

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME IX

MADRAS

PART VI
VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS

I. AYYANGARKULAM

P. K. NAMBIAR
OF THE INDIAN ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICE
SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, MADRAS

1963

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FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundation of demography in this sub-continent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of India life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions.' In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion.'

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralisation on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which, had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows:

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g., fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500—700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication, such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size,

proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield; and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities; festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilites, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel' to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusions,' at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. In the latter half of 1961 again was organised within the Census Commission a section on Social Studies which assumed the task of giving shape to the general frame of study and providing technical help to Superintendents of Census Operations in the matter of conducting Surveys, their analysis and presentation. This section headed by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman has been responsible for going through each monograph and offering useful suggestions which were much welcomed by my colleagues. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve; to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to the 'most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an Appendix.

New Delhi,
May 24, 1962.

A. MITRA,
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

An interesting feature of the 1961 Census is the preparation of monographs on selected villages in the State. Sri A. Mitra, Registrar General, India, has in a general foreword, given the reader a background of the survey, its scope and its aim. He has also indicated, in brief, the various stages in the expansion of the scheme which has culminated in the production of this volume. The number of villages in the State has been fixed at 40. It is proposed to publish tem in a series of volumes and this is the first of the series.

As a first step, I should like to give the reader a general idea of this scheme as far as Madras is concerned. In a country of India's size, the approach made to a common problem is likely to differ from State to State in spite of comprehensive central direction. In August 1959, it was proposed to continue the old Census tradition of conducting surveys, apart from the presentation of Census data in the reports. The suggestion was that it should be possible to study at least 35 villages in Madras State containing basic information about the layout of villages and various facilities and amenities available to the villagers such as educational, medical, postal as well as their social and cultural habits. The villages so chosen should represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnical value. If information could be acquired with a certain amount of reality, data relating to the cultivated land and irrigated land income should also be collected. For the selection of villages, the Registrar General laid down three optimum conditions. At least 8 villages should be so selected that each of them contained one dominating community with one predominant occupation like village of fishermen, village of barbers, village of weavers and village of toddy tappers. At least 7 villages should be selected, where Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are numerically predominant. Each village should represent a particular tribe. The last group of the villages should be of the old and settled character far away from means of communication and should contain variegated cocupations and ethnic composition. The village should also mainly depend on agriculture. Following this broad criteria for selection, he also laid down the main items of inquiry.

First thing to do was to select the villages for the survey. For this, I wrote to the Collectors enclosing a copy of the Registrar General's letter and requested them to suggest a list of suitable villages conforming to the categories indicated by him. I also found that the villages are generally bigger than those of North India and any attempt to limit the inquiry to the villages having a population of 500 to 700 as suggested by the Registrar General would at least defeat the very purpose of the survey and prevent me from selecting representative villages. I, therefore, decided to select villages of larger size for study. Simultaneously my task was to evolve a proper questionnaire on the basis of which the study of the conditions in various villages of the State could be properly made. For this purpose, one village was selected in Chingleput district, a typical village with one predominant occupation, as a pilot project more to test the questionnaire I had evolved. On the basis of the study couducted in Sunnambukulam, a draft questionnaire was prepared for the Socio-Economic survey of the villages selected in Madras State. By this time, the report from the Collectors relating to the villages of the three categories were received and from this report, 40 villages representing various considerations such as geographic and regional of the State were selected. Out of the 40 villages selected for the survey, 10 belonged to the first category, 12 villages under the second category and 18 villages to the third category. These villages were approved by the Registrar General, India.

The method of study was as follows :

Research Assistants possessing post-graduate degree were selected. They were sent to the villages along with an assistant and they spent more than a month filling up the individual houselisting schedules containing questions on social, cultural and economic aspects and the village schedule for covering the general aspects. On their return, data containing household schedules and village schedules were tabulated and a set of tables were prepared. Based on these tables, the Research Assistant drafted their preliminary reports. These reports were scrutinised first by Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations and then by me and a final report drafted. Invariably every village was visited by me and the Deputy Superintendents for collection of additional particulars or for obtaining a general background of the village.

Early in 1960, the Registrar General sent a draft questionnaire with a set of 55 tables for adoption while preparing a Socio-Economic survey of the village. This questionnaire form was studied and a modified questionnaire was prepared and sent to Registrar General for remarks with a set of 22 tables. In May 1960, a regional conference of Superintendents of Census Operations was convened at Trivandrum. At this conference, the Socio-Economic surveys of villages submitted by me and my colleague in Kerala were discussed and suggestions given by Registrar General for improvement. A set of 29 tables was then suggested by Registrar General for uniform adoption throughout the country.

I again modified the household schedule till then used and prepared new household and village schedules. At this stage, we received a letter from the Registrar General stating that in addition to the 29 tables already indicated, a further set of 55 tables were to be incorporated in the main body of the Socio-Economic survey. Again I had to modify the number of tables. I finalised 54 tables and this resulted in revision of household schedules and village schedules for the third time. However, before these changes would come into effect, the survey of 22 villages had been completed. The Registrar General was of the opinion that the additional tables need not be prepared for the surveys already conducted. However, an attempt has been made to include as many additional tables as possible for these 22 villages also. After completion of the survey and final drafting of the report, they will be published in 40 volumes, each covering one village. In addition to the narrative portion, the monographs will also contain photographs and sketches on various aspects of rural life which have been taken by the photographer and artists attached to my office. This is the history of the Survey.

It is with some amount of diffidence that I present these reports to the reader. I have tried to give a readable presentation of the salient features of village-life high-lighting those aspects which I consider significant.

In this work, I have been guided throughout by Sri. A. Mitra. I have been helped considerably by the critical comments made by Dr. Roy Burman in every report sent by us. The study camp held in December 1962 which was attended by my Deputies was a valuable one to the extent it gave us a proper idea of what should be attempted. But I do not think that we have wholly implemented what was indicated in the study camp. In conducting this survey and preparing the reports, I have been assisted by my three Deputies Sri. P. Murari, Sri. T. B. Bharati and Sri J. R. Ramanathan and a body of Research Assistants. The exact role played by them will be indicated in each report.

Madras,
December 12, 1963.

P. K. NAMBIAR,
Superintendent of Census Operations.

List of Villages selected for the Survey

1.	Ayyangarkulam*	...	Chingleput District
2.	Sunnambukulam	...	,,
3.	Lakkinayakkanpatti	...	South Arcot District
4.	Thadagam	...	,,
5.	Arkavadi	...	,,
6	Hasanamapettai	...	North Arcot District
7.	Paravakkal	...	,,
8.	Arkasanahalli	...	Salem District
9.	Kanakagiri	...	,,
10.	Pappanaickenpatti	...	,,
11.	Aladipatti	...	,,
12.	Iswaramoorthipalayam	...	,,
13.	Kumbalam	...	,,
14.	Nellithurai	...	Coimbatore District
15.	Hallimoyar	...	The Nilgiris District
16.	Kinnakorai	...	,,
17.	Vilpatti	...	Madurai District
18.	Sirumalai	...	,,
19.	Periyur	...	,,
20.	Thiruvalavayanallur	...	,,
21.	Thenbaranadu	...	Thiruchirapalli District
22.	Thiruvellarai	...	,,
23.	Ariyur	...	,,
24.	Kadambangudi	...	Thanjavur District
25.	Vilangulam	...	,,
26.	Kunnalur	...	,,
27.	Kodiakkarai	...	,,
28.	Golwarpatti	...	Ramanathapuram District
29.	Visavanoor	...	,,
30.	Athangarai	...	,,
31.	Ravanasamudram	...	Tirunelveli District
32.	Pudukulam	...	,,
33.	Alwarkarkulam	...	,,
34.	Kilakottai	...	,,
35.	Odaimarichan	...	,,
36.	Kuvalaikanni	...	,,
37.	Koottumangalam	...	Kanyakumari District
38.	Kadathucheri	...	,,
39.	Kottuthalazhamkulam	...	,,
40.	Kadukkara	...	

* The present volume (No. 1 of the series)

VILLAGE SURVEY REPORT

ON

AYYANGARKULAM

FIELD STUDY	...	...	F. A. MOSES, M.A., B.L. *Research Assistant.*
SUPERVISION AND FIRST REPORT	...	...	P. MURARI, I. A. S., *Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations.*
EDITING	...	...	P. K. NAMBIAR, I. A. S., *Superintendent of Census Operations.*

MAPS	...	...	M. GANESH LAL, *Cartographer*
PHOTOGRAPHS	...	...	N. D. RAJAN, *Photographer*
SKETCHES	...	...	A. RAMADOSS, *Artist*

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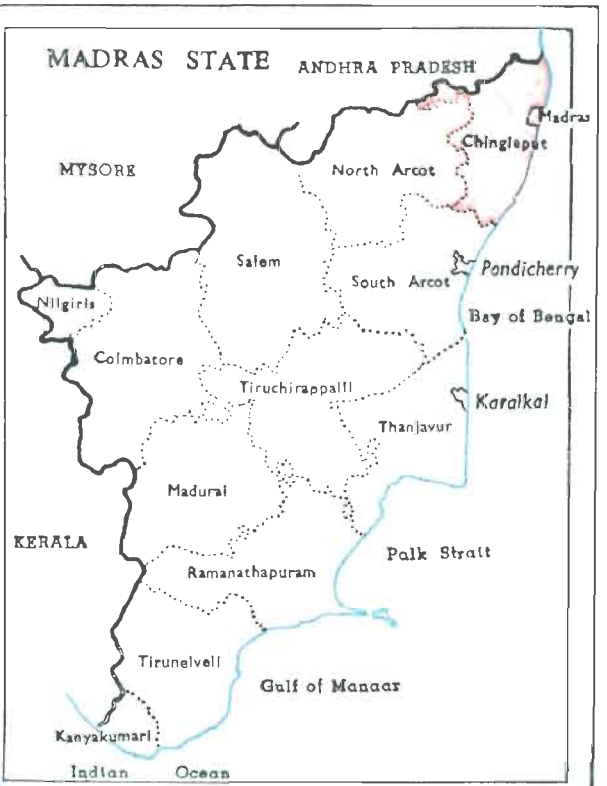
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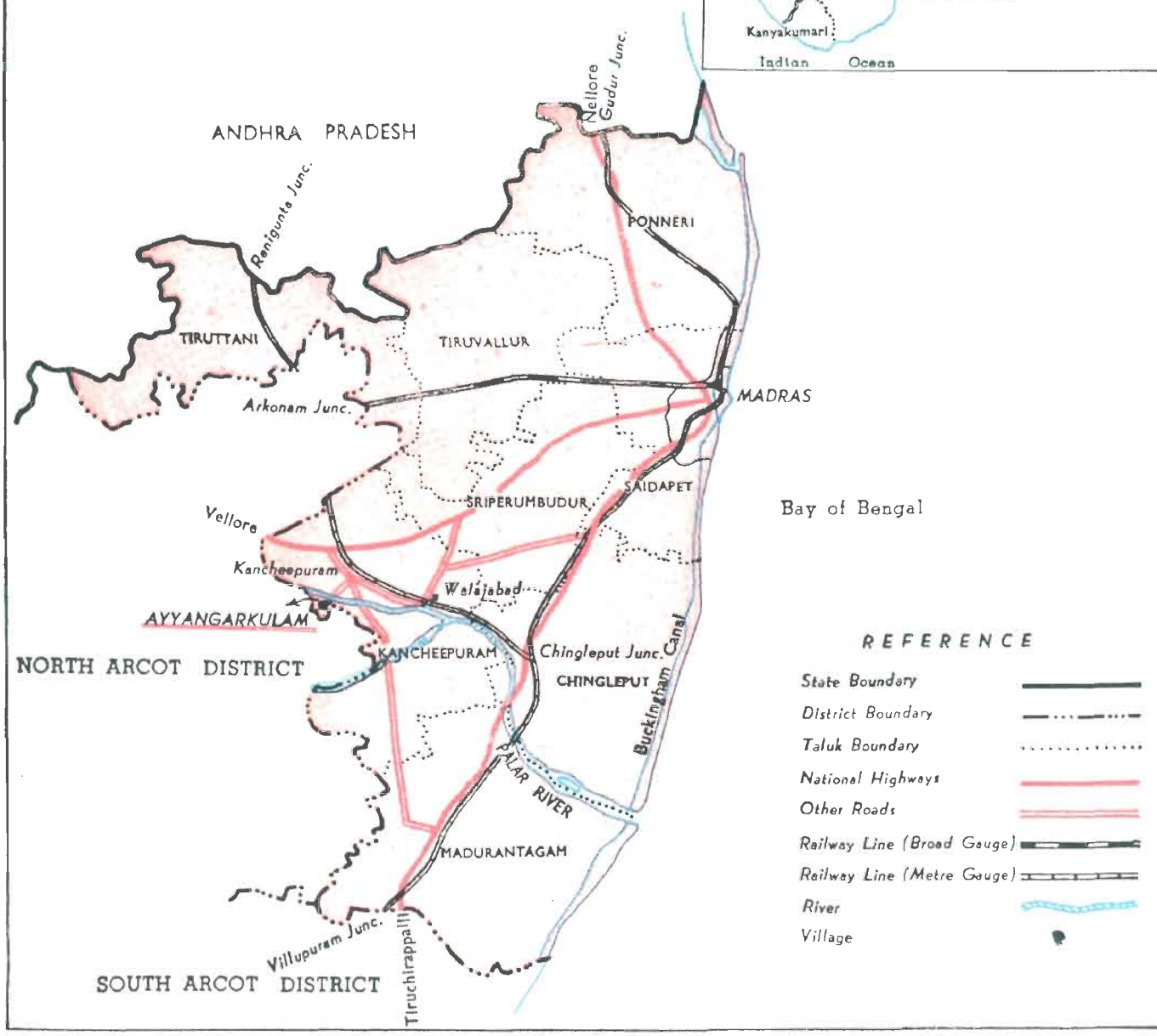
LOCATION MAP
OF
AYYANGARKULAM
KANCHEEPURAM TALUK
CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT

SCALE

Miles 10 5 0 10 20

10 5 0 10 20 Kilometres





REFERENCE

- State Boundary
- District Boundary
- Taluk Boundary
- National Highways
- Other Roads
- Railway Line (Broad Gauge)
- Railway Line (Metre Gauge)
- River
- Village

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

AROUND THE CITY OF MADRAS lies the district of Chingleput forming an irregular figure. The aspect of the country is flat and dreary with a general monotony in scenery. The general level ranges from below the sea level near some of the backwaters and gradually rises to 300 ft. above plain level in the western part of Kancheepuram taluk. In this taluk is located the famous city of Kancheepuram at a distance of 45 miles in a south-western direction. It is a sacred city of South India and has long been the headquarters of Brahmanism. It was the city of the great Pallava power in South India. Today it is famous for the silk weaving industry and for the number of temples it has. Kancheepuram is connected with the main line of the Southern Railway at Arkonam by a branch line, 11 miles long, half of which runs within the taluk. The great Western Trunk Road from Madras to Bangalore and Cochin runs through it for about 37 miles. A good road connects Kancheepuram with Chingleput town.

Introducing the district

2. At a distance of 5 miles south-west of Kancheepuram lies the village of Ayyangarkulam, almost on the border of the adjacent North Arcot district. The Palar which is the chief river of the district rises in the Mysore Territory and after flowing through North Arcot, enters the district some miles to the west of Kancheepuram and passes by the side of Ayyangarkulam a mile away. The village is situated at a distance of about one mile from Kancheepuram-Wandiwash main road. Buses ply on this road quite often. There is a link road to the village from this main road which is partly gravelled and metalled. People who use bullock carts and bicycles prefer to use this road while buses and lorries prefer to take another circuitous road which runs from Kancheepuram to Arni in North Arcot district.

Location of village

3. The village boundaries extend over an area of 984·56 acres of which about 340·13 acres are cultivable land. Of these, 116·30 acres are irrigated and the rest unirrigated. Ayyangarkulam forms one revenue unit and has no hamlets as appendages.

Village boundaries

4. The general aspect of the area is dreary and monotonous like other parts of Kancheepuram taluk. The soil is mostly red loam and is suitable for the growth of a superior strain of paddy 'Kichidi Samba'. The flora of the area is not very distinguished, the commonest trees being the banyan, the tamarind, the margosa, the mango, the cocoanut, the portia and the acacia. There is very little to soothe the eye by way of wild flowers. Within the village, we found in the ponds a few water hyacinths and an occasional jasmine plant creeping up the walls of houses. Roses were rare. But we did find a couple of Gulmohur trees with their canopy of red and gold. Acacia trees were very common and along the route to Ayyangarkulam, even on the outskirts of the village, we found tamarind and mango trees in profusion. Within the village, we came across three or four margosa trees providing cool shade to the weary traveller. Casuarina was rare in this area.

Flora

5. A description of the flora naturally leads one to think in terms of the fauna of this place. While animals of the larger kind are few, an occasional jackal enters the outskirts of the village when the groundnut crop is to be harvested. The wild cat and the mangoose are also fairly common, and many villagers testify to the fact that they have seen a mangoose carrying away dead snakes. Rodentia are represented by rats, mice, grey squirrels and bandicoots. Rats wend their way even into the huts and houses of all without difference as to caste or creed. The domestic animals consist of cows, bullocks, sheep and goats. Poultry is also common in this village. Reptiles are

Fauna

numerous and include the deadly cobra, the banded krait, as well as the harmless rat snake and water snake. Frogs, lizards and chameleons complete the list.

Inland fishing

6. Fresh water fishes in the tanks around Ayyangarkulam are few in variety and small in size. These tank fishes are small, bony and mostly tasteless. The only fish with any pretension to size is the murrel which is occasionally caught in the Ayyangarkulam tanks.

Etymology of village

7. The name Ayyangarkulam may mislead any person as he is apt to conclude that the village has a concentration of Ayyangars. In fact, there is only one Ayyangar household in the village, the head of which happens to be the Temple Priest. Numerically, economically and socially Senguntha Mudaliars form the dominant community in the village. However, we found there were 'Kùlams' or tanks in the village and therefore, the latter part of the name can be justified. In fact, the famous 'Nadapavai Uthsavam' which is celebrated annually on a grand scale, attracting a vast concourse of people, owes its origin to the local legend connected with the large kulam or tank at the far end of the village. The legend is woven round a signal event which took place in the life of a devout Vaishnavite Brahmin known as Kodi Kannigadanam Thathachari and the kulam he excavated with the temple overlooking it. The tank of the temple is held in great veneration by the villagers and since the tank adjoining the temple was excavated by this Ayyangar, they named the village Ayyangarkulam.

Location of village institutions

8. The village has a local Panchayat Office situated in Nadutheru. This is housed in a pucca building. The school is also located in Nadutheru. The famous Sanjeevarayar temple is also located at the end of the village, a few yards to the right of the route leading to Moranam village.

Location of burial grounds

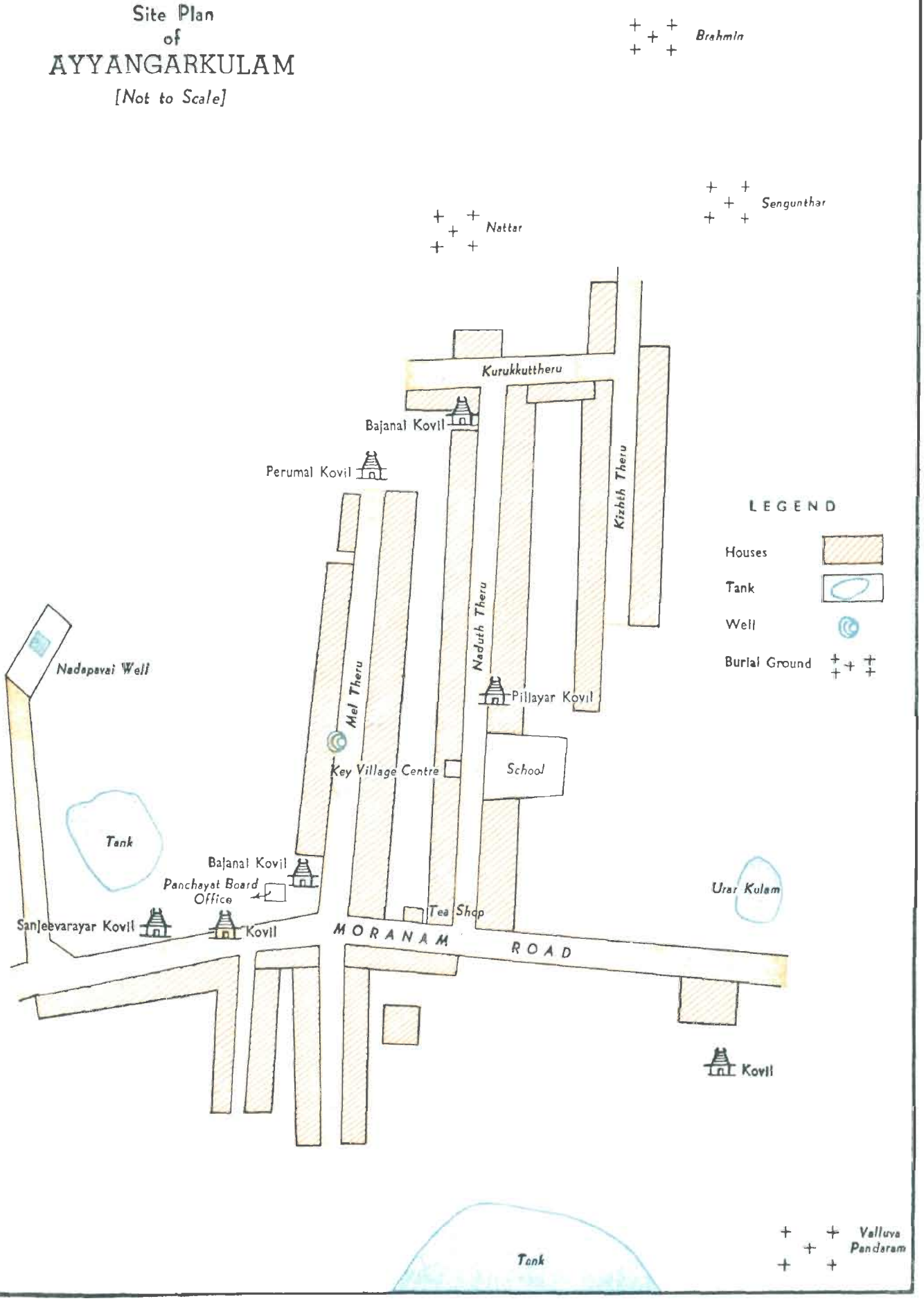
9. The cremation ground of the Senguntha Mudaliars is situated to the north of the village beyond Kurukkutheru. It is easy for the Senguntha Mudaliars to reach the cremation ground as all that they have to do is to cross the street and reach the burial ground. The Nattars, on the contrary, have a separate burial ground, to the left of the burial ground of the Senguntha Mudaliars and at a distance of about one furlong. This is the burial ground of all other communities except Brahmins. To reach this burial ground, the Nattars have to carry the dead through the streets occupied by the Senguntha Mudaliars which is objected to. The Nattars experience considerable difficulties in carrying the dead by a different route which proceeds via Moranam road, skirts the village and then reaches the burial ground, calling for a diversion of more than a mile. This is resented by the Nattars but they have no other alternative but to acquiesce in the wishes of the Sengunthars. The Pillais, Acharis and others also bury the dead along with Senguntha Mudaliars. However, the Brahmins have a small piece of land to the right of the burial ground of the Senguntha Mudaliars which is exclusive to them. The Valluva Pandarams have a burial ground beyond the Cheri which is used by them exclusively and which does not interfere with the sentiments of the other communities.

Means of communication

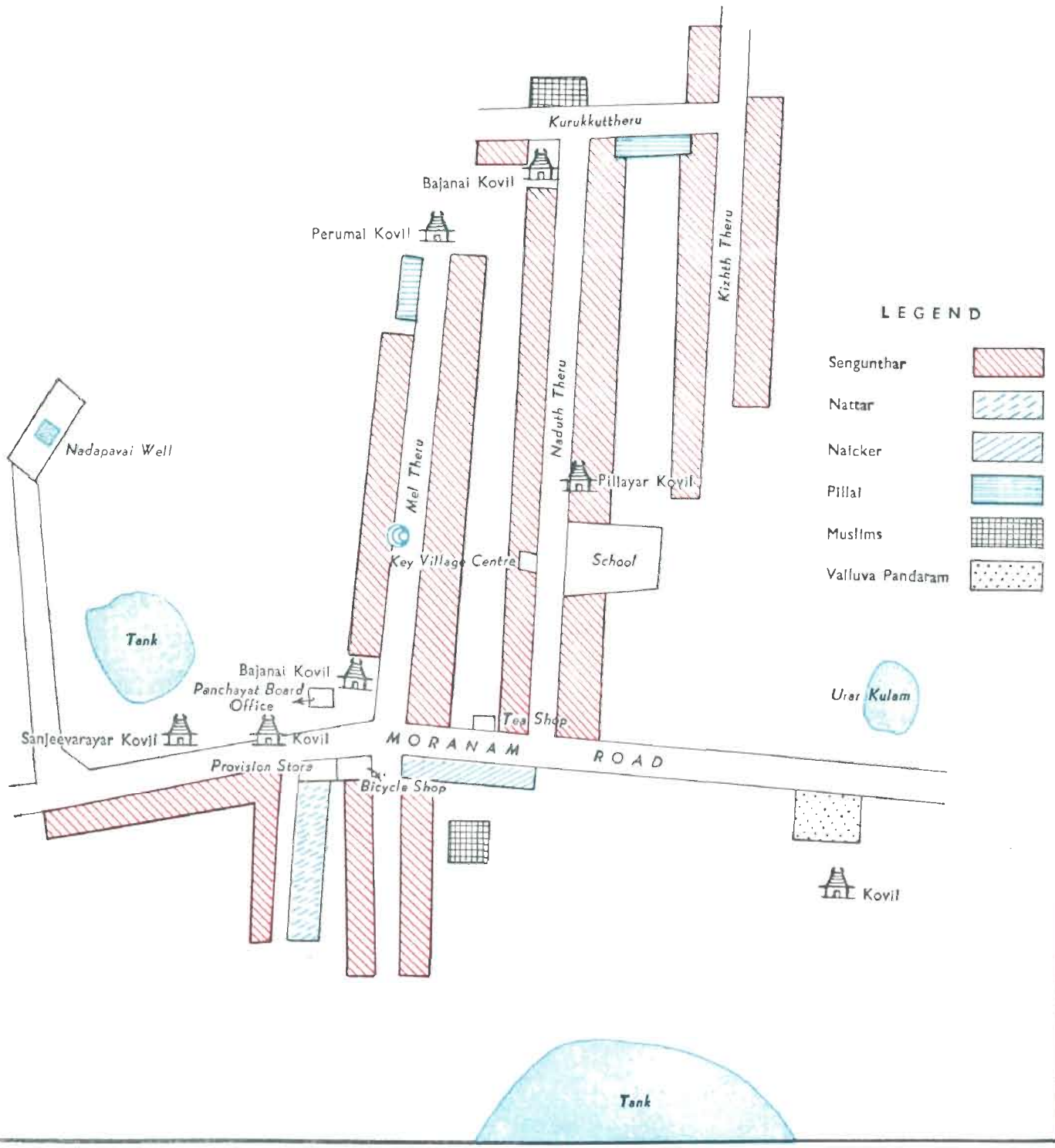
10. The majority of the villagers utilise the bus service which connects their village to Kancheepuram and other places in North Arcot district like Arni and Wandiwash for their day-to-day transport. The village is accessible by road, having two roads, one a pucca metalled road on which buses ply and the other a partially metalled road which is used by bullock carts and cycles. Transport offers no sort of a problem to the villagers of Ayyangarkulam. The bus charge from Kancheepuram is only 25 nP. per head and therefore, the rich and the poor prefer to use the buses which touch Ayyangarkulam every hour rather than travel by bullock carts. Of course, heavy loads which are normally not carried by bus have to be transported by bullock carts. Bicycles are also commonly used as a means of transport by the male members of the village and because of this custom, three cycle hire and repair shops are functioning in

Site Plan of AYYANGARKULAM

[Not to Scale]



Residential Pattern
in
AYYANGARKULAM
[Not to Scale]



the village. The village has no Post Office of its own, but is served by the Post Office at Dusi, situated at a distance of two miles from the village. There is a post box fastened to the pillar of the house of the Village Munsiff where all the people can post their letters and this clearance box is being attended to every day at 4-00 P. M. by the postman who comes from Dusi to deliver letters and other articles. The nearest Telegraph Office is the one situated in Kancheepuram town, five miles away.

Residential pattern

11. Ayyangarkulam is a village where the huts and houses are concentrated in the residential area which forms the centre of a vast dispersed area while fields and tanks surround this residential area on all sides. The living area consists of three well defined units inhabited by the different communities in the village.

Valluva Pandarams

12. The first unit consists of a conglomeration of huts with mud walls, mud floors and thatched roofs. These huts are small in size with an aperture through which a man of normal size can enter with some difficulty. In spite of the cramped living space, it was refreshing to note that the interior was kept clean and free from dirt though outside the hut, for want of proper means of disposal of garbage, a lot of filth had collected. These were the huts occupied by the Valluva Pandarams and this locality is known as the Cheri as it is everywhere else in the countryside.

Senguthars

13. The second unit consists of three parallel streets and another street perpendicular to these streets on the outer periphery predominantly inhabited by the Senguntha Mudaliars generally known as the Kaikolans. These Mudaliars are relatively the most prosperous community in the village. The village being electrified, we found radio sets in a number of Mudaliar homes, an index of their social status and comparative affluence. The Higher Elementary School run by the District Board is situated in the first street. These Mudaliars are engaged in silk weaving.

Nattars

14. Farther down, a group of three small streets are occupied by the fishermen community, the Nattars. They are not sea fishermen but catch fish in inland waters like tanks and lakes. These fishermen are said to be descendants of three families who migrated to this village from Alanthur in Uthiramerur taluk of Chingleput district in the hope that they would find better scope for pursuing their avocation in the numerous tanks found in the area surrounding Ayyangarkulam village. By a process of gradual evolution these fishermen grew in numbers and extended their habitations.

Settlement History

15. According to the information available in the village, the original inhabitants of Ayyangarkulam seem to be the Valluva Pandarams who comprise of 32 households. They were followed by the Kaikolans who are supposed to have migrated seven generations back and they are now in the majority with 211 households out of a total of 335 in the village. The Nattars followed the Senguntha Mudaliars, as explained earlier, from Uthiramerur taluk, about five generations back. The other communities like the Naidus, Acharis, Pillais, Chettiars etc., might have migrated between 2 to 4 generations back, but we could not elicit explicit information on the subject. In the present generation, seven families have migrated into the village. Of these, two were Muslim families and five Hindu families, one an Achari, two from the Mudaliar and two from the Naicker communities.

TABLE No. I

Settlement History

Caste / Community	No. of households settled: Before 5 generations	Between 4-5 generations	2-4 generations	In the last generation	In the present generation: Males	Females	Households	Remarks (Places from which the families have migrated.)
HINDUS								
Mudaliar	...	...	...	...	1	3	1	Ayyampatti village, Kancheepuram taluk, Chingleput (5 years back); Weaving
	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	George Town, Madras (One year ago); Midwife
Naicker	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	Malabar, Kerala State (2 years back); Teacher
	...	...	...	...	1	4	1	Kalpoondi village, Cheyyar taluk, North Arcot district. (3 years back); Thalayari
Achari	...	...	...	...	3	2	1	Kolivakkam, Kancheepuram taluk, Chingleput district (2 years back); blacksmith
MUSLIMS	...	...	...	...	1	2	1	Kolivakkam, Kancheepuram taluk, Chingleput district (3 years back); Mat weaving occupation
	...	...	...	...	1	2	1	Wandiwash, North Arcot district (20 years back); Mat weaving
Total 230 *					**8**	**16**	**7**	

* In respect of other castes (105 households) particulars are nil.

Of the Muslim households, one migrated from Kolivakkam village of Kancheepuram taluk three years back and the other from Wandiwash of North Arcot district about twenty years back. Both these families are engaged in mat weaving and are said to be expert mat weavers using korai grass. It is presumed that they will popularise this occupation among those who are not engaged in the main occupation of silk weaving. The Achari family has migrated from Kolivakkam two years back, its occupation being blacksmithy. Of the two Mudaliar families, one has migrated five years back from Ayyampatti village of Kancheepuram taluk and the other from Madras City. One of the Naicker families migrated two years back from Kerala State and the other from Kalpoondi village of Cheyyar taluk in North Arcot district three years back.

Village Developmental Institutions

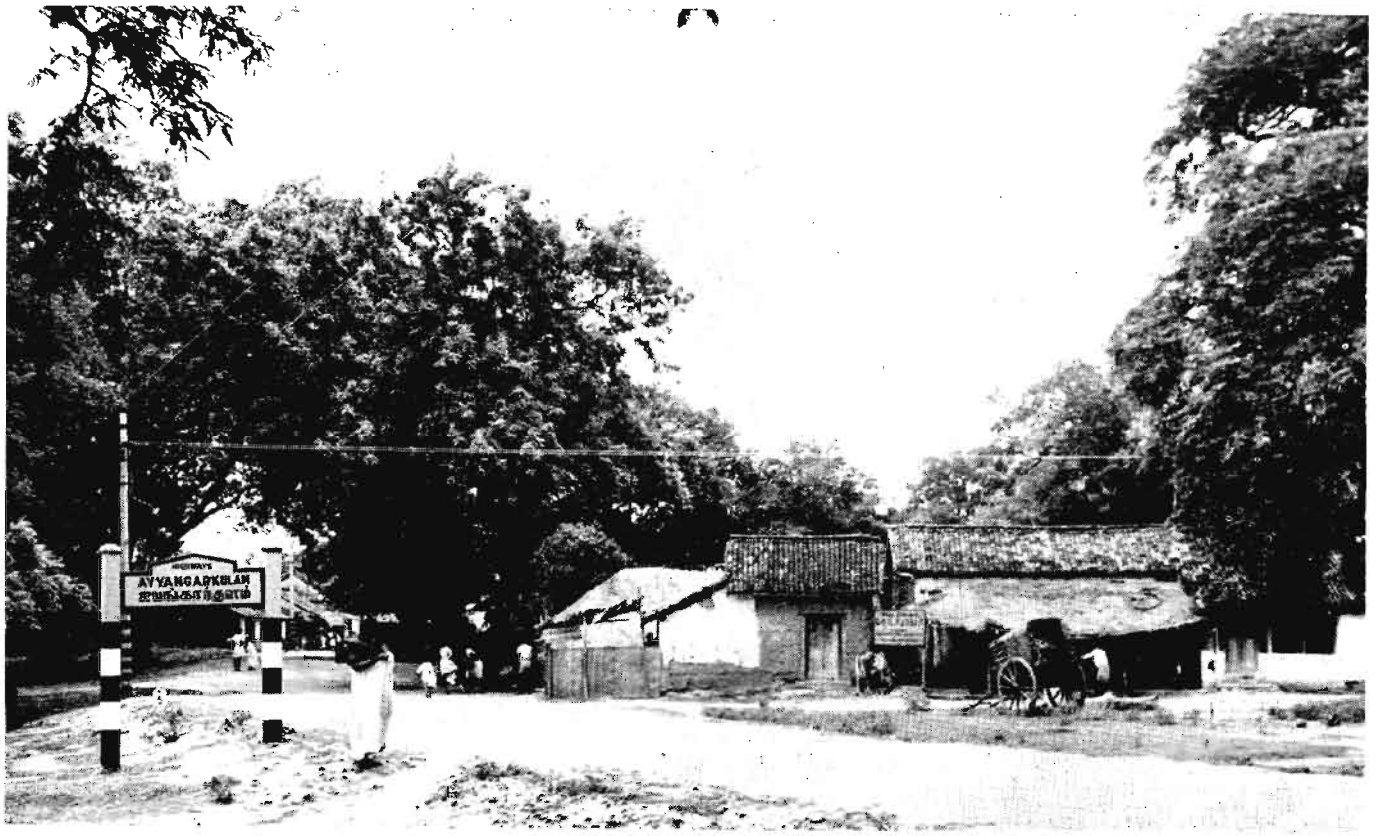
16. The village of Ayyangarkulam is covered by the Block Development Scheme from 1st April, 1957 with headquarters at Kancheepuram. A Panchayat Union has been constituted for the area from the middle of April 1961. There is also a key village centre in the village, started in the year 1960. A compounder is in charge of the Centre and his jurisdiction extends over all villages within a radius of five miles. A mid-wife employed by the District Board is in charge of the Maternity Centre at the village and her jurisdiction extends over five other villages nearby.

Climate and rainfall

17. The climate of this place is hot, the temperature ranging between 90° to 100° during summer and between 80° to 85° in winter. Rainfall is also rather sparse, the annual average rainfall being between 40" to 45". This place is affected by both the north-east and the south-west monsoons. The maximum rainfall is only between the period August to November, the heaviest rainfall being recorded in the months of October and November. There is a slight moisture in the air and this is said to be peculiarly suited for silk weaving and justifiably Kancheepuram and the surrounding villages of Ayyangarkulam and Sevilimedu are famed for the production of fine silk fabrics.



