernakulam on July 24, 1924, it was decided to use libraries, which would be established by each village committee affiliated with the Congress party, to disseminate the party's beliefs. In 1927, a library meeting was arranged in addition to the Congress's annual conference.

Since 1926, the Cochin Government has been developing rural libraries throughout the state as part of its adult education plan. Village Development Committees had direct authority over these libraries. Cochin state representatives attended the 4th All-India Library Conference, which was held in Malabar in December 1927. Following this, the delegates went on to actively organise rural libraries in the districts of Cochin and Malabar. During that time, *Village Sevak Sanghams* were founded for village development, and many libraries were established in the Cochin region due to these projects.

Samastha Kerala Sahithya Parishath, a literary group founded in 1927, also took the initiative to start libraries. An All-Kerala Library Committee was established in 1931, with its main office in Thrissur. The *Samasta Kerala Pusthakalaya Samithi* was established after an All Kerala Library meeting in Thrissur. The following actions were taken at the conference to advance the library movement.

- The council would pressure the 6000 villages of Kerala to establish libraries in every town.
- It would convince the government, local bodies, and wealthy sections of society of the importance of the library movement.
- A committee would be formed to select books and periodicals from publishers.
- The Council would organise book fairs.
- The Council would assist in starting public libraries.

The *Samithi* also started a quarterly called *Grandha Vichar* to propagate the ideas of the library movement^{viii}.

Several libraries appeared in rural parts of the State during that period, but many lasted only a short time. This was particularly true in the case of Malabar. This occurred mainly due to the monarchs' political ire that these libraries aroused. There were also relatively few resources available to execute these libraries. While there was much enthusiasm for establishing libraries, proper management proved challenging. The financial problems must have worsened during the Great Depression and the ensuing economic crises. A meeting of the library employees was called in to resolve these issues at the *Thrissur Grama Bandhu Library* on April 20, 1937, under the leadership of K. Damodaran, a left-wing leader of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (KPCC). It was decided to call a large library meeting in May 1937 in Calicut, with two representatives from each of the Malabar area's libraries.

The *Malabar Vayana Sala Sangham* was established due to the Calicut Convention. At this meeting, a resolution was passed to ask the KPCC to establish libraries in every elementary Congress party unit. However, the arrest of K Damodaran led to this organisation's collapse in 1939. Another endeavour in this regard was the establishment of *Kerala Grandha Sala Sangham* in Tellichery in 1943, spearheaded by Madhuravanam Krishna Kurup, a distinguished Congress figure in the Malabar region. In 1945, the legendary figure in Indian library science, S.R. Ranganathan, visited Kerala under the auspices of this organisation.

The Travancore Grandhasala Sangham

The library movement's organisational efforts and evolving nature were more visible in Travancore. The objective of the library associations in this area was to win over the colonial rulers and obtain funding. The proceedings of the first *Travancore Grandhasala Sangham* conference made this clear. On 16th September 1945, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, the Diwan of Travancore, inaugurated the library conference at P.K.M. library in Amabalapuzha. The state's extremists highly despised the diwan, and there were differing views on whether or not to invite him to the library conference's opening. However, the prevailing faction, spearheaded by P. N. Panicker, guaranteed Diwan's attendance at the library conference in which 47 libraries participated from Travancore. As the highest authority for libraries, this gathering and establishment of Travancore Grandhasala Sangham marked the beginning of the transition to a democratic institution. The role of P. N. Panicker in organising a library network in the State deserves special mention. He was associated with the formation of *Sanathana Dharma Vayana Sala* in Neelamperur, Alleppy^x. He got a grant of Rs10 from the government for this library. He realised that the government and official agencies must be essential in promoting the library movement. He travelled all over Travancore, met the enthusiasts in the library movement, and secured all possible assistance from them in forming and reviving rural libraries. He devoted his life entirely to the cause of the library movement in Kerala^x.

Following the establishment of the All Travancore Library Organisation, P. N. Panicker was elected to chair the executive committee. The Committee submitted a memorandum for increased library grants to the Diwan. The Diwan agreed to raise the annual grant from Rs 200 to Rs 240. It was also permitted to give *Travancore Grandhasala Sangham* a special aid of Rs 250. The zonal organisers were entrusted with propagating the organisation's activities. P. N. Panicker was appointed as the Chief Organizer. The government mandated that the Grandhasala Sangham and the Travancore University Library be affiliated. Grandhasala Sangham was registered under the Travancore Companies Act on 27 May 1947. In 1948, the Sangham released a manual that included articles about the library movement in various nations and regions of India and how to maintain and distribute books and create catalogues, among other topics.

The Travancore government constructed rural libraries connected to primary schools in 1934–1935. The libraries received donations from the government through 50 books and newspapers, three benches, desks, and almirahs. The headmaster of the nearby primary school supervised these rural libraries. He received a monthly special allowance of Rs 3 for this extra labour. However, this money and the furniture were mainly mishandled. The public had no interest in these libraries because the local community was not involved in their activities. So, within ten years, most of these libraries had become defunct. *Grandha Sala Sangham* was drawn to these libraries because of their deplorable condition. It demanded that the government manage these libraries. By then, the nation had gained independence, and democracy had been established. Still, the bureaucracy was reluctant to hand these libraries to the *Sangham*. At last, the government yielded to the demand of the Sangham and the public and handed over them to the *Sangham*. At that time, there were 240 such rural libraries.

Following the union of Travancore and Cochin in 1949–1950, the activities of the *Sangham* were also extended to Cochin. Every village in Cochin had a public library at that time. There were library organisations as well. The organisations in charge of coordinating the library movement in Cochin were the *Samastha Kerala Pusthakalaya Samithi*, led by Chenkulathu Kunjiraman Menon, and the *Akhila Cochin Grandha Sala Sangham*, headed by M. K. Raja. However, the democratic spirit and energy of the libraries of Travancore were absent from the library movement and its apex organisation. In Cochin, it was mostly a government matter. In Cochin, libraries were run by the departments of education and panchayats. A Grandha Sala Department and libraries were established in the 272 villages of Cochin.

These libraries received an annual grant of Rs 50,000 in 1948. Even with such generous support, the library movement in Cochin lacked the momentum of those in Malabar and Travancore. The prime limitation was the lack of public involvement in the functioning of these libraries. However, these libraries came under the Sangham after the unification of Travancore and Cochin states and the Cochin in 1949. With the establishment of a democratic government, the library movement in Cochin entered into a new phase.

During the early decades of the library movement, most locals participated voluntarily in the functioning of the libraries. When the Travancore and Cochin library organisations merged, paid organisers were hired. They were responsible for going to every village and encouraging locals to open rural libraries. Thus, centralised library operations were created under hierarchical supervision.

The development of the publishing sector is intimately linked to the history of the library movement. Kerala began printing and book publication in the second half of the 1800s. Publishing firms, especially those who worked with the literary works of distinguished Malayalam intellectuals, emerged during the early decades of the 20th century. Kerala's publishing sector transformed when *Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Sangham* (SPCS) was founded in 1949. Over 2000 books were published by SPCS in its first eighteen years of operation, or an average of over 100 publications a year. A significant chapter in the history of Malayalam book production, sales and printing was initiated by the collaboration of SPCS and the library movement. Only then did Malayalam books become more common than English books in the public libraries of Kerala?

The British rulers of Malabar considered libraries as the hubs of political activity. These libraries were consequently not eligible for government assistance. Things changed drastically after independence. The first Library Act in India was passed in 1948 in Malabar. After this enactment, Malabar local library authorities were established, and district education officers were established as secretaries. Local library

authorities were formed in Kannur, Calicut and Palakkad districts after 1959. They took the initiative to create several libraries.

The Travancore-Cochin *Grandha Sala Sangham* was renamed the Kerala Grandha Sala Sangham upon the establishment of Kerala State in 1956, and its activities were extended to the Malabar region as well. The first library to join the Kerala Grandha Sala Sangham was *Thanoor Sanchara Grantha Sala* in Malappuram in 1957. At the time, there were about 500 libraries in Malabar.^{xi}

Conclusion

Public libraries are considered the cradle of a nation's knowledge, culture and heritage. They have always been the gateway to learning for most people. These are knowledge centres that contribute to lifelong learning. A public library can best be described as a people's university. Kerala has the honour of being the state with the most significant number of libraries. The public library movement in Kerala is older than any other state in India and stands out as a unique phenomenon in several respects. The historical regions of Travancore, Kochi and Malabar, which form the present state of Kerala, each witnessed the evolution of public library development within a different timeframe. Thiruvananthapuram Public Library was established in 1829 during the period of Swathi Thirunal, the Maharaja of the Kingdom of Travancore, seven years before the establishment of the Calcutta National Library (1836). Thus, it can be seen that the governments nurtured the state's reading culture even before state formation, which helped build a strong foundation for the library movement. Kerala's glory as the most literate state is intrinsically linked to the library movement in the state.

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THE HISTORY BEHIND THE EVOLUTION: UNCOVERING THE FORCES INFLUENCING TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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Introduction

The professional development of teachers has undergone a significant transformation, shaped by a complex interplay of historical events and societal changes. This paper explores the historical forces that have influenced the evolution of Continuous Professional Development (CPD) for educators, tracing its journey from traditional pedagogical practices to contemporary, technology-driven approaches. By examining key historical milestones—such as the Industrial Revolution, the introduction of progressive education, and the rise of digital technology—this study elucidates how these events have redefined CPD practices and priorities. Through a detailed analysis of historical documents, educational reforms, and societal shifts, the paper highlights how historical context has shaped the content and methodology of teacher training programs. It discusses how societal changes, including shifts in educational philosophy, technological advancements, and evolving expectations for teacher roles, have driven the development of CPD practices. The study employs case studies and archival research to illustrate the impact of these historical forces on teacher professional development. By uncovering these influences, the paper provides valuable insights into how past developments continue to inform current CPD practices and suggests potential directions for future advancements. Understanding these historical underpinnings offers a broader perspective on the continuous evolution of teacher development, contributing to more informed and responsive CPD strategies in the modern educational landscape.

Continuous Professional Development (CPD) refers to the ongoing process of learning and skill development that teachers and educators engage in throughout their careers. It encompasses various activities such as workshops, seminars, online courses, peer collaboration, and self-directed learning aimed at enhancing teachers' professional knowledge, skills, and competencies. The importance of CPD in the educational sector cannot be overstated. It plays a critical role in ensuring that teachers remain effective in their practice and responsive to the changing demands of education. As the landscape of education evolves—driven by new pedagogical methods, technological advancements, and shifting societal expectations—CPD provides educators with the tools and knowledge to adapt. It promotes a culture of lifelong learning among teachers, allowing them to refine their instructional methods, stay current with curriculum changes, and address the diverse needs of students. Moreover, CPD is essential for maintaining high teaching standards and improving student outcomes. Research consistently shows that professional development, when well-structured and aligned with teachers' needs, leads to better instructional practices and, ultimately, enhances student achievement. In this way, CPD supports not only individual teacher growth but also broader educational reforms and goals.

The CPD has transformed significantly, reflecting the broader changes in education systems worldwide. From informal, experience-based learning to more formalized, structured programs, CPD has evolved alongside major societal shifts, including the Industrial Revolution, the rise of progressive education, and

the digital revolution. This historical perspective is essential for understanding how CPD has adapted to meet the growing complexities of teaching in the modern world. Thus CPD is a vital component of the educational ecosystem, providing teachers with the professional learning necessary to meet the evolving challenges of the classroom and contribute to the overall quality of education. Understanding its historical evolution provides insight into how CPD can continue to advance in ways that benefit educators and students alike.

Historical Overview of CPD

1. Industrial Revolution and CPD

The Industrial Revolution, beginning in the late 18th century, marked a turning point not only in economic structures but also in educational practices. As industries grew and economies shifted from agrarian-based systems to industrialized ones, the demand for an educated workforce surged. This societal change created a new need for structured education systems, and with it, a demand for trained teachers capable of delivering consistent and relevant instruction. The role of teachers, which had previously been more informal and often religiously oriented, began to professionalize as education became critical to national economic growth.

Before the Industrial Revolution, education was largely decentralized, with teachers learning through apprenticeships, informal mentoring, or religious instruction. However, with industrialization, nations like Britain, Germany, and the United States realized that a more formalized system of education was necessary to prepare a literate and skilled workforce. As factories and new technologies required more technical and cognitive skills, there was a corresponding shift in how teachers were trained and how they were expected to develop professionally.

The introduction of state-funded public education systems, such as the Elementary Education Act of 1870 in England, solidified the need for professional development in teaching. Teachers were now seen as central to national progress and economic competitiveness, and thus, the importance of continuous professional development (CPD) emerged. In response to these needs, normal schools (institutions specifically dedicated to training teachers) were established. For example, in France and the United States, these institutions trained teachers in both content knowledge and pedagogical skills, marking the beginning of structured CPD.

As industrialization progressed, CPD programs began to focus not only on content delivery but also on improving teaching methods and classroom management skills. The increasing complexity of subjects like science and mathematics requires teachers to stay updated with new instructional techniques and knowledge. The development of teacher training colleges and certification processes during this period institutionalized CPD, laying the groundwork for the more structured forms of teacher development seen in the 20th century.

2. Progressive Education Movement

The Progressive Education Movement, which gained prominence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was another significant force that reshaped the concept of CPD. Spearheaded by educational reformers like John Dewey, the progressive movement emphasized child-centred education, critical thinking, and experiential learning over the traditional methods of rote memorization and strict discipline. This movement redefined the role of teachers, shifting from being mere dispensers of knowledge to facilitators of learning who were expected to nurture students' intellectual and emotional development.

Progressive education placed a strong emphasis on the idea that education should be tailored to the needs of individual students, focusing on developing their capacities for independent thought, problem-solving, and social engagement. This shift had profound implications for CPD. Teachers were now required to adapt their teaching strategies to meet the diverse needs of their students, moving away from uniform instruction. Professional development programs, therefore, began to emphasize reflective practice, student-centered pedagogy, and the integration of experiential learning techniques.

John Dewey's philosophy of education as a process of living and growing, rather than merely preparing for future work, transformed teacher education. CPD during this period increasingly focused on fostering teachers' ability to think critically about their own practice and to continually adapt to the changing needs of their students. This reflective approach became a cornerstone of modern CPD practices, which still encourage teachers to engage in self-assessment and ongoing learning.

The progressive movement also pushed for collaboration among teachers, leading to the development of professional learning communities. In these communities, teachers would regularly meet to discuss challenges, share best practices, and collaboratively solve problems. This model of CPD, centred on collaboration and reflection, has become one of the most effective forms of professional development in contemporary education.

Moreover, the progressive movement's emphasis on social justice and democratic values had a lasting impact on CPD, particularly in promoting equity in education. Teachers were encouraged to view their role as agents of change, contributing not only to the intellectual development of students but also for their moral and civic education. As a result, CPD began to include topics like social justice, inclusivity, and the teacher's role in promoting a democratic society.

3. Post-War Educational Reforms

The period following World War II brought significant reforms to educational systems around the world, particularly in Western nations. The rise of standardized education and the introduction of accountability measures became defining features of this era. These developments had a profound impact on the content and goals of Continuous Professional Development (CPD) for teachers.

Post-war societies faced a pressing need to rebuild economies, establish social stability, and ensure educational equity. Governments increasingly recognized education as central to national development, leading to the expansion of public education systems. In many countries, like the United States and the United Kingdom, national educational policies aimed at creating uniform standards for teaching and learning were introduced. This gave rise to standardized curricula, assessments, and teacher accountability systems.

In the United States, for instance, the 1957 launch of Sputnik by the Soviet Union spurred a national response in the form of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, which emphasized the need for educational excellence, particularly in math and science. This not only led to curriculum reform but also reshaped CPD programs by placing a stronger focus on content mastery and teacher competency in these subjects.

Moreover, during the 1960s and 1970s, major educational reforms were introduced to address issues of inequality. The Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. and similar social movements across the globe prompted governments to ensure that all students, regardless of race, socioeconomic status, or ability, received quality education. CPD began to incorporate training on inclusivity, equity, and how to address

the needs of diverse learners. As part of these reforms, teacher evaluations became more formalized, and educators were increasingly held accountable for student outcomes.

The rise of standardized testing in the 1980s and 1990s further shaped CPD. Policies such as the U.S. *No Child Left Behind Act* (2001) and the UK's *National Curriculum* (1988) mandated standardized assessments, making it necessary for teachers to focus on meeting performance benchmarks. This shift toward accountability meant that CPD programs began prioritizing data-driven instruction, teaching to the test, and strategies for improving student performance on standardized assessments. While this emphasis brought greater clarity to educational objectives, it also sparked debate about whether these accountability measures stifled creativity and deeper learning in the classroom. In sum, post-war educational reforms led to the standardization of curricula and an increased focus on accountability, which significantly shaped the content and goals of CPD. Teachers were required to not only master specific subject areas but also to develop skills in inclusive education and data-driven teaching practices.

4. Technological Advancements and the Digital Age

The late 20th and early 21st centuries witnessed rapid technological advancements that revolutionized CPD practices. Digital tools, online platforms, and the widespread integration of technology into education have fundamentally transformed how teachers engage in professional development.

The rise of the internet and digital learning tools in the 1990s and 2000s created new opportunities for CPD to become more flexible and accessible. Online learning platforms allowed educators to access resources, attend webinars, and complete courses at their convenience, thus breaking the traditional mould of face-to-face, time-bound workshops. Tools like Moodle, Google Classroom, and later, platforms like Coursera and EdX, enabled teachers to engage in asynchronous professional development that suited their individual needs and schedules. This shift towards online learning fostered greater autonomy and personalization in CPD.

The increasing use of digital tools in the classroom, such as interactive whiteboards, mobile devices, and learning management systems, also required teachers to develop new competencies. CPD programs began to focus on digital literacy, equipping teachers with the skills to effectively integrate technology into their teaching practices. As technology became more embedded in pedagogy, CPD included training on how to use these tools to enhance student engagement, facilitate personalized learning, and support differentiated instruction.

One of the major shifts in CPD brought about by technological advancements is the movement toward microlearning and just-in-time learning. Instead of relying on long, one-off training sessions, teachers can now engage in bite-sized learning modules, on-demand video tutorials, and peer collaboration through online forums. This allows for more continuous and immediate professional development that is relevant to the challenges teachers face in real-time. Additionally, the rise of social media platforms like Twitter and LinkedIn has enabled teachers to form virtual professional learning communities, where they can share best practices, discuss innovations, and collaboratively solve problems with educators from around the world.

Technological advancements have also made CPD more data-driven. With tools that track student performance and progress, CPD programs can now be tailored to help teachers analyze data and adjust their instruction accordingly. This approach allows teachers to engage in CPD that is closely tied to improving student outcomes, making professional development more targeted and relevant to their day-to-day teaching. Thus technological advancements have significantly expanded the possibilities for CPD. They have not only made professional development more accessible and flexible through online platforms

but also introduced new content focused on digital literacy and data-driven instruction. As technology continues to evolve, CPD will likely continue to adapt, offering teachers new ways to develop professionally while meeting the demands of an increasingly digital learning environment.

Discussion

The historical analysis reveals a profound interplay between key historical events and the evolution of Continuous Professional Development (CPD) for educators. Each milestone—whether it be the Industrial Revolution, the progressive education movement, or the rise of digital technology—has significantly shaped the content, priorities, and methodologies of CPD. Each of these historical influences has contributed to a more nuanced understanding of what constitutes effective professional development, prompting ongoing revisions to CPD frameworks to ensure they align with contemporary educational needs. Insights drawn from historical events offer valuable lessons for shaping contemporary CPD practices. One critical takeaway is the importance of adaptability in professional development programs. As historical events have shown, the ability to respond to societal changes, technological innovations, and evolving educational philosophies is crucial for effective CPD.

Additionally, fostering collaboration among educators emerges as a vital strategy. Historical movements like progressive education emphasized community and shared learning experiences, underscoring the need for professional learning communities that enable educators to engage in collaborative practice. Modern CPD initiatives can benefit from this emphasis on collaboration by providing opportunities for peer observation, co-teaching, and knowledge sharing. Moreover, historical insights highlight the importance of relevance in CPD content. As seen during the Industrial Revolution and the advent of technology, CPD must address the current challenges educators face in their classrooms. This includes not only pedagogical skills but also knowledge of social-emotional learning, inclusivity, and culturally responsive teaching. By aligning CPD offerings with the real-world experiences of educators, programs can enhance their effectiveness and impact.

Conclusion

A deeper understanding of the historical influences on CPD can significantly enhance the effectiveness of professional development programs. By recognizing how past developments have shaped current practices, educational leaders and policymakers can design CPD initiatives that are more responsive to the evolving needs of educators and their students. Future research should explore the longitudinal impact of historical milestones on CPD, examining how these influences continue to inform contemporary practices. Additionally, studies could investigate the effectiveness of various CPD models in different educational contexts, considering the diverse challenges faced by educators today.

Integrating historical insights into CPD design can lead to more robust and relevant professional development experiences. For instance, understanding the principles of progressive education can inform the creation of collaborative learning environments where educators can share experiences and strategies. Similarly, acknowledging the impact of technology on teaching can help educators develop the necessary skills to navigate the digital landscape effectively.

The continuous evolution of CPD reflects the dynamic nature of the educational landscape. As societal expectations, technological advancements, and educational philosophies continue to change, CPD must also adapt to meet these demands. Embracing a historical perspective allows educators and leaders to appreciate the complexity of teacher professional development and the myriad influences that shape it. Ultimately, the effectiveness of CPD lies in its ability to foster a culture of lifelong learning among educators, equipping them with the tools and knowledge necessary to thrive in an increasingly complex

and diverse educational environment. It is essential to remain committed to the ongoing evolution of CPD, ensuring that it remains relevant, effective, and aligned with the needs of both educators and students.

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WAR CRIMES, CAMPS AND TORTURE: A STUDY OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY IN THE BRITISH CAMP OF NILGANJ, 1942-1946

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Introduction

During the Indian War of Independence, thousands of individuals and various organizations were crucial in liberating their homeland from foreign rule. Notably, the Indian National Army was established in Southeast Asia with the help of Captain Mohan Singh. The establishment and development of the Indian National Army in the Far East can be broken down into four phases. During the initial phase, a group of devoted Indian patriots, guided by the leadership of Shri Rash Behari Bose, aligned themselves with the advancing Japanese Imperial Forces. Together, they worked to mobilize both Indian civilians and soldiers within the liberated regions. Their united aim was to contribute wholeheartedly to the relentless struggle for Indian Independence.¹ The second phase of this historical narrative unfolds on the 16th of February 1942. In a symbolic gesture of transfer, Major Fujiwara entrusted these prisoners to the capable hands of Captain Mohan Singh. This pivotal moment marked a crucial shift in power dynamics, as the prisoners transitioned from British captivity to Japanese authority, ultimately paving the way for a new chapter in the struggle for Indian Independence. The progression into the third phase was instigated by the issuance of dissolution orders by Captain Mohan Singh. These orders were a strategic move, made in foresight of his impending arrest. As this phase unfolded, it marked a crucial turning point in the evolution of the Indian National Army (I.N.A.).² In the ensuing and final phase, the I.N.A. achieved a significant milestone under the leadership of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.³ Subhash Chandra Bose stated:

*"Members of Azad Hind Fauj are honest patriots and revolutionaries fighting for the free freedom of their Motherland. They no doubt, fought bravely and stubbornly against the British, but they fought with clean hands and with a clear conscience. They are, therefore, entitled to decent treatment during captivity, under international usage and convention."*⁴

It emerged as an autonomous and independent military force, under the jurisdiction of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. This shift in authority signified a momentous stride towards realizing the aspirations of a free and independent India, as envisioned by the leaders and patriots of the Azad Hind movement.⁵

British Policy and the War Crimes

On August 6 and 9, 1945 Japan was bombed on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.⁶ The Allies emerged victorious from the Second World War and were occupied with the task of not only occupying Japan but also restoring their previous colonies. The conclusion of the war brought about a significant shift in the situation. The personnel of the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) who had been apprehended by the British in Burma, Thailand, Malaya, and Singapore were transported to India and confined at Red Fort and various other places.⁷ The repatriation process of the Indian soldiers who had joined the I.N.A. began in May 1945 and continued until the first quarter of 1946. It is important to note that almost all the locally recruited I.N.A. soldiers had disappeared before the British entered Rangoon, Malaya, and Bangkok. Therefore, only others, mainly ex-Indian Army soldiers, were repatriated.⁸ Some of the I.N.A. prisoners

who were taken captive during the Imphal campaign were promptly court-martialed and punished. Twenty-seven of them received different prison terms and were jailed, while nine were hanged during the war. However, those who had willfully deserted to the British, along with a considerable number of those who had been captured, were not only rewarded but also reinstated in the Indian Army and given their original seniority.⁹ After the war ended, the Government of India realized the importance of devising a clear policy towards the I.N.A. personnel. They did not take any action against the civilian recruiters of the I.N.A. from Southeast and East Asia, and the British authorities had varying opinions on the matter.¹⁰

A press statement released by the Government of India within a week of the Pacific War's end indicated that they were carefully considering how to treat the Indian soldiers who had joined the enemy.¹¹ Every I.N.A. member, regardless of whether they deserted, surrendered or were captured, underwent extensive interrogation by the British's CSDIC - Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Centre.¹² Along with questioning them, it was crucial to evaluate whether it was safe to return them to their battalion or regiment. Many were deemed fit to rejoin, while the majority who were still mentally strong but had their spirit broken were sent to rehabilitation centres before rejoining the army. However, those who had become strong advocates of Axis propaganda were detained in custody. The British viewed them as traitors, and their alliance with the enemy was seen as a betrayal.¹³ War crimes can be divided into two classes of offence. The following are the two different categorizations:

1. Criminal Acts in Transit or Camp

"Examples are:- Shooting and killing without justification, Shooting and killing on the false pretence that the prisoner was escaping, assault with violence causing death, and other forms of murder or manslaughter; Shooting, wounding with bayonet, beating, torture, unjustified violence, and other forms of ill-treatment causing the infliction of grievous bodily harm; theft of money and goods."

2. Violation of the Geneva Convention and of the rules of warfare, whether in Transit or in Camp.

*"Examples are:- unjustified imprisonment; insufficient food, water and clothing; lack of medical attention; bad treatment in hospitals; unhealthy conditions in Camp; employment on work having direct connection with the operation of the war, or on unhealthy or dangerous work; being detained in an area exposed to the fire of the fighting zone; being used as a screen, and such cases as attacks on hospitals or hospital ships, and on merchant ships without making provision for survivors; interrogation by third degree or other forcible methods."*¹⁴

After an extensive interrogation process carried out in different camps, where the I.N.A. soldiers were held captive as prisoners of war, they were sorted into different categories based on their responses. The following are the categorizations:

- Soldiers who convinced the British of their loyalty and claimed to be working for them within the I.N.A. were labelled as "White".
- Individuals who succumbed to pressure or were misguided into joining the I.N.A. were classified as "Grey".
- Those who willingly joined the I.N.A. to fight against the British and liberate their nation were designated as "Black".¹⁵

It was understandable that the British, both in England and India, harboured animosity towards the I.N.A. as a movement, especially towards its officers who were responsible for converting ordinary soldiers from their loyalty to the British crown. Over time, the British transitioned from tolerant acceptance of the I.N.A. to outright hostility. While some upper political and military leaders tolerated the movement as a

means to expedite India's independence, British and Indian army officers who had a vested interest in punishing the I.N.A. were the most hostile. The senior British army officers, such as the GOC Eastern Command, GOC Southern Command, and the Commanders of the Central Command and Northwest Army, as well as the Adjutant General of the Army Headquarters, were extremely hostile to the I.N.A.¹⁶

British Camps and Prisons

Various prisons and camps were used to house prisoners of war. From the files preserved in the National Archives, it is known that the British government opened three detention camps to house Indian National Army prisoners of war at Barasat, Nilganj and Jigargacha in 24 Parganas of West Bengal.¹⁷ Other camps included those in Bahadurgarh, Attokabad, Saleemgarh, Multan and one close to Kirkee. The prisoners of war were also kept in different jails at Madras, Ahmadabad, Agra, Lucknow, Lahore, Delhi, Attokabad, and Chittagong etc.¹⁸ among the above-mentioned camps, "Nilganj" was the most infamous camp, but now the "Nilganj" camp converted into a different institution.¹⁹ The precise number of Indian National Army soldiers taken as prisoners of war was still unknown to the Indian people even after the decades of independence. A large number of I.N.A. soldiers were taken prisoner of war on various fronts outside India. The camps were established for various specific purposes.

- The first step was to bring them to India and concentrate them in different above-mentioned camps
- Secondly, these POWs could be transferred to other locations if necessary, so these camps served as transit camps for POWs
- Third, an officer of the rank of lieutenant colonel, belonging to the eastern command, had overall responsibility for prisoners of war. His main task was to interview former Indian soldiers of the British army who had joined the Indian National Army and assess the possible risk they still posed
- Lastly, he was to classify them according to their risk factor and take action against them.²⁰

The "Nilganj" Episode

The I.N.A. detainees were housed in several prisons and camps. Nilganj was the most notorious camp.²¹ Detention camp Nilganj was 20 miles from Calcutta.²² At Nilganj over 1,000 Indian National Army prisoners are kept.²³ At Nilganj, the British used their weapons mercilessly against the unarmed and helpless prisoners of the Indian National Army. It is stated that a large number of rounds were fired and as a result 5 of the prisoners died on the spot and many were wounded. Firing on prisoners within the 4 walls of a prison is always a dreadful thing.²⁴ Mr. Khoobchand Dani who was released from the I. N. A. Detention camp at Nilganj, arrived in Hyderabad and in an interview he narrated an incident in the camp in which he said 5 inmates of the camp were shot dead and 9 others wounded.²⁵ Nehru offered his fellow countrymen a sketchy version of this episode on October 10, 1945. He claimed,

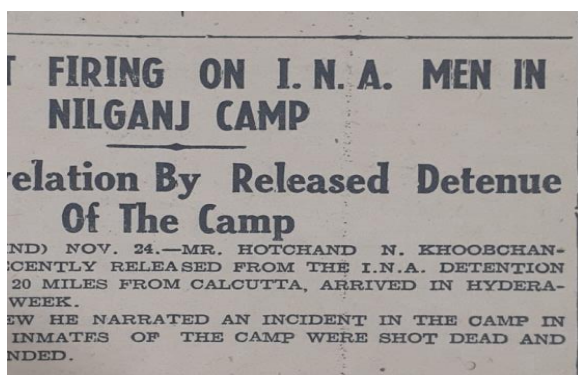
*"I have been informed that more than a thousand I.N.A. prisoners were in detention in The Nilganj Camp, near Calcutta. Roundabout 13 September, an incident of firing on the inmates took place. The camp guards fired many rounds killing and wounding a large number of soldiers. Such firing within the four walls of a prison is a horrible affair."*²⁶

Even though locating the paperwork about the Barasat and Nilganj Camps is impossible, Nehru's speech provides insight into the terrible crime committed in Nilganj.²⁷ The five men of the I.N.A. were shot down at the Nilganj camp on the slightest provocation.²⁸ The story of the instantaneous death of I. N. A. prisoners and serious injuries to many others of whom five men died on the following day as a result

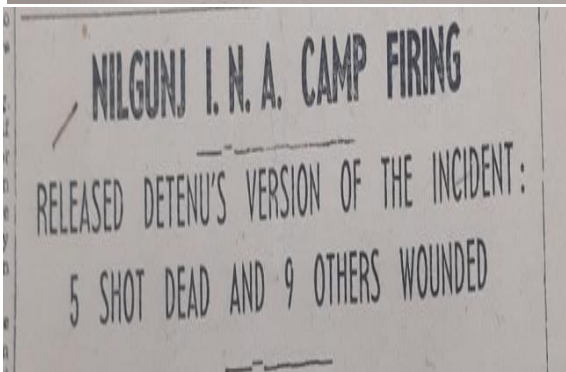
of firing on I. N. A. prisoners lodged in Nilganj Camp in Bengal in September last was revealed to the United Press of India by a group of about eighty released I. N. A. prisoners including Lieutenant K.G. Pannikar of the Engineering Company of the I. N. A.²⁹

Apart from the Nilganj massacre, there were also many incidents where soldiers of the Indian National Army were brutally tortured by the British in their camps, some were even executed. Nehru addressed this issue -

"Now a very large number of officers and soldiers of the I.N.A.... are prisoners and some of them at least have been executed... At any time it would have been wrong to treat them too harshly, but at this time — when it is said big changes are impending in India, it, would be a very grave mistake leading to far-reaching consequences if they were treated just as ordinary rebels. The punishment given them would in effect be a punishment on all India and all Indians, and a 'deep wound would be reacted in millions of hearts.'"³⁰



Picture Courtesy: National Archives, West Bengal (Hindustan Standard, 25 November 1945, Calcutta).



Picture Courtesy: National Archives, West Bengal (Advance, 25 November 1945, Calcutta) .

Conclusion

After the fall of Japan in World War II, Indian National Army soldiers were captured by the British in South East Asia and transported to India and placed in various camps and Prisons where they were subjected to brutality by the British authorities. Even in the chaos of war, there are limits to the atrocities committed, as the paper emphasizes while highlighting the inhumanity and brutality inherent in war. At Nilganj, the British treated Indian National Army prisoners harshly and used their weapons ruthlessly against unarmed and defenceless soldiers. Even after decades of independence, we did not know the exact number of prisoners of war who were being brought to India. The British government is believed to have destroyed a sizable number of documents related to Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and the Indian National Army respectively.

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RE-FIGURING WOMEN IN THE PARTITION OF INDIA

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Communal Violence has been a bitter reality in the history of India. Partition of India followed by communal riots and the migration paved the way to the calamity and the famine in the independent India and Pakistan. The women and the children were the main sufferers of the communal violence. But the mainstream studies on the partition of India ignored the part of the gendered violence in these riots and the scholars focused on the stories of the male victims. The officials did not pay attention to these women refugees and their miseries. Feminist scholars questioned this negligent attitude towards women victims and placed these women victims as the subject of their studies. The silence of the voices of these women victims echoed the brutality of the gendered dimension of the violence and the cultural construction of gender both in the community and the society. This article focuses on the women in the partition of India by taking them as the main victims of the communal riots and examining how their victimization related to the constructions of women and the female body both in the community and the nation based on the narrative of the victims of the violence.

Various Discussions on Partition of India and Riots

There are various opinions regarding the partition of India. Butalia argued that the partition is not a closed chapter of history but it is a brutal political geography infused and divided us, still Partition of India is perceived by the nationalist historians as an unfortunate outcome of sectarian and separate politics. She points out that the neighbours killed each other not for any apparent reason but for their religious differences.¹ Nonica Dutta argued that the aggressive territorial nationalism succumbed to the social and political forces led to Partition.² Gyanendra Pandey insist that "Independence' was never part of this inheritance, rather it was in the bloodshed of Partition, that the meaning of independence was constructed by many 'ordinary' people. Periodic riots mimic partition riots and the separation of Pakistan from India continues to reverberate through Indian society"³

The following narrative of a victim of partition gives us insight into the experience of violence.

Debating whether to vote for Congress or for the Muslim League. At the time people did not understand what that would mean. There was a lot of propaganda and hate spreading against communities and religions. India was divided. Nobody knows exactly how many people died, but it was in the millions. Nobody was brought to justice. It was not the people who did it. It was the politicians who did it. People left their homes because they were afraid for their lives and they were driven into the camps. We were in a camp at Seleempur for two and a half months waiting to move to Pakistan. Amongst us, certain people had lost most of their family, who were murdered. I remember one woman who had two small babies with her. After moving the third time, some 45 miles, her feet were swollen and she had no proper shoes on either but she had two babies to carry. After the third day, she could not carry the babies. One day she left one baby on the roadside because she could only carry one. This happened to many other women and children because they could not walk and their parents were not strong enough to carry them⁴.

Oral Histories and Construction of Women's Memories

Feminist historians point out the invisibility of women's accounts in history and argue that history cannot be complete without the inclusion of women as a subject for recording the past. They understood the importance of the oral narrative of the women's experience and the need to write history from the women's point of view to eliminate the androcentric views in academics. "The feminist embrace of oral history emerged from a recognition that traditional sources have often neglected the lives of women, and that oral history offered a means of integrating women into historical scholarship, even contesting the reigning definitions of social, economic and political importance that obscured women's lives"⁵. Oral history has had an important role in recording the history of a marginal section of the society. Women have not been found as a subject in mainstream history and their voices are unheard. The unrecorded experience of the women in the written form forced the researchers to depend on the oral narratives to study and record their past. The oral history method became a popular method in the feminist methodology. Oral history offers the women's interpretations and their views to the scholar. Urvasi Butalia underlined the importance of memories in constructing the history of violence. Violence is always remembered by the victims and influenced perceptions about their future⁶. Oral narratives of the women victims were used as the focal source by the scholars to construct the women's history of the partition of India which has been ignored by the dominant scholarship emphasis on the partition of India.

Theoretical Discourse on 'Nation, Gender and Sexuality'

"The nation is always in the process of "becoming" so are gender and sexuality."⁷ Tamar Mayer observed a fresh idea developed by scholars in the 1980s in the discussions around the study of nationalism. This view focused on the relationship between the nation, nationalism, gender and sexuality. These scholars have argued that power, control and hegemony exist not only in the relationships between nation and state but also in the relationships between gender and sexuality, and between nation and state and gender and sexuality⁸. Various subcategories in this scholarship propagate the view that nation is inexorably connected to gender and sexuality.

Dwyer in his study on women in Indonesia shows that reproduction is culturally constructed and how the nation has orchestrated the sexuality of women through family planning. Here the female body becomes a site of national development.⁹ Mostove's study on Yugoslavian women reveals how they were compelled to deliver more children for the sake of their particular nation and religion. In this study, Mostove used the term "Moral enemies of the state" to denote the women who have abortions. He again states that these women should have children from the men who belong to their particular nation and religion. In this context, the nationality of women lies in their potential as reproducers¹⁰. Mostov emphasizes that the mass rape in a nation by civilians of another nation considers an attack on that particular nation and the invasion and occupation of others' symbolic space, property and territory¹¹. Here the female body acts as a boundary of a nation.

Derne argued that Indian nationhood was constructed in reaction to British imperialist masculinity and to imperialism's feminization through the construction of Indigenous masculinity and the control of women's bodies and sexuality. He points out that the Indian national discourse was built around the intersection between the nation and masculinity by preserving and protecting the modesty of Indian women from the imperial people. Derne observed that Indian nationalism emphasises on controlling the body through controlling sexuality.¹²

The exclusion of women and Gays in the military regime of the nations demarcated the close connection between masculinity and nationalism. For Mayer, "Nationalism and masculinity, then, actively participate

in one another's construction. They are both, in addition, constructed in opposition to an Other"¹³. Chatterjee also points out that nationalists created women in homes as the primary carriers of the nation's identity. Chatterjee argues nationalism constructed a "new patriarchy" that "conferred upon women the honour" of new social responsibilities.¹⁴ . As van der Veer argued, "nationalist discourse connects the control over the female body with the honour of the nation"¹⁵ (Veer, 1994,113).

Women in India's Partition

Communal violence from 1946 to 1947 in India has been studied from different points of view by scholars, but the gender dimension of the partition did not get much attention from the researchers. Indian partition was also followed by communal violence that wrote a bloody period in the history of India. The Indian partition led to the uprooting and dislocation of people and witnessed the rape, abduction and widowhood of thousands of women on both sides of newly formed borders. While men belonging to the other community were killed, women were not let off in a show of compassion; instead, they were either abducted or raped. The following narrative gives insight into the experience of women in the partition violence.

That is another thing that hurts me, is that there were young women - I can still remember - who were abducted from their houses and taken away by these rascals, raped and some of them were returned, some of them probably killed or something. Nobody knew what happened to these girls. I know this sort of thing happened on both sides of the border. I still can't believe how women - their own women (of) people who were doing it, seeing this happening could keep quiet. Nobody was raising a voice against this because whatever else you do, you can't go down and degrade yourself to that level. You have women in your own family...why didn't they speak up at the time? Why didn't they protest? Why didn't they stop their men doing this sort of thing? But I have seen that. I know those women. I have also seen those women who returned and they committed suicide. I think this was the lowest position that a human being can go... and we are all - not me because I was too young at that time - but my elders and the elders from Sikh and Hindu communities, what we did, we must feel ashamed.¹⁶

The voices of the women were different from men during the Indian partition¹⁷. During the 1947 partition of India, an estimated 75,000 to 100,000 women were abducted by members of other religious communities to be raped and murdered, sold into prostitution, or forced into marriage. The narrative of the women in partition deals the topics such as violence, abduction and recovery, widowhood, women's rehabilitation, rebuilding and belonging.

My name is Basant Kaur. My husband's name was Sant Raja Singh. We came away from our houses on March 12, and on the 13th we stayed out, in the village. At first, we tried to show our strength, and then we realized that this would not work, so we joined the morcha to go away. We left our home in Thoa Khalsa on the 12th. For three or four days we were trapped inside our houses, we couldn't get out, though we used to move across the roofs of houses and that way we could get out a bit. One of our people had a gun, we used that, and two or three of their people died. I lost a brother-in-law. He died from a bullet they fired. It hit him and he died. So we kept the gun handy. Then there were fires all around, raging fires, and we were no match for them. I had a jeth, my older brother-in-law, he had a son, he kept asking give me afim [opium], mix it in water and I will take it. My jeth killed his mother, his sister, his wife, his daughter, and his uncle. My daughter was also killed. We went into the morcha inside the village, we all left our houses and collected together in the centre of the village, inside the sardaran di haveli, where there was also a well. It was Lajjawanti's house. The sardar, her husband, had died some time ago, but his wife and other women of the house were there. Some children also. They all came out.

Then we all talked and said we don't want to become Musalmaan, we would rather die. So everyone was given a bit of a fim, they were told, you keep this with you...I went upstairs, and when I came down there was my husband, my jeth's son, my jethani, her daughters, my jeth, my grandsons, three granddaughters. They were all killed so that they would not fall into the hands of Musalmaans. One girl from our village, she had gone off with the Musalmaans. She was quite beautiful, and everyone got worried that if one has gone, they will take all our girls away...so it was then that they decided to kill the girls. My jeth, his name is Harbans Singh, he killed his wife, his daughter, his son...he was small, only eight days old. Then my sister-in-law was killed, her son and her daughter, and then on the 14th of March we came to Jhelum. The vehicles came and took us, and we stayed there for about a month and then we came to Delhi. In Delhi there were four of my brothers, they read about this—the camp—in the papers and they came and found us. Then, gradually, over a period of time the children grew up and became older and things sorted themselves out. My parents were from Thamali. Hardly anyone survived from there. You know that family of Gurmeet's, they had two sisters, the Musalmaans took them away. Whether they died or were taken away, but they, their bodies were never found...Someone died this way, someone that, someone died here and someone there, and no one got to know. My parents were burnt alive. That whole area was like jungle, it was village area. One of my brothers survived and came away, one sister. They too were helped by a Musalmaan, there were some good ones, and they helped them—he hid them away in his house—and then put them into the vehicles that came, the military ones. The vehicles went to Mator and other places. In Mator, Shah Nawaz made sure no harm came to them. People from Nara managed to get away, but on the way they were all killed. Then my brothers read the papers and got to know. My husband, he killed his daughter, his niece, his sister, and a grandson. He killed them with a kirpan. My jeth's son killed his mother, his wife, his daughter, and a grandson and granddaughter, all with a pistol. And then, my jeth, he doused himself with kerosene and jumped into a fire. Many girls were killed. Then Mata Lajjawanti, she had a well near her house, in a sort of garden. Then all of us jumped into that, some hundred... eighty-four...girls and boys. All of us. Even boys, not only children, but grown-up boys. I also went in, I took my two children, and then we jumped in—I had some jewelry on me, things in my ears, on my wrists, and I had fourteen rupees on me. I took all that and threw it into the well, and then I jumped in, but...it's like when you put goyas, rotis into a tandoor, and if it is too full, the ones near the top, they don't cook, they have to be taken out. So the well filled up, and we could not drown...the children survived. Later, Nehru went to see the well, and the English then closed it up, the well that was full of bodies. The Pathans took out those people who were at the top of the well—those who died, died, and those who were alive, they pulled out. Then they went away—and what was left of our village was saved, except for that one girl who went away. I was frightened. Of course, I was, but there was also...we were also frightened that we would be taken away by the Musalmaans. In our village, already, in the well that was inside the village, girls had jumped in. In the middle of the night they had jumped in. This happened where the morcha was. The hundred...eighty-four women who jumped in they were just outside, some two hundred yards away from Lajjawanti's house. In the morcha, the crowd had collected in Lajjawanti's house. She was some seventy, seventyfive years old. A tall, strapping woman. She did a lot of seva of all the women, she herself jumped into the well. Many people were killed in the morcha, and the Musalmaans climbed on top to kill the others, and then many came and tried to kill people with guns, one of them put a gun to my jeth's chest and...and we began to jump in. The others had died earlier, and we were in the morcha, the well was some distance away from Lajjawanti's house, in a garden. My nanan and her daughter, they were both lying there...close by there was a ladle, I mixed a fim in it, and gave it to them, and she put it in her mouth...she died, and I think the village dogs must have eaten her. We had no time to perform any last rites. An hour or so later, the trucks came...just an

hour. She did path, and said don't throw me away, let me have this afim, she took God's name and then she died. We had afim because my jeth's son used to eat it, and had it with him and he got more and gave it to everyone. My jeth's son, his daughter-in-law and his daughter, they died in Jhelum. later, when we were going to the Dinia camp, on March 15 or so. The camp was close to the Jhelum. Four days we fought, and we remained strong, then around the 12th we got into the morcha, on the 13th our people were killed, and then the trucks came in the evening and took us to Rawat, a village. They brought us there [to the well]. From there...you know there was no place...nothing to eat, some people were eating close by, but where could I give the children anything from...I had barely a few paise...my elder son had a duvanni [two annas] with him, we thought we could use that...my brother's children were also hungry...but then they said the duvanni was khoti, damaged, unusable...[weeping] such difficulties... nothing to eat...we had to fill their stomachs...today they would have been ranis...so many of them, jethanis, children...I was the youngest...now I sit at home and my children are out working and I keep telling them these stories...they are stories after all...and you tell them and tell them until you have conscious.¹⁸

The above narrative captures the trauma of women victims in the partition. Basant Kaur's narrative reveals that the memories of partition experience are still alive after years of partition. This narrative shows the attempt to keep the purity and honour of the both nation and community through the honour killings of their women. the relationship between the female body and the honour of the nation is under lined by these honour killings of the women including the small girls during the partition period.

Honoured Bodies and Experiences of Women

Urvashi Butalia points out the ignorant attitude of historians about the experience of women as the victims and the survivors of violence as the subject of their study. The women are the most affected victims in the communal violence. Menon and Bhasin show the particular violence against women that occurred during the partition like the public parading of nude women, amputation of breasts, tattooing with religious symbols, and rape.¹⁹ Bhutlia points out that 75,000 women are thought to have been abducted and raped by men of religions different from their own (and indeed, sometimes by men of their religion). The partition stories are about loot, arson, abduction and rape²⁰. She cites an incident that the fathers forced their daughter to jump into the well to avoid rape and abduction. Here Butalia narrates a story of honour killing women by their family from one of their family members' view.

After leaving home we had to cross the surrounding boundary of water. And we were many family members, several women and children who would not have been able to cross the water, to survive the flight. So we killed—they became martyrs—seventeen of our family members, seventeen lives...Our hearts were heavy with grief for them, grief and sorrow, their grief, our own grief. So we travelled, laden with sorrow, not a paisa to call our own, not a bite of food to eat...but we had to leave. Had we not done so, we would have been killed, the times were such(48-49). Fear? Let me tell you one thing. You know this race of Sikhs? There's no fear in them, no fear in the face of adversity. Those people [the ones who had been killed] had no fear. They came down the stairs into the big courtyard of our house that day, and they all sat down and they said, You can make martyrs of—

we are willing to become martyrs, and they did. Small children too...what was there to fear? The real fear was one of dishonour. If they had been caught by the Muslims, our honour, their honour would have been sacrificed, lost. It's a question of one's honour...if you have pride you do not fear.²¹

In this context, Butalia emphasises the word 'honour' and argues that it is for honour they have killed the women. Butalia noted that the men of the community praised these murders in the name of martyrdom. When we look at this question; the answer is rooted to the cultural construction of the female body and its relationship with it the purity of community, religion and nation. Dubravka Zarkov argues that sexual violence and rape gained power through the intersections of dominant hegemonic notions of gender and notions of sexuality in the religion ethnicity and other social identities which position women within a symbolic hierarchal culturally specific system of gender relations²². "The fear of abduction or of falling into the hands of the enemy compelled hundreds of women to take their own lives, equal numbers to be killed by their own families and literally thousands of others to carry packets of poison on their persons in the eventuality that they might be captured. And many committed suicide after they were released by their captors having been thus 'used' and pollute."²³ Here the purity of female body linked to the purity of community that justified the killing of women by the men to save their honour of the community during the partition.

Ritu Menon and Kamala Basin explored the relationship between the suicides of the abducted and raped women after being freed from the captivators to the construction of the polluted body. Rejection of these women victims by the community and their families points out the myth about female sexuality and body politics in society. Violence was perpetrated on the female body in a major way during the partition of India when bloody conflicts between communal forces were played out. Anjali Tripathi argues that the sufferings of women in partition are caused by both gendered nationalism and national culture. During Partition, the bodies of women became privileged sites on whose surface the political programs of both states were brutally inscribed.²⁴ (Tripathi, 2014, 80-94)

Rehabilitation of Abducted Women in Partition

Various transit camps, relief centres, rehabilitation homes, and vocational training centres were set up for rehabilitating the women victims of the partition. A 'Women's Section' under the guidance of prominent women social workers was set up by the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation. Most of these women were found stitching as an employment for their survival. Cooperative societies were set up and loans were granted to these women.²⁵ Ritu Menon and Kamala Bhasin showed the new role of women in their family after the partition and the riots. Most of these women have become the widows and the breadwinners of their households. Bhasin and Menon show how the post-partition scenario facilitated the widow's entry into the economic mainstream and dignified selfhood.²⁶ Anjali Datta argues that partition was not as a liberating experience and it extended women's duties as caring and self-sacrificing sex²⁷.

An inter-dominion agreement was signed between India and Pakistan in November 1947 and mounted a recovery mission in early December of that year. Both countries aim to restore their citizens. Persons Recovery and Restoration Ordinance Act No. LXV of 1949 set off a massive rescue, recovery, and rehabilitation Indo-Pakistan campaign that was enacted in often violent ways. The recovery operation lasted until 1956, "with 22,000 Muslim women recovered from India and 8,000 Hindu and Sikh women recovered from Pakistan" ²⁸

Several Years after the partition and riots, the rehabilitation process still places these women to the center of the ideology of nation state. Many of the feminist scholars argued that these rehabilitation process became a burden to these women victims of these partition. Most of these victims have adjusted with the circumstances and settled in a new life. Some of these women were married and had the children and found a new life in the new place. Here again they were uprooted from their new home and export to their old places where they did not have any assurance about their space and security. These women were compelled to leave the new place without having their children. Two nations did not show any interest to welcome the children who were born to a Pakistani mother and an Indian father vice versa. Ritu Menon and Kamala Bhasin point out that the disagreement between the Rameswari Nehru, honorary advisor to the ministry of relief and rehabilitation who opposed the forceful rehabilitation of these abducted women and Mridula Sarabai, who was in charge of the rehabilitation programs of India supported the recovery and rehabilitation of these women victims by the government.

By sending them away we have brought about grief and the dislocation of their accepted family life without in the least promoting human happiness", she said. And finally, the woman's will was not taken into consideration at all; she was once again, reduced to the goods and chattel status without having the right to decide her own future or mould her own life."²⁹(Rameshri Nehru Quoted in, Menon and Bhasin, 1993,WS7)

The women victims who abducted and raped were recovered by state rejected by the community and family. Lenoard Mookerjea observed that the rejection of these women victims of the riot after the partition by the family and community were related to the social discourse of the honor and the sexual purity of the women. Here the women's body performed as the site of religious community.³⁰ Here she point out that the independent India's 'national honour' demands the repossession the Hindu and Sikh women from Pakistan as Indian property. She viewed the re-partition of these women victims see women as bodies marked by religion and placed these bodies under the state. Again this repartition uprooted the women victims who were settled the life in their new home. Most of these women were compelled to return to their state, though they were not interested in coming back their family. Here the nations viewed women as property to return to their owners like any other objects and they denied the emotional feelings of these women victims. Here it is clear that the rejection of the abducted and raped women victims was ideologically and rationalized by a long and complicated history of the nationalist and patriarchal fetish on women's sexuality.

Conclusion

Partition is regarded as the most dreadful event in the Indian history. Partition left millions of people in famine and homeless and thousands of women were abducted and raped. Partition paved the way for communal politics in India. When we look at the gender dimension of the partition of India the most affected victims of the communal riot are women and children. When the men were killed in the riots, the women went through a tragic experience. They were victimized in different ways: they were raped, abducted and cut their breasts and forcefully paraded naked in public. Hundreds of women were killed by the family to keep their honour. Women in the riot did not find any space both in their families and in society. The link between the female body and the purity of the community is noticeable. Women were considered the protectors of the tradition and purity of their community. Their bodies have a big meaning in defining the culture of a community. When we look at the violence against the women in partition, the link between cultural construction of the women and the female body both in the community and the society is evident. The myth of the vulgarity of the female body encouraged the communities to control over the women's body to maintain the power over other religions through the abduction and rape.

Conventional construction of the society is that the better way to dishonor a community or a religion is through the pollution of female body by destruction of chastity of their women. The large number of abducted and raped women in the riot proved this idea regarding female body. Murder of the large numbers of women by their own family members and the collective suicides during the partition also linked to the relationship between the purity of the religion and the female body. These honor killings prevent the women to resist against the violence in their own way. The nurturing mother is the symbolic role of the women in all religion and this notion prompted the rioters to cut the breast of the women belongs to other religions.

