3.0 INTRODUCTION

"Each culture constructs its own world out of the infinite variety of nature...[Nature is socialised...reorganised...(and) made into a material manifestation of social structure."

(Busch, 1989)¹

In Tamizlagam, the advent of a more complex society coincided with the rise of the Chera, Chola, and Pandyan Kingdoms. These kingdoms rose in the marutham regions, the Cheras and Cholas established their supremacy on the areas adjunct to the banks of the river Periyar and the delta region of the river Kaveri respectively. The Pandyas ruled from Madurai, which was situated on the banks of river Vaigai. The growth of principalities ruled by Kurunilamannars or kings of small lands, to a strong monarchial power was possibly only in the marutham. In marutham the tribal social entity was not distinct or cohesive as in other regions of the tinai. Marutham was

the only region where spatially intensive activities developed early. Nature presented barriers for indefinite continuation of spatially extensive activities in the plains and delta region comprising the marutham region. When nature presents barriers to the far-ranging quests for food, man is forced to advance from the natural to artificial basis of subsistence. He leaves the chase for the sedentary life of agriculture and extensive activities are replaced by intensive ones, while wide dispersal of tribal energies are replaced by concentration. The fields for cultivation are fixed and enclosed in space as are their cultivators. The assured food supply had a direct impact on the rate of growth of the population. The increasing population quickly outgrew the space occupied and habitated, occasioning within, a struggle for space. A struggle for space is also a struggle for existence. So customs and practices suitable for a settled populace evolve to regulate interaction and the usage of space.

Marutham was the only region which possessed the natural material conditions for advancement and production of surplus. Marutham had fertile land and abundant water "which can be regarded as a natural instrument of production". 2 The production of surplus and population

growth proved to be the necessary impetus for technological advancement. The technological advancement was mainly in the sphere of increasing the hydrological sources. The progress in technology can be gauged from the change in the nomenclature of the dominant class of the population. This class which was known as uzlavars or cultivators now came to be known as vellalars - a term signifying simultaneously two facets of this group. Vellanmai in Tamil means 'agriculture', while vellam means 'floods'. So vellalars meant people who had mastered the art of agriculture and that of controlling of floods. By controlling the floods, the vellalars were able to bring more land under cultivation that is, using technology they increased their area of cultivation. The vellalars actually mastered the art of regulating of the flood waters which were sluggish at the beginning of monsoon and the post-monsoon river water by building Korumbas or temporary bunds, which diverted the swelling river waters or the low level waters in the river to the fields. The Korumbas or bunds were constructed on the river bed by using sand and branches of trees. Erection of the Korumbas placed demands on the community by way of labour. Organisation of labour and regulating the water use necessitated political organisation of society.
3.1 TERRITORIAL ORIENTATION

The increase in water supply effected an increase in the land under cultivation. Over time, the maximum possible area in marutham was brought under cultivation and further expansion required colonisation of the mullai region which had river and streams as its water source. Thus it was only through marutham "major economic development which could restructure the entire social pattern was possible." The territorial expansion is basically physical dominance over space which could not be successfully challenged by the people of mullai on account of the superior political organisation of the marutham people. According to the 'tinai' concept, the five regions had no boundaries and demarcation was vaguely conforming to the natural ecology of the area. Now continuous expansion and integration of the marutham and other regions brought into existence three major Tamil Kingdoms: The Chera, the Chola and the Pandya and each of these Kingdoms controlled a large territorial area.

The expansion and building of kingdoms was originally a movement towards placement of the people of marutham in other regions, rather than an exercise of displacement of


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the local tribes. Initially, the conquest and domination of the mullai, paalai or neythal did not change the essential tribal character totally or the economic activity. On the other hand, it gave an impetus to the total social economy of the regions. In course of time the uzlavars became the ruling class, while the maravars were absorbed as soldiers, the aayers and itaiyars of the mullai continued as shepherds, the parathavars of neythal were impelled to chart the seas for trading. The integration of the mullai increased the number of settlements with the perur and mutur type of settlements coming into existence along the patis of mullai.

Actions such as establishment of kingdoms or annexation of territory require a new type of orientation towards space. Erik Cohen terms this orientation as 'territorial orientation' which is basically control of space achieved through,

"physical dominance over territory, which facilitates the use of force for the defense of or domination over space..., and political organisation of the territory in which control - bounding and allocation of space, to alternative groups or uses -- is achieved through a decision-making process by individuals or
institutions enjoying legitimate authority."  

Every society seeks to create its own cognitive and conceptions regarding the nature of space or cosmos which it inhabits. Durkheim was one of the earliest prophets of the notion that "social organisation has been the model for the spatial organisation and a reproduction of it."  

Sharing Durkheim's views, Levi-Strauss elaborates by stating that although,

"there is an obvious relationship between social structure and spatial structure of settlements, villages or camps...(but) to prove that spatial configuration is the mirror image of social organisation ... would be extremely difficult...(though) the existence of a relation is evident, it is unclear unclear, and ... (sometimes the) spatial configuration seems to be almost a projective representation of the social structure"  

(italics mine).

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Louis Dumont is the main proponent of the idea that the structural organisation of the Indian society has been on the basis of caste. Among the fundamental principles on which the caste system is organised are division of labour, hierarchy, and the notion of purity and pollution. Dumont then reduces the three principles to a single true principle, namely the opposition of the pure and impure. According to Dumont,

"This opposition underlines hierarchy, which is the superiority of the pure to the impure, underlines separation because the pure and the impure must be kept separate and underlines the division of labour because pure and impure occupations must likewise be kept separate. The whole is founded on the necessary and hierarchical coexistence of the two opposites."\(^7\)

The notion of impurity is based mainly on religious grounds and is also associated with hygiene, which is often invoked to justify ideas about impurity.\(^8\) As a structural


\(^8\) Ibid., p.47.
principle the notion of purity and impurity conceptually seeks to separate the Brahman and the untouchable. The opposition of purity and impurity also functions as the principle of hierarchy, by governing the separation and enforcing the opposition of superior and inferior. Thus the combination of the opposition of superior-inferior, and hierarchy and hygiene in the principle of pure and impure leads to various levels of separation, seclusion and isolation. Apart from the principle of purity and impurity the hierarchical ordering of society is also based on the colour or varna. Four categories are distinguished in the order of superiority: Brahmins or priests, Kshatriyas or Warriors, the Vaishyas or merchants and finally the Shudras - the servants or have-nots and the untouchables are left out of this classification.

In the South India, particularly in the Tamil country, Dumont finds that 'peculiarities' occur. The Tamil society is made of Brahmins, Shudras and Untouchables. There are no intermediary castes between the Brahmins and Shudras: the warrior castes and the merchant castes are part of the Shudras. The fact that there was no Kshatriya or Vaishya is not a 'peculiarity' as Dumont considers if one takes into account the historical development of South Indian society. Coinciding with the establishment of the Chera, Chola and Pandyan Kingdoms was the arrival of the Aryans elements from North to spread Jainism, Buddhism and Vedic
Hinduism. The Brahmins succeeded in imposing Vedic Hinduism after rooting out Buddhism and Jainism and attempted to impose the caste system on the Tamil society. The Tamil society was, as seen in the tinai concept, predominantly tribal but with faint traces of caste at the time of arrival of the Brahmins. The attempt to impose caste system according to the Varna system could not succeed totally for those who bore arms as warriors belonged to the marravar tribe; while the salt traders and the parathavars who engaged in maritime trade were from the fishing community and members of these tribes were dark in colour. Moreover these tribal groups consumed flesh of different animals. Naturally in the Brahminal order of things these groups could not fit into the notion of purity and impurity. Designated as the untouchables and outcastes were, "the inhabitants of the non-Marutham regions."\(^9\)

Sivathamby links the non-admission of the non-Marutham inhabitants in the caste system to the expansion of monorchial power coupled with 'the non-Marutham regions fading to the background', and the growth of Brahminal influence.

One of the groups deemed as untouchables were those which could have possibly challenged the Brahmins and

\(^9\) K. Sivathamby, op.cit., p.34.
competed with them for influence. The Paraiyar, whose appellation is derived from the drum - \textit{paRai} - were designated untouchables as "drum skins being of course impure, and the untouchables consequently having the monopoly of the village bands."\textsuperscript{10} In the \textit{Tinai} concept the drum had a large role as it symbolised the closeness of man and nature. Zvelebil points to the fact that in ancient times the members of the Paraiyar caste were bards and royal drummers;\textsuperscript{11} 'war-bards' who "were especially close to the Chiefs and Princes" and used to "arouse the King in the morning."\textsuperscript{12} These references show that the Paraiyars were not considered to be untouchables and as bards they probably wielded considerable influence in the society and with the royalty. X.S. Thani Nayagam is convinced that the degeneracy of the bards set in with the advent of a more complex society, where the poet outshone the bards as the representative of literary and intellectual life, and the functions of the bardic troupe were differentiated.\textsuperscript{13} The destruction of the bardic tradition which was nurtured by a

\textsuperscript{10} Louis Dumont, op.cit.,p.54.


\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., pp.13-14.

\textsuperscript{13} Cited in Kamil Zvelebil, \textit{Tamil Literature}, Wiesbaden : Otto Harrassowitz, 1974, p.43.
secular society (as bards were from all walks of life) coincided with the ascendance of Vedic Hinduism, with the Brahmin becoming close to the monarch and the society losing its secular character by becoming ritualistic and casteist.