The temple tank from which the village derived its name



Approach road to Ayyangarkulam



Village transportation—The double bullock cart

CHAPTER II

PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL CULTURE

Ethnic Composition of the village

18. The village contains a number of communities belonging to various walks of life with a fair proportion of scheduled caste population. However, the Senguntha Mudaliars predominate both in numerical strength as well as in social status. To obtain an idea of the number of communities and their numerical strength, we invite the attention of our readers to Table II and chart below:

TABLE No. II

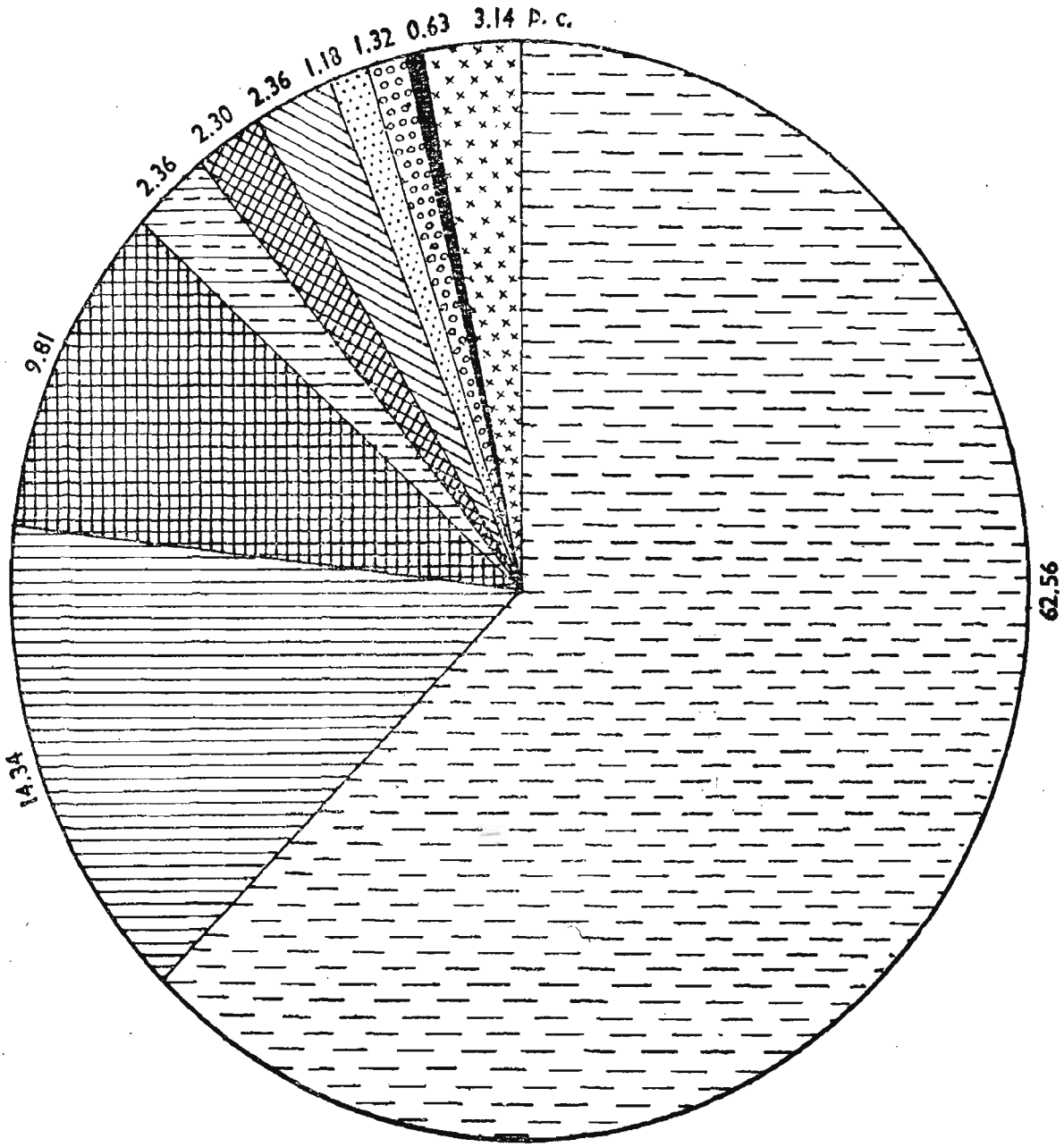
Ethnic Composition

Community / Caste	Sub-Caste or Sub-Sect.	No. of households	Males	Females	Total persons
HINDUS					
1. Mudaliar	Sengunthars	211	431	468	899
2. Nattar	...	45	100	106	206
3. Valluvan (S. C.)	Pandaram	33	68	73	141
4. Naicker	...	9	14	20	34
5. Pillai	...	8	19	14	33
6. Achari	...	7	15	19	34
7. Naidu	...	5	8	9	17
8. Pandithar	...	5	10	9	19
9. Vannan	...	4	6	8	14
10. Chettiar	...	2	4	4	8
11. Brahmin	Ayyangar	1	4	5	9
12. Rao	...	1	3	4	7
13. Irular (S. T.)	Villian	1	3	2	5
MUSLIMS		3	3	8	11
	Total	**335**	**688**	**749**	**1,437**

S. C. Scheduled Caste S. T. Scheduled Tribe

From this table, it would be evident that out of 335 households in Ayyangarkulam village, 211 households relate to the Senguntha Mudaliars consisting of 899 persons out of a total population of 1,437. Thus, they account for 63% of the households and 62% of the total population of the village. Of the others, the Nattar community composed of inland fishermen and weavers fall into second place, but they are far behind in numerical strength, there being 45 households with a total population of 206. Next in numerical strength come the Valluva Pandarams, a scheduled caste, who constitute 33 households with a total of 141 persons. The other communities are of minor importance, there being 7 Acharis, 5 Pandithars, 14 Naickers and Naidus, 8 Pillais, 2 Chettiars, 4 Dhobies and 3 Muslim households. In addition, there is one Villian, a member of the Scheduled Tribe who is really an Irula, one Rao and only one Ayyangar household. Thus, a description of the village and a picture of its socio-economic conditions is inextricably woven with the dominance of the numerically strong Senguntha Mudaliar community and a history of the village becomes, in a large measure, the history of the fortunes of the Senguntha Mudaliars of the village. Among the various communities extant in this village, by birth and position, the Ayyangar household which belongs to the Brahmin community holds the first position on the social ladder. Pillais who belong to the saivite sect are partly vegetarian and partly non-vegetarian. The vegetarian Pillai families, three in number, consider themselves to be superior to the non-vegetarian Pillais. Next in the social scale are

ETHNIC COMPOSITION



LEGEND

Mudaliar		Achari	
Nattar		Naidu	
Valluvans		Pandither	
Naicker		Ayyangar	
Pillai		Miscellaneous Castes	



The Senguntha Mudaliar Street : The Electric Lamp post has replaced the archaic wicker lamp.



The village cheri

the Chettiars. The Acharis follow and behind them are the Naidus and Naickers. Then come the Senguntha Mudaliars and behind them the Dhobies and Pandithars. Last follow the Scheduled Castes, the Valluva Pandarams.

Language

19. The language spoken by all the households in the village is Tamil without exception. Even the Muslims speak only Tamil and do not know any other language. English is spoken only by a select few who have studied upto the Matriculation Standard but this language is not used for day-to-day conversation.

Senguntha Mudaliars: Origin

20. Senguntha Mudaliars, otherwise known as the Kaikolans (as we have indicated earlier) have certain essential ceremonies relating to marriage, death, puberty and child birth peculiar to themselves. Since their main headquarters, according to them, is said to be Kancheepuram, we have given extracts from Thurston's book on 'Castes and Tribes' which, for most parts, conform to the legends furnished to us by the Kaikolans of Ayyangarkulam village. Wherever there have been departures from these stories, they are indicated at the appropriate places. Generally, the Kaikolans are a large caste of Tamil weavers found in almost all the Southern Districts and who are also found in Andhra Pradesh where they have adopted Telugu as their mother-tongue. According to Kaikolans, the legend connected with their descent is as follows: "Lord Maheswara told Parvathi that the world would be enveloped in darkness if he should close his eyes. Impelled by curiosity, Parvathi closed her husband's eyes with her hands. Being terrified by the darkness, Parvathi ran to her chambers and on the way, nine precious stones fell from her anklets and turned into fair maidens with whom Siva fell in love. Seeing later on that they were pregnant, Parvathi uttered a curse that they should not bring forth the children formed in their wombs. At that time, a demon, Padmasura was troubling the Devas and on their praying to Siva to help them, He asked Subramanya to kill the Asura. Parvathi requested Siva not to send her son Subramanya alone and thereupon Siva suggested the withdrawal of her curse. When the curse was withdrawn, the nine damsels gave birth to nine heroes, each having a beard and armed with a red dagger. The nine heroes headed by Subramanya then went in search of the Asura, Padmasura, challenged him to a battle and killed him. The word 'kaikol' is said to refer to the dagger carried by Subramanya. On Surasamharam day, the festival commemorating the victory of Lord Subramanya over Padmasura, the Kaikolans even now dress themselves up to represent the nine warriors and join in procession."*

Another version concerning origin

21. Another version about the origin of Sengunthars is as follows: "The name Kaikolan is derived from 'Kai' meaning hand in Tamil and 'Kol' the shuttle. These people consider different parts of the loom to represent various Devas and Rishis. The thread is said to have been originally obtained from the lotus stalk rising from Vishnu's navel. Several Devas formed the threads which make the warp. Narada became the woof and Vedamuni the treadle. Brahma transformed himself into the plank or padamaram and Adisesha into the main rope. Most of the Kaikolans are Saivites by religion but a few are Vaishnavites."†

A Third version

22. The Third version regarding the origin of the Senguntha Mudaliars or Kaikolans is as follows: This has been recorded by Mr. H. A. Stuart in his Census Report for Madras. The word 'Kaikolan' is the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit 'Virabahu' a mythological hero from whom both the Kaikolans and a section of the Paraiyans claim descent. They are also called Sengunthar (red dagger) in consequence of the circumstances narrated in the following legend: "The people of the earth being harassed by certain demons, applied to Siva for help. Siva was enraged against the giants and sent forth six sparks of fire from His eyes. His wife Parvathi was frightened and retired to her chamber and in so doing, dropped nine

* As contained in Thurston's, 'Castes and Tribes of S. India.' † Ibid.

beads from her anklets. Siva converted the beads into as many females to each of whom was born a hero with full grown moustache and a dagger. These nine heroes with Subramanya at their head, marched in command of a large force and destroyed the demons. The Kaikolans or Sengunthars are said to be the descendants of Virabahu, one of these heroes. After killing the demons, the warriors were told by Siva that they should become musicians or adopt a profession which would not involve the destruction or injury to any living creature and, weaving being such a profession, they were trained in it. In ancient Tamil literature, Kaikolans or Tantuvayans were called as Kanniyans, a term which includes the present Kammalans. They have a headman called Mahanattan who resides at Kancheepuram ".*

Present day opinion regarding origin

23. The Senguntha Mudaliars of Ayyangarkulam mentioned that they believed in this legend relating to their origin though they acknowledge the existence of the other two legends as current among their community. They also agreed about the version relating to the derivation of the word Kaikolan from the parts of a shuttle and the profession of weaving. They say this was a later version adopted after they had taken to weaving as a profession. Originally they were said to be a war-like race and there was a special bodyguard composed entirely of the Kaikolans who were supposed to protect the person of the Chola King. They would protect the Chola King from any harm with their life, if necessary, and if some bodily injury were to be inflicted on the person of the King in spite of their vigilance, all of them would commit suicide. Subsequently, they seem to have taken to more peaceful avocations like weaving and agriculture.

The Senguntha Maha Sabha

24. The hereditary headman of the caste is called Periyadanakaran or Pattakaran and he is assisted by two subordinates titled Sengali or Gramani or Ooral. The Kaikolans or Sengunthars acknowledge the authority of the headman or Mahanattan who resides at Kancheepuram, who in former days itinerated among the villages with a predominant congregation of Sengunthars receiving presents and settling caste disputes. "Where the decision was not accepted, he used to impose upon the refractory weavers the expenses of a ceremony in which the planting of a bamboo post used to take place. From the top of this post, the Mahanattan pronounced his decision which had to be acquiesced in on pain of ex-communication ".† There used to be attached to Kaikolans a class of mendicants called Nattukattada Nainmars. "The name refers to the Nainmars who, when performing feats fix their bamboo poles to the gopuram of a temple instead of planting it on the ground. They were supposed to travel about the country and if a caste dispute requires settlement, a Council meeting used to be convened at which they were present as representatives of the Mahanattan, the Chief Kaikolan at Kancheepuram. If the dispute was a complicated one, they had to go to all the Sengunthar houses and make a red mark on the cloth still on loom signifying that it was done under the orders of the headman. The Kaikolans, after this, could not go on with their work until the dispute was settled. On the day of the trial, these Nainmars set up on a gopuram, their bamboo pole having 72 internodes corresponding to 72 nadus into which the community was divided. The Goddess Kamakshi Amman, the guardian deity of the Sengunthars was worshipped and the Nainmars climbing the pole, performed various feats. The headquarters of the Nattukattada Nainmars who claim to be descendants of Virabahu is said to be Kancheepuram. They are regarded as inferior to the Kaikolans with whom they do not intermarry ".‡

25. As explained earlier, the Kaikolan community is divided into 72 nadus or desams i.e., 44 mel or western and 28 kil or eastern nadus. Intermarriages take place between members of 71 of these nadus. The great Tamil Poet Ottaikoothar who belonged to this community had sung the praises of all castes except his own. The Kaikolans thereupon urged

* As quoted in Census of India, Madras Report, 1891 by Mr. H. A. Stuart.

† Thurston's, 'Castes and Tribes of South India,' - Kaikolans. ‡ Ibid.

him to sing in praise of them. This, he consented to do provided he received as gift 1,008 human heads. Members of 71 nadus sent their first born sons for this gruesome sacrifice. But one nadu 'Kurunaruthal' refused to send any. This refusal led to their isolation from the rest of the nadus. All the nadus are subject to the authority of the four disai nadus and these in turn are controlled by the Mahanadu at Kancheepuram which is the residence of their deity, Goddess Kamakshi Amman. The disai nadus are Sivapuram or Walajabad, east of Kancheepuram where they are said to have placed Nandi as God; Tondipuram in the north where Tondi Vinayakar is stationed; Virinjipuram in the west guarded by Lord Subramanya and Solingapuram to the south watched over by Lord Bhairava. Each of these nadus is sub-divided into Kilai Gramams or branch villages, there being 'Perur' or big villages and 'Sithur' or little villages.* As time passed by the power of the Mahanattan gradually dwindled and even though in recent times all major disputes relating to the community or disputes between the nadus or branches have still to be brought before Mahanattan at Kancheepuram, a lot of decentralisation has taken place and the Periyanattan or Mahanattan is not as powerful as before. When we questioned the Senguntha Mudaliars in Ayyangarkulam about this, they told us that they have still a Sengunthar Maha Sangam at Kancheepuram to which all other Sangams found in the districts of Salem, Tirunelveli, Madurai etc., owe allegiance, yet the all pervading influence of Kancheepuram is not completely felt.

Divisions among Sengunthars

26. The following are the essential ceremonies relating to this community during the life time of a person. Within eight days of a child's birth, it is given a name. The ceremonies attendant upon this is as follows: The child is placed in a decorated cradle and the eldest male member of the family pronounces the name by which it will be called till its death. Usually the first child in the family, if it is a son, bears the name of the grand-father and if it is a daughter, that of the grand-mother. When the child is either three or five years old, the ear-boring ceremony is performed and the scale of celebrations during that time is an index of the social standing of the family concerned.

Customs relating to child birth

27. In the case of a male, the next important ceremony is that of marriage. But for a female, attainment of puberty is as important as the marriage ceremony at some subsequent date. The girl who has attained maturity is dressed in all finery, bedecked with jewels and garments and made to sit in a hall while ladies gather round her and sing. Subsequently, a dinner is served and guests are invited to partake of the excellent fare provided. The girl, however, has to be isolated for seven days which is treated as the pollution period. At the end of this isolated sojourn, which is, however, within the house, she is given an oil bath.

Attainment of puberty

28. The fixing of a marriage has not undergone radical changes from those adopted in olden times. First, the elders meet and settle on the marriage and then the bridegroom is permitted to see the bride. The scrutiny of horoscopes to find out whether there are malefic influences operating both in the case of the bride and bridegroom is held in reverence by the Sengunthars. When the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom do not agree, no marriage will be fixed. Once this is settled, the rest is easy. On an auspicious day, the bride is betrothed to the bridegroom which is preceded by the bridegroom's family taking silk sarees, fruits, cocoanuts etc., to the bride's house. On the night prior to the marriage, there is a magnificent procession of the bridegroom's family to the bride's place to the accompaniment of music and fire works. This is called 'Penn Azhaippu'. On the morning of the marriage, the bride and the bridegroom are given an oil bath called 'Seeky Nalangu' which is supposed

Marriage customs

* Thurston's, 'Castes and Tribes of S. India,'—Kaikolans.

to be the process of purification of ailments. At an auspicious hour already fixed, a Brahmin priest officiates at the marriage ceremony; the bride and the bridegroom sit before the sacred bamboo pole otherwise known as the milk post and the bridegroom ties the thali round the bride's neck with three knots. The couple then go around the sacred fire while the bride sees the 'Arunthathi' star to obtain inspiration from the legend which portrays Arunthathi as being noted for her piety and chastity. The newly married couple have to be invited for the first Deepavali following their wedding known as the 'Thalai Deepavali' to the house of the bride and the bride's father is bound to buy the bridegroom new clothes and ornaments, the value of these presents depending on the social and economic status of the father-in-law. On the morning of Deepavali day, the son-in-law takes an oil bath, a rupee of silver or a gold sovereign being placed in the vessel containing oil. This day is a day of rejoicing for the couple and the family of the bride.

Pregnancy

29. The next ceremony is the one to be performed when the girl has conceived the first child and is known as 'Seemandha Muhurtham'. The rituals adopted during this festival closely resemble those of a regular marriage, the only difference being the ladies participate in this function and not the men-folk.

Funeral rites

30. There comes a day when a man's or woman's life has run its full course and death overtakes mortals. Even after death, man is not free from the observance of certain rituals. Originally, Sengunthars always used to burn their dead. But now, more and more people are resorting to burying the body. Of the 211 households, about 125 households informed us that they were resorting to the practice of burying the dead. This is a very solemn affair and only the male members of the family are permitted to reach the burial ground or the cremation ground. The eldest son has to perform the funeral rites and one who has a son to perform this last rite is considered to be a privileged person. The Neerganti is employed for beating the drums during the funeral procession. This is called 'Tappattai Adithal.' He is paid 4 annas to 8 annas as wages. The dhobi spreads the clothes all along the streets for the funeral procession to pass on and relatives throw coins ranging from quarter anna to four annas on these clothes which become the property of the dhobi. The barber gets 4 annas for his work.

Deva Dasi system—a thing of the past

31. Thurston records that in olden days in every Kaikolan family at least one girl was set apart and dedicated to temple service and the rule was that so long as this girl or her descendants born to her or adopted by her continue to live, another girl is not dedicated. But when the line becomes extinct, another girl had to be dedicated. Kaikolan girls were made 'Deva Dasis' either by regular dedication to a temple or by the headman, i.e., Mahanattan tying the thali. But our enquiry revealed that such a practice has been discontinued nowadays and this was extant only among one particular sect of the Kaikolans and not among other sects. Even that sect has discontinued this particular practice. The Sengunthars of Ayyangarkulam did not belong to that particular sect and, therefore, this could not have been in vogue even among their ancestors. Another practice recorded by Thurston of selecting a bride called 'Siru Thali Kattu' or tying a small thali said to be in vogue among Kaikolans is not current in this village. According to that method, a man who wishes to marry his maternal uncle's daughter or paternal aunt's daughter has to tie a thali or simply a bit of cloth torn from her clothing round her neck and report the fact to her parents and the headman. If the girl eludes him, he cannot claim her, but should he succeed, she belongs to him. In some places, the consent of the maternal uncle to a marriage is signified by his carrying the bride in his arms to the marriage pandal. After the thali has been tied, the bridegroom lifts the bride's left leg and places it on a grinding stone. Another practice in vogue relating to death ceremonies among the early Kaikolans which has now been

discontinued is as follows: On the final day of the death ceremony, a small hut is erected and inside it stones brought by the barber are set up and offerings made to them. This practice is no longer adopted.

32. The next numerically important community is the Nattar community. The Nattars are really Sembadavans and 'Nattar' is the title adopted by them. They are predominantly a fishing caste, the name Sembadavan having been derived from 'Sem Padavan' which means a good boatman. They are the fishermen of Madras who carry on their calling in fresh water tanks or ponds, lakes and rivers and never in the sea. The sea fishermen are otherwise known as 'Pattanavans' or 'Savalaikaran'. The Nattars or Sembadavars consider themselves to be superior in social status and rank to the Pattanavans. Some of them are ferrymen. The legend relating to their origin links them with the Goddess 'Angala Amman' whom they worship. According to them, this Goddess was a Sembadava girl of whom Siva became enamoured and hence the term was derived from Semba or Siva and Padavan, i.e., boatman. According to another version, the name is derived from 'Sembu Padavan' or copper boatman. It is said that Parvatha Raja disguised as a boatman, sailed in a copper boat and threw his net to catch fish. Within the net a Rishi was also caught and getting angry, the Rishi asked the boatman about his pedigree. On learning that he was of royal descent, he cursed him that his descendants should earn their living by fishing. Hence 'Sembadavans' consider themselves as belonging to Parvatha Raja Vamsam.*

Nattars: Origin

33. According to another account of the origin of the Sembadavans, Siva was greatly pleased with their ancestors' devotion to Him when they lived upon the sea shore by catching a few fish with difficulty and in recognition of their piety, furnished them with a net and directed various other castes to become fish eaters, so that the Sembadavans might live comfortably. Normally, the Sembadavans are Saivites, but a few are Vaishnavites and belong to Vishnu gotram.† In Ayyangarkulam, all the Nattars are Saivites though they worship at the Vaishnavite temple also. These Nattars have exogamous sects named after various heroes.

Another account of their origin

34. Among the Nattars, the ceremony relating to the christening of the child is the same as that followed by other castes including the Sengunthars. The ceremonial rites relating to puberty also correspond to that of various other Tamil castes. Meat is forbidden, but eggs are allowed to be eaten. The leaves of the neem tree are stuck on the lintel and sometimes a piece of iron is given to the girl, as iron is said to have the propensity of warding off evil spirits.

Rites relating to child birth

35. During the marriage ceremonies, a branch of the 'Erythrina Indica' is cut and tied with sprays of the pipal and a piece of green bamboo sapling to one of the twelve posts which support the marriage pandal. A number of married women bring sand and spread it on the floor near the marriage dais. The bride and bridegroom attend the ceremony called 'Seegai Kazhippu' with the object of warding off the evil eye which consists of pouring a few drops of milk on their foreheads from a betel leaf. To their foreheads are tied small gold or silver plates called 'Pattas' of which the most conspicuous are those tied by the maternal uncle. The bride and bridegroom go through a mock ceremony where there are fun and games known as the 'Nalangu'. One of the games played there is as follows: Seven rings are dropped into a pot. If the girl picks up three of these, her first born will be a girl. If the bridegroom picks up five, it will be a boy and so on. Married women go in procession to a hill and bring to the marriage pandal a basket load of earth taken from this hill which they heap around the posts. Offerings of rice, cooked vegetables etc., are then made. After the wrist threads have been removed,

Marriage ceremonies

* As recorded in Thurston's, 'Castes and Tribes of South India.'

† Ibid.

the bride and bridegroom go to a tank and go through a mock ploughing ceremony.* In Ayyangarkulam, the priest who happens to be one of their own community gives the bridegroom a sacred thread which is finally thrown into a well.

36. The Vaishnavite Sembadavans burn and the Saivites bury their dead in a sitting posture. Since all the Nattars in Ayyangarkulam village are Saivites, they only bury their dead. The face of the deceased is covered over by a cloth in which a slit is made so that the top of the head and a portion of the forehead are exposed. A figure representing Lord Vinayaga is made on the head with ashes. All those present, consisting solely of friends and male relatives, throw sacred ashes and some copper coins into the grave which is then filled up. While this is being done, a bamboo stick is placed upright on the head of the corpse. On the surface of the filled-up grave, an oblong space is cleared with the bamboo in the centre. The bamboo is then removed and water poured through the hole left by it. A lingam is made and placed over the opening. Though Mr. H. A. Stuart recorded in the Census Report for Madras that Brahmins are employed by Nattars, it is not true of the Nattars of Ayyangarkulam. They have priests of their own caste who wear the sacred thread. Only these priests officiate at all the ceremonies. Girls are nowadays married only after their attaining puberty and widows may marry if they are young widows. They eat flesh and drink liquor whenever they can get it on the sly.

Funeral rites

37. The next numerically important community is that of the Harijans who belong to the Valluva Pandaram sect in Ayyangarkulam. During the survey, these people who are Harijans returned themselves as Pandarams. They are known by various names, some of them being Pandarams, Valluva Pandarams or Valluvans. The mere use of the word Pandaram may be misleading as certain persons who do not belong to the Harijan community call themselves as Pandarams. These are really wandering mendicants and religious priests who do not belong to a particular class but are in a generic sense known as 'Pandarams'. To distinguish between these Pandarams and the Harijan Pandarams, it would be better to call the latter Valluvans or Valluva Pandarams. They are all synonyms for Harijan Pandarams. They are the priests of the Parayas and Pallas, both being sects among the Harijans. According to one version, Tiruvalluvar is said to belong to this caste which is usually regarded as a sub-division of Parayas. 'Divakaram' and 'Choodamani Nikandu' state that Valayans were the priests to the Pallava Kings before the Brahmins took over and even sometime after it. In an unpublished Vatteluttu inscription which is believed to be of the ninth century, it is stated, as quoted by Mr. H. A. Stuart in the 1891 Census Report, "The Valluvan, Puvanavan, the Uvachan of the temple will employ daily six men for doing temple service". In addition to their functions as priests, both men and women of this community are employed as Astrologers and native Physicians and are often consulted by all classes of people. In Ayyangarkulam, the Senguntha Mudaliars as well as the Nattars at the end of each harvest give the Valluva Pandarams one measure of paddy every year. According to Thurston, the ancestors of the Valluvans used to engage themselves in intervals between the studies, in weaving and so the Valluva Pandarams employ themselves in mending torn linen though they chiefly live by astrology and by acting as priests. However, some of the Valluvans refuse to take part in any of the funerals and leave the duties to those whom they consider impure Valluvans called 'Paraya Tadars'. Another section of the Valluvans is called 'Alwar Desari' or 'Devadathari' meaning those who wear the necklace of tulasi leaves. There are both Saivites and Vaishnavites among the Pandarams and they do not intermarry. In Ayyangarkulam, all the Pandarams are Saivites. Unlike Parayans they encourage remarriage of widows and even polygamy and all males above 12 wear sacred thread. In parenthesis, we may state that this custom of

Valluva Pandarams: Origin

* Thurston's, 'Castes and Tribes of South India.'

wearing sacred thread prevails among all classes in an attempt to imitate Brahmins with the result that in the village we came across so many people wearing threads belonging to Achari, Nattar, Chettiar and Pandaram communities that at first we thought that there were a large number of Brahmins in the village and the name Ayyangarkulam given to this village was well merited. It was only after we made a detailed study of the communities, we realised that there was only one Brahmin family in the entire village and that this practice of wearing sacred thread was in vogue among a number of communities leading to great difficulty in recognising various communities and individual members of the communities.

Legend concerning origin of Valluvans

38. According to a version relating to the origin of the Valluva Pandarams, they are said to be the descendants of an alliance between a Brahmin sage and a Paraya woman whose children complained to their father of their lowly position. He blessed them and told them that they would become clever astrologers and in consequence much respected. Hence the profession now followed by the people. The most important sub-division among Valayans are the Parayan, Tavidathari and Thiruvalluvan. There are two main divisions called Arupathu Katchi or sixty house section and Narpathu Katchi or forty house section. The former is supposed to be the descendants of Nandi Gurukkal and adopt his name as their gotra. The gotra of the latter is Chidambara Iyengar. The sub-division, Alwar, claims descent from Tirupana Alwar, one of the twelve Vaishnavite Saints.

Marriage customs

39. The important differences relating to their marriage ceremony as well as death ceremony as distinct from those adopted by other communities are indicated below. At the betrothal ceremony, the bride price, betel leaves, jewels, flowers and fruits are placed in the bride's lap. Bride price ranges from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 20/-. A small sum of money called 'Urai Murai Kattu', i.e., money paid by relations and 'Pandal Varisai' i.e., money paid in the pandal is paid by the bridegroom's party to the relations of the bride. This is probably the time for settling any sort of caste dispute by the caste council. On the wedding day, the milk post is set up and a number of pots brought from the potter's house are placed near it. On the marriage dais are set four lamps. The bride and bridegroom bring some sand and spread it on the floor near the dais and place betel leaves on it. On the betel leaves are placed seven plantain leaves. On the leaves are set rice and the marriage couple worship the pots and the family gods. The Valluvan priest now chants certain mantras and then ties the threads on the wrist of the couple. The couple are then led into the house and garlanded with flowers. Into one of the pots, the female relations put seedlings of grain and four other pots are filled with water by the bridegroom's relatives. A small quantity of seedlings is usually wrapped in a cloth and placed over the pot containing the seedlings. Next morning the bundle is untied and examined to see if the seedlings are in good condition. If they are, the bride is considered to be a worthy one. If not, the bride will die a premature death and nothing good will come out of the marriage. However, we have come across no case in which a marriage was broken up in the middle due to such an ill omen. In fact, we heard from the Valluvans that these seedlings were usually found in good condition. Even if they were not, the bride's party invariably managed to throw away the bad ones and substitute fresh seedlings to prove the worth of the bride. The usual 'Nalangu' ceremony is next performed. This is followed by offerings of food on eleven leaves to ancestors and house Gods. Towards the evening, the marriage dais is ready for the occupation by the bridal couple and they exchange betel and paddy, 9 to 12 times. The priest kindles the sacred fire and pours clarified butter into it. The bride is then made to see the pole star. The thali is shown to the sky smoked over burning camphor and placed on a table with a rupee. After being blessed by those present, it is then tied by the bridegroom. The day is fixed for the nuptials and the marriage is consummated. We could not help wondering at the similarity in

most details between a Brahmin wedding and the wedding conducted among the Valluvans. Possibly because Valluvans themselves are priests, they attempt to follow closely the customs of Brahmin priests and their marriage rituals appear similar to those performed by Brahmins.

Funeral rites

40. The Valluvans bury their dead in a sitting posture. After death has set in, a cocoanut is broken and camphor is burnt. The corpse is washed by relations who bring nine pots of water for the purpose. A lingam is tied to the head along with a cloth bundle containing a rupee, seven vilva and nine twigs of the tulasi to the right arm. The corpse is then carried to the grave on a cart surmounted by brass vessels. The grave is purified by the sprinkling of cow's urine and cow dung water before the corpse is lowered into it. On the way to the burial ground, the priest keeps on chanting various mantras. The priest receives a fee for his services which he places before an image after it has been made on the grave. Many usually spend in making a sacred bull, lingams or a stone slab to act as a mark on the grave. On the third day after death, the female relatives of the deceased pour milk within the house into a vessel which is taken by the male relatives to the burial ground and offered at the grave. A platform of mud is then erected on the grave. The final death ceremonies are celebrated on the seventeenth day. An important custom observed by these Valluvans is that the first born in any family is always burnt after death. The subsequent members are buried.

Contravention of marriage rules

41. We came across no case in which there were contraventions of marriage rules, nor did we come across any case of inter-caste marriage. An attempt was made to elicit information regarding the permissibility and desirability of inter-caste marriages. The result was rather discouraging, as may be seen from the following table:

TABLE No. III

Permissibility and desirability of Intercaste Marriage

Caste / Tribe / Community	No. of Persons interviewed	Number of persons who consider it permissible to join marital tie with				Number of persons who consider it desirable to join marital tie with				Remarks
		Caste name	Caste name	Caste name	Caste name	Caste name	Caste name	Caste name	Caste name	
		Mudaliars	Nattars	Ayyangars	Naidus	Mudaliars	Nattars	Ayyangars	Naidus	
Mudaliar	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Nattar	5	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	The one man is an young man engaged in fishing.
Valluvan	8	8	8	8	8	...	...	1	...	The eight men are all agriculturists.

Every one of the 17 Mudaliars we interviewed preferred marriages within their own community and did not want an alliance with any other community. Of the 5 Nattars we interviewed, only one preferred an alliance outside his community and that too with the Mudaliar community whom he considered to be socially and economically his superior. This particular Nattar is a young man with progressive views and even then thought of marrying

with one who is a superior but not with Harijans or others whom he considered to be socially backward. But among the Pandarams, there seems to be greater desire to marry outside their community since all the 8 men belonging to the Pandaram community whom we interviewed were in favour of marrying outside their caste. In fact, one Pandaram said that he would like to marry a person from the Ayyangar community. All the Pandarams interviewed were agriculturists by occupation.

Type of Family

42. Of the 335 households in Ayyangarkulam, we noticed that 182 were simple types of families in which there were only the husband and wife with their own unmarried children. Forty-eight of the families were of the intermediate type, i.e., a married couple and their children and unmarried relatives. Fifty of the families were joint families having more than one married couple with their children. The remaining 55 belonged to none of these types as these families contained widows or widowers with their children and others. The different types of family for each community will be seen from the table below:

TABLE No. IV

Communities and the types of family

Caste / Tribe / Community	Total No. of households	Types of family living in the households			
		Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
HINDUS					
Mudaliar	211	111	36	28	36
Nattar	45	22	7	9	7
Valluvan	33	14	2	9	8
Naicker	9	6	1	1	1
Pillai	8	6	...	1	1
Achari	7	6	...	1	...
Naidu	5	4	...	1	...
Pandithar	5	2	1	...	2
Vannan	4	3	1	...	...
Chettiar	2	2	...	...	...
Brahmin	1	1	...	...	...
Rao	1	1	...	...	...
Irular	1	1	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	3	3	...	...	...
Total	**335**	**182**	**48**	**50**	**55**

Thus, it was found that families in Ayyangarkulam tended to be compact, married couples preferring to remain in a home of their own. Only 15% of the families were joint families.

Size of Household

43. The varying size of household in respect of each community will be seen below: Of the 335 households, only 52 are large families having 7 or more members, of which 7 households consist of 10 persons or above. As many as 138 households are of medium size viz., 4 to 6 members accounting for a percentage of 41·2. Small households with 2 or 3 persons number 117 and there are 28 single member households.

TABLE No. V

Size of Household

Caste	Single Member			2-3 Members			4-6 Members			7-9 Members			10 and above			Total		
	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females	House-holds	Males	Females
HINDUS																		
Mudaliar	17	5	12	75	87	110	88	206	229	27	109	97	4	24	20	211	431	468
Nattar	4	...	4	15	17	24	18	48	43	6	23	22	2	12	13	45	100	106
Valluvan	6	2	4	8	9	13	12	29	29	6	21	24	1	7	3	33	68	73
Naicker	...	...	...	3	3	3	6	11	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	14	20
Pillai	...	...	...	4	7	4	3	7	6	1	5	4	...	...	...	8	19	14
Achari	...	...	...	2	3	3	3	5	8	2	7	8	...	...	...	7	15	19
Naidu	...	...	...	3	5	4	2	3	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	8	9
Pandithar	1	...	1	2	3	3	1	2	3	1	5	2	...	...	...	5	10	9
Vannan	...	...	...	2	2	4	2	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	6	8
Chettiar	...	...	...	1	2	1	1	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	4	4
Brahmin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	5	...	...	...	1	4	5
Rao	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	4	...	...	...	1	3	4
Irular	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	2
MUSLIMS	...	...	...	2	2	4	1	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	8
Total	**28**	**7**	**21**	**117**	**140**	**173**	**138**	**321**	**353**	**45**	**177**	**166**	**7**	**43**	**36**	**335**	**688**	**749**

44. The laws of succession relating to property were the same as found elsewhere in the State, property devolving upon the male members of the family. Since the tendency in Ayyangarkulam was towards independent existence, property was more often shared between brothers. Until the recent legislation governing the succession to property, females never got any share. In the fifty joint families in Ayyangarkulam, property was controlled by the eldest male member, the younger members helping to preserve the ancestral property working in common on the lands which were jointly and severally owned by all the members of the family. We made enquiries relating to the awareness of changes in Hindu Laws of succession in the village.

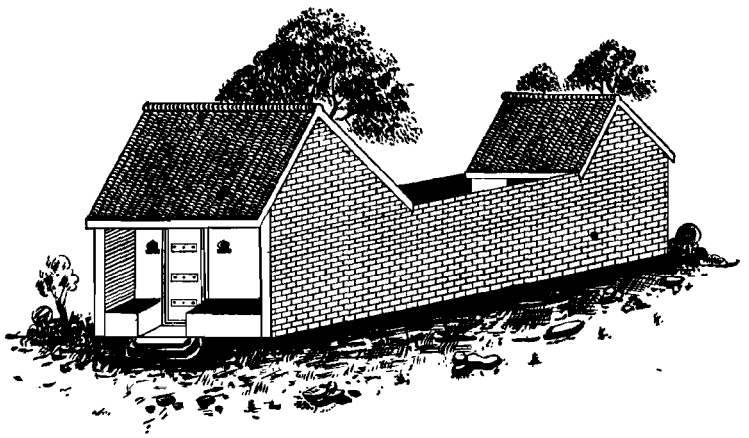
Awareness of Laws of Succession

TABLE No. VI

Awareness of changes in Hindu Laws of succession and adoption

Caste /Tribe/ Community	No. of persons interviewed	No. aware that there have been changes in Hindu Adoption Act	No. that could describe the changes in Hindu Adoption Act correctly	No. aware that there have been changes in Hindu Succession Act	No. that could describe the changes in Hindu Succession Act correctly	Remarks
Mudaliar	17	...	...	17	...	...
Nattar	5	...	...	...	...	...
Valluvans	8	...	...	...	...	...

We found that in the thirty households we contacted, only seventeen persons were aware that there were changes in the Hindu Succession Act. They were only aware of the broad details of the changes, but could not explain severally the clauses in the new Act. These seventeen belonged to the Mudaliar community. Five Nattars and eight Harijans who were put this question betrayed their ignorance of the clauses governing the Hindu Succession Act.

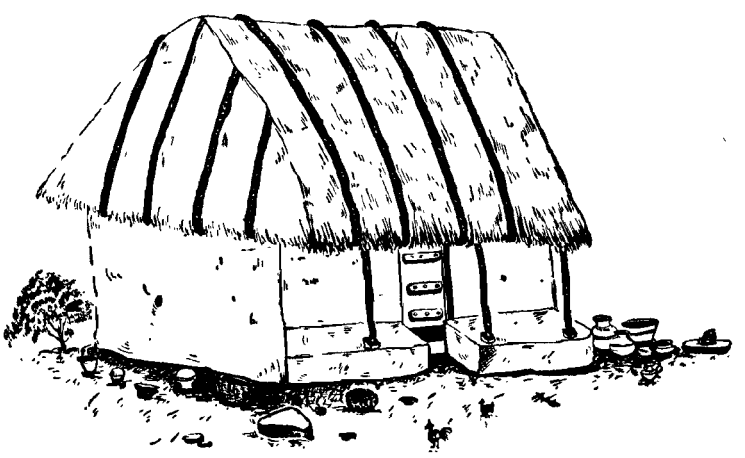


This is a sketch of a Senguntha Mudaliar house and gives a three-dimensional effect. Note the open court-yard and the kitchen at one corner with a tiled roof.

45. There are three distinct types of dwellings in this village. One is the hut of the Harijan and of the poorer sections among other communities including Senguntha Mudaliars. This is built of mud and has roofs of palmyra thatch or straw. The second is a much better house built of bricks with flooring either of cement or mud, the roofing is of country tiles and the dwelling can generally be called a tiled house. Next to the huts, these are more common in this village. The third type of dwelling owned only by the rich Senguntha Mudaliars is the Madras terraced house built also of brick with cement flooring and with a Madras terraced roof. But these are fewer in number and are found only in Nadutheru.

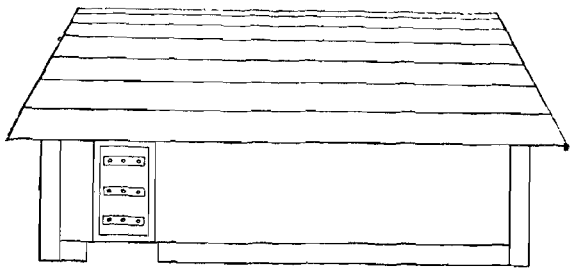
Type of dwelling

These are the general types found but a number of variations as regards construction can always be found. For example, even in the huts, a few may have mud walls, mud flooring and a palmyra thatch; in a few other cases, the walls and flooring may be of mud and the roof may be tiled; in other houses, the walls may be of brick, the roof may be tiled but the flooring may be of mud or cement. These variations as to the materials of wall and roof can be found depending on personal taste and economic condition of the owner. The hut of the harijan is built of mud and has a roof of palmyra thatch, bamboo or straw. In front of this hut one comes across a tiny verandah or pial which is more often an oblong mound of earth flattered to form some sort of a sitting space. The interior of the hut consists of a single room. At one corner we find a hearth which acts as a make-shift kitchen and can easily be recognised from the fire blackened walls. The other portion is used as a sleeping-cum-sitting apartment. There is a courtyard and sometimes cattle are also kept there although in some cases they are lodged under a sloping roof at the back of the hut. The lighting and ventilation inside the hut are poor and the flooring being made of mud is usually damp. The roofing is low and always leaky during the rainy season. The cost of each hut ranges from Rs. 600 to Rs. 800/-. The Harijan housewife manages to keep the interior clean by sweeping and applying a coat of liquid cow-dung daily in the morning.

