

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

Project submitted to

St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi

affiliated to

Manonmaniam Sundaranar University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

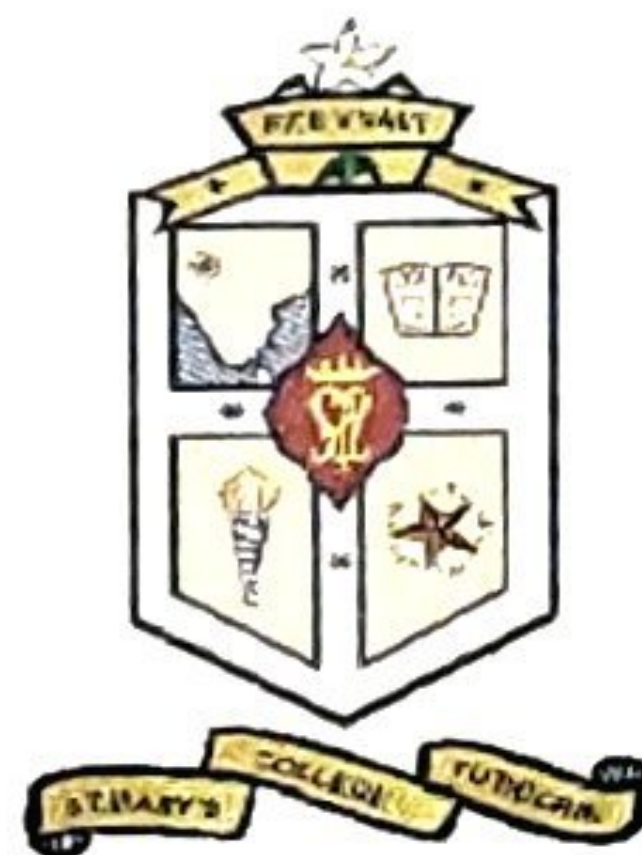
for the award of the degree of

Master of Arts in History

By

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Department of History

St. Mary's College (Autonomous)

Reaccredited with "A⁺" Grade by NAAC

Thoothukudi

2022

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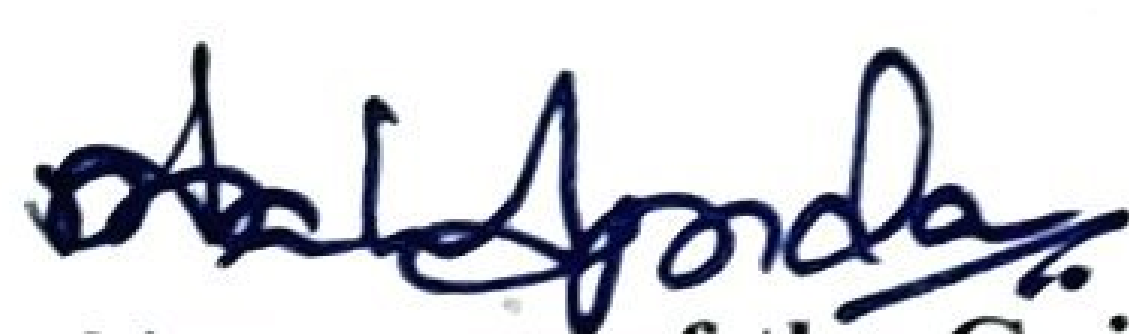
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CERTIFICATE

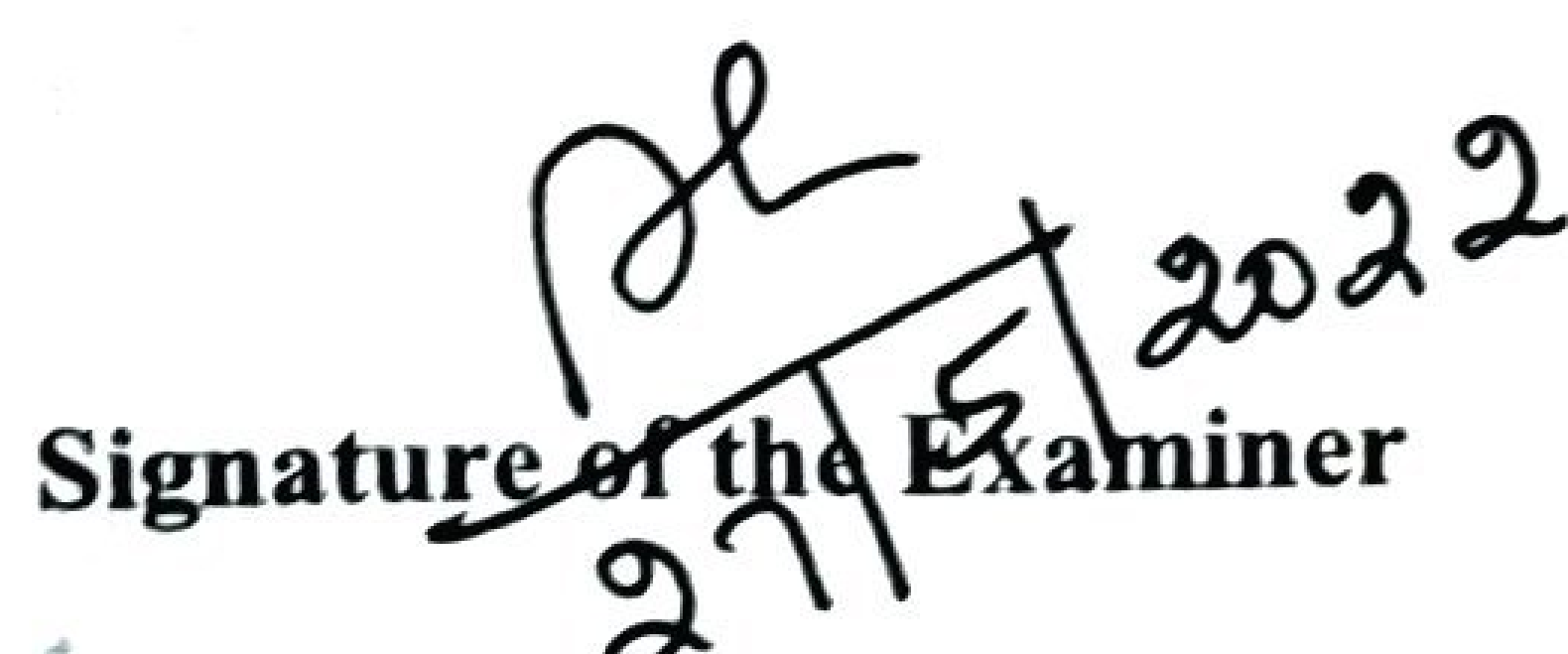
This is to certify that the project entitled "Quit India Movement", submitted to **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi**, affiliated to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi**, for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History and is a work done during the year 2021 - 2022 by S. Derisha, a bonafide student of Department of History, **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi**.



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled "**Quit India Movement**" submitted to **St. Mary's College (Autonomous) Thoothukudi** affiliated to the **ManonmaniamSundaranar University, Tirunelveli**, for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History, is my original work and it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

Place: Thoothukudi

Date: 25.05.2022

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Signature of the Candidate

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The Quit India movement or the August movement was a civil disobedience movement launched in August 1942 in response to Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi's call for satyagraha. The All-India congress committee proclaimed a mass protest demanding what Gandhiji called "an orderly British withdrawal" from India. It was for the determined, which appears in his call to Do or Die, issued on 8 August at the Gowaliar Tank in Mumbai in 1942.

The British were prepared to act. Almost the entire INC leadership, and not just at the national level, was imprisoned without trial within hours after Gandhi's speech. Most spent the rest of the war in prison and out of contact with the masses. The British had the support of the viceroy's council (which had a majority of Indians), of the Muslims, the communist party, the princely states, the Imperial and state police, the Indian businessmen were profiting from heavy wartime spending and did not support Quit India. Many students paid more attention to Subhas Chandra Bose, who was in exile and support came from the Americans, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt pressured Prime Minister Winston Churchill to give in to Indian demands. The Quit India campaign was effectively crushed. The British refused to grant immediate independence, saying it could happen only after the war ended. Sporadic small-scale violence took place around the country but the British arrested tens of thousands of leaders, keeping them imprisoned until 1945. In terms of immediate objectives Quit India failed because of heavy-handed suppression, weak coordination and the lack of a clear-cut programme of action. However, the British government realized that India was ungovernable in the long run, and the question for postwar became how to exit gracefully and peacefully. Quit India Movement was a largest mass movement which incorporated all the sections of the people in India to

turn against the British Imperialism and its served as the stepping stone of Indian Independence in 1947.

Objectives

The main objectives of this study are

- To highlight the Historical Background of Quit India Movement.
- To highlight the participation of Mass in the Quit India Movement.
- To trace out the course of the Movement.
- To emphasis the impact of the Quit India Movement.

Scope and Purpose of the Study

To examine the efficacy of the nature and scope of Quit India Movement and to explore the ways and means of mass participation against the British Imperialism.

Sources of Study

Different sources have been used to trace the **‘Quit India Movement’**. Source materials have been classified into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are mainly based on Government Orders and News Papers. The secondary sources are mainly books, journals, thesis and websites related to **‘Quit India Movement’**.

Methodology

The methodology adopted in this study is analytical and descriptive method. The source materials have been critically analysed and investigated. The descriptive

method is used in the presentation of the study in order to make the project understandable to the readers.

Outline

Chapter I

The first chapter traces out the Historical Background of Quit India Movement with the special reference to failure of the Cripps mission

Chapter II

The Second Chapter deals with the Course of the Movement and mass participation.

Chapter III

The third chapter explores the role of Gandhian Satyagraha and its application in Quit India Movement.

Chapter IV

The final chapter traces the Impact of Quit India Movement.

CHAPTER - I

Historical Background

The Quit India movement, or the India August movement was a civil disobedience movement launched in India in August 1942 in response to Gandhi's call for satyagraha. The All-India congress committee proclaimed a mass protest demanding what Gandhiji called "an orderly British withdrawal "from India. It was for the determined, which appears in his call to Do or Die issued on 8 August at the Gwalior Tank Maiden in Mumbai in 1942.

Government of India Act 1935:

The act holds great importance in the Indian history because it leads to the Relationship of a Dominion Status which urged the need for Independence again in the minds of the people. Government of India Act 1935 curtailed the power concentrated in the hands of the Central Government and distributed it among the decentralized form of government. Separate electorates for women, although they had not asked for it, was quite good for the advancement of women in the decision making process. Even the workers had their separate representation which helped in the advancement of the workers class. This Act was the first attempt to give the provinces an autonomous status by freeing them from external interference. Another reason was that this Act provides voting rights to more people than were given under the Government of India Act, 1919

1. This Act also proposed to form the federal government that allowed princes to participate in political affairs of India. Besides, some features of the Government of India Act that suited well for free India was taken into consideration by the drafters of the Indian Constitution. Features of Federal Legislature and Provincial autonomy were taken from the Government of India Act, 1935.

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2. A Federal Court that was established in 1937 through the Government of India Act, 1935 was considered as the Supreme Court by independent India

3. The act of 1935 proposed for an All-India federation. It provided dyarchy at the centre but abolished dyarchy in the provinces

4. The central and the provincial legislature were enlarged.

5. The Act extended the principle of communal Electorates to include Indian Christians, Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Harijans.. brought about revolutionary changes in the Home¹The Constitution of India also borrowed the feature that every state should have a Governor who would be elected by the Central Government. The Government of India Act, 1935 was a major step towards the Independence of India and helped in the reorganization of the states. Britishers have introduced this Act because through this Act they can win the support of modern nationalist and they could rule over the dominion of India.

Shortcomings

It was not good for the Indians and there were many flaws in the act that was in a way hampering the rights and morals of the people. The Act was largely disappointing because it did not hold out assurance about granting Dominion Status, not did it consider sympathetically the feelings and urges of politically conscious Indian. The New Constitution also said nothing regarding the fundamental rights of the people. It only showed the dominion of the British Government over the Indians. Only for their benefit, they had introduced this Act. In spite of the above-mentioned drawbacks, the new Act had its own significance. Although this Act was not liked by many Indians, its importance was that it paved the way for the independence of India.

¹Raj.B.C ,Mukerjee.B.N., *Constitutional History of India and National Movement*, prakashan Kendra,Lucknow1992 p.196

With regard to the provinces, the act of 1935 was an improvement on the existing position. This Act provided the basis for negotiation between Britishers and Indians for getting independence. The Government of India Act 1935, however, had introduced several features which later formed the nucleus of our Constitution. Hence, the act of 1935 served some useful purposes by the experiment of provincial autonomy, thus we can say that the Government of India Act 1935 marks a point of no return in the history of constitutional development in India

Outbreak of World war II

In 1939, Indian nationalists were angry that British Governor-General of India, Lord Linlithgow, brought India into the war without consultation with them. The Muslim League supported the war, but Congress was divided. At the outbreak of war, the Congress Party had passed a resolution during the Wardha meeting of the working-committee in September 1939, conditionally supporting the fight against fascism, but were rebuffed when they asked for independence in return. If the war is to defend the status quo of imperialist possessions and colonies, of vested interest and privilege, then India can have nothing to do with it. ²If, however, the issue is democracy and world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it... If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and expansion of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her possessions and establish full democracy in India, and the Indian people have the right to self-determination... A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defense against aggression and for economic co-operation. Gandhi had not supported this initiative, as he could not reconcile an endorsement for war (he was a committed believer in non-violent resistance, used in the Indian Independence Movement and proposed even

²Sangeetha Thakur, *Freedom Movement in India*, Vibhavari Publications, New Delhi, 2015, p. 219.

against Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and Hideki Tojo). However, at the height of the Battle of Britain, Gandhi had stated his support for the fight against racism and of the British war effort, stating he did not seek to raise an independent India from the ashes of Britain. However, opinions remained divided. The long-term British policy of limiting investment in India and using the country as a market and source of revenue had left the Indian Army relatively weak and poorly armed and trained and forced the British to become net contributors to India's budget, while taxes were sharply increased and the general level of prices doubled: although many Indian businesses benefited from increased war production, in general business "felt rebuffed by the government" and in particular the refusal of the British Raj to give Indians a greater role in organising and mobilising the economy for wartime production.

After the onset of the war, only a group led by Subhas Chandra Bose took any decisive action. Bose organised the *Indian Legion* in Germany, reorganised the Indian National Army with Japanese assistance, and soliciting help from the Axis Powers, conducted a guerrilla war against the British authorities.

Two Nation Theory 1940

The two nation theory the mission was to Two Nation theory is the basis of the creation of Pakistan. The two-nation theory in its simplest way means that cultural, political, religious, economic and social dissimilarities between the two major communities, Hindus and Muslims of the Subcontinent. These differences of outlook, in fact, were greatly instrumental in giving rise to two distinct political ideologies which were responsible for the partition of the sub-continent into two independent states.³

³Krishna Kripalani, *Gandhi A Life*, Orient Langmans Ltd, New Delhi, 1969, p. 56.

Pakistan Movement

The two-nation theory was a founding principle of the Pakistan Movement. The ideology that religion is the determining factor in defining the nationality of Indian Muslims and Hindus was postulated by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who termed it as the awakening of Muslims for the creation of Pakistan. As a consequence, it spawned creation of many Hindu nationalist organisations, with causes including working towards making India a similar state for the majority of Hindus residing there. Opposition to the theory has come from two sources. The first is the concept of a single Indian nation, of which Hindus and Muslims are two intertwined communities. Even after the formation of Pakistan, debates on whether Muslims and Hindus are distinct nationalities or not continued in India. The second source of opposition is the concept that while Indians are not one nation, neither are the Muslims or Hindus of the subcontinent, and it is instead the relatively homogeneous provincial units of the subcontinent which are true nations and deserving of sovereignty across the subcontinent.

August offer

A statement consisting of new proposals was issued on August 8, 1940 and hence it has been called 'The August offer' of the viceroy.

The few significant features of the offer were as follows;

- a. It was the definite objective of the British Government to grant Dominion status to India.
- b. The British Government was in sympathy with the strong insistence by the Indians that they should be allowed to make a constitution for themselves.

After the war a body representative of all the principal elements in India's national life would be set up to work out the Constitution.

- c. The Governor-General would also establish a War Advisory Council consisting of the representative of all political parties and all other interest in the national life of India.
- d. The Governor-General Council would be expanded to include a certain number of representatives of all political parties.
- e. That the government would not transfer its responsibilities for peace and welfare of India to any party whose authority was not acceptable to any major group in India's national life.
- f. The full weight would be given to the views of minorities in the constitution.
- g. A new constitutional scheme would be built within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It was the first time that Indians were made primarily responsible for making the new constitution for India. It was also declared that the goal of British Government was to establish the Dominion status in India.

Cripps' Mission

In March 1942, faced with an dissatisfied sub-continent only reluctantly participating in the war and deterioration in the war situation in Europe and with growing dissatisfaction among Indian troops and among the civilian population in the sub-continent, the British government sent a delegation to India under Stafford Cripps, the Leader of the House of Commons, in what came to be known as the Cripps mission. The purpose negotiate with the Indian National Congress a deal to obtain total co-operation during the war, in return for devolution and distribution of power from the crown and the Viceroy to an elected Indian legislature. The talks failed, as they did not address the key demand of a timetable of self-government and

of the powers to be relinquished, essentially making an offer of limited dominion-status that was unacceptable to the Indian movement.

Cripps Proposal

1.Establishment of Dominion. The British Government in view of the political unrest and doubts in Indian minds about the fulfillment of any promise made on behalf of the Crown, stated in very clear words that their object was the creation of Indian Union which would constitute a Dominion, equal in every respect to other Dominions and in no way subordinate to any foreign power in its domestic and external affairs.⁴

2.Establishment of a Constitutional Assembly. The British Government would see to it that an elected body was set up soon after the end of war to frame a new constitution for India.⁵

3.Provision would be made for the participation of Indian States in the constitution making body.

4.Right of the Provinces to make Separate Constitutions. The Provinces would have the option to accept the new constitution or retain their existing constitutional position. Doors would be open for them to join the Indian Union at any stage later on. The willing Provinces would have the right to frame a constitution of their own and enjoy the same status as the Indian Union.

5.Treaty. A treaty would be negotiated between And signed by the British Government and the Constitution-making body of India. Such a treaty would cover all the matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian

⁴Anil Chandra Banerjee *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Mukerjee & Co P. Ltd, Calcutta, 1961, p. 67

⁵Mathur, J.S., *Non Violence and Social Change*, Navajeevan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1998, p. 45.

hands. The Constituent Assembly would be bound to honour the assurance given to the racial and religious minorities regarding protection of their interests. The treaty would, however, not impose any restriction on the power of Indian Union to revise its relations with other states.

6. Whether or not an Indian State agreed to accept the new Constitution, it would be binding on it to get its former treaty revised in accordance with the New Constitution.

7. Composition of the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly would be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion agreed upon some other form before the end of war.

Failure of Cripps mission

On April 11, 1942, suddenly the Cripps proposals were withdrawn and the whole drama of Cripps mission to India proved to be only a propaganda without any intention of acceding to the demands of the Indians. Before the outside world, Britishers painted a dark picture of India as a divided house unfit for the immediate freedom, but in India there was utter frustration and disgust. The congress efforts to re-organize India for an effective fight against the Japanese menace received a severe jolt and the general masses in India were bitterly against the Britishers. Maulana Azad writes.

Impact of war in Japan

"There was great bitterness against the British which at that time was so intense that of India." In the meanwhile Japanese danger to India greatly increased and their attack on Bengal seemed imminent. However Gandhi was of the opinion that if the British immediately left India there would be no reason left for the Japan to attack this country. It was, therefore, proposed that 'Quit India' resolution should

immediately be passed. The demand was for an immediate transfer of power to Indian hands which the Congress would, launch a non-violent movement against the British. Gandhiji was perhaps of the opinion that at the time when Japan was knocking at the very doors of India, the British Government in India would not take drastic steps against the movement and try to come to terms with the Congress. The Congress had passed through various stages. It had not thought of embarrassing the British during the war. That has been its policy. The individual satyagraha was meant only to protest against a specific handicap. The failure of the Cripps mission finally demonstrated the utter reluctance of the British to part with the substance of power. The fact remains that the people faced great suffering and hardship, much greater than ever before but their efforts did not go in vain. A partial paralysis of our national activities was bound to come in the wake of large and ruthless repression and tyranny without any check or hindrance. But this was also a temporary phase. In spite of what had happened, the spirit of the people remained uncrushed.

Do or Die:

The yearning for freedom grew, discontent and bitterness against foreign administration increased. The country was more determined than ever to "do or die" in the case of India's freedom. Thus the Quit India movement saw the yearning of freedom flow through every Indian's blood, making it a massive movement of mass participation. Gandhiji gave his first public expression to the theory which was to crystallize into his 'Quit India' movement, in, "Whatever the consequences, therefore to India, her real safety and Britain's too lie in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India."¹ Once the idea was born, it gripped Gandhiji completely and he started devoting all this time to the elucidation and justification of his formula which soon became famous as the "Quit India" demand. The anti-British feeling had become

so pronounced in the country that it was beginning to be expressed in a pro-Japanese attitude. Gandhiji believed that voluntary British withdrawal would turn this hatred into goodwill and enable Indian leaders to arouse the people and organize resistance against the Japanese, help China and Russia more effectively and thus promote world peace. He wrote further: "I am convinced that the time has come during the war, not after it for the British and Indians be reconciled to complete separation from each other." Gandhiji's proposal for 'an orderly withdrawal' of the British raised strong doubts and provoked opposition even among some of his close colleagues and he patiently strove to win them. He dealt with problems like the Japanese invasion.

There were two alternatives, either the withdrawal of the British would leave them, no excuse, to invade India. If however, instead of leaving India alone, they chose to subjugate her, then "they will find that they have to hold more than they can in their iron hoop." To the question- to whom the British will entrust the administration of the country, Gandhiji's answer was, "they have to leave India in God's hands- but in the modern parlance to anarchy, and that anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities. From those, a true India will rise in the place of the false one we see."⁶ He further elaborated his theme saying that the existing state of India was no better than an "ordered disciplined anarchy." Gandhiji had expounded his views on the situation and discussed his plan of action. He had come to know that the Government with its customary disregard of moral issues and its short-sighted predilection to sacrifice the future good and the permanent interest to what was needed immediately, had started preparations to crush any movement which the There were three main phases of the Quit India Movement

⁶Nanda, B. R., *Gokhale, Gandhi and the Nehrus* St. Martins Press, New York, 1974, p. 63.

COURSE OF THE MOVEMENT

Being instigated by the causes explained before, and also to secure more masses in the struggle to attain independence, from April 29th to May 1st 1942, the All India Congress Committee had assembled in Allahabad to discuss upon resolution of working committee. Eventhough Gandhiji had been absent in the meeting, many of his points had been admitted into the resolution. The most significant among them had been the method of adhere and strict commitment to Non-violence towards the British atrocities in India. On 14th July 1942, Congress Working Committee had met again at Wardha and had resolved that it would authorize Gandhiji to take in charge of the non-violent mass movement .communist Party and Americans supported British.⁷

Spread of Quit India movement

Gandhi had carefully built the tempo through individual civil disobedience movements, organisational revamping and a consistent propaganda campaign. The Government, however, was in no mood to either negotiate with the Congress or wait for the movement to be formally launched. In the early hours of August 9, in a single sweep, all the top leaders of the Congress were arrested and taken to unknown destinations. Removal of established leaders left the younger and militant elements at their own initiative.

The First Phase (Rampage by Public)

The general public attacked authority symbols and forcibly hoisted national flags on communist Party and Americans supported Britishers. 14 public buildings, Satyagrahis surrendered to arrest, bridges were blown up, railway tracks were removed, and telegraph lines were severed. This type of activity was most prevalent in the eastern United Provinces and in Bihar. Students reacted by striking in schools and colleges, marching in processions, writing and distributing illegal news

⁷Ibid. p. 72.

sheets (Patrika), and acting as couriers for underground networks. Ahmadabad, Bombay, Jamshedpur, Ahmednagar, and Poona workers went on strike.

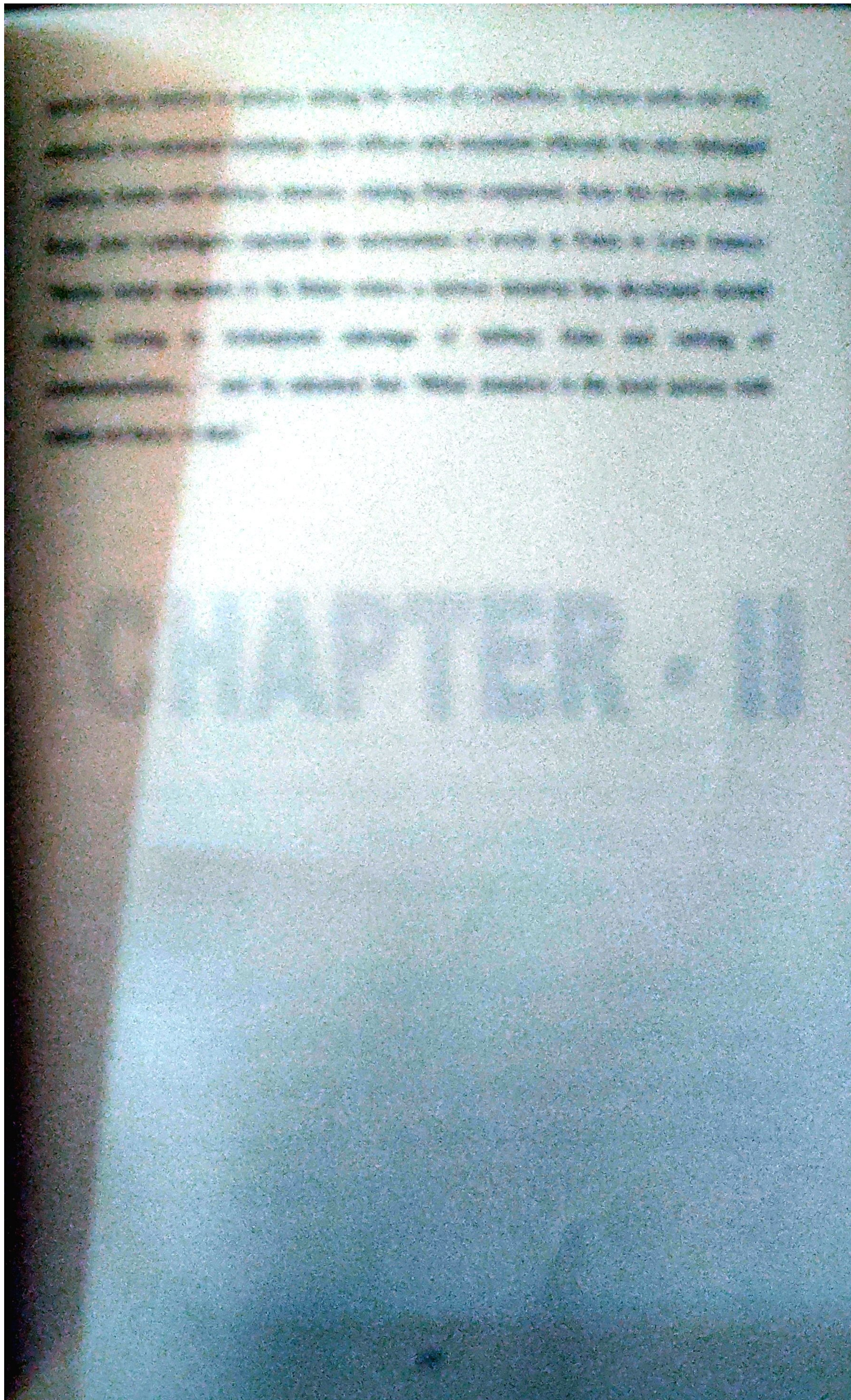
The Second Phase (Underground Activities)

Many nationalists fled to the underground and engaged in subversive activities. Socialists, Forward Bloc members, Gandhi ashramites, revolutionary nationalists, and local organizations from Bombay, Poona, Satara, Baroda, and other parts of Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, United Provinces, Bihar, and Delhi took part in these activities. Rammanohar Lohia, Jayaprakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Mehta, Biju Patnaik, Chhotubhai Puranik, Achyut Patwardhan, Sucheta Kripalani, and R.P. Goenka were among the key figures involved in underground activity. **Usha Mehta** founded an **underground radio station** in Bombay. This phase of underground activity was intended to maintain popular morale by maintaining a line of command and guidance for the distribution of arms and ammunition.

The Third Phase (Parallel Governments)

Parallel governments were established in many places, including **Ballia** (for a week in August 1942) under **Chittu Pandey**. Many members of Congress were released as a result of his efforts. **Tamluk** (Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944) - Jatiya Sarkar worked on cyclone relief, sanctioned school grants, distributed paddy from the rich to the poor, organized Vidyut Vahinis, and so on. **Satara** (mid-1943 to 1945) - dubbed "**Prati Sarkar**," it was organized by leaders such as Y.B. Chavan, Nana Patil, and others. Village libraries and Nyayadan Mandals were established, as were prohibition campaigns and 'Gandhi marriages.' Businessmen (through donations, shelter, and material assistance), students (as couriers), simple villagers (by refusing to provide information to authority), pilots and train drivers (by

delivering bombs and other material), and government officials, including police, all provided active assistance (who passed on secret information to the activists) gathering of people took place first in Bombay, the venue of A.I.C.C. session. The crowds threw stones and soda water bottles at trains, buses and cars, and at the police. They burnt buses and attacked post offices. The police fired on sixteen occasions, killing eight persons and injuring forty-four. Similar incidents took place in Poona and Ahmedabad, in all these places mills and factories were closed and hartal observe. On August 10, similar type of incidents occurred but in a more determined way. Telephone lines were cut municipal and Government properties were damaged, barricades were put on the road. Europeans and Government official were molested. With the spread of revolt in Maharashtra and Gujarat on 11th August, disturbances took place in nearby areas like Kaira, Thana, Broach, Panch Mahals, Godhra, Surat, Ahmednagar, East Khandesh, Nasik, Satara, Belgaum, Dharwar, Ratnagiri, West Khandesh, Sholapur, Bijapur, Kanara and Kolaba. Whatever happened in Bombay on 9th and 10th was repeated at these places. On 12th August, at Chinchani, policemen were forced to join the procession. In Ahmedabad and Broach, mills had to be closed down as spinners refused to work. Attempts were made to attack the police station at Chaklashi (Kaira) and burn down the Government dispensary and post office at Chinchani (Thana). At Palghar, the Kacheri was attacked and at Rakata a police sub-inspector was assaulted. At these places, police had to fire to disperse the crowd. Attendance of students in schools and colleges at these places ranged between ten to thirty percent. On 15th August, attempts were made to set fire to the General post Office and Government Central Press in Bombay. The Cloth markets and Zaveri Bazars remained closed in Ahmedabad. In Bihar, protests started in a serious form after August 11, after the attack on the Secretariat building. Within a week the trouble



CHAPTER - II

COURSE OF THE MOVEMENT

Being instigated by the causes explained before, and also to secure more masses in the struggle to attain independence, from April 29th to May 1st 1942, the All India Congress Committee had assembled in Allahabad to discuss upon resolution of working committee. Eventhough Gandhiji had been absent in the meeting, many of his points had been admitted into the resolution. The most significant among them had been the method of adhere and strict commitment to Non-violence towards the British atrocities in India. On 14th July 1942, Congress Working Committee had met again at Wardha and had resolved that it would authorize Gandhiji to take in charge of the non-violent mass movement .communist Party and Americans supported British.

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Prominent leaders of the Congress on 9 August, 1942 took almost everyone bysurprise. On the night of 8 August, 1942 after the Quit India Resolution was passed, thousands of workers of the Congress, who had attended the Bombay meeting, left forthier respective destinations in anticipation of a programme to be announced shortly by the Congress and Gandhi.

¹Agarwal, R.C., *Constitutional Development and National Movement of India*, S. Chand & Company Ltd, New Delhi, 1994, p.302.

The sudden and swift action taken by the Government immobilized the Congress leadership. This precipitated and electrified the political atmosphere in the country resulting in a mass upsurge. To begin with, peaceful processions, hartals and demonstrations were organized in which all and sundry joined, but inevitably these ended up in violence and conflict when challenged by the police. The extraordinary speed with which the movement spread to small towns and villages starting from the metropolitan centres was truly amazing. It effectively demonstrated the intensity of the feelings of the people against the Government and its measures taken against their leaders. The Government reported modestly that "The total number of arrests probably did not exceed a few hundreds." In the province of United Provinces only, however, the number of persons placed in preventive detention on 9 August was

Spontaneous outbursts of violence took the form of hooliganism, damage of Government and municipal property and attacks on Englishmen, picketing, no-rent campaigns and similar other projects against the Government. This phase of movement has been designated as an 'open movement'. At the same time an underground movement of sabotage and wire cutting, bomb throwing, dacoit and arson had also developed after the arrest of the Congress leaders. Continued incidents of railway sabotage took place not only in Bombay and Central Provinces — the two provinces most affected in this respect — but also in the United Provinces, Bihar, Madras, Orissa, Bengal and Assam.²

Disturbances which started in Bombay with the arrest of leaders of the Congress spread swiftly throughout India. Though the Government was successful in suppressing the movement temporarily, its impact was so serious that it shook the foundations of British administration in India. The arrest of Gandhi and other

²Ibid. p. 65.

prominent Congress leaders was universally condemned, principally on the ground that his declared intention of seeking an interview with the Viceroy and of interposing a delay before initiating his movement should have resulted in further negotiations, that the action was unnecessarily repressive and that it would inevitably give rise to resentment accompanied by regrettable manifestations. The underground activity was prolonged and a parallel government or 'Prati Sarkar' was set up and it continued to function until 1946 in spite of British repression and the indifference of the Congress leadership. Its activities included people's courts or 'nyayadan mandals' as well as various types of armed activities and constructive programmes.

The Prati Sarkar, in fact, had begun to function effectively at a time when such 'governments' elsewhere in India were being suppressed, but anti-imperialist struggle continued to flourish till independence. It appears that the movement was not only a challenge to the British but also remained an embarrassment to the party which inherited their power, not simply because its upsurge contradicted the ideology of non-violence, but even more because it had its base among particular classes and political forces which were beginning to articulate themselves in demanding a different kind of independence, freedom under a "workerspeasants' state."

The First Phase (Rampage by Public)

The general public attacked authority symbols and forcibly hoisted national flags on communist Party and Americans supported Britishers. public buildings. Satyagrahis surrendered to arrest, bridges were blown up, railway tracks were removed, and telegraph lines were severed. This type of activity was most prevalent in the eastern United Provinces and in Bihar.³ Students reacted by striking in schools and colleges, marching in processions, writing and distributing illegal news

³Arun Chandra Bhuyan, *The Quit India Movement*, Manas Publications, New Delhi, 1975, p. 47.

sheets (Patrika), and acting as couriers for underground networks. Ahmadabad, Bombay, Jamshedpur, Ahmednagar, and Poona workers went on strike.

The Second Phase (Underground Activities)

Many nationalists fled to the underground and engaged in subversive activities. Socialists, Forward Bloc members, Gandhi ashramites, revolutionary nationalists, and local organizations from Bombay, Poona, Satara, Baroda, and other parts of Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, United Provinces, Bihar, and Delhi took part in these activities. Rammanohar Lohia, Jayaprakash Narayan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Mehta, Biju Patnaik, Chhotubhai Puranik, Achyut Patwardhan, Sucheta Kripalani, and R.P. Goenka were among the key figures involved in underground activity. **Usha Mehta** founded an **underground radio station** in Bombay. This phase of underground activity was intended to maintain popular morale by maintaining a line of command and guidance for the distribution of arms and ammunition.

The Third Phase (Parallel Governments)

Parallel governments were established in many places, including **Ballia** (for a week in August 1942) under **Chittu Pandey**. Many members of Congress were released as a result of his efforts. **Tamluk** (Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944) - Jatiya Sarkar worked on cyclone relief, sanctioned school grants, distributed paddy from the rich to the poor, organized Vidyut Vahinis, and so on. **Satara** (mid-1943 to 1945) - dubbed "**Prati Sarkar**," it was organized by leaders such as Y.B. Chavan, Nana Patil, and others. Village libraries and Nyayadan Mandals were established, as were prohibition campaigns and 'Gandhi marriages.' Businessmen

(through donations, shelter, and material assistance), students (as couriers), simple villagers (by refusing to provide information to authority), pilots and train drivers (by delivering bombs and other material), and government officials, including police, all provided active assistance (who passed on secret information to the activists) gathering of people took place first in Bombay, the venue of A.I.C.C. session. The crowds threwstones and soda water bottles at trains, buses and cars, and at the police. They burnt buses and attacked post offices. The police fired on sixteen occasions, killing eight persons and injuring forty-four. Similar incidents took place in Poona and Ahmedabad, in all these places mills and factories were closed and hartal observe. On August 10, similar type of incidents occurred but in a more determined way. Telephone lines were cut municipal and Government properties were damaged, barricades were put on the road. Europeans and Government official were molested. With the spread of revolt in Maharashtra and Gujarat on 11th August, disturbances took place in nearby areas like Kaira, Thana, Broach, Panch Mahals, Godhra, Surat, Ahmednagar, East Khandesh, Nasik, Satara, Belgaum, Dharwar, Ratnagiri, West Khandesh, Sholapur, Bijapur, Kanara and Kolaba. Whatever happened in Bombay on 9th and 10th was repeated at these places. On 12th August, at Chinchani, policemen were forced to join the procession. In Ahmedabad and Broach, mills had to be closed down as spinners refused to work. Attempts were made to attack the police station at Chaklashi (Kaira) and burn down the Government dispensary and post office at Chinchani (Thana). At Palghar, the Kacheri was attacked and at Rakata a police sub-inspector was assaulted. At these places, police had to fire to disperse the crowd. Attendance of students in schools and colleges at these places ranged between ten to thirty percent. On 15th August, attempts were made to set fire to the General post Office and Government Central Press in Bombay. The Cloth markets and Zaveri

Bazars remained closed in Ahmedabad. In Bihar, protests started in a serious form after August 11, after the attack on the Secretariat building. Within a week the trouble spread from district to district, taking the form of a rebellion. Furious mobs not only attacked Government buildings and offices and assaulted officials but also damaged railway tracks and railway stations, cutting Patna completely from the rest of India. Even lord Linlithgow reported the seriousness of revolt in Patna to Lord Amery: "Storm tempt appears to be Bihar where a serious situation has developed around Patna owing to widespread sabotage of railwayaslines and cutting of communication...." and he admitted that "Bihar situation is the most serious with which we have to deal." Thus Quit India movement in 1942 signaled the end of British rule

Student's role

They did not remain as more spectators in Tamil Nadu the students organization came into existence even as early as 1848. In 1884, the students agitated against the restrictions imposed on the I.C.S examinations. In Tamil Nadu, student's literary Association was formed at Coimbatore in 1886 to study and discuss the issue of public importance. In 1903, Assoications, were formed. The student participation gave a new fillip in the history of Indian freedom struggle. This paper highlights the students participation in "Quit Indian movement "in Tamil Nadu. It traces the historical evolution of the student's struggle in Tamil Nadu. It British demonstrations throughout Tamil Nadu. It was Gandhi who persuaded the congress to launch a satyagraha in 1942. In August, 1942 the congress working committee in its meeting at Bombay initated a new mass campaign for independence called the Quit India Movement. the government being aware of the congress decision, moved quickly and

arrested Gandhi and arrested Gandhi ⁴ and other prominent congress decision, moved quickly and arrested Gandhi and other prominent congress leaders all over India, In total the Quit India movement brought India near to the threshold of independence.

Inspired by the congress meetings, on August 9th, 1942, the students of Tricharapali picketed schools and college. They stayed away from the schools and colleges and courted arrested at Tricharapali and karur haral was observed on 9th August. Raja iyer a congress man who spoke in a public meeting organized by the students inviting the people to launch mass civil disobedience movement was arrested on 10th August. In sriragam town, the congress volunteers and students who picketed schools were also arrested and Annamalai University conducted a meeting. The meeting was presided over by Mr. vinayagam pillai, M.A, B.L, a leading congress man of the Chidambaram. He asked the students to imbibe the spirit of the freedom. The police arrested vinayagam pillai when he get down from the dais. on 10th August Nainiappa pillai of Chidambaram began to lead the students to protest against the arrest of national leaders. Nainiappa Pillai, Ramakrishna iyar and Govindarajan arranged a procession of students. The processionists condemned the imperialist repression against the students. The police wanted to suppress the strikes and therefore arrested the three leaders under the defence of Indian rules.⁵

After the arrest of the three congressmen, the students of the Annamalai University solicited the support of the school going students. The students of Pachaiyappa's school at chidambarm extend their support to Annamalai between and Bhuvanagiri. The police tried their level best to trace the culprits ho were responsible for sabotage of the communication but the efforts is failed.

⁴ Sundaram, S.S., Quit India Movement 'Remembering the Role of Tamil Nadu', University of Madras, Chennai 2018, p. 95.

⁵ Sangeetha Thakur, Freedom Movement in India, Vibhavari Publications, New Delhi, 2015, p. 221.

The students of Annamalai University cut of telephone wire between Chidambaram and bhuvangari but the police was not able to trace out all the students but arrested 6 students. They were convicted at Madras, Comibatore and Trichirapali jails. The women students were very involved for this movement especially college students The students also had distributed small flag in their college hostel.

All India students Federation convened public meeting at Tirunelveli on 14th August and on 15th August, Parvathi Kumaramangalam, communist leader spoke in these meeting advising the students to walk out of the college as a protest the women students of Queen Mary's College observed hartals, organized processions shouted Quit India slogans. The students of the Loyala college, Presidency College, Law College, Women's Christian College, Pachiyappa College, Stanley Medical College, Madras etc abstained from classes and resorted to picketing. The role of student's community in Quit India movement is a remarkable episode.

CHAPTER - III

GANDHIAN SATYAGRAHA AND ITS APPLICATION IN 'QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT'

The historic significance of Gandhi is that he relied on the creative political role of the common masses of the people and on their independent initiative to take resort to action for perfecting a unique technique of direct mass action. During the Gandhian era the technique of non-violent non-cooperation provided a framework in terms of which the Congress leadership could mobilize its political base. It was the form which best corresponded to the strategy of the Congress that Subhash Chandra Bose later described as the "method of periodical compromise". It was in this period that the political character of the Congress shifted from that of a small liberal constitutional body to that of a movement with a mass character. The Congress began to assume the look of a vast agrarian organization. The middle class and the peasantry made a more decisive entry into the political arena precisely when the leadership of the Congress passed to Gandhi.

Referring to this, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote, "He sent us to the villages!" As a politician Gandhi was the first to see the problem of Indian nationalism and social reconstruction in India.¹

At times Gandhi could be highly political; he devised a moral cum practical approach to eradicating evil. Such an approach first applied in South Africa and later in India was intensely political. That did not however, in any way diminish the saintliness of Gandhi. Toynbee classified Lenin and Gandhi together as "two of the greatest figures of the twentieth century". Gandhi came to be known as a 'Mahatma' and, in the words of Toynbee, "a Hindu statesman saint". His whole life remained 'a

¹Bhattacharyya, Buddhadeva, *Evaluation of the Political Philosophy of Gandhi*, Calcutta Book House, Calcutta, 1969, p. 487

kind of dialectic' that made the Indian people morally fit for freedom and thereafter undertook the responsibility of guiding them for attaining it. Gandhi "did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millions of India, speaking their language and increasingly drawing 8 attention to them and their appalling conditions". Gandhi entered the Indian political scene with his slogan of non-violent non-cooperation against the 'satanic' imperial 9 system and this technique of fight continued to be the primary one in Indian politics till India attained her political independence.² Gandhi first gave public expression to the theory which crystallized into the 'Quit India' movement. He wrote that if the British were to leave India to her fate as they had done to Singapore, non-violent India would lose nothing and Japan would probably leave India alone. Whatever the consequences, therefore, to India, her weal, safety and Britain's too, lay in orderly and 73 timely British withdrawal from India³

Apostle of Non –Violence and Satyagraha

Gandhi was an apostle of non-violence and according to him "non-violence is the first article of my 10 faith. It is also the last article of my creed". He held the 11 view that swaraj could only be attained through non-violence; he said in London, on September 12, 1931 that he would personally wait, if necessary, for ages rather than seek to attain freedom of India by bloody means. The two new weapons with which Gandhi decided to fight against the British were non-violent noncooperation and civil disobedience and the outward manifestations of the great principles which Gandhi described as 'satyagraha'. He was the first to use it in politics. Gandhi's supreme political method was satyagraha. Inseparably connected with Gandhi's name in India, satyagraha is generally understood as fighting the British Raj. To most of Gandhi's

²Nehru, Jawaharlal, *The Discovery of India*, Penguin Books, 2004, 1946, p. 427

³*Harijan* dated April 26, 1942.

followers satyagraha is nothing but a synonym for passive resistance in thin disguise. But strictly speaking, satyagraha is a technique for solving conflict and a method for fighting evil.

In 1917 Gandhi explained that satyagraha was not mere passive resistance. It meant 'intense activity' political activity by large masses of people. It was a legitimate, moral and truthful form of political action by the people against the injustices of the state, an active mass resistance to unjust rule. It was not aimed at the destruction of the state, nor was it conceived as part of a political process intended to replace the functionaries of the state. 'Ahimsa' as a concept assumed both ethical and epistemological significance "because it was defined within a moral and epistemic practice that was wholly 'experimental'".

To quote Boundurant, "Satyagraha became something more than a method of resistance to particular legal norms; it became an instrument of struggle for positive objectives and for fundamental change". N.K. Bose defines satyagraha as "a way of conducting 'war' by means of non-violence".⁴

According to Gandhi "truth non-violence and self-suffering are the principles on which this technique is based". Gandhi said that satyagraha is meant for the common people not merely for saints. It is war without violence and based on love not on hate. It differentiates between the sin and the sinner between the evil and the evil doer. It is the weapon of the brave not of the weak. It demands discipline and may entail self-sacrifice suffering imprisonment and death. Satyagraha appeals to reason

⁴Tendulkar, D.G., *Mahatma Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*, Publication Division Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi, 1961, p. 9.

and heart of the evil-doer by gentle argument or self-sacrifice. It implies vindication of truth in the face of all grim calamities by self-suffering and not by inflicting harm on the opponent. Non-violence is the natural corollary of truth. Gandhi thought that whenever there was violence untruth would creep in. He said that truth and non-violence were like the two sides of an unstamped coin. They could not be separated. In addition to his two principles of truth and non-violence, he enunciated a third principle for the conduct of satyagraha. That was the principle of purity of means. He holds that ends and means are convertible terms. Ends are only the end-results of the means used. He said that truth and non-violence were like the two sides of an unstamped coin.

Gandhi's satyagraha attempts to guide the individual towards the goal of higher life and also to solve political and international problems. By moralizing politics through the three principles of truth, non-violence and purity of means and fighting injustice and tyranny through satyagraha and by his constructive programme, Gandhi sought to coordinate and synthesize social, political and economic life, establish effective democracy and lay the foundation of a new social order based on justice and equality and pave the way for world peace.

He said that truth and non-violence were like the two sides of an unstamped coin. Gandhism with a theory of politics enables it to become the ideology of a national political movement. The 'science of non-violence' was the form in which Gandhism addressed itself to the problematic of nationalism. That was the 'science' which was to provide answers to the problem of national politics, of concretizing the nation as an active historical subject rejecting the domination of a foreign power, of

devising its political organization and the strategic and tactical principles of its struggle.⁵

Gandhism provided for the first time in Indian politics an ideological basis for including the whole people within the political nation. To Gandhi, politics bereft of religion is a death-trap, because it kills the soul. Politics, like other human activities, must be governed either by religion or irreligion. As politics is concerned with the control and use of state authority which is essentially coercive, Gandhi considered politics as an unavoidable evil. He said: "I am trying to introduce religion into politics" According to Gandhi the goal of life is self-realization and greatest good of all. This necessarily involves taking part in politics, for the whole of man's activities today constitutes one indivisible whole, and social, economic, political and purely religious work.

Gandhian satyagraha in the Indian political sphere assumes the forms of civil disobedience. It means mass resistance on a non-violent basis against the Government when negotiations and constitutional methods have failed. He wrote that "a satyagrahi must first mobilize public opinion against the evil which he is out to eradicate by means of a wide and intensive agitation. When public opinion is sufficiently raised against a social abuse/ even the tallest will not dare to practise or openly lend support to it. An awakened and intelligent public opinion is the most potent weapon of a satyagrahi". Gandhi's political philosophy is an organic part of his philosophy of life. The isolation of politics from moral principles in the name of science or religion to him is a trap to kill the soul. The method of non-violent resistance is his contribution to the philosophy and practice of individual as well as collective mass action.

⁵Rolland, Romain, *Mahatma Gandhi*, Srishti Publishers, New Delhi, 2020, p. 98.

Gandhi's non-violence meant the blending of morality with politics; to him the path of non-violence was a continuous experiment with truth. Gandhi's affirmation of truth was a matter of faith. The interrelation between truth and ahimsa (non-violence) in Gandhi's thought is explicit in the manner in which his religious and ethical ideals determined his way of life. The convertibility of means and ends in Gandhi's thought indicates that the Machiavellian doctrine of virtuous ends justifying evil means can never be accepted. Satyagraha as a political device was born and developed as a means of resisting the armed alien rulers by an unarmed indigenous people. The aim of satyagraha is the conversion of the opponent to one's own view by self-suffering and not by violence.⁶ It involves self-chosen suffering and humiliation for the resisters "Satyagraha is the law of love, the way of love for all". To Gandhi, non-violence was invariably associated with truth, the former serving as means for the realization of the latter, which happened to be the ultimate end of life. The ends and means were equally dear to him. They were convertible terms and therefore purity of means was equally important to him. Gandhi categorically rejected the theory that end justified the means. In this respect Gandhi emphasized that a non-violent person could hardly afford to be completely indifferent or insensitive to violence or injustice because he was to resist it non-violently even at the cost of his own life⁷. "A satyagrahi must always be ready to die with a smile on his face and without rancour in his heart". Thus non-violence should not be confused with inaction, indifference and much less with cowardice. Gandhi remarked that he would rather risk the use of force a thousand times than let the people lose their man.

⁶*Harijan* dated December 24/1938.

⁷Arun Chandra Bhuyan, *The Quit India Movement*, Manas publications, New Delhi 1975p. 187

Gandhi further explained: "If a man fights with his sword single-handed against a horde of dacoits armed to the teeth, I should say he is fighting non-violently. I said to our women that if in the defence of their honour they use their nails and teeth and even a dagger, I should regard their conduct as non-violent" Gandhian non-violence is thus based on the bravery of the courageous and not on the cowardice of the weak. This is precisely the reason why/ despite the fact that Gandhi individually always adhered to his creed of non-violence/ the three all India movements launched by him non-cooperation, civil disobedience and Quit India exhibited acts of bravery on the part of the masses which did not exclude such violent forms as food riots, terroristic activities, sabotage, etc. In fact, Gandhi's insistence on fearlessness and death-defiance and his militant mood and fiery speeches immediately before the 1942 - movement 'ignited the militancy and wrath of the people of Midnapore who had long been victims of callousness and oppression of the alien rulers. They felt no inclination to go into the niceties of the Gandhian distinction between violence and non-violence; they chose the path of the brave and never for a moment took resort to the cowardice of the weak.

As an illustration of this militancy one feels tempted to refer to his famous 'Do or Die' call to the people and his final command to the British to 'quit India'. In response to, and as a consequence of Gandhi's 'Quit India' movement, several revolutionary groups emerged in different corners of the country⁸. These groups became active and provided additional impetus to the 'Quit India' movement. The original concept of non-violence as developed by Gandhi at the outset did not retain its unalloyed form in the day to day course of the movement of 1942. In protest against the repressive measures of British rule in the context of the Second World War

⁸Home Political File No.3/34/42

situation the Indian public immediately involved themselves with the course of revolutionary activities conducted by the various revolutionary groups in the country. The spirit and methods of Gandhian non-violent movement got mixed up with insurrectionary activities planned and executed by such groups. The upsurge of 1942, though mostly unorganized, surpassed all previous struggles in intensity, dimension, nature, expression, aim and tactics. Though mostly leaderless, it took the form of a people's revolution; it brought about a near extinction of many of the powerful centres of alien administration. Jayaprakash Narayan observed "The citadel of British rule, which had thus far appeared so strong and impregnable, suddenly began to crumble down". It did not finally crumble, however. As the uprising was essentially leaderless it was crushed by the military within a few days; but a parallel local administration with its sabotage and guerilla activities in several parts of India continued. The system of parallel administration remained a settled fact till independence⁹. Therefore, the movement of 1942 can only be understood or analysed on the basis of actual happenings in various parts of India, the extent of popular participation, the modes and patterns of mobilization, the ideologies and programmes of the leaders at the national and/or local levels. The movement of 1942 was a revolt of the Indian masses on the widest possible scale and it exceeded all calculations of the Government and proved to be a formidable mass revolt. The number of persons killed by firing as stated in the official records does not stand up to reason why 538 rounds of firing.¹⁰ When the World War II broke out on September 3, 1939, the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, declared that his country was at war with Germany. On the same day the Governor General of India, Lord Linlithgow, declared that India was also a belligerent state. The war crisis adversely affected Indo-British relations.

⁹ *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, dated December 9, 1945

¹⁰ Ramana Rao M.V., *A Short History of the Indian National Congress*, Chand & company Ltd New Delhi, 1959, p.90

Gandhi laid down three basic postulates of satyagraha: (i) original demands should not be enhanced, (ii) anything achieved through satyagraha knew no defect, because the crusade and technique were moral and spiritual, and (iii) a satyagrahi must give his adversary the same right of independence and feeling of truth ³² that he deserved to himself. Gandhi explained in his 'Young India' that courage and discipline were the two main principles to be served by a satyagrahi.

The violent actions of the masses during the Quit India days were mostly the handiwork of the revolutionary elements who were not wedded to the creed of non-violence of Gandhi. The movement retained its militancy in Midnapore by the inspiration which some revolutionaries there derived from the formation of Azad Hind Fauj directed by Subhas Chandra Bose whose exploits were broadcast through the Japanese radio. Nobody in the orthodox Congress ever thought of the movement on the lines on which people were compelled by the British authority in India to launch. Gandhi's person was undoubtedly the rallying point behind the revolutionary groups in the country, though all of them were not believers in non-violence. Methods might differ, but for the goal of national liberation, the 'Mahatma' was a symbol of determination. His 'Quit India' message was likewise the rallying-cry for all those who wanted the end of the Raj. Even Subhas Chandra Bose thought of Gandhi as 'the supreme messiah of Indian revolution' and the source of inspiration to all. While addressing an appeal to him over the radio on July 6, 1944, he said "Mahatmajifor Indians outsides India, You are the creator of the present awakening in our country."¹¹ Gandhi's person was undoubtedly the rallying point behind the revolutionary groups in the country, though all of them were not believers in non-violence. Methods might differ, but for the goal of national liberation, the 'Mahatma' was a symbol of

¹¹Speeches and Letters of Subhas Chandra Bose/ Netaji's Address/ July 6, 1944

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CHAPTER - IV

Impact of the Quit India movement

The most significant impact was that it made the British taste the power of the Indian masses. British came to understand that they can stay for long in India. This movement led to realization of Colonial rulers in the context of the destruction brought by the Second World War on resources of Britain as well as resentful opposition to its rule in India. The principles of non-violence and violence were but twins during the 1942 movement. To the inevitable question to whom the British leave India would, Gandhi's reply was "leave India in God's hands", "in modern parlance, to anarchy. Gandhi farther elaborated his theme saying that the existing state of India was not better than one of "ordered disciplined. There was huge participation of masses all over the country. ¹Then political scenario had been able to instill new confidence among the Indian masses and also induced a total spirit of sacrifice in them. Women and Men had participated in equal numbers, and another interesting feature had been the setting up of parallel governments at places mainly Ballia, Tamluk and Satara. Paralell government was set up at Ballia under Chittu Pandey in August 1942 for a week. At Tamluk, Midnapore, from December 1942 to September 1944, paralell government had been established by Jatiya Sarkar had undertaken cyclone relief work, sanctioned grants to schools, supplied paddy from the rich to the poor, organised vidyutvahinis etc. In Satara, paralell government was set up in mid-1943 to 1945, known to be as "Prati Sarkar". It was organized under leaders like Y. B. Chavan, Nana Patil etc. As a notable fact, the outbreak of the Quit India Movement had been able to give a fillip to the INA, as Anti-British demonstrations were organized in Malaya.