3.3 CHANGING CONCEPT OF NATURE

The marrying of territorial orientation with the ideology of caste had a strong impact on the outlook towards nature and a definite impact on the structuring of space and environment as a result of which a new patterning of and category of places emerged. Nature in the tinai was conceived as having a one-to-one correspondence with the human although being different. The human being was considered to be part of nature as was his occupation, art, way of life musical instruments, etc. Now the organisation of the society being based on the principle of purity and impurity, the outlook towards nature also underwent change. Formerly, the sensuous beauty of Nature, its moods, its emotions were compared to the human beauty, moods and emotions in the bardic poetry to bring out the closeness and oneness of human and natural world. Nature under the Vedic influence was viewed as a religious phenomenon and outside the human nature. Secondly, nature was perceived as a combination of male and female principles in the tinai, but now the nature was mainly regarded as male. The
following passage by Ramanuja, a Vaishnavite shows it clear that Nature is conceived mainly as male,

"God pervades the earth and yet is other than the earth; the earth does not know Him; and yet the earth is His body. He controls the earth from within. Similarly, He pervades all inanimate matter -- water, fire, air and so on. The individual soul are also pervaded by Him...God is present everywhere. There is nothing wherein He does not exist."\(^{14}\)

In contrast, the ancient "Tamil classical poetry is pre-eminently of this world; it makes no allusions to supernatural meddling in worldly affairs. When, quite marginally and exceptionally, it reflects some kind of religio, it is mostly the rites and ceremonies connected with the daily life of the people (such as marriage ceremonies), or in bardic war-poetry, reflections of tribal cults and their survivals..."\(^{15}\).

This points to fact that the tribal cults and practices were part of their identification with Nature.


\[^{15}\] Kamil Zvelebil, n. 13, pp.20-21.
The Vedic concept of Nature removed nature from the individual and the collective and placed it outside as a sacred and at once, a profane object. In its sacredness nature became symbolic and above the members of the society in its profanity, an instrumental rationality which was clearly evident in the territorial orientation -- in terms of physical dominance over space and allocation of space to groups or users - came to operate.

3.4 CASTE IDEOLOGY AND ALLOCATION OF SPACE

Allocation of space was dictated by the caste considerations. David Gilmore in his study regarding social organisation of space states that social groups "project" the social model into the dimension of space and thereby create imaginary boundaries that arc as forbidding as any topographical ones. He draws attention to the fact that a class structure is introjected in the public consciousness and then 'projected' upon the nucleated settlement space. This projection orders the physical dimension of town life, in the image of the class model and generates concrete definitions for cultural distinctions and cleavages. It also establishes inclusive parameters for individual behaviour that limit residential mobility

and foster a defensive and parochial isolation of class communities. The result is reification of class consciousness, a restraint on social mobility and a deepening of cultural antagonisms that are caused partially by distance. Therefore, according to Gilmore social class principle is more than a structural device for categorizing human beings. It is also a mental map by which people organise their natural and fabricated universe a cognitive orientation as deep and basic as language, which works in all dimensions of social life. Substituting the 'class' for 'caste' as a structural principle of division by which people are placed into categories, it is possible to demonstrate that the caste has an 'emic' category has played a major role in ordering of macro-space and micro-space in the process of formation of places.

3.4.1 Ordering of Micro Space

The ordering of the micro space on the basis of caste was at two levels:

(a) at the level of the settlement space, which is the village residential area;

(b) at the level of ordering of the environment surrounding the village.

The village landscape is generally dominated physically by four main features namely:
(a) the source of water supply which could be the river or channel from the river or a tank;
(b) the lands attached to the village including the irrigated and non-irrigated lands and the waste lands;
(c) the temple;
(d) the residential area.

As a spatially restrictive activity, agriculture became the nucleus around which the society and land were organised. The village is the micro-space which Stein describes as where,

"relatively small, prosperous and highly cultured modes of settled, advanced agriculture were separated by extensive tracts of forests and hills and in which high caste cultivating and non-cultivating people managed agrarian and other relations through powerful, locality assemblies."¹⁷

The village is referred to by the term 'Ur'. The 'Ur' or the village is synonymous with 'place', for the village is the locale or the setting where social relations are constituted on informal and institutional basis. It is the

setting for everyday, routine social interaction. The Ur is the location or the geographical area encompassing the settings for social interaction as defined by social and economic processes operating at a wider scale. It is in the 'Ur' that the local social interaction of ideas and practices derived from 'the relationship between places'. is represented. The 'Ur' thus, represents the macro order as it is the location where segregation of social groups is acutely practised. It is the place where the effects of the feudal state's policy were felt in an uneven manner. The practice of the jajmani system leading to uneven economic development is found here. The Ur is where the local "structure of feeling" or the subjective orientation that can be engendered by living in a place is established. That is, it is where the definition of self or identity is structured.

3.4.1.1 Technology and Spatial Environment

Technology determined resource creation and management. Naddel states that man-environment interface can be better understood if attention is directed to technology with reference to resources as the substantive core in the study.¹⁸

¹⁸. Cited in Brian J. Murton, 'Land and Class: Cultural, Social and Biophysical Integration in Interior Tamil Nadu in the Late Eighteenth Century' in Frykenberg,
Tamil Nadu

IRRIGATION

TANKS

WELLS

TANK IRRIGATION

area irrigated by tanks as % of total irrigated area

- > 80
- 60-80
- 40-60
- 20-40
- < 20
In an agrarian system, the relations of people with land is most direct. But in the South Indian agriculture, the scarce element has been water as the Tamil areas are in the rain shadow region and lack river systems which are perennial. "Given a reliable and adequate supply of water, a diverse range of soils, appropriate drainage (or conditions in which drainage could be improved with reasonable effort), swamp cultivation of rice has been capable of supporting large populations". 19 Therefore the primary concern of every socially and politically dominant caste group and the state authorities was securing sufficient supplies of water. Formation of the Ur, under the circumstance depended on provision of adequate water primarily for irrigation and it was water bodies which became the sheet anchor for the survival of the Ur. The first step towards formation of an Ur was building of a tank which could store water.

"A tank is not an evacuation as may be inferred from the term; it is a receptacle for water, formed by constructing an embankment or bund across a valley, and so damming up the drainage of the valley. The bund is of earth, 

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...Continued...


but is often protected in front with a facing or revetments of rough loose stone, as a defence against the action of the waves raised by the wind on the surface of the water; it is also pierced by sluices or tunnels of masonry, by which the water is drawn off as required by fields below, and which are furnished with simple contrivance for opening and closing."\textsuperscript{20}

This is the definition of a tank which as recorded in a British document in the colonial period. The tank as a traditional form of irrigation, impressed the British by its ingenuity and success that the British undertook extensive surveys of the tanks in the Presidency and found that they could do little to improve upon the design or construction, but to undertake their maintenance.

The tank is known as 'eri' in Tamil and the development of the technology of the eri enabled the Tamil culture and civilization to expand and extend itself to other areas by means of colonisation of land and root itself in these colonised areas. The concept of the tank came into existence in the early feudal period and remained not only a pillar of the feudal order but also that of the

early British colonial order.

One of the earliest mention of the eri is found in the 'Tholkapiyam', the earliest work extant in Tamil, belonging to the pre-Christian era and antedates the classical poetry or Cankam poetry.

The concept of tank irrigation was refined in the North Arcot District. The development of the eri in its present form can be attributed to Mahendravarman (I), a Pallava ruler in the 5th Century of the Kingdom of Kanchi which included the modern North Arcot district. The district was part of an area known as Tondaimandalam and was subjected to colonisation by the early Cholas. In Tondaimandalam, the Pallavas rose to power around the 300 A.D. and established a Kingdom which lasted until 750 A.D.

The Pallavas and Tondaimandalam became the medium through which sanskritic influences entered the Tamil dravidian society. The world Pallava is the Sanskrit version of the Tamil word Tondai meaning 'creeper' and Tondaimandalam was known as the land of creepers - an allusion to its semi-arid condition. The Pallavas to secure the semi-arid area, built small and large reservoirs of which the Mahendravadi -- named after Mahendravarman I, Mamandur (in Chinglepet District now) and Kaveripakkam lakes are the largest and considered to be great achievements.
Tank building had its own scientific and engineering base as tank is not a basin like receptacle to collect rain water. Topographical conditions such as the slope of land, nature of soil and rainfall, are factors which determine the construction of tank. The slope of land permitted inflow of the surface run-off water of the catchment area, through the opening at the higher side, while at the other three sides elevated embankments were constructed to impound the water. The slope of land also induced gravity flow of water, thereby curtailing the need to use devices for lifting water for irrigation. Tanks do not generally exist in isolation, but are often part of a series. Starting from the catchment area in the hills, down to the plains, where the command area occur, tanks existed as an integral parts of a system, which is connected to a river.

A multitude of channels starting from the lower end of the tank, at the point of the sluice, connect the water through gravity flow to the command area of the tank. These channels also led to another tank at the lower end of the command area. Generally the upstream tanks are smaller in size as the slope of land and the rocky terrain do not permit occurrence of large command areas and the force of the run-off water would create enormous pressure threatening the water soaked earthen embankment. As soon as the water reaches certain level the sluice is opened to drain the excess water which then runs through the channels.
to the next tank downstream. "Hence, the structure of the tank or the tank bed which stores water cannot be seen in isolation from the chain of distributaries and field channels." \(^\text{21}\) The construction of tanks in a series made the entire hills and plain areas including the command area, a huge catchment area during the monsoon.