The inter-dominion treaty between India and Pakistan to restore women victims to their homeland once again took these women to a terrible situation. Most of these women have adjusted to their new life and found new sources for their livelihood. Moreover, they were aware of the negligent attitude of the family towards them caused by their polluted body. However, the states took a strict approach to this re-partition of women to their families and forcefully sent these women to their nations. Nations, be it India or Pakistan, did not welcome the children of these women from the men belonging to the other nation-state and religion leaving these women victims of emotional trauma. Most of these abducted women are not welcomed by their family due to the fear of their polluted female body and they were compelled to commit suicide. Here the women and their bodies became the properties of the state and they were exchanged like goods. Children of these women from the men who belonged to other religions were considered as the living memorials of the polluted female bodies. Menon and Bhasin point out that the bodies of women became the territories of the nations to exert their control. The experience of the women during the partition is linked to the cultural construction of the female body. Religion and the state were the main perpetrators of this fetish of the female body and they maintained their power in society through their control over the female body.

The violence against women during the Indian partition can be located in the conceptual framework of the indestructible link between the 'construction of gender and formation of nation' rather than the notion of the relationship between women's subordination through violence. The massive rape and abduction of women showed the relationship between the female body and the purity and honour of a nation. Forceful restoration of women without taking their newborn children from the men belonging to the other states both in India and Pakistan showed the efforts of the nations to regain their property and honour. Generally, the state controls the woman's sexuality and her body and maintains the link between the nation and women through her role of reproduction. The violence in the form of abduction, rape and the forceful restoration of the women during the partition marked the notion of the female body as property, territory, keeper and upholder of purity honour of a nation.

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MERCHANT GUILDS AND THE RISE OF THE KALAMUKHA SECT IN KARNATAKA: THE ECONOMIC PATRONAGE AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

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Trade and commerce of business activity under economic history teaches lessons for how to gain profit through business but religion teaches dharma and philosophy for how to lead a happy and prosperous life. One is not similar to another but business people always demand to pursue their path gaining high profit with the blessing of God and priests. Releasing its significance, we introduced various religions through priests who were the competent authorities to advocate dharma and the philosophy of their religion. The important religions of Indian society are Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Later Christianity and Islam came to India from the outside world. Hinduism is divided into Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Shaktism. Priests of various sects are concentrating on advocating mainly the role and greatness of Shiva are called Shaivas. Among them Kalamukha priests have played a vital role in advocating the philosophy of Shiva. They earned great knowledge in their yoga and philosophical subjects even by performing tapassu. They were usually bachelors and earned supernatural powers too. They were the *stanacharyas* of the temples and their monasteries. They run charitable institutions like temples, monasteries, *agharas*, *ghatikastanas*, built wells, tanks, choultry etc. The main donors for these charitable institutions largely attracting Kalamukha priests are the business people who were carrying out trade and commerce in the villages, towns, cities up to the medieval period. The business people always invest their money to gain profit in their trade and commerce activities by the blessings of these priests. Therefore, they pay donations out of their profit to the charitable institutions through these saints. The epigraphs provide significant information of the traders and their donations to these institutions. The important traders community or organizations upto medieval society as mentioned in epigraphs are shetties, banajigas, nanadeshies, Memoranda's, aihole ainurvarus, This practice can be seen even today in the society. Because they have a lot of fear of gaining profit out of their trade and commerce. Therefore, the topic has been selected to focus on the role of trade and commerce with the kalamukha priests up to medieval times.

The Kalamukha sect was widespread in South India from the 7th to 14th century. It was one of the major Saiva sects that did valuable service in the field of education, besides spreading the Saiva doctrines. The Kalamukhas were the heads of *mathas* and temples and maintained these institutions in very high order. They were revered by many royal families of South India particularly under the Chalukyas of Badami, Rastrakutas of Malkhedra, Chalukyas of Kalyana, Yadavas of Devagiri, Hoysals of Dvarasamudra, Guttas of Guttavolal, Early Vijayanagara rulers, etc. The Kalamukhas wielded considerable influence and hold over the people.

The term 'Kalamukha' has attracted the attention of many scholars and has prompted them to give their interpretation or opinion on it. By and large, 'Kalamukha' is taken to mean one who is 'black-faced' due to the besmearing of black cinder on the face.¹ Ramanuja in his *Sribhasya* (*Sribhashya* II 2.36) has described the Kalamukhas as *Mahavratadharins* and *Lagudadharas*. The term *Lagudadhara* associates them with followers of Lakulisa, believed to be the founder of Lakulisa-Pasupata Saivism. Thus, we may infer that the Kalamukhas adopted the beliefs and philosophy propounded by the founder of the Lakulisa

sect.² All though according to some inscriptions the Kalamukhas followed the tenets of the *Saivagama*³ (they preached the principles of Lakulisa (*Lakulagama*). The Pampamahatma gives the following explanation on the derivation of the word Kalamukha.⁴

Kala eva sada mukhya mahat kalamukham matam / /4/ /

Kalamukham mahaprajana kala yatra pratishtita /

Kalamukaikasam bandhiyat tat kalamukham matam / /12/ /

Tadanusuthanavanto ye te pi kalamukha smrtah.

Where kalas are always impartment, that is the great kalamukha doctrine... great connoisseur. The kalamukha is where kalas are installed. That which is related slowly to the kalmukha is the kalamukha doctrine. Those who maintain the practice of it are known to be kalamukha Kalamukhas were also devoted to Sadasiva with five faces they are, Ishana vama sadyojata Aghora & Tatpurasha , these five faces are associated with five saktis, Parashakti, Adishakti , Ihchashakti , Jnaneshakti and Kriyashakti.

The antiquity of the Kalamukhas in South India goes back to the last part of the seventh century when the Chalukyas of Badami were the overlords of the region from the Narmada to Kaveri. An inscription from Pattadakal dated 754 A.D.⁵ mentions an *Acharya* named Jnanasiva who had come from *Mrigathanikahara-vishaya* on the northern bank of the Ganges. He was residing in the Vijayesvara temple, now called Sangamesvara. Since Jnanasiva is a name common in the lineages of Kalamukha preceptors, he may be considered the first known Kalamukha *acharya*, or follower of the Lakula-Saiva sect, to have come to Karnataka.⁶

In the pages of history, we see that from ancient times till today, many businessmen have formed their associations and have been giving donations to various religious functions along with those who run their businesses according to its rules. Inscriptions also talk about the donations given by the merchants to various services to the sages in the temples of Kalamukhas. Nanadesi, *Ubhaya Nanadesis*, Nakharas, Thalligas Eleya munnurvar, Settis, Settiguttas Mummarandandas, *Aihole Ainurvaru*, etc

Merchant guilds played a significant role in the medieval economy. Their participation in trade and commerce was obviously to make a profit. Besides making a profit, these guilds spent a part of their income, in the beginning, to take up some public works such as the construction of religious monuments like temples, the installation of deities and conducting various rituals in the temples. They also acted as the custodians of religious interests. Merchant-producer associations like *Shetti*, *Shettiguttas*, *Nanadesis*, *Nakharas*, and *Mummaridandas* etc.

Unlike official classes, the producer and merchant guilds appeared in the medieval period. Those who do not consider material life to be the best but find fulfillment in religious life belong to this group. Such merchants used to give charity under the influence of local religious priests of Kalamukha sect. When these traders went to different areas for business purposes, they used to stay overnight in Kalamukhas monasteries and temples. While going from one place to another place for business purposes, they used to store their money in the hands of heads of the Kalamukha temples or Maths. Therefore, while retraining they recollect the money from these saints and carry them safely to their headquarters. Traders admired their honesty and gave them charity. The inscriptions mention that the Tread community was provided with food and shelter facilities like lodging during their stay in Kalamukha monasteries. The satisfied traders used to donate a portion of their profit from their trade to Kalamuka temples and the Sthanacharyas of the math's. Example- Laksmeswara inscription dated 1123 A.D.⁷ mentions that "*I dharmavannu nagara mahajanam panchamatha alliya talada bananjigaruverasum pratipalisuvaru*".

Construction of Temples

The merchant community encouraged the construction of temples and the installation of deities. Many inscriptions shed sufficient light for their charity work. For instance, an inscription dated 1164 AD from Kannoli in Sindagi taluk mentions the construction of Chikkeshwar and Nageshwar temples by Vaddavyavahari Bachi Shetti and Nagi Shetti.⁸

In memory of them, they have installed Linga and given charity to the deity. The Someshwara temple located in the town of Balligavi said to have been built in 1054 AD by a *Banajiga* merchant named Sovishetti.⁹ In 1063 AD, the *Banajigars* of Balligavi renovated this temple and named it as Gavareshwar. Gavares means traders who carry their goods from trade propose. Therefore, these types of temples are treated as Gavare community. In Balligavi, a well-known merchant rank of Ayavale Ayanurvaru seems to have been identified with this community and donated to the temple.¹⁰

The Banavara inscription of 1087 AD states that Chatta Shetty of Kammata, a valiant exponent of Bananju Dharma, built a temple called Chatteswara at Banavara. It mentions that Bhupajiya's disciple Adaleshwar Pandit, who was the Sthanacharina of the temple, was donated to perform the service of Angabhoga, Rangabhoga, Nandadeepa etc. to the temple there.¹¹

The Somanahalli inscription of 1141 AD mentions that the son of Mallamayya and Lokabhyaya and brother of Kesavashetti was Maha Vadda Vyavahari Soviseti, said to be installed the god Abhinava Somesvara at Somanahalli in the Asundi Nadu, and made a donation to the deity.¹²

Donation by the Settis

The local merchant guilds like Settis and Kommatas encouraged giving donations to religious institutions like temples and maths etc. The word *setti*, of course, is the *tadbhava* from the Sanskrit *sresthi*, meaning a merchant. But the word *Komati*, which is often found in the Telugu records is conspicuously absent in the Kannada records.¹³ They also gave donations of Kalamukha temples and Maths. An inscription of Doddimakala in Adoni taluk belonging to the reign of King Goyindra-Ballaha (Govinda IV) is dated 931 A.D. and states that Kural Kama-Setti, a bangle merchant, donated 50 mattars of land to the temple of god Kamesvara and the grant was distributed to stone masons, the astrologer, the singer of hums and other servants attached to it.¹⁴

An inscription of Kukkunur in Yalaburga taluk dated 1005 A.D. states that Isvara-setti had installed two pinnacles over a temple and built a *mukhamantapa (mukhasale)* to it and endowed a cash grant of 100 *gadyanas*, for the maintenance of the hall enclosure and entrusted it to a priest Agasti-jiya, a disciple of Chola-pandita of Hosamatha. It also registers some grants given by the residents of Kukkanuru for the god Gavaresvara on the occasion of the installation of pinnacles. This temple probably was a *dvikuta* built by Isvara-setti.¹⁵

Bagali (Harapanahalli taluk of Bellary district) inscription of 1113 AD refers to *mahavaddavyavahari* Ponmurkha Setti by washing the feet of Saiva teacher Shiva Shakti pandita made a grant of 14 *gadyana* to perpetual lamps of the god Sri Svayambu Kalideva of Balguli in presence of the *agrahara mahajanas*.¹⁶

Doddagaddavalli inscription of A.D 1113 refers that Mahavaddavyavahari Kulhana Rahuta and his wife Sahajadevi said to have constructed a *Chatushkuta* (four sanctums) temple to the gods Shiva (Bhuthanatha), Kali, Kesava and Mahalakshmi at Gaddumaballi and made a grant of four (4) *salage* of wetland to the sculptors like Malloja and Maniyoja who built the temple. After constructing the temple this place was transformed into a town called Abinava Kolhapura i.e., Gaddavalli.¹⁷

An inscription dated to the time of Ballala II at Jajur in Araseikere taluk mentions that a merchant named Kallashetti donated to the Kalideva temple at Jajur for its restoration.¹⁸ Thus, the Settis of the merchant community have donated oil. Even today oil donation is given to the temple during *Karthika masa* and special pujas. But now it is not limited to any one category.

Setti Gutta

Setti Gutta probably belonged to Guttas of Guttahalal is one of the merchants guild of Karnataka. The prefix Shettigutta means, '*Shetti*' means merchants. Uttarapada '*gutta*' Kannada noun '*gutti*' is used in the sense of high place e.g. '*kallugutti*', '*gutti*,' '*kutti*,' '*gutta*,' synonyms *Shetti Gutti* experiment of Neranike inscription¹⁹ dated 1287 AD accepts this. '*Gutta*,' which comes from Sanskrit '*Gupta*' and Kannada '*gutta*,' has another meaning of group, but it is not relevant here. Accept here the meaning of high place. Some scholar says '*Setti*' means merchant and '*Gutta*' means a group; together the term '*Settigutta*' means a group of merchants. They also donate to Kalamukha temples and Maths.

In the Shirasangi inscription of 1186 AD, Goudaru, eight flours, Mallavve, Aihole Ainuru Swami, Jayavoyyashetti etc., Settiguttar of the town, Nanadeshis of Lala Maliyala, etc. have all donated 18 mattars of land, 2, haga, Chharenne and one balla of paddy etc to Vamashaktiyati. Who could be a Kalamukha priest.²⁰

Nakaras

The Nakara is another organization of merchants frequently referred to in the epigraphs. The members of the Nakara were all traders are amply attested by the records. This corporate body is mentioned on various Nakara, Nagaramu, Nakharamu, etc., Kalamukha maths was supposed to provide temporary accommodation for the ever-travelling merchants. Kalamukha temple-maths and Satras have fulfilled this need of the Nakaras. The Nakaras encouraged the Kalamukh Yatis by donating them. It is clear that the merchant group called Nakara gave charity to Kalamukha Yatis and was paying their respects to them.

The Nakaras built the Nakareshwar temple and donated 12 more fields to the god. At the end of the same inscription, "This is Kalamukh Sthanam."²¹ It means that the Nakars established a temple in the name of their association and donated the same to Kalamukhas. This indicates a relationship of trust and confidence that traders have over time. Interdependence can be identified here.

In the Sagara (Surapura Taluka) inscription of 1071 AD, a donation was given as Vidyadana to the tapodhanas of Nakareshwara Deva Math. Here it means donation to the tapodhanas of Nakareshwar Temple and Math built by Nakara, Lakula must have been teaching Siddhanta Shastra, Artha etc. in that Math. The Nakars must have built the Nakareshwar temple for Kalamukhi or else it was donated to the Sthanacharya Anantashakti Siddhanta Deva there.²² This indicates a connection between the growth of trade and the growth of Kalamukh Math. An inscription belonging to the time of Ballala II at Halebid states that the Nakaras of Far Samudra donated a paddy flower garden etc. to the temple of Nakareshwara.(E.C V Bl 125)

In the Shirol inscription of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI refers to five hundred Merchants and the Nakara, the Doni one thousand and Ugura three hundred (bodies). It also records similar gifts made to the same god by the toll officers, *karanas*, and the betel-leaf merchants (*Tambuliga Settis*).²³

In the Kengal inscription of the Ballala II, there is a reference to Dharma Rashi Pandit, a disciple of Shakti Pandit Tribhuvan, and all the Nakhars of Araseikere, the capital, gave a donation to Dharma Rashi Pandit and asked him to build a Dharmeshwar temple and a lake. In the inscription dated 1062 AD of

Mulagunda, the names of Balla Shetti of Mulagunda, Dharamshetti Ratha Yugashetti Kalangara Shetti are the Shettigars of the village.²⁴

These Kalamukha centres were supposed to provide temporary accommodation for the ever-travelling merchants. Kalamukh's temple mutts and *Satras* fulfilled this need for the *Nakars*. The Nakaras built the Nakareshwar temple and donated 12 more fields to the god. At the end of the same inscription, "This is Kalamukh Sthanam".²⁵ It means the Nakars established a temple in the name of their association and donated the same to Kalamukhas. It indicates a relationship of trust and confidence that traders have over time. Interdependence can be identified here.

It seems special attestation was given to these central places to provide temporary accommodation to the ever-traveling merchants and their need was met by the Kalamukha mathas, the enemies of the Nakars, and thus the Nakars supported the Kalamukha mathas by giving their generous donations.

Nanadesi and Ubhaya Nanadesi

Nanadesi means those belonging to or coming from different countries. They appear to have been functioning in important port towns where extensive trade took place. Both islands and foreign trade were taking place. They migrated to different parts of the country like the Lada, Chola, Malayal, Telunga and Kannada regions. Bellary inscription of 1177 AD refers to Nanadesi merchants, i.e., those of the Lada (Lata), Chola, Maliyala, Telunga and Kannada regions, who met in the assembly and made certain grants to a temple.²⁶ The term Ubhaya Nanadesi, according to P.B. Desai, seems to demote the twofold classes of the mercantile association, carrying on their activities inside as well as outside the country.²⁷

In the Shirasangi inscription of 1186 AD, Gaudaru, eight flours, Mallavve, Aihole Ainuru Swami, Jayavoyyashetti etc., *Settiguttar* of the town, *Nanadeshis* of Lala Maliyala, etc. have all donated 18 mattars of land, 2, haga, Chharenne and one balla of paddy etc to Vamashaktiyati.²⁸

Sogi (Hadagali taluk of Bellary dist.) inscription of 1218 AD refers to the grant of 700 *kamma* of wetland by *nanadesi* Maleyala Porachcha Setti, which was purchased from Basavi Urodeya for the services of *anghabogha*, *rangabogha* and renovation of the temple of god Kalideva. This endowment was made for the merit of his younger brother Kumarachcha setti and his own.²⁹

Bendekere (Arasikre taluk of Hassan district) inscription of AD 1232 refers to *mahavaddavyavahari*, *ubhayanadesi*, chief of Maleyali merchants, a disciple of the Brahmins, viz., Damodara setti who built a *Trikuta* Shiva temple in his name called Damodareshwara at Bendeyakere which was popularly known as *Srimadanadi aghara* Jayagondapura. For conducting daily rituals in the temple he made a land grant after taking permission from the 52 *mahajanas* of that *agrahara*.³⁰

Ayyavoli Ainnuruvau

One of the famous merchant associations of Karnataka flourished during the Badami Chalukya period and ruled the trading world of ancient Karnataka like a king. It gradually extended the territory of its activities towards the south and finally established its centres in southern Karnataka. Since the central office was in Aihole, more than this, the merchants of Ayyahole were considered by the rest of the traders to be their progenitors. It is formed by joining various trade associations. Ayyavale 500 members of the Association have encouraged the growth of the Kalamukh sect by giving many charitable endowments.

The Gabbur Inscription of 1177 AD mentions the grant of paddy to the god Mahalinga Maleswar by Mummaridanda Sasirvaru of Hiriya Gabburu and Ayyahole Ayinurvaru, the merchants. The record also describes in detail the merchants of the village³¹.

An inscription at Mudhola village in Yalaburga taluk, Koppal district refers Ayyavale -500 swamis built a Gavareshwar temple and donated a house as a tax in association with various merchants.³²

Donation by Mummaradandas

Another merchant class that fostered the Kalamukha sect is the Mummaridanda, one of the important merchant guilds of medieval Karnataka. According to Keshiraja, Mumhari means heated sand (*kasida mala*). B.A. Saletore thinks that the guilds if they belonged exclusively to the commercial classes, were called Mummuridandas or other citizens, merely nagara guilds.³³ According to B.R. Hiremath the Mummuridandas are the holders of three sticks in the hands. It is like a *danda* i.e. a stick binded with three sticks. Obviously they were the possession of this type of stick. The predecessors of these traders must have used such a *danda* first, or else this society must have adopted the stick as a sign of respect and privilege.³⁴

An inscription ³⁵of Rajur in Ron taluk dated 1033 A.D. records the receipt of some grants by Chandrabhushanadeva Achari; a priest of the Kalideva temple. The patron is not mentioned. It further states that Prabhu Joga, an administrator had installed God Jogesvara, and also made land grants for the service of god Gavaresvara along with *aruvattokkalu*. A reference is made to Gramesvara temple while mentioning the boundaries of the gift land. A grant of taxes and house sites was made by *gavare-gandas* and *mummuri-dandas*, to God Gavaresvara.³⁶

An inscription placed in the 'mantapa' of Kadambeshwara temple of Rattehalli of Hirekerur taluk and Haveri district belongs to the reign of Singhana-II. This inscription states that Mahapradhan, had given away Karana Kallarasas land and houses as a donation to Lord Mallinatha by washing Murujavideva's feet. Further, it informs that the traders were Bananjagas, Nakhas, a Mummaradandas and the leadership of Sandhivigrahi thousand families too had donated many taxes. The priest Murujavideva is mentioned as a Kalamukha guru in another inscription found there.³⁷ Thus, the Kalamukha temple and its monasteries were the charity centres of the merchant community. This shows they were the venerable feeling the traders

Footnotes

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2. EC VII SK 275, 276
3. *Ibid.* SK 275
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7. SII XX No.145
8. SII XX No.140
9. E.C, VIII, No.-118
10. E.C, VIII, No.-123

11. E.C.X, No.55
12. E.C.XII, No.221
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14. SII IX (I) No.60
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19. SII IX (I) No.384
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22. Gogi Hanumakshi , Surapura Talukina Shasanagalalu, No. 28
23. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XI, No.172, 1121 A.D.
24. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XI, No.97, 1062 A.D
25. SII Vol.XV, No.73
26. Gogi Hanumakshi , Surapura Talukina Shasanagalalu ,No.28
27. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XI, No.172, 1121 A.D.
28. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. XI, No.97, 1062 A.D
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THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF NAYAKS OF MADURAI, 1529-1736 A.D

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The arrival of Telugus as rulers, governors, poligars and soldiers produced a monumental change in the economic history of Madura country during the medieval period. Temples were the centres of economic activities. The people depended on religious institutions for their social and economic momentum. The newly arrived Telugu chiefs followed their traditional economic practices in agriculture and trade; at the same time, they never maligned the existing economic activities of natives which remained the source of livelihood of the Tamils for generations.

Agriculture and Land Revenue

Agriculture and its development were the prominent economic activities of the Telugu chiefs. Before the establishment of Telugu rule agriculture was carried out through age old pattern. Being raw hands to new climatic conditions the Telugu chiefs adopted new measures to increase agricultural produce. During the 13th century, the people irrigated lands mostly using water from wells and barrages. But during the 14th century and after the Vijayanagar and Nayak rulers brought monumental change in irrigation. River waters had been used to irrigate lands. As a result thousands of acres of land located on the banks of Kaviri, Vaigai and Tamiraparani rivers connected with channels. The regions which receive scanty rainfall were joined with river channels. Naturally, the land during the Telugu's rule was called as wet and dry lands. Crops were raised according to the nature of the soil and new cultivable methods. Commodities such as maize, ragi, and cotton were produced in abundance in dry lands. The region which possessed water facilities produced rice, sugarcane, vegetables, and fruits. During the period of Viswanatha Nayak (1529-1564 A.D), agricultural works were done. As a result mango, lemon, and coconut groves were largely raised. Seasonal crops were also introduced.

Plough, sickle, and spade were prominent farming weapons. Bulls are also used for tiling. In addition, rearing sheep, goats, buffalo, and cows, was a source of income for the people. During the Vijayanagar rule people undertook agricultural work in three types of lands such as individual lands owned by Nilakilar, the brahmadeya lands owned by Brahmans which were given to them by the kings of different dynasties and devadana lands granted temples. The farmers of these lands were paid either by Varaha i.e. cash or by kind. The villagers practised the barter system of exchange.

The Telugu rulers derived their major source of revenue from land. The Vijayanagar rulers entrusted the army chieftains called **Amaranayakas** to collect the tribute from the Tamil territories captured by them during the 14th and 15th centuries. The **amaranayaka** supported their master and paid fixed tribute. The Madura Nayaks changed the amaram system instead they introduced **Palayam** the small territories consisting of lands. A poligar was made head of the land in return he had to pay tribute to his Telugu masters. The Telugu-speaking poligars kept the best lands for their cultivation and the rest were distributed among the subordinates known as **sherogars**. The sherogars not only cultivated lands but also rendered military service when their masters were in distress. The lands of Telugu rulers were controlled

by Pradhani, provincial governors and his subordinates. When the Nayaks were administrative agents of Vijayanagar rulers in Tamil country acted as intermediaries between the government and Ryot. After the establishment of Madurai Nayakdom (1529 A.D) the crown lands were entrusted to the officials of the government and their heirs. The produce of crown land was not granted to poligars and nobles but the tenants who cultivated the land received cash or kinds as salary. Brahamadeya and Devadana lands paid Jodi tax to the royal treasury. The other major part of revenue came to the king known as the tribute of Poligars. The amount was fixed based on the possession of lands. There was a custom practised by them before collecting land revenue the Telugu rulers closely assessed the yield and drought. Sethupathis of Ramnad and the king of Travancore remitted tribute to the treasury.

Policy of Taxation

The taxation policy of the Nayaks varied according to the fertility of the soil. According to copperplate information dated 1673-74 A.D., the magamai tax was levied at the rate of one kalam. Both barren and fertile lands are measured in terms of kuli, veli, and ma. Rods, bamboo sticks, and human feet were used for measuring land. Kudimai kadamai, ponvari, and nail were prominent land taxes collected from the people.

According to Jesuit records the amount of land tax was fixed as half of the produce but this statement shrouded obscurity. The Poligars collected half of the produce from the tenants at the same time they remitted a certain amount to the royal treasury either in cash or kind. Nelson pointed out that the Nayak rulers received land tax only cash (pon) from the private land owners. During the 15th and 16th centuries, the Vijayanagar kings regularized the land revenue system and from that period cash payment was mostly accepted. The term like ponvari, ponvaraha, nelvaraha and dhana varaha indicate the revenue had been collected by cash. The land revenue policy adopted by Telugu chiefs in Madura country was unique. To facilitate the collection of revenue they formed territorial divisions. Each division was placed in charge of an administrative officer. An official hierarchical set-up was followed for collecting taxes. The task was entrusted to Pradhani, provincial governors, Poligars, Kanakkan, Ambalakaran Maniakaran and Kanakkupillai. During the Nayak rule, Pradhani was the finance minister of state who issued orders connected with taxes and land revenue on behalf of the king. Provincial governors were asked to execute the orders of Pradhani. Collection of the land and other revenue from nadu or mahaman and semai was the foremost responsibility of provincial governors. The poligars who were in charge of collecting revenue from Palayam acted as intermediaries between the king and the farmers. Kanakkupillai who assisted the Poligar possessed entire records of the village. Sometimes he collected land revenue from the cultivators on behalf of the poligars and landlords. Ambalakaran or Maniakaran another prominent official of the state served as village revenue officer. He not only looked after the land revenue but collected individual and professional taxes in the villages. It is important to point out that the major portions of the revenue were utilized in wars, construction and renovation of temples and other charitable works. Thus the Telugu chiefs followed systematic revenue practices to enhance the economic standard.

Industrial Revenue

Besides agriculture, cottage industries received considerable development. The Telugu rulers encouraged the manufacture of fine-quality oils, jaggery, and salt. The **uppilian** worked in salt pans. Pottery-making was also occupied a prominent place and considered a hereditary occupation. Due to the advent of Sourashtras, a fine variety of textiles was produced and supplied to royal families and nobles. As far as trade is concerned the Telugu chiefs concentrated on inland trade because they lacked sound knowledge

of naval forces. Trade guilds controlled the prices of commodities. The guild was properly administered usually the Chettis were the office bearers of guilds situated in the capital.

The trade guild sometimes helped the kings to buy good quality precious stones, pearls, gold and silver. Though the Nayaks failed to have trade contact with aliens, the Marakkayars of Kayalpattinam were involved in overseas trade. Then Portuguese and Dutch landed and established a trade link with Madura country. Horse elephants from Arabia and Ceylon, species from Malacca and hide from Japan were important items of imports. The goods like Tanjore's rice, Madurai's linen and herbal were exported to Arabia, Worms and Ceylon.

Thus, the Nayaks of Madurai established an organized revenue system which brought decent revenue. The revenue received from various subjects was properly used by the rulers for better administration.

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SHAKTHAN THAMPURAN: THE ARCHITECT OF THRISSUR CITY IN KERALA

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King Rama Varma was the architect of modern Kochi. His eventful tenure (1790-1805) was a crucial phase for Kochi. He was a good administrator who led the state forward and quietly tackled the challenges of colonialism on the one hand and its subsequent domestic issues on the other.

Childhood

He was born on 10 *Karkkidakam*, on *Pooyam Star* in 926 KE at *Vellarappalli Kovilakam*. His mother was Ambikathampuratti of Chazhoor lineage and his father was Anujan Nampoothirippadu of Chendamanagalam Mana. As he had an ill-omened birthday according to astrology, he was brought up so carefully from his infancy. Before he turned three, his mother queen passed away and he was brought up by his stepmother. He was ritually named Ramavarma. In 930 KE, as the royal family settled in Thrippunithura he had his schooling and training in martial art in the same place. When he turned ten, he was titled *Nalamkoor* since when he began to prove himself to be brave and dauntless and was later known as *shakthan*. According to Kottarathil Shankunni, he was called *shakthan* as he followed a stringent penal system in his governance. A quick-witted devotee beyond his age, he was first taught by Kalyenkara Pisharadi of Perumpadappu Swaroopam. He was also empathetic with the underprivileged since his childhood.

The Young Ruler

Shakthan Thampuran proved his mettle as a ruler as he could act as the representative of the rulers from his adolescence till he came to power in 1790 CE. A master of sportsmanship, he was keenly interested in hunting. As a driving force to the rulers, he had become the king much before his formal coronation. After 1769, Shakthan Thampuran became the governing authority under the king who ruled the state. He followed Marthandavarma, the king of Travancore whose governing style impressed him. He was a contemporary and friend of Karthikathirunal Ramavarma of Travancore who was known as Dharmaraja. He became the minister for maintaining diplomatic relations with European powers like the British and the neighbouring states like Mysore, Kozhikode and Travancore.

The Coronation

Shakthan turned out to be the eldest prince as the younger king passed away before the demise of the elder king. He ascended the throne at the age of 39, in Chingam of 966 K.E. Soon after the coronation, he built a fort and moat in Thrissiva Perur and Thrippunithura. A *kovilakam* (royal house) was also built at the centre of the fort at Thrissur which was adjacent to another fort. His summer residence was Kanjirappalli Palace in the village of Pariyaram near Chalakkudi. The army of Sakthan Thampuran consisted of security guards and several warriors of Thiyya community. Thousands of warriors were recruited to the army following the condition that at least one member should join the army from all the Nair families around there. Panikkar Valiya Kappithan, who proved to be equally competent, was appointed the captain of the army.

Shakthan Thampuran concentrated on facilitating transportation and hygiene. He made roads and planted shade trees on both sides of the road. He ordered the residents along the road to clean the part

of the road in front of them. It was during his reign that the teak forest in front of Vadakkunnatha temple was deforested, converted into a vast ground and facilitated for public use. He confiscated several parts of the land to the royal palace and farmed there. He compensated the land confiscated from the poor whereas no compensation was made for the land confiscated from landlords. He used to patrol around at night anonymously and maintained a strong network of spies. It is said that he travelled to Trivandrum in disguise and watched alone the rituals of *murajapam* and other things.

Kochi and its Foreign Relations

The age of Shakthan Thampuran was one of the social and cultural developments in the history of Kochi state. He faced several domestic and external unfavorable circumstances. He came up with all the initiatives that would enrich the trade in the state. He renovated the temples demolished during the expedition of Tipu. From this perspective, it can be seen that the history of Kochi as a developing state started since the reign of Shakthan Thampuran. He collaborated with the Dutch only in their last days. Soon after he assumed power, he decided to compromise with the East India Company and made terms with it. He was keen on proving his talent in his transactions with the Company. The dawn of the nineteenth century was a period of complex problems for the states in India. It was at this time that the British appointed residents to ensure their hold in the state. Historical documents mention that the resident Colonel Macaulay tried to interact with Shakthan Thampuran with the mediator Dharman, an official of the Company at Kochi. He was not at war with the British, rather he solved the issues through terms and negotiations. The Company that did not interfere with the domestic affairs of the country helped him rule independently.

The End of Feudalism

The age of Shakthan Thampuran marks the end of feudalism and the beginning of the modern age in the history of the state of Kochi. The princely state was challenged by the threat posed by the powerful landlords and the dominating *pottees* of the temples of Vdakkunnataha and Perumana. The king was against this and took strong measures to suppress them. *Yogathirippads* were selected for namboothiri congregations and they were known as priests. They were the leading force behind the Namboothiri families of Thrissur who made domestic uprisings in the rebellions that erupted between the states of Kochi and Kozhikode. Therefore, the king no longer maintained them in service and outranked them by confiscating their properties and other belongings to the royal treasury. Afterwards, he restricted the feudal power to the officials directly recruited by him and the collections to *Devaswam* were made directly by the government. Thus the *namboothiri* congregations lost its former power and Paliyath Komiyachan was one to help the decline of the power of Nair landlords. The state was divided into *taluks* known as Kovilakathumvathukkal and brought under the control of the custodians. Apart from the oppression of the Nair hierarchy, he maintained a discourteous relationship with Gaudasaraswatha Brahmins and confiscated the wealth unlawfully collected by the rich *vanikkas*.

Approach to the People of other Religions

The trade of the age was dominated by *Konginis* and Christians who had been in good terms with the Dutch. So, an increased amount of tax was demanded from the rich merchants in the society. But, they, under the influence of the Dutch, started to produce fake business accounts. The king turned angry and sent officials to confiscate a share from the treasury kept in the temples of *Thirumala Devaswam*. But, with the assistance of *Devareshagani*, the valuables in the treasury were shifted to Alappuzha and this enraged the king to kill *Devareshagani* and confiscate the treasury to the temple treasury. Latin Christians also were the victims of the uncouth treatment of the king. The princes of Kochi state commonly favored

religious conversion and converts to Christianity were exempted from taxes of several kinds. Therefore, a common land tax was brought into effect in 1763, but the Latin Christians refused to pay the tax amount increased thereof. Coercive measures were taken to control them and many lost their land and were expelled from the state. At the same time, he was amicable with Suriyani Christians who were accommodated in the land at the central parts of cities like Thrissur and Thrippunithura. The *elephant lamp* which he donated to Kanjoor church of Vellarappalli, where he was born, stands as a testimony to the cordial relationship he had with this community.

Reformations in Governance

Shkathn Thampuran is known as the founder of the modern Kochi and substantial developments were made in all fields during his period.

1. The capital Thrissivaperur was developed into a large city.
2. Demonstrated personal interest in the economic development of the state.
3. Dethroned the *madampis* in power.
4. Declared that the village is the smallest unit.
5. *Parvatheekarars* were made custodians of the village and designated to collect the tax.
6. Taluks were formed incorporating different villages.
7. Introduced the system of Sooba, a coordination of *taluks*, and officials were designated with special power.
8. Offices were constructed for governance.
9. Officials were vigilant against the offences like bribery and corruption.
10. Harsh punishment was ensured to all offenders including officials.
11. Legislations were made to ensure the code of conduct of the officials.
12. Markets were open for trade and commerce.
13. Measures were taken for renovating the temples destroyed by the expedition of Tippu.
14. Concentrated on the public utilities like roads, bridges, canals and inns.
15. Special emphasis was made on the irrigation projects of dams for the cause of farmers.
16. Ordered to construct Enamakal check dam in order to facilitate transportation.
17. In short, he was a brave, dynamic and meticulous ruler who paid personal attention to the entire system of governing the state.

Cultural Contributions

The *Thrissur pooram* which bears the history of 200 years was initiated by Shakthan Thampuran, the king of Kochi. The *pooram* of Thrissavaperur continues to be the crowd-pulling hallmark of the festival seasons in Kerala culture. During his reign, *Arattupuzha pooram* in South Kerala was a famous festival. It was believed that divine agents from different lands attended *Arattupuzha pooram*, the festival of festivals. In those days, people also believed that Gods and Goddesses from different worlds attended the *pooram*. Once, due to heavy rain and storm, people from Paramekkavu, Thiruvambadi, Chembookkad, Karamuku, Lalur, Ayyanthol, Choorakkattukaavu, Neithalakkdavu, Kanimangalam and Shasthavu could not reach Araattupuzha and, it is said that they were outcast by Thampuran. He got angry upon learning of the incident and on the very next day *pooram* (medam 977) initiated the festival of Thrissur Pooram that turned out to be the hallmark of Kerala culture. The festival which is a carnival to the people of Thrissur has never been discontinued ever since it was started. The private bus stand in Thrissur is named after Shakthan Thampuran in recognition of the developments he made in the transportation sector. Shakthan market in Thrissur also stands as a testimony to the contributions he made in the field of trade

and commerce. A statue of Thampran, the architect of Thekinkaadu ground, was also erected in the city to acknowledge him as a pioneer of Kerala culture.

Ramavarma Shakthan Thampuran was a farsighted political visionary contributed by the Kochi state. He withstood all challenges and was skilled enough to cash in on all opportunities that came his way. He was well known as a wise diplomat, a robust ruler and a far-sighted economic legislator. When the state was on the verge of decline due to various foreign invasions that lasted for centuries, he re-established the state through his systematic governing policies. One of the great architects of modern Kerala disappeared when he passed away in September of 1805 at Thrissur.

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COLONEL JOHN MUNRO AND COLONIAL MODERNITY IN TRAVANCORE

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Introduction

The English East India Company established its political sway over India through direct conquests and agreements with the native rulers in the second half of the 18th century. After the establishment of colonial supremacy, there were several stiff fights against colonialism, which aimed for the re-establishment of the pre-colonial socio-economic system in India. But the resistances were brutally suppressed with an iron hand and the British established their supremacy over the country.

The establishment of colonial political supremacy over the Indian political system started a new conflict between the European political economy and the traditional caste-based socio-economic system of pre-colonial India. Even though the British had their own hidden objectives in their activities, their administration brought about certain desirable changes in society. They vehemently opposed the very root of the existing social order of India. They also tried to modernize the traditional caste-based society and strongly challenged the evils and abuses that had crept into the society. Therefore the Britishers sowed the seeds of social transformation in India.

The caste-oriented social system of India separated and isolated human beings into different social compartments, which helped the domination of the privileged classes in the society. The privileged classes never wanted to change the existing social order because it would loosen their hegemony over society. The Europeans addressed various problems of the lowest sections of society, which was reflected in their activities. The reforms of the British transformed the entire structure of the society and also shook the very basic economic structure of the country.

The Indian society began to explore more vigorous economic ideals, practices, relations and concepts. The British started several modern institutions such as schools, colleges, railways, judiciary and public services. On the other side, they reorganized all the traditional administrative machinery of India such as military, law and justice, selection and appointment and control of civil servants, tax collection and administrative expenses according to the British needs. The Europeans always highlighted their culture and ideas and believed that their duty was to civilize the people from the darkness to the light through religion and administration. Thus the process of colonial modernity gradually developed in India.

Colonial rule was introduced in the princely state of Travancore through the imposition of the paramountcy of the British. In the early decades of the 19th century, the projects of societal modernization and cultural modernity were initiated in Travancore through the activities of both colonial rulers and Protestant missionaries. The traditional social structure was transformed by the practice and popularization of Western education, schooling, medicine and circulation of knowledge. The printing press and the colonial legal system contributed to such changes that eventually transformed the traditional social structure substantially¹.

The English East India Company signed a treaty with the ruler of Travancore on 17 November 1795, which ultimately surrendered the sovereignty of the country to the British. Several terms were included in this treaty in favour of the company. In 1805, another treaty was signed and according to this treaty,

Travancore became a subsidiary ally of the company and accepted their suzerainty. After the Treaty of 1805, the British acquired the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the state. Therefore, through the Treaty of 1805, the rulers of Travancore became mere puppets in the hands of Company².

The colonialists created a favourable platform for the amelioration of the depressed classes in Travancore. They creatively interfered in the caste-dominated society of Travancore³. In the early decades of the 19th century, the economic, political and ideological interventions of the colonial agents radically altered the caste-dominated social ensemble of Travancore. The supremacy of the British also proved to be the catalytic agent for the social transformation of Travancore from the traditional to the modern, though, of course, it was not instrumental in completing that change⁴. Therefore, the colonialists prepared the mental condition for the social transformation.

Colonial modernity not only played a subversive role in challenging the existing social order but also provided confidence and solace to the depressed sections of the Travancore society. In such a situation, the rulers of Travancore could not ignore the clarion call for social transformation. Drawing inspiration from the times, the Government of Travancore issued several orders and proclamations to relax caste restrictions and evils in the 19th century⁵.

As an agency of socio-political, cultural and economic transformation, colonialism used several strategies for attaining its goal. Education, technology, administrative machinery, religious activities and colonial economy were the most important tools used by colonialism to overpower the traditional socio-political and economic structure of Travancore⁶.

The colonialists opened several schools for the depressed class education. Education provided the opportunity to the low castes for a new social awareness. The commercialization of agriculture also played an important role in the socio-economic change in Travancore. The colonialists started tea, rubber, coffee and spices plantations, where new opportunities were thrown open to the lowest sections of the society. In these plantations, the emancipated bonded labourers and the freed slaves joined as salaried labourers. They were transformed from bonded labourers to waged labourers. A free labour market existed in Travancore and the labourers could choose this opportunity which was based on a higher salary.

The introduction of plantations and the investment of capital in traditional industries created the emergence of a free labour market in Travancore. In the 1860s, the Government of Travancore started the Public Works Department (PWD), which opened up new opportunities to bonded labourers. The opening of the PWD in Travancore created fresh opportunities for the low-caste servants in the public services. They were largely recruited in the PWD for the construction of roads, bridges canals etc. on a salaried base. Caste was not a barrier to the selection of employment opportunities in PWD. They had the opportunity to choose their labour and therefore they became the salaried labourers.

The activities of Col. Macaulay, Col. John Munro, and Charles Mead accelerated the process of social transformation of the state and also gave some expectations to the lowest sections of the society. They gave moral support to the agitations of the weaker sections for attaining civil liberties. The attitude of the British towards the depressed classes was very sympathetic which resulted in the introduction of several ameliorating activities to the oppressed in the society. Their activities also modernized the social structure of Travancore.

The administrative machinery of Travancore practically consisted of two despotisms – the natives and the Britishers, the one acting as a counteraction to the other⁷. After the treaty of 1805, the English East India Company prepared a plan for a colonialist expansion and they tightened their grip over the

administrative and economic management of the state. The colonial administration introduced several reforms, which played a decisive role in the social awakening of Travancore. The resultant political fluidity provided room for economic changes and accelerated the process of social mobility.

The colonialists introduced several land reform legislations, which transformed the traditional land pattern of Travancore. Therefore, the lowest sections of Travancore considered the colonial agents as a form of solace. They wholeheartedly supported the administrative and social reforms of the British. The support of the people to the policies of the Britishers helped them to change the face of Travancore and leave a distinct mark on her history.⁸ The administrative reform introduced by Colonel John Munro is significant in this regard.

Colonel John Munro (1810-1819)

Colonel. John Munro, the great philanthropist was appointed as the Resident Dewan of Travancore in 1810. As an ardent follower of Christianity, John Munro believed that the development of Christianity could be beneficial to the interest of humanity and also contribute directly to the stability of the British administration in Travancore⁹. As the British Resident of Travancore, he consolidated the British power in Travancore and remodelled the system of administration on that of the Britishers. He made Travancore a model state of India¹⁰.

As a great administrator, Munro handled the problems in a very liberal, enlightened and humanitarian manner. He also lifted the civil and criminal powers of the *sarvadhikaryakkar* and they were reduced to mere tax collectors. The designation of the *sarvadhikaryakkar* was changed to the tahsildars¹¹. Later Munro abolished the office of the *sarvadhikaryakkar* and *valiya sarvadhikaryakkar*. The police system of Travancore was reformed by Munro because he realized that an efficient police would be necessary for the better administration of the country¹².

In Travancore, several burdensome taxes prevailed in the 19th century. All taxes were imposed in an unscientific manner and all these taxes were levied only on the depressed classes. They paid taxes to the government even for the hair they grew and the breasts of their women. Among the taxes, the poll tax was inhuman and was collected from the low castes. In 1807-08 AD, the Government of Travancore collected Rs.88044 as poll tax from the Ezhavas and the Nadars. In the same year, poll tax collected from the Chettis and others amounted to Rs.4636. Another account showed that the annual revenue from the poll tax of the state was one lakh rupees. Sometimes the poll tax collected from the individuals varied from rupees sixteen to sixty. Therefore, the poll tax was an extreme hardship and suffering of the lower sections of society.

Besides the poll tax, illegal taxes such as cottage tax, net tax etc. prevailed in the state. As a humanitarian, Munro took steps to abolish these taxes. He exerted pressure on the Rani to issue certain Proclamations to abolish the inhuman taxes. On 1st *Karthikai*, 989 M.E (1814 A.D) Rani Lakshmi Bai issued a Proclamation, which abolished poll tax and certain other illegal taxes collected from the low castes. The Proclamation also abolished the taxes such as *talayara*, *valayara*, *kettilakkom*, *velapathivu*, etc. As a result of the Proclamation of 1814, various low castes such as Ezhavas, Nadars, Pulayas, Parayas Mukkuvas etc. were freed from the burden of various taxes.

The amelioration of the slaves was the most outstanding contribution of John Munro. He used his position to develop the depressed sections of the society in Travancore. He started several campaigns against the social evils with the help of the missionaries. John Munro was a great crusader against slavery, especially the system of bonded labour, the worst form of caste slavery. The soil slaves or agrestic slaves were generally termed as *cherumakka* and they constituted the major section of the slaves in Travancore.

According to P.E.Conner, “their name is connected with everything revolting, shunned as inflicted with the plague, their presence created untouchability and pollution to the higher castes”. The living conditions of the slave caste were pathetic. They did not have any civic rights. The higher caste had the right to kill on the spot anyone who should resist their brutal demands¹³. James Forbes described the condition of poor people who came down to Anjengo and other seaports to sell themselves or to dispose of their children as slaves during the time of famine.

The agrestic slaves were partly employed under the lands of the government and partly rented out to the riots¹⁴. In 1812 A.D, Col. Munro issued an order, which prohibited the slave trade in Travancore; still in a way slavery existed in Travancore till 1855 A.D, fully recognized by law. For the emancipation of the slaves, the missionaries prepared and submitted several memorandums to the government. In 1812, Col. Munro issued another order which permitted the women converts to cover their bosom. He also granted permission to the children of Christian fathers to inherit both movable and immovable property from their parents. The government of Travancore approved the order of John Munro in 1814.

Col. John Munro’s services to Christianity were admirable. Munro wholeheartedly supported the missionary activities in Travancore because he stood for human equality. He was responsible for the establishment of the Church Missionary Society in Kerala because he believed that it was the only way to liberate the slave castes from their age-old sufferings.

The growth of Christianity in Travancore is closely connected with the British colonization. Church grew more speedily in Travancore than in any other part of the world. In the 19th century, different sections of Christianity prevailed in Travancore. The Census of 1901 reported that the number of Christian population in Travancore was 697387 or 23% of the total population of Travancore. They received patronage from the local chief and the respectable caste. There were different groups of Christianity such as C.M.S, L.M.S and Salvation Army in the state.

The Church Missionary Society (C.M.S) was organized by the Church of England in 1799 for the propagation of the gospel in Africa and the East. In Travancore, the C.M.S was established in 1816 under the leadership of Col. John Munro. The C.M.S. did several humanitarian activities to the people of Travancore. They concentrated mainly on the central parts of Travancore.

Besides the C.M.S, there were two protestant missions in Travancore, viz., the London Missionary Society (L.M.S) and the Salvation. These protestant missions played the propagandist work in Travancore. The L.M.S was founded in 1795 in England, a philanthropic organization for the propagation of Christianity during the 19th century. The history of the introduction of Protestant Christianity in Travancore has the unique distinction of being associated with any power structure of aggressive colonial influence. Mylady in South Travancore was an important centre of Protestant Christianity in Travancore and later the activities of the L.M.S spread to different areas of Quilon. The real founder of the L.M.S in Travancore was William Tobias Ringeltaube, a Prussian Missionary, who started his campaign of gospel in 1806.

The Salvation Army entered Travancore in 1891 and began its operations in the South India. During the 1890s there were more than 16794 Salvationists in Travancore. The Protestant missions played a crucial role in the social awakening among the depressed sections of the society in Travancore. They pleaded for equality and education for the depressed classes.

As a true follower of Christianity, Col. Munro redressed the grievances of the converted Christians. During the period, the converted Christians were performing bonded labour service at the temples and *uttupuras*. They performed bonded labour services in the temples on all Sundays. The political influence

of the British and the personal interest of John Munro prompted Rani Lakshmi Bai (1811-1815) to introduce several social reforms by which the depressed classes secured more privileges. Munro, therefore, realized that the Christianization would ultimately help towards the consolidation of British power in Travancore¹⁵.

Rani Lakshmi Bai gave wholehearted support to the social activities of Col. John Munro. In 1815, a Royal Proclamation was issued by Rani Lakshmi Bai which exempted the Christians from all bonded labour services connected with the temples and *uttupuras*. The Proclamation also exempted the Christians from rendering gratuitous services to the government¹⁶.

Munro requested the corresponding committee of the C.M.S to send a few clergymen to work among the Syrians of Travancore. Thomas Norton was sent to Travancore as a missionary of the C.M.S of Travancore. As an agent of colonialism and Christianity, Col. Munro encouraged the process of conversion. He gave several concessions to the converted Christians and created opportunities for the depressed classes in the public services. He also appointed Christian judges in the courts.

The services rendered by Col. Munro relieved the slave castes from their age-old miseries and made them conscious of their civil rights. Besides, the decline of feudalism also gave a new inspiration to the slave castes to fight against social evils and inhuman customs. Munro's contribution to the field of education was admirable. He started several schools at the public cost for the slave castes for the improvement of their education. Munro manifested the wisdom and magnanimity of a Christian statesman.

Conclusion

The social reforms of Col. Munro helped to change the entire structure of the society of Travancore. Above all, he was a man who loved Travancore and her people. The imperishable name he left in their hearts for justice and probity made even the ignorant peasants call him Munroe Sahib. The meritorious services of Col. John Munro earned him the title "the Prince of Travancore Residents".

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UNRAVELLING HISTORY IN RUSHDIE'S *THE GOLDEN HOUSE*: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

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Introduction

Historical novels offer a captivating mix of fiction and historical backdrop. By using real events as a stage, these novels provide a unique lens to explore the past. Historical novelists, like historians, go beyond recording events. They delve into the social, political, and cultural forces that shaped them, offering a deeper understanding of the past. Like historians, historical novelists curate their portrayal of the past. They select events, characters, and interpretations based on their worldview and the prevailing historical understanding. Historical fiction thrives on this interplay between factual events and the author's creative interpretation, offering a nuanced and multifaceted exploration of the past. This paper employs a historiographical analysis of Salman Rushdie's *The Golden House* (2017) to examine its engagement with the historical understanding of the existing historical narratives and interpretations of the 26/11 attacks and their repercussions. The paper adopts a qualitative close reading of the text *The Golden House* to identify how Rushdie depicts the attacks, the trauma they caused, the displacement of individuals and communities, and the broader context of globalisation. The paper aims to demonstrate that *The Golden House* is not simply a reflection of historical facts but rather an active participant in shaping our understanding of the past. The paper aims to show that historical fiction like *The Golden House* offers a valuable lens for understanding the complexities of history and its intersection with human experience.

Historical Context

Salman Rushdie's novel *The Golden House* is primarily set in post-9/11 America in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in the United States. This event is a defining moment in the nation's history and has profound implications for the characters and their perceptions of the world. The historical context of post-9/11 America provides a rich backdrop for Rushdie's exploration of themes such as identity, immigration, the role of government, cultural diversity, and the complex interplay of history and personal narratives. It also allows the author to address how real historical events can shape individual lives and collective consciousness. Rushdie reinterprets real historical events—the 26/11 attacks, the 2008 financial crisis, and the rise of Donald Trump and incorporates them into the narrative. These real events are not just backdrop but become integral to the characters' lives and the narrative's exploration of history. This blurring of fact and fiction encourages critical examination of the stories that shape our understanding of the past.

Set in New York City's affluent enclave in Greenwich Village, the novel is narrated by Rene, an intellectually curious filmmaker who intrigued by his enigmatic neighbours, the Golden family, embarks on a quest to document their lives. The Golden family's decision to leave Mumbai is motivated by the 26/11 attacks. The attacks have left them feeling unsafe and insecure, and they believe that they can no longer live in India. They settle into their new life in New York City. However, the 26/11 attacks continue to haunt them, and they are unable to escape the trauma of their past. Rushdie explores the impact of these political realities on the characters, particularly their experiences as immigrants, their sense of belonging,

and their attitudes toward government overreach. New York City, a diverse and multicultural metropolis has long been a symbol of immigration and cultural exchange. The novel deepens its historical context by including the 2008 financial crisis, impacting the characters' lives through economic hardship. The narrative reflects the media-driven 21st century with pop culture, social media, and constant news, grounding the story in its contemporary setting. It also reflects the pervasive influence of media on society and explores how media shapes public discourse and individual perceptions. *The Golden House* refers to the 2016 U.S. presidential election and the character of "The Joker" to the rise of Donald Trump in American politics, pointing to the growing polarisation and divisions within American society, and the broader cultural and political shifts.

Narrative Structure and Techniques

Rushdie employs a multi-layered narrative structure with René, the protagonist and narrator, telling the story back and forth. This structure invites the reader to consider how history is constructed and narrated, as René reflects on his own account's accuracy and subjectivity as he tries "to reconstruct his memory of the exact sequence of events"¹ (Rushdie, 2017, p.59). René, a filmmaker, embodies the author's role as a storyteller, highlighting the power and manipulation inherent in crafting narratives. The characters, tied to their backgrounds, represent various facets of identity and historical parallels. Nero embodies the American Dream, while his sons reflect the complexities of post-9/11 America. They draw on myths and historical narratives to construct their identities, blurring the lines between myth and history and emphasising the subjectivity of historical accounts. Rushdie states in *The Golden House* that "these are the times we live in, in which men hide their truths, perhaps even from themselves, and live in lies, until the lies reveal those truths in ways impossible to foretell"² (Rushdie, 2017, p. 35). The characters find comfort in myths, blurring the lines between them and historical fact. This fluidity emphasises the subjectivity of historical narratives, which is further dismantled through techniques like historiography and metafiction. The novel prompts readers to question how history is constructed, biased, and ultimately understood.

The Golden House explores the lingering trauma of 9/11 on his characters. The post-attack environment, marked by suspicion of immigrants and a "War on Terror," shapes their psychology, relationships, and sense of belonging. They grapple with identity, and cultural heritage, navigating a world of heightened security and societal divisions. Through these struggles, Rushdie emphasises the importance of cultural acceptance and the challenges immigrants face in a climate of fear.