¹Nanda, B.R., *Mahatma Gandhi*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 45.

The resolution said that "India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the future of the war" It considered freedom of India scary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, Militarism, and other forms of Imperialism and the aggression of one nation over another" Two basic motives worked in the framing of the resolution — the first was a desire to free India finally from British domination; the second was a desire to avoid at all costs India's becoming a theatre of active warfare, a battlefield between Britain and Japan.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MOVEMENT

Wardha Working Committee

The Wardha Working Committee resolution -of July 14, 1942 sounded an unusual note of social radicalism: "the princes, jagirdars, zamindars and propertied and monied classes derived their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom eventually power and authority must belong" It appears that in 1942 Gandhi and his Congress Party were in an unprecedented militant mood, and the failure of the Cripps Mission left the Indian political atmosphere surcharged with hatred against the British Raj. The Indian people as a whole were worried about their security as the British authority failed in their duty to protect the people of Indian origin in Burma and Malaya. They had almost become defeatists. The Japanese forces were steadily advancing towards India, conquering on their way the British possessions of Singapore.²

William Shrirer, L., *Gandhi A Memoir*, Sphere Books Ltd, London, 1979, p. 213.

Towards Independence

Quit India movement had been able to make it clear that Indians were no longer scared of British rule. As a significance it can be told that, movement sends a clear message that India could not be governed without support of the Indians. This great movement had been able to place the demand for complete independence on the immediate objective of the freedom movement. The common mass had showed unparalleled heroism and survived cruel repression for Independence that made them stronger and more determined for Independence. Moreover, this movement had been able to portray the arrogance; hatred and brutality British government were having towards Indians. Quit India movement has been subjected to many debates. The main discussion had been done on two topics, first one whether movement was a mere spontaneous outburst or organized rebellion, secondly the violent nature that movement attained, in contrary to Ahimsa based one.

In the case of first question, it's very clear that sudden changes in Indian political scenario and war front had led to an outburst. But, once the movement had been launched, it attained an organized structure, that completely owe to many leaders like Aruna Asaf Ali and JayaPrakash Narayan, who had guided strikes even by going underground, when other leaders including Gandhiji had been arrested. The issue of violence in the movement had been a shock to Gandhiji. ³He condemned the violence and ruthless riots followed by masses, and blamed British administration for such a pathetic situation. In the critical opinion, even though quit India movement had not been able to achieve its complete objective to make Britain quit from India, this

Attabhi Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress 1935-47* vol. II, Padma Publications, Bombay, 1964, p. 293.

movement had led to many incidents that had long implications in the freedom struggle of India in between 1943-1947.

Absence of Leadership

British came to realize power of Indian masses, and soon after world war by 1945, General Elections had been held in Great Britain, and Labour Party had won election with a thumping 47.7%. Clement Atlee, the leader of Labour Party became the Prime Minister. Policies of Atlee were much liberal towards India. Soon, initiatives were taken for Independence and partition. Thus, it must be well notified regarding all these far implications that happened more or less in connection to quit India movement of 1942. Though there were many drawbacks like resorting to violence, not properly following Satyagrahas, Quit India movement had been able to spread the essence of Nationalism and patriotism among various hierarchies of Indian society. So, it can be drawn that Quit India movement can't be just calculated as neither a victory, nor a failure, but it can be interpreted as the great struggle which paved its path to the unification of Indians, which eventually led to the attainment of India's Independence! The British government responded to the call of Gandhi by arresting all major Congress leaders the very next day. Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, etc. were all arrested.⁴ This left the movement in the hands of the younger leaders like Jay Prakash Narayan and Ram Manohar Lohia. New leaders like Aruna Asaf Ali emerged out of the vacuum of leadership. Over 100000 people were arrested in connection with this movement. The government resorted to violence in order to quell the agitation. They were mass floggings and lathi charges. Even women and children were not spared. About 10000 people died in police firing in total. There was no communal violence. INC was banned. Its leaders were jailed for almost the whole of the war.

⁴Baliga, B.S., *Studies in Madras Administration*, Government of Madras, 1960, p. 13.

Gandhi was released on health grounds in 1944. People responded to Gandhi's call in a major way.

Stray Incidents of Violence

However, in the absence of leadership, there were stray incidences of violence and damage to government property. Many buildings were set on fire, electricity lines were cut and communication and transport lines were broken. Some parties did not support the movement. There was opposition from the Muslim League, the Communist Party of India (the government revoked the ban on the party then) and the Hindu Mahasabha. The League was not in favor of the British leaving India without partitioning the country first. In fact, Jinnah asked more Muslims to enlist in the army to fight the war. The Communist party supported the war waged by the British since they were allied with the Soviet Union. Subhash Chandra Bose, was by this time, organizing the Indian National Army and the Azad Hind government from outside the country. C. Rajagopalachari, resigned from the INC since he was not in favour of complete independence. In general, the Indian bureaucracy did not support the Quit India Movement. The original concept of non-violence as developed by Gandhi at the outset did not retain its unalloyed form in the day to day course of the movement of 1942. In protest against the repressive measures of British rule in the context of the second world war situation the Indian public immediately involved themselves with the course of revolutionary activities conducted by the various revolutionary groups in the country. The spirit and methods of Gandhian non-violent movement got mixed up with insurrectionary activities planned and executed by such groups.

Gandhi's statement to the Press, September 5, 1939

Satyapal and Prabodh Chandra, *Sixty years of Congress (1946)* Proceedings of Indian National Congress, 51st session, Gandhi's Address to delegates, 19 March 1940. Each satyagrahi had to recite in public a set formula of words as an anti-war slogan : "It is wrong to help the British efforts with men and money. The only worthy effort is to resist all war with non-violent resistance" There was nothing new in the method suggested by Gandhi, but his objective, tone and temper were very different as compared to those in the earlier movements. It would not be out of place to mention here the attitude of the political radicals to Gandhi's policy and method. The radical elements within the Congress became increasingly critical of the policy and tactics suggested by Gandhi. The Indian political atmosphere was surcharged with hatred against the alien rulers; terrorist activities witnessed an unprecedented intensification. The working class movements under the banners of trade unions and kishan organizations involved increasingly large numbers of people. In the opinion of Subhas Chandra Bose Gandhian policy was responsible for providing the alien rulers with an opportunity to curb the militancy of freedom struggle in India. He said: "During the year 1941, the Civil Disobedience Movement continued but without much enthusiasm on the part of Gandhi and his followers. The Mahatma had calculated that by following a mild policy, he would ultimately open the door towards a compromise — but in this, he was disappointed. His goodness was mistaken for weakness and the British Government went on exploiting India for war purposes to the best of its ability when towards the end of 1941.

A mass movement appeared to be inevitable. People looked to Mahatma Gandhi and he made no mistake in seizing an opportunity that could re-establish his leadership following the failure of selective and qualitative individual satyagraha of

1940. Mahatma Gandhi realized that the British government might not free India even after the war and in the absence of an offensive; the Congress Party might face extinction.

On the one hand, Gandhi was preaching a theory of revolution and on the other he was also demanding voluntary withdrawal. In this connection Gandhi strongly repudiated the charge of his being pro-Japanese. He told Louis Fischer, "I do not wish Japan to win the war. I do not want the Axis to win. But I am sure that Britain cannot win unless the Indian people became free. Coupled with the threat of a movement were hardly effective to induce Britain under Churchill's leadership to negotiate a settlement. To the British Gandhi's thesis appeared weak constitutionally; they decided not to leave India to anarchy. Nationalist India on its part decided to "shake off the oppressive frustration of inaction" and plunge into a grim battle.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

This study presents a proper and clear understanding about the Quit India movement and its various facets and phases. This movement had been the opportunity give to Indians to know their strength. August Kranti movement had been an important milestone in the Indian Freedom Struggle for it was more a spontaneous movement than just a planned revolt of the Congress. This movement had instilled a new confidence among Indian masses & aroused spirit of total sacrifice in them. By this struggle, public morale and anti British sentiments were enhanced & had placed complete independence at the top agenda of the Freedom movement. After all, this movement had been able to grab the attention of whole India for having a unilinear mindset towards the way for attaining liberation from the mighty Sun never setting British Empire.

“Every one of you should from this movement onwards, must consider yourself a freeman and woman and act as if you are free... I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom. We shall do it or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt.”

Gandhi

As the leaders of the greatest mass movement of the 20th century were deprived of the opportunity of leading the mass movement, the masses themselves assumed the leadership. Thus Quit India Movement consolidated Nationalism in India and the historic struggle deserves to be cherished with pride by the present and future generations.

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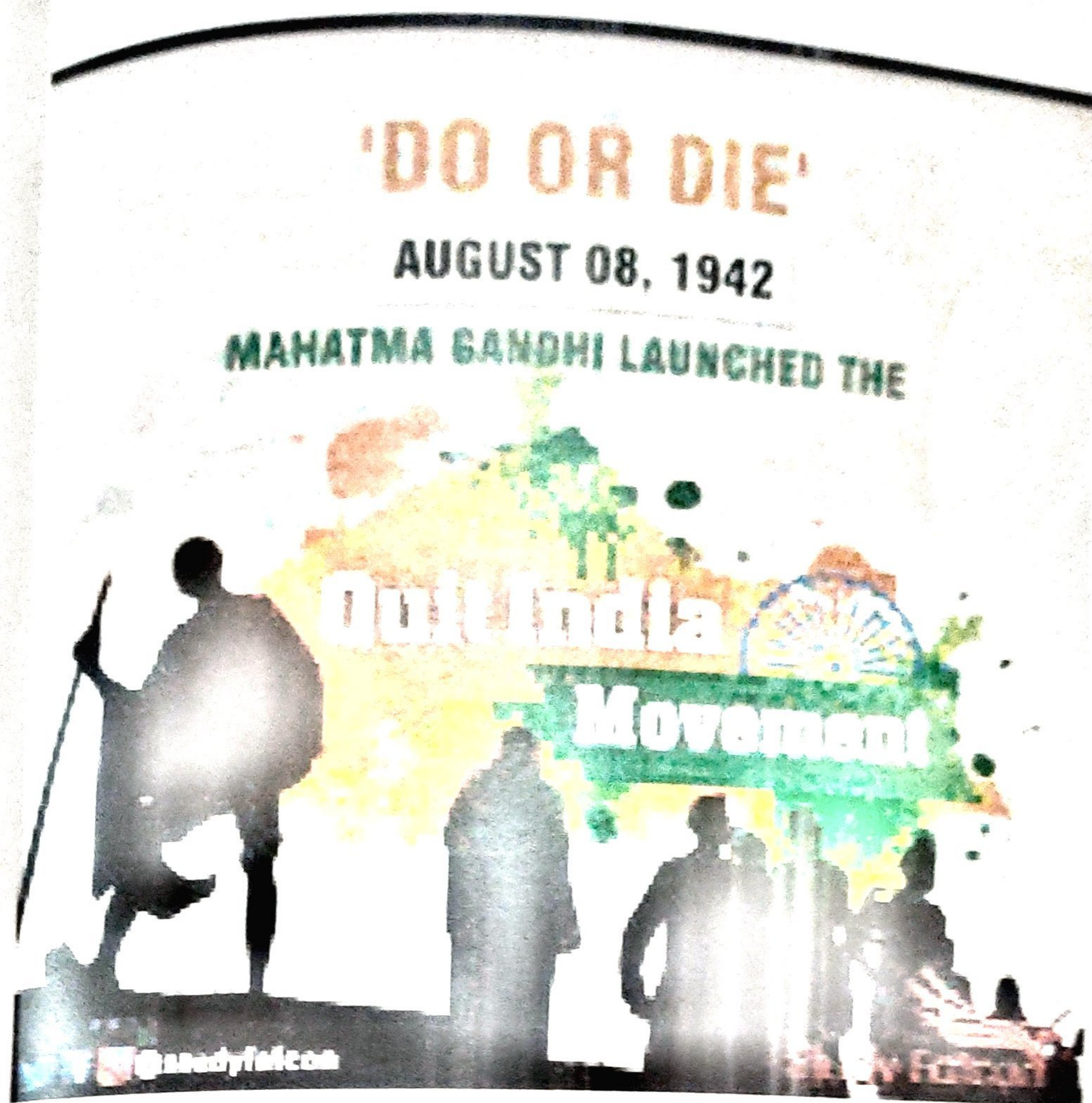
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PHOTOGRAPHS

Quit India Movement



Quit India Movement - Mass Movement



Do or Die

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

"The path to freedom has never been easy"



Netaji partners with
Axis Powers

1941

1942

"Quit India"
resolution

INA marches till
Imphal

1943

World War II
ends

1945

Naval
Revolt

1946

August 15

1947

Dawn of
Independence



The Path Towards Independence



In Commemoration of Quit India Movement

History of Christianity in India

Project in History Submitted to

St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi

affiliated to

Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

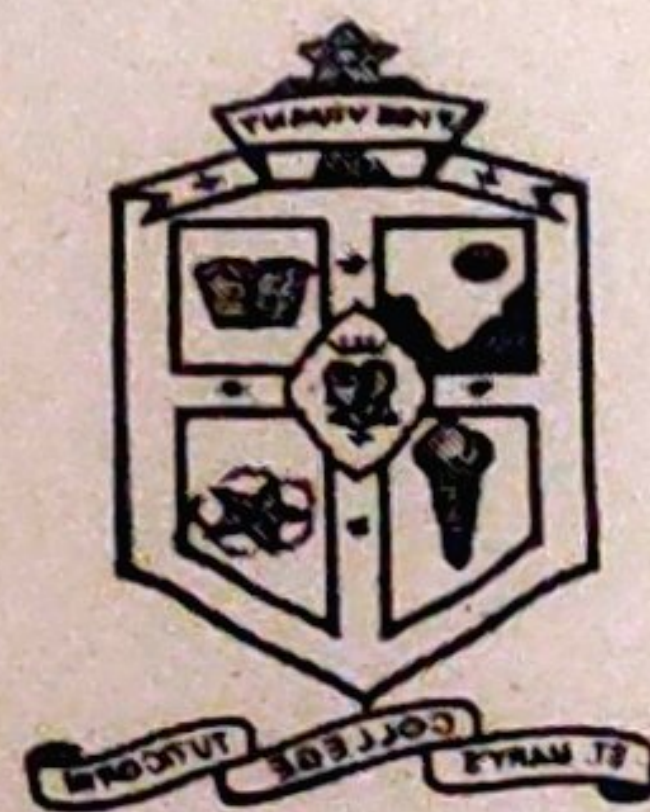
for the award of the degree of

Master of Arts in History

By

D.Maria Seeli

Reg.No:20APHI02



St. Mary's College (Autonomous)

Reaccredited with "A+" Grade by NAAC

Thoothukudi

2022

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the project entitled "History of Christianity in India" is submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History and is a record of work done during the year 2022 by D. Maria Seeli a bonafide student of the Department of History, St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi.

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II M.A History

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled “**History of Christianity in India**” submitted to **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi** affiliated to the **Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli** for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History is my original work and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

Place :Thoothukudi

Date :

Signature of the Candidate

(D.Maria Seeli)

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Introduction

India is a country of multiple cultures, languages and religions. It is the country of origin for many old heritages and religious principles. Generally the Indian are god fearing and mostly pious and ritual practitioners. The oldest religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Saivism originated in Indian soil and still practiced by the natives. The non-stop search for spiritual matters is the characteristics of the Indian culture. Even before the advent of Christianity in India was flooded with different kinds of religious philosophies. The history of Christianity in India dates back to the 1st century C.E. India is one of the countries where the immediate disciple of Jesus entered and spread the light of the Christianity. Thomas, one among the twelve apostles of Jesus Christ landed in Cranganore of Kerala and started preaching the Christianity around A.D. 70 itself.¹ So it is wrong to believe that the Europeans brought Christian religion to India.

Aim and Purpose

From this project, throw flood of light on the history of Christianity in India. It helps the present generation to know the history of Christianity and its impact in the every aspects of Indian history. This study reveals the life history, the achievements and the sacrifices of Christian missionaries and their lives.

Methodology

Different research methods have been used in this project. They are analytical method and descriptive method. The source materials have been critically analysed and

¹ W.W.Hunter, *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2010, pp.32-39.

investigated. The descriptive method is used in the presentation of the study in order to make the project understandable to the readers.

Review of Literature

The present study on “History of Christianity-” is based on historical method. Primary and secondary and published sources are utilized. Biographies of Christian missionaries written by different authors and contemporary books available in different libraries are consulted.

Chapterisation

This project divided into four chapters including introduction and conclusion. The first chapter it deals with the Roman Catholic Christianity in India. In the second chapter it explains the emergence of first Protestant Christianity in India. In the third and fourth chapters which elucidate vividly Colonialism and Protestant Christianity and Christianity and its nation building India. Missionaries lives and sacrifices are analyzed. In the concluding chapter it estimates and analysis elaborately and critically the contributions and achievements of Christianity to the nation.

Chapter One

The Roman Catholic Christianity in India

The Roman Catholic Church was very active in its endeavour to spread Christianity during the 16th and 17th centuries. The experience of loss it went through in Europe due to the rise of Reformation, made them to take greater efforts to regain their power in other parts of the world. The success they had through Counter Reformation gave them more self-confidence. They used this outcome to the fullest for the Evangelism to the dominance as exhibited by the Catholic countries such as Portugal and Spain in Navigation.²

Religious Policies of the Portuguese in India

The Portuguese term Padroado refers is the right of spiritual or religious jurisdiction granted by Pope Nicholas V to the Portuguese King Alphonse V by his famous Papal Bull Romanus Pontifex in 1455 over all the lands discovered or to be discovered by the Portuguese in the East. The rivalry between Spain and Portugal in discovering and Christianizing those lands that were discovered by them resulted in conflicts.³ To solve these conflicts the Pope had divided the Globe into east and west and authored Portuguese to evangelize the east and the west to Spain. It gave to their rulers certain rights and duties. Accordingly, the kings were granted a say in the appointment of the bishops within these regions and in the sending of missionaries. Thus, the Portuguese came to exercise ecclesiastical patronage in India and the Padroado was strongly reaffirmed.

The Conversion of Paravas to Christianity

The Pearl fishery was a great source of income to the Paravas and this attracted rival regimes and middlemen. The Moors had established a monopoly over the sea borne trade and total control over the Pearl fishery. The poor Parava were exploited and oppressed in various ways. They were reduced to slaves and day laborers. The Portuguese took control of the pearl fishery from the Muslims by military force in 1524. The conflicts between the Paravas and Muslims led the the Paravas head-men to approach the Portuguese Captain Pero Vaz of Cochin and asked for his assistance against the Muslims. The Paravas agreed to become Christians with

² Joseph Thekkadeth, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol.II, Bangalore, 1982, p.145.

³ Rowena and Sathianathan Clarke (ed.), *Religious Conversion in India, Modes, Motivations and Meanings*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011, p.300.

their people if the Portuguese liberated them from the clutches of the Muslims. Parava head-men were baptized at Cochin immediately in 1535 Captain Pero Vaz delivered the Paravas from the Muslims and consequently between 1535 and 1537 about 20,000 Paravas in 30 villages were baptized.⁴ Thus, the Paravas mass conversion under the Portuguese Padroado took place. Therefore, one can conclude that it was the tension among the Paravas and Muslims that seems to have brought Christianity to this region. The Paravas mass-movement toward Christianity brought the Jesuit missions to India, such as Francis Xavier and Robert de Nobili.⁵

The Missionary Methods of Francis Xavier

He was a Spaniard nobleman and from a royal family of Navarre and France.⁶ He joined with Ignatius Loyola and five others to form a brotherhood known as the Jesuits or the Society of Jesus on 15th August 1534, which became an organized society in 1540 under the approval of the Pope. They committed their lives to totally serve the lord through a life of celibacy and poverty and to be ready to go wherever they are sent for the proclamation of the Gospel. Upon the request of the Portuguese King, Francis Xavier was sent to India along with another priest Paul de Camerino.

It was under the Padroado that Xavier was appointed as Ambassador of the Pope and was sent to India in 1541. His voyage to India took 13 months. He landed Goa on 6th May 1542 he was already reputed as a saint. Christians were worldly and loose-living and the large number of Indo-Portuguese resulting from the mixed marriages and otherwise was ill-instructed and ill-disciplined. Xavier was revolted by the immorality of many of his compatriots. He approached the people mainly through the children. He went about the streets ringing the bell and calling out "*faithful Christians send your children*". He began by singing the lessons he had rhymed and then made the children sing them, so that they might become better fixed in their memory. Afterwards he explained each point in the simplest way.

On October 1542 Francis Xavier landed at Manappad and the Pearl Fishery Cost. Till the end of 1544 taking with him 3 Indian Christian helpers from the Goa Seminary he visited the 30 villages between Kanyakumari and Thoothukudi who were Christians in name but entirely ignorant of the faith and without church services of any kind. He began to baptize

⁴ Lockman, J., *Travels of the Jesuits into Various Parts of the World*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, p.376.

⁵ Firth, C.B., *An Introduction to Indian Church History*, Delhi, ISPCK, 2001, p.52.

⁶ Henry James Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, Vol.I, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2004, p.7.

all the children who were born after the mass baptism of 1536-1537. His method was baptizing first then instructing.

He started his work with Thoothukudi. He translated catechism into Tamil, with the help of his Indian seminarians. He also composed short talk on what it meant to be Christian, what heaven and hell are and who goes to the one and who goes to the other. He went through the whole village with a little bell and called together all men and the boys he could find and began to teach them twice a day the prayers, the creeds and the commandments. He uses one of his seminarians to repeat what he had said in order to make sure that the hearers really understood what he was saying. He asks his hearers to go home and teach others likewise. Xavier was thus very thorough in his missionary work, taking every little detail into care and consideration.

He make regular tours among the Christian villages, by appointing in each place one of the intelligent members as Catechist and leaving copies of the course of instruction with them. The Catechist received a stipend from funds provided by the Portuguese government and administered by their agent of Thoothukudi. He was instrumental in starting St. Paul's college at Goa for the higher education of local Christians and for the preparation of local clergy.

Simple chapels of mud and thatch were built gathered the people for the daily prayers and lessons. He sent for the teacher of Catechism and examined the progress of the children. He employed harsh method to abolish immorality and idolatry. On the other hand, Xavier was a compassionate shepherd. When the Christians suffered ill-treatment under the unscrupulous Portuguese or were raided by the troops of warring Rajahs, he always comes to their aid.

Xavier also baptized the fishery coast people of Travancore Coast, the Mukkuvas. It is said that within a month's time, Xavier could baptize more than 10,000 people. In 1545 he went to Mylapore, Malacca and to Indonesian Islands. He returned to Goa and then to the South east coast. In 1549 he set out for Japan with the Japanese convert Anjiro and few Jesuits. After his ministry there he returned to India. After three months he went to China but on the way he died on 24th December 1552. His body was buried in Malacca temporarily and later it was taken to Goa. He was canonized as saint by Pope Gregory XV in 1622. Like Paul he is known especially through his letters, he has been criticized for hasty and superficial methods never stopping to learn languages or really getting to know the culture of the people, trusting to

memory work and verbal expressions of belief and always ready to drop one piece of work and go in search of another.⁷

Jesuits in the Mughal Court

Akbar, came to the throne in 1556, was a man of great intelligence and considerable interest in religion. With his ascension to the throne the classic period of the Mughal Empire began. He was one among the Mughal rulers who introduced religious tolerance. He invited teachers of all religions to come to his court and he listened to them. In March 1579, Father Gil Eanes Pereira, a Jesuit priest reached Akbar's court in answer to Akbar's invitation. Pereira always exposed Islam as religion of error and suggested that Akbar should try to obtain some Jesuit Priest from Goa, who would be able to enlighten him to this Akbar obliged.

In response to his request Father Rudolph Acquaviva, Father Antony Monserrate and Francis Henriques came to Akbar's court at Fatehpursikiri. He gave the Jesuits full liberty to preach and make conversions. However the doctrine of Trinity and Incarnation were hard for Akbar to digest. This mission retreated after sometime, realizing Akbar was not very much interested in Christianity. A second Jesuit mission to Akbar's court was sent in 1591 at the earnest request of the emperor. The fathers were well-received. Nevertheless they soon realized that Akbar had no intention of becoming a Christian. Hence the mission came to an abrupt end.

Akbar being dissatisfied by the hasty withdrawal of the second mission sent for another mission. Though the Jesuits were willing to go this time for political reason, they did. Three men, Father Jerome Xavier, Father Immanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes were sent in 1595 and this mission became a permanent undertaking. Due courtsey and respect was shown unto them. He allowed them to start a school for the royal family. But, in his conversation with the father he avoided the subject of religion, alleging that the subject could not be properly discussed until they had learns Persian. In 1607 the Jesuits achieved a notable success in obtaining from Akbar a written order under the royal seal expressly permitting conversion of Christianity. However Akbar till his death bed refused to accept Christianity. Yet, the mission continued till the time of Aurangzeb (1683) without much success. However, it enabled the emergence of enormous amount of Christian literature in Persian language and the influence of Christianity on Mughal paintings.⁸

⁷ Henry James Coleridge, *Op.cit.*, pp.143-147.

⁸ Vantius Fernando, S., *Portuguese Patronage (Padroado) and the Evangelization of the Pearl Fishery Coast*, Vol.XVIII, Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, 1984, pp.91-98.

Robert De Nobili and His Methods

Robert de Nobili, the famous Jesuit missionary of the 17th century who started Madurai Mission in 1606 is often considered as the missionary who pioneered the notion of adaptation and inculturization of Christianity in India. It was in the context of his own encounter with the Indian cultural milieu, with its caste factor, that Father Nobili initiated his method of adaptation and inculturization.

Robert de Nobili was born as an Italian aristocrat in September 1577 in Rome to Count Pier Francesco de Nobili, a general in the papal army, and Clarice Cioli. Cardinal Bellarmine was his uncle. He was related to at least two popes Julius III and Gregory XIII. His noble birth proved to be advantages for his latter missionary enterprise, as later in Madurai he would make the declaration.

He was educated first in Rome and then in a Duchess house and in 1596 against the wishes of his parents the Jesuit novitiate in Naples, eventually becoming missionary to India. It was under Portuguese Padroado that Robert de Nobili came to Madurai. Madurai was the ancient capital of the Pandyas and the center of Tamil culture and learning. It was in November 1606, that Robert de Nobili reached Madurai and ministered there till 1656.⁹

His Methods of Indigenization

Realizing the importance of the local language, he studied Tamil. In six months he learned the language and was able to discuss religion with the learned men. He was familiar with a wide range of popular religious ideas, myths, etc., and the literature of Hinduism, i.e., such as Vaishnava and Saiva communities. Prior to Father Nobili at Madurai, Father Goncalo Fernandez worked there for 11 years without success. This was due to the reasons that Fernandez followed a missionary method requiring the neophytes to dress, eat, and behave like the Portuguese colonials. It requires the convert to abandon the marks of their civil ranks. Following their conversion they took Portuguese names. As a result, they were strongly despised and resisted by the Hindus of high caste origin. Christian converts along with the Portuguese were considered “paranghis” (despised foreigners) for eating beef, wine wearing leather shoes, not bathing frequently and communicating freely with the outcastes of India.

⁹ Rowena and Sathianathan Clarke (ed.), *Op.cit.*, pp.324.

Thus, the converts were regarded as polluting, lose all titles of nobility and become infamous for the rest of the lives. The method of conversion used by the Portuguese created a grave barrier for the high castes and made them shun Christianity. This is evident when Father Nobili remarks:

For when these heathens see that our Christian neophytes discard the caste thread and many other time honored practices of their own. Cultures and adapt the manner of foreigners, they came to think that those who apply to us for spiritual instruction, change not so much their religious beliefs and practices as the very tenor of their civil grade deprived of every civil advantage.

Father Nobili “being convinced that the deadlock was due to the identification of Christianity with paranghism, he proposed to reject that identification with paranghism and repudiate that name which applied neither to himself nor to his religion”. Father Nobili firmly believed that unless the high castes were Christianized, would be impossible to even think about Christianising the entire people of India. In his treatise on Indian customs, Father Nobili wrote, *“As the Brahmins alone in India represent the intelligentia and the teaching profession, from the earliest times it became an established custom for well-nigh everyone from the inferior order, before attempting anything particularly in matters connected with the sciences and the religious sects, to take counsel on the subject from some learned Brahmins”*.

For this very reason he made the high castes the primary focus of his evangelization, in order to evangelise the whole nation. He made full use of his noble background by stating that he was an Italian Kshatriya not a ‘paranghi’. He described himself as a Roman Raja Sannyasi (renunciant), which allowed him to associate with the high caste Hindus. He declared to them that he was a sanyasi, who had come to India to reach a new spiritual law. He also adapted himself to the customs of the high caste people whom he wanted to evangelist. With the permission of Father Alberto Laerzio, his provincial and Ros, the archbishop of Cranganore, he began to live the life of an Indian sanyasi and took the title of ‘Guru’. The native people began to fondly address him as ‘aiyer’ (the master of the house). He gave up meat, fish, eggs and wine and ate only one meal a day, which consisted of rice, milk, fruit, and vegetables. In addition, none other than the high caste servants were admitted to his service to the extent of hiring a Brahmin to cook his food. In 1607, he gave up the black cassock of the Portuguese missionaries for the common long robe of an Indian sanyasi, with a second

cloth cast over the shoulder. He wore the sacred thread across his shoulder, anointed his forehead with the sandal paste and put on wooden sandals. He bathed twice a day.

Especially before the celebration of the Eucharist. Finally, he left the other Jesuits and stayed in the newly built mud-walled chapel and avoided all contact with the lower castes. The new space was presented to him by one of his Hindu admirers. His adaptation method facilitated access to him for the people of high caste origin without running the risk of losing their higher caste status and being publicly ostracized by their fellow humans. The mastery of Father Nobili over the ornate Tamil popular Hinduism, and his fame as a sannyasi attracted solitude never going out of his house, and admitting visitors only with extreme reserve.

For the true means of attracting these people is to excite their curiosity. According to the tradition current at that time, the true original Veda had been lost. De Nobili made use of this opportunity by declaring that this Veda still exists and that it had been completed and perfected by another Veda. This was the Veda which he had come to preach the “Sattia Veda” (True Veda). Many inclined their ears to hear him because of this revelation. Nobili’s evangelistic method began to show great success wherein within the first 18 months he converted 50 people of Madurai. His first convert was a high caste Hindu Saivite school teacher.

In 1608 Father Nobili met and befriended Sivadarma a Brahmin Sanskrit scholar. This friendship enabled Father Nobili to learn Sanskrit, the classical language of Hinduism. In addition, he also acquired some knowledge of the Vedas and Vedanta. His friendship with Sivadarma moreover happened to be one of God’s providence. It saved Father Nobili from being thrown out by the Brahmins, who accused him of paranghi. At a meeting of 800 Brahmins when his origin and status were questioned, Sivadarma defended Father Nobili and explained that even though his skin was white Father Nobili was a learned sannyasi and quite different from the paranghis. Only because of this timely intervention Father Nobili was allowed to remain in Madurai. It is out of this fruitful friendship that Sivadarma eventually embraced Christianity.

Father Nobili has also been called the “Apostle of the Brahmins”. He lived and moved among the Brahmins, hired a Brahmin cook and scribe and kept aloof from the low castes. Yet the converts were not Brahmins alone, but Nayaks also. Out of 120 Christians the mission had in 1611, not more than 12 were Brahmins. On the other hand, the Chettinayaks were at least 70. He was the first one to make the Brahmins the target people group and find some converts among them. Father Nobili’s research of the law of Manu and other Indian

literature led him to conclude that the Punul (sacred thread) and the Kudumi (tuft of hair) were civil rather than religious superstitious customs and therefore permissible to Brahmin converts. He also allowed ceremonial baths and sandal paste on forehead.

At the same time, he removed whatever was strictly Hindu in these practices and Christianized them with Christian prayers and blessings. The converts were allowed to keep their caste rules and continued to live with their own families. The church was built in Indian style, the outcastes were separated by a balustrade and were in a lower place, and the sacraments were administered first to the high castes. For doing this he is accused of bringing caste into the church, but it must be noted that castes distinction was there even in the time of Francis Xavier, as there were separate chapels for different caste groups. Moreover, as Rajamanickam pointed out, Christians, being a small minority could not change a universal custom such as the caste system, especially in those days. It was a great achievement that Nobili had brought all of them into same church, particularly at a time when low castes were not allowed in the Hindu temples

His adaptation went much further than he was credited for. He Christianized the marriage and the burial ceremonies and the Pongal festival. Dadamurthi, a new convert and the landlord of the place where Nobili lived, was encouraged to celebrate the Pongal Festival, planting a cross and boiling rice like others. Noticing that during Brahmanical weddings a number of hymns were sung, he composed several hymns in the same manner, so that his converts could have equally joyful celebration. He retained thali (wedlock) in the Christian wedding.

His method of adaptation was much more pronounced in the language. He used Tamil terms to convey Christian ideas. He Christianized certain words and infused into them new meanings. Prasadam, for instance, signifying a gift from the temple he used for "grace," the gift from God. He used Kovil for Church and Pujai for mass. Even saints' names were made to sound Tamil. For example, he made 'Fidelis, as 'Visuvasam', Deus dedit as Sivadarma, and Peter as Malaiyapan etc. He rejected the word svarga and adoption of moksa for heaven, because svarga meant a place of pleasure which satisfies every desire of man. But, unfortunately all these attempts at adaptation were not received warmly or recognized.

Pointing to the parallel between Ancient Rome and South Indian society Father Nobili argued, if the ancient Romans were allowed to dress as they had prior to their conversion keeping old symbols of status etc., converts in India should likewise be allowed to maintain their signs of status, the Brahmin thread, certain names etc. This was not an accommodation to

Hindu religiosity per se; elements of Indian society were to be defended and preserved precisely because they were not inherently “Hindu”. Having thus made justification for his method, Father Nobili attended the Goa a conference.

The conference opened in Goa on 4th February 1619. Most of the participants to this conference were prejudiced against Father Nobili's methods. As a result, except for the second Inquisitor Fernand de Almeida, the archbishop of Cranganore, Father Ros and Jesuits declared themselves against Father Nobili, including the archbishop of Goa. But, the Grand Inquisitor of Portugal declared himself to be in favor of Father Nobili in 1621. Finally, Pope Gregory XV on 31st January 1623 decided the question in favor of Nobili.¹⁰

This decision gave new fervor and stimuli and Nobili resumed his work, extending it as well to other parts of the state of Tamil Nadu. Now, in 1623 leaving the work under the care of Father Anthony Vico. Nobili went to Trichy. Like the wandering sadhus of India, he traveled from one place to another. One of his Vellala converts called Yesu Adiyam succeeded in bringing about the conversion of his former guru. Muthudaiyan. Muthudaiyan was a dravida pandaram (a non Brahmin priest) and had more than 2000 disciples. Muthudaiyan was the first paria convert. He managed to attract a number of his former disciples to Christianity. In 1650, Nobili was sent to Jaffna to start the Jesuit mission there. Three years later he was sent to Mylapore where he lived in a hut outside the town. He passed away in 1656 at the age 79.

His Writings

He was a prolific writer of high Tamil and later added the court language Telugu and the language of the Brahmins, Sanskrit. He is believed to have written at least 50 books in Indian languages besides a number of letters and treatises in Italian, Latin, and Portuguese. His writings reflected the methods and arguments he had used in the controversies with the non-Christians as well as the instruction to the catechumens and the neophytes. Despite his openness and pioneering achievement in learning about the Hindu religion, as an orthodox Catholic Christian of the 17th century, he carefully assessed and assimilated only in modified form, bits and pieces from the religious environment around him, and he was not tolerant.

¹⁰ Strickland, W., *The Jesuits in india*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, p.49.

Roman Catholic Missionaries in Madurai

John De Britto

Father John de Britto was one of the most distinguished and successful Madurai Mission Missionaries, who endured great sufferings and eventually became a martyr. He was a Portuguese noble by birth and came to India in 1673 and joined the Madurai mission in the following year. He started his work in Kuttur in Tanjore kingdom and then shifted it to Marava country (Ramnad). He worked in these places always under the threat of arrest was finally arrested and cruelly tortured. After his release the provincial sent him on mission business to Portugal. During those two years he was there though the king tried hard to retain him as tutor to his son, he came back to India and went back to Marava country again. This time he was able to baptize nearly 40,000 people. Chief among them was a man called Tadia Tevar, who was a prince of Maravas. His baptism in 1693 led to a crisis.

Tadia Tevar had five wives, and John de Britto insisted that he must keep only one and pension the others. However, one of the women who was related to the Rajah of Ramnad, appealed to her kinsman against John de Britto and it resulted in the general persecution of the Christians. John de Britto was seized and afterwards he and three Christians were dragged off to Ramnad where they were imprisoned. Tadia Tevar was able to save him from immediate execution. However after sometime he was beheaded publicly in 1693.

Fr Constanzo Giuseppe Beschi

The Italian, Father Constanzo Giuseppe Beschi, was another popular missionary who served from 1736 to 1741 in the Madurai Mission. Though in the early year of his ministry Joseph Beschi had to suffer hardship, later he won the confidence of the Mughul General Chand Sahib who protected him. During the years when Chand Sahib ruled Trichy (1736-174) he is even said to have made his dewan and assigned to him the revenues of certain villages which Beschi used for the work of mission. His principal station was Yella Kurichi and he covered the surroundings of Trichy. Beschi is famous for his literary works.

He produced classical Sangam philopical treaties, commentaries, dictionaries, grammars, translation works and tracts for both the Hindu Christians and non-Christians. He became master of Tamil and achieved the distinction of composing a long epic poem which is record as a classic in Tamil. This was Thembavani (The Unfading Garland), 4 poem of 36 cantos in ornate high Tamil. The subject is the biblical history Redemption, beginning with the

Old Testament and fulfilled in the birth, ministry passion and resurrection of our lord. Besides his poetical works Beschi also wrote in prose.

Those were the days the Tranquebar mission was in full swing. To reply to their teaching he wrote a book called 'Veda Vilakkam (Explanation of Religion)'. For the guidance of Catechists he wrote Vedar Olukkam (Rule for Catechists). While the great contributions of these foreign missionaries cannot be erased from the memoirs and pages of Indian Church history, it is also important to understand that they could not have achieved thus far without the equally great assistance from the native of local teachers, guides, companions and translators who had to work under much more pressures and sacrifices.

The Portuguese Attempts to Latinize the Indian Christians

When the Portuguese arrived in India (1498) and then subsequently met the Syrian Christians both parties were happy to have each other and their relations were friendly. But, as they began to live together and learn of each other, it became apparent that there were differences between them. Having come from Europe they conceived it to be their duty to bring the Syrian Christians to the Catholic form of Christianity. Thus Latinization went on throughout the 16th century.¹¹

¹¹ Shobhanan, B., *A History of the Christian Missions in South India*, Keral Historical Society, Travancore, 1996, pp. 45-51.

Chapter Two

The First Protestant Christianity in India

The protestant mission began in India only in 18th century. The Tranquebar Mission and the Serampore Mission were the first two Protestant Missions in India. It shall begin with a brief analysis of the then political, socio-cultural and religious conditions of India during the 18th and 19th Centuries and make an attempt to briefly recount the history of the Tranquebar mission followed by Serampore Mission.

Background of Protestant Christianity in India

The first Protestant Christianity came to India in the early part of the 18th century. During this century the European nations that settled in India were the Dutch at Pulicat (1609), Sadras (1647) and Negapatam (1660); the British at Masulipatam (1622), Madras (1639), Cuddalore (1683) and Calcutta (1689); the French at Pondicherry (1674); the Danes at Tranquebar (1620) and Serampore (1676). The French were Roman Catholics and the rests were Protestants. However, they had no intention to spread the gospel in India as their sole aim was for trade and profit.

Though the Protestant Christianity went side by side with the colonial flag it was not the colonial expansion which spread Protestant Christianity. It was the 18th century spiritual awakenings that gave Protestant Christians the biblical motive to share the gospel of Jesus Christ to others. In England the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) was formed in 1698, and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1701 for the purpose of carrying the gospel to foreign land. In 1705 King Fredrick IV of Denmark founded the Danish Halle Mission (Tranquebar Mission), and it sent the first Protestant missionaries to India in 1706. In 1792 the British Missionary Society was founded in 1795, the London Missionary Society; the Church Missionary Society in 1799; the Religious Tract Society in 1799, and the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. In Europe, the Netherlands Missionary Society (1796), Basel Mission (1815), and the Gossner Society (1836) were founded. In USA, the American Board of Commission for Foreign Mission (1810), the American Baptist Mission (1814), the Methodist Mission and Bible Society (1819), and the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Society (1837) were founded. These Protestant missionary societies sent numerous missionaries to Asian countries, which resulted in the spread of Protestant Christianity in India also.

It was King Frederick of Denmark who first took the initiative to send Protestant missionaries to India. In 1706 Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Pluetschau were sent to India. In spite of the unwelcoming attitude, they began their work by learning Portuguese and Tamil. The first baptism took place on 12th May 1707. In the same year (1707), on 15th August the native Church named 'The Jerusalem Church' was established. In 1711 Ziegenbalg completed a translation of the New Testament into Tamil. A printing press was set up at Tranquebar in 1712. Hence, a strong Christian congregation was established in South India at Tranquebar.¹²

The First Protestant Mission in India

The beginning of the 18th century saw the coming of Protestant Christianity to India. The Evangelical Revival that broke out in Germany (Pietism) spread to Europe and USA. This revival created a tremendous amount of zeal for evangelism and a number of missionary societies came into being. The revival movement in the last quarter of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century among the German Lutherans, is characterized by an identifiable salvation experience and inner piety that manifests itself in religious earnestness, ethical living, social activism and missionary zeal.

The Tranquebar Mission

King Frederick IV of Denmark looked for missionaries to be sent to his colonies. Since neither the Bishop nor the court preacher Franz Julius Lutkans could find suitable candidates in Denmark, Lutkans contacted his pietistic friends for recommendations of suitable candidates. When Lange was contacted, he wrote to Ziegenbalg about this proposal. Ziegenbalg, concerned about his health, did not bother to reply. Ironically, this silence from Ziegenbalg was taken to be his consent and he was recommended to be a candidate. Henry Pluetschau from Wessenbert, another fellow student of Ziegenbalg in Halle, was recommended as another candidate. They were soon ordained as Lutheran ministers by Bishop Borneman after an initial hesitation. After the ordination, Ziegenbalg was invited to preach to the king. Ziegenbalg used the occasion to expound his mission theology and program, winning the entire royal family over as supporters of the mission. They left for India on 29th November 1705 by "Princess Sophia Hedwig".¹³

¹² Hranghhuma, F., *An Introduction to Church History*, Bnagalore, 1999, p. 352.

¹³ Sherring, M.A., *The History of the Protestant Missions in India*, London, 1986, p.1.

They reached Tranquebar on 9th July 1706. The seven months long voyage was as Ziegenbalg described it, an academy of death, replete with terrors from wind and waves, pirates and freebooters, seasickness and a near shipwreck on the shoals off Ceylon. Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau shared a cabin and had their pietistic spiritual exercises, enjoying the flying fish, studying a devotional tract under the title, 'Sophia'. They had to wait on board for three days for a boat to take them to the shore, thanks to the captain of the ship who wanted to vent his anger on them, for the missionaries had prevented him from molesting a female passenger. When they finally landed, they were kept in the guardhouse from ten in the morning until four in the afternoon and prevented from entering the town. Fortunately, at dusk a German-speaking Dane named Attrup took pity on them and arranged for the night with his father-in-law, Hans Paulson.

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg

Bartholomew Ziegenbalg was born on 10th July 1682 in Paulsnits, Saxony. His father was a rich grain merchant and his mother was highly influenced by Lutheran mystical piety, represented by Arndt's True Christianity. Tragedy visited the life of young Ziegenbalg, when he lost his father and mother within a two year gap, leaving him at the tender age of ten under the care of his elder sister. His mother's last words made a permanent impression on his heart and he gave scripture a pre-eminent place in his life. At her death bed, his mother gathered all her children around herself and told them, "Dear children, I have collected at great treasure for you: a very great treasure I have collected for you." When the eldest daughter asked, "Dear mother, where is the treasure?" the reply of the dying mother was "Seek it in the bible, my dear children, there you will find it. I have watered every page with my tears,"?! This episode, no doubt, drew him closer to the bible throughout his life. During his high school days, he picked up an excellent command of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. At eighteen he had a conversion experience after nine months of spiritual struggle. He made public confession.

While his contemporaries spent their spare time in amusements and dalliances Ziegenbalg determined to seize the opportunity and made up for the lost time. While in Berlin, Ziegenbalg met Philip Jacob Spener. His writing aided Bartholomew to attain an ever-increasing growth in piety and theological deliberation. Through Spener, he could enter the spiritually elite company of persons like Baron von Canstein, patron of the pietistic enterprise and the founder of the Canstein Bible Society. He provided Ziegenbalg with a university scholarship. It is this scholarship that enabled him to enter Halle. At Halle, Ziegenbalg was

very much influenced by August Herman Francke's piety and deliberations. From Francke he received an invincible trust in God's faithfulness and he too wanted to participate in the spiritual springtime of God's grace.

While he was there at Halle he joined a prayer group. Frankly and openly they told one another their shortcomings. One of his professors, D. Breithaupt, suggested that missionary work in a distant world would be more appropriate for Ziegenbalg. He added, "When one leads one soul of such nations to God that is equivalent to one winning a hundred souls in Europe since these daily have sufficient means and opportunities. "Most likely, this saying helped him to consent to the missionary call that came from an unknown corner.

Their Missionary Methods

Realizing the value and the necessity of learning the local language for communicating the Gospel, they started learning Tamil. Besides, they also started learning Portuguese, as it was the official language then in Tranquebar. They sat along with children in their house and practiced the difficult Tamil letters on sand with their fingers. To their great joy they came across an Indian by the name of Aleppa, who knew German, Danish and Portuguese and thus it was with his help that Indian vocabulary became possible for them. Soon after Ziegenbalg worked out a Tamil-German dictionary and eventually published a grammar book. In four years his dictionary was ready with 40,000 entries. Within eight months Ziegenbalg was able to read, write and speak in Tamil and even understand the conversation of others.

Schools

They started five schools both in Tamil and Portuguese including school for the girls the first of its kind in India. They also started an orphanage. The purpose behind this educational work was the training of young people who would eventually become preachers carrying the Gospel message to their fellow country people.

Evangelism

For their work evangelism they did not wait till they had mastered the languages. As early as November 1706, they began to catechize the Germans and Portuguese. For catechism they translated Luther's Small Catechism and some German hymns into Tamil and Portuguese. In schools and in the congregation they mind with great benefits. The 'Short outline of Christian Doctrine' by Freytingshausen a prominent Pietist t professor of Halle which was

translated by 1st July 1707. They never hurried to baptize. Many months of catechism preceded baptism and continued even after baptism.

Ziegenbalg and Pluetschau pioneered the technique of leading a group of school children into the street or countryside and questioning them on their religious knowledge in the presence of adult Tamils. This catechetical approach was adapted to suit the bearer who had no knowledge of Christianity. This approach proved to be effective as most of the Tamils with whom they were working among were illiterate. They went to the people wherever they were to be found, whether in the paddy field, on the seashore, in the shadow of the tree or at the temple festivals.

Building New Church

The first convert was Ziegenbalg's Tamil servant Seperumal, a Sudra. He was given the name Andreas on 5th September 1707. Following the conversion of Seperumal more Sudras became Christians. Through Ziegenbalg's trust in divine providence, he and Pluestchau started and completed the construction of the church building and called it the New Jerusalem Church.

Translation

The Danish liturgy was translated into Tamil and used for worship. Within two years of his arrival, Ziegenbalg began the translation of the Bible. The translation work was made directly from the original languages Hebrew and Greek. The translation he began in 1708 was brought to a halt on 19th November 1708 when the governor Hassius imprisoned him. However, soon after his release he continued the translation and completed the New Testament and the Old Testament up to the book of Ruth. In a letter to Halle, Ziegenbalg wrote, "All the books of the New Testament are now translated, this is a treasure in India which surpasses all other Indian treasures. The first part (Gospels and Act) was printed at the mission press in 1714, and in 1715 the whole New Testament was printed. In 1723 Schultze began from where Ziegenbalg had left off and completed the entire Old Testament and the Apocrypha by 1725. This printing was possible because of the printing press that had been donated by Francke. It should be mentioned here that even the Tamil types came from Halle.

Francke of Halle took meticulous care to publish these letters, Report of the Royal Danish Missionaries in India, Remarkable News from India and Remarkable page to Proclaim the Gospel. They gave a mass of ideological facts. As a result, enthusiasm over the mission

work in India was aroused. The king of Denmark in 1711 set up a board and a budget of 2000 Tales per annum. The interest Tranquebar Mission spread to England through the count preacher Anton Wilhelm the Bochme of the German court chapel, who was a friend of Francke. Bochme translated the letters of Ziegenbalg into English and published them in 1709. Thus, impressive mission cooperation emerged between England, Germany and Denmark. Indeed it is three-corned remarkable mission cooperation. The Tranquebar missionaries worked in truly ecumenical broadmindedness without yielding their Lutheran convictions.

Relations between the Lutheran Mission and the Roman Catholic Mission

While see a cordial relationship between the Lutherans and Anglicans, the relationship between the Tranquebar missionaries and the Roman Catholic missionaries working in and around Tranquebar was far from being cordial to each others. Ziegenbalg, filled with the spirit and theological conviction of pietism. Strongly criticized the Roman Catholic methods of accommodation. He accused them of tolerating the pagan ceremonies. Either through the publication of Christian literature or due to the benevolence of Tranquebar Mission a number of Roman Catholic converts, including some of their catechists, developed interests in the Lutheran faith.

The Method of Indigenization

The Tranquebar missionaries did their utmost to eradicate the rigid caste discrimination both in the divine service and in the life of the congregation. Most of their converts came from the Sudra caste, a relatively well placed caste group. As a result, the missionaries followed a conciliar policy in dealing with the issue of caste. Tranquebar missionaries were averse to the idea of any forced method and hence decided to rely on the gradual working of the Christian message in the lives of individuals to shatter the caste spirit from within rather than handle it outrightly. Thus in the New Jerusalem Church, the Sudras men sat in one nave while the Pariahs sat in the other.

The report of 1727 read: After several long consultations, decided that order could well exist side by side with Christian humility and unity, and permitted that Pariahs and Sudras sit in the church separated by one yard. But in the distribution of the sacraments, no difference was made.

However, it is commendable to learn that the missionaries took every effort to elevate the standard of living of the Pariahs by finding well-paid positions for the capable and

qualified Pariah children. Developing the indigenous Church was the aspiration of the mission for Ziegenbalg and his colleagues. Nevertheless, neither nor his successors were willing to abandon their resolve to establish an Indian Church, Defending his proposal to build this large church in Tranquebar, he wrote,

“In the land of thousands of temples and mosques, the building of a large and beautiful house of God by the first Evangelical mission in India, much more than a mere hut which quickly falls into ruin, was of significant meaning, an encouragement to concentrated work and a testimony to a great hope”.

Such was the interest that Ziegenbalg showed concerning the church. Tranquebar missionaries were determined to have an indigenous church in the real sense that it was in India and part of India. The first Tamil lyric book containing 48 songs was published in 1714. The number of songs in the Tamil lyric book rose to 160 adding the compositions of Schultze. Ziegenbalg is also dated with the introduction of the typical Indian forms of preaching, sermon in song.

Ziegenbalg also indigenized wedding ceremonies of the Tamil Christian. The young couples were adorned according to the Tamil customs. The congregation goes on procession in the street leading the couple all the way to the Church. Ziegenbalg also adapted the Thali a symbol of marriage, worn by Tamil women. Ziegenbalg also adapted the local burial ceremony. A funeral is conducted in utmost reverence. All the congregational members go to the house of the deceased. They sing and read from the scriptures the words of comfort.

The missionaries also adapted the local clothing to some degree. Ziegenbalg occasionally dressed himself according to the custom of Tamils, in white turban about the body a white apron, over the shoulders and striped cloth, on the feet red sandals without heels. Schwartz went a step ahead of Ziegenbalg and wore Indian clothes and adapted Indian food.

Christian Frederick Schwartz

The Tranquebar Mission reached its peak days in the entire of Christian Frederick Schwartz. After the demise of Ziegenbalg, Grundler led the mission for a year. Then the leadership fell on Benjamin Schultze, and then Bosse. Schwartz was born at Sonnenberg in Prussia on 26th October 1726. Schwartz spent the first 11 years in Tranquebar, working along with John Balthasar Kohlhoff. Within a year he gained proficiency to preach in Tamil. He made repeated travels to Madras, Cuddalore, Nagapattinam, Trichy and Tanjore, mostly for the

purpose of serving communion to the Europeans and for preaching the Gospel to the locals. He elevated himself above the rest that the history of the Tranquebar Mission could be connected to his name. He served in India for 48 years continuously from 1750 and left his mark both upon the church and on the society with which he was connected. Though a missionary by calling, he was actively involved in diverse work such as chaplain to the British East India Company, diplomat civil servant, school master, friend of Raja Tuljaji of Tanjore and guardian of an adopted son of King Tuljaji- Serfoji. He says,

“One of the principal labors of a missionary ought to be to train up young natives for future catechists. Whenever I met with a promising youth, I spare neither pains nor expense to qualify him for the work.”

In 1762 Schwartz with missionary Klein, went to Tanjore on Captain Johann Wilhelm Berg's invitation. On his way back, he went to Trichy, which belonged to Arcot Nawab, a Muhammeden ruler. The British offered him the position as British Chaplain in 1762 to conduct public worship for the Europeans on Sundays. His ecumenical spirit led him to accept that mission but only after consulting his colleagues in Tranquebar. He never neglected his duties a missionary to non-Christians that he spoke to the Hindus regularly in the Fort of Trichy (and later at Tanjore), and in the surrounding villages. He seizes every opportunity to communicate the Gospel: a funeral procession, a group of pilgrims en route to a holy place and people working in the fields, all attracted his attention.

He built an orphanage and a school in Trichy Schwartz also committed himself to the care for the congregation. Before baptism, a thorough catechism is given to the aspirants, lasting two to three months. He never admitted more than 30 or 40 to the Lord's Supper at a time, so that they could be properly instructed. His most important innovation to keep the congregation together was his introduction of morning and evening congregational prayers.

Schwartz developed a strong relationship with the local Muhammeden ruler Hyder Ali. In order to communicate with him, Schwartz learnt Arabic and Hindustani. Owing to this friendly relationship, when he built the school. Initial funds came from Hyder Ali. In 17th April 1769 he visited Tanjore. After preaching to the Tamil congregation there, he went to visit Tuljaji, a Hindu king on invitation. He shared the Gospel with the king, who was very much pleased to have Schwartz and expressed his desire for Schwartz to stay at Tanjore permanently.

In 1780, Hyder Ali overcame Tanjore and threw the economy of the country into a disarrayed state. Even within this situation Schwartz was allowed to preach and convert. Once Hyder Ali issued his army chief the following order, "Permit the venerable Padre Schwartz to pass unmolested and show him respect and kindness, for he is a holy man and means no harm to my kingdom. Such was the respect Schwartz had with the native rulers. After the death of Hyder Ali, his son Tippu Sultan sustained the same relationship with Schwartz. However, the British wanted Schwartz to negotiate with Tippu Sultan. Tippu never granted permission for it.