The fact that the whole system was patently scientific that wastage of the run-off water was uncommon, made Nirmal Sengupta comment,

"These irrigation works may appear crude, but a careful study would reveal that crude eries formed such inter-connected chains that every bit of run-off water flowing through vast landscapes were appropriated for irrigation, every bit of surplus water from one level reached another requiring water for irrigation." \(^\text{22}\)

Tanks did not exist just in regions of scanty rainfall but also where the soil has the capacity to drain off


North Arcot district predominantly possesses red ferruginous loams and sands. Black soil is found chiefly in the neighbourhood of the rivers Palar, Poiney and the Cheyar and the big tanks. The red loamy fertile soil is found in the Vaniyambadi valley, Arni, the Western valleys of the Gudiyattama taluk and in the vicinity of the hills of Vellore. The bulk of the best land in the district is included in the loamy class of both black and red soil. The red loamy soil drains well so it becomes essential to have tanks in the area to impound the water, whereas the black soil does not drain well. Thus the soil composition determined the building of tanks. Tamil Nadu and North Arcot district receives rain from both the South west monsoon and the north-east monsoon. The South West monsoon as explained earlier gives well distributed but less rainfall. Whereas the north-east monsoon although of shorter duration, gives heavy rains which provokes surface run-offs in the catchment areas, command areas and the river surfaces. Under these conditions the tank becomes an ideal method to harvest the rain water.

Tanks are usually connected to the rivers and streams primarily to harvest the heavy precipitations during the monsoon season and to procure water during the dry season.

The river or stream waters are diverted into channels connected to tanks by construction of *Korumbas* and anicuts. *Korumbas* are temporary bunds or spurs constructed on the bed of the river when the river or stream is low, particularly before the monsoon. "*Korumbas* are constructed not in small rivers, where a cheap permanent dam may be constructed, but only in bigger ones with shifting sand and changing water courses".24 *Korumbas* are fabricated with sand, earth, branches, bamboos bushes and grass and are built at the head of the channels when the supply from the river falls low. Each time the freshs occur, the *Korumbas* are swept away and they have to be renewed. "Sometimes these *korumbas* were a mile long, requiring thousands of labourers to construct and divers to lay their deep foundations."25 The anicuts were 'dams of rough stone or masonry' built for controlling the major rivers like Kaveri, Vaigai, Tamrabarani and Palar in Tamil Nadu. The Anicuts aided in maximisation of water for irrigation purposes without impeding the life systems or the natural flow of the river. Anicuts were similar in technique as the *Korumbas* but differed in the respect of being more


25. Ibid.
permanent weirs. The weirs were of certain height and did not obstruct the flow of water but made it rise up gradually to a level sufficient to divert the water automatically into channels connected to the tanks or to fields situated at a level higher than the bed of the river. Anicuts differed from the Korumbas also by the fact that Korumbas being temporary in construction did not possess any controlling work in the bed of the rivers.

The anicuts as scientific means of impounding rivers and streams for irrigation are a very ancient method in South India. The Grand Anicut on river Kaveri is said to have been constructed by the Chola King Karikala during the Sangam period. A river or stream following the slope of land flows from a higher level to a lower plain area, where it forms a natural drainage, thereby providing very few problems concerning irrigation. But in areas where the gradient of the land is steeper, the river cuts through and so the banks are at a higher level posing problems for irrigation. In order to irrigate a piece of land some miles down the slope, the channel has to take its source at the upstream of the river. It is to feed these channels that anicuts are built.

It is from the South Indian technology of construction of anicuts and Korumbas the British learnt to build major hydraulic works. The British finally using indigenous
technology to check the rising river bed of Kaveri after a struggle of a quarter century, were forced to concede that as Sir Arthur Cotton put it,

"It was from them (the South Indians) we learnt how to secure a foundation in loose sand of unmeasured depth...The Madras river irrigations executed by our engineers have been from the first the greatest financial success of any engineering works in the world, solely because we learnt from them...With this lesson about foundations we built bridges, weirs, aqueducts and every kind of hydraulic work...We are thus deeply indebted to the native engineers."26

But Sir Arthur Cotton, the 'founder' of modern irrigation used this knowledge to build dams. Unlike the Korumbas, anicuts and tanks which allowed the use of river water to increase benefits to the society for centuries without violence to the river, dams reversed the nature's logic of water storage and distribution and induced disharmony and violence in nature's cycle. "The sophisticated engineering sense, built on an ecological sense, that provided the foundations for irrigation in

India" was lost when the accent and reliance was placed more on the technology and finance than on harmony between man and nature -- as is evident by the Statement of Sir Arthur Cotton.

The dams constructed were imposing and awesome in comparison to the anicuts and tanks in terms of storage capacity, engineering, height and proved man's mastery over nature and water in particular. But on the contrary, "these engineering and technological feats are part of the Baconian vision of substituting sacred rivers with inert, passive water resources which can be managed and exploited by scientific man in the service of profit." Viewed with this perspective the dams became symbols of violence against society in contrast with the anicuts and tanks. Creating an illusion of abundance, dams unleashed violence by:

(1) Submerging large areas of forested catchments, and uprooting population;
(2) Deforestation in the catchment reduces rainfall and hence reduces river discharges and turns perennial flows into seasonal flows.


28. Ibid., p. 185.
(3) Diversion of water from its natural course and natural irrigation zones to engineered 'command' areas leads to problems of water-logging and salinity;

(4) Diversion of water from its natural course prevents the river from recharging ground water sources downstream;

(5) Reduced inflows of freshwater into the sea disturb the fresh water-sea water balance and lead to salinity ingress and sea erosion;

(6) Interferes with the life systems existing in the rivers and reduces them to the point of extinction;

(7) Creates inter-State water disputes.  

Anicuts and tanks were eco-friendly and supported bio-diversity without obstructing in the river or streams natural cycle and "in the indigenous systems, water storage and distribution were based on nature's logic" of gravitational flow techniques and slope of land for construction of tanks. Praising these indigenous techniques and water management, Sir Arthur Cotton wrote in 1874,

"There are multitudes of old native works in various parts of India...These are noble works

29. Ibid., pp. 185,186.

30. Ibid.
and show both boldness and engineering talent. They have stood for hundreds of years..."31

Tamil Nadu possesses nearly 27,000 tanks or eris and has a rice area of nearly one million hectares under tank irrigation.32 M. Von Oppen and K.V.Subba Rao (1980) put forward that 3.6 million hectares in India are still irrigated by tanks.33 The Command areas under the tanks are termed as 'ayacut'. Most tanks are generally small and can irrigate only 20 to 50 hectares each. Although classified as minor irrigation systems, tanks have brought under plough a vast amount of land. As Janakaranjan states, "The technology of water use for agriculture has developed over a several centuries, and its history has run parallel with the period of human settlements and village societies."34

3.4.1.2 Land Ownership and Micro-Spatial Order

The next major activity was cleaning of forests and scrub land to organise the cleared land into fields. Many

31. Ibid., p. 187.
33. Ibid., p. 1921.
inscriptions dating to tenth century, found on the banks of river Kaveri in the heart of Chola country testify to the efforts undertaken to bring barren land into cultivation. In the early feudal period, it is clear that land clearing and village formation took place only near the river banks. "Part of the land surrounding the village was held in common, and the rest was subject...to periodic redistribution."35 The construction of tank and the clearing of forest land was undertaken in virgin areas that is at sites which were dominated by nature. Virgin or near-virgin areas formed the source out of which a village was carved out.36 Clearing of forests and construction of tanks are activities of ordering of the nature to create an environment suitable for placement of people in space, by creation of a settlement.

Once the eri (tank) was built the land comprising the command area was brought into cultivation. The command area is at a lower level so as to enable usage of the tank water for irrigational purposes. The extent and the water storage capacity of the 'eri' decided the extent and the cropping practices of the command area. If the eri was

large and connected to a river directly the cropping pattern would consist of growing of paddy twice a year. If the eri was unconnected to any other source of water supply but was only dependent on its catchment area, then only, one crop of paddy may be grown. Sometimes more than two villages drew water for irrigation from the same eri.

The lands which formed the command area were termed puravu and formed the entire most productive of the cultivated land of the village. Within the command area of the tank or river itself, lands were localised and grouped under each channel into a square or block and within these blocks, there existed lands which were both cultivated and were called Kalani and the uncultivated and unassessed for tax purposes, called the 'Taramili'. The Taramili were cultivable but unoccupied land. Nilakanta Sastri writes that land was classified into twelve or more grades on the basis of fertility. The nomenclature for the dry land was 'Nirile'. Almost without exception most historians concentrate on the aspects of ownership of the irrigated lands and thus a record of the castes permitted to own land is available.

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Along with communal membership, land ownership as a form of land holding existed in the Tamil speaking areas by the tenth century. Land holding in the non-brahmadeya villages were primarily communal landholding, during the first half of Chola rule. Land ownership developed as the Chola empire started expanding and land grants were made by the King on account of obligations due to him and for the services rendered to him. For this purpose, lands in villages were measured, assessment of the same made and records were maintained.