These political and cultural events contribute to the complexity of the narrative and the characters' experiences. They provide a rich historical and social context for the story, allowing Rushdie to explore themes of identity, belonging, power, and the interplay between personal lives and the larger historical and cultural currents. The novel invites readers to consider how these events have shaped the characters' choices and perspectives in a post-9/11 America marked by uncertainty and change. Rushdie's reinterpretation of events allows readers to see historical occurrences from different angles, encouraging critical thinking and questioning of dominant historical narratives.

Salman Rushdie employs multiple narrative techniques in *The Golden House* to create a complex, multi-layered story, with René, the protagonist, as the primary narrator. However, various other characters also take on the role of narrator or provide their viewpoints. This multiplicity of perspectives adds depth to the storytelling, allowing readers to see events and characters from different angles. It mirrors the complexity of real-life situations where people interpret events differently. Rushdie employs the concept of unreliable narration, with René acknowledging the limitations and subjectivity of his own storytelling.

He frequently refers to memory lapses, omissions, and personal biases. The narrator in the novel avers that “all told stories about themselves, stories in which essential information about origins was either omitted or falsified”³ (Rushdie, 2017, p. 68). This technique challenges the idea of a single, objective truth, highlighting the fallibility of memory and the inherent biases that influence how stories are being told and remembered. The first-person perspective used by René offers an intimate and personal connection between the reader and the central character. It allows readers to delve into René’s thoughts, emotions, and experiences, providing a window into his inner world. Michel Foucault, in *Archaeology of Knowledge* posits that the past is not an inert layer, it is actively produced through our work on the archive which suggests that history is not a fixed and objective record, but rather something that is constantly being constructed and reconstructed through our interpretations of the past⁴ (Foucault, 1972, pp. 141-42). It suggests that our interpretations of the past, shaped by the selection and organization of archival materials, actively construct and reconstruct our understanding of what transpired.

Given René's background as a filmmaker, Rushdie incorporates documentary and film elements into the narrative. This includes script-like dialogue, camera angles, and film terminology. This approach blurs the line between literature and visual storytelling, reinforcing the idea that narratives can take on multiple forms and mediums, echoing the novel’s metafictional aspects. Rushdie plays with the chronology of the narrative, moving back and forth in time. This allows readers to piece together the story gradually and see the evolution of the characters and their relationships. The shifting timelines contribute to the sense of personal history and the impact of the past on the present.

Myth and History

Rushdie integrates myth and symbolism into the narrative, often through the characters’ own interpretations. The novel’s interplay between real and mythical historical elements underscores the idea that history and myth are often intertwined. Rushdie suggests that myths and stories can be just as influential in shaping individuals and societies as factual historical events. Mythic elements contribute to the layered and dreamlike quality of the story, blurring the line between reality and fantasy. For instance, he revisits the Oedipus myth and the story of the Minotaur in new and imaginative ways. By reinterpreting these myths, the novel underscores the idea that myths are malleable and can be reimagined to suit the needs of the storyteller. The characters have myths and histories that shape their identities. For instance, Nero Golden constructs a new identity essentially creating a personal myth about his origins. These personal myths are interconnected with broader historical and cultural narratives, illustrating the complex relationship between personal and collective stories. The use of myths and history as tools for self-invention highlights the idea that identity is constructed and fluid, and individuals can reinvent themselves in light of their own personal narratives. These narratives can be seen as a form of cultural archive, preserving and transmitting stories across generations. Rushdie integrates these elements into the narrative to interact with established historical narratives. The novel relies on the characters’ memories and subjective accounts of the past, functioning as a form of personal archive. These narratives reveal biases, contradictions, and the construction of individual historical perspectives.

Characters and Identity

In *The Golden House* by Salman Rushdie, the characters are richly developed to represent a spectrum of identities, encompassing both personal and historical dimensions. The characters collectively contribute to the novel’s exploration of identity in its various dimensions. Through their individual stories and struggles, Rushdie delves into personal, cultural, historical, and social aspects of identity. The characters serve as vehicles for examining how identity is shaped by personal choices, historical forces,

and the interplay of various cultural and societal influences. Each character's past, heritage, and personal history influence their choices and behaviours in the novel. Nero Golden's history as an immigrant from an undisclosed country shapes his identity and motivates his actions. He conceals his past and reinvents himself in the United States, adopting a new identity. His decision to change his name and background is rooted in a desire to escape his previous life and embrace a new one, ultimately leading to a web of secrets and deceptions.

René's personal history as a filmmaker and his role as the primary narrator affect the way he constructs the narrative. His past experiences in cinema influence his storytelling techniques and the choice of perspectives he presents. His history as a filmmaker underpins his tendency to view events through the lens of storytelling, highlighting the metafictional aspect of the novel. His relationships with his family, particularly his mother, influence his actions and decisions as he navigates his personal life alongside his role as a storyteller.

The Golden children's histories as the offspring of Nero Golden influence their individual pursuits and ambitions. Petrus, for instance, is an artist who is deeply connected to his cultural heritage, which informs his creative decisions. Apu's history as an entrepreneur contributes to his desire for financial success and independence. D's background as a mathematician is reflected in his analytical approach to life and problem-solving. Vasilisa's history as a Russian expatriate carries emotional weight, shaping her personal identity and her relationships. Her experiences in Russia and her ties to her homeland influence her decisions in the narrative, particularly her relationship with Nero Golden and her family history. The Joker's history as a political figure and symbol of change is central to his actions and decisions in the novel. His past political activities and affiliations influence his current role as a political activist, and his decisions are driven by a desire to effect change in society. His personal history intersects with broader political and social forces, shaping his motivations and the course of his actions. Raj's history as an aspiring filmmaker from Mumbai informs his creative pursuits and his decision to come to the United States. His background as a young man from a diverse and culturally rich city affects his experiences and decisions as he tries to establish himself as a filmmaker in a new cultural context. Peyton's history as a transgender individual shapes her journey of self-discovery and her decision to embrace her true identity. Her past experiences, as well as her relationship with her family and the medical profession, contribute to her decisions and the challenges she faces in her quest for self-acceptance.

The characters in *The Golden House* are intricately connected to their own histories, and their personal narratives are deeply intertwined with their actions and decisions. Their past experiences, cultural backgrounds, and familial histories all contribute to their motivations and the paths they choose to follow in the novel. This interplay between personal history and decision-making underscores the complexity of identity and the ways in which individual and collective histories influence the characters' lives. The novel explores the complexity of historical narratives. It suggests that history is not a fixed, objective truth but a collection of stories that are continually reinvented and reinterpreted. The various narrators and perspectives also enable Rushdie to offer social and political commentary through the characters' viewpoints. He uses their voices to critique and reflect on contemporary issues, including immigration, politics, and cultural identity.

René, the narrator, blends factual details with fantastical elements. His academic background mixes with pop culture references, reflecting both his vast knowledge and a generational weariness. This fusion of reality and imagination creates a rich narrative capturing both René's perspective and the Golden's story. The novel further blurs the line between real and fictional historical elements. This allows Rushdie to

explore the complexities of history, identity, and the power of storytelling, prompting readers to consider the role of fact and fiction in shaping how we understand the world.

Postcolonial Perspective

Dipesh Chakrabarty, an Indian historian and postcolonial theorist who has written extensively on the relationship between colonialism and history argues that colonialism has shaped our understanding of history in profound ways: "narratives often themselves bespeak an antihistorical consciousness; that is, they entail subject positions and configurations of memory that challenge and undermine the subject that speaks in the name of history" ⁵(Chakrabarty, 1992, pp.10-11). Salman Rushdie's postcolonial background and perspective have a significant influence on his approach to historiography in *The Golden House*. His own experiences as a writer born in British India and later living in the United Kingdom and the United States inform his exploration of history, identity, and storytelling in the novel. Rushdie's postcolonial perspective emphasizes the interplay between cultures and the hybrid nature of identity. The characters in the novel often navigate multiple cultural and national identities, reflecting the postcolonial experience of living between worlds. Edward Said in his work *Orientalism* (1978) posits that "Orientalism is a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient"⁶ (Said,1978, pp.2-3). Said's concept of Orientalism is central to postcolonial theory, which critiques the power structures established during colonialism. *The Golden House* portrays the lingering effects of colonialism and the ongoing struggle for postcolonial identity.

The novel touches on the legacy of colonialism, particularly through the character of Vasilisa, who is a Russian expatriate. Her history is shaped by the colonial and post-Soviet experience in Russia, and her presence in the United States underscores the global impact of colonial and postcolonial history. The novel celebrates cultural pluralism and diversity, reflecting Rushdie's belief in the importance of recognizing and embracing the multiplicity of voices and narratives that shape history.

Rushdie's postcolonial perspective includes a critical examination of power structures, which is evident in the novel's political and social commentary. The rise of "The Joker" as a political figure can be seen as a critique of power dynamics in postcolonial and post-9/11 America. This critique of power structures is integral to the historiographical exploration, as it questions the official narratives and dominant historical perspectives. It also emphasizes the power of narrative as a tool of resistance and self-expression. His characters often use storytelling to assert their identities and resist dominant narratives and deconstruct stereotypes challenging preconceived notions about cultures and identities. This postcolonial perspective enhances the complexity and depth of the novel's historiographical exploration.

In *The Golden House*, the author masterfully incorporates elements of historiography and metafiction, adding layers of complexity to the narrative. In the work *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, Hayden White argues that historical narratives are not simply factual accounts, but rather shaped by the language, metaphors, and ideological assumptions of the author. White posits that by drawing historiography nearer to its origins in literary sensibility, we should be able to identify the ideological, because it is the fictive, element in our own discourse"⁷(White, 1978, p.99). Rushdie utilizes fragmented timelines and unreliable narrators, for the exploration of history, storytelling, and the subjectivity of truth. *The Golden House* interacts with and potentially subverts traditional historical discourse, highlighting the role of the author's imagination and narrative choices in shaping our understanding of the past.

Reinterpretation of History

The concept of reinventing or reconstructing history as a form of personal and collective myth-making is central to *The Golden House*. It underscores the idea that individuals have agency in shaping their own stories and identities, and that history is not a static or fixed entity but a dynamic narrative constructed through storytelling. The characters' engagement in this process reflects the power of narrative to influence personal and cultural understanding of the past. The novel explores the interplay between personal and collective history, contrasting with traditional methods that focus on impersonal histories. The interplay between cultures informs the historiographical exploration in the novel, as it highlights the complex and multifaceted nature of history and identity. Rushdie challenges traditional storytelling through non-linear timelines and unreliable narrators, prompting readers to question how narratives shape history and identity. This self-reflexivity challenges the objectivity of conventional historiography and emphasises the role of the author in shaping historical narratives.

The novel's reinterpretations demonstrate that truth, particularly historical truth, is not an absolute concept but is relative and context-dependent. What may be considered 'true' from one character's perspective may be entirely different from another character's viewpoint. This relativism challenges readers to question the idea of a single, objective truth in history. This encourages readers to critically assess the narratives presented by authoritative sources and to consider how political, cultural, and individual biases may influence these narratives. The novel highlights the importance of considering alternative perspectives on history. This reinterpretation underlines the subjectivity of history, acknowledging the possibility of alternative narratives even for well-documented events.

Conclusion

Rushdie's *The Golden House* reinterprets the 26/11 attacks, prompting readers towards a critical and flexible historical understanding. As William Faulkner, American novelist states "The past is never dead. It's not even past"⁸(Faulkner, 1919, p.85). This quote highlights the idea that the past is constantly being reinterpreted and reshaped, and that there is no single, objective truth about history. This points to the subjectivity of historical narratives, the power of storytelling, and the relativity of truth. By challenging established accounts, Rushdie's novel *The Golden House* invites exploration of multiple perspectives and the intricate relationship between fact and interpretation in shaping our historical consciousness.

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SOCIAL ASPECTS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN MADURAI CITY: A STUDY

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Urbanization form an important branch of historical studies. The most important feature of human evolution through the cities appeared about five thousand years ago. They were small in size and were surrounded by rural societies and agricultural fields. The concept of urbanization is economic which related to the movements of people out of agricultural communities into other and generally larger non-agri communities. Urbanization is an important feature of human life reflecting the social, economic, religious and political life of the People. A study of the process of urban growth and it's involves examination of social aspects of the People. In urban centers the main activities are manufacturing, trade, commerce and transport communication. And so many professionals, personal official and institutional services are scattered in town. In Modern times, after the introduction of British rule early in the 19th century, new economic opportunities and the development of transportation facilities led to the way of urbanization. Migration is one of the main reason for promoting urbanization. Migration is also attracted by better access to public services such as schools, colleges, opportunities as well as better prospects for recreation in cities. Presently, all over the Tamilnadu large urban centre have sprung up and urbanization has become a universal phenomenon and a greater part of population in the developed states resides in cities. In this paper, an attempt has been made to trace the various factors that were responsible for the rise of urban development in Madurai city on the basis of social aspect.

Urban growth is considered as a touch stone to measure the prosperity of the people and definitely indicates the progress of mankind and refinances in their living conditions. Further, it reflects cultural advancement and civilization of the people. Urbanization has become an important index of socio economic structure of a region¹. During the latter 19th and early 20th centuries, the administrative institutions of south India were pushed into rapid change².

Thus, In Tamilnadu urbanization plays vital role in the society. Madurai is one of the major city in Tamilnadu. Madurai is also the cultural capital of Tamilnadu and the administrative headquarters of Madurai District³. Madurai extends geographically from 9 degree 50 North latitude to 10 degree North latitude and between 78degree02'East longitude and 78degree 12 East longitude⁴.

The Madurai city is the third largest city in Tamilnadu⁵. G. The city of Madurai extents over an area of 2,42,977 sq.km with the population of 14,65,625. It stands as a notable second – tier. Indian city and a commercial center for southern Tamilnadu. Though the city started emerging along south with time the growth process took a shift towards north as it gained most of the new public services after 1900's⁶.

The modern city planning is started from British period. Lord Ribbon, Viceroy of India (1880-1884) announced the scheme of local self Government⁷ and laid the foundation for the system that exist today. Local self – government paved the way for the development of society. Especially in urban areas, it bought the introduction of the Madras District Municipalities act of 1844. It helped for the improvement of cities. In addition to that the introduction of the Improvement in Towns Act and India Act XXII of

1850⁸. This act introduced municipal administration in any town. The next step was the passing of the Town Improvement Act of 1865 and 1871. . After independence in 1947, the city underwent major changes in terms of its spatial extent. The modern town planning act was passed in 1909 and another one in 1925. These legislations accorded planning methods and yardsticks to cities. The years 1951 and 1971 witnessed huge migration of the people from rural to Madurai urban area.

Town and Country planning Act of 1971 extends to the whole of the state of Tamilnadu except the places declared to be cantonments under section three of the Cantonment Act of 1924⁹The Tamilnadu Town and Country Planning Act, enacted in 1972. It has been the bedrock of planned development and land use in the state. However, the evolving landscape of urbanization and development necessitates a dynamic approach to its implementation. It witnessed radical transformation from agricultural land use till 1970 to its current state a sprawling urban development in today. This growth was facilitated by the network of transportation and other infrastructure. The northern part of the city was urbanized after 1950's and it had strong connections with the southern part of the city.

In Madurai, Urbanization plays an important role in the changes of society. The degree of Urbanization of society became major characteristic of its qualitative state and it necessarily reflected in the notions about its social structure¹⁰. In the social structure of Tamil traditionally, the Brahmins have occupied top of the society. They kept themselves aloof from others. They retained an exclusiveness of caste orthodoxy by combining economic power derived from land ownership with religious authority. During the British rule, the Brahmins were the first to respond to westernization¹¹. The literary tradition of the Brahmins gave them an initial advantage in western education. This helped the Brahmins to enter the colonial administration, gaining a new political and economic advantage which further widened the gap between the Brahmins and other castes¹². The British rule produced radical and lasting changes in the Society and culture¹³. Thus the impact of the British on the traditional rural India including Tamil was decisive. The former self sufficient economy of a village was radically transformed. The influx of foreign and subsequently of indigenous industrial goods into the village, progressively undermined cottage, industries. It broke the equilibrium of mutual exchange of services between the village agriculture and the village artisan industry.

The rise of internal markets assisted by the extensions of railways and roads and expansion of foreign trade of agricultural commodities, transformed the old self – sufficient economy of the village into market economy. With gradual urbanization, the rigidity of the division of labour according to caste is steadily on the decline. The expansion of towns, the diversification of employment opportunities in trade and services and the glamour and attractions of city life have created a steady drift towards the city. Following the upward trend in occupational mobility in modern times, several castes in the society have exploited the new economic opportunities opened up by industrialization and moved upon the economic ladder.

The towns play a significant role in the process of integration of agrarian, commercial and industrial activities by the extreme mobility of the population¹⁴ The towns also work as a market that offers many services for its rural hinterland and serves as an organizing core for a spatial area large enough in resources and population. It provides an impersonal, competitive daily market where the farmers can readily sell their surplus and receive immediate payment making it possible for them to buy their needs¹⁵. . It is also an employment center to be more important than a market centre. The town can help to overcome the greatest social short coming of a village – structured economy which is a waste of latent human productivity. The town alone can help facilitate the release of greatest possible creative talent and direct these creative efforts to the most important problems. Thus, the towns can attract agro – industrial activities, marketing facilities and other small scale industries, providing employment and services to the

population in the hinter land. Once such growth has started, the town helps in transforming the social, economic and political conditions of the hinterland. The town thus acts as an instrument for quickening the rate of growth, development and transformation. Thus the development of town is a significant aspect in the issue of urbanization.

Madurai has a long tradition of culture and education. It is blessed with water reservoir and celebrated Vaigai river passes through the city. The population growth and its variation over the decades for Madurai city during 1901 -2011 revealed that there is no uniform trend of growth. A rapid increase in population was observed since 1921. The step rise in population was attributed mainly by large scale migration from rural areas. The increase in the variation of population in 1921 respectively declined during 1951-1961,1971-1981,1981-1991. Nearly 80% of the city population is highly concentrated to the Southern Bank of the river Vaigai while the remaining 20% is sparsely distributed over the western areas and along the northern bank of the river vaigai.

Madurai city and its environment include both rural and urban settlements¹⁶. The city could develop a central heritage district with Meenakshi temple as its centre¹⁷.. The south-ward expansion of the town perhaps difficult on account of the presence of large tanks. But extension of the town to the north of the river facilitated due to the construction of bridge. The location of government offices such as the collectorate and some semi – public buildings in this area further stimulated the growth and all modern residential developments have taken place in the area to the north of the river. The town is flanked to the west adjoining the railway by the components of what may be called the industrial area. Some important textile factories have sprung up here out of the town. But a large number of handloom establishments still continue to exist in homes in the other older parts of the town¹⁸. It is common feature among all temple towns to see development of the bazaar streets around temple. In Madurai, the growing pilgrim traffic encouraged similar developments and all the roads leading from the bus stand and the railway station towards the temple have become cluttered up with shops of different kinds. As the town grew, any increase in shopping activities tended to concentrate along the main highways of the old town: this was so because the temple nucleus still continued to be the economic, cultural and social hub of the city. Thus, the above facts reveal the significance and importance of the facilities of different varieties for the implementation of urban programmes.

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NEO-COLONIALISM: IT'S METHODS OF EXPLOITATION AND DOMINATION

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Neo-colonialism, a term coined by the Ghanaian independence leader Kwame Nkrumah in the 1960s, represents a contemporary form of colonial domination that operates through indirect means. While traditional colonialism involved direct control and exploitation of territories by foreign powers, neo-colonialism embodies a subtler, more insidious approach. In this modern iteration, former colonial powers and multinational corporations maintain economic, political, and cultural dominance over former colonies or developing nations, often perpetuating exploitation and inequality under the guise of globalization and development.

This new form of exploitation emerged after the Second World War and is called neo-colonialism or neo-imperialism. The war had destroyed the European economies and ultimately led to the breakup of the British, French, Belgian and Dutch colonial empires. The former colonial powers now devised new strategies to continue their hegemony and exploitation in their former colonies, leading to the development of neo-colonialism - imperialism without colonies or 'direct control'. Kwame Nkrumah, the founder President of Ghana described it as the Last Stage of Imperialism'. His seminal work on neo-colonialism is aptly titled "Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism." Published in 1965, this groundbreaking book offers a comprehensive analysis of the post-colonial landscape, examining how Western powers continued to exert influence over former colonies through economic, political, and cultural means.

Neo-colonialism was also called 'economic imperialism' as the former colonial powers primarily use economic strategies (trade, aid, international economic policies etc.) to maintain their control and exploit the resources of post-colonial states. In lieu of direct military control and settling people, neo colonialist powers employ financial and trade policies to dominate less powerful countries. Hence, imperialism acquired an impersonal character in its new colonial phase. Both previous colonising states and other powerful capitalist powers (Eg. USA) maintain a continuing presence in the economies of former colonies. They are interfering in the governance and economies of weaker nations to maintain the flow of raw materials and facilitate capitalist exploitation.

Transnational corporations are international business organisations which operate in many countries and exercise control over several markets. They possess large capital and superior technology. Thus, they acquire monopolistic control over the markets in which they operate. The TNCs are in a position to exert influence over the political and economic policies of the Third World countries, where they mainly operate. They often carry out massive and seductive advertising campaigns, distorting the tastes and styles of the people of third-world countries, seeking to turn luxuries into necessities. Thus, the TNCs transform the economy of the Third World countries and the lifestyles of its people to ensure the maximum flow of profit. Today, TNCs set up material- and power-intensive and polluting enterprises increasingly often not in their own countries, but closer to sources of energy and raw materials where free land is available and where environmental protection laws are less strict, where cheap labour is available, where there are no trade union activities, as well as in the countries which permit the lowest

standards of public responsibility. The principal objective of the TNCs is to derive maximum profit from the exploitation of cheap manpower and natural resources of developing countries.

Lenin referred to the export of capital as “one of the most essential economic bases of imperialism.” Capital investments in the financial and insurance spheres of third-world countries have been noticeably growing. It is the giant TNCs which account for the growth of private overseas investments which is already much ahead of the growth of export of goods of developed capitalist countries. Multinational countries invest money to produce goods and provide services, make a profit and repatriate profit to the developed countries. In this way foreign capital act as a syringe which sucks away the wealth of third-world countries to the western metropolitan cities.

The expansion of private and state capital of the leading capitalist countries not only intensified the exploitation of natural and manpower resources of the third-world countries but also was, accompanied by a steep growth of their foreign debt. A new form of export of capital - the establishment of joint companies and societies emerged to create a semblance of cooperation of monopoly capital with the national capital of third-world countries. The real result of that cooperation is that TNCs secure their profits not only from capital they import or reinvest, but also from local capital which intensifies the process of squeezing money out of those countries.

The economic and technological backwardness of third-world countries is seen against the background of the scientific and technological revolution taking place in all industrialised countries of the world. The main efforts and material means involved in research and development primarily channelled in the leading capitalist countries to the nuclear, space and military research and development do not tally with the real and pressing needs and requirements of third-world countries. Hence, TNCs and TNBs carry out technological neo-colonialism about third-world countries, dictate their terms and extract enormous profits in this sphere as well. Selling outdated or unnecessary technology to those countries creates a dependency on the products and expertise of the coloniser, stifles local innovation and perpetuate economic inequality. While accepting technological assistance from imperialists, developing countries have to pay huge amounts annually for the import of machinery and technology, for patents, licenses and consultancy services.

TNCs exploit cheap labour in third-world countries through outsourcing and offshoring of manufacturing and service industries. This can involve substandard working conditions, low wages, and lack of labour rights, leading to the perpetuation of poverty and inequality. The establishment of the international division of labour by TNCs is clothed in a cover of private property which invariably creates an irreconcilable conflict between the selfish aims of TNC bosses and the interests of the public in the countries where they operate. The situation is worsened by the fact that the international division of labour created by giant monopolies was born in the atmosphere of acute antagonisms between imperialist powers, and the developing countries have become an arena of a fierce struggle among the TNCs and TNBs of the leading capitalist countries.

TNCs and TNBs are engaged in large-scale plundering of the newly free states in the sphere of foreign trade, applying many methods of which non-equivalent exchange is the most universal. The operation of the price scissors is rather simple: refusing to sell their machines, equipment and technology for the purpose of raising their prices and to buy goods from developing countries. Hence, monopolies ultimately force these countries to sell their goods at lower prices charging at the same time high monopoly prices for their goods and services. The TNC's diktat in the field of prices is extended not only to traditional

export items of third-world countries but also to other goods and types of raw materials, including such strategic minerals as uranium ore.

An analysis of the expansionist activities of TNCs and TNBs in newly free countries shows that imperialist monopolies perform not only the economic functions of neo-colonialism to satisfy their exploiter interests, i.e., the extraction of maximum profit, but also socio-political functions to protect and preserve the general class interests of the capitalist system as a whole. The social expansion of TNCs and TNBs in developing countries is complex and extends practically to all classes, sections and groups of the population. The number of imperialist steps for social expansion causes negative socio-economic consequences for newly-free countries. Consequently, the results of social expansion are the growing exploitation and dependence, starvation and misery of broad masses, unemployment and uncertainty in the morrow, epidemic, malnutrition and lack of medical care, and illiteracy. At the same time TNCs, TNBs and imperialist governments are engaged in search for steps to strengthen the social basis in these countries. One such step is to give local citizens jobs in the administrative machinery of joint enterprises and branches and give them higher wages and salaries than at national enterprises. Moreover, they use a microscopic part of the profit for education, health etc. of the poor nations and oppress the people and government and conceal their covert robberies.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), largely financed by the US and other Western countries, have been used by capitalist countries as instruments of neo-colonialism. The grant of loans and aid by these international economic institutions has been always governed by political considerations as well as the interests of the capitalist states, which control these institutions. Therefore, they impose many conditions on those countries which accept loans. Before granting loans they put some conditions, which are adverse to the third world countries and after granting loans they collect back huge interest. In this way, they push poor nations into unending trouble, exploitation debt trap etc.

One of the important methods of neocolonialism directly connected with the export of capital is the aid programmes of imperialist powers for third-world countries. The aid by imperialist powers has strings attached, i.e., several political and economic terms, including the commitment by the recipient countries to buy goods and services from the donor country. This method is actively used for conquering the markets of developing countries for sales of obsolete weapons and other outmoded goods. Quite often imperialist powers render aid to some third-world countries for political propaganda, and often for discrediting the policy of the government of the country to which the aid is given.

Another method of neocolonialism in foreign trade is to set limits to import quotas and quantity for traditional export goods from developing countries. Discriminatory protectionism about exports from developing countries is nothing new; it was significant as far back as in the early 1960s. But the subsequent upswing of protectionism adversely affects the export of developing countries, especially clothing and textiles about which the protectionist restrictive measures were particularly tough. The ultimate intention of neo-colonial powers is to reduce the import of commodities from poor countries, but at the same time dump as many goods and services in poor countries as possible.

The policy of neo-colonialism includes the use of various forms of overt and covert interference in the internal affairs of third-world countries. The colonial powers have secret agents and groups in those countries which are active in generating political crises. They often help to install puppet regimes and pull down uncomfortable governments by backing coups, funding opposition groups, providing military aid, or even manipulating national elections to serve the interests of colonial powers. By such political

intervention, the imperial powers are in a position to exercise control over the policies of these states. CIA which has a wide network of agents in many third world countries have been entrusted with the execution of special operations in other countries by the US ruling circles. These operations include the physical elimination of progressive political leaders and statesmen, provoking local wars and armed conflicts, destabilisation of the internal situation by inciting religious-communal and ethnic strife, economic sabotage, and military coups. The overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954, Allende in Chile in 1973, and Saddam Hussain in Iraq in 2003 are some examples of such interference in internal affairs. They also unnecessarily interfere in the internal affairs of poor countries by sponsoring politicians and getting the neo-colonial agendas of the colonial masters done through native politicians.

Neo-colonial powers also resort to military intervention to serve their purposes. Traditional military conquests, aggressions and wars are now avoided. Instead, threats of military action (often under the guise of promoting stability or fighting terrorism), discontinuation of military supplies, engineering of coups, acts of aggression, provocation of local wars and police operations are often taken to ensure obedience by the Third World countries. Military bases may also be established to extend influence and maintain strategic dominance. There is virtually no capitalist or developing country on which the US Administration would not seek with all its force to impose its policy and wherever possible, to bring to power a government suitable to it, or simply a puppet regime. There is no area in the world oceans where the Pentagon would not expand its bases or create new ones. The US has several military commands stretching throughout the world to attack any nation which challenges US hegemony and neo-colonialism.

In the post-war period, the United States enmeshed dozens of states with military blocs and mutual defence agreements. All of the blocs and treaties of the United States and its NATO allies are designed to combat not only countries of socialism and the international communist movement but also the national liberation movements and developing countries. At the same time, the United States and some of its allies are implementing plans to expand the operational zone of NATO. The US has about 30 bases and strongholds in the Indian Ocean, turning it into a military and strategic springboard of imperialism. The high concentration of naval and air forces and the entire military activity of the United States and its allies in the Indian Ocean poses danger not only for the peoples of the region but also for normal international navigation and air communications.

Neo-colonialism has imposed the arms race on many developing countries. Imposing arms on third-world countries, creating military bases in their territories, and transferring military technologies, imperialists are increasingly drawing developing countries into the arms race. Imperialist monopolies impose arms on all developing countries, and not only on the rich ones (oil exporters like Iran, Saudi Arabia, etc.) but on the poor ones too. Military spending in developing countries is carried out at the expense of reducing allocations for social needs, health care, and education. The involvement of third-world countries in the arms race does a great deal of damage to their economies, depletes their resources and hinders their development. It further widens the gap between industrialised and developing countries in per capita income, conserves the latter's economic backwardness and dependence on imperialism, worsens the conditions of their trade, increases their foreign debt, diverts huge funds and resources from civilian branches of the economy, and creates additional difficulties in combating hunger, illiteracy and disease.

Moreover, the protagonists of neo-colonialism encourage regional enmities between nations and kick one against the other. In this way, they divide nations and indirectly rule them. They sell their weapons to the so-called 'friendly nations' and always provoke one against another.

There is cultural dimension also of neo-colonialism. Here Western cultural hegemony is imposed on African, Asian, and Latin American societies through media, education, and other means of cultural influence. Cultural domination perpetuated a sense of inferiority among the victims of neo-colonialism and eroded indigenous cultures, further entrenching the power dynamics of neo-colonialism. Western cultural imperialism reinforced patterns of dependency and undermined African, Asian, and Latin American identities and autonomy. Western values, languages, cinemas and cultural norms, are imposed which are viewed as a form of psychological colonization that perpetuated feelings of subservience among victims of neo-colonialism.

Furthermore, the concept of cultural infiltration can be extended to the pervasiveness of Western media and cultural products in the globalized world. The question of how to maintain a distinct cultural identity in the face of such dominance remains pressing. The dissemination of Western media, literature, and education served as tools of ideological domination, shaping the consciousness of colonized peoples and legitimizing the existing power structures.

Neo-colonialism continues to be a pressing issue in our contemporary world, posing significant challenges to global equality, justice, and self-determination. Despite the formal end of colonial rule in many regions, the legacy of exploitation and dependency persists, perpetuating cycles of poverty, underdevelopment, and political instability in several third-world countries. Recognizing and addressing neo-colonial dynamics is essential for promoting genuine sovereignty, economic empowerment, and social progress in formerly colonized nations. This necessitates efforts to dismantle unequal power structures, promote equitable trade and investment practices, and support grassroots movements for autonomy and self-sufficiency. Only through collective action and a commitment to justice and solidarity can we overcome the enduring legacy of neo-colonialism and build a more just and equitable world for all.

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THE COLONIAL INTERCESSION AND MAPPING OF INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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The geography of India appears to be a very difficult catchment area for travelers and conquerors from time to time. The hefty Himalayas on the north and the Bay of Bengal to the east, the Arabian Sea on the west, and the Indian Ocean on the south provide a distinct identity to the Indian Subcontinent. A real vision of its physiographic terrain was not obtained up to the 18th Century.

The earliest entry of geographical knowledge of India to the Western World was provided by Alexander with his invasion of India in 330 BC. Alexander knew about India when he invaded Persia, defeated the Persians in the Battle of Arbela,¹ and proceeded to India. Though his conquest was mainly confined to the regions around the Indus and its tributaries, he collected adequate knowledge about the Ganges of the east and then the west coast of Peninsular India. Later this knowledge of Indian geography was developed by Megasthenese who reached the Mauryan Court.² Eratosthenes³ even attempted a mapping of India.⁴ His view of the earth's spherical shape laid the cornerstone of scientific geography, which had further main additions only in the 17th Century. Yet the world's first map is The Babylonian Map of the World.⁵

Ptolemy⁶ In the second century, A D made a map of the world, but it was inaccurate. He wrote *A Guide to Geography*, which was based on the accounts of traders and sailors.⁷ He was the first to use the terms *India Indra Ganjam* and *India extra Gangam*.⁸ Strabo's work *Geography* was written between 17 and 23 AD. In this book, 15 treatments of India and Persia were listed. Similarly, Pliny the Elder who wrote *Natural History* refers to the geography and ethnography of India.⁹ Arrian records of Alexander's expedition stated that the Indus is the largest of all the rivers of Europe and Asia, in the vicinity of mountains like the Caucasus.¹⁰ He gave a vivid description of the Indian terrain; the mighty mountain bound it.

Following this, the Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hiuen¹¹ And Hiuen Tsang left a valuable account of their journey through Indian terrain. Later Arab travelers instead of giving maps, used diagrams to give distance estimates. Geography was a much-respected discipline in the Arab world and Arab scholars believed that knowledge was man's best asset. Mathematics, astronomy, and geography were mostly connected with crafts and trade. Arabs had a very wide outlook and vision of total history and universal history. They traveled far and wide and in one sense the glory of Indian culture was carried to the West by the Arabs.

Route to the East, the sensitive regions of spices fascinated traders and travelers from time immemorial. The two peninsular coasts of India received and well-treated all such trespassers. Indian geography appears to be fabulous in Western knowledge traditions. The ancient literary works of India gave accurate hints of Indian geographical knowledge and its entry and exit points.

Clear progress in studying geographical features of different terrains of the world appeared in the 15th Century, with the intervention of the Printing press.¹² From that onwards, scientific and technological progress make deep imprints on human actions. Francis Bacon stated that science aimed to command nature for human action and welfare.¹³ It had great advantages in geographical discoveries. England found itself at the intersection of new trade routes.¹⁴ English East India Company extended its hold

over the subcontinent in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and several environmentally less accessible and politically marginal territories were acquired or laid claim by the Company.¹⁵ London grew into a large port with piers, docks, and warehouses, its population reached, 200,000.¹⁶ The shipping business had a big boom in most European nations. Cartography began to develop, maps primarily served as vehicles for communicating specific messages.¹⁷ With it, European countries like France, England, Holland, etc engaged in preparing maps regarding Indian terrain but early maps were mostly imaginative with picturesque decorations. Names of Bartoli and Gastaldi deserve mentioning in this regard.

In the beginning, the English East India Company was unaware of the geography of India. Their managerial operations were limited in the initial years. The shifting of policy from trade to conquest necessitated more structured operations. The hidden wealth of the country and its scope for commercial revolution forced them to formulate better use of science and technology. In trading enterprises, European merchants were given wholehearted support by some Indian local merchants.¹⁸ Some of them gave products by collecting from petty traders.¹⁹ More the fight with the native rulers, especially the tight contest with the Tippu Sultan, they were forced to know the exact physiography of South India. Surveying of Indian territories, by applying scientific methods was initiated.²⁰ The Survey of India was established in 1802.²¹ Daring officials surpassed the challenges posed by nature; they moved forward and grasped the geography of India. The initial surveys of the 18th century later led to The Great Trigonometrical Survey started by William Lampton and completed by George Everest in 1843.²²

In the sixteenth century, William Baffin prepared a map of India and accompanied Sir Thomas Roe²³ to India.²⁴ His map remained the focal authority for a long time for geographers and explorers. Later mentions of Indian geography come from Herman Moll, in his *A Complete System of Geography Ancient and Modern*. In it, the Asia Part contains 31 maps among them two maps display Indian physiography. Next vital progress in map-making was recorded with D' Annville's map of 1752.

D'Annville was the official cartographer for the French East India Company, who spent his whole life studying geography. He prepared many maps which were acquired by Louis XVI in 1779. He was particularly interested in Asia and his maps were scientifically prepared. Annville was born in 1697 and died in 1782. His family name was Bourguignon and the British Museum catalog uses this name for reference to his works.²⁵ His earliest map of Tibet was compiled from the accounts given to him by Jesuit missionaries. He published it under the title *Carte General du Tibet Bout Tan*. In 1737, he published *A Map of the South Peninsula*. His *Map of India* was published in 1753, and another one regarding the Coromandel Coast in the same year. With every map, a memoir exhibiting the data on which it had been constructed is given. He consulted ancient and modern historical works, traveler's accounts, philosophers, orators, and poets. He continued to take great interest in the geography of India. He often made correspondence with Robert Orme and he exchanged maps and documents. His Memoir was translated and published with a reprint of his map in 1754 in London.²⁶ Robert Orme was ably assisted and supported by him, as he was mentioned in Orme's historical writings.

Efforts of Thomas Jeffrey and Robert Orme

Both are British officials who take interest in preparing maps. *The East Indies with the Roads*, of Thomas Jeffrey, spread in four sheets. Robert Orme collected materials and maps mainly to write history. He collected diverse sketches and surveys mostly provided by John Call Vansittart, Richard Smith, etc. They gave geographical details of the inland places which he needed.

Robert Orme was born on 25th December 1728 and died on 13 January 1801. His father Alexander Ormay was the Surgeon and Chief of Anjengo.²⁷ When he was two years old, he was sent home to an aunt in Cavendish Square London. He viewed history and geography should go hand in hand. He collected materials for writing as much as possible. For that, he contacted officers of civil and military in Madras and Bengal. It was his request that culminated in Reynolds's Survey of Bengal. He even combed a *General Map of India* with the support of Thomas Kitchen. His work illustrious work is *History of the Military Transactions of the British in Hindustan from the year 1745*.²⁸ His letters to D'Annville showed his interest in geography.²⁹

Major James Rennel's Map of Hindustan 1782 - 93

James Rennell, often called the 'English D' Annville', was born on 3 December 1742 and died in 1830. He is also called the 'father of Indian Cartography'.³⁰ He is still remembered in the emblem of the Survey of India.³¹ His father was John Bemel. In January 1756 he joined the Navy as a midshipman under the service of Hyde Park. At the end of 1759, he volunteered his service in the East Indies. In 1762, he accepted an offer to accompany an expedition to the Far East led by Dalrymple in one of the East India Company's ships. Rennell entered the East India Company's Sea service. He at once received command of a vessel of two hundred tons. Unfortunately, it was destroyed by a hurricane in 1763. Fortunately, He obtained control of a small yacht Neptune and by it he executed surveys. From Madras, he concentrated on surveys of Palk Strait and Pampun Channel, for the first given that name in respect of the Governor of Madras, Robert Park.

Rennel was appointed Surveyor General of Bengal in 1767. He was ordered by Robert Clive and Vereist to survey all the territories acquired by the Company in eastern India. Thus, his next cruise was to Calcutta, where he made his most valuable contribution of preparing the *Bengal Atlas* in 1779.³² He returned to England in 1778. Later he was actively engaged in the publication of maps on behalf of the East India Company. He prepared the first detailed map of India in 1783. Rennel's fame as a geographer and a man of letters obtained after the survey of Bengal and Bahar, the *Bengal Atlas*. Rennel believed that he had great advancement in collecting geographical data but exactly in certain areas, he was little better than D' Annville. Rennell published a book titled *Memoir of a Map of Hindustan in 1788*.³³ It was dedicated to Sir Joseph Banks. This Memoir includes his account of the Ganges and Brahmaputra Rivers. The map was highly valued by the succeeding Generals of Bengal and explorers. It is indicated by the fact that in 1824, Blacker asked for sanction to purchase a copy of the map for the Surveyor General's Office.

Thomas Calls Atlas of 1782

Thomas Calls was the successor of Rennel appointed in Bengal. By the Orders of 1779, he started to come by a map of Bengal.³⁴ But later the Board itself enquired about the progress of map making and ordered him to drop the collection of fresh materials which caused unnecessary laggings in its completion. The Government also demanded the time duration which he had to complete. In 1786 he was appointed as Chief Engineer, he reported that the map is present in one sheet and it is in a very rough state owing to frequent corrections and that can be easily done under the inspection of his successor in office.

Reynolds Map of 1793-1807

This map was created with much labour and expense by Charles Reynolds and Surveyor on the Bombay establishment. He was thorough in the geography of the Maratha regions of Deccan and Western India. In 1793, he visited Calcutta and secured the Governor General's permission to form a general

survey of India. He had to prepare a map containing 13 provinces but later found it too difficult. So, he placed the matter before the Governor and presented the rough sheets of his map of Hindustan. He stated that he was still collecting material for the remaining sheets through the support of an agency of native surveyors. For twelve years from 1795 to 1807, he continued map compiling. When the Directors complained of the inordinate time he had taken, Reynolds pointed out the wide area that he survived covered as he was a single-handed worker. In 1801, Moncrief joined him at Surat, map production was not

advanced and even more assistants joined him.³⁵ Only, a portion of the copies of his General Map of India was submitted to the Governor General in February 1809.

In addition to these major endeavours, H D Colebrooke made efforts for a map compilation, but it failed. Another map was published in London in 1788 by William Fadden, a geographer to the English King. It was entitled *Hind, Hindustan, or India*.

Conclusion

The Colonial intervention necessitated the grasping of geographical knowledge of the conquered territories. Scientific and technological progress helped them to surpass the hurdles in that direction. Initial mappings were not structured and were not thoroughly accurate or complete. Like the French, East India Company officials took great effort to map India in the 18th Century. But they had to face many problems on the ground. Lack of adequate data, opposition from the locals, absence of trained manpower, shortage of necessary equipment, and above all financial constraints were the major hurdles to face. Working in a different environment, diverse climate, and diseases on certain occasions blocked their way. The realisation of acquiring knowledge of the geography of India for sustaining power moved them forward which culminated in establishing a Colonial Empire in India.

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THE SREE MOOLAM POPULAR ASSEMBLY AND THE EXPANSION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN TRAVANCORE

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Introduction

The change in material conditions and challenge posed by social reformers upon caste obscurantism paved the way for the expansion of public sphere in Travancore. The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labour¹. The socio reform movements very much influenced caste assertion and the emergence of caste organizations. Even before the emergence of caste organizations the political atmosphere of Travancore was challenged by the newly emerged intelligentsia particularly due to the influence of western liberal ideas. The social reformers, the newly educated intelligentsia, the press, caste organizations, political parties and trade unions became the chief agents in the emerging public sphere in Travancore. These different groups played a crucial role in shaping the civil society of Travancore. Civil society came to existence as the corollary of a depersonalized state authority². While the Shannar movement gained additional strength through mass conversion to Christianity in their war against civil liabilities, their counter parts, the Ezhavas of Travancore made head way by developing a non Brahminical. The Hindu religion under the leader ship of an Ezhava, Sri Narayana Guru³. The Dalit social movements in Travancore always stood for public space and mobility. The Dalit social movements demanded to know why Dalits were denied access to public space a space built with funds from the state exchequer to which they had significantly contributed through labour⁴.

The Expansion of public sphere in the political realm of Travancore got a new turn by the establishment of Sri Mulam Popular Assembly. The process in which the state- governed public sphere was appropriated by the public of private people making use of their reason and was established as a sphere of criticism of public authority was of functionally converting public sphere in the world of letters already equipped with institutions of public and with forums for discussion⁵. For a long time the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly was not accessible to the depressed sections. While the legislative council formed in 1888, was a council of high officials, the popular assembly formed in 1904 was representative with the members drawn from different constituencies such as land holders, planters, traders, community organizations and nominated members of Dalit and lower castes⁶. Representing the cause in the Assembly was an important mode of articulating public demand. These legislative bodies were not empowered to make legislations but merely could submit recommendation to the princely government. The franchise was based on landed property and favoured by default the upper castes and communities⁷. Yet there were nominated members from 'depressed classes'⁸. The members who were nominated from the depressed castes utilized the legislature as platform for arguing and demanding their civic rights. The practices of nominating the representatives of Dalits to the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly started

in 1908 and Ayyankali was nominated in 1912⁹. Ayyankali and other Dalit members in the Assembly used the forum to express public opinion. The membership in the Popular Assembly from the early decades of the twentieth century enabled the representatives of Dalit communities to intervene in the processes of forming public opinion by making use of their legally granted space¹⁰. But a decade ago the demand for representation and demand for public space were considered as unpolitical. The critical processes that the private people engaged in rational critical public debate brought to bear on absolutist rule, interpreted itself as unpolitical public opinion aimed at rationalizing politics in the name of morality

¹¹ The Dalit members in the Assembly not only demanded civic rights but also demanded change in policies in the newly emerged market oriented capitalist system. For instance, the social fighter of Pulayar and their representative in the Sri Mulam Assembly, Ayyankali, also favoured the idea of recruitment of Pulayar families to the plantations¹². He also demanded land for the people of his community and admission in schools. Ayyankali favoured the recruitment of Pulayars in plantations due to his trust in the economic changes and social mobility occurred through colonial modernity in Travancore. Enlargement of public sphere thanks to colonial modernity facilitated both vertical and horizontal mobility of the oppressed castes¹³. Colonial modernity naturally reduced the social distance. The newly developing towns, trains and steam boats, in schools, colleges and in offices, it was physically impossible to observe 'contact taboos'¹⁴. The social pre condition for this "developed" bourgeois public sphere was a market that, tending to be liberalized, made affairs in the sphere of social reproduction as much as possible a matter of private people left to themselves and so finally completed the privatization of civil society.¹⁵

Apart from Ayyankali, there were many other members who moved resolutions in favour of Dalits. For instance, 'Tariatu Kunji Thomma, who represented the Assembly from Muvattupuzha moved a resolution that the government should provide all books and study material free of cost to students from Pulayar, Parayar and Malavedar castes. He also raised the question, how much amount is the government spend for the education of depressed sections in Travancore?'¹⁶

The total amount for the concession granted to these classes comes to approximately a lakh of rupees.¹⁷ Members from the caste Hindus like K Parameswara Pillai also moved a resolution for throwing open all schools to all classes of people. In the resolution he criticized to the government as 'the policy of throwing open all schools to all classes of the subject of His Highness Maharaja was accepted by the government many years ago ... though several years have passed away, we still find that these schools have not been thrown open to all classes of His Highness'.¹⁸ The Director of Public Instruction L. C Hodgson replied, 'out of something like 900 schools, departmental, primary and vernacular middle, the total up to the present moment is only 25'.

¹⁹ Ayyankali's persistent effort in the Assembly for securing land to his community found result. The government sanctioned the registry of 500 acres of land in the name of the secretary of the Sadhujana Paripalana Sangham for the use of the Pulayars.²⁰

A Paraya member who was nominated in the Assembly named Kandan Kumaran moved a resolution stating, 'for the habitation of Parayas the government should register *Puthuval* and *Purampoku* land to them.'²¹ Another Pulaya named Kurumban Daivatan also put forward the same demand in the Assembly. The demands of the depressed class people in the Assembly were actually a form of struggle to capture the public sphere, where their accessibility was severely restricted.

The idea that political issues could be resolved through public discussions and belief that the government's legitimacy was mainly depended on responsiveness to public opinion became the two important aspects of the expansion of public sphere in Travancore. The Sri Mulam Popular Assembly actually became a popular one only the time when it became a forum for public discussion. Apart from the nominated members from the Dalit communities, the Assembly became a platform for other depressed sections like Ezhavas and Shannars. The Ezhava nominated members took every possible step to secure their civic rights through debates in the Assembly. The assertion of Ezhavas against the existing social oddities that resulted in changing the whole society can be considered as great trajectory in the history of Travancore

²². The Ezhavas who became members in the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly were mainly from the landed class. Krishnan Madhavan (Kunju Pillai Chekkan) was an Ezhava nominated from the land holder's constituency who strongly pleaded for the admission of Ezhava children in schools and government employments to the educated. Kochu Channar, another member from the Alumootil Channar family reiterated the demands. Third Ezhava member who spoke in a similar view was Kandan Ikkannan from Paravoor.²³

After the formation of the SNDP Yogam, Kumaranasan persistently moved resolutions not only for securing the civic rights of the Ezhava but also for the rights of the Dalits. In the fifth session of the Sri Mulam Assembly the Ezhava members highlighted the backwardness of the community in getting admission in government schools and Kumaranasan presented it with supporting evidence. He also demanded the removal of sign boards from the public roads. These sign boards were mainly installed to prevent the depressed caste people from mobility. In 1921, from Kumaranasan, T.K. Madhavan, Muloor S Padmanabha Panicker, V.R. Krishnan, A. K. Govinda Channar and V.R. Kochunni Vaidyar from the Ezhava community became members in the Assembly. The number of members increased due to the Civic Right Agitation in 1919. The historic 15th session of SMPA in 1919 demanded the separation of Davaswam from the Revenue Department. The session witnessed heated debates as separation of land

Revenue from Devaswam came for discussion²⁴. The efforts of the members brought out favourable result that led to the separation of Devaswam from the Revenue Department. The changes occurred in the public sphere due to the persistent struggle by the depressed communities in Travancore was visible from the remark of a member in the Sri Mulam Assembly. Formerly, the members of Ezhava, Pulaya and Paraya communities had no access to schools and it was only during the past few years that their disabilities in that direction were removed and as a result they had few educated and enlightened men among them²⁵.

The Travancore government's Administration Report itself revealed the fact that the demand of the nominated members of the depressed communities was an eye opener. As a direct result of the remonstrance made in the Assembly by Asan and others we find the government becoming more aware of their responsibility towards the less privileged sections of the society²⁶. Another Administration Report reveals, 'it is reported that cent percent of literacy was attained among Ezhavas and Pulaya

communities in most taluks of the state'²⁷. Members like C.V. Kunjuraman and T.K. Madhavan debated in the Assembly about the question of untouchability and conversion. C.V. Kunjuraman in 1922 remarked in Assembly that, 'there was no question of untouchability in the Assembly hall, in the colleges or in the public offices. His Highness, the Maharaja of Gaekwar of Baroda had issued a proclamation in favour of entry in to public temples for all classes²⁸.

In spite of the continuous heated debate in the Assembly the government did not take any favourable action either to abolish untouchability or mobility in public places. This compelled some Ezhavas in the SNDP Yogam to come forward with conversion

agenda. Mainly members like C.V. Kunjuraman, K. Ayyappan and sometimes T.K. Madhavan put forward the idea of conversion in the Assembly. Again it was consistent with the traditions of the Hindu state not to treat all Hindus alike, as otherwise they were likely to renounce their religion which in time would. In the political struggle seriously affect the numerical strength of the Hindus²⁹. In the political struggle against a strong royal government, the participation of representatives of the people as the essential characteristics of the law had to be increasingly emphasized and ultimately had to become decisive³⁰.

Conclusion

Public demands often came to be expressed through different methods. These included, decisions representing the cause in the state legislative bodies, publishing through media, forming civil society association, organizing mardos and meetings and through resistance like strikes. As far as the state legislative bodies of Travancore were concerned the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly played a significant role in the expansion of public sphere in Travancore. The depressed sections of Travancore like Ezhavas. Pulayas etc used the platform for their empowerment.

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KUMARAN ASAN: CHAMPIONING JUSTICE THROUGH LOVE AGAINST CASTE AND SLAVERY

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Introduction

Kumaran Asan is a key player in the early twentieth-century poetry movement. His impact stretched beyond poetry, encompassing social and political action, philosophy, and lawmaking. Asan bravely attacked traditional literary styles and strongly denounced the social inequities embedded in a caste-bound society. His poetry strongly pushed for individual dignity, social freedom, and universal brotherhood, weaving patriotic ideals throughout his artistic endeavours. Essentially, Asan came to represent the developing contemporary awareness. Asan used his literary abilities to attack and examine the superstitions and cultural standards of his day, as seen by works like as "*Chandalabhikshuki*" and "*Duravastha*." These poems show how literature may question cultural standards like wedding ceremonies. Because of his strong connection to nature, he was affectionately known as Sneha Nayakan (Hero of Love), and he was also dubbed *Ashayagambeeran* (The Sublime Ideologist). His contributions to Malayalam literature are world-renowned masterpieces. His significant works include "*Pushpavadi*," a children's novel, as well as "*KuttiyumThallayum*" and "*Minnaminungu*." Asan, a prominent social reformer and philosopher-poet, transformed Malayalam writing in the early twentieth century. As the eldest of Kerala's three contemporary poets, he moved poetry away from the spiritual subjects of Brahmin life and into a more lyrical, romantic form. He addressed themes of class injustice, feudalism, imperialism, and gender equality. Asan, regarded as the 'poet of love' in Malayalam, was influenced by Sri Narayana Guru's teachings and his love of Buddhism. He embodied the ideology of "*SnehamanKhilsarmoozhil*" (All love is in this world). His brief poems were enthralling in their fervour, and his children's poetry sensitively addressed the problems of life via nature.

Asan's vision, characterized by uniqueness and honesty, permeates all of his works. He was instrumental in the creation of contemporary poetry and greatly influenced the transition of modern Kerala society. Enlightened social reformers arose from the Dalit community, raising awareness and pushing others to recognize and protect their rights... Despite being an Ezhava, Asan's battle for freedom involved all communities that faced injustice. Asan, a free-thinking academic, established an anti-authoritarian ideology to reshape society's political, economic, and cultural environment. Sri Narayana Guru, his spiritual mentor, was a major inspiration to him. Asan's genuine love of both people and the environment is obvious throughout his work.