Schwartz relationship with the Maratha kings of Tanjore was also remarkable. He had free access to the then king Tuljaji. King Tuljaji, at his old age and having no male child to succeed him, adopted Serfoji, a grandson of his cousins, as heir to the throne. Shortly before his death Tuljaji installed Schwartz as the guardian for his adopted son. Pointing to Serfoji, Tuljaji said, This is not my son but yours, into your hand I deliver him. Schwartz accepted Serfoji's guardianship. In the meantime, Tuljaji also appointed his half brother Amar Singh as the legal successor of Tuljaji. Following this, Amar Singh began to plot against Serfoji and the widow of Tuljaji. On hearing this Schwartz intervened and arranged not only for the education of Serfoji but also his ascendance to the throne. In October 1798, Serfoji was proclaimed king of Tanjore. As Schwartz was determined to help them in their days of trouble, he was gratefully remembered by Serfoji in the monument he erected for Schwartz. This speaks volumes of the character of Schwartz.

During this time he also met a Maratha Brahmin lady by the name Clorinda who asked for baptism. Schwartz refused her baptism since she was living with a European officer. However, on his second visit, finding that the officer had passed away he proceeded to baptize Clorinda. She became instrumental in founding of the Tinnevely Mission. On her request Sathyanathan was sent there and this led to the awakening of vibrant Christianity in that region, Tranquebar Mission, after the days of Schwartz, quickly declined. Some of the Churches founded by the mission were taken over by the Anglicans while most of the Churches that were later ministered to by the Leipzig Mission form what they call today. The Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church.

The Serampore Mission

The history of Serampore Mission can be traced back to the year 1799, with the arrival of Daniel Brunson, William Grant, Joshua Marshman and William Ward. Brunson and Grant died within the next two years. Meanwhile Ward visited William Carey at his residence with

the protection of Danish Passport. After long deliberation between them Carey decided to join the new missionaries at Serampore, with his family consisting of four sons, and wife on the 10th January 1800. Thus, the Serampore Mission started on 10th January 1800 under the protection of the Danish flag at Serampore. It was agreed by them to live together as one family, having all things in common. Concerning this settlement John Clark Marshman writes:

“It was determined to form a common stock, to dine at a common table and to give each family a trifling allowance for personal expenses. All the missionaries were to be considered on a footing of equality and to preach and conduct social devotions in turn. The superintendence of domestic arrangements was to be entrusted to each missionary in rotation for a month. One evening in the week was to be devoted to adjustment of differences and the renewal of their pledge of mutual love; and it was resolved that no one should engage in any private trade and that whatever might be earned should be credited to the common stock.

The missionaries had come to India for one paramount purpose, i.e, to bring to the people of that land the knowledge of the love of God revealed in Christ. They invested every means to fulfill this purpose.

The Founders of Serampore Mission

William Carey

William Carey was born, on 17th August 1761, in the Village of Paulerspury, Northamptonshire. His father was a weaver, but later rose to be Parish clerk and village schoolmaster. At the age of six Carey worked out sum in arithmetic in his own mind: that after having learned to read, he manifested an interest in the subjects of science, history and travels and that his scientific taste became prominent at an early age. His room was filled with the insects he had collected to mark their development and he endeavored to acquire a knowledge of drawing to assist these researches. At the age of twelve he obtained a copy of 'Dyche's Latin Vocabulary and committed nearly the whole of it to memory and carefully studied the brief sketch of a grammar prefixed to it. Carey's parents could not afford to send him to school, so at the age of 14 he joined Clarke Nichols, a shoemaker at Hackleton as his apprentice. He found a commentary on the New Testament, which was interspersed with word in shoemaker's shop. He learned Greek from Tom Jones, a journeyman who was educated at Kidderminster. He was brought up as a strict churchman, as the son and grandson of the Parish clerk. At the same time

Sutcliff, a minister in Olney gave him a Latin Grammar and improved his acquaintance with languages in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

By the age of 18 Carey started preaching in the pulpits. While attending one of the Associations meetings at Olney, at which he was obliged to fast all day, not having the means of purchasing a meal, some friends from Earl's Barton, neighboring village, were lamenting about their spiritual destitution to Charter, the independent minister at Olney. Charter at once advised them to request Carey's services. They called on him soon after, and he accepted their request, and in that village he preached from Sabbath to Sabbath for three years and a half, and once a month in his native village of Pury.

Nichols died and Carey took over his business and married his sister before he had reached the age of twenty. After his marriage he rented a cottage at Hackleton. However, trade became dull and he was constrained to sell off his stock at a great sacrifice. At this time he was attacked by fever which troubled him for eighteen months, even in this crisis he had to move from place to place to dispose off his goods to procure family bread. The Barton congregation where he serves could not raise enough funds to buy the clothes to wear in their service. At this period he was reduced to great suffering.

At the age of 24 he moved to another village called Moulton where he took in-charge of a Baptist Church, from where he developed missionary zeal and work in a school. At Moulton he preached four times a week, which increased the number of congregations as well as his cultivation of his natural gifts. In 1789 he moved to another town called Leicester. At the Easter meeting of ministers at Clipstone in 1789, Carey urged that something should be done immediately. On that very day, towards the formation of a Society to propagate the Gospel in heathen lands. However, his proposal was not accepted for another eighteen months, but was asked to print the pamphlet, which was written at Moulton under the title, '*An Enquiry into the Obligation of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*'.

And this appeal was substantiated in May 1792, where he preached a sermon based on Isaiah 54:2-3, in which he explained and enforced two principles: 'Expect Great Things from God; Attempt Great Things for God'.

The next meeting was held at Kettering on the 2nd October 1792. After the service, twelve ministers of the Northamptonshire Association of Baptist Churches met together and founded a society to be called "The Particular (Calvinistic) Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathens which latter developed into the Baptist Missionary Society of the

present day. The ministers consulted further and the following resolutions were proposed and unanimously agreed to,

1. Desirous of making an effort for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen agreeably to what is recommended in brother Carey's late publication on that subject, whose names appear to the subsequent subscription, do solemnly agree to act in society together for that purpose.
2. As in the present divided state of Christendom, it seems that each denomination, by exerting itself separately, is most likely to accomplish the great ends of a mission, it is agreed that this society be called The Particular (Calvinistic) Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen
3. As such an undertaking must be attended with expense agree immediately to open a subscription for the above purpose and to recommend it to others.
4. Every person, who shall subscribe ten pounds at once, of ten shillings and sixpence annually shall be considered a member of the society.
5. That the John Ryland, Reynold Hogg, William Carey, John Sutcliff and Andrew Fuller, be appointed a committee, three of whom shall be empowered to act in carrying into effect the purposes of this society.
6. That the Reynold Hogg be appointed treasurer and the Andrew Fuller secretary.

The Baptist Missionary Society resolved to send William Carey to Africa, but with the timely intervention of Doctor John Thomas, who once acted as the company's doctor in India for some years, the Society reviewed its resolution and decided to send its first batch of missionaries to India. Hence, they began their journey to India on the 13th June 1793, under a Danish vessel called "Cron Princessa Maria, commanded by captain Christmas, an Englishman. They landed in Calcutta on the 11th November 1793.¹⁴

William Ward

William Ward was born at Derby on the 20th October 1769 and was the son of John Ward, carpenter and builder. His father died when he was a child and his mother who was a very devout woman, brought him up. He went through tuition under Congreve, and then of Breary of Derby, and became proficient in the ordinary branches of school education. He was distinguished in childhood for clear headedness and thoughtfulness. On leaving school he was

¹⁴ Woba James, *History of Christianity in India-A Reader*, Christian World Imprints, 2019, p.60.

placed as an apprentice with Drury, who was the head of a large printing establishment in the town. Ward soon rose to the grade of corrector of the press which gave him ample opportunities of storing his mind with varied useful knowledge. He undertook at the close of his apprenticeship, of editing the Derby Mercury on behalf of his master. With his elegance in writing, Derby Mercury soon raised the circulation and it became one of the most influential papers in the country. He was led to join a political society in Derby, affiliated with the parent society in London.

In August 1796, he was baptized at Hall by Pendered, and in 1797, he renounced all interest in politics and journalism, and gave heart and soul to the nobler vocation of communicating the divine truth to his fellow-countrymen. He then decided to offer himself as a missionary of BMS without delay, in the hope of being employed in printing the scriptures. The next six months were spent being acquainted with the members of the Society, conversing with Fuller, which contributed so greatly to the success of the Serampore mission.

Joshua Marshman

Joshua Marshman was born at Westbury Leigh, in Wiltshire, on the 20th April 1768. In 1764, his father, John Marshman married Mary Couzener, who was a woman of great piety and exemplary benevolence, who lived with her husband in the practice of Christian virtues for more than half a century. It was in this atmosphere of religious piety that Joshua Marshman was trained up.

When he was seven years of age, he was sent to a little village school. There was no school in the neighborhood in which writing was taught or even simple elements of arithmetic. However, in these circumstances he developed thirst for reading, and by the time he was twelve, he had read through more than a hundred volumes. At the age of fifteen, Cator, a bookseller in Holborn employed Marshman in his bookshop, with the view of providing for him in his own trade. When others retired to rest, he applied to reading and more than once fell asleep with a book in his hand, and the light burning, and thus endangered the building to the great annoyance of the inmates of the house. He came back from London to Westbury Leigh and resumed his labors at the loom, continued to engage in reading every work of fiction or poetry, history, geography or travels, whichever he could get hold of.

In 1791 he married Hannah Shepherd, the granddaughter of the John Clark. In 1794 he joined in a school as a teacher in Bristol and he also joined the Church at Broadmead, and was received into it by baptism in the course of the year. While working as teacher he read

the periodical of the Account of the Baptist Missionary Society, and his mind was gradually turned toward missionary labor in the east. With the encouragement of Ryland, a committee member of the Society and his friend Grant, he offered his willingness to go to India as missionary. The Society thus sent Marshman, Ward and their associates to India on 20th May 1799.

The Mission's Establishment of the Senate of Serampore College

With the introduction of elementary schools, which amount up to forty-five in number by 1816, the desire of the native people for learning increased so much so that the Serampore missionaries began to struggle very hard to open more mission schools with sufficient efficient teachers. As the desire for higher education and a thirst for English knowledge grew among the better classes of the society. It received support and encouragement from the rulers of the land, and with the blessing of Lord Hastings, the then Governor-General, even some wealthy Hindus gave their support and opened a College for the education of the young men of Calcutta in 1816. Subsequently, agencies and associations for the upliftment of the natives began to come up substantially.

The Establishment of the College (1818-1837)

Despite the fact that the missionaries had broken off from the Baptist Missionary Society in England and its support in 1816, they decided to start a College where the natives, especially of Christian parentage, can be given a higher and more complete education. On the 15th July 1818, the missionaries issued their prospectus in which the institution was meant to be A College for the Instruction of Asiatic Christian and Other Youth in Eastern Literature and European Science It was Marshman who wrote the document, making it very clear that the College was to be a handmaid of evangelization and the instruction would be given in Sanskrit, Arabic, European Science and English. The medium of learning was to be Vernacular, with English as a required subject. There was also the firm hope that the College was to be considered as most importantly a divinity school, where promising Christian youth for evangelistic work should go through a complete course of instruction in Christian theology. Nevertheless, it was made imperative that the College should be open to all without the distinction of caste or creed thereby diverting its instruction of all sectarian character. The first year they had thirty seven students in the College, of which nineteen were Christians, many of whom were scholarship holders, and eighteen were non-Christians.

By 1822 the Trio accomplished the completion of the main building and the College House; the John Mack joined the Trio. He proved to be an invaluable asset to the College. It was Mack who took charge of the secular branches of the curriculum and Ward of the Theology department. These four missionaries, Carey, Marshman, Ward and Mack, together underwent extreme of financial breakdown as they tried their utmost to keep the College and the mission running. Besides their precarious financial state, two grave calamities awaited them. The first was the unexpected death of the William Ward on the 5th March that Cholera attacked him, and he died on the 7th March. The next calamity was the huge loss caused by the devastating floods in the Hooghly River. It washed away an embankment 250 feet long and 16 feet high in front of the mission buildings. Badly affected by these calamities, Carey and Marshman were left to await the inevitable breakdown. The British and Foreign Bible Society offered them a grant of about 6,000 pounds, enabling them to solve their present difficulties.

As the College grew gradually with maturity, it received support from various angles in India, irrespective of class or creed distinctions. Marshman left for England toward the end of the year (1822) for two important purposes: to bring about reconciliation between Serampore Mission and the Baptist Missionary Society, and to raise funds for the mission over here in Serampore. However, no matter how much he tried, the first purpose for reconciliation was unsuccessful with not even a glimmer of hope of restoring cordiality in the near future. Hence, for the second purpose, he had to make tedious journey throughout the country searching for people's sympathy and support for the Serampore Mission. He returned to India in May 1829 with much discouragement but soon together with his colleagues began to gear up their energies for the work.

By 1830s, they were supporting 13 out-station missions, 17 European and Eurasian laborers, 15 native preachers, the college and some widows and orphans. Discovering that there was nowhere else to look for support, they decided to turn to the public for support. Carey thus appealed to the Christian public in England pointing out:

“If unceasing industry or self-denial could by any means furnish us with the supplies we beg of you, we would toil and deny ourselves with cheerful alacrity and leave you unimpaired. But, our hopes are small in this respect, and they are precarious in the extreme. But a few years have passed away since the Protestant world was awakened to missionary effort. Since that time the annual revenues collected for this project have grown to the then unthought of sum of 400,000 pounds. And is it unreasonable to expect that some unnoticeable

portion of this should be entrusted to him who was among the first to move in this enterprise, and to his colleagues?"

Carey's appeal to the generosity of his countrymen proved to be touchingly successful. Moreover, Leechman who had joined the work of the College in 1831 also appealed to the English public for the Serampore Mission. People's response to these pleas was indeed tremendous, for Hope, the friend and caretaker of the missionaries' interests in England, was able to send thousands of pounds by the first ship itself.

The College despite repeated troubles grew with most talented teaching staff such as Leechman, and John Clark Marshman, the son of Marshman, who joined the staff in 1819, so also with the number of students. Carey himself conducted the Divinity classes. By now, they had gathered all the means and appliances that are essential for the education of missionaries, By 1833, Carey and his friends began to work for the need of Statutory Laws and Regulations, for the government and administration of the College.

The Statutes tackled various matters connected with the administration of the College such as nomination to the Council vacancies, its membership, voting, denominational representation, appointment to the staff, conferring of degrees, discipline, foundations, etc.

During the time that the College was making its roots deep, the college and the mission were compelled to sustain another great loss with the demise of the founder, William Carey. He passed away on Sunday, the 9th June 1834 i.e. while he was in his 73 year. Thus, the whole burden of the college and the mission fell upon the feeble shoulders of the aged Marshman, the second of the Serampore Trio. Marshman had to wade through so many more difficulties and trials as he struggled alone for the running of the college and the mission.

By 1835 there were above 100 students in the college of whom 10 were Eurasians, and about 50 were Indian Christians. English language replaced Sanskrit, as there was a growing demand particularly for official purposes. In addition to Divinity for the Christian students, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Mathematics, Logic and Natural Philosophy were some of the other subjects taught. The same year (1835), Mack and Leechman went to England for reasons of the former's health where they availed themselves of the opportunity to appeal for the Mission's support. During their absence Marshman's health began to decline rapidly besides which Barclay, one of the coadjutors died of illness and so also Hope, a staunch supporter and friend of the mission passed coadjutors died of illness, away in England. Hence with all these successive loss, Mack and Leechman at the advice of friends, negotiated with the Baptist

Missionary Society to take charge of the Serampore Mission, thereby to relieve the missionaries of half of the burden. After prolonged negotiations the society agreed to the proposal.

Marshman health deteriorated increasingly and he died on the 5th December 1837. He was spared the pain of hearing the most distressing news of the surrender of the mission to the society, which arrived some minutes short after he was buried. Just one day after the burial, the two deputations met in London and the Serampore Mission passed over to the Baptist Missionary Society. Marshman was 70 years old when he passed away. With the passing away of Marshman, the first era of the history of the Serampore Mission and college came to an end.

Chapter Three

Colonialism and Protestant Christianity in India

Colonialism began its journey in Indian subcontinent since 1498. The Colonial powers that came to India were Portugal, France, Holland, Denmark and Britain. The colonialists did not intend to rule the land in their initial stage but with the passage of time they conquered the country and imposed their imperialism.

The Portuguese Colonialism and Christian Mission

The Portuguese term 'Padroado' refers to the right of spiritual or religious jurisdiction granted by Pope Nicholas V to the Portuguese king Alphonse V by his famous Bull Romanus Pontifex in 1455 over all the lands discovered or to be discovered by the Portuguese in the east. The rivalry between Spain and Portugal in discovering and Christianizing those lands that were discovered by them resulted in conflicts. To solve these conflicts the Pope had divided the Globe into east and west and authorized Portuguese to evangelize the east and the west to Spain. It gave to their rulers certain rights and duties. Accordingly, the kings were granted a say in the appointment of the bishops within these regions, and in the sending of missionaries. Thus, the Portuguese came to exercise ecclesiastical patronage in India and the Padroado was strongly reaffirmed.

The expansion of European colonialism at the end of 15th century has been a significant feature in the history. The 1456 Papal Bull (Padroado), gave the right to Portugal and Spain for dominion and commercial monopoly in the lands discovered and yet to be discovered. In addition, they were given the right. To evangelize and establish missions and to appoint clergy and to set up Christian congregations wherever they went and discovered. Therefore, the Padroado rights ensured Portugal for exclusive dominion over the Eastern territories. Thus, this created an inseparable link between commerce trade and Christianity for Portuguese colonial policies; With this right and zeal to evangelize India the Portuguese under the leadership of Vasco da Gama landed in India on 17th May 1497. The Portuguese under the leadership of Alfonso de Albuquerque captured Goa in 1510 and was made the capital of Portuguese political administration in Asia and in 1534 Pope Paul III created the diocese of Goa as the bishopric of Portuguese Bishop the head of India and the east. Thus, colonial expansion and mission of Roman Catholic Church grew as twin facts of the history of Christianity in India.

The Dutch Colonialism and Christian Mission

The Dutch colonialism began in India with its capture of Cochin from the hands of Portuguese in 1663. As a Protestant power they never liked the Portuguese. From the very beginning and their intention was to remove the Portuguese from India as much and as early as possible. Initially like other colonialists they had no interest in mission and trade was their main purpose. The Dutch could not expand their colonialism so much except in Nagapatnam, Cochin and Thoothukudi. They were not interested at all to evangelize the natives as it was not profitable for the Dutch East India Company. Their commitment to spread the Calvinist Church in India was not successful. Thus, they did very little evangelism in India.

The Danish Colonialism and Christian Mission

The next colonial power that came to India was the Danish. They settled at Tranquebar in the South and Serampore in West Bengal for the purpose of their trade in India. In 1620 the Danish merchants settled in Ceylon and South India and established the trading center of Tranquebar. In 1755, the Danish East India Company (DEIC) secured a parwana from the Nawab of Bengal for the erected of a factory on sixty bighas of land in Serampore. They selected fifty-seven bighas of land in mawza Akna and three bighas in Serampore for river frontage. On 8th October 1755, Soetman, and his assistant. Ziegeuebarr, the Danish officers deputed from Tranquebar, hoisted the Danish colors on the spot where they continued to fly for ninety years. The primary purpose of Danish East India Company in setting up factory in Serampore (Bengal) was tapping of cotton yarn and cotton textile for home market.

In 1759 the DEIC took pattani of the remainder of the mawzas of Serampore and Akna and the new mawza of Piarapur to extend their settlement. Serampore thus thrived under the leadership of Col. Ole Bie and a number of ships under the Danish colors began to leave the post annually. In 1773, the settlement of Serampore was brought under direct administration of the Crown of Denmark and Bie became the Crown regent. Under his administration Serampore continued to flourish in trade and commerce at the dawn of 19th century, Col Bie died on the 8th May 1805. By 1845 the Danish Colonies in India was completely transferred to the rule of the English. The Danes ruled for 90 years in Serampore. Though they were from Lutheran background still their primary purpose was for commercial purpose and they had no interest in the propagation of their faith in India. In spite of the Danish king patronizing the mission work, the missionaries were non-Danish in origin. The connection between the mission and colonialism was very skimpy in India. In fact the early Protestant missionaries were put into so

much difficulties by the Danish governor of Tranquebar. They were denied assistance in mission activities though they were there as 'Royal Missionaries'. However, in Serampore, the colonial authorities acted in defense of the Serampore Trio, and extended their help to the Trio whenever they faced problems from the Britishers and even from the local people.

The British Colonialism and Christian Mission

The British colonial rule which began in India primarily as a political expedition through the East India Company to harvest the benefits of imperialism without setting up a full-fledged political power in the 17th century, ultimately emerged as the most powerful colonial power in India by the middle of the 18th century. They had no serious plan of ruling India or interest in propagating the gospel even. By the beginning of the 19th century British hegemony extended over a large part of India. As mentioned, the British East India Company's main concern was trade and profit.

Since 1659, the court of Directors of British East India Company (BEIC) declared that "it was their earnest desire by all possible means to spread Christianity among the people of India and allowed missionaries to embark on their ships. Hence the 1698 BEIC Charter made it clear that every company has to maintain missionaries in their factories and every ship which was over 500 tons has to employ a chaplain on board. However, when the BEIC emerged as a political power in India by the end of 18th century, this was not considered and rather they declared a religious neutrality as their policy and their military chaplains were prohibited to do evangelism among the natives.

With the change of company's rule which was replaced by Crown as the legal sovereign in 1858 their policy began to turn towards the interest of interfering in the affairs of the locals. The colonialists, for the stability of their commercial trade, even began to patronize the religious affairs of India. They brought a number of temples under their management. For rebuilding or repairing of temples and salaries of the temple officials, they were paid from government treasury. There were encouragements for government officials to attend Hindu festivals in order to show their interest in celebrations. All these were done to achieve their purpose and this religious neutrality hindered the mission work and even the native Christians were not given employment. Hence, the colonialists did not really favour the mission work despite their declaration.

With the revision of the BEIC charter in 1813, the government ceased to oppose the coming of missionaries to India. Though the company's policy of religious neutrality

continued, they did not assist the church or mission. They continued to spend money on Temple and Mosque and their festivals. Many advocated for freedom of mission in India, yet the BEIC in spite of the revised charter, their attitude towards Christian mission were negative. On the other hand, all the oppositions, some officials supported the expansion of mission in India like Governor General Lord Wellesley who became the patron for the translation project of William Carey in Bengal (1811), even before the charter was revised; Lord William Bentinck stood firmly for the rights of Indian Christians; Lord Dalhousie worked for the betterment of the Christians Resident Colonel Munro and Colonel Maculay helped the Syrian Christians and they were instrumental in bringing the C.M.S. mission's help to the Syrian Christians. Thus, Missionaries provided religious justification to Colonialism in India. Imperialism influenced their very act of evangelism and theology of mission.

The East India Company (EIC)

The political scenario of the country during the 18th and 19th centuries in India was marked by incessant warfare. This can be seen in the words of A.B. Purkait, "after the downfall of the Mughal Empire there was no centralized political authority in country. This led the country to experience independent rulers trying to rule each other, and did not come forward to rescue each other from the invasion of any foreign ruler. This gave the opportunity to the British East India Company to exploit the situation and take advantage on internal conflicts among the native rules and began their supremacy in the country.

On behalf of the British East India Company, the resourceful British Governor General Robert Clive grabbed Bengal in 1757 from its governor Siraj ud-daulah. Daulah fell from the hands of Wajid Ali Shah and the titular Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was himself packed off in 1857 after the abortive Sepoy Mutiny. Among the Marathas also this tendency towards disintegration due to rebellious governors like the Bhonsales of Nagpur who never accepted the authority of the Peshwa, the Holkars of Indore, the Gaikwads of Baroda and the Scindias of Gwalior distancing themselves from the authority of the Peshawa at Poona, ultimately caused the downfall of the Maratha empire.

The general increase in defense expenditure, which started with Aurangzeb's Deccan campaign against Shivaji, the firebrand Maratha leader, was kept up later by the numerous battles of Indian monarchs against each other and later against the East India Company. As Indian chieftain and kings badly needed resources to finance their campaigns

they levied arbitrary taxes and declared state monopolies over the trade in profitable commodities.

Exclusive monopolies for the resale of superior foreign goods were declared much to the detriment of the Indian trading community and the profits were siphoned off to finance a lavish court and feudal lifestyle. In the early days of British rule, the British Viceroy and other colonial administrators collaborated with the Indian feudal nobility to usurp this country. Unlike the fierce struggle between the Muslim monarchy and the Hindu landed nobility in the initial days of Muslim occupation, the coming of the British power saw a smooth adjustment between the pre-British landed aristocracy and the colonial power. The Jagirdars and Inamdars generally became the Zamindars in the new set-up.

In Bengal, the English East India Company (EEIC) had begun fortifying Calcutta's Fort William to defend against possible attacks by the French. Nominally a part of the Mughal Empire, Bengal was at this time virtually independent under the emperor's Nawab (governor). In response to reports of unauthorized activities of the British, the Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah attacked Calcutta in 1756. After the incident, Robert Clive, the then British governor of Fort Saint David, moved north from Madras and, conniving with the commander of his enemy's army, defeated the Nawab in the Battle of Plassey in 1757.

The battle marked the first stage in the British conquest of India. The French attempted to regain their position in India but were beaten back by the British in 1761. In 1764 the British again defeated local rulers at the Battle of Buxar. Thus victory firmly established British control over the Bengal region. The English East India Company continued to extend its control over Indian Territory throughout the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Besides, the British also made significant gains by means of its military strength. In the late 1700s they were drawn into a three-way conflict when the Nizam of Hyderabad asked for British assistance against his rivals the Marathas and Tipu Sahib, the sultan of Mysore.

In 1799 the British marched on Seringapatnam Tipu's capital, and defeated his troops. Tipu was killed defending the city. The British annexed much of Mysore outright; they controlled the remainder through a new sultan they installed. After a series of battles (1775-1782, 1803-1805, 1817-1818) with the Marathas, the British also succeeded in bringing Maratha lands under their control.

In 1773 the British Parliament passed the Regulating Act the first of a series of acts that gave British governors greater control over the English East India Company. The Act also established the post of governor general of India and made the holder of the office directly responsible to the British government. Warren Hastings became the first Governor General of India in 1774.

The British proceeded to make major changes in the administration of their realm. The three presidencies - Bengal, Bombay, and Madras adopted different systems of fixing responsibility for the payment of land taxes. In Bengal, the local landed gentry accepted responsibility for a fixed amount of taxes in return for ownership of large estates. By contract, in Madras and Bombay, peasant cultivators paid annual taxes directly to the government. A civil service system was developed that admitted British officers through a merit examination trained them in an administrative college, and paid them handsomely to reduce corruption. Meanwhile, the development of the textile industry in Britain forced a transformation of India's economy: India had to produce raw cotton for export and buy manufactured goods-including cloth-from England, while the cottage industries that produced textiles in India were wiped out.

Until about 1800 the East India Company traders adapted themselves to the country, donning Indian dress, learning Sanskrit, and sometimes taking Indian mistresses. As British rule strengthened, and as an influential evangelical Christian movement emerged in the early 19th century, India's customs were judged more harshly. Missionaries, who had been kept out by the company for fear they would upset Indians and thus disrupt commerce, were now brought in. The 18th century company officers, such as Sir William Jones, a scholar of Sanskrit who discovered the relationship of Indo-European languages, were replaced by British subjects who felt Indian thought and literature were of no value at all.

In 1835 English was enforced as the language of government. Under the leadership of Governor-General James Andrew Broun Ramsay, 10th Earl of Dalhousie, the empire continued to expand. After two wars with the Sikhs, the Sikh state of Punjab was added in 1849. Governor-General Dalhousie also annexed, Satara, Jaipur, Sambalpur, Jhansi and Nagpur on the death of their native rulers, taking advantage of British doctrine that declared Britain's right to govern any Indian state where there was no natural heir to the throne. The absorption of Oudh was the last major piece added to the company's possessions it was annexed in 1856. Dalhousie's tenure was also marked by various improvements and reforms the construction of railroads, bridges, roads, and irrigation systems, the establishment of telegraph and postal services, and restrictions on slave trading and other ancient practices.

Mutiny and Revolt of 1857

The annexation of Indian Territory and the rigorous taxation on Indian land contributed to a revolt against British rule in 1857. The revolt began among Indian soldiers (sepoys) in the service of the English East India Company in Meerut, a town northeast of Delhi. The revolt erupted when some sepoys refused to use new Lee-Enfield rifles. To load the rifles, the soldiers had to bite off the ends of greased cartridges. Rumors that the cartridges were greased with the fats of cows and pigs outraged both Hindus, who regard cows as sacred, and Muslims who regard pigs as unclean. After taking Meerut, the mutineers marched to Delhi and persuaded the nominal sovereign of India, the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah II, to resume his rule. The revolt spread rapidly, with local rulers playing an active part in expelling or killing the British and putting their garrisons under siege, especially at Lucknow. The revolt extended through Oudh (present-day Uttar Pradesh) and northern Madhya Pradesh. The British were able to crush it, making particular use of Sikh soldiers recruited in Punjab. The mutiny ended by 1859, with both sides guilty of atrocities.

In August 1858 the British Parliament abolished the English East India Company and transferred the company's responsibilities to the British crown. This launched a period of direct rule in India, ending the fiction of company rule as an agent of the Mughal emperor. In November 1858, in her proclamation to the "Princes, Chiefs, and Peoples of India," Queen Victoria pledged to preserve the rule of Indian princes in return for loyalty to the crown. More than 560 such enclaves, taking in one-fourth of India's area and one-fifth of its people, were preserved until India's Independence in 1947. In 1876, at the urging of British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, Queen Victoria took the title of 'Empress of India'.

Among the reforms introduced after the adoption of direct rule was a reorganization of the administrative system. A secretary of state, aided by a council, began to control Indian affairs from London. A viceroy (a governor who acts in the name of the British crown) implemented London's policies from Calcutta. An executive and a legislative council provided advice and assistance. Provincial governors made up the next level of authority, and below them were district officials. The army was also reorganized after the imposition of direct rule.

The ratio of British to Indian soldiers was reduced and recruitment policies were reshaped to favor Sikhs and other 'martial races' that had been loyal during the Sepoy Rebellion. As such, during the 1800 India's political, socio-cultural life and religious conditions were in a pitiable situation.¹⁵

The British Government vehemently opposed the entry of Christian missions. Accordingly they adopted three policies:

(a) They took under their management and patronage a large number of Hindu temples. They granted large sums of money for rebuilding important shrines, for sacrifices, festivals and for feeding of Brahmans. Even cruel and immoral rites, such as hook-swinging practiced in the worship of gods, and the burning of widows, were carried out under British supervision.

(b) They strongly refused to allow any missionaries to settle in their territory. Hence, William Carey got a footing in Bengal by becoming an indigo-planter and he was not able to devote full time for his mission, until he settled at Serampore under the Danish flag.

(c) They refused to employ native Christians in any capacity and they enforced all the rigors of Hindu law against them. Thence, in the army, if any native soldier wished to become a Christian, he was forcibly prevented by the authorities or was expelled from the service. The policy of religious neutrality was reached in 1857, when in the throes of the Mutiny the East India Company came to an end, and the home Government became directly responsible for India.¹⁶

¹⁵ Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, Orient Black Swan, Hyderabad, 2009, p. 134.

¹⁶ Woba James, *Op.cit.*, pp. 79-80.

Chapter Four

Christianity and Nation Building in India

Christianity and National Independence Movement

The Indian National Congress, which was organized in 1885 by the educated, politically liberal middle-class, became a mass based organization, with Mahatma Gandhi at the helm. The Indian National Congress in their initial struggle neither asked for Indian independence nor was it a violent movement. Their main interest was for social and economic reforms for the betterment of the lives of Indian citizens. It also proposed more equal share for the Indian people in the administrative services, as the Indian National Congress began to be mass-based movement it began to turn towards national freedom struggle. With the rise of national consciousness and the struggle for political freedom have formed the background for the church's life and mission also since the later part of the 19th century.

Indian Christians and Indian National Congress

In the initial stage a number of Indian Christians actively supported the Indian National Congress. Some of the prominent Christians were R.S.N. Subramania (a prominent barrister from Madras), G.G. Nath, a barrister from Lahore, Peter Paul Pillai of Madras, Madusudan, a lawyer from Orissa, Pandita Ramabbai, a Christian social reformer and Kali Charan Benarji, a leader of Bengal Christian Community. As the Congress began simultaneously began to take a suspicious and even hostile attitude toward the to agitate for political freedom, the British Congress and its activities consequently the western missionaries in India and the Indian Christian began to leave the Congress with apprehension. The missionaries did not encourage agitation for Indian political freedom because India's independence would mean a decline in their supremacy. In 1908 Joseph J Ghose wrote on Indian Christians and the National movement commented:

“We do not know in what way it will be of any advantage to the Indian Christians if they joined the non-Christians in political agitation. If further political rights and privileges are granted to the people of this country, our poor and small community will not have the remotest chance

to be profited by them. On the other hand greater powers in the hands of non-Christians may prove dangerous to the very life of our community”.

This alienation of Christians from the national movement continued into the 20th century. On the other hand, there were several courageous Christians who stood for national movement such as Kali Charan Banerji, Susil Rudra, S.K. Dutta, C Andrews, K.T. Paul and V.S. Azariah. For example KT Paul wrote in 1909:

“We will do well to realize that there is a terrible danger if we persist in the policy of keeping aloof, materially, socially, morally and politically, viewed in fact from every standpoint, our interests are intimately bound up with those of other Indian communities. Will it ever be otherwise! Long after Britain's political mission to India is finished let us hope five centuries later, for all things earthly must end or change we shall still be Indians”.

The Changed Attitude of Indian Christians towards INC

It certainly took time for the Indian Christians to change their attitude toward India's National Movement "but the change had come, and in the latter phases of the struggle an increasing number of Christians began to identify with the national movement. Thus, in the 1930s and 1940s Christians were mainly on the side of the Indian National Congress in its struggle for independence. Therefore, the rise of nationalism had strong influence upon the growth of the ecumenical vision in India. Bishop V.S. Azariah asserted that India does not need denominationalism but unity of churches and society. To quote "the young Indian Christian cannot help being influenced by this new spirit, his patriotism moves him to do what he can to advance the interest of his own country".

This argument of Bishop Azariah reflects the ecumenical awareness of the Indian Church. K.T. Paul likewise with his involvement in the political life of the nation was convinced that Nationalism in India demands ecumenism. He argues that true Christianity demands true nationalism. Even people like Narayan Vaman Tilak expressed this view that the national consciousness gave an impetus to the Indianess of the church as well as to ecumenical movement in India. Therefore the Indian Christians were motivated to assert their identity. This assertion of self identity of Christians in India calls for ecumenical thinking, reflection and action.

Christianity and Bengal Renaissance

The term renaissance means rebirth or the revival of learning. It is a paradigm shift in the perspective and approaches of people towards culture, politics, society and religion. Bengal renaissance and Christianity refers largely to the socio cultural, psychological and intellectual changes that took place in Bengal during the 19th century. Before the coming of Christianity in Bengal, the social, political and cultural condition was very poor. The practice such as sati, child marriage, devadasis, female infanticide and so on were prevailing in the society. All these social evils were practiced in the name of religion. The encounter between Bengal societies towards the Christian missionaries thus began to make a difference in the whole of Bengal. The educated Bengali elite also began to feel the need of modernizing Hinduism as they wanted to clip off the superficial and superstitions for their own benefit. Thus, individuals like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Sisir Kumar Ghosh, Bhudev Mukhopadhyay and some others attempted to redefine Hinduism in modern context. Bengal renaissance has brought several changes in the Bengal society.

Christianity and Social Transformation

Nineteenth century was also a period of expansion of the social activities of the Church. The social activities in the first half of the 19th century Christian missions were directed towards bringing about a moral reform in Indian society and to liberate individuals from the age old superstitious Hindu religion, William Bentinck initiated several measures of social and moral reforms. In the second half of the 19th century, though they increased in number, they were mainly confined to philanthropic activities such as establishing and maintaining schools, orphanages, hospitals, lepers' asylums and agricultural and industrial training institutions.

Education

The educational endeavors of the Protestant Mission during the 19th and 20th centuries extinguished the belief that only the higher castes were destined to learn. It started with elementary schools, followed by secondary schools and colleges, teaching through the medium of English. Thus, some of the outstanding Christian colleges such as the Madras Christian College, Noble College at Masulipatnam, Bishop College of Nagpur and St. John's

College at Agra were founded. These Christian colleges and schools exerted a powerful influence on Indian education and Indian thought.

Protestant Christianity also seriously worked for the upliftment of women in India. From the beginning of its mission it felt the urgent need for girls education. Hence, at first it was mainly the wives of the missionaries along with a handful of single women who started the schools for girls. Some organizations were also set up to establish schools and to spread awareness for the importance of women's education. For instance, in 1819 the Calcutta School Society was formed, and in 1834 the Society for Promoting Female Education was formed in London. In 1838 Captain James founded the Scottish Ladies Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India. In 1852 Lady Kinnaird began a school for girls at Dowager, and as a result the Church of England's Zenana Missionary Society and Zenana Bible and Medical Mission were started.

However, during those days, practices such as child marriages, female infanticides, the burning of widows and the purdah system were so prominent that there was little thought for the emancipation of women. Reading and writing were particularly confined to indecent girls and the idea was that education was not for respectable women. Even those who attended were rough low castes girls often had to be paid to attend, and they came irregularly and left as much an early age that their schooling had little effect. In Calcutta Drinkware Bethune President of the Government Council of Education founded the first school for high caste girls in 1849.

Missionaries in 1854 most of the people began to send ladies to teach girls in the Zenana of Hindu families. Mullens and Toogood, were prominent in this work in Calcutta. Thus, began the Zenana schools, which was imitated in other towns and became a regular feature of the educational institutions receiving grants-in-aid from the Government. In 1859 the American Presbyterian Mission started a girl boarding school at Dehra Dun, from which in due time came the first female matriculate of Calcutta University. Prominent among the lady missionaries from America was Izabella Thoburn, who came to Lucknow in 1870 and founded a school out of which the Izabella Thoburn College developed. In 1884 two Christian girls in Bombay namely Min. Malabai Kukde and Shivantibai Nikambe became the first Indian girls to pass the matriculation examination of Bombay University.

Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) became a Christian in 1883 while she was in England. After finishing her studies she went to America and stayed three more years in Kindergarten training. She wrote a book entitled 'The High Caste Hindu Women', which aroused much interest that sympathizers formed a Ramabai Association to raise money for her work. Back in India she started Sarada Saden (Home of Wisdom) in Bombay on 1st March 1889 with the co-operation of Mahadev Govind Ranade and members from Prathna Samaj.

In 1890 it was moved to Kedgaon near Pune. She toured the famine area in 1896, rescuing orphan girls. She sent many to mission boarding homes elsewhere, but she was still left with many. As a result she started the Multi Mission at Kedgaon. Abrams of America joined her. In 1898 she went to America to raise funds for the Sarada Saden and Mukti. By 1899 buildings were erected and very large Institution was organized homing over a thousand inmates and providing a wonderful variety of occupations such as field work, dairy farming, weaving, sewing, rope-making etc. Pandita Ramabai's efforts had contributed so much in transforming the position of women in India.

Today girls' education has become the rule rather than exception. There are now several laws and regulations for the protection of women from discriminations and oppressions, which open the way for Indian women to become visible in both secular and religious set up. Protestant Christianity in India has thus been in the forefront in pioneering women's emancipation movement in India.

Medical Mission

Medical work also came to occupy an important part in the mission of Protestant Church. The first mission to adopt a regular policy of sending medical persons as missionaries to India was the American Board. The Protestant Christians started hospitals and dispensaries both in cities and villages. Christian medical colleges and Nurses' Training Institutes were started throughout the country during the 19th and 20th centuries. Some of the important Protestant medical colleges are like Vellore Medical College and Hospital and Ludhiana Medical College. They also started several Tuberculosis Sanatoria, leprosy asylums, mental hospitals and psychiatric clinics. In 1926 the Christian Medical Association of India (CMAI) was founded. It sponsors various forms of Medical services and is the central consultative body for Protestant medical work in India. Although the Protestant Christians' involvement in the society in various levels created much disruption in the society, a large number of suppressed

people found the long-awaited possibility to break the chains which had bound them for centuries under the traditional culture of the Hindu ideology.

Christianity and the Empowerment of Women

The coming of Christianity and its contribution towards the emancipation of women is tremendous in India. India is known as a highly patriarchal society and thus denied opportunities and rights to women.

Empowerment of Women through Education

One of the major contributions of Christianity in empowering women is through education in India. Education was considered as the most needed concern from the very beginning of the Protestant Christianity in India. In several areas it was the wives of the missionaries who took the initiatives for starting schools for girls. Thus, Mrs. Hannah Marshman is very much remembered for her pioneering role in girls' education in India. In 1857 Alexander Duff started a girls school. In 1859 the American Presbyterian Mission started girls' boarding school at Dehra Dun. In 1867 the Baptist Zenana Missionary Society started school for girls. Therefore, from the very beginning Protestant Christianity was very much engaged in the empowerment of women through education.

Empowerment of Women through Medical Work

The Zenana Mission brought the need of medical aid for women as a result of which, lady doctors came to India. In 1870 the first medical Lady Doctor was sent to India by American Episcopal Methodist Mission. She opened a women hospital at Barilly in 1870. Another lady doctor, Ida Scudder played an important role by opening small clinic for treating women and also started training courses for women in a medical school affiliated to Madras University. She also founded Vellore Hospital which is called Christian Medical College Vellore today. In addition Ida with her mother operated orphanage for homeless children and in all these Indian women were employed which was a great source of empowerment for women in the society.

Empowerment of Women in the Church

Women have been playing a very important role in the churches throughout the centuries though they are debarred from leadership roles like men. Women had been the backbone of the church. Women are mostly involved and active in women department, youth and children ministry as men take the main role in the church even today. Yet today in several

churches women have begun to take the leadership roles as much as men or even doing better than men. Many women are being ordained today. This also shows the marks of the development of Christianity in the lives of the Christian women in India.

Caste and Christianity

During the 19th and 20th centuries the Hindu structure of society was seriously affected by the rigid caste system. The issue of caste was another serious issue that Protestant Christianity encountered.

St. Thomas Christians' Attitude toward Caste

The St. Thomas Christians of Kerala, for several centuries have been living within the caste system. They were considered as a separate caste, and only lower to the Brahmins. They derive their status within the caste system from the tradition that they are converted from high caste Hindus who were evangelized by Thomas the Apostle. It is viewed that they practiced untouchability, and this practice in fact prevented the St. Thomas Christians from involving in evangelistic work in the early part of the centuries, because the inclusion of the lower caste would destroy their respect from the society as higher caste. Therefore, throughout the centuries the St. Thomas Christians made little effort to Christianize their non-Christian neighbors." In the later centuries they neither cooperate with the evangelical activities of foreign missionaries nor did they allow the new converts to join their community since they were afraid that their noble position in the society could be endangered. Thus, the Syrian Christians unquestionably assimilated the caste system.

The Roman Catholic Attitude toward Caste

The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward caste problem was not an issue in the initial encounter. The Roman Catholic Church regarded the caste system as the cultural institution and encouraged the people to stay within their own castes. The problem of caste occurred mainly when a large number of Paravas became Christians between 1535 and 1537. This large number of Paravas converting to Christianity led to the identification of Christianity as a religion of the low caste, and they called Christianity a Paranghi religion. This led to the creation of division within the members of the Roman Catholic Church on caste basis. This was evident even with the missionary Robert De Nobili, who came to India in 1606 and established the Madurai mission, adopted his method of accommodation by cutting off all kinds of contact with his colleagues working among the low-castes. Nobili was challenged by the Roman

Catholics which led to the famous controversy called the "Malabar Rite Controversy, which in turn brought the papal decrees of 1734 and 1744 denouncing untouchability as alien to Christianity. However, this strategy of adaptation or accommodation was generally accepted and practiced by the Roman Catholics saying caste was a civil or cultural institution which could be used for evangelistic purposes and maintained within the Church with only minor modifications. Thus, caste discrimination was fully accommodated within the Roman Catholic Church

The Protestant Christian Attitude toward Caste till 1850

Caste issue was a serious problem within the Church from the very first Protestant Mission in India. When the New Jerusalem Church was founded in 1707 distinction of caste was allowed. In the Church, the Sudra men sat on one side of the nave and the others on the other, and likewise the Sudra women in one of the transepts and the other women on the others at Holy Communion all the Sudras, men and women were administered first and the others afterwards. Ziegenbalg died in February 1719, and after his death, Schultze assumed the leadership in Tranquebar Mission, with the aim to stop the castes distinction in the Church, which was strongly opposed by the members. He tried to stop the distinction by order but the result was strong opposition and discontentment from the members. When Schultze left Tranquebar, the new missionaries, Walter and Pressier, who arrived in 1725, restored the old practice of caste distinctions, and even today this caste distinction continues to create tensions among the believers.

The Baptist Missionary Attitude towards Caste

From the very beginning the Bengal Baptist Missionaries headed by William Carey strongly opposed the practice of casteism. They considered caste distinction as incompatible with the Gospel. They wholeheartedly advocated egalitarian ideals among the believing Christians. They regarded caste system an aspect of idolatry, which needed to be removed from the society. They considered departure from caste as a dynamic affirmation of conversion, and a defense against the reversion to Hinduism. The Baptist Missionaries insisted on not intolerance of caste system among the Christians but to encourage the converts to enter into inter-marriage among the castes. Hence, in 1803, Mr. Prasad the first Brahmin convert married a Sudra convert in order to break the rigid caste system.

Anglicans' Attitude towards Caste

Anglican Mission attitude towards caste was not so serious in the initial stage. In 26th May 1826 Bishop Reginald writes, "the old school of Missionaries tolerated all this as a merely civil question of pedigree and worldly distinction, and in the hope that, at their converts became more enlightened, such distinction would die away. However, with Bishop Daniel Wilson of Kolkata it became intolerable with the caste distinction within the church and thus in 1833 when he visited South India he was saddened and shocked to see the serious practice of caste within the church. Sudra and Adi Dravida Christians sat separately in the Church. This caste discrimination forced him to issue a strong letter ordering that the distinction of caste be abandoned, decidedly, immediately and finally, which immediately provoked a pandemonium. Serious problem emerged among the Sudra Christians of Madras, Tanjore and Trichinopoly. This new policy led many members of the old congregations join the Leipzig Mission after 1846, as it was willing to let old caste distinctions be kept. Thus, caste distinctions in the Church was never absent throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Towards the Protestant Consensus on Caste

By 1850s majority of the Protestant Christians in India have come to realize that caste system is a serious evil that needed to be rooted out completely from the Church. The Anglican, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and other non-Lutheran missions were in fact from the very beginning, intolerant towards the presence of caste feelings in the Church. The Lutherans, before the Anglicans had taken up the mission, condoned caste. Like Vepery, the Tanjore and the Trichy churches of Tamil Nadu were full of discord, with large numbers rejoining the Hindus or the Lutheran or Roman Catholic Churches, where caste was tolerated, at that time. On many occasions Christians argued that caste is a civil institution, equal with the European class systems.

The American Mission pursued stringent efforts against the observance of Caste among the Christians. They did not permit caste distinction and converts were mandated to relinquish their caste in order to join the Christian community. In 1847 they insisted their employees to demonstrate their rejection of caste by taking part in the 'love feast', by eating with Christians from various castes. A resolution of the Madras Missionary Conference in 1848 put forward a significant attitude of Protestant Christians towards caste, where it states that "only

those who broke caste by eating food prepared by a pariah should be entitled to baptism." And Protestant consensus on caste was very clear with the resolutions of Madras Missionary Conference in 1850 and 1858 which was supported by the Missionary Conferences of Calcutta and Bombay Missionary Conferences.

The Protestant Christian Attitude toward Caste Post-1850 Post 1850 Christian attitude toward caste and Indian culture has become more tolerant. This change was due to the influence of the interpretation of the ideologies such as of Maxmuller and Sir Moneir Williams and the influence of the steadily increasing liberal theology in the west. The liberal minded missionaries like Farquhar and Lucas, while not denying that caste-system was incompatible with Christianity, felt the positive side of caste system. In the 1860s and 1870, thousands of people of low caste were converted to Christianity. This also required the missionaries to reassess their attitude toward caste among the Christians. Lots of Christians began to allow caste within the church again with the hope that it would positively impact more Hindus to be attracted toward the Christian gospel.

However, in the beginning of the 20th century the National Council of Churches in India and the World Council of Churches condemned the concept of untouchability, which is still practiced in India despite being abolished from India's constitution in 1950. In a joint affirmation of faith, the churches described Casteism as a sin, apostasy and rebellion against God and a crime against human beings. In spite of all the oppositions the practice of caste continues to create problems within the Indian Church today.

Christianity and Communalism

India is a pluralistic and multi-religious country. Diverse religions and communities are safeguarded by the Indian Constitution which provides freedom of religion. All communities are entitled to freedom of conscience and are free to profess practice and propagate religion. However, the sad reality is even after more than seventy three years of independence one can find politicization of religion and this has cause communal tension among the different communities and this has become the biggest menace of postcolonial India. In India communalism has become a socio-political problem and becoming more and more complex today Communalism was a part and parcel of the British Policy Divide and Rule. The British suppressed all forms of harmony of people of India and introduced divide and rule by instigating the Muslims against the Hindus and vice versa. The British in order to rule the people of India divided the people into various communities by spreading the feeling of distrust and

hence sowed the seeds of communalism which ultimately led to the partition of India. The same spirit of divide and rule continued to exist in India today. Communal tension is very much prevalent throughout the subcontinent of India even today.

Causes of Communalism

Religious Factor

One of the factors that cause communalism in India is religion. Religious fanaticism has been a big cause of communal tension. Religious movements of revivalism are gaining strength in India. Religious communities in India have been busy trying to showcase their own strengths against one another that they are creating dissension and chaos in the country. Conflicts over disputes of sites for construction of religious places of worship are becoming the trend in India. These facts reflect the role of religions in spreading communal feelings and tensions in the country.

Political Factor

In India today, political leaders, parties and organizations do not have any inhibitions whatsoever, to use the communal factor for securing their desired positions in the political platform. They use communal lines and connections to gain votes and support. As such, in contemporary India, electoral politics is a common phenomenon. Communal cards are being extensively played for purpose of ascending to political power.

Social Factor

Owing to India's precarious and complex situation, the different communities have begun to harbour suspicion about and toward each other. The Muslims complain of the threat of Hindu, the Hindus complain of Muslims threat or the Christians complain of the threat from other religions and vice versa. All of these contribute huge founded as well as unfounded tensions amongst the diverse communities. India's society is defined by serious issues of socio-economic imbalance wrought by unemployment, mass poverty, fundamentalism and disunity.

Christian Response to Communalism Christians in India today are faced with the challenge of not merely spreading the message of peace far and wide but also are challenged to live out that message of peace and harmony. Christianity as a faith or as a way of life is founded upon the divine essence of love and peace and hence its adherents (Christians) are hard-pressed to follow that religious spiritual and moral teaching of exemplifying love and peace of God in

the midst of all complexities and challenges. In addition, Christians also carry the responsibility of reaching out to others (communities and traditions) with the teaching of God's love, peace and harmony amongst these peoples and amidst the challenges of communal spirits and activities.¹⁷

¹⁷ Woba james, *Op.cit.*, pp.81-93.

Conclusion

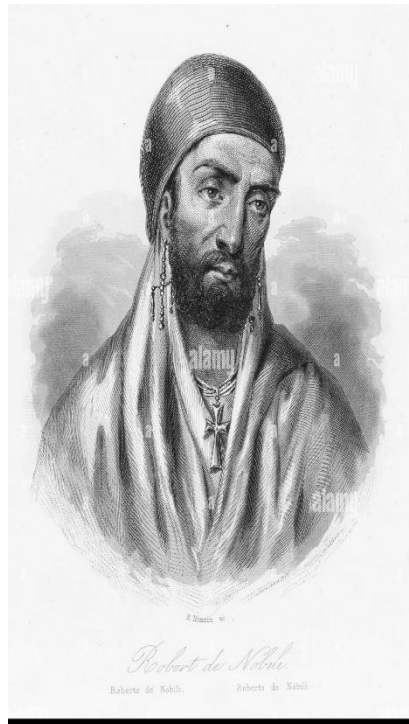
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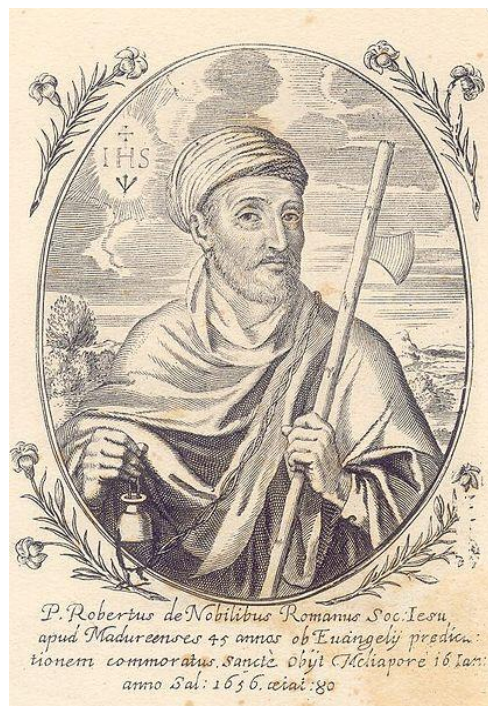
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St. Thomas and the Churches built by him at Cranganore



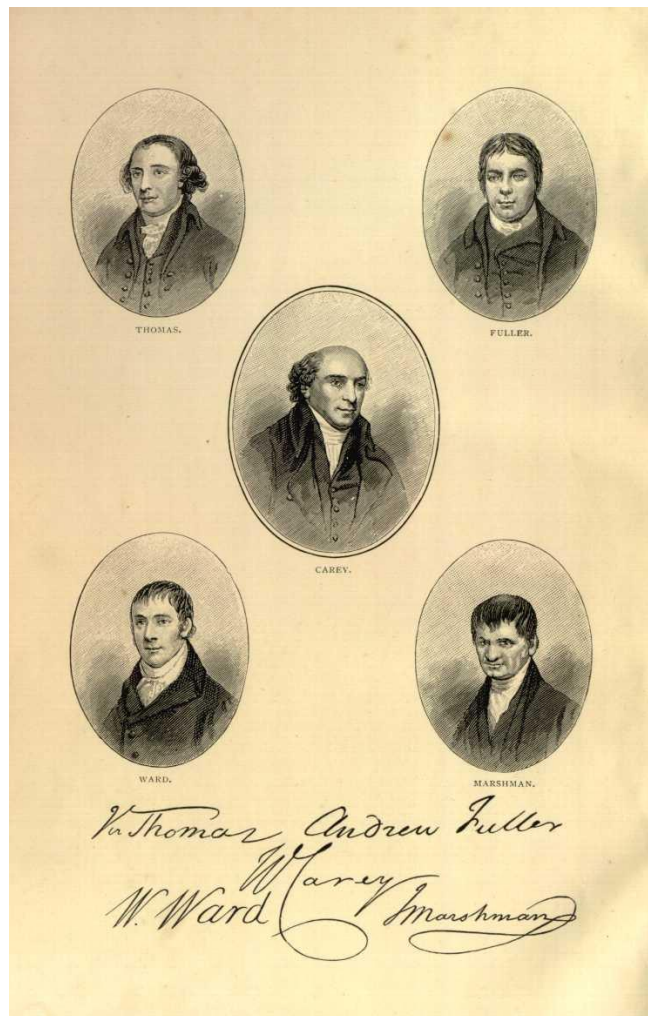
Robert de Nobili



John de Britto



Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, Danish Fort and his Printing Press at Tranquebar (Thrangampadi)



Serempore Missionaries (Calcutta)
(Thomas, Andrew Fuller, William Carey, W.Ward
and Joshua Marshman)

SELF RESPECT MOVEMENT – A STUDY

A Project submitted to

St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi

Affiliated to

Manonmaniam Sundaranar University

partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

Master of Arts in History

By

D. MORGLA

(Reg. No: 20APHI03)



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2021-2022

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled "**SELF RESPECT MOVEMENT – A STUDY**" submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous) Thoothukudi affiliated to the ManonmaniamSundaranar University, Tirunelveli, for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History, is my original work and it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

Place: Thoothukudi

Date: 25/05/2022


Signature of the Candidate

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I acknowledge the abundant blessings and grace of God Almighty in every walk of my project and for its successful completion.