The village being a settlement of peasants, ownership of land had great significance. Land ownership not only was prestigious but also gave status to the caste group in the village. Moreover the village assembly which was highly representative at the period when communal holdings existed gradually became an association of landlords. N. Vanamamalai identifies four types of land-ownership, where land was,

"in some form or other, either in perpetuity or for the life time of the individual(s), was vested in four classes of people:

(1) Temples: Devadana form of ownership. The affairs of the temple were managed by Brahmins who constituted themselves into Mahasabhas. Most of these brahmins
possessed proprietary rights over Brahmadeya lands.

(2) Brahmadeyam: The proprietary rights were vested in individual brahmins.

(3) Vellanvagai - The proprietary rights vested in free land holders of non-Brahmin high castes.

(4) Jeevitham - Temple servants, dancing girls, musicians, religious instructors, barbers and washermen, had rights to the produce of land assigned to them for their lifetime.\(^{38}\)

With the establishment of landlordism based on ownership, tenant cultivation also existed. Temple lands and 'Vellanvagai' or lands owned by big landlords were leased to tenants who were members of lower castes. These labouring castes numbering ninety-eight and belonging to the Idangai group or the Left-hand castes were engaged in agriculture, constituted the bulk of the tenant cultivators.\(^{39}\)


\(^{39}\) Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit., p.552.
A close study of the records reveal that apart from the aristocracy, ownership of land was confined to the Brahmins, and certain non-Brahmin castes. It is difficult to exactly point out the non-brahmin castes which held land but a study of the service grants show the ownership structure to an extent. A reading of various studies by Norburu Karashima, Burton Stein, N.K. Sastri, R. Tirumalai show that a good portion of irrigated lands were held by the Brahmins. Apart from them the irrigated lands were held by Vellalas a non-Brahmin caste who had the power to "levy or pay any kind of dues" within certain villages.40 Apart from these caste groups, officials of the village and King owned land.

Y. Subbarayalu has made a study of 260 land sale deeds records in published Chola inscriptions. The following table shows chronological distribution of sellers who are classified into seven categories.

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40. R. Tirumalai, n.36, p.142.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Br.As.</th>
<th>Br.Ind.</th>
<th>Non Br. As</th>
<th>Mr.As</th>
<th>Temple Non/ Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>875-985</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>986-1070</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1071-1178</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1197-1279</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Br - Brahmin; Non-Br - Non-Brahmin; Mr - Mercantile
As - Assembly  Ind - Individual.


The table makes it clear that land was owned mainly by brahmins, mercantile castes, temples, non-brahmin individuals and village and township assemblies.

The brahmins emerged as the most powerful and largest landowners next to the royalty. The members of this caste owned lands which were usually tax free or had a comparatively small tax levied on the land. Moreover they had control over the temple lands and the temple was the largest landowner in many villages. The temples, according to Nilakanta Sastri, "in every village...(temples) absorbed and retained the surplus wealth of the community in normal times, and released it for use in seasons of financial
stringency..." But this benevolent view of temples is not shared by Rajkumar who brings to attention the revolts which took place against the landlords and tax burden.\textsuperscript{42} The cultivating peasants and the untouchables who formed the bulk of agricultural labourers were acutely antagonistic to the Brahmins and the temples due to the oppression they had to face and particularly opposed the conversion of lands into Brahmadeya or Devadanam. While revolting, temples and their walls were a particular target for they bore inscriptions recording decrees and decisions alienating the land the peasants cultivated. An entire village, a brahmadeya, was burnt down, sites of pilgrimage destroyed, outer and inner walls of the temple was razed to the ground.\textsuperscript{43}

3.4.1.3 Access to Common Lands

(a) The Irrigated Commons:

The common lands played a major role at the micro-spatial level in integration of castes in the village. Those lands which were not belonging to any institution or individual and managed by the village

\textsuperscript{41} Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit., p.541.

\textsuperscript{42} M.D. Rajkumar, 'Struggles for Rights During Later Chola Period', \textit{Social Scientist}, vol.2, no.6-7, 1974, pp.29-35.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., p.33.
assembly were considered to be common lands. The commons can be classified into two types: the arable and the pastural. The arable lands can further be categorised into the ancient wastes or the virgin lands which could be brought under the plough; and the irrigated lands which were either unoccupied or unallocated or for default in payment of land dues.

The taramili or the cultivable unassessed lands near the irrigational channels were often granted to the temple by the king who had residuary claim on the village commons or were given to the servants of the temple by the village assembly as service-tenure. The relinquished lands and the lands reverted to the village were either auctional or sold or given on lease to the highest bidder. The purchasers were inevitably the local aristocrats, brahmins, temple or upper caste as these lands were coveted on account of being part of the irrigated lands. If unsold these lands were managed by the village assembly by periodically rotating the land among the cultivating castes of the village. In this manner the most productive of lands remained under the control of the upper castes of the village. This control disclosed the power of the upper castes over the village resources and simultaneously enhanced their prestige and status. The ancient arable wastes were also sold by the village assembly to raise funds for festivals and other public purposes. These lands
were in the fringe of the command area and over time "theses holdings were more and more receding to the extremities of township." 

Grants and sale of common holdings depended on the availability of irrigation facilities. If purchasers were unavailable the unallocated, unoccupied, irrigated common lands were allowed to wastes rather than be allocated to other castes. In case of allocation to service castes, "The residential attribute conferred a preferential claim." The residence of various castes in the village was related to the caste hierarchy and the principle of purity and pollution.

(b) Dry Lands:

Among the arable lands were the unirrigated lands. Only dry crops could be raised on these lands as they were situated far from the command area. Sometimes channels carrying water to another tank passed through these ancient wastes but the cultivators of the lands adjacent were not permitted to divert or draw the water using devices for "water rights were sold for a consideration either by itself or along with the fields to be irrigated." Since cropped lands attracted taxes, the village assembly

44. R. Tirumalai, n. 36, p.56.
45. R. Tirumalai, n.37, p.77.
constantly attempted to bring the dry lands also under cultivation by granting them to the service castes. Therefore the dry lands were often allocated to the Vaidya, potter, carpenter, blacksmith, washerman, under the condition that they render service to the village. Such lands were called "estates upon condition." These extensive dry lands were often granted by the king to temples, brahmins and chieftains on the condition that these lands be reclaimed by creation of irrigation facilities.

On the other hand, the untouchables were never allowed to either own land or cultivate the waste land, but were allowed to live of the 'unproductive' waste land or land considered uncultivable or infertile, called the 'Kalanilam'. This nomenclature reveals the operation of power in the access to and allocation of resources. The land which formed part of common holdings but unoccupied and could possibly be cultivated by virtue of its location being closer to the command area or within the command area was considered the preserve of the upper castes and if brought under cultivation was rotated among members of the upper castes. This land could be sold if the village assembly so desired, only to individuals belonging to similar caste group and to temples. Thus the control over

47. Ibid., p.226.
this type of common land disclosed the power of the upper caste over the village resources and also enhanced their power. The second type of waste land was that which was cultivable if cleared and reclaimed. This land was either at the tail end of the command area therefore not always enjoying the facility of irrigation and also not so fertile. Mostly it was dependent on rainfall for moisture. Such lands were allocated to the non-brahmin service castes which were generally lower in the caste hierarchy. The third type of common land is the infertile barren or scrub land which was of not much use for the other castes and on which the untouchables were allowed more access as these lands were used for grazing of animals and were part of the catchment area. These wastes also played a major role in supporting the non-Brahmin lower castes and service castes. From the irrigated lands the brahmins and upper castes normally produced enough to directly meet their food requirements. So only for fuel and certain other minor needs they were dependent on the common waste land. Fuel needs were met to an extent from the husk of the paddy, cow during and other plant wastes. So for the cultivating castes to meet their household needs and for survival the waste land played a very small role. In regard to agricultural activities no evidence of direct dependence in the waste land is discernible by this section of the population. In contrast the waste land played a more
supportive role for the lower service castes. Almost all raw materials had to be obtained from these waste lands particularly in terms of wood. The Vaidya had to search for his herbs and leaves in the waste land. Grazing land was part of the waste land. A portion of their daily needs were also met by foraging the wasteland. For the untouchable the wasteland formed the very basis of existence. Having no grains on a regular basis to meet his nutritional needs he had to depend on the wastelands for tubers, roots, fruits, etc., for his nutritional needs. This land which was considered to be marginal in the spatial ordering of the village environment symbolised the marginal existence of the untouchable.

3.4.2.1 Organisation of Settlement Space

Various studies relating to village as a basic economic and social unit in the feudal period have been undertaken in terms of land tenurial system, land grants, village assemblies and government in villages, by the various authors including Noburu Karashima, Burton Stein, Nilakanta Sastri, R. Tirumalai, K.G. Krishnan etc. No attention had been paid to village formation or the environmental change in relation specifically to the caste system.; Most studies tended to concentrate on the formation of two types of villages namely the Brahmadeya villages and the non-brahmadeya villages and the political
processes and relations within and between villages. But Noburu Karashima's (1984) study of the villages is an exception and 'illuminating as it deals with not only the allocation of residential space for these caste groups within the villages, but also the facilities enjoyed by various caste groups which symbolically project caste as an 
*emic* category.

The formation of new village or settlement requires alteration of space to form residential locations. In the feudal period villages were formed on account of grants by the royalty.