Objectives of Research

The research aims to comprehensively understand the early life and influences of Kumaran Asan and focus on his family background, cultural diversity, and early education and its impact on his literary works. It explores the significance of his meeting with important personalities such as Sree Narayana Guru and PadmanabhanPalpu in shaping his spiritual and intellectual development. In addition, the study examines how his experiences in cities such as Bangalore, Madras, and Calcutta influenced his worldview and literary style. The research analyses the thematic depth and philosophical insights of Asan's major works, "*Veena Poove*" and "*Nalini*," to find out how his poetry addresses social issues such as caste discrimination, and the quest for justice and equality. Asan's work also examines the

influence of classical literature, spiritual teachings, and contemporary social movements. It assesses the enduring legacy of Asan's poetry in Malayalam literature and its relevance to modern readers. Detailed analyses are made to explore the themes and symbolic elements of "*Veena Poove*" and "*Nalini*." Finally, the research examines Asan's influence on future generations of writers and poets, his advocacy for justice and social reform, and the recognition he received during his lifetime and after his death, highlighting his importance in literary history.

Review of Literature

Scholarly works on Kumaran Asan highlight his considerable influence on Malayalam literature and social reform. Ayyappa Panicker's "Kumaran Asan: Makers of Indian Literature" examines Asan's role in shaping Malayalam literature, with an emphasis on criticism of social injustices and advocacy for humanistic values. Dr. K M George's "Kumaran Asan: His Mind and Art" explores Asan's poetry in depth, discussing his philosophical insights and engagement with socio-cultural issues within the broader Indian literary renaissance. Rajendran's "The Poetry of Kumaran Asan" meticulously analyses Asan's poetic techniques and thematic themes that show the enduring influence on Malayalam literature and its relevance to contemporary social issues. T. K. Balakrishnan's "Kumaran Asan and His Poetry" assesses Asan's unique style and use of symbolism to address caste discrimination and social reform. P.Govinda Pillai's "Sreekumaran Asan" provides biographical insights into Asan's life and contributions to the cultural landscape of Kerala. "Kumaran Asan: Selected Poems and Prose," edited by Ayyappa Panicker, presents critical essays on Asan's thematic concerns and literary innovations. Finally, M. Lilavati's "Kumaran Asan: The Man and His Mission" explores Asan's efforts as a poet and social reformer, situating him in his socio-political context and highlighting his role in inspiring social change. These works underline Asan's lasting influence as a literary icon advocating for justice, love, and human dignity in Kerala and beyond.

Methodology of Research

This study uses a qualitative research approach to explore Kumaran Asan's poetic writings and socio-cultural impact, focusing on the themes of justice, love, caste, and slavery. It is the ability to investigate, complex social phenomena in depth, choosing qualitative methods to facilitate a deeper understanding of Asan's literary contributions and their broader social implications. The research involves several major methods of data collection: first, an extensive literature review consisting of scholarly works, biographies, and critical articles on Asan, taking insights from books, journal articles, and archival material to contextualize his poetry in its socio-cultural milieu. Second, textual analysis includes meticulous readings of Asan's major poems, "*Veena Poove*" and "*Nalini*," which examine recurring themes, poetic techniques, symbolism, their implications for Asan's stance on caste discrimination, and arguments for social justice, third, a biographical study of Asan's life history that explores his personal experiences and socio-political influences, including his interactions with Sree Narayana Guru, Padmanabhan Palpu and others. Data analysis uses thematic analysis to classify and interpret recurring themes in Asan's poetry related to justice, love, caste, and slavery, and to identify patterns and developments in his ideological positions over time. Comparative analysis compares Asan's views within the broader Indian literary renaissance with those of contemporaries and predecessors. Findings from textual and thematic analyses have been integrated to interpret the significance of Asan's poetry in challenging social norms and advocating humanistic values, especially in social reform movements in Kerala. The study concludes by discussing Asan's lasting impact as a poet and social reformer, highlighting the implications for further research and contributions to understanding his legacy in literature and social work. Ethical considerations prioritize respect for intellectual property rights,

accurate citation practices, and sensitivity to cultural interpretations of Asan's work and legacy throughout the research process.

Scope of the Study

This study focuses on the poems of Kumaran Asan and how they influenced the society of Kerala in the early 20th century. It explores themes such as justice, love, caste and slavery in his works. The aim is to analyze how Asan's poems challenged the norms of his time and promoted values such as justice and kindness. The study examines important poems such as "*Veena Poove*" and "*Nalini*" to understand their deeper concepts and relevance to today's issues. To better understand Asan's views, it examines Asan's life and influences, including his interactions with figures such as Sree Narayana Guru. Comparing Asan's thoughts to those of other writers from the same period demonstrates his influence on Indian literature. The study looks at how Asan's poetry contributed to social reforms in Kerala and continues to affect literature and activism. Throughout, the research follows ethical norms for respectful source treatment and cultural interpretation. Finally, this study tries to demonstrate how Kumaran Asan's poetry is still relevant today, exposing his function as both a poet and a voice for reason and change.

Early Life of Kumaranasan

Asan, also known as Mahakavi Kumaranashan, was born on April 12, 1873, in Kayikkara village, Chirayinkeezhu taluk, Anchuthengu Grama Panchayat, Travancore.ⁱ He was reared by a merchant family from the Ezhava caste. He was the second of Narayanan Perungudi's nine children, born to a multilingual father who spoke Tamil and Malayalam and his wife Kochupennu. During his early years, he was heavily impacted by his family's diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Asan's early education began at a local school when Udayankuzhi Kochuraman Vaidyar taught him basic Sanskrit. As a result of his basic education, he developed a keen interest in classical literature.ⁱⁱ Until the age of thirteen, he attended the Kayikkara government school. Despite being selected to teach at this school in 1889, he was compelled to leave since he was too young to work for the government. Despite this setback, he continued to work towards his academic aspirations. Asan studied famous plays and works that had a significant influence on his writing style at the time, diving deeply into Sanskrit literature. Asan began working as an accountant at a neighbouring wholesale grocery company in 1890. He met Sree Narayana^{iv} Guru this year, who would later become his spiritual guru and counsellor, and it was a watershed moment in his life.^v

Asan's life became more spiritual after receiving guidance from the Guru. His commitment to both spiritual and scholarly goals was strengthened when he spent a significant amount of time praying and learning Sanskrit at a neighbouring temple. He rapidly became Guru's student in the monastery of Aruvippuram, where he was affectionately called to as Chinnaswami, which means "young ascetic," indicating his youthful vitality and dedication. Asan came to Bangalore in 1895 to study law and lived with Padmanabhan Palpu, a crucial figure in his life. However, his tenure in Bangalore was cut short by a plague epidemic and Palpu's departure for England in 1898. Asan moved to Madras for several months before relocating to Calcutta to attend the Central Hindu College and continue his Sanskrit studies. In addition to studying English there, he became actively involved in the Indian Renaissance movement, which sought to revive Indian ideals and traditions.^{vi} His participation in this movement broadened his intellectual horizons and enhanced his understanding of contemporary social and cultural issues. But in 1900, a second plague epidemic in Calcutta destroyed his academic career, so he moved to Aruvippuram. Over the years, Asan's education and experiences have had a significant impact on his writing and point of view. His profound spiritual background, exposure to classical literature, and

involvement in contemporary social movements all contributed to his tremendous influence on Keralan literature and social transformation. Driven by a strong sense of purpose and influenced by the teachings of Sree Narayana Guru, his life demonstrates an unflinching quest of justice and knowledge.

Kumaran Asan's Revolutionary Verse and Literary Legacy

The *Veenapoovu*, the first complete verse poem written by Kumaran Asan in 1908, is deeply significant as it illustrates how transitory life is.^{vii} This literary masterpiece, set in the lush surroundings of Jainimedu in the Palakkad area, is believed to have been inspired by the illness of Asan's esteemed spiritual mentor, Sree Narayana Guru. Veenapoov charmed readers with her powerful poems and deep philosophical insight, which were first published in the newspaper "*Mithavadi*" and later in the prominent literary magazine "*Bhashaposhini*."^{viii} In its poignant verses, Asan expertly combines themes of life's ephemeral beauty, the unavoidable process of growth and decay, and the never-ending desire of spiritual fulfilment. The poem's opening stanzas, in which Asan invites readers to embrace the wisdom of Vedic teachings and argues for inner stability throughout life's many joys and sorrows mark a watershed moment in Malayalam poetry.^{ix}

Noted literary critic George K.M. describes *Veenapoov* as a poetic discovery, comparing it to a beautiful moth that flutters across the sky of Kerala, enticing poetry lovers with its vibrant colours. '*OruVeenapuvu*' (A Fallen Flower), which earned international recognition and set a new benchmark for poem writing, signalled the beginning of a new chapter in Asan's poetic career.^x Its inclusion in '*Bhashaposhini*', with a eulogy by C.S. Subramanian Potti, and '*Mitavadi*', edited by Murkoth Kumaran, sealed its place as a literary classic.

Beyond the constraints of speech, Asan's masterpiece resonates with eternal grace and tenderness, providing readers with a novel and profoundly touching perspective on the human predicament. Srinivasan expertly underlines the elegiac connotations and empathic representation of frailty that saturate Asan's poems, capturing the essence of his literary vision. '*Veenapoov*' is fundamentally a moving statement of Asan's profound life philosophy, as well as homage to his ongoing legacy as a poet of incomparable originality and wisdom.^{xi} The dropped petal, a profound metaphor for the human soul's inherent persistence and delicate fragility, has left an everlasting impact on the fabric of Malayalam literature through its complex symbolism and poetic elegance.^{xii}

"*Nalini*," the second prose poem by Kumaran Asan, is an engrossing examination of romantic relationships. This literary masterpiece deftly blends themes of ardour, desire, and loyalty as it explores the amazing love story of Nalini and Divakaran. When "*Nalini*" debuted in 1911, it was accompanied with a moving introduction penned by A.R. Raja Raja Varma. It made important contributions to Asan's literary history and was instantly recognized as a literary figure of modern Kerala and consider the pioneering work of Malayalam poetry.^{xiii} Asan's writing career took a dramatic turn after the publication of "*Nalini*".^{xiv} Both conservative and conventional literary critics praised and critiqued the novel. People who adhere to traditional literary ideals first condemned Asan, but he overcame the reaction. The plot progress, of emphasising the enduring strength of love in the face of adversity, culminating in the emotional themes of separation and longing. In "*Nalini*" and "*Leela*," Asan skilfully captures the heart of human experience, shedding light on the nuances of love and sorrow with hitherto unseen compassion and depth.. The literary works of Kumaran Asan, such as "*Nalini*" and "*Leela*," delve deeply into the topics of independence, equality, and empowerment while offering insightful perspectives on women's value and social roles. "*Chintavishtayaya Sita*,"^{xv} a prose poem that explores Sita's character and suffering in addition to women's rights and empowerment, is one noteworthy piece. The poem, which is set in the

Valmiki Ashram, provides a moving depiction of Sita's inner world and her reflective times when she considers her past.

"*Chintavishtaya Sita*"^{xvi} tells the story of Sita's descent to earth with Valmiki and her sons Kusha and Lava on their journey to meet Lord Rama. Meanwhile, Valmiki stays at the ashram, reflecting on the past and the unknown future. The story showcases the courage and resilience of Sita, who raises her children in the ashram without the help of her divorced husband, Rama. Asan skilfully shows Sita's defiance and dignity, especially in the face of betrayal from others and society's expectations. Sita boldly rejects the idea of being treated like a puppet when Lord Rama performs the Rajasuya Yagam, abandoning the pregnant Sita and asking her back as his queen. She declares her independence, indicating that she will not submit to the expectations of a patriarchal society that seeks to control her. Through "*Chintavishtaya Sita*," Asan not only honours the qualities of Sita's personality but also uses her narrative effectively to address more general concerns about women's emancipation and empowerment.^{xvii} In her observations and choices, Sita challenges traditional narratives that often relegate women to secondary roles by emphasising the value of freedom^{xviii} and self-respect. Asan's depiction of Sita serves as a symbol of his larger advocacy for women's equality and social change. In rewriting Sita's story to emphasize her inner strength and independence, Asan presents a progressive perspective that supports women's rights. His writings speak of the struggle for gender equality, making *Chintavishtaya Seetha* a pillar of Malayalam feminist literature, and evidence of Asan's avant-garde approach to poetry and social justice. The arrival of Buddhism of Kerala in the third century had a significant impact on the literary works of Kumaran Asan.^{xix} Several centuries had passed by the time Asan began to write, and the ideas and doctrines of Buddhism had influenced many aspects of culture and society. The great poet Asan skilfully incorporated these Buddhist ideas into his poetry, producing works of profound philosophical and human resonance. In 1923, Asan wrote *Chandalabhikshuki*,^{xxa} a poem centred on Buddhism. This is one of his most important works. The basic tenets of Buddhism are vividly depicted in this poem, especially its opposition to caste prejudices, its emphasis on humanity, and its compassion for all. The poem describes a confrontation between an untouchable beggar woman and a Buddhist monk who requests water. This intervention becomes a strong critique of caste-based prejudices. Also, "*Chandalabhikshuki*" explores the love story of a low-caste Matangi and Buddhist monk Ananda. By telling this story, Asan opposes the rigid social institutions of his time and promotes equality and love that are contrary to accepted social practices. The poem emphasizes how compassion can change people's lives and how important it is for every person to see who they are, regardless of their social class or caste and in addition to enhancing his creative output^{xxi}. Asan's ability to incorporate Buddhist ideas into his poetry provides a powerful critique of the social inequalities that existed during his time. "*Chandalabhikshuki*" is a testament to his dedication to social change and deep compassion for the oppressed and disenfranchised. Asan's poetry continues to encourage people to embrace the values of equality, compassion, and humanity.

The Poet of Love and Social Reform

Through his poetry and active participation in social reform, Kumaran Asan develops deep into the sufferings of individuals who are marginalized, neglected, and excluded from mainstream society in his works. As evidenced by his multiple editorials, statements in the Legislative Council, book reviews, letters, and memoranda, his dual positions as an activist and poet were mutually supportive. Asan's efforts^{xxii} in the society of Kerala demonstrate his dedication to addressing social injustices and stand up for the oppressed. In the early 19th century, most of the princely states of Kerala were mainly under British rule. During this period, the social structure of Kerala was divided into more than 220

castes. The British, who were not insiders in the caste system, largely ignored it while instituting various administrative reforms. As a result, social mobility and political reality became inextricably linked. The historian Nicholas B. Dirks claims that "caste became the colonial form of civil society; it explained the need for colonial rule and justified the denial of political rights to Indian subjects (not citizens). The caste system was colonized, creating a special atmosphere for social and political relations. Narayanan Guru's^{xxiii} historical interventions, especially the way he compared caste as a category in the colonial context, demonstrate the transformative power of his works. By promoting social change and the advancement of backward classes, Guru's work aimed to undermine the legitimization of caste and government oppression. These principles greatly influenced Asan as a disciple of the Guru and were reflected in all his literary and activist activities.

Asan's poem "*Chandalabhikshuk*"^{xxiv} is an excellent illustration of his examination of social issues. This poem, tells the story of a kindly encounter by a Buddhist monk with an untouchable beggar woman, dealing with caste prejudice. This story highlights the inhumanity of caste-based discrimination and promotes a more compassionate and inclusive society.^{xxv} In addition, the story of the love between the Buddhist monk Ananda and the lower-caste Matangi questions traditional wisdom and highlights the universal principles of equality and compassion found in Buddhist teachings. Asan's involvement in social reform movements and his literary works are interlinked. In addition to drawing attention to the injustices suffered by the deprived classes, his writings, speeches, and editorials suggested practical steps towards their emancipation. By raising awareness about these issues and fighting for the rights and dignity of all, irrespective of caste and socio-economic status, ^{xxvi} Asan has contributed significantly to the social and political landscape of Kerala.

Kumaran Asan, the Guru's protégé, was given the task of bringing this newfound consciousness to those who truly needed it.^{xxvii} Even as Asan's poetry achieves previously unheard-of levels in the Malayalam poetry scene, this topic of social realism and dedication is discernible in the noticeable strain of his work. When Asan first appeared in Malayalam literature, Kerala was going through a very turbulent historical time. An increasing struggle between the privileged, who wanted to strengthen their hold on institutions of power, and the oppressed characterised this period. During these turbulent times, Asan took on the role of a spokesperson and an ardent supporter of the marginalised masses that were usually left out of the spotlight. His poems served as a means to express the ^{xxviii} sufferings and aims of these backward classes and to raise awareness of their plight among the general public. In addition to drawing attention to the injustices suffered by these groups, Asen's work provided a vision of a more just society in which everyone could live with dignity and respect. Asan's other major work is "*Karuna*," ^{xxix} an adaptation of a Buddhist story found in the *BodhisattvapadanaKalpalata*. The narrative narrates the story of Vasavadatta, an attractive courtesan who falls in love with the nomadic Buddhist monk Ananda. She makes several attempts to reach Ananda, but he constantly tells her that "it is not yet time." Vasavadatta's life changes dramatically when he becomes involved in a homicide investigation and is murdered.^{xxx} She meets Upagupta, a Buddhist monk, in her last moments as a disfigured and dying woman, and he helps her on the path of self-discovery. The poem juxtaposes her rich life, symbolized by luxurious homes and decadent pleasures, with her horrific death in a cemetery. There is a stark parallel between their eventual death and their past interactions, which makes a strong statement about the consequences of giving in to forbidden desires.^{xxxi} Asan deals with difficult social concerns and personal situations in his poems, which are characterized by vivid imagery and meaningful ideas. Challenging traditional narratives and power structures, his works give voice to the oppressed and marginalized. His literary works questioned the established status quo and promoted resistance and unity among the oppressed, making them not only artistic but also deeply political. Asan

gave a voice to the silenced individuals through his poems and inspired them to gain self-awareness and stand up for their rights. Asan fulfilled the expectations of the Guru in this way by using his poetic gifts to raise awareness and promote social change in Kerala. In his life, Asan elevated the ideal of ahimsa, or non-violence, to the pinnacle of love.^{xxxii} For him, it stood for the freedom of the soul, frequently associating freedom with life itself.

He felt that the adversary is forced to confront the sequestration of his conscience by the aggressor when one side in a dispute decides to provide love rather than anger. In the end, this strategy succeeds for both sides because nobody is compelled to give up. But when ahimsa is presented, one side will inevitably lose. Asan prayed to God that his adversaries would be happy after they had completely atoned for their transgressions. He made love, purity, and the brightness of a pure heart his guiding ideals, thinking that if these things supported him in the battle for survival, he would prevail. Asan believed that the only thing that could bring about both individual and societal happiness was love. He viewed it as the supreme level of differences. A Chandala girl could become a nun in the Buddha's sangha by falling in love with a monk; a Nambudiri girl could find happiness by falling in love with a Pulaya youngster; and a prostitute could experience the taste of nirvana by falling in love with Upagupta.^{xxxiii} Asan thought that a heart committed to love could recognise no distinction between humans. He argued that love's distribution of equality in the order of existence is a sufficient assurance of humanity's survival.^{xxxiv} Asan therefore advocated love as the means of achieving social cohesion and solidarity. Asan was not afraid of being tainted by vice or^{xxxv} of being left alone to adore the world or God. His writings, speeches, and deeds were all characterised by his self-love and lack of narcissistic tendencies. His entire life and body of work demonstrate this. Asan exhorted people to free themselves from the bonds of mutual restraint and to escape the self-made prisons of prejudice.^{xxxvi} To achieve a happy life, he thought it was necessary to face and eliminate terrible injustices, unfair laws, and constrictive customs. He believed that the fundamental test of a country's pleasure and prosperity was its communal advancement, which could only be achieved via community activity.^{xxxvii} Asan made it clear that the suffering of one group in society would affect the entire community. He was a latitudinarian who wished to absolve everyone's guilt of all contradictions. The main idea of Asan's writings was that the human mind is not perfect at comprehending things that are outside of our normal knowledge. Nothing on such issues could be proven or refuted beyond a reasonable doubt; one could only believe. He believed that every religion was equally significant and that it was evil for someone to be persecuted because of their caste or creed. He saw diversity as a natural state of existence that called for various acts to produce a cohesive outcome rather than as a sign of separatism. He felt that love might unite disparate beliefs and inclinations to form a community based on common interests. Asan has always maintained that the only way to advance social, political, and economic justice and peace among all peoples is through love. But he refused to collaborate with two particular elements: anything that supported the system of slavery and the ills of caste. He attacked these two repressive organisations, but he spared the people who served as their representatives.^{xxxviii} Rather, he urged the downtrodden to face these injustices head-on until they are completely removed. He was furious with the bloodsucking ghoul of caste because it would not agree to a peaceful resolution.

Conclusion

Kumaran Asan was a poet extraordinaire, whose literary and social legacy in Malayalam literature and public reform remains indelible. His poetry was marked by deep philosophical insights, literary beauty, and his commitment to criticizing the social issues around him. His poetry is noted for dealing with issues ranging from love, suffering, and the desire for self-awareness, while he creatively blended the classical

language of Sanskrit with the established traditions of Malayalam poetry. The fact that Asan's poetry could intermingle self-conscious reflection and social critiques within the same poetic mind gave his work an eternal and socially enduring quality. Asan's social work combined with his literary work and beliefs were equally significant. He aligned himself with and initiated many of Sree Narayana Guru's teachings that emphasized social equality, caste reform, and social harmony. As Sree Narayana Guru's precepts advocate genuine parity, justice, and a world without caste, Asan dreamed of a truly equitable society free of caste and social distinctions and hoped his poetry could summon a similar vision. If Asan's poems like "*ChinthavishtayayaSita*" and "*Chandalabhikshuki*" had anything in common, it was how his poetry attempted to dismantle these historic social structures while offering his marginalized community a path forward. In his call for the cessation of social prejudice, and for a more equitable world, Kumaran Asan's work encourages us to acknowledge the inherent inequality that is social caste. Kumaran Asan's literary influence and social work was a co-dependent harmony of literature and socio-political ethics. His literature has been a catalyst for many Malayalam poets, but his vision for social equality and equity made him a leader in the cultural landscape of Kerala and an important part of the self-assigned social and literary roles in the history of India.

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SHIPMENT OF PEPPER FROM KERALA BY THE JEWISH TRADERS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY CE: PERSONS, PRICES AND DISPUTES

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By the beginning of the 12th century CE, the Jewish traders began to shift their commercial activities from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean regions, owing to the insecurity due to the crusades. The trading centres of Pantalayani Kollam, Kodungallur and Kollam in Kerala and Mangalapuram in Karnataka were the important centres of Jewish traders on the Western coast of India. The commercial chiefs among these Jews were staying in these areas for facilitating their overseas trade and commerce. They traded in all sorts of spices and certain metals, the most important of which were pepper and iron. There are several studies on pepper trade in Kerala. But this pepper is confined mainly to the pepper trade in the 12th century CE carried out by the Jews and involves the names of merchants, the currency used, weights and measures, trade disputes etc.. The Geniza records ¹- letters, commercial documents and other records exchanged by the trading chiefs in the port of Aden, Aidhab etc. and their counterparts in the South Western coast of India, on which the paper is based, form an invaluable source for the same. Many a Jewish commercial magnet figure in the Geniza documents in their personal names. The most frequently occurring names are those of Abraham ben Yiju, Joseph Lebdi, Madmun b Hasan, Khalaf b Isaac Bundar, Madmun b Jafeth and so on.

Abraham Yiju seems to have been the most important Jewish commercial chief staying in Kerala in the first half of the 12th century CE and he had to suffer many a vicissitude in the commercial field most of which were caused by ship wrecks. Once Ben Yiju had sent a shipment of pepper along with iron and other goods from Pantalayani Kollam(Fandarina) to Aden through the commercial intermediary Sheik Abu'l Hasan b Jafar who entrusted the same with his slave agent Bhaktyar in the ship of Patanaswami. Goods were sent in two ships of which the bigger one foundered at Bab al Mandab. The smaller one reached Aden safely.² The elaborate official procedure following this shipwreck supply us with interesting details with regard to the salvaged goods, compensation to the traders for the lost goods including pepper, etc..

A letter dated May 16th, 1141 sent from the Sudanese port of Aidhab by Allen b Nahray to his son Nahray b Allen in Alexandria speaks of a load of pepper sent by Mudmun b Hasan to him. ³ From the Geniza letters it is clear that at the port of the Western coast from Kolam in the South to Mangalore in the north, pepper was always available even though some other spices were sometimes scarce.

Details regarding the price of pepper, revealed in the Geniza records show fluctuations in prices. But the value of currency used was almost stable. High bulk commodities like pepper were weighted in *bahars*. A *bahar* was 300 *ratls* (450.53 grams) and usually shipped as in a sack.⁴ The standard currency used in the oceanic trade during this period was the *maliki* dinar of Yeman and Egyptian dinar. Dinar was a gold coin and it was divisible into *quirats*. 24 *quirats* amounted to a dinar. The *dinar* was having a high value as is evident from the fact that an Egyptian *dinar* was sufficient for the life of a middle class family of five members for a month. ⁵

The pepper shipped to Aden was sold at a price after deducting the customs duties. Once Abrahamben Yiju sent 12 *bahars* of pepper from North Kerala to Madmun b Hasan in Aden. From this 45 pounds were deducted towards the shipping expenses. The rest was 11 *bahars* and 255 pounds. The price of one *bahar* pepper at that particular year was 34 dinar.⁶ Thus the price of one pound of pepper was 34/300. Duties were deducted in kind.

During this period dinar was in use in Kerala in internal transactions also. It seems to have been used in cases involving high amounts, as is evidenced from the *Vazhappalli copper Plates*, the *Thirukkatithanam* inscriptions and *Kollur Madham* inscriptions.⁷ At the port of Kollam, dues were collected from incoming and outgoing vessels in dinars.⁸

The Geniza records show fluctuations in the price of pepper. In 1131 the price of pepper per *bahar* was 37 dinars. But next year price went down unusually and during that year Ben Yiju had to sell pepper at a very low price at Aden- fourteen dinars per *bahar*.⁹ The decrease in price was due to the fact that by the time pepper reached Aden, the Egyptian merchants had left the area.¹⁰ The traders from Egypt have been the chief buyers. And Ben Yiju was forced to sell pepper at that low price because he had to go back to Kerala.¹¹ The commercial chiefs at Aden used to take a commission from the pepper brought for sale by other merchants. It was 5% of the merchandise and was called *quist*.¹² For example, Mudmun b Hasan seems to have taken a commission of 5% from the pepper which was brought to him.¹³ A part from this, at Aden a registration fee of 3.5% was also levied. At Aden the duty on pepper amounted to 1/3 of its price and it was indeed a very important source of revenue for the ruling powers.

Letter no.II -16 of the Geniza documents of the collection used for this paper shows that the price of pepper was 34 dinar per *bahar*. According to the document II-14 it is 23 dinars. In 1180 it was 38 dinar per *bahar*. But in 1199 the price soared high to 45 dinar per *bahar*.¹⁴

During the medieval period ship wrecks and other perils in the sea were common and there were laws and arrangements for giving compensations to the traders who had sent their merchandise in the ships which happened to be foundered.¹⁵ A letter from Joseph Lebdy to the trustee of merchants in Aden refers to such a shipwreck and disputes and law suits connected with the compensation. This letter refers to the loss of pepper in the shipwreck and the aspects of compensation etc.. Another letter, no I-13, deals with a ship wreck in which pepper was lost and the division of the leftover goods among the traders. Often, it was iron and metals which could be salvaged. So the traders were given compensation in terms of iron in proportion to the quantity of pepper lost in the sea.¹⁶

Usually, the traders would send consignments to overseas regions in parts, entrusting the same with different ship owners, for fear of the perils in the sea. For example the commercial chief Halfon ha levi b. Nathanel Joseph sends consignments including pepper from India with different merchants to Aden, to be delivered to his associates like Khalaf and Mudmun. This is evident from a letter of Joseph b Abraham b Bundar to Halfon ha levi.¹⁷ Usually pepper was shipped in sacks. But sometimes it was sold in satchel in order to adjust prices. Sometimes, pepper and one or two other articles were packed together in order to escape duties.¹⁸

Trade across great distance did not always go smoothly. There were disputes. There are law suits in connection with pepper trade of the 12th century. These are seen in the records in the Jewish courts at Aden with regard to such disputes.¹⁹ They involved pepper trade also. In letter No II-23 Mudmun makes complaints regarding the mediocre quality of pepper sent to him by Ben Yiju. Owing to the poor quality of the goods there was a steep decrease in demand and Mudmun complains that there was demand for not even a dirham worth pepper.²⁰

The Geniza records reveal even the minute aspects of pepper trade like the manner in which pepper was packed for shipment. As pepper and other spices required ventilation, they were transferred from the containers to baskets as soon as they reached the destination. The charges for baskets, wages for the porters and the like are also referred to.²¹ Once, Abraham ben Yiju sent 12 *bahars* of pepper from Pantalayani Kollan to Aden at a price of 34 dinar per *bahar*. From this 45 pounds, being various charges were deducted, leaving 11 *bahars* and 255 pounds. The price of this consignment was 402 *maliki dinars*. A customs duty for the same was 82.5 dinars. Expenses for receiving the goods at the port office was 4.17 dinars and the charges for baskets and porters was 1/6 dinars and 1 dinars respectively. The balance in favour of Ben Yiju for the shipment was 315 dinars.²²

Pepper and its trade are referred to by Arab writers like Ibn Khurdad Bih, Ibn Ul Faq, Idrissi, Yakut Qazwini and Dimishki. In the beginning of the 13th century pepper has been the chief merchandise from Kerala. It is noted that many people are benefited by this pepper trade and the Franks carried pepper in the sea of Syria to the farthest West.²³

The Tiruvalla inscriptions of the 12th century refer to the price of pepper in Southern Kerala in terms of paddy.²⁴ One *nazhi* of pepper was equal to 10 *nazhi* of paddy. At Thanjavur one *nazhi* of pepper was sold for 10 *nazhi* of paddy. An 11th century inscription from Thanjavur records that one *azhaku* and 1.75 *cevidu* of pepper was equal to 5 *nazhi* and 1 *uzhakku* of paddy.²⁵ Generally in the 12th century one *nazhi* of pepper was equal to 10 *nazhi* of paddy in South Kerala in the 12th century and 311.1 *nazhi* of paddy in the Chola kingdom. It became 34 dinar/bahar at Aden.

It seems that as natural the price of pepper increased in accordance with the distance to which it was carried, in internal transactions. It might have been so in the case of overseas trade also. As is well known, pepper has been the most important spice shipped from Kerala from a very early historic period. But the 12th century trade in pepper is distinct as in this case we get abundant information with regard to the same. It is mainly from the Jewish records and are not available elsewhere.

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THE 'NANGUNERI DISPUTE': UNDERSTANDING THE BRITISH HEGEMONY OVER A NATIVE STATE

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During the survey of the Tovalah taluk of the Travancore state then in progress in 1888, it was found that the fields bearing three particular survey numbers in the Palavur village of the Nanguneri taluk were included in the British territory and the claim was accordingly instituted by the Dewan of Travancore through the British Resident to have the record annexing these lands to be cancelled. The Resident ordered a careful enquiry into the matter.

The Tahsildar of Nanguneri reported to the Head Assistant Collector, Tinnevely that the first two survey numbers were entered Inam in the name of Tannirpandal or water-pandal, but it was neither enfranchised by the Inam Department, nor such an institute exists anywhere. There is one water-pandal in Muppandal which is solely maintained by the Travancore government. The full assessment of the said lands was not collected, but only Rs2-13-0 was collected from one Ambalathadavur Pillai of Takkalai in Travancore territory.

The third field was entered as assessed waste, and whenever it was cultivated Sivayjamma assessment used to be levied from one Dalavoi Tevan who holds the field adjacent to it in Palavur. The Tahsildar examined the said Ambalathadavur Pillai and he deposed that he was enjoying the said lands and was paying assessment at the rate of Rs 31-12-0 for the first two fields.: that he maintains no water-pandal in Muppandal nor has he got any title deed for the alleged inam lands and that he recovered all the three fields along with some others from one Rajaram to whom it was leased earlier by his ancestors. This he gained through a decree of the Nagercoil court. The Tahsildar asked the Karnam of Palavur how these lands were entered in the former accounts, who said that being new to the village he did not know anything about the lands and that the former accounts were not given to him by the former Karnam. The Munsif maniam was also new and could not say anything about them. He found that all however admit that Travancore ryots alone cultivate those lands. It was to be observed that there was no inam of any kind settled by the Inam Commissioner in that village.

The Tahsildar examined the accounts of the Travancore government and the Karnams. Land numbers 1499 and 1348 were described as Nattamvilai, 4th Karnam numbers 1 to 13 and number 1526 as Tekkukadu in the village account of Tovalah. The earliest account was one prepared in Aundu 977 and every year accounts shows these lands. He inspected field by field these fourteen numbers as described in Travancore accounts and found that they were distinctly traceable. Those fourteen fields were in the enjoyment of fourteen different people and they had clear landmarks. The sketch received from the Superintendent of Revenue Survey, Travancore, faithfully represented the fields as they were situated. Number 1526 was detached from the other two fields; but east of that number there was a rock to show that the British boundary stopped there. Land number 1526 formed part of the lands belonging to Ambalathadavur Pillai in Thoala village. Under these circumstances the Tahsildar reported that the three fields which were contiguous to Travancore boundary were wrongly demarcated and surveyed with the Palavur village and with the exception of those three fields there was no dispute with regard to any land in the frontier. He also submitted a report of Secretary P. Raja Ratna Mudaliar that the position of fields Numbers 1348 and 1499 as shown in the survey map renders it

difficult to suppose that the whole of these lands belong to the Travancore government. In the descriptive memoir given in the Settlement register, acres 97.60 of dry lands were entered as tax free inam for the support of Muppandal water-pandal in Travancore and in the remark column it was stated that the area given in the Register was that entered in the inam land. He requested the Collector to send a copy of this Sanad and also to have the boundaries of the fields on the Travancore frontier carefully inspected by the Divisional Officer and report the result.

The Acting Collector of Tinnevely took the stand that the recommendation of the Tahsildar of Nanguneri was incomplete and misleading. On the inspection of Head Assistant Collector, Cadjan account of Fasli 1212 and the Jamabandy account of 1254 clearly showed that the lands were situated in the Ayan village of Palavur and were granted as rent free inam to the Rajah of Travancore for maintaining a water-pandal in Muppandal, a village in that territory. It was further been ascertained that the lands were enfranchised in 1864 by the Inam Commissioner in the name of the manager of the water-pandal. The Head Assistant Collector reported that the records shown on behalf of the Travancore government simply support the enjoyment of lands for the ryots of that government, and proceed to afford a very probable explanation of how the then claim originated. The report of the Tahsildar that there was no means of knowing the nature of the lands was considered as entirely wrong by the Acting Collector. Having examined the Karnam of Towlah village, it was found that there exists no ayacut accounts for the lands in dispute, and that the lands do not appear in any of the Travancore accounts prior to Aundu 1009(1833-34).

All the accounts produced in relation to this show that the lands in dispute consist of fourteen fields, thirteen of which were said to be situated west of the bed of Nadarajapudukulam which was survey no.1347 in Palavur village, and to be in the enjoyment of several persons, the tenants of Ambalathaduvar Pillai in whose name the registry for those lands stands in the Travancore accounts. The late Tahsildar's statement that the fields appear in the accounts of Aundu 977 and in every subsequent years account was entirely wrong. The lands were a portion of the British territory given to the Travancore Rajah as an inam and the British accounts show possession of the lands from Fasli 1212(1802) while the first entry in the Travancore accounts of these lands was in 1833. The probable explanation of the appearance of the lands in the Towlah accounts was that the lands being held as an inam by the Travancore authorities have been leased out by them to tenants and the rent payable by these tenants have thus come to be entered in the Travancore accounts.

In December 1889 the Dewan Peishkar wrote to the Dewan of Travancore that there was no response on the subject, although more than two years had passed away. The taluk of Towlah wherein the disputed area was situated was to be taken up for final settlement shortly and the department needed to have definite orders of government as to how the area should be dealt with at the settlement. The Travancore Ayacut contained clear specific entries of those lands just as in the case of other holdings in Travancore territory. The revenue as fixed by the Ayacut had been all along paid to the Travancore government without hindrance. The only circumstance on the other side was that the lands were included in the demarcation and survey conducted a few years back by the British authorities. That was without the knowledge and consent of the Travancore government. It often happens in case of disputed boundaries between one state and another that the holders of lands affected by the dispute pay tax to both states. But here the revenue was paid to Travancore alone and the British authorities realised not a cash out of what was assessed at their own settlement. The British authorities levied road cess on these lands.

The Dewan Peishkar pointed out that regarding the disputed lands, the first enquiry was made by the Tahsildar of Nanguneri. In his report, he expressed the conclusion that the three fields were wrongly demarcated and surveyed with the Palavur village. In this report, both the Head Assistant Collector and the Collector of Tinnevely record their findings in favour of Travancore and recommend the cancellation of the action taken at the British settlement. It was on the Board's reference for further information the Head Assistant Collector personally inspected the lands in question and submitted a second report repudiating the first and expressing himself adversely to the claim of the Travancore government. While much stress was laid on the non-production of the account of 977 and on the statement given by Karnam, no reference appears as all detailed in the account and the revenue thus entered has been levied all along. As early as 18th Chingam 961 viz sixteen years before the period assigned to the British Ayacut; there was a written command issued under the sign manual of the then Maharaja of Travancore prescribing the procedure to be adopted in the settlement of disputes between the Chathurbhugam holder and his tenants, regarding the collection of rent in the tract embracing the lands in question. This document was quoted in the preparatory to the Ayacut of 977.

Going outside the state records he quoted a suit filed in the Munsiff's Court of Nagercoil which afforded clear evidence of Travancore's regal jurisdiction over the lands, the sale deeds executed in Towalah Registry office were also quoted as supporting evidence. In all the documents the properties concerned were described as being situated in Towalah village. If the disputed village was ever recognized as part of the British village of Plavur and openly treated as such, it is not like things that the ryots of that village could have all along remained in utter ignorance of the fact and the parties to the transactions affecting the

The area would have resorted to the Travancore authorities for legal remedies and guarantees in acquiescence of Travancore's territorial jurisdiction. Therefore, the case of Travancore was briefly stated as follows

- that it has accounts contemporaneous with the earliest British account
- that the lands in question were within the boundaries therein described
- that it used to hold long and undisturbed possession of the lands
- that its regal jurisdiction has been fully and openly recognized by both the British and Travancore subjects in their private transactions concerning the lands

The Dewan of Travancore wrote to the Resident that on perusal of the papers, arbitrators may be appointed to settle the question on the spot. The Resident asked the Dewan to nominate an officer as arbitrator on behalf of the Travancore government.

The Tinnevely Collector also accepted that arbitrators might be appointed as suggested by the Dewan. C. A. Galton, the secretary to the Madras government approved it and asked the Board of Revenue to nominate an Arbitrator on behalf of the British government in December 1890. If the Arbitrator appointed by the British government and Travancore state disagreed on a solution, then it was agreed to be finalized by the British Resident of Travancore. The Travancore Maharaja appointed the Dewan Peishkar as the arbitrator on behalf of their government.

The British arbitrator Varada Rao and Dewan Peishkar of Travancore who being the Travancore Arbitrator had a conference at Muppandal on the 15th of June 1891 and made a joint inspection of the disputed tract, examined the accounts on the Travancore side and then a second conference was held

at Nagercoil on the 25th June and a final meeting was held at Trivandrum on the 1st July. But they could not arrive at a unanimous decision.

As both sides could not solve the dispute the British Resident specified the following points about it. This is not a mere question of possession, but a question as to the nature of the possession held by Travancore. Before the Government Order of 1871 the British government was exercising a right of possession by dealing with the land as an Inam and making an open enquiry upon the spot as to the nature of the tenancy under which it was held by the Travancore Rajah. The question of the boundary of that land was not under discussion (so far as Travancore was concerned) between 1864 and 1867. The Inam settlement and the enquiries relating to the specific land were carried out publicly and in precisely the same way as in all other cases, there being nothing to show that there was any irregularity whatever, and Travancore has as little right to say that it was done behind her back as any other Inamdar who was in any way affected by the proceedings of the Inam Commission. The long possession and the fact of the lands being for a considerable period entered in the Travancore accounts were admitted but those facts do not prove sovereign possession and were compatible with the tenure of the land as an Inam. For what purpose the examination of the ground was made in 1849 could not be ascertained from the records before him nor could he ascertain that any use was subsequently made of the account then drawn, so that it does not appear to have been an important or authentic survey and as compared with the accounts of 1802 and 1844 it is valueless.

Ward and Connor's survey cannot be considered at all as evidence of sovereignty. Whenever that survey was found unfavourable to the claims of contending parties that were party to it it was invariably treated as worthless. The discrepancies in the Ayacut account of Fasli 1212, the Inam Register and the Adangal Register of Palavur village do not in any way affect the probability of Inam theory, though they certainly do render the accurate identification of the locality somewhat difficult. The accounts prove that there was an Inam grant to the Rajah, of lands the area of which corresponds to the area of the disputed tract. The fact that Travancore denies the existence of any Inam does not shake its validity. That portions of the disputed tract are included in those accounts which prove the existence of an Inam, is beyond all doubt and it is sufficiently clearly shown by the British Arbitrator in his award that the lands referred to in the Olugu numbers mentioned in the Inam Register, do form the disputed survey numbers. The levy of riad cess for a period of fourteen years after a protest having been made against the imposition and a consequent assertion on the part of the British of the right to impose cess, has a certain significance, as showing that fourteen years before opening the dispute, Travancore was unprepared or unwilling to assert a sovereign right to the land and for fourteen years permitted the British Government to hold unquestioned and uninterrupted sovereign possession.

Therefore, the Resident provided the verdict in favour of the British Government that the disputed tract belongs to the village of Palavur in the Nanguneri taluk of the District of Tinnevely and is British territory.

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SOCIAL PROTEST AS DEPICTED IN 'THE REVOLT OF SUNDARAMMA'

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'The Revolt of Sundaramma' is a missionary endeavour in India produced in 1911. But it was not an ordinary and monotonous missionary tale. It was written by Maude Johnson Elmore, wife of W.T. Elmore, an American missionary stayed in India over a decade mostly in Prakasam, Nellore and Guntur districts of Andhra Pradesh. This book deals with the oppression of women caused by following some rules in the Hindu religion. In fact, it is a pen picture of a real story of the life and growth of a Hindu child namely Sundaramma from a small village near Pedarikatla in the present day Prakasam district. The book deals with the social problems like child marriage, sexual abuse of a child, wiliness of the priests in cheating and extracting money from the credulous village women in the name of religion, a comparison of the lives of a Hindu and Christian women and the like. It also deals with the revolt of an uneducated Sundaramma against her position in Hindu religion and abandoned her husband as against the norms of Hinduism. Finally she embraced to Christian faith at Podili to better her life as well as that of her daughter. The book also provides its own reasons why Hindu women should adopt Christianity. In the wake of these facts the present paper entitled 'Social protest as Depicted in 'The Revolt of Sundaramma' tries to highlight the way of life of an ordinary and uneducated rural women belonging to Prakasam district and the dimensions of social protest in the early decades of twentieth century.

Till the last decades of the 19th century the Andhra coastal districts were in the Middle Ages steeped in superstition, bigotry of different kinds, illiteracy and various social taboos. Especially, the position of women in the society was in a sorry state. Child marriages, early widowhood, rampant illiteracy among girls were the evils that enveloped the women. Bengal showed the way to other parts of India to usher in social revolution. Andhra Districts felt proud to bring into lime light such illustrious social reformers like Kandukuri Veeresalingam, Raghupathi Venkataratnam Naidu, Unnava Laxminarayana and Chilakamarthi Laxminarasimham.

They were influenced by the new winds of social change blowing all over coastal Andhra Districts. They used every platform to propagate the necessity and the imperative urgency to put an end to the age old social evils. The columns of Krishna *Patrika* founded by in 1902 came handy to the social reformers to lead crusade against enforced widowhood, child marriages, *Kanyasulkam* and dowry system. Editorials of Krishna *Patrika* penned poured buckets of scorn, against them. It quoted extensively from the vedas and the ancient Hindu texts like *Parasara Smriti* which permitted remarriages for widows. In this paper an analysis is made the role played by social reformers to social reform in coastal Andhra Districts.

The reformers joined hands with those whose and was uplift of the backward and primitive society in Andhra as prevalent in Pre-Kandukuri era. Most of the social reform movements revolved round the women and the untouchables. As the women formed half of the population, the deplorable state of affairs the women were in, everyone, who was someone in the society then, was moved by the plight of women. The curses from which the women are afflicted with were child marriages, early widowhood illiteracy, concubinage, adultery and obscene dances during marriage functions.

The female emancipation and the reform movements were the direct offshoots of western humanism, which came along with the introduction of the English education. Andhra social reformers addressed themselves to the redemption of women from the sorry state of affairs.

Andhra by 1881 had as many as 22,962 widows below the age of 14 years and 2,577 widowers of the same age. There was hardly any home which did not have at least one widow. The wretched condition of young widows moved the social reformers heart and soul. They wrote and spoke against the child-marriages, the sole contributing cause for the early widowhood of girls. There was tussle between the orthodox minded and the liberal in this regard. The orthodox was as much vehement in their opposition to widow marriages as the liberals were in advocating it. In some cases the parents of the widows themselves opposed tooth and nail their widowed daughters getting married. Social Excommunication was the sword hanging over the heads of those who advocated and celebrated widow marriages. But such was the determination of progressives that no hurdle deleted them in their forward march on the road of social reform.

Sundaramma was a little girl. She belongs to a small village 40 kilometers away from Pedarikatla, a village in Present Prakasam District of Andhra Pradesh. Sundaramma's mother wanted to marry her little daughter with her own brother, who stays at Pedarikatla. In fact Sundaramma's mother promised to her brother years back when Sundaramma was much more than a baby. Finally her brother sent word that the final ceremony must be performed.

Sundaramma's mother was an orthodox Hindu woman. She was deeply religious. She had made a plan to marry her little daughter to her brother without informing her own sons. They opposed to marry their beloved sister to their uncle, who is 45 years older than Sundaramma. The trouble was all with the two grown sons Ankaiah and Narsaiah. They loved Sundaramma, and had always humoured her. She was the only girl in the family history, she was welcomed (which is not always the case when a girl is born in India) and had always been the pet of the house hold. Their father was very old. Therefore, everything was in the mother's control now. She was 30 years younger than her husband.

The two brothers went to a trip to three or four days to sell their grain. She wishes to perform the marriage before they return. Sundaramma was brought to Pedarikatla without informing her about the marriage. Sundaramma's uncle presented a little lamb. She started play with it. Then she was dressed as the bride, although the poor child did not know about her marriage. Finally Sundaramma came to know about her marriage through her friends. Then she searched for her mother. But she left brother's house anticipating the situation.

After knowing the situation, Sundaramma created the terrible scene. Then she tried to run away, but the doors were shut and people stood on guard everywhere. As soon as she understood that her mother had really had gone home that all these preparations were for her wedding with her uncle, her anger knew no bounds. Finally the marriage was performed with Valpula Subbaiah, her uncle.

The two brothers were gone to Pedarikatla but it was too late. They saw the Sundaramma. The tali, the wedding symbol were tied around her neck. Ankaiah picked up the little child-bride in his arms. They were speechless agony, as they saw the burned spot on the top of her head and red mark on the little eyelids. Perhaps they gave Sundaramma that charmed medicine that they give widows to make them smile, as they ascended their husband's funeral pyre. The two brothers thought that "He will surely die first and then our little Sundaramma will be a widow".

The life of a widow was miserable. They have to bring baskets of grass for cattle, cleaned all of brass ware, carry the water for cleaning and their baths. For all this they receive in return one meal a day, and was blamed and cursed for everything. They were as slaves who never supposed to rest.

Meanwhile Sundaramma's father fell sick. Doctors said that his time was almost gone. But Sundaramma's mother was promised by priests that she will never become a widow. The priests said that the gods never curse one who honors the priests. Sundaramma asked her mother 'why does not the god like widows'. I do not know, child. We are just women and can't understand holy things, she answered. Since the world began, everyone knows that the gods made women to serve man so of course if the man dies, a wife's work is done. They say her sins cause his death, said Narsaiah.

Then my father will surely live, cried Sundaramma, 'because my mother has always given so much to the priests'. After two months her father died. The priests performed ceremonies and received money from the family. Leave the temples and money grabbing priests alone, said Sundaramma's brother. Is this the result of all my faithful service to the priests, moaned poor Sundaramma's mother?

After some days Sundaramma had a baby. On the twelfth day they named the baby Sundaramma, after her mother. The priests performed ceremony. After seeing the miserable life, the widowed mother said 'why does not someone find out a new religion that teaches us to be more kind. Our gods, though, are even worse than we are'.

Sundaree, I don't believe this is the true religion. It cannot be. How can the god of nature, the god who made us so beautiful, be a god who would be pleased to be worshiped as dwelling in these hideous idols? Sundaree, isn't true. Sundaree, I know my time is nearly ended. This is my dying request; if you, Sundaree, ever hear of another religion, examine it and see if it is more sensible than this one. Promise me. Remember this, that you cannot possibly be more faithful than I have and I look back over my life now, I know everything was in vain. But the god of nature knows that I tried and suffered in my search for Him. Promise me, Sundaree, that you will search for Him, in another religion, said the mother in her last days.

In the meanwhile, foreigners visited their village and some of the outcast people joined the new religion. A Madras woman said, their religion is much better than ours, especially for girls and women. The outcasts and the low casts had gone tumbling over each other into this new religion, because they are taught that they are as good as priests. Sundaramma thinking that, so this was the new religion that my mother prophesied must come. Sundaramma asked a girl of fifteen years, how many sons have you. My wedding isn't even talked about yet, answered the girl. We are Christians now, and Christians don't marry until over fifteen years old, and sometimes not even then if they don't want to, said the girl. For talking to a Christian woman she was beaten by her husband and imposed some restrictions on her. The missionary people said that Christian men did not beat their wives. God loves you, whether you have children or not, whether you have a husband or not. I think He will loves the widows and the fatherless children most of all, said the missionary. Sundaramma came to know that her husband wanted to marry the little seven year old girl. Sundaramma prayed, Jesus Christ, I leave her for you to take care of, but must give her back to me before she is married. Let us both get into your religion.

At midnight she left her house and went to Saramma, a Christian lady and requested her to take her to Podili, where she wanted to take Baptism. The angry mob along with her husband reached there and asked Sundaramma to come to their village. But she refused to go her home and return all the jewels and other things. Her husband left the place without his wife. After returning to their village they

conducted Sundaramma's funeral in effigy. She was dead to them. But within two weeks, her husband Valpula Subbaiah had married again. After some years Sundaramma's daughter came to know that her mother is living at the missionary at Podili and she came to her mother and both of them lived there happily.

Maude Johnson Elmore's *The Revolt of Sundaramma* (1911) is situated in village India and deals with the oppression of women caused by following some rules in the Hindu religion. The work comments on the belief and customs of Hindu India through the story of a child bride and her sufferings. The villagers are aware of America and surprised to know that it is a land where there is no caste. The work that gives an extensive appendix explaining marriage laws, laws of Manu, etc. But on account of the crusades led by strong-willed social reformers, these social evils slowly, but steadily petered away from the society in Andhradesa to the relief of womanhood.

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REFORMING COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY: REFIGURING THE INTERVENTION OF MALAYALAM PRINT JOURNALISM

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“Print released great psychic and social energies ... by breaking the individual out of the traditional group while providing a model of how to add individual to individual in massive agglomeration of power.”¹

This argument of Marshall McLuhan about the role of print media in creating social energies and mobilizing groups is quite evident in the Malayalam Print journalism of the early 20th Century. In Kerala, even before the formation of the state or the arrival of print capitalism, Malayalam print journalism had practised mobilization of progressive social consciousness by framing the print word as the slogan for social change. The early progressive men considered print media as a useful ally in their social engagements and began to use print media as a tool to generate progressive consciousness and to mobilise public opinion to carry forward social agendas. Newspapers, journals, and popular magazines were used to articulate the voices of the marginalized and enable them to challenge the hegemonic discourses, which gave consent to the continuity of social taboos. This turned Malayalam journalism into a ‘socially committed movement’ to serve specific social purposes and goals.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, progressive social reformers used print media to “improve” their communities and to argue for or resist greater equality. The social reformers and their movements cached the imagination of the intelligentsia and this converted Malayalam journalism into a form of social capital by different communities and organs. The social role of the press was then, defined as social propaganda for disseminating the community’s agendas and urges. This further prompted in the strengthening of ‘community newspapers’ and eventually ‘community imagination’. This ‘social turn’ of Malayalam print journalism is quite evident in the publication of magazines and newspapers of different communities and organisations.

The Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam started a magazine *Vivekodayam* in 1904 which aimed at raising the cultural level of the ordinary man through a process of selective modernization.² It was published from Thiruvananthapuram under the editorship of Kumaran Asan. The basic aim of the Yogam was to popularise the message of Sree Narayana Guru and bring about the social and spiritual regeneration of the Ezhavas and other backward communities. The *Vivekodayam* had published in detail the procedure to be followed while conducting a wedding, and rites practised at death. The organisation also started a newspaper *Sujanandini* under the initiative of Kesvan Asan from Paravur in 1911, which helped in spreading the Guru's message among their communities and others.

The Muslim started by Vakkom Moulavi in January 1906 tried to propagate the idea that since each community was striving for its improvement; Muslims also ought to do the same. In the first issue of *The Muslim*, he wrote: “If we look at the last census we will find that Muslims are very backwards in the matter of education. There are 1,90,568 Muslims in Travancore. They form only 6.5 per cent of the total population. It is found that only 84 out of 1000 Muslims are literate. Of the age group of 20 and above 73.75 out of 100 Muslims are illiterate. When we scan the statistics, the lack of progress of

Muslims will pain us”.³ Through the columns of *The Muslim*, Moulavi exhorted the community for the need to educate Muslim women.

Mitavadi, started in 1908 from Tellicherry under Moorkoth Kumaran, which was later shifted to Calicut in 1913 and published as a magazine, and later on a daily, under C. Krishnan had clear objectives in the social role of the press. In the very first issue itself, Mitavadi Krishnan made his policy clear: “This magazine is aimed at giving some relief to the members of the Thiyya community who experience much difficulty in not having a newspaper or magazine of their own in Malabar”.⁴ The aims of the newspaper included: Persuading people to abandon extravagant spending in ceremonies connected with marriage and funeral; Encouraging people to acquire education, wealth, etc., to help people to abstain from liquor, tobacco and other intoxicates; teaching people to treat all men with compassion and respect irrespective of their class and caste; to encourage men to be more humane and to offer selfless service to the people.⁵ *Mitavadi* was the first newspaper that effectively handled the social issues. It waged an endless war against caste and untouchability. The enlightening weekly notes of Sahodaran Ayyappan also appeared regularly in *Mitavadi*. It extended staunch support for the peasants’ uprisings in Malabar. It also utilized its columns for the propagation of the Buddhist ideology.