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Introduction

INTRODUCTION

The Self-Respect Movement is a movement, started in Tamilnadu , with the aim of achieving a society in which oppressed castes have equal human rights and encouraging backward castes to have self-respect in the context of a caste-based society that considered them to be a lower end of the hierarchy. It was founded in 1925 by S. Ramanathan who invited E. V. Ramasamy also known as Periyar by his followers to head the movement in Tamil Nadu, India against Brahminism. The Self Respect Movement, also known as the Dravidian Movement, advocated for equal rights for the backward castes, with a focus on women's rights. Most importantly, as the movement's leaders stated, the movement fought for people of the lower castes to have "self-respect" in society.

Indian societies have historically been dominated by Brahminical ideologies and people have been under continuous oppression. Various incidents and movements have occurred in the past to counteract this domination. The Self Respect Movement is one of the movements that resisted Brahmin dominance in Indian society. The fact remains that the Self-Respect Movement's strong ideals and demands paved the way for true democracy.

The Self-Respect Movement was a dynamic social movement aimed at completely destroying the contemporary Hindu social order and establishing a new, rational society free of caste, religion, and god. Periyar came up with the idea of forming a self-respect movement as a means of achieving his goal of freeing society from some of the harmful social practices that go by the names of dharma and karma.

The Movement has grown into a prominent anti-caste movement that has questioned India's social system. Inter-caste marriages, as well as women's physical autonomy, were highlighted by the movement. The feminist movement fought for a society where women could choose their own sexual, reproductive, and physical decisions. The campaign was a breakthrough moment for feminism in India. It placed a high priority on ensuring that women had access to permanent birth control as well as contraception. One of the major societal revolutions brought about by the self-respect movement was the Self-Respect Marriage System.

The Self-Respect movement advocated a casteless society devoid of rituals and differences based on birth. The movement declared rationality and self-respect as the birthright of all human beings and held these as more important than self-rule. The movement declared illiteracy as a source for women's subordination and promoted compulsory elementary education for all. The movement demanded women's emancipation, deplored superstitions, and emphasised rationality.

The movement was extremely influential not just in Tamil Nadu, but also overseas in countries with large Tamil populations, such as Malaysia and Singapore. Among Singapore Indians, groups like the Tamil Reform Association, and leaders such as Thamizhavel G. Sarangapani were prominent in promoting the principles of the Self-Respect Movement among the local Tamil population through schools and publications.

Aims and Purpose of the Study

The study aims to highlight and appreciate the initiative taken by Periyar, to encourage the people to have Self Respect irrespective of social and economic status, to destroy the then Hindu Social Order, to create a new rational society without discrimination, to abolish untouchability, to achieve a society with equal human rights

etc. Through this study the scholar wants to make some impression on the present generation to know about the importance of Self Respect Movement.

Methodology

The narrative and analytical method has been used to the present study. It critically examines the works and contributions made by Periyar, his followers, women activists for the accomplishment of social equality, based on sensible ideals among the people of Tamil Nadu.

Sources of the study

Both primary and secondary source materials have been used for writing this project. The primary sources are Government orders, News papers, Collected works of Periyar etc. and the secondary sources are the books written by various authors.

Outline of the Chapters

This project consists of five chapters excluding introduction and conclusion. The first Chapter speaks about the genesis of Self Respect Movement. The second Chapter deals with the Transformation of Self Respect Movement. The third Chapter describes about the Self Respect Conferences. The fourth Chapter assesses the Role of Women in Self Respect Movement. The fifth chapter highlights the achievements of Self Respect Movement.

Chapter I

CHAPTER I

GENESIS OF SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT

In the later half of the 19th and in the early half of the 20th Century many socio-religious and political reformers emerged in the Madras Presidency as elsewhere in India to introduce reforms and bring about changes in South India to improve the social, religious and political status of women. The social reformers like the Siddhars, St.Ramanuja, Vallalar, Vaikunda Swamikal, Ayothee Thass Pandithar, Bharathiyar and Bharathidasan in TamilNadu created awakening in the minds of people and brought about some revolutionary changes like encouraging widow remarriage and wearing upper-garment and sowed the seeds of equality of men and women and social justice.

But, all these reformers could bring about changes either in one field or the other which would be the cause of other evils in the society. For instance, abolition of **sati** led to the rise of infant and enforced widowhood which led to adultery. Widow remarriage led to the rise of polygamy among menfolk. Hence, the purpose of bringing about reforms failed due to loopholes in the society. Thus, a total revolutionary change in the society was needed for emancipating women from all sorts of evils and from their deplorable condition.

Periyar E.V.Ramasamy

Periyar E.V.Ramasamy was one such revolutionary who brought forth such far-reaching changes in the society by his radical rationalistic thoughts and cherished ideals for real emancipation of women from all social evils. Erode VenkataRamasamyNaicker popularly known as E.V.R. was later conferred the title of Periyar. E.V.R. was born in an orthodox Vaishnavite non-Brahmin family

on September 17, 1879 at Dadampatti, a part of Ammapettai in Salem. His parents were VenkataNaicker and Chinnathayammal. He had one elder brother named E.V.Krishnasamy and two younger sisters named Ponnuthai and Kannammal.¹ He belonged to the Kannada Baliya Naidu caste which had also assumed the title 'Naicker'.²

Periyar was an impartial altruist and humanist. He was quite simple and moved freely with common masses.³ He was a perfect rationalist, an atheist and an iconoclast⁴. He was not a mere 'paper-rationalist', but quite a practical-minded realist. He practised what he preached. He was a great organiser, more modern and progressive and a man of sharp intellect with worldly wisdom. He had strong will power and self-confidence. He was very courageous and never bothered about success or failure. Periyar was a vehement fighter against tradition and deep-rooted religious beliefs in the society. He was a crusader against God, a champion and liberator of the suppressed and downtrodden classes in the society⁵. He was a man of distinguished personality to correct, change and modernize a thing whichever he had come across in his life. He was a professor in the University of Worldly Experience⁶.

He had no equal in taking up the cause of women in India⁷. His main aim was to eradicate the caste system and to emancipate women from all the social evils⁸. He crusaded against caste as well as sex discrimination based on

¹SamyChidambaranar, *TamilarThalaivar, Periyar* Self-Respect Propaganda Institution, Chennai, 1997 (11thed), p. 28.

²Ibid

³*The Modern Rationalist*, Vol. III, Chennai, November, 1973, p. 13.

⁴*Ibid.*, March, 1973, p. 9.

⁵ Ibid.,

⁶Lysammal, *Op.cit.*, p. 25

⁷Chandra Babu.B.S., "Religion and Social Change : The Ideologies of Periyar and Dr.Ambedkar" in the Proceeding of Tamil Nadu History Congress, V Annual Session, 1998, p. 41

⁸*The Modern Rationalist*, Vol. 8, April, 1986, p. 8.

birth⁹. He organized agitations for establishing equality of man and man as well as man and woman. He dedicated his whole life to achieve this goal.

Early Life of Periyar E.V. Ramasamy

Life of Periyar itself is a mission, full of experiences and experiments in shaping his ideologies. 'Periyar was not born to a traditionally rich family but only later his father became a wealthy merchant in Erode. Till 1888, he was brought up in poor circumstances by his paternal aunt with much freedom¹⁰. He had his education in a play school at Erode for three years, another two years in the municipal school and finally passed the IV primary examination¹¹. But his education came to an end at the age of eleven.

During his boyhood days, he was so mischievous that he intermingled and inter dined with the low caste people living in the surroundings of the school without heeding the words of his teachers and parents. Both his legs were tied with two iron bars, as a punishment for not following the caste taboo. The system of untouchability and its cruel nature made him work for the cause of the down trodden and the suppressed in the society¹².

⁹¹⁸⁶ Veeramani.K., *Demand for Gender Justice*, DravidaKazhagam, Chennai, 1998, p. 3.

¹⁰ Thanthai Periyar, *Autobiography of Periyar*, Madras, 1993, pp. 1-2

¹¹ Ibid.,

¹² Ibid.,

In 1892, Periyar assisted his father in his business activities. He developed not only his efficiency in business techniques but also his talent in argument, oratory, debate, analysis of pros and cons in any matter, discussed in his whole-sale shop. Later, it became his innate character. In 1890 his house was fully engaged in receiving guests like Sanyasis, Pundits and Brahmins who stayed in his house for nearly a week.

The series of lectures, discussions and deliberations provided him with enough information to quench his thirst for religious doubts in Puranas and Itihasas. It enabled him to make his decision regarding the existence of God, religion and caste. On one hand, it trained him to become an excellent rationalistic orator. On the other hand, it created a sense of hatred in his mind towards Brahminism during 1900s. He started criticizing superstition, astrology, blind-beliefs, traditions and omens. He concluded in later days that these were the vital forces which subjugated women.

In 1898, at the age of 19, his parents chose for him a bride who was from an affluent family in social status. Periyar stubbornly stated his interest to marry Nagammal, who was thirteen years of age and was a distant maternal relative. He succeeded in his desire to marry Nagammal, though her status was below to that of the girl arranged by parents. He preferred her because of his familiarity with her. Periyar lived with principles during his young age became his rationalistic ideologies later. For instance, his Self-Respect Marriage principles hint at marriage on mutual consent between the couples which he had already done while marrying Nagammai¹³.

Being a staunch Vaishnavite, his family was strongly orthodoxical. Hence, they imposed on Nagammai the religious customs of fasting, paying visit to the holy places, marking on forehead, etc. But, Periyar, didnot following these conventions

¹³Sami Chidambaranar, *Op.cit.*, p. 38-39

himself and duly changed the attitude of Nagammai¹⁴.

Being anatheist, Periyar did not like his wife's visiting temples or paying offerings to gods. In order to put an end to this, he disguised himself as a ruffian landlord and along with his friends stationed himself on the path of Nagammaito tease her enroute to temple¹⁵. This stopped her from visiting temples¹⁶.

The practice of wearing *Thali* (nuptial knot) or sacred thread by women was completely opposed by Periyaras he thought this would degrade humanism and **Self-Respect** of women. This bond of *thali* (nuptial knot) motivates the husbands to illtreat their wives. Emancipation of women would be possible only if women chose to undo this bond. Being a man who practised what he preached, Periyar wanted his wife to follow this idea too. In order to convince her, he told her, "a Woman needn't wear *thali*(nuptial knot) the presence of husband and it would suffice if she wore it when he is away"¹⁷. This idea was displayed to the public in a marriage function at Virudhunagar in 1930.

Early Career

Periyar assumed many number of posts with great responsibility. He held honorary posts like President of the Devasthanam Board, Member of Erode Municipal Council(1910), a Member of Erode Urban Bank (1911), Honorary Magistrate, Secretary of the Coimbatore District Congress Conference (1914), President of the Merchant Association (1915), Treasurer cum Secretary of the Mahajana School at Erode(1917), Chairman of Erode(1917- 1919),Honorary War Recruiting Officer(1918), President of Old Boys Association, Sub-Committee member of South Indian Chamber of Commerce, Member of Taluk and District Boards (1919), President of Khadi Board and

¹⁴ Ibid.p.40

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 42.

President and Secretary of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee (1923-1925)¹⁸.

As the Chairman of Erode Municipality, he introduced a number of public welfare schemes. He removed the problems of women from carrying water from distant places by providing protective drinking water facilities in every street¹⁹. He had a chance to establish friendship with C.Rajagopalachariar, a Congress member, who later became the Premier of the Madras State (1937-1939)²⁰. He also raised his voice against the devadasi system while he was the Secretary of Devasthanam Committee. He issued orders for cancelling not only devadasi rights in temple but also their right to nominate another girl when they had no issues.²¹ Periyar's name was recommended for conferring the title Rao Bahadur for his efficient administration.

Periyar and the Congress (1919-1920)

While the struggle for freedom in India against the British rule was going on under the Congress Party, P. Varadarajulu Naidu and C.Rajagopala Chariyar persuaded Periyar to enroll himself as a member of the Indian National Congress. Periyar became the member of the Indian National Congress with the assurance that the party would accept the policy of reservation for the emancipation of socially backward people²². In 1914, Periyar was elected as the Secretary of the Coimbatore Congress Conference and in 1915 he became the member of Madras Presidency Association. Later, in 1918, he became the President of the Steering Committee of the Congress Conference of Erode.

A turning point in 1919. It was the Jallian Wallah Bagh Massacre which drew the attention of Gandhiji to involve the Indian Nationalists which took place in him self in

¹⁸ Lysammal, T., *Op.cit.*, p.29.

¹⁹ Veeramani, K., *Collected Works of Periyar E.V.R.*, P.S.R.P.I., Chennai, 2005, p.12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.7.⁶

²¹ Viduthalai, Chennai, August 31, 1959.

²² G.O.No. 73, *Public Department, dt., 8. 01.1958*, p.116, Government of Madras.

the Freedom Movement. In 1920, Gandhiji launched Non-Co-operation Movement against the suppressive attitude of the British. An ardent believer of non-violence and Ahimsa, Periyar actively participated in all the programmes of Gandhiji²³. He spent for spending his whole time and energy to serve the people and take active part in the affairs of Congress Party, Periyar resigned all his honorary and Government posts which he held in Erode²⁴. He became the President of TamilNadu Congress in 1920²⁵.

In the middle of 1921, the Non-Co-operation Movement took an unexpected turn in Madras. The movement gained sudden spurt of energy not from the original plan of Gandhiji but through head on tactics, i.e. anti-liquor agitation. Gandhiji²⁶ I made a special appeal to the Indian women to support the anti-liquor campaign. Hence, Periyar along with hundred volunteers Thondarpadai involved in picketing the liquor shops cut down his own 1000 coconut trees in Thadampatti in Erode. The ban order 144 was imposed. Using the provisions they were arrested and put behind the bars for a month. It made Periyar's wife, Nagammai and sister Kannammal to lead the picketing of liquor-shops in Erode²⁷. In view of mass picketing, there arose problem in maintaining law and order. The government lifted the 144 ban order on the ground that the arrest of women volunteers, including Nagammai and Kannammal, would make the situation out of control. To pacify the situation, the Government of Madras sent Sri Sankaran Nair to persuade Gandhiji to withdraw picketing in TamilNadu. But, Gandhiji I stated that the stopping of the picketing of liquor shops was not in his hand but in the hands of

²³ The Modern Rationalist, Vol.xxviii, Chennai, May 2003, p.21.

²⁴ Ibid.,

²⁵ Chandrababu.B.S., *Battered Women of Madras*, Chennai, 1998, p. 22.

²⁶ Thandavan.R., *The Dravidian Movement* Chennai, 2001, p.22.

²⁷ An Admirer, Periyar E.V.Ramasami – *A Pen portrait*, Rationalist Publications, Erode, 1962, p.20.

those two ladies in Erode²⁸. Therefore, Periyar encouraged women to participate in the public life and to create awareness among women about the political right from the day of his entry into politics. In November 1922, Periyar was elected to the All India Congress Committee. As a true Congress man, he took all effort stop popularize the use of Khadhar with a view to promote the cottage industries²⁹ and to provide employment to womenfolk.

In April 1922, Periyar was once again elected as the Secretary of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee at the Tiruppur Session of Congress³⁰. In September 1922, Gandhiji discussed the political situation with Periyar in his house at Erode. Periyar was keen on bringing for the equal representation to all the communities in proportion to their population for the national progress.

In 1924 Periyar involved himself in the propagation of the use of khaddar and delivered a speech. He stated that "True swaraj will be achieved by keeping our thing in our own country, manufacturing it for ourselves and giving employment to a large number of wage-earners men and women". He further added that "It is by giving our raw products to other countries and purchasing finished products from them India that we deprive a vast majority of the people of the country of employment and wages and allow economic exploitation of the country. This exploitation keep Indians under foreign domination". Thus, Periyar advocated the use of Khaddar to stop exploitation of the our country. So, Periyar was convicted and sentenced to undergo 4 months rigorous imprisonment for his seditious speeches against the government in different parts of TamilNadu.

²⁸ Ibid.,

²⁹ Viswanathan, E.Sa.. *The Political Career of E.V.RamasamyNaicker*, Ravi and Vasanth Publishers, Madras, 1983, p.41.

³⁰ Baliga, B.S., *Madras District Gazetteers: Coimbatore*, Madras, p.117.

Vaikom Struggle

No other part in the country had social evils so much as Kerala which is the hot-bed of untouchability and un approachability and supported the age-long tradition of caste or thodoxy and religious superstition³¹. Irrational practices such as Pulappedi and Mannanpedi, the scriptural non-surgical customs of smart havicaram, the immoral sexual practice of sambandam, the cruel and polygamous Karavanan and the Tarawad, the exploiting practice of Janmin Kudiyan prevailed. Mahavira once said: one should renounce or forego the sense of narrow-mindedness in looking at people as high and low on the basis of birth³². It is not a surprise that many irrational, in surgical and abusive practices were rooted in such a society. One such practice was the denying of worshipping God in a temple for the untouchables in the name of pollution. It is universally acknowledged that God is for all. God is not for a few. If it is so, then God does not exist. Such an impartial God could not a meliorate the wretched condition of the untouchables. It has reference to the Vaikom temple and the Satyagraha for getting the right to enter the street leading to the temple. Not only the caste- Hindus but also the Christians and the Muslims as well as Kaikolans, Kariyalans and similar non-caste Hindus had the right to use the street around the Vaikom Mahadevar temple³³. As the temple premises had the court, police station, registrar's office, people could not avoid entering the streets, But the Non-caste Hindus like the Ezhavas, Arayas, Pulayas and Parayas were prevented from using the street on the ground that the entry would pollute the idol of the temple³⁴. But the road in question was constructed and

³¹ H.F.M. 58A, 1924-1927, dt., 29.3.1924, p. 32.

³³ T.K.Ravindran, *Vaikom Satyagraha and Gandhiji*, Sri Narayana Institution of Social and Cultural Development, Trichur, 1975, pp. 92-93.

maintained out of public funds which contributed by members of all castes³⁵. A Satyagraha was organized by T.K.Madhavan, George Joseph and Kesava Menon to remove such discrimination against the untouchables³⁶.

Since the custom was un-reasonable, tyrannical, degrading and irrational, some progressive reform-minded leaders planned to oppose it and the result was the arrest of most volunteers. Periyar was invited to interfere in the Vaikom struggle³⁷. The entry of Periyar gave a new life to the movement since he was much concerned about the down-trodden and the under-privileged. He decided to enroll women volunteers in this movement to look after the feeding and other arrangements at the Ashram and to participate in the struggle because he was arrested and sentenced to one month imprisonment in Arivukoothu jail³⁸. Having gained training in anti-drinking campaign in Tamil Nadu, Nagammai, wife of Periyar, immediately, came to Vaikom with S.Ramanathan and played an active role to bring greater number of women to participate in the movement³⁹. She, with the company of M.S.Kannammal, Tmt.Emperumal Naidu, Tmt.Govindan Sanar and Tmt.Thanumalaya Perumal Pillai made an attempt to enter the temple but they were prevented by the police⁴⁰. When Nagammai was asked to enter into the temple without Tmt.Sanar, who was a low caste woman, she refused to do so, as it was a movement for the under-privileged class of people. Tmt.Nagammai and Tmt.M.P.Nair were imposed Rs.5/-as penalty since they blocked the transport. They were remanded to 8 days' custody when they refused to pay

³⁵ Chidambaram Pillai, P.C., *Right of Temple Entry*, MJP Publishers, Chennai, 2008, .p. 235.

³⁶ *Tamil Arasu*, Chennai, August , 1987, p. 44.

³⁷ Ravindaran. Op., Cit. p.92

³⁸ E.Sa.Viswanathan, *Op.cit.*, p. 43.

³⁹ SamyChidambaranar, *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁴⁰ Veeramani.K.,(ed.),*PeriyarThousand-QuestionsandAnswers*,DravidaKazhagamPublication,Chennai, 2002,.p.34.

the amount⁴¹. The Vaikom Satyagraha assumed much significance and won support from all quarters including gunjab⁴². Periyar continued the struggle vigorously with the co-operation of women activists after his release from prison. A prohibitory order was also promulgated to prevent him from delivering public11 egent (1924-1931) of her minor son Sri ChitraiTirunal Balarama Varma Maharajah (1931-1949)⁴³. To bring a solution, Mahatma Gandhi intervened in this affair at the instigation of Rajaji⁴⁴. Finally, the Regent Rani issued a proclamation removing all restrictions to walk on streets and granted freedom to all people including untouchables to access it⁴⁵. It was the 'first historic social struggle started by Periyar in the history of modern India'⁴⁶. Eventually, it restored the birth rights of untouchables to access the street. But, they did not possess social and civic rights to enter into the temple for worshipping God like that of the caste Hindus²⁴⁰. Periyar's support for the cause of lower caste men and women earned him a special and radical reputation⁴⁷. Periyar was called 'Vaikom Hero' by the Congress for his dynamic role in Vaikom Satyagraha to remove untouchability. The Vaikom struggle was the first ever struggle organized by all sections to obtain rights to walk in public roads which was prohibited to the untouchables for thousands of years⁴⁸.

Periyar and Cheranmadevi Gurukulam, 1925

A Gurukulam was established at Cheranmadevi, in Tirunelveli district. It was started with the noble ideas of imparting nationalism and spreading the spirit of patriotism and infusing a passion for social service among the youth. It was founded by

⁴¹ *Swadesamitran*, Chennai, August 5, 1924. and Anaimuthu.V., *PeriyarIyal*, Part II, ThaiyarNayakiNinaivuNool publication, Puducherry, 2009, p.73

⁴² Veeramani, K., *History of Vaikom Satyagraha*, Chennai, 1999, p. 7

⁴³ *Ibid.*,

⁴⁴ Anaimuthu.V., *Op.cit.*, p.81.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 84

⁴⁶ Veeramani, K., *Periyar's Movement*, DravidarKazhagam Publications, Chennai, 2002, p. 2.

⁴⁷ Geetha and S.V.Rajadurai, *Op.cit.*, p. 301

⁴⁸ Anaimuthu, *Op.cit.*, p. 88.

V.V.S.Aiyyar and funded by the Congress. It was partial and discriminative in the sense that it imparted education to the boys only. But the girls were not admitted into the school even though Gandhiji, the leader of the Indian National Congress, encouraged and inspired women to participate in the national struggle. Women's participation in anti-drinking campaign in Tamil Nadu gained appreciation at national level. No leader bothered to provide national education to girls. But Periyar, the crusader for social justice, wanted to mobilize women as a great force not only to transform the society but also to enable them to enlighten themselves. He expressed his anger for not admitting girls in the Ashramam.

Even though V.V.S.Aiyer was a veteran Tamil scholar, freedom fighter and the editor of *DesaBhaktan*, he endeavoured to strengthen Varnashrama system in the Ashramam. He introduced separate dining for the higher and lower caste pupil. Accordingly, the Brahmin inmates were given rich food and better comforts whereas, the non-Brahmin students were discriminated in boarding and lodging i.e. they had to take their meals outside the dining hall. Separate water pots and vessels were kept for the low sections. Periyar, the then Secretary of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee allotted Rs.5000 as the first instalment for the Gurukulam out of a total of 10,000 for its development and later, here fused to pay the remaining amount of Rs.5000 on the grounds of discrimination followed in the Ashramam⁴⁹. But V.V.S.Aiyer, the President of Ashramam received the remaining amount of Rs.5000/- from K.Santhanam, the Joint-Secretary of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee without consulting Periyar. Thus, Periyar, Varadarajulu Naidu and Thiru.Vi.Ka, 'trios of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee', brought a resolution of 'no discrimination on the basis of birth' in the

⁴⁹ *Unmai*, Madras, September 9, 1987, p. 4.

Congress Committee meeting. Mr.Naidu wrote prominently about it in his paper TamilNadu and made the incident public. When permission was denied to pass the resolution in a political meeting, Rajaji quit the committee with some congress members⁵⁰. Knowing the critical situation in Tamil Nadu Congress after the Gurukulam incident, Gandhiji refused to interfere in this matter. It increased the rift between the Brahmins and thenon-Brahmins⁵¹.

The discrimination policy of V.V.S.Aiyer and other Brahmin leaders of the Congress party forced Periyar to start Self-Respect Movement⁵². As the first step, Periyar published a Tamil weekly, on 2nd May, 1925, from Erode in order to instigate and Periyar left the Congress immediately bearing in mind that it was futile to safeguard the interests of the non-Brahmins by staying in the Congress as it was a Brahmin fortress. Periyar agitated against the Brahmin domination in the Congress and revived the anti-Brahmin feeling which was practically dormant until then Periyar quit the Congress with a plan to 'eradicate God, Religion, Sastras, the Congress and the Brahmins'. As soon as he left the Congress, Periyar convened an anti-Brahmin Conference at the Kamatchi theatre in Kanchipuram to discuss the principle of proportional representation⁵³.

Before leaving the Congress Party permanently, Periyar had to deal with Santhanam, the then Secretary of TamilNadu branch of All India Spinners Association as the latter appointed a number of Brahmin stokey positions in the association⁵⁴. Periyar realised that the non-Brahmins were labourers who suffered while the Brahmins were in the higher posts enjoying the fruits of their labour. Periyar came to the

⁵⁰ *Unmai*, Madras, March 1, 1976, p. 22

⁵¹ *Ibid.*,

⁵² *Ibid.*,

⁵³ Viswanathan, E.Sa., *Op.cit.* p.60

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* P.65.

conclusion that Gandhiji too was furthering sectarian interests by his idea of Varnashramadharma. Periyar and Ramanathan met Gandhiji in September 1927 in order to change the latter's attitude to Varnashramadharma since it strengthened Aryan culture of untouchability and child-marriage. Having failed to convince Gandhiji, Periyar emphasized that true freedom for India could be achieved only with the destruction of Indian National Congress, Hinduism and Brahminism. Consequently, Periyar directed his full attention on strengthening his new organisation to root out all the vices in the society. To Periyar, the public good was ideal rather than personal benefits. His life is an open book of fight for right, attack for liberation from the dominance of the few.

Self - Respect Movement (December 1925)

Periyar gave more importance to social reforms than political reforms. He concentrated on social reconstructing and attaining social mobility. His attention was directed more on creating an egalitarian and an ideal society based on justice and equality⁵⁵. He started the Self-Respect Movement in December, 1925 to eradicate discrimination based on birth and sex, to remove Brahminism and superstitions, to inculcate Self-Respect and to promote rationalism among the people⁵⁶

The term Self – Respect

The term 'Self Respect' corresponds to the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit word 'Suyamariathai'. It is a combination of two words 'Suya' which means 'Self' and 'Mariathai', which means "respect". It is quite interesting to note that E. V. R. who later on detested Sanskrit adopted the Sanskrit name for his new Party. There is no mention

⁵⁵Tandavan, 'Self-Respect Movement in Tamil Nadu', in *Dravidian Movement*, The Academy of Public Affairs, Chennai, 2001, p. 24

⁵⁶ Ibid.,

of the word ‘Suyamariathai’ either in the earliest available Tamil dictionary compiled by the Jesuit Antao De Proencas or the latest ones including the Madras University English-Tamil Dictionary.⁵⁷ Though this word has not been given in the Tamil Lexicon of the University of Madras, as a main word, it is found as the meaning of the word ‘Thanmathippu’ and is referred to as a word of modern usage. As this word was often used by E. V. R. in his speeches and conversations, it may be worthwhile to find out how he began to adopt it. It was possible for him to have adopted it from Gandhi.

As an ardent follower of Gandhi, he wanted to walk in his footsteps with reverence. Every word of Gandhi was like a mantra, followed sincerely by E. V. R. The earliest reference to the word ‘Suyamariathai’ is noticed in Tiru. Vi. Ka.’s Navasakthi in the year 1922. Rajaji wrote in ‘Young India’ that must be prepared to sacrifice one everything that stand in the way of Self-Respect. It was first called by the following titles: ‘Parppanarallathar Suyamariathai Sangam (Non-Brahmin Self-Respect League), ‘Parppanarallathar Valibar Suyamariathai Sangam’ (Non-Brahmin Youth Self-Respect League). Later it was called in short form a ‘Suyamariathai Iyakkam’ (Self-Respect Movement).

Motive

The motive behind inauguration of the Self-Respect Movement was nothing but E. V. R. ‘s contempt for caste system and its evils. His bitter experiences in the Congress were also responsible for its emergence. E. V. R. ‘s break with Congress in 1925 came essentially as a result of his opposition against the Brahmin Leaders who were opposed to reforms. Their conservatism and faith in traditions were the strength of EVR’s stand

⁵⁷S. ThaniNayagam, Antao De Proencas Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary, A. D. 1679, (Kuala-lumpur, 1966).

This led to a cleavage between Brahmins and non-Brahmins which he made the basis for all his propaganda. He was of the opinion that the Congress had given benefits to the Brahmins and discredit to the Brahmins. The Self-Respect Movement was dedicated to the goal of giving non-Brahmins a sense of pride based on their Dravidian past which also meant denial of the superiority of the Brahmins whom he described as representative of the Aryans. Unlike the Justice Party, the Self-Respect Movement was popular in its appeal. Though it began as a social reform movement its effects were felt in the political field also.⁵⁸

Meaning of Self-Respect

EVR had fully explained the meaning of Self-Respect and the reasons for its emergence. "The Self-Respect Movement was inaugurated not for talking ill of a particular community or sect, but to destroy the social evils as a whole" E V. R. was interested more in social freedom than in winning political independence. He desired that social equality should be achieved before the British left India He was of the opinion that the Congress paid only service to social equality and its plan of removal of untouchability was only in paper. He thought that these problems were not solved before the achievement of independence, the caste system and its evils would continue, forever. He pointed out that social reform must precede political reform. Therefore instead of joining the political organization, he started the social reform movement called the Self-Respect Movement.

When E. V. R. named it as 'Self-Respect League' it was remarked by some whether it would not be mistaken as an association of the persons who had no Self-Respect. E. V. R. retorted by asking it whether meant that any one who had formed the

⁵⁸Engene F. Irschick, Op. Cit., P.330

Samadharma Party (Socialist Party) was not a Samadharmists Socialists), or a member of the Ahimsa Association had no Ahimsa principle and a member of the Justice Party had no justice Then finally he said that even if it meant so, there was nothing wrong in it, since this movement was started only for those who had lost their Self-Respect in the society and who wanted to regain the same. He said that he named it as Self Respect Movement only to abolish all blind beliefs in religion and to rationalize the social life. He believed that Self-Respect was essential for political as well as social life. E. V. R. declared that after careful analyze of the history of the various nations be found that only self-respect and rationalistic spirit have led them to success. According to him even Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj were established by the Brahmins only to safeguard their own self-respect. So the non-Brahmins, had a right to start counter associations to avoid those practices which were against their Self-Respect Therefore he named his Movement as "Self-Respect Movement". It was later on interpreted that the Self-Respect Movement was started to lead the whole to humanity wards Self-Respect.

Chapter II

CHAPTER II

TRANSFORMATION OF SELF RESPECT MOVEMENT

Self Respect movement was not a pre – planned one. It was purely accidental. E.V.R's activities during 1925 to 1929 would prove that he adopted that line of action to sheer force of circumstances.¹

Many of his colleagues including Rajaji wanted him to be in the Congress and fight for the cause of Non-Brahmins. But he did not like that idea. In this circumstance he was left with two alternatives. Either as suggested by Tiru. Vi. Ka and other non-Brahmin leaders, he could have continued with the Tamilnad Congress and strengthened the hands of the progressive elements both in the Brahmin and non-Brahmin groups in their attempts to eradicate social inequalities, or he could have inaugurated a new organization specifically to fight the then prevailing sectarian social practices.

As he believed the first alternative was impossible in his lifetime, he chose the second and founded a new organization.² E.V.R. cut off from the Congress and gravitating towards the Justice, he was laying the foundation of a dynamic social movement that has come to be styled as the Self-Respect Movement.

¹Kudi Arasu, 29 August, 1926, p.1 & 3.

²E. Sa. Viswanathan, The Political career of E.V.RamamsamiNaicker: A Study in the Politics of Tamilnad 1920-1949; unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Canberra, 1973.

Self-Respect Movement was not a mere social reformist movement. It aimed at destroying the existing Hindu social order in its totality and creating a new, rational society without caste, religion and God. So it was considered a socially revolutionary movement which had been destroying and creating, i.e., creative destruction or creation through destruction.³

Meaning of Self- Respect

E.V.R had fully explained the meaning of Self-Respect and the reasons for its emergence. "The Self-Respect Movement was inaugurated not for talking ill of a particular community or sect, but to destroy the social evils as a whole"⁴ According to E.V.R even Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj were established by the Brahmins only to safeguard their own self-respect. So the non-Brahmins, had a right to start counter associations to avoid those practices which were Against their self respect movement.⁴

emergence. E.V.R.'s break with Congress in 1925 came essentially as a result of his show down with the Brahmin Leaders who were opposed to reforms. The Self-Respect

³Thandavan, R., *The Dravidian Movement*, Chennai, 2001, p.9

⁴E. Sa. Viswanathan, *The Political career of E.V.Ramamsami Naicker: A Study in the Politics of Tamilnad 1920-1949*; unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Canberra, 1973.

Movement was dedicated to the goal of giving non-Brahmins a sense of pride based on their Dravidian past which also meant denial of the superiority of the Brahmins whom he described as representative of the Aryans. Unlike the Justice Party, the Self-Respect Movement was popular in its appeal. Though it began as a therefore he named his movement as "Self-Respect Movement". It was later on interpreted that the Self-Respect Movement was started to lead the whole of humanity towards Self-Respect.⁵

The motive behind inauguration of the Self-Respect Movement was nothing but E.V.R.'s contempt for caste system and its evils. His bitter experiences in the Congress were also responsible for its Social reform movement its effects were felt in the political field also.⁶

Objectives

The objectives of the Self-Respect Movement have been outlined and stated in two pamphlets *NamathuKurikkol* and *TiravitakkalakaLateiyam*⁷

a) movement aims to do away with such social structure of the society where one class of people claim to be superior to others and some men claim to be of higher birth than others.

*'b) aims to work for getting equal opportunities for all people,
irrespective of their communities it will strive to secure equal
status for women along with men in life and according to law*

⁵Thandavan, R., op.cit., p.9.

⁶Engene F. Irschick, Politics and Social Conflict in South India, Bombay, 1969, p.330.

⁷Vishwanathan, op.cit., p.73.

c) All people should be given equal opportunities for growth and development and fellow feeling should be natural among all the people

d) Aims to completely eradicate untouchability and to establish a united society based on brotherhood and sisterhood.

Aims and resolutions were recommended for the careful scrutiny and guidance of all the people in Tamil Nadu, after the first Self- Respect Conference which was held at Chegalpattu on 17 and 18 February 1929. More than six thousand people attended this great conference. About half of them were ordinary people who had come from distant places in the hope of getting sound advice on social equality, social evils and the ways of overcoming the forces of exploitation. The next Self-Respect Conference was held at Erode on 10 May 1930, under the chairmanship of the Guest National leader M.R. Jayakar. This conference took a bolder step than the previous one and discouraged idol worship in strong terms. At the Self-Respect Conference held at Virudhunagar in August 1931 under the presidentship of Sri Kanchi K. Shanmugam, all the progressive ideas were emphasized, in addition to these, strongly worded resolutions against untouchability and for the encouragement

of inter-caste marriages were passed.⁸

Founder

The real founder of the Self-Respect Movement was none other than E.V.R. Once S. Ramanathan wrote: "I sponsored the Movement and was its General Secretary. But I was comparatively young and inexperienced. So we all crowned E.V.R. as the leader".⁹ On the strength of this statement it was believed that "unable to toe the line of the Justice Party, Naicker had no other alternative but to strengthen the Self-Respect league founded by S. Ramanathan, one of the articulate young non-Brahmin members in the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee."¹⁰

M.K. Reddy when addressing the Chengleput Conference in 1929 remarked that E.V.R. was the founder of the Movement.¹¹ When unveiling the portrait of E.V.R. at the Tirunelveli conference, S.N.D.P. Yogam, General Secretary, recollected the part played by E.V.R. in the Vaikom Satyagraha and remarked that after that E.V.R. founded the Self-Respect Movement.¹² E.V.R. himself

⁸Saraswati, op.cit., pp.5-6.

⁹Ramanathan, S., "Self-Respect Movement' in KuttucciGurusamyNinaivu Malar, Madras, 1966, p.39.

¹⁰E. Sa. Viswanathan, op.cit., p.41.

¹¹KudiArasu, 29 December, 1929, p.1.

¹²KudiArasu, 18 August, 1929, p.2.

declared in 1930 that he was the founder of the Movement.¹³ In his weekly KudiArasu, he had referred to the Self-Respect Movement in several articles as "the Movement of mine" and "the movement which was started by me".¹⁴ All these facts go to prove that E.V.R was the sole architect to the Self-Respect Movement

Operational Programmes

Self-Respect movement had the following operational programmes:

1. It wanted to remove practices of using caste marks, caste costumes and caste names.
2. It aimed at the elimination of employing Brahmin priests to officiate at marriages and other ceremonies of the society.
3. It also favoured the simplifying of laws relating to divorce, widow remarriage and inter – caste marriage.

Establishment of the Self-Respect League

The year 1926 witnessed the establishment of Self – Respect Leagues all over Tamil Nadu. After 1926 Election, eminent people from Tirunelveli, Madurai, Tiruchi and Ramananthapuram founded the Self- Respect Leagues.

¹³ Dravidian, 5 September, 1930, p.4
¹⁴ KudiArasu, 10 July, 1927, p.3.

At Tiruchi under the name "ParappanarallatharSuyamariathaiSangam" an organization, was formed in one Kaliaperumal Naidu's house, E.V.R was accompanied by K.A.P. Viswanatham for its formation.¹⁵ On 29 November when he arrived at Tirunelveli, RamanathaDesikar presented the manuscripts and pamphlets relating to Self-Respect Movement to E.V.R who corrected and modified them. On the same day a public meeting was addressed at Town Railway Station Road.

E.V.R. requested all non-Brahmins to support the Self- Respect Movement. DelavayRamasamiMudaliar, TheetharappaMudaliar, KoothaNayinar, Gomathinayagam Pillai, Veerapathire Pillai and Mahalingam Pillai were some of those prominent men of Tirunelveli who took part in it. At Tenkasi it was inaugurated on 30 November when one Meenakshisundaram Pillai was made the Secretary. Further discussions on the Movement were held at PalaniappaMudaliar's house. On 1 December, when a meeting was organized at TuticorinKumarasami Pillai, and Muthukkaruppa Pillai were selected as President and Secretary.

Respectively. At Madurai MuthukkamatchiMudaliar of Kambikkudi near Madurai organized the Self-Respect League with the help of Uthamapalayam M.T. SubramaniaMudaliar. There he spoke in a public meeting also and

¹⁵ KudiArasu, 5 December, 1926, p.4.

explained what Self-Respect was.¹⁶ after the establishment of the League in many places, Taluk and District Conferences came to be organized. Before the commencement of every conference, E.V.R. toured the areas for a week or two and mobilized support for the success of the Conferences.¹⁷

First Annual Conference

The First Annual Conference held at Tirunelveli is worth mentioning E.V.R. who founded the organization at Tirunelveli was again invited to inaugurate the District Conference. The Conference was held on 28 November 1927. The Tamil scholar T.K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar inaugurated the Conference and requested E.V.R. to preside over the function.¹⁸ In this conference 32 resolutions were passed under the presidentship of E.V.R.¹⁹

As resolved in the conference, people began to discard Brahmins in their household ceremonies. The names of the individuals who had avoided the Brahmins were published in the KudiArasu continuously. Self-Respect marriages, Self Respect death. Ceremonies came to be conducted widely. E.V.R. took the place of the priest in the conduct of certain Self-Respect marriages.

¹⁶ KudiArasu, 5 December, 1926, p.1.

¹⁷ Ibid., 6 May, 1928, p.1.

¹⁸ KudiArasu, 4 December, 1927, p.1.

¹⁹ Ibid., 11 December, 1927, p.1.

E.V.R's Self-Respect Movement and Justice Party

E.V.R made use of the Justice Party's platform and newspapers for popularizing his creed. This movement was a crusade against superstitions, rituals and temple worship. It might be defined as a socio-organization whose aim is to reconstruct society on a human and rational basis and to destroy caste-root and branch and ultimately destroy religion as popularly understood and practiced.²⁰ There was to and mutual co-operation between the Justice Party and Self-Respect Movement.

In the election of 1926, the Justice Party was defeated and most of the leaders of Justice Party thought that their political life had come to an end. But, E.V.R made an attempt to give a new life and spirit to Justice Party. The Justicites also recognized his leadership. Thus, these two parties maintained a close contact among themselves and the people believed that the Self-respect Movement carried on the traditions of the Justice Party.

E.V.R. who was not an admirer of the political aspirations of the Justice Party supported their efforts to improve the general status of the non-Brahmins. He utilized this opportunities to keep the spirit of the non-Brahmin leaders. His infusion of spirit led to the formation of a Confederation of non-Brahmins at

²⁰Swaminathan, S., Karunanidhi – Man of Destiny, New Delhi; 1974, p.73.

Madurai.²¹ This new line of action helped E.V.R to be in close touch with various prominent non-Brahmins in the districts and taluks. This accelerated the development of the Movement. All over Tamil Nadu several non-Brahmin Conferences (ParppanarallatharMahanadu) were held E.V.R. by participating in them strengthened his Movement.²² The Justice Conference held at Mayavaram in Tanjore district the following May (1927) was named as Self-Respect Conference.

E.V.R himself moved a resolution that clearly enunciated the aims of his Self-Respect Movement namely to discontinue the observance of caste distinctions, not to employ Brahmin priests for officiating marriage and other ceremonies and throwing open the temples and public roads, tanks and wells to all persons.²³

E.V.R. attended the Justice Special Conference held at Coimbatore in July 1927.²⁴ He followed the proceedings closely to evaluate the Justicites attitude to the changing nature of the country. As distinguished non-Brahmin leaders Tiru. Vi. Ka., P. VaradarajuluNaidu, E.V.R had been invited to participate in the business of the Conference and even to take sides on whether or not Justice members should be allowed to join Congress.²⁵

²¹ Eugene Irschick, op.cit., p.315.

²² Ibid., p.316.

²³ The Hindu, 11 May, 1927, p.2.

²⁴ Navasakthi, 6 July 1927, p.3.

²⁵ Navasakthi, 6 July 1927, p.3.

E.V.R. who was very outspoken made a strong speech condemning the Governor of Madras for appointing C.P. Ramasamier, a Brahmin as law member of the Executive Council; he even sought to introduce a resolution urging the recall of the Governor, but friends prevailed upon him to tone down his language and to withdraw the recall motion.²⁶ The happenings in the above conference did not satisfy E.V.R. They were concerned more with drawing up of plans to recapture political power after their election defeat than with indulging in politics against Brahmins. E.V.R. had understood the prevailing mood in the Justice Party and decided not to join forces with that party as they would obstruct his own plans of bringing about social changes in the Tamil Society.

According to the Self-Respect Movement, the root of all social evils can be found in religion. It believed that without destroying the superstitions based upon religion and tradition, it could not effect any social change. In its opinion, the caste system was closely intervened with the Hindu religion. So, in order to reform the society, it felt that there was a dire need for changing some of the basic practices in the religion. E.V.R. stated, 'Man is disgraced by caste and the caste is disgraced the religion. How can we destroy one, keeping

²⁶The Hindu, 7 July, 1972, p.2.

the other alive?²⁷ He observed that religion was a disease and the society was affected with this disease. E.V.R. wanted not only to cure the society of its disease but he also wished to destroy the root of the disease – The Hindu religion.

Anti-Brahmins

Since the Brahmins were regarded as the custodians of Hinduism as they were highborn people according to Hindu Philosophy, the Self – Respect Movement segregated the Brahmins from the rest of the society and fixed the responsibility on them for all the social evils. The movement firmly believed that Brahmins used religion for dominating others because the rituals that gave religious purity had led to social supremacy and socio-political domination of the Brahmins.²⁸

The Self-Respect Movement wanted to replace Hindu religion with rationalism. It equated Hinduism with Brahminism and maintained that it was the source of all irrational beliefs. So this movement propagated the policy of atheism.

Three successive presidency level conferences of the Self Respect Movement defined the objectives and programme of the SR Movement, i.e. the First Provincial Self-Respect Conference at Chingleput in 1929, the Second

²⁷ Thandavan, R., *The Dravidian Movement*, Chennai, 2001, p.9.
²⁸ Eugene Irschick, *op.cit.*, p.315.

Provincial Self-Respect Conference at Erode in 1930, and the Third provincial
Self-Respect Conference at Virudhunagar in 1931. The Self-Respect Movement
renewed the lost identity of Dravidian and their classical vernacular languages
from time immemorial.

Chapter III

CHAPTER III

SELF RESPECT MARRIAGE

One of the major sociological changes introduced through the self-respect movement was the self-respect marriage system, whereby marriages were conducted without being officiated by a Brahmin priest. Periyar had regarded the then conventional marriages as mere financial arrangements and often caused great debt through dowry. The Self-Respect movement encouraged inter-caste marriages, replacing arranged marriages by love marriages that are not constrained by caste.

It was argued by the proponents of self-respect marriage that the then conventional marriages were officiated by Brahmins, who had to be paid for and also the marriage ceremony was in Sanskrit which most people did not understand, and hence were rituals and practices based on blind adherence.¹

Self-respect movement promoters argue that there was no reference to Thaali in the Sangam literatures like Tirukkural or Akananuru, which describe the Tamils' lifestyle during the Sangam era. The Hindu marriage ceremonies involving Brahmins are argued to be practices introduced relatively recently to increase the influence of Brahminism on Tamils' lives.

Self Respect Marriage

Periyar had regarded that the then conventional marriage were mere financial arrangements and often caused great debt through dowry. Self-Respect Marriage

¹Hodges S (2005) Revolutionary family life and the Self Respect movement in Tamil south India, 1926 Contributions to Indian Sociology, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp.251-277

encouraged Inter-Cast marriage to be replaced by love Marriage.² A result of the movement's incessant preaching, some non-Brahmin started conducting their marriages without Brahmin priest. E.V.R. himself conducted several such marriages, which were known as Self Respect marriages. It was argued by the proponents of self-respect marriage that the then conventional marriages were officiated by Brahmins, who has to be paid for and also the marriage ceremony was in Sanskrit which most people did not understand, and hence were ritual and practices based on blind adherence.

To E.V.R., marriage is a mutual agreement, co-operative enterprise, a deal, an order of Nature and not a one-sided contract in which a woman accepts a subdued role. Even though self-respect marriages have been practiced since 1928, initially these marriages just lacked a priest while the Hindu marriage events and ceremonies were followed. Three fold significance;

1. Replacement of Purohits
2. Inter-Cast Equality
3. Man-Women Equality.

The first self-respect marriage that was totally devoid of any Hindu ceremony was the marriage of the prominent self-respect movement writer Kuthoosi Gurusamy with another prominent leader Kunjidham, under the presiding of Periyaar on 8 December 1929.³ The self-respect movement encouraged widow remarriage as well. Due to the prevalent practice of child marriage and very poor health facilities, there were a high number of widows in then society. Women like SivagamiAmmaiyar, who could be widowed at 11 years were given a new lease on life by widow remarriage principles

² Anita Diehl, Periyar E.V.Ramasamy, New Delhi, 1978, p.6.
³ Swati Seshadri, Women in Dravidian Movement, August 2008, p.42.

of the Self Respect Movement. Consequently, the self respect movement attracted lot of women.⁴

Tamil Nadu became the first state (followed by U.T. of Puducherry in 1971) to legalize Hindu marriages conducted without a Brahmin priest. This was the first bill signed by CM Annadurai when the DMK gained power in the 1967 Madras assembly elections. Annadurai sent the bill draft to Periyar and at his suggestion changed "and" to "or" in the law text which made the thaali/mangalsutra optional in marriages.⁵ This was implemented as Hindu Marriage and very poor health facilities, there were a high number of widows in then society. Women like SivagamiAmmaiyar, who could be widowed at 11 years, were given a new lease on life by the widow remarriage principles of the self-respect movement. Consequently, the self-respect movement attracted a lot of women.⁶

Reforms on Marriage

Periyar thought seriously about the marriage system from the inception of his entry into public life. He contemplated ways and means to eradicate the institution of marriage. He exerted through his writings and speeches to create awareness among the public about the defects found in the marriage system. Some people consider that marriage is a reformatory system for the betterment of human beings. The sociologists state that marriage is essential for racial development. But, Periyar considered that marriage system was conspired to enslave women forever. The philosophy behind the Aryan mantras in marriage was just turning a woman to be slave of man.

⁴ Vallavan Suyamariyadhai Thirumana Sellubadi Sattam Muzhu Verriya

⁶ "Chennai couples caste away barriers – Times of India". The Times of India.

Periyar considered that marriage was essential for both man and woman to live together and to lead a happy and prosperous life. He pointed out that the institution of marriage was established to protect the caste system, safeguard religion and to preserve sastras, puranas and traditions from their annihilation. The word purana is archaic. The Aryans introduced many foolish and irrational rituals in a puranic marriage. The Aryan form of marriage was developed only during the barbaric period. Hence Periyar questioned: "how could we abolish the degrading caste by protecting god, religion and sastras from its decay? How could we liberate ourselves from barbarism?" It was enshrined in sastras that unless women serve their husband as a subordinate, she would not attain moksha (liberation). So, he strived hard to change the age-long traditional cruelties imposed on women.

Periyar explained that marriage should not be bound to any tradition but it is to be made as an agreement. Marriage for lust is not desirable. He outlined the important matters, which are to be taken into account for a person to get married, which include knowledge, love, suitability and experience. On that day, there could be no room for ancient Tamil system of marriage i.e. Kalavu or Karpu.⁷

Periyar regretted that there was no word 'marriage' found in Tamil language. The Aryans used different terms denoting marriage like Kannikadhanam, Tharamuhurtham, Vivaham, Thirumanam, Kalyanam, etc. which ultimately means accepting a slave. Here the slave is the bride accepted by the bridegroom through marriage. The term thiru means beauty and manam means fragrance but they are not denoting the actual meaning of thirumanam but they denote good deeds. He termed

⁷Eugene Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: Non Brahmin Movement and Tamil Separatism, 1916-1929*, Berkeley, 1969, pp.339-341

marriage as a contract of companion for life or vazhkaiThunainalam as termed by Thiruvalluvar nearly two thousand years ago.

Purpose and Objectives

The main purpose of self respect Marriage was to bring radical changes in the traditional marriage system and to liberate women from the clutches of marriage problems. Periyar introduced a new system of marriage. Though it follows some of the features of ancient Tamil marriage, it is purely based on rationalistic outlook. The pioneer in introducing the rationalist form of marriage in 1873 was Jyotiba Phule who fought for gender justice. His Sarvajanic Satya Dharma Pustak suggests new marriage rites, emphasizing equality of man and woman and the removal of priest in the marriage. The Self-Respect Movement of Periyar also condemned the role of priest as well as rituals in marriage. It advocated the elimination of superstition and discrimination based on birth and sex.⁸

Consequently, Periyar introduced the Self-Respect Marriage from the inception of the movement in 1925. He started the Self-Respect Movement by contemplating distressfully with the purpose of reforming mankind and removing blind belief among people in the Society. To popularize the Self-Respect Marriage and to help men and women to choose their partners in life, Periyar founded Suyamariyadhai Thirumana Nilayam served as an Alliance Bureau of Marriages 526. This Thirumana Nilayam sowed the seeds of the emergence of modern matrimonial alliance centres across the state.⁹

Special Characteristics of Self-Respect Marriage

⁸ Ibid.
⁹ Viswanathan,, The Political Career of E.V.Ramasamy Naicker, Madras, 1983, p.64

- Self-Respect Marriage is conducted between any two Hindus in the presence of relatives, friends or other persons.
- Each party to the marriage declares that he or she takes the other to be his wife or husband, by garlanding each other or exchanging rings or by tying thali. It avoids all kinds of meaningless blind rituals in marriage as well as a priest. It avoids the customary worship of fire

Significance of Self-Respect Marriage

Periyar abolished the practice of employing the Brahmins, Brahminical God, religion and Sastras in Self-Respect Marriage. It was aimed to remove degrading of Dravidian race and to advocate the spirit of Self-Respect among the Dravidians. To avoid Brahmin priest in marriage, he said "A Brahmin is not our man, neither does he follow us, nor does he treat us equal. A man who feels he is different from us, does not follow us and does not treat us equals cannot be the master or the conductor of our ceremony."

'Self-Respect Marriage' recognizes not only the equality between man and woman but also provides safeguards for mutual understanding and helps to cut across caste barriers. It includes all types of marriages like inter-caste marriage and intra-caste marriage, widow re-marriage, adult-marriage and love marriage and arranged marriage.¹⁰ All these types of marriages were introduced by Periyar to bring transition in the society because he thought that it was impossible to prune the tree without rooting out the evil. It bans ostentatious expenses and rituals in marriage. It demands the couples to spend economically within their income.

¹⁰ Sami Chidambaranar, *Thamizhar Thalaivar*, pp.165- 167.

Periyar was against the conventional marriage, as it is barbarous, senseless and makes the people shameless. He introduced a new form of marriage called contract for companionship of life, which goes hand in hand with rationalism. The important aspect of this marriage is both the bride and the bridegroom mutually agree to treat each other as the companion of life and assure to co-operate with each other in every walks of life. The main aim of this marriage is to treat women equally and consider her as his better-half. It thus put an end to the policy of 'partial injustice to fair sex' and abolishes the master and servant relationship in marriage and recognizes the rights, duties and responsibilities of both man and woman. This marriage is simple and economical as it avoids unnecessary grandeur, If the partners have mutual understanding and co-operate with each other, their life becomes meaningful and they would enjoy the pleasure of life, otherwise they had to live as ascetic and marriage becomes meaningless. Periyar named this reformed marriage as Tamil Marriage, Thanmana Tamil Marriage, Rational Marriage, Ilvazhkai Oppandam, Vazhkai Thunai Erpu Vizha, Illara Thuvakka Vizha, Prohita-Maruppu Mana Vizha.

Self-Respect Marriage beyond the conventions

With a view of eliminating all the superstitious practices and beliefs, attached with Marriage, Periyar introduced Self-Respect Marriage.¹¹ The time of marriage wasn't regarded by calculating the stars or assisting the help of horoscope. Self-Respect Marriages are performed at a time convenient to the parties of marriage whether it be in the morning or in the evening (Rahu Kalam), which was supposedly considered inauspicious by the Brahmins.¹²

¹¹ An Admirer, Periyar E.V.R. Ramasami 'A Pen Potra', Erode, 1962, pp. 21, 23

¹² Ibid.,

Fire worshipping was also removed. Periyar criticised those who practised ritual Fire thus: Lord Agni (God of Fire) was of the character of Kama and Krodha (lust and cunningness). Also, the Hindu Gods possessed mischievous nature had many wives and concubines. Besides, on a rational perspective, how could fire stand as a witness for marriage? Fire that burns all things, when in the form of *kollikottai* is considered a bad omen. So, how could a marriage performed in front of it be auspicious or prosperous life. Also, there is no absolute condition prescribing fire as a condition to marriage in puranas. Therefore, Periyar urged people to stop adopting blind beliefs and once the rationalistic form of marriage is followed in every home, superstitions would automatically disappear from the society.

