INTRODUCTION
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Over the past years, Indian historiography has increasingly come to draw, to a very considerable extent, upon new theoretical perspectives. Deviating from the 'grand totalising notion', it tends to appropriate various isolated events through a range of discourses into the annals of history. What was considered as communal, sectarian, ‘nativist’, and reactionary, based on the ‘colonial sociology’, has now become the most deserving themes for a thorough analysis of historical development. Re-visiting of sources, deployment of hitherto ‘disaggregated’ evidences, critiquing the structure of sentiments through textual analysis, and actively engaging in dialogical process are some of the methods employed by the post foundational historiography, against the ‘reductionist’, ‘essentialist’ and ‘revisionist’ tendencies.

The post-modernist approach, however, in their bid to rescue the histories and historicity of the marginalised groups has tended to overlook the historical contingent and rigour and thereby negating the teleological matrix of historical development. These cursory remarks are furnished not with the view to problematise historical methods but to provide a background to our proposed present work.

Nicholas B. Dirks argues in The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom, (Cambridge, 1989) that caste has been neither religious, nor hierarchical, nor unchanging and pre-occupying with peoples of India. It has acquired a new definition and dimension under the impact of colonial rule and was de-linked from politics. He further, continues that caste was embedded in a political kingship. This meant, among other things, that the privileged ideology had nothing to do, at least primarily, with purity and pollution but rather with Royal authority and honour and associated norms of power, domination and order.

Irschick argued in the late 1960s in *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahmin Movement and Tamil Separatism* (1969, Berkley) that colonial modernisation was solely responsible for the emergence of national movement in India. Much of what now considered to be the political consciousness, originated in and around the areas of the British institutions, which facilitated the ‘natives’ to come to terms with the European understanding of knowledge systems and political discourses, as the part of their colonial policy. Albeit, in the nineties, he seems to have developed new analytic to comprehend the history of colonial India. The East India Company had evolved a policy for administration based on its initial interaction with Madras and then Bengal. It was the Anglo-Dravidian and Anglo-Bengali experience, which was responsible for the enactment of a colonial policy for the whole of British India.

Irschick proposes in his recent work (1994), *Dialogue and History: Constructing South India, 1795-1895*, a bilateral mechanism. Chingaleepput (sic) district administration had evolved a *murai* with Kaniyacciar regarding the appropriation of land revenue from *mirasi* land in the early nineteenth century. Such sweeping historical generalisation is untenable and warrants further vindication. In advocating an analytic of 'dialogical process' he seems to have undervalued the coercive power of the State and its ability to carry out violence.

Sumathi Ramaswamy in her latest work (1998), *Passions of the Tongue: Language Devotion in Tamil India, 1891-1970*, analyses how the language has been transformed into an object of adulation in the course of social mobilisation and political empowerment of its fellow speakers. She explores the consequences of this for the ‘ontology’ of Tamil as well as the cultural policies around it, and how language devotion produces the modern Tamil subjects, how language has been used as an agent of social and political mobilisation or as catalyst for nationalist activities. She opines that the love for language cannot be explicated within the domain of single linguistic meta-narrative tradition. And instead she uses the analytic of *Tamizhapparu* to enumerate the ways in which the language was imagined by its speakers and connect those multiple imaginings to their experience of colonial and post-colonial modernity.

Focusing on, in particular, the transformation of language into 'deity',
‘mother’, ‘maiden’ she explains the various forms of language devotion on its empirical expressions. She employs the discourse of ‘love’, ‘labour’ and ‘life’ to historicise the Tamizhtay devotion.4 The passions of the tongue, as she claims, is not a modern phenomenon. Indeed, it was in vogue since the emergence of civic life in Tamil society.5 In the modern period the language devotion has assumed a new dimension to kindle the atavistic feelings among the speakers for political mobilisation. Her politics of poetics tries to invoke the glory of the past to indicate the sufferings of the present and thereby suggesting a hope for the future through language devotion.