The King could grant lands and promote village formation for "the residual claim of the State as represented by the King to all unassigned land"\(^\text{48}\) was tacitly assumed. This claim extended to all lands except those already granted or owned by the assembly of village or brahmadeya or individuals. The land given as grant was marked off in a traditional manner by a public ceremony which officials and people of the surrounding twenty-seven villages attended. Documents relating to the grant of land also specified the obligation of the inhabitants of the new village to the sovereign. The boundary of the new village is marked by erecting mounds of earth and by planting

\(^{48}\) Nilakanta Sastri, *op.cit.*, p.570.
cactus or prickly pear. The physical aspects and the vegetation of the area is described in the following manner:

"The several objects included in this land -- such as fruit-yielding trees, water, lands, gardens, all up growing tress and down going wells, open spaces, wastes in which calves graze, the village-site, ant-hills, platforms (built round trees), canals, hollows; rivers and their alluvial deposits, tanks, granaries, fish ponds, clefts with beehives, deep ponds included; and everything else on which the iguana runs and the tortoise crawls; ..." 49

Water being a premium element, the rights and usage of water were particularly specified. Freedom to dig wells was allowed and to dig channels" in accordance to watering requirements" was permitted but wastage of water was severely condoned, Damming of water for irrigation and use of devices for lifting of water from the channels or rivers was not permitted and if violated, the land was taken away from the cultivator. Limits were also placed on the right to raise the bund of the village tank to its maximum height and conversely on the storage capacity of the tank. This

49. Ibid., p.578.
caution on use of water naturally restricted indiscriminate colonisation of land. The flow of water in the channel and land by gravitation placed further limits on the conversion of land as wet lands and promoted allocation of land as catchment area.

The populace of the twenty-six villages were given the option to settle in the new villages is apparent by the fact that the assemblies of these village, had to give their consent for the formation of a new village as lands attached to them were taken for the new village. "The consent of the Sabha (assembly) was essential to any alteration in the classification of the lands in the village, the King simultaneously addressed the local adhikari (official of the government) and the Sabha concerned". 50

From the inscription for Mannarkoil in Tirunelveli district it is clear that apart from the assembly and officials of the government, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the goldsmith, and the paraiya were also specially included in the process of demarcation of the boundaries of the new village. This action evidently points to the democratic element of the polity but it is also an indirect affirmation to the fact that the state did not want to

50. Ibid., p.513.
dispossess or redirect the natural resources of the service castes and the other villagers thereby depriving them of the means to subsistence. The involvement of the various castes in the proceedings of village formation gave them the option to resettle. This involvement also prevented the King from acting unilaterally and affecting the rights of various surrounding villages. Attestation of grant by the village assemblies and the usage of service castes to demarcate a village boundaries prevented the occasion for disputes to arise regarding boundary, water sharing, extent of common lands, resettlement of population etc.

In village formation, the grant by the King or the royalty is registered by various officials and as a final step an official sends a royal letter to the assembly of the nadu requesting them to make a charity deed after marking off in a solemn manner "the boundaries of the village granted by getting an elephant to beat the bounds, then by the man who rode the elephant on the occasion, then by the accountants of twenty-seven villages and lastly by the Bhattas (brahmins) who guided the whole transaction."51 Thus occasionally a village was brought into existence by the royalty. Karashima (1984) analysing various inscriptional records points out that entire villages were often granted to an individual or a group of individuals.

51. Ibid., p.504.
The extent of these villages were measured in 'velis' and most villages were less, than 60 velis and a few exceeded 100 velis in extent.\textsuperscript{52}

\subsection*{3.4.2.2 Residential Spatial Order:}

(a) \textbf{The Sacred Space}

The temple, as already mentioned played a major role in the village life. The temple symbolised the sacred space and a central point within the village. It was "the most sacred in space, endowed with the highest meaning. The sacredness of space around that central point gradually decreases in proportion to distance".\textsuperscript{53} Terming it symbolic orientations of space, Erik Cohen holds the view that: "The moral-religious sub orientation achieves the most comprehensive organisation of space in the traditional cultures where religions "held that human order was brought into being at the creation of the world" and which, consequently demonstrated" a pervasive tendency to dramatize the cosmogony by constructing on earth a reduced vision of the cosmos". This tendency may lead to a comprehensive symbolic spatial organisation of the whole

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{52} Noburu Karashima, \textit{South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions A.D. 850-1800}, New Delhi, OUP, 1984, p.46.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{53} Erik Cohen, op.cit., p. 57.
\end{flushright}
Caste is also based on religious principles. The notion of purity - impurity have played a major role in ordering of residential space in correspondence to the caste hierarchy which demanded maintenance of physical distance between members of different castes. The temple being sacred was the central point in the village activities but it was not necessarily placed physically at the centre of the village. Cohen observes, it is the sacredness of space around this central point which gradually decreases in proportion to distance that matters to the study. The temple of the village deity was situated in the 'agraharam', the residential area of the brahmins, if the village had any brahmin population. The agraharam was situated usually in a slightly higher ground so as to allow the used impure water to flow out of the agraharam. The Brahmins by virtue of being ranked highest in the caste hierarchy and following the profession of priesthood considered themselves close to the divine and so occupied and shared the immediate space surrounding the sacred space. Next to the brahmin were the Vellalas, who were placed in residence accordingly. The other non-brahmin castes followed according to the hierarchy. Included in these were the mercantile caste or the chettis.

54. Ibid.
(b) Residential Profane Space

Apart from the agraharam the residential areas of other castes, which were non-Brahmin, were referred to as 'urnattam' or 'Kudiyirukkai' or the area of the cultivator. The non-Brahmin service castes and untouchables resided in areas called 'cheris'. The Cheris formed the basis of representation on the executive committees of the village assembly. The professional groups belonging to five of the service castes were called 'Kammalars' and they lived in the Kammanachheri. The cheris had in residence, the goldsmith, the blacksmith, carpenters, metal workers and stone workers. The washermen lived in the Vannaracheri. The men who controlled the sluice of the tank lived in talaivaychcheri. The toddy tapper lived in the ilachcheri. Land was assigned to barbers, astrologers and to physicians but in which part of the village it is not known. This shows that astrologers and physicians resided in villages but in no separate residential area. The untouchables lived in areas called tindachcheri or paraichcheri. These tindachcheri were usually outside the main village and the paraiyars were not permitted to enter into the main village as their very proximity is said to be polluting for the Brahmins. "The existence of a number of different residential areas implies the actual existence of many different social groups. Judging from the names of these
groups, they seem to have engaged in different occupations such as agriculture, manufacture of tools, washing, toddy drawing, and similar work. It is suggested, therefore, that there was a division of labour based on caste difference in those villages where some of these castes resided together. In this sense, the data reinforce the view that Indian villages were little republics where social production was maintained by combination of agriculture and manufacture.\textsuperscript{55}

Karashima's view supports the fact that the caste model was 'projected' on to the space and imaginary boundaries existed which were as forbidding as any topographical ones. The same event projection of the ideology of caste in terms of purity-pollution is also evident by the existence of separate cremation grounds for the Vellalars and Paraiyars. Water also played a major role in both ordering of the microspace and in shaping the cognitive orientation of the different caste groups. The role of tank (eri) in the village formation has been already discussed. According to Dumont, the Brahmin accepts water only from certain castes and does not accept it from other castes. He prefers to accept water from another Brahmin even if he is inferior. Then he accepts water from certain relatively pure serving castes. The

\textsuperscript{55} Noburu Karshima, op.cit., p. 54.
Brahmin does not accept water from those who eat beef, meat, fowl, work on leather and are considered unclean.

Because of this concept of purity the Brahmin would only accept land which is close to the tank or within the command area. He could not accept dry land and when he accepts dry lands he attempts to convert it into an irrigated land. In this way the Brahmins and temples played a leading part in colonisation of land which encouraged Kings to favour them with grants and on preferential basis. Tirumalai enumerates about a number of grants given to Brahmins and temples and their role in conversion of dry lands into wet lands and also instances where the Brahmins exchanged the infertile lands which were at the tail end of command area, for good lands in the village. Because of this factor of purity, the Brahmadeya villages are found to be only in areas where there are abundant river water supply or exclusive tank water supply for their fields. Thus caste ideology spurred the economic ethic of the Brahmins and obtained them more grants of land at favourable rates. In the residential location of the village tanks were built for taking purifactory baths and separate wells were dug for the use of Brahmins, non-Brahmins and untouchables.

The caste structure based on the principle of purity-pollution thus structured the micro-space and as an
'emic' category succeeded in playing a major role through the consciousness of the various caste groups to exclude certain castes in having access to resource and to a better economic life but also placed the brahmin in a pre-eminent position to take advantage of the natural sources, by giving an impetus to the economic ethic exhibited by him. As an emic category caste also influenced spatial behaviour by limiting residential mobility and fostering a defensive and parochial behaviour particularly among the untouchable by isolating him physically from all other communities. This character of the macro-space continued to exist until the British intervened by introducing certain changes in spatial economy. This same process continued also at the level of macro-space.