Registration of Marriage

Periyar discouraged the practice of ostentatious marriages. If the parties need witness to the marriage, they may marry according to the Civil Marriage Act in front of the Registrar of Zilla, which requires only two people to sign as witness. People must stop spending lavishly and going to the extent of inviting each and every relative to the marriage just to show off their statuses.¹³

Moreover, if at all any dispute arises between the husband and wife the groom escape accusations by claiming that he never married the girl or that he only had her as a concubine. The relatives who attended the marriage are more likely to side with the boy. But, in registered marriages, the record exists so long as the government exists.¹⁴

If the families of the marriage parties wish to inform their relatives, they could do so by publishing it through news paper after registering the marriage. Register

¹³ Balasubramaniam K.M., pp. 21,22

¹⁴ Anitha Diehi, Periyar E. V. Ramasami, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 25-29.

money invested in marriages could alternately be invested in banks in the name of the bride to help her nurture the children and educate them. Perivar stated that there was no relation between the words VazhkaiOppadam and Kannikadhanam and Vivakam. The meaning 'companion' was not found in other two words. Both of them should share and help each other and none should enjoy more comfort than the other. There is no possibility of divine interference in marriage. He did not agree that Marriage alone is related to divinity whereas other materials like house, wealth, dress and ornaments are concerned with humanity.¹⁵

In the Vedic form of marriage both the bride and bridegroom did not know about each other before and even after two or three years of marriage. She was not allowed to have her own individual feeling and desires. Periyar advised womenfolk to change their attitude so as to get liberty and individuality.¹⁶

In a contract for companion of life, a man and a woman should think over their own qualification, characters conforming to each other and co-ordinating their mind to lead a joint life. The purpose of choosing companion for life is that the companions should live together till their death. They should co-operate with each other, even after the expiry of their lust and passion altogether, to enjoy the life with pleasure, satisfaction and to earn good name and admiration in the society. He questioned:

He also stressed that the parents had no right to interfere in the selection of partner for their daughter during marriage. Both the bride and bridegroom were not innocent. They were wise and mature enough to select their partner responsibly. It was unfair on the part of the elder of the family to dominate and select her /his partner.

¹⁵ Ibid.,

¹⁶ An Admirer, Op. Cit ,32

They should leave the responsibilities to the bride and the bridegroom. If it happened without the knowledge of the parents, they must be happy over it after knowing the information and this was agreeable to the modern world because it is liberal, rational and wise. As a result of the spread of Aryan culture, slavery was established in Tamil Nadu. It relegates the Tamilians into a degraded life and forced the Dravidians into many troubles and sufferings in the name of socio-religious and legal matters. It was very essential, at this juncture, to remove all the ancient system and to enjoy the fruit of new changes that were introduced.

Periyar Ideologies on Concept of Thali

Thali is said to be a *Veli* (a barrier). Periyar, a rationalist, regarded *Thali* or Mangalyam, the ornament tied round the neck of a bride during her marriage, as a dreadful symbol of slavery. Tying of *thali* was not a system of Tamil but of Hindus. Through this trinket, man subjugated woman by treating her as a slave instead of a companion through out his life. The 99% of menfolk batter women by establishing *thali* as a symbol of religion and divinity but ultimately a slave. When questioned, the explanation was that *thali* was essential for a woman to identify herself as married. Periyar questioned: Then, why wasn't a man put through the same process? "Why wasn't a *thali* tied to him to identify him, married?" *Thali* provided the means for a man to treat his wife as a slave and to attend to all his personal work. *Thali* is the awful symbol of a woman losing his humanism and Self-Respect. Hence, to stop this system of unfair justice for one sex Periyar advocated Self-Respect Marriage which denied *thali* for establishing equality between couples. Periyar's ideas of marriage between a matured boy and girl, simple and unritualistic marriages, unostentatious and inexpensive and avoiding *tali* marriages, non-payment of dowry marriages, and inter caste marriage were opposed by the orthodox Brahmin and non-Brahmin high

caste family, who showed their opposition to Periyar's ideas through films, which were then under their hegemony. Some film songs stand testimony to enable married women slaves of their husbands at the child level.

History of Self-Respect Marriage Legislations

Due to the strenuous work of Periyar's Self-Respect Movement, people did Self Respect Marriages in large numbers regardless of the enactment of law. For instance, nearly 8000 Self-Respect Marriages were performed from 1929 to 1932.¹⁷ Self-Respect Marriages had been practised in Tamil Nadu for the past 25 years under the auspices of the Purohit Maruppu Sangam. Since it was celebrated in a form not prescribed by Hindu Religion, the Madras High Court declared the Self-Respect Marriage invalid on 26.08.1953 in the case of partition suit between Chidambaram and daughter -in law Deivanai Atchu. Various bills were introduced from 1954 to 1959 to validate the self -Respect Marriages and to legitimize the children who were born out of Self-Respect Marriage. But the bills did not provide retrospective effect while imposing the compulsory registration of such marriages.¹⁸

When the DMK Party formed the Ministry under the leadership of C.N. Annadurai in 1967, it took careful measures in drafting Self-Respect Marriage Bill which should not give any loop holes for its defeat before the court of law. Before introducing the draft in the State Legislative Assembly, it was sent to the High Court Judges and the legal experts secretly tried to eliminate legal flaw in its provisions on the advice of Periyar. Finally, the draft was checked by Periyar while he was in the hospital. He made a suggestion for replacing the word and tying of *thali* with or tying of half. When the Suyamariyathai marriage bill was introduced in the assembly, there

¹⁷ Dinamani, pongal malar, Chennai 1996, p. 205

¹⁸ Sami Chidambaranar VaikomHero, p.9

was no opposition and the bill was unanimously passed. Eventually, the Hindu Marriage (Madras Amendment) Act 1967, amends the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955 (Central Act 25 of 1955), and validates all Suyamariyadha or Seerthirutha Marriages solemnized whether before or after the commencement of the amending Act. Accordingly, new section 7-A in the Central Act 25 of 1955 is inserted.

Importance of the Hindu Marriage (Madras Amendment) Act, 1967

The enactment of the Hindu Marriage (Madras Amendment) Act was an important landmark in the history of Periyar's Self-Respect Movement. Because, the DMK Ministry validated not only the present and future marriages but also provided a retrospective effect of all previous Self-Respect Marriages performed, and legitimized all children who were born out of this marriage. It was a great achievement to Periyar E.V.R. who brought revolutionary social changes by removing the Brahmin's suzerainty over the Dravidians. He also removed superstitious belief of the people particularly in marriages. Also, this Act does not prescribe a condition or a form by which the Self-Respect Marriages are to be celebrated. It approves the methods of Self-Respect Marriage propagated by Periyar to the public from its inception.¹⁹

Thus Self-Respect Marriage endeavours to establish a casteless society and the movement advocated the boycott of Brahmin priest in conducting all ceremonies.

¹⁹ The modern Rationalist vol. IV. No. 8.

Chapter IV

Chapter IV

Role of Women in Self-Respect Movement

In Tamil Nadu many women activists played a vital role in the Self-Respect Movement of Tamil Nadu. This chapter will focus information about women activists from Tamil Nadu who dedicated their lives for social Reformation. Reformation refers to the abolition of some social practices which are deep rooted in the society for centuries. These practices are of great intervention to the development of the country. To achieve this not only men, women also have involved a lot. Among the women activists some of them are worth mentioning. They are RamamirthamAmmaiyar, Nagammaiyar, Dr. S. Dharmmabal, Maniammaiyyar, and Dr. Muthulaksi Reddy.

The roots of the Dravidian movement can be traced to the early twentieth century political activity around the issue of greater representation of Non-Brahmins in the political sphere.¹ The alienation of a growing class of affluent merchants and landowners gave rise to the Justice Party. Sir P.T. ThiagarayaChettiar, Sir P.T. Rajan, and V.V. RamaswamiNadar were a few of the prominent leaders of the party.² C.J. Baker in *The Politics of South India* observed that most industrialists of that period were non-Brahmins.³ In 1921, The Justice Party, put forth a plea for communal representation in government services hoping to attract non Brahmin voters.⁴ By the 1940s, this had evolved into a demand for a separate Dravida Nadu and the party was reconfigured as the DravidaKazhagam.⁵ The Self-Respect Movement begun between 1925 and 1927, merged with a more elite-oriented Dravidianist organization, the

¹ A.R. Venkatachalapathy, "Dravidian Movement and Saivites: 1927-1944", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 8 April, 1995, p.761.

² S. Nanteeswaran, *Socio-Political Awakening in Tamil Nadu, 1852-1917*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Madras, Chennai, 2008, pp.174-176.

³ P. Ramamurti, *The Freedom Struggle and The Dravidian Movement*, Madras, 1987, p.74.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Narendra Subramanian, *Ethnicity and Populist Mobilization: Political Parties, Citizens and Democracy in South India*, New Delhi, 1999, p.16

Justice Party in 1938. The Justice Party, in turn, was renamed the DravidaKazhagam in 1944.⁶

The objective of the Self-Respect Movement was a casteless society and complete equality of the people. This was to be achieved by the eradication of social evils and freeing society from the shackles of slavery, superstitions and blind faith in God and religion. It fought for equality of women in education, employment and property rights and above all the empowerment of women. It also worked to popularise self-respect marriages conducted in the absence of priests and religious rites.

Involvement of Women

The Dravidian movement was successful in allowing women to express themselves on a public platform. Women were able to function as an independent group in organising their own conferences. The movement used these conferences to take up women's issues and encouraged women's participation in politics. The first provincial Self Respect Conference was held at Chengleput; near Madras in 1929.⁷ It discussed issues including the Simon commission and caste oppression. A demand for equal property rights for men and women was made. The Second Conference was held in 1930 at Erode.⁸ The practice of having a separate women's conference along with major self-respect conference became a permanent feature of the movement in the subsequent years. The Second Women Conference held at Virudhunagar in 1931 argued that women should not be recruited only for professions like teaching and

⁶I. Udhayasankar, *Periyar E V. Ramasamy: Communal Justice and Social Recognition*, Chennai, 2006, pp.27-33.

⁷K. Veeramani (ed.), *NamadhuKurikkol*, (Tamil) Madras, 1982, pp.5-12.

⁸*Ibid.*, pp.13, 16-21.

medicine but that they should be inducted into the army and police. They also called for local magistrates to identify those temples which encouraged the devadasis system.

The special women conferences provided an exclusive space for the women activists of the Self Respect Movement. There the women activists articulated themselves on women issues. Their participation in general conferences was also substantial. The responsibility of delivering the inaugural addresses of conferences fell on the shoulders of women activists. In 1931, Indrani Balasubramanian inaugurated the Third Self-Respect Conference at Virudhunagar. In 1932, T.S. Kunchitham inaugurated the Thanjavur District Self-Respect Conference. In 1933 S. Neelavathi inaugurated the Third Thanjavur District Self-Respect Conference. In 1937, Meenambal Sivaraj presided over the Tirunelveli District Third Adi-Dravida Conference. In 1938, the Madurai Self-Respect Conference was inaugurated by Rajammal. In their inaugural addresses, these women speakers narrated the problems and challenges before the women⁹. In the words of Singaravelu Chetti, "Women who have been confined to the kitchen are speaking today from public platforms. They are debating about public issues. They are involved in social work as equals of men. The credit for facilitating all these goes to Periyar.

It was the conference of the Progressive Women's Association, held in Madras in 1938 that bestowed the honorific 'title' Periyar' (The Great One) on E.V. Ramasamy "for his unparalleled activism to transform the South Indian Society".¹⁰ This title became the short-hand for his name all through his life and after.

The anti-Hindi agitations also elicited considerable participation by women. The women wore sarees with the Tamil flag printed on it and chanted anti-Hindi and pro-

⁹ Sumith Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar (ed.), *Women and Social Reform in Modern India A Reader*, Vol. II, New Delhi 2007, pp. 123-124.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 32.

Tamil slogans. A meeting was organised in Madras on September 11, 1938 and was addressed by RamamirthamAmmaiyar, NarayaniAmmaiyar, Va. Ba. ThamaraiKanniAmmaiyar, MunnagaaraAzhagiyar among others. Activists like Dr. Dharmambal, Ramamirthammaiyar, Malar Mugathammar, Seethammal, Unnamulaimmar, BhuvaheswariAmmaiar, Sivasankari, SarojiniAmmaiar, DamakotiAmmaiar, JayalakshmiAmmaiar courted arrested." A total of 73 women were arrested, of which 37 went to jail with infants.

MovalurRamamirthammaiyar

Being a devadasi, MovalurRamamirthammaiyar emerged as an irrepressible activist championing the cause of women, devoting herself to the abolition of the Devadasi system. She brought many Devadasis to Mayawaram in 1925, and conducted marriage for many of them. She authored essays regularly in KudiArasu on the condition of women. In 1936, she published a voluminous novel in Tamil running into 303 pages, with the title, *Tasikalin Mosavalai Allathu Matipettra Mainer* (The Treacherous Net of the Dasis or a Minor Grown Wise).¹¹ She met Dr. S. Muthlakshmi Reddy and conducted many meetings in support of the legislative measures initiated by the later to abolish the devadasi system. At the same time she strongly criticized S. Sathyamurthy who wanted to retain the devadasi system in the name of art and culture.¹² She openly criticized Periyar's decision to marry a 20 woman when he was 60. She even went out of Dravida year old Kazhagam in 1949 to join the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam founded by C.N. Annadurai along with others. Ramamirtham does not represent an average woman activist of the Self Respect Movement, but one

¹¹ MovalurRamamirtham Animal, *TasikalinMosavalaiAllathuMatipettra Mainer*, (Tamil) Madras, 1936.

¹² Valarmathy, M., *MovalurRamamirthamAmmaiyar*, (Tamil), Chennai, 2008, pp.82-83.

who marked the outer limit to which a woman activist of the Movement could reach out

T.S KunjithamGuruswami

On December 8, 1929 the marriage of KunjithamAmmaiar with KuthusiGurusami was concluded in the presence of Periyar and Nagammaiar. KunjithamAmmaiar argued that Indian women were treated as animals and only valued for reproduction purposes. She faulted parents for illiteracy among girls. She taught that women were in no way inferior in their fight for self-respect. She attended the Tamil Conference on 6 August 1932 at Tiruchirappalli. The conference began with the musical invocation to the God Shiva. Kunjitham objected it and argued that the Self-Respectors should be allowed to sing one of their songs.¹³

SivagamiAmmaiar and S. NeelavathiAmmaiar.

SivagamiAmmaiar was married at the age of 11 and she sslost her husband just three months after the marriage. At 18, she remarried with the help of MovalurRamamirthamAmmaiar. Her speeches condemned blind faith in palmistry and horoscopes. NeelavathiAmmaiar married Ramasubramaniam in the presence of Periyar and Nagammaiar, without the knowledge or consent of family. She wrote prolifically on subjects like the fall of Hindu religion and growth of other religions due to untouchability and despair of widows; the future of India and Self-Respect movement, the position of girls and duties of youth; women's organisations and the position of women; and the slavery of women and male domination.¹⁴

Miranda Gajendran

¹³ M. Valarmathi, *SuyaMariyadailyakkaVeeranganaigal* (Tamil), TamizhmathiPathipakkam, Thanjavur, 2002, pp. 15-23.

¹⁴ V. Geetha, S.V. Rajadurai, op.cit., p.486

Miranda Gajendran was an active self Respector, who dedicates her life for the sake of spreading self-Respect ideals in the nook and corner of Tamil Nadu. She organized self-Respect conferences and invited many women to participate in such conferences. She insisted that education is the only way for the women liberation. She severely criticized the existing customs and convention which she called traditional evils and that evils should be removed from the tradition based Hindu society. In her view, the women were in life long slavery and the reason for it the traditional practices and male dominated society. She involved in the struggle for a separate Dravida State.

Neelambikai Ammaiyar

Neelambikai Ammaiyar's writings survived the social criticisms of those days. Her works involved the translation and incorporation of literary works of Thiruvaasagam, Thevaram, writings of Ramalinga Adigal and Periyar and was thus as an amalgam of the freedom movement, Tani Thamizh Iyakkam, religious and atheist work – a wide spectrum indeed. She appreciated women who stepped away from their traditional roles in the patriarchal society. She presided over the most momentous conference organized by women of Self-Respect Movement on 13 November 1938, which named E.V. Ramasami as 'Periyar'.

Periyar's unparalleled efforts to the live of the people of Tamilnadu, especially women, brought about a radical change in the lives and aspirations of the women. Activists have played a role in alleviating the degree of suppression of women in various spheres. Powerful articulation of women leaders of the Self-Respect Movement spread wave of a awareness among the mass invariably large number of women began to get associated with the freedom struggle. Furthermore, Periyar

devised his entire program of self-respect movement by giving full accommodation to women which led to mass mobilization. Periyar's Self-Respect ideals and rationalist thoughts broke fresh grounds from tradition and religion and his efforts in women's cause marked a distinct path breaking advance. He condemned religious scriptures that tranquilized women's life. Though many women had actively participated in the Dravidian movement, not much has been written about them.

Chapter V

CHAPTER V

ACHIEVEMENTS OF SELF RESPECT MOVEMENT

Self-Respect Movement was instrumental in Tamil Nadu to create awareness amongst themselves, as one community. The Self-Respect movement brought the message of the Tamil Nationalism to the masses. It gave strength to the weak and hope to the forlorn, for people groping in the dark seeking identity and respectability, against the heritage of untouchability, segregation and denial of fundamental rights.

Self Respect Marriage

Self-respect Marriages was an important aspect of Self-respect Movement. The movement initiated special type of reform marriage not inviting Brahmin priest and not observing rites and rituals. Post independence, Tamil Nadu passed a law and become the first state to legalise Hindu marriage without Brahmin priest. Thus, it played an important role in religious reforms.¹

Inter-dining

The practice of having separate dining places for Brahmins in every hotel or earmarking separate eating places in public feasts was slowly given up owing to the agitation of the volunteers of the movement irrespective of any caste.

Social Awakening

It was largely responsible for making an effective change in the social life of the vast majority of people through its ceaseless propaganda against superstitious beliefs, based upon religious traditions.²

¹ Karunanandam, S., *Thanthai Periyar*, Madras, 1979, p.75.

² Mangala Murugesan, N.K., *Self Respect Movement in Tamilnadu 1920-1940*, Madurai, p.83.

Empowerment of Women

Self Respect Movement advocated enlightened ideas even before the developed countries enabled their women to attain legitimate rights in society. It induced women to develop self respect, organise themselves and come forward and fight social discrimination. It also adopted guidelines to empower women and made effective propaganda for women rights and thus the gender relationships were actively divorced from Brahmanical patriarchy and women's rights over their physical, sexual and reproductive choices were celebrated.³

Women Rights

Upliftment of women was one of the objectives of Self Respect Movement and Periyar was a great champion of Women rights and their equal status in the society. His movement advocated that women should be given equal rights along with men in the family property. It also suggested for women getting job and remuneration on the basis of their qualification and equality.

Abolition of Caste System

In its caste eradication programme, the movement insisted on the removal of caste marks and caste names. No one in the movement was allowed to wear the sectarian caste marks of faith on his forehead. The propaganda of the Self - Respect Movement against the practice of using caste names such as Pillai, Gounder, Naidu and Mudaliar resulted in the discontinuance of such appellations among the educated and enlightened people.⁴ The movement encouraged inter-caste and inter-religious marriages to abolish caste system

³ Veeramani, K., *Periyar on Women Rights*, p.62

⁴ Thandavan, R., *The Dravidian Movement*, The Academy of Public Affairs, Chennai, 2001, p.28.

totally.

Abolition of Child Marriage

Child marriage and Devadasi system were the barbarious practices existed in the society. The girl children who were not in a position to understand the meaning of the word 'widow' become child widows and their conditions were pathetic. Therefore this movement fought against the child marriage and stressed the need of widow remarriage.⁵

Removal of Untouchability

Removal of untouchability was one of the main objectives of Self Respect movement as the untouchables were being socially oppressed and the economically exploited. The movement strongly advocated the removal of social disabilities from which the untouchables were suffering and did so.⁶

Anti-Hindi Agitations

Between 1925 and 1937 the Self-Respect Movement steadily grew in strength and popular support. In 1937 under the New India Act the Congress came into power, C. Rajagopalachari was the Chief Minister. One of the early acts of this Ministry was to introduce a bill to make Hindi a compulsory subject in the High Schools. E.V.R led the protest which was violently opposed by Government. Viduthalai was publishing a number of articles and statements against Hindi, the government framed charges against that paper. The publisher of the paper E.V. Krishnasami and its editor Pandit Muthusami Pillai were accused of anti-Governmental attitude and were brought for trial. The court convicted them to six months imprisonment each for indulging in anti

⁵ Kudi Arasu, 22 August 1926.

⁶ Udhayasankar, I., Periyar E.V. Ramasamy: Communal Justice and Social Recognition, The Academy of Public Affairs, Chennai, 2006, p. 104.

governmental activities. This repressive measure had unforeseen consequences. When the police were forced to open fire, two members of the Self-Respect Movement were unfortunately killed, because of the vehement opposition to the measure, the Madras Government compromised by making Hindi not a compulsory but an optional subject in High Schools. E.V.R felt that Hindi was connected with Brahminism and Aryan culture.³¹

Anti Brahmanism

The monopoly of power and influence enjoyed by the Brahmins was slowly lost due to E.V.R.' and his Self Respect Movements unceasing propaganda against orthodoxy. It filled with the sense of self-respect and above all self- confidence, to fight against social injustice perpetrated by the Brahmins of the day. The practice of having separate dining places for Brahmins in every hotel or earmarking separate eating places in public feasts was slowly given up owing to the agitation of the volunteers of the movement. It was due to their relentless fight that the name boards of the hotels were changed from "Brahmins Hotel" into mere "Vegetarian Hotel".⁷ The system of allotting separate places for Harijan members in the Municipal Councils was also discontinued. Owing to its influence, several people gave up their titles and took pride in publishing their names in Kudi Arasu.

The Self-Respect Movement played a significant role in the political, social and religious life of the people of South India. It was largely responsible for making an effective change in the social life of the vast majority of people through its ceaseless propaganda against superstitious beliefs, based upon religious traditions.

⁷ Anitha Diehti, *Periyar E.V.Ramasami*, New Delhi, 1978, p.52

It popularized and perpetuated the assumption that the non- Brahmins were of Dravidian origin and the original inhabitants of South India and the Brahmins were Aryan invaders from the North. Thus, it was instrumental in non-Brahmin communities of Tamil Nadu to create awareness amongst themselves, as one community. The Self-Respect movement brought the message of the Tamil Nationalism to the masses. In short, Self-Respect Movement may be defined as a social organization whose aim was to reconstruct society on a human and rational basis and to destroy caste - root and branch and ultimately destroy Hindu religion as popularly understood and practised.

In 1944, Justice Party was rechristened as Dravida Kazhagam. The Self-Respect Movement and Dravida Kazhagam since 1944 became one and the same. During the last days of E.V.R., he struggled hard for the abolition of caste system. After Self Respect Movement he conducted number of Movements to reform the society till his death.

Conclusion

CONCLUSION

The Self Respect Movement which was organised by Periyar was very particular that the root cause of all evils can be found in religion. E.V.R had the opinion that man is disgraced by caste and the caste is disgraced by religion. He observed that religion was a disease and the society was affected by this disease since the Brahmins were regarded as the custodians of Hinduism. The Self Respect Movement organised by Periyar separated the Brahmins from the rest of the society and criticised the Brahmins responsible for all social evils. The Self Respect Movement of Periyar firmly believed that Brahmins used religion for dominating others. Self Respect Movement replaced Hindu religion with rationalism. Rationalism is based on reason. Religion is based on faith. Brahmins stood for faith and Periyar who opposed the Brahmins stood for reason. On the basis of reason Periyar opposed the existence of Almighty. The questioning concept of almighty propagates Atheism. Hence Periyar is known as an atheist.

wedding is based on rationalism or reason. In Self Respect Marriages the status of women is raised on par with men. Periyar had a strong thirst that women should be relieved from the age old traditions and bondage and exploitation. Periyar advocated birth control. So far as Periyar is concerned women were not child producing machines. The Government of India also has been propagating birth control. Though it is based on economic grounds Periyar's concept of birth control stands on the rights of women. Whatever might be the case of Periyar's concept of birth control concurs with the policy of Government of India. In this respect Periyar can be deemed as the

forerunner of the policy of birth control in India.

Periyar vehemently opposed prostitution. Prostitution is the worst form of exploitation in women. Periyar criticizes prostitution as a crime. The doctrine of Prostitution cannot be accepted because it enslaves women. So Periyar stood against prostitution. He condemned the prevalence of the Devadasi system. If women should get true Independence, men should give them equal status. They should be provided with property rights also. The opinion that women are weak by nature and they have been created to be under the protection of men should drastically change. When women are not provided with property rights they developed the feeling of subordination and fear. Subordination and fear stood in the way of their enjoyment of independent existence. At present the Government has been enacting many legislations to provide share in the ancestral property to women. This does not mean offering dowry. Periyar categorically ascertain that though property rights are to be

provided to women yet the demand of dowry by the male side should by all means be made null and void.

Periyar's view on love, chastity, marriage, widow re marriage, birth control and property rights bring out Periyar's concern to uplift the status of women. In Periyar's idea men are keeping women as decorative animals. Men also think that adorning women is better than giving them education, knowledge and self-respect and therefore they help them to buy clothes, powder and other cosmetics. As a result of the steps taken by Periyar women are enjoying property rights, education, job reservation and they get social status. Periyar worked hard to get this equal right for women. Because of his strenuous steps the Government enacted a series of women's property rights like the Hindu women's right to property Act, (XVIII) of 1937, Hindu succession Act 1956, The Hindu succession Act 1989 and The Hindu Succession Act 2002.

Thus Periyar has been supporting the cause of women, widows and children. Widow remarriage was approved by Periyar. When men are given the chance of marrying again Periyar insisted that widow should also permitted to marry again. Periyar opposed child marriage. Due to these humane activities Periyar has been acclaimed as the social reformer and the father of Tamilnadu.

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**MAHABALIPURAM –An Iconographical Hub of
Tamil Nadu**

A project submitted to

**St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi
affiliated to**

Manonmaniam Sundaranar University

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

Master of Arts in History

By

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St. Mary's College (Autonomous)

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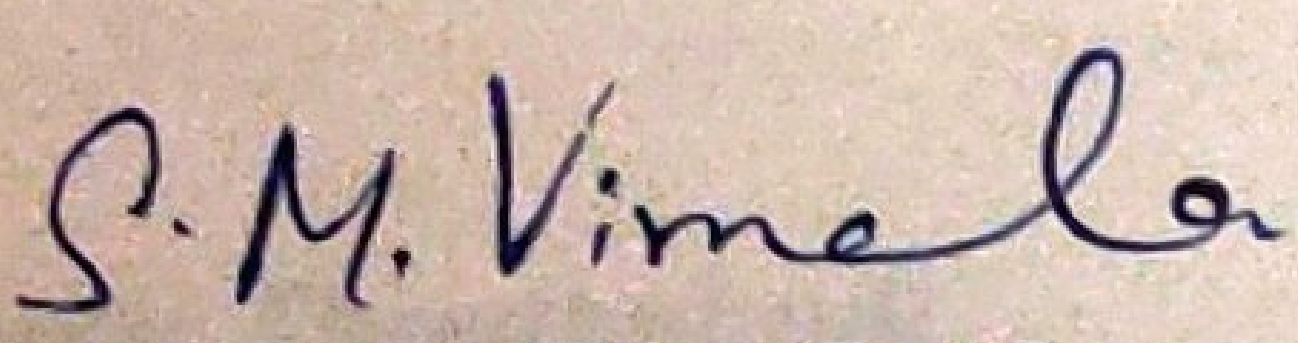
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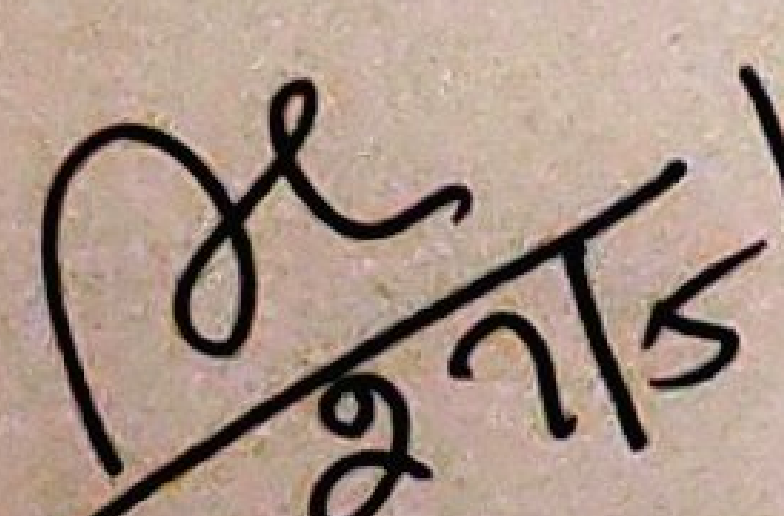
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the project entitled "**MAHABALIPURAM – An Iconographical Hub of Tamil Nadu**", submitted to **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi**, affiliated to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi**, for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History and is a work done during the year 2021 - 2022 by **P.Thiyoditta Fernando**, a bonafide student of Department of History, **St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi**.


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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled “**MAHABALIPURAM – Iconographical Hub of Tamil Nadu**” submitted to **St. Mary's College (Autonomous) Thoothukudi** affiliated to the **Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli**, for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History, is my original work and it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

Place: Thoothukudi

Date:

Signature of the Candidate

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INTROUCTION

Mamallapuram situated on the seashore is essentially an ocean of artistic aspiration of a Pallava king, Rajasimha (700 CE) who called himself an 'Ocean of Arts', Kala Samudrah. He was no doubt steeped in Indian religious sethos, myths and legends, music and dance and all the finer things in life. To express them, he assumed different titles that are found engraved at Mamallapuram and Kanchipuram. But it was his creative genius in the field of poetry both visual and verbal (drsya kavya and sravya kavya) that exemplified in his sculptural art.

Mamallapuram is the ancient name of the town Mahabalipuram on the coast of Tamil Nadu. The name is derived from the word 'Mallal' which means prosperity in Tamil. Once upon a time backwaters entered deep into the township at its western end. The natural advantage enable Mamallapuram to allow heavy boats as well as small ships laden with goods to enter and anchor on its shores. There are several allusions in early Tamil Literature to the overseas trade and prosperous commerciality of the town where ships entered and left the port with commodities.

According to a legend, it was only in the 16th century that the name of the town changed to Mahabalipuram, after the name of the demon king Mahabali who in the Vamana avatara, dwarf incarnation of Lord Vishnu, gifted three steps of land to the Lord in his cosmic form.

Mamallapuram seems to have been an important centre for the Cholas who ruled during the early mediaval period (850-1279). Salt productions was a royal prerogative in ancient times. Some of the large salt pans used for manufacturing salt form sea water, both in the north and south of Mamallapuram, bear the names of the ruling Chola monarchs. Salt production was an important activity in Mamallapuram

as can be seen from an inscription which refers to an ‘Alam’ meaning salt pan in the village.

The ancient port town was mainly connected to the Pallava capital Kanchipuram. Kanchipuram was the most important city in the northern part of Tamil Nadu for over two thousand years, before the seventeenth century, when Madraspattanam (modern Madras, now renamed Chennai) began assuming importance with the advent of the British East India Company. Mamallapuram was connected to Kanchipuram by two routes, one is the inland route, via Thirumukkudal and Thirukkalukkundram, and the second by a waterway. The River Palaru, which skirted Kanchipuram, reaches the Bay of Bengal at a place called Vayalur, about ten Kilometres south of Mamallapuram. So, one can reach Mamallapuram easily through this route.

Pallava monuments, especially of Rajasimha, the creator of the monuments, are to be found on both the routes from Kanchi. At Thirukalukkundram there is a lofty Hill of Vultures with a Pallava temple built on top of the hill. Nearby is a place Vallam. Where two excavated cave temples of Mahendra Varman I, 600 CE are found. At Vayalur, there is an old Shiva temple, which has a Pallava pillar built at the entrance gateway listing fifty-four generations of Pallava rulers, beginning from mythical Brahma down to the reign of Rajasimha. It has been suggested that this pillar was intended to perpetuate the coronation of Rajasimha. Mamallapuram’s trade connection with the Pallava capital ought to have enhanced its prosperity.

Around the fifth-sixth centuries, Vaishnava saint Bhutattalvar was born at Mamallapuram. He is considered to be one among the three early Vaishnava saints (Mudal-Alvar-Muvar). The character of the town, which was essentially a

commercial town since its foundation, now changed into a religious one as it soon became a sacred Centre of pilgrimage. Bhutattalvar has sung about different Vaishnava settlements in the South as well as Mamallapuram.

Around the middle of the seventh century (650 CE), the then Pallava ruler Narasimha Varman I, sent a successful naval expedition to Sri Lanka, in order to help his friend Manavarman regain his lost throne. Narasimha Pallava, who had the title 'Mamalla' was supposed to have sent his naval fleet from this port town, which he renamed as Mamallapuram. Though it became a pilgrim centre, it also continued to remain a commercial town as is denoted by the term 'puram'. Though Mamalla's name is associated with this town.

There is also no record of his successors till the reign of Rajasimha around 690 CE. But from about 690, for nearly forty years, the town changed its garb and was teeming with artists, and visits of the king, his queens, and retinue, who swarmed the place to see the magnificent creations. The place seemed to come alive with art and artists. The puranic legends, that had long filled the hearts of people through oral traditions, suddenly sprang into visual forms to the delight of the onlookers. The charming legend of Krishna lifting the Govardhana Hill, to provide shelter to the cowherds, to save them from the torrential rain let loose by Indra the king of Gods; the story of Arjuna, one of the heroes of Mahabharata, doing severe penance on the slopes of the Himalayas beside the river Ganga to obtain Pashupata Astra, a weapon from Lord Shiva, with celestials and terrestrial thronging to the site to have a glimpse of this extraordinary scene; the legend of the great victory attained by the Goddess Durga over the arrogant buffalo headed demon, Mahishasura; the tale of Vishnu assuming the form of a wild boar, Varaha and plunging into the ocean to bring the submerged Goddess, Mother Earth; Vishnu taking three strides to subdue the demon

king Mahabali; and that of the charming Goddess Lakshmi, personification of beauty and feminine tenderness all these familiar legends sprang alive, casting a spell of wonder and admiration. The incessant sound of chisels, the majesty of the king's retinue, the movement of hovering horses, and the excited chattering of people must have undoubtedly made Mamallapuram a wonderland. The visitor to this sought-after tourist destination can experience Dravidian art and architecture at its best in the many magnificent temples and exquisite sculptures.

Aims and Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to give introduction to the various features about the monolithic Seven Pagodas, sculptures temples and pallava Architecture. This deals with heritage monuments under the jurisdiction of ASI, more particularly pertaining to the studies of Shore Temple at Mamallapuram. The primary objective of ASI is to reserve and conserve the country's cultural heritage for the benefit of the future generations. By this study it will help you to explore the town and its beautiful monuments in detail.

Sources of Study

Different sources have been used to trace the 'Mahabalipuram – Cultural Hub of Tamil Nadu'. Source materials have been classified into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are mainly based on Newspapers and Reports. The secondary sources are mainly books, journals, and website related to virtual treasure trove of Mahabalipuram.

Methodology

The methodology adopted in this study is analytical and descriptive method. The source material have been critically analysed and investigated. The descriptive method is used in the presentation of the study in order to make the project understandable to the readers.

Outline of the Chapters

The project is divided into ten chapters excluding Introduction and Conclusion.

- ❖ The first chapter, '**History of Mahabalipuram**' elucidates the history of the rulers and builders of Mahabalipuram.
- ❖ The second chapter, '**Monolithic Temple**'expores the Seven Pagodas and Pallava contribution.
- ❖ The third chapter, '**Cave Temple**' crystallized the various stye of Pallava Temples.
- ❖ The fourth chapter, '**Structural Temple**'describes aboutthe fascinating shrine of Shore Templ, Arjuna's Penance with immense mythologies.
- ❖ The fifth chapter, '**Pallava Art and Architecture**'deals with Pallava chronologival sstyle architecture, sculpture painting and art.

HISTORY OF MAHABALIPURAM

The history of Mahabalipuram dates back to two thousand years. It was a flourishing seaport even at the beginning of the Christian era¹. There were references to it in the Greek work of the 1st century AD, periplus of the Erythraean Sea and also by Ptolemy, and the Greek geographer of the 2nd century. Many Indian colonists have traveled to South East Asia from this port town. This was a centre of pilgrimage for centuries. Mahabalipuram was essentially a victory memorial city.

Mamallan Narasimha Pallavan defeated Chalukya king Pulakesin II in 642 AD and sacked his capital Vatapi. With the enormous fortune that he brought from his conquest, he embellished the city of Mahabalipuram with several beautiful buildings and monuments. Starting from the 6th century AD, the Pallava dynasty ruled over parts of Northern Tamil Nadu for about 400 years. Their capital city was Kanji or Kanchipuram, better known now under its anglicized name Conjeevaram, but Kanchi is still the Tamil form. Mamallapuram was their seaport.

Nomenclature

In ancient times even before the Pallava came on the scene, this place was known by the name ‘Mallai’ or ‘Kadalmallai’. Mamallapuram or Mahabalipuram (also, stylishly called as “Mahabs” nowadays) is a small town located near Chennai city in South India. Vaishanava saint Bhoothath Thazhvar, one of the 12 Aahwars was born here. This has also remained a centre pilgrimage and Saint Thirumangai Azhvar has rendered hymns in praise of this place. Mahabalipuram was a trading centre even in the 1st and 2nd century AD, visited among others by the Greeks.

¹ Srinivas – J. Prabhakar. *Mahabalipuram a Journey through a magical land*, Thanha thaamarai Publication, 2019, p.10-11.

Among the textual reference are- Peripuls of the Erythrean Sea (1st century CE), a Greek navigation book, that mentions Mamallapuram as 'Malange'. Which gives it a more remote antiquity. Hiuen Tsang (7th century CE) in his travel records also talks to Mahabalipuram, terming it as a Pallava sea port. Marcopolo in his travel book mention the Shore Temple referring to it as Seven Pagodas. It has also been referred in European literature of the 14th century as the 'place of seven pagodas' or the place of seven temples. The monument and the temples Mamallapuram were designed by the Pallava rulers during the 7th and 8th century AD. In the development of architecture and sculpture, the contribution of the Pallava kings is noteworthy.

The name Mamallapuram itself is derived only from the title 'Mamallan', which means 'the Great Wrestler' of as the coastal town was under the Pallavas and all the monuments in the town were the creations of the Pallava kings such as Mamallan, this theory holds true than the other theories. There are few people who believe that it was the city of Bali, the Asura King, and they relate some mythological stories of Bali and his grandson Banasura to this city; they also claim that it was due to that it got name as "Mahabalipuram". However, there are no proper reference or records for such claims. This town is one of the important tourist sites in the entire South India. The majority of the monuments belong to the times of Narasimha Varman. The rest of the monuments belong to the period of his successors Parameswara Varman and Rajasimha Pallavan. While the credit for designing the temples by scoopint them out of living rocks, discarding perishable materials like brick, timber, metal or mortar, goes to king Mahendra Varman, it is the kings Narasimha Varman, Parameswara

Varman and Rajasimha who were responsible for Mamallapuram attaining international fame for its sculptural splendor.²

Rajasimha, the Builder

Mamallapuram was probably established as a port by Narasimha I after his title 'Mamalla'. Rajasimha's monuments are found at Kanchipuram, Panamalai, Vayalur, Thirupporur, Thirukkalukkundram, Dalavanur, and Mamallapura, in Pallava country, and also at Thiruppattur near Thiruchirappalli³. There are excavated cave temples, rock cut monoliths, open air bas-reliefs, and structural temples. He employed variations in scripts, like simple Pallava Grantha, ornate Pallava Grantha, Grantha in which calligraphic letters resemble birds, animals and reptiles, and finally simple and ornate Nagari script. Also, at different places he chose different modes of expression. For example, at Kanchi, he arranges over three hundred of his titles in alphabetical order, writing each title in four different scripts. At Vayalur, he tabulated a list of fifty four Pallava kings, beginning from the first known king, arranged in order of succession, till his own times each of his known monuments is laid out different in plan, elevation, and distribution of sculptures. His choice of the sites to build his monumental temples, on top of a hill at Panamalai, among the plain fields at Kanchipuram, and on the seashore at Mamallapuram, depicts his fascination for natural environments.

Passion Towards

Rajasimha was born to Pallava Parameshvara, the conqueror of the Chalukya Ranarasika Vikramaditya I. He call Pallavas as pious princes who destroyed the pride

²James G.Lochtefeld, *The Illustrated Encyclopedias of Hinduism*, The Rosen Publishing Group, 2002, p.399.

³George Michell, *The Hindu Temple, An Introduction to its meaning and forms*, University of Chicago Press, 1977, pp.131-134.

of the evil dark age. According to him, the Pallavas were supposed to be truthful, profoundly learned princes who know how to practice the Trivarga, who assiduously honoured aged people, subdued lust and other internal foes, excelled in the knowledge of weapons, and were mighty people endowed with polity and modesty.

He was probably named Narasimha II after his great grandfather and assumed the title 'Rajasimha' upon coronation. He was proud of his race and was known as the 'Sun among the Pallavas', an ornament to his family, and 'Vrisha-dhvaka', virtually the fluttering flag of his family. Rajasimha's military powers is evident from his various titles such as 'Aparajita' (the Invincible), 'Ranajayah' (conqueror of battles), 'Chakravarti' (an emperor), and 'Dura-darshi' (one with a vision). He always preferred the path of righteousness and followed the rules enjoined in ancient traditional treatises. Rajasimha was a great scholar who rules according to the various branches of knowledge (Shastra drishti). He was endowed with active habits (Nityotsaha) and was an expert (Upaya-Nipuna) at handling things. He was also an accomplished musician, especially well –versed in playing stringed instruments, particularly the vina, and was compared to the great sage Narada. He had an outstanding personality among men and considered righteous conduct as his armour (dharma-kavachah). He called himself as Kanchi Mahamunih, the crest jewel of the city of Kanchi.

There are several titles that denote his passion for arts. One of his significant titles, Kala 'samudrah' reveals that he was obviously inspired by his illustrious predecessor Mahendra Varman, who styled himself as a tiger among artists. His title 'Mahendra-Parakramah' (one who equaled Mahendra in his achievements) explicitly indicated this. His love of arts extended beyond sculptural art to music and dance, and is shown by titles such as Vadya Vidyadhara, celestial musician in playing

instruments, Vina Narada and Atodya Tumburu, Sage Tumburu in playing musical instruments. His great fascination for the epics Ramayana and Mahabharata (Itihasa-Priyah) also suggests that he was fond of creating history. Rajasimha seems to have concentrated on increasing the greatness of his country (Desa-varadhanah).

Religious Learnings

In this religious leanings, particularly through temple-building and institutionalizing worship, he strictly followed the ritual treatises called Agamas. Titles like Iahana-sharanah, 'Devadeva bhaktah', and 'Isjvara bhaktah' illustrate his Shiva bhakti. Most of this creations at Mamallapuram and elsewhere are dedicated to Shiva. Rajasimha himself assumed the titles of Narasimha, Simha Vishnu, etc. by his time in 700 CE, the Agamic Literature seems to have been well codified, declares that, he was a follower of Agamas (Agamanusari) and took the Agamas as the authoritative and guiding principles (Agama Pramanah). He was the first ruler to declare that he followed the various teaching of Shaiva-siddhanta marga and got all his impurities cleaned according to it.

A study of the Mamallapuram monuments in the context of these extraordinary qualities possessed by Rajaimha significantly alters the perception of these beautiful creations. The several caves, monoliths, open-air sculptures at Mamallapuram exhibit a unique creativity and innovation that differs from others found elsewhere.⁴

Mamallapuram is the only place where the concept of art forms assumes primary importance and the religious and legendary themes play only a subsidiary role. The sculptors cut out monoliths, excavated temples in cave or open rocks,

⁴ Vora, K.H. and Sundares, S., *Mahabalipuram: A Saga of Glory to Tribulations, Migration and Diffusion*, Vol.IV, 2003, pp.67-68.

choosing the rocks on the basis of their natural formation like Arjuna's penance on the banks of celestial Ganaga, or the hill lifted by Krishna, or the location of Vishnu reclining right on the waves of the ocean on which he sleeps, all portrays an artistic sensitivity. Every curve and position of the sculptures vividly portrays a supremely elegant conception.

The line rarity and spatiality of the figures carved in the rocks impart a fullness to them that captivates the onlooker's imagination. The monoliths, i.e., the rathas, too, are unique, where each temple is presented as a sculpture. The Mahishasura Mardini cave where the sculptures makes one feel the rage with which adamant demonic power is annihilated by the Goddess Mahishasura Mardini, the feminine power par excellence.

Fall of the Pallava Dynasty

Rajasimha's successor Nandivarman had to struggle throughout his long rule to hold on to his throne. After the death of Narassimhavarman II, the Pallava Dynasty weakened considerably. Narasimhavarman's son Paramesvaran II (728-731 CE), was defeated by the Chalukyas at the Pallava stronghold of Kanchi. After three short years of reign, Parameswaran died, ending the Simhavishnu line of Pallavas, or the direct line of the Pallava dynasty. The Pallava dynasty finally fell with the death of Pallava descendant Aparajitavarman (880-897 CE), and the wonders of Mahabalipuram, for a time, lay forgotten.

Prominent Theories

Currently there are two prominent theories about the authorship of the Mamallapuram monuments. One holds that on the basis of stylistic variation, three

periods can be distinguished-Mahendra style, Mamalla style, and Rajasimha style. This theory holds that work at Mamallapuram was started by Narasimha I and continued by successive rulers till the end of Rajasimha's reign. This means that all the rulers from Mamalla's time took interest in these excavations, continued the work simultaneously on all the monuments were left unfinished. The stylistic evolution is sought to be shown through the designs of pillars, deep or shallow carvings of the figures and some other peculiar features.

The other theory is that all the monuments were the creations of one king, namely Rajasimha. This theory is based on the unimpeachable evidence of inscriptions, which consist of foundation records, claiming that they were made by the king Rajasimha. Many records found in different monuments are repetitions of the records of the same king. The theory is also based on the study of Rajasimha's extraordinary personality. The Mamallapuram creations are first and foremost artistic expression of his passions and religious fervor is only secondary. All these monuments are the creations with an extraordinary aesthetic perception.

Although all the scholars agree that the monuments of Mamallapuram were done by the pallava kings, there is no consensus among the scholars on the exact builder. Nevertheless, it is commonly accepted that the work on the monuments started during the reign of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (630-668 CE).⁵ He was also called as "Mamallan" against whom the city is named. This king's predecessor Mahendravarman (590-630 CE) was the pioneer in rock cut temples and structural temples in Tamil Nadu.

Before his period, the temples in this region were built using mortar, wood, metal or brick. Following Mamallan, the Pallava kings such as Mahendravarman II

⁵ Krishna Kumar T. K., *Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram for Beginners)*, 2019.

(668-672 CE), Parameshavaravarman I (672-700 CE), and Narasimhavarman II Rajasimha (700-728 CE) are believed to have contributed to the monuments of Mamallapuram.

Among the textual references are - Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (1st century CE), a Greek navigation book, that mentions Mamallapuram, calling it a thriving port; while Ptolemy (2nd century CE), refers to Mahabalipuram as Malange. Hiuen Tsang (7th century CE) in his travel records also talks of Mamallapuram, terming it as a Pallava sea port. The Vaishnava saint Tirumangai Alwar in his work Nalayiraprabandha (8th century CE), described the bustling port town and wrote of the numerous ships anchored in the harbour.

Monolithic Temples

The antique stone architecture of Mahabalipuram speaks about the stone carving history of Mahabalipuram. The fascinating towers of famous “Store Temple” which is one of the “Seven Pagodas” were constructed by King Narasimha Varman in 18th century during Pallava period. The five monolithic Rathas (chariots) are carved in granite and can be seen in pyramidal structures and are named as Dharmaraja Ratha, Bhima Ratha, Arjuna Ratha, Draupadi Ratha, and Nakul Sahadev Ratha. These Rathas are carved from one single piece of stone which is an interesting attribute. The world famous Arjuna’s Penance which is an episode from Hindu epic Mahabharata is excellently composed with great passion to represent classical essence. Dharmaraja Ratha with its highly skilled carvings involves complicated decorative forms. The monolithic rock-cut architecture of Varaha cave temple is a testimony to creative imagination. All these monuments are the outstanding examples of Pallavas Art and Architecture and remarkable in Indian cultural heritage.⁶

RATHAS

Mahendra Varman (600-630 CE) introduced the cave style of Temple Architecture in South. In Mahabalipuram, we can find a group of boulder formations on the seashore, out of which numerous cave temples. Sculptures and monolithic temples have been carved out. These monolithic temples or Rathas are known as the “Seven Pagodas”, though now only five exist. These Rathas are named after the five Pandava brothers and their wife Draupadi. These are not really chariots or cars. They are simply temples intended for the worship of Siva, Durga and some other unknown

⁶ Aruna Ghose, *India*, Penguin Press, 2016, p.582.

deities. There are a total of ten monolith temples cut out of single rocks in different parts of Mamallapuram. The most famous and beautiful monolithic temples are found together in a cluster at the Southern end of the village and are popularly known as the 'Pancha Pandava Rathas' or 'The Five Rathas'. Three of the rathas are located at the western end of the village and one is behind the great bas-relief of Arjuna's penance. The last one, in a rudimentary stage of cutting, lies in front of the Mahishasura Mardini cave near the modern lighthouse.

The temples that are the abodes of Gods are generally called Vimana, that is celestial vehicles. The tradition of shaping the temple structure like a celestial chariot was a popular one. Hence, calling these temples as vimanas or rathas by the people of Mamallapuram is in tune with public perception.

Five Rathas

Rathas exhibit splendid forms of South Indian art and architecture. These have been carved out during the reign of Narahimja Varman in the 7th century. 'The Five Rathas' are named after the Pancha Pandavas or the five Pandava brothers Dharmaraja, Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula, and as Sahadeva. They were the heroes of the Mahabharata and have dominated public imagination for a long time. As such, anything grouped into five used to be named after the Pancha Pandavas. The group of five rathas thus came to be named Pancha Pandava Rathas. Among the five rathas, the one on the extreme south is the tallest with three storeys, and presents a dignified look. It was called Dharmaraja ratha by the people, named after the eldest brother. The second is a rectangular, wagon roofed ratha, bulky in appearance and appropriately named Bhima ratha. The third ratha from the south is slightly shorter, yet charming, and came to be named after the third brother Arjuna. The fourth ratha

at the northern end, resembling a simple thatched hut, houses an image of the Goddess Durga in its sanctum, and hence, is known as Draupadi ratha. These four rathas are in one line running south to north. Another one standing to the west of this group, is an apsidal temple named after the last of the five brothers, as Sahadeva ratha. The five monoliths named Pancha Pandava rathas have a poetic charm rooted in traditional Indian ethos.⁷

The first temple at the northern end is the Draupathi Ratha dedicated to Goddess Durga. The next temple to the South is Arjuna Ratha, which is dedicated to Lord Shiva. Bhima Ratha, dedicated to Mahavishnu Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha dedicated to Indra, the rain God. The last and the tallest of all is Dharmaraja Ratha salutes Hari-Hara (Shiva-Vishnu) and Ardhanareeswara, the Shiva-Parvathi combine.

The Arjuna Ratha is almost a replica of Dharmaraja Ratha. There are carved panels on all sides, with figures of dvarapalas - the guards, ascetics, royal couples, Shiva leaning on Nandi, Indra on elephant Airavatha and Vishnu leaning on Garuda. To the west of the Temple, projects a small portico, which has pilasters with squatting lions.

The Bhima Ratha is elongated on a rectangular base and is supported lengthwise by four lion pillars and two pilasters, both in the front and in the back. It replicates a Buddhist chaitya, i.e., temple. It does not contain any figure carvings. The Nakula Sahadeva Ratha is an apsidal one with ornamental features. This extends slightly forward to the south to form a porch supported by two lion pillars.⁸ There are no figure carvings in this temple too. At Dharmaraja Ratha, we can see the realistic

⁷ Nagaswamy, R., *Mahabalipuram Monumental Legacy*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp.81-82.

⁸ Srinivas – J. Prabhakar. *Mahabalipuram a journey through a magical land*, Thangathamari Pathippagam, 2019., P.75-81.

life size sculptures in the panels on all the four sides of the lower tier. On the east side- northeast corner is Ardhanaareeswara, a combination of Shiva and Parvathi in a single figure.

These Rathas resemble pagodas and are mini-shrines chiseled out of huge boulders in the form of temple chariots, but in different styles. They are known as Pancha Pandava Rathas. Four of them have been named after four of the five Mahabharatha heroes, while the fifth has been named after their spouse Draupadi. These Five Rathas are in one place. There are four more Rathas one near Arjuna's Penance and the other three on the outskirts. The Dharmaraja Ratha is the biggest and the best of the Five Rathas. This lofty two-stored structure is a gallery of art.

All these Rathas highlight the Pallava genius for variety in art forms. Five Rathas is one of the much widely visited monuments in Mamallapuram. Four out of five rathas are carved out of a single whale-back rock which has a gradual increase in height from north to south. Some of the rathas here might have been completed even by Narasimhavarman's successor, Parameshvaravarman.⁹

Draupadi Ratha

Draupadi Ratha is the smallest ratha of the group and is located on the northern end, and is built in the form of a hut. Huts of similar shape are represented in the Amaravati sculptures (Madras Museum). The roof of the ordinary hut was of thatch, resting on curved bamboo supports, but those used for temples may have been overlaid with sheets of copper or brass, as in Kashmir and some parts of India at the present day. The design on the roof of Draupadi's Ratha is suggestive of embossed metal. This, measures 14 by 11 by 14 feet, is a plain, tiny-looking hut-like monolith,

⁹ Krishnakumar T. K., *Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram for Beginners)*, 2019.

north of Arjuna Ratha. Above the entrance and the niches on the three walls we find Makara Toranas (arch ornaments). The back wall contains a relief of Durga with attendants and worshippers. Draupadi ratha is the first temple one encounters upon entering from the village. It is shaped like a thatched hut with a square sloping roof beautified at the corners with lovely creeper designs. The temple is built on a rock cut platform like the adjacent Arjuna ratha. This platform called upa-pitham (sub-base) is supported by figures of lions and elephants. Inside the garbha griha stands Durga on a lotus pedestal with four hands, the upper arms holding the chakra and shankha, and the front arms held in abhaya mudra and placed on the thigh.

It seems the Goddess is portrayed here as an embodiment of knowledge. Tamil literature assigned to the third-fourth centuries eulogises Durga as the supreme Goddess, adored by Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. In fact, Durga has been adored as a primordial Goddess in Tamil Nadu for a long time.

Durga is the fighting aspect of Siva's consort, Parvati, who is also known in an angry aspect as Kali. In all these sculptures she is represented with a band round the breast, an ornament which serves to distinguish her from other forms of Siva's consort. The other four Rathas show various characteristic features of Buddhist architecture. It is known from ancient writings and remains of buildings that the Buddhists formed viharos (monasteries) and lived together in considerable numbers. Each monk lived in a cell and the cells were built round a central hall. Originally the cells were simple huts and the same shape was copied in stone.