In spite of all these elaborate analyses of the modern historical developments of colonial Tamil Nadu, the new historiographic trends have not seemed to critically interrogate the ‘Dravidian question’ in the light of modern ideas and sources. Despite its lofty start on egalitarian principles, why was not the movement fully able to break the fetters of the primordial loyalties or shun the clannish moorings so as to spearhead the process of social transformation based on material reality? Or how did it reconcile with the Bhakti Tamil way of life and pan-Indian political identity? What strategy and methods did the movement adopt to garner continual political support and finally how did it impact the intellectual life of the modern Tamil society? These are the key impending issues which deserve perspicacious investigations. Scholars who worked in this field have tended to overlook the possibilities of cultural vibrancy and intellectual vitality. They almost equate the study of Dravidian movement to the total history of Tamil Nadu, which indeed was one of the major tributaries of the intellectual mainstream.6 Though it dominated the political articulation of the day, it did not exercise a formidable influence on the Tamil way of life. Instead, the Dravidian ideology did undergo a change through a dialectical process so as to accommodate and co-opt the structure of sentiments and the thinking of the people.7 A survey of latest literature, particularly appearing in Tamil, candidly demonstrates the manner in

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6 K. Sivathamby, Tamittamil Iyakkatin Araciyar Pinnani, Madras, 1979, p. 27. Also see, by the same author, Studies in Ancient Tamil Society, Chennai, 1998, p. xxxii.
which the Dravidian movement was shaped by the outside influence. Thiru V. Kalyanasundaranar, Maraimalai Adigal, M.S. Purnalingam Pillai were some of the social functionaries who effected the Dravidian movement to a very considerable extent from outside.

Pertinent to the understanding of the issues raised above, I would propose a study of the intellectual developments in colonial Tamil Nadu which would unravel the role of ideas and perceptions in engendering intellectual awakening and thereby creating a social consciousness among the people. I would also focus upon identity consciousness and evaluate the intellectual responses to the question concerning history, culture and civilisation. This would enable me, in turn, to situate the emergence of intellectual trends in their proper perspective.

Given the historical context, under the aegis of colonial rule, the identity question increasingly became imminent with the emergence of Orientalist appropriation of the native history for the consumption of colonial administration. It was in this ambivalent historical circumstance, the idea of one's identity concerning his or her history, culture and civilisation began to loom large initially in the

8 M. S. Purnalingam Pillai (1866-1946), a seasoned scholar in English and Tamil, wrote extensively about Tamil culture, civilization and literature. He led the Tamil 'University movement', fought for the cause of Tamil pandits and raised a voice against the ill-treatment meted out to Tamil in university curriculum. He has written in whole 29 works in English and 16 in Tamil. His seminal works were *A Prima of Tamil Literature* (1904), *Tamil India* (1927), *Ravana the Great King of Lanka* (1928), *Tamilarum Tamil Pulavarkalum* (1907), *Airopiya Porgal* (1910), *Tamil Katturaigal* (Essays in Tamil, 1913), *Avvai Kural* (1918), *Vivega Vilakkam* (1930).

Maraimalai Adigal (1876-1950), wrote more than 60 books on Tamil literature, culture, religion and science. He was responsible in popularising linguistic pluralism in Tamil. He started the pure Tamil movement in 1916, campaign for the propogation of Tamil Saivism and fought against the domination of Sanskrit both in spiritual and material realm. His well known works were *Sintanaik Kattuviagal* (Essays on Intelligence) (1925), *Manickavasagar Varalarum Kalamum* (History and Chronology of Manickavasagar) (1930), *Tamil Tay* (Tamil Mother) (1918), *Tamilar Matam* (Religion of Tamils) (1938).

Thiru.V. Kalyanasundaranar (1883-1953), a well-known nationalist who was considered to be a father of modern Tamil journalistic prose advocated social reforms on large scale. His remarkable works were *Desabakthamirtham* (1920), *Vidhutalai Poril India* (India in Freedom Movement) (1938), *Vakkai Kurippugal* (1954) (his autobiography published posthumously), *Tamil Cholai* (Collection of newspaper articles) (1956).

These authors made a scintillating contribution to the development of modern Tamil intellectual thought.

intellectual arena. Thanks to the modern means of communication and Print technology the quest for one's own past began to penetrate into the minds of English educated intelligentsia which in course of time had a spillover impact on other sections of people as well.

**Introspection**

The emergence of modern ideas, the development of social protest and religious dissent in the nineteenth century is generally viewed as a concomitance of the dissemination and diffusion of colonial knowledge and English education. In response to the colonial intrusion in the social and cultural sphere, the ‘native’ intellectuals tried to formulate a strategy of cultural defence. However, their intellectual bases and ideological premises are considerably varied.