One of the major interventions of the *Mitavadi* was its challenging of the unjust order of J.A. Thoran, the Zamorin’s estate collector, who banned the *avarnas* from using the public roads to the Tali temple. *Mitavadi* played an important role in creating public attention in the Tali temple agitation by regularly reporting the agitations led by C. Krishnan. On 1st November 1917, C. Krishnan with a group of people violated this order by conducting a *jatha*. Further, the lower castes were not allowed to walk along the Sree Sankarapuram bazaar of Kodungalloor. They were allowed only to walk through a narrow lane running through the right side of the bazaar, which was stinking due to the deposit of garbage and urination of the public. Krishnan condemned this in an editorial in *Mitavadi*. “The tyrannies experienced by our community have become intense in Thrippunithura where the royal families of Cochin are also residing. We should not fear at all in claiming our right for the freedom to walk along the road”.⁶ Through the editorial columns of *Mitavadi*, C. Krishnan campaigned against the superstitious practice which prevailed among the *avarnas*. He wrote articles persuading the *avarnas* to give up rituals like *Talikettukalyanam*, *Tirendukuli*, *pulikudi*, child marriage, etc.

The radical young men under ‘Yogakshema Sabha’ directed their energies towards the opposition of all instruments of social and political repression, and found the print media as a tool for social propaganda. The periodicals like the *Yogakshemam*, *Unni Nambuthiri* and *Sahithi* particularly propagated social reforms among the Brahmins. The weekly journal *Yogakshemam* started its publication in 1909 from Thrissur, took up issues affecting the Nambudiris particularly those related to English education, marriage reforms etc. It played a very significant role in the progressive activities of ‘Yogakshema Sabha’. The *Unni Nambuthiri* (1919), a journal which functioned as the mouthpiece of the *Sabha* criticized the custom of *Purdah* and polygamy and drew attention to the educational backwardness of the community.

Sahodaran, started by K. Ayyappan in 1917 as the mouthpiece of ‘Sahodara Sangham’ acted as an agent of social reform till its end in 1956. On the very first issue, he stated the vision and mission that “*Sahodaran* doesn’t have any caste or religion”. Brotherhood is the only caste and religion according to Ayyappan. He further stated that “everyone should think and act above the caste and should love and respect each other”. All three articles namely ‘Our Prayer’, ‘To Our Brothers’ and ‘Crush the Caste’ appeared in a single issue of the year 1918 aimed at arousing awareness against casteism.⁷ *Sahodaran* covered diverse topics which show his wide knowledge of various subjects and his aim of bringing

social equality. He advocated secularism through *Sahodaran*. Some texts from the *Rigveda* and Upanishads were included in it along with contemporary issues. To stir up the logical level of the readers he published articles like 'Ramayana Rahasya', Rajaram Mohan Roy, Chaturvarnya, 'Hindu Daivangal', 'Kerathile Hindu Matham' etc.⁸ *Sahodaran* stressed the greatness of principles of truth, liberty, equality, fraternity etc. Once he made a statement in the editorial of *Sahodaran* that "the only way to eradicate the caste is to practice inter-dining and inter-marriage". The daily also popularised the principles of inter-dining and inter-caste marriage and asked to practice it. Besides the *Sahodaran*, Ayyappan edited and published another publication called *Velakkaran* (The Labourer) in 1930 to spread socialistic ideas.

Arayan, a monthly newspaper started by Velukkutty Arayan in 1917 aimed to make the Araya community aware of their social conditions and to liberate them. The name given to the newspaper 'Arayan', in a way provided a common identity to the Arayas, those who were scattered under different names and identities and it also tried to unite the thoughts of the Arayas and to make them feel proud of their community.⁹ The *avarnas*, who enthusiastically came to Vaikom to participate in the *satyagraha* were dissatisfied with the conduct of the movement. They were dissatisfied with the Gandhian theory that the '*savarnas* should organize separate *satyagraha* for the rights of the *avarnas*'. By analyzing the scenario, Velukkutty Arayan wrote an editorial entitled 'Gandhi Ariyanam' in the *Arayan*, which got wide attention.¹⁰ Through his *Arayan*, Velukkutty contributed much to enhance the idea of 'Fisheries Schools' throughout the coastal regions. The paper, from its first issue onwards, tried to intervene in the socio-political issues of Kerala. Apart from this, the paper gave importance to a variety of subjects including literature, health, agriculture, science and industry. The newspaper, through its columns, gave instructions regularly for preventing epidemics and thereby tried to give health education to the people. It also acted as the mouthpiece of the Araya community and propagated the agendas of different organizations established for the Arayas. It always indicated the prospects to be adopted and implemented for the upliftment of the community. Upon completion of one year as a monthly, *Arayan* began to come out as a weekly and it addressed the issues of all communities and became more critical on the political matters.

The Nair Service Society floated a magazine entitled *Service* in 1920, which concerned social reforms. At the same time, the magazine carried on sustained propaganda against anachronistic social conventions and injustices like untouchability. In 1927 the magazine was shifted to Thiruvananthapuram and began issuing as a tri-weekly. A dynamic editorial policy helped to popularize the new weekly. Besides the emphasis on social reforms, the Service lent solid support to the nurturing of the national spirit. Unfortunately, the weekly had to cease publication in 1934 following financial difficulties.

Mathruboomi, launched from Calicut in 1923 as an organ of the Indian National Congress, was closely associated with the Malabar district and with Nayers, the upper caste group that had largely made up both the gentry and intelligentsia of Kerala. Kesava Menon was the editor and he made the paper a spokesman for the forces fighting for freedom. The paper stood for social causes such as temple entry for low-caste Hindus. *Mathrubhoomi* played a pivotal role in the Vaikom satyagraha. K.P. Kesava Menon, its editor who gave leadership for the *satyagraha* was arrested and had to spend six months in Trivandrum Central Jail. Through its articles, *Mathrubhoomi* influenced public opinion in favour of temple entry for low-caste Hindus.

Meanwhile, the trade union movements and the left movements intervened in the journalistic movement by instrumentalizing the press in their ideological propaganda. Unlike the caste and

communal organization's efforts, they tried to inculcate class consciousness among the people and thereby tried to deconstruct caste consciousness. To spread the ideals and the activities of the Travancore Labour Association (TLA), a newspaper named *Thozhilali* was started in 1924.¹¹ *Thozhilali*, through its articles contributed very much to the formation of trade unions in different industrial sectors in different parts of Kerala and it contributed to developing class consciousness and unity among the labourers. It was an educator and a source of inspiration to the workers. After the formation of CSP in Kerala, *Prabhatham*, their mouthpiece spelt out the aims of the socialists, aims that were truly revolutionary in a region where many still revered ritual status above all else: "Why and for whom do we work? For destroying the existing right of private ownership. For the poor, the exploited, the oppressed. For food, unimpeded opportunity and a high standard of living to all".¹² To the communists, print allowed the spread of ideas. During the Indian National Movement, when the Quit India Movement was at its highest, the Indian Communist Party of Kerala unit started the publication of *Deshabhimani* as its official newspaper. It came out in 1942 from Kozhikode as a weekly and M.S. Devadas was its editor. The *Deshabhimani* became a daily newspaper in 1946 and through its journalistic efforts on class lines; it could elevate class consciousness of the agricultural labourers and working-class people.

The close association observed between Malayalam newspapers and certain communities or castes in the early years of the press is to be seen as a natural result of the social formation process in Kerala. The caste structure of society and the existence of various social taboos mobilized discontent among the oppressed and the progressive men found print media as a tool to indoctrinate social propaganda. The print journalism associated with communities worked on three levels. Firstly, through the journalistic platforms, the community organisations and reformers tried to modernize the community members by reforming their age-old customs, rituals and other social practices, which were considered the hindrance to their development. Through this, a conscious attempt was made to place the social status of the community at a higher level. Secondly, print media was used to mobilise community consciousness and collective identity among the members. This is achieved by infusing 'community imagination' through constant reporting on community activities, and community members' achievements, outlining community demands, and portraying the 'external' oppression against the community. Through these, a psychological conditioning of the attitudes and mentalities of the members of a particular community was framed. The collective identity helped the communities to achieve higher social energies to work together for community development. Finally, print journalism was used as a weapon to mobilise public opinion and protest against social oppression. At this stage, print media was converted as a powerful tool to amplify the demands of the communities to organize popular protest movements.

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TAHRID-PARADIGM SHIFT FROM THE EXISTING RELIGIOUS MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MAPPILA MUSLIMS OF MALABAR TO THE ANTI-COLONIAL INDIGENOUS LITERATURE LEGACY

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Introduction

Silence towards tyranny is a criminal offence. Resistance is the natural outcome of the entrance or incursions of any foreign bodies into the indigenous one. Geographical and sea route discoveries of the Europe to the Asian and African continents for the sake of their trade and commerce with the East especially spices trade opened a new window of socio-cultural and political impact in these regions. More than the trade these new trade route discoveries indeed culminated in torturing and oppression against the indigenous inhabitants for the establishment of the geo-political hegemony and colonisation.¹ Simultaneously resistance of the Mappila Muslims in the 15th and 16th centuries against the Portuguese was the quiet natural outcome of the Portuguese atrocities, crusade mentality and trade monopolisation activities. As the code of life, Islam insists that it is the obligatory responsibility of the Muslim community to protect the civilian rights of the people from tyranny and oppressed rulers. The Mappila Muslims of Malabar were the first indigenous people of India initiated multi-lateral resistance series both Physically and intellectually.

The Arabs had maintained trade relationships with the rulers of the Indian coastal line long before the historical writings. Through these maritime trade relationships, they transmitted and shared both their culture and goods. There formed a cultural synthesis between the Arabs and the native people of the Malabar coast through the marriage relationship. The springs of these amalgamation in generally known as the Mappilas.² When the Western people lost their silk route trade connection through the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea in 1453 by the siege of Constantinople under the Ottoman Sultan Muhammed II, they had to find a new trade route to the Eastern regions. After long years of exploration, the Portuguese navigator Vasco-da-Gama landed in Malabar, the western coastal line of the Indian sub-continent and opened the era of colonialism in the Indian sub-continent and other eastern nations.

The Portuguese could never tolerate the Mappila Muslims' control of the Indian trade, especially the spice trade and their prosperous life. They exhausted the cordial relationship of the Muslims with the rulers they re-activated their prolonged crusade mentality towards the Muslims of Malabar. The atrocities of the Portuguese against the Muslim civilians caused the creation of an indigenous source of information and history about the Portuguese period. The revolutionary attacks against the Portuguese incursions were initiated by the Muslims of Malabar mainly as the soldiers of the local rulers. *Tahrid* is credited with the inauguration of a new form of resistance through indigenous literature.

Tahridh Ahlil Iman Ala Jihadi Abdathissulban Al Marhaba fil Jinan Wal Munqidat Minal Niran

Pen is the best weapon for generating revolutionary changes in society and the main force for uniting the people whenever mass actions are needed for the sake of society. *Tahridh Ahlil Iman Ala Jihadi Abdathissulban Al Marhaba fil Jinan Wal Munqidat Minal Niran* (Incitement for the Muslim against the believers of the cross, inducement to the paradise and rescue from Hell) in short *Tahrid* is the

pioneering attempt in the resistance literature lore of the Mappila Muslims of Malabar. *Tahrid* is the poetic work composed by Abu Yahya Zainudhin bin Sheikh Ali Bin Sheikh Ahmad Makhdum popularly known as Sheikh Zainudhin Makhdum Senior, the famous Muslim religious leader and Muslim reformer of the 16th century Malabar. Through his magnum opus *Tahrid* Zainudin I exhibited his responsibility as a religious Muslim leader and exhorted the Muslim community to resist the Portuguese invaders to the Indian Ocean rim by illustrating the pathetic conditions of the Muslims of Malabar on the colonial activities of the Portuguese.

Ponnani, now the coastal town of Thrissur district was the centre of his socio-religious activities. In ancient times it was the Muslim religious activity and known as the Makka of Malabar in the medieval period.³ He was born in 1467 at Cochin the famous city of Kerala and shifted his to Ponnani in Malabar. He is credited with the first Makhdum in the chain of the Makhdum family instead of his scholarly activities. More than a religious scholar he was a prolific writer of ballads, religious treatises, pamphlets and contemporary life records. His last breath was in 1521 C.E. and buried Ponnani the centre of his all socio-religious activities. In addition to *Tahrid* Shaikh Zainudin, I limited to other different sixteen works like Hidayat-ul Adhkiya, Murshid-ul Thullab, Irshadul Qadisin Kifayat-ul Faraid and Shu'b-ul-Iman.⁴ As Tuhfat-ul Mujahidin *Tahrid* was not purely a historical work and contained little formal historical data but an indigenous resistance of poetic outburst and apocalyptic movement against colonialism. The incessant atrocities of the Portuguese against innocent civilians and other hegemonical events are the background inducement for *Tahrid*.⁵

The pioneering attempt to collect the manuscript of *Tahrid* was conducted by C. Hamsa the well-known Muslim social reformer of the 20th century and published by Al Huda Books, Calicut in 1996. Based on this compiled manuscript V Muhammed, the Arabic professor of Farook College, Calicut translated *Tahrid* adding full text on 173 lines with different categorisations.

Contextual Interpretations of Tahrid

The European arrival in the Malabar coastal line was the inauguration of the colonial hegemony in the Indian Ocean coastal rim. More than the trade purpose the Portuguese main intention was hegemony maritime trade monopoly of the atrocities.⁶ They deliberately set out inhuman atrocities and oppressions against the indigenous people of Malabar, especially the Muslims. They could never tolerate the social status and prosperity enjoyed by the Muslims in Malabar by the trade coalition and cordial relationship with the local rulers especially with Zamorin of Calicut. Being the protectors of the Muslim community the ulama of Malabar rose on time and mobilised their anti-colonial resistance through all the possible means. The religious centres were the hub of all activities of the Muslim community likewise the reactionary protest against the Portuguese also. Indigenous literature forms like poems, fatwas, pamphlets and folklore were diplomatically used by the ulama as the best weapon for their initial counter actions and dissimulation of the anti-western notion throughout the Malabar coastal line. *Tahrid* was the first and foremost attempt in the Mappila literature lore and paradoxical shift from the fatwa of the religious ordinance to exhortation for the direct resistance and struggle against the Portuguese

The narratives and interpretation of *Tahrid* are the testimony that *Tahrid* was composed during the first decade of the Portuguese arrival on the Malabar coast. The immediate context of the *Tahrid* initiative was the cruel activities of Vasco-Da-Gama towards the ship with around 400 unarmed Muslim pilgrim devotees from Makkah in the Indian Ocean during his second voyage to Calicut on February 1502 C.E. Meanwhile this voyage he attacked the ship without any provocation and pirated

the whole cargo in the ship and set it with fire including the whole people. More than fifty women and children were also victimised by the brutal atrocities of the Portuguese. This tragedy alarmed throughout the Malabar coast and exhorted the Muslims to perform armed jihad against the Portuguese tyrannies. *Tahrid* was not merely a war poem on the religion of Islam, but a motivating force for a united confrontation of the Muslim soldiers and the Zamorin military against the Portuguese tyrannies.

Structural features of *Tahrid*

Tharid is a poem composed in the Arabic language with a structural pattern of 173 verses. Thematically it is free from fictional poems, but the living testimony of the contemporary life of the native people of Malabar in the Portuguese period and the pathetic living conditions of the people on the hegemonic activities of the Portuguese. As the contemporary record of life, it represents likes as Qasida of the ancient Arabic poetical compositions and renowned Arabic poetical works of the medieval centuries. Structurally *Tahrid* is categorised in the Saja' group of the Arabic poetical composition in which the end-letter of the last word of each couplet will be same. In the different categories Saja' based on the end letter *Tahrid* is in the group of *taiyath*, which means the end-letter of the last word of each couplet is the Arabic letter *ṣ* (*tha*) *marbutha*. Even if *Tahrid* is indigenous defensive literature, the poet had kept the compositional discipline of the Arabic poems of the medieval century.

Tahrid is subdivided into fifteen sections by the later manuscript writer Prof. V Muhammed with concerned headings for the comfortable recitation and of the readers. The first and foremost section deals with the cruelties of the Portuguese foreigners against the Muslim community in the Malabar coastal line and seeking help from the god from the cross-worshippers. The remaining sections from second to fourteen are generally the core of this magnified resistance lore the detailed descriptions of the notion of the Jihad. The poet hereby illustrates that Jihad is not merely an armed struggle on religion and expansion but the different etymological dimensions and interpretations of Jihad. He says that in addition to the armed struggle, mass representation and other supports in this resistance like material resources, financial endowment, treatment of the injured, motivating prayers even hate-generating minds will be counted as jihad. He also motivated the Muslim community to commit Martyrdom or *shahid* in the cause of Allah highlighting the numerous rewards and plenty of the bestow of the god in the Heaven reserved for the *shahids*. He criticises vehemently the supporters of the Portuguese who engaged in the trade coalitions with the Portuguese assisted them with their trade activities and made financial treaties and alliances with them using the term *muwaalath al those* who associate with the infidels.

“O, People do not make the Portuguese your associates

Even if you are afraid of destruction and loss of business”⁷

In the last sections Shaikh Zainudin, I analogically explain the references to the prophetic tradition of the Israelites and their escape from their homeland due to the tyrannies of the rulers and their disobedience to God, likewise, the poet instigates the Malabar Muslim community to resist the oppressions of the Portuguese and obey the instructions of the God to redeem the people from the atrocities of the people.

The copies of the *Tahrid* were circulated among the Muslims through the mosques and madrassas and dissimilated the notion of Jihad and rejuvenated the Muslim community for armed confrontations against the Portuguese intrigues towards the Muslims. The *Tahrid* is patriotic literature and it opened a

new version of literature sources in the Indian subcontinent that is the resistance literature of indigenous literature sources against the colonial powers.

Historical Importance of *Tahrid*

Obliviously *Tahrid* is not a full-fledged historical narrative and little historical descriptions about the Portuguese period of the Malabar coast. It is credited with inspiration and motivation for further historical writings in the indigenous literature counters against the all-European colonial powers in India.

“They unleashed in Malabar a series of violence,
Mischiefs and troubles of varying hues
By incarcerating, looting, burning mosques,
Desecrating the Holy Book and violating chastity of ladies”⁸

The major historical relevance of *Tahrid* is the contemporary writings of the early phase of the Portuguese period and the earliest source in this stream in south India in general and the Malabar coastal line in particular.⁹ The two important distinctive features of *Tahrid* have strengthened its accessibility in the resistance literature legacy throughout the centuries. The first and prime feature of the *Tahrid* is the different and multi-dimensional interpretation of Jihad. The second one is Indeed, the exhortation for Jihad was not merely the general calling for religious war or fanatic armed struggle instead was the calling for military help to the Zamorin ruler for the protection of their native place. Being the strong wing of the Zamorin military the Mappila Muslims protected the Malabar coastal line from the European encroachments. The prolonged trade and cordial relationship and allegiance of Zamorin with the Arab traders and Mappila Muslims reflected in Zamorin's armed confrontation with the Portuguese both land and sea.

Tahrid is the words coming from the mindset of the contemporary Malabar Muslims and naturally its exotic motivation for the uprisings and confrontation against the Portuguese atrocities.

“Those who strive to relieve agonies of a Muslim in this world
Will on the Day of Judgement get relieved of hardship”¹⁰

The deep-level exploration of this work recognises that the interpretation of the concept of Jihad was not an emotional and religious expression but a contextual and systematic military reaction for the protection of rights and native land. This third poem of Shaikh Zainudin Senior exhorted the Muslims to carry on Jihad against the Portuguese excess against the country in General and the Muslims in particular.¹¹ The dynamic power of the *Tahrid* is that the motivation and armed struggle of Muslims as the soldiers of a non-Muslim ruler like Zamorin counted as Jihad activity. This secular and religious toleration of the Malabar Muslim leaders reveals the political and administrative capability of the local rulers of Malabar on the arrival of the Portuguese. The indigenous people united in the resistance activities irrespective of their religion, caste and other status for the sake of their land and culture against the foreign encroachments. Indirectly *Tahrid* pictures the impact of the Portuguese hegemony in the realm of socio-cultural and political stability of contemporary Malabar.

Tahrid occupies the remarkable position of instigating other Ulama or Muslim leader in Malabar to turn their religious and reformation activities against the European colonial tyrannies. Being the dignified leaders the Ulama of the Malabar coastal live had powerful influence and positions in the society. According to the belief of Islam, the religious leaders or Ulama are the heirs of the Prophet Muhammed.

It is the responsibility of the Ulama to lead the Muslim community about their every walk of life political cultural social and personal and protecting their rights, dignity and status. Emancipation of the Muslim community from tyranny, atrocities and oppression is bound to entrusted to the ulama and save them from the miserable temporal life conditions as well the Muslim community is ought to obey the decisions and instructions of the ulama for the sake of the community as a whole.¹² The Muslim religious centres like Mosque and Madrassas were the centres of the religious, political and academic activities of the ulama.

The magnified impact of the *Thrid* was with par excellence that the main motivation for the Marakkar family's migration from Cochin to Calicut to carry out Jihad against the Portuguese as the navigators of Zamorin navy in their resistance against the Portugueses. Through the widespread circulation of *Tahrid* throughout Kerala, the notion of jihad might have rejuvenated the religious, political and patriotic feelings of all Muslims. The first confrontation of the Kunjali Marakkar admirals against the Portuguese dates back to 1520.¹³

The outstanding historical significance of *Tahrid* as the pioneering attempt in the indigenous literature reaction opened a new arena of the resistance literature genres against the European colonial incursion in India from the 16th to 20th centuries and contributed to uniting the people for the Indian independence struggle.¹⁴ *Tahrid* is the predatory of Tuhfat-ul-Mujahidin the first authentic historical work about Kerala written by Shaikh Zainudin II, the grandson of Shaikh Zainudin senior. The interpretation of the notion of Jihad in the Tuhfa was mainly on the inspiration by *Tahrid*. In the same way, other anti-colonial literature of Malabar included the notion of Jihad in their works to motivate the native people to fight against the foreign hegemonies in the course of Independence, especially in the British period. The succeeding works like Fatah-ul Mubin-Assaif-ul Batar, Uddath-ul-Umarah and Muhimmat-al-Mu'minin and Padappat songs and other folk songs have inspired *Tahrid* to include the notion of Jihad for motivating Mappila Muslims against the western powers. In other words, *Tahrid* is the founding stone for the indigenous war literature legacy in the Indian Ocean coastal rim against the western hegemonies.

Conclusion

The most decisive mode of the anti-colonial culture of the Malabar Mappila Muslims was resistance literature. *Tahrid* is the pioneering start-up of this kind of literature genre which was unknown to the Indian Sub-continent the Mappila Muslims of Malabar became par excellence in the same. The core message of this indigenous work is that the striving for the protection of the native place is an integral part of the religion of Islam. It is the responsibility of the Muslims to give voluntary military assistance to the rulers when they are defending the land and fighting with the invaders. *Tahrid* is the testimonial for the religious harmony between the Muslims and the Hindus and the cordial honesty relationship of the local rulers with the Muslims of Malabar.

Apart from the other exhortations and fatwas *Tahrid* social interventions of the Ulama of Malabar. The realm of the activities of the Ulama the religious leaders in Islam is not limited the religious matters to a great extent they have a remarkable role in moulding society. Beyond the religious sphere, the Ulama of the colonial period were the forefront spoke-men the society and the voice of the masses. For the protection of the motherland, they actively mobilised the Muslim community using their religious influence against the Western incursions. *Tahrid* is the opening door for the socio-cultural and political intervention of the Ulama in the society of Malabar.

Indeed, *Tahrid* is a marvellous inspiration for the coming generations to promote the indigenous narratives of the local people for new historical studies. Contrary to the orientalist historical

interpretations the indigenous literature source both written and oral collections shed light on authentic information about the colonial period. The more explorations in this arena of the anti-colonial literature segments and responses of the native people the more the feeling of social cohesion, patriotism and nationalism will emerge. is the new theme for historical studies and the unknown path few little people travelled.

Indigenous historical sources can explore the contemporary life of the people to a greater extent than formal historical sources and valuable primary material for further research. This was common among the Malabar societies in the colonial period and the historical literature association with ritualistic performance and native practices. *Tahrid* is par excellence beyond space and time in the context that the notion of jihad against the Portuguese incursions and further rejuvenated by his successor Ulam against the Dutch, the French and the British hegemonies in Malabar and in the Southeastern Asian regions.

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CHANGING FORMS OF LAND OWNERSHIP IN PILICODE VILLAGE OF THE KASARAGOD TALUK IN SOUTH CANARA: A PRELIMINARY ENQUIRY, 1905-1935

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I thank the office bearers of South Indian History Congress for electing me as the President of Economic History Session of 42nd session of South Indian History Congress.

I am now engaged in a wider project of studying patterns of land ownership in Kasaragod taluk, South Canara district based on land revenue records (1905-1957). In the Indian History session of Chennai, December 2022, a paper was presented based on land revenue records pertaining to 1935. Some parts of that paper will be repeated here which is unavoidable.

India was predominantly an agrarian country. It had clear cut land ownership at least from the 19th century onwards. As land revenue was the most important source of income for the British government, assessments were aimed at securing land revenue and increasing it from time to time. Traditional ownership of land underwent changes under colonialism. One change was the creation of a variety of intermediate forms of ownership. Another was the growth of a number of tenancies with varying rights. How are we to know the changes? One important source is village settlement registers.

People have always had a complex relationship with land. The land on the one hand provided means of livelihood and on the other determined social status and economic power. Often control over land in a village or a region was rested in the hands of a *Taravad* (Individual family or two). This was not static and underwent changes overtime. A family owning extensive territory in the beginning of the 20th century may be reduced to the position of a petty owner by 1950. What were the mechanisms of this change? What propelled it? Did the expansion of market and the rise of a new class of merchants who sought to invest their profits in land lead to it? Is it due to some internal developments like the rapid increase in the members of the family who were all depended on agriculture, thereby contributing to fragmentation and sub division. Is it due to the growth of progressive ideas in politics leading to land legislation? The answers to these questions are not simple and straight forward but complex and confusing. One of the indicators of such change is provided by village land revenue records which were meticulously collected by the British and assiduously preserved by them.

In this paper we enquire basically whether transactions took place in a large scale and consequently whether land ownership patterns also underwent a change. The period of study is between 1905 and 1935, a period when systematic revenue assessment was made and later revised.

This paper is mainly prepared on the basis of *Village Settlement Register of 1905* and *Village Re-Settlement Register of 1935* of Pilicode village.

I Pilicode is a small village in Kasaragod taluk¹ in South Canara district (Survey Number 109).²In 1905, Pilicode was under the Hosdurg sub-district. In 1911, it belonged to Trikaripur sub-district.³It lies in the southernmost part of South Canara and extends its boundaries to Malabar. It has no natural boundaries except in the west and but is surrounded on all other sides by *amsoms* (village) of the Kasaragod taluk like Cheruvathur in the north, Udinur and Maniyat villages in the South, Kodakkat in the East and

Malabar in the South East.⁴Streams like *Panakkappuzha* and *Erppuppuzha* form the western boundary. It is a Malayalam speaking area. According to the Census of 1871, population was 2254.⁵In 1951, it was 9209. Out of this, Malayalam speaking people were 9026 (98%), Kannada, 130 (1.4 %), Tulu, 38 (0.4 %) and other languages were 15 (0.2 %).⁶ Majority of the people were Hindus.

Year	Population			Religion		
	M	F	Total	Hindu	Muslim	Others
1881	1023	1180	2203	2176	27	-
1891	1048	1218	2266	2243	23	-
1901	923	1157	2080	2055	25	-

Source: *Settlement Register*, 1905, Pilicode Village.

In the field of land revenue administration, Thomas Munroe introduced the Ryotwari system in 1799-1800. As per the Permanent settlement regulation, Regulation XXV of 1802 of Madras, the revenue assessment was permanently fixed for the whole Presidency. But throughout the 19th century, the discussion went on between the Government of India and Home Government regarding the periodical revision on land revenue. Finally it was decided that the settlement was not a fixed one. But it could be periodically revised.⁷ In 1819, Collector Harris introduced the Tharow settlement in all the *taluks*. But the survey was limited to the *Wargas* not extended to the Wastelands.⁸ As such by 1903, revised settlement was effected in the Kasaragod *Taluk* and resettlement in 1934.

The land estates were formerly known as *Wargas* (from the Sanskrit word *Varga*, a leaf), a term used with reference to the palm leaves on which accounts were kept by the revenue authorities. The owner of the estate was known as *Wargadar*.⁹ He could personally cultivate his land, with or without the help of labourers, or could rent out the land, either wholly or in part, to tenants.¹⁰ A *Wargadar* was a proprietor of a hereditary *Warg* or estate. In that capacity he sometimes represented the whole village or more, collecting and paying the assessment as a whole.¹¹

There were three principal types of tenancies: *Mulageni* or perpetual tenancy and *Chalageni* or tenancy at will and *Vaidyageni* or lease for a specific term of years. The *Mulgenidars* or permanent (fixed) tenants under the *Mulwargadar*, constituted a special class paying a fixed and invariable rent.¹² They could be considered as sub-ordinate landlords rather than mere tenants, because many of them held extensive lands which they cultivated with the help of labourers or sub-rented them for *Chalageni*.¹³

The *Chalageni* was temporary tenure under the *Mulwargadars* and *Mulgenidars*. Their lease was for limited term, usually one year or even at will. In their case there used to be no security of tenure or fixity of rent.¹⁴ The *Chalageni* tenure had been regarded as an inferior form of tenancy entailing a relatively weak position. The landlord had a right to raise the rent or evict the tenant on the expiry of the term.¹⁵ They were entirely at the mercy of landlords. Indebtedness was common among these tenants. Midway between *Mulageni* and *Chalageni* was the *Vaidyageni*.¹⁶

Among the *Wargadars* there were individuals and families as also religious institutions like temples and churches. Most *Wargadars* gave their lands to tenants either for *Mulageni* or *Chalageni* or *Vaidyageni*. It was with these *Wargadars* that Munroe made the settlement. Annual rent would be paid according to

the terms fixed at the time of renting. It could be a fixed amount of money, a fixed amount of grain or produce, a share of the actual produce, or a mixture of money and produce.¹⁷

Under the Ryotwari settlement where Government was supposed to settle and collect rent from each farmer.¹⁸ Government deals with an individual who was technically assumed to be acting on his own account and not as a middle man. According to Munroe, through the Ryotwari system, the individual had an interest in co-operating with the state and gave vitality to it. The state was equally interested in the individual and encouraged him to lead an active and useful life to accumulate and inherit property and to solve the greater riddle of life.¹⁹ The state was the penultimate holder of all lands, cultivated or uncultivated.²⁰ Frykenberg observes, "The state was the ultimate controller, whether as ultimate holder or as ultimate owner of agrarian relationships, then an enormous administrative structure with a vast bureaucratic agency was required. In order for the state to deal directly and efficiently with each and every cultivator, within each and every village, concluding a settlement contract (*Patta*) with each person- meant that there had to be enough officials to carry out this enormous work".²¹

Scholars like R.C. Dutt made appreciation of the Ryotwari settlement, as it was a settlement with the ryot or cultivating peasant in his capacity as a proprietor.²² But in practice, the ideal type of ryot of Munroe was nothing but a land monopolist or zamindar who possessed large acres of land. In short, all ryots were not ryots in the real sense of the term. It included zamindars, rich peasants, poor peasants and landless labourers.²³

Il Pilicode was an agricultural village. The chief crops cultivated were paddy, horsegram and coconut.²⁴ The staple crop was paddy accounting for 84 % of the land under cultivation.²⁵ On the second class of paddy land, where the water supply did not admit of two crops of paddy being raised, a good deal of pulses like ragi, horsegram, greengram, sesame etc. were sown. Coconuts came next to paddy in importance. Arecanut trees were largely grown in this area. Among the palms, pepper vines and plantain trees were grown. The betel vine was grown for its leaves.²⁶

Land was divided principally into Wet, Dry and Garden lands according to the crop for which it was adapted.²⁷ The Wet or paddy land also known as *Nanja* was again classed according to its water supply; the best being that abundantly supplied by the rainfall and from streams, some of such land bears three crops paddy yearly. The second class lies higher and was not so well off for water and bears either two crops of paddy and or one of paddy and one of some dry grain or pulse. The third class was dependent entirely on the falling rain, but yields usually one good crop of paddy. Dry lands or *Punja* were seasonal cultivable lands. Garden land was specially adapted for the formation of arecanut and coconut plantations.²⁸

There were no irrigation works proper, but across many of the streams, small anicuts were thrown to keep up the water in them for the second and third paddy crops. Small tanks were common. Water lies near the surface, from which it was baled to the land around. In all sides of the boundaries, there were many streams and rivulets. They were *Panakkappuzha*, *Erppupuzha*, *Mallakkara Thodu*, *Pachakkara Thodu*, *Kalikkadavu Thodu* etc, were also used for irrigation.²⁹ There were many temple tanks and Common tanks. Such as tank of *Ezhikovval* temple, extended in 23 cents, tank of Karakka Kavu (78 cents), three tanks adjacent to *Cheerma Kavu* (14 cent, 14 cent and 6 cent respectively), tank of *Someshwari* temple (11 cents), tank of Sri Rama temple, Mattalayi (12 cents) and *Puthiya Kulam* (78 cents).³⁰

Cultivation was carried out by means of bullocks and buffaloes. According to the census of 1901, total number of agricultural stock was, bullocks and he-buffaloes 215, cows 305, she-buffaloes 12, young

stock 387, and sheep and goats 91.³¹ Pasturage was obtainable for the cattle on the unoccupied Government lands. Water for the cattle was obtained from channels, tanks and wells.³² Cattle was mainly imported from a place called *Subramanya* in Uppinangadi taluk, was the great cattle mart of the district. There were many memories regarding the purchase of buffaloes from *Subramanya* to Pilicode.³³

Upper caste *Namboothiris*, *Atiyotis*³⁴ and *Nairs* were the most influential and important class of the population and were the chief land holders and cultivators of the village. The next classes in importance were the *Thiyyas* who form the bulk of the labourers, were the majority caste. *Thiyyas* engaged in many occupations. They were toddy drawers, cultivating land owners and tenants, field Labourers, wood cutters, artisans and other workmen, labourers, boatmen, carters, traders etc.³⁵

Temple servants like *Poduval*, *Varier*, *Marar* and other caste groups like *Nambi*, *Nambiar*, *Vaniya*, *Maniyani*, *Chaliya* (Weavers), *Kusava* (Potter), *Kollan* (Balcksmith), *Thattan* (Goldsmith), *Asari* (Carpenter), *Moyan* (Fisherman), *Navuthiyya* and *Kavuthiyya* (Barbers), *Vannan* (Washerman) and *Malayan* (Traditional performers of a ritual dance, *Theyyam*) form the caste society. The *Pulayas* were until lately, attached to the soil.³⁶ They were mainly lived near the river sides', paddy fields, and Poromboke³⁷ areas. Hereditarily, they were the agricultural laboureres. They were the personal slave of the occupier of the soil and were liable to be sold and were mortgaged by him independently of his lands.³⁸ As per the Ryotwari system, all the land in the village was registered. Lands were first classified according to the soil, and grain values of each soil were determined.

In 1891, number of landholders was 909 and in 1901, it was reduced to 321.³⁹ In 1905, it was 185 and increased to 720 in 1935.⁴⁰ *Wargas* formed after the commencement of the Company's rule by the cultivation of waste lands were called *Hossagamy* (new cultivation).⁴¹ The Land revenue reports of 1856 revealed that the greater part of the increase in the actual land revenue during was derived from *Hossagamy* lands.⁴² The old wargs were known as *Kadim* meaning old or ancient.

Under this system, *patta* (land holding) was given to each ryot. As per the Settlement Register of Pilicode Village of 1905, there were a total number of 185 *Pattadars* holding 1175.15 acres of land in total.⁴³ This was 66.86 percentage of total land area. Out of these, 957.6 acres as *Kadim* land and 217.55 acres as *Hossagamy* lands. (Out of this, 4.53 acres as purchased by the land holders). The tenure of *Hossagamy Wargadar* was exactly the same as that of a *Mulawargadar*.⁴⁴ *Kadim* lands had *Kumaki* rights. The Government had control over unoccupied waste lands. The wastelands which never been cultivated but were attached to wastes as aids to cultivation were classed as *Kumaki* lands.⁴⁵ *Kadim* land holders had the right to use neighbouring waste lands for procuring leaves from the brushwood or jungles for the purpose of making manure and to furnish grass as fodder to their animals.⁴⁶ This was termed as *Kumaki* rights.

The *Kadim* holders were mainly upper castes. *Hossagamy* lands were also enjoyed by these *Savarnas*. From this it is clear that the land holders in pre-British India maintained their positions during the colonial regime also.

The following table gives details of the types of land and the concerned area under each and the amount of taxes collected as per the settlement of 1905.

Types of Land and Amount of Land Revenue Collected in 1905

Type of Land	Acres/ Cent	Land Revenue (Rs./Pai.)
Dry	99.70	125.3
Wet-I	203.95	1296.9
Wet-II	495.63	1521.15
Wet-III	99.13	206.4
Garden	276.74	1408.2
Poromboke	58.81	Nil
Unassessed	Nil	Nil
Assessed Wasteland (AW)	523.66	557.15
Total	1757.62	5116

Source: *Settlement Register*, 1905, Pilicode Village.

As per the Settlement Register of 1905, village contained 135 survey fields. There were a total number of 185 *Pattadars* holding 1175.15 acres of land.⁴⁷ This was 66.86 percentage of total land area. Total area in the village was 1757.62 acres. Out of this, 58.81 acres were *Poromboke* and 523.66 acres were Assessed Wasteland (AW land). Some of the AW lands were occupied by neighbouring land holders and taxes were collected from them. This tax was known as prohibitory tax.⁴⁸ It was a part of the policy of extracting more revenue. If a ryot without authorization takes possession of AW land, the Government does not nevertheless evict him. In the particular case of a ryot taking possession of Un-assessed Waste land, the Government reserves the right of putting on a prohibitory assessment; for here the land is very probably the land which it is undesirable to cultivate.⁴⁹

Types of Land and Amount of Land Revenue Collected in 1935

Type of Land	Acres/ Cent	Land Revenue (Rs./Pai.)
Dry	314.82	347.7
Wet-I	207.77	1493.3
Wet-II	503.83	1740.4
Wet-III	99.11	229.8
Garden	370.36	1901.13
Poromboke	143.83	Nil
Assessed Wasteland (AW)	123.40	123.0
Total	1762.85	5835.35

Source: *Resettlement Register*, 1935, Pilicode Village.

In 1935, the settlement contained 271 survey fields.⁵⁰ Total holdings increased to 1495.39 acres. It was mainly due to the holding of Assessed Waste lands (AW). AW lands were assigned to holders. So it was decreased from 523.66 acres to 123.40 acres. *Porombokke* land was increased to 159.78

acres.⁵¹ It is clear that land ownership changed substantially. Total amount of tax collected from the village increased from Rs.5166 to Rs. 5835 and 35 Paise in 1935.

List of Land Holdings in 1905

Pattadars Paying	Number	Extent		Assessment	
		Acs	Cts	Rs.	Pa
Rupee 1 and Less	32	6	65	21	5
Rupees between 10 and 1	112	114	80	447	7
Rupees between 30 and 10	23	96	59	372	5
Rupees between 50 and 30	9	78	45	351	12
Rupees between 100 and 50	4	62	20	277	9
Rupees between 250 and 100	3	134	31	276	11
Rupees between 500 and 250	1	128	57	490	9
Rupees between 1000 and 500	-	-	-	-	-
Over Rupees 1000	1	553	58	2120	7

Source: *Settlement Register*, 1905, Pilicode Village.

As can be seen in the table above, 'small peasant holdings' were prominent. There was only one substantial landlord, Palatt Azhagan Atiyoti,⁵² a prominent landowner had 553.58 acres of land and paid Rs.2120.7 as land revenue.⁵³ Among the *Pattadars*, Palatt *Atiyoti* family held most of the lands. *Puthilott Neelamana* and *Thazhakkatmana*,⁵⁴ Namboothiri Brahmin holders also held extensive areas of land.

Apart from private lands owned by individuals, there were lands owned and managed by religious institutions like temples and *Kavus*. *Rayaramangalam* temple, a brahmanic temple was a land owner (*Devaswam*, Temple Properties).⁵⁵

List of *Pattadars* who hold 25 and more Acres of Land in 1905

Sl. No.	Name of Pattadar	Acres/Cents	Land Revenue (Rs./Pai.)
1.	Palatt Azhagan Atiyoti	553.58	2120.7
2.	Thazhakkatmana Vasudevan Thirumumbu	128.57	490.9
3.	Rayaramangalam Temple	50.97	216
4.	Beepathu and Kunhipathu	27.26	125.56
5.	Mundakundil Athayi	25.68	112.86

Source: *Settlement Register*, 1905, Pilicode Village.

Apart from these substantial land owners, there were many including upper and lower caste Hindus and Muslims holding *patta* for various extents of territories ranging from five acres to 10 cents.⁵⁶ The existence of a small proportion of land owners is due to the fact that most of the land was held on the

Warg tenure peculiar to the district and was sublet to tenants who may be permanent on a fixed rent or tenants at will.⁵⁷

List of *Pattadars* who hold 75 and more Acres of Land in 1935

Sl. No.	Name of Pattadar	Acres/Cents
1.	Palatt Chirakkara Veettil Kelu <i>Atiyoti</i>	153.22
2.	Palatt Meethale Veettil Kutti <i>Atiyoti</i>	119.34
3.	Thazhakkatmana Valiya Sreedharan Thirumumbu	118.25
4.	Palatt Karappath Veettil Kelu <i>Atiyoti</i>	102.74
5.	Rayaramangalam Temple	81.98

Source: *Resettlement Register*, 1935, Pilicode Village.

From these we can see that the same trend during 1905 continued in 1935 also. Status quo as far as caste was concerned, was maintained. Palatt *Atiyoti* family held most of the lands. Out of 720 pattadars, Atiyoti family retained and increased their large plots of land. There were *Puthilott Neelamana* and *Thazhakkatmana*, Namboothiri Brahmin holders also held extensive areas of land. *Rayaramangalam* temple also increased their landed properties.⁵⁸ In 1905, there was one substantial land owner who paid Rs. 1000 and above as land revenue. But in 1935, there were many *thavazhies* in the Atiyoti family and landed properties were shared among them. As a result, middle level peasantry emerged in the village. But the land ownership was confined to the *Savarnas*.

Biggest landholders leased out their lands as *Mulageni* and *Chalageni* tenures. Land revenue was paid by these tenants on behalf of landlords.⁵⁹ *Rayaramangalam* temple was a Brahmin centered temple, but Brahmin settlements were very rare in Pilicode. Some of the Brahmin *Illams*, Thazhekkat Mana and Neelamana situated in the neighbouring village, Kotakkat. Thazhekkat Mana and Neelamana were considered inferior in the Brahmin tradition. They could not perform *poojas* and rituals in the temples. So the Uralars of *Rayaramangalam* temple was *Kalakaattillam* of Taliparampu. *Rayaramangalam Devaswam* land was mainly under the Atiyoti family and leased out to *Atiyots*, *Nairs* and other temple servants.⁶⁰ The authorities of the temple managed the cultivation of their lands and paid revenue to the government. Thus, the religious institution had been one of the land controlling units in the village.

In spite of this, a large number of non-brahmin worshipping centers were developed in different parts of Pilicode. As per the Settlement Register of 1905, the non-brahmin communities such as *Thiyya*, *Maniyani*, *Chaliya* (Weavers), *Kusava* (Potters), *Asari* (Carpenter) etc had worshipping centers. These were situated in the *Poromboke* areas and exempted from taxes. But *Pulayas*' ownership was 'absent' in 1905 records where as they made their presence in 1935. *Pulayas* had given small plots of land in 1935.⁶¹ Around 25 persons had given landed properties of 49 or 50 cents.⁶² It is very interesting that *Pulaya* community had given small plots of land nearby the wet lands. It may be in connection with agricultural activities.

As per the 1905 settlement, temples and *Kavus* had landed properties. The ownership was given to the name of Manager of the Devaswams. *Karakka Kavu*, Udinur Kshetrapla Devaswam, Ajnaur Kshetrapala Devaswam, Kunathur temple had land ownerships. *Karakka Kavu*, shrine of the Thiyya community had 4.77 acres of land in 1905 which was increased to 44 acres in 1935.⁶³ By 1935, these religious institutions attained prominence and acquired more landed properties. *Udinur*

Kshethrapala Devaswam, Matiyar Koolom Kshethrapala Devaswam, Mekkot Devaswam all were land holders. It is clear that land was seen as an area of investment and status symbol.

Another noticeable development was the *Thiyyas* (Belonging to Other Backward Communities) and Muslims greatly increasing their land ownership in 1935. Besides, number of small land holdings was largely increased. *Thiyyas* and other middle level caste land holder's number increased unprecedentedly. Many of them purchased small plots of land.

In the ryotwari lands, land revenue was usually paid to the *Patels*⁶⁴ who was assisted by *Menonor* Village Accountant. Landlords of villages were made the *Patels*. This was hereditary. Pilicode *Patel* belonged to *Atiyoti* family.⁶⁵ In 1905, Krishnan Atiyoti was the *Patel*.⁶⁶ There were many instances of coercion followed by the *Patels* to collect more revenue.⁶⁷ When the *Patels* failed to collect the taxes in time, there would be a chance to lose their position. Taxes had to be imposed even on barren lands included in the *Inam* lands.⁶⁸

The land transactions were affected through lease, mortgages, sales and public auctions.⁶⁹ During the Great Depression, the economic condition worsened. The peasants could not pay their rent to the landlords on time. The landlords could not pay their revenue. The result was that the number of revenue sales in this area considerably increased since 1935. In a memorial submitted to the District Collector of South Canara by the Land Holders of Kasaragod *taluk* stated: "It is an open secret that some of the wealthiest among the ryots who should be ashamed to borrow a rupee, had to seek the assistance of Mangalore banks for loans after exhausting the village money lenders. The position is acute."⁷⁰ There were no improvements in this situation during the subsequent years. The rural indebtedness increased.

In short, the colonial land revenue policy aimed to extract more revenue from the colonial people. They wanted to introduce a new revenue system which would suit the local conditions. The salient feature of colonial revenue policy was the acceptance of the existing institutions, without making any alterations which were not absolutely necessary. Munore's revenue policy did not supercede a new system, but restored and strengthened existing systems.⁷¹ However revenue extraction was increased. The ryotwari system tried to restore the caste oriented social structure. As Neeladri Bhattacharya observes, Agrarian colonisation could not possibly have proceeded without the creation of spaces that conformed to the needs of such colonisation, or without the establishment of a regime of appropriate categories- tenancies, tenures, properties, habitations- and the frame work of customs and laws that made such colonisation possible.⁷² Agrarian colonisation was in this sense a deep conquest.

Conclusion

Relation between class and caste is a complex one and it would be reductionist exercise if we associate upper caste families with landlordism. However from the study of revenue records pertaining to Pilicode village, it could be said that such a correlation could be found in the village in 1905. This changed only by 1935. No effort was made by the British authorities to change the social structure and to do away with existing institutions. They were retained to a great extent and remodeled to a certain extent to suit colonial interests.

The revenue extracted was substantial and prevented a surplus being generated which could be invested on land. In conclusion, it could be said that no substantial transformations in land ownership took place in the period under survey. This is surprising as the First World War (1914-18) and later the economic depression happened during this time. Another was the legislation paving the way for individual partition of joint families. It can be found that there was an increase in the land ownership

which was due to the conversion of the type of land (*Taram*) and the bringing of Assessed Wasteland (AW) into the purview of taxation. This was done by the granting right of cultivation to peasants on these lands on the basis of revenue assessment. Whether this is applicable to other parts of Kasaragod taluk is to be enquired. Towards 1935, middle peasant holdings increased and substantial land holdings decreased. Did this tendency continue after 1935? This has to be enquired.

Notes and References

1. Kasaragod was the southernmost *taluk* of South Canara district lying between 12° 7' and 12° 57' North and 74° 52' and 75° 26' East. Kasaragod became part of Kannur district following the re-organisation of states and formation of Kerala on 1st November 1956. Kasaragod was declared a district in the year 1984.
2. L/88, *List Showing the Names of Towns and Villages Constituting the Several Registration Sub Districts in the Registration District of South Canara*, Madras, Govt. Press, 1911, Regional Archives, Kozhikode (Hereafter RAK).
3. In the Kasaragod taluk, there were 4 sub-districts in 1905. They were Vittal, Hosdurg, Kasaragod and Manjeshwar. In 1911, they were Hosdurg, Kasaragod, Manjeshwar and Trikaripur sub districts.
4. See Map of Pilicode Village in Appendix A.
5. *Census of 1871*, Madras, Govt. Press, Madras, 1872.
6. J. I. Arputhanathan, *Census of India, 1951*, South Canara, The Nilgiris, Malabar and Coimbatore Districts, Census Operations, Govt. Press, Madras, 1955; Kanarese was the official language of the district of South Canara, Tulu was the parent tongue of 43.5 % people, Konkani was of 12 percent, Marathi 34.925%, Hindustani of no small section and Malayalam nearly many; As per the *District Census Handbook*, Kasaragod, 2001, Population of Pilicode Village is 9156.
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14. K. Balasubramanyam, *Census of India, 1961*, Mysore, District Census Handbook, South Kanara District, Govt. Central Press, Bangalore, 1967, p. xi.
15. C D Maclean, *Op. Cit.*, p. 127; In Malabar, the tenures under which lands were held by tenants were *Kanam*, *Kuzhikananm* and *Verum pattam*; *Chalageni* may be equivalent to *Kuzhi kanam* tenure of Malabar. *Kuzhi kanakkaran* enjoyed the whole of its produce for a certain period (probably not exceeding 12 years). For a study of land reforms in which such terms pertaining to Malabar are explained. See, P. Radhakrishnan, *Peasant Struggles, Land Reforms, and Social Change: Malabar, 1836-1982*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p. 28.

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 17. N Shyam Bhatt, *Op. Cit.*, p. 85.
 18. William Thackeray, *Op. Cit.*, p. 68.
 19. K.N. Venkata Subba Sastri, *The Munroe System of British Statesmanship of India*, The University of Mysore, 1939, p. LIX.
 20. Robert Eric Frykenberg (Ed.) (1977), *Land Revenue and Peasant in South India*, Primus, New Delhi, 2020, p.10.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. R. C. Dutt, *The Economic History of India*, Vol. I, Publication Division, Govt. of India, 1960, pp. 64-65.
 23. N. Shyam Bhatt, 'Agrarian System in South Canara, 1779-1831', in *Karnataka Historical Review*, 1992, p. 53.
 24. *Village Settlement Register* (Hereafter *VSR*), 1905, Pilicode Village Collected from Taluk Office, Kanhangad.
 25. *VSR*, 1905, Pilicode Village.
 26. Charles Benson, *A Statistical Atlas of the Madras Presidency*, Govt. of Madras. 1931, pp. 416-17.
 27. *VSR*, 1905, Pilicode Village.
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. *Resettlement Register*, 1935 or *Atangal Register*, Pilicode Village (Hereafter *RRP*), Kasaragod Taluk, & *Supplementary Atangal Register*, 1935, Pilicode, Collected from Pilicode Village Office. As per the Resettlement Register of 1935, there was a Travellers bunglaw in the northern boundary of the village near to Cheruvathur village (Survey No.1). It located in *Poromboke* with 1.68 acres. The bunglaw had two rooms, one dressing room, two kitchens, two bath rooms, tiled and furnished and suitable for two persons and a rent of Rs. 12. J F Hall (Ed.), *Madras District Gazetteers- Statistical Appendix Together with a Supplement to the Two District Manuals For South Canara District*, Govt. Press, Madras, 1935, p. 11.
 30. *VSR*, 1905, Pilicode Village.
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. *Ibid.*
 33. *Interview*, Kunhambu P. (86), Farmer, Native of Pilicode, 21 September 2022.
 34. An upper caste in North Malabar and southern Parts of Kasaragod taluk. H. A. Stuart mentioned that, *Atiyoti* was the caste of Kadathanad Raja in North Malabar. The tradition was that when he was driven out of his territories in and around Calicut by the Zamorin, he took shelter under the Raja of Chirakkal who gave him the Kadathanad country to hold at his vassal. Perhaps from this fact arose the name Atiyoti from Atiya, slave. In customs and manners, they resemble the Eradis and Nedungadis. H A Stuart, *Census of India, 1891*, Vol. III, Madras, Government Press, Madras, 1893, p. 392; Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. I, Govt. Press, Madras, 1909, p. 5.
 35. J. Chartres Molony, *Census of India, 1911*, Vol. XII, Madras, Part I, Govt. Press, Madras, 1912, p. 246.
 36. *Interview*, Kana Krishnan Nair (90), Village Man during 1940s, Pilicode Village, Kasaragod, 21 April, 2022.