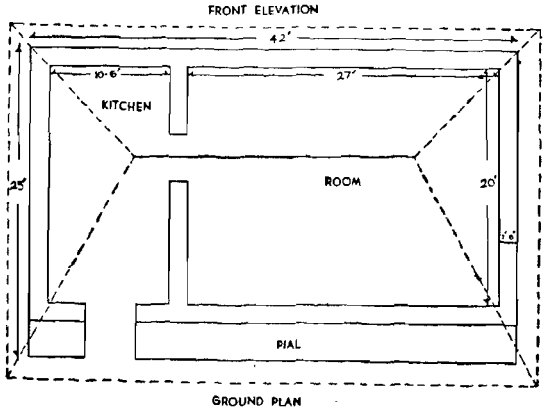


The hut of a Valluva Pandaram with its thatched roof and mud walls.

46. Another type of dwelling is the house built of kiln burnt bricks with flooring made of either cement or mud. The roofing consists of country tiles which are placed over country wood rafters and walls are plastered with cement mortar.



FRONT ELEVATION



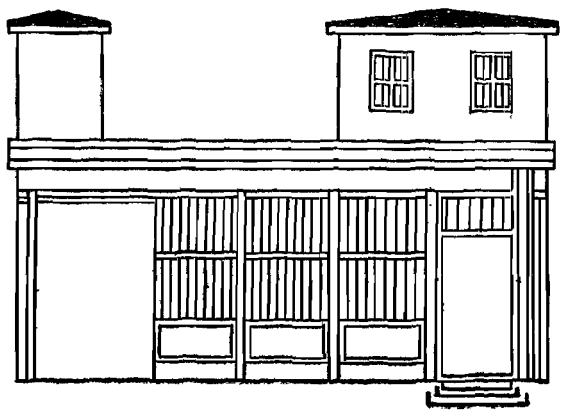
GROUND PLAN

GROUND PLAN

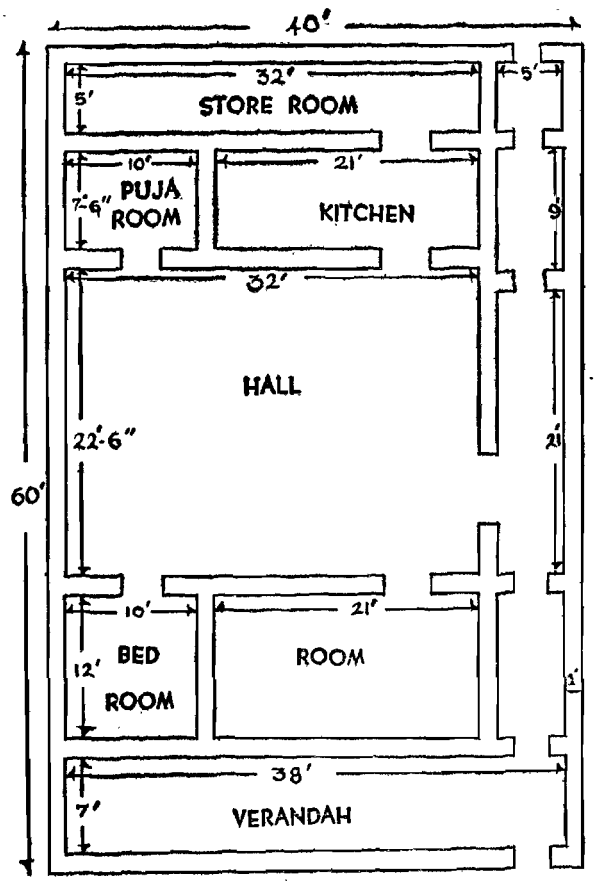
This is a plan of a Valluva Pandaram hut. This is constructed of mud with mud for flooring and palmyra thatch as roof. It consists of only one big room partitioned and in one corner is set up a kitchen hearth. Two families live in this hut.

(Right)

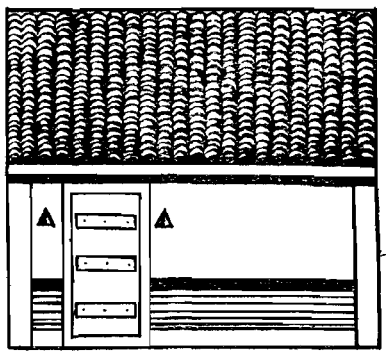
This is a terraced-house owned by a well-to-do Senguntha Mudaliar. It has a room at the top and is cement-concreted. There is a big room which is used for setting up of a loom, a spacious central hall, a separate pooja room, a store room and a kitchen. A wide enclosed verandah runs along the length of the house. Constructional details can be found in the report.



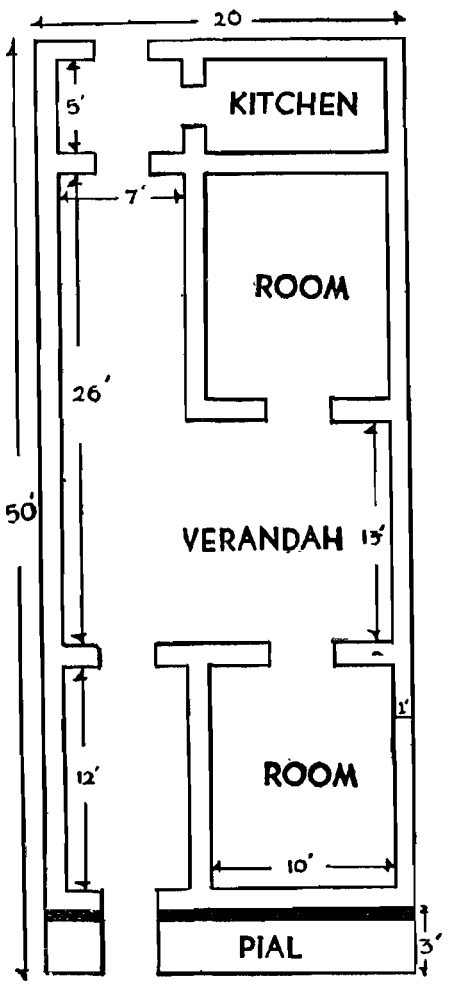
FRONT ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN

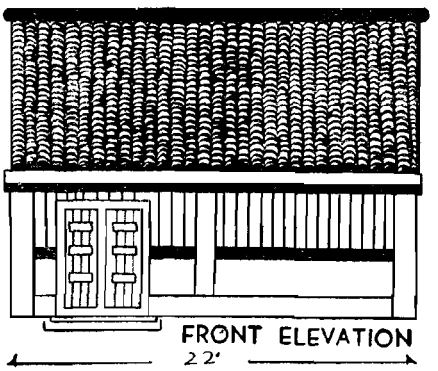


FRONT ELEVATION

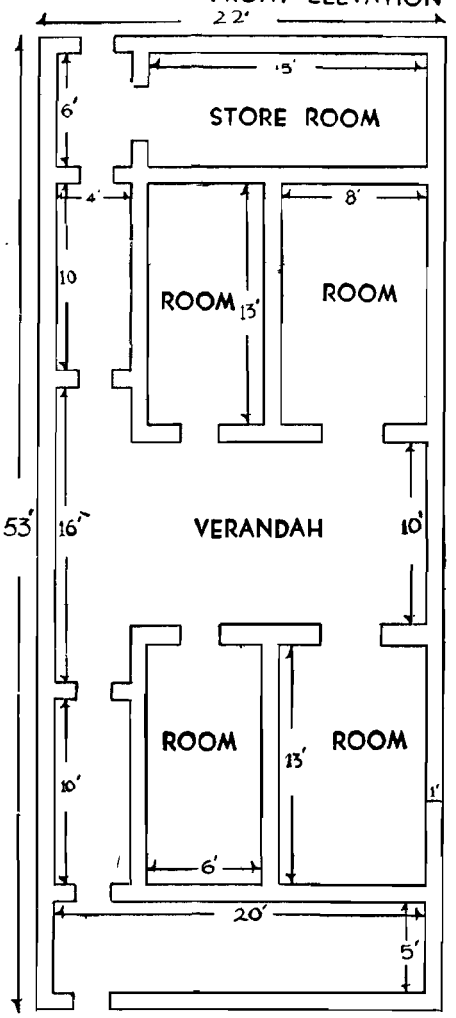


GROUND PLAN

This is another tiled house owned by a Nattar. This is more modest than a Senguntha Mudaliar house and contains only two rooms and a kitchen. There is a pial outside and a verandah in the centre of the house.



FRONT ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN

This is a tiled house owned by a Senguntha Mudaliar living in Nadutheru. It contains four big rooms with an inner court-yard. The room to the right is used for setting up a silk loom. The plan will be to help the readers to appreciate the size and constructional aspect of the house.

The value of the site on which the building is erected is usually anything between Rs. 400 and Rs. 600, and the cost of construction of each house of the type described above is in the range of Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 12,000. Materials for building are, however, easily available. The bamboo thatch or palmyra thatch and bricks and tiles are manufactured in the village itself. Cement can be had only from Kancheepuram town. The people of Ayyangarkulam do not use unburnt bricks because of a superstitious belief that evil will befall the house built of unburnt bricks. Burnt bricks are sometimes got from the brick-kiln at Sevilimedu, about two miles from this village. But this source of supply is rather seasonal and fluctuating and so people prefer to buy bricks from Kancheepuram town.

Cost of construction

47. The house of a Senguntha Mudaliar is architecturally conditioned by his dominant occupation of silk weaving and so a room in the front portion has to be set apart for fixing the loom. A pucca cement plastered verandah is invariably found in the house of these Mudaliars. Right behind this verandah, there is another room which is used for the purpose of fixing the loom and for implements needed for silk weaving. This room has two apertures to let in light and air. A court-yard on the side with a hall and another room used as a kitchen completes the ground plan of the house. The hall is used as a sleeping apartment. It is their firm belief that a hut facing south is better than a mansion facing north, but depending upon circumstances and availability of site, this custom is observed.

Houses depend on type of occupation

48. The table below indicates the type of dwellings occupied by the various communities.

TABLE No. VII

House Types

Caste/ Community occupying the houses	No. of houses occupied by each community	No. of houses with roofs made of						No. of houses built of					No. of houses with			
		Terraced houses	Country tiles	Mangalore tiles	Asbestos or zinc sheets	Straw or grass	Cocoanut or Palmyra leaves	Mud only	Bricks	Stone	Others	Huts without walls	Mud floor	Cement floor	Wooden floor	Other types of floor
HINDUS																
Mudaliar	211	9	198	...	...	...	4	121	90	...	...	...	126	85	...	...
Nattar	45	...	41	...	...	...	4	41	4	...	...	...	41	4	...	...
Valluvan	33	...	...	...	...	...	33	33	...	...	...	...	33	...	...	...
Naicker	9	...	6	...	...	...	3	9	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...
Pillai	8	...	5	...	...	...	3	7	1	...	...	...	7	1	...	...
Achari	7	...	7	...	...	...	...	6	1	...	...	...	6	1	...	...
Naidu	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	2	3	...	...
Pandithar	5	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...
Vannan	4	...	3	...	...	...	1	2	2	...	...	...	2	2	...	...
Chettiar	2	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Brahmin	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Rao	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Irular	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	3	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
Total	**335**	**9**	**268**	...	...	...	**58**	**232**	**103**	...	...	...	**237**	**98**	...	...

Of the 335 houses in the village, only 9 houses are terraced and all of them belong to the Mudaliars. These 9 houses are located in the first Mudaliar street we come across as we enter

the village. This street incidentally contains the residence of the well-to-do Mudaliars who are earning a steady income out of their silk weaving and also are in possession of radio sets and other external indications of affluence. Two hundred and sixty-eight houses had rafters of country wood and tiles, of which 198 belonged to the Mudaliars, 41 to the Nattars, 7 to the Acharis, 5 to the Naidus and 5 to the Pillais. Fifty-eight of the houses had palmyra thatch for roof. All the 33 houses owned by the Valluva Pandarams fell into this category. There were only four Mudaliars who had houses with palmyra thatch for roof. Four Nattar families also owned such type of huts. Two hundred and thirty-two of the houses were built of mud and 103 of bricks. Ninety of the Mudaliar houses including the terraced houses were built of bricks. Forty-one of the Nattar houses were constructed out of mud and four out of bricks. The flooring of the houses conformed to the pattern of prosperity in the village. Two hundred and thirty-seven of the houses had mud flooring and 98 were cement floored. In other words, except for 5 Mudaliar households whose houses were mud floored, the remaining 85 Mudaliars who had constructed their houses with bricks had their flooring cemented. Four of the Nattar families also had cement flooring to match their brick built houses.

Rooms

49. Of the 335 households, 171 households or 51·04 per cent, live in single roomed houses, the total number of family members being 627 or 43·6 per cent of village population. 105 households or 31·3 per cent consisting of 477 persons are in double-roomed houses. Only 24 houses are spacious enough having four or more rooms. The statement showing the classification of houses is as follows:

TABLE No, VIII

Households by number of rooms and by number of persons occupying

Caste / Community	Total No. of households	Total No. of rooms	Total No. of family members	Household with no regular room		Household with one room		Household with two rooms		Household with three rooms		Household with four and more rooms	
				House-holds	Members	House-holds	Members	House-holds	Members	House-holds	Members	House-holds	Members
HINDUS													
Mudaliar	211	425	899	1	1	79	273	78	331	30	142	23*	152
Nattar	45	66	206	...	...	28	107	14	78	2	17	1	4
Valluvan	33	41	141	...	...	26	95	6	38	1	8	...	...
Naicker	9	10	34	...	...	8	29	1	5	...	...	...	...
Pillai	8	11	33	...	...	6	22	1	2	1	9	...	...
Achari	7	10	34	...	...	4	19	3	15	...	...	...	...
Naidu	5	6	17	...	...	4	13	1	4	...	...	...	...
Pandithar	5	5	19	...	...	5	19	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan	4	5	14	...	...	3	10	1	4	...	...	...	...
Chettiar	2	2	8	...	...	2	8	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	1	1	9	...	...	1	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rao	1	1	7	...	...	1	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
Irular	1	1	5	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	3	3	11	...	...	3	11	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	**335**	**587**	**1437**	**1**	**1**	**171**	**627**	**105**	**477**	**34**	**176**	**24**	**156**

* 8 Households with 5 rooms.

50. This village has certain well-defined units indicative of the relative prosperity of the various communities. A visitor cannot fail to see that the village is not only segmented according to the community, but within each segment, there are clearly demarcated units relating to the relative prosperity of the members of each community. Thus, on entering the village, we come across the segments in which the Senguntha Mudaliars live. These Mudaliars live in three streets known as Kiltheru, Nadutheru and Meltheru.

Houses in well defined units

51. The Mudaliars living in Nadutheru have terraced houses with walls constructed of bricks and floors of cement and they own radio-sets and other consumer goods indicative of their advanced material culture. The Senguntha Mudaliars living in Kiltheru own houses built of mud with palmyra thatch, though we come across a few tiled houses with walls built of brick and flooring of mud. The Senguntha Mudaliars of Meltheru though prosperous have not attained the standard of living of those living in Nadutheru, but possess, without exception, houses tiled and built of brick. Farther down, as we proceed along the road, we turn left into the street in which the Nattars live where we find with few exceptions, houses constructed of mud with mud flooring. We have the Harijan colony in which the 33 families of the Valluva Pandarams live, all of them possessing huts with a palmyra thatch and constructed of mud. Thus, it will be readily apparent that each street and each unit possesses individual characteristics easily distinguishable from the rest.

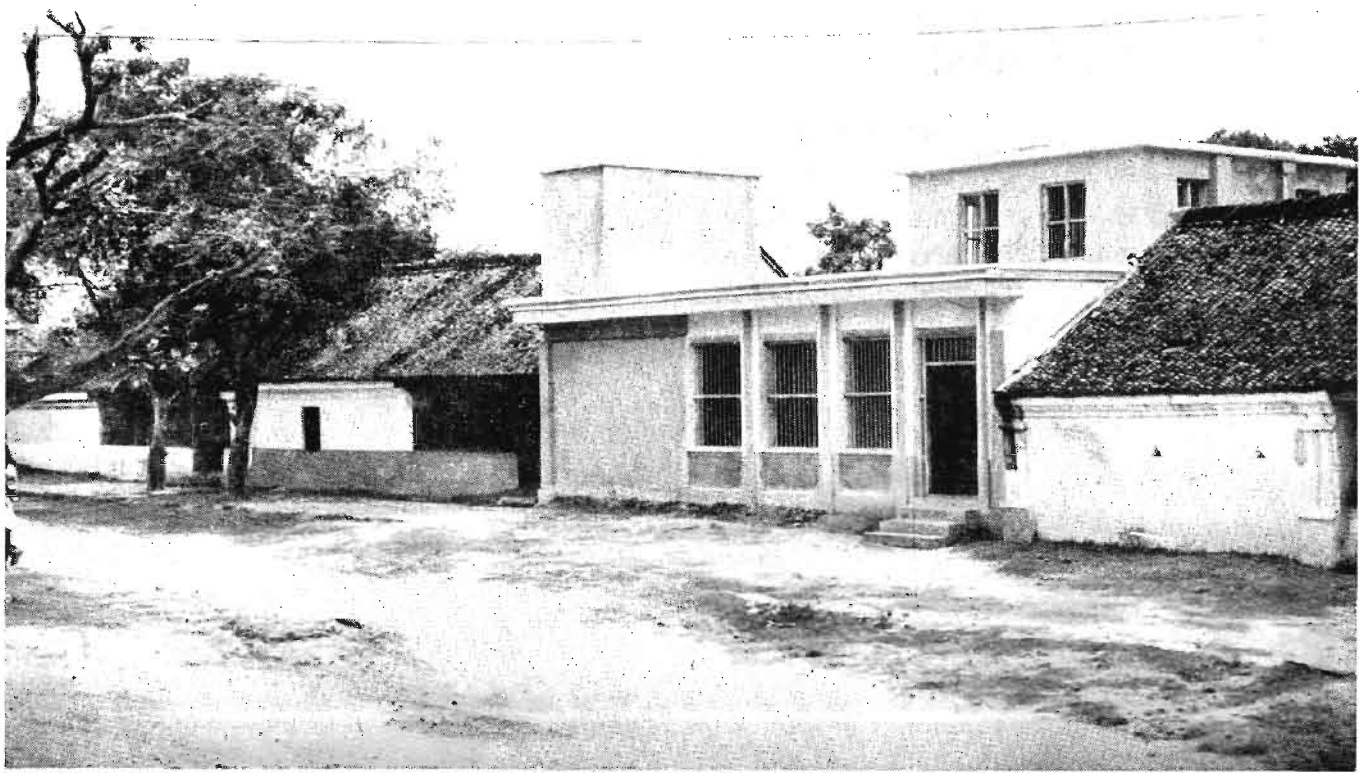
Characteristics of units

52. A number of ceremonies punctuate the process of building of a house from the stage of laying the foundation till the owners actually settle down in it. When a house site is decided upon, a hole about 2′×2′ is dug to a depth of 5′ with an elevation in the middle of it. Three married women whose husbands are alive pour water into the pit and throw lighted camphor into the water. An image of Lord Ganesa, the elephant headed God, is kept by the side of the pit. The burning camphor is supposed to make three rounds in this water. Puja is then performed to Lord Ganesa. The people who gather at this time are offered sugar, fruits and betel nut. This marks the beginning of the building of the house. The foundation is laid and the building raised and when the door or threshold at the entrance is installed, small particles of five different stones called 'Panchamulam' are kept under the door. The frame is decorated with leaves of the mango tree and a new dhoti is tied to it. Vibhooti is applied to the door frame. After the ceremony is over, the dhoti is given to the carpenter. The frame is carried by five married women and fixed to the appropriate aperture while puja is performed to Lord Ganesa.

Ceremonies relating to house construction

53. When the entire construction is completed and it is fit for habitation, a ceremony called 'Graha Pravesam' is performed. The day before the household settles down in the house an effigy of a human being is made and is dressed up in new clothes. Puja is performed to this effigy. The sacred fire is kindled and the effigy is lighted with this fire. The burnt effigy is dragged through every nook and corner of the new house to clear it of evil spirits. After this, the burnt effigy is dragged on to the streets and burnt to ashes. A caricature of a human face drawn on a pumpkin is tied at the entrance of the house. On the auspicious day, the family formally is supposed to enter the house with five married women carrying salt, water, rice, paddy and grains into the house. The well-to-do engage the services of musicians during the procession. These five women bring from the house of the mother-in-law of the owner certain articles such as cocoanuts, betel nuts, fruits, sugar etc. The owner and his wife sit wearing new clothes and the priest lights the sacred fire and invoking the Nava Graha or nine planets performs certain rites akin to the marriage ceremony. Fire is lighted with the help of this sacred fire and food is cooked over this fire and served to the invitees. 'Tambulam' consisting of betel nuts and betel is served to the people before the sacred fire is lighted. After these

House warming



Old and the new — A study in contrast of dwellings in Meltheru. Both houses belong to the Senguntha Mudaliars. But the house on the right is that of a rich Sengunthar having 2 looms. The house is terraced and cement concreted. On the left is a more modest house, with a tiled roof and brick and mortar walls.



And so our soil is being impoverished for want of organic manure—
Cow dung cakes form a familiar pattern on a wall.



The itinerant utensil seller hawking his wares — A common sight in rural parts.
He comes quite often to Ayyangarkulam. He sells aluminium and stainless steel articles of various shapes and sizes — ladles, pots, pans, plates, tiffin-carriers and tumblers



Art of balance — The Village belle with her jewellery. She is wearing a nose screw and ear studs of the screw on variety. The vessel is of course empty, but is used to carry water

ceremonies, the place becomes fit for habitation. Such ceremonies are performed only by the Senguntha Mudaliars in this village. Certain well-to-do Nattars also observe these ceremonies. The Pandarams have a simpler form of ceremony in which as soon as a new hut is constructed, it is decorated with mango leaves and a pot containing milk is taken to the new house by the owner and his wife and after boiling it, served to the assembled guests. Before the sacred fire is lit, the Pandaram priest chants certain mantras and the pot containing milk is formally placed over the fire. No elaborate feast takes place among the Pandarams.

54. Please see table below relating to the extent of consanguinity in marriages in Ayyangarkulam village.

TABLE No. IX

Consanguineous Pedigrees

Name of Caste	No. of households	Consanguineous pedigree			
		A	E	F	Q
HINDUS					
Mudaliar	206	6	17	3	1
Nattar	44	5	5	4	...
Valluvan	30	...	...	...	...
Naicker	6	1	...	...	...
Pillai	7	2	...	1	1
Achari	7	...	...	...	...
Naidu	5	...	...	1	1
Pandithar	5	1	1	...	...
Vannan	4	...	1	...	...
Chettiar	2	1	...	...	...
Brahmin	1	...	...	...	...
Irular	1	...	...	...	...
Ottar	1	...	...	...	...
Vanniar	2	...	...	...	...
Nair	1	...	...	...	...
Kulalar	1	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	2	...	...	...	...
Total	**325**	**16**	**24**	**9**	**3**

A — Married to own sister's daughter.
B — „ „ „ brother's daughter.
C — „ „ „ mother's own sister.
D — „ „ „ father's own sister.
E — „ „ „ mother's own brother's daughter.
F — „ „ „ father's own sister's daughter.
G — „ „ „ mother's own sister's daughter.
M — „ „ „ father's own brother's daughter.
Q — „ „ „ Any other type of blood relationship not specified above between husband and wife.

Note: The details for this table were collected after the main survey was completed and the coverage of households also differed from the main survey. Hence the total number of households and communities differ from those contained in the other tables.

From the table relating to marital status, the figure for total number of marriages in the village is not available. However, 821 out of the total population of 1,437 had married sometime or other and from this, we may assume that there must have been roughly 400 and odd marriages in the village. Even taking this arbitrary figure, we find from the consanguinity table that only 52 of the marriages had an extent of consanguinity in them, i.e., 12%. This percentage is not very high. The villagers have a wider scope of choice in marital ties because Kanchee-

puram town and the nearby villages are populated by the Sengunthar, Naicker and Nattar communities and so, members of these communities, though being forced to marry within their community by virtue of the proximity of villages populated by the same communities, are permitted wider selection of brides and grooms making consanguineous marriages a rare occurrence. Of the 52 marriages with an extent of consanguinity in them, 27 were among the Mudaliars and 14 among the Nattars. Of the 27 Mudaliar marriages, in 17 cases the groom had married his mother's own brother's daughter. This seems to be the preferred consanguineous relationship. In six cases, the groom had married his own sister's daughter. Among the 14 Nattar marriages, in 5 cases the grooms had married their own sister's daughter, another 5 their mother's own brother's daughter and the remaining four, their father's sister's daughter. There does not seem to be any other preferred relationship regarding marital selection.

Degree of consanguinity in marriages

55. The common item of furniture invariably found in every house is the Manai, a raised oblong plank of wood used for sitting. All the 211 Sengunthar families possess cots and stools, but only 42 families had tables and chairs. The furniture was made by the Acharis, the carpenters of the village and a majority of them were manufactured only at the time when a marriage was fixed in the house. Sixteen Sengunthar families, 14 of them living in Nadutheru, possess radio sets and it is a common sight to see an aerial stretched tight across two bamboo poles, lording it over the roof tops of these Sengunthar houses. Fifty-one families have bicycles of their own. Of these, 10 belong to the Nattars, 4 to the Naickers and the remaining 37 to the Mudaliars. Because of the large number of cycles, there are three cycle shops in the village, servicing and repairing as well as stocking 20 to 30 cycles which they let out on hire at the rate of one anna per hour to those who are not fortunate enough to posses bicycles. The age-old mud pots and other utensils are still found in the village dwellings. But among the Pillais, Nattars, Mudaliars and Acharis we found pots as well as gleaming aluminium utensils. The Pandaram still uses mud vessels. Fashionable stainless steel utensils have also caught the fancy of the villagers as these articles are sold by itinerant hawkers who come from Kancheepuram on cycles. Since they are costly, it is only the well-to-do Sengunthars who can afford to buy them. Normally, stainless steel utensils are sold not only for cash, but also for clothes and lace. Silk weaving being the predominant occupation of the Sengunthars, bits of gold lace sarees as well as silk pieces form effective barter material in exchange for these stainless steel articles. The Nattars, not having the privilege of getting such silk pieces, have perforce to shell out their hard-earned money for these articles and considering their prohibitive cost, they have to be content with brass vessels, aluminium utensils and in some cases, glass tumblers also. There are no cars or motor cycles in the village. Since electricity has come to the village, most of the Sengunthā Mudaliar houses are electrified with the exception of about 41 houses which are still using petromax and hurricane lights. Thirty-five of the Nattar houses are also electrified. But every house including that of the Pandarams possesses hurricane lanterns.

Furniture and Utensils

56. There is nothing in the dress and ornaments worn by the villagers of Ayyangarkulam that strikes the eye or makes a beholder wonder at the beauty of design. Their dress is simple except for the adoption of some customs found in urban areas owing to the village's proximity to Kancheepuram town. The adult male member wears dhoti and baniyan while at home and puts on a shirt while going out. The youth of the village wear halfsleeve shirts or slacks. We found their taste leaning to the gaudy and bizarre since most of the young boys prefer to wear dark colours of a vivid blue or green whenever they go out. The Harijans invariably wear a short loin cloth at home or while going out and a turban round their heads whenever they are in the presence of elders among the Sengunthā Mudaliars

Dress and Ornaments

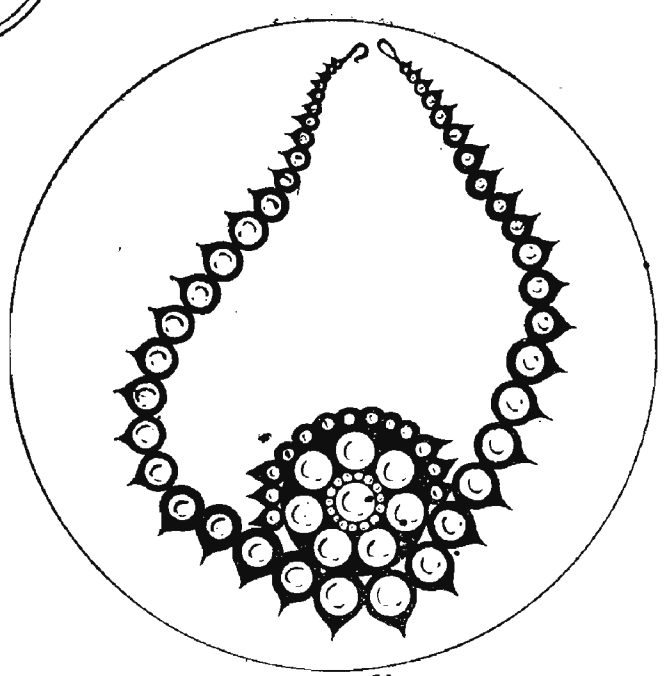




This is an ornament worn on the hair by young ladies set in gold with semi-precious stones. The pendant is a work of art indicating the high level of workmanship displayed by village goldsmiths. The stone piece is a HAMSA or SWAN with a number of semi-precious stones studded on the body and the tail.

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The necklace of gold and semi-precious stones worn by a married lady.
The workmanship is exquisite.

or officials or visitors. The Nattars also prefer to go about bare-bodied since they are fishermen by caste and have to wade in water. But while going out they usually wear a shirt and a dhoti. Most of the Sengunthars are never seen bare-bodied except when they are working on their looms. At home they wear baniyans and dhoties and slip on shirts when they go out. As for the fair sex, saree with blouse is the common dress for girls above 12. The women as well as the young children of the Senguntha Mudaliars were much better dressed than members of the other communities. They also sported jewellery and occasionally a Kancheepuram saree could be seen during festive occasions. But old ladies, irrespective of the community, prefer to wear sarees without blouses. Among the Harijans, we noticed that married women prefer to wear sarees with blouses. Nowadays unmarried girls also wear blouses. The poorer section of the community prefer silver to gold whereas the Sengunthars sport gold ornaments. The main ornament usually worn by the married women was the 'Thali' or the necklace. Among the men-folk, we found that though they have their ears bored, they do not wear ear-rings except an old man or two. The well-to-do Sengunthars display their wealth by wearing gold rings on their fingers. On festive occasions, we found women wearing special types of ear-rings suspended from the upper ear and young girls at the time of marriage or during puberty wear an ornament decorating the hair.

Restrictions relating to mode of dressing

57. Widows among Brahmins wear saffron sarees without blouses. They do not wear their caste mark or Tikka on their forehead. They are not also expected to wear any other ornaments or flowers to adorn their hair. The Thali or marriage necklace symbolic of the marriage union and its sanctity is also removed. Among the Pillais, widows wear pure white sarees without blouses and they also refrain from applying Kumkum or Tikka on their forehead. They are also forbidden to use any other ornaments except ear-ring in their ear-lobes. But such restriction as to the colour of the saree to be worn or its mode of wearing is not in force among other communities like Senguntha Mudaliars. The only restriction relates to the wearing of the Thali and the caste mark on the forehead.

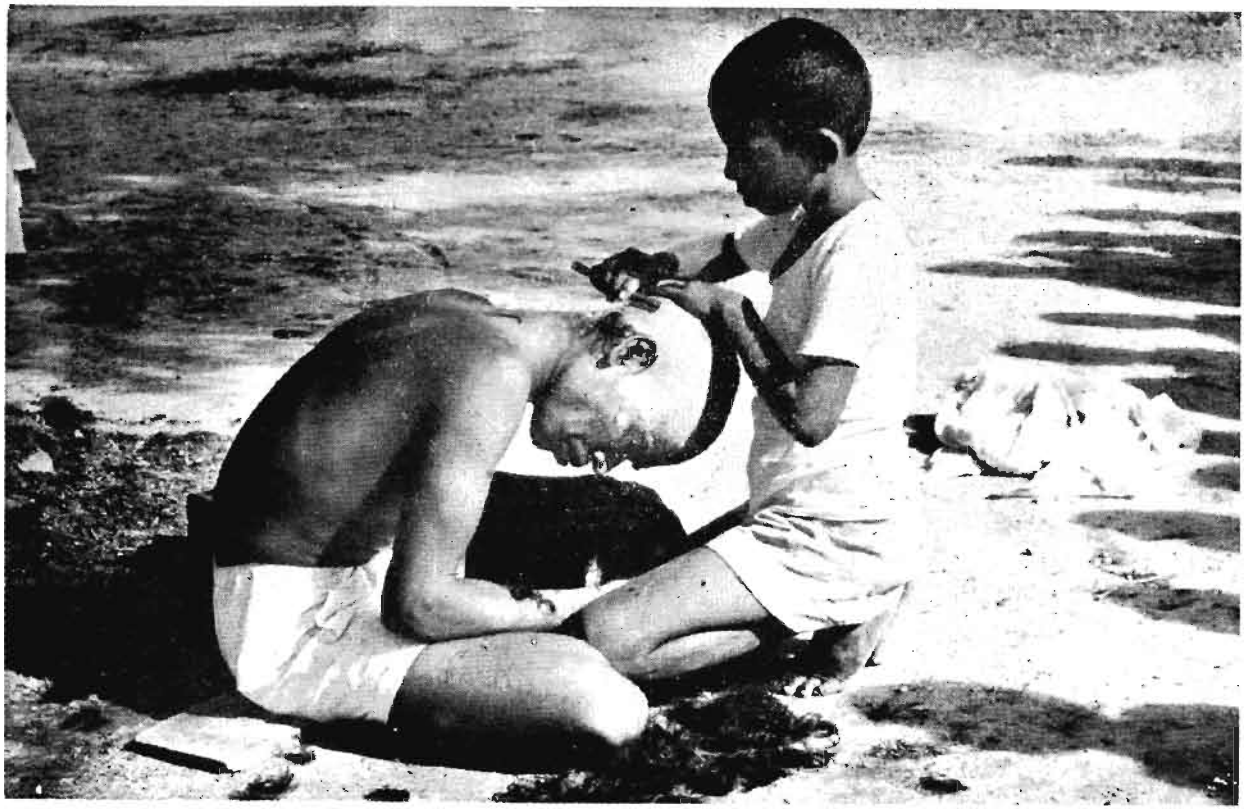
Urban influence on dress

58. Proximity of the village to Kancheepuram town has had its effect on the sartorial fashions in Ayyangarkulam. For example, whereas in remote villages away from urban influence, we find men wear only a simple loin cloth or a dhoti with a towel slung over the shoulders, men of Ayyangarkulam while preparing to go to town wear a shirt, sometimes full-sleeved, in various hues to their liking viz., green, blue, canaryyellow etc. They also wear pants with their shirts tucked in and sport leather sandals on their feet. Boys who are normally content with a dhoti while going to school, now-a-days wear shorts and 'T' shirts. Women in village parts who wear a simple saree and have only two or three in their ward-robe can be seen wearing gaily coloured handloom sarees with bright prints by way of cloth material for their blouses. This is distinctly urban in character. The common custom of wearing turbans round the head is not in vogue in this village.

The barber shop

59. Men prefer to cut their hair short and often frequent the barber shop. Urban influence is also noticed in the set up of the barber shop. In most interior villages, the barber mostly itinerates from house to house and sets up a shop under the shade of a tree where he awaits his customers in gleeful anticipation. But in Ayyangarkulam one finds the barber's shop advertising the fact with a lot of pictures on the walls, a revolving chair and modern hair-dressing appliances. The barber even utilises the lure of snow and face-powder.

60. Three hundred and thirty-four families in Ayyangarkulam with one exception belonging to the Pandaram community stated that they were in the habit of taking three meals every day. This was surprising because from enquiries we found that the Pandaram families were not well-to-do and we really wondered whether it would be possible for the Pandarams also to take three meals a day. Further probe revealed that not even a single meal could be called a



Youthful apprentice at work — An understudy to the village barber.
The boy belongs to the Navithar community. Compared to the barber shop, this rustic mode of tonsure trimming has an advantage. It is comparatively cheaper.



A villager prepares to go to town. Note the pin-up pictures on the walls of the barber shop.
A member of the Navithar community runs this barber shop. This is indicative of urban influence in the village consequent to the proximity of Kancheepuram town.



The village washermen at work. This tank, which is an irrigation tank, abuts the paddy fields and is used by the Vannan for washing clothes. His wife also assists in washing clothes of the women folk of the village.



Fifty, Fifty-one, Fifty-two — the clothes are counted and bundled — the village dhoby with his proverbial donkey. He belongs to the Vannan community and exclusively attends to the clothes of the Sengunthars. In this village each of the major communities have a washerman of its own.

full meal except the one taken in the morning which consisted of rice gruel and a bit of pickles to go with it. Except for 37 Senguntha Mudaliar families, it was rather rare for others including the remaining Sengunthars to consume rich food because they cannot afford it. No house can boast of a vegetable garden in spite of the fact that they do have a little bit of space in which they can grow brinjals, ladies finger, pumpkin and beans. Consequently, they do not consume an adequate amount of fruits and vegetables with a resultant deterioration in health.

Diet

61. Rice is the main constituent of their food while ragi is also used regularly. Apart from the three Muslim families who are totally non-vegetarians, the Nattars and the Valluva Pandarams take non-vegetarian food. The table below gives us an idea regarding the prohibition of non-vegetarian food.

TABLE No. X

Prohibited Foods

Caste / Community	No. that did not report any food to be prohibited		Total No. of households
	Vegetarian	Non-Vegetarian	
HINDUS			
Mudaliar	203	8	211
Nattar	...	45	45
Valluvan	1	32	33
Naicker	...	9	9
Pillai	3	5	8
Achari	5	2	7
Naidu	...	5	5
Pandithar	1	4	5
Vannan	...	4	4
Chettiar	...	2	2
Brahmin	1	...	1
Rao	...	1	1
Irular	...	1	1
MUSLIMS	...	3	3
Total	**214**	**121**	**335**

Two hundred and three Mudaliar families out of 211 stated that they were pure vegetarians. Only 8 families reported that they were non-vegetarians. Five Achari families, one Ayyangar family, three Pillai families and one Pandithar family were also vegetarians. Among the Valluva Pandarams, one family, the head of which was the officiating priest at their ceremonies, was vegetarian. But among the 203 families of the Sengunthars, our discreet enquiries revealed that some among the younger generation, notwithstanding the orthodoxy of the family were not averse to taking meat occasionally when not under the vigilance of their elders. But it should be borne in mind that even among those who consider themselves to be non-vegetarians, meat was not taken every day, but only once or twice a week depending on their economic condition. On certain festive occasions, they take meat.