Bengal was the first province to react sharply against the colonial interference in cultural and social matters. Soon after, other provinces also followed suit. The ‘native’ intellectuals (middle class English educated) were well aware of the social evils. They realised the necessity for restructuring their cultural and religious beliefs on western lines to meet their social needs. However they differed in their approach in restructuring or reforming their social beliefs. While the English educated intelligentsia was interested in restructuring the social and cultural beliefs on rational and universal lines, the traditional intellectuals however, were very cautious in adopting religious changes.

Madras, to use Washbrook’s term, the ‘benighted’ province of the Raj, did not respond to the changing conditions on expected lines. Its encounter with the process of colonial modernisation was largely determined, shaped and guided by its socio-political structure. The dismantled political structure, pre-colonial social experience

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and the exclusive ascriptive status of the Brahmins were attributed to the inordinate delay for launching of social reform movement.\textsuperscript{14} However, this was not to endorse fully the 'benighted' Madras theory. Owing to its linguistic divergence and the relative communal homogeneity, the Presidency was not impelled to form organisations on communitarian lines, prior to the establishment of the Indian National Congress. This did not, in any way, write off the possibilities for unorganised spontaneous outbursts of social resistance. What actually was lacking among the English educated intellectuals was the spirit of cosmopolitan outlook and enterprise to spearhead the social crusades against the caste-ridden society.

However, the advent of the twentieth century marked an era of political awakening. Consequently, the Presidency underwent a considerable social transformation where the two millennia old Brahmin dominance was shattered. This change did not put an end to the caste ridden social hierarchy. Conversely, this led to contestation between caste identities for contending hegemony.\textsuperscript{15}

The dynamic aspect of the political history during the period was that each one of interest groups were vigorously engaged in constructing a most appropriate pragmatic identity to articulate freely in all walks of life. As the politics of identity formation took place in the social, linguistic plains, I find it relevant to study the intricate and complex inter-relations between culture and language vis-a-vis identity formation. Discussing the development and impact of Tamil renaissance in the light of oriental discourse, I would try to investigate the ideological premises for the formation of Tamil identity and its effective use in the social politics. Since colonial politics became complicated with the onset of administrative changes, it necessitated the formation of a larger and substantial neo-political category, i.e. the Dravidian identity. In order to reap the benefits of colonial rule they invoked the primordial sentiments of the people in opposition to the main stream pan-Indian identity.

The past was valorised in order to construct a potential ethnic identity to claim an autochthonous status. The construction of archaic history in a new intellectual


perspective became crucial to this identity formation. Meanwhile, many caste groups, taking recourse to the process of modernisation and colonial possibilities, attempted to present their past history in a better light to shun away the social stigma attached to their caste. The proliferation of printed materials and the subsequent dissemination of new literacy intensified the process of identity formation. Many cultural and caste groups began to spin their own organisations to mobilise the primordial loyalties towards the newly constructed identity horizon based on a common history.

The emergence of a new identity was determined immensely by the role played by the superstructure. The early twentieth century Tamil intellectuals viewing the philosophical activities as the cultural battle to transform the popular 'mentality' launched 'Saivasiddhantha' (Pure Tamil Movement). Subsequently, these movements accelerated the social process of building up an alternative hegemonic structure. In the course of my study, I have assessed and evaluated the significant role played by these movements in building up an ideological base.

An Overview

Identity crises are not uncommon social phenomena in multi-cultural societies. At the same time, these societies had some way to accommodate the aspirations and anxieties of the emerging identities. As Clifford Geertz aptly points out, the state must “reconcile them with unfolding civil order by divesting them of their legitimising force with respect to governmental authority, by neutralising the apparatus of the state in relationship to them, and by channelling discontent arising out of their dislocation into properly political rather than para-political forms of expression.” Individual identities primarily develop their identification to social structure. As Terry Eagleton rightly points out, “Identity is an indispensable medium in which the individuals live out their life in relationship to their social structure.” Appealing to the primordial sentiments, they sought to form identity groups.

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19 Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, p. 276.
20 Terry Eagleton, Ideology: An Introduction, p. 3.
course of time, such identity groups also aligned themselves with the larger community undergoing a dynamic transformation through a dialectical process. It is a process through which these identity groups laid the base for community formation.21

The cultural struggle of identity conflict sought to gain a new momentum under the aegis of colonial regime. In a cultural struggle, various social interest groups always engaged themselves in a process of searching for the most appropriate secular alternative identity. These identities were multiple and complementary to each other. They may coexist with those identities as long as they serve their purposes. These identities were democratised by invoking primordial loyalties, symbolic behaviour, ritual status, linguistic and ethnic affinities.22 All these identities were commonly constituted and imagined in opposition to the existing social dominant functional worldview, such as Dravidian versus Aryan and Tamil versus Hindi. These identities were either shared with or imposed upon people for public consumption at the various junctures of historical development. The successful survival of an identity depends upon its demonstrability by providing a space for horizontal comrade relationship.