3.4.3 Macro-Spatial Ordering of Places:

A glance at the map of Tamil Nadu would show a regularity in the names of places. Place names would have certain suffixes or prefixes. An analysis of these suffixes and prefixes reveal the existence of a popular nature to each of the places. They also point to the ordering of places at a macro-spatial level in terms of caste but also point to a latency of the tinai concept. In the macro-spatial level, the urban areas and the villages will be dealt with.
Looking at the map of Tamil Nadu, one would encounter names of places starting with Sri or Tiru or ending with pettai, pattinam, palayam, kottai, chatram, palli, pakkam and of course 'ur'. A study of these nomenclatures is important if one wants to understand not the organisation of space at macro-level but as W.H. Goodenough puts it, is also an attempt at "discovering how different people organize and use their culture".\textsuperscript{56} Thus cultures are not taken as simply material phenomena, but as systems of knowledge and cognition. Carl O. Sauer, exhorts that a social scientist should develop "the ability to see the land with the eye of its former inhabitants, from the standpoint of their needs and capacities."\textsuperscript{57} Therefore imposing alien categories to study the concept of place in a particular culture could not only prove unrewarding but also frustrating.

3.4.3.1 Temple Towns

Environment is symbolically oriented for an individual, society or a group. "Points in space or


\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p.32.
environmental features are endowed with symbolic orientation if they 'mean" something to the individual (ie.) express or represent his values. Meaning is not an intrinsic quality of physical space or of any spatial feature. It is imposed upon the environment by culture. In Firey's words, "social value may endow space with qualities quite extraneous to it as a physical phenomenon".58 As explained earlier sacred space is part of this symbolic orientation. In South India one frequently encounters sacred places or places of pilgrimage such as Tiruttani, Sriperumbudur, Tiruverkadu, Tiruvallur, Srivalliputhur, Sriharikota, Srirangam, etc. These are places which are endowed with sacredness. A closer look at these places show that these are places were significant numbers of brahmins reside. These places also possess temples which are imposing and larger than village temples in size and space they occupy. In most cases, these sacred places occur on the banks of river, on hill tops but are always surrounded by fertile lands. A preliminary study that most of these sacred places have been brahmadeya villages of the Chola period or headquarters of prominent chieftains.

The Brahmadeya villages were formed on the basis of grants of land given to the land-based literati. They were established by royal order and flourished under royal

58. Erik Cohen, op.cit., p. 56.
protection. These villages comprised predominantly Brahmins as population and by a royal order no person belonging to other castes were permitted to own land in the brahmadeyas.\textsuperscript{59} The brahmadeya villages could be recognised from its appellation which tended to have 'caturvedimangalam' at the end. Ownership of land tended to be among individual brahmins but they did not directly engage in cultivation. They engaged the paraiyars to do the cultivation or leased the land to a tenant. Thus the brahmins and their brahmadeya though in minority dominated the other non-brahmin population. Supporting the establishment of brahmadeya villages was the technological factor. The introduction of new agricultural techniques such as the construction of dams (anicuts), the maintenance of water tanks, and channels etc., promoted productivity. "The brahmadeya villages established in large numbers in the lower Kaveri valley during the Chola period must have played an important role in spreading these techniques to the people of non-brahmadeya villages..." explains Karashima.\textsuperscript{60} He concludes that the "brahmadeya villages must have been the local nuclei of Chola power structure, their function being to integrate and control the

\textsuperscript{59} Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit., p. 579.

\textsuperscript{60} Noburu Karashima, op.cit., p.20.
surrounding non-brahmadeya villages".\textsuperscript{61} In this way the brahmadeya village "played a crucial role in spreading brahminical ideas among the residents of non-brahmadeya villages and in maintaining social order in the locality."\textsuperscript{62} "Maintaining social order" through brahminical ideology can be accepted as a reference to the imposition of caste on the Tamil society. The process of imposition of caste on the society in turn demanded structuring and ordering of the space -- the residential space at the level of micro-space and the place at the macro-spatial level.

3.4.3.2 \textit{Pettai}

The \textit{pettai} was a village dominated by the merchants landlords. In these villages trading was the main occupation. The \textit{pettais} were centres of internal trade. With expansion of agriculture \textit{pettais} acquired significance as trading centres. The merchant population played a major role in the Chola period in contributing gold and money for the construction of the famous temple in Tanjore. Trading classes like yarn merchants, weavers and smiths, potters, artisans were the main occupants of these types of villages. \textit{Pettais} helped to promote money economy and were


\textsuperscript{62} Ibid.

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responsible for indirectly and partially integrating the 'ur' into a larger economy as the surplus produce were sold to the merchants at pettai which existed among a group of villages.

3.4.3.3 Pattinam and Pakkam

Pattinam and Pakkam were situated in the coastal areas (neythal regions) as they are ports and harbours. Nagapattinam and Kaveripattinam or Puhar were very famous for their overseas trading activities. The Roman and Greek merchants were known to have settled in these port towns. Sastri writes that, "the city of Puhar had a large colony of foreign merchants from different parts of the world." The articles of trade included horses, gems, pepper, gold, sandal, agil, pearls, coral and foodstuffs. The foreigners called 'yavanas' were taken into royal service as the praetorian guards by the Pandyan Kings of Madurai. Maritime trade was conducted with Chinese, Arabs, and Greeks and Romans. Lighthouses were built to guide the ships into the harbour. At Mahabalipuram near Madras there still exists a light house built by the Pallava Kings. The pattinam was considered to be a city as it was urbanised and had a populace which was diverse, reflecting the activities carried on. Fishing activity was not very

63. Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit., p. 82.
predominant in pattinas. Fisher folk lived in hamlets called pakkam. Pakkams were also found in land as fishing was carried on in lakes, backwaters and provide Areas having a higher water table, or underground water systems were also referred to as Pakkams. In the modern city of Madras there exist a number of Pakkams.

3.4.3.4 Palli

Jain villages were called Pallis. Pallis existed before Vedic Hinduism took root in large numbers. Land grants were made to Buddhist and Jain monks by Kings and villages where such land grants were made were called pallis. With Hinduism becoming the State religion, the Jains lost their hold over the Tamil society and the number of pallis decreased. Many Jaina settlements existed in the present North Arcot District as the religion was patronized by the Pallavas.

3.4.3.5 Chatram

These are similar to the 'Serai' of North India. Basically a resting place for the traveler and a place of hospitality for the pilgrim. Chatrams are found more near the sacred places. Chatrams had a temple with a tank and were surrounded by 'thottams' or groves of coconut and other fruit trees. The temple was well endowed by the Kings, nobles or merchant and possessed lands under a type
of grant known as devadanam. The Chatrams also organised shandies or weekly markets to earn income. The role of Chatrams in maintenance of caste relations is evident from the practices followed. The chatrams were served by castes from whom the Brahmins would accept water and food --which essentially means that they were areas of Brahmin dominance. The temple tank, Kulam; was used exclusively for drinking and ritual purposes. Bathing was permitted only in tanks or canals which were close to the chatram. Food served for the travelers and pilgrims were vegetarian and were cooked by a brahmin cook. Untouchables were not permitted to enter the chatram area. Thus by inference it is clear that the untouchable could not move out of a village and travel as he had no access to any support structure. Tirumalai is of the opinion that mobility was not a normal characteristic. But Nilakanta Sastri is more emphatic when he declares that the Palaiyas (untouchables) "were indeed in a condition of serfdom,...with no freedom of movement".64

3.4.3.6 Palayam or Padaiparru

Padaiparru or Palayams were cantonments or garrison villages. The Padaiparru was the locality where the army and its regiments had a corporate life of their own. The

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64. Ibid., p.574.
Chieftains and Senapatis endowed benefactions or built temples and the men led an ordinary life with their families. It proved to be the recruiting ground for the army and periodic training and practice were continued only here.

Scions of the royalty or chieftains resided here. In feudal period, military service was the preserve of the Malavar, Kallar and Agamudaiyar castes. The Maravars were the tribes who were originally found in the 'paalai' or desert region of Tamizlagam in the ancient times. In the Chola and Vijaynagar period lands were assigned in lieu of particular services rendered. These service tenures were the normal method of remunerating military service. Inscriptions recording service grants known as 'virabhoga' for the enjoyment of members of the warrior castes who were of 'sirudanam' rank and served in the place of Gangaikonda-Colapuram were found. Lands granted were free of taxation or attracted cow tax. In return the feudal chief had to maintain a stated number of soldiers ready for service when required by the King. Military in the Padaiparru was used to maintain order in the surrounding villages, to police, safeguard properties particularly standing crops from theft. Though each village also had its own 'Kavalkaran' or policeman to prevent theft. The Military frequently used to accompany the tax collector, for oppressive methods were sometimes adopted to collect
taxes and other dues. They were also employed to guard the highways and temples.

3.4.3.7 Kottai

The term 'Kottai' essentially means fort. Though no forts of the Chola period have survived, many villages with the name Kottai are existing. These villages could have been garrison areas as the Padiparru. The Chola kings were of the habit of establishing strong military colonies along the important routes of communication in the occupied territory. These garrison outposts could have built forts for protection. In ancient Tamil literature mention is made of fortified towns which were guarded by the Marava castemen.