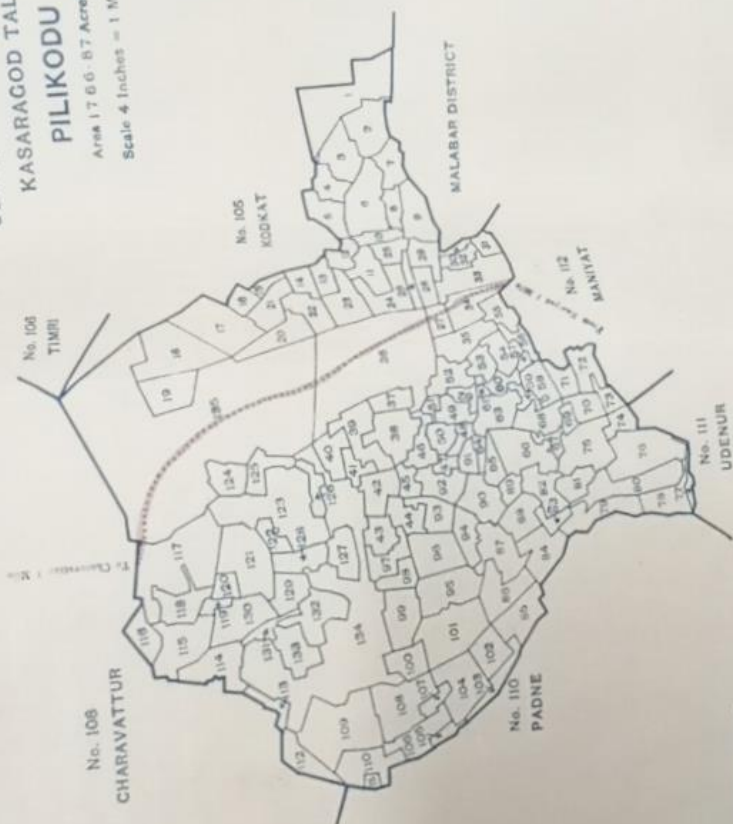
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37. Literally, land in the outskirts owned by the Government.
 38. *Interview*, Pathanath Krishnan (85), Native of Padne, Neighbouring village, 22 November, 2022.
 39. *VSR*, 1905, Pilicode Village.
 40. *RRP*; See Litho Map of Pilicode Village in 1935 in Appendix B.
 41. *Report on the Land Assessment... Op. Cit.*, p. 85.
 42. *Reports on the Settlement of the Land Revenue of the Provinces under the Madras Presidency, 1857-58*, Fort St. George Gazette Press, 1860, p. 324.
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. John Sturrock, *Op. Cit.*, p. 129.
 45. Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South India in an Attempt to Trace the History of Mysore*, Vol. I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1810, p. 234.
 46. John Sturrock, *Op. Cit.*, p. 130; *Report on the Land Assessment and ... Op. Cit.*, p.26.
 47. *Ibid.*
 48. *Interview*, Kunhikrishnan M. (78), Retired Tahasildar, Pilicode, 22 May 2023.
 49. C. D. Maclean, *Op. Cit.*, p. 121.
 50. *RRP*.
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. He had landed properties in neighbouring villages like Kotakkad, Cheruvathur, Padne, and Trikaripur. For More Details, See *Settlement Registers*, 1905 of Kotakkad, Cheruvathur, Padne, and Trikaripur.
 53. *Ibid.*
 54. Thazhakkattmana was the largest land owner in Kasaragod Taluk. It had landed property in many villages like *Trikaripur, Udinur, Padne, Cheemeni, Kayyur, Timiri, Cheruvathur, Eleri, Nileshtar* etc. For More Details, See *Settlement Registers* of Concerned Villages of 1905.
 55. *VSR*, 1905, Pilicode Village.
 56. *Ibid.*
 57. Charles Benson, *Op. Cit.*, p. 419.
 58. *RRP*.
 59. *Interview*, Kana Krishnan Nair.
 60. *VSR*, 1905, Pilicode Village; *RRP*.
 61. *RRP*.
 62. *RRP*, 1935; *Interview*, Padmanabhan K. (77), Engineer (Retired), Native of Pilicode, 22 April 2023. His father's mother, Pottathy and Mother's father Marathan received land.
 63. *RRP*, 1935.
 64. Village Headman; Generally Headman was one of the largest land holders in the *amsom*, and as a rule exercised much influence over the inhabitants, C. D. Maclean (Ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p. 154.
 65. *Interview*, Kana Krishnan Nair; *Interview*, Kunhikrishnan M.

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66. *VSR*, 1905, Pilicode Village
67. K. Madhavan, *Oru Gandhian Communistinte Ormmakal* (Mal.), Prabhath, Calicut, 2002, p. 13.
68. William Thackeray, *Op. Cit.*, p. 24.
69. *Chitta Register (10-1)* Pilicode Village, 1935-1957, Kasaragod Taluk, Collected from Pilicode Village Office.
70. Reply No. Kd. T.L. No. 410-A by M.K. Nambiar to the Questionnaire in *Malabar Tenancy Committee*, Madras, 1940, RAK.
71. Alexander J. Arbuthnot, *Major General Sir. Thomas Munroe*, Higginbotham, Madras, 1886, p. LXIV-LXV.
72. Neeladri Bhattacharya, *The Great Agrarian Conquest-The Colonial Reshaping of a Rural World*, State University Press, Albany, 2019, p. 22.

APPENDIX A

MAP OF PILICODE VILLAGE IN 1905

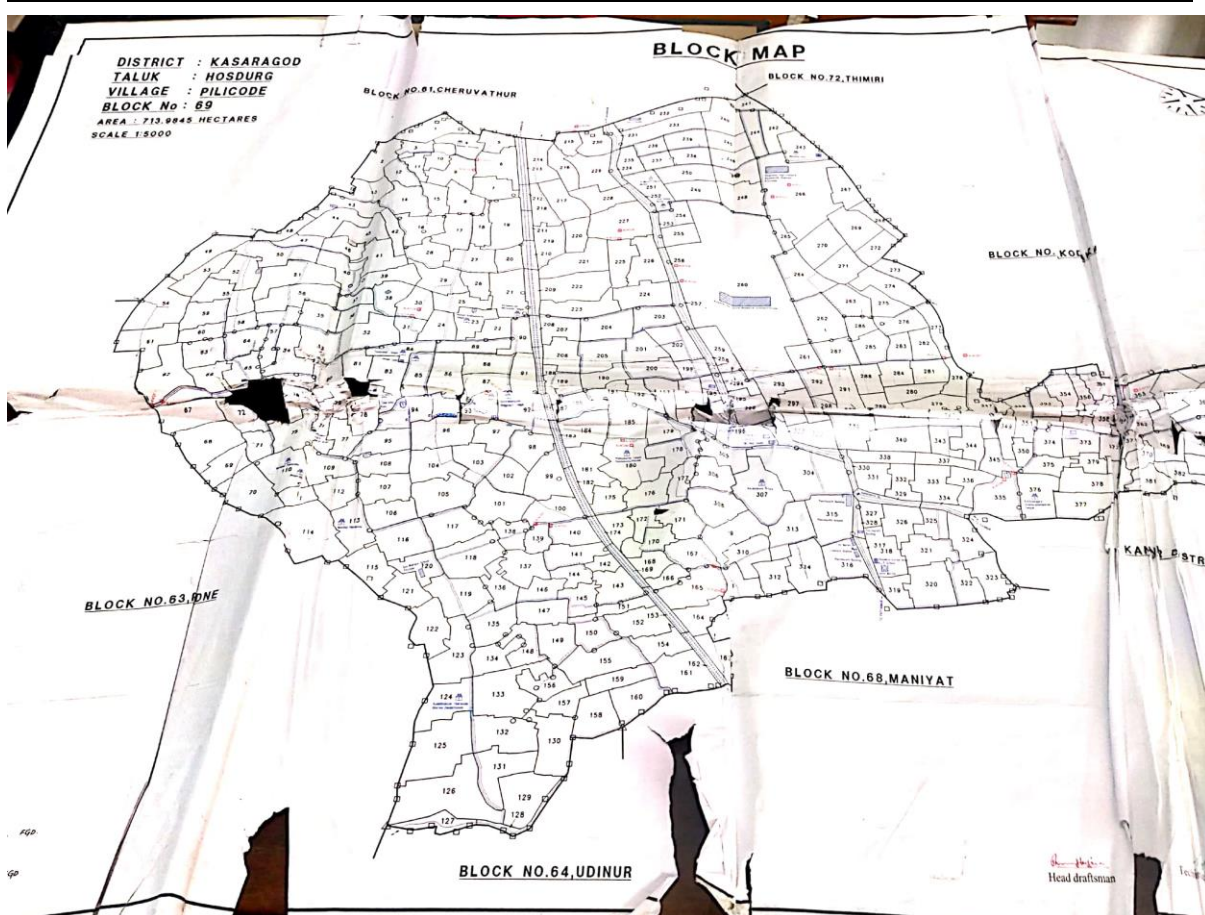
No. 109
SOUTH CANARA DISTRICT
KASARAGOD TALUK
PILIKODU
Area 1766.87 Acres
Scale 4 Inches = 1 Mile



S. O. Reg: No. 109
1905 Copies 50

Source: *Village Settlement Register, 1905, Pilicode Village*

APPENDIX B
Litho Map of Pilicode Village in 1935



Source: FMP, Pilicode Village, 1935

PATRONAGE AND POETICS: EXPLORING THE LITERARY CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NAYAKS OF TAMIL NADU

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The Nayakas were great patrons of the letters. Though they came from the Telugu-Kannada region, they had great respect for Tamil¹. Their patronage of literature covers languages of various linguistic denominations such as Sanskrit, Telugu, and Tamil. These three seem to have commanded the status of lingua franca under the Nayakas with equal emphasis and no language was regarded inferior.

In spite of the regional languages Sanskrit seems to have commanded the status of lingua franca. The Vijayangara emperors were trained in Sanskrit explicitly because Gangadevi, the consort of Kumara Kampana wrote her masterpiece in Sanskrit. Though several scholars from S. Krishnasvami Iyengar to Burton Stein wrote about the epic of Gangadevi nobody told us what the synopsis of the epic is. Again the author was a woman like Mangammal. It may be apt in the present context to give a synoptic account of the epic to better understand the Nayaka contribution to literature. The work is nine cantos.

***Madhuravijayam* (Victory of Madhura)**

The title is very interesting as it heralds the arrival of Kampana and the fall of the degenerate Sultans of Madurai. Madurai is Minakshi and it is her empire. She met Kampana in Kanchi in a dream and handed over the Pandyan sword to recover the land from the profligate Sultans. *Madhuravijayam* is an important record not only for the history of Tamil Nadu but for the history of South Asia in the context of the oppression of civilized people by a band of invaders from the Arab block. Now we may have a peep in the content of the great Sanskrit epic, *Madhuravijayam*².

Canto I

This part is an innovation to the gods and goddesses and the poets or teachers of the epic writer. The divinities are Ganapati, Siva (must be Virupaksa) and Sarasvati. Kriyasakti was the teacher of Gangadevi. She is paid respect. Other great literati are Valmiki, Vyasa, Kalidasa, Bana, Bharavi, Bhavabhuti, Tikkaiya, Agastya, Gangadhara, and Visvanatha.

The family of Sangamas is introduced. The greatness of Bukka Raya, the father of Kumara (mean prince, dauphin) Kampana is recalled. Bukka is so joyous on the day of his son's birth that he said his son should be greater than himself; cf. above what is told of Pitt the Elder and Pitt the Younger.

The city of Vijayanagara is described in great detail. The Tungabhadra and the temple of Virupaksha are described. Though we get lavish accounts of Vijayanagar from foreign visitors such as Nuniz, the native account is very interesting because Gangadevi lived in the city about which she speaks.

Canto II

Emperor Bukka had several queens of whom the chief was Devayi (deva "goddess", ayi "mother", means Mother Goddess). The status of a pregnant woman is described in detail; e.g. even if a queen she wanted to eat "mud", allegorically the Emperor of the Earth should be born to her. She expresses her desire to take bath in the Tamiraparani, a fanciful deam in Vijayanaagara; allegorically her son should conquer all the lands up to the tip of the subcontinent. Kampana was born as was Subrahmanya (not Iskandar, cf. Branfoot above) was born to Parvati. The child grew to manhood. In quick succession the Queen Mother

gave birth to three children all boys.

Canto III

It deals with the boyhood and education of Kampana. He was trained in all the *sastras* from the Vedas to *asvasastra* (science of horse). He is given instruction by Bukka as to how a man should be. He was advised to avoid indulgence in women, gambling, hunting causing harm to wild animals, and so on.

When grown to manhood Bukka expresses his desire to recover the land from the oppressive regime of the Sultans. He says the banner of Vijayanagara should accommodate all people under the rule of law, harming none and favouring none. Justice should be *Hindu-dharma*. Kampana undertakes a vow to march southward and recover the land from the misrule of Sultans.

Canto IV

Kampana marched from Vijayanagara leading a huge contingency of elephants, horses, and infantry to Kanchi, the headquarters of Tudiramandala and the Sambhuvarayas. He stayed in Virinchipuram in northern Tamil Nadu and from there marched on kanchi.

Canto V

Marakatanagaral (city of *marakata*, emerald) was Kanchi that was made the capital of the conquered land. Kings from different directions met Kampana and offered presents. They were from Magadha, Maiava, Sevuna, Simhala, Dramila, Kerala and Gauda.

Kampana had an innate love for poetry and was a patron of poets. Kavyalankara would demand Gangadevi to say something of nature. In this part she talks of the various seasons such as winter (*hemantartu*), summer (*grsmartu*), rainy season (*varsartu*) and spring (*vasantartu*) that recalls Kalidasa's *Ritusamhara*. Vasanta is loved by all and the poetess adds:

"In the spring festival ladies wanted to paint a form of Manmatha on picture cards. But they ended by painting the figure of king Kampana who was always in their heart (as a beloved prince)."

Cantos VI s VII

A Nayaka does not live by war alone. He has some romance in him. His delights are manifold. These two cantos deal with the sports of Kampana.

Canto VIII

This part is reserved for Madhuravijayam. The sad plight of the country under the misrule of the Sultans is described. For the survival of the few invading bearded men and veiled women the whole country was immersed in blood. In place of coconut hanging on tall trees heads of Hindus were hanging. The rivers Vaikai and Tamiraparani did not run with water but the blood of the Hindus. Kampana performs the function of patrinaya adhunam and vinasaya saduskrtam. He establishes dharma for all, including the Mussalmans. Fanaticism is not born in man. It is taught to him by his faith and goodwill in God. Kampana went by treading the path of Hindu *dharma*. The annihilated were *dharmadrohins*.

Canto IX

It ends with a war over the Sultan and his annihilation. Peace was restored in Madurai. The temple and the land of Minakshi were restored to her. Pujas and festivals were re-inaugurated with the end of *adharm*.

Om Santhi Santhi Santhi

Nayaka Sangam

The Nayaka court, *sangam* was congregation of poets in various languages, particularly Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil. These three were their three eyes. A brief account of the works that emerged under the Nayaka patronage is presented hereunder.

Jaimini Bharatamu

This work is in Telugu and written by Pillalamarri Virabadracharya. It was composed during the reign of Saluva Narasimha and gives the genealogy of the Saluvans of Vijayanagara, the second dynasty that followed the Sangmas. It is dedicated to a great war general called Saluva Mangulu who led the army of Kampana Udayar to the Tamil country. It talks about the victories over the Sambuvarya chiefs of Tondaimandalam and the *tulukkanas* of Madurai.

Raghunathabhudayam

The author was the learned king and prodigious Nayaka of Thanjavur, Vijaya Raghava. It presents a history of the Nayakas of Thanjavur in Telugu. The genealogy of the family is traced to Krishna. The rulers listed in the order of succession are the following: Krishna > Chinna Cehva > Achyuta > Raghunatha > Vijaya Raghava.

Vijaya Raghava Nayaka of Thanjavur was an admirer of Mannarsami of Mannargudi. The Lord Vishnu of the temple was a ratnangi, gem crown, jeweled ornaments, and so on. He rebuilt the temple as it is found today. The decoration of the *utsavabera* with ornaments is today known as *Nayakkaralankaram*.

Vijaya Raghava was a prolific poet. He also composed the *Raghunathabhudayam*, the coming of Raghunatha on his father. This work presents a list of the subordinate chiefs counted as many as thirty-two that were the local rulers such as the kallar and padayatchi and the sambhuvarya chiefs in various parts of northern Tamil Nadu.

A long list of works that were the contributions to literature under the Vijayanagara-Nayakas is listed. These may be noted in the following account:

Amuktamalyada of Krishnadevaraya, *Ramavackamu* On Greatness of the Rayas, *Krishnarayavijayam* of Kumara Durjati, *Saluvabhudayam* of Rajanatha Dindima, *Ramabhyudayam* of Saluva Narasimha, *Prapanamrtam* of Anataraya, *Acaryasuktimuktavali* of Kesavacharya, *Madhaviya Dhatuvrtti* by Sayanacharya, *Vedabhasya* by Sayanacharya, *Udharanamala* of Bhuthanatha, *Devyaparadhasotra* of Vidyaranya, *Tarkkabhasa* of Tennubhatta, *Tatparyadipika* of Madhavacharya, *Nanantharatnamala* of Irugapa Dandanatha, *Narayanivilasa* of Virupaksha, *Prayogaratnamala* of Chaundapacharya, *Kridhabhiramam* of Vinukonda vallabhacharya, *Haravilasam* by Srinatha, *Mahanatakasuddhaniti* by Immadi Devaraya, *Chatu* on Srinatha's visit to Vijayanagara, *Kavyalankarasutra-bhasya* of Yamana, *Taladipika* of Saluvagopa Tippu, *Vikaramankacharitramu* of Jakkanna, *Seshadhammamula* of Saranamantri, *Gangadasapratapavilasam* – anonymous, *Prapanamrtam* of Anantarya, *Ramarajiyamu* of Venkayya, *Ra,narajiya,n* of Araviti Bukka, *Varahapurana* of Mallayya and Singarayya, *ParUatapaharanamu* of Nandi Timmana and *Achyudabhyudhayam* of Rajanatha

It is a long list that is more than 100. It is a naked fact that all these works in Sanskrit, Telugu, and Tamil have not been translated into English and are not accessible to historians. Srivas Reddy has recently come out with a translation of Krishnadeva Raya's *Amuktamalyada* (New Delhi 2010). This book gives brief introduction to Vijayanagara contribution to literature. Several books were listed when the *Sources of Vijayanagara History* were compiled under the doyen S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar.

Tamil Literature

Literary contributions in the Indian context could not be brought under the personality of kings such as the Elizabethan saga in British literature. Normally these are brought under dynastic heads or periods. The case of Candragupta II, the traditional Vikramaditya is different who patronized a host of poets such as Kalidasa and Dandin. In south India the only example is Krishnadeva Raya who patronized the *Astadikgajas* among whom one was the *Vikatakavi* Tenali Ramakrishna.

It was under the Telugu-Chola that Pukalendi, Ottakuttar and other Tamil poets flourished. Tirumalai Nayaka is associated with poet Kumarakuruparar but he was tiny literati when compared with Valmiki and Kalidasa. Therefore, the literature under the 16th

- 18th century in Tamilnadu will have to be brought under the Age of the Nayakas that more a dynastic contribution rather than a personality. Some modern historians of Tamil Nadu are of the view the Nayakas were Telugu oriented. In fact, it was not so. They extended patronage to all pan-Indian languages.

Tiruvilaiyats

If the Cholas were patrons of Cekkilar who compiled the Saiva hagiography under the Tiruttontar Puranam, the Nayakas chose the subregional theme centering around Madurai, the Tiruvilaiyatal for their patronage. The roots of the vilaiyatal of Siva gets back to time immemorial and the traces are found in *Cilappatikaram* and *Tevaram*. Earlier Perumpatrapuliur Nampi had written an account of the *puranam*. During the Nayaka period, may be Tirumalai Parancoti came out with an elaborate version of the

Tiruvilaiyatal Puranam. If Nampi versified sixty-four, the total in Parancoti is sixty-seven, and the order of arranging the myths also differs adding few more.

Parancoti *tiruvilaiyatal* (sacred or holy plays) is divided into three kandas and the plays divided into three sectors⁵:

Maduraik-kantam : tiruvilaiyats 1-18

Kutar-kantam : tiruvilaiyats 16-48

Alavay-kantam : tiruvilaiyats 46-67

This is a mega-work in 3,363 *venpas*. Several works in Tamil and Sanskrit came out on the subject, *tiruvilaiyatal* in Tamil and *Ula* in Sanskrit. The other works are the following: Tamil: *Tiruvilaiyatal-Ammanai* telling the 64 in a verse each

Tiruvilaiyatarpayakaramalai, attributed to Virabhadra-Kampar

Ililacankirakam 10th chapter of *Katampavana Puranam* and so on Sanskrit: *Saracammuccaya*

Halasyamahatmya must have been based on Nampi

Nriparanya Purana (*nripa* = *kadambavana*)

Sundarapandiya may be after Sundara Pandya

Gangavatararamam, *Santivilasah* etc

of Nilakantha Dikshita

The above list is a dear pointer of the fact that the Nayakas patronized both Tamil and Sanskrit literature.

For the revival and rejuvenation of the Tamil *tiruvilaiyats* the Nayakas were mainly responsible and the mythologies came to be linked with the Cittirai festival reorganized by Tirumalai and enacted in the

Minakshi temple. Special architectural

edifices were added to enact the festivals in the *mandapas* of which the *Putumandapa* (for *Vasantotsava*) and a dilapidated *mandapa* in the Vaikai River are noteworthy.

Sthala Puranas

The Nayaka period may be called the golden age of *sthalapuranas*. Several of the Saiva and Vaisnava *sthalas* extolled in the Sanskrit *mahapuranas* came to be rewritten in Tamil and versified. Among them the first rank scholar was Parancoti (cf. *Tiruvilaiyatal* above) who hailed from Vetaranyam. He is also credited with the *Vetaraniya Puranam* which says Rama reached Vedaranyam to build the Sethu and it came to be known as Adisethu⁶. Another poet of his time was Nirampaalakiyadecikar who was the author of Sethu Puranama that is entirely dedicated to the building of the Sethu by the army of Rama, i.e. *vanaras* (monkey corps).

However, the *nayaka* among legend tellers was Kacciyappa Sivacariyar of Kanchipuram. He was the founder and priest in the Kumarakkottan and devoted addict in following Murukan. His mega work is the Kanta Puranam in six *kantams* in about 10,000 verses. It came to be recognized as one of the major epic in Tamil literature.

Villiputturar (of Srivilliputtur) maybe. 17th and 18th century wrote the *Mahabharata* in Tamil. This work may coincide with the coming of Kumara Kampana so that he could peacefully work without any Islamic menace and disturbance. This work deals with eighteen parvas of the original in Vyasa and is in about 4,350 verses.

During the time of Tirumalai Nayaka lived two giants in Tamil literature. They were Sivaprakasa-svamikal and Kumarakuruparar. Sivaprakasa was the author of several works of which *Prabhulinga Leela* is the most conspicuous, dated in 1652 exactly the time of Tirumalai Nayaka. His other famous works are *Nanneri* and *Nitinerivilakkam*, didactic works.

Kumarakuruparar as the name points out was an ardent devotee of Murukan. He was born dumb. He was blessed by Minakshi and wrote several works on Murukan of which the most famous is *Kantarkalivenpa*. Tirumalai Nayaka was of help to him to reach Kasi. He founded the Kasi-IVlatha and spent his life in Kasi. He wrote the Minaksiammai

Pillaittamil and Nitinerivilakkam. He is credited with several other works such as the *Maturaikkalampakam*.

The first Christian to write in Tamil was Henrique Henriques (1520-1600), a Roman Catholic missionary from Portugal. He wrote a 16-page *Thampiran Vanakkam* that was the first printed version following the printing technique of William Caxton (1422-1461) who was the father of the printing industry in England⁷.

Robert de Nobili nicknamed Tattva Bhodasvamikal founded the Madurai Mission and followed brahmanical techniques to convert the Hindus. It was he who introduced the Brahmanical language in Christian gospels translated into Tamil such as *Vetam*, *Vetakamam*, *Paramapita*, *Devatutan*, *Merimata*, and so on. These words are rooted in Sanskrit. Nobili was followed by a host of white-man Tamil scholars.

Conclusion

The Nayaka period is a creative epoch in the history of Tamil Nadu. There were four happy ages in the history of Tamil Nadu and happy ages end with the Nayakas. What followed the Nayakas was chaos and

confusion, alien enslavement, and torture of the natives by the aliens both from the Arab block and the European West. Under all these chaotic conditions the Nayaks were experts in diverting their attention to constructive works. Their cultural contributions in architecture and letters do shine as stars.

Notes and References

1. Sporadically a Naidu woman is addressed *Nayakkaramma*.
2. S. Thiruvengkatachari, (Ed.) *Madhuravijayam*, Annamalai Nagar, 1687.
3. S. Krishnasvami Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 1616, Madras.
4. Srinivas Reddy, *Giver of Worn Garland: Krishnadevaraya's Amuktamalyada*. 2010, Delhi. This work is on the Tamil *bhakti* poetess Koda or Antal, her devoted service to literature and wedding with Lord Ranganatha.
5. *Tiruvilayatar Puranam* in Tamil (5 vols) with commentary, published by Varthaman Pathippagam, Chennai.
6. The Sethu mythology was elaborated during the Nayaka period. Ramesvaram was the actual Sethu from where the causeway to Lanka was built according to Valmiki. Vedaranyam was the Adisethu from where Rama wanted to build the bridge and advised by Siva to move to Ramesvaram. Vitantai dose to Mamallapauram came to be called the Ardhasethu.
7. Kamil V. Zvelebil, *A History of Tamil Literature*, 1674, Wiesbaden. The Thambiran Vanakkam, a Catholic Catchism translate by Henrique Henriques and published on 20th October 1568 at Quilon Venad.

MALAPPURAM AS A CANTONMENT CITY: A STUDY

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Malappuram is a historical city situated about 50 km east of Calicut on the Calicut-Palghat route. It is currently a municipality and the capital of the Malappuram district in the state of Kerala. The city has a rich history that dates back to the early medieval period. Surrounded by fertile land occupied by agricultural communities and connected by roadways from all four directions Malappuram has been able to tap the potential of trade and commerce for centuries. The city is also connected to the Arabian Sea through the River Kadalundi, which runs along its banks.

In the past, Malappuram was a part of the Zamorine of Calicut's territory. However, due to its distance from the king's main area of control, the Zamorine appointed a local vassal named Paranambi to govern the region on his behalf. Paranambi established his headquarters on the western side of the city and built a small fort using laterite rock. The structure consisted of only laterite walls, and it was not a complete fortification. Although the fort no longer exists, the street in front of it is still referred to as Kottapadi or the gate of the fort. However, after the Malabar occupation of Mysore in 1766, these territories came under their control¹.

During the Mysore era, many roads were constructed to link Malappuram with rest of areas. These include Malappuram-Thamarassery road, Malappuram-Palakkad road, Malappuram-Feroke road, Malappuram-Parappanangadi road, and Malappuram-Kolathur-Pattambi road². During this time the Mysore army occupied Kottakkannu in the Up Hill and used it as their military base. In 1792, the British defeated Tippu Sultan in the Third Anglo-Mysore War and forced him to cede Malabar, and thus the region including Malappuram came under British possession.

Soon the city of Malappuram was identified by the British as strategically important, and they transformed it into a garrison town. They established a cantonment and other allied facilities on about sixty acres of land at the Up Hill. Thus Up Hill saw the rise of urban settlements, leading to its nickname New Malappuram, while the lower part was called Old Malappuram. New Malappuram was located in the highlands on the eastern side, while Old Malappuram was situated on plain lands on the west side. According to the 1901 census, the city's population was about ten thousand, with the cantonment having a population of 250, of whom the majority were Europeans³.

Military Church

During the colonial period, a Military Church was constructed in the centre of the city Malappuram. It was built to serve as a place of worship for British soldiers stationed in Haig Barracks and the Anglican Christian community in the city. In its records the church is officially referred to as "military church". The construction of the church began in 1853 and was completed in 1858. Initially, the church was under the possession of the Church of England, but in 1929, the ownership was transferred to the Indian Church Trustees. Presently, the Church of South India Trust Association owns and manages the church and it is known as CSI Christ Church⁴.

The interior of the CSI Church in Malappuram serves as an indication of its military tradition. Notably, there is a marble tablet erected inside the church in memory of John Reedman, an Inspector of the

Special Force who was killed in a fight with the Mappila revolutionaries in 1921⁵. Additionally, the altar offertory plate at the church bears an inscription stating that it was donated in memory of Col. Serg. G. Watson of 1st Battalion of Dorsetshire Regiment.

The wooden desks in the CSI Christ Church at Malappuram are unique that they have gun slots. This is because the church served as a place of worship for the military and the soldiers would enter the church with their weapons. During prayer, they would hang their guns in the slots provided in the desks in their front. Even today, the Church continues to use these same desks with gun slots⁶.

Garrison Cemetery

The CSI Christ Church in Malappuram has been attached to a vast Garrison Cemetery in the heart of the city. According to the Church records, the cemetery, which has been attached to the Church since its inception in 1857, spans over four acres⁷. The cemetery has a special area designated for the burial of European men. It includes the tombs of British military personnel who were killed in action against the local people. The Commonwealth War Graves Commission, which records and maintains the graves of Commonwealth of Nations military service members who died in actions against the enemy, has enlisted the Malappuram Christ Church cemetery. The cemetery contains the tombs of several English soldiers, such as E Kennedy of 1st Bn. of Leinster Regiment, Thomas Tormay of 1st Bn. of Leinster Regiment, and John Thomas Parker of 2nd Bn. of the East Kent Regiment⁸.

Malabar Special Police

Earlier, *Naduvazhis* and *Desavazhis* were responsible for maintaining law and order in Malabar. During the early 18th century, policing was carried out by a primitive police force called 'Kolkar'. After Malabar came under the rule of Mysore, many *Naduvazhis* lost their previous status. However, following the defeat of Tipu Sultan in the third Anglo-Mysore war in 1792, Mysore was forced to cede Malabar to the British. The British faced significant opposition from the Mappila community in and around Malappuram⁹. During the first half of the 19th century, there were numerous conflicts between the British and the Mappila rebels. To tackle the challenges posed by the Mappilas, the Malappuram Special Police was established and stationed in the area since 1852. In 1884, this unit was transformed into a special punitive force. Following the outbreak of the armed uprising of the Mappilas in 1921, the Malappuram Special Police was replaced by the Malabar Special Police, with Malappuram serving as its headquarters¹⁰. Vincent Jos Ryder who served as Lance Corporal in 2nd Bn. of Cheshire Regiment stationed at Malappuram in 1904 to 1906 records Malappuram as the most southern station for the British troops in India¹¹.

As military movement was easier from Malappuram to various, the British stationed different regiments in the city. These regiments posted here included European as well Indian soldiers. Many of the European soldiers were accompanied by their families. Epitaphs of British soldiers who died in Malappuram indicate they belonged to various regiments, including Dorsetshire, Leinster, and East Kent¹².

During the colonial era, various facilities were developed by the authorities in Malappuram for the defence personnel and their families. One of these was a modern hospital equipped with operation facilities, and another was a modern school. The school, initially named the Police School, was established in 1908 to provide elementary education to the children of the commandos. Later it was rechristened as Hitchcock Memorial School, named after R.H. Hitchcock, the first commandant of MSP. However, after India gained independence, the name Hitchcock was abandoned, and since 1967, the school has been known as MSP High School. Even though the colonial tradition has ended,

the MSP commandant is still the manager of the school. It is the only school in Kerala owned and managed by the Police Department.

To house military personnel and their families, the British constructed numerous apartments in and around the MSP camp. These structures include bungalows and small apartments, and are a mixture of European and regional architecture. Collectively, these buildings have contributed to giving a cantonment atmosphere to the city. Most of the buildings in the area have been replaced or renewed at present. There is also a mosque inside the MSP camp, which has been constructed in the traditional mosque architecture style of Kerala. Despite some extension works, the structure of the mosque has undergone no alterations until today. Following the formation of State of Kerala the Malabar Special Police was divided into two units, one was sent to Madras State and other half was retained in Kerala.

King Edward Library and Fraser Hall

The British established a library and recreation centre named after King Edward inside the MSP camp for the mental exercise of military personnel and others. To this day, the library still operates under the same name and contains over 3000 books, mainly in English, and magazines imported from England. The library is also connected to a small hall named after I.M. Fraser ICS, who served the city during the Malabar Struggle in 1921. A marble tablet fixed on the wall of the hall indicates that it was built in 1927. During the colonial period, the British and their subordinates were the primary beneficiaries of the library.

Conclusion

Most of the colonial structures in Malappuram have been replaced or renewed. Although the city has been relieved from the colonial legacy, some remains still exist; of them the Malabar Special Police has the primary position.

End Notes

1. Vincent Jos Ryder, *Two Years in Malabar - Being a Description of the Military Station and Cantonment of Malappuram*, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1907, pp. 14-15.
2. William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol.1, Madras, 1887, p.63
3. Ryder, op. cit., pp.1-3.
4. Church Directory, CSI Christ Church, Malappuram, 2016, p.13.
5. This marble tablet has been affixed to the wall on the left border inside the church.
6. Fr. Sabu Jacob, the current priest of the church, affirms that the church management is committed to preserving the church's antiquities.
7. Church Directory, op. cit., p.26.
8. Commonwealth War Graves Commission, <https://www.cwgc.org/search-results/?Term=malappuram>, accessed on 13.10.2023.
9. Kerala Police, <https://keralapolice.gov.in/page/malabar-special-police>, accessed on 13.10.2023
10. Dr. C. K. Kareem, *Malappuram District Gazetteer*, Trivandrum, 1986, p.1.
11. Ryder, op. cit., p. viii.
12. Epitaphs on tombs of British soldiers at Malappuram and Tirurangadi gives details of their regiment and service number.

A PEEP INTO THE SOCIAL HISTORY AS PORTRAYED IN TELUGU PROVERBS

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I am extremely grateful to the Executive Committee of South Indian History Congress for according me the honour of delivering Presidential Address for the Social History Section of its 42nd Annual session of South Indian History Congress being held at University College, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala. I consider this to be a kind of recognition of whatever work I have done in the field of Economic and Social History of South India. I deem it a great honour bestowed on me to share some of my views with the fellow scholars assembled here. At the same time, I am very much conscious of my limitations and deficiencies to stand up to your expectations. With these few words, I propose to present my address entitled 'A Peep into the Social History as Portrayed in Telugu Proverbs'.

Introduction

Proverbs form the most concise of all the folklore genres. Proverbs are common to nearly all cultures, both ancient and modern, literate and non-literate.¹ They are summarised human experiences and observations into nuggets of wisdom and contain advice or state a generally accepted truth. They are in succinct and formulaic language so as to make them easy to remember and ready to be used instantly as effective rhetoric communication. Proverbs have been handed down from generation to generation from the remotest ages and were in circulation from mouth to mouth. In fact, the wisdom of proverbs has guided people in their social interactions for thousands of years. Wolfgang Mieder says that "while some proverbs have dropped out of use because their message or metaphor does not fit the times any longer, new proverbs that reflect the mores and situation of the present are constantly added to the proverbial repertoire".²

Lord John Russell in his famous and one line definition of proverb stated that "A proverb is the wit of one and the wisdom of many". Mieder defines "Proverbs are concise traditional statements of apparent truths with currency among the folk. More elaborately stated, proverbs are short, generally known sentences of the folk that contain wisdom, truths, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorisable form and that are handed down from generation to generation".³ The earliest proverb collections appeared in the third millennium B.C. and were inscribed on Sumerian cuneiform tablets as commonsensical codes of conduct and everyday observations of human nature. Mieder stated in 2004 that "the extant bibliographies of proverb collections have registered over 20,000 volumes with about 200 new publications each year".⁴

Telugu Proverbs

South India is rich in the literature on proverbs and books are published in all the South Indian languages. Likewise, many books are published on Telugu Proverbs. The earliest published work on Telugu proverbs is "*Andhra Lokokti Chandrika: A Collection of Telugu Proverbs*" that was published in bilingual language by providing the Telugu text of the proverbs followed by English translation and explanation on occasions by M.W. Carr in 1868 which consisted of 2134 proverbs and soon another book consisting of 566 more proverbs were published as another part of the same book making the

total collection of proverbs to 2700. The proverbs were printed in Telugu alphabetical order.⁵ In his preface, Carr stated as follows. “The collection of Telugu Proverbs contained in this volume was commenced several years ago, at the request of the translator, by Ravipati Guruvayya Garu, the able Munshi to the Telugu Translator to the government of Madras, who has up to within a late date perseveringly laboured in adding to the small beginning at first made. To him therefore the public are indebted for this gathering of the ‘household words’, and homely maxims of his countrymen and countrywomen- the property specially of the latter for, as among other nations so among the Hindus, “the women of the family retain a larger number of such household words in their memories, than any other class of the community”.⁶

Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academy published ‘*Telugu Sametalu*’ under the editorship of Viswanadha Satyanarayana and Sampat Raghavachari in 1959. It contains the Telugu proverbs collected till that date. In his introduction, Raghavachari identified that the word ‘*Sameta*’, the Telugu word for proverb, appeared for the first time in the fifteenth century Telugu work entitled ‘*Varaha Puranam*’. He also tried to trace the possible origin of Telugu proverbs and informed that among the Telugu proverbs there are 79 Tamil and 26 Kannada equivalents.⁷ Its second enlarged edition appeared in 1965 under the editorship of Viswanadha Satyanarayana, Abburi Ramakrishna Rao, P. Yashoda Reddy and Marupuri Kodanda Rami Reddy. In his introduction Viswanadha stated that he added 2000 more proverbs to the earlier edition and he also identified stories for 23 proverbs.⁸ The third enlarged edition of ‘*Telugu Sametalu*’ was published in 1974 under the editorship of Divakarla Venkatavadhani, P. Yashoda Reddy and Marupuri Kodanda Rami Reddy. It consists of 10,511 Telugu proverbs. Kodanda Rami Reddy stated that it is the largest compilation of Telugu proverbs appeared till date.⁹ Nedunuri Gangadharam’s ‘*Pasidi Palukulu*’ published in 1960 containing 4325 collected proverbs.¹⁰ The next important work on Telugu proverbs is that of Papireddy Narasimha Reddy’s ‘*Telugu Sametalu-Janajivanam*’. He used nearly 16000 proverbs for his work and accommodated them under different heads.¹¹ Though, many books on Telugu proverbs appeared in subsequent times, they are not very important as they contain a small collection of proverbs or repetitions of earlier publications.

It is difficult to enumerate the Telugu Proverbs accurately. Papireddy Narasimha Reddy in his book published in 1983 stated that he had examined 40,550 Telugu proverbs and after deleting the repetitions, he used 16,000 proverbs for his work.¹² Whereas, the present author collected many unpublished proverbs in his field study and hence it may be surmised that the number of Telugu proverbs might be more than 20,000, subjected to correction.

With these inputs, an attempt is made to cull out social history from the published and unpublished Telugu proverbs widely current in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana as the present author is proficient in Telugu language. Keeping in view of the vast number of Telugu proverbs dealing with social history, the present address is confined to selected castes of both the Telugu states.

Brahmins

The Brahmins are at the apex of the Hindu hierarchical social order. They are the religious preceptors of Hinduism and they involved in teaching and preaching. There are many sub castes within the Brahminical order. They also acted as priests in the temples and perform rituals and ceremonies that are required to be observed by the householders. Brahmins are known for their fair skin and hence a proverb informs that ‘a black skinned Brahmin or a fair skinned Dalit Mala should not be trusted’.¹³ The Brahmins are known as ‘twice born’ (*Dwijja*) as their first birth was when they were born from the mother’s womb and their second was when they were initiated with a sacred thread. However, it was

said that 'do a well-known Brahmin need a sacred thread'.¹⁴ While reciting the sacred chants, the Brahmin hand was continuously in motion, in this connection a proverb says 'a Brahmin's hand and an elephant's trunk are never quiet'.¹⁵ The Brahmins are in favour of tidiness and cleanliness. Hence, a maxim informs that 'one should not serve a Brahmin or a white horse'.¹⁶ They used to live in separated quarters known as *Agraharas* where the concepts of purity and pollution are strictly observed. The non-Brahmins generally stay away from their place of domicile. In tune to the practice, a proverb came into being namely 'An Agraharam should not be touched or approached'.¹⁷

The Brahmins should be well versed in various sacred chants suited for the occasions. Sometimes, some Brahmins pose as if they know all the mantras though they knew none. In such cases some deceitful Brahmins pronounce whatever chants they knew and from that experience, the proverb 'the same mantra for the thunderbolt and for the rice'¹⁸ took its birth. Another despised proverb was said about a deceitful Brahmin which informs 'when a person saluted the Brahmin, the latter in return asked him to pay an old debt due by his father'.¹⁹ The Brahmins were the receivers of ten kinds of gifts (*Danas*) from the people as per Hindu tradition. They are a cow, land, sesamum seeds (*Nuvvulu*), gold, ghee, cloth, grain, jaggery (*Bellam*), silver and salt. Sometimes, the donors donate some articles in deception. In that context some proverbs took shape such as 'for the ten gifts, a bundle of greens (*Thotakooru*)',²⁰ 'Instead of a hundred cloths a bit of thread'; 'instead of a crore of cows a cow's tail',²¹ 'the rotten vegetables to the Brahmin'²² and 'donating a dead cow to a spoilt Brahmin'²³ to cite a few.

The Telugu Brahmins are very fond of a preparation of pulses known as '*Pappu*' (*Dhal*). Their fondness towards that food item is depicted in a few proverbs. 'The Brahmin desires of *Pappu*, the mother-in-law is fond of her son-in-law';²⁴ 'God knows what is right or wrong; the Brahmin knows the taste of *Pappu* and rice'²⁵ and a Brahmin feels that 'for a food of *Pappu* and rice, one needs to run even the distance is hundred *Amadas*'.²⁶

In the pre-modern period, the Brahmins also act as village doctors. They were the beneficiaries whether a patient recovers or dies during the treatment. In case of recovery, he will beget a medical fee and will get a cow as a gift in the event of death by the son of the deceased as the Hindus believe that the soul crosses the much difficult *Vaitarani* River on the way to heaven from earth by holding the cow's tail if it was gifted to a Brahmin and hence 'in the one case, medical fees; in the other, the gift of a *Vaitarani* cow'.²⁷ Generally, an agriculturist gives some amount of grain to the artisans attached to the family and allow the village Brahmin to take away as much grain as he could carry from the threshing floor during the harvest. The proverb 'the avaricious Brahmin tied up a *Tumu* (a measurement of grain) in his clout'²⁸ informs the greediness of the Brahmin in taking an amount of grain which is difficult to carry. Another proverb informs the miserliness of the Brahmin which runs as follows. 'O excellent steed, do you neigh after consuming two grass rings (*Pavitram*)'²⁹ and a spoonful (*Vuddharini*) of water'.

The Telugu Brahmins are generally be considered as timid and peace loving. Though, there were references of Brahmins acting as military generals and warriors in the epics and annals of history, over a period of time they desisted from participating in the wars and hence a proverb informs that 'a frog never bites and a Brahmin never fights'.³⁰ Due to their timidity, their properties were often embezzled as depicted in one of the maxims which says 'property is the strong man's, not the poor Brahmin's'.³¹ The killing of a Brahmin or a cow is considered as one of the five greatest sins as per the Hindu canon.³² In tune with that a proverb says 'if expanded that leads to the killing of a Brahmin (*Brahmahatya*) and if compressed it will be killing a cow (*Gohatya*)'.³³

Nambi and Tambala Priests

Nambis are priests of Vaishnavite temples. Thurston and Rangachari inform that the *Vaikhanasas* and *Pancharatras* are temple priests (*Archakas*) and they use the titles of *Dikshitaras* and sometimes as *Nambis*.³⁴ The proverb 'what the *Nambi* gives is sacred offering' (*Prasadam*)³⁵ notes that he distributes the *Prasad* offered to the god as *Naivedya*. They used to enjoy the glebe lands (*Manyam*) offered to the temples. It was reflected in a maxim which informs that 'when a *Nambi* was asked to leave the house, he asked for his glebe-land'.³⁶ Their social status seemed to be degraded as attested by a proverb which says 'I am mean to all, but *Nambi Ramayya* is below to me'.³⁷ The facing of a *Nambi* when one venture out of his house is considered as an ill omen. It was reflected in a proverb that informs 'when asked a *Nambi*, what assistance you will render at my marriage, he replied that my greatest help to you is that I will not face you'.³⁸ Similarly, it was stated that 'if one faces a *Nambi*, a *Tambali*, a cobra or a hare, it will be harmful'.³⁹

Tambalas were worshippers of Lord Siva and act as priests in the Saivite temples. Thurston and Rangachari inform that they are Sudras but wear the sacred thread. "It is said that, during his peregrinations in the north, Sankaracharya appointed Tamil Brahmans to perform temple services in all the Saiva shrines. Hence the Telugu people, in the midst of whom the Tamilians lived, called them the *Tambalas* (Tamils)".⁴⁰ They endeavour to observe Brahminical customs. The Pushpagiri *Kaifiat* also informs that a *Tambal* was acting as a temple priest in the local temple with all the Brahminical attributes when Sri Krishna Devaraya was ruling over the country and the same record also informs that they were not eligible to bless others like the Brahmins.⁴¹ It was said that 'woman domination (in the family) and *Tambala* governance are worse alike'.⁴² The *Tambalas* are talkative and hence it is said that 'a *Tambali* prates, but does not listen to what others say'.⁴³ Though, Narasimha Reddy states that the *Tambalas* inter-dine with the Brahmins,⁴⁴ the available information states otherwise. While referring to a proverb 'O father! They have discovered us',⁴⁵ Carr narrates a story which runs as follows. "Two *Tambalis*, father and son, went to a Brahman feast disguised as Brahmans. When the sandal was handed round for making the horizontal sectarian mark on the forehead, the son took it with his right hand instead of with his left. The server thereupon called him a *Tambali* when he stupidly cried out to his father that they had been discovered and brought him too into trouble". The sight of a *Tambala* is considered as an ill omen like that of *Nambi* as mentioned earlier.

Karanams or Village Accountants

Karanam was the village accountant and he was one of the twelve *Ayagars* governing a village. Venkataramanayya informs that "He kept registers in which the extent of the village site, the area of the land belonging to the village, its boundaries, the extent of the rent-free land, groves, gardens, crematoria, tanks, the number of wells and canals and the exact extent of land belonging to each ryot in the village were entered. Besides, he had to measure and keep accounts of the cultivable, non-cultivable, and waste lands, gardens, dry fields and pasture lands".⁴⁶ In the proverbs, three of his important known qualities are mentioned as shouting (*Kootha*)⁴⁷, swallowing (*Metha*)⁴⁸ and writing (*Wratha*).⁴⁹ A proverb informs that 'by continuously writing a *Karanam* evolves and by constant coughing death comes'.⁵⁰ In many cases the *Karanams* were corrupt and constantly tries to deceive and swallow money from the gullible villagers by using the account books. Hence a proverb arisen which says 'the hungry (for money) *Karanam* looked into his old account books'.⁵¹ He knew the art of avoiding of tax payment. Hence a proverb informs that 'though a hundred (*Pagodas*) be levied on the village not even a cash (coin) will be paid by the *Karanam*'.⁵² It was a general feeling in the villages that the *Karanams* were untrustworthy and deceptive and hence the proverbs like 'not to trust a man who

writes (*Karanam* or village accountant), cuts (butcher) and pares (toddy tapper)⁵³ and 'don't trust a *Karanam* even when he is being taken to the burial ground'.⁵⁴ came into being. The post is now extinct as it was abolished by Andhra Pradesh Government of N.T. Rama Rao in 1985 taking into account of their unpopularity.⁵⁵

Trading Community-Komati

The Komati is a Telugu trading community. The Komatis in general have the title *Setti* which is said to be a contracted form of *Sreshthi*, a precious person. It is generally believed that the Komatis are black skinned and hence a maxim, as mentioned earlier, says that a 'fair skinned Komati should not be trusted'. It is believed that the Komatis have a harsh and hoarse voice. In connection with it some proverbs are said which are as follows. 'When asked what the row on the hill was, it was said that the Komatis are talking secrets'⁵⁶ and 'when two Komatis whisper on the other side of the lake, you will hear them on this side'.⁵⁷ By trading and by constantly dealing with money and coins the Komatis can easily differentiate between genuine and counterfeit currency and hence a proverb came into being which says 'the Setti is there to know the genuine and fake'.⁵⁸ The Komati is very calculative and motivated by gaining a profit in all his dealings. A proverb says that 'without a profit, a Setti will not venture into the flood'.⁵⁹ The Komati will keep their savings in gold for times of need. Hence, the adage "even a poor Komati will have at least a lemon sized gold".⁶⁰ The hardworking nature of the Komati for earning a profit and a quick recovery by learning lessons from failure is depicted in proverbs which says 'a Brahmin will learn if he suffers, and a Komati will learn if he is ruined'⁶¹ and 'the dusk on a Brahman and the debt of a Komati will not remain'.⁶² Even the Komati ruined, he is capable of recovery and his value will not diminish as said in a proverb that 'the value of Setti and silk will remained the same even the former ruined and the later teared off'.⁶³ Some proverbs mention the widely believed characteristics of the Komati community as 'a Komati truth'⁶⁴ and 'the faith of Komati'⁶⁵ in sarcastic manner that the people of the community never tell the truth and devoid of faith. His faithlessness is attested in another adage which informs that 'a fowl has no happiness and a Komati has no faith'.⁶⁶ It is believed that by nature the Komati community was cowardly and the same is stated as 'a Komati is coward, he runs away by hitting'.⁶⁷ and 'by the time the Setti had equipped himself, the whole town was plundered'.⁶⁸ Due to that characteristic, a Komati is said to be unfit for ruling and hence the saying 'a monkey cannot become a tiger and a Komati will not become a lord'.⁶⁹ The Komatis are satirically named '*Dhaniyala Jati*' or coriander caste, because, as the coriander seed has to be crushed before it is sown, so the Komati is supposed to come to terms only by rough treatment.⁷⁰ The Komatis amassed wealth through trading and store it in his house and hence to denote for a heavy loss an adage is used as 'like the burning of a Komati's house'.⁷¹ But the Komatis are very close during their lifetime and will never reveal their profits. In tune with that characteristic the maxims came into being such as 'when Polisetti was asked how he was getting on, he replied that he is in trouble as usual'⁷² and only 'after his death the Setti's financial affairs will be known'.⁷³ The Komatis are said to be very stingy and miserly as said by a proverb 'You take the sin of killing the cat, I'll take the sin of eating your jaggery'.⁷⁴ As per the story associated with it a Komati wished to expiate his sin of killing a cat by presenting a little image of cat made of jaggery, the cheapest possible offering, to a Brahmin, which he afterwards was greedy enough to take back again and swallowed. These merchants are said to be adulterous and hence the adage 'the merchant's money will go to the prostitutes'.⁷⁵ The Komatis maintain utmost secrecy in their dealings and affairs as evidenced from a proverb 'a monkey's death, a Komati's adultery'⁷⁶ as both are concealed from the eye of the world. The Komatis are very shrewd and they will develop enmity with none as evidenced in proverbs like 'a Komati evidence'⁷⁷ and

'looking from the front it seems to be the Brahman's horse, looking from hind part it seems to be the Muslim's'.⁷⁸ Carr narrates a story as per which a Komati had to give his evidence in a dispute about a horse between a Brahmin and a Muslim. The Komati in an attempt to avoid a confrontation with either gave ambiguous evidence when asked to identify the horse by stating that the forepart looks like the Brahmin's horse and the back part was that of the Muslim's. At the same time, he is very intelligent and rebuke in the same tone when he was insulted as said in a proverb which runs as 'when called as grass eating Komati (by a Muslim), he said what *Bellam* eating Muslim'.⁷⁹

Agricultural Castes- Kapu and Reddi

The Kapus are basically agriculturists by profession in the Telugu states. There are two meanings for the word 'Kapu' in Telugu namely productiveness and protection.⁸⁰ As per the meanings, a Kapu was both a farmer and a protector. Perhaps, it might have mean that he was an agriculturist during peace and protector of the country and people in times of peril. Though, Thurston holds that Kapus are synonymous with Reddis, there is a community known as Munnuru Kapus in Telangana region, whose profession is also agriculture. The meaning of Reddi is headman and in fact, the Reddis happened to be headmen in many villages of the Telugu region. The proverbs 'the Reddi came and so start from the beginning'⁸¹ and 'the Reddi has come, begin your song again'⁸² came into being as he always comes late to a drama or a show. By virtue of being the headman, they should restart from the beginning. There are many sub-castes among the Reddis and hence it is a common saying that 'one can easily enumerate all the varieties of rice, but it is impossible to give the names of all the sections into which the Reddis is split up'.⁸³ There are some proverbs indicating hierarchy among the sub-castes. The saying 'if everything goes on well, one is *Pakanati* otherwise *Motati*'⁸⁴ inform us that *Motati* is inferior to *Pakanati*. Similarly, the lower position of *Desur* is informed through an adage that 'the relation with *Desur Reddis* is equal to that of with a Devil'.⁸⁵

The opt proverbs in respect of their profession are 'the Kapus protect all' and 'the Reddis are those who will break open the soil to fill their bellies'⁸⁶ Thurston informs that "of proverbs relating to the hereditary occupation of the Reddis, the following may be quoted. 'Only a Reddi can cultivate the land, even though he has to drink for every cloud turned over.' 'Those are Reddis who get their living by cultivating the earth.' 'The Reddi who grows *Arika* (*Paspalum strobiculatum*) can have but one cloth for man and wife.'⁸⁷ Another saying informs that 'even in ruination, one should not leave a dry land or the Reddi'.⁸⁸ The *Panta* sub-caste of the Reddis mainly undertakes wet cropping which is stated in a proverb that says 'the crane and the *Panta Kapu* stay in the watery region'.⁸⁹ Till recently, the Reddis dislike to be educated and employed as they solely depend on agriculture. In tune with the tradition a proverb informs that 'the Brahmin agriculture spoiled the daily wage and the education of the Kapu ruined the earning'.⁹⁰ The Kapus are considered to be hard working people and all its family members both male and female involve in agricultural operations. Hence it is said 'the Kapu knows no distinction between the son and the daughter-in- law'⁹¹ as both work for him. The Kapu assigns some work to anyone who comes to his house and hence it is sarcastically said 'the Kapu assigns some work even to a pandal post'⁹² and 'one should not venture the house of a *Panta* (Reddi) unless there is some work'.⁹³ The proverb 'while the Kapu was sluggishly ploughing, thieves stole the rope collars (of oxen)'⁹⁴ informs that a Kapu farmer should not be lazy or slow. As the Kapu is hardworking, he eats food frequently and he consumes his food in his farmland often. In tune with his behaviour the maxims like 'the belly of the Kapu and the bundle of betel leaves should constantly be wetted'⁹⁵ and 'for a Kapu it is the field whether it is buttermilk or gruel'.⁹⁶ The Kapus used to live a simple life and avoid luxuries like travelling in palanquins and riding horses. The proverbs like 'when the unpracticed Reddi

got into a palanquin, it swung from side to side' and 'the Reddi who had never mounted a horse sat with his face to the tail' came into vogue. Despite his hard work, the Kapu farmer had to suffer a lot due to the vagaries of monsoons, unusual seasons and labourers as stated in a proverb 'the Kapu's difficulties are known only to God'.⁹⁷ The gullible agriculturist dislike quarrels and his nature was depicted in the adages like 'the *Karnam* (village accountant) is the cause of the Kapu's death' and 'that the Kapu never goes to the court (of law)'.⁹⁸

The Sheperd Gollas

The Golla caste is a pastoral community of the Telugu region. The word Golla is generally supposed to be a shortened form of Gopala. They are widely distributed and one can rarely see a village without a Golla in the Telugu region. Hence it was said 'there won't be a village without boundaries and Gollas'.⁹⁹ The hereditary occupation of the Gollas is tending cattle and sheep. Generally, they rear at least one dog to protect the cattle during the night times. One proverb clearly depicts the household of the Gollas and it says 'cows, sheep, goats and dogs are females of the Golla household'.¹⁰⁰ One of the best examples of man's relation and interaction with animal can be seen between the Golla and the sheep. The proverbs like 'a Golla forget even his wife in company of his sheep'¹⁰¹ and 'the Golla delight more than the sheep at the sight of a pasture'¹⁰² clearly reveal the love of a Golla towards his cattle. 'Without filling the bellies of his sheep, a Golla will not return to his home'¹⁰³ as he benefited out of it as 'if the sheep gets fat, it is for the benefit of the shepherd' (substituted with butcher on occasions).¹⁰⁴ A Golla will identify each of the sheep of the herd. That's why the adage 'the lineages of the Gollas are known to the sheep and those of the sheep to the Gollas' came into being.¹⁰⁵ The Gollas also sell the milk products like milk, yogurt, buttermilk, butter, clarified butter etc. So as to earn profits, he used to add water to the milk. There is a proverb to the effect that a Golla will not scruple to water the milk which he sells even to his own father.¹⁰⁶ The income of a Golla neither increases nor decreases despite of his hard labour as per another proverb.¹⁰⁷ They claimed of descent from the Yadava lineage to which Lord Krishna belonged and now a days they prefer to be called as Yadavas. Their social status is fairly high and are allowed to mix freely with the cultivating communities and even the Brahmins accept buttermilk from them.