The viable nature of the identity largely owes its ability to create and institutionalise their social consciousness which could be possibly done through internalising their social consciousness into an identity horizon by removing the inner contradictions.23 An identity horizon can never command a popular accent without the hegemonic sanction. As Terry Eagleton opines, hegemony is a practical strategy by which a ‘dominant power elicits’ consents from its subject.24 According to Gramsci, hegemony has to be established through ‘moral’, ‘political’ and ‘intellectual’ leadership in social life by diffusing one’s own worldview on the fabric of society as a whole. Consequently, the newly developed identities are in the process of defining.

21 Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, pp. 101-07.
24 Terry Eagleton, Ideology, p. 43.
re-defining and modifying themselves to withstand the hegemonic pressures from above.25

Identities are conceived and conceptualised basically to meet the needs of the social groups in a given situation. They cannot be characterised fully as the self-expression of a particular group. These identities may come and go but the history that it made in the course of time would vindicate its legitimacy. As Anderson rightly points out, "the imagined communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity or genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined."26 They are primarily the cultural artefacts responding to the changing political scenario of the colonial conditions, registering their protest on the modern political platform. Contestation for identity horizon is likely to take place in a transitional society inevitably under the aegis of colonial presence. The emergence of such identities largely depends upon the pioneers and leaders of the respective groups. Appealing to the emotions and sentiments of the people by bringing up issues pertaining to their ameliorative conditions, the social functionaries draw their members around the newly constructed identities. In Gramscian term, they begin to function as the 'organic intellectuals.' 27

The expansion of the identity horizon mediated through cultural and social milieu sought to gain a group awareness. Intense politicisation, effective appeal to the linguistic ethnic affinity and the re-interpretation of the cultural traditions accentuated the process of creating group consciousness among the members of the community. Consequently, the newly emergent identity acquires the potency to overthrow the existing dominant hegemonic social order by breaking the social norms.28

The process of modernisation acted as a catalyst to this development accelerated and intensified the expansion of identity horizon in modern politics. The age of 'mechanical reproduction', as Walter Benjamin observed, print capitalism and

28 Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, pp. 153-54.
celluloid culture and communication technology widened the space for the emancipation of the subaltern identity from the dominant hegemonic culture.\textsuperscript{29}

A new identity horizon draws its inspirations from culture, history, religion and language, which are highly charged with emotive content. They need not stem from the objective reality alone. Postulating a hoary past, intellectuals generally woo their members around the newly constructed identity. Since language is the root of culture, it supplies essential group consciousness for the germination of linguistic identity consciousness.\textsuperscript{30} Re-interpretation of the literary traditions and re-telling of the folk narratives, linking their glorious past with their present suffering, they mobilised the masses. Moreover, language is invoked as a unifying symbol of the community. Therefore, an appeal on linguistic line in a transitional society makes greater sense.

The construction of identity around religious themes is relatively easier because of its strong ideological base which has the tinder enough to kindle the minds of the people to adhere to certain norms. Moreover, symbols, rituals and rites play a key role in fostering a religious identity formation.\textsuperscript{31} The cryptic nature of religious ideology, enshrined in infallible religious texts surpasses all human understanding and subsequently propels strong allegiance to their religious identity. Laconically speaking, identity is an instinctive element which stems from human anxiety to secure a due place in the changing world. 'Disaggregated groups', 'marginalised masses' and 'subjugated communities' taking recourse to the process of modernisation wanted desperately to liberate themselves from hegemony of all sorts (socio-politico-economic).\textsuperscript{32} As a result, the study of identity in relation to culture may sometimes be the history of the liberation struggle from below.

Scholars who have studied the historical development of colonial Tamil Nadu paid their attention generally to colonial modernisation, the subsequent social change and the role played by the natives in the vortex of politics. While most of the scholars

\textsuperscript{32} S. Ananthi, "Collective Identity and Secularism", \textit{Social Scientist}, p. 10.
accepted the views that the historical development of colonial Tamil Nadu was different from that of the North, they differed in locating the history of its politics and concomitance.