Degree of vegetarianism

62. The breakfast taken by all the families in Ayyangarkulam except among the Pillais, the Brahmins and 37 Senguntha Mudaliars was made up of rice gruel or ragi balls with a bit of pickles and butter-milk. Among the 37 Senguntha Mudaliars, the Brahmin household and Pillais, tiffin either in the form of *Iddlies* or *Dosais* was common. In a few Nattar and Senguntha Mudaliar families, cold rice, the left-over of the night meal preserved in cold water, was taken with butter-

Constituents of diet

milk and pickles. The afternoon meal consisted of rice, vegetable curry and butter-milk. Among the Valluva Pandarams who constitute the bulk of the agricultural population, the mid-day meal again consisted of ragi balls or rice gruel. But the night meal was always the most sumptuous. The less well-to-do uniformly had hot rice, some vegetable curry or as an occasional feast some fish or meat. Among the rich non-vegetarians, meat in the form of fish, mutton or chicken was taken at least thrice a week. Otherwise, the food consisted of rice, vegetables and butter-milk. Ghee was consumed in a few households though the cooking medium was often groundnut or gingelly oil. Among the richer Senguntha Mudaliars and Pillais, hydrogenated groundnut oil was also being used. Beef was uniformly prohibited among all communities, except in the Muslim households. No drink was prohibited. Among the Brahmins, all kinds of meat were naturally prohibited. The Muslims abhor pig-meat. Valluva Pandarams were not averse to taking pork but the other communities did not evince a preference for pork meat.

Availability of sanitary facilities

63. Contrary to popular opinion that filth and squalor produce diseases, the villagers of Ayyangarkulam look healthy and whenever afflicted by some sort of illness, they do not rush to a doctor, but prefer to allow nature to take its course without recourse to medicines. Spacious houses with fresh air is of great advantage to the villagers. There is no congestion of houses. The streets are fairly broad and present a clean appearance. A welcome feature of this village is that people do not tie their cattle in the open on the streets, but tether them in the backyard or in separate cattle sheds. We, however, cannot help pointing out that when they do tie them in the backyard, they could improve the sanitary conditions by channelling the urine into some sort of pit and so prevent mosquitos from using it as a breeding place. But that is too much to expect at present. There are also unhealthy ponds and stagnation of sullage in the streets, but in spite of this, we came across only a few cases of filaria. There are also five persons suffering from leprosy, but they are segregated some distance away from the village. They could profitably be sent to be cured at the Polambakkam Leprosy Research Centre and thus made once again useful members of society, instead of living like social outcasts uncared for and neglected by the villagers of Ayyangarkulam.

Degree of sanitation

64. Both men and women of the village take bath at least once a day in the tanks. Some take bath twice a day. When we visited the tank attached to the temple by which the village derived its name, we found a number of men and women taking their bath. The washing of the clothes is also done there. The women usually combine the washing of clothes with bathing. About 10 Nattar families and 39 Mudaliar families get their clothes washed by the local washermen who own a well. One washerman takes the clothes to the irrigation tank which feeds the ayacut of the village and washes his clothes there. The Harijans, however, have a separate washerman called the 'Pandaram Dhobi' who exclusively washes the clothes of the Pandarams. He is not permitted to take the clothes of the others.

Masonry drains—a must

65. There are no sanitary facilities in the village. There are a few latrines but without flushout arrangements. But in spite of the deficiency, it is rare to see children urinate or defecate near their house and even if they do so, their mothers see to it that within a short time all traces of filth are removed and flies are thus denied an opportunity of converting the streets into a happy hunting ground. In the main streets of Sengunthars called Nadutheru, there are ditches on either side dug by the villagers themselves. The Block Development staff had a proposal to construct masonry drains at a cost of Rs. 14,000/- but strangely, the villagers did not or could not contribute their share of 25% of the cost.

66. The residents of Ayyangarkulam, very much like their counterparts in other villages, are averse to Physicians and Nurses and the absence of a Primary Health Centre or even a recognised Medico is not keenly felt. There is not even a Homeopathic or Ayurvedic

Physician in the village. Even the one and only qualified midwife in the area employed by the Panchayat Union is able to help them to a large extent only because of her own perseverance and not because the villagers have taken to her eagerly. During our talks with the midwife, we found that she felt the need for a Primary Health Centre to be set up in the village or in some near-by village within a radius of five miles. She is of the opinion that the villagers can easily be persuaded to use tonics and pills, but at present the vast majority of them cannot afford it. She also feels that the transfer of the Maternity Centre to the control of the Panchayat Union has resulted in the non-availability of medicines necessary for the pre-natal and ante-natal care of a mother.

Availability of medical aid

67. Table below indicates the nature of medical treatment undergone by the members belonging to various communities in the village.

TABLE No. XI

Medical Care

Caste/ Community	No. of Maternity cases					Ordinary Medical treatment					Medical consultation					Vaccination	
	Confined in hospital	Confined by bringing Doctor at home	Confined by qualified Midwife at home	Confined by unqualified Thai at home	Confined without assistance at home	Allopathic	Ayurvedic	Homeopathic	Combination of more than one system	Others	In public hospital or in dispensaries	In private hospital or in dispensaries	Allopaths	Homeopaths	Others	At least once	Within the past six months
HINDUS																	
Mudaliar	4	...	...	187	...	177	...	16	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	629	...
Nattar	...	...	...	46	...	38	...	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	103	...
Valluvan	...	...	...	36	...	28	...	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	71	...
Naicker	...	...	...	9	...	7	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	...
Pillai	...	...	...	7	...	7	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	...
Achari	...	...	...	5	...	6	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	...
Naidu	...	...	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	...
Pandithar	...	...	...	5	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...
Vannan	...	...	...	4	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...
Chettiar	...	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
Brahmin	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...
Rao	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...
Irular	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
MUSLIMS	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
Total	**4**	...	...	**310**	...	**281**	...	**25**	**11**	...	...	...	...	...	...	**924**	...

Of the 314 maternity cases, 310 were confined at home by utilising the services of an unqualified Ayah or Midwife at home. Only four were confined in the Kancheepuram hospital and all these four cases were complicated requiring expert medical attention and the patients belonged to the Mudaliar community. Of the 310, 187 cases related to the Mudaliars, 46 to the Nattars and 36 to the Pandarams. Of the 317 cases requiring medical treatment, 281 were treated under the allopathic system, 25 under homeopathy and 11 under a combination of both these systems. Of those cases treated under allopathic system, 177 related to the Mudaliars, 28 to the Pandarams and 38 to the Nattars. Among those cases treated under the homeopathic system, 16 related to the Mudaliars and in the case of eight

Nature of medical treatment

Mudaliars, a combination of both these systems was adopted. Nine hundred and twenty-four children were vaccinated at least once within the first six months of their birth, of which 629 children belonged to the Mudaliar community, 71 to the Pandarams and 103 to the Nattars.

68. Drinking water is taken from a pond called 'Urar Kulam' which is situated between the Cheri and the dwelling area of the Mudaliars. Since it has no steps and people wade into the pond to fetch water, it is possible that diseases are communicable through drinking water unless the water is boiled and drunk. But we found it very difficult to enlighten the villagers on this, as they say that the water is sweet and vegetables and dhall boil nicely when this water is used. So they prefer it to any other type of water including well water. There is no proposal to construct an overhead tank in this village by the Panchayat Union and when the pond gets dried up, which happens very rarely, we were informed that people are forced to resort to well water for drinking purposes. There are about 22 wells in the village of which one in the Harijan colony is a Government rural water supply well. The people and the Panchayat desire to have water from the nearby Palar river, but this will be possible only by laying pipe lines and supplying water through taps because Palar river is about a mile from the village. A few Sengunthars boil the water before drinking, a welcome habit which could be emulated by others with profit.

Availability of drinking water

69. Ayyangarkulam has been happily free from epidemics during the last thirty years. We were informed by the village officials that there was an outbreak of cholera and small-pox about thirty years back when a big festival took place in that village. It was quickly brought under control by timely action on the part of health authorities and since then proper precautions are taken every year during the 'Nadapavai Uthsavam' to prevent a recurrence of such epidemics.

Absence of epidemics

CHAPTER III

POPULATION

70. The population of Ayyangarkulam village at the time of the survey in December 1960 was 1437 consisting of 688 males and 749 females. The population was distributed amongst 335 households. In 1951, Ayyangarkulam had a population of 1458 of which 707 were males and 751 were females. The number of households then was 345. The results of the house listing conducted during October 1960 indicated that Ayyangarkulam had a population of 1426, comprising of 676 males and 750 females. The population of the village on 1st March, 1961 after Census enumeration stood at 1453 with 698 males and 755 females. For purposes of this report, we intend using the population figures obtained during our Socio-economic survey. Thus, the population during the last ten years has shown a slight decrease. The area of Ayyangarkulam village is 1·54 sq. miles and the 1960 density of population works out to 933 per sq. mile. The 1951 density was 947 persons per sq. mile, the area of the village having remained unchanged during the decade. It would be interesting to compare the rate of population growth with those for the Kancheepuram taluk and the adjacent town of Kancheepuram. During the decade Kancheepuram taluk has registered an increase of 8·53% whereas Kancheepuram town has registered an increase of 9·38%. These two figures are lower than the registered rate of increase for Madras State viz., 11·85. However, this rate of increase in the taluk and Kancheepuram town cannot be reconciled with the fall in population noticed at Ayyangarkulam.

Demographic features—population growth

71. The following is a statement of births and deaths for Ayyangarkulam.

Births and Deaths during the decade 1951—1960

Year	Births	Deaths	Net increase
1951	40	48	—8
1952	62	38	24
1953	43	38	5
1954	44	24	20
1955	49	19	30
1956	55	26	29
1957	53	26	27
1958	53	30	23
1959	67	33	34
1960	41	36	5
Total	**507**	**318**	**189**

From the beginning of 1951 to the end of 1960, there have been 507 births and 318 deaths working out 'Ceteris paribus' to a net natural increase of 189 in the population. The birth rate works out to 34·8 and the death rate to 21·8 with a consequent natural increase rate of 13. But the actual growth rate was negative viz., ·34% during the decades and this was the result of a probable out-migration rate of 13·34 per thousand per annum. Migration was the main factor which led to a decrease in population during the decade. The Village Munsiff informed us that 70 male members in about 30 families migrated to Kancheepuram town during the last seven to eight years. Assuming that an average household consists of four to five members, the total persons that should have migrated would be in the region of 200 and over. Taking into account the seven families which had migrated into this village during this decade composed of 24 members, 8 males and 16 females, we find that the net effect of migration has cancelled out the advantage of the natural increase in population. Such large scale migration is

Rate of natural increase and migration

due to the fact that Kancheepuram being an important silk weaving centre, Sengunthars who reside in large numbers in the villages surrounding this town find it more profitable to settle down at Kancheepuram where they would be in daily contact with master weavers and other wholesale and retail dealers rather than stay in villages where they are not able to judge market conditions and with paucity of capital, are unable to strike a good bargain for the goods they produce. That male members steadily migrate to the nearby town of Kancheepuram will be evident from a study of the sex ratio in Ayyangarkulam village. During the decade the number of males have declined sharply from 707 to 688 whereas the number of females have remained almost stationary with a nominal drop from 751 to 749. The insignificant decreasc in the number of female members may have been the result of 30 families having migrated out of Ayyangarkulam during the past ten years. But the drop in the number of males in the village can only be due to the fact that male weavers have been steadily migrating to Kancheepuram town during the interregnum.

72. It would not be out of place to mention that this fall in population and the large out-migration is the peculiar feature of the decade 1951–1961. In the earlier decades for which figures are available, a rise in population has always been noticed. We furnish below a comparative statement of population in each Census year.

Year	Population			% Variation
	Total	**Male**	**Female**	
1921	1332	682	650	...
1931	1336	678	688	+ 2·5%
1941	Figures not available			
1951	1458	707	751	...

From this statement, it is evident that in Ayyangarkulam, population has never increased at a brisk rate even comparable to the taluk or state increase. Even during the 20 years intervening between 1931 and 1951, population increased at the rate of 6·7% or ·335% per annum. Whereas there was a preponderance of males over females in 1921, the trend was reversed in 1931 and the gap had appreciably widened by 1951. The process of increase in the number of females compared to males is still continuing. In the absence of data regarding the situation prior to 1951, we cannot make any categorical assertion, but we may suggest that migration of male weavers must have started sometime between 1921 and 1931 and continued apace till this day.

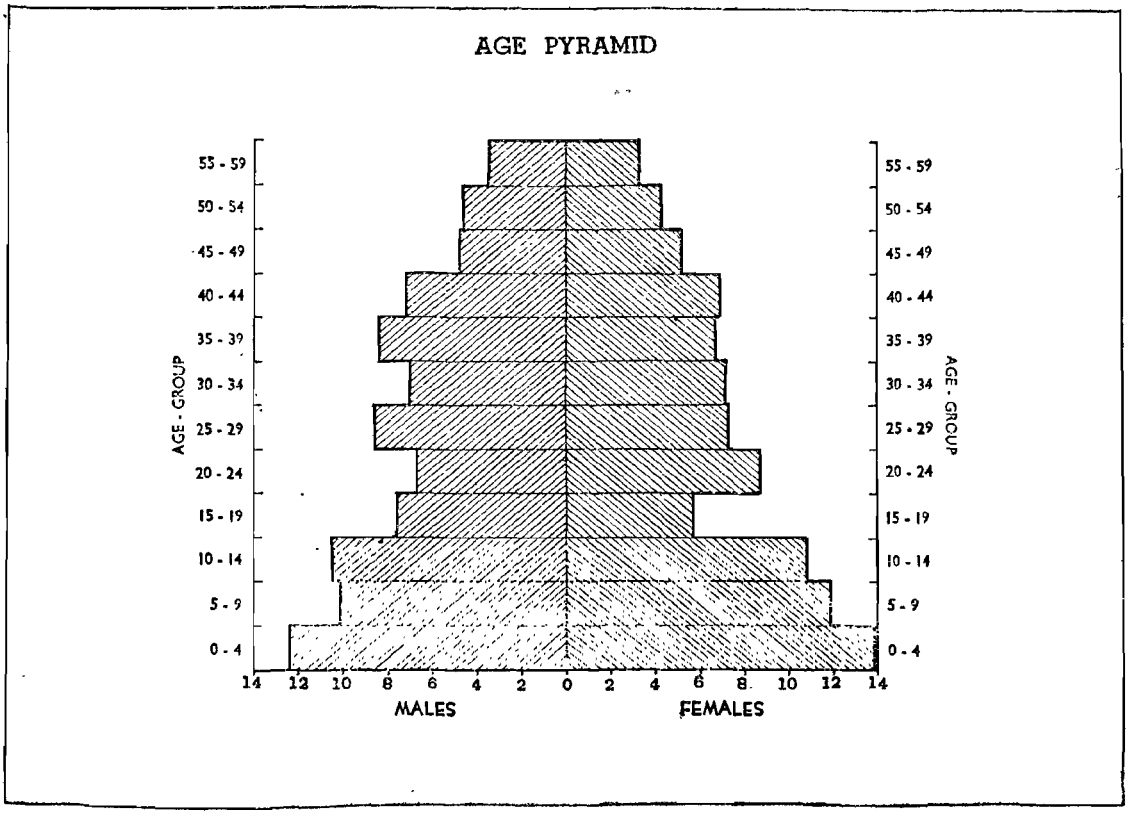
Fall in population in this decade—a peculiar feature

73. The following table furnishes the population pyramid for Ayyangarkulam in the year 1960.

Age-groups	Population		Percentage	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
0— 4	85	104	12·4	13·9
5— 9	70	89	10·1	11·9
10—14	73	81	10·5	10·8
15—19	53	43	7·6	5·7
20—24	47	65	6·7	8·7
25—29	59	55	8·6	7·3
30—34	48	54	7·0	7·2
35—39	58	50	8·4	6·7
40—44	50	52	7·2	6·9
45—49	34	39	4·8	5·2
50—54	29	32	4·6	4·3
55—59	26	25	3·5	3·3
60+	56	60	8·6	8·1
Total	**688**	**749**	**100·0**	**100·0**

In the age group 0-4 there are 85 males and 104 females working out to a percentage of 12·4 and 13·9 of the total male and female population. This represents the normal trend observable throughout the State. Persons who are over the age of 60 number 56 among males and 60 among females working out to a percentage of 8·6 and 8·1 of the total population respectively. This proves that a relatively larger proportion of the population in the country-side now expect to live for a longer time than was possible a few decades back, thanks to the eradication of many of the

Age structure of population



epidemics which used to take a heavy toll of life before advancements in the field of medicine has made possible this longevity.

74. There are 1089 females per 1000 males according to the figures available during the socio-economic survey. The 1951 sex ratio was 1062 females per 1000 males. Thus, the trend is definitely towards an increase in the female sex ratio. This is directly related to the amount of migration to the nearby town of Kancheepuram. Even significant was the fact that in the seven households who have migrated into this village during the decade, there were eight males and sixteen females comprised in those households. Thus, this has led to a very high female sex ratio. The sex ratios among the main communities in the village are given below:

Sex ratio

Community	Males	Females	Sex ratio
Valluva Pandaram	68	73	1074
Nattar	100	106	1060
Mudaliar	431	468	1086
Others	89	102	1146

This table proves that the female sex ratio is very high among the three communities, the Pandarams, Nattars and the Mudaliars. As between these communities, the Mudaliar community has shown a very high female sex ratio and this being numerically the dominant community to a large extent influences the sex ratio for the village as a whole. This high sex ratio among the Senguntha Mudaliars is due to the fact that male weavers in this community go and settle down in the nea by town of Kancheepuram where they can sell their main product-silk fabrics.

Marital status

75. In Ayyangarkulam village, 616 persons have not :married at any time in their life, this figure working out to 43% of the total. Of these, there are 189 persons in the age group 0–4, 159 in the age group 5–9, 153 in the age group 10–14 and 64 in the group 15–19. There are only 18 persons who are not married in the age group 20–24 and 13 persons in the age group 25–29. It is significant that out of this 18 in the former age group, there are only two unmarried females and none in the latter age group. Three males in the age group 30–34 and two in the age group 35–44 have not married. One interesting fact which we unearthed during our enquiry was that one female in the age group 45–59 still remains a spinster, an unusual phenomenon, in the village as social stigma always attaches to such unmarried females. We found that she was not bodily deformed or otherwise unfit for marriage. Yet, she remained unmarried in Ayyangarkulam.

TABLE No. XII

Age and Marital Status

Caste / Community	Age-groups	Total population			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Mudaliar	All ages	899	431	468	203	182	205	205	21	73	2	8
	0—14	318	143	175	143	174	...	1	...	...	...	...
	15—24	123	66	57	52	8	14	45	...	2	...	2
	25—59	377	184	193	8	...	165	151	10	36	1	6
	60 and over	81	38	43	...	...	26	8	11	35	1	...
Nattar	All ages	206	100	106	52	37	45	46	3	23	...	...
	0—14	69	34	35	34	35	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	35	17	18	15	2	2	16	...	...	...	...
	25—59	85	42	43	3	...	37	28	2	15	...	...
	60 and over	17	7	10	...	...	6	2	1	8	...	...
Valluvan	All ages	141	68	73	30	24	35	38	3	10	...	1
	0—14	40	19	21	19	21	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	30	11	19	9	3	2	14	...	1	...	1
	25—59	63	34	29	2	...	29	23	3	6	...	...
	60 and over	8	4	4	...	...	4	1	...	3	...	...
Naicker	All ages	34	14	20	6	9	7	8	1	3	...	...
	0—14	11	4	7	4	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	5	...	5	...	2	...	3	...	...	...	...
	25—59	16	9	7	2	...	7	5	...	2	...	...
	60 and over	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Pillai	All ages	33	19	14	9	4	9	9	1	1	...	...
	0—14	13	9	4	9	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	3	1	2	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...
	25—59	15	7	8	...	...	7	7	...	1	...	...
	60 and over	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...

Table No. XII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Achari	All ages	34	15	19	7	10	8	8	...	1	...	...
	0—14	14	4	10	4	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	3	2	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	25—59	13	7	6	1	...	6	5	...	1	...	...
	60 and over	4	2	2	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
Naidu	All ages	17	8	9	3	4	5	4	...	1	...	...
	0—14	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	3	1	2	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...
	25—59	9	5	4	...	...	5	3	...	1	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pandithar	All ages	19	10	9	5	2	4	4	1	2	...	1
	0—14	4	2	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	2	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	11	4	7	1	...	3	4	...	2	...	1
	60 and over	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...
Vannan	All ages	14	6	8	2	3	4	4	...	1	...	...
	0—14	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
	25—59	7	4	3	...	...	4	2	...	1	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chettiar	All ages	8	4	4	2	2	2	2	...	...	...	...
	0—14	4	2	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	25—59	3	2	1	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	All ages	9	4	5	3	4	1	1	...	...	...	...
	0—14	6	3	3	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rao	All ages	7	3	4	2	3	1	1	...	...	...	...
	0—14	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Irular	All ages	5	3	2	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
	0—14	3	2	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	All ages	11	3	8	...	5	3	3	...	...	...	...
	0—14	5	...	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	6	3	3	...	...	3	3	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**1437**	**688**	**749**	**326**	**290**	**330**	**334**	**30**	**115**	**2**	**10**

76. From the Table XII on marital status, it is apparent that women are married as soon as they attain the age of 16 or so. But the ideal marriageable age is between 20 and 24. On the other hand, males get married only beyond the age of 20 though they prefer to get married after the age of 24. There were 330 males and 334 females who were married. Of these, there

was only one married female in the age group 10–14. Apparently this was one marriage in which the parents had contravened the Sarada Act. Twenty-four females were married in the age group 15–19 and 57 in the age group 20–24. Among males only 43 were married in the general age group 15–19, 31 in the age group 15–24 and 44 in the age group 25–29. There were 41 married males at ages beyond sixty whereas there were only 12 married females in that age group. The following table indicates the marital status along with the percentages to the total population by males and females in the village.

Age at marriage

Marital Status	Persons		Percentage	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Never Married	326	290	47·4	38·9
Married	330	334	47·9	44·1
Widowed	30	115	4·4	15·5
Separated	2	10	0·3	1·5
Total	**688**	**749**	**100·0**	**100·0**

77. Another feature of Ayyangarkulam seems to be the large number of widows compared to widowers in the village. There were 115 of the former compared to 30 of the latter. The reason lies in the fact that custom and religious sanction permit remarriage of widowers while they do not extend such concessions to widows. Hence there are 48 females who are widows in the age group 60+, 36 in the age group 45–59 and 20 in the age group 35–44. Young widows are rare as there are only 11 out of a total of 116 in the age group 15–34. The majority of widowers happen to be in the age group 45 and above and beyond 60, viz,. 29 out of a total of 30 widowers of all ages. Divorce or separation was very rare and here again females predominate in this category there being 10 females to 2 males. Once again, religious sanction as well as custom plays an active role for it is easy for the husband to divorce a wife and select a new one, whereas it is an extremely difficult task for a divorced girl to get another husband. Two females were separated from their husbands in the age group 15–19 and there were four others having the same status in the age group 20–29. In the community-wise table on marital status, we find that among Pandarams, the preferred marriageable age for women is between 15–20 whereas among males it is 20–24. But among Mudaliars, late marriages seem to be preferred as in the category of 15–24, there were only 11 females and 14 males who were married. Thus, the preferred marriageable age both for men and women was beyond the age of 20 for females and over 25 for males. Among the Nattars, girls were married even before they attained the age of 20 whereas men married after they attained the age of 25 or so. But no hard and fast rule could be applied to the other minority communities though generally they seem to follow the Nattar and Valluva Pandaram communities in this regard.

Widows outnumber widowers

78. Literacy as a virtue is dawning on most of the villagers slowly but surely. The younger generation feel acutely the need for improving their lot and consider education to be a sort of magic key which opens to them the treasures of the outside world. So keenly is this awakening felt that young boys and girls do not mind walking five miles up and five miles down each day to attend the High School situated at Kancheepuram. Unfortunately, where there is enthusiasm, it is not backed up by the attitude of the parents themselves as will be evident from the figures of literates as shown in Table No. XIII below.

Literacy and Education

TABLE No. XIII

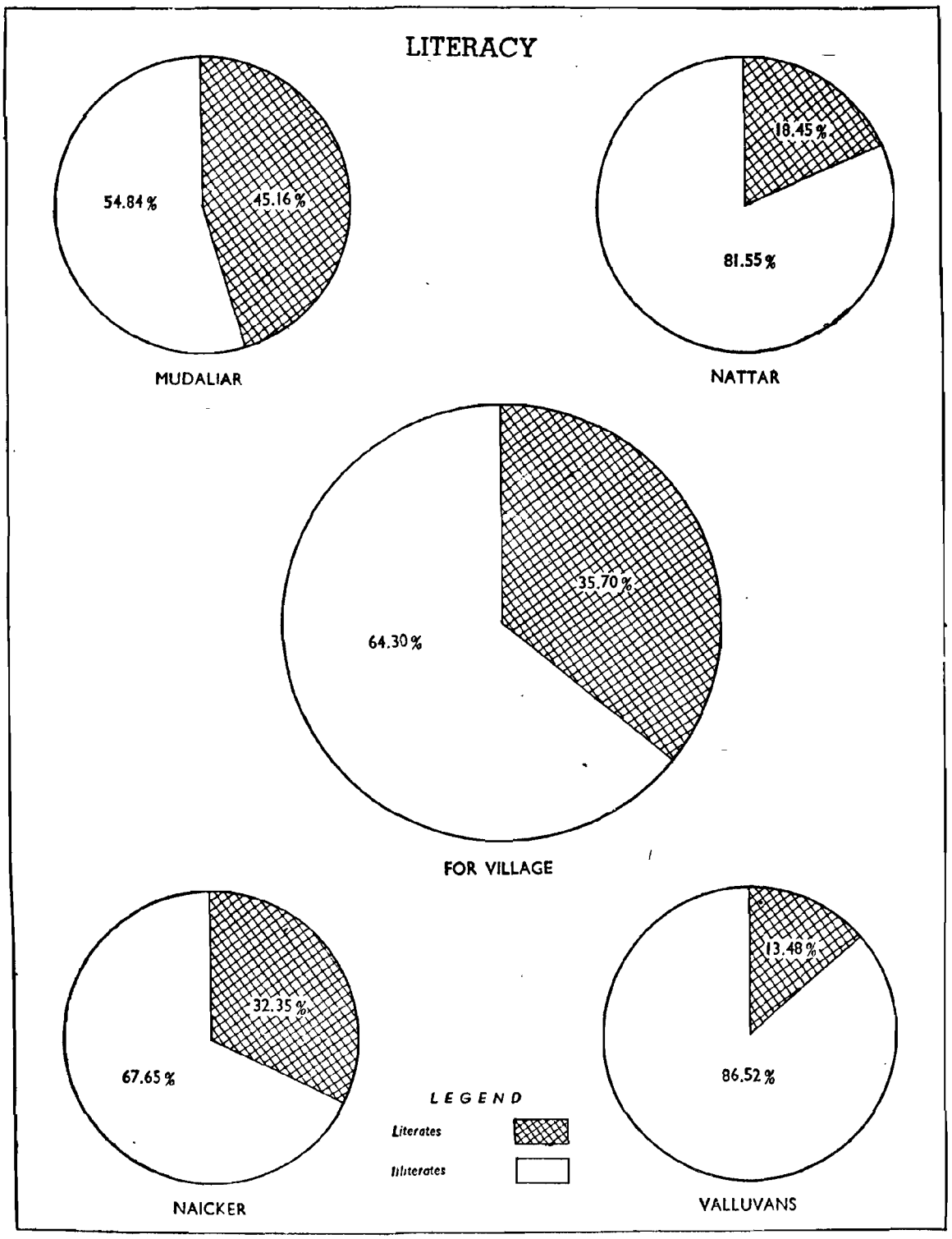
Age and Literacy

Caste/ Community	Age groups	Total population			Illiterate		Literate without educational standard		Primary or Junior Basic		Matric or Higher Secondary		Intermediate	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Mudaliar	All ages	899	431	468	143	350	101	59	175	59	10	...	2	...
	0—14	318	143	175	69	110	38	41	36	24	...	...	...	...
	15—24	123	66	57	8	28	11	9	39	20	6	...	2	...
	25—59	377	184	193	49	169	40	9	91	15	4	...	...	...
	60 and over	81	38	43	17	43	12	...	9	...	...	...	...	...
Nattar	All ages	206	100	106	66	102	19	3	14	1	1	...	...	...
	0—14	69	34	35	25	33	8	2	1	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	35	17	18	10	18	1	...	5	...	1	...	...	...
	25—59	85	42	43	26	41	9	1	7	1	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	17	7	10	5	10	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Valluvan	All ages	141	68	73	56	66	10	4	2	3	...	...	...	...
	0—14	40	19	21	12	17	7	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	30	11	19	10	18	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	25—59	63	34	29	32	27	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	8	4	4	2	4	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naicker	All ages	34	14	20	6	17	3	1	5	1	...	1	...	...
	0—14	11	4	7	3	6	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	5	...	5	...	3	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...
	25—59	16	9	7	3	7	1	...	5	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	2	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai	All ages	33	19	14	15	13	...	...	3	1	1	...	...	...
	0—14	13	9	4	9	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	3	1	2	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	15	7	8	4	7	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	...
	60 and over	2	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Achari	All ages	34	15	19	4	15	4	1	6	3	1	...	...	...
	0—14	14	4	10	2	8	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
	15—24	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...
	25—59	13	7	6	2	5	3	...	1	1	1	...	...	...
	60 and over	4	2	2	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu	All ages	17	8	9	8	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	0—14	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	3	1	2	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	9	5	4	5	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pandithar	All ages	19	10	9	6	9	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	0—14	4	2	2	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	11	4	7	4	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	2	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan	All ages	14	6	8	5	8	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	0—14	5	2	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	2	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	7	4	3	3	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Table No. XIII (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Chettiar	All ages	8	4	4	4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	0—14	4	2	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	3	2	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	All ages	9	4	5	1	1	1	...	2	4	...	...	...	...
	0—14	6	3	3	1	1	1	...	1	2	...	...	...	...
	15—24	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	25—59	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rao	All ages	7	3	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...
	0—14	5	2	3	1	1	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Irular	All ages	5	3	2	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	0—14	3	2	1	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	2	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	All ages	11	3	8	1	8	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	0—14	5	...	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	6	3	3	1	3	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**1437**	**688**	**749**	**319**	**605**	**144**	**69**	**210**	**74**	**13**	**1**	**2**	...

There are only 513 literates out of a total population of 1437. Among literates, 369 are males and 144 are females. The crude literacy rate thus works out to 35·70%, 53·60% among males and 19·02% among females. The effective literacy rates are arrived at by subtracting the population in the age group 0-4 as they are all treated as illiterates. Applying this correction factor, it is found that out of a total population of 1248, excluding persons in the age group 0–4, there are 513 literates working out to an effective literacy rate of 41% with 61·16% literacy among males and 22·32% among females. The corresponding figures for Kancheepuram taluk and town for the year 1961 are 28·79 and 42·87% respectively. The literacy rate for this village in the year 1951 was 33·3% and thus there has been a spurt in the level of literacy during the last ten years. The figures of literacy compare favourably with the urban literacy figures of 42·87% for Kancheepuram town. Nine hundred and twenty-four persons comprised of 319 males and 605 females are illiterates. One hundred and forty-four males and 69 females are literates without educational standards whereas 284 persons comprising of 210 males and 74 females have reached the Primary or Junior Basic Standard. There are only 14 Matric or Higher Secondary students of which 13 are males and only one female. Generally, villagers do not favour female education and this is reflected in the fact that 605 out of 749 females have not had any education whatsoever, but male literacy is on the ascendant as is evident from the fact that only 319 males out of 688 males in the village are illiterates. The extent of illiteracy is greater in the age groups 45–59 and 60 + barring children in the age group 0–4. Very few persons are illiterates in the age group 15–19, 20–24 and 25–29. Thus, in the first age group we have mentioned, only 17%, in the second group 10% and in the third group 23% of the total males are illiterates. The rest are literates. This proves that whereas people in the older age groups who are illiterates have no inclination to study, among the younger generation the desire to learn has been translated


LITERACY
54.84 %
45.16 %
MUDALIAR
18.45 %
81.55 %
NATTAR
35.70 %
64.30 %
FOR VILLAGE
32.35 %
67.65 %
NAICKER
13.48 %
86.52 %
VALLUVANS
LEGEND
Literates
Illiterates

into action and in addition to going to school, people are making a sincere attempt to learn the three R's. A point worthy of note is that in the age group 20-34, one girl has studied upto S.S.L.C. while five girls have come up to the VIII Standard. Among males, seven have passed the S.S.L.C. and thirty-six have studied upto the VIII Standard.

79. It is a pity that the village cannot boast of even a single Degree Holder. The District Board School situated in the village provides opportunity to children to study upto the VIII standard. If, as the villagers expressed it to be their fervent hope, a High School is opened in the village, it is expected that it could attract more children and lead to an increase in the general level of literacy and educational standards. It is learnt that the villagers had remitted into the former District Board of Chingleput a sum of Rs. 4,400/- as their share of contribution in upgrading the local Higher Elementary School into a High School, but are awaiting sanction from the Director of Public Instruction. It is now understood that these funds have been transmitted to the Panchayat Union for constructing additional accommodation for the setting up of a High School.

Need for a High School

80. Studying the trends in education community-wise, we find among Mudaliars, out of 468 females, 350 are illiterates whereas of 431 males, only 143 are illiterates. There are 10 Mudaliars in the age group 15-24 who have reached Matric or Higher Secondary and two males in the same age group are Intermediates. Among the Valluva Pandarams, on the contrary, 90% are illiterates, i.e., 122 out of a total population of 141. Only 10 males and 4 females are barely literates whereas 2 males and 3 females have reached the Primary or Junior Basic. Thus education is a rare commodity among the Valluva Pandarams. Amongst the other communities, out of the 206 Nattars, 168 are illiterates and only 38 are literates. Of these, only one male in the age group 15-24 has reached the Matric or Higher Secondary whereas 14 males have reached the Primary or Junior Basic. Female education is completely neglected as is evident from the fact that only one female has reached the Primary or Junior Basic Standard. There are only 14 Matriculates in the entire village of whom, as explained earlier, 10 are from the Mudaliar community. Thus not only are the Mudaliars numerically superior, but also in the sphere of education they seem to have provided the necessary backbone to the village.

Communitywise trends in education

81. It is in the age group 6–20 that we find encouraging data about literacy. Boys and girls are eager to study and as a matter of fact, most of the children in the ages between 7-12 are sent to school. But girls are made to discontinue their studies as they approach the age of maturity. In the local District Board School, the average number of girls studying in Standards I–V is 13 while the average number of girls in Standards VI–VIII is only 2. This bears out our contention that girls are sent to school only at a young age and when they approach the age of 13, they are asked to stay at home and not attend school. This is the reason why only 8 girls between the age of 6–20 have studied upto VIII Standard. The eagerness on the part of youngsters to educate themselves is obvious, but the encouragement they get from their parents is enough to dampen such enthusiasm. This lack of support is reflected in the data given below.

Higher percentage of literacy among the young

No. of girls	Class
1	II
2	III
6	IV
2	V
2	VI

Only one girl belonging to the Sengunthar community is studying in IV Form at Kancheepuram. Two boys are studying in the Pre-University Class at the Kancheepuram Pachaiyappa's College.

82. The school located in the village and run by the Panchayat Union imparts basic education. It affords facilities for study upto the VIII Standard. It can enrol nearly 250 students though the actual number on the rolls is 263. Of these, 82 are girls. There are 10 teachers in the school. Being a basic school, the children are taught spinning and weaving as part of their syllabus. They have a School Cabinet composed of boys of the higher classes, membership being by election. Their portfolios are changed every month. The work of the minister for cultural affairs deserves special mention as he has to read the dailies and write the important news on the black-board each morning in addition to arranging programmes of entertainment whenever possible. The children by turn do the work of tidying the class room and keeping the environment of the school clean and while they perform these duties, they identify themselves with their school. The school has a garden of about 1000 sq. ft. and gardening forms part of the educational curriculum. It has also a playground which is inadequate, being only 1500 sq. ft in extent and Indigenous games are played on it by the children with great gusto. There is provision for mid-day meals and about 40 boys, most of them belonging to the Valluva Pandarm community are fed here in the afternoons. The Government provide part of the cost, the rest being contributed by influential members in the village, mostly Senguntha Mudaliars. The normal diet provided to the children is rice and vegetables with sometimes butter-milk or milk. Children of Nattars and Sengunthars, as a class, do not participate in the mid-day meal. It once again highlights the strength of caste in the village life.

The local school

83. Even though literacy has increased by 8% during the last decade, there is great scope for improvement. At present among the villagers including the Senguntha Mudaliars, there is a tendency to ask their children to stop schooling with the VIII Standard and take up the work of attending on the looms of their parents. Where encouragement to young children to study is not given among the Nattar and Valluva Pandaram communities, the Sengunthars can do a lot to foster the spirit of education in the village by sending their children to school and thus paving the way for others also to imitate them by sending their children.

Literacy need for improvement

84. Female education is comparatively neglected, but this is a common feature in every village and it may take many more years before females break through their isolation and come forward to study in large numbers. The preference for early marriage is also an important factor in retarding the progress of female education. However, it is hoped that with the conversion of the present Elementary School in the village into a High School, the literacy rates will improve still further in the next decade and more and more young men after high schooling will go to the nearby town of Kancheepuram and enrol themselves in the local Pachaiyappa's College and thus help to foster a sense of enquiry and scientific knowledge among the villagers of Ayyangarkulam.

Female education neglected

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE ECONOMY

85. The village of Ayyangarkulam, because of its proximity to Kancheepuram which is a famous silk weaving centre, presents certain urban characteristics which are absent in more remote villages inaccessible through normal means of communication. Predominantly occupied by the Senguntha Mudaliar community who form 62% of the total population and whose predominant occupation with few exceptions is weaving, this village cannot be classed as an agricultural village, but only as a village where weaving is the dominant occupation. This is reflected also in the fact that even among those members of the other communities whose traditional occupation is not weaving, more and more people, due to the comparative affluence of Mudaliars, take to weaving as a profession, at least as a secondary occupation. Agriculture forms the second main occupation in the village. The total cultivable area in the village is 340·13 acres. The total area of the village is 1·54 sq. miles, i.e., 986 acres, the cultivable area being about 34% of the total area. The soil of the area consists of red loam and Ayyangarkulam being fortunately blessed by normal irrigation facilities through its five tanks, paddy is normally grown on wet lands as well as on dry lands. To a negligible extent, ragi, groundnut and vegetables are being cultivated. To this day paddy remains the principal crop in the village.

Village economy—broad characteristics

86. The industrial pattern of the village is simple and not complex. Out of a total population of 1437, the occupation of weaving accounts for 545 persons. If we take into account the total number of workers in the village, which is 789, weaving would then account for 69% of the total working force. Thus we may safely say that this village is predominantly a weaving village. There are no other subsidiary industries excluding agriculture and agricultural labour in the village. There are the goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, barbers and of course the fishermen, the latter exclusively drawn from the Nattar community. There are also white-collared employees like teachers, clerks, draughtsmen and others. A few families have taken to business, like maintaining provision stores, restaurants, tea-shops and there are three cycle hire and repair shops. But the general economy of the village rests almost solely on weaving and to a minor extent on agriculture.