Arjuna Ratha

Arjuna's Ratha is next to Draupadi Ratha, on the same plinth. . It also faces the western direction. This ratha is a two storey structure with an octagonal dome on

the top. This measures 16 by 11 by 14 feet and stands north of Bhima Ratha. Platform the front façade is supported on two pillars and two pilasters. The pilasters are in turn supported by lion images. The first floor has eight niches adorned with couples, two on each side. It has well-carved figures, some of which may be portraits, in panels round the outside. In the centre of the back wall is a figure of Indra on an elephant. A broken head of Siva was found buried in the sand and has been placed inside the shrine. Arjuna's and Dharmaraja's Rathas are each crowned by a dome of peculiar angled shape. It has been suggested that the idea originated in the inverted chattri, which was, and still is, placed over the wooden ribs of a thatched roof to keep them dry. More probably the dome is a modified version of the Buddhist stupa.

An attractive feature of this monument is the group of secular sculptures found on it. There are also images of Siva with his bull, Vishnu, and Indra with his elephant. This west facing temple is a two storeyed structure topped by an octagonal shikhara. Such shikharas are known as Dravida shikharas. The temple has a square sanctum preceded by a small projecting mandapa. It is now empty, but the images on the external walls indicate that it was dedicated to Shiva.

The northern wall is decorated with roughly cut sculptures. The central niche houses Shiva with an attendant beside him. At the ground level of the rear wall is a niche showing Lord Subrahmanya seated on an elephant, with a prominent garland of flowers over his head. Indra is also shown here sometimes seated on his elephant Airavata. To the left of Subrahmanya are a bearded priest and his attendant. On the southern wall in the central niche stands Shiva in his manifestation as Vrishabhantika murti, leaning on his mount Vrishbha, the bull, flanking him on either side.

The well-proportioned figures possess an inviting charm which prompts scholars to think that they may represent gandharvas. C. Minakshi, a Pallava scholar, considers one of the couples as portraying Rajasimha and his queen. On the walls of the first floor eight beautiful couples, two in each direction, probably representing the deities. The large sized lotus bud that forms the finial on top of the shikhara is seen placed on the platform as in the Draupadi ratha. Behind this ratha is seen a huge reclining bull. Though incomplete this bull has a charm of its own and is a great attraction for children to play.

Bhima Ratha

The widest of the five rathas, the Bhima Ratha is an example of the beauty that the ancient sthapatis created, all from one rock¹⁰. After Draupadi ratha and Arjuna ratha, Bhima ratha is the third in line. The architecture resembles the early Buddhist style. This measures 48 by 25 by 26 feet and is found north of the Dharmaraja Ratha, with wagon-shaped roof. The upper part of the edifice has almost been completed while the lower part has not been finished. There are no sculptures or inscriptions on this Ratha. Adjacent to Arjuna ratha is the huge, oblong monolithic Bhima ratha that derives its name from its size. In this ratha an oblong sanctum was planned with a circumambulatory passage to go around it. The plan was to leave out the corner walls and instead provide pillars supported by squatting lions at the ground floor. The work at that level remains unfinished. But the upper storey with sloping roofs and other architectural embellishments are in advanced stages of finish. The side gable ends are very interesting. In the centre is a niche topped by a tower-like ornamentation. It looks like a small vimana, square from the base to the neck, tapering into a circular shikhara. The five rathas show five different varieties of vimana towers. This

¹⁰Apirva Malarvannan, *The Life of Mahabalipuram Pulsing stories Trapped in stone*, 2014.

miniature tower, square upto the neck and circular on top is the sixth variety. At the front façade of the Sahadeva ratha is another miniature tower, which is octagonal from the base to the top. Subsequent descriptions of the other monoliths will reveal the differences in each one of them. The ten monoliths depicting twelve different varieties of temple towers show that there was a deliberate attempt to create variety, which is the hallmark of Mamallapuram.

The Bhima ratha remains an unfinished monuments. This was a west facing shrine. Its rectangular formation suggests that it might have been intended for the reclining form of Vishnu, popularly known as Anantashayi Vishnu, with some other secondary deities.

Nakula Sahadeva Ratha

Sahadeva's Ratha is assigned to the twin brothers, viz..., Sahadeva and Nakula. It is the last ratha in the group which is architecturally as well as location wise standing away from the rest of the four shrines. There is a possibility that the ratha was dedicated to Indra as the elephants are found on the doors. Also, there is a magnificent life size elephant figure carved out of a single rock stands near the shrine. The shrine has its façade supported by two pillars with lion base theme. The middle cell has two pilasters on outside with elephants carved on the base such as forming the guards of the deity inside the cell. The architecture of the shrine follows *gajaprastha* style, resembling the back side of elephant.

This measures 18 by 11 by 16 feet stands to the South-West of Arjuna Ratha and has the peculiar shape of a horse-shoe at the back. Consequently, the roof has also a semicircular end. But the front of the roof is wagon-shaped like Bhima Ratha. Though all the above five Ratha are similar in style, they vary in form. Around the

Rathas, are grouped some fine monolithic sculptures of animals lion, bull and elephant. Though these figures cannot be said to have been carved out with extreme skill and dexterity, yet they have their own charm and elegance. It has already been noted that these four rathas are in line.

In front of the Arjuna ratha is a lovely monolith in a horse shoe plan, facing south and almost complete. In Indian architectural treatises such a plan is technically called *gajaprishta*, back of the elephant. A standing elephant is carved by its side. Sitting on the back of the elephant it seems that the tower of the Sahadeva ratha also looks like the back of an elephant. Sahadeva Ratha is apsidal with a porch in front. This may be a model of the Buddhist chaitya, in which the monks met for worship. The early Buddhists had no images, but they enshrined relics of the Buddha in a stupa, which was a dome or bell-shaped building containing a small chamber. This became an object of worship. The chaitya originated in a small stupa with a shelter for worshippers in front. N. Venkataramanayya, who has studied the origins of South Indian Temples, traces the word chaitya still further back, to the worship of trees.. He thinks the so-called umbrella ornament which usually crowns two Buddhist stupa is the conventionalised representation of a spreading tree. An umbrella in India is the emblem of royalty, and the other theory is, that this emblem was assigned to the Buddha as the greatest possible mark of respect.

These five rathas were mainly intended to portray five different varieties of architecture. With two miniature temple towers appearing as ornamental motifs, one in the gable end of Bhima ratha and the other on the façade of Sahadeva ratha, the author of these monuments managed to create seven different kinds of architecture at this place itself.

Dharmaraja Ratha

It measures 29 by 27 by 35 feet and is shaped as a pyramid. The tallest and most majestic monolith stands at the extreme south of the group. Although its architecture resembles the Arjuna Ratha. It is the three storeyed monolith called Dharmaraja Ratha. It faces west like the other three in its line. From the Inscription found here, it is known to be a Shiva temple of 'Atyantakama Pallava' (Atyanta-kama Pallaveshvara-griham). This name is found at the entrance to a central cell, on the top floor on the western side, and again on the eastern side entrance lintel of the same floor. Evidently it is the creation of the king who had the title 'Atyantakama' various manifestations of Shiva are portrayed on all the three floors. Besides, some forms of other Gods are also seen. The three floors represent the three spaces Earth, outer space, and Heaven (Bhur-Bhuvah-Suvah). At the ground floor the following manifestations are seen from the north-eastern corner.

The following forms of Shiva and other forms of Dvarapala, Brahma, Vishnu, Surya, Soma, and Chandikeshvara on the three floors of the monolith would interest students of Hindu iconography. Kankalamurti, Vinadhara-Ardhanari, Tandava-Shiva teaching dance to Sage Tandu, Chandesanugraha, Gangadhara, Kalari, Harihara, Vrshabhantika, Bhiksatana, Andhakasuravadha, Vinadhara-Dakshinamurti, Nandisanugraha, Somaskanda, Kevala-Chandrashekhara, Vishapaharana, Bhairava, and Kshetrapala.

The Dharmaraja Ratha is a three storeyed square, pyramidal tower, the ground floor being the tallest, the first floor a little shorter and the second floor the shortest of the three giving the structure architectural stability. The base of the ground floor is somewhat higher than that of the other rathas in the series. Originally it was planned

to provide lateral steps in all the four cardinal directions for the visitors to climb up. At the ground level, end walls were provided at the corners, with a central opening supported by seated lion bases.

Each corner wall on the ground floor had a niche housing an almost life size standing image of Shiva. Above the sculptures, various titles of King Rajasimha were engraved in Sanskrit in the Pallava Grantha script. All the images found here exhibit tall linear appearances that qualify as very good examples of Pallava art. They provide interesting information about iconographical themes and in their distribution some early and rare forms are found. All of them are in standing posture and are about three feet in height. Their aesthetic proportions, the flexions of their bodies, and above all their facial expressions are high. They are fit to be ranked among the most outstanding creations of the Pallavas. The top floor has a number of sculptures. A glimpse of these sculptures can be had from the south side. There is a central shrine, cubical in shape that carries a delightful sculpture of Somaskanda in the centre. Brahma is shown on the right of Shiva and Vishnu on the left, and in the centre of the sanctum is a square socket for installing a linga.

It may be seen that all the central niches in the top floor contain significant sculptures. The west has Somaskanda; north is positioned Soma; and the east is the direction of Surya. Judging from this distribution it appears that Shiva's manifestations as Sun, Moon, Agni, and Supreme like Somaskanda occupy their positions on the top floor. The sculpture in the south would therefore represent Kala that is Death also identified with Kalagnirudra or Bhairava. Thus, the whole personality of the temple is revealed by this distribution. There are inscriptions on the ground floor with titles of Rajasimha inscribed above the sculptures, and the titles of the king are written above some of sculptures on the first and the top floors. Almost

all these titles are found for Rajasimjha Pallava at Kanchi, Panamalai, and other places, indicating that this monolith is a creation of Rajasimha. The temple has an octagonal shikjara and is considered an illustration of Dravida shikhara. The big lotus bud like carving, the stupi, that tops the shikhara is also found on the ground, on the eastern side of the ratha.

Dharmaraja's Ratha is the largest, panel on the back wall, outside, contains a curious figure, half man, half woman, which represents Ardhanarisvara, in whom Siva and Parvati are combined. Small figures of lions and elephants decorate the pediment. The upper verandas have a series of sculptured figures in panels, all round, and a shrine on the western face. Access to the first storey is by wooden steps at the southern end, and stone steps on the east lead from the first to the second veranda. The lower and large shrine is empty, but the upper one has a Somaskanda image of Siva and his consort Parvati, with their infant son Subrahmanya. The inscriptions over the various figures are in Sanskrit, but the script is the oldest of the four different forms found here. They were first deciphered by B. J. Babington, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, and published in the Transactions of the Society in 1830.

Ganesha Ratha

Behind the great relief of Arjuna's penance is situated what is now called the Ganesha ratha. A nearly perfect example of an almost fully finished monolith, it presents a beautiful picture cut in a single rock. During the reign of Parameswara Varman in the latter half of the 7th century AD, resembles a chariot and hence has got the name 'Ratha'.¹¹ This is a west facing temple, decorated with dvarapalas, lion pillars and pilasters. The roofs designed like the hood of a country wagon, with the

¹¹ Srinivas – J. Prabhakar. *Mahabalipuram a journey through a magical land*, Thangathamari Pathippagam, 2019,p.50.

end shaped like a human head decorated with a trident shaped head gear. The elaborately worked roof has nine vase shaped finials and can be considered as a precursor of the temple towers, which developed later. There is a cell beyond the front hall, which might have housed a Shiva Linga. Now it has a big figure of Lord Ganesa. Its fine proportions and their articulation show perfection of planning, a superior mastery in cutting monoliths and the unsurpassable skill achieved on converting a rock into delightful imagery. It is a rectangular temple facing west. Since it house an image of Ganesha in the sanctum it goes by the name Ganesha ratha. The Ganesha sculpture was installed about one hundred and twenty five years ago. Till then, it is said to have had a linga inside with Nandi facing it outside. This is considered as one of most complete ratha in Mamallapuram. The architecture of Ganesh Ratha resembles Bhima Ratha of Five Rathas. It has two upper storeys with a wagon roof.

The Ganesa Ratha near by is the only one in which the finials in the shape of heads wearing the horned or trident shaped head-dress are still intact. The image of Ganesa in the shrine is a modern introduction. Ganesa is the God of prosperity and is worshipped at the outset of any undertaking. He is the son of Siva and Parvati.

Valayankuttai and Pidari Rathas

Valaiyankuttai Ratha is located on the other side of the town, in a very remote location. It is slightly rocky and bushy. The wonderful monument, neglected by tourists as well Archaeological Survey of India, resembles Arjuna's Ratha (of Five Rathas) in its architectural style. The two storey small but beautiful monument remains slightly unfinished at the lower portion. The small mandapa supported by two pillars and pilasters do not have any deity or idol the cornice is seen with shoe

shaped window. The miniature shrines are found above the cornice in regular intervals. The three sides of outer walls have the bas reliefs of miniature shrines.

There are three rathas at the western end of the village, one near a pond named Valaiankuttai (fisherman's pond), and the other two near the temple of the village Goddess called Pidari Temple. All the three are unfinished. Two of them faces east and the third faces south. Two temples have square shikharas from the neck, but the third has an octagonal one. The square shikharas can be seen only here. There are no sculptures or inscription but the work and their shape show the patron's desire to create new forms.

The southern Pidari ratha and the Arjuna ratha illustrate examples of Samachaturasra (square) vimanas of the dvitala variety with octagonal sikhara of the dravida order. They constitute the composite (misra) variety of that order, four sided from base to prastara, including the talas, with octagonal griva and sikhara. The Dharmaraja ratha illustrates a tritala (three storeyed) example with the same type of sikhara, with all the three square talas intended to be functional. A pure variety of Dravida order, though hexagonal on plan from basement to finial, is perhaps represented by the bas relief of the Nakula Sahadeva ratha.

Pidari Rathas are located on the other side of the town, almost at the border of the town. Most of the monuments are located at the heart of the town and on the hill. Only Pidari Rathas and Valaiyankuttai Ratha are located at the remote location. Pidari Rathas are two incomplete rathas; one ratha faces east direction whereas the other one faces north. Both the rathas have two storeys. In both, only the upper parts complete; the lower portion is not completely done. Above the cornice, the regular arrangement of miniature shrines is found in both the rathas. The shoe faced windows

with human faces carved within are found on the cornice. In one of the rathas,, the Makara torana is carved in the niche in the side wall. A small bas relief panel with a Ganesha is found on the way to Pidari rathas.

Unfinished Ratha

In front of the Mahishasura Mardini cave may be seen an attempt to cut another monolith. The cutting had started from the top revealing the technique of carving rock cut temples which were started from the top. It also show another attempt at carving a different monolithic.

CAVES TEMPLES

Most noteworthy cave temples are the ones known as Trimurti, Varaha, Durga and Pancha Pandava. As an early observer remarked, “the greater part of these temples are excavations of the fashion of Ellora and Elephants, superior in taste and symmetry, though far inferior in dimensions to the first named”.

Tirumurti Cave

Trimurthy Cave It contains a row of three shrines wherein bas-reliefs of the Trinity (Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva) the creator preserve the destroyer flying in the air in the upper part of the sculpture, while in the lower part two devotees with matted locks are seated¹². There are separate cells, i.e., sanctums for the three Gods. Outside each cell, there are beautiful pillars and formations like decorated towers. The entrance of each cell is flanked by the guards, known as Dvarapalas, In each cell, there are devotees kneeling on the floor and praying to the God, while there are dwarf ganas above, in flying positions.

The first cell is for Lord Brahma. It is rare to have a temple for Brahma. There are only very few temples in India devoted to this God. Normally Brahma has four faces and he is generally known as the Four Faced God. But here, he has got only a single face and wears a cross garland of rudraksha beads. He carries a rosary and water vessel in his upper pair of arms, while the position in the other two arms are in abhaya and katyavalambita mudras, as in the case of the other two deities. The middle cell is for Lord Shiva. One can see the shining shiv-linga in front. The image here stands the four armed Shiva in full form. He is carrying an axe and rosary in his

¹² R.K. Das, *Temples of Tamil Nadu*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Kulapati Munshimarg, Bombay, 1991 pp. 231-236.

upper pair of arms. The last cell is for Lord Vishnu. The image of Lord Vishnu, with conch and discus in his arms, is something worth seeing. Outside the cells, towards one end of the rock the image of Durga, the consort of Shiva, is seen. The image of Durga looks, with eight arms and standing on the cut head of Mahisha, the buffalo faced demon. The word malla in Brahma's cell indicates that this monument belongs to King Mamallan Narasimha Varman's time¹³.

It looks like the rocks outside have been designed as they are standing in queue for worshipping the Gods. All the three deities have their left hands on their hips and the right hands are in the Abhaya pose. All of them have their characteristic weapons in their hands. The Sankha and Chakra that Vishnu has in his hands have been sculptured in such a way that they do not appear to face the visitor as found in all other places in the South: only their sides can be observed. The central sanctum has steps culminating in a moon slab, houses a Shiva linga in the centre and a standing image of Shiva on the rear wall. The standing Shiva in the back wall is four armed, one hand in Abhaya mudra and one hand resting on the thigh from the main arms, and an axe (parasu) and rosary of beads (aksha-mala) in the rear arms. To the right or north of the central sanctum is the shrine of Subrahmanya standing erect in samabhanga, with four arms. He is holding aksha mala and lotus in the rear arms and his front arms are in Abhaya mudra and kati hasta. Subrahmanya wears a conical crown adorned by a garland of flowers at its base. This garland, a symbol of victory in battles, is repeatedly praised in early Tamil Literature.

To the left or south of the central sanctum of as Shiva is a shrine with the image of Vishnu, standing erect with four arms, carved on the back wall. Vishnu is in

¹³ Srinivas – J. Prabhakar. *Mahabalipuram A Journey through a Magical Land*, Thangathamari Pathippagam, 2019, pp.44-48.

his usual attire with Abhaya mudra and kati-hasta on the thigh with the main arms, holdings the conch and with rear arms. Besides these three images is a standing image of Durga carved directly on the rock face, south of the three shrines. Durga stands with eight arms wielding shankha, chakra, sword, shield, bell, and Abhaya mudra and hand on thigh. She wears a channavira and breast band and stands erect on the head of a buffalo. Above her niche is shown a beautiful Makara torana. While the shrines for the three male gods are decorated with miniature, rectangular, wagon-shaped shikharas, no shikjara motif exists for the Goddess. The Makara torana itself serves as the tower. It is important to note that Durga is a protector of the gates of temples, forts, and the Makara torana at the entrance.

Durga is a powerful Goddess bestowing knowledge and victory. Her manifestations are varied. In this portrayal she appears as “Goddess of victory”. Her importance is further stressed by the fact that she appears with eight arms wielding weapons, while all the three male gods in the adjacent shrines are endowed with only four arms. Her sculpture seems to have been originally plastered and painted. Green, yellow, and red colours are still visible on the top corner of the niche and in different parts of her body. Though she has no separate sanctum, all the four deities Subrahmanya, Shiva, Vishnu, and Durga stand in a row almost at the same level this cave is interesting as it differs from the other cave temples in form and content, and provides a refreshing insight into Pallava cult traditions. A big stone trough is carved in front of the Trimurti cave, probably to store water purposes of worship.

This is just a beautiful natural formation. This cave temple is dedicated to the Hindu Trinity-Brahma-the Creator, Vishnu-the Preserver and Shiva-the Destroyer, the three important Gods of the Hindu pantheon. The Trimurti cave temple in an

example of three contiguous but truncated dvitala vimanas, the details of the second tala and the other members above not being shown.

Varaha Cave

One of the best preserved cave temples in Mamallapuram is the Adivaraha cave temple, situated in the west of the village near the Mahishasura Mardini cave. This temple has been under continuous worship from almost 700 CE, and is generally kept locked except in the mornings and evenings during worship. For the rest of the day the key remains with the priest living in the village. He can be approached by the visitors with a request to open the temple. The cave is not visited very often as an unimpressive stone pavilion, built in the 16th century obscures the view of the cave temple. The temple is dedicated to Lord Vishnu, in his third incarnation as Varaha, lifting Goddess Earth from the depths of the ocean. The form of Varaha emerging from the oceanic waters with the Goddess is called Adi-Varaha, the Primordial Boar, and hence the name, Adivaraha Cave. The Varaha cave is situated behind the great bas relief Arjuna's penance. One must cross the nearly finished monolith called Ganesa ratha to reach it. The cave faces west and has seated lion pillars to support the roof. It is rectangular with a sanctum cell scooped out in centre of the rear wall. The entrance is flanked by dvarapalas on each side. Besides these, there are four paneled sculptures of exquisite workmanship. The north wall has a beautiful group of sculptures with the boar incarnation of Vishnu as the central theme. Facing this panel is Trivikrama panel on the southern wall. The rear walls on either side of the sanctum depict Gajalakshmi on the north and Durga on the south. These four panels are great aesthetic creations that draw the admiration of visitors. As the Varaha is the most impressive of all the sculptures, the cave is called Varaha cave. The central sanctum is empty but the other sculptures associated with Vaishnava manifestations indicate

that the cave was obviously dedicated to Vishnu. Here the Varaha and Trivikrama incarnations of Vishnu have been sculptured in an impressive manner. Further magnificent reliefs representing Surya, Durga, Gajalakshmi (Goddess of Wealth accompanied by elephants) and two groups which represent the kings Simha Vishnu and Mahendra Varman with their queens may also be seen here.

The centre of the Varaha pane; shows Vishnu occupying the whole space from top to bottom in human form with the head of a boar. The boar's head is crowned by a tall cylindrical kirita made of jewels (Mani makuta). The Varaha has his left leg planted forcefully on the ground and his lifted right leg is placed on the head of the snake king, Adkshesha. Bhudevi, the Goddess of the Earth, is seated on the right thigh of Varaha who holds her legs with his left hand. The Goddess is seated facing the God with intense love and affection, holding a flower with her left hand and almost fondling the right chest of her Lord. Varaha in turn is fondling her breast with his snout. Two rear arms of Vishnu hold the chakra and shankha, while with the other right hand he embraces the Goddess. Adishesha, the serpent king with five hoods, devoutly adores the Lord with folded hands. Beside him stands his wife. The oceanic waters shown as waves and lotus flowers indicate that the scene is enacted in deep waters. Three headed Brahmastands to the left of Varaha. Behind Brahma stands a bearded sage holding a musical instrument, the veena which might represent Narada, the great devotee of Vishnu. Puranic accounts speak of Sage Sunandana singing Sama gana when Vishnu manifested himself as Varaha lifting the Earth. Surya and Chandra are shown above on either side.

Brahma is shown seated, and on a lotus, in the heanely sphere, offering worship to the left lifted foot of Trivikrama. In between Brahma and the Lord is seen a bear headed Jambavan beating a drum; correspondingly, adoring Vishnu is

Shiva seated on a lotus¹⁴. Beneath Brahma and Shiva are seen the Sun and the Moon flying and in the pose of adorning Trivikrama. Trivikrama's lifted leg has traversed beyond the spheres of the Sun and Moon and reached the heavenly abode of Brahma and Shiva. The seated figure immediately to the right of Trivikrama is likely to be his mount Garuda. On the extreme left is seated a royal figure who is the demon king Mahabali, holding a log necked vessel from which he pours water signifying a gift. Seated before him, in an extremely agitated posture, is his royal priest Shukracharya.

According to the legend Mahabali was an arrogant demon king who boasted of gifting anything from the world to prove his mastery over the three worlds. To quell his pride Vishnu came in the form of a dwarfish Brahmin boy and begged Mahabali to gift him a piece of land that could be measured in three steps. Mahabali ridiculed this as a small request and agreed. But his guru Shukracharya could see the plot of Vishnu and warned his disciple not to be fooled by the boyish looking Vishnu who had come to destroy him¹⁵. Mahabali would not listen and insisted that whatever he had promised he would fulfill, irrespective of the consequences. He offered the boy to take any space he liked that could be measured the whole earth with one foot and, with the second, covered the whole heaven and intermediate space. There was no space for the third step. When he demanded place to put his third step, poor Mahabali had no other space and offered his own head. Placing his third step Trivikrama Vishnu pushed Mahabali to the world.

The panel has played another interesting role. The name of the demon king was Mahabali. As this story was well known among the people, and this cave was in the centre of the village, the name Mahamalla was substituted by Mahabali by the

¹⁴Ramaswami, N.S., *Indian Monuments*, Abhinav Publishers, 1971, pp. 79-81.

¹⁵ Sila Tripathi, *Ancient Maritime Trade of the Eastern Indian Littoral*, Vol. 100, Current Science, 2002, pp. 1076-1086.

common people. The name of the village was hence changed into Mahabalipuram from Mamallapuram from sixteenth century onwards. The cave temple was originally decorated with a row of miniature towers, or shikharas, on the façade. Besides the unique portrayal of Pallava portrayal and label inscriptions, there are three inscription in the temple that highlight three aspects of temple and culture. The lintel in front of the sanctum, above the Harihara image, is a Pallava inscription in Sanskrit, listing the ten incarnations of Vishnu in order as Matsya (Fish), Kurma (Turtle), Varaha (Boar), Narasimha (Man-lion), Vamana (Dwarf), Rama (Parashurama), Rama (Raghurama), Rama (Balarama), Buddha, and Kalki. This inscription can be ascribed to 7 CE, by which time Buddha was accepted as the ninth avatar of Vishnu. The second long inscription is in large Pallava Grantha characters, inscribed on the floor in front of the sanctum, slightly to the south of the center, extolling the greatness of Rudra and the need to adore him. This inscription, recording the greatness of Rudra or Shiva in a Vishnu temple, is justified as varaha, is identified with Rudra in the earliest poem of Rig Veda.

The third epigraphical record in Tamil was inscribed on the rocky wall outside the temple, during the time of the Chola Rajendra II in the middle of 11th century CE. The name of this temple is recorded here as Parameshvara-Mahavarah-Vishnu graham. This is evidently the name given by the original Pallava patron. Another inscription here, by the same king, records the gifts made to this temple¹⁶. A 16th century inscription on the wall of the later mandapa of the temple reveals that the temple conducted annual festivals, when a bronze image of the God was taken out in procession. Endowment was also made to enable the villagers to take the deity in procession, during the festival, to the nearby hamlet of Puncheri, about one mile away

¹⁶Srinivasan, K.R., *The Dharmaraja Ratha and its Sculptures*, Mahabalipuram, Abhinav Publishers, 1975, p.81.

from Mamallapuram. The simple and functional front mandapa, supported by pillars, was constructed in the 16th century, probably at the time when the front mandapa of Krishna Govardhanadhari in the centre of the village was also built.

Adi Varaha temple, which is believed to be the earliest monument of this great coastal town, remains unknown and least visited.. This would indicate that the Mamallapuram artists followed ritual treatises in the distribution of icons.

Trivikrama Bas Relief

The southern inner wall of mandapa has the bas relief panel of Trivikrama. He is seen with eight arms. His left leg is raised toward the top. His right arms hold sword, gada and chakra. His left hands hold conch, bow and shield. One right arm is raised upwards and one left arm is pointing his raised leg. Brahma is seen near his raised leg and is found to be washing the foot of Trivikrama. Shiva is found on the other side. In between Trivikrama and Brahma, Jambavan (the mythological bear) is found playing drums. On either side of Trivikrama's knees, the images of Surya and Chandra are found. Near the right foot of Trivikrama, the king Bali, his Guru Sukracharya and the two associates of king are found.

Varaha Mandapa

Varaha mandapa is one of the important monuments of Mamallapuram. The Varaha Mandapa is close to the Ganesa Ratha and faces west. It has handsome pillars with horned lions, and on the ceiling conventional lotuses, of the Buddhist type, with remains of colour. On the walls are four large bas-reliefs. On the back wall, to the left of the shrine, Goddess Lakshmi sits on a lotus while elephants pour water over her head. She has four women attendants. It will be noticed that the anklets of these

women, drooping over the heel, and the waterpots, are the same shape as those still in common use. On the right, stands Durga under a royal umbrella, with attendant lion and deer, and a devotee cutting off his head as a sacrifice. On the side walls, Vishnu is represented in the Boar Incarnation. The legend runs as follows: King Bali, the monarch from whom some authorities derive the name Mahabalipuram, having conquered the three worlds, earth, air and ocean, ruled them with justice and prosperity.

The Varaha Temple is still used for worship. It stands at the south end of the hill, facing west, but the entrance to the cave is hidden by a massive stone wall of Vijayanagar style. The cave-temple contains somewhat similar sculptures to those in the Varaha Mandapa, and in interesting portrait groups of Pallava Kings. Each king has two wives. Names are inscribed in Pallava-Grantha characters above the niches in which they stand, but as several Pallava Kings bear the same name it is difficult to ascertain the date, and authorities differ. Probably they are Mahendravarman I and his son Narasimhavarman I (Mamalla). A Tamil inscription on a slab formerly in the floor. But now placed upright, records a grant of land to the temple. This was written in the time of Nandivarman Pallava malla, who was chosen from a collateral branch to succeed Paramesvaravarman II, the last of the Simhavishnu line. Episodes in connection with the accession of Nandi varman Pallavamalla are depicted in a series of sculptures, with descriptive labels, in the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Conjeevaram.

Varaha Bas Relief

The northern inner wall of mandapa has the bas relief panel of Varaha, the boar incarnation of Lord Vishnu. He is found with four arms; his upper arms holding

conch and discus and his lower arms lifting Bhoo Devi. His right leg is rested on the hood of Sesha serpent. One sage and a female are found in front of him. Brahma and Narad Rishi are found behind him. The images of Surya and Chandra are carved on either side of Varaha's head.

Durga Cave

A huge rocky eminence has been hewn into a large cave to house three shrines. The central one is intended for a Linga and has on its wall a bas-relief of the Somaskanda groups. On their side are the busts of Vishnu and Brahma and below is Siva's vehicle Nandi the bull. This cave contains the well-known image Mahishasuramardini and Vishnu. Also Seshasayana sculptures for the simple and skillful representation of spirited scenes have drawn unstinted admiration even from foreign observers. The grace with which the sculptor has depicted calmness and repose in one and intense activity and virility in another, the former in the panel of the slumbering Vishnu on the southern wall and the latter in the panel of Durga's onslaught on the buffalo-headed demon on the northern wall, is noteworthy.

In the Mahishasuramardini panel (12 feet by 8 feet) the story of Durga slaying the demon king Mahisha has been depicted. Durga is represented with the Sankha and Chakra which are the emblems of Vishnu. The legend connected with this sculpture is that once the Gods were beaten and driven out of Heaven by the demon king Mahisha. Then a light representing the inherent energy came out from each God, which all combined together to form a luminous body which eventually assumed the shape of a damsel Durga. Durga got from all the Gods their respective weapons with which she fought Mahisha and his demons and at last killed them.

The Seshasayana panel (13 feet by 8 feet) which has been chiseled in the unconventional manner is simple and appealing and is stated to be a rare monument cannot be seen elsewhere. The peculiar feature about Vishnu represented here is that he has only two hands and his emblems.¹⁷.

Gaja lakshmi Bas Relief

The right side wall or mandapa has the bas relief panel of Goddess Lakshmi. She is found in the sitting posture surrounded by four attendants. Two attendants carry water vessels whereas the remaining two attendants carry flowers. Two elephants are seen behind Lakshmi; one elephant is trying to pick the water vessel from one attendant, whereas the other elephant is found to be purifying water on Lakshmi.

Durga Bas Relief

The inner wall on the left side of the cell has the bas relief panel of Goddess Durga. Durga is found in the standing posture with four arms. Four Ganas are found on either sides of the Goddess. Behind Durga the images of antelope and lion are found. Two devotees are found in front of the Goddess. One is trying to behead himself whereas the other devotee is offering some flowers. This resembles the image found in Draupadi ratha.

The temple has a large pillared hall (mandapa). The shrine cut in the center at the back wall of cave is dedicated to Lord Varaha, the boar incarnation of Lord Vishnu. Varaha is shown with four arms and carrying Bhudevi (their mother Earth). The north side of the wall has a beautiful idol of Lord Shiva in the form of Gangadhara. This attractive idol of Gangadhara is found with four arms; one arm is resting on his elegantly slanted thigh whereas his upper right arm is holding his own

¹⁷George Michell, *Hindu Art and Architecture*, Thames and Hudson, 2000, pp. 81-88.

plaits so that he can hold the river Ganges. The river Ganges is depicted in the form of a female and is shown as falling off.

The north side wall also has another panel of sculptures-Gajalakshmi. Lakshmi is found seated on a lotus flower and holds a lotus flower in her arms; two attendants on either sides of her carrying flowers; two other attendants with vessels carrying water. One elephant is pouring water on the Goddess whereas another elephant is trying to pick the vessel from one attendant. The similar depiction is found in Mahisauramardini cave also. The south side of the wall has two panels next by next. In one panel the idol of Adi Sesha, the divine serpent is found in the human form. The next panel has Lord Vishnu with four arms; two devotees on his feet. It is notable as Lord Vishnu is generally found lying on the serpent. Here, Sesha is found standing next to Vishnu.

Next to Vishnu, the beautiful idol of Harihar, a form of Shiva and Vishnu. Then, there is an extraordinary sculptural panel of Durga. The Goddess is found standing on the head of a buffalo and has eight arms. Two devotees are found at her feet; two dwarapalas, one holding bow and another holding sword are also found. Two dwarfs are found above; besides them an antelope and an elephant are found. The sculpture of Brahma is also found in the south wall. There are two other important sets of sculptures found in this cave shrine. In one set, we can find a king with two of his queens following him; all are found in the standing posture. Another sculpture has the king in the sitting posture whereas his queens are standing on his either sides. As per the inscriptions, the kings are identified as Simhavarman and Mahendravarman I. Some scholars claim that it is Simha Vishnu and his son Mahendran I.

The Adi Varaha Perumal Cave Temple is the earliest of all Pallava structures in Mahabalipuram. The grandeur of the actual mandapa (pavilion) is hidden behind a rather ordinary looking latter-day structure. The construction of this site began before the reign of Mahendravarman I. The temple is dedicated to Vishnu (Varaha is an incarnation of Vishnu) and its execution follows the spirit of Vaishnava Agamic texts. Both the outer hall and sanctum sanatorium are adorned with elaborate relief sculptures. This temple houses two relief sculptures of Pallava kings, Simhavishnu (c. 537 CE-570 CE) and Mahendravarman I, accompanied by their respective wives.

Atiranachanda Cave

Saluvankuppam, a small village on the outskirts of Mamallapuram, about three kilometers to the north, was earlier known as Thiru Eluccil, is a sacred Centre for bringing deities in procession. It is more famous now by the name of Tiger cave, due to a fanciful cave temple with a row of Yali heads, carved in a semi-circular fashion like a prabha-mandala that attracts numerous visitors. There is another cave temple at this site, a simple rock cut temple, a furlong to the north of it. Further, about three hundred yards north-east, nearer to the shore, is a rock where a brick temple was erected in Pallava times with inscriptions known as Subrahmanya Temple. The inscription were discovered at the beginning of 20th century, and the remains of the brick temple have been uncovered only recently.

The label inscription on the central beam of the façade mentions this cave temple as the Atiranachanda-ishvara griha, evidently named after ‘Atiranachanda Pallava’, a title found for Rajasimha in Kanchipuram, Panamalai, Thirupporur, Vayalur, Mamallapuram and the shore temples. Besides this, there are two inscriptions on the side walls of the cave. Interestingly, both inscriptions are identical

and record that the temple was built by Rajasimha. The inscriptions give the titles of Atyanta - Kama, Ranajaya, Shribara, Chitra-karmukha, and Atiranachanda. Atiranachanda is a rectangular cave with simple pillars, having a central sanctum shrine excavated in the rear wall. The back wall of this sanctum contains a carved, paneled sculpture, depicting Somaskanda, Shiva, and Parvati seated on a common pedestal, with the child Skanda seated on the mother's lap. At the back are shown Brahma and Vishnu, to the right and left of Shiva, both adoring Somaskanda. In the centre of the sanctum is a fluted linga with sixteen facets. The upper part of the linga, is called the puja-bhaga. These images were probably visualized as jyotir-linga 'symbol of flame' and do not suggest the phallus. The presence of Somaskanda, with Brahma and Vishnu adoring Shiva in his linga form recalls the Siddhantic view of the main deity. Flanking the sanctum are carved dvarapalas. The side lateral walls are also carved with semi-finished Somaskanada images in the Centre.

The two Sanskrit inscriptions are copies of the same record in two different contemporary scripts (Pallava Grantha and Nagari). According to them the cave temple was excavated by Atiranachanda as the abode of Shiva, Uma, Skanda, and the ganas. The Pallava Grantha inscription, in seventeen lines, is on the southern flank of the cutting in front of the façade, while the sixteen line Nagari one is on the northern flank. While the principal verses are common to both, there is an additional seventh verse in the Pallava Grantha version, eulogizing the musical talents of the composer Kalakala, which is incidentally a surname of Rajasimha himself.

The other surnames of the king, besides Atiranachanda, Shrinidhi, Kamaraja, Shribhara, Dhananjaya, and Sangrama dhira, are also found. A point of interest here is the earliest epigraphical reference to Bharata, the author of Natya-Shastra, in this inscription. In front of this cave temple a lovely scene of Mahisahasura mardini,

annihilating the buffalo headed demon who is running for his life in haste, unable to bear the onslaught of the lion mount of the Goddess with his hand behind his back and begging for mercy with the other.

Dharmaraja Mandapa

Dharmaraja Mandapam is one of the monuments which is not very popular, but striclingly beautiful. It is located behind the light house and next to the unfinished monolithic monument. It is an east facing triple celled cave. As one approaches the Mahishasura Mardini cave from Arjuna's Penance, this simple cave temple is visible. It faces east and is carved in two bays, with two massive pillars in the front and two at the back, all being square at the top and bottom and octagonal in the middle. A sanctum is carved in the Centre in the back wall but no sculpture is found inside the sanctum. The central sanctum is projected in the front. Flanking the entrance of the sanctum are two carved dvarapalas, one on either side.

Two more shrines were carved on either side of the central sanctum. All three are provided with steps. These three cells were probably dedicated to Brahma, Shiva, and Vishnu. The dedicatory inscription found in this cave is a repetition of the ones found in the Adivaraha cave, the Ramanuja mandapa. And the Ganesha ratha. Its architectural style resembles that of Mandagapattu monuments of Mahendravarmanpallava I. Only the dvarapalas images carved outside are faintly visible. The inscription names the temple as Atyantakama Pallavesvara-griham, that is, the Shiva temple of Atyanta-kama Pallava. Hence, this cave temple is clearly a creation of Rajasimha. The central shrine does not have any niche for Somaskanda or a socket to house a linga. This cave temple has been ascribed to the early phase of parameshvara Varman I.

Koneri Mandapa

Koneri Mandapa is one such monument which is commonly not known even to the citizens of Mamallapuram. The monument is located at a distance of around 0.5 km from Koneri tank. Koneri tank is a well known landmark. The tank is located at the backside of the hill where all the important monuments are located. There is a small stone bed with lion faced stone pillow.

This cave temple of simple rectangular design with two bays is found in the middle of the western face of the rock. It contains seated-lion pillars outside and simple, slim, faceted pillars inside. There are five sanctums without any sculptures scooped in the wall. But all the sanctums contain a pedestal carved on the back wall suggesting that the deities were probably to be made of stucco and painted. It deserves to be noted that it was intended for five Shaiva deities. From a study of the dwarapalas it seems that all the five cells were to be dedicated to Shiva in his five forms as Tatpurusha, Aghora, Sadyojata, Vamadeva, and Ishana.

The west facing Koneri Mandapa is a five celled pillared hall. Two rows of pillars are found in the mandapa. The cornice of the cave temple on the front façade has nine horse shoe shaped windows. Above that few miniature shrines are found. The roof is left unfinished. All the five different shapes of dwarapala images carved at the entrance of each shrine, the scholars believe that these shrines are dedicated to five different forms of Lord Shiva.

Kotikal Mandapa

At the northern end of the main hillock is a rock cut cave temple facing west, with a sanctum scooped at the back. The sanctum is plain, without any carving or figures, but its façade has two female guardians, one holding a bow and the other a sword and shield. The presence of these two female doorkeepers indicates that the cave was dedicated to Goddess Durga.

Kotikal mandapa is a small cave temple a single cell shrine. Currently there is no idol is found in the cell. However, it is obvious that it would have been dedicated to the Goddess Durga as the entrance is flanked by two female guards on either sides. One female is holding a sword whereas the other one is holding a bow. The small mandapa (hall) in the front side is supported with two thick pillars and pilasters.

The best examples here of this early type of temple are the Kotikal Mandapa at the northern end of the hill, facing west, and Dharmaraja's Mandapa under the lighthouse hill, facing east; though an inscription in the latter points to its having been built in the Mamalla period. Most of the monuments at Mahabalipuram were hewn in the reign of Mamalla, about A.D. 610-640. In addition to some very beautiful cave-temples Mamalla made the Rathas, each of which is a free-standing temple, hewn from an enormous rock.

Mahishasura Mardini Cave

This cave temple is famous for its breathtaking Mahishasura Mardini sculpture. The cave is near the present lighthouse and faces east. The outer façade presents a simple, cave-like appearance, with fluted pillars. The central sanctum, preceded by a mandapa, enshrines Somaskanda Shiva. The two side wings of the

front hall, contain two masterpieces of Pallava art. The north wall depicts the fight of Mahishasura Mardini with the buffalo-headed demon, and on the south is Lord Vishnu in his cosmic sleep (Yoganidra) on his serpent couch. Both the sculptures occupy the two walls from ground level to the ceiling.

The mahishasura Mardini panel, after which the cave is named, is a supremely elegant creation. Historians have spontaneously described the beauty of this panel. It looks as though the artist conceived this side wall as a tightly-held canvas, framed perfectly, to picturize the episode with a central line drawn vertically to distribute the central characters. To the left is the march of Goddess Durga mounted on her prancing lion and carrying weapons in her hands. She is accompanied by a retinue holding weapons like swords, bows, and arrows. The retinue of the Goddess consists of poised women and dwarfish big-bellied ganas. It presents a picture of female power strong enough to annihilate the arrogant and brutal manly power portrayed by the buffalo-headed demon, Mahishasura, opposing the Goddess. Her militant and aggressive posture suggests her skill in using weapons. The long sword in her right hand is the weapon she uses to sever the head of the demon.

The scene is a brilliant exposition of evil routed by divine power. In India, feminine power is worshipped by the Trinity - Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. On the opposite wall, Lord Vishnu lies in a relaxed pose, head eastwards and legs extended to the west, with his face turned upwards. He wears a cylindrical crown and his eyes are closed in deep sleep. The ever watchful five hooded serpent, Ananta, spread out like umbrella over his head, stands guard. The two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha, approach the foot of the Lord to attack him with clubs in their hands, but the cobra hisses, sending out waves of flames, and drives the demons away. Two more figures are shown in the upper part of the panel, one a dwarfish manly figure

and the other female, both flying joyfully to crush the demons. The dwarfish figure is the personification of Vishnu's weapon, the conch Panchajanya that loudly announces the victory over the demon. The female figure striking the demon is a personification of Vishnu's gada Kaumodaki.

Beneath the reclining Vishnu are three figures personifying Vishnu's chakra, Vishnu's mount, Vinateya Garuda (the eagle), and Bhu devui (the Goddess Earth) with folded hands bent in adoration. Seated behind her is Sage Markandeya praising Vishnu for imparting an immortal message. Inside the central sanctum is an imposing, majestic figure of Shiva seated on a throne, accompanied by his consort Parvati with the playful Skanda seated on her lap. Beneath their seat rests Shiva's mount, Nandi, fairly powerful and robust bull. The panel also depicts Vishnu and Brahma, at the top, adoring Shiva.

In this cave, the Pallava artists have scaled the summit of glory by depicting a battle scene with haunting aesthetic perfection. Mahisasuramardini cave temple stands as a great example for pallava style of architecture. It is one of the well-known monuments in Mamallapuram.

Mahisha Cave

The Tiger cave yali mandapa must be studied in association with another cave found immediately to the north of the shore temple. It consists of a cave temple, cut into a rock located right on the shore, with the sea waves dashing constantly against it. The northern face of the rock depicts a large, monstrous, club-wielding Mahishasura running for his life. His escape is halted midway by a powerful, menacing lion who pounces from behind on his head and mauls him down. It is a terrifyingly awe-inspiring portrayal of two beasts in instinctive combat. The

sculpture, though unfinished, is a masterly artistic visualization of animal combat, the like of which is not to be seen elsewhere. It is evident that Mamallapuram artists were masters in portraying the instinctive qualities of different creatures such as the cow, bull, monkey, elephant, deer, car and even rat.

Pancha Pandava Cave Temple

On the southern side, adjacent to the great bas relief of Arjuna's penance, is the biggest cave temple excavated at Mamallapuram. It is designed as a single celled temple with a pillared passage made by tunneling the rear part of the sanctum. Consequently, the cave has been cut too deep inside, to a depth of about thirty- two feet, while on the north –south lateral axis it measures around thirty-six feet. Probably it was meant to be a square of thirty – six feet. The front part consists of two lateral rows of pillars dividing it into two bays. The sanctum cell is at the beginning of the third bay. Its entrance was about three wide. The top of the façade is lined with a row of miniature rectangular square towers resembling temple towers. No inscription or sculpture is found in the cave. From this cave to the Krishna mandaa, the rocks show attempts to cut some form. The name Pancha Pandava cave temple applied to this cave has no connection with the Pancha Pandava heroes. The story of Mahabharata was so popular that any group of five could be called after the five brothers.

This large cave temple with decorative lion pillars is impressive form outside. But nothing seems to be inside, neither sculptures nor figures or idols. First let us see how these cave temples were scooped out of the rocks. These were very hard rocks. Substantial portions of these rocks were something, which were not required for designing the cave temples. The caves and the sculptures were made by cutting the

portions of the rocks which were not required in the form of stone blocks and removing them out. The practice of installing the carved stone images of Gods in the sanctum began only from the 8th century AD. The temple structure which has passages around the sanctum and is known by the name 'Prakaaram' or 'Parikrama'.

Pancha Pandava Mandapam is a very beautiful but lesser known monuments of Mamallapuram this monument is an unfinished work. There is a central cell (shrine) without any deities. According to some scholars, this monument should have been started by the Pallava Kinga Parameshavaravarman I (672-700 CE) and completed by his successor Rajasimha (700-728 CE).

Pulippudar Mandapa

On the western side of the village there are three cave temples in different stages of completion. These have no aesthetic value, but a visit to them can be useful for a better understanding of the Mamallapuram monuments and the ambitions and passions of the creator. Interestingly, each one of these is laid out on a different plan, elevation and has a different number of shrines. There are no inscriptions on any of them and the work is rudimentary.

Ramanuja Mandapa

Behind the lighthouse, passing through rugged boulders, one comes to another cave temple, now known as the Ramanuja Mandapa. This rock cut cave originally had delightful sculptures. The remaining outlines of the chiselled sculptures show the cave was dedicated to Shiva and the central sanctum also contained a Somaskanda sculpture. This cave suffered maximum destruction during the revival of vibrant Vaishnavism in the sixteenth century. The village witnessed new constructions of

mandapas like the Krishna mandapa. During that period of revival, the Vaishnava religious marks of namam, shankha and chakra were incised on the pillars of some monuments. Probably it was converted into a plain mandapa for the processional deity of Ramanuja, the Vaishnavite seer, which was brought here for audience during festivals. It must be remembered that Mamallapuram was a sacred Centre for the Vaishnava's.

Ramanuja Mandapa originally had three shrine cells scooped at the rear with a front mandapa like bay. The three shrines of equal size, were square in form and separated by walls. The central one, projecting slightly into the front mandapa, had a fine image of Somaskanda carved on the back wall. Trace of paintings in the central shrine indicate that the sculpture was originally painted. It has been surmised that the two side shrines may have contained Brahma and Vishnu, implying that the three shrines were dedicated to the Trinity.

It is interesting to note that all the Vaishnava centres in Tamil Nadu received great attention during this period. It was this vibrant Vaishnavism that manifested itself in Mamallapuram in the sixteenth century. Festivals instituted for Krishna and Ramanuja were symbols of this movement.

The Ramanuja Mandapa has some of the best lionpillars, but the carving on the walls has been entirely hackedaway. It is thought that when a Vaishnavite revival succeeded the Saivite period, the followers of Vishnu infanatical zeal defaced and destroyed the symbols of SivaLingas and Nandis, found scattered in the jungle, have been set up on the roadside near the post office in the village. Lingas show some development in form. Those of the early period are cylindrical, later they are hexagonal or octagonal: in the Rajasimha period they are fluted; for example, the

large one is the Shore Temple. They are made not of the local stone but of imported black Cuddapah limestone. On the hill are various steps and grooves in the rock. Me Long Hurst thinks that the citadel stood here and that these grooves were foundations for brick or wooden buildings. There are also rocks marked out roughly in squares, which show the first stage in the excavation of a rock temple. The squares give an indication of dimensions, from which the builders could calculate the various proportions.

Tiger Cave

The cave temple at Saluvankuppam, now called Tiger cave is a flight in fantasy. It is carved out of a thirty feet high rock facing the sea. A row of mythical lion heads (vyalas) are cut in it, arranged in a semi-circle, resembling an aureole (prabha mandala). There is an unfinished attempt to scoop a sanctum in the middle. The temple tries to express something new propelled purely by artistic instinct. A very small scale model found cut in a rock south of the shore temple seems to suggest that the cave was intended for Goddess Durga. It seems to be an awe inspiring unique audience hall of Durga, the goddess of victory. Though the art in Mamallapuram is rooted in religious ethos, it is evident that artistic expression and the urge to create aesthetically appealing forms were very important. The emphasis on creativity is revealed in all the monuments, nearly forty in number, each one being different from the other in plan, elevation, or mode of depiction. There are nearly two hundred vivid sculptures carved in stone, each varying from the other. It is a fascinating study of the minds and character of the creators of this paradise.

This serene place near the sea used to be an open air theatre, where cultural programmes were held during the Pallava period. Following tsunami, a new site was

excavated nearby which a Subramanya shrine is dating back to 50AD. The excavation brought out rare terracotta dancing images, brass and clay lamps, brass peacock, stone spear etc.¹⁸ It is a unique cave shrine which is different in style the other monuments of Mamallapuram.

¹⁸ Meena, V., *Tamil Nadu, The Land of Splendour - A Travel Guide*, Kanniyakumari, pp.98-101.

Structural Temples

The structural (free-standing) temples at Mamallapuram have been built with cut stones as building blocks, rather than carved into a rock (cave temples) or out of a rock (ratha temples). Surviving examples, fewer in number and representing a different stage, style and sophistication than the other monuments, are some of the best examples of early medieval Tamil Hindu-temple architecture. These temples like other monuments at Mamallapuram were dedicated to Shiva, Vishnu and Durga although more Shiva iconography has survived.

The Seashore temple

The Seashore temple complex at Mamallapuram has for centuries attracted mariners skirting the shore from Puducheri (Pondicherry) to Chennai and further to the north. The complex consists of three structural temples and a few rock cut sculptures. At present two towers are visible from a distance, the tallest one being a sharp pyramidal tower with a pointed stupi on the east facing the sea. The other is a smaller one facing west, looking like a younger brother of the former. Both these temples dedicated to Shiva were built by Rajasimha Pallava. Sandwiched between them is a Vishnu temple dedicated to the reclining form as Anantashayi. This image and the temple structure covering it were originally carved out of rock. The rest of the structure was built and then dressed with sandstone. While the two Shiva temples were built on a square plan, the Anantashayi temple was constructed on a rectangular plan. The Vishnu temple also had a rectangular tower, which has since crumbled, with only the portion up to the first tier surviving.

The bigger Shiva temple has a close enclosing wall, which probably had some sculptures. The east facing sanctum of this temple has a tall, highly polished, sixteen-

faceted Shiva linga, planted in the centre. At the back wall of the sanctum, a Somaskanda image can be seen. The sanctum is preceded by a small ardha mandapa. The inner wall on the south of the ardha-mandapa has an image of Brahma (facing north) and the northern wall has a sculpture of Vishnu facing south. The outer northern wall of the sanctum is fairly well-preserved and houses sculptures of Tripurantaka Shiva and Durga.

The rock cut image of Vishnu as Anantashayi has four hands. One of the left ones is damaged above the wrist but restored in cement now. The side walls of this Vishnu temple have sculptures of Krishna lila Krishna felling the demon Kesi in horse form; Krishna dancing on the serpent Kaliya in Kaliya-mardana form (both are in the northern side); and Vishnu on Garuda rescuing Gajendra from the mouth of a crocodile.

The smaller Shiva temple facing west houses a Somaskanda on the rear wall of the sanctum. It also had a linga in the sanctum. This small temple had a small mandapa in the west. Which was preceded by a larger one. The bases of these two mandaras have survived but their superstructures are gone. These two mandapas and the temple complex seemed to have had two concentric enclosures. The inner enclosure had a central entrance or gopura on the west. There are two sculptures of great significance at this entrance. The one on the south portrays an Ekapadamurti with three heads, one body, and one leg depicting the unity of the Trimurti - Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma. The other one facing south but found on the northern jamb portrays Nagaraja standing beneath the five hoods of a cobra beyond the entrance on the west there are three fairly large balipithas, or the temple altars, two for the Shiva temples and one for the Anantashayi temple.

The walls of the enclosure have survived only partially from the bottom but originally had a row of nandis on top of them. All of them have fallen, but the restorers of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have rearranged them. The inner walls of the inner enclosure had a series of panels portraying the history of the Pallavas. Some of the surviving panels can still be seen. It is relevant to note that the Vaikuntha Perumal temple at Kanchi, built about fifty years later than the Seashore temple, by the same Pallava king portrays the history of the Pallavas from its mythical beginnings to the building of that temple. There are label inscriptions that mention the episodes connected with each sculptural depiction. The tradition of portraying the history of a dynasty in a sculptural sequence is first seen in the Seashore temple.

There are a number of inscriptions relating to this temple complex found here. A label inscription found on the lintel of Anantashayi Vishnu Temple, calls it Narapatisimha Pallava Vishnu griha. Narapatisimha is a title of Rajasimha. The balipitha of this temple carries inscriptions in Sanskrit, written in Pallava grantha, extolling the greatness of Rajasimha. All his well-known titles are mentioned in them. It is evident that these three temples were built by Rajasimha. Two inscriptions of Rajaraja Chola I dated in his twenty-fifth year are found in slabs now inserted into the base of the Smaller Shiva temple. They mention the names of all the three temples which are Kshatriyasimha Pallaveshvara-griham, Rajasimha Pallaveshvara-griham, and Pallikondaraliya-devar (Anantashayi), the whole temple complex is called Jalashayana. They also indicate that the rock cut Anantashayi temple was the first to be erected, followed by the other two Shiva temples. The two inscriptions of Rajaraja show that there were flower gardens on both sides of the complex and that all the three temples were under worship even in the beginning of eleventh century CE.

There is much speculation about the Seashore temple. One theory put forward is that there were five more temples with towers that have got submerged under water. Village elders have for very long consistently claimed that they have sighted the metal top of the kalashas. But these speculations have no scientific basis and all that is known is that during some high tides many carved sculptures have been sucked into the sea by the waves. The Archaeological Survey of India formed an underwater exploration wing. Recent studies have revealed that a long rock cut wall, like that of a prakara, is seen jutting into the sea. Probably, some time ago, the sea was a little further away and there was an eastern extension of the prakara. But nothing more has come to light.

An important new discovery was made on the floor of the Shore temple adjacent to the enclosure wall. A small tank-like structure has been uncovered with stone revetments. The centre had a stone lined well probably used for drawing abhisheka water. By the side was found a partly rock cut and partly structural miniature temple, circular in plan and elevation, with a small socket in the centre, housing an image of Shiva as Tripurantaka. The base of this miniature temple is in the form of square, with octagonal and circular plans one over the other, resembling a yantra. Shore Temple is one of the prominent monuments of Mmallapuram. It is a structural temple located at the sea shore, hence called as the Shore Temple. This high rising monument might have acted as a land mark for the ships in those days. Hence, it is perhaps, due to this temple, the town was named as ‘Seven Pagodas’ by the Europeans in the olden days. The temple complex has three different temples and all of them are raised above the same platform.