The national school of historiography was unable to comprehend adequately the historical development of the South because it looked for similitude, parallels and analogous features. On the contrary, the history of colonial South India was a series of identity struggles. During this period, various contesting multiple identities were engaged in liberating themselves from their immediate oppressions, therefore, personal revolts and social protests have to be analysed in their proper historical context.

Keeping this view at large, I have made an attempt to trace various intellectual trends in colonial Tamil Nadu with regard to the question of culture, history and identity. Reconstructing history, situating the past, dissemination of ideas, cultural use of print, founding language associations and popularisation of mother tongue songs are the key themes that constitutes the chapters of this study.

Chapter one seeks to map out various schools of historiography on the basis of their ideological leanings and highlights the difference of opinions among them in reconstructing the Tamil past. Chapter two problematises the origin of Tamil ethnic consciousness and offers a graphic account about the manner in which the reconstruction of Tamil literary history was accomplished as part of situating the Sangam past. Chapter three engages in a debate about the advent of print capitalism and its involvement in stimulating intellectual consciousness across the board. An attempt also has been made here to assess and evaluate the impact of modern ideas, views and ideologies in transforming the Tamil high culture. On the other hand, chapter four gives an account about the development of Tamil cultural and literary associations that had sprung up across the state as the result of ‘Tamil renaissance’. In the meantime, music as an ideology comes to occupy the central stage of cultural consciousness leading to ‘Tamil Isai’ movement. Chapter five recounts from the resurgence of intellectual interests in Tamil musical activities (1880s) to the popularisation of Tamil songs through campaigns, concerts, and conferences (1940s). The penultimate chapter offers an explanation to the emergence of caste associations.
in the colonial rule as it opened up new possibilities for primordial loyalties to flourish with political aspirations.

Chapter 1 - Construction of the Past

The construction of the past, as a historical agenda, was part of the intellectual activities of the late nineteenth century. It figured prominently in the attempt of the intellectuals to modernise society. They realised the importance of being sensitive to their past which was misrepresented by the colonial rule. As a result, the investigation of the past to perceive the present and to conceive a future became integral to their intellectual endeavour. To use K.N.Panikkar's words "The intellectual quest in Colonial India, engaged in an enquiry into the meaning of the past and thus in an assessment of its relevance to contemporary society, was an outcome of this awareness." 33

The necessity for the construction of the past, though initially viewed as a prerequisite to reform the society, subsequently turned out to be part of an anti-colonial agenda to retrieve the lost identity. This increasingly became very vocal when the national movement reached its mass phase. In this chapter, I would make an attempt to assess and critically examine the emergence of various historiographies in colonial Tamil Nadu. It further seeks to explain how the retrieval of history laid the foundation for the ideological genesis of the Dravidian movement and Tamil identity.

Each one of the schools of historiography developed their own discourse to locate, situate and comprehend the history of India. Perhaps, the needs of the present were at times over-read or imposed into the past. The ideological basis of these historiographies was necessarily to disown and delegitimise the cultural rhetoric of the Indian history. The Oriental school, sympathetically treating the Indian past as a conglomeration of events devoid of historical contingency and chronology, indulged in 'piling conjecture upon conjecture' to construct their own 'cloud lands'. 34 Similar to this line, the colonial historiography, dictated by its material interest, systematically

33 K. N. Panikkar, Culture, Ideology, and Hegemony, p. 108.
denied the validity and misappropriated Indian history. Missionary school contribution, may be premised upon a different material plain, their romanticisation of the past at least in Tamil Nadu, kindled the atavistic feelings of the native scholars. On the other hand, the 'native school of historiography' undertook the task of constructing past, precisely to retrieve their damaged and lost identity from the womb of the past. However, their process was not a unilinear or undifferentiated progression. It was riven with contradictions, contentions and ruptures. Consequently, it led to the emergence of conflicting historiography under the aegis of colonial authority.

Chapter 2 - Situating the Sangam Age

This chapter is the extension of the historiographic debate, exclusively committed to the question of dating the past. Chronology is slippery and still a matter of controversy concerning the Sangam Age and related development. It became crucial, right after the publication of Caldwell’s *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* (1856), which has assigned ninth century for Sangam Age. James Nelson, Prof. Hultzch and Mcleane also echoed the same sentiment in their writings. It was Prof. A.C.Burnell’s remarks in Encyclopaedia. Vol. XI that “Tamil literature was nothing more than the exact copy of Sanskrit... no literary work was worthy of preservation” which proved to be the point of culmination. This invited a severe criticism from the quarters of native intellectuals.