3.5 DOMINANCE OF CASTE

The above exposition on the organisation of macro space reveals that places were specifically created for specific castes or groups of castes pursuing broadly similar occupations. Each place was so created that it would continue to protect the insularity of caste by preventing mobility -- both social and physical. The placement of various castes in space and place by these means has led to domination of certain castes in certain spatial areas and territory. Srinivas defines dominant castes as:
"A caste may be said to be 'dominant' when it preponderates numerically over the other castes, and when it also wields preponderant economic and political power. A large and powerful caste group can more easily be dominant if its position in the local caste hierarchy is not too low".65

This definition emphasizes the apparent numerical aspect along with economic and political power. The aspect of ritual purity in terms of local caste hierarchy is also stressed. Unstated in this premise is the spatial content, for numbers and population exist in territory. Srinivas also indirectly acknowledges that the ritual purity put castes in a dominant position in terms of exercising political and economic power. Dumont lists five characteristics to enlarge the concept of dominance:66

(1) relatively eminent right over land;

(2) as a result, power to grant land and to employ members of other castes either in agricultural capacities or as specialists, build up a large clientele, not to say an armed force.


(3) Power of justice also: the notables of the dominant caste are often entrusted with the arbitration of differences in other castes or between different castes and they can exact penalties for unimportant offences;

(4) Generally speaking, monopoly of authority: if the village headman chosen by the State is not one of the dominant notables he can only be their pawn, unless he has unrivaled personal qualities;

(5) The homology extends so far that the dominant caste is often a royal caste, a caste allied to royal castes, or a caste with similar characteristics.

The characteristics listed by Dumont are acceptable only if the exclusivity of placement of caste in space is recognised. The analysis of different types of places debunks the notion that villages are places where all castes are placed side by side according to the hierarchical order. Karashima through his analysis of the village residential space considers it significant that all castes do not exist in every village. He finds that certain types of residential areas (cheries) did not always exist in many villages. This finding is supported by the above analysis regarding placement of castes in the different types of villages at macro spatial level.
The pettai was dominated by the merchant and service castes. But their dominance accrues not only from the numerical superiority but also from the exclusion of other superior castes from this type of village and the inclusion of the low untouchable castes - which automatically gives the artisan and merchant castes the right over the land, power to grant land, dispense justice, employ and monopolise authority. This means the exclusion of ritually superior castes puts the hierarchically lower caste and relatively polluting caste in control of the entire productive sources of the village. The hierarchically lower castes would not achieve dominance in the villages where ritually pure castes existed even if they were numerically dominant. The elimination of competition for the more productive sources in terms of fertile land and water supply for irrigation, gave impetus for the non-Brahmin but ritually purer castes to multiply and become numerically dominant. Thus in the 'ur' which formed the economically productive unit various non-Brahmin castes which were ritually pure were able to become dominant caste and maintain their dominance not so much through political power as much through their position in the caste hierarchy. But the merchant castes were in no way related to royal castes or allied to royal castes or exhibited similar characteristics. The dominance rather arose from the placement of particular castes in space which assisted
and permitted numerical expansion. The placement of particular castes at macro-spatial level allowed for the distribution and control of resources by those castes whose support was essential for the feudal polity and economy to function. This mode of placement of castes in space encouraged the concentration of power and authority of a single caste within a given micro spatial area, while necessitating alliances to be formed between castes at the macro spatial level.

The by product of the decentralisation at macro spatial level was that the village became independent of the centre and truly a republic where social reproduction and was maintained by the combination of agriculture and manufacture with minimum of interference from outside. This produced an insular outlook which was greatly enhanced by non-migration. Migration was informally prevented as a particular caste group knew it would not be to project its power in other parts of the territory and inverse migration would weaken a caste group in that particular village. Members of the ruling castes could migrate as they were territorial oriented, that is, the direction of their migration was towards areas possessing rich natural resources, in terms of water and land. This was the reason why groups of the cultivating castes and brahmins migrated to the riverine areas.
3.6 THE VILLAGE TOPOCOSM

"...unless one understands the primacy of the place, the nature of the sacred in most of Hinduism remains uncomprehensible." 67

In the earlier portion of the chapter the basis of spatial organisation at micro and macro-level has been shown as caste. In the process of organisation of space various points in space have been endowed with sacredness, at the micro-spatial level: the temple, its precincts, the immediate space surrounding the temple, and the Agraaram or the residential space of the brahmans shared the sacredness of the temple. At the macro-spatial level, the temple towns or places of pilgrimage exist. The temple towns are mostly the former brahmadeya villages (which were exclusive settlements of brahmans) and possess grand temples and thus became endowed with sacredness. This notion of sacredness is in keeping with the dominant religious and caste ideology, i.e., the Vedic Hindu praxis. That the Vedic Hindu perception of nature as a male was mentioned earlier. 68 Under the influence of the notion of


68. See p.**99 above
purity-pollution, nature when converted into an environment suitable to support a populace, was subjected to classification in terms of purity and impurity based on the availability or non-availability of irrigational facilities. However, the notion of purity-impurity served as an ideological device not only to divide the members of the society into caste groups and but also to segregate them over space in residential areas, particular to each caste group. Until now the discussion on ordering of spatial environment both at macro and micro-level has centered around the dominant ideological position which reflected the Vedic Hindu notions and way of organising life activities. In the following section the Dravidian or the non-brahmin or the Tamil way of understanding of space and activity within space will be propounded.

The Dravidian or the Tamil way of life was explained in the second Chapter under the tinai concept. The tinai way of life was rooted on the ecological basis and was essentially tribal in nature. Under the influence of the territorial orientation of the dominant non-brahmin castes and the Brahminic influence, change in the Dravidian and Tamil outlook regarding space and society was inevitable. The change to an extent concurred with the purity-impurity principle of social and spatial organisation but to a great extent retained. The Dravidian view of Nature, was conceived as being feminine. This view of nature...
coincided with the aspect of the service relationships operative within the society which was the foundation for the jajmani system. The jajmani system was an active, and a productive feature of the caste system and a participatory feature of the spatial segregation of the village society. The jajmani system should primarily be recognised as the cornerstone of the productive facet of the village society for without it to recognise the village as a location of economic activity was impossible. The jajmani system ensured the assertion of 'independence' and empowered the village as a whole to function as a 'republic' within the socio-political framework of the feudal society.

The castes involved in the jajmani relations were mainly the non-brahmin castes known as the Idangai or the Left Handed castes. These castes were, as pointed out earlier, dependent on the village commons for their livelihood and were confined within the village with very little physical mobility over space. 69 Many of these castes and the untouchables could not even participate in the corporate life of the village society on account of their pollutive or defiling status. They were not allowed even in the by-lanes or the car-streets where the temple car was to vend through during the village festivals and

many streets of the village remained virtually unknown to the lower rung of the service castes for they could not go into all areas of the village. For these castes, mobility over space, i.e., travel of physical mobility, though not prohibited, was totally restricted. The jajmani system being based on a system of obligations tied the service castes, to either a particular family or a group of families involved in cultivation or to the temple and in lieu of the fulfillment of these obligations were granted a share of the produce or/and to some dues and were sometimes given land from the village commons. Serving these traditional, hereditary ties which were considered sacred and part of the 'ordered' world, and moving to another village to secure new patrons was virtually impossible. In these circumstances, the narrowness of their physical and social world and their restrictive life contributed to an outlook which was peculiar to these. The narrow proscribed social and areal world being limited to the village where their religious notions and custom had to be practised, the village, therefore, became the universe and cosmic world where the gods resided and functioned from.

Religion is recognised as the creative language of human spirit. Durkheim considers that "society is the soul of religion" and "the religious life be the eminent form and, as it were, the concentrated expression of the whole
collective life." In the South Indian society, religion is an expression of the microcosmic and microspatial aspects of human life conditions. The people, particularly the service castes perception of the divine reflected their whole range of human experience. This perception of divine in the form of the village deity or goddess expresses symbolically the human experience of these castes as related to the village as a cosmic world.

"Place in the context of Tamil society is the village can be perceived from the fact that each village has its own deity, known as 'kiramadevada' or 'gramadevata', an expression which accords primacy to the village - 'grama' (Sanskrit) or 'kirama' (as pronounced in Tamil) means village and 'devada' connotes female deity or goddess. The kiramadevada "functions primarily within a distinct locality of relatively small size." The involvement of the female goddess with the village as the deity of the village was fundamentally a local phenomenon. Not only is the goddess,


"belonging to a specific locality, its presence and power concentrated within local bounds - but the character of that presence and the uses of that power are shaped by the "existential" realities of the life of a local community. To survive, to manifest a viable economy and a functioning social order, to contend with the terrors of existence and stave off the forces of disintegration, to maximise satisfactions and foster common values and meanings, and thus to make human life livable and human -- such are the fundamental (and therefore sacred) functions of a village community, as of any primary human community, and such a community's deities are its deities by virtue of their participation in these sacred function. Thus it is "qualitatively" as well as "quantitatively" morally as well as geographically, that a village deity is a deity of the village".72

In the section on ordering of the environment surrounding the village it was shown that the water sources and land formed the basis of the village. In the peasant community, fertility of land was a matter of sacredness for it constituted the very basis of the village survival and

72. Ibid., p. 43.
continuity and festivals for goddess of fertility were conducted.

The feminine symbolisation of divinity has much to do with the recognition of the female principle of Nature. That fertility was a conspicuous and manifest attribute of the goddess reveals that Nature was essentially female as it could give birth to life forms. It was also accepted that Nature like a mother could nurture, and be benevolent. On the other hand, Nature could also be ambivalent and untamed. Similarly, the kiramadevadaiś were independent and unmarried but were the mistresses of the villages of South India. It was on their benevolence that the village welfare and protection depended upon, but in their 'anger', they could be ambivalently involved in spreading diseases and epidemics. Underlying this view of female divinity is the notion of chaos while the dominant view of female divinity proposes order, derive their power and primary identity from their spouses -- Sīva or Viṣṇu and are clearly subordinate to them as a devoted wife.