The Diving Varaha

The most striking discovery was of a rock cut boar representing Lord Vishnu in his Varaha incarnation. The damaged Boar appears to be pressing its hind legs with great force and bending forward, with its head down as if powerfully charging, ready to plunge into the ocean to lift Mother Earth (hete. According to legend, the Earth was submerged under the deep waters of the ocean and the Varaha dived into the waters and lifted her above the waters. There are many varaha sculptures in India and in most cases the Boar is shown with its head slightly lifted up to suggest that it has lifted the Earth. This is the only illustration where its head is lowered in the act of plunging into the waters. In order to understand this we need to be aware of the situation in which it is located. The artist has placed the varaha right on the coast, on the shore, where the waves dash against it, thus integrating its location and environment, and suggesting that it is actually diving into the ocean. It is an extraordinary location chosen carefully to make the creation look realistic. This seems to be one of the finest portrayals of not only the varaha, but also of the aesthetic approach of the artists of Mamallapuram.

The selection of monuments such as the Varaha, Arjuna's Penance, and Krishna Govardhanadhari reveals that the Mamallapuram artists were great masters at integrating nature and environment into their artistic creations. The varaha is carved on a rocky pedestal bearing the various names of Rajasimha such as Rajasimha, Ranajaya, Shribharah, and Chitra Karmukha in Pallava Grantha characters. The inscription abundantly proves the artistic sensibility of Rajasimha, an Ocean of Art and the patron behind all the creations at Mamallapuram: This sculpture has one more interesting appeal. During the rainy season, or even at high tide, the tank gets filled with water. At that time the boar remains submerged under water, presenting a fascinating spectacle worth seeing.

The Lion Temple

Within the enclosure of the Shore temple, to the south of the triple temple, is a majestic, seated lion, partly carved from a rock and partly sculpted separately and placed in position. In its torso, almost representing its heart, is a square socket serving as a miniature cave-sanctum, in which there is a carved image of Mahishasura Mardini. The lion itself is the temple of the Goddess and she is seated in her sanctum. This sculpture suggests the Upanishadic concept that likens the heart to a guha (cave) where the Supreme Being is said to reside. A beautiful headless deer reclines beside the lion. Between the two stands a headless dwarfish graha.

A few hundred yards away, to the south of the temple, are a few low rocky outcrops. These have also been converted into pieces of art. They are miniature replicas of what has been seen at Tiger cave. They represent a miniature tiger cave, the horse and elephants with howdahs, and a seated lion. These further illustrate the artistic instinct of the patron and his artists.

Olakkanneshvara Temple

Olakkanneshvara temple. Olakkanneshvara temple is located above the hill where the Mahisasuramardini cave temple is carved out. However, this is not a cave temple; it's a structural temple. The temple tower is not present nowadays. The Olakkanneswara Temple on the hill above is built, not hewn, and like the Shore Temple is of later date. It has the rampant lions of the Rajasimha period. It was used as a lighthouse before the present lighthouse was built.

Right above the Mahishasura Mardini Cave, serving as its crown, is a structural temple built at the same time. Approached by partly built up and partly rocky steps the temple is located at the highest point in the village, Dressed slabs have

been used to build this temple, which originally had a tower and shikhara that probably resembled the tower of the Seashore temple. In spite of being in ruins the temple was under worship even in the nineteenth century. The temple now remains from the base to the ceiling with the outer face of the walls exhibiting sculptures. The wall on the south carries a delightful image of Dakshinamurti Shiva. The temple is approached through narrow steps which seem to be the original ones provided during the Pallava reign.

Mukunda Nayanar Temple

On the northern outskirts of Mamallapuram enroute to Saluvankuppam, a small plain structural temple, with an octagonal shikhara, is found half-buried in sand. Mukunda Nayanar temple is a least visited monument in Mamallapuram, the city of monuments in south India. Mukunda Nayanar temple is a small structural temple, which is believed to have been built by Rajasimha Pallava. The inner shrine has a sculptural panel of Somaskanda-Shiva, Parvati and baby Skanda with Vishnu and Brahma behind them. The front side mandapa is supported by two circular pillars and two pilasters. The temple has an octagonal tower.

Central Temple of Vishnu

In the midst of all these monumental and artistic temples stands the Talashayana Perumal temple dedicated to the reclining form of Vishnu (Anantashayi). This is perhaps the oldest surviving temple in Mamallapuram. Bhutartalvar the fifth-sixth century Vaishnava saint born here, has sung of the greatness of this Vishnu, as has another saint. Thirumangai, who lived in the eighth century. Ever since, this temple has been in continuous occupation as one of the 108 Vaishnavite kshetras. The sixteenth-seventeenth century references to large gatherings of pilgrims at

Mamallapuram are mainly due to this sanctity. However, the present structure belongs to the medieval period. The side walls of the entrance of this gopura depict scenes from the Ramayana, and Krishna Lila in addition to Narasimhavatara: which transport visitors to the bygone era of the sixteenth century. A tall four-pillared mandapa was built further east on the way to the sea shore for the Dolotsava swing festival. A tank lined with granite steps, with a central mandapa was also built during this period for purposes of sacred bathing and the floating festivals.

The temple is called Talashayana temple in a number of inscriptions found on the walls of the temple. The records refer to the temple as Sthalashayana and the Lord Vishnu as Ulaguyya ninra-perumal that is "Lord who stood for the emancipation of the world. Inscriptions recording grants to the temple are found from the time of the Shambhuvaraya chieftain of the fourteenth century. Late sixteenth century records of Vijayanagara kings are also seen. A point of great historic interest is that the well-known religious saint, Krishnachaitanya Mahaprabhu, paid a visit to Mamallapuram between 1510 and 1512, to worship Lord Vishnu and Shiva in this temple.

Kali

In the midst of the village, behind the shopping street, a raised platform houses the sapta matrikas. While most of the matrikas are of the medieval period, the image of Kali is a lovely Pallava (Rajasimha) sculpture. The Goddess is majestically seated. The location of the sculptures with reference to the central Vishnu temple of the village is in the ishana that is north-east. According to the traditional architectural treatises the Vishnu temple should be located in the centre of the village while the temple of the sapta matrikas should be in ishana direction. This confirms that the centre of ancient Mamallapuram was the area of the Vishnu temple. This point still

remains the centre of village. It is a fine example of a Pallava village following the textual prescription in its layout.

Lion Seat

Crowning the main rock and serving as the centre of the whole group of monuments is a rock cut, rectangular seat with a reclining lion at one end, serving as a rest. It served as a seat (Simhasana) for the patron Pallava king to sit and discuss the progress of the artists. The romantic appeal of the site and the beauty of the surrounding landscape must have fascinated the king as he sat moulding fantasies out of rock. After lion seat include Arjuna's Penance.

Arjuna's Penance:

Near the cave temples is the great open-air sculpture popularly known as "Arjuna's Penance". A great rock wall (96 feet long and 43 feet high) with a fissure in its middle, is ornamented on both sides with sculptured figures of deities, human beings, Nagas and a variety of animals all together numbering about 1000 figures are carved either facing or approaching the fissure and generally with hands folded in adoration. On the left side of the fissure can be seen a simple temple which contains a four-armed deity, probably Siva. The fissure is sculptured with Nagas. Above the fissure and on either side of it are flying figures of Gods and below are some sculptures of animals of which giant elephants are the most impressive and are considered to be the noblest creations of the human mind. A monkey family has also been depicted in a very exquisite and appealing manner. Rene Grousset has observed: "What we have before us here is a vast picture, a regular fresco in stone. This relief is a masterpiece of classic art in the breadth of its composition, the sincerity of the

impulse which draws all creatures together round the beneficent waters and its deep, fresh love of nature”.

What is depicted here in the great open-air sculpture has a story behind it and difference of opinion among historians. The older theory is that it represents the penance of Arjuna during his exile in the Himalayas, to get *pasupatastra* from Lord Siva. His famous weapon of war, *Pasupataa*, to conquer the Kauravas. This popular interpretation is generally accepted by all. Another piece of architectural beauty deserving study and close observation is the: “Shore temple” standing against the background of the deep blue waters of the ocean. It belongs to a period when the constructional style of the Pallavas was at its peak in its decorative beauty and intrinsic quality. There are a number of carved rocks and a small excavation with the figures of Durga, around the temple. Thus the group of monuments at Mahabalipuram, as observed by Heinrich Zinna, “developed an ideal of the human form that was unique, something quite its own, when compared with the works of the rest of the Indian mainland”. It is the reputed birth-place of Bhutattalwar, an early Vaishnava Saint. There was a reputed Vaishnava shrine which has been praised by Tirumangai Alwar in his hymns. Arjuna’s Penance is a massive piece of art, a real masterpiece in stone, which the sculptors have designed with all the creative instincts at their command¹⁹. This monument which is 25 metres in length and 12 metres in height has been carved on the edge of a huge whale shaped rock.

This bas-relief, hailed as one of the major glories of Indian art, is a huge rock canvas with chisel-sketches of the denizens of the triple world of gods and demi-gods, of men, birds and beasts and of Nagas and nymphs-all fitting harmoniously into the

¹⁹ Srinivas – J. Prabhakar. Mahabalipuram a journey through a magical land, Thangathamarai Pathippagam, 2019., p.14.

theme of the penance a mythological hero.²⁰ There are two schools of opinion about this event of cosmic significance. One school holds that Arjuna undertook a penance to secure from Lord Siva a powerful weapon to destroy his enemies. Siva granted the boon, and to witness this miracle, visitors rushed from the heaven, the earth and the mid-regions.

Another school holds that the scene depicts the penance of Bhagiratha, an ancestor of Rama. Bhagiratha was sent on a mission of redeeming the souls of his ancestors whose ashes lay in the nether world as a result of a curse. He wanted to have their ashes submerged by the holy Gnaga water and thus help them to ascend to heaven.

He accomplished this in two stages. After a long penance, he got the Gods agree to send the Ganga to earth. Through another penance, he invoked Siva to tame the Ganga fury. Lord Siva received the Ganga on His matted hair and allowed the water to trickle down to earth. The cleft in the rock depicts the Ganga descending into the world.

Three bas relief miniatures in the Arjuna's Penance and Ramanuja mandapa represent the simple ekatala-vimana with all the six angas, viz. the adhishtama (basement), pada or blutti (pillars or walls), prastara (entablature), griva (neck or clerestory), sikhara (roof) and stupi (final). The three contiguous shrine-fronts of the Trimurthi cave are representations of dvitala vimans, shown in elevation up to the level of the first story (ground floor)²¹.

²⁰ Meena, v., *Tamil Nadu The Land of Splendour A Travel Guide*, Hari Kumari Arts Sannidhi Street, Kanniyakumari. P.13-14

²¹ K. R. Srinivasan, *The Pallava Architecture of South India*, p.129-130.

The crowing jewel of Mahabalipuram, Arjuna's Penance is a deeply religious, beautiful piece, with anaturalistic style and immense amounts of detail.²² Arjuna's Penance is one of those few popular monuments in the town, which is never missed. Arjuna's Penance, 90 feet 30 feet bas relief panel, can be considered as a master piece of apallava art²³. There are more than 100 bas relief images carved in the rock. The upper right side of the monuments has the images of Lord Shiva and Arjuna, one of the Mahabharata heroes, standing in one foot doing penance. There are several arguments and counter arguments on whether this image represents Arjuna or the king Bhagirath.

This particular section of the bas relief is considered as the main theme of the main theme of the entire monument and hence the entire monument and hence the entire monuments is referred as Arjuna's Penance. Lord Shiva is seen with four arms, holding a weapon which looks a distorted Trishul on his upper right arm. He is surrounded by Shiv Ganas. One particular Gna's image is interesting. His belly resembles lion's face. Arjuna is seen as bony and thin with a long beard, obviously to depict that was into penance for a long time. He is also found to be standing on one leg and raising both his arms above his head. The left side of Shiva has two hunters behind a tree and a lion behind them. There are also many animals such as monkey, deer and lion. On top, various images of the Deva couples (divine beings) and Kinnara couples (human body and bird legs and wings) are found. Surya (the Sun God) is also found above shiva.

The lower left side of the monument is almost empty and no image is found. Exactly below the image of Arjuna, a small shrine with Lord Vishnu is found. An

²² Apiirva Malarvannan, The Life of Mahabalipuram Pulsing stories Trapped in stone, 2014., E-book.

²³ Krishnakumar T. K. Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram for Beginners), 2019., E-book.

ascetic, who appears to be Guru, along with three other ascetics who appear to his disciples are found near this shrine. There are few ascetics, serpent pairs, divine couples and birds who face towards the middle slit. Although the main theme of the monument is believed to be Lord Shiva and Arjuna, it is true that most of the images in this monument face towards to middle slit. The middle slit has Nagaraha (serpent with male human face) on top, Naga kanya (serpent with female human face) in the middle and a snake in the bottom. Probably the middle slit represents a river. The lower right side of the monuments has two magnificent life size relief images of elephants with their three babies nearby. A cat standing with its upper arms raised above its head as if doing a penance is an attractive image found near the elephants.

The right side of the monuments has a lot of small images representing Kinnaea couples and other such divine couples. Various animals such as lions, deer and other birds are also found across the right section of the monument. Its tail looks like the number '8'. The image of Chandra (the Moon God) is found on the upper right side²⁴.

Alternatively known as Arjuna's Penance, Descent of the Ganges is a gigantic open air bas-relief sculpted out of pink granite. The dramatic relief sculpture narrates the tales from Indian epics such as the Mahabharata. Nearby mandapas, particularly the Krishna Mandapa, however, showcase scenes of pastoral life amid mythical figures other similar rock artworks close by have been left unfinished due to some unexplained reason.

Arjuna's Penance is the name given to another great rock-sculpture on the same face of the hill. It is an enormous and complicated carved picture, centering on a

²⁴ Krishnakumar T. K. Mamallapuram (Mahabalipuram for Beginners), 2019., E-book.

natural cleft in the rock. There is a similar but unfinished picture below the lighthouse, and a rock with a cleft in it has been chosen for that also.

Krishna Mandapa:

The east facing Krishna Mandapa is located in the south of the famous Arjuna's Penance monument. It appears that originally it would have been constructed as an open air relief like Arjuna's Penance. Later, the pillared mandapa in front of the relief could have been constructed. The main theme of the bas relief is Lord Krishna lifting the Govardhana hills to save the villagers from Indra's anger in the form of storm and heavy rain. God Indra, the king of the celestial beings, angry with the villagers. He sent severe storm in order to punish them²⁵. There was a young boy in the village by name Krishana. Krishna is regarded as an incarnation of Lord Vishnu. In order to save the people of the village, he lifted the mountain called Govardhana Giri and held it aloft like an umbrella. People and the animals took shelter under the mountain and the village was saved from destruction. This scene has been depicted realistically in stone in this Krishna Mandapam, which is just to the south of the Pancha Paandava Cave. A mandapam or a pillared hall has been added several centuries later to protect the relief from the weather.

The large sculpture levels how effortlessly Krishna is holding the mountain in his left hand. Standing next to him, with his arm around a cowherd is Balarama, Krishna's elder brother, male and the female cowherds with milk pots, children and the herds of cows all depict a natural village scene. This representation of the Govardhana scene is regarded as the best sculptor in India. The scene of the cowherd shows how the cow is licking the calf with motherly affection. The calf is enjoying

thoroughly the love and attention. The cowherd completes the tender triangle of love by his attentive regard of the cow and the calf. We can see how beautifully the tongue of the cow has been shown licking the body of the calf. And the sculptor has brought out the motherly feelings even among the animals.

This is a typical scene that one can see in any Indian village. It seems that living a life in tune with nature has now remained only in such villages. The story of God Indra sending rain and storm to punish the villager's reveals that fact that how an individual's arrogance and ego can contribute to the destruction of nature. Even to day the natural wealth are looted in the name of advancement, due to man's self interest and greed. Remote villages, their resources and the tribals living there are all affected. Their wealth and livelihood are hit badly it is also seen that not only the villagers, but even the flora and fauna are affected by man's selfishness. Isn't it our duty to ensure that nature is saved from destruction? This is what exactly is conveyed by this sculpture through the heroic deed of Krishna. Not only the villages. The forest, seen all around the village and the wild animals, whose images can be seen at the edges of the monuments, need to be preserved. In those days there were dense forests around towns and villages. The monument conveys that it is also our duty to protect the forests and their wealth.

It recreates one of the episodes from the life of Lord Krishna, an idyll from His boyhood. The pastoral scene carved on the Mandapam's wall depicts the Lord lifting the mountains to protect the shepherd community of Gokula from the wrath of Varuna, the rain God. The poetic grace that abounds in the even tenor of pastoral life is presented here with vividness and charm.

Krishna's Butter Ball:

It looks as if a big boulder has been placed on a huge rock. This has not moved for centuries. This rock is called Krishna's butterball, after the prodigious fondness for butter of Krishna, the adorable but mischievous boy that he was in his childhood. This is not a boulder placed precariously on a rock. In reality, the flat rock at the bottom and the irregular sphere shaped boulder on top are just two different portions of the same rock.

While Mahabalipuram, has so many man made monuments, this can be regarded as a beautiful monument designed by nature itself. This lies just to the north of Arjuna's Penance.

This huge boulder rests precariously on a narrow rock base. It is believed that repeated efforts by several Pallava kings to move this boulder even with the help of elephants failed.²⁶

Krishna's butter ball is a giant natural rock perched on the hillside near the popular monument Arjuna's Penance as it resembles butter ball, it is called as Lord Krishna's butter ball.

There is another curious structure known as Sri Krishna's Butter Ball that fascinates everyone in Mahabalipuram. It is not a sculpted piece but more of a handiwork of nature. Today, Mahabalipuram is trying to re-create its image as the country's premier beach resort but it has not completely lost touch with its past cultural exploits. Every year, it hosts classical dance and drama festivals to preserve and promote the heritage of a very ancient culture.

²⁶ Meena, v., *Tamil Nadu The Land of Splendour A Travel Guide*, Hari Kumari Arts Sannidhi Street, Kanniyakumari, P.14-15.

Pallava Art and Architecture

Mamallapuram through the Centuries

Nearly piece of Tamil literature Perumban-armuppadaï, extolls a local chieftain called Tondaiman Ilamtiraiyan (first century CE) as the ruler of Tondaimandalam (northern Tamil Nadu), with Kanchipuram as his capital. The text also gives a description of a port under him, and a lighthouse serving as a beacon for seafarers. As Mamallapuram (Fig is praised from the fifth century onwards as a flourishing sea port, it is not unlikely that this is the port mentioned in the early Tamil text.

The Vaishnava saint Bhutatralvar praises his native place as Mamallai, indicating that it was a great port (ma meaning great and mallait meaning prosperous port). Ever since then, the port has been venerated as a sacred Vishnu kshetra. The Vishnu temple located in the centre of the village predates the Pallavas, though the present structure was rebuilt in the sixteenth century. The village probably received a new name after the title of the Pallava ruler Mamalla Narasimha I in mid-seventh century, when he probably built the Vishnu temple, and called the two Mamallapuram. At the beginning of the eighth century Rajasimha frequently visited this port and commissioned the carvings of the caves, monoliths, open-air sculptures and structural temples. His inscriptions are found on a number of monuments in this town, proving his patronage. The awe-inspiring Mamallapuram monuments have for long inspired writers, poets, artists, and tourists. One of them was Dandin, a court poet of Rajasimha, who wrote a purely imaginative novel called Avanti-Sundari Katha (the story of a beautiful girl of Avanti). He writes of a certain artist called Lalitalaya whose skills surpassed even those of the Greeks who arrived at the court of

the king of Kanchi He invited the king to visit Mamallapuram to see for himself how he had mended the broken forearm of Vishnu from the wrist. The ling, probably Rajasimha, and Dandin set out for Mamallapuram Reaching there they were overwhelmed to see the broken sculpture of reclining Vishnu so carefully and meticulously repaired that even the joints were not visible. This is perhaps the earliest record of scientific sculptural conservation in India. Even as they admired the artistic capabilities of the sculptor Lalitalaya, a miracle occurred in front of them. The sea waves brought a huge lotus flower, which was left on the sacred feet of reclining Vishnu. It immediately turned into a gandharva who rose high in the air. On being questioned about the miracle, the gundharva began narrating the story from which originated the story of Avanti-sundan katha. The story written in Sanskrit was found in a several centuries old manuscript in Kerala.

The next account on Mamallapuram was in the work of another poet but this time the poetry was religious. It was Saint Thirumangat Alvar (mid-eighth who wrote nearly fifty years after the creation of the monument. He sang in praise of the Vishnu of the Temple of Sthalashayana. Even this religious saint could not escape the appeal of the natural beauty of this shore town and its prosperity due to foreign trade. He praises the prosperous Kadal-mallai' which flourished because ships laden with commodities frequented its shores.

An inscription of Nandi Potavarman (Nandi II) dated in his sixty-fifth year (795 CE) is found in the Adivaraha temple. It records a gift of land made by a merchant by the name of Kandan of Mamallapuram.

In the tenth century, the Chola emperor Rajaraja visited this town and renamed the township after one of his titles as Jananatha puram alias Mamallapuram. He

provided two flower gardens on either side of the Shore temple, with an endowment to supply flowers daily for temple services. His inscriptions are found at the Seashore temple, the two seashore towers are named as Rajasimha-Pallavesvara-Griham and Kshatriya-simha Pallaveshvara-griham. Rajaraja also provided for the worship of the excavated cave temple at Saluvankuppam. Mamallapuram received great impetus under Rajaraja Chola (985 1015). A few years after Rajaraja, in the reign of his grandson Rajendra II, an endowment is recorded in the Adivaraha cave, calling the temple Parameshwara-Mahavaraha-Vishnu griham the great Varaha temple of Parameshvara).

In the fifteenth century under the Vijayanagara rulers, Mamallapuram witnessed further prosperity. The main Vishnu temple with its front mandapas and enclosure wall were rebuilt. The Adivaraha cave received a mandapa in front and endowments were made for festivals. The front mandapa of the Krishna Govardhanadhari was added and the Ramanuja mandapa was also repaired. It seems, by the sixteenth century, the Seashore temple had already fallen into ruins but a pathway from the main Vishnu temple to the seashore was laid with some mandapas built at intervals to be used in festive times when the deity was taken to the seashore for the immersion ceremony. The sixteenth century is generally considered as the era, when the Vaishnavite character of the village reached a high point.

An atlas named Catalan Atlas, dated 1325 and ascribed to Abraham Cresquas, a Catalanian from Spain, locates a place 'Setemeter' which is identified with Mamallapuram. However, it is not unlikely that the name refers to Sadraspatnam (now called Sadras).

A reference to the Mamallapuram monuments occurs in 1582 in the works of a Venetian traveller who sighted 'eight pleasant hillocks not very high'. His name was Gaspero Babli and he was a jeweller who came to the east for trade. He wrote about this site on his way from Nagappatinam to Santhome. This work has been translated by Purchas into English. He says, 'About three o'clock in the morning we came to a place called "Seven Pagodas" upon which are eight pleasant hillocks, not very high, which are seven leagues from Santhome where we arrived at noon'. Manucci, who lived in Madras in the seventh century, wrote in his *Storia do Mogor* that 'on the coast of Chola Mandal was the sea, and there is also a rock called Mavelivaru, distance four leagues from a place called Sadras Patao, where there are many sculptural fragments resembling Chinese.'

Captain Hamilton, in his *New Account of the East Indies* published in 1727, says that 'near Conny-mere are the seven Pagodas'. A Frenchman named Sonnerat says, 'The temple called the seven Pagodas which one sees between Sadras and Pondicherry should be one of the oldest on the Coromandal coast'. In 1727, one Charles Boddam, captain of the ship *Charlton*, brought to India a copper diving engine, together with a diver, in order to investigate the wreck of the *Dartmouth* cast away at Mahabalipuram six years previously (1721).

William Chambers, who visited Mamallapuram in 1772 and 1776, was the first writer to give a systematic general description of the place and monuments. This was first published in 1788 in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I in Calcutta, under the title 'Some Account of the sculptures and ruins of Mavalipuram a place, a few miles north of Sadras, and known to seamen by the name of the Seven Pagodas'. Evidently, the name Seven Pagodas was known among seamen initially. Chambers believed that the Mamallapuram inscriptions were Siamese. In his list of the monuments we find the

Ganesha ratha. Arjuna's penance, Krishna mandapa, the structure on the hill of the Mahishasura Mardini mandapa, the Pandava rathas and the Shore temple. Probably the rest were covered with sand then. According to him the 'natives of the place, declared to him that the more aged people remembered to have seen the top of several pagodas, which being covered with copper particularly visible at the sunrise, as their shining surface used then to reflect in sun rays'.

Fra Paolino Da-San Bartholomew who visited Mamallapuram in 1800 wrote: 'But how shall I describe this masterpiece of ancient Indian Architecture kind. When I visited this place I was attended by five Brahmins who all spoke Portuguese and gave me an explanation of everything I saw G In 1798, James Goldenham, an officer under the Madras government, gave more details about Mamallapuram, in Asiatic Researcher. He learnt that the great bas relief represented 'Arjuna's Penance'. Just as the Sanskrit poet Dandin was inspired by Mamallapuram in the eighth century to write fiction, write an imaginative epic poetry even without visiting this site. A thousand years later it was Robert Southey who wrote his epic 'The curse of Kehama', which is centred on Mamallapuram. Some of the scenes of the epic are located at Mamallapuram.

The first published drawing of Mamallapuram was by M.J. Haffner prepared in 1780, and published in a German book in 1806. His book Journey to the Coromandal Coast was translated into French in 1811 and also into English. dle and Philosophical observer' was the title given to herself by a lady, Martha Graham, who visited Mamallapuram in 1811. Her writings are full of philosophy and poetry about Mamallapuram and are to be found in Letters on India published in 1814.

From the seventeenth century a gradual shift is noticed in the character of the village. Some of the appreciative writings on the monumental rock art, sculptures, and temples, started attracting art lovers. When the inscriptions on the walls of the caves were deciphered in the mid-nineteenth century and the Pallavas revealed as the authors of Mamallapuram monuments, the long-forgotten authors of the monuments emerged from obscurity and received greatest admiration from the visitors.

The first serious effort to study the inscriptions of Mamallapuram was made by Benjamin Guy Babington in 1828. He thought it was necessary to connect inscriptions with the monuments for a proper understanding. He read a paper on this in the Royal Asiatic Society in London on 12 July 1828. James Fergusson was the first to suggest that the Mamallapuram monuments belonged to the period 650-700 in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, published in 1880, but his revised edition in 1910 gives a still shorter period from 670-700. Mamallapuram entered the Age of Photography around 1870. Alexander Hunter, the founder of the Madras School of Arts arranged for photographs of the monuments to be taken in 1871. The photographs taken by him are now in the Madras School of Arts.

The most important work to be published towards the end of the nineteenth century was by E. Hultsch, the government epigraphist for Madras, who published all the inscriptions of Mamallapuram with their English translations in *South Indian Inscription*, Vol. 1, 1892. Hultsch's brilliant analysis of the records helped in clearing many wrong notions about the monuments. Being the first attempt, when epigraphic records were marshalled, there were some errors too in identifying the kings and also in Palaeography. For example, about the two inscriptions in the Atiranachanda cave temple, one in Nagari and the other in Pallava grantha, Hultsch held that the two belonged to two different periods, in spite of the fact that both were identical.

Similarly, the work of art historian Ananda Coomaraswamy in *History of Indian and Art* (1926), The first half of the twentieth century made steady but, slow progress in interpretative efforts, but most scholars were unanimous as far as the dating was concerned. K.R. Srinivasan's *The Cave Temples of the Pallavas*, published by the Archaeological Survey of India, provides a detailed survey of the descriptions of the cave temples at Mamallapuram, furnishing measured of each cave with full illustrations. This remains a major work. Srinivasan followed it up with another work on the Dharmaraja ratha (1975). However, he followed the nineteenth century views of the authorship for the monuments, though he too says that there is no monument of Mahendravarman I at Mamallapuram. Following him, other writers held that successive rulers continued the work on the monuments. Another work of significance is the article 'New Light on Mamallapuram' by the present author, which analysed the inscriptions and their content and found that all monuments can be ascribed to King Rajasimha. Two renowned scholars on the subject, Stella Kramrisch, an authority on art styles, and D.C. Sircar, formerly Chief Epigraphist for India and an outstanding authority in his field have concurred with the above findings. Stella Kramrisch wrote, 'from the point of view of style, there is nothing to contradict this finding. Also, as a matter of fact, we are at a loss to say stylistic in the work of at Mahabalipuram which also handicap comparing with the sculpture of the Kailasantha temple on account their being overlaid with plaster." Sircar wrote that it seems to be better to regard the Aryanta-kama-Srinidhi-Sribhara-Ranjaya as a single king rather than as two or three different kings as in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, and elsewhere."

Further studies have appeared from altogether different angles. William Willetts published his valuable work *An Illustrated Annotated Annual Bibliography of Mahabalipuram*. He studied all the writings from 1582-1962, and published the

Bibliography which throws abundant light on the Mamallapuram studies. In his conclusion he says that 'this is a published version of the paper read might have been called "Mahabalipuram unwield", since it draws together all the scattered strands of evidence that has been accumulating over the last century, into a stout draw cord with which to pull the shroud from the image of the makers, who stands revealed as Rajasimha. It is the most important contribution to the literature of Mahabalipuram, since the site was first attributed to the Pallavas".

The great attention has placed Mahabalipuram on the world's tourist map and has since invited thousands of tourists to delight in this marvel of sculptural beauty.

CONCLUSION

Mahabalipuram, is a temple of art, created by the Pallavarulers. Appeared as a dream world, with brilliantly strictures and extraordinarily intricate temples. It is a virtual treasure-trove of sculpture and architecture. The greatness of the place will be realized only by those who go there in person and enjoy its splendor. Mahabalipuram is a shining example of the Dravidian culture and the ancient civilization of the Tamils. It can even be said that the temple architecture, which is a unique feature of the Tamil culture, was born in this place. Recognizing the greatness of the monuments of Mahabalipuram and confirming their exceptional Universal value, the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage'has included them in the UNESCO'S World Heritage List. There are four types of sculptures available in India, viz Cave Temples, Carved Monoliths, Sculptured Scenes of Bas Relief and Masonry Temples. The unique feature of Mahabalipuram is that all these four types are available in this place.

The Hindu fervuor is still palpable today in Mahabalipuram, etched into the fine lines of sculptures and details that are still distinguishable even after centuries of weathering and salt erosion. The history of Mahabalipuram's creators, the Pallava dynasty, plays like a grand epic, with eccentric leaders, extreme bloodlust, and a passion for the arts (and religion) that seems downright bizarre in our contemporary age. But perhaps more important than the Pallava dynasty in shaping the trapped-in-stone lyricism of Mahabalipuram were the sthapatis and their workers, the thousands of people whose blood and sweat seeped into the dirt in order to buck tradition and use stone to erect beautiful religious art. Their trade and passion has pilled over into the modern world in the form of the numerous sculptor's shops lining the streets of Mahabalipuram, whose work is transported around the world for far more people than

ever to experience the artistic vitality of Mahabalipuram. Mahabalipuram's beauty while still widely unrecognized, has not gone entirely unnoticed, given its 1984 UNESCO designation as a World Heritage Site, along with its booming tourism industry. In the light of natural disasters and weathering, archaeologists have worked to preserve the details of the structures there, and uncover some that may have been submerged.

Mahabalipuram is steeped in tradition, but it also is a product of change, of innovation, that became the reason why it has endured to this day. Stone, used for funerals, was converted for religious purposes, a decision that would prove monumental. It is our responsibility, over a thousand years later, to listen to the stories that have sprung forth from that little town by the sea (and those that continue to spring forth), and respect the vision and progress being made today in art and architecture. Mahabalipuram is now a well-known tourist destination, owing to its many heritage structures that fall under the UNESCO Group of Monuments.

Mahabalipuram is notable for its immense detail and intricacy. Even the most seemingly insignificant temples, nestled away in small caves, are both technical and artistic wonder. Mahabalipuram created by the Pallava dynasty, became a hallmark of Dravidian architecture, greatly influencing Chola architecture and the architecture of many dynasties that followed. This decision to preserve contemporary styles and religious art in stone, a medium traditionally reserved for religious purposes, was even more brilliant than imagined. Mahabalipuram survives for over a thousand years, from natural damage and weathering, including natural disasters.

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- 15.

Glossary

Abhaya	-	Gesture of Protection
Agamas	-	Temple Ritual Texts
Aksha-Malaalaya	-	Rosary of Beads
Ardha-mandapa	-	Half-hall preceding the sanctum
Balipitha	-	Temple altar
Bhuvah	-	Intermediate space, sky
Brahmanya	-	Spiritual virtue attained by Vedic sacrifices
Chakra	-	Discus, the weapon of Vishnu
Channravira	-	Prominent armour worn across the body
Charana	-	One of the 18 groups of celestials
Dvarapala	-	Door guardian
Gada	-	Mace
Gajaprishta	-	Apsidal or horse-shoe plan
Garbhagriha	-	Inner sanctum where the supreme deity is enshrined
Gopi	-	Shepherdess
Gandharvas	-	One of the 18 celestial groups known for beauty and accomplishment in music and dance
Gopura	-	Central entrance
Grantha	-	A form of script employed in Tamil Nadu for the past 2000 years to write Sanskrit language.

Jata	-	Matted lock of hair
Jyotir-linga	-	Shiva's symbol of linga representing cosmic flame
Kala	-	Arts
Kaliya-mardana	-	Krishna dancing on the hoods of the serpent
Karandamakuta	-	Crown resembling reducing size of pots placed one over the other
Kati-hasta	-	Gesture of placing the hand on thigh
Kaumodaki	-	Name of Vishnu's mace
Kim-purushas	-	Short men with hanging earlobes
Kinnara	-	A pair of mythical birds that were in human form waist and bird below the waist. They always appear as couples, male and female, and are considered best musicians.
Kirita	-	Crown
Lila	-	Sport
Makaratorana	-	Entrance arch with one crocodile motif on either end
Makuta	-	Crown
Mallal	-	Prosperity
Mandala	-	Circle
Mandapa	-	Pavilion or hall
Mishra	-	Mixed

Nagaraja	-	Serpent king and serpent
PallavaGrantha	-	Script employed generally in northern India to write Sanskrit language from 4th to 9th centuries.
Panchajanya	-	Name of the conch Vishnu holds in his hand
Parasu	-	Axe held in the hand of Shiva
Pashupataastra	-	The special and supreme weapon presented by Shiva to Arjuna, the Pandava hero.
Pitha	-	Pedestal
Prabha	-	Halo
Prakara	-	Enclosure
Prasada	-	Sanctum tower
Rathas	-	Monolithic temples carved in the shape of chariots
Rishis	-	Sages
Samabhanga	-	Standing erect
Shankha	-	Conch
Saptamatrikas	-	Seven goddesses who are called seven mothers
Siddhas	-	Sages with beard who have achieved mystic powers
Shikhara	-	tower or peak
Skanda	-	Subrahmanya
Stupi	-	Final
Subrahmanya	-	Second son of Shiva

Sudarshana	-	Name of the discus held by Vishnu
Shuddha	-	Pure
Suvah	-	Heaven
Svarnavaikaksha	-	Golden armor
Trimurti	-	The three principal gods of the Hindus, viz Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva
Upa-pitham	-	Sub-base
Vidyadhara	-	celestial singers who are one among the retainers of the gods
Vimana	-	Temple sanctum tower
Vyala	-	leogriph
Yali	-	Leogriph
Ana	-	A type of Indian currency that existed during the British Raj era; it was worth less than the American penny.
Arjuna	-	A character from the highly religious Indian epic Mahabharata.
Badami	-	The former capital of the Chalukya dynasty, formerly called Vatapi during that age. It is also the location of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I's successful defeat of the Chalukya king Pulakesi II.
Bas-relief	-	A French word, referring to a mural composed of

sculptures.

- Birudas** - Honorifics, or titles, that are inscribed on many of the structures at Mahabalipuram.
- Buddha** - Siddhartha Gautama, an Indian prince who gave up his title to preach his new teachings of nontheistic enlightenment.
- Buddhism** - A nontheistic religion that rejects materialism and advocates mindfulness for higher wisdom for enlightenment.
- Chennai** - The modern-day capital of Tamil Nadu, called Madras during the British Raj era.
- Chirpisi** - The modern sculptors who work under sthapatis.
- Ganesha** - A Hindu god, distinguishable for his elephant head. He is a patron deity of the arts and sciences.
- Durga** - A Hindu goddess with many names and incarnations, she is the warrior goddess, similar to the Greek god Artemis.
- Hinduism** - A complex, multi-layered religion with many deities, sects, and beliefs. The Hinduism of the Pallava dynasty witnessed the waning of importance of the Vedic gods such as Indra, and an increased importance in Vishnu and Shiva.

Jainism	-	A nontheistic religion that advocates nonviolence To wards all creatures.
Kanchi	-	The capital of the Pallava dynasty, and the center of South India until the British Raj era.
Mandalam	-	A Tamil measurement of time, that refers to 48 days.
Monolith	-	A sculpture made from one boulder.
Nayanonmilanam	-	Opening the eyes of Hindu idols, which formally Consecrates them from stone into objects of worship.
Pagoda	-	Layered architecture built for Buddhism, originating in India during 3rd century BC.
PallavaGrantha Script-		A traditional Tamilian script created during the Pallava Dynasty.
Pattumala Kuppam	-	A place close to the city ofKanchipuram where modern sthapatis buy granite fortheir sculpting work.
Pooncheri	-	A small village located close to Mahaballipuram, holds inscriptions of the seven sthapatis' names.
Ratha	-	A Sanskrit word for chariot, refers to a type of Hindu architecture that is unconsecrated.
Rock-CutArchitecture-		A style of architecture popularized in Tamil Nadu by Mahendravarman I, which allowed for Mahabalipuram's art to become more permanent.

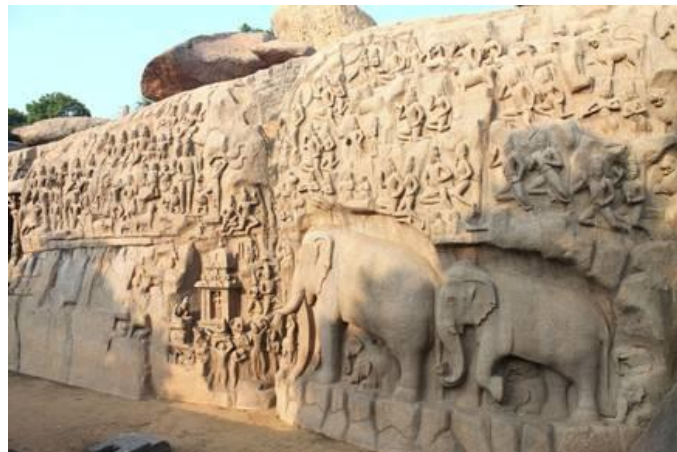
Shaivism	-	A sect of Hinduism that primarily worships the Hindu god Shiva, or the destroyer.
Tamil Nadu	-	The southernmost state in India.
Tamilakam	-	The Tamil-speaking region in ancient India during Pandya dynasty, which includes modern-day Tamil Nadu and Kerala.
Vaishnavism	-	A sect of Hinduism that primarily worships the Hindu god Vishnu, or the protector.
VettuvanKoil	-	A monolith cave temple built during Pandya dynasty, currently located in the city Virudunagar in Tamil Nadu.
Vishwakarma Community-		The name of sub-caste whose main profession is Sculpture craftsmans



Ganesha Ratha



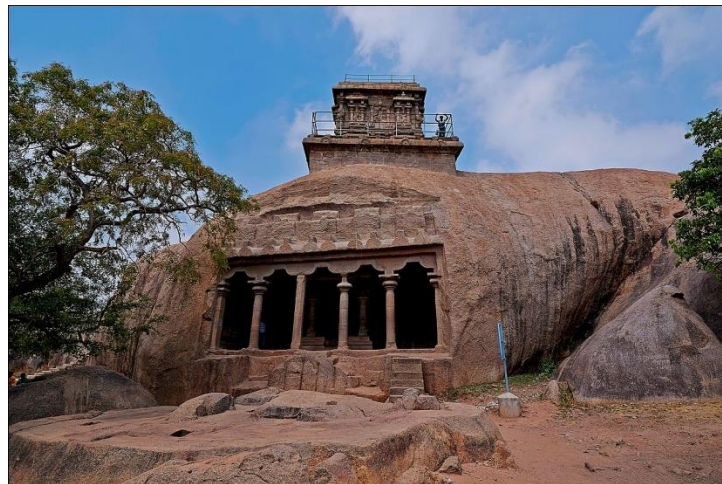
Dharmaraja Ratha



Eroted Sculpture at Mahabalipuram



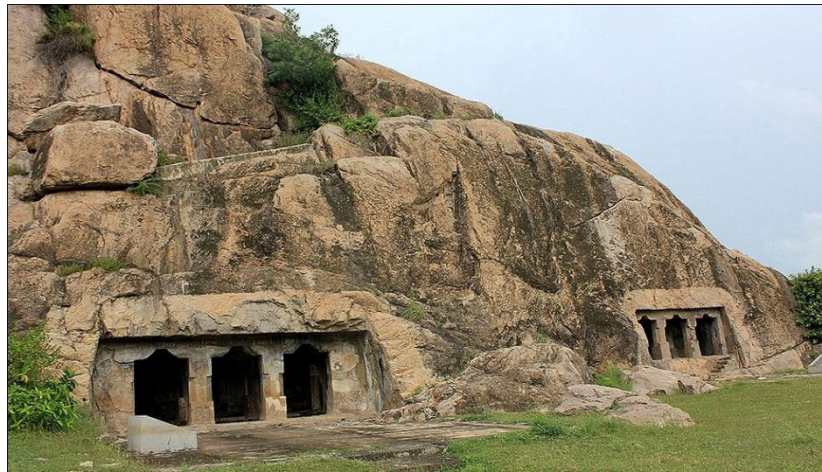
Five Rathas



Mahishasura Mardini Cave Temple



Gaja Lakshmi



Mamandur Cavee Temple



Pancha Pandava Mandapa



Milking Group in Krishna Mandapa



Arjuna Penance



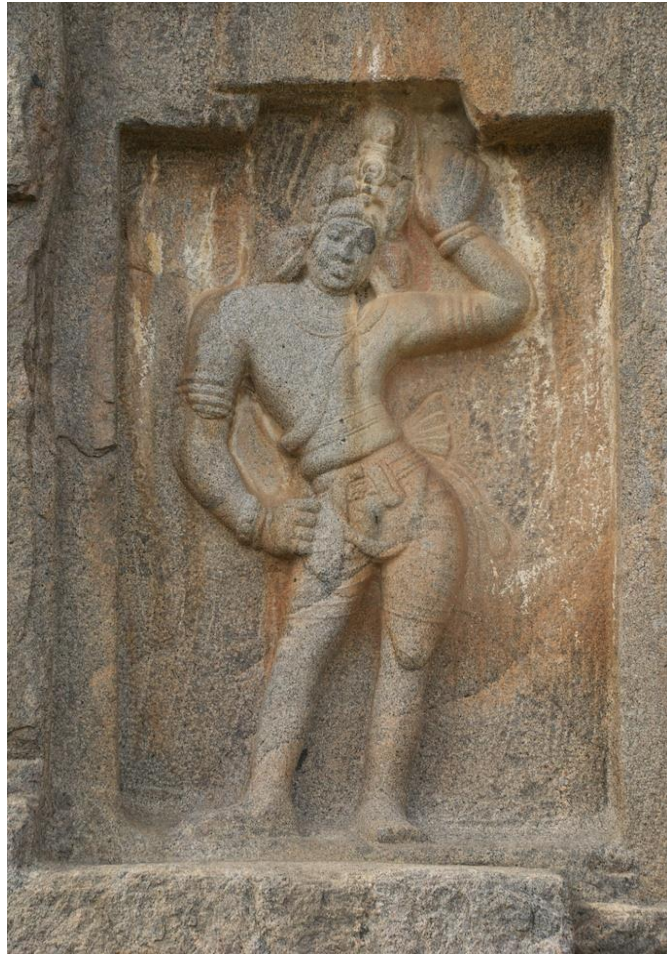
Krishna Butter Ball



Mahabalipuram Temple



Kottakal Mandapa



Satrumalla Pallava Cave Temple



Tiger Cave



Tirumurti Cave Temple



Mamallapuram City Map

REVERBERATIONS OF INDECENT REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

Project submitted to

St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi

affiliated to

Manonmaniam Sundaranar University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the award of the degree of

Master of Arts in History

By

L. VEERA LAKSHMI

(Reg. No: 20APHI05)



Department of History

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Reaccredited with "A⁺" Grade by NAAC

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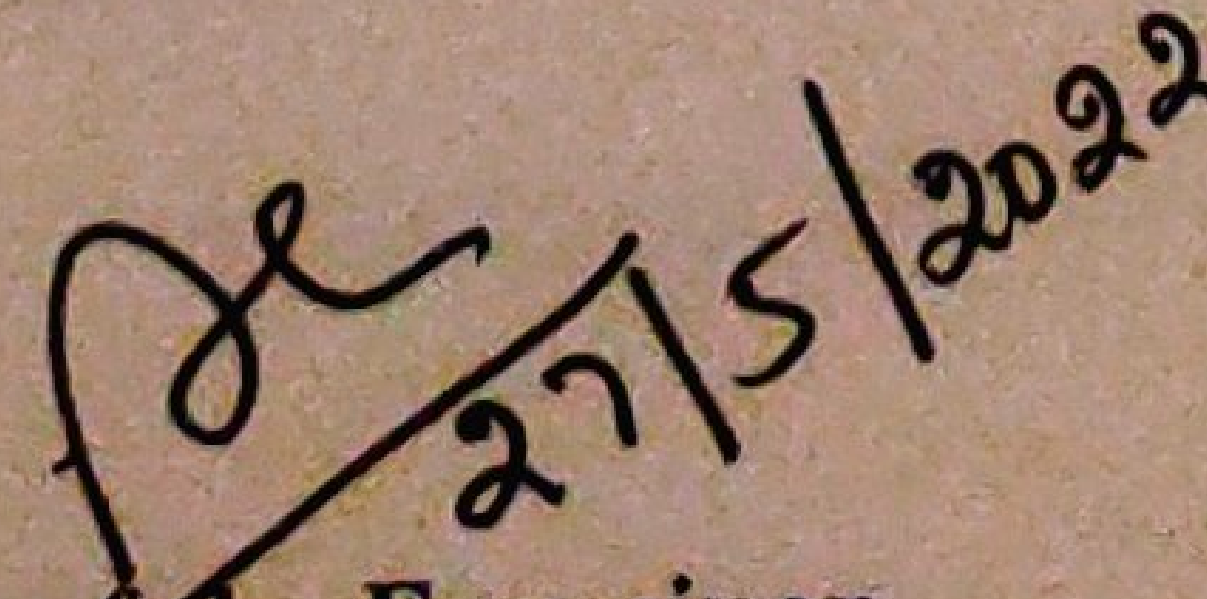
This is to certify that the project entitled “ Reverberations of Indecent Representation of Women”, submitted to St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi, affiliated to Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi, for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History and is a work done during the year 2021 - 2022 by L. Veera Lakshmi, a bonafide student of Department of History, St. Mary's College (Autonomous), Thoothukudi.



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Thoothukudi

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the project entitled **“Reverberations of Indecent Representation of Women”** submitted to **St. Mary's College (Autonomous) Thoothukudi** affiliated to the **Manonmaniam Sundaranar University, Tirunelveli**, for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History, is my original work and it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or similar title.

Place: Thoothukudi

Date:

Signature of the Candidate

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Abbreviations

ASCI	-	Advertisement Standard Council of India
AWAG	-	Ahmedabad Women's Action Group
BCCC	-	Broadcasting Content Complaints Council
CBFC	-	Central Board for Film Certification
CII	-	Confederation of Indian Industry
IPC	-	Indian Penal Code
IRWA	-	Indecent Representation of Women Act
IRWP	-	Indecent Representation of Women Act
NBA	-	News Broadcasters Association
NCRB	-	Nation Crime Records Bureau
NCW	-	National Commission for Women
PTI	-	Press Trust of India
UT	-	Union Territory
IT	-	Information Technology
WCD	-	Ministry of Women and Child Development
MHA	-	Ministry of Home Affairs

Introduction

The word 'Obscene' is defined in the Oxford Encyclopaedia Dictionary as repulsive, indecent especially grossly or repulsively so lewd tending to deprave and corrupt. Picture of some nude female body comes into mind when we say 'Obscenity'. Today the use of erotic scenes in films, obscene posters, pictures and use of labels and advertisements, all pose a serious problem affecting the decency and morality in the present - day society. The problem of obscenity is now not only confined to particular country or society, but it is global in nature. In contemporary society, it is difficult to identify and to regulate obscenity, because to distinguish between obscenity vulgarity, decency, art from the thin demarcating boundary, is a herculean task.

The concept of obscenity differs from nation to nation. It depends on the cultural values and moral standards that have shaped the history and society of the country. Today in the existing mad competition of modern fashion, sexual pollution is visible on the face of society. The effects of western films cable, TVs exploding flow of obscene literature, obscene pictures, photo and painting etc. Portrayals of female nudity and of sexual activity lead to sexual arouse in many males-adolescents as well as adults, these materials arouse females for less frequently. In the changed scenario, it is now felt essentially that every society must prescribe certain norms and rules for the preservation of order and decency. Obscenity 'is a difficult term to explain as it is intricately linked to the moral values of the society. Radical changes in the social attitudes and community standards alter the concepts of obscenity.

In this century electronic and print media plays an important role in development of women in any community, but it is important to notice that how print media from Indian history has misrepresented women and currently how electronic

and print media is still following in the historical books to define gender roles and engrave patriarchy on the minds.

Objectives

The main objectives of this study are

- To highlight the nature of indecent representation of women
- To highlight the constitutional provisions upholding the dignity of women
- To find out the adverse impact of this representation
- To study the legal provisions as to obscenity in electronic form arising from technical innovations.
- To suggest a few outcomes to tackle this emerging social issue.

Scope and Purpose of the Study

To examine the efficacy of existing preventive and protective laws against obscenity and to explore the ways and means for proper implementation of existing legislations and critical analysis of judicial decisions in order to curb the evil of obscene representation of women.

Sources of Study

Different sources have been used to trace the '**Reverberations of Indecent Representation of Women**'. Source materials have been classified into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are mainly based on Government Orders and News Papers. The secondary sources are mainly books, journals, thesis and websites related to Indecent Representation of Women.

Methodology

The methodology adopted in this study is analytical and descriptive method. The source materials have been critically analysed and investigated. The descriptive method is used in the presentation of the study in order to make the project understandable to the readers.

Outline

Chapter I

The first chapter points out the different modes of obscenity in electronic & Print form. In recent years it has been observed that the media has emerged in a big way as the major exploiter of women by way of seminude ads, video-graphy, news is the form of soft- porn and much more.

Chapter II

The Second Chapter deals with the prevention of obscene representation of women through Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act 1986.

Chapter III

The third chapter explores the role of ASCI and its functions and the most controversial advertisement in India.

Chapter IV

The final chapter traces the respondents opinion on the Indecent Representation of Women which was given in the Google form in the Question Survey Method and randomly collected data from 59 respondents.

CHAPTER I

INDECENT REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN

Advertising in both print and electronic media is a primary tool to sell an idea or concept, or to influence the taste of a given social class. There is a growing practice to use women and girls as agents to promote the sale of a product. Their personal charm and mild pleasant manners draw people towards them. People are prepared to listen to them. This is helpful in reaching a large section of the society. They are used to promote the sale of a product by inducing, motivating, or tempting the customer to buy a product.¹

This trend is predominant in Indian mass media as well. The advertisement makers have rightly noticed the growing importance of women in the processes of influencing buying decisions. Generally, women are more concerned about their personal appearances than men in most cases. A sense of beauty is a strong motivating factor for her to make many purchases. Certain advertisements target women, for trapping them is quite easy. These advertisements pertain to food, personal care, health care, soft drinks and life style consumer articles.

Status of Women

The media are neither the fundamental cause of the subordinate status of women nor can it be remedied by the media alone. Women should be given recognition and rightful place in the family and society. Even though the traditional joint family system exists in many places where women are oppressed, subjugated and discriminated, yet educated women should come out of it and clamor for equality. The

¹Grace Hepzibah Anbumani, M., *Women in Advertisement*, Proceedings of Fifth All India Conference of BCRC, Idayankudi on 06.05.2006, p.1.

success of all developmental plans and programmes of family or a nation including those relating to education, depend on women participation. The mass media should be used to promote, to educate women and girls in social and cultural values so as to guarantee equal status and opportunity to both men and women.

Stereotyped women

Traditionally women in the Indian society have been treated with chivalry and as dignified objects of tenderness to be adored and worshipped. They were confined to their homes. They have never been treated as objects of beauty to be exhibited in public and to be subjected to the gaze of men. But the perverted use of their pictures in varying postures to attract the gaze of the opposite sex does not go well with the traditional esteem they enjoyed in society. Instead of the exalted status they enjoyed from time immemorial, they are now treated cheaply to cater to the indecent tastes of the corrupt folk. In effect it has only a corrupting impact on the younger generation, which does not augur well for the future society.²

Eye-catching portrayal of women as sexy and sensual does not truly reflect their character but is intended to satisfy the inner cravings of men who dominate in taking decisions in buying items. Men folk can be easily drawn towards such portrayal of women. It is indeed a device to trap men to read and get acquainted with a product. Such portrayals do not exhibit the condition of women in society, but rather the evil condition of the inner being of men.

Women - As Sex symbols

The portrayal of women in advertisements reinforce and create the impression of women being a sex symbol. Advertisements use beautiful women to sell the

²*Ibid.*, p.2.

products to both male and female consumers by virtue of their three-dimensional roles as housewife, mother and daughter and function as decorative sexual objects. Women's entire being is reduced to her physical appearance only. Advertisements exploit women's sex appeal by vulgar exposure of her body. There are many advertisements which show half-dressed seductive looking women in suggestive and revealing poses. Products generally used by men-folk like bikes, cigarettes, cars, etc. are advertised with pictures of girls and ladies gazing at them with those products. Usually these pictures are distorted versions of ladies posing and displaying their charm to gain the gaze of men. The items like motorbikes, tractors, paints, beer, cigarettes, and machinery have no relation to her figure as shown in the advertisement. Such a distorted portrayal of women should be condemned.

Ms. Uma Chakravathi, a feminist from Delhi has condemned, "the projection of cars, predators and women as sexual objects constitute rape culture. Instead of developing media strategies to emphasis that Maruti is committed to the safety of women, Maruti has converted rape culture into a commodity." She has asked the producers to withdraw this advertisement and warned them that such media strategies will not be entertained in future.³

An advertisement depicts women deriving some special joy from washing clothes with a particular brand of detergent. Women are seen lovingly feeding their families with food cooked in a particular oil medium. Use of particular soap is essential to get married and win husband's heart. This again projects the male superiority over the female. On the contrary, T.V. can play a crucial role in instilling confidence and self-respect in rural women and help them in securing their dignified and rightful place in society.

³*Ibid.*, p.4.

Print media

Generally women's problems never figure on the front page of a newspaper unless it is a grievous murder of a bride. A few newspapers carry a special women's page, which carries items exclusively for the women folk - the beauty tips, recipes, fashion syndrome, etc. Again these pages are no more than commercial columns to sell products related to women. Thus our film industry and cosmetic industry have been thriving only because of beautifully garbed women. Sridevi, Hemamalini, etc do endorse with a charming spotless, smooth, glowing face that they use Lux for enhancing their beauty and many women in India are grossly exploited by such advertisements. The advertisements for soaps and detergents have also been notorious in using actresses and celebrities in sports like Sania Mirza, etc. Sunday newspapers, and Magazine sections speak about women related issues but isolates them from the mainstream problems and assigned women a low social value.⁴

Reviewing the World scene, the Mac Bride Commission said, "In general, inadequate attention is paid in the media to issues of specific importance to women, to the activities of women movement or the social contribution made by independent and gifted women. Women appear, in magazine fiction and in television drama and comedy as self-deprecating and dependent, irrational, superstitious and over emotional."