P.Sundaram Pillai, writing an article entitled “On the Age of Tirujnana Sambandha” in 1891 in Madras Christian College magazine, strongly repudiated his claim and argued that choice of evidence and the method of scrutiny must determine the reliability of the fact. Kanakasabhai, another noted historian, located the Sangam

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38 Ibid., p. 11
literature at the beginning of Christian era and his contentions seem to have withstood the historical scrutiny.

The resuscitation of the Sangam literature in the later nineteenth century, the ‘mechanical reproduction’ thereafter, inaugurated the era of romanticism. Consequently, the cold cynicism or pseudo-scientific negativism began to dominate the course of historical research. I would try to show how chronology suffered at the hands of ‘patriotic megalomania’ and ‘prejudicial micromania’. Finally, in situating the Sangam Age the opinion among the scholars ranged between 10800 BC to 300 AD, a thing which is beyond the pale of historical imagination. This chapter also furnishes an account of the opinions of various scholars about the periodisation of Tamil literary works in a tabular form.

Chapter 3 - The Cultural Use of Print and the Dissemination of Ideas

The advent of printing technology marked the beginning of social transformation in modern Tamil society. As an agent of change, printing altered the methods of data collection, storage retrieval system and communication network used by the learned community. It radically redefined the relationship between the individual and society. The traditional monopoly over knowledge and learning was substantially broken by the proliferation of printed material. The age of ‘mechanical reproduction’, as Walter Benjamin called it, paved the way for dissemination of knowledge and ideas.

Printing entered popular life early in the modern period, setting up new networks of communication and facilitating new options for the people. It further modified the practice of devotion, of entertainment, of information and knowledge. Printing, as a social and intellectual activity, altered the relationship between men of learning as well as systems of ideas. It not only encouraged intellectual enlightenment

39 Karnil Zvelebil, Companion Studies to the History of Tamil Literature, Leiden, 1992, pp. 33-34.
but also intensified the emergence of new forms of mystification.\textsuperscript{43} It played a key role in establishing a new world order in almost all walks of life. As the history of printing is an integral part of the general history of modern civilisation, it makes an indelible impression on the political, constitutional, ecclesiastical and economic events.\textsuperscript{44} Altogether it brought about a cumulative and qualitative change in the cultural and social life of the people. Printing, as Steinberg pointed out, "preserved and codified, sometimes even created" certain vernaculars.\textsuperscript{45}

Given this perspective, I would try to emphasise and elaborate increasingly the role played by the intellectuals in creating awareness and understanding through print media. Questions about one's culture, past, history, civilisation became the general theme of various journals and magazines. In particular, caste associations and religious organisations effectively used the print media to propagate their ideas. Pamphleteering and circulation of tracts came to be considered as crucial methods for social and political mobilisations which in turn, heralded an era of association. Treating ideas as a locomotive for social transformation, I will assess and evaluate the implication of modern thinking as brought out by print in social and cultural life. "What was considered as impossible about fifty years ago, in the matters of social life has now become a desirable etiquette of the cultured gentleman", wrote \textit{New India} on 18\textsuperscript{th} January 1915 about cosmopolitan dinners. Many papers and journals carried reports about communal feasts - inter dining as a progressive outlook. I would also show the extent to which print had been used as a convenient medium to settle scores with adversaries, publish polemics and to air controversial opinion on such sensitive issues like caste, culture and religion.

\section*{Chapter 4 – Language as an Issue in the Public Sphere: Origin and Growth of Language Promotion Associations}

The establishment of academies, schools and institutions for the development of Tamil was not a new phenomenon. From the very beginning Tamil continued to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{43} Roger Chartier (ed.), \textit{The Culture of Print: Power and Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe}, London, 1989, p. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Elizabeth T.L Eisenstein, \textit{Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe}, pp. 27-28.
\item \textsuperscript{45} S. H. Steinberg, \textit{Five Hundred Years of Printing}, Bristol, 1961, p. 84.
\end{itemize}
enjoy official status and royal patronage. During the medieval period, with the demise of Chola and Pandya dynasties, Tamil fell into oblivion. Since then, it was patronised and protected by religious 'mutts', mercantile and landed gentry.