The Gollas are considered as innocent and ignorant. There is a despised proverb about the Gollas which runs as follows. 'However good a Golla may be, he will have a degree (*Vepakaya* or an unripe fruit of Neem or *Azadirachta indica*) of foolishness'.¹⁰⁸ Generally, the Gollas keep the kids in his hands while rearing his sheep. If any of his sheep misses the herd, the shepherd goes around in search of it. His forgetfulness and foolishness is depicted in a widely popular proverb which says 'keeping the kid in his armpit, the Golla searched the entire village/ forest for it'.¹⁰⁹ The Gollas generally carry the wounded sheep which is unable to walk on their shoulders and hence he should not hurt the sheep in anger and hence the adage 'the anger of the Golla result with burden on his shoulders'.¹¹⁰ Though, there are proverbs about the foolishness of the Gollas, one proverb reveals his shrewdness in prediction of rain with the change of air. The said proverb says that 'a Golla pour out water from his container (*Dutta*) with change of air' (*Gollampu Gaali*) (in anticipation of rain).¹¹¹ It is said that there were many disputes during the marriage in the Golla household which are normally unsettled easily and hence 'the morning dawns before the shepherds' marriage is begun'.¹¹²

Artisanal Communities – Panchananas

The five artisanal communities of the Telugu region known as Kamsali or Agasali (goldsmith), Kammari (blacksmith), Kanchara (brass-smith), Vadrangi (carpenter) and Kase or Silpi (Mason) came under one

umbrella known as *Panchanam Varu* during the medieval period and claimed equal status with the Brahmins and began to call themselves as the Viswa Brahmins by tracing their descent from the divine architect Viswakarma. There is a saying which states that 'there is no universe without Viswa Brahmins'.

The goldsmiths have huge demand in the years of good seasons and harvests as most of the savings of the agriculturists would turn into gold ornaments in a predominantly agricultural country like India. Hence the proverb 'the goldsmiths are bride grooms in good season and corpses in famine'.¹¹³ The proverb 'if our gold be good, what can the goldsmith do'¹¹⁴ reveals that if the gold is pure the goldsmith cannot cheat. However, there are a number of proverbs about their deception. It is said that 'the goldsmith steals even the gold (given for ornamentation) of his mother'.¹¹⁵ Hence, a proverb says 'one should not believe a goldsmith or harlot'¹¹⁶ and 'one should not trust a needle-worker, a hammer-wielder or a bottom-thrower i.e., a tailor, a blacksmith, or a weaver'.¹¹⁷ They were said to be untrustworthy and hence it is said that 'the friendship with goldsmiths or a Velamas should not be believed'.¹¹⁸ Regarding the gold swindled away by the goldsmith it was said 'it must be with the goldsmith or in the furnace'.¹¹⁹ His deception cannot be easily noticed and hence the adage 'a goldsmith's fraud is only known to another goldsmith'.¹²⁰ It is said they are dilatory in work and due to that a proverb came into vogue which says 'the cobblers say again, goldsmiths say tomorrow'.¹²¹ Though, the goldsmiths claim a higher social status, it is otherwise in the society and many communities did not receive food from them. Thurston and Rangachari informs "in Vizagapatam, almost the only castes which will consent to receive food at the hands of Kamsalas are the humble Malas and Rellis (erstwhile untouchables). Even the Tsakalas (washermen) and Yatas (toddy tappers) will not do so. There is a popular saying that the Kamsalas are of all castes seven Visses (Viss, a measure of weight)." ¹²² Hence one proverb says 'the Kamasali food will not be touched even by crows'. ¹²³

Servicing Communities - Washerman and Barber

There are two important servicing castes namely the Chakala (washer man) and the Mangali (barber) in all the villages of the Telugu speaking region. Chakala derive their name from *Chaku* (to wash). They are the washer men of the Telugu region and also act as torch and palanquin bearers during the processions in a village. Every village has its washer men attached to agricultural families and receive an allowance of grain in return once a year for their services till recently. A popular saying among the Telugu people is 'a washer man is better than an educated person'.¹²⁴ As per Carr an illiterate washer man can easily distinguish the clothes of different families and people by putting some marks on them but many educated cannot discern between good and evil. In fact, the proverb might have meant that the washer man acquires more knowledge with his interaction with the families of the village and at the same time he will have computing ability by counting clothes. A washer man had access to the inner quarters of any house and he can easily know the diseases of each and every one in the household as washable cloths have some symptoms of the disease. Hence the proverb 'the washer man knows the diseases of the village and the peon (attender) knows the reduced state in an office'.¹²⁵ In tune with an English maxim which says 'an experienced doctor, a young lawyer', there is a Telugu saying 'an old barber and a new washer man'¹²⁶ which means that an old barber performs his duties in a better manner and a new washer man washes cloths cleanly. The proverb 'a washer man will only wash for one who trashes him',¹²⁷ perhaps means that the washer man needs rough treatment for making him to wash the clothes cleanly. As per custom in the Telugu region, the washer man claims the cloths that were worn by a girl in her first menstruation. In accordance with the tradition a proverb came into being which states 'the washer man took away the saree, when a girl stated that he was menstruated

out of fun'¹²⁸ As per another tradition, the householders had to provide food to the washer men family and whatever leftover food will be given to him. From that custom the proverb 'the washer man knows the taste of the leftover food'¹²⁹ originated. In olden days, the washer man owns a donkey to carry the cloth and to ride and it was said 'whatever animal that was mounted by the king was a horse and that of a washer man was donkey'.¹³⁰ Many a washer man wore the clothes of villagers after they were washed and hence the proverb 'there is no cloth that was worn by the washer man and no horse that was not mounted by the horse keeper'.¹³¹ In tune with the same practice another proverb informs that 'the head dress of the lord became the waist cloth of the washer man'.¹³² In big cities like Madras, the washer men used to hire the washed cloth of natives given for washing without their knowledge. Alluding to the practice a maxim came into being that says 'if one has not enough clothes, there are plenty with the washer men'.¹³³

The Mangalas were barbers of the Telugu region and their primary occupation is shaving the heads of people belonging to the non-polluting castes. He is the village musician and an expert in beating drums (*Dolu*) and playing on the flute (*Nadaswaram*). The proverbs like 'the barber's eyes are on the hair of the people'¹³⁴ and 'the barber's hand will be on the head of all the human beings'¹³⁵ inform about their profession. The razors used by the barbers are very delicate and sharp and they are used only for shaving and hence the proverb 'will the trees be cut by barber's razor'.¹³⁶ It is said that 'a barber learns to shave by shaving fools'¹³⁷ and 'a Mangala learns by shaving and a doctor learns by killing (patients)'.¹³⁸ The barbers continuously at work and will not keep himself idle which is revealed in a maxim that 'the barber without work shaved the cat's head'.¹³⁹ In olden days, the widows used to tonsure their head by the barbers and the practice was depicted in a proverb 'if he (her husband) were alive, he would at least call the barber' as lamented by a widow.¹⁴⁰ An inexperienced barber, who cannot shave neatly, is often scolded 'as the hill barber shaves'¹⁴¹ or 'like Thirupathi barber'¹⁴² as they left out lumps of hair and make cuts on the head while shaving in haste. Generally, after haircut and shaving, the barbers used to throw the particles of hair in the dunghill and the same was stated in an adage 'if you dig into the dunghill of a barber, you will only find hair'¹⁴³ and the same is used for an unprofitable labour. Besides their ordinary occupation, the barbers have some surgery skills especially removing the thorns pierced into the legs of both human beings and cattle in olden days and it is revealed in a proverb 'the bullock began to limp when it saw the barber'.¹⁴⁴

The washer men and barbers are continuously engaged in their respective professions and cannot spare their time for agricultural activities and hence it is said 'if one aligned with the washer man and barber (in agriculture), he cannot bring not even a grain to home'. While abusing once wife's parents it is often said 'the mother-in-law is a Chakala and father-in-law is a Mangala'.¹⁴⁵

Dalit- Madiga

The Madiga is the leatherworking caste of the Telugu region and they spread over all the linguistic regions of South India due to migrations. They were considered as untouchables. However, the leather workers had a crucial role to play in the agrarian economy. They took away the carcasses of the village cattle, removed the skins and tanned the hides in the traditional fashion. They supplied the village community with implements of leather like native shoes, leather collars for the oxen, leather buckets for lifting water, leather ropes and thongs. They also manufacture drum-heads and tom-toms, bellows for the smith and small boxes for the barber to carry his razors. They also beat drums during the festivals of village deities and conveyed important messages to the public by drum beat. In the traditional agrarian economy, a leather worker was attached to one or many families of the agriculturists to whom he supplied leather implements. In return for his services, he received apart from the carcasses of the

dead cattle, one bundle of unthreshed crop, a measure of grain, the remnant of the grain left in the threshing floor after measurement and food on occasions of marriages and festivals. Generally, the skin colour of the Madigas is black as he was exposed to the Sun light during his work and hence it was said 'a fair skinned Madiga and black coloured Brahmin should not be believed.'¹⁴⁶

The proverb 'if there is a village there should be a hamlet of the Madigas' clearly reveals that the Madiga services are indispensable for the village community.¹⁴⁷ Another saying 'having the Madiga duties of six/ seven villages without a knife (*Katti*) or needle (*Aare*)'¹⁴⁸ indicates that knife (*Katti*) and needle (*Aare*) are the main tools of a Madiga. The Madigas used to take away the carcasses of animals from the houses of agriculturists and remove the skins to manufacture leather goods and consume its meat and hence the maxims 'the Madiga look for the death of the cattle',¹⁴⁹ and 'while the owner is lamenting for the dead cattle, the Madiga is looking for its hide'.¹⁵⁰ The proverb 'a man habituated to go to the forest and a dog used to go to Madiga hamlet will not return'¹⁵¹ informs that the meat of wild animals and beef are tasty and one who habituated will crave for them be it a man or a dog. 'By manufacturing two pairs of chappals a Madiga proudly stated that there was no equal to him'¹⁵² clearly reveals that the Madigas manufacture leather shoes. Another proverb informs that 'while the widow is crying for her dead husband, the Madiga felt that coins were not thrown (during the funeral procession)'.¹⁵³ In the Telangana region, the Madigas undertake funeral related duties like beating the drums, preparing the funeral and burning the dead. The family of the dead will fix and finalise the amount to be given to the Madiga in that regard. A maxim informs that 'if he is not bargaining near the corpse, he is not a Madiga'.¹⁵⁴ The poverty of the Madigas is best depicted by a proverb which informs that 'though a shoemaker's wife, she has no shoes for her burning feet'.¹⁵⁵ Another proverb depicting the poverty of the Madigas inform that 'the head and the foot sides of a Madiga cot are alike'¹⁵⁶ as they used to sleep on a small cot namely *Gadancha* for which both sides are alike. However, the Madigas work hard and hence the saying 'a Madiga need to be employed even by paying thousand measures.'¹⁵⁷

The barter system of pre modern society was depicted in a proverb about the Madigas which stated that 'when a seller went to the Madiga to sell jasmines, he enquired how much will be given for the dried meat'.¹⁵⁸ The Madigas seem to be very poor in repaying the debts as revealed in an adage which informs that 'the castor seeds sown in an unploughed land and the money borrowed by a Madiga will not come back'.¹⁵⁹ The Madigas are considered as the lowest in hierarchical rung and so having sexual relations with an untouchable Madiga is regarded as heinous crime. One of the abusive proverbs in respect of an adulterous wife is 'a lady went away with a Madiga by annoying on her husband'.¹⁶⁰ The caste name was used by women while abusing each other by saying that the other 'will be ravished by a Madiga'.¹⁶¹

Conclusion

The proverbs are summarised human experiences and observations into nuggets of wisdom and contain advice or state a generally accepted truth. There are a number of collected Telugu proverbs dealing with the social aspects of Telugu people. Though, there are many castes and communities in the Telugu states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana having their own customs, traditions, beliefs and folklore, in the present address some selected castes like Brahmins, trading community especially Komati, agricultural communities like Kapu and Reddi, Artisanal communities like Panchananas, shepherds especially Gollas, Servicing communities like Chakala and Mangala and the Dalit Madiga communities are taken for introspection. Only selected Telugu proverbs are taken for analysis though there are a number of proverbs dealing with these castes. There are many derogatory and abusive

proverbs pertaining to each caste and such proverbs are omitted as far as possible so as to avoid unnecessary controversies unless unwarranted. It is observed that these proverbs accurately depict the social traits of the studied castes. It is observed that many of the Telugu proverbs originated in the rural background. So far, the works on Telugu proverbs studied in literary point of view, though there are many historical aspects hidden in them. I believe there is a need to study the Telugu proverbs deeply so as to understand the social history properly as they are folk and oral in nature. I hope that the discipline of history will be further enriched if proverbs are utilised properly and studied in depth. Hope the younger generation will work on this neglected area of historical research.

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12. *Telugu Sametalu-Janajivanam*, p.ii.
13. *Andhra Lokokti Chandrika*, Proverb No. 1642 (Bahmanulalo Nallavanni, Malallo Yerravanni Nammaradu), p.285. In some other maxims fair skinned Dalit Mala is replaced by either fair skinned Komati or fair skinned Dalit Madiga.
14. *Andhra Lokokti Chandrika*, Proverb No. 944 (Jagamerigina Brahmadiiki Jandhya Menduku), p.171.
15. *Andhra Lokokti Chandrika*, Proverb No. 1639 (Brahmanuni Ceyi, Enugu Tondamu Urakundavu), p.285.

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16. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1600, p.279 and also see: Telugu Samethalu - Janajivanam, p.131. (Bapanavani Koluvu Tella Gurrapu Koluvu Koluvakudadu); Telugu Sametalu, p.282. (Bapana Koluvu Tella Gurrapu Sadava Kastam).
 17. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 6 p.2; and also see: Telugu Samethalu: Janajivanam, p.131. (Antu Muttarani Agraharamu).
 18. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1444 (Piduguku Biyyaniki Okate Mantramamu) p.253.
 19. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1135 (Dandamayya Bapanayya Ante, Mi Tandrinati Patabhaki Iccipommannadanta), p.202.
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 26. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1391 (Pappanna Mante Padi Amada Ayina Parugetta Valenu), p.244.
 27. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 33 (Ataite Vaidya Katnam, Yitayite Vaitarani Godanam), p.7; Another similar proverb is 'In the one case Kandi (Cajanus Indicus), in the other Pesara (Phaseolus Mungo)', Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 32 (Ataite Kandipappu, Yitayite Pesarapappu), p.6. The Kandi will be cooked for the inauspicious and the Pesara for auspicious occasions.
 28. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 218, and also see: p.39; Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.132. (Asa Pataka Bapadu Gochipatalo Tumedu Kattukunnadata).
 29. Pavitram is a ceremonial ring prepared using two Darbha grasses.
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 31. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1598 (Balavantuni Sommu Gani Bapadi Sommu Kadu), p.279.
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36. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 274 (Illu Vellipora Nambi Ante, Na Manyamu Ekkada Ani Adiginadata), p.49.
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68. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2069 (Setti Sringarinche Loga, Patnamanta Kollapoyinadi), p.358.
69. Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.121. (Kothi Pulikaadu Komati Dora Kaadu).
70. Thurston, Edgar and K. Rangachary., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume-III, Op. Cit, p.348.
71. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 727, p.131 and also see: Thurston, Edgar and K. Rangachary., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume-III, Op. Cit, p.348; Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.122, Telugu Sametalu, p.223. (Komati Illu Kalinattu).
72. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 451 (Emi Polisetti Ante, Yeppati Mottukolle Annadata), p.82.
73. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2326 Supplement Issue, p.31; and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.122, Telugu Sametalu, p.252. (Chaccina Tarvata Telustundi Settigari Bandalamu).
74. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1460 (Pillini Cimpina Papamu Nidi, Bellam Tinna Papamu Nadi), p.256.
75. Telugu Samethalu – Janajivanam, p.122. (Vyapari Vittambu Vaarakantala Paalu).
76. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2296 (Koti Chavu, Komati Ranku), Supplement Issue, p.27.
77. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 729, p.131 and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.121. (Komati Saksyamu).
78. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2547 (Mundu Custe Ayyavari Gurramuga Unnadi, Venaka Custe Sayebu Gurramuga Unnadi), p.66.
79. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2661 (Are Gaddi Tine Komati Ante, Emoyi Bellam Tine Sayebu Annadata. Atla Antivemi Komati Ante, Ataniki Adi Vaduka Naku Yidi Vaduka Annadata), p.87. Bellam is having two meanings in Telugu one is jaggery and the other is male genital organ.
80. C. P. Brown, A Telugu-English dictionary, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Madras, 1903, p.271.
81. Telugu Sametalu, p.517. (Reddi Vaccada Modalettuko).
82. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1878 (Reddi Vaccinadu, Modati Nunchi Padumannattu), p.325.
83. Thurston, Edgar and K. Rangachary., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume-III, Op. Cit, p.226. However, many believe that there were only fourteen sub-sects among them namely Ayodhya, Baliya, Bhumanchi, Desur, Gandikota, Gazula, Kammapuri, Morasa, Motati, Nerati, Oruganti, Pakanati, Palle, Panta and Pedakanti as per Thurston. See also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.118; Telugu Sametalu, p.517. (Redlaku, Vadlaku Perlu Ceppa Lemu).

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84. Telugu Samethalu – Janajivanam, p.118; and also see: Telugu Sametalu, p.572. (Sagite Pakanativaru Sagaka Pote Motativaru).
 85. Telugu Sametalu, p.539; and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.118. (Desuru Redla Pondu (Pottu) Deyyapu Pondu (Pottu)).
 86. Thurston, Edgar and K. Rangachary., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume-III, Op. Cit, p.249.
 87. Ibid, p.223.
 88. Telugu Sametalu, p.518 (Regadi Bhumini Redini Ne Vidavaradu).
 89. Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.118, and also see: Telugu Sametalu, p.586. (Svatikonga, Pantakapu Nillunnacote Untaru).
 90. Vishvanatha Satyanarayana (Edi) Telugu Samethalu, Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academy, Hyderabad, 1974, p.442; Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.118.
 91. Thurston, Edgar and K. Rangachary., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume-III, Op. Cit, p.249; Telugu Samethalu – Janajivanam, p.118. (Kapuku Kuturu, Kodalu Teda Ledu).
 92. Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.118. (Kapu Vallintlo Panditi Gunnjalaku Kuda Panibettutaru)
 93. Vishvanatha Satyanarayana (Edi) Telugu Samethalu, Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academy, Hyderabad, 1974, p.386.
 94. Thurston, Edgar and K. Rangachary., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume-III, Op. Cit, p.249.
 95. Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.119. (Kapuvani Potta, Tamalapakula Katta Tadapakunda Undaleru).
 96. Ibid.
 97. Thurston, Edgar and K. Rangachary., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume-III, Op. Cit, p.249.
 98. Ibid, p.249.
 99. Potharaveni Thirupathi., Gollala Charitra-Samskruthi, MSO Publications, Hyderabad, p.91
 100. Telugu Sametalu, p.246 and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.124. (Gollintla Gurrulu, Kukka, Pillalu, Avulu Adabiddelu).
 101. K. Mutyam., (Collection) Telangana Shastras (of Nizamabad region), Op. Cit, p.1.
 102. Ibid.
 103. Ibid.
 104. Ibid, Proverb No. 811, p.146; and also see: Telugu Sametalu, p.245. (Gorre Kovvite Golla Vadike Labhamu),
 105. Vishvanatha Satyanarayana (Edi) Telugu Samethalu, Op. Cit, p.246; and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.124. (Gollala Gotralu Gorrela Keruka, Gorrela Gotralu Gollala Keruka).
 106. Thurston, Edgar and K. Rangachary., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume-II, Op. Cit, p.296.
 107. Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.124 (Gollavani Kommu Heccanu Heccadu, Tagganu Taggadadu).
 108. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No.370 (Enta Manci Gollakayina, Nimmakayanta Verri Lekapoledu), p.67.
 109. Vishvanatha Satyanarayana (Edi) Telugu Samethalu, Op. Cit, p.246; Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.124.
 110. Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.124. (Gorlavani Kopamu Meda Mindiki Baruvu).
 111. Ibid.
 112. Ibid, Proverb No. 816 (Golla Varinti Pendli Tellavarindi), p.147.
 113. Telugu Sametalu, p.170. (Kamsalivaru Kaalaniki Pendlikodukulu, Karuvuku Kaati Pinugulu).

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114. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2522 (Mana Bangaram Mancidayite, Kansali Emi Ceyyagaladu), Supplement Issue, p.62.
 115. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2367 (Talli Ayina Bangaram Kansali Dongilincaka Manadu), Supplement Issue, p.38; Divakarla Venkataavadhani, et.al., Telugu Sametalu, Op. Cit, p.302.
 116. Telugu Sametalu, p.50. (Agasalini Velayalini Nammaraadu).
 117. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2647, Supplement Issue, p.84; and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.115, Telugu Sametalu, p.581. (Sudetu Vanni, Sutteti Vanni, Kandetu Vanni Nammaraadu).
 118. Telugu Sametalu, p.50. (Agasali Pondu, Velamala Chelimi Nammaraadu).
 119. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2259 (Kansali Vadda Undavale, Kumpatla Undavale), p.21; Telugu Sametalu, p.170.
 120. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2258, p.21; and also see: Telugu Sametalu, p.170. (Kansali Maya Kansaliki Gani Teliyadu).
 121. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1714, p.297; and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.135, Telugu Sametalu, p.475. (Madiga Malli, Kansali Elli).
 122. Thurston, Edgar and K. Rangachary., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Volume-III, Op. Cit, p.143.
 123. Telugu Sametalu, p.170. (Kamsali Koodu Kaakulu Kooda Muttavu).
 124. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 847 (Cadivina Vanikanna Cakala Vadu Nayamu), p.153; Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.126; (Cadivina Vadikanna Cakali Minna) Vishvanatha Satyanarayana (Edi) Telugu Samethalu, Op. Cit, p.253. (Caduvari Matikanna Cakali Mati Melu).
 125. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2214 (Uri Jabbu Cakali Erugunu, Udyogapu Jabbu Bantrotu Erugunu), Supplement Issue, p.13; Vishvanatha Satyanarayana (Edi) Telugu Samethalu, Op. Cit, p.131.
 126. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1655, p.287; and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.133. (Mangali Pata Cakali Kotta).
 127. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2208, Supplement Issue, p.12; p.125, and also see: Telugu Sametalu, p.121. (Utikevaniki Gani Cakali Utakadu).
 128. Telugu Sametalu, p.571; (Saradaki Samarthadite, Cakalidi Koka Dobbindi); Vishvanatha Satyanarayana (Edi) Telugu Samethalu, Op. Cit, p.253 (Saradaki Samarthiste Cakali Vacci Cirapattu Kellindata / Koka Dobbindi); Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.126. (Adakadaka Samarthadite Cakalodu Kokettukapoyinadata).
 129. Telugu Sametalu, p.255; and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.125. (Caddi Mutalo Saram Cakali Erugunu).
 130. K. Mutyam., (Collection) Telangana Shastras (of Nizamabad region), Op. Cit, p.19.
 131. Telugu Sametalu, p.256. (Cakali Kattani Gudda, Saisu Ekkani Gurramu Ledu).
 132. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1872 (Rayadi Taladi, Cakali Moladi), p.324.
 133. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 864, p.156; Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.125. (Cali Calananduku Cakinta Guddalu Sana Unnayi),
 134. K. Mutyam., (Collection) Telangana Shastras (of Nizamabad region), Op. Cit, p.20.
 135. Telugu Sametalu, p.468; and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.134. (Manusulandari Talala Paina Mangaliceyi).
 136. Vishvanatha Satyanarayana (Edi) Telugu Samethalu, Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academy, Hyderabad, 1974, p.457.
 137. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1655, p.287; and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.133. (Mangali Pata Cakali Kotta).
 138. Telugu Sametalu, p.457. (Mangali Goriginercukunte, Vaidyudu Campi Nercukuntadu).

139. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1388, p.244; and also see: Telugu Sametalu, p.386. (Pani Leni Mangali Pilli Tala Goriginadata).
140. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 46 (Atadu Unte Mangali Vanni Ayina Pilucunu), p.9.
141. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 683 (Konda Mangali Goriginatlu), p.124.
142. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1087 (Tirupati Mangalavadi Vattu), p.194.
143. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1653 p.287. (Mangali Vadi Penta Kullagiste Boccu Bayalu Vellucunnadi); Telugu Sametalu, p.458. (Mangalolla Intenaka Boccu Dibbakaka Maremuntundi).
144. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1654, p.287; and also see: Telugu Sametalu, p.457. (Mangalini Cuci Eddu Kalu Kuntinadi).
145. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 861, p.155. and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.125; Telugu Sametalu, p.256. (Cakala Atta, Mangala Mama).
146. Telugu Sametalu, p.146 and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.134. (Tella Madigonni Nalla Bapanonni Nammoddu or Erra Madiganu, Nalla Bapanni Namma Radu).
147. Telugu Sametalu, p.133 (Urunte Madiga Geri (Vada) Undada).
148. Telugu Sametalu, p.95 and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.134 (Katti, Are Ledu, Arulla / Edulla Madigatanamu).
149. Thallapally Manohar (Edi)., Cultural History of Madigas - A Brief Study, Pragma Publications Hyderabad., 2016, p.112 (Goddu Chavuku Edurunide Madigoniki Poddu Gadavadu).
150. K. Mutyam., (Collection) Telangana Shastras (of Nizamabad region), Op. Cit, p.17.
151. Telugu Sametalu, p.469; Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.135 (Manyam Marigina Manisi, Madigada (Madiga Pale) Maragina Kukka Venakki Ravu).
152. Thallapally Manohar (Edi)., Cultural History of Madigas – A Brief Study, Op. Cit, p.113. (Rendu Jolla Ceppulu Kutti, Na Antatodu Ledannadata).
153. Thallapally Manohar (Edi)., Cultural History of Madigas – A Brief Study, Op. Cit, p.112. Thallapally Manohar said during the funeral procession flower petals, puffed rice and coins are thrown and the coined money will be collected and taken over by the Madigas.
154. The proverbs compiled by Thallapally Manohar, who in turn collected/gained the knowledge from his grandfather Late Thallapally Iddaiah, Waddepally Village, Hanumakonda Mandal, Warangal District (Piniga Kada Beramadaka Pothe Vadu Madigavadu Kadu).
155. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 2532 (Madiga Vadi Alu Ayina Made Kaluku Ceppu Ledu), Supplement Issue, p.63; Telugu Sametalu, p.475 (Madigodi Pellamaina, Madama Kaluku Ceppaledu or Madigavani Alayamaina, Madama Kaliki Ceppaledu).
156. Andhra Lokokti Chandrika, Proverb No. 1713 (Madiga Mancanaku Kalla Vaipu Talavaipu Okkate), p.296; Telugu Sametalu, p.475 and also see: Telugu Samethalu-Janajivanam, p.135 (Madiga Mancaniki Kallavaipu Okate, Talavaipu Okate).
157. Thallapally Manohar (Edi)., Cultural History of Madigas – A Brief Study, Op. Cit, p.113. (Veyyi Mankalicaina Madigonni Jitamuncukovale).
158. Ibid, p.111. (Madigonintiki Mallepulammaniki Vaste, Vatti Tunkala Kenta Annadata).
159. Telugu Samethalu – Janajivanam, p.135 (Dunnaka Vesina Amudalu, Madigakicchina Appu Tirigi Ravu).
160. Telugu Sametalu, p.502 (Moguni Mida Kopanto, Madigavani Venta Poyinatlu).
161. Thallapally Manohar (Edi)., Cultural History of Madigas – A Brief Study, Op. Cit, p.111 (Ninnu Madigodu Iduva or Ninnu Madigodu Denga). Such abuses are also noticed in the medieval inscriptions in the imprecatory part. See B. Rama Chandra Reddy and R. Natarajan “Social History through Inscriptions: Imprecations of Cuddapah District”, Indian Historical Review, Vol. 38, No.1, July 2011, pp.51-64.

THE JOURNEY OF HUMAN RIGHTS: AN EVOLUTIONARY CHRONICLE

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Introduction

Right is a concept of a reasonable claim raised by an individual, legally Sanctioned by the rulers or the state and recognized by the Society. Human rights are the basic rights made available to individuals due to their very existence. The concept of human rights can be traced back to ancient civilizations and religious traditions. Human rights have developed as both a moral and legal framework from ancient Philosophical and religious traditions to modern International law. The major ancient religious traditions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity and later Islam have emphasized the dignity and worth of human beings. The historical origin of human rights is closely linked to the pre-modern natural law doctrine of Greek stoicism, founded by Zeno of Citium. He held the view that a "Universal working force pervades all creation and the human conduct and brought into harmony with the law of nature". This journey of human rights, as a continuous process, started with natural law, passed through natural rights and fundamental rights, and towards modern human rights including civil and political rights and social, economic, and cultural rights with their recognition by various nations under the propitious of United Nations Organization.

The origin of the notion of human rights traced back to the Code of Hammurabi, which granted a handful of rights relating to trade, family relations, property rights, and criminal justice to the Residents of Babylon. Hammurabi ruled Babylonia, one of the several rival Mesopotamian kingdoms of the ancient world from 1792 to 1750 BC. His reign marked a golden age of Semitic culture. He had conquered the other Mesopotamian kingdoms and enacted a law code to establish justice throughout Mesopotamia¹. There are 282 legal obligations imposed by the code including the presumptions of innocence for those accused of crimes and the right to present evidence before a judge². This code was one of the earliest legal documents, which consolidated earlier regulations on practical aspects of labor, slavery, and eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth punishment³. The Code of Hammurabi survived in a stone column discovered in Iran in 1901⁴.

The theory of stoicism played a key role in political theories of natural rights in Greece and Rome. Stoic philosophers like Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle formulated the doctrine of natural rights. They gave two innovative ideas, i.e., the idea of world society and equality of man⁵. This idea later became an important component of human rights. Moreover over limited set of rights was expanded upon with the development of the first democracies in the world established in Greece and Rome. The citizens of Greek city-states and throughout the Roman Empire were given the right to express their opinions, vote directly for legislation, and by trial by a jury of their peers⁶. Modern political ideals like justice, liberty, and constitutional government are derived from the reflections of Greek thinkers upon the institution of City-states⁷.

Athens, one of the Greek city-states had a government of oligarchy, But Athenians were not happy with this system and consequently, they started protesting. After a prolonged struggle, one leader named Draco gave a written code of law to Athenians in 621 BC⁸. During that time another reformer named Solon who lived between 638 and 558 BC gave them another code of law which provided that All men

who were slaves for debt were to be free and in the future, no man was to be made a slave for debt and every citizen, no matter how poor, was to be permitted to take part in the Assembly⁹.

Confucius who lived between 551 and 479 BC made his philosophical teachings revolved around benevolence, which he expressed in twin saying: " Do not do to others what you would not like yourself" and: " Do unto others what you wish to do unto yourself"¹⁰. He argued that people should practice benevolence towards those below them in a social hierarchy¹¹.

Thus the code of Hammurabi, the code of Draco, the code of Solon, and the code of Confucius contain the seeds of rights which later became natural rights and then developed into human rights. Most of the earlier citizens had enjoyed the freedom of speech and expression. The right to equality before the law was given prominent status during that period.

In the course of time, several events contributed to the development of human, rights in England namely, the Magna Carta of 1215, the Petition of Rights of 1628 and the Bill of Rights of 1689, the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, the French Declaration of the Rights of man and the Citizen of 1789, the American Bill of Rights of 1791 and the Charters and Declarations of United Nations Organization.

The Magna Carta was a strong protest against arbitrary taxation and it led to a curtailment of the King's feudal revenues. There were 63 clauses contained in this Charter, among which 24 clauses were about taxation¹². It was a strong protest against arbitrary taxation and it led to a curtailment of the Crown's feudal revenues¹³. This charter, issued by King John in 1215 helped the English to assert their liberties and rights. Consequently, this great Charter clipped the powers of the King and laid the foundation of English rights¹⁴. However, it was a compromise on the distribution of powers between the King and Nobles and it gave certain concessions to the Clergy, Landlords, and Nobles. Still, it is considered as the first instrument of the liberties of English citizens¹⁵.

In the Middle Ages, Philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke Jean Jacques Rousseau promoted the concept of natural law thereby contributing much to the later development of human rights. They attempted to link the concept of natural law with the theory of social contract, developed by themselves and they derived the idea of social contract to explain the relationship between individual and society¹⁶.

The Twelve Articles of European History issued in 1525 are the first record of human rights in European history. They were issued as part of peasants' demands raised towards the Swabian League in the German peasant war in Germany¹⁷. The peasant's demands included the right to choose their pastors, reduction of taxes paid to the church, to end of serfdom, to abolish excessive labor services, the right to use common lands, to reduce exorbitant rents, to abolish the death tax¹⁸, to treat them fairly, to return the property taken by Nobles unjustly, to end arbitrary justice, fair taxation, and common consent for new laws. These demands of the peasants advocated social and economic justice and equality.

The Petition of Rights of 1628 became a milestone in English Constitutional History. The petition was submitted against the despotic reign of Charles. The English Bill of Rights of 1689 became part of the foundation of the English Constitution and was a great deal to ensure the continued existence of its principles for future generations in England¹⁹. The Bill prohibited taxation or maintenance of an army in peacetime without Parliament's consent, excessive bail or fines, and cruel and unusual punishment²⁰. It is considered a great Charter of liberty and freedom. It was the statement of natural rights which the Englishmen achieved in their struggle against the autocratic rule of British Kings²¹. The Bill recognized the right to trial by Jury and prescribed that no excessive fine be imposed and no cruel and unusual punishment be inflicted²².

During the 18th century, the American War of Independence and the French Revolution played a pivotal role in creating concern in the minds of the people for human rights. In both these revolutions, huge violations of human rights took place in these countries which shook the human minds to a large extent.

The Virginian Declaration of Rights evolved on June 12, 1776, drafted by George Mason in support of Thomas Jefferson, and articulated certain inherent rights of individuals. Through this declaration, Jefferson attacked the Divine right of Kings to rule and he criticized the government which does not reflect the will of the people. The declaration says: "We hold these rights to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness... it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute new government"²³. The American people made their claim for independence based on these inalienable rights of man included in this declaration. It emphasized the principles of equality, freedom, and the government by the consent of the governed i.e., the people. This declaration played a profound influence on the drafting of the American Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution.

The American Declaration of Independence, authored by Thomas Jefferson asserted that all men are created equal and Endowed with certain inalienable rights like the right to life, the right to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It was declared that, "we hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights"²⁴. This declaration is regarded as one of the earliest significant political documents to enshrine human rights.

The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, adopted on August 26, 1789, articulated universal rights based on the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which also became the slogan of the French Revolution²⁵. It provided the idea of universal rights for mankind. The declaration consists of several rights all men are born free and remain equal in rights, all men are equal before the law, all men should have freedom from arrest and all men are innocent until they are proven guilty²⁶. Hence, it gave a new impetus to political thinking and further development of human rights.

It is to be noted that both the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen declared the rights of the people.

The abolitionist movement for the abolition of slavery and the subsequent end of the transatlantic slave trade marked a significant step towards the recognition of human rights on a global scale. The Industrial Revolution started during the medieval period and focused on the rights of the workers and laborers and ultimately led to the development of labor laws and the recognition of social and economic rights like the right to fair wages and the right to safe working conditions.

The 19th and early 20th Centuries saw the emergence of women's movements which advocated women's rights and gender based rights. The atrocities and holocaust that occurred during the world wars highlighted the need for a global commitment to human rights. The Atlantic Charter of 1941 signed between then American President Franklin D Roosevelt and then British Prime Minister Winston Churchill contained certain provisions of human rights. The Charter expressed the assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want²⁷. The Atlantic Charter emphasized the significance of defending life, liberty, independence, and religious freedoms and preserving human rights and justice in every land²⁸.

The Second World War witnessed a tremendous loss of precious human lives and properties. The suppression of human rights of religious and ethnic groups and minorities shocked the entire world. This traumatic experience convinced me that effective international protection of human rights is one of the essential conditions of International peace and progress²⁹.

After the creation of the United Nations Organization, it took serious efforts for the promotion of human rights. It has provided the foundation for a global approach to human rights. The United Nations Charter of 1945 expressed its view to affirm the faith in fundamental human rights in the dignity and worth of the human person and the equal rights of men and women of all nations³⁰. Various Articles of the Charter viz., articles 1, 13, 62, 68, and 76 accord the highest place to the object of encouraging respect for human rights³¹. This Charter is a landmark document, which makes repeated references to human rights. The Charter is considered the first Universal multilateral treaty to embody human rights concerns in its provisions³².

The United Nations Security Council, in its first session held in January 1946 established a committee on Human Rights led by Eleanor Roosevelt and which started its work on drafting an International Bill of Rights consisting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and two Covenants³³. The commission recommended UDHR to the United Nations General Assembly which unanimously adopted it on December 10, 1948, as its Resolution No. 217(III) A, and the Declaration was proclaimed as “a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations³⁴. UDHR is regarded as the Magna Carta of human rights. Though the Declaration is not legally binding, its content has been incorporated into several national constitutions and it has become a Standard measure of human rights³⁵.

The UDHR of 1948 sets out human rights into six categories like Security rights that protect people against such crimes as murder, massacre, torture, and rape, Legal rights that protect against abuses of the legal system like imprisonment without trial, secret trials, and excessive punishments, Liberty rights that protect freedoms in areas like belief, expression, association, assembly and movement, Political rights that protect the liberty to participate in policies through actions like communicating, assembling, protesting, voting and serving in public office, Equality rights that guarantee equal citizenship, equality before the law and non-discrimination and Social rights that require the provision of education to all children and protections against severe poverty and starvation³⁶. Hence the UDHR covers all aspects of human rights that are essential for the subsistence of human beings.

The attempts to protect and promote human rights continued under the leadership of the United Nations Organization, which adopted two International Covenants in 1966. One covenant dealt with civil and political rights and another one consisted of social, economic, and cultural rights.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

The United Nations General Assembly adopted this covenant in 1966, but it came into force on 23rd March 1976, consisting of 27 articles. Article 2 makes it obligatory for a state “to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status³⁷. Moreover, the covenant established a Human Rights committee to comment on reports to be submitted by the state parties on the measures. They have adopted to comply with their obligations under the covenant and to investigate complaints that state parties are failing to fulfill their obligations³⁸. This covenant made the nations responsible for the protection and promotion of civil and political rights.

International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights

This covenant was adopted by United Nations General Assembly by its Resolution No. 2200 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966, but entered into force on 3rd January 1976³⁹. The preamble of the covenant recognizes the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world and freedom from fear and want⁴⁰. Article

1 of this covenant mentions the right of peoples to self-determination. This meant that people were free to determine their political status and freely pursue their social, economic, and cultural development. This covenant presents a vision that is characterized by individual freedom and just economic development⁴¹.

Conclusion

The evolution of human rights is a complex and ongoing process, reflected by historical events, philosophical debates, conceptual analysis, and socio-political struggles. The foundations of human rights, rooted in history, are shaped as a diverse array of perspectives each contributing to the understanding and application of rights in different contexts and perspectives. As the global phenomena and universal landscape continue to transit, the discourse on human rights will undoubtedly, continue to evolve, addressing new challenges and expanding the scope of what it means to protect and promote human status and dignity. The expedition of human rights, whether grounded in natural law, legal positivism, or economic justice continues to perform contemporary debates and challenges. It ensures that the pursuit of human rights remains a dynamic and evolving endeavor to this day.

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THE COLONIAL INTERVENTION AND UNIVERSALIZATION OF PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION IN KERALA

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Introduction

By the 18th century, the development of Western Medicine in Kerala was significantly influenced by the British. Their presence in Travancore and Malabar gave these regions better opportunities to engage with and enhance Western medical practices. Even Cochin, though not directly under British rule, the region was indirectly influenced by the spread of modern medicine. During this period, the British government took steps to improve medical services in India, leading to the establishment of the Indian Medical Service, initially a military service that became the backbone of medical administration under British rule.

The British introduced many sanitary and medical provisions that stemmed from the need to preserve the army's health. The army's sanitary condition has not been favourable regarding the civil population and widespread tracts of the land. The government introduced the vaccination and sanitation departments and statistical analysis of health conditions to create better sanitation and medical aid for military men. It sometimes supported the other land areas where no military men were stationed. Thereby, the government concentrated on medical and sanitary expenditure in colonial enclaves. However, most of their measures were for Europeans' needs and military purposes.

Regulation of the System of Public Health Legally

The colonial government took the initiative to establish a sound public health system in Kerala. For this purpose, various laws and regulations were enacted. The most important one was the Indian Evidence Act of 1872. By this, a Medical Council was established in the Madras Presidency. The council consisted of fifteen members. The members were elected from various departments. Among the panel of members, members belonged to the faculty of medicine and other teaching departments from multiple universities under the presidency. Members were elected from among the Faculty of Medicine of Madras University members. Some other members were elected from the faculty of medicine of Andhra University. The other members were elected from the Medical College at Madras, from among the members and staff of the Medical College at Vizagapatam and Stanley Medical College at Madras. The registered practitioners elected seven members, and the Provisional Government nominated three.¹ The President and Vice-President were elected from among the council members. Only registered practitioners were eligible for the election. No person was eligible for the election as a member if he was not a registered practitioner. It was for a term of five years from the date of election. A Registrar was also appointed and probably the council's secretary. The registrar kept a register of the medical practitioners, revised from time to time and published in the prescribed manner. It was based on the Indian Evidence Act of 1872.²

In 1914, the then-governor of Fort passed the Madras Medical Registration Act for registering Medical practitioners. St. George of Madras. It applied to the presidency of Madras. Later, this Act was amended in 1929, 1932 and 1938. This Act gave some privileges to the registered practitioners. They were exempted from having certificates. They got the privilege that except with the special sanction of the Governor in Council, no one other than registered practitioners shall be competent to hold any

appointments as

Physician, Surgeon or other Medical Officer in any Hospital, Asylum, Infirmary, and Dispensary Lying in Hospital not supported entirely by voluntary contributions or as Medical Officer of health. Alongside this, several steps, viz., the introduction of vaccination, sanitary measures, registration of birth and death, eradication programmes of epidemics, and introduction of health education, etc., were taken into consideration.

Public Health Laws and Other Regulations

The later decades of the 18th century and the 19th century witnessed the passing of various regulations and rules in this regard. The Public Health Law of the Travancore state was passed, and it was based on the Epidemic Diseases Regulations of the British Government. The first was the Epidemic Disease Regulation II of 1898 to control epidemic diseases such as plague, smallpox, cholera, and typhoid fever. Several Rules were passed on 17th May 1898 to regulate the procedure for the medical officers, magistrates, and police regarding the transmission of substances for examination to the Chemical Examiner. In 1902, a regulation that provided for the segregation and medical treatment of pauper lepers and control of lepers pursuing specific callings was passed. These regulations provided the lepers with the ability to stay within the towns, personally prepare food, and not sell any article of food or drinks or any drugs or clothing intended for human consumption or use. They should not wash or bathe in public wells, tanks, fountains, or water supply sources except streams and rivers. Driving, conducting or riding in any public conveyance plying for hire other than a railway carriage, attending public meetings or public markets, exercising the posts of advocate, schoolmaster, medical practitioner, midwife, washerman, barber, etc, were also abolished.³ Based on the circumstances that existed, in 1904, a Lunatic Act was passed, and it provided chances for the reception and detention of lunatics. Asylums were established for that purpose, as well as the care of the person and estate of lunatics. The Municipal Regulation passed in 1920 consisted of the necessary rules concerning Public Health work in several state municipalities. The Travancore Registration of Births and Deaths Regulation was enacted in 1921. The government introduced measures and staff to register births and deaths. The Food Adulteration Regulation of 1931 provided chances for analysing articles of suspected food to be degraded and introduced the issue of certificates in connection with them.

In India, these are relatively stronger, more erratic and unreliable than in the West, while the individual is less resistant and adaptable. These influences have moulded people's moral and physical character and civilisation. A brief reference to some of the salient features of the situation will tend to elucidate the vital statistics and explain some of the peculiar difficulties of the problems they disclose. The problems disclosed by the English in India were early marriage, defective nutrition, the influence of religion and customs, the influence of rainfall, the influence of temperature, the impact of the environment, etc. However, the colonial government structured the Department of Public Health by incorporating matters and activities like registration of vital statistics, control of infectious diseases: - Smallpox, cholera, malaria, typhoid fever, Vaccination, Plague control measures, Medical Entomology, Hookworm survey and treatment campaign, Public Health Laboratory, Health Units, Rural sanitation, inspection of Municipal Public Health work, school medical inspection and public health education.⁴

Introduction of Registrations

There was no regular agency for registering vital statistics in Travancore till 1893-94. However, the village officers kept a record or register of births and deaths⁵. It was known as the *Jananmaranakanakku*.⁶ This was the "Bookkeeping of life."⁷ The registration of births and deaths was

regularly started in the towns of Trivandrum, Nagercoil, Quilon, Alleppey and Kottayam under the control of the Town Improvement Committee.⁸ It was made possible after the Towns Improvement and Conservancy Regulation II of 1893 passed.⁹ A scheme for registering births and deaths throughout the state was sanctioned from the beginning of August 1895. A particular Department of Vaccination, Vital Statistics, and sanitation was organised and was placed under the charge of an officer of the Sanitary Commissioner. The vital statistics registrations were conducted in the *Proverti Cutchery* by a *Proverti* accountant and an Ordinary *Nalvali* Accountant. The Town Improvement and Conservancy Regulation II of 1894 was mainly concerned with the births and deaths of the town, worked mostly in cities like Trivandrum, Nagercoil, Quilon, Alleppey and Kottayam and the statistics were collected by the committees were submitted to the Sanitary Commissioners. The registration programme was mainly conducted by the municipal staff in municipal areas, conservancy overseers in police conservancy towns, *Proverthikars* in *Pakuthies*, revenue inspectors in forest areas, and medical officers and superintendents in the estates of the high ranges.¹⁰

In addition to the various officers, various planters' Associations collected the statistics, and a daily *Viruthikaran* was specially deputed for each *Pakuthi*. The village watchman collected the data in the Taluqs of Tovala and Agastisvaram.¹¹ In prisons and hospitals, officers were responsible for doing this duty. The statistics collected were mainly consolidated in the Public Health Department, and the department received quarterly returns from the revenue and municipal authorities.¹² The Municipal Regulation of 1920 and the Travancore Registration of Births and Deaths Regulation of 1921 were passed to authenticate the data collected.¹³ Due to the issues submitted by the Revenue Department, a medical officer of health was deputed for training in foreign countries. After training, he was in charge of vital statistics and Epidemiology in Vilavancode *Taluk* for an experience. Positive results were obtained from a similar experiment in Neyyattinkara. A new *Taluk* Health Organisation Scheme was introduced in the five *taluks* of Travancore, viz. Thovala, Agastiswaram, Kalkulam, Vilavancode, and Chenkotta were the next step. Based on the statistics submitted by the department, the standard average birth – rate for the state was estimated to be about 40 per mile of the population; the highest birth rate was noticed in the Christian community. Male births exceeded female births, and in 1937, it was 106:78, and the death rate for the state varied from 18 to 20 per mille of the population. The highest death rate was noticed in the Hindu community. The death rate in Travancore was very much lower than that in British India, and the significant reasons for death were cholera, smallpox, diarrhoea, anaemia, etc. Cholera - 9% of deaths, smallpox - 4.11%, anaemia - 5%, and different types of fevers - 26.15%. The average number of deaths from suicide was 65 per annum.¹⁴ Just like the birth and death rates, the average infant mortality rates of Travancore varied from 80 to 100 per 1,000 live births. This was also very low compared to British India.¹⁵ Registration of births and deaths began in Cochin in 1897-98, and the *Pravritti* village officers conducted registration duties.¹⁶ They had to cover an area of 20 square miles, and the average population was 19,000.¹⁷ In the Malabar region, the data were primarily collected by the *Adhikaris* in different places.¹⁸

Conclusion

The colonial government took admirable steps in the development of public health administration. Bypassing several rules and regulations, they decided to start a Public Health Department to properly manage health conditions and situations. In the initial days, the department was not a full-fledged one. It was due to the clear awareness of public health matters. The natives and their rulers were not fully aware of such situations. The general state of public health in every country depends on the measure of adjustment of the relations of the individual and the race to the environment; the completer

and more continuous the adjustment, the greater the longevity. European civilisation tends to give a man more and more complete control over his surroundings. Ethical universalism presupposes a shared human essence, and this presupposition makes it a straitjacket, an attempt to force people to conform to an externally imposed 'pattern'. In such a way, through the introduction of modern medical systems and the abolition of customary practices, the British forced the people to follow the systems they introduced. It was an easy method to eradicate the issues speedily. The use of power for political change and thereby social change supported Kerala, to be one of the best destinations of health care centres in the world. Thus, the universalization of health by the British was a better experience as far as Kerala is concerned.

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MEDICINAL PLANTS OF AGASTHYARKOODAM: KNOWLEDGE AND USAGE BY KANI TRIBAL POPULATION

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Agasthyarkoodam is the second-largest peak in the Western Ghats. Oral sources say that 'Agasthyarkoodam', is named after sage Agastya. It is 1890 meters above MSL, in Nedumangad Taluk of Thiruvananthapuram district.¹ From the mountain, rivers like Karamanayar, Neyyar and Tambaraparani originates.² It has a long history of heritage and historical significance. In the Sangam period, this territory is known as Podiyil Mountain. The Ay rulers had their headquarters at Podiyil Mountain. Later Agasthyarkoodam became the abode of Buddhist monks.

From North India, the sage, Agasthya came to the deep South by accepting the invitation of Sage Parasurama. The agenda of the invitation was to participate in a Yagna, specially conducted for the welfare of living beings. While accepting the invitation, Sage Agastya demanded a Nadapanthal³ and a Nadapalaka⁴. Accepting the request, the wise Sage Parasurama provided an Olakkuda⁵ as Nadapandal and a Methiadi⁶ was provided as Nadapalaka. Sage Agastya also requested that the local tribesmen be delegated to support him in the Yagna.⁷

Agasthyarkoodam is a home to a wide variety of species of animals and trees. The region is a delight for nature lovers with an abundance of flora and fauna. Locating at the tip of the Southern Peninsula, it has unusual topography and physical isolation. It is an extremely rich tropical ecosystem with proportionately a higher number of endemics and rare elements than any other part of the Western Ghats. Altitudinal zonation of vegetation types visible in Agasthyarkoodam Hills. At an elevation of 30 m to 1700 m the vegetation altered from moist deciduous, to evergreen forests. When it reaches a higher elevation Shola grasslands are located. Located on the western slopes of the Western Ghats, Agasthyarkoodam has a wet monsoon climate. Annual rainfall varies from 3000 to 4500 mm, majority receives from the South-west monsoon. It was the abode of tribal people from early bygone days.

Generally, the term 'Tribe' denotes any group, living in isolation, speaking a common dialect, and has a clustered identity of its own. The Adivasi is the term commonly used to represent the tribal community, in its Adi means original and Vasi means inhabitant.⁸ They form the earliest ethnological population and have their traditions and way of life. The Constitution of India safeguarded these indigenous tribes with special concern expressed in Article 352.

The tribal population of Kerala has its settlements in the Western Ghats valleys. The Western Ghats and its peripheries were generally the abode of the tribal population in Kerala.⁹ Among the tribal population of the Kerala State, Paniyan, 22%, is the most populous tribe. The second largest population is of the Kurichiyas, 9%. Tribal hotspots in Kerala are Agasthyarkoodam, Idukki, Parambikkulam, Attappadi, Nilambur, Wayanad, and Kasargod. Altogether, there are 7 tribal zones in Kerala.