Industrial pattern of economy

87. The Table No. XIV below indicates the number of workers and non-workers by sex, age and community.

TABLE No. XIV

Workers and Non-workers by sex and broad age groups

Caste / Tribe / Community	Age groups (in years)	Total population			Workers			Non-workers		
		Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
HINDUS										
Mudaliar	All ages	899	431	468	493	268	225	406	163	243
	0—14	318	143	175	33	13	20	285	130	155
	15—24	123	66	57	81	48	33	42	18	24
	25—59	377	184	193	341	182	159	36	2	34
	60 and over	81	38	43	38	25	13	43	13	30

Table No. XIV (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Nattar	All ages	206	100	106	117	65	52	89	35	54
	0—14	69	34	35	8	5	3	61	29	32
	15—24	35	17	18	33	16	17	2	1	1
	25—59	85	42	43	73	42	31	12	...	12
	60 and over	17	7	10	3	2	1	14	5	9
Valluvan	All ages	141	68	73	101	52	49	40	16	24
	0—14	40	19	21	6	4	2	34	15	19
	15—24	30	11	19	26	11	15	4	...	4
	25—59	63	34	29	62	33	29	1	1	...
	60 and over	8	4	4	7	4	3	1	...	1
Naicker	All ages	34	14	20	11	8	3	23	6	17
	0—14	11	4	7	...	...	...	11	4	7
	15—24	5	...	5	2	...	2	3	...	3
	25—59	16	9	7	9	8	1	7	1	6
	60 and over	2	1	1	...	...	...	2	1	1
Pillai	All ages	33	19	14	20	11	9	13	8	5
	0—14	13	9	4	2	1	1	11	8	3
	15—24	3	1	2	1	1	...	2	...	2
	25—59	15	7	8	15	7	8	...	...	...
	60 and over	2	2	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
Achari	All ages	34	15	19	10	10	...	24	5	19
	0—14	14	4	10	...	...	...	14	4	10
	15—24	3	2	1	2	2	...	1	...	1
	25—59	13	7	6	6	6	...	7	1	6
	60 and over	4	2	2	2	2	...	2	...	2
Naidu	All ages	17	8	9	10	6	4	7	2	5
	0—14	5	2	3	...	...	...	5	2	3
	15—24	3	1	2	1	1	...	2	...	2
	25—59	9	5	4	9	5	4	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pandithar	All ages	19	10	9	5	4	1	14	6	8
	0—14	4	2	2	...	...	...	4	2	2
	15—24	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	...
	25—59	11	4	7	4	3	1	7	1	6
	60 and over	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	1	...
Vannan	All ages	14	6	8	9	4	5	5	2	3
	0—14	5	2	3	...	...	...	5	2	3
	15—24	2	...	2	2	...	2	...	...	...
	25—59	7	4	3	7	4	3	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chettiar	All ages	8	4	4	4	2	2	4	2	2
	0—14	4	2	2	...	...	...	4	2	2
	15—24	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...
	25—59	3	2	1	3	2	1	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	All ages	9	4	5	1	1	...	8	3	5
	0—14	6	3	3	...	...	...	6	3	3
	15—24	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1
	25—59	2	1	1	1	1	...	1	...	1
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Table No. XIV (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Rao	All ages	7	3	4	1	1	...	6	2	4
	0—14	5	2	3	...	...	...	5	2	3
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	2	1	1	1	1	...	1	...	1
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Irular	All ages	5	3	2	1	1	...	4	2	2
	0—14	3	2	1	...	...	...	3	2	1
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	2	1	1	1	1	...	1	...	1
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	All ages	11	3	8	6	3	3	5	...	5
	0—14	5	...	5	...	...	...	5	...	5
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	6	3	3	6	3	3	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**1437**	**688**	**749**	**789**	**436**	**353**	**648**	**252**	**396**

Working and non-working population

Workers totalling 789 persons account for 55% of the population composed of 436 males and 353 females. Out of these workers, weavers account for 545, cultivators account for 80, agricultural labourers 66, fishermen 12 and businessmen 15. The rest belong to minority occupations like potters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, teachers, barbers, tailors etc. Cultivators thus form only 10% of the total working force. Non-workers number 648 or 45% of the total population. Of these non-workers, 252 are males and 396 are females. The different types of activity of non-workers are shown in Table No. XV below :

TABLE No. XV

Non-workers by sex, broad age-groups and nature of activity

Caste / Tribe / Community	Age groups (in years)	Total non-workers			Full time students or children attending school		Persons engaged only in household duties		Dependents, infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled		Others		General volume of persons un-employed	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Mudaliar	All ages	406	163	243	78	45	...	47	83	150	...	1	2	...
	0—14	285	130	155	67	44	...	13	63	98	...	...	...	...
	15—24	42	18	24	11	1	...	15	6	8	...	...	1	...
	25—59	36	2	34	...	...	...	17	1	16	...	1	1	...
	60 and over	43	13	30	...	...	...	2	13	28	...	...	...	...

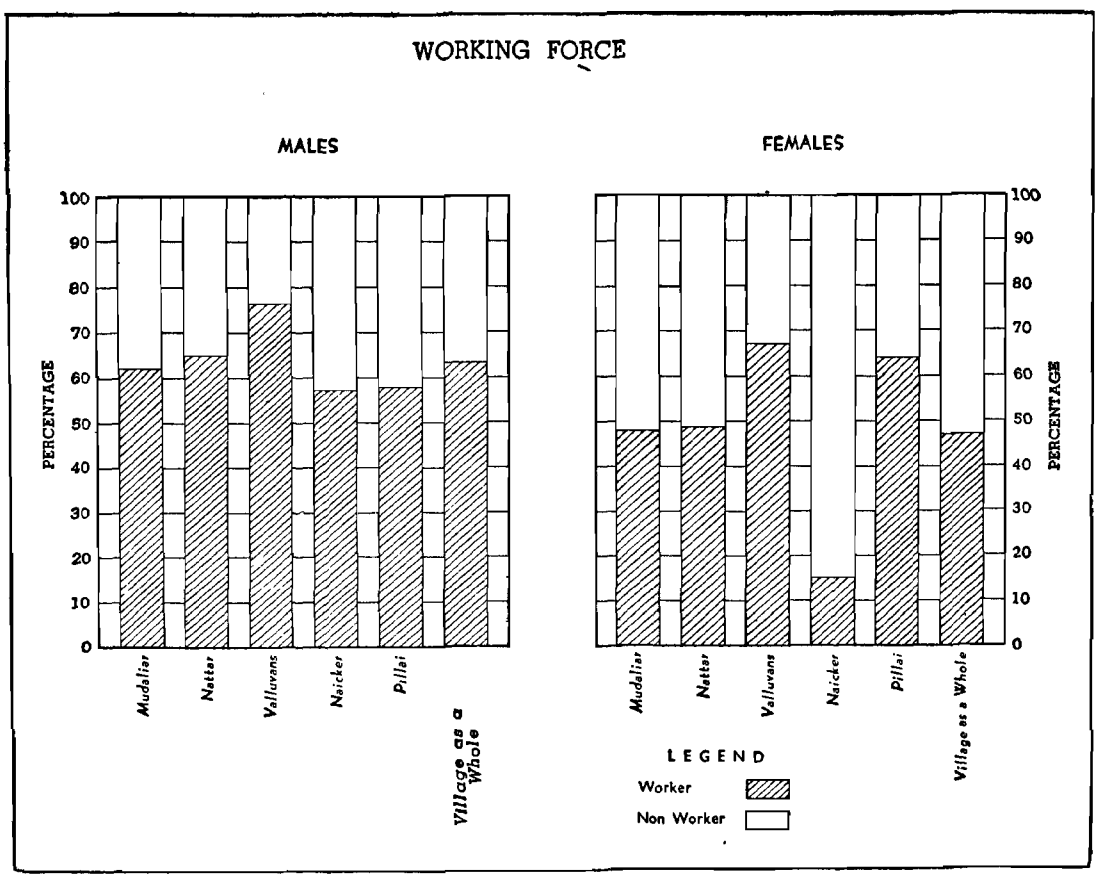
Table No. XV (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Nattar	All ages	89	35	54	6	1	...	9	29	44	...	...	...	...
	0—14	61	29	32	6	1	...	3	23	28	...	...	...	...
	15—24	2	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	12	...	12	...	...	...	5	...	7	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	14	5	9	...	...	...	...	5	9	...	...	...	...
Valluvan	All ages	40	16	24	6	2	...	...	10	22	...	...	...	...
	0—14	34	15	19	6	2	...	...	9	17	...	...	...	...
	15—24	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...
	25—59	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Naicker	All ages	23	6	17	...	1	...	3	6	13	...	...	...	...
	0—14	11	4	7	...	1	...	...	4	6	...	...	...	...
	15—24	3	...	3	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...
	25—59	7	1	6	...	...	...	1	1	5	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Pillai	All ages	13	8	5	...	...	...	...	8	5	...	...	...	...
	0—14	11	8	3	...	...	...	...	8	3	...	...	...	...
	15—24	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
	25—59	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Achari	All ages	24	5	19	1	5	...	3	4	11	...	...	...	...
	0—14	14	4	10	1	5	...	...	3	5	...	...	...	...
	15—24	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	25—59	7	1	6	...	...	...	3	1	3	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Naidu	All ages	7	2	5	1	...	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	...
	0—14	5	2	3	1	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	...
	15—24	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
	25—59	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pandithar	All ages	14	6	8	2	...	...	...	4	8	...	...	...	...
	0—14	4	2	2	1	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...
	15—24	2	2	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	7	1	6	...	...	...	...	1	6	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan	All ages	5	2	3	...	...	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...
	0—14	5	2	3	...	...	...	...	2	3	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chettiar	All ages	4	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
	0—14	4	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	All ages	8	3	5	2	3	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...
	0—14	6	3	3	2	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
	15—24	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	25—59	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Table No. XV (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Rao	All ages	6	2	4	1	2	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
	0—14	5	2	3	1	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Irular	All ages	4	2	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...
	0—14	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	All ages	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...
	0—14	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...
	15—24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	25—59	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**648**	**252**	**396**	**97**	**59**	...	**63**	**153**	**273**	...	**1**	**2**	...

The majority of the non-workers are in the age group 0–14, there being 453 boys and girls not doing any work, out of the total population of 502 in that age group. There are 63



non-workers among those in the age group of 60 and over. Thus in the intermediate age groups, there are very few people not doing some sort of active work. This is possibly due to the fact that weaving being the main occupation of the village, some of the supple-

mentary processes connected with weaving are easily performed by women and children at a tender age without calling for any mental or physical effort and such part-time workers who assist in the family occupation are rightly considered as workers. Of these 648 non-workers, there are 156 full time students or children attending school, composed of 97 boys and 59 girls. Sixty-three women are engaged purely in household duties without participating in any sort of remunerative enterprise. Dependents among whose ranks number infants not attending school and persons permanently disabled account for 426 of which 153 are males and 273 females. One interesting feature of this village which has also to do with the predominant occupation of weaving and the second important occupation of agriculture is the low level of unemployment in the village. Though this is a fairly common feature in most villages, it is most marked in Ayyangarkulam, there being just two persons, both males, unemployed in the village and both of them belong to the Mudaliar community, one of them in the age-group 15–24 and the other in the age group 25–59. This is most peculiar especially as they are Sengunthars. Senguntha Mudaliar youngsters, due to their natural aptitude and the training imparted to them, take to weaving occupation as fish takes to water. But these two being educated, one of them has passed his Intermediate and the other has passed his Matriculation, are attempting to take up some white collared jobs in the nearby town of Kancheepuram and prefer to break away from their traditional occupation rather than help the family in conducting the weaving operations at home.

88. Community-wise pattern of occupation also presents interesting data as indicated in Tables No. XVI and XVII.

TABLE No. XVI

Workers classified by sex, broad age groups, industry, business and cultivation belonging to the household

Caste / Tribe / Community	Age groups (in years)	Total workers			Household industry		Household business		Household cultivation		Others	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
HINDUS												
Mudaliar	All-ages	493	268	225	232	217	6	...	13	5	17	3
	0—14	33	13	20	11	20	...	...	2	...	...	...
	15—59	422	230	192	199	186	4	...	10	3	17	3
	60 and over	38	25	13	22	11	2	...	1	2	...	...
Nattar	All-ages	117	65	52	43	31	...	7	4	5	18	9
	0—14	8	5	3	5	2	...	...	...	...	...	1
	15—59	106	58	48	38	29	...	6	4	5	16	8
	60 and over	3	2	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	...
Valluvan	All-ages	101	52	49	1	1	...	...	27	27	24	21
	0—14	6	4	2	1	...	...	...	2	1	1	1
	15—59	88	44	44	...	...	...	...	21	25	23	19
	60 and over	7	4	3	...	1	...	...	4	1	...	1
Naicker	All-ages	11	8	3	3	2	1	...	...	...	4	1
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	11	8	3	3	2	1	...	...	...	4	1
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Table No. XVI (contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
Pillai	All ages	20	11	9	4	5	...	...	...	...	7	4
	0—14	2	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...
	15—59	16	8	8	3	4	...	...	...	...	5	4
	60 and over	2	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Achari	All ages	10	10	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	8	8	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	60 and over	2	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu	All ages	10	6	4	3	4	...	...	...	...	3	...
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	10	6	4	3	4	...	...	...	...	3	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pandithar	All ages	5	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	1
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	4	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1
	60 and over	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Vannan	All ages	9	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	9	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	5
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chettiar	All ages	4	2	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	1
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	4	2	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	1
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	All ages	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rao	All ages	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Irular	All ages	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	All ages	6	3	3	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	6	3	3	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**789**	**436**	**353**	**299**	**263**	**8**	**8**	**44**	**37**	**85**	**45**

TABLE No. XVII

Workers classified by sex, broad age-groups and occupations

Caste / Tribe / Community	Age-groups (in years)	Occupation																		
(1)	(2)	(3)																		
HINDUS																				
		Weaving			Cultivation			Business			Teaching			Pottery			Preaching		
		*T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
	All ages	447	231	216	18	13	5	6	6	...	10	9	1	2	1	1	1	1	...
	0— 14	31	11	20	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	383	198	185	13	10	3	4	4	...	10	9	1	2	1	1	1	1	...
	60 and over	33	22	11	3	1	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mudaliar		Agricultural labourer			Maniam			Draughtsman			Clerk			Nurse					
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.			
	All ages	3	2	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	2	2	...	2	1	1			
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...			
	15—59	3	2	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	2	2	...	2	1	1			
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...			
		Weaving			Cultivation			Business			Agrl. labourer			Fishing			Cooly			Cycle repairer		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Nattar	All ages	73	42	31	9	4	5	7	...	7	13	6	7	12	11	1	2	1	1	1	1	...
	0—14	7	5	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	66	37	29	9	4	5	6	...	6	12	6	6	10	9	1	2	1	1	1	1	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Weaving			Cultivation			Agrl.labourer			Lascar											
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.									
Valluvan	All ages	2	1	1	54	27	27	44	23	21	1	1	...									
	0—14	1	1	...	3	2	1	2	1	1	...	...	...									
	15—59	...	...	...	46	21	25	41	22	19	1	1	...									
	60 and over	1	...	1	5	4	1	1	...	1	...	...	...									
		Weaving			Teaching			Cooly			Thalayari			Hotel owner			Cycle repairer					
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.			
Naicker	All ages	4	2	2	3	2	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...			
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...			
	15—59	4	2	2	3	2	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...			
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...			
		Weaving			Teaching			Agrl. labourer			Shepherd			Lascar								
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M	F.						
Pillai	All ages	9	4	5	1	1	...	2	1	1	7	4	3	1	1	...						
	0—14	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...						
	15—59	7	3	4	1	1	...	2	1	1	5	2	3	1	1	...						
	60 and over	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...						
		Goldsmith			Carpenter			Blacksmith			Teaching											
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.									
Achari	All ages	6	6	...	2	2	...	1	1	...	1	1	...									
	0 —14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...									
	15—59	5	5	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...									
	60 and over	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...									

Table No. XVII (contd.)

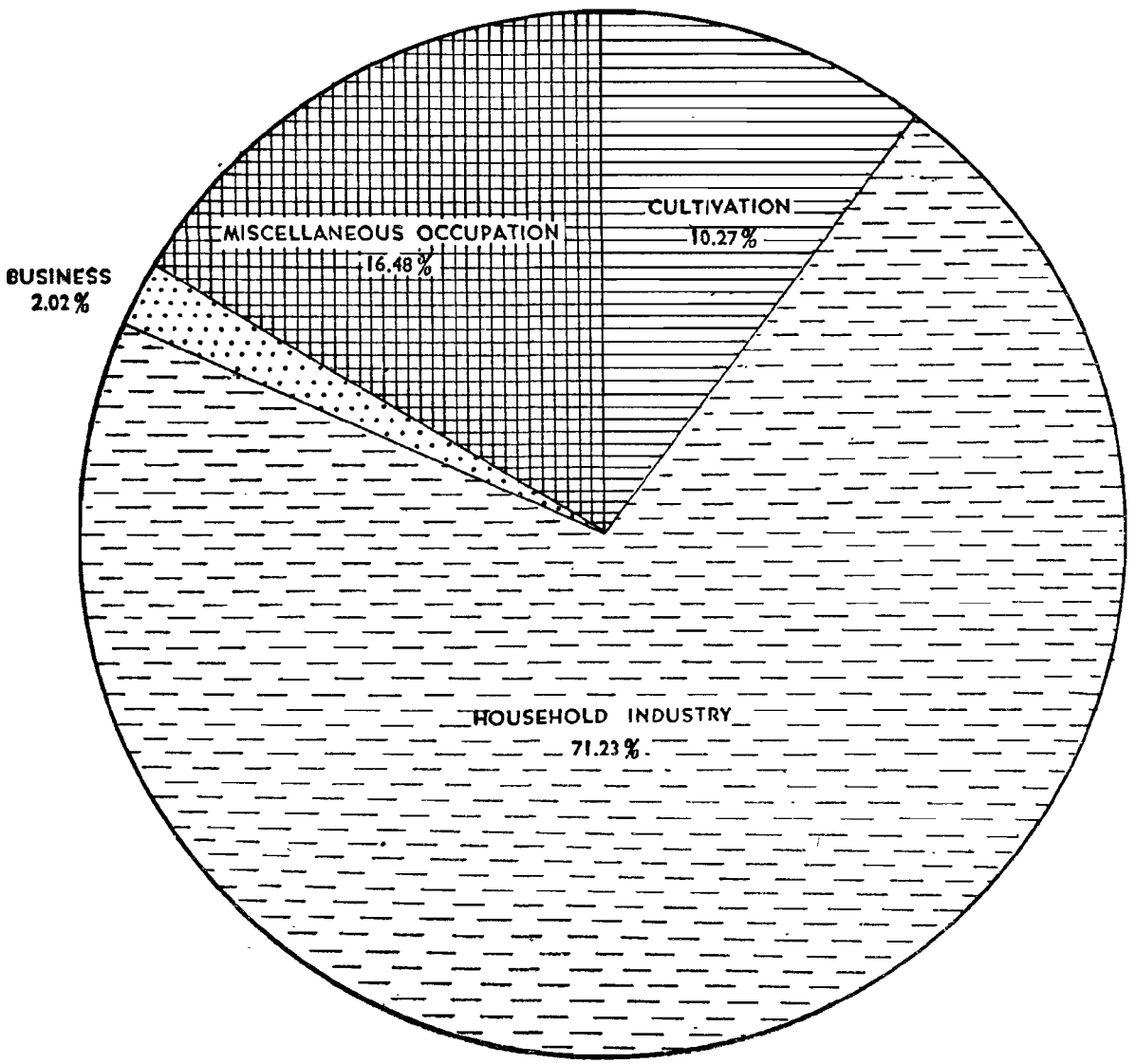
(1)	(2)	(3)					
		Weaving			Lascar		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Naidu	All ages	7	3	4	3	3	...
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	7	3	4	3	3	...
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Barber			Agrl. labourer		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Pandithar	All ages	4	4	...	1	...	1
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	3	3	...	1	...	1
	60 and over	1	1	...	...	...	...
		Dhoby					
		T.	M.	F.			
Vannan	All ages	9	4	5			
	0—14	...	...	...			
	15—59	9	4	5			
	60 and over	...	...	...			
		Business			Agrl. Labourer		
		T.	M.	F.	T.	M.	F.
Chettiar	All ages	2	1	1	2	1	1
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	2	1	1	2	1	1
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...
		Koil Pusari					
		T.	M.	F.			
Brahmin	All ages	1	1	...			
	0—14	...	...	...			
	15—59	1	1	...			
	60 and over	...	...	...			
		Tailor					
		T.	M.	F.			
Rao	All ages	1	1	...			
	0—14	...	...	...			
	15—59	1	1	...			
	60 and over	...	...	...			
		Cooly					
		T.	M.	F.			
Irular	All ages	1	1	...			
	0—14	...	...	...			
	15—59	1	1	...			
	60 and over	...	...	...			
		Weaving			Mat-weaving		
		T.	M	F.	T.	M.	F.
MUSLIMS	All-ages	2	1	1	4	2	2
	0—14	...	...	...	...	...	...
	15—59	2	1	1	4	2	2
	60 and over	...	...	...	...	...	...

Total number of workers: **Males: 436**
Females: 353
789

*T: Total
M: Males
F: Females

Among the Valluva Pandarams, the only Scheduled Caste in the village, there are 54 cultivators, 44 agricultural labourers, 2 weavers and one lascar to form a total working force of 101. Among Mudaliars, out of a total working force of 493, 447 are weavers, 18 are cultivators, 6 persons have taken to business and 10 are in the teaching profession. There are also 3 agricultural labourers, 3 have taken to the white collared profession working as clerks and draughtsmen, whereas 2 have joined the nursing profession. Thus weavers predominate by a big margin which is as it should be, as Senguntha Mudaliars, by tradition, legend and preference are

Community-wise pattern of occupation



weavers and only take to cultivation as a subsidiary occupation in most cases. In the case of the next community, the Nattars, though by birth and tradition fishermen, out of 117 workers, 73 are weavers, 9 have taken to cultivation, 13 are agricultural labourers and 7 are businessmen whereas only 12 follow their traditional occupation of fishing. This is the most significant feature of the village and when we study the occupational pattern of the minority communities, we find that among the Naickers, Naidus, Pillais and Muslims, weaving is the predominant occupation. Thus a majority community with a main occupation which is established and which fetches a steady income throughout the year always plays an important role in

influencing the occupational pattern of the communities. The only community on which this has not had any significant effect is the Scheduled Caste community of Valluva Pandarams who have not only provided the major portion of the agricultural labourers but have also contributed the maximum number of cultivators in the village. Their isolation and to a certain extent, social ostracism has a part to play in this comparative lack of influence of the Senguntha Mudaliar's dominant occupation on their way of life. Weaving is a highly specialised occupation requiring not only inherent skill, but also training of a most rigid nature and unless anyone is prepared to work for a long time on the looms imbibing not only the traditional methods but also working with application and zeal, it will not be possible to master the rudiments of the art. Since by birth and social standing a Valluva Pandaram is prohibited from entering the house of his social superiors in the village, he cannot work either for wages or as an apprentice in the houses of the Senguntha Mudaliars and thus imbibe the traditions of the craft. Therefore, except for two weavers, the Valluva Pandarams have taken to cultivation and agricultural labour as predominant occupations. In the case of other communities like the Nattars, Naickers, Naidus, Pillais and the Muslims, even though their traditional occupation was different, by constant contact with the Senguntha Mudaliars, coupled with the knowledge that weaving is a lucrative profession, they have gradually learnt the art of weaving, working for wages under master-weavers at Kancheepuram as well as in Ayyangarkulam and then setting up private looms for themselves in their houses. In actual fact during our enquiries, we found that these communities provided the bulk of weavers working for wages under the Senguntha Mudaliars in Kancheepuram as well as in the nearby village of Sevilimedu. Of course, skill differs and no community can equal the technical excellence in the weaving of fabrics, silk and cotton, displayed by the Senguntha Mudaliars. Yet economic conditions and the differing levels of economic status have made most Senguntha weavers increasingly indent upon the services of members of other communities to work on daily or monthly wages. One other interesting feature of the community-wise occupational pattern in the village is the lack of influence of the Senguntha Mudaliars on the occupations of the Acharis, Chettiars, Dhobis and the Pandithars of the village. Acharis who by tradition provide the services of blacksmithy, carpentry and goldsmithy manage efficiently to provide the same in this village and no more. The Chettiars, on the other hand, being eminent businessmen in their own right, conduct business establishments like provision stores etc. Details of trade and business carried out in Ayyangarkulam are shown in Table No. XVIII

TABLE No. XVIII

Trade or Business

Caste / Tribe / Community	No. of house-holds	Cloth merchant		Provision store		Fish selling		Hotel	
		Source of finance	Monthly average profit	Source of finance	Monthly average profit	Source of finance	Monthly average profit	Source of finance	Monthly average profit
Mudaliar	7	...	...	Self	Rs. 35	...	...	...	...
Nattar	2	...	...	...	...	Does not involve investment	Rs. 15	...	...
Naicker	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	Self	Rs. 60
Chettiar	1	Self	Rs. 40	...	...	...	...	...	...

No village can exist without the washerman and hence 9 workers belonging to the Dhoby community have, without exception, taken to their traditional profession. In the Pandithar community, of the 5 workers belonging to their community, 4 are barbers and only one is an agricultural labourer.



The village provision store : This is a multi-purpose store in the village selling vegetables, condiments, rice, oil and other necessities.

89. The figures in Table No. XIX reveal the occupational pattern of the households of different communities.

TABLE No. XIX

Occupational classification of households

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of households	Households engaged in cultivation	Households engaged in Industry only		Households engaged in business only	Households engaged in cultivation, business and		Households engaged in cultivation and		Households engaged in cultivation & business	Households engaged in business and		Households engaged in other occupation	Not Stated	Details of Industries with number of households engaged in each	Details of business with number of households engaged in each
			Traditional Industry	Non-traditional Industry		Traditional Industry	Non-traditional Industry	Traditional Industry	Non-traditional Industry		Traditional Industry	Non-traditional Industry				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
HINDUS																
Mudaliar	211	12	92	...	2	...	...	81	...	4	...	1	13	6	172-Weaving 1-Cycle repair 1-Soda Factory	7-Provision Stores
Nattar	45	9	...	17	2	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	10	1	1-Cycle repair 22-weaving	1-Dry fish sale 1-Fish sale
Valluvan	33	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18	1	...	...
Naicker	9	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	2-Mat-weaving 1-Weaving	...
Pillai	8	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	1-Weaving 1-Pottery	...
Achari	7	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4-Goldsmiths 2-Carpenters 1-Blacksmith	...
Naidu	5	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1-Cycle repair 2-Weaving	...
Pandithar	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...
Vannan	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
Chettiar	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	Cloth Merchant
Brahmin	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Rao	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1-Tailoring	...
Irular	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2-Mat-Weaving 1-Weaving	...
Total	**335**	**36**	**99**	**29**	**5**	...	...	**81**	**6**	**4**	...	**1**	**66**	**8**		

Occupational classification of households

Of the 211 Mudaliar households, 12 households are engaged in cultivation, 92 households are engaged in the traditional occupation of weaving, 8 households are engaged in business, 81 households are engaged in cultivation and weaving, 4 households are engaged in cultivation and some sort of business and one household engaged in business and weaving. Six have not stated their occupation. Of the households which are engaged in business one household owns a soda factory and seven other households maintain provision stores. In the Valluva Pandaram community, of the 33 households, 14 households are engaged in cultivation, 18 households are engaged in agricultural labour and one household did not specify the type of activity in which it is engaged. All the 7 Achari households are engaged in their traditional occupations of goldsmithy, carpentry and blacksmithy. Of the 45 Nattar households, 9 are engaged in cultivation, 17 in non-traditional industry or occupation which is weaving, 2 are engaged in business, 6 in cultivation and weaving and 10 in their traditional occupation of fishing. One has

not specified its occupation. In actual terms, 22 households among the Nattar community are engaged in weaving and one has a cycle repair shop. The Nattar community, as a whole, seem quick to change their traditional occupation and finding that the catch in the inland lakes around Ayyangarkulam is not remunerative, have adapted themselves to changing conditions without a resigned air about them, taking to the lucrative profession of weaving, thus aping the Senguntha Mudaliars. This is a stirring example of what one could achieve by dovetailing necessity and circumstance to suit one's economic status. Among other communities, mention can be made of the Naickers and the Pillais, who, out of the 9 and 8 households respectively have 3 and 2 households in non-traditional industry and 6 and 5 households in other occupations respectively. Of the Naickers, 2 households are engaged in mat weaving, emulating the Muslims who have also 2 out of 3 households engaged in mat-weaving. Among the Pillais one household is engaged in the manufacture of pottery.

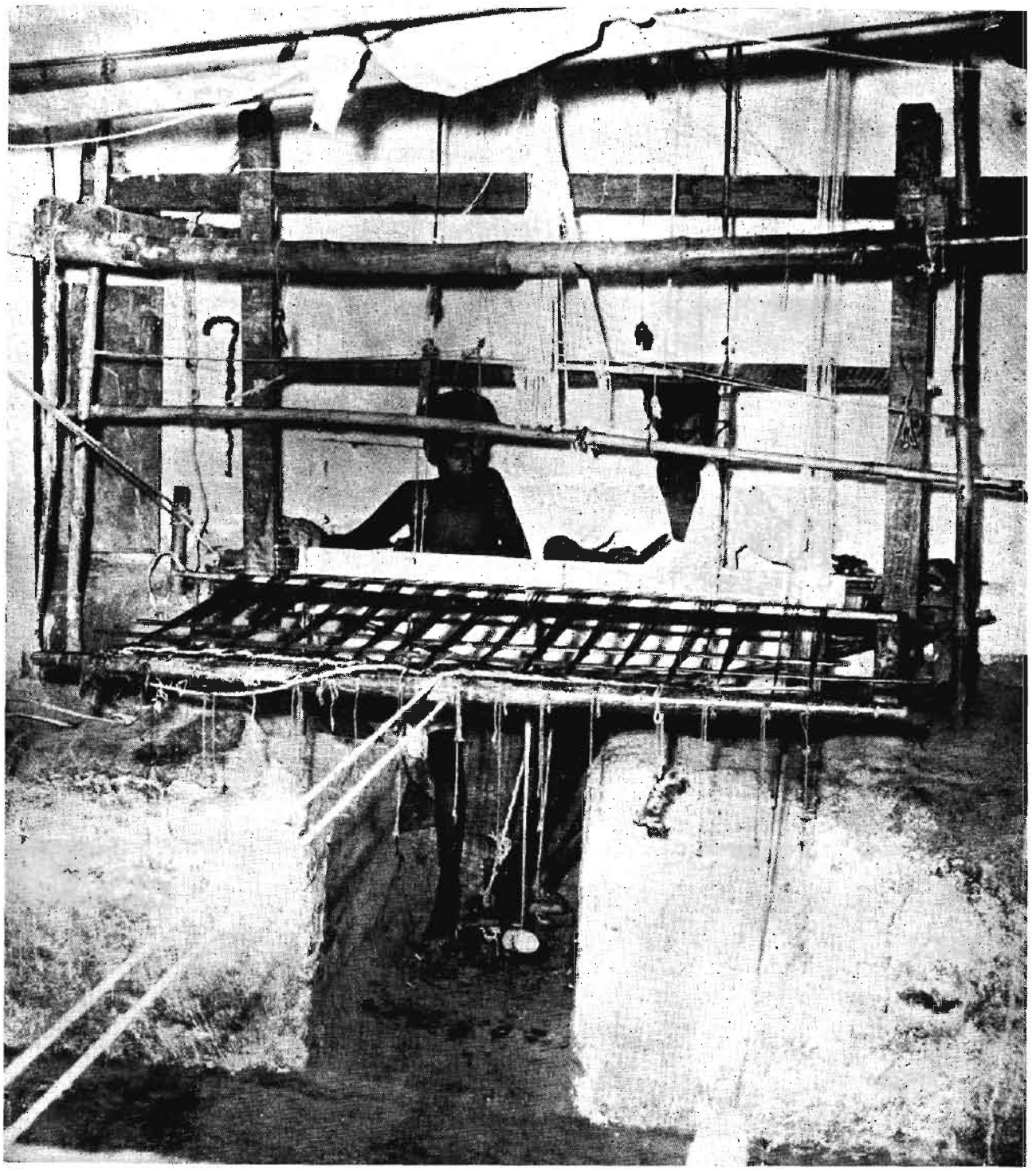
Part played by literacy on occupational structure

90. Literacy standards and educational levels play an important part in fashioning the occupational structure of a community. Better educational standards lead to a cleavage from traditional occupations, as it germinates the desire to better oneself where the traditional occupation fails to fetch a steady income to the household. This is most noticeable among the agricultural communities. But a perusal of Table No. XIII (*Vide* page 37) indicating the literacy standards read with the occupational Table XVII will indicate that this general axiom is inapplicable to Ayyangarkulam village. This is because of the traditional occupation of weaving followed by the Senguntha Mudaliars in the village. Weaving on the whole is capable of fetching larger incomes than from agriculture unless that particular household possesses large tracts of land and so the tendency to change the occupation of the father is not very evident here. Out of the total population of 1437, there are 924 illiterates, i.e., 64·3% of the total. There are 14 persons who have reached the Matric or Higher Secondary and there are only 2 Intermediates. Two hundred and eighty-four have just reached the Primary or Junior Basic standards. It is significant to note that 2 Intermediates and 10 of the Matriculates belong to the Mudaliar community. The other 4 Matriculates come from the ranks of the Nattars, Acharis and Naickers. Thus higher education is the monopoly of the Mudaliars, the Nattars and Naickers, the relatively affluent communities in the village. *Ipso facto* the occupational structure of the village is to a large extent governed by the profession of the majority communities who also provide the bulk of the educated. We have already stated that one of the Matriculates and the Intermediate have not taken to the weaving profession simply because they want to take up white collared employment outside the village limits. The rest with their low standards of education, neither have the inclination to take up employment other than followed by their fore-fathers nor do they have the necessary qualifications to seek jobs elsewhere.

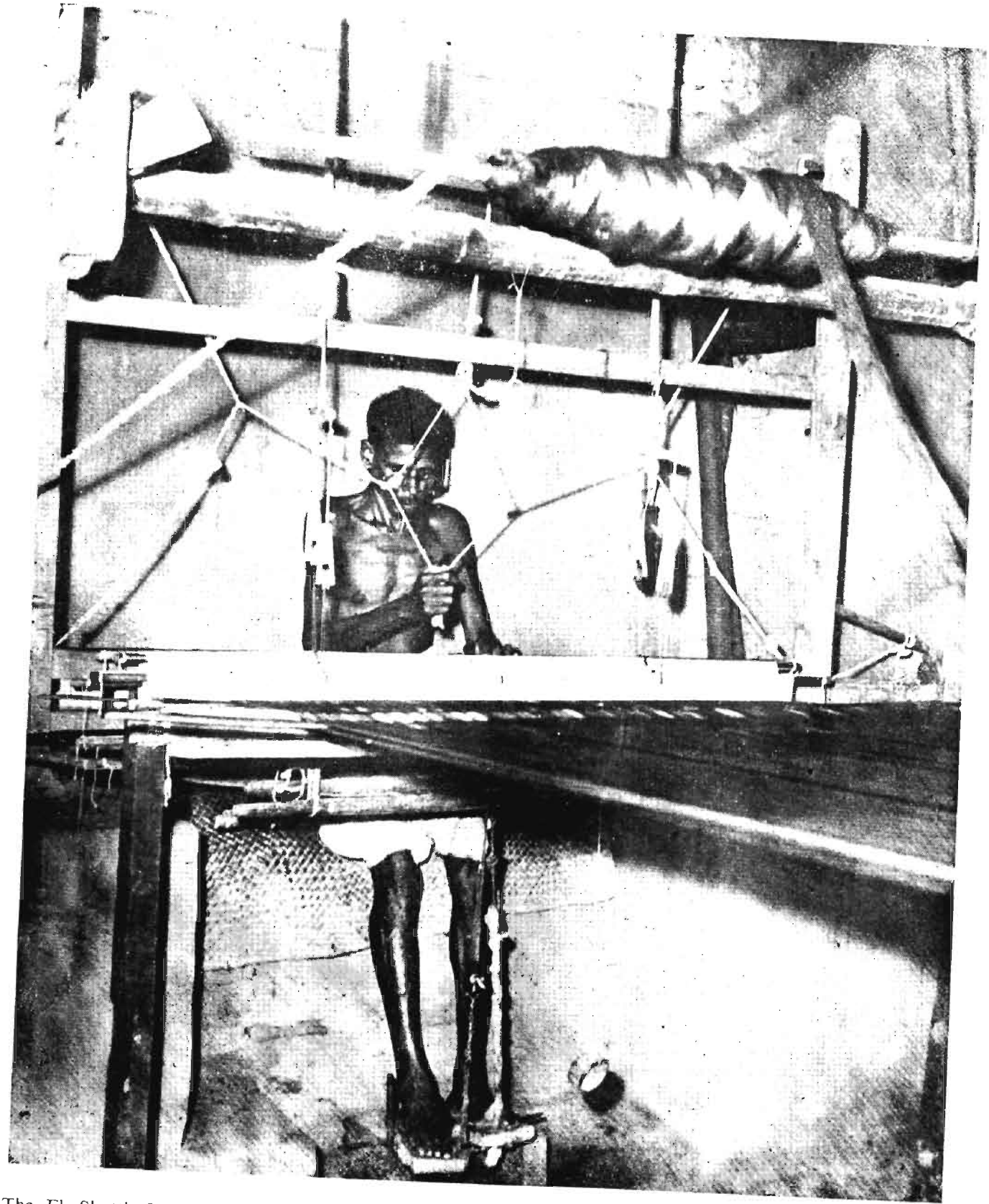
Weaving and agriculture major occupations

91. We have so far dealt in great detail with the occupational pattern in the village with regard to the total workers. The following are the break-up figures of the workers and their dependents relating to the various occupations:

Description	Number
Weaving	913
Agriculture	233
Fishing	34
Goldsmithy	21
Blacksmithy	5
Pottery	2
Carpentry	6
Others	223
Total	**1 437**



Weaving on the Throw shuttle Loom. These looms are used for the weaving of silk fabrics with double sided borders. Two weavers are required to manipulate the shuttle.



The Fly Shuttle Loom: These are used for weaving plain silk pieces and cotton fabrics. Where silk fabrics with a contrast border have to be woven, these looms cannot be used. These looms were also found at Ayyangarkulam.

Since weaving and agriculture form the two main occupations in the village, it would be in the fitness of things to describe these occupations and see how the economy of the village is based on them.