Thanks to modern technology and colonial rule, Tamil once again emerged out from her fallen status to one worthy of praise and practice. In this chapter I would discuss the developmental activities centred around the language and the politics of institutionalising Tamil. Establishment of chairs, introduction of Tamil into university curriculum, instituting Lexicon Committee and the demand for Tamil university will be analysed in its broader perspective. Proliferation of academies and their activities will also be discussed, with special reference to Madurai Tamil Sangam (instituted in 1901) and Karanthai Tamil Sangam (established in 1914). I will also make an attempt to comprehend the publications of Tamil literature and related activities.

Chapter 5 - Tamil Isai Movement: Ideologisation of Music

Tamil isai movement, as such, came into existence in 1930s with the resurgence of interest to popularise it. But the research related to Tamil musicology could be traced as early as the late nineteenth century. With the advent of Tamil renaissance in the early twentieth century, it assumed a new significance.

Music, as an integral part of language (muttamil), continued to enjoy unstinted support from the bardic times. It lost its privileged position and patronage in the medieval times as the result of political instability. In the modern period it once again has come to occupy a prominent place in the cultural life of Tamils. M. Abraham Pandithar (1859-1919), undertook the task of retrieving Tamil from the debris of the past, on scientific lines. He published a number of articles and gave lectures on Tamil music. His magnum opus, Karunamirtha Sagaram, published in 1917, gave a new thrust to Tamil music. Pandithar, in his 1346 page volume, went deeply into various imperatives of music traditions to prove the antiquity and exactness of Tamil music.

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He argued that what was considered as Carnatic music on the surface was really Tamil music in its base, structure, scale and lakshana.48

Lakshmana Pillai, C.Subramania Bharathi and T.K.Chidambaranatha Mudaliar were mainly involved in practising and propagating Tamil isai. Swami Vibulanandar undertook the herculean task of yal araychchi (research on lute) and pan (Raga). Yal was an ancient instrument which was used in all musical genres.

On the political front E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker championed the cause of Tamil music. He encouraged non-Brahmin artists to sing only in Tamil. He also conducted two musical concerts in 1931 and 1932 exclusively for Tamil music. Thus Tamil isai research gathered up tributaries over the period and developed into Tamil isai movement with the moral and material support of Sir M.A.Annamalai Chettiar, R.K.Shanmugam Chettiar and Raja Sir Muthiah Chettiar. I will not discuss the activities centered around Tamil isai Sangam since it falls away from the period of my study. My main focus would be to show the origin and growth of modern Tamil isai research and the culture of politics that centered around them.

Chapter 6 - The Emergence of Community Consciousness and Caste Associations

The emergence of community consciousness and the formation of caste associations in the late nineteenth century heralded a new era of social transformation in colonial Tamil Nadu. Caste system as an indigenous institution was an integral part of the Indian society from time immemorial. Caste was so tacitly observed and accepted completely that it functioned as the unit of social action everywhere.49 Albeit, I will not attempt in this chapter to study sociological aspects or cultural attributes of castes. I will, instead, mainly concentrate on the local social functionaries' activities and their ability to transform the caste feeling into a communal patriotism, thereby mobilising them for political purposes. I will also investigate how colonialism played a subtle role in engendering caste associations and communal organisations. Role of myth making, proliferation of caste journals and conferences will be discussed to show how the perceived reality overpower the objective material reality.

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Sources

Finally, a word about my sources - as my study mainly concentrates on the intellectual contribution to the engendering of new aspirations and identities, I have drawn the main drive of my arguments from their writings, journals of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century such as Sentamil, Tamil Polil, and Sentamil Selvi, native newspaper reports for Madras Presidency, Fortnightly Report (Home, Political) for the Madras Presidency, Government Orders concerning educational activities, Swadesamitran, Tamil Nesan and Tamilan. Other archival sources used for my research are listed in the bibliography. My field visit to Dharmapuram and Tiruvavaduturai mutts, Annamalai University and other major libraries of Madras had yielded me rich data.

It may not be out of context to make a remark about transliteration of Tamil words and terms. I could not make use of the Tamil lexicon model of transliteration as it was not system friendly. Nevertheless I have used spellings uniformly closest to the phonetic sounds of the term and furnished appropriate English meanings wherever it is required. Unless it is mentioned otherwise translations are all mine.