Role of Women Organizations

Media paid scant attention to the women's issues till 1975. After the declaration of women's year and women's decade in 1975 suddenly women's issues and concerns attracted a great deal of importance, and wide coverage was given to

⁴*Ibid.*, p.6.

them. The government of India also came out with its report on the status of women titled "Towards Equality" during the same year.

The mass media in India reflect the prevailing and well-entrenched attitudes towards women. In India the dominant stereotype images of women /girls are that of

1. Less competent human being but most valuable asset of physical beauty.
2. Key to commercial success in this age of advertising men.
3. Instruments for exploitation
4. Women are women's enemies.⁵

Impact

The appeal of sex has also been successfully exploited by business firms. But the portrayal of women as sexy and sensual objects to make an advertisement eye-catching is something to be abhorred and eschewed at all costs. It corrupts young minds and leads to other social evils and it remains in so many ways the thin edge of the wedge. It is against the sense of decency and social ethos and culture. Such portrayal should be fought against with tooth and nail. The evil of exploiting the sex appeal of women for commercial gain should not be condoned but condemned by all sections of society, particularly by women and women's organizations.

Such projection of women in advertisements is right or wrong is still a matter of dispute and it continues endlessly. Some consumer activists and thinkers question the use of women on the ground of physical/ socio-economic exploitation of women whereas some others justify it saying that as a commercial and aesthetic use of women gives a right sense to her images in the Indian society.

⁵*Ibid.*, p.1.

Dance, bathing scenes and rapes have nowadays become essential ingredients of the cinema.⁶T.Venkataswamy Naidu, the Telugu film director says, “I express the different morals, hopes of women to create an identity of their own on the cosmos”. His film Shishira shows that women are not consistent; lack of consistency leads to lack of identity. Men folk dominate women because of this reason’. Films depict women as dependent and submissive to men. For example, the economically independent woman is portrayed as a smoking, boozing neurotic who pursues men with single mindedness. At the end she realizes her folly in being independent of men and is punished with either death or losing her lover/husband.

Some magazines ridicule women in their humor columns and cartoons or comment on a women VIP. Women are shown either as housewives or offer sexual background, which makes consumer goods more attractive. Apart from women’s look and dresses, there is stress on development of women’s mental faculties and behaviors in a way that they can fit into a male dominated social relationship. Crimes against women have been reported in the right perspective in Indian Society. But they are often sensationalized, communalized and even politicized.

The impact of media is going to be greater on young minds as it plays a crucial role in moulding the social attitudes of the new generation. The corruptive impact would have dire consequences. These advertisements ignore the significant contributions of women to society, women’s struggle for economic independence, political and legal rights, and their meaningful roles within marriage. Their achievements in society, science and other sectors should be highlighted but it is a sad fact that these things fail to get adequate coverage even in the government controlled electronic media.

⁶*Ibid.*, p.5.

Remedial Measures

Women activists should clamor for a National Media Policy to curb the negative portrayal of women, highlight women's proper role in the society, positive reporting and coverage of women and their achievements should be promoted. This will help to change the existing archetypes in portraying women. Concerted Action at the International level can put brakes on the unlimited freedom of the advertisers. Women should come together to ensure that due respect is given to their fair sex by the entertainment industry.⁷

To improve content and coverage, coordinated efforts for increased interaction between NGO's, women's social action group, research organizations, Institute of Mass Communication and the media personnel should be developed. They can create a media-monitoring cell.

The Information and Broadcasting Ministry should evolve such a Network to monitor the projection of women and create a code of ethics with Regard to the presentation of women in all types of media in India.

No organization has been successful in restraining the media in their evil trend of exploiting women. Concerted efforts to discuss serious issues that concern women should be made by National Commission on Women and other organizations sponsored by the government to act as watchdogs and prepare women to plan their rightful and equal role in the society. To change the situation we will have to regularly monitor the media and point out the merits as well as demerits on a continuous basis. So, the women's organizations could create a media-monitoring cell for the purpose.

⁷*Ibid.*, p.7.

Women in India will be getting dominated by men if we follow current culture structure. The only solution is to teach our children how to treat the opposite gender, key point to notice is that if you decide to change the mind of grownup adults who have watched such advertisements, films which promotes patriarchy then you might waste your time because all these things are engraved on their minds and it is very hard to change anyone's moral values.

CHAPTER II

INDECENT REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN ACT 1986

Section 1. **Short title, extent and commencement**

(1) This Act may be called the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986.

(2) It extends to the whole of India,⁸

(3) It shall come into force on such date⁹ as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint

Section 2. **Definitions**

In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires,-

(a) "advertisement" includes any notice, circular, label, wrapper or other document and also includes any visible representation made by means of any light, sound, smoke or gas;

(b) "distribution" includes distribution by way of samples whether free or otherwise;

(c) "indecent representation of women" means the depiction in any manner of the figure of a woman, her form or body or any part thereof in such a way as to have the effect of being indecent, or derogatory to, or denigrating, women, or is likely to deprave, corrupt or injure the public morality or morals;

⁸The words "except the State of Jammu and Kashmir" omitted by Act 34 of 2019, s. 95 and the Fifth Schedule (w.e.f.31-10-2019).

⁹2nd October, 1987, *vide* notification No G.S.R. 821(E), dated 25th September, 1987, *see* Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II, sec. 3(i).

(d) "label" means any written, marked, stamped, printed or graphic matter, affixed to, or appearing upon, any package;

(e) "package" includes a box, carton, tin or other container;

(f) "prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this Act.

Section 3. Prohibition of advertisements contains indecent representation of women

No person shall publish, or cause to be published, or arrange or take part in the publication or exhibition of, any advertisement which contains indecent representation of women in any form.

Section 4. Prohibition of publication or sending by post of books, pamphlets, etc., containing indecent representation of women

No person shall produce or cause to be produced, sell, let to hire, distribute, circulate or send by post any book, pamphlet, paper, slide, film, writing, drawing, painting, photograph, representation or figure which contains indecent representation of women in any form:

Provided that nothing in this section shall apply to-

(a) any book, pamphlet, paper, slide, film, writing, drawing, painting, photograph, representation or figure-

(i) the publication of which is proved to be justified as being for the public good on the ground that such book, pamphlet, paper, slide, film, writing, drawing, painting, photograph, representation or figure is in the interest of science, literature, art, or learning or other objects of general concern; or

- (ii) which is kept or used bonafide for religious purposes;
- (b) any representation sculptured, engraved, painted or otherwise represented on or in-
- (i) any ancient monument within the meaning of the Ancient Monument and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958 (24 of 1958); or
- (ii) any temple, or on any car used for the conveyance of idols, or kept or used for any religious purpose;
- (c) any film in respect of which the provisions of Part II of the Cinematograph Act, 1952 (37 of 1952), will be applicable.

Section 5. Powers to enter and search

(1) Subject to such rules as may be prescribed, any Gazetted Officer authorized by the State Government may, within the local limits of the area for which he is so authorized,-

- (a) enter and search at all reasonable times, with such assistance, if any, as he considers necessary, any place in which he has reason to believe that an offence under this Act has been or is being committed;
- (b) seize any advertisement or any book, pamphlet, paper, slide film, writing, drawing, painting, photograph, representation or figure which he has reason to believe contravenes any of the provisions of this Act;
- (c) examine any record, register, document or any other material object found in any place mentioned in clause (a) and seize the same if he has reason to believe that it may furnish evidence of the commission of an offence punishable under this Act:

Provided that no entry under this sub-section shall be made into a private dwelling house without a warrant:

Provided further that the power of seizure under this sub-section may be exercised in respect of any document, article or thing which contains any such advertisement, including the contents, if any, of such document, article or thing, if the advertisement cannot be separated by reason of its being embossed or otherwise from such document, article or thing without affecting the integrity, utility or saleable value thereof.

(2) The provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (2 of 1974), shall, so far as may be, apply to any search or seizure under this Act as they apply to any search or seizure made under the authority of a warrant issued under section 94 of the said Code.

(3) Where any person seizes anything under clause (b) or clause (c) of sub-section (1), he shall, as soon as may be, inform the nearest Magistrate and take his orders as to the custody thereof.

Section 6. Penalty

Any person who contravenes the provisions of section 3 or section 4 shall be punishable on first conviction with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, and with fine which may extend two thousand rupees, and in the event of a second or subsequent conviction with imprisonment for a term of not less than six months but which may extend to five years and also with a fine not less than ten thousand rupees but which may extend to one lakh rupees.

Section 7. Offences by companies

(1) Where an offence under this Act has been committed by a company, every person, who, at the time the offence was committed, was in charge of, and was responsible to, the company for the conduct of the business of the company, as well as the company, shall be deemed to be guilty of the offence and shall be liable to be proceeded against and punished accordingly:

Provided that nothing contained in this sub-section shall render any such person liable to any punishment, if he proves that the offence was committed without his knowledge or that he had exercised all due diligence to prevent the commission of such offence.

(2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1), where any offence under this Act has been committed by a company and it is proved that the offence has been committed with the consent or connivance of, or is attributable to any neglect on the part of, any director, manager, secretary or other officer of the company, such director, manager, secretary or other officer shall be proceeded against and punished accordingly.

Explanation: For the purposes of this section,-

(a) "company" means any body corporate and includes a firm or other association of individuals; and

(b) "director", in relation to a firm, means a partner in the firm.

Section 8. Offences to be cognizable and bailable

(1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (2 of 1974), an offence punishable under this Act shall be bailable.

(2) An offence punishable under this Act shall be cognizable.

Section 9. Protection of action take in good faith

No suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against the central Government or any state Government or any officer of the central Government or any state Government for anything which is in good in faith done or intended to be done under this act.

Section 10. Power to make rules

- (1) The central Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, make rules to carry out the provisions of this act.
- (2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely:-
 - (a) The manner in which the seizure of advertisements or other articles shall be made, and the manner in which the seizure list shall be prepared and delivered to the person from whose custody any advertisement or other article has been seized;
 - (b) Any other matter which is required to be, or may be, prescribed.
- (3) Every rules made under this Act, shall be laid, as soon as may be after it is made, before each House of Parliament, While it is in Session for a total period of thirty days, which may be comprised in one
- (4) session or two or more successive sessions, and if, before the expiry of the session immediately following the session or the successive sessions aforesaid, both Houses agree in making any modification in the rule or both Houses agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be;

so,however,that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

THE INDECENT REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN (PROHIBITION)

AMENDMENT BILL, 2012

A bill further to amend the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Sixty-third Year of the Republic of India as follows: -

1. (1) This Act may be called the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Amendment Act, 2012.

(2) It shall come into force on such date as the Central Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint.

2. In the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986 (hereinafter referred to as the principal Act), in section 2,¹⁰

(i) for clause (a), the following clause shall be substituted, namely: -

‘(a) “advertisement” includes any notice, circular, label, wrapper or other document or any audio or visual representation made by means of any light, laser light, sound, smoke, gas or electric form or through any other media, for the purpose of promotion of any goods, service, place, person, event or organization;’;

section 2.

¹⁰*Press Council Report on Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Amendment Bill*, dated 22.07.2013.

(ii) after clause (a), the following clause shall be inserted, namely: -

‘(aa) “electronic form” shall have the same meaning as assigned to it in clause (r) of section 2 of the Information Technology Act, 2000;’;

\\(iii) for clause (b), the following clause shall be substituted, namely: -

‘(b) “distribution” includes all method of distribution, either by way of samples or making available for public access through broadcast, transmission or uploading on website or in any other printed or electronic form, whether for profit or otherwise;’;

(iv) for clause (c), the following clause shall be substituted, namely: -

‘(c) “indecent representation of women” means -

(i) publication or distribution in any manner, of any material depicting women as a sexual object or which is lascivious or appeals to the prurient interests; or

(ii) depiction, publication or distribution in any manner, of the figure of a woman, her form

or body or any part thereof in such a way as to have the effect of being indecent or derogatory to or denigrating women or which is likely to deprave, corrupt or injure the public morality or morals;’;

(v) after clause (d), the following clause shall be inserted, namely: -

‘(da) “material” includes any book, pamphlet, paper, slide, film, writing, drawing, painting, photograph, representation in any form, figure or any other content in printed, audio, visual or electronic form;’;

(vi) after clause (f), the following clause shall be inserted, namely: -

‘(g) “publish” includes -

(i) to prepare or print in any book, newspaper, magazine, poster, graffiti, periodicals or any form of printed matter, digital or in any other format; or

(ii) to distribute or broadcast through audio-visual media including cable, computer, broadband satellite transmission or any other form, to any person so as to communicate or make it available to the public;’.

3. For section 4 of the principal Act, the following section shall be substituted, namely: -

“4. No person shall publish or distribute or cause to be published or cause to be distributed by any means any material which contains indecent representation of women in any form:

Provided that nothing in this section shall apply to -

(a) any material, -

(i) the publication of which is proved to be justified as being for the public good on the ground that such material is in the interest of science, literature, art or learning or other objects of general concern; or

(ii) which is kept or used for bonafide religious purposes; or

(b) any representation sculptured, engraved, painted or otherwise represented on or in

-

(i) any ancient monument within the meaning of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958; or

(ii) any temple, or any car used for the conveyance of idols, or kept or used for any religious purpose; or

(c) any film in respect of which the provisions of Part II of the Cinematograph Act, 1952 will be

applicable.”.

4. In section 5 of the principal Act, in sub-section (1), -

(i) in the opening portion, for the words beginning with “Subject to such rules” and ending with “for which he is so authorized”, the following shall be substituted, namely: -

“Notwithstanding anything in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, any police officer not below the rank of Inspector, or any other officer of the Central Government or a State Government authorized by the Central Government or the State Government may”;

(ii) in clause (b), for the words “seize any advertisement or any book, pamphlet, paper, slide, film, writing, drawing, painting, photograph, representation or figure”, the words “seize any advertisement or material” shall be substituted.

5. For section 6 of the principal Act, the following section shall be substituted, namely: -

“6. Any person who contravenes the provisions of section 3 or section 4 shall be punishable on first conviction with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years and also with fine not less than fifty thousand rupees but which may extend to one lakh rupees; and in the event of a second or subsequent conviction with imprisonment for a term of not less than two years but which may extend to seven years and also with a fine not less than one lakh rupees but which may extend to five lakh rupees.”.

6. After section 10 of the principal Act, the following sections shall be inserted, namely: -

“11. The provisions of this Act shall be in addition to and not in derogation of, any other law for the time being in force.

12. The officers authorized under section 5 shall be deemed, while acting or purporting to act in pursuance of any of the provisions of this Act, to be public servants within the meaning of section 21 of the Indian Penal Code.”

INDECENT REPRESENTATION ACT WITHDRAWAL 2021

The government has decided to withdraw the Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Amendment Bill, introduced in the Rajya Sabha in 2012, saying the new IT rules and the home ministry's cyber portal are already addressing the issues, making online spaces safer for women. The bill was sent to the standing committee which had suggested a few changes. The amendments proposed making indecent portrayal of women on Internet, OTTs, WhatsApp and Instagram punishable with a fine of ₹ 2 lakh and a prison term of up to three years. The original law, enacted in 1986, relates primarily to the print media and vulgar portrayal of women in advertisements, books and paintings, and has a prison term of up to two years and a fine of ₹ 2,000.

The WCD ministry says at least five legislations including the Cinematography Act, the new IT rules, the CBFC guidelines, apart from the provisions of the IPC, are already dealing with the modern means of media and have provisions to specifically address the issues.

Government noticed that although there was a lot of consultation with stakeholders, the proposed amendments do not address the legal vacuum. In fact, even during court proceedings, the Act is applied along with section 67 of the Act,” an official said. The new IT rules lay special emphasis on empowering women against online hate.¹¹ The official said the MHA in 2018 implemented the ‘cybercrime prevention against women and children’ scheme under which an online national portal has been facilitating reporting of crimes related to child pornography, child sexual abuse, rape and gang rape or use of sexually explicit material on social media. There was a body that had to be set up under the NCW to address complaints regarding indecent representation of women in TV shows and advertisements, and it was to have representatives from Advertising Standards Council of India, Press Council of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and gender experts. But the IT rules anyway mandate a three-tier grievance redressal mechanism with such bodies at different levels, including an inter-ministerial committee under the watch of the ministry.

CABLE TELEVISION NETWORKS (REGULATION) ACT, 1995

The Cable Television Networks (Regulation) Act, 1995 prohibits the transformation of advertisements on the cable network which are not in conformity with the Advertisement Code. The Advertisement Code is set out under Rule 7 of the Cable Television Network Rules, 1994. Contravention of these provisions attract liabilities. The Advertisement Code states that no advertisement shall be permitted which derides any race, caste, color, creed and nationality. In Rule 7 (2) (vi) it states that no advertisement shall be permitted which, in its depiction of women violates

¹¹*Times of India*, dated 26th July, 2021.

constitutional guarantee to all citizens. In particular, no advertisement shall be permitted which portrays a derogatory image of women.¹² Women must not be portrayed in a manner that emphasizes passive, submissive qualities and encourages them to play a subordinate role in family and society. The Cable operator shall ensure that the portrayal of the female form, in programmes carried in his cable service is tasteful and aesthetic and is with well-established norms of good taste and decency. The Act further states that no advertisement which exploits social evils like dowry and child marriage must be permitted.

INDECENT REPRESENTATION OF CHILDREN

Indecent representation of children including child pornography, views it as an issue of serious concern wherein children are portrayed indecently or made to do certain acts which are unbecoming for their age, thereby corrupting innocent minds. Such offensive depiction of children would have an adverse impact on the minds of children themselves and also on the minds of pervert adults who may take advantage of vulnerable children and sexually exploit them.¹³ Also, indecently representing children would influence the attitude and behaviour of children who may imitate such acts and enter an adult realm too early in their lives. This would definitely lead to many psychological, physiological and emotional problems in the child and he/she may not turn out to be a normal adult.

The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Bill, 2011 deals with sexual offences against children and having a child-friendly procedure for investigation and handling of child abuse cases. However, the arena of indecent representation of

¹²Sharma Rashmi, *Women Law and Judicial Systems*, Regal Publications, New Delhi, 2009, p. 187.

¹³Saxena Shobha, *Crimes Against Women and Protective Laws*, Deep & Deep Publications New Delhi, 1995, p. 65

children is not dealt with in this legislation. It is, therefore, important to have a law on such depiction of children. Even though child pornography is banned in the country, objectionable content/material is often viewed/circulated. The special Committee believes that the Ministry could focus on this area of concern and have suitable mechanisms under the relevant law to deal with cases of indecent representation of children.

CHAPTER III

ADVERTISEMENT STANDARD COUNCIL OF INDIA

The Advertising Standards Council of India (ASCI) was established in 1985 has adopted a code for self – regulation Advertising. It is a commitment to honest Advertising and to fair competition in the market place. The main aim of ASCI is to monitor certain standards and fairness in the domain of advertising, a self - regulatory mechanism of ensuring ethical advertising practices was established in the form of the Advertising Standards Council of India (ASCI), a non statutory tribunal.¹⁴ ASCI is committed to the cause of self-regulation in advertising, ensuring the protection of the interest of consumers. ASCI seeks to ensure that advertisements conform to its Code for Self-Regulation, which requires advertisements to be legal, decent, honest and truthful, and not hazardous or harmful while observing fairness in competition. ASCI looks into complaints across All media such as Print, TV, Radio, hoardings, SMS, Emailers, Internet/web-site, product packaging, brochures, promotional material and point of sale material etc.

Brand leave no stones unturned to attract the viewers by making catchy taglines and coming up with new ideas. But sometimes they cross the line too far making the ideas bold. Some brands commit such mistakes without even knowing whereas some deliberately push them further to get viral and thus attract the attention of masses. But these print or television commercials do get a backfire either politically or by some reports done against such bold views. There might be either images or words or concepts that might disturb a huge population which leads to banning of such commercials. An edgy advertisement is not enough always then.

¹⁴ <https://www.ibfindia.com/advertising-standards-council-india-asci>

The following few of the Indian commercials and print advertisements that were too flashy and went too far leading to their banning

1. Wild stone Intense Deo:

"This advertisement shows that man enters office and his boss gets attracted towards him and she hits on him.

Interpretation: It gives wrong message to consumers that you can attract women by using deo. It derogates the image of Women.

2. In home appliances advertisements men were only posing with products and it was shown that women who were actually using it.

Interpretation: So indirectly it gives a message that women are the one who has to use home appliances and not men.

3. In Johnson's Baby product advertisements have you ever noticed a man? You will only find women promoting these products in every advertisement.¹⁵

Interpretation: So indirectly it defines that a woman is the one who has to take care of the child.

. If we look at one of the oldest advertisements which has same theme and defines that cleaning bathroom, toilet and kitchen is women's job is the advertisement of Harpic. They have same theme from years they hire a popular male celebrity which enters into house of any random woman and checks her toilet and bathroom and tell her that it is not clean and to clean it properly you must use Harpic,

Interpretation: Akshay Kumar is promoting this advertisement who always tells women to be independent and now he is promoting such advertisement which defines stereotype gender role.

¹⁵https://www.researchgate.net/publication/347517210_Indecent_representation_of_women_in_India

5."This is to bring into your kind notice one ugly advertisement of Loveable female undergarments on NDTV in news channel around 9 Pm.

In the advertisement story - two girls meet and remove their T shirts on screen to show each other their lingerie and then communicate about this in very obvious terms. The advertisement is obnoxious and company needs to be advised to alter their copy or withdraw it.

Interpretation: People watch news channels together as family and such obnoxious advertisements bring embarrassing moments.

6.Alia Bhatt, in the **Kwality Walls** advertisements, despite being in a theatre with her partner, shares an ice cream cone with a stranger sitting next to her.

Interpretation: "Just for the ice cream can't expect that people would go crazy and jump off the boundaries." "cheap "and dirty-minded creativity should not affect our social and cultural values.

7.In one of the **CRED advertisements**, Jackie Shroff is seen leading a Zumba session with a group of women and men. In one of the scenes, for a fraction of a second, the camera zooms in closely on the backside of a woman. One complaint read as follows, "The CRED advertisement featuring Jackie Shroff has an offensive or objectionable shot of an exercising lady around 22 seconds into the advertisement."¹⁶

Interpretation: The shot is unnecessary for the advertisement and offensive to women.

8."This is the latest advertisement of ONN comfort underwear currently being aired on TV channels. This advertisementis obscene as it features a man roaming in a hotel

¹⁶<https://asci.org.in/>

without putting any clothes except underwear, it also features a woman in a two-piece bikini.

Interpretation: The viewers found it inappropriate for family audience".

9. This Man force advertisement with Sunny Leone that used Navratri to sell condoms in Gujarat. The company was forced to withdraw the advertisement after public outcry.

Interpretation: It distract our religious values and worship.

10. Tuff Shoes

This advertisement was shot long back in 1995. At those times bold ideas were not welcomed well by the society to the extent that happens now. The print advertisement showcased super models Milind Soman and Madhu Sapre posing nude, wearing nothing but a pair of Tuff shoes and a python wrapped around their body. Immediately it became a matter of controversy nationwide. The advertisement was banned and the models suffered huge blows for such an act as they were charged for such a behaviour in front of the court. Another case was filed under the Wildlife Protection Act for the illegal use of a python. The legal proceedings went till long nine years before in 2009 they were declared as not guilty.

Interpretation: It affects our culture, morality and dressing sense.

11.This inner-wear advertisement from 1998 which showed Dino Morea pulling off Bipasha Basu's underwear with his teeth was banned after widespread protest. The advertisement was for a company called Calida.¹⁷

Interpretation: The advertisement was described as being too crass for Indian sensibilities.

12.Look at any cleaning product advertisement in India viewers will find that a woman is being instructed how to clean it, let's look at an example of dish washers advertisement in India, take any random advertisement in India viewers will find that a woman is cleaning her dishes and a random man or woman suggests her to use some product.

Interpretation: Viewers need to change this kind of gender-based scripts, actually scripts promoting gender stereotypes must be banned in India.

13.This 1991 Kamasutra Condom advertisement was banned for being 'too steamy'. It featured Pooja Bedi and Marc Robinson.

Interpretation: It affects the religious sentiments of the people.

14.Wild Stone was not a well-known brand back in 2007 but became famous in the market due to their controversial television advertisement campaign. The video saw a Bengali woman who meets a man during Durga Puja celebrations and gets turned on due to the video and ends up having sex with him. The advertisement never got banned but it should be censored a lot.

¹⁷<https://www.scoopwhoop.com/news/most-controversial-indian-ads-that-raised-eyebrows/>

Interpretation: It Poisons the young minds of the future generation.

15. Amul Macho

The advertisement featured Sana Khan who was seen as a newlywed Indian girl washing her husband's clothes and giving some very weird and vulgar sexual expressions. The background score 'Ye To Bada Toying Hai!' which made it worse. Immediately it caught the attention of The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and the advertisement was banned.

Interpretation: It corrupts the young minds and leads to other social evils and it remains so many ways in the thin edge of wedge.

16. Fastrack

Back in 2011 Fastrack robbed in Cricket star Virat Kohli and Actress Genelia D'Souza for their new series of television commercials. The advertisement showcased both the stars indulging in a cosy and uncomfortable cockpit romance ignoring the life and safety of passengers. This pilot and the air-hostess love story was not well received by audience and aviation industry soon leading to banning it.

Interpretation: The Advertisement deviated young minds from their cultural norms.

17. Ford Figo

How often does a brand need to apologise for their print advertisement? This is the worst case! "Leave your worries behind with Figo's extra-large boot," was the tagline and featured a cartoon showing three women tied in the rear of a vehicle driven by Silvio Berlusconi, the former Italian prime minister. Ironically this print

advertisement came when Indian's women were fighting against sexual violence and abuse.¹⁸ JWT India created the cartoon keeping in mind the recent outrages but it got backfired leading to reports against the brand!

Interpretation: It gives wrong message to the consumers.

18.AC Black Whisky TV Commercial (2002)

While this was a commercial meant to promote AC black whiskey, the commercial shows a man drinking AC black apple juice. As he takes a sip of juice, he looks for a beautiful woman in the room. With every sip of the drink, the neckline of the woman's dress keeps lowering. Finally, when he drinks the climax sip, his shirt unbuttons. It is revealed that woman was also playing the same game. In the end, the commercial claims "Kuch Bhi Ho Sakta Hai" when you drink AC black apple juice. The advertisement has to face major backlash resulting in the ban.

Interpretation: It affects our cultural and social values.

19.Also at any detergent advertisement People will find that a man comes home after a long day at work and his wife happily sees the stains on his cloths and decides to wash it with some product and after washing those clothes if the end shot is always man and his wife happily promoting that product.

Interpretation: It gives an indirect message that all these tasks belong to women and men has to work hard to earn money and women should do all the house hold work.

¹⁸<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/opinion/et-commentary/jwt-ford-figo-controversy-showcases-whats-really-wrong-with-advertising/articleshow/19268872.cms>

20. Man force Condoms

The time when Man force took it too far! Sunny Leone posing in one of her best ways and reaching for black grapes on a beach was not well received by society. The sex appeal in the video was looked down upon! CPI leader Atul Anjan and Ex-DCW chief Barka Singh called for a ban on it.

Interpretation: Such advertisements increase rapes in the country.¹⁹

21. Axe Chocolate Man TV Commercial (2008)

In this advertisement, a man who applied Axe Dark Temptation deodorant on his body and turns into a chocolate man. The print advertisement is based on the concept that a man who uses Axe deo is as irresistible as chocolate for women. The chocolate man is roaming around the city and women are biting the parts of his body just like chocolate. On various complaints of the viewers, Indian authorities banned the commercial.

Interpretation: Just for chocolate can't expect that people would go crazy and jump off the boundaries for."

22. Lux Cozy TV Commercial (2007)

Authorities banned One of the TV commercials from its promotional campaign "Apna Luck Pehen Ke Chalo ". In the advertisement, a man is standing near a swimming pool wearing just one underwear wrapped by a towel. A dog snatches the towel off the man, and the man starts chasing the dog in his underwear. While he gets hold of

¹⁹<https://www.livemint.com/industry/advertising/axe-s-chocolate-man-returns-in-a-sweeter-avatar-11582087998176.html>

the dog, A pretty lady who is the owner of the dog comes. She looks the man who is still in underwear with lust. As you expect the information and broadcasting ministry banned the commercial because it was vulgar, suggestive and indecent.

Interpretation: It reduce the dignity of women

23.Zatak Deo TV Commercial (2010)

Bride TVC was another controversial commercial. The advertisement is about the wedding night of a bride. While she is waiting in her bedroom in bridal clothes, she smells Zatak Deodorant from neighbour's house across the window. She gets turned on and comes near the windows where she finds a handsome man. As the man looks her, she starts removing her jewellery and finally taking her engagement ring off. The advertisement ends with the tagline "Just Zatak her.

Interpretation: It portrays the women identity in a cheap manner

24. Mr. Coffee Instant Coffee Print Advertisement

Though it was a commercial for instant coffee, it had a sex appeal to it. Featuring Arbaaz Khan and Malaika Arora, the advertisement had a tagline "Real pleasure can't come in an instant". Created at a time when sexual commercials were not prevalent, Mr. Coffee instant coffee advertisement and its tagline created a quite a controversy.

Interpretation: The Scene is unnecessary for the coffee advertisement.

25. Levis Jeans Print Advertisement (2001)

This advertisement was not banned but it created a lot of stir among the viewers and authorities. Featuring three hot and sexy girls in low waist jeans, the campaign

wanted to promote boldness in women clothing. the commercial was quite successful as it was able to increase the sale of women's jeans in India.²⁰

Interpretation: It affects our Indian dress code.

26. In fairness cream advertisements models are too much perfect they don't have any kind of imperfections such as wrinkles, pimples, dull and dark skin and etc. These types of advertisements impact our subconscious mind and start to believe these things and starts accepting it as reality and also starts expecting these kinds of women in our lives.

Interpretation: It affects the thinking of women because women also start thinking that if they use these products then they can also be like models shown in the advertisements. These types of advertisements make an impression which says if people have a dark skin, you will be less confident and if people use their product people will get fair skin and confidence in 7 days only.

No doubt that one has the right to live one's own life but everything should not be followed with a blind eye.²¹ Some advertisements are youth-oriented. They want the young generation to be aware and take action for the betterment of the society.²² The purpose of such advertisement is to influence the youth so that they can decide what is good and bad for them.

²⁰<https://www.india.com/entertainment/deepika-padukone-levis-advertisement-controversy-what-it-is-all-about-4464289/>

²¹ Aswal, B.S., *Women and Human Rights*, Cyber Tech Publications, New Delhi, 2010, p.56.

²² Madhu Kumari., *Empowerment of Women*, New Delhi: Random Publications, 2012.

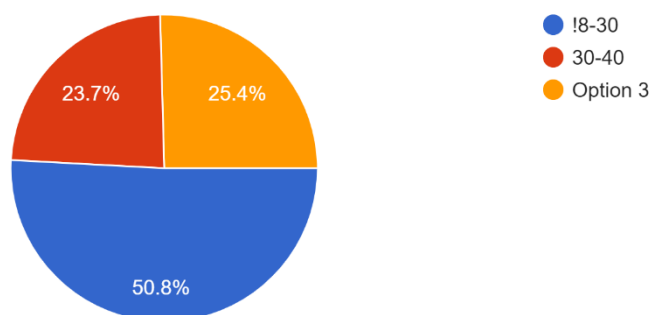
CHAPTER IV

Findings

Questionnaire was given in the google form and randomly collected data regarding the Indecent representation of women in social media. The respondents include students, professors, house wife, teachers, engineers, etc.

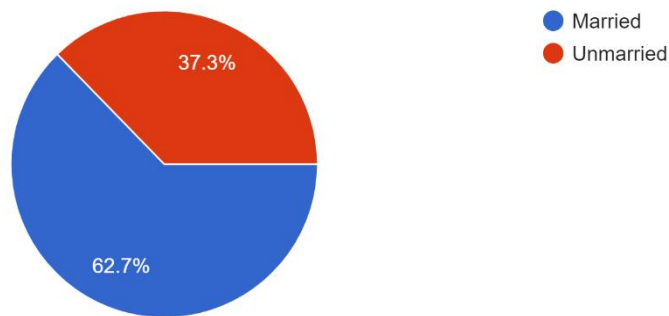
Age

59 responses



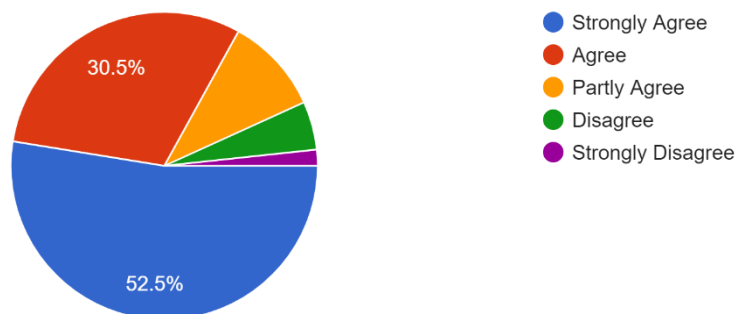
. **Interpretation:** Out of 59 respondents, 51% People were in the age group from 18 to 30 years while 24% People were in the age group from 30 to 40 years and 25% People were above 40years respectively.

Marital Status
59 responses



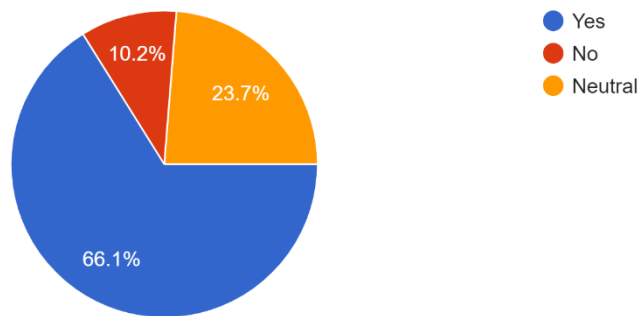
Interpretation: Among 59 respondents, 63% people were married and 37% people were unmarried.

There are many instances /scenes of indecent representation of women in Social media, Films, Advertisements, T.V. serials etc.,
59 responses



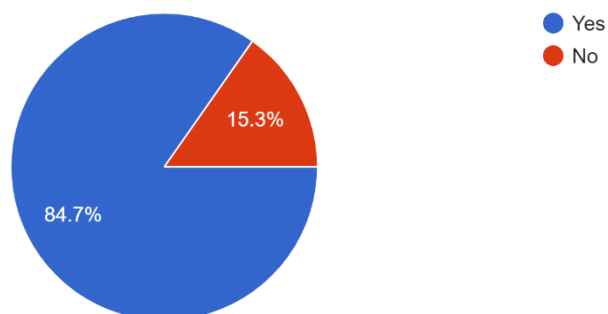
Interpretation: Out of 59 respondents, 53% people strongly agreed that the Tv serials, Films, Advertisement depicted women in indecent manner and 31% agreed the indecent representation of women in social media, 10% people partially agree, 4% people disagreed and 2% people strongly disagree respectively.

Do you think to complaint about indecent representation of women ?
59 responses



Interpretation: Among 59 respondents, 66% people were responded that they are willing to file a complaint against this issue and 10.2 % people disagreed and 24% people responded neutral respectively.

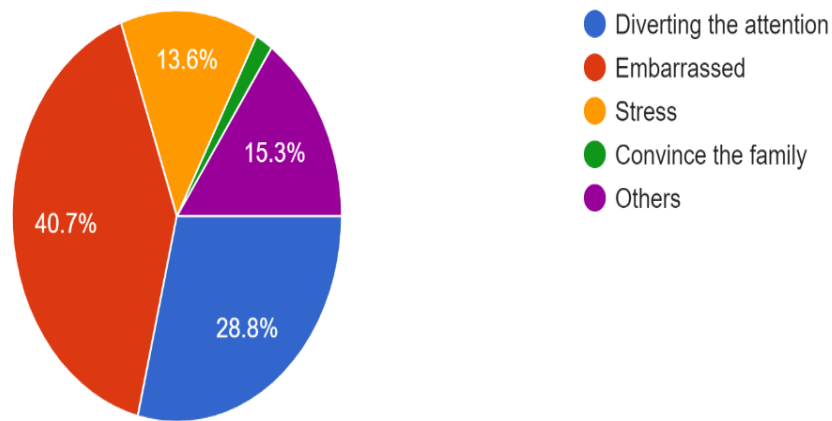
Do you ever miss the quality time of watching films/T.v.Ads/media with your family and friends due to indecent representation of women?
59 responses



Interpretation: Out of 59 respondents, 85% respondents agreed that they have missed quality time with family while watching media due to indecent representation of women in media while 15% respondents disagreed respectively.

At this juncture, How did you feel in the family time while watching the indecent representation of women ?

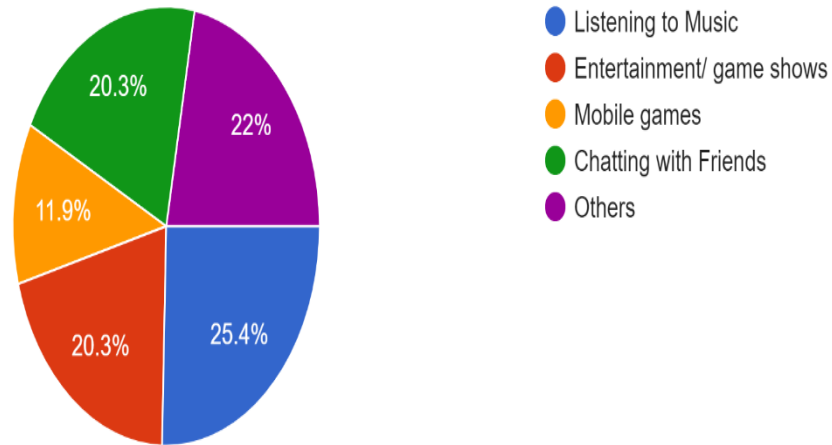
59 responses



Interpretation: Among 59 respondents, 29% people responded they diverting their family attention due to the indecent representation scenes and 41% people responded they felt very embarrassing and 14% people felt very stressed, 1% people responded that they convinced the family and the remaining 15.3% peoples comes under the other category of others.

How do you divert your family from this kind of indecent representation?

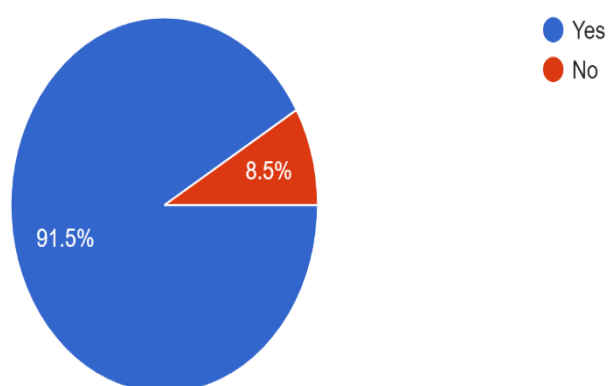
59 responses



Interpretation: Out of 59 respondents, 25% people agreed that they divert their family like listening to music due to indecent representation of women and 20% people responded that they divert their family like watching game shows in Tv, 12% people divert their family in mobile games, 20% people responded they divert their family members involving in chatting with friends and 22% people comes under the category of others.

Whether it affects both children and society?

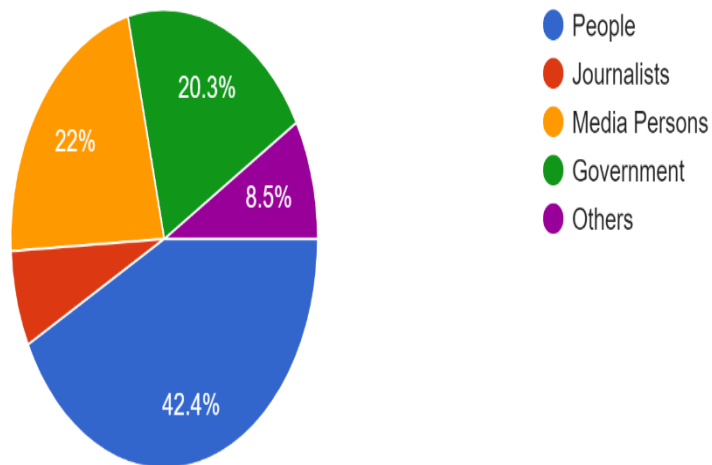
59 responses



Interpretation: Out of 59 respondents, 92% people agreed that it affects the children and society and 8% people disagreed respectively.

Whose attitude should change to overcome this issue?

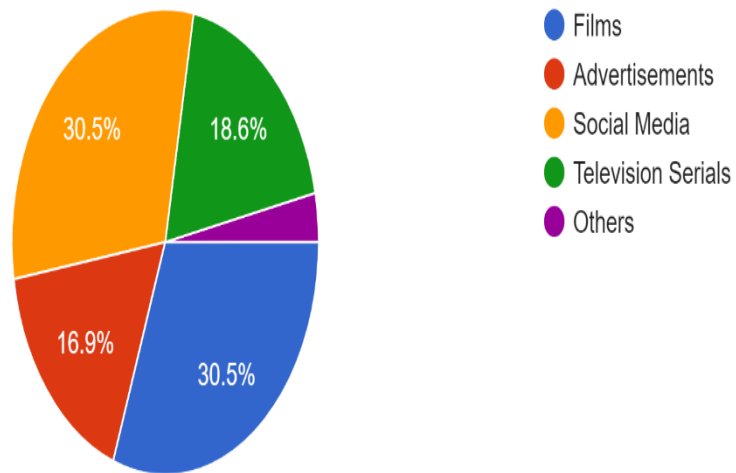
59 responses



Interpretation: Among 59 respondents, 42% responded agreed that the people should change their attitude towards this issue, 22% responded agreed that the media person should change their attitude and 7% responded the journalist should change their attitude, 20% people responded the Government should change their attitude and the remaining 9% people comes under the category of others.

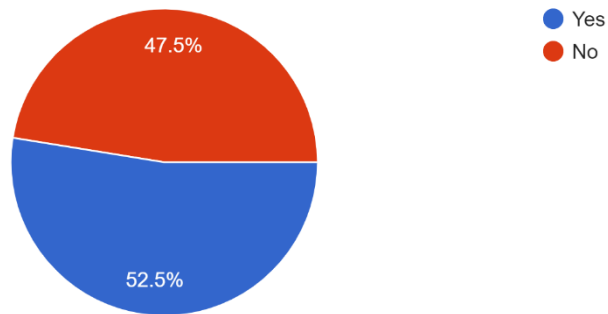
Where did you witness such indecency prominently ?

59 responses



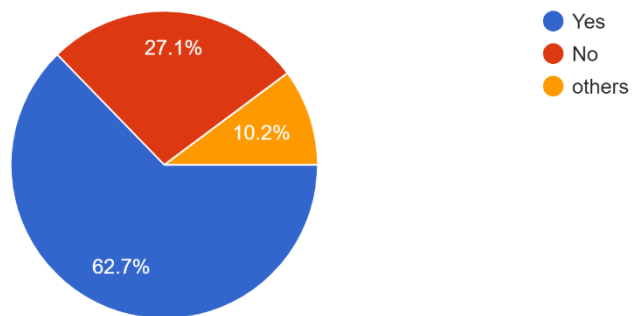
Interpretation: Out of 59 respondents, 31% people agreed that they witnessed the issue through films, 17% people responded they witnessed the problem via advertisements, 31% people witnessed the indecency through social media, 19% people affected by the issue through television serials and remaining 2% people comes under the category of others.

Do you know about the Indecent Representation of Women's Act of 1986?
59 responses



Interpretation: Among 59 respondents, 53% people agreed that they were aware about the indecent representation of women act and 47% people disagreed respectively.

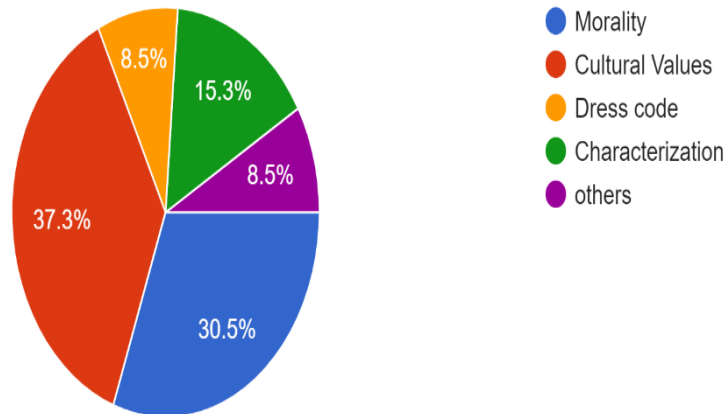
Do you think that men too were represented in indecent manner in films/T.V/Ads etc
59 responses



Interpretation: Out of 59 respondents, 63% people felt that men too were represented indecent manner in films, advertisement etc, and 27% people disagreed and 10% people comes under the category of others.

In what way it affects our society?

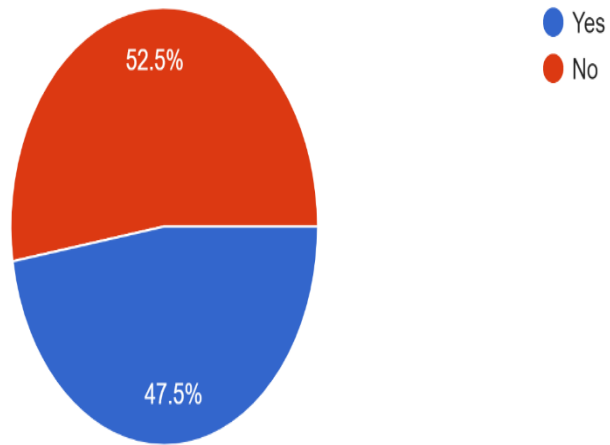
59 responses



Interpretation: Among 59 respondents, 31% responded agreed that it affects our morality, 37% responded agreed it affects our cultural values, 9% responded agreed that it affects our dress code, 15% responded agreed it affects our characterization and the remaining 9% people comes under the category of others.

Do you know about the complaint mechanism against Indecent representation of Women?

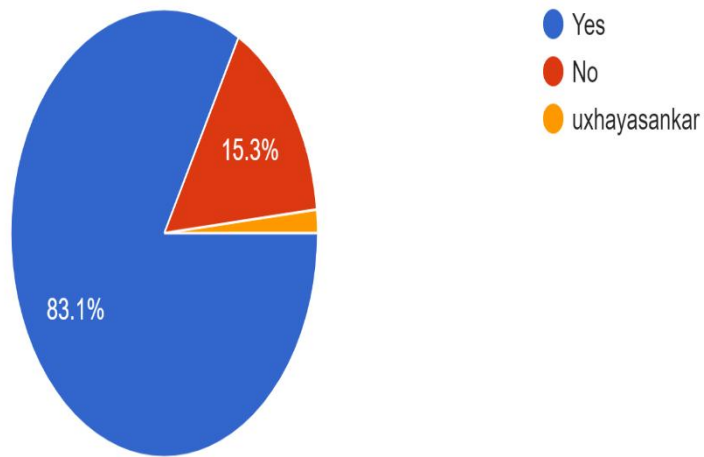
59 responses



Interpretation: Out of 59 respondents, 53% people agreed that they were aware about the complaint mechanism against the indecent representation of women, 47% people disagreed respectively.

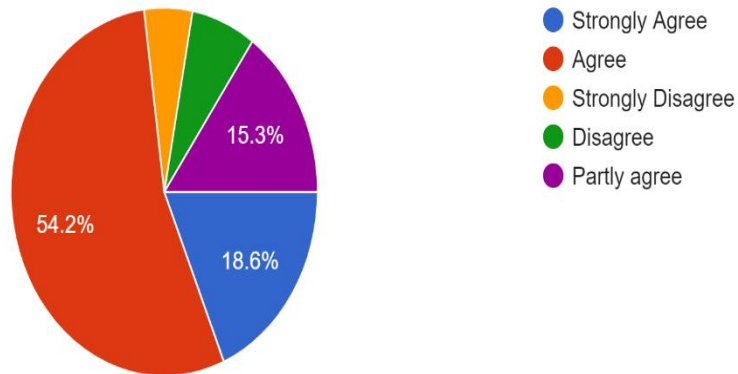
Inspite of Advertising Standards of Council till today there is indecent representation of women

59 responses



Interpretation: Among 59 respondents, 83% responded agreed inspite of ASCI till today there is indecent representation of women and 17 people disagreed respectively.

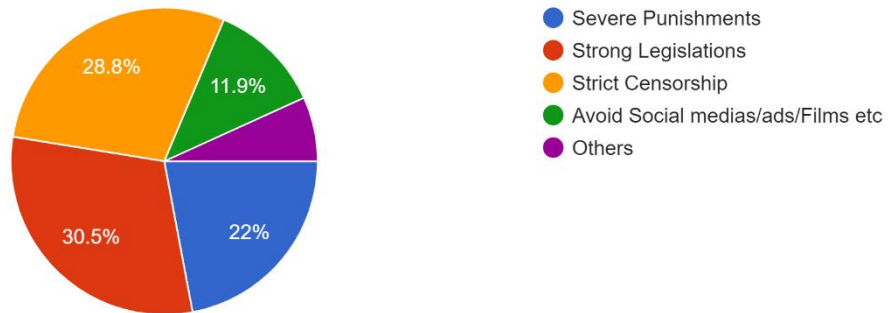
Advertising Standards of Council in India receives complaint from common people for redressal.
59 responses



Interpretation: Out of 59 respondents, 19% people strongly agree that the ASCI receive the complaints from people, 54% responded agreed that asci received the complaints from common people and 15% responded partly agree and 6% people responded strongly disagree and the remaining 6% responded disagree the statement.

What can be your recommendations to tackle this issue?

59 responses



Interpretation: Among 59 respondents, 22% people agreed to give severe punishments to the criminals, 31% people suggested strong legislations, 29% people agreed to set up a strict censorship, 12% people decided to avoid the social medias, advertisements etc and the remaining 6% people comes under the category of others.

Conclusion

India is a developing country, which depends very much on its vast potential of human resources, if these resources are properly tapped the country is bound to progress efficiently, effectively and rapidly.²³ Women form the most important part of the human resources of the nation and they may contribute very substantially in building a strong, powerful and affluent nation. They can, however, make their best contribution when they are properly educated and are capable to explode the myths, which have kept them in a state of backwardness and neglected.

The advertisements portraying women in a vulgar way, whether it be in hoardings or in other media, is tolerated and over looked by the people. While the public can play an important role in curbing the indecent representations of women in advertisements, by objecting to it and by choosing not to remain silent. Cultural as well as religious constraints too cannot be over looked totally by the agencies. In these circumstances a writ of mandamus can be resorted to it. It is significant to point out that a mass awakening only can make a change in the attitude of advertisements towards women. Public service advertisements are doing their part- thanks to the Governments and NGOs. But women organizations, police, politicians, social workers, legal activists- all have to join hands to fight those indulging in indecent representation of women in advertisements.

Journalists have to make aware of the recent legislations and amendments through their writings. They can mobilize the public opinion against the indecent representation of women. People can show their opposition vehemently against this

²³Singh Tridle, *Encyclopedia of Women Power Development*, Cyber Tech Publications, New Delhi, 2005, p. 69.

issue by negation of such films, Ads, T.V. Serials etc. Media persons should also be responsible while shooting and airing such contents. This was a sample survey taken as an initiative to raise our opposition against the airing of indecent representation of women during the prime time.

Also censor board policies also need to be updated because currently it is clearly dominated by men and only men can decide what to release or not and also only men can decide can a women included in our board or not.²⁴ Also, Indian government really needs to implement laws for monitoring online content published on OTT platforms. Indian society say that the Indian women have always been quite strong. They have always been in the forefront of the struggle for the betterment of the mankind. They have been great support to their male counterpart.

²⁴https://www.researchgate.net/publication/347517210_Indecent_representation_of_women_in_India

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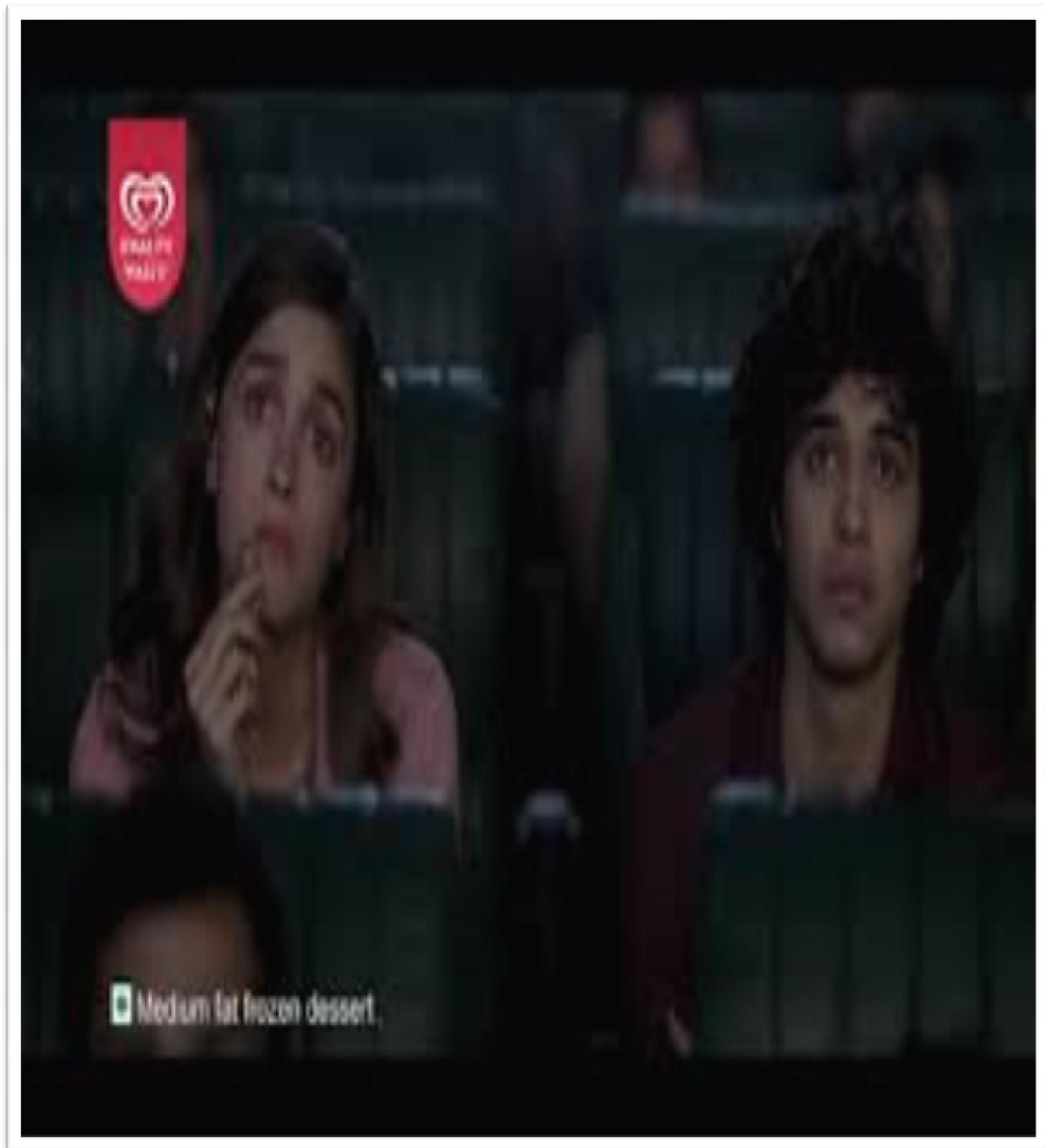
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Axe Signature Advertisement



Kwality walls Advertisement



Save My Dignity



Ban Proposed on obscene depiction of women on net