Shift from cotton to silk weaving

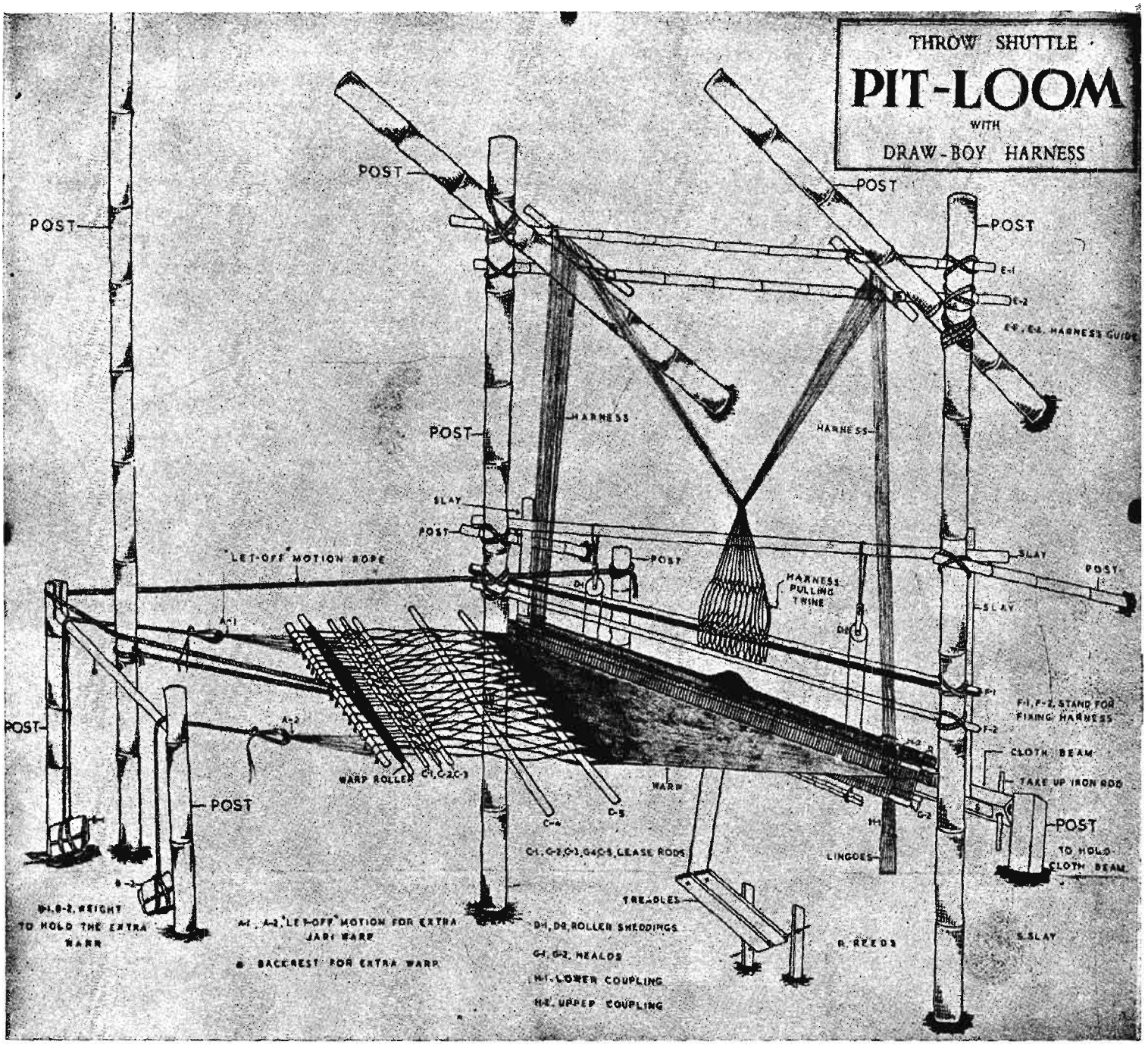
92. Originally, Sengunthars, being primarily weavers, had taken to cotton weaving and were producing cotton fabrics in Ayyangarkulam. With the emergence of silk weaving in the nearby town of Kancheepuram, which by a gradual process of evolution became justly famous for its silk sarees, silk weaving displaced cotton weaving in universal popularity in the surrounding villages of Ayyangarkulam, Sevilimedu and Vayavur. All the three villages not only because of their immediate proximity to Kancheepuram, but also because of their greater concentration of Sengunthars have produced more silk sarees than the other villages. There are about 250 looms in Ayyangarkulam and 913 persons depend on silk weaving for their daily sustenance. This process of change from cotton to silk weaving was not sudden but was gradual. Weavers of Kancheepuram themselves are unable to throw any light on the date of switch over from cotton weaving to silk weaving in the town. The probable date has been put at some 300 years back. The residents of Ayyangarkulam are unable to say when they took up silk weaving discarding cotton weaving. Since their memory dates back only to the previous generation, we were unable to get specific information on this subject. In houses, people who realised the affluence of silk weavers took to producing silk sarees alternatively or had a loom exclusively for the production of silk fabrics. Finding silk fabrics gave them a better turn-over, they subsequently took exclusively to the production of silk weaving. The switch over to silk weaving has had a two-fold effect on the living conditions of the villagers. On the one hand, it has resulted in a better financial turn-over for the weavers because a silk saree gives them a larger return than a cotton saree. On the other hand, it has led to concrete changes in the occupational structure of the village with more and more communities switching over to weaving while discarding their traditional occupation. It has to a certain extent also retarded the growth of literacy in the village as children are employed as co-workers in silk weaving and are prevented from attending school. This has also something to do with the training to be imparted if one wishes to learn the trade, but more of that later.

The throw shuttle loom

93. Looms engaged in the production of silk weaving at Ayyangarkulam are throw shuttle looms. Cotton fabrics are produced on fly shuttle looms. The throw shuttle loom consists of the following parts :

1. The slay.
2. The treadles.
3. The reed.
4. The healds.
5. Warp beam.
6. Cloth beam.
7. Shuttle with pirns.
8. Lease rods.

The reed through which the warp passes is fixed to the slay which is manually operated by hand. The shuttle are attached to the healds and in conjunction with the lease rods provide the necessary shedding for the shuttle to pass through while weaving. The shuttle contains the pirn on which the weft yarn is wound. The treadle travels to and fro and is pushed by hand from one end to another. The Korvai variety of fabrics are usually produced in Ayyangarkulam village. In this fabric, the weft threads do not enter into the borders. We came across many looms where three shuttles were utilised for fabrics having borders on both sides. The designs and pattern worked into the body of the fabric and on the borders were made possible by the use of the country Jacquard known as the 'Adai' or 'Jungu'. In the production of Korvai varieties the weavers take the assistance of a boy who is required to manipulate one shuttle at one end, the



A sketch of the Throw Shuttle Pit Loom with the attached country Jacquard used for weaving of the Kancheepuram Silk Saree. The various parts of the loom have been clearly illustrated and needs no further discussion.

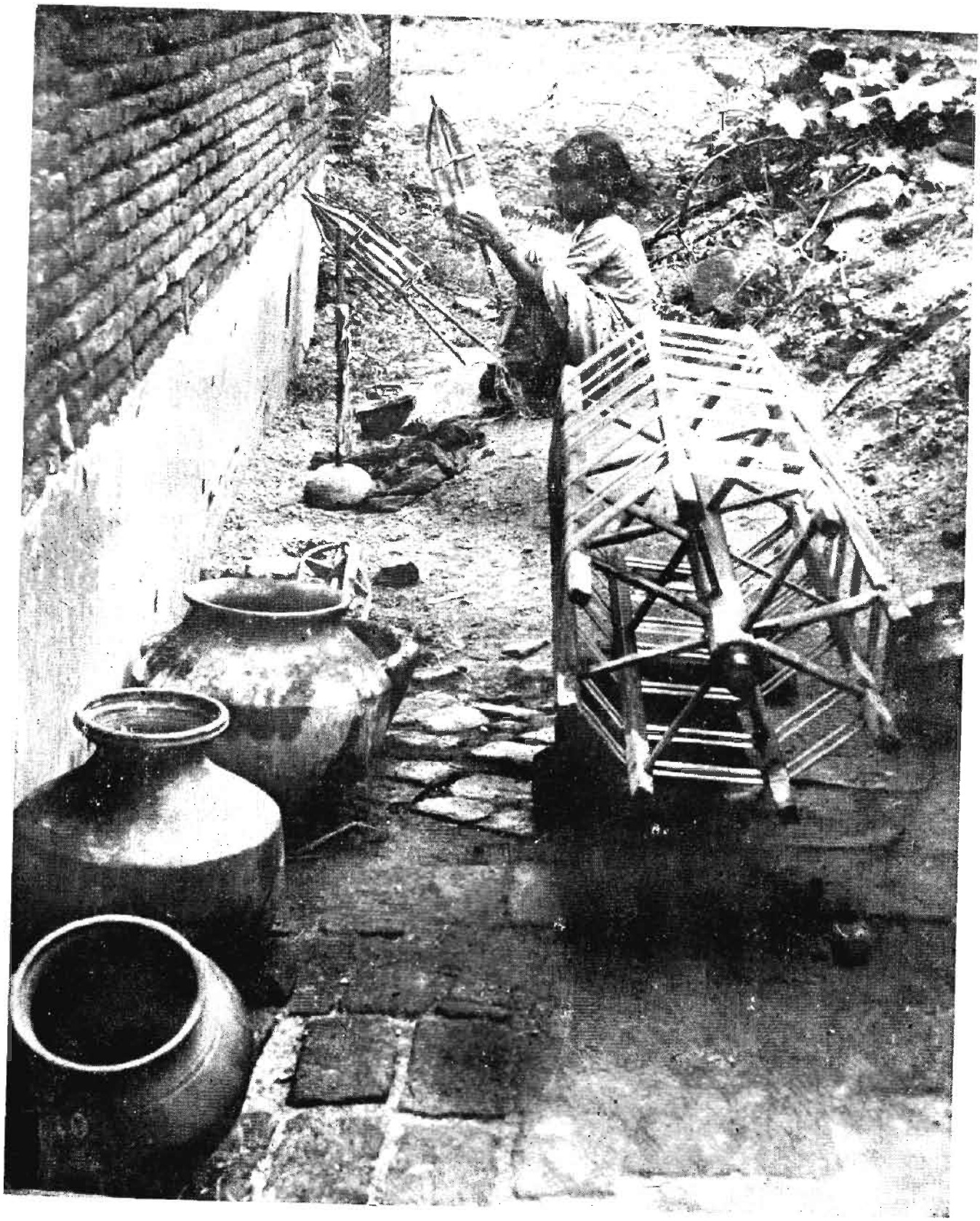
other shuttle or two being operated by the weaver himself. It is for this process children are employed in addition to the preparatory processes relating to the degumming and dyeing as well as dressing of silk yarn before being put on the loom. Hence the actual manufacture of silk fabrics not only is important to the economy of the village from the point of view of production and sale, but is also a valuable training ground for young aspirants to learn the trade at the feet of their elders.

Preparatory process connected with silk weaving

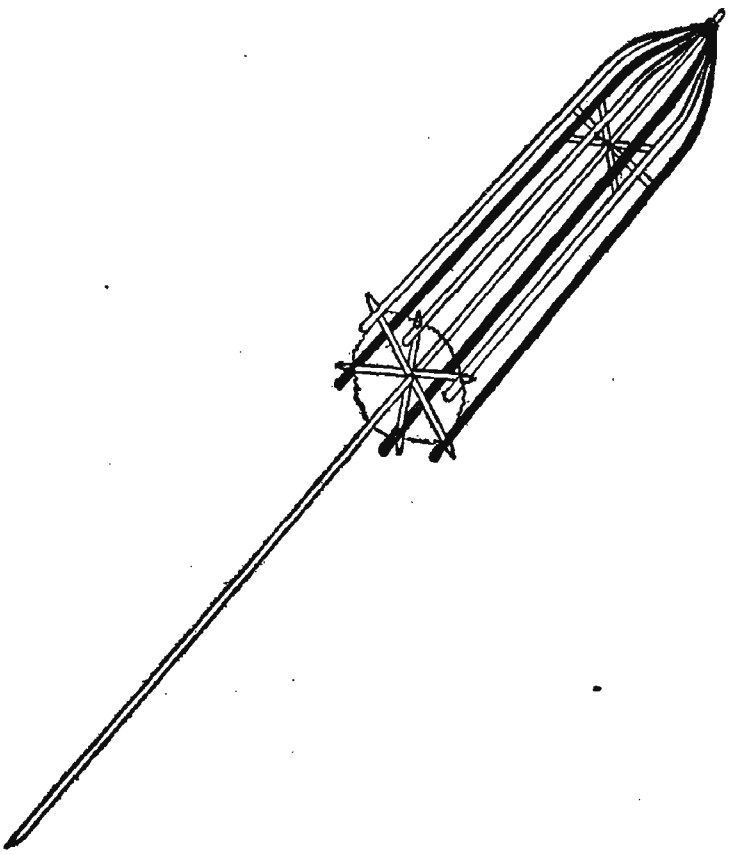
94. The variety of silk used for the warp is called the 'Jari' which is superior to the 'Sappuri' variety used for the weft. The silk yarn is supplied to these villagers by the raw silk dealers at Kancheepuram in the form of skeins. The 'Sappuri' variety used for the weft is attached to the bobbin stand known in the local language as 'Kottan Thalai' and from the bobbin stand it is wound on a country bobbin known as 'Parivattam'. Two such Parivattams are kept side by side and the yarn from these is wound on to the 'Pirns'



Winding from 'DOLA' to PARIVATTAM. The silk used for the weft is wound from the bobbin stand on to the country bobbin known as Parivattam. From the Parivattam it is wound on to the Pirns. These preparatory processes are performed by young girls and women.

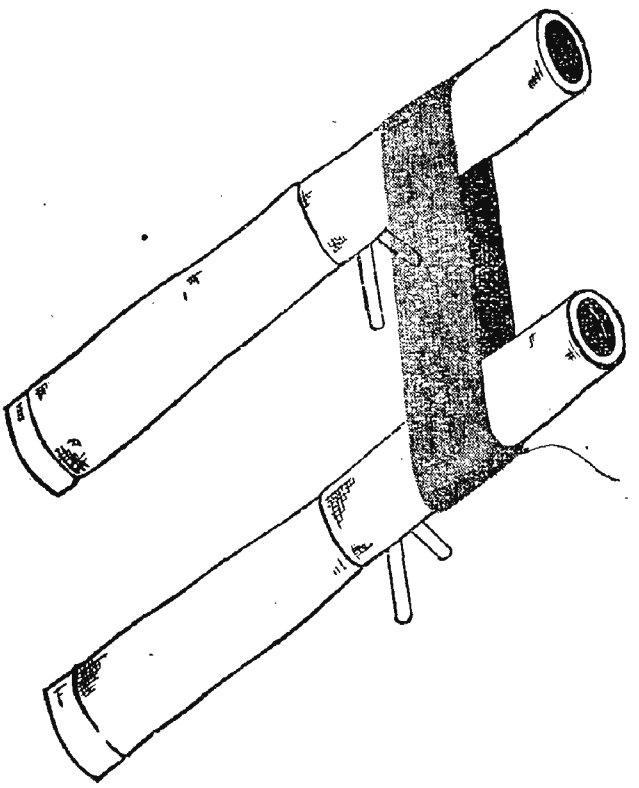


A child at work: Twisting on the Parivattam.



PARIVATTAM

The Kora silk yarn attached to the country stand or Tappal Kattai is then wound on to this Parivattam. This is done by women and by young girls. From the Parivattam, the kora will be transferred to pirns with the aid of charka.



TAPPAL KATTAI

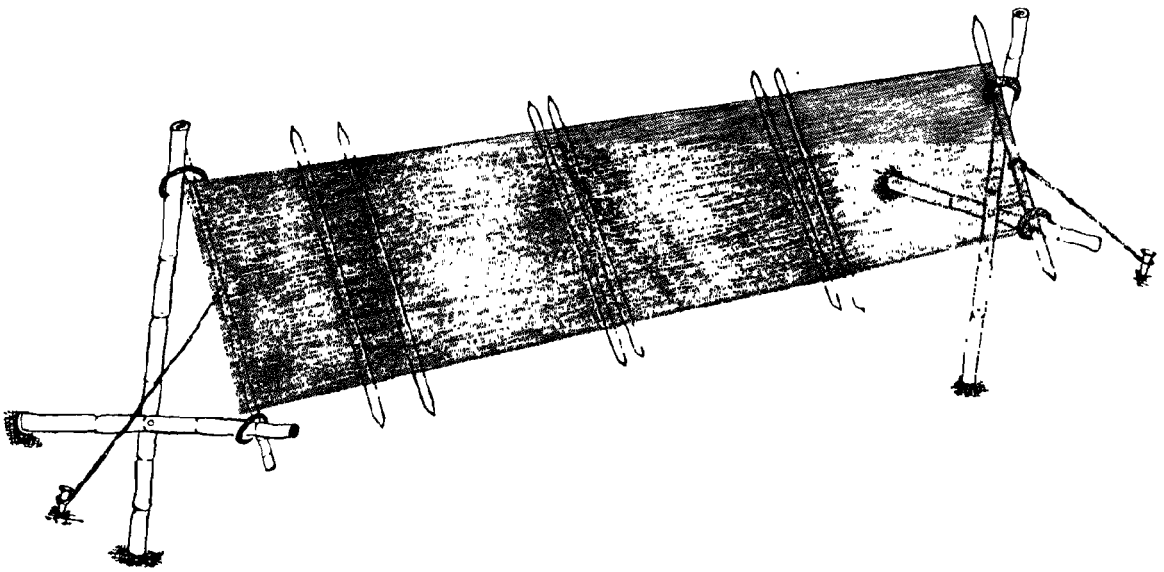
The tappal kattai which consists of two bamboo rods with small stands. The Kora or silk thread is attached to this country stand or Tappal Kattai from which it is wound on the Parivattam.

by a vertical charka or a spinning wheel. The same operations are repeated for the superior 'Jari' variety used for the warp. These processes are performed by the women and the children of the village. The actual process of weaving is, however, the monopoly of the male members of the community. The yarn so prepared is given to the master weavers at Kancheepuram for twisting and preparing warps of the required length. Invariably, the length of the warp prepared is 18 to 21 yards which will suffice for the weaving of three sarees. The warp yarn is then dyed to the required colour, the weft yarn is twisted and the two are finally handed over to the weavers for weaving.

95. After receiving the dyed warp and weft yarn, the weft yarn is wound by the weavers on pirns and inserted into a shuttle for weaving. The warp yarn is degummed and starched.

Degumming of silk yarn

Degumming is performed by dipping these skeins in cold water, then transferring them to a soap solution kept at boiling point for 15 minutes and rinsing them thoroughly with the aid of sticks. The wet skeins are then removed and thoroughly dried. Afterwards to make the ends even and to ensure that there are no broken ends, the warp yarn undergoes a process of dressing known as 'Pavu Saithal'. This is performed with the use of the 'Pilluru' and the yarn is finally attached to the loom for weaving.



DRESSING

The warp yarn is given a dressing by stretching out in the open. For this purpose, stout bamboo rods are taken, fixed cross-wise and firmly secured. The warp is then stretched over these bamboos by looping them at each end. Dust and dirt are removed from the threads and broken ends are carefully mended. Split bamboo pieces are inserted between the warp so as to separate the bottom and upper rows.

Weaving of fabrics

96. The actual weaving operation is a very simple manual process. The weaver and his boy assistant sit alongside the loom, the weaver operates the jacquard and he then presses the treadle with his foot to get the shedding. Two weft threads are now woven. He once again operates the jacquard. For every two weft threads the jacquard is operated once and so the process goes on until the full saree is woven. After the saree is completed, it is taken out of the loom, folded and delivered to the master weaver or to anyone who has placed the order.

Income from weaving

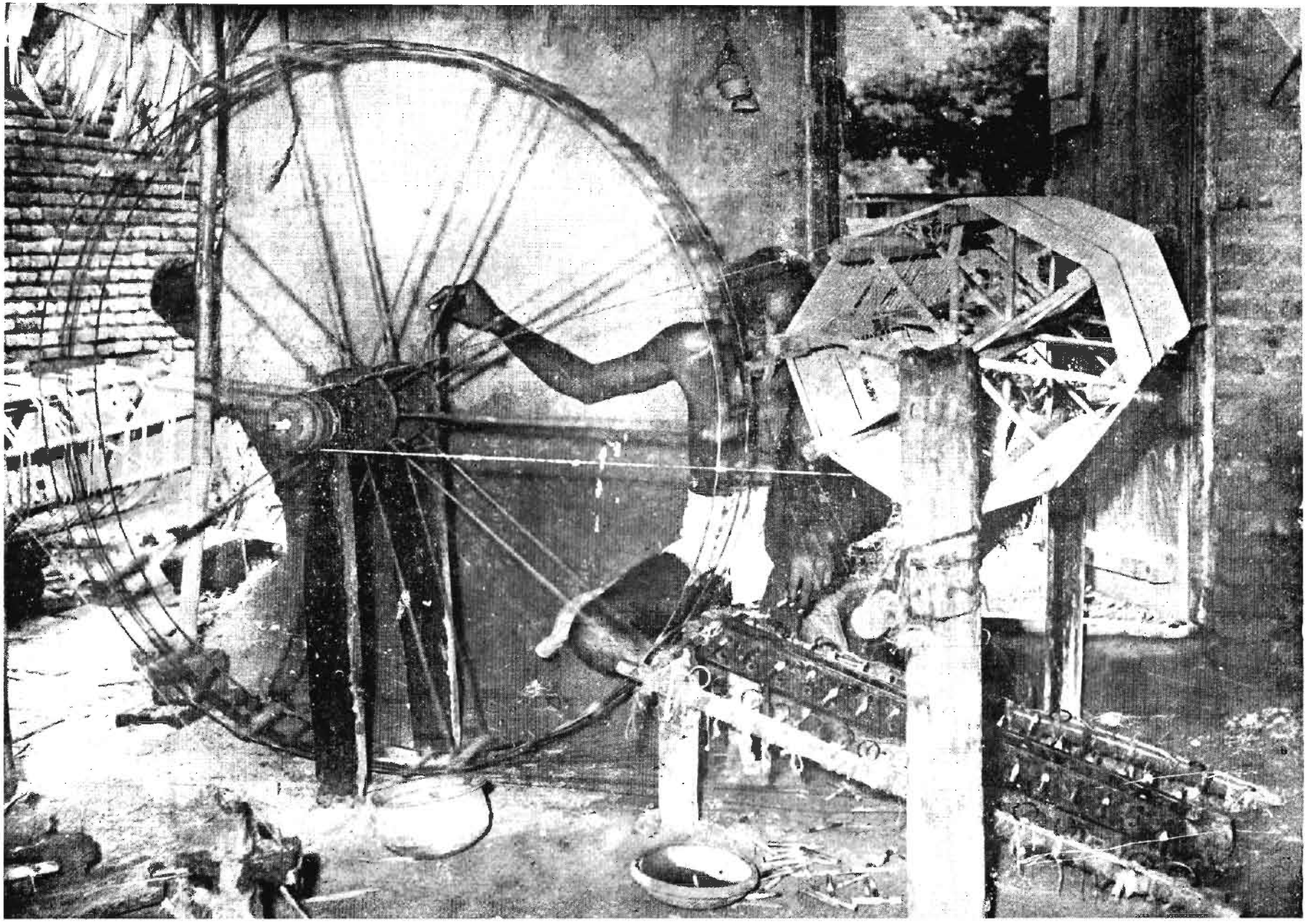
97. The weavers of Ayyangarkulam do not derive the maximum benefit out of their occupation due to lack of finance and organisation. The weavers do not own the raw materials which go into their end product and as a result they are not in a position to maximise their profits. After the completion of the saree, they have either to hand it over to the master weavers or take it to the Co-operative or the local wholesale dealers in Kancheepuram town who regularly sell silk sarees produced in the villages around that town. These dealers or master weavers supply the silk weavers with the yarn necessary for weaving the saree. After the saree is completed depending on the design, the amount of lace which has gone into the saree as well as the quality of the product and with reference to the current market value, the dealers pay wages to these weavers of Ayyangarkulam ranging from Rs. 30/- to Rs. 50/-. It takes on an average between 20 to 35 days for a saree to be woven from the raw materials supplied by the wholesalers. Hence, a saree which takes a month to complete brings in an income of Rs. 30/- to Rs. 50/- only.

Economic condition of weavers

98. A saree which fetches more than Rs. 120/- in the market and which earns the wholesalers a profit of more than Rs. 50/- gives the actual producers only Rs. 30/- or so. But quite a few of the Sengunthar households which we visited utilised two looms and it was possible by engaging wage earners for them to produce on an average three sarees a month. This gives them a regular income of about Rs. 100/- to Rs. 120/- per month which, according to them, was more than what they would get by taking to agriculture or some other occupation. Besides being



Dressing of the Warp — Stout bamboo rods are taken, fixed cross-wise and firmly secured by a rope passing over a trestle to a peg fixed to the ground. The warp threads are then stretched over bamboo rods by looping them at each end. These bamboos are fixed to the cross-wise bamboos. Dust and dirt are removed from the threads and broken ends carefully mended.



Age is no bar for concentration in work—An old man in action—winding on the pirns.

traditional weavers, it is very difficult for them to change their mode of occupation and since weaving is in their blood, they have no inclination to give up weaving and take up some other occupation. Again, economic expediency played an important part in the restriction of occupational mobility. This weaving community, though having a better standard of living than other communities in the village, are handicapped by a lack of investing capital to run their own business of silk cloth production and sale. They neither have the necessary financial backing to compete or bargain with wholesalers, nor are they in a position to play for time by withholding their products. These reasons have forced them to degenerate into the position of wage earners under master weavers or wholesalers. But there is another aspect to the problem. The comparative affluence of weavers in Kancheepuram has given the weavers of Ayyangarkulam a tip or two. They have now taken to employing weavers on wages drawn from other communities to work on their looms and by this simple expedient, they manage to fix more than one loom in their houses, one loom being operated by the Sengunthar with his family and the other loom or looms operated by members of other communities who want firstly to imbibe the traditions of weaving set by the Sengunthars and secondly get a steady income by working as wage earners. By this process of adaptability, the Sengunthars of this village have managed to increase their income considerably.

Marketing and Designs

99. Most of the orders relating to weaving are placed by the wholesalers and master weavers of Kancheepuram. Direct orders from consumers are almost non-existent except when a marriage takes place in a Sengunthar household and it is possible for them to weave sarees conforming to their own taste and design. Even the designs are given to them by Kancheepuram merchants and we found no local designer capable of producing excellent designs. Not only plain silk sarees but also tissue sarees of lengths ranging from 5 to 8 yards are produced in this village.

Silk weaving no longer a hereditary occupation

100. Even though silk weaving is a hereditary skill, we have already explained that except for the Achari, Pandithar, and Chettiar communities in the village, the rest of the communities have taken to this occupation. In the case of Nattar households, some of them own looms and have taken to the production of silk weaving. Thus, this hereditary monopoly of the Sengunthars is now gradually being broken not only in this village but also in the surrounding villages and in Kancheepuram town. The Sengunthar children take to weaving at a very young age, the girls learning to wind the yarn on to the parivattam and to the pirns along with their mothers or other elder women, the boys taking up positions as assistants to their brothers or fathers and manipulating one shuttle in the loom. Thus they gradually acquire the technique of weaving and become perfect workmen within a very short time. This is one of the reasons why the children of the Sengunthars are not sent to schools and parents prefer to keep the children working on their looms in order to assist them or to augment the family income. Among other communities the older people, within the age range of 15-34 have taken to weaving. People belonging to non-weaving communities get employed under the Sengunthars of Ayyangarkulam and learn the art gradually. But very few of them, except among the Nattars have taken to weaving fabrics on their own. They prefer to obtain a regular wage. For weaving a saree, a Sengunthar normally pays between Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- per month. Albeit constant application and practice, we found that the members of non-weaving communities have not attained the skill of the Sengunthars. Anyone with a discerning eye can easily distinguish between a saree woven by a Sengunthar and that woven by a Nattar or a Naicker. We had a long talk with Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, a skilled craftsman of the village who owns three looms. While he, his brother and son were operating one loom, the other two looms were being operated by a Nattar of the village and a Vanniya from the nearby village of Sevilimedu. We examined the fabrics produced by him, by the Nattar and by the Vanniya. Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar's were immeasurably superior in quality and design to those produced by the others. This, he readily conceded, but stated that due to present conditions and in order to increase his own income,

he had no other alternative but to employ members from the non-weaving communities to assist him. For one, they demanded less wages and were more easy to handle and secondly, since they really wanted to learn the craft, they were willing to take orders and put in hard work. We were personally inclined to feel that it was economic expediency which prompted him to employ members of non-weaving communities, as they would be willing to accept lower wages and no Senguntha Mudaliar will be willing to work on the loom of another Senguntha Mudaliar due to reasons of personal pride. Nevertheless, this breaking of a hereditary monopoly and the fact that more and more members of the Nattar and the Naicker communities are coming forward to take up weaving as their main occupation will have a far-reaching effect on the economy of this village in times to come and perhaps it may also lead to a breaking of the hold which the Sengunthars have on village politics as well as on other affairs relating to the management of temples etc. This is all to the good because no individual community should be allowed to dominate in village affairs to the exclusion of other communities solely on the ground of social and economic superiority. Social superiority, Sengunthars are likely to enjoy for sometime to come, but their economic superiority is to a certain extent broken as a study of income and expenditure statistics will reveal later.

Nattars - Fishing

101. Among the Nattars as indicated earlier, only 12 followed their traditional occupation of fishing. There is a Co-operative Society for the fishermen of this village, but this Co-operative Society, as will be described elsewhere, is practically dormant. The Society has a membership of 53 with a share capital of Rs. 590, but out of 53, only 12 are active fishermen. The Society does nothing to supply the Nattars with necessary tools and equipment. The age old nets of the ordinary variety, and not the superior nylon nets, are used. These fishermen catch fish in the inland waters and tanks of Ayyangarkulam. The temple tank is also used by them for catching fish. We were present during a demonstration of fishing by a Nattar, but after an hour's work, only a few fish were landed. The catch thus proved meagre. The authorities have not done anything to ameliorate conditions of the fishermen by way of stocking these tanks with varieties of fish. A few murrel are caught in these tanks, but the majority of the fish caught are small, bony and tasteless. Fishing is carried on throughout the year. On an average at each landing, a fisherman catches 2 to 3 lbs. of fish of which he keeps one-third for himself and sells the rest. During the winter months when there is rain fall, fishermen manage to land a better catch. On such occasions fish is taken in baskets to Kancheepuram and the nearby villages. The daily income of a fisherman in this village hardly comes to Rs. 1·50 nP. and even this cannot be a steady income. During summer months, especially between May and July, the catch is very meagre. Lack of support from the Co-operative Society, lack of improved nylon nets and the meagre catch in the inland tanks surrounding Ayyangarkulam have made fishing a most un-remunerative profession. That is why the majority of the Nattars have discarded their traditional occupation of fishing and taken to silk weaving, following the footsteps of Senguntha Mudaliars.

Agriculture Cropping Pattern

102. Agriculture is the second main occupation in the village. The total cultivable area, as already stated, is 340·13 acres. Of these, 116·30 acres are wet lands while the rest are dry lands. In Ayyangarkulam, the main crops grown are paddy on both wet and dry lands, groundnut, ragi, kambu and cholam and on garden lands vegetables are also grown. Pulses like flat gram and beans are grown as a mixed crop along with cholam. With groundnut Thur Dhal (red gram) is grown. Rotation of crops is normally not followed. Usually, after harvesting, organic manures in the shape of leaves, sun-hemp are strewn over the land and the whole area ploughed along with stubble of the previous harvest. The figures for the area under each crop, wet and dry, are given below:



The net is cast. Will there be a catch? — Fishermen at work : of the 117 workers among the Nattars who are traditional fishermen, only 12 pursue their hereditary avocation. The tank is situated in Ayyangarkulam. But after a hard day's work the catch is rather meagre. Though a Fisherman's Society exists for their benefit, the nets used are archaic and practices are rudimentary.

Name of crop	Acres - Cents
Paddy	247 82
Ragi	2 81
Varagu	2 39
Groundnut	18 73
Gram	1 2
Vegetables	17 57

About 50 acres are current fallow. Thus, paddy and groundnut form the two main crops in the village. In spite of nearly 224 acres being dry lands, dry crops such as kambu and maize are conspicuous by their absence, the area under ragi and varagu being negligible. This is because, even on dry lands, the agriculturists raise wet crops, thanks to the wells on those lands as also the illicit taking of water from the tanks for which the Government levy water rate and penalty known as 'Theervai Jasti'. The main sources of irrigation in this village are tanks and wells. There are no pump sets on wet lands because of sub-division and fragmentation of holdings and no single individual possesses more than five acres of wet land in any block. On the other hand, dry lands are owned in fairly large plots and hence there are three pumpsets attached to irrigation wells on dry lands. The different tanks and their ayacuts are given below:

Name of Tank	Ayacut Acres - Cents
Kil Tangal	35 70
Mel Tangal	16 69
Patta Tangal	21 78
Spring Bailing (Kasam)	15 4
Ottan Tangal	27 9
	116 30

Well Irrigation

103. The average ayacut of a well is 5 acres. Round wells are more popular than square wells and they usually have a diameter of 16'. The water table is found at 24' and two crops are raised on the lands irrigated by the wells. Even in summer these wells have water upto a depth of 14' to 16'.

Agricultural Superstitions

104. There are certain superstitions connected with the agricultural rites and practices adopted in this village by all communities. On the first day on which ploughing is commenced, they perform puja to Lord Ganesa when the plough is yoked to the oxen and this ceremony is called 'Eru Kattuthal'. They consult the purohit and fix an auspicious day for commencing ploughing and sowing seeds. Harvesting will invariably be undertaken only on a Saturday. If any other day seems to be more suitable, they harvest two or three ears on a Saturday to mark the commencement of harvesting and do the actual work on the suitable day. All other operations connected with cultivation are commenced on Friday. When the produce is harvested, two bundles of grain out of the produce of one acre are taken and kept separately. These two bundles are divided into three equal portions. One portion is given to the 'Neerganti' or the person in charge of distribution of water from the tanks, one to the blacksmith and one to the carpenter. This would amount to about one marakal per head. This practice is in vogue because it is said to confer blessings on the produce raised.

Agricultural Labour

105. Agricultural labour is provided by the Valluva Pandarams. They provide 45 out of a total of 65 agricultural labourers in the village. Thirteen of them are provided by the Nattars. But this does not exhaust the extent of agricultural labour employed in the fields. People from surrounding areas and from other taluks are also employed on the fields, but these are mostly Harijans.

106. The ownership of land by households of different castes is shown in Table No. XX.

TABLE No. XX

Households owning or possessing land or have given out land to others for cultivation

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Name of interest on land	Total	5 cents and below	5-10 cents	10-20 cents	20-50 cents	50 cents to 1 acre	1 to 2.4 acres	2.5 to 4.9 acres	5 to 10 acres	10 acres and above
HINDUS											
	Land owned	110	...	2	1	11	28	38	22	8	...
Mudaliar	No land	101	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Land owned	19	...	...	...	2	5	6	4	2	...
Nattar	No land	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Land owned	13	...	...	...	2	3	1	3	4	...
Valluvan	No land	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Land owned	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...
Naicker	No land	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai	No land	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Land owned	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Achari	No land	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu	No land	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pandithar	No land	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan	No land	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chettiar	No land	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	No land	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rao	No land	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Irular	No land	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	No land	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**335**	...	**2**	**1**	**15**	**37**	**47**	**29**	**14**	...

Total No. of land owners: 145
Total No. of households having no land: 190

Land Owning Class

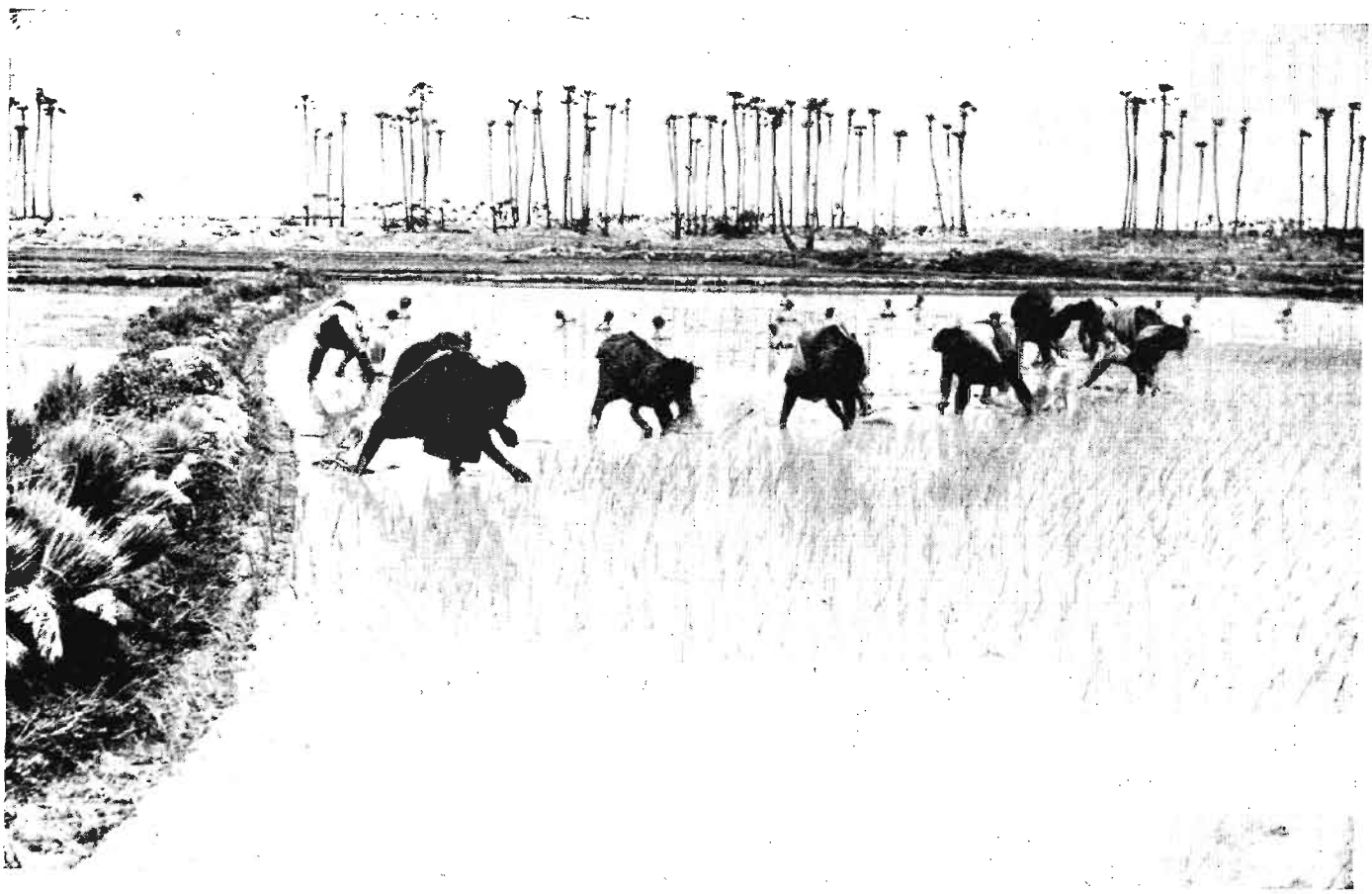
Only 43% of the total households in the village own land. In figures, 145 out of 335 households in the village own lands. Community-wise, 13 households among the Pandarams, 19 households among the Nattars, 110 households among the Mudaliars and one household among the Acharis own land. The remaining 190 households own no land. The Chettiar, Dhoby, Pandithar, Iyengar, Naicker, Pillai and Muslim communities own no lands. They are not agriculturists and are fully engaged in their traditional occupations or in business. Of the other cultivating communities, 20 households among the Pandarams, 6 households among the Acharis, 26 households among the Nattars and 101 households among the Mudaliars own no lands. Thus, it is evident that the bulk of the land owning population come from the Mudaliar community. It is also significant that only 12 out of the 211 Mudaliar households are engaged purely in cultivation. But among the Valluva Pandarams, 14 households are engaged in cultivation and 18 provide the agricultural labour. The big land owners are from the Mudaliar community. Of course, the



Agricultural operations : Puddling rice-fields in progress. After ploughing and manuring this is done with the puddler preparatory to transplanting.