Nature in terms of fertility of land and abundant rains had significant meaning for the service castes. These elements of nature connoted a renewal of the

73. See Richard L. Brubaker for an excellent study on the Ambivalence of Village Goddesses.
environmental conditions for the village prosperity. The service castes were dependent on the periodic contributions, the share of the produce and the land granted to them in lieu of their obligations. If the village environmental conditions were not renewed they faced starvation. Thus the environmental conditions were the "foundation of the entire village topocosm - the foundation of its agricultural productivity,... but also of its sacred geographical identity of its total life and of its very existence." Festivals were conducted to celebrate the process of renewal of the village and in these festivities,

"...what is in turn eclipsed and revitalised is not merely the human of a given area or locality but the total corporate unit of all elements, animate and inanimate alike, which together constitute its distinctive character and "atmosphere". To this wider entity we may assign the name topocosm, (formed on the analogy of microcosm and macrocosm) from Greek topos, "place" and cosmos, "world order".  

74. Ibid., p. 80.

"It is this "world of the place" that is a village goddess's domain -- the village as a corporate entity comprising of the land and its geographical features and boundaries', the human inhabitants and their social organisation and interaction: the livestock, the crops, and the entire economic enterprise; the physical structure and other cultural artifacts; the history, legends, traditions of the place; the deities, demons, and spirits dwelling within it "impinging upon it; and the interdependence of all such factors in constituting its identity and determining its destiny."76

The reactivation of the village through the festivals for the goddess was,

"often linked with the founding of the village...of special importance for topocosmic identity is the fact that the village boundaries,...the village boundaries normally given little attention, are dramatically retraced with power substances and reactivated as a sacred threshold and battle line between the world within and the alien spaces beyond. And finally,

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the outcome of all this stimulation is the overcoming of morbidity anywhere within the village organism, and the restoration of vigour, order, and health -- to the human beings, livestock, and crops; to the economy, the polity, and the religio-social system of the village; to the total indivisible topocosm" 77 (Italics mine).

On this account, the festivals held in the honour of the kiramadevadais were an exception of the members of the service castes, "struggle to come to terms with the givers of geographical, political, economic and social reality..."writes Fred Clothey.78

In the discussion of settlement space, it was made clear that the temple was the sacred space and the immediate surrounding area where the agraharam was situated shared the sacredness on account of the proximity and due to the fact that Brahmins were the priests. Now in the worship of the kiramadevadai the village as a place of habitation is regarded as a sacred entity by the castes considered impure or polluting. The village is the cosmos

77. Ibid., p. 295-296.
for the village deity and the deity by the virtue of taking
sacred space and sets the village apart from the "other
spaces that are not sacred and so are without structure or
consistency, amorphous". These unstructured, inconsistent, amorphous spaces considered profane are the
other villages, the waste land surrounding the village, belonging to other villages and the wilderness were the
demons and other spirits destructive spirits reside.

By residing in the village, the goddess proclaims the
e
village as her place.

"She is its fixed center. She is not so much
identified with this place, this people, this
topocosm, as they are identified with her. It is
she who gives these their identity rather than
vice versa. ...Once that is clear, however, we
may say that the goddess is the personification
of the village in that she is not only its fixed
centre, and not only that plus its vital centre,
but also its personal centre." 80

79. Quoted by Brubaker from Micia Eliade, The Sacred and
the Profane: The Nature of Religion, translated by
Torchbooks, 1961, p. 29.

This understanding forces the individual to completely identify himself with the village, live within its boundaries for leaving the boundaries would mean being attacked by the destructive spirits and demons occupying the waste lands and other profane spaces. In this way the impure and polluting castes sought to make the village their 'place' and identified themselves with the village in its totality, unlike the dominant cultivating Non-Brahmin castes and the Brahmins, who tended to sanctify only those spaces as the temple; in terms of the village environment, spaces where water flowed, that is the irrigated lands -- which were useful to them.

3.7 SENSE OF PLACE

By the study of village as a micro space, it has been possible to prove that it is the 'locale' or setting where social relations are constituted on informal and institutional basis. The allocation of residential space determined the conduct of everyday social interaction and molded the behaviour of the residents. This routine social interaction determined the access to resources of the village. The village in feudal times was the 'location' or geographical area encompassing the settings for interaction as defined by social and economic process operating in a wider scale. The caste system which structured the base of local economic and social processes. The village through
its insulaunty produced a subjective orientation towards the place. The grants of lands were linked to certain obligations. The obligations also helped to root a person or caste group in a village. The rooting of a caste group or individual in a particular spatial area provided the necessary impetus to structure a place. In the process of structuring of a place, the caste group attained a historical position and each member of the caste became a historical product of the place.

Thus the place was able to subjectively orient a person in a manner such that a primordial relationship came into existence between the place and the individual. This primordial attachment to a place found its most

"fundamental concrete expression in the sense of belonging: points in the environment or spatial features gain intrinsic significance for an individual or group, independently of either their instrumental value or their intrinsic symbolic meaning. This settlement is expressed in an emotionally loaded notion that one possess roots, has a place in this world, or belongs to a community or a neighbourhood which is one's home...."81

81. Erik Cohen, op.cit, p. 55.
This is borne out by Valentine Daniel in his study whose title proves Daniel's primordial roots. According to an Aru Nattu Vellala, (of the study) this primordial relationship is engendered,

"by bathing at the village well, drinking its water, and eating the rice that grows in the fields of (the)...ur" for "...to know who I am, I had to get to know the soil of this ur which is, after all a part of me".82

Thus, villages were the places were local "structure of feeling" were engendered.

3.8 CONCLUSION

In the previous chapter, 'place' in ancient Tamizlagam was understood to be comprising of the ecological area occupied by each tribe. In this chapter, the concept of place, under the influence of different forces, underwent change. The territorial orientation -- an orientation towards annexation and domination of territory -- brought about by population pressure, superior political organisation and technological advancement, made it

possible for the people of marutham region to conquer other regions and become a dominant group. With the arrival of the Brahmins and establishment of the Vedic Hinduism the South Indian Society itself underwent change, and was reordered and stratified on the basis of caste. The caste structure, organised on the principle of purity - impurity, served as the model and was 'projected' or to the space. Thus the macro and micro-space were 'ordered' similar to the caste system.

The territorial orientation in combination with the caste structure determined the allocation of physical space to each caste at micro and macro-spatial level. Certain castes, under the circumstances, came to be dominant in particular spatial locations and locations in space. Deriving social and political power through such placement in space over time, these castes became territorially, numerically and politically dominant as they came to command and control enormous resources both at microspatial and macro spatial level. In the ultimate analysis, the castes which were considered pure benefited greatly from this socio-spatial arrangement which greatly enhanced these social and political power.

The principle of purity-impurity also played a vital role in 'ordering' of the macro and micro-space and the environment. The village, which was the settlement space
at the micro-spatial level, was divided into residential space and activity space -- which contained all the lands and natural objects surrounding the village. This surrounding environment was ordered on the basis of availability of water sources and the reach of the flow of the water. On this account, the irrigated lands were considered pure; the unirrigated lands was impure and the village wastes were considered polluted. A similar corresponding relationship is observed with respect to ownership of land, which was the source of social status and power within and out of the village caste hierarchy played a major role in grant and possession of irrigated land and dry land. The access to the common lands was also similarly effected. The dominant castes collectively availed the irrigated commons; while the service castes were allowed access and granted lands form the unirrigated cultivable land of the commons and the untouchables were the group- which depended on the wastelands for their needs.

The layout of the residential space within the village mirrored the caste hierarchy prevailing within the village. The temple and its precincts were the sacred space, and the agraharam or the residential space of the brahmins shared its sacredness. The residential spaces of the non-brahmin castes were aligned according to the caste existing in the village and were considered to be profane and the
untouchable lived in the polluted space.

At the macro spatial level, the villages were classified according to activities peculiar to each type of village. Thus we find the pettai being dominated by the merchant and service castes; the kottai and palayam being in the hands of the warrior castes and performing the military function; the brahmadeyas or the temple towns being sacred places, and populated by the brahmins, the pattinam or the coastal harbour town from where overseas trading was carried on; the pakkams were exclusively for fisherfolks while the chatram was the resting place for the travelers and pilgrims. The chatram considered to be a partly sacred place, would admit and give shelter only to members of the pure castes. This is a clear indication that only dominant castes were permitted to migrate over space to other villages and towns.

In conjunction to the dominant caste ideology of ordering of macro and micro-space, the service caste, considered impure and the untouchables also had developed their own notion of place. Development of a sense of place is contingent to migration. The service castes and untouchables on account of being impure and polluting were not permitted to migrate. Moreover weighed down by the obligations which were sacred and binding on a hereditary basis, the labouring castes would not migrate. Therefore,
they developed their own sense of place which was expounded by their religious practices i.e., the worship of the kiramadevadai. For these castes the village became the settlement area, the universe and the cosmos -- a world view which reflected their low social status.

Thus in this chapter, it is clear that extension of physical dominance over space was corresponding to placement of people in space. The next chapter, deals with the integration of places and the process of integration. Villages as places undergo change when integrated and new economic process get entrenched. These economic process change the outlook towards Nature and environment and push for the emergence of new types of places.