Among the tribal populace of Kerala, Kanikkar possesses a distinct culture of their own. They were one of the Scheduled Tribes recognized by the Government of India. Kani originates from the word meaning forest, which denotes people living in forests.¹⁰ They were commonly visible in Kollam and Thiruvananthapuram districts. The main abode of Kanikkar was the hilly terrain of Thiruvananthapuram district. The Census Report 2001 stated that the total Kani population was 21677 whereas the 2011 Census estimates their number as 21251.¹¹

Agasthyamala terrain comprises two wildlife sanctuaries Neyyar and Peppara. It has a resident population of Kani tribes in 35 settlements and 392 families. Most of the settlements were spotted along the basins of the Neyyar and Karamana Rivers. At Neyyar Wildlife Sanctuary there are 1473 tribals. At Peppara Wildlife Sanctuary there are 17 settlements of Kanikkars with a population of about 729 people. Another 20 Kani settlements with a population of 939 people are located along the fringes. They practice hunting, fishing, gathering of NTFP, and settled cultivation within their habitation. The tribal settlements are enclosed by thick forest regions and are facing recurrent wildlife attacks.

Around 27 settlements were identified, including Podiyam, Mukkothivayal, Chanampara, Kilamalai, Veerapuli, Pothod, and Kottur forest ranges. Kanis resides largely in the low and mid elevations of Agasthyarkoodam Reserve. The ethnographical grouping of Kanikkar traces that they belonged to Proto- Australoid group. They are interdependent with nature for support and their livelihood. Kani tradition of their origin is related to Sage Agasthya. This is evident from the fact that the main God of the Chathancode settlement is Sage Agasthyamuni of Agasthyarkoodam. Taking 41 days of ritual fasting or Vritham, they go to Mount Agasthyarkoodam.

Moreover, another tradition says that the term Kanikkar denotes the Proprietor of land.¹² This title was obtained from them about the donation of land given to them by Marthanda Varma.¹³ It was given to them as tax-free land as a sign of gratitude. In his fight against the feudal lords, Marthanda Varma was ably supported by the Kanikkars especially when the King hid himself in the Nachiyarumotto. The tax-free land given to them in later years was called Kanippattu lands. Marthanda Varma gave 360000 acres of forest land to the Kani people. Another version regarding the term Kani says that they usually gave Kani or presents to the King of Travancore, hence the name Kanikkar was afforded to them.

Kani settlements were called Kanippatt and their houses, huts called Kanikkudil. Each Kanippatt was headed by a chief called Muttukani¹⁴. He had complete control over the Kani settlements of the region. Plathi is the name of a Kani Vaidyan or doctor.

Medicinal Plants

Ecosystem people have for centuries depended on natural resources from a limited resource catchment to provide them with manifold services.¹⁵ They know of a vast number of uses for many plants in tropical rainforests; not just trees, but also herbs, shrubs, climbers, the epiphytes.¹⁶ Medicinal plants were abundantly growing in the valley of Western Ghats. It is found as an imperative constituent of the plant resource variety of Kerala. The State has a rich custom in the use of medicinal herbs for health care structure. People of Kerala follow the custom of growing medicinal plants and have valuable knowledge of the medicinal uses of such plants. Agasthyamalai is gifted with a plentiful number of medicinal plants. They were referred to Ayurveda, Siddha, and modern medicine. One hundred and twenty-four medicinal species were identified in the region.¹⁷

The Kanis enjoy respectable acquaintance with medicinal plants. They treat maximum diseases with their traditional knowledge, as per one study about 337 plant species by the tribes.¹⁸ Another research stated that 352 species of plants were used by the tribes.¹⁹ Yet another in-depth study conducted by Ayyanar & Ignacimuthu has reported 54 plant species used by the Kani tribes.²⁰ Another study by Johnsy reported 55 medicinal plants used by Kani tribes to treat skin diseases.²¹ Britto & Mahesh have reported 76 species used by the Kani tribal people.²² Another study by Singh & Padmalath reported 11 species of insects used by the Kani tribes to treat various ailments like urinary diseases, neurological problems, hair loss, skin diseases, respiratory illness, etc.²³ Ethnobotanical species were recorded and

reported from Kani. The Kani tribals who live in and around the forests are vigorously engaged in NWFP collection. The most important medicinal herbs include;

Arogyapacha or *Trocopus Zeylanicus*

It is a rare, indigenous medicinal plant in India. This plant is known for its traditional use as an instant energy stimulant. It is viewed by the Kani people as a 'miracle plant'. Arogya Pacha has been in use for centuries by the Kani tribal community.²⁴ They extracted its medicinal properties. It was an accidental discovery made by a team led by Scientists of TBGRI during the Ethno Medico-Botanical exploration of the Agasthyar Valley areas of Thiruvananthapuram District. The discovery of the unique property of the plant was based on the leads obtained from disclosures by the Kani tribe people. They accompanied the group as Porters and Guides. Kani people used it as a healthy food for instant stamina, evergreen health, and vitality.²⁵ It boosts the body's immune system as the plant has a sugar-fatty acid combination, anti-fatigue properties, hepato-protective, and anti-stress activities.

Cheriya Arayan or *Aristolochia Indica* Linn and Valiya Arayan or *Aristolochia Tagala* Chan

They are two species of the plant *Aristolochia*. It is abundantly found in the Agasthyar Valley areas and is used by the Kani people. It is a shrub or persistent herb with long twining stems and flowering and fruiting of this climbing plant is found from December to February. It is viewed as a potent anti-snake venomous. They used it against snake poison and insect bites.

Keerikkizhangu or *Anaphyllum Beddomei*

Malabar Tall-Leaf Arum is a corm-bearing herb, named for Col. Richard Henry Beddome, 19th Century British botanist in India and Director of the Lal Bagh at Bangalore.²⁶ It is endemic to the Southern Western Ghats and its flowering is from February to March. Its presence is noted in thick forests and is used by the Kani people as an antidote for snake venom, by giving the plant rhizome paste internally. Kani people approached the plant with a pure mind, as they believed that it was a God plant. To make it more effective in curation, usually, it is usually given with the urine of a man.

Kiriyathu or Nilavepu or *Andrographis Panikulatha*

It is widely used as an effective medicine for the treatment of cough and fever. This is widely practiced by the Kani people.

Kuravan Kanda or *Kuttila Vayana* or *Apama Siliquosa*

This perennial shrub grows up to 3 meters in height. Leaves alternate ovate-lanceolate, about 15 cm long. Upper surface rough. Flowers are tiny and whitish, found in the axilla of the leaf. Kani dwelling in the Agasthyamalai forests attributes a variety of medicinal properties from Kuravankandamooli, it is practically employed as a universal remedy in their life. It is used for the treatment of stomach aches, chest pain, and skin disorders.

Parayilpandam or *Ceropegia Spiralls*

Kani tribal people called it Parayilpandam and the corm of this plant is used as food for blood purification the tribals Relied on the healing power of *Ceropegia spiralis*.²⁷

Vellamundan or *Chasalia Curvi flora*

This shrub is popularly called by the Kani tribe as Vellamundan. It is an effective medicine for the treatment of Jaundice. It is believed to be three times more effective than the commonly used medicinal plant, Keezhanelli, or *Phyllanthus raternus*.

Nilappana or Curculigoorchiodes

These Tubers are used to induce lactation in nursing Mothers; hence they contain a large quantity of starch. Kanis believes that to make this medicine more operative, it should be set only by the patient. Moreover, it is also used to prevent Jaundice, Cough, etc.

Muyal Cheviyan or Emilia Sonchifolia

A small herb with leaves having the shape of the pinna of a rabbit. So, the Kani people called it Muyal Chevian. The Kani tribes apply the paste made from the entire plant body to wounds for fast healing and chest pain.²⁸

Chilathi Pacha or Ruellia Patula Jacq

Chilanthi Pacha is used as a single drug remedy against the deadly poison of Kaduva Chilanthi or Tiger spider. The Kanis believe that the Kaduva Chilanthi are the incarnations of evil spirits.²⁹

Valank or Marachada or Sansevieria Roxburghiana Schult.

Leaves of the plant, commonly known among the tribes as Marachada or Valank are used for the treatment of ear pain. It is also used for long-standing coughs. ³⁰

Lakshmi Kutty Amma, a multifaceted woman and famous Tribal Medicine practitioner and poison healer of Kerala. She was born in 1944. Her father was Rangan and mother was Kundhi. She lives in the forest near Kallar in Ponmudi, Thiruvananthapuram³¹. She had just formal education and experience in traditional medicine through her mother. A renowned healer of poisonous snake and insect bites and nurtures around 150 herbal medicine plants, which have saved around 350 people bitten by poisonous snakes.³² She had been providing the medicine for snake bites for the past 50 years. She can remember more than 500 medicinal plants for various diseases. and the Forest Department has decided to prepare a book based on her memory and proficiency. The people called affectionately Vanamuthassi (Grandmother of the Jungle)³³. Lakshmi Kutty Amma was conferred Padma Shri, the Country's fourth highest civilian Award in 2008.³⁴ The Kerala Government was honored with the Nattu Vaidya Ratna award in 1995. Lakshmi Kutty Amma still lives in a small hut and her day starts with walking in the forest of Kallar. She walked 10 km in a day and this time she spent collecting the medicines and speaking to nature and their surrounding environment.

Lakshmi Kutty Amma now crossed at 81 still pursuing her passion and even taking classes at the Folklore Academy in the field of traditional medicine. She has been in touch with the students, environmentalists, Tribal activist, and the public pays attention to preserving nature and stands for maintaining the tribal rights of her fellowmen. She has a taste in writing poems and stories related to the life, culture, and practices of the Kani tribes in Thiruvananthapuram. Recently her fame was acknowledged by Hon'ble Prime Minister Narendra Modi in his monthly Maan Ki Baat.

Conclusion

Agasthyarkoodam is the abode of the tribal people Kanikkar. Ethnographically Kanikkar fits to Proto-Australoid group and believes that they have been brought by Sage Agasthyar to the terrain. They followed traditional medicinal practices and had a close affinity with nature. They were very well aware of rare medicinal plants, their locations in the valley, and their applications. This knowledge is deeply mixed up with their belief systems. They believe that expressing the secrets of medicinal usage of rare plants diminishes their healing power. They were alarmed at the intruders of the outer world into the forest tracts causing massive deforestation. Traditional knowledge preservation is highly put forward in

the age of Globalisation and indigenous medicinal practices should be preserved and ensure the conservation of endangered medicinal plants.

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DOCUMENTING THE MALABAR REBELLION OF 1921: READING THE ORAL HISTORY WORK OF A K KODUR

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The history of the freedom movement in India has been extensively documented by both academic scholars and participants of the movement. Additionally, there is a category of scholars who, driven by genuine interest, have made commendable efforts to collect oral accounts and non-conventional sources related to the freedom struggle. These evidences play a crucial role in scientifically studying the struggle for modernizing society. The emergence of oral history as a method of historical writing has helped us explore the hidden corners of history and give voice to the silenced in society.

There are numerous academic and non-academic publications about the Malabar Rebellion of 1921 in Kerala, which occurred as a culmination of the nineteenth-century peasant protests against colonial rule. Among these works, one significant contribution is by A.K. Kodur, who, despite not being a trained historian, authored *Anglo Mappila Yudham*. This book delves into the Malabar Rebellion of 1921 from an oral history perspective. A.K. Kodur's unique approach involved travelling across the villages of South Malabar in Kerala and a few places in Tamil Nadu to interview individuals who participated in the struggle and were still alive at that time. Consequently, this book, which represents only a fraction of the evidence collected by A.K. Kodur, provides scholars with profound insights into the national struggle that took place in Malabar between 1920 and 1922.

The study of A.K. Kodur began during the debates about the Malabar Rebellion's fiftieth anniversary in 1971. As a journalist from the heart of the region where this anti-imperial struggle took place in 1921, A.K. Kodur decided to collect first-hand evidence from participants of the movement. This approach lent the book its authenticity, making it a true exposition of the Malabar Rebellion of 1921. Most research on the freedom movement in Malabar relies on colonial records and a few autobiographies, often neglecting the non-conventional evidence available in society. In this context, the current study seeks to understand the life and writings of A.K. Kodur, with a focus on his efforts to document the history of the Malabar Rebellion of 1921.

Scholars studying the Malabar Rebellion of 1921, an anti-imperialist struggle in colonial Malabar, Kerala, will undoubtedly recognize the contributions of Alavikutty Kodur, also known as A.K. Kodur. During the early years of his work as a journalist, he was known as P. K. Kodur or Pattar Kadavan Kodur. His village, Kodur, a village adjacent to the Malappuram town in Kerala, is intimately tied to his legacy. The town of Malappuram became the epicentre of the colonial action against the people's protest as it was the seat of the Malappuram Special Police formed to suppress the anti-colonial voice in south Malabar. Being a local journalist and reporter of major newspapers in Malappuram town, A K Kodur came across different people telling the true stories of the Malabar rebellion. These versions were not present in the books and documents written by British officials and research scholars. It was this experience that prompted him to document the history of the rebellion by hearing the words of the participants of the movement in 1971.

His role in bringing recognition to his homeland through his writings is invaluable. A.K. Kodur was a pioneering writer who meticulously documented the rich heritage of Kodur village with methodological

excellence. A.K. Kodur, a journalist, writer, and historian, also served on the governing body of the Kodur Panchayat as its member from 2005 to 2010.

Kodur village is situated on the south bank of Kadalundi Puzha, southwest of present-day Malappuram Town. This river is noted in ancient Roman accounts, as they identified the port of Tyndis at its mouth. Being a river linking the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats, the Kadalundi Puzha has played a pivotal role in shaping the history of this region. Historically a vital trade route, the river facilitated the exchange of goods and cultures since ancient times. Kodur lies on the road connecting Malappuram with Kottakkal, Valanchery, and Angadipuram, making it strategically significant. The Kadalundi Puzha's importance in the region's history cannot be overstated. Besides its commercial relevance, the river has cultural and social significance, contributing to the area's rich heritage. Moreover, Kodur is notably the birthplace of Paloli Muhammed, a pioneer leader of the Communist movement in Malappuram district, adding to its historical prominence.

While there is not enough recorded history available to fully understand the past of this region, the land and its people continue to carry forward their daily lives, serving as living historical evidence. Just as Kodur's ash gourd and betel leaves have connected this land with the northern tip of India, Kodur also boasts a proud hockey tradition that stands alongside the renowned football heritage of Malappuram. The most admirable aspect of this land is that the stories, sayings, and beliefs associated with the lives of its people unite human beings beyond the boundaries of religion and facts.

The history of the village can be interpreted through its place names, which include names of agricultural lands, water bodies, hill slopes, bathing places in the river, rocky land, and more. These names encompass the chira (small water reservoir), parambu (dry land fit for cultivation), kadavu (boatyard in a river), bazaar (small market), pond, pulam (wetland), and athani (stone hedge erected to unload headloads). These place names serve as crucial historical evidence of the life struggles of the people in this land. This evidence suggests that the area has been integrated into the political and economic history of the region since the Stone Age. Kodur was a hub for the collection of spices and agricultural goods from the interior, and it also served as a point where goods from the coast reached the interior. As a village adjacent to Malappuram town, Kodur witnessed all significant incidents and political movements associated with the Samoothiri Raja of Kozhikode and the British, who camped at Malappuram to counter the rebellion of the Mappila people against colonialism. From childhood, A.K. Kodur was educated against the backdrop of police atrocities against Mappilas, especially against women. This village life sowed the seeds of historical inquiry in A.K. Kodur's mind.

The evidence of ancient human habitation is available in the Kodur village. Recently, evidence of the Iron Age, known as muniyara, carved out of cut stone from Kodur, was discovered. Small earthen vessels and iron weapons have been found in this muniyara, which was discovered at Thannikkal Palumkunnu in Kodur. This undoubtedly proves an agricultural culture. Additionally, elders mention finding nannangadi or earthen jars used by the Iron Age people from the same period in multiple locations. Place names containing the word nattukal or big stones indicate sites where menhirs were built during this period, which required iron weapons. The presence of ores, later known as narimada or ayirumada, where iron ore was mined, further indicates the early community and culture of the region. This historical evidence takes researchers back five centuries before the Christian era.

The early history of Kodur is evidenced by numerous artefacts such as prehistoric nannangadi, post holes, menhirs, iron ore deposits, and muniyara or rock-cut chambers, which are invaluable resources for researchers. It should be noted that the Nooranipuzha (local name of the Kadalundi River), Kadavu

or boatyard, paddy fields, and place names also offer significant insights. These show that the village of Kodur is rich in historical evidence. Ancient inscriptions obtained from a nearby temple at Indianoor in Kottakkal, preserved in the Department of History at the University of Calicut, along with place names, reveal the history of the ownership of the region and its resources by the Chera kings of Mahodayapuram. Over time, the local chiefs of Valluvanad called the Arangottu Swaroopam, who were based in Kuruva (a nearby place), assumed control of Kodur. It was during this period that the caste-centric system, under Brahmin-centric Hinduism, took root in Kodur, as in other areas.

The potential for foreign trade significantly altered the agricultural and cultural history of Kodur from an early age. The trade links between Kadalundi River and the trade routes across the eastern hills and the sea encouraged the people to cultivate spices alongside food crops. The entry of traders and goods connecting the village with the far away towns and people changed the socio-economic system at Kodur.

The local feudatory, the Raja of Valluvanad, increased his economic power by capitalizing on the growing fortunes of maritime trade. Ponnani and the river mouth of Kadalundi River were the strategic ports that facilitated this plan. Recognizing this, the Samoothiri of Kozhikode captured the western and northern parts of Valluvanad. Following this political change, Valluvanad deployed chaver people (suicide squads) to fight the Samoothiri during the Mamankam festival held at Ponnani. Kodur has also found a place in the history of the chaver who fought and competed in the Mamankam festival. Local investigations indicate that this system eventually gave way to the feudal system of the Zamorin. During this period, the Moosath Brahmins, feudatories of Azvancherry, the Mullasserri Tharavad of Kozhikode, the Mankada Kovilakam, and the Para Nambi in Malappuram became the landowners of Kodur.

The Samoothiri of Kozhikode was able to win the battle due to his mastery of maritime trade and his alliance with the Marakkar (chieftain of the Mappila fisherfolk) and his men. The Mappila community along the coast provided full support to the Samoothiri, assisting him in his conquest of Valluvanad. The success and rule of the Samoothiri were made possible only with the support of the Marakkar chiefs and the Muslim community. The presence of Marakkar in the land records of Kodur village illustrates how this alliance influenced social life in Kodur. It was in this context that Europeans began to monopolize maritime trade in Malabar. The foreign hegemony established by the Portuguese eventually led to British rule in Malabar by 1792.

Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, who came to Malabar in search of wealth to lead the struggle against British supremacy in the 18th century, inflicted a far-reaching blow on the feudal system. The feudal lords came under the control of the government and the common man was able to become the owners of the leased land they cultivated. The state tax applied to everyone. The land was measured in a modern way. New systems such as farqa, kasaba, and palayam were implemented in the Malabar. The present-day headquarters of the Malabar Special Police in Malappuram was the spot of the fort of Tipu Sultan and it was his administrative centre of the locality. There were roads connecting each village with carts. These wheelbarrowed roads called 'Tipu Sultan Roads' took the country to a new era. The damage to the caste-feudal system liberated the marginalised from the shackles, and Islam became acceptable to them. With the surrender of Tipu Sultan in 1792, British supremacy came into being and it led to the return of the old-fashioned casteism in a new form. This led to the peasant struggles in Malabar from the 19th century onwards. This people's movement became an anti-imperialist struggle with the Malabar Rebellion of 1921 during the freedom struggle. Being the nearest place, the Kodur village also was affected by the political changes occurring in the region.

Modern India, as we know it, originated in the 19th century. The colonial system established in Malabar in 1792 brought a new pattern of administration to Kodur. This led to continuous rebellions by the Mappila peasants against the British. One reason for the protest was the restoration of the old feudal system, which had been ended by Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. During British rule, extensive efforts were made to govern the country using modern systems and to exploit its wealth. Land settlement records, survey reports, study reports on specific subjects, commission records from periods of inquiry, census records, and police court records form a large collection of documents. Additionally, action files, documents related to large plantations, newspapers, magazines, and more have been preserved in government record offices and archaeological sites. These records provide invaluable insights into the period during and before British rule. We can see that a huge number of people in the village were attracted to colonial plantations in the high ranges and faraway places through kankani agents and this became a special factor affecting the everyday life of the people in the village in the colonial period.

A.K. Kodur carried the legacy of the past with him through the second half of the twentieth century. The discussions and new information that emerged during the 25th anniversary of the Malabar Rebellion in 1971, along with the Congress-led government's reluctance to recognize these freedom fighters, sparked new investigations. During this period, the release of documents from the Malabar Special Police provided new insights into the national movement in Malabar. The lack of academic research institutions and the limited representation of people from lower strata in these institutions had previously hindered scientific investigation of the Mappila people's prolonged fight against British colonial rule.

The increase in educational opportunities in Malabar led ordinary people to study their country and its history more deeply. The University of Calicut was established in 1968, and the Malappuram District was inaugurated in 1969. On January 1, 1970, the land reforms legislation envisaged by the Kerala Government led by EMS Namboodirippad of 1957 was implemented. This Act provided land ownership opportunities to ordinary people, fulfilling the dream of the freedom fighters and Mappila fighters. It was in this context that a renewed focus was given to the historical investigation of the Malabar Rebellion of 1921.

Towards the end of colonial rule, E.M.S. Namboodirippad initiated a discussion on the Malabar Rebellion of 1921, framing it as a peasant protest against colonial rule and collaborating feudatories. This period also saw the historiography system revolutionized by the Marxist interpretation of history. In Kerala, the historiographical method introduced by E.M.S. Namboodirippad and K. Damodaran gained popularity in the mid-20th century. Markets, religious compounds, Kadavu spots, bathing ponds, huts, and workplaces became central to this social history approach. History was now treated as a scientific field that sought answers to present-day problems based on evidence. It is within this context that A.K. Kodur began his investigation into the Malabar struggles.

A.K. Kodur started his career as a journalist in nearby Malappuram Town, where he served as the correspondent for the Press Trust of India. In addition to managing the Times Press in Kodur, A.K. Kodur was responsible for running and writing for Mappila Nadu, Malappuram Times, and the League Times which were printed in his press. During this period, he was also the Malappuram correspondent for the Express Newspaper published from Thrissur. He had a press unit in the beginning which was later shifted to Kodur.

A.K. Kodur was born in 1935 to Varikode Pattar Kadavan Komu and Kavungal Kunjikathiyumma. His main occupation was cultivating the land he inherited. Outside his agricultural life, A.K. Kodur worked in journalism and public service. His wife, Fathima, who is now 80 years old, hails from Cholur, a nearby place. Fathima, who considered herself an ordinary housewife, was not very aware of her husband's intellectual or political pursuits. However, she knew Menon, a native of Cherpulassery, who worked as an assistant to A.K. Kodur. Fathima mentioned that Menon, who often stayed at their home and ate with them, assisted in A.K. Kodur's press for a long time. Menon, whose full name was Govindankutty Menon and was a native of Thrukkadi near Cherpulassery, had a close relationship with A.K. Kodur. This friendship likely aided Kodur in tracing several Hindu people who were leaders in the Malabar rebellion. Moozhikkinnath Brahmadathan Namboodirippad of Cherpulassery was an active supporter of the Mappila people of 1921 and was arrested and severely punished by the British. Menon was able to connect many such people with A K Kodur to understand the unknown facts of the Malabar rebellion.

A.K. Kodur has written several books, some of which have been published under the title P.K. Kodur. Notable among them is the book Malappuram Rakthasakshikal: Laghu Nataka Charithram (Play on the Martyrs of Malappuram), printed in his press, Times Press and Books Malappuram. In this play, it is said that the friendship between the Zamorin king and the Jonaka Mappilas made the city of Kozhikode world-famous, and jonakar was appointed as the commander of the Samoothiri army. The play portrays the jonakar as faithful and good rulers. A.K. Kodur has depicted Para Nambi, the local agent of the Samoothiri, as fabricating false stories about the Mappila peasants in Malappuram. There is a Mappila War song called 'Malappuram Padappattu' that describes the Mappila people's fight against Para Nambi. Apart from this drama, A.K. Kodur has authored works such as PMSA Pookoya Thangal, K M Seethi Saheb, and What is Muslim League? Why? How?: An Important Question about the Muslim League, General Najeeb, Jamal Abdul Nasser, and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. Those familiar with his writings can attest that A.K. Kodur pursued journalism and operated his press with a passion that extended beyond mere profit.

A.K. Kodur's enduring fame stems from his invaluable contributions to researchers studying the history of the freedom struggle in Malabar. He interviewed around thirty people in Ernad, Valluvanad, and Kozhikode taluks, gathering crucial information. Kodur not only transcribed the notes he received but also collected unpublished Mappilapptukal written by some individuals. It is very important to note that Menon was accompanying A K Kodur to collect these stories and write down the words of the people they met.

M K Kunjahammedaji of Tirurangadi, Mahmadaji, son of Karadan Moideen, U C Narayanan Namboothiri of Porur, K P Muhammed Haji, Nanath Kunjalavi Haji, Paramban Kuttyappu in Malappuram, Chakrathodi Kuttyasan of Kottakkalputhur, Kunjammu of Vadakku Veettil, Muhammed Musliyar of Nellikkuthu, P V Alavikutty, Nalakath Beeran of Nilambur, Appukuttan Nair, son of Damodaran Namboothiri of Kuttiyanikkad in Nilambur, Kalakappara Kuttyappu and P K Moideenkutty Saheb, who was 12 years old at the time of the rebellion, V K Muhammed of Kuttipuram Edayalur, Karattiparakkal Kunjahammed of Chelembra who was 106 years old, Kalangadan Moideen, who was 100 years old residing at Nediyruppu, K C Kochunni Nair of Mannarkkad who was 96 years old, Fathima of Puzhakkathodi, Kollaramban Moideen Haji of Pookkottoor, Ahamed Kutty Mollah of Pottengal in Nellikkuthu, Valiyakath Alavi of Pullara Melmuri, C H Alikutty Kurikal of Kattiparuthy,

Ahamed Perul of Pathapiriyam, Ekode Muhammed of Kundotti, K.A. Thachunni Nair of Kumaramputhur, Chelakkadan Fathimakutty, who was 105 years old in Perinthalmanna, Abdulla Haji of Pottayil in Karuvarakundu, K. Abdatti of Pattikad, C.P. Kuttybhanu Panicker of Puzhakattiri, V.P. Kunjalankutty Haji, P Muhammed Kurikal in Malappuram, Abdurahimankutty Musliyar of Keezhpoyil in Puthoor in Kozhikode District, Muhammed Haji of Koyath in Pookkottur, Kunjamu of Elambulassery in Kooriyatte, Kappoor Unninappa of Thazhakote, A.K. Kodur personally met and interviewed them. He was also able to collect the involvement of U Mammooty Musliyar of Kodur Chemmankadavu through a long-drawn-out investigation.

Through his oral history investigation and fieldwork, A.K. Kodur has unearthed valuable information not available in existing documents about the Malabar Rebellion. Leaders of the Malabar Rebellion such as M.P. Narayana Menon, Mannarkkad Ilayara Nair, Vellatara Unnikunchan Raja, Pampottu Achuthankutty Menon, Moozhikunnath Brahmadathan Namboothiripad, and Poonthanam Raman Namboothiri were Hindus. Their participation underscores the secular nature of the rebellion against the British. The records of the Malabar Special Police, which were released after the 1970s, helped Kodur confirm the information obtained in these interviews. Kodur's investigation reveals that the core message of the struggle was the collective effort to end centuries-old witch-hunts and evictions by the Janmis, advocating for Indian self-rule instead of British domination.

About ten contingents of forces led to the unprecedented repression of the national struggle in Eranad and Valluvanad. In addition, four companies of the newly formed Malabar Special Police (The Malappuram Special Police was restructured as Malabar Special Police during the rebellion of 1921) were deployed. On August 25, 1921, before their deployment, a parade was held in Kozhikode city to showcase the strength of the soldiers, which left everyone in awe. The parade took place along with the arrival of a huge force from Ceylon at Kozhikode.

The extensive service of ex-servicemen was utilized in the Malabar Rebellion to support this army. Many Malayalees, who were ex-servicemen, had worked in the police and government offices in various low-key jobs. Some of them supported the freedom struggle in Malabar and played a crucial role in providing gun use and combat training to the anti-British forces. Prominent among them was Naik Thami, a native of Pandalur. Thami was an aide to Variyan Kunnath Kunjahamed Haji, leader of the rebellion. Naik Thami, employed at the Collector's office in Kozhikode became the chief informant of Kunjahamed Haji. This ex-soldier was a sepoy of the Hajur Office in Kozhikode and had retired from the Malabar Infantry Battalion, which ceased to exist in 1918. It was at the Hajur office in Kozhikode that the army, which had retreated after the revolt from some places in Malabar, was negotiating to retaliate. On August 14, 1921, when top officials were holding discussions to make important decisions, Naik Thami entered the hall three times with tea. E F Thomas, Collector of Malabar was unable to arrest Ali Musliyar and Variyan Kunnath Kunjahammed Haji at Tirurangadi because Thami had informed Variyan Kunnath about the details of this discussion.

A.K. Kodur knew that important information could be obtained from Thami. Kodur eventually traced Thami's family to Injupady village in the Selam District of Tamil Nadu. By then, Thami had passed away. When Thami's son Aramugam handed over the notes written by his father to Kodur, valuable information about Variyan Kunnathu's courageous resistance was revealed.

Variyan Kunnath as the leader of the resistance had punished Ahammedkutty Haji, a forest guard of the British government in Nilambur. A K Kodur was also able to collect his notes. Apart from this, a

fighter named Puthiyakath Unnithari in Nilambur had shaken the British with several followers and guns. It was A K Kodur who brought out the knowledge about this warrior's heroic deeds.

Similarly, Manchi Ayamutti was a chief person discovered by A.K. Kodur in 1974. Manchi, who was then about 80 years old, escaped to Thiruvithamcore in south Kerala after the defeat of Variyan Kunnath. Ayamutti returned to Malabar in 1943 and stayed at Cherpulassery and then shifted to Kumaramputhur. A.K. Kodur spoke to Kunnathuli Ali of Kumaramputhur, another participant of the Rebellion.

The Malappuram Police Force was the earliest special army of the British in Malabar. Soon after the revolt began in 1921, the force was upgraded and equipped as the Malabar Special Police or MSP. Many people who served in this force and related services lived in the post-independence period. Historians did not approach them or collect information. One of them was Mayankottu Kannan Menon, who retired from the Ottapalam Sub-Court. A.K. Kodur interviewed Mayangottu Kannan Menon, who had retired from the Ottapalam sub-court in 1921. Kannan Menon has been a trial clerk in a British military court since then. The information given by Kannan Menon to A K Kodur in 1972 made available to us the information about the trial of Variyan Kunnath and the context of his martyrdom.

Unnikunjan Thampuran of Aripurakovilakam in Valluvanad was a leader of the Congress Khilafat movement in 1921. Unnikunjan Thampuran was a member of the Khilafat Congress Committee of Perinthalmanna, which came into existence in 1920. It was the Khilafat Congress Committee that declared an independent government in Perinthalmanna during the revolt. Unnikunchan Raja was also arrested for waging war against the British king with the arrival of the army. In this case, Raja was acquitted by the Madras High Court. This information was made available to the researchers today by the efforts of A K Kodur.

Parampottu Achuthankutty Menon, who was sentenced to five years in jail by the army on charges of demolishing the government Treasury at Perinthalmanna, was a man who suffered hell because of the personal enmity of the then police chief M Narayana Menon. M P Narayana Menon was married to Achuthankutty Menon's sister. To the British, he was a 'dangerous young man to be imprisoned' for leading the Malabar Rebellion. M P Narayana Menon was imprisoned by the imperialist regime for twelve long years. It was A K Kodur's investigative journeys that brought out the most important of the heroic experiences of these fighters.

A. K. Kodur's travels also led to the collection of additional information on the history of many supporters. The Kollans of Karuvarakundu are an integral part of the Malabar struggle. Cheramparam, where iron was available on the Cherambu hill, was the centre of activity for these blacksmiths. A.K. Kodur was able to gather information that hinted at the details of the anti-British struggle and the history of weapons manufacturing.

The information shared by A.K. Kodur helps to understand how people were politicized during the emergence of movements such as the self-government movement and the Non-Cooperation Movement in Malabar. A.K. Kodur met Kalangadan Moideen of Nediyruppu, who was one hundred and seven years old. Moideen was an assistant to Variyan Kunnath at a shop in Pothundipara in Nediyruppu. Moideen told Kodur that they used to walk across nearby places to recruit delegates for the Fifth Malabar District Conference held at Manjeri on April 27 and 28, 1920. This political conference demonstrated the power of the politicization of ordinary people. When many resolutions were presented to praise the landlords and the British, the ordinary people who became members of the

conference voted against them, leading the landlord-cum-pro-British leaders to walk out of the meeting. A.K. Kodur, who implemented an innovative system of data collection at that time, was able to gather facts not present in archival records and biographies. Variyan Kunnathu and his team recruited many people from Pandikkad, Chemprassery, Nellikuthu, Vellangadu, and Nediyruppu as delegates. Variyan Kunnathu personally covered the delegate fees for many individuals, which was one rupee per representative. In Malabar, it was Variyan Kunnathu and his team who formed tenant committees rather than Khilafat committees. This period saw the politicization of ordinary people. It was during this time that the 'Cherumanakunnu Mappilas,' referred to by Manjeri Rama Iyer, became active in the political arena.

A.K. Kodur has been critical of the stance taken by the Indian National Congress during the Malabar Rebellion, which had evolved into a people's struggle. Following the British argument that the Mappilas were 'uneducated and uncultured,' the Congress could not prevent the big landlords from siding with the army to suppress the revolt. A.K. Kodur also criticized the toddy shop picketings organized by the Congress, which he believed contributed to the Malabar riots, as reported by Mithavathi, a newspaper of that period published by C Krishnan. A K Kodur argued that this stance hindered the unification of caste groups in the fight. With the help of the Mappilas, the marginalized, who had been neglected, began to actively participate in the public sphere through since the Malabar rebellion of 1921. A.K. Kodur contended that the unique aspect of the Malabar Rebellion was that the basic class stood against the caste system. He opined that the main issue in the areas where the riots occurred was not religious sentiments but the discrimination and exploitation created by casteism and prejudice. Despite the differences, the situation called for standing up against the imperialist forces, as exemplified by Variyan Kunnathu and others.

A.K. Kodur's findings were published in 1996 on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of 1921. The Anglo-Mappila War, published in 1999, was published by Mehboob Printing and Books of Kodur in 1921. The book, which came out as a very short book, did not contain all the information collected by A.K. Kodur. K. M. Salam of Kiliyamannil led the mission. At that time, A.K. Kodur was able to prepare the book elaborately, but it did not see the light of the day in that form. A.K. Kodur left us on July 6, 2010, unable to see the full results of his life's mission reaching the people in its entirety. N.N. Moosatt wrote the preface to the first edition of the Anglo-Mappila War of 1921. N.N. Moosatt states that the new historiography system developed by Ronald J. Green, Paul Thompson, Alistair Thompson and others was very effective and that it was first tried in Kerala by a common man named A.K. Kodur.

The relevance of A K Kodur's words is very important for the current movements. In the preface to the short play, Malappuram Rakthasakshikal: Laghu Nataka Charithram, A.K. Kodur wrote: "It's too late, but this is a time when many people have started thinking aloud about the fight against fascism. Pattar Kadavan Kodur believed that this booklet would inspire those who think so.

End Notes and References

1. An interview was conducted with A K Kodur's wife Fathima, who is close to 80 years old, at their home in Kodur on January 21, 2024, at 10 am. Dr. Askar Ali, her son was also present.
2. Interview with A K Kodur's eldest son, 56-year-old Komukkutty, at his home at 9.45 am on January 21, 2024.

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6. *Vikasana Rekha of the Mankada Block in Malappuram District*, vol. no. 117 prepared during the period of the People's Planning Programme. Govt. of Kerala Examined from the Central Library of The University of Calicut.
7. The information about the Muniyara was given by 57-year-old Aravindakshan, a resident of Thanikkal Palumkunnu in the Kodur village. The information was shared on January 24, 2024, at 4 pm at the spot where Muniyara was found.

DYNAMICS OF CHANGE IN KERALA'S HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

INDEX: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Introduction

The end of the colonial period invited a discussion on development across countries and India, and the subject matter of Kerala was not an exemption. The benchmark or standard as fixed by U N conventions since the late 1980s has brought education and health as important factors to bring much qualitative change. Kerala since its formation in 1957 has been applauded for its first democratically elected Government, achievement in literacy, morbidity, child mortality, longevity etc a standard comparable to that of the developed one. A taxonomy of the factors draws attention to the development initiatives undertaken.

Autonomy prevailed in Cochin and Thiruvananthapuram during the colonial period and the native rulers were generous enough to spend on health and education aided and abetted by the support of social and religious reform movements during the 19th and 20th centuries Lieten (2002). Kerala was much globalised during the latter part of the 19th century and the economy witnessed trade links with the Arab and European world providing the way for the commercialisation of cash crops. This has a forward linkage with land reforms which illuminates to materialize of the objective. It can also be argued that the increased external trade paved the way for a labour force at least with basic education.

While trying to focus on the left-inspired political movement, the Government greased immensely for this achievement. Here Amartya Sen's argument sounds more prominent that Kerala documented a kind of Political agency from below (Sen. A 1997).

Ramachandran V K (1997) argued that royal support for education though opened up a network of schools, but it has not been trickled down to the lower rungs of society. The argument goes like this – the education policy of the erstwhile colonial rulers and the protestant reformers were not able to lift beyond a threshold level. The first federal Government of Kerala spearheaded by CPI moved forward along with social mobilisation in all spheres of activity. This had a forward and backward linkage as well. The groundwork provided by the social changers, to cite for instance the temple entry movement, and the peasant movements in the 1930s were highly instrumental in this change.

The first EMS Government witnessed the decisive role of youth clubs, the establishment of organisations exclusively for women, the library movement and mass campaign by Kerala Shastra Sahitya Parishad etc. The administrative competency of the CPI-led Government in 1957, gained as a result of its backward linkage and its contributions thereafter had a forward linkage for all together development of the society and human development in particular. The two long-term developments observed in Kerala's achievement were the demographic transition and the literacy rate.

Section II

The metatheoretical explanation that the Kerala Model of Development sustains itself over the years is based on historical foundations that cannot be denied and the dynamism percolates even today. Kerala reached Western standards in education, health, and fertility levels and the state's economy underperformed even with a comparison to the 'Hindu Rate of Growth' the national economy

experiencing - a unique mix of high human development with low per capita Income. Let us examine the performance of each component in detail

Achievement in Education: A Note on Educational Reforms

The role of Catholic and Protestant church organisations needs to be highlighted for providing the best educational system even at a very early stage, to be more general, even during the colonial period ie., a vibrant private sector in education prevailed and the state provided every privilege to nurture the same. The state expenditure on education was as high as 80.6% and is even higher than the national level the margin of difference being 65.6%. But lopsided attainment has been observed in education that children from Brahmin, Nair and Christian families are more privileged to access it. By the mid-1960s, only 17 per cent of the SC population had finished primary school; of the Muslims and Erevas only 21.2 per cent and 24 per cent respectively had done so [Lieten1982: 35].

The Kerala Education Bill, 1957 ensured the quality of education by regulating the salary payment and other service security offers to the teachers. Appointments were also scrutinised based on qualification at the district level was able to professionalise and universalise the education system in Kerala. Recently also, the state government's policy of Public Education Rejuvenation Mission started in 2016, and aimed to raise the quality of teaching and learning in state schools, which can be seen in the massive shift of students from unaided to government schools between 2016- 17 and 2019-20.

In this period five lakh new students sought admission in government and government-aided schools. The last four and a half years saw the Government investing heavily in new-generation public schools throughout Kerala, to make the best possible school education available to every child in the State. In many parts of India and the world, school children, particularly underprivileged children, were left stranded by the pandemic. In these circumstances, Kerala made the utmost efforts to reach out to school children and promote academic continuity to them. Through the implementation of the Hi-Tech School project, KITE has converted 44,705 classrooms as Hi-Tech (standard 8 to 12) in 4,752 Government and Aided schools in the State. Smart 8 classrooms and computer labs for primary classes are nearing completion (Chapter 6, Page 316 of Volume 1). Despite the Covid-19 pandemic, this year's academic session commenced as in previous years, on June 1, 2020. This was through the digital version of the classes titled 'FIRST BELL' through the Kite Victors' educational channel.

Education: Highly literate populous

Literacy is one paradigm that many know about the state. In the Travancore-Cochin belt literacy rate was reasonably high, but it observed a change that increased at an increasing rate thereafter the first ministry of EMS Namboothiripad. Census reports show that the literacy rate in 1961 was 31.9% drastically improving to over 60.4% per cent level. The adult literacy rate of Kerala was 47% in 1971 and that 86 % in 1981 to 93% in 1991 as compared to 24%, 55% and 62% being recorded at the national level. According to the 2011 census, Kerala's literacy rate stands at 93.91%, a slight improvement of 3%+ in ten years. The high standards in education are attributed to a range of factors such as the social reform movements in the 1920s and 1930s, the dictum for compulsory primary education passed by the royal kingdoms before independence, empowerment of women, Muslim madrasahs and 'pallikudams' by Christian missionaries. Elected governments after independence also dedicated a significant section of the state budget towards education and the building of schools. A female literacy rate of 91.98% is also the highest in the country.

Health Scenario in Kerala

Kerala provides Good Health at Low Cost and Good Health with Social Justice and Equity the connotation as described by international agencies.

Crude Death Rate/Birth Rate/Infant Mortality Rate

The decade 1961 to 1971 observed a drastic fall in the crude death rate (CDR) from around 160/1000 to 80/1000. Along with this, there had been a dramatic fall in infant mortality rate by 45% (T N Krishnan 1976). Remarkably, there has been a drop in the crude birth rate as well – a decline of 40% in 1960 to less than 20% in 1990 (Linen, 2002). While the low birth rate in Kerala is currently seen as a concern, the state is praised enough for its low infant mortality rate (IMR) – 12 per 1,000 births, comparable with developed countries like the US. Table 1 provides the comparative picture of the Infant Mortality Rate of Kerala viz-a-viz that of India. Kerala's achievements in the health sector have been a matter of pride that it has been achieved as a result of the continuous effort of successive governments based on the footing that erstwhile officeholders or administrators provided. Both traditional as well as modern medicine have been provided equal priority.

Infant Mortality Rate Per 1000 births in India and Kerala: A comparison has been provided in the table below.

Table 1 Infant Mortality Rate Per1000 births in India and Kerala: A Comparison

YEAR	KERALA	INDIA
1951	120	146
1961	90	134
1971	58	129
1981	37	110
1991	16	80
2001	11	66
2005	14	58

Source: Census Reports

Life Expectancy of Kerala

The life expectancy of Keralites also needs much attention in this context. Recent data by the Sample Registration System (SRS) of the Registrar General of India (RGI) shows Kerala's overall life expectancy at 74.9 years – 72 for men and 77.8 for women. The availability of good healthcare facilities and improved socio-economic factors are to be attributed for the good numbers. Life expectancy at birth is exhibited in the table below

Table 1 Life Expectancy in India and Kerala: A comparison

Year	Kerala	India
1960	50.3	44
1981	66.9	53.9
1999	74	63

2002	74	63
2014	75	68
2017	75.2	69
2019	70	77

Source: Census Reports

Human Development Index of Kerala

Kerala's rating of HDI is 0.790 is the highest in India, resulting mainly from the vast improvements the state has made in the fields of sanitation, health, education and poverty reduction (RBI, 2013). The Human Development Index, a comprehensive index which measures all the health indicators as well as education exhibits a higher scale which is not an exception. The achievement gained on this front has been altogether the achievement realised in all indicators of human development.

Conclusion

The Kerala Model of Development having a low GDP along with a high HDI placed Kerala's economy among the developed world. The entire development process changed the mindset of the people, and the aspirations, claims and demands of the people started changing. The EMS ministry was much more instrumental in speeding up and materialising the educational reforms and land reforms. The political turbulence was congenial enough to cater the demands of the masses. Everyone demands for their entitlement, all reflected in human development, people do have control over fertility, morbidity, illiteracy etc. The radical social reforms and social welfare programmes do have a much positive impact. The historical foundations of these cannot be denied and the dynamism percolates even today.

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THE SANTHIGIRI ASHRAM, THE SANCTIFYING CENTRE OF SECULAR SPIRITUALITY: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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Introduction

The Santhigiri Ashram is known for its concept of "Secular Spirituality," This unique approach aims to unite people from different religious backgrounds and promote unity and peace. In the context of Santhigiri, secular spirituality involves transcending religious boundaries and emphasising the common elements found in various faiths. This approach encourages individuals to practice spirituality and seek a deeper connection with the divine while respecting and appreciating all religions. Santhigiri Ashram teaches that true spirituality lies in understanding the oneness of humanity and fostering harmony among people of different faiths. The ashram's founder, Navajyothisree Karunakara Guru, advocated for secular spirituality to promote peace, tolerance, and understanding among people of all religious beliefs. It's a philosophy that reflects a harmonious coexistence of spirituality and secularism, allowing individuals to explore their spiritual journey while respecting diverse religious traditions.

Secular spirituality is the adherence to a spiritual philosophy without adherence to a religion. Secular spirituality emphasises the inner peace of the individual. It celebrates our consciousness and connectedness and the gift of our mortal life. The truth is that the method and medium of Santhigiri Ashram enables people to reach the goal of the oneness of humanity, forgetting caste and religion. The ideology of Santhigiri is not religious law; it is an effort to reveal and correct the mistakes that occurred in society to make the people come up. ¹Word is Truth; when that Truth becomes our experience, that is Guru; when it is experienced more profoundly, it becomes God. Rishi Pooja is under the name Gurupooja in Santhigiri. Rishi means eternal guru. ²The worship of the sage, who is a Kalantharaguru (the Guru of authority for ages)³

Guru Pooja

The word Guru has a broad meaning. That word can cover everything, both imperfect and perfect. Although the word can be interpreted in many ways, the word is usually said to mean dispelling darkness.⁴ Guru Pooja at Shantigiri is the cornerstone of a spiritual act that fulfils the bonds of karma acquired through purity. ⁵Guru Pooja at Santhigiri is a fundamental spiritual performance based on faith in the one Absolute God, which unwinds the knots of accumulated karma of several births by cleansing the soul.⁶ While doing karma, one should only use logic with intelligence. One should learn from a great soul to purify karma and develop the habit of obedience⁷. After birth, the fortunes and misfortunes are all within the circle of influence of these ancestors. The great act of Pitru Shuddhi is possible only through the Jnanatapagni of the great sage. Guru Pooja in Shantigiri is a ritual that liberates the ancestral lineages and all the murtis who worshipped them as gods in the enlightenment of the Guru, who has completed all the spiritual conditions. It is not a worship ritual on the physical level. ⁸Guru is like God. Guru is the only way to reach God. The light of the Guru also resides as Panchabhutas.⁹

Guru Pooja at Santhigiri is a spiritual act that imparts knowledge about the (next) Age of Truth (Satyayuga) and the stages of the process leading to it after completely removing the decadence of devotion due to (lack of awareness of the) shift in Yugadharma and showing the (path of) righteous devotion and wisdom. Guru Pooja at Santhigiri is an act ordained by the absolute wherein the karmic entanglements of several

births are perceived, disentangled and changed, lifting the souls to the levels of a deity (deva) or sage (rishi).¹⁰ The Karma (deeds) of the ancestors are passed down through the generations. The destructive impact has affected the entire spiritual and cultural life of generations. Concepts of wrong and right, good and evil, remain distorted forever.¹¹ The souls passing through the cycle of birth and death are matched with age-appropriate karma. Using it, a Dharma life culture is transmitted, and the samsara vimukti is enabled through Mukti, performed through Pitrusuddhi—guru like to worshipped in *Sthula* (Physical) state. ¹²Guru is a *deer dashi* (far-sighted seer) who perceives and ordains what is and is not needed for a yuga. Guru acts to transform society at a particular point in time. The reality of the Guru manifests in the world in the Kaliyuga in its fullness and brilliance. Guru is the perceiver of times - the Trikalajna, who knows the past, present and future. Only a Guru, the beholder of three-fold time, can save you. The Trikalajna Guru is Perfectly Fulfilled. When the evil deeds in the world become unbearable to Nature, God transforms these sins into wars, earthquakes and other natural calamities. ¹³This body consists of the layers (physical encasement) of a soul's evolution, formed through thousands of births. The soul's lack of virtue (punyam) manifests in different bodily diseases. Such karmic diseases are eradicated by the dharmic path that earns virtue through the right action. ¹⁴When Guru received Brahma Shakti (divine inspiration), he prepared himself to serve the world. ¹⁵Society was to be enlightened only when Dharma became pure. Through *Grihasthasrami* (householder), the family becomes enlightened. Effort through generations is necessary for that. The Guru has exhorted the foundation of this purity of life, which removes the mental and spiritual stain and is achieved through hard work.¹⁶

The message of Santhigiri works by the will of the Almighty. This message will exist always, in all ages, as a Dharma, like a sunrise of abounding blessedness. That is the aim of Santhigiri. ¹⁷It was the Guru's custom not to reject any religion or ideology and say that each one is as true as it is. The eternal and glorious Indian vision of Sannyasa was realised by the seers for the development of human beings without caste and religion. The Guru kept everyone close to him by giving him the love that only the wise can provide. ¹⁸Shanti Giri aims to bring back the casteless society formed after varnashrama Dharma.

The Soul that transcends all this, one by one, is the life codified in the concept of Guru. Living such a life, the Guru comes as the Word, as the Medium about whose sacred sayings it is said thus - Word is Truth, Truth is Guru, Guru is God. The foremost education gained from the Ashram is to correct through our wisdom, endeavour, self-sacrifice and action. What is said as Sanatana is confined in the framework of Manu Smriti (the book of sacred laws). ¹⁹The lack of punyam in the soul is expressed as various diseases in the body. This has to be cured by employing different methods. Textual knowledge does not help in this. Where textual knowledge does not help, that path of dharma, which enables one to seek merit (punya) through karma (action), helps. Such dharma influences the soul as well.p

The dharma of the Guru is eternal and inscrutable. Guru is the giver of vision (knowledge) about the level of the atom, the indivisible totality (akhandata) and the object of one's worship. He possesses the clarity of knowing the past, present and future. He can also impart that proof to others; he causes recurrence in their situations to reach a corrective solution. The difference between a Guru and a deity is immense. A life without realising this is fruitless. The deities worshipped- devas and devis - are nothing compared to the visionary disciple of such a Guru.²⁰

Create Guide spiritual awareness in children and adults. Love is the most critical factor in this. Be compassionate towards all living beings. Try to achieve the threefold purity of mind, word and deed. ²¹The Guru predicted that if there is no significant change in the current course of the world, by the end of 200 years, the world will be in danger, and then great men will be born to save the people from it. The Guru mentions that some countries ruled by religious frameworks are destroyed by

quarrelling; in this context, there will be a war between the big nations of the world, in which all other countries will join, but India try to maintain peace. Varnasrama Dharma was the leading cause of the origin of the caste system and vices, leading to various social divisions.²²

The Poorna Kumbha Mela at Santhigiri Ashram

The Kumbh Mela at Shantigiri is the celebration revealed and incorporated by the Gurufrom, the Brahma Prakash, the realisation of God. It is the grace of God to get rid of the evils of karma embedded in us as births, to cure chronic diseases and to achieve good intentions. A minimum of ten days of complete Vratashuddhi is mandatory for those participating in the Kumbh Mela. Cleanliness of body and mind should also be taken care of on the eve of Kumbha Mela. ²³People from different parts of the world, irrespective of caste and religion, come to participate in this holy Kumbh Mela at Shantigiri. ²⁴Poorna Kumbha Mela, held at Santhigiri Ashram, shows the unity among the devotees.²⁵

Lotus Mandiram

The Lotus Parnasala of Navajyothi Sree Karunakara Guru is built as a blooming lotus. It is a monument in the shape of a full-bloomed lotus in white marble. The design of the petals is based on the concept that the downward-spreading petals represent the 12 zodiac signs, and the upward nine petals represent the nine planets. ²⁶

Sahakarana Mandiam

At the back of the lotus garden situated a beautiful building named "Sahakaranamandiam. It is a place of contemplation and tranquillity. The Sahakarana Mandiram is situated behind the lotus mandapam. On May 6, 1999, the Guru merged with Adisankalpa. Navajyoti Sreekarunakaraguru's physical body rests inside the *Parnasala* in Santhigiri. ²⁷The Guru once said, "There will always be a wise Gurusthan to guide Shantigiri. Henceforth, Janani, who had passed through all stages of spirituality, was known as "Shishya Pujita" in the position of Guru.

Now, all material and spiritual matters are being carried out in Santhigiri according to the wisdom of Shishya Pujita. The fact that there is always such a wise Guru in place and the movement and lineage are guided by their wise guidance sets Shantigiri Ashram apart from other Ashrams and movements.²⁸

Services

According to Guru, Ayurveda is the Veda of life, the knowledge sages acquire through vision. Promotion of Ayurvedic Siddha medicine should also be done through Shantigiri. Ayurveda and Siddha, as well as Allopathy, Homeopathy, Marma treatment, etc., are accepted by the Guru; the Guru wanted a synthesis of medical traditions. Doctors of all disciplines sit together and discuss and decide what kind of treatment is appropriate for a disease according to its characteristics; Guru's health theory is a progressive treatment concept. The Ayurveda and Siddha medicine manufacturing and treatment started by the Guru forty years ago is spreading today through Shantigiri. ²⁹Various institutions of the ashram work in different fields. Research Zone, Spiritual Zone, and Healthcare Zone. These are the Education Zone, Agriculture Zone, etc. Educational institutions, hospitals, clinics, etc., are run by Ashram.³⁰

Conclusion

The world is experiencing numerous kinds of issues, many of which are human-centred. It is worth mentioning that spirituality can play a significant role in bringing people together in addition to political solutions. Vasu deva Kudumbakam and Satyameva Jayathe offered the world the concepts of equality and truth. These concepts can be fulfilled through Santhigiri Ashram. It imparts spiritual principles as

well as secular life ideals to its devotees. The ashram promotes living in harmony with God and the environment. It evokes feelings of worldwide love, religious concord, and global peace. It was the need of the hour to follow the cosmopolitan outlook amid global crises and wars.

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