Agricultural Practices — Weeding on a patch of groundnut crop. This is a mixed crop — groundnut and cholam. Groundnut is grown on dry lands and requires constant weeding.



Agricultural Practices - Paddy - Transplanting of seedlings in process. The broadcast method of sowing is not followed. Seedlings are purchased either locally or from nearby villages and repaid in the shape of seed grain. Transplanting is done by women folk.

size is only relative to the village as no household in any community owns more than 10 acres of land. Thus, the size of a holding tends to be small in the village and there are no large scale holdings. Out of the 110 Mudaliar households owning land, 8 households own between 5 to 10 acres, 22 between 2½ to 5 acres, 38 between 1 to 2½ acres and the remaining 42 own less than one acre. There are two households owning between 5-10 cents of land. Among the Pandarams the distribution is more even. Only 4 households out of the 13 land owning households own between 5 to 10 acres. Three households own between 2½ to 5 acres, one household between 1 to 2½ acres. The remaining five households own land varying in extent from 20 cents to one acre. Among the Nattars, there are two households owning more than 5 acres, 10 housholds owning land ranging from 1 to 5 acres and 7 households have only small bits of land less than one acre in extent. But from a study of the occupational structure of the village, it would be evident that Mudaliars as a class do not tend to till the land, but prefer to let the land on lease to the Pandarams and the Nattars, preferring to get a regular Melvaram. This is but natural as weaving is a full-time cocupation and a Sengunthar cannot devote his attention to both agriculture and weaving. They thus divert their entire energy to the task of producing excellent silk fabrics preferring to lease out their lands to such of those who wish to take to agriculture as a main occupation and are satisfied with the lease amount paid to them in kind. This is all the more reason why they are in more affluent circumstances compared to the members of other communities.

Landlord - tenant relationship

107. A peculiar system of landlord-tenant relationship is found in this village. The actual cultivators can neither be called agricultural labourers nor cultivating tenants. They are neither paid any wages for the different agricultural operations they undertake nor do they get 60% share of the total produce which is due to them under the Fair Rent Act if they were tenant cultivators. On the other hand, the landlord pays the kist or land revenue and supplies the tenants with seeds and manures at his own cost. The remaining items of expenditure such as ploughing, transplantation, harvesting etc., are borne by the tenants who are the actual tillers of the soil. The tenants own the agricultural implements and bear the expenditure at the time of harvesting. In return, they get 34% of the produce of the land cultivated, the remaining 66% accruing to the landlord. Before 1955, the share of the landlord was 70% as against the tenant's share of 30%. But a gradual awakening of the fear of Revenue Court has led to the reduction of the share of the landlord by 4%, not much of a concession indeed! One of the Harijans called 'Neerganti' is the common watchman to look after the crops as well as to effect equitable distribution of water from the tanks. He is paid at the rate of one marakal of paddy or millets for every 60 marakals of grain harvested and this is invariably paid out of the landlord's share of the produce. In spite of this seemingly inequitable distribution of the Melvaram and Kudivaram rights, we were surprised to observe that there was no estranged relationship between the Mudaliars and Nattars as land owners and the Pandarams as tenants, nor did we come across any difference of opinion between the owners of the land and the agricultural labourers who come from among the Valluva Pandarams and other Harijans from the surrounding areas. The wages paid to agricultural labourers were reasonable, though not an economic wage and was comparable to those found in surrounding areas. They were Rs. 1-8-0 for ploughing and for harvesting per day, the only difference being for the latter operation wages are paid in kind and annas 14 per woman for transplanting and weeding per day. The cultivators are responsible for the ploughing of land, the levelling operations, seed bed raising, transplanting, weeding and finally harvesting. The Pandarams who form the bulk of the tenant population possess agricultural implements and not the landlords. As these implements are owned there is no need to hire them. The landlords advance money for expenditure on the work done by the tenants without charging them any interest and they recover it from the share of the agricultural produce due to the tenants. The entire quantity of the straw goes to the tenants.

108. There have been nine instances of crop failures, but they have never been so serious as to petition the Government for remission of Land Revenue. They also experience crop diseases,

invasion of pests for which pesticides like 'Gammaxene', 'Endrine' and 'Follidol' are applied. These have to be purchased from Kancheepuram town at the Agricultural Depot or from the Block Office. However, our enquiries reveal that the Block Staff were not prompt in supplying the villagers with pesticides when they were needed thus leading to poor harvests. Prompt supply of insecticides and manures is the *sine qua non* of agricultural activity and the lack of it has to a large extent hampered cultivation operations in the village. Probably the Senguntha Mudaliars are far-sighted enough to realise the hazards inherent in agriculture and as a result prefer to take to their traditional occupation of weaving which even though not keeping them entirely above want, at least ensures them a steady income throughout the year. They leave the actual cultivation to their tenants preferring to enjoy the benefits of 66% of the produce accruing to them by their holding the Melvaram rights. In case of failure of crops the loss of seed and manure is borne by the landlords. So reasonable are the landlords of Ayyangarkulam and such is the relationship between them and the tenants that during times of crisis only half the amount advanced by them to the cultivators for commencing agricultural operations is recovered and that too from the produce of the next harvest.

Agriculture—a gamble

109. Table XXI below indicates the extent of reciprocal aids between farmers while conducting agricultural operations and is an index of the extent of co-operation among the various communities.

TABLE No. XXI

Reciprocal aid in Agricultural Practices

Caste/Tribe/community	Number of households practising agriculture	No. of households that borrow, agricultural implements from others at the time of cultivation	No. of households that take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting	No. of households that assist neighbours and receive help at the time of cultivation in the shape of manual labour	Remarks
HINDUS					
Mudaliar	99	99	99	99	
Nattar	17	17	17	17	
Valluvan	27	27	27	27	
Others	2	2	2	2	

All the households among the Mudaliars, Nattars, Harijans and others who practise agriculture mutually lend agricultural implements whenever there is occasion for it and people are not averse to taking help from neighbours at the time of sowing and harvesting. Similarly, every household assists its neighbours by providing agricultural labour during the cultivation operations. This practice is not restricted only to Ayyangarkulam village, but is prevalent everywhere in the area. This is exclusive of the agricultural labour provided by Pandarams and others who work for wages. This help is extended not for wages, but purely out of a desire to perform a Good Samaritan act.

Reciprocal aid in agriculture

110. Since paddy is the most important crop in the village, it would be interesting to describe the cultivation practices adopted by the villagers of Ayyangarkulam while raising paddy. The cultivation of paddy on Nanjai land is done in the following manner. There are two methods adopted in this village known in the local terminology as 'Sethukal' and 'Puzhudhikal'. In the former, the land is irrigated by water from the five tanks through channels and then ploughed with the country plough four or five times, both lengthwise and breadthwise. The soil is then

Paddy cultivation

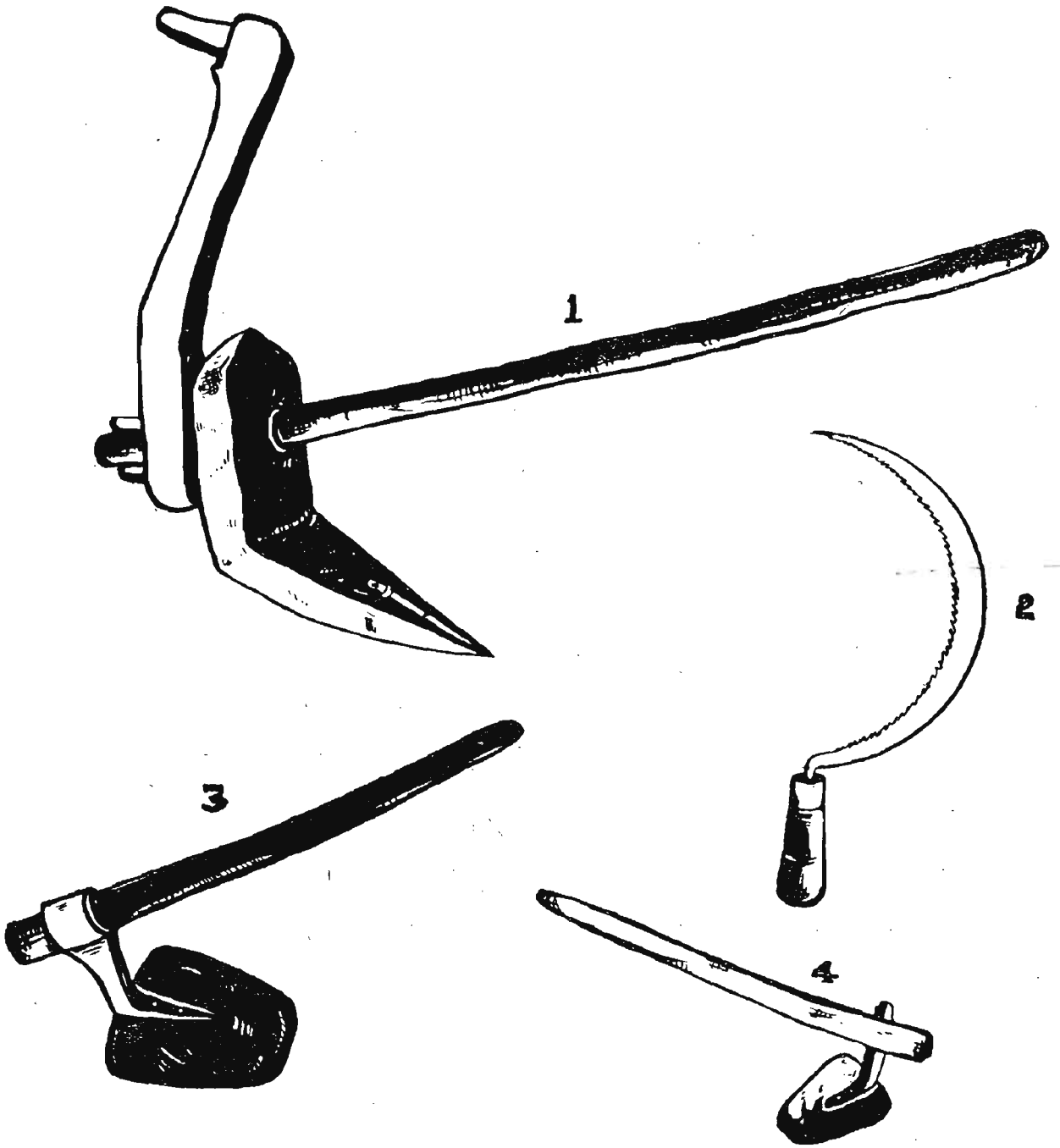
mixed with leaves, cow dung etc. The land thus prepared is again ploughed for a couple of times. The clods of earth are thus broken up and the land turned into a regular mire. A harrow is then drawn over the surface in order to smoothen it. Meanwhile, the seeds obtained from last year's harvest or from the agricultural depot is placed in a large mud pot, treated with agrosan and allowed to germinate slowly. Kept in this way for three days, it is taken out and sown on the field where there is a little stagnation of water. Next day the field is drained and is left for four or five days to become dry. Within that time the seeds sprout to a height of 1" or so. It is then watered by slow degrees. The sprouts grow up gradually. Weeding operations are kept up from time to time until the paddy is fully grown and is ripe for harvesting. Three marakals of seed of eight measures each are sown on an acre of land and will generally produce 'Ceteris Paribus' about 100 marakals of paddy in return. In a major portion of the area in Ayyangarkulam an easier method of cultivation normally adopted is that of transplanting tender paddy shoots. The seed is sown in a small plot rendered empty and is left to grow for forty to fifty days. When it has shot up to a height of a foot or so, the young plants are transplanted into the field which is prepared for the purpose. This process is known as 'Nathu Naduthal' and is done by women folk. In the transplantation method of raising paddy, most of the villagers do not have seed-beds of their own. No land is set apart for raising seedlings. This is no doubt a short-sighted policy as at times seedlings are not available and have to be transported from other areas at great cost. It is only where the Japanese method of cultivation is practised, that nurseries and seed-beds are set apart for the purpose. The farmers, when in need of seedlings for transplanting, purchase these seedlings from adjacent villages in exchange for grains or seeds which they provide during the time of harvest. Normally, this is only on barter basis and money does not change hands. The villagers were telling me that the Agriculture Department could not effect arrangements to ensure that these shoots were made available to them in time and hence on many occasions they had to delay their transplanting on account of the non-availability of these shoots. The best method would be for the Block Staff to prepare seed beds according to the Japanese method in the village itself and ensure that the agriculturists get these shoots at the right time. That the yield depends entirely on the monsoon is too well known to merit mention.

Types of paddy cultivated

111. The chief varieties of paddy cultivated in the area are Samba and Kar. Of the Samba varieties the Kodai Samba is cultivated at the beginning of the cultivation year, i.e., around about May or June. In Ayyangarkulam, a second crop is also raised about December/January on lands on which the first crop of Kodai Samba has already been raised. The Sirumani and Chinna Samba are cultivated from July onwards. Two crops of Kar are also raised in a year. Kullakar and Perunkar are also raised in large quantities, the first crop being initiated in the month of May or June and the second in December.

Agricultural implements and improved methods of cultivation

112. The implements used would be evident from the sketches shown below. The villagers are not very keen on adopting improved types of implements either. Among Valluva Pandarams who form the main cultivating class, we saw a bose plough or an improved variety of a common plough with an iron tip. But the other implements like the hoe, the spade and the crowbar were evident everywhere. Even in the few places where the Japanese method of cultivation has been demonstrated by the Block Development Authorities, things remain as archaic as before and signs of villagers taking to Japanese method of cultivation are not noticeable.



Archaic Agricultrural implements used by the villagers of Ayyangarkulam.

1. The wooden plough.
2. The Scythe.
3. Spade.
4. Weeder.



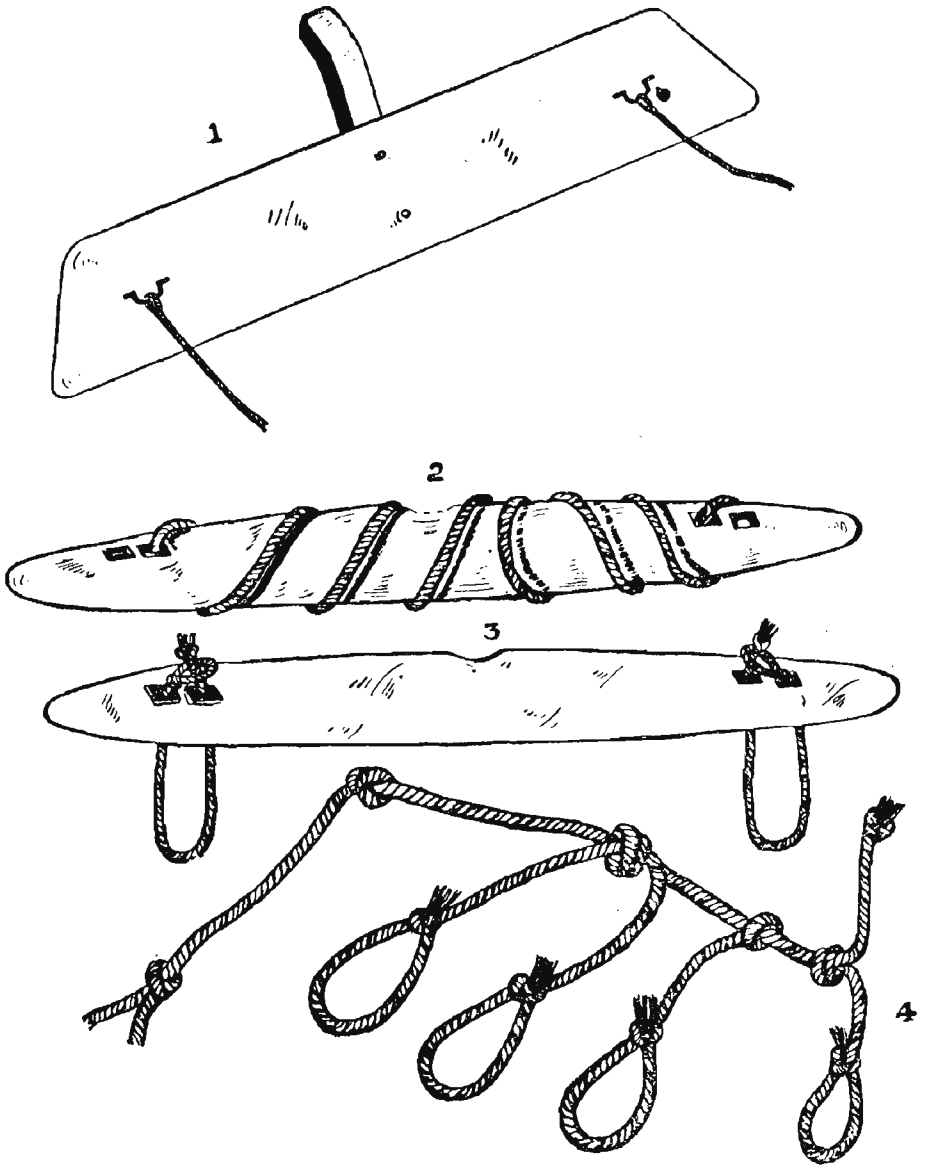
At high noon, in the heat of the day, still they work in the fields ploughing the hard soil now softened by rain—Ploughing operations in progress.



Mid-afternoon siesta under the green-wood tree A pair of draught bullocks which provide the motive power in agriculture.



Livestock need improvement — A view of Ayyangarkulam cattle. The shepherd who is a Valluva Pandaram tends the village cattle for a nominal wage. Not for the cattle the rich feed. They browse amidst sparse vegetation. Stubble on the field forms the daily diet. Straw is a luxury enjoyed by draught bullocks.



AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS IN AYYANGARKULAM

1. The leveller—This is used to level the surface after ploughing and watering of paddy fields. This is attached to oxen and manipulated by an agricultural labourer.
2 & 3. Yoke for the bullock.
4. The rope to yoke the bullocks.

TABLE No. XXII

Household and development activities

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of house-holds	Secured						Derived benefit			Participated in	
		Better types of cattle	Better seeds	Better implements	More land for cultivation	Use of pesticides	Better manure	Improved method of cultivation like Japanese cultivation	Land improvement measures like reclamation, conservation, consolidation etc.,	National Extension Service or Community Project	Received demonstration in improved agricultural practices	In activities, works of Community Project by contribution of land, labour, cash or material
Mudaliar	211	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...

Both organic and inorganic manures are used by the villagers. The common type of manure used is obtained from leaves and animal waste. Pig manure is used whenever available, but this is costly and so people do not utilise it as much as they should. Ammonium Sulphate and Super Phosphate are also being increasingly used as manure. This is supplied by the Agricultural Depot and at times by the Block Development Staff. But here again villagers complained that they do not get these manures in time and have to purchase from the 'Black Market' in the town of Kancheepuram. They want the Co-operative Society to supply these manures promptly and expeditiously on the presentation of an application. The ushering in of Panchayat Raj and the consequent taking over of such activities by them will, it is hoped, improve conditions to a considerable extent. The Block Development Staff have contributed to a certain extent in developing the manurial resources of this village by digging 22 compost pits for preparing manure. The manure produced out of these pits is far below the requirements of the 340 and odd acres of cultivable land in the village.

113. Table No. XXIII indicates the quantum of agricultural produce in the village and the mode of their disposal.

TABLE No. XXIII

Quantum of Agricultural produce and disposal

Community	Particulars	Name of Products: Paddy (lbs)	Ragi (lbs)	Varagu (lbs)	Ground-nut (lbs)	Horse gram (lbs)
Mudaliar	Annual quantity produced	1,49,400	1,728	1,584	15,910	...
	Total annual quantity consumed by the producing households.	61,920	3,33,504	...	...	...
	Total annual quantity available for sale	87,480	...	1,584	15,910	...
Nattar	Annual quantity produced	25,800	...	...	2,752	531
	Annual quantity consumed	15,840	...	...	...	...
	Annual quantity available for sale	9,960	...	...	2,752	531
Valluvans	Annual quantity produced	29,040	360	297	...	...
	Annual quantity consumed	7,920	41,904	...	...	...
	Annual quantity available for sale	21,120	...	297	...	...
Achari	Annual quantity produced	960	...	...	...	...
	Annual quantity consumed	1080	...	...	...	...
	Annual quantity available for sale	...	...	...	...	...
Naicker	Annual quantity produced	3,960	...	...	...	...
	Annual quantity consumed	1,080	...	...	...	...
	Annual quantity available for sale	2,880	...	...	...	...

TABLE No. XXIV

Quantum of Agricultural Produce

Caste / Tribe / Community	Total No. of households engaged in agriculture	No. of house-holds self-sufficient in food grains	No. of house-holds with surplus produce	No. of house-holds with deficit
HINDUS				
Mudaliar	99	17	82	...
Nattar	17	3	14	...
Valluvan	27	8	11	8

Of the five crops produced in the village excluding vegetables for which it is not easy to work out figures of production and which are normally used for home consumption, paddy and groundnut form the important crops which are marketable. The Mudaliars are able to producc 1,49,400 lbs. of paddy and 15,910 lbs. of groundnut on their land. Of this, they consume 61,920 lbs. of paddy and thus have 87,480 lbs. as surplus for sale of paddy. 15,910 lbs. of groundnut are sold at Kancheepuram. The Pandarams produce 29,040 lbs. of paddy of which they consume 7,920 lbs. and 21,120 lbs. are available for sale. The Nattars produce 25,800 lbs. of paddy and 2,752 lbs. of groundnut of which they consume 15,840 lbs. of paddy. They have thus 9,960 lbs. of paddy and 2,752 lbs. of groundnut for sale.

Quantum of Agricultural produce

114. Grain, winnowed after the harvest, is taken and stored in huge silos which are cylindrical bins made of mud smeared on the outside with liquid cow-dung. These bins are of 8′ to 10′ height with a diameter of 1 to 2 feet. The size of the silo differs according to the land holding of the agriculturists; for example, agriculturists owning vast tracts of land have to build bigger silos to store their grains. The grain is then poured into the silos and the top lid is closed. A certain portion of the grain is set apart to germinate and to be used as seed, which has to be handed over to the persons who provide the seedlings. These silos, though effective in preventing dampness, do not protect the grains from the depredations of insects and vermin. Where the grains can be quickly transported they are stored in gunny bags in a room and then hurriedly transported by bullock carts to Kancheepuram town.

Storage of produce

115. The disposal of agricultural produce as well as the silk and other fabrics produced by the Sengunthars in this village necessarily raises the question of marketing the goods. In most villages the common mode employed is to take the produce in a bullock-cart to the nearest town which is a commercial centre and sell the paddy or other grain to local dealers or to commission agents who charge a price for effecting the sale. Thus different rates are prevalent in the market not only on different days but also between sellers. This is possible only because buyers put up an united front and prices are fixed not only according to the quality of grain, but also according to the bargaining power displayed by the seller. This situation can be obviated to a considerable extent if sellers are united and present a formidable front to buyer's. All that is happening in villages is that conditions in which there is a monopsony, otherwise a buyer's market are prevalent and so farmers have no alternative but to sell their produce at varying rates and far below the current market rates. They can bargain if they have proper storage facilities, proper transport facilities and the necessary financial backing to tide over the time lag between harvesting and sale. After all, farmers have to live and they have no other alternative, but to live on the sale proceeds of their grain which they have carefully nurtured, grown and harvested during the year. Further, most of them are in debt to meet the day-to-day expenses of their livelihood and also to cover the cultivating expenses. This they can repay only if they sell their produce and money-lenders are not willing to wait. In a majority of cases most of the production will have to be pledged with the money-lenders in order to pay part of the principal as well as interest. Such being the case is it to be wondered that farmers do not get a steady income to make agriculture a remunerative occupation? The establishment of an Agricultural Marketing Society which carries with it such amenities like provision of ware housing facilities, provision of loans to meet cultivating expenses and to cover the time lag between harvest and sale, grading of products, good transport facilities and thereby better bargaining power is most essential for Ayyangarkulam. But this is absent in Ayyangarkulam and so the villagers to this day take their produce individually for sale at Kancheepuram. The only silver lining in the dark clouds hemming the horizon of these farmers is the fact that Kancheepuram is very near to Ayyangarkulam and is connected by good roads and the problem of transport is not difficult. As soon as harvesting is over, the grain is quickly transported by carts and sold there. It is only the purchase price which they are not in a position to regulate which is far below what is normal and is expected.

Agricultural marketing

116. There are three Co-operative Societies started in the village which are supposed to be functioning, but in reality are dormant. Table No. XXV gives details of these Co-operative Societies.

TABLE No. XXV

Co-operative Societies

Name of Co-operative Society	Number of members belonging to			Number that have not become members because of	
	Caste/Tribe etc. (1)	Caste/Tribe etc. (2)	Caste/Tribe etc. 3	Reason (1)	Reason (2)
	Mudaliar	Nattar	Pillai	Social disabilities	Lack of finance
Credit Society	9	17	1	Valluvan 28	...
Weaving Society	9	9	...	Pandithar 5	...
Fishermen Society	...	11	...	Vannan 4	241
				Irular 1	...
Total	**18**	**37**	**1**	**38**	**241**

Co-operative Credit Society

The first is the Co-operative Credit Society which provides short term loans to its members. It has a membership of 103. The actual paid-up share capital comes to only Rs. 622/- while the outstanding dues as on date is Rs. 3,000/-. According to the village Munsiff, the members lose contact with the society as soon as they get their loans sanctioned. Because of the low interest charged, low compared to the money lenders, 5½% per annum, the members are tempted to repay the Co-operative loans at their leisure. Benami transactions are very common in this village. Loans given for productive purposes are being utilised for unproductive expenditure like marriages, festivals etc.

Co-operative Weavers' Society

117. The second society in the village is the Weavers' Co-operative Society which has a membership of 80. But not all weavers among the Sengunthars have become members of this Co-operative Society, preferring to work for wages under master weavers in Kancheepuram and as independent weavers in Ayyangarkulam. The paid-up share capital comes to Rs. 1,500/- while loans taken on securities and which are outstanding in May 1961 is Rs. 2,200/-. It is a Sales Society and the products given by the members for sale are only cotton sarees. Thus, silk sarees are not being sold through this Co-operative Society and since a majority of the weavers in Ayyangarkulam produce only silk fabrics, sales are effected in Kancheepuram town or are given to the master weavers with the result that this society is fast becoming dormant and is unable to provide that assistance to the weavers which was expected at the time of its inauguration.

Fishermen Co-operative Society

118. The third society is that of the Fishermen's Co-operative Society which has a membership of 53 with a share capital of Rs. 590/-. This society has also an amount of 1,000/- as outstanding dues as on May 1961. Among the Nattars, as stated earlier, only 12 are active fishermen and so even though this society has a membership of 53, it is not able to pay its way to a considerable extent because of lack of interest displayed by people whose traditional occupation is fishing but who prefer to follow the footsteps of the Sengunthars by taking to weaving and business. Further the very nature of this occupation, depending completely on chance and luck, prevents this society from being of great use to the Nattars.

119. Unless certain reforms are speedily brought about in the working of the Co-operative Societies in the village there is not much hope of increasing the economic prosperity of the villagers. The ***Status quo*** may continue but that is not the ideal to be aspired for. One suggestion would be the inauguration of a Co-operative Marketing Society for agriculturists and a Multi-purpose Sales Society for selling silk fabrics produced by the weavers of the village. All weavers should compulsorily be brought within the ambit of this society. Another alternative will be to merge the three Co-operative Societies now extant in the village and consolidate them into one Multi-purpose Co-operative Society. This should embrace all important occupations like weaving, agriculture and fishing. The society can not only negotiate with wholesalers to supply the weavers with the necessary raw materials, but also effectively market their products. It can also provide necessary loans to tide over any economic crisis.

Suggestions for Improvement

120. Livestock and supply of credit form the twin pillars of an agrarian economy. Cultivation in villages being rudimentary in nature, calling for the use of the traditional plough, needs the motive power of oxen if it is to return good dividends. The absence of healthy livestock in the village acts as a serious impediment both from the point of view of fair yield per acre and the serious effects on proper nutrition. The farmer may not be very serious in a village like Ayyangarkulam where there are only 340 acres of cultivable land, but a study of yield per acre makes one conclude that in addition to the lack of proper manure and the use of age-old implements, the absence of healthy oxen may also be a contributory factor towards the poor return to the agriculturists. In spite of the number of milch cattle, we came across very few instances where milk formed a regular feature of the daily diet of an average villager. As everyone knows, milk is a 'must' for healthy living and for the growth of young children. Notwithstanding the presence of a key village centre in the village, there are not very many improved breeds of livestock as villagers are not willing, due to sentimental reasons, to resort to artificial insemination and other modern methods.

Condition of Livestock

121. Livestock statistics according to Socio Economic Survey are shown in Table No. XXVI

TABLE No. XXVI

Livestock statistics including fishery

Caste / Tribe / Community	Milch cattle		Draught bullock		Goat / Sheep		Pig		Duck / Geese		Fowl		Fisheries	
	No. of house-holds owning	Total No.	No. of house-holds owning	Total No.	No. of house-holds owning	Total No.	No. of house-holds owning	Total No.	No. of house-holds owning	Total No.	No. of house-holds owning	Total No.	No. of house-holds owning	Total No.
HINDUS														
Mudaliar	51	76	22	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nattar	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...
Valluvan	18	64	6	10	...	...	18	69	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naicker	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pillai	5	9	1	1	3	165	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Achari	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Naidu	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pandithar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vannan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chettiar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rao	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Irular	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS														
Total	**80**	**157**	**29**	**48**	**3**	**165**	**18**	**69**	...	...	...	...	**9**	...

Eighty households in the village own 157 milch cattle. Of these, 51 Mudaliar households own 76 cows and 18 Pandaram households own 64 cows. The Valluva Pandarams of the village seem to possess relatively more cattle per household than Mudaliars and other communities. But most of the cattle found with the Pandarams looked very emaciated and were not capable of producing even quarter measure of milk per day. They just exist without any purpose. On the other hand, the cattle owned by Mudaliars were all improved stock and were capable of yielding anything between two to three Madras measures per day. The milk from these cattle were utilised for providing young children with milk whenever they needed it—though this was not a daily feature—or for coffee and tea. There was no surplus available in the village for sale. Twenty-nine households owned 48 drought cattle for cultivation purposes. Of these, 22 Mudaliar households owned 37 bullocks and 6 Pandaram households 10 bullocks. Thus, these 48 oxen did the duty of ploughing about 300 acres of land. No wonder the land yielded poor returns. Rearing of goats and sheep seem to be the absolute monopoly of the Pillai community. The three households own a total of 163 sheep and two goats. There were 69 pigs in the village, all owned by 18 Valluva Pandaram households. These pigs are used for sacrifice during important festivals and the manure is sold at exorbitant rates to the cultivators who require them. There were about 70 pullets and cocks, all of them of the indigenous variety and the villagers displayed a strange lack of enthusiasm towards any attempt to improve the stock by importing leghorns. Even the stockman in charge of the key village centre has not shown sufficient interest in supplying improved breeds of poultry and inculcating in the villagers a desire to increase or improve the existing stock.

Livestock Statistics

122. The key village centre is under the control of the stockman compounder with headquarters at Ayyangarkulam. It is not attached to the block, but it is part of the general scheme undertaken by the Animal Husbandry Department. Its jurisdiction extends over eighteen villages including Ayyangarkulam. In terms of achievements during the last one year, i.e., 1960-61, artificial insemination has been performed in the case of fifty cows and ten buffaloes. Preventive inoculations have been given to a thousand heads of cattle. Though these were not forced on the people, it took some amount of persuasion and propaganda for them to accept modern methods of prevention and cure. Fifty cattle have been castrated and over four hundred and fifty cattle have been treated for various types of cattle diseases during the period under review. The semen used for artificial insemination is taken from the 'Sahival' variety for cows and 'Murrah' variety for buffaloes and this is brought in a jeep on alternate days from Kancheepuram. There are now ten calves of the improved variety of milk yielders in the village and of these, four have been subsidised. According to the stockman compounder, the number of calves subsidised should be increased as also the amount of drugs available for inoculation and treatment of diseased cattle.

Key village centre

123. There is no cattle pound in the village. Stray cattle have to be taken to the cattle pound at Sevilimedu which is about four miles away from Ayyangarkulam, but in actual practice, people impound stray cattle at Abdullahpuram, a village less than a mile away from Ayyangarkulam and lying in North Arcot district.

Lack of cattle pound

124. Table XXVII below presents to the reader a general picture of the monthly income of every household by source of income and occupation of the members of that particular household.

TABLE No. XXVII

Monthly Income of households by source and occupations

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Occupation of a household	Source of Income	Monthly Income per household in the range of				
			Rs. 25 or less	Rs. 26 to Rs. 50	Rs. 51 to Rs. 75	Rs. 76 to Rs. 100	Rs. 101 and over
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
HINDUS							
Mudaliar	Cultivation 12, Weaving 91, Weaving and Cultivation 81, Business 3, Cultivation and Business 4, Business and Industry 1, Other occupations 13, not stated 6. (Supported by relations.)	...	26	97	57	16	15
Nattar	Cultivation 9, Weaving 17, Fish sale 2, Cultivation and Industry 6, Other occupations 10, not stated 1. (Supported by relations.)	...	6	28	7	3	1
Valluvan	Cultivation 14, Other occupations 18, not stated 1. (Supported by relations.)	...	16	11	2	4	...
Naicker	Weaving 3, Other occupations 6.	...	1	4	3	1	...
Pillai	Weaving 1, Cultivation 1, Pottery 1, Other occupations 5.	...	...	6	1	1	...
Achari	Goldsmith 4, Carpenter 2, Blacksmith 1.	By job work	...	5	1	...	1
Naidu	Weaving 2, Cycle repairer 1, Other occupations 2.	...	...	4	...	...	1
Pandithar	Barber 5.	Service	2	3	...	...	...
Vannan	Dhobi 4.	Service	...	4	...	...	...
Chettiar	Provision Store 1, Cultivation and Business 1.	...	...	2	...	...	...
Brahmin	Koil-pusari 1.	...	...	1	...	...	...
Rao	Tailor 1.	Industry	1	...	...	...	...
Irular	Cooly 1.	Cooly	1	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	Mat-weaving 2, Weaving 1.	Industry	...	3	...	...	...
	Total No. of households 335		**53**	**168**	**71**	**25**	**18**

TABLE No. XXVIII

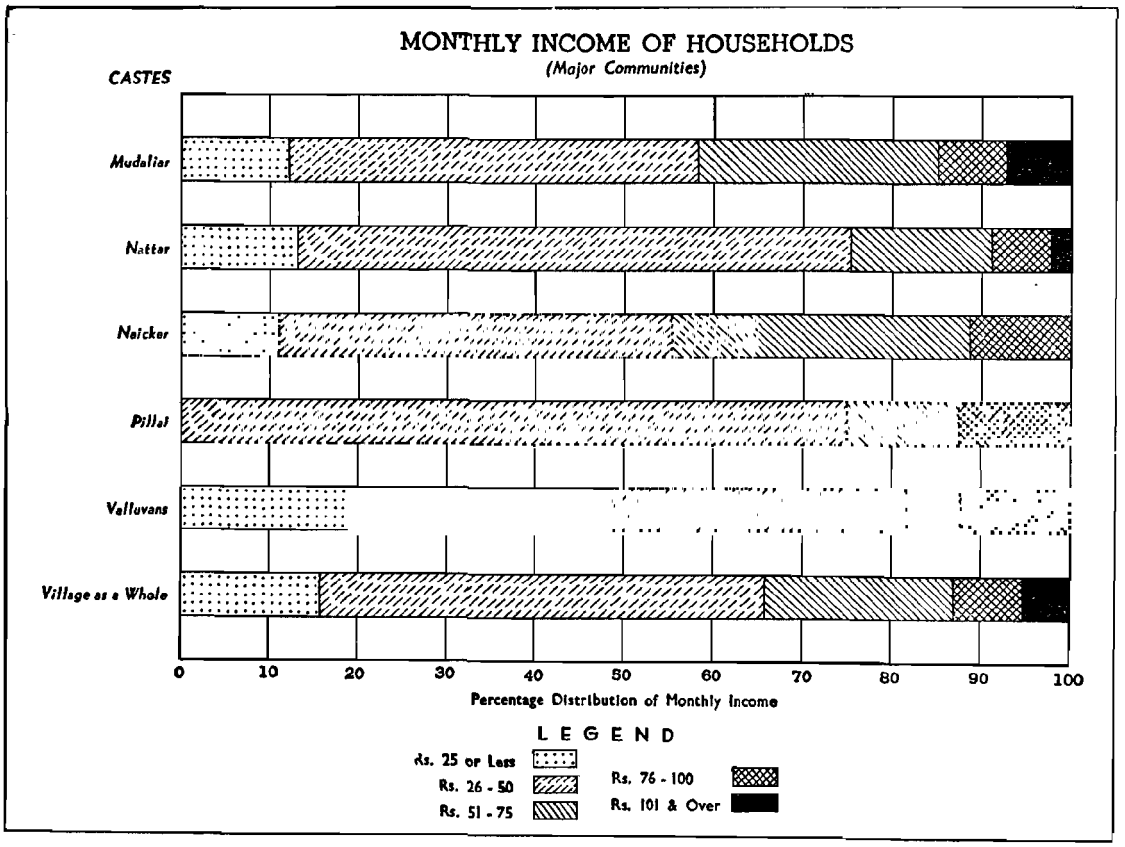
Monthly Income

Caste / Community	No. of households having a monthly income of Rs. 50 or less	No. of households having a monthly income of Rs. 51—100	No. of households having a monthly income of Rs. 101 and above
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
HINDUS			
Mudaliar	123	73	15
Nattar	34	10	1
Valluvan	27	6	...
Naicker	5	4	...
Pillai	6	2	...
Achari	5	1	1
Naidu	4	...	1
Pandithar	5	...	...
Vannan	4	...	...
Chettiar	2	...	...
Brahmin	1	...	...
Rao	1	...	...
Irular	1	...	...
MUSLIMS	3	...	...
Total	**221**	**96**	**18**

Monthly Income of households

On the whole, out of 335 households in the village, only 18 households enjoy an income of over Rs. 100/- per month. Of these, 15 households are Mudaliar and one each of Achari, Naidu and Nattar households. These 15 Mudaliar households combine weaving with cultivation. The Nattar household which earns over Rs. 100/- combines cultivation with industry, the Naidu household is engaged in weaving, whilst the Achari household takes to goldsmithy as a profession. Fifty-three households in the village earn a monthly income of less than Rs. 25/-. Twenty-six of these belong to the Mudaliar community, 16 to the Pandaram and 6 to the Nattar communities. Among the 33 Pandaram households in the village, nearly 50% of them earn below a subsistence income. The 26 Mudaliar households who reside in Kiltheru form the poorer group among the comparatively richer Sengunthars, though their occupation is weaving. With so many households engaged in weaving, it is but natural to find disparities in income returns and some households necessarily earn much less than others. Skill as well as financial backing also play an important part in this game of survival and so among the Mudaliars we find that there are those who carry on a hand to mouth existence. The general range of income in the village seems to be between Rs. 26/- and Rs. 50/-. Eleven Valluva Pandaram households and 28 Nattar households also belong to this income bracket. Fifty-seven households earn an income ranging from Rs. 51/- to Rs. 75/- and all belong to the Mudaliar community, twelve being cultivating households and the remaining 45 combining weaving with cultivation. Sixteen Mudaliar households earn between Rs. 75/- and Rs. 100/- per month. Of these, 4 households combine business with cultivation and the rest weaving with cultivation. Mat-weaving, tailoring and hair dressing do not seem to be very lucrative professions in the village. The two mat weaving households among the Muslims and the 5 barber

households among the Pandithars all earn income less than Rs. 50/- per month. Two of the barber households and one tailor household actually earn less than Rs. 25/- per month. The total income of all the households in the village works out roughly to Rs. 16,700/-. The average income per month per household roughly works out to Rs. 50/-. From this, it is apparent that only 114 households or 34% of the total earn more than the average. On the other hand, the total workers in the village number 791 and the average income per worker is only Rs. 21/- per month.



However, as the practice in the village is for all members of the household to work in common and pool their resources, a scrutiny of the data relating to income on the basis of the household will present a more realistic picture. It would then be apparent that except for about 18 households who earn a steady income of over Rs. 100/-, the rest are marginal and sub-marginal housholds, the tendency in the village being more towards households earning income between Rs. 25 to Rs. 50/-. Even this income is not regular as both the main occupations of weaving and agriculture are, to a large extent, dependent on weather conditions. The former yields income only when the final product is ready and this may be delayed due to a number of causes e.g., during rainy seasons preparatory operations for weaving are impeded. During summer when the temperature sometimes soars above the 100°F mark, warp and weft threads snap often and so the weaving operations are considerably retarded. Agriculture, on the other hand, yields income only seasonally and even then not always according to expectation, as it is conceded that agriculture is mostly a gamble in the monsoon where proper irrigational facilities through a net-work of channels are not available. Even in a household earning an income of over Rs. 100/- if we take the average number of members in each family to be four, the average per capita income comes to Rs. 25/- only. In the case of marginal households, this drops to Rs. 12/- per head. This is definitely below all reasonable norms relating to what constitutes 'Economic Living'.

125. Let us now examine the various items of expenditure incurred by the households in Ayyangarkulam. The main item of expenditure happens to be on food. The actual percentage of expenditure on food varies with the income of the household. This increases as the income increases, but in lesser proportion to increase in the latter. The table showing the pattern of expenditure by various communities is placed on pages 83 and 84 at the end of this chapter. Let us examine the pattern communitywise, the items of expenditure being on the following categories: food, clothing, fuel, luxuries, festivals and debts. Debts we shall exclude, as invariably it is the heaviest item, without exception, among all communities and can be treated separately. The average expenditure per household among the 33 Valluva Pandaram households is Rs. 53·46 and food constitutes 68·88 per cent of the total expenditure. The 16 households in this community earning Rs. 25/- and less per month are in debt, because their expenditure on food tends to outstrip their income, the average expenditure per household on food alone being Rs. 27·75. They do not tend to spend much on clothes, the average expenditure on this item being only Rs. 6·44, but they tend to spend a lot on festivals as the average expenditure per household per month is Rs. 3·18. Thus, expenditure on food and on festivals constitute the contributory factors towards the steep rise in the amount of indebtedness in this community. The average amount to be set apart each month towards discharge of debts is Rs. 12·60, a stupendous sum indeed considering their meagre monthly income of Rs. 25/- or less. The amount to be spent on food, clothes and other items as well as on festivals increases in direct proportion to the size of income of the community. Thus, households earning an income of Rs. 25/- to Rs. 50/- spend on an average Rs. 44·09 and Rs. 4·85 on food and festivals respectively; and households earning an income of Rs. 76/- to Rs. 100/- spend Rs. 70/- on food and Rs, 11·46 on festivals. These have very large amounts of debt also, the former group having an average debt of Rs. 21·59 .and the latter having the huge sum of Rs. 162·50/- per household as debt. Strangely enough, households earning between Rs. 51/- and Rs. 75/- tend to spend less on food and on festivals than the households which earn a lesser income. This is a curious phenomenon among the Valluva Pandarams and no logical explanation is forthcoming for the same.

Monthly expenditure of households

126. Among the Mudaliar communities, the average expenditure per household seems to be Rs. 73·98 against their average income of Rs. 55/- per month. On an average they tend to spend 63·29% of the total expenditure on food. Compared to the Pandarams, Pandithars, Nattars and Naickers, the 26 Mudaliar households earning an income of less than Rs. 25/- per month spend the least on food. They spend only Rs. 19·15 on this item compared to Rs. 27·75 of the Pandaram, Rs. 25/- of the Pandithars, Rs. 20/- of the Nattars and Rs. 40/- of the Naicker in the same income bracket. This tends to prove that they are more thrifty and make an attempt to live well within their means. Another reason for their spending less on food is that they are with few exceptions vegetarians and pulses and vegetables cost much less than fish, meat and eggs. But the same cannot be said of their lavish expenditure on festivals. In the same income bracket, the Mudaliar household spends more on festivals than the Pandarams, the Pandithars and the Naickers. He is exceeded in this ostentation only by the Nattar who spends on an average Re. 1/- more than the expenditure of Rs. 3·48 by the Mudaliar on this item. This love for ostentation finding outlet in lavish expenditure during festivals is a feature of all Mudaliar as well as Nattar households. In the other income brackets, Mudaliars spend Rs. 7·68, Rs. 11·46, Rs. 14·84 and Rs. 21·06 per month respectively on festivals. But they are more frugal in spending on food. Because of their better standard of living, the amount of debt per household is confined to reasonable proportions. Whereas the Nattar households are steeped in debt, the Mudaliars are comparatively better off in this respect. The average amount of debt per households among those who earn an income between Rs. 25/- to Rs. 50/- is Rs. 25·09/- rising to Rs. 44·96/- in the next income bracket and falling to Rs. 33·59/- and again to Rs. 22·78/- in the top two income brackets. But among the Nattars, the amount of debt per household is nearly double

Expenditure—A communitywise study

that of a Mudaliar household in the lower levels of income, rising to the large figure of Rs. 125/- per household in the top income bracket of Rs. 101/- and above. This is due to the large sum of money they tend to spend on food and festivals. Thus the pattern of expenditure reveals that among communities which are comparatively more affluent than others, the Mudaliars tend to be more frugal in spending on necessities and on festivals thereby keeping down the amount of debt whereas the Nattars who are next in importance, both socially and economically, fail to keep in check their expenditure and so get more and more involved in debts.

Expenditure on Festivals

127. The overall picture which strikes the eye regarding the economic life in Ayyangarkulam is that excess of expenditure over income is the rule rather the exception. The main reason seems to be the undue importance given to festivals and the amount of money families tend to waste on this unproductive item of expenditure. We reproduce below data regarding expenditure on festivals per annum per family in the village.

Expenditure on festivals (1)	No. of households (2)	Expenditure on festivals (1)	No. of households (2)
Below Rs. 20	15	Rs. 120 — 139	1
Rs. 20 — 39	40	Rs. 140 — 159	44
Rs. 40 — 59	57	Rs. 160 — 179	1
Rs. 60 — 79	27	Rs. 180 — 199	1
Rs. 80 — 99	18	Rs. 200 & above	49
Rs. 100 — 119	82		

Now it is readily apparent that more than half the number of families spend on an average more than Rs. 100/- on festivals.

Expenditure on Marriages

128. Another special item of expenditure which is mainly responsible for the immanent indebtedness in this village is the expenditure on marriages. Here it will not be out of place to mention that this item of expenditure is wholly unproductive.

Expenditure on marriages	No. of households
Below Rs. 500	78
Rs. 500 — 999	180
Rs. 1,000— 1.999	64
Rs. 2,000 — 2,999	6
Rs. 3,000 & above	1
Nil	6

Extent of Indebtedness

129. This absence of co-ordination between income and expenditure leads to indebtedness among the households. From a perusal of Table No. XXXI read with Table No. XXVII on income, it would be perceived that out of all households in the income group of below Rs. 25/-, only one household belonging to the Mudaliar community manages to keep its expenditure within limits. In the income range between Rs. 25/- and Rs. 50/-, only 5 households limit their expenditure so as to correlate with their income. Beyond this income bracket only 5 households manage to limit their expenditure within their resources. In the higher income ranges no household manages to keep within bounds their expenditure mainly, because they are lulled into a false sense of security consequent on their relatively higher income as compared to other households in the village. Table No. XXIX indicates the extent of indebtedness by income groups and within each community in the village.

TABLE No. XXIX

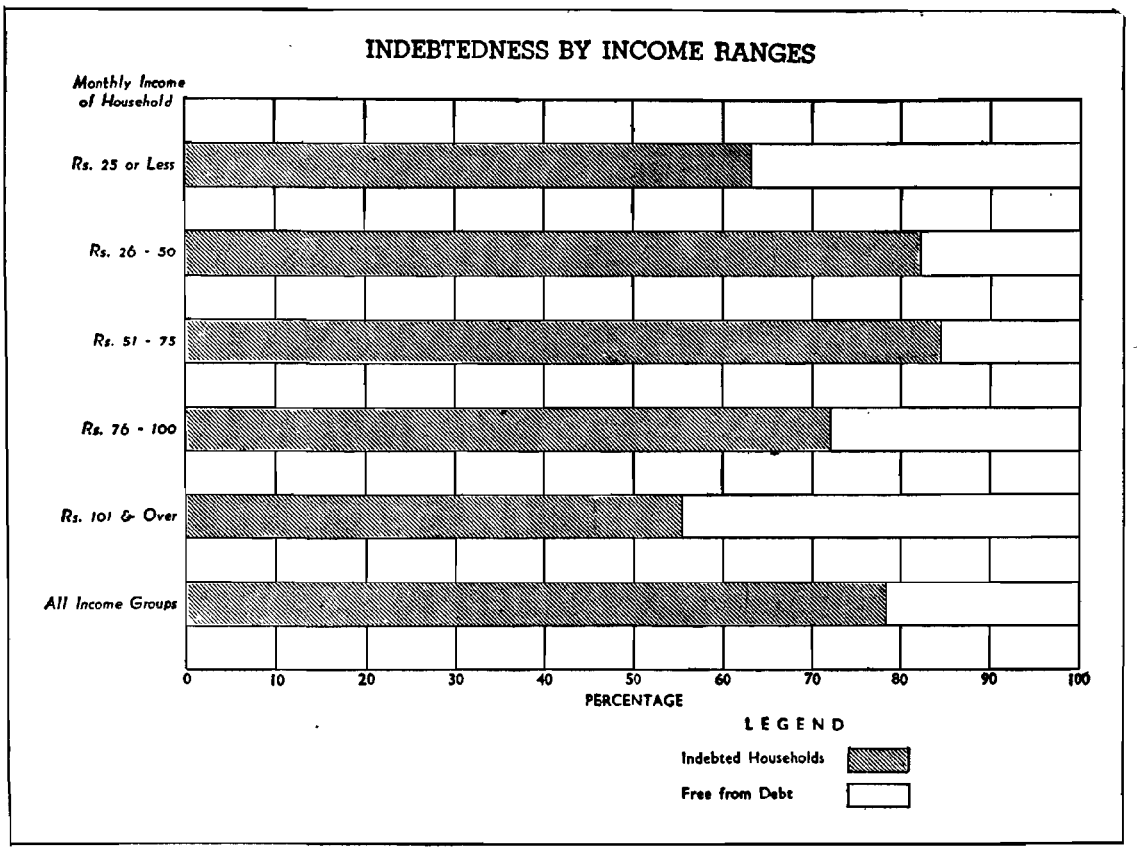
Indebtedness

Caste/ Community	Income group	Total No. of households	Indebtedness by income group: No. of house holds in debt.	Indebtedness by income group: Percentage of Col. 4. to Col. 3	Indebtedness by income group: Total indebtedness	Average indebtedness for household in debt
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
					Rs. nP.	Rs. nP.
Mudaliar	Rs. 25 and below	26	13	50.00	2,170-00	166-92
	Rs. 26 to 50	97	73	75·26	29,210-00	400-14
	Rs. 51 to 75	57	47	82·46	30,750-00	654-26
	Rs. 76 to 100	16	10	62·50	6,450-00	645-00
	Rs. 101 and over	15	7	46·67	4,100-00	588-71
	Total	**211**	**150**	**71·09**	**72,680-00**	**484-53**
Nattar	Rs. 25 and below	6	5	83·33	1,150-00	230-00
	Rs. 26 to 50	28	27	96·43	14,900-00	551-85
	Rs. 51 to 75	7	7	100·00	3,700-00	528-57
	Rs. 76 to 100	3	2	66·67	1,900-00	950-00
	Rs. 101 and over	1	1	100·00	1,500-00	1500-00
	Total	**45**	**42**	**93·33**	**23,150-00**	**551-19**
Valluvan	Rs. 25 and below	16	15	93·75	2,420-00	161-33
	Rs. 26 to 50	11	10	90·91	2,850-00	285-00
	Rs. 51 to 75	2	1	50·00	600-00	600-00
	Rs. 76 to 100	4	4	100·00	7,800-00	1950-00
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**33**	**30**	**90·91**	**13,670-00**	**455-67**
Naicker	Rs. 25 and below	1	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	4	3	75·00	450-00	150-00
	Rs. 51 to 75	3	3	100·00	850-00	283-33
	Rs. 76 to 100	1	1	100·00	50-00	50-00
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**9**	**7**	**77·87**	**1,350-00**	**192-86**
Pillai	Rs. 25 and below	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	6	5	83·33	1,150-00	230-00
	Rs. 51 to 75	1	1	100·00	200-00	200-00
	Rs. 76 to 100	1	1	100·00	300-00	300-00
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**8**	**7**	**87·50**	**1,650-00**	**231-75**
Achari	Rs 25 and below	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	5	5	100·00	2,200-00	440-00
	Rs. 51 to 75	1	1	100·00	400-00	400-00
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	1	1	100·00	500-00	500-00
	Total	**7**	**7**	**100·00**	**3,100-00**	**442-86**
Naidu	Rs. 25 and below	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	4	4	100·00	1,100-00	275-00
	Rs. 51 to 75	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	1	1	100·00	500-00	500-00
	Total	**5**	**5**	**100.00**	**1,600-00**	**320-00**

Table No. XXIX (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Pandithar	Rs. 25 and below	2	2	100·00	300–00	150–00
	Rs. 26 to 50	3	2	66·67	100–00	50–00
	Rs. 51 to 75	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**5**	**4**	**80·00**	**400–00**	**100–00**
Vannan	Rs. 25 and below	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	4	3	75·00	600–00	200–00
	Rs. 51 to 75	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**4**	**3**	**75·00**	**600–00**	**200–00**
Chettiar	Rs. 25 and below	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	2	2	100·00	200–00	100–00
	Rs. 51 to 75	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**2**	**2**	**100·00**	**200–00**	**100–00**
Brahmin	Rs. 25 and below	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	1	1	100·00	320–00	320–00
	Rs. 51 to 75	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**1**	**1**	**100·00**	**320–00**	**320–00**
Rao	Rs. 25 and below	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	1	1	100·00	500–00	500–00
	Rs. 51 to 75	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**1**	**1**	**100·00**	**500–00**	**500–00**
Irular	Rs. 25 and below	1	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 51 to 75	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**1**	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	Rs. 25 and below	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 26 to 50	3	3	100·00	500·00	166–67
	Rs. 51 to 75	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 76 to 100	...	...	...	...	...
	Rs. 101 and over	...	...	...	...	...
	Total	**3**	**3**	**100–00**	**500–00**	**166–67**

Of the total of 335 households, 262 households are in debt. The total amount of debt comes to Rs. 1,19,720/-, while the average debt per household works out to Rs. 457/- only. 73 households are free from debt. Of these fortunate households, 61 households belong to the Mudaliar community, 3 to the Valluva Pandarams, 3 to the Nattar households and 2 to the Naicker community. Forty-two out of the 45 Nattar households are steeped in debt to the total extent of Rs. 23,150/- working out to an average of nearly Rs. 551/- per household, whereas among the Mudaliars 150 out of 211 households are in debt to the tune of Rs. 72,680 working out to an average of Rs. 485/- per household. But nearly one-third of the Mudaliar households are free from



debt bearing out our inference that Mudaliars are more thrifty and prudent as a rule than the Nattars, who tend to spend on a lavish scale not commensurate with the income they derive. What is true of the Nattars is also true of the Valluva Pandarms, of whom 30 of the households are indebted to the tune of Rs. 13,670/-working out to roughly Rs. 456/- per household. Among the Chettiars, Acharis, Naidus, Muslims and Pillais, except for one or two households, all the rest are in debt.

130. A major portion of the debt relates to prior commitments which happen to be a legacy of their fathers and forefathers for which interest accrues on the principal. A part of this debt also represents current commitments which become inevitable due to lack of frugal living and ostentatious expenditure on festivals and marriages. Table No. XXX indicates the amount of indebtedness and their causes among the various communities in the village.

Causes for Indebtedness

TABLE No. XXX

Indebtedness by causes

Caste / Community	Marriage expenses			To give dowry			To clear outstanding debts			Ordinary wants			Household cultivation			Religious festivals		
	Amount of debt (Rs.)	No. of families	Proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (percentage)	Amount of debt (Rs.)	No. of families	Proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (percentage)	Amount of debt (Rs.)	No. of families	Proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (percentage)	Amount of debt (Rs.)	No. of families	Proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (percentage)	Amount of debt (Rs.)	No. of families	Proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (percentage)	Amount of debt (Rs.)	No. of families	Proportion of debt due to cause to the total amount of debt (percentage)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
HINDUS																		
Mudaliar	45,491	140	62·59%	500	1	0·69%	...	...	...	18,523	121	25·49%	...	...	...	8,166	140	11·23%
Nattar	13,897	42	60·03%	...	...	...	...	...	...	6,814	37	29·43%	...	...	...	2,439	42	10·54%
Valluvan	7,155	30	52·34%	...	...	...	280	1	2·05%	3,384	25	24·75%	1,000	1	7·32%	1,851	30	13·54%
Naicker	1,077	7	79·78%	...	...	...	...	...	...	138	5	10·22%	...	...	...	135	7	10·00%
Pillai	1,096	7	66·42%	...	...	...	...	...	...	359	6	21·76%	...	...	...	195	7	11·82%
Achari	1,884	7	60.78%	...	...	...	...	...	...	998	5	32·19%	...	...	...	218	6	7.03%
Naidu	1,037	5	64·81%	...	...	...	...	...	...	391	3	24·44%	...	...	...	172	5	10·75%
Vannan	396	3	66·00%	...	...	...	...	...	...	139	3	23·17%	...	...	...	65	3	10·83%
Chettiar	116	2	58·00%	...	...	...	...	...	...	65	2	32·50%	...	...	...	19	2	9·50%
Brahmin	98	1	30·63%	...	...	...	...	...	...	164	1	51·25%	...	...	...	58	1	18·12%
Rao	170	1	34·00%	...	...	...	...	...	...	306	1	61·20%	...	...	...	24	1	4·80%
Irular	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	288	3	57·60%	...	...	...	...	...	...	93	2	18·60%	...	...	...	119	3	23·80%

Among the 18 Achari families in debt, it is noticed that 7 families are in debt to the tune of Rs. 1,884 due to expenditure on marriages, the proportion working out to 60·78% to total debt. Six families are in debt due to expenditure on religious festivals and 5 due to normal household expenses. The last mentioned reason constitutes 32% of the total debt. Among the Valluva Pandarams, 30 families are in debt to the tune of Rs. 7,155/- on account of marriages, an equal number to the extent of Rs. 1,851/- on account of ostentatious expenditure on religious festivals; one family is indebted to the extent of Rs. 280/- to clear outstanding dues, whereas three families are in debt due to their household expenditure outstripping their income. Among the Chettiars, Dhobies, Naickers, Naidus and Pillai communities, the causes of debt are three-fold (i) marriages, (ii) religious festivals and (iii) ordinary household expenditure. It is significant that except

among the Valluva Pandarams, no family has incurred any debt to clear outstanding dues. In the Mudaliar community, 141 families are in debt due to marriages and expenditure on religious festivals. Of these, 121 families are in debt also on account of their normal day-to-day expenditure outstripping their means. One family is in debt to the extent of Rs. 500/- on account of payment of dowry. Among the Nattars, 42 families are in debt to the extent of Rs. 13,897/- on account of expenditure on marriages, Rs. 2,439/- on account of religious festivals, whereas 37 of these households are also indebted to the tune of Rs. 6,814 for meeting their day-to-day expenditure. Thus the three important reasons for the increasing burden of debt in Ayyangarkulam are marriages, religious festivals and household expenditure.

Sources of Debt

131. The sources of debt are Governmental as well as non-Governmental agencies, the most important among the latter being the money-lenders and pawn-brokers of Kancheepuram town. Unfortunately since most items of expenditure are non-productive in the sense that they are not expended on improvement of land, share capital towards membership of co-operative societies, cultivation expenses, weaving expenses etc., the loans have to be obtained only from non-Governmental agencies. The Sengunthars, as weavers, obtain loans from master weavers and wholesalers to whom they repay by pledging or selling at low rates the finished silk fabrics. In the case of cultivators, of whom the majority are to be found among the Valluva Pandarams, the Co-operative Societies only supply a small share of their monetary requirements and into this void the money-lenders step in. Governmental agencies charge 5½% interest per annum on loans and the Co-operative Societies in Ayyangarkulam charge 6¼% per annum. The money-lenders charge interest ranging from 15 to 25%, though during our enquiries both the money-lenders as well as the debtors stated that only 12 % was being charged. In actual fact, the interest charged is very exorbitant which adds to the real burden of the debt by making the repayment of interest as difficult as the repayment of the principal. It may be impracticable under present conditions to suggest ways and means to reduce the burden of debt. Until and unless there is a change in the outlook of the villagers, and they make a conscious effort to spend less on unproductive items of expenditure as on marriages and religious festivals and till they attempt to be more frugal in their day-to-day living, debts would always cast their sinister shadow on every household. There is also another panacea to solve the problem, i.e., increasing the income accruing to the villager—to the Sengunthars by improved marketing facilities, the creation of a Sales Society through which they could market their silk fabrics; to the Valluva Pandarams and other agriculturists in the village by provision of better seeds, better manures, improved agricultural implements, prevention of fragmentation of holdings thus leading to a better yield, provision of proper agricultural marketing facilities so that they have improved bargaining power and consquently an increase in prices they get for their agricultural produce; to such of those Nattars who still adopt their traditional occupation of fishing by provision of improved fishing nets and the reservation of fishing rights in the tanks around Ayyangarkulam exclusively for their use and the stocking by the Fisheries Department with good quality river fish in those tanks and ponds—this will go a long way to reduce the malaise of indebtedness. The third suggestion is, during the transition period when expenditure on marriages and festivals cannot be reduced, to do intensive propaganda to help inculcate in the villagers' habits of frugality and thrift, and at the same time ensure that primary credit societies do, at times, advance loans at low rates of interest for unproductive items of expenditure also, and thus wean away people from money-lenders who charge exorbitant rates of interest. The last suggestion would be to exercise proper check and strict supervision over money-lenders to ensure that usurious rates of interest are not charged and to limit the interest rates charged to a certain percentage over and above levied by Governmental agencies and Co-operative Societies.

TABLE No. XXXI

Average monthly expenditure per household by Income groups and Communities

Caste/Tribe/Community	Occupations		Items of expenditure	All households		Percentage of total expenditure on food, miscellaneous items		Rs. 25/- and below		Rs. 26-50/-		Rs. 51-75/-		Rs. 76-100/-		Rs. 101/- and over	
				Number of households	Average expenditure per household	Food	Miscellaneous	Number of households	Average expenditure	Number of households	Average expenditure	Number of households	Average expenditure	Number of households	Average expenditure	Number of households	Average expenditure
(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
					Rs.nP.				Rs.nP.	...	Rs.nP.	...	Rs.nP.	...	Rs.nP.	...	Rs.nP.
Mudaliar	Cultivation	12	Food	...	...	...	...	...	19·15	...	38·19	...	56·58	...	81·25	...	76·33
	Weaving	91	Cloth	...	..	...	...	...	4·88	...	8·92	...	12·67	...	17·31	...	22·13
	Weaving and Cultivation	81	Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	2·96	...	5·73	...	8·51	...	10·13	...	12·20
			Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	1·15	...	1·88	...	2·50	...	2·75	...	3·57
	Cultivation and Business	4	Luxuries	211	73·98	63·29	36·71	26	0.71	97	2.35	57	4·35	16	4·88	15	7·13
	Business:	3	Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	1·19	...	2·25	...	4·63	...	9·75	...	9·47
	Business and Industry	1	Festival	...	...	...	...	...	3·48	...	7·68	...	11·46	...	14·84	...	21·06
	Other occupations	13	Debts	...	...	...	...	...	6·96	...	25·09	...	44·96	...	33·59	...	22·78
	Not stated	6		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nattar	Cultivation	9	Food	...	...	...	...	...	20·00	...	44·29	...	57·85	...	66·67	...	300·00
	Weaving	17	Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	3·33	...	7·48	...	9·85	...	10·00	...	15·00
	Fish sale	2	Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	3·33	...	5·14	...	6·43	...	7.33	...	25·00
	Cultivation and Industry	6	Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	1·82	...	2·00	...	2·67	...	8·00
			Luxuries	45	71.76	70·13	29.87	6	1·16	28	2·50	7	3·71	3	5·00	1	25·00
	Other occupations	10	Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	2·14	...	3·71	...	6·00	...	25·00
	Not stated	1	Festival	...	...	...	...	...	4·44	...	8·08	...	13·69	...	9·72	...	33·33
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	15·97	...	44·35	...	44·05	...	52·78	...	125.00
Valluvan			Food	...	...	...	...	...	27·75	...	44·09	...	35·00	...	70·00	...	...
			Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	6·44	...	9·09	...	7·50	...	12·50	...	...
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	3·00	...	4·82	...	5·00	...	7·00	...	...
	Cultivation	14	Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	0·94	...	1·23	...	2·00	...	2·50	...	...
	Other occupations	18	Luxuries	33	53·46	68·88	31·12	16	0·59	11	1·18	2	1·00	4	4·00	...	.
	Not stated	1	Others not specified	...	. .	...	...	...	1·50	...	1·36	...	1·00	...	4·50	...	...
			Festival	...	. .	...	...	...	3·18	...	4·85	...	3·33	...	11·46	...	...
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	12·60	...	21·59	...	25·50	...	162·20	...	...

Table No. XXXI (Contd.)

(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
			Food	...	...	...	...	...	40·00	...	37·50	...	43·33	...	40·00	...	...
			Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	10·00	...	8·75	...	8·33	...	5·00	...	...
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	5·00	...	5·00	...	11·00	...	5·00	...	...
Nakker	Weaving	3	Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	2·00	...	2·33	...	1·00	...	...
	Other occupations	6	Luxuries	9	60·67	65·93	34·07	1	...	4	1·00	3	4·33	1	2·00	...	...
			Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	1·25	...	2·33	...	1·00	...	...
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	8·33	...	5·63	...	5·56	...	4·17	...	...
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9·38	...	23·61	...	4·17	...	...
			Food	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40·00	...	30·00	...	60·00	...	...
			Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11·00	...	10·00	...	18·00	...	...
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5·63	...	5·00	...	7·50	...	...
	Weaving	1	Lighting	8	64·63	63·77	36·23	...	...	6	1·17	1	1·00	1	1·00	...	...
Pillai	Cultivation	1	Luxuries	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1·33	...	2·00	...	5·00	...	...
	Pottery	1	Others not														
	Other occupations	5	specified	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2·50	...	2·00	...	5·00	...	...
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6·53	...	8·33	...	16·67	...	...
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15·97	...	16·67	...	25·00	...	...
			Food	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	52·00	...	40·00	...	...	...	35·00
			Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14·00	...	10·00	...	...	...	8·00
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8·00	...	8·00	...	...	...	10·00
	Goldsmith	4	Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3·00	...	2·00	...	...	...	1·00
Achari	Carpenter	2	Luxuries	7	77·57	61·68	38·31	...	...	5	3·20	1	1·00	...	...	1	2·00
	Blacksmith	1	Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4·20	...	2·00	...	...	...	2·00
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10·83	...	8·33	...	...	...	6·25
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36·67	...	33·33	...	...	...	41·67
			Food	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33·75	...	...	...	...	...	35·00
			Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9·50	...	...	...	...	...	10·00
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5·00	...	...	...	...	...	5·00
	Weaving	2	Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1·50	...	...	...	...	...	2·00
Naidu	Cycle repairer	1	Luxuries	5	52·80	64·39	35·61	...	...	4	1·25	...	...	...	...	1	1·00
	Other occupations	2	Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1·50	...	...	...	...	...	1·00
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5·00	...	...	...	...	...	8·33
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22·92	...	...	...	...	...	41·67
			Food	...	...	...	...	...	25·00	...	30·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	5·00	...	6·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	3·00	...	3·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	1·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pandithar	Barber	5	Luxuries	5	39·40	71·07	28·94	2	1·00	3	0·33	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	1·50	...	1·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	2·71	...	3·06	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	12·50	...	2·78	...	...	...	...	...	...

Table No. XXXI (Contd.)

(1)	(2)		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
Vannan	Dhoby	4	Food	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9·50	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6·25	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1·50	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Luxuries	4	49·25	60·91	39·08	...	...	4	1·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5·83	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12·50	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chettiar	Provision store	1	Food	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	35·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Cultivation and Business	1	Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Luxuries	2	51·50	67·96	32·04	...	...	2	1·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1·50	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5·42	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8·33	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	Kovil poosari (Temple priest)	1	Food	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	25·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Luxuries	1	104·50	57·42	42·58	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0·42	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2·67	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rao	Tailoring	1	Food	...	...	...	...	...	90·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	10·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	10·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Luxuries	1	122·00	73·77	26·23	1	5·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	5·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	16·67	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	41·67	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Irular	Cooly	1	Food	...	...	...	...	...	15·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	3·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	2·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Lighting	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Luxuries	1	22·00	68·18	31·82	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	1·67	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Muslims	Mat weaving	2	Food	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38·33	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Weaving	1	Cloth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Fuel	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.67	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Lighting	3	54·33	70·55	29.45	...	...	3	1·33	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Luxuries	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Others not specified	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1·00	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Festival	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7·50	...	...	...	...	...	...
			Debts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13·89	...	...	...	...	...	...

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

132. Out of the total population of 1437, 1426 are Hindus and the remaining 11 are Muslims. There are no Christians, Jains or followers of other religions in the village.

Religious Beliefs

Among the Hindus, except for one Ayyangar household consisting of nine members who are purely Vaishnavites, the rest do not have belief in rigid observance of religious tenets, worshipping without distinction both Lord Siva and Vishnu. In spite of this oneness of religious beliefs, religion has not acted as an unit of cohesion in this village. In addition to the deities which are installed in the houses and worshipped, there are individual temples in the village and each temple is the special property of the street in which it is situated, the sole exception being provided by the Sanjeevarayar temple at the end of the village. The Mudaliars have three temples in which they offer exclusive worship and for which they have periodical festivals. The Valluva Pandarams in the *Cheri* have a temple of their own to which they go for their daily worship and for which sacred festivals are observed. The Nattars have a separate temple of their own in front of their street. Thus, separate festivals are conducted throughout the year for various communities and normally members of other communities do not participate in such functions. As explained earlier, the only exception is provided by the Sanjeevarayar temple at the far end of the village where during the 'Nadapavai' festival the entire village participates in the celebrations and people from far and near also congregate in large numbers. Our enquiries revealed that even among the Mudaliar community, the members residing in *Nadutheru* conduct annual festivals in the Pillaiyar Koil which is situated in their own street to the exclusion of people in *Meltheru* and *Kiltheru*. Similarly, the people in *Meltheru* worship at the Perumal temple and exclude the members of other communities. Mostly, factions arise over the relative importance to be assigned to individual members at the festivals. The custom in villages is that the deity, while being taken out for procession, is stopped in front of houses of devotees and influential persons, where flowers and camphor are offered and 'Prasadham' distributed to the members of the household. It is precisely in the conduct of these festivals that factions and disputes normally arise and because of this, communities prefer to have festivals of their own and even within a community, individual members prefer to conduct festivals of their own. Ayyangarkulam is a case in point. Thus where one would expect all Hindus to unite not only because of identical religious beliefs, but also because of the common festivals they celebrate, this cohesive factor is absent in the village because of the prolixity of temples with its attendant festivals and religious disputes which arise out of the observance of these festivals; the only cohesive factor is provided by the Sanjeevarayar temple which was built by an Ayyangar, Kodi Kannigadanam Thathachariar, thanks to the legendary importance of this temple and its annual festivals. When Lord Varadaraja Perumal, the principal deity at Kancheepuram, is brought to this village and immersed in a well adjacent to this temple attracting a very large congregation of people both within the village and from the surrounding areas, sometimes even from Madras, people tend to forget their differences and get together during this festival to invoke the blessings of the Lord.

133. Of all the castes extant in the village, the Sengunthars consider themselves superior to all other communities and this is tacitly accepted by the others. Their superiority

Sengunthars—A superior community

stands unchallenged in the Panchayat Board where they have the maximum number of members and because of this theirs is the dominant voice in village politics and village development. They are very religious, being in the vanguard of the festivals celebrated annually in this village and because of their religious fervour do not take non-vegetarian food. Since most of them are occupied in silk weaving, they are more prosperous than the rest

and so are in a position to send their children to school. They do not always send their children, as they wish to have some of them in their hereditary occupation. They look well-fed, contented and have a higher standard of education relative to the others. The Nattars who form the fishermen community have a second string to their bow. Their business acumen has made them take up silk weaving as an additional occupation which may fetch them a small but steady income when conditions are favourable. Though not frugal by nature and apt to spend more on luxuries, yet they have constructed new buildings and make an attempt to raise their standard of living on a par with that of the Sengunthars. They are all non-vegetarians. The Valluva Pandarams, though not strictly outcast, are still segregated and live separately. They are, to a large extent, isolated from the rest of the community and provide agricultural labour for the village. They mix with members of other communities only on rare occasions.

Relationship between Mudaliars and Nattars

134. There is no great harmony between the Mudaliars and the Nattars. Their rivalry, time and time again, flares out mostly in regard to the selection of the trustees of the temples. The Mudaliars do not allow the dead of the Nattars to be carried through their streets and this has wounded the feelings of the Nattars who have been put to great inconvenience, as they have to make a very wide detour to carry their dead to the burial ground, which normally one can reach only by traversing the streets in which the Mudaliars live. The Harijans have a separate burial ground of their own and they do not have to go anywhere near the village to take their dead to this place.

Inter-caste relationship

135. The feeling of superiority on account of caste hierarchy is too deep-rooted in the minds of the villagers to be eradicated in a short span of time. This holds good in the case of the elders of the community. Imbibing the traditions and standards set up by the elders, the youngsters themselves are trained in such a way that caste discrimination becomes second nature to them. Free mixing of young people in schools, to a certain extent, does tend to eradicate the evils of casteism, but in villages, such deep-rooted tendencies will die hard and it will take generations before we are rid of this evil. The Pandarams are kept at a distance and though the Mudaliars, whom we enquired, stated in one breath that they did not believe in the caste hierarchy, yet we could see that the Harijans were at a decided disadvantage in matters of social intercourse. For a Pandaram to be invited to a Mudaliar marriage was unheard of. Even if he were to be invited, no Mudaliar would attend a Pandaram function. If the Pandaram who is getting married happens to be an agricultural labourer or someone working in the household of a Mudaliar, the latter would condescend to send a few presents to the house of the Pandaram at the time of the marriage. But he would not attend the marriage for all the wealth in the world! This social barrier is let down at the time of fairs and festivals when Pandarams have to come and attend, nay are even permitted to come. But even here some social distinctions are observed. When feasts are held during temple festivals, Pandarams are made to sit separately and partake of the food and are not permitted to partake of the viands, before the Mudaliar and the other communities have eaten.

Problem of Untouchability

136. Untouchability as such is not practised in the village. But the fact remains that the Pandarams live separately in a colony which is a furlong away from the main habitations of the village. The Pandarams are not allowed and do not enter the houses of the high caste Hindus like Mudaliars, Nattars, Acharis and of course the Brahmins. Each community has its own communal well, but since well water is not palatable, all people including the Harijans take water from a common pond called the 'Urar Kulam,' already referred to. This is a concession which has been permitted to all and sundry and is more out of dire necessity than a relaxation of rigid caste restrictions. All the shops and hotels are owned by the Mudaliars, Nattars and Naidus and though Pandarams are not frequenting them, a distinction in treatment is always prevalent. This may take the form of separate plates or

tumblers, though during our visit possibly because of the official cloak which we had to wear they were guarding against lapses and we could not observe much. But the Pandarams whom we contacted informed us that they always managed to keep down the visits to such tea shops to the minimum in order to safeguard their self-respect. The Pandarams are permitted to enter all the temples including those which exclusively were under the management of individual communities, but out of bitter experience and because of the treatment meted out from time to time, they enter them with obvious reluctance and caution. The Pandarams, however, do enter in large numbers and offer worship at the Sanjeevarayar temple, which is not prohibited to them. There are no cases decided under the Act pertaining to untouchability. The reason for this is not one of moral awareness, but rather one of economic expediency. There is also the indirect effect of legislation and the fear of retribution. Table No. XXXII indicates the awareness of Untouchability Offences Act.

TABLE No. XXXII

Awareness of Untouchability Offences Act

Caste / Tribe / Community	Number of persons interviewed	Number of persons aware of prohibition of Untouchability under Law
HINDUS		
Mudaliar	211	211
Nattar	45	45
Valluvan	33	33
Naicker	9	9
Pillai	8	8
Achari	7	7
Naidu	5	5
Pandithar	5	5
Vannan	4	4
Chettiar	2	2
Brahmin	1	1
Rao	1	1
Irular	1	1
MUSLIMS	3	3
Total	335	335

The Pandarams form the agricultural labour class and they have to cultivate the lands of most of the Mudaliars for a share of the produce. They also work as household servants in the houses of Nattars and Naidus and this precludes complete untouchability. Unfortunately, we have to say that the position of the Pandarams is not very happy.

Existence of Caste Panchayat

137. There are no separate Caste Panchayats for individual communities in the village except among the Sengunthars. But this Panchayat is not confined to the boundaries of the village, but extends over all Sengunthar families living in the surrounding areas and controlled by the Sengunthar Maha Sabha situated at Kancheepuram under the chairmanship of the Mahanattan. Any dispute arising among the Sengunthars within this village or outside the village has to be decided by the council of elders at Kancheepuram. Thus, the Panchayat

embraces the entire community of Sengunthars and is not restricted to individual village. Among the Nattars also there seems to be no Caste Panchayat now. Instead there are one or two elders of the community who try to amicably settle disputes, but we came across no recorded instance in which disputes were placed before these elders for adjudication. The other communities in the village do not have separate Caste Panchayats.

TABLE No. XXXIII

Caste/Tribe/Community Panchayat - Existence and Attitude

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of house-holds	No. according to whom Caste/Tribe/ Community Panchayat exists for Caste: Mudaliar	No. according to whom Caste/Tribe/ Community Panchayat should exist
HINDUS			
Mudaliar	211	211	102
Nattar	45	...	...
Valluvan	33	...	33
Naicker	9	...	...
Pillai	8	...	...
Achari	7	...	...
Naidu	5	...	...
Pandithar	5	...	...
Vannan	4	...	...
Chettiar	2	...	...
Brahmin	1	...	...
Rao	1	...	...
Irular	1	...	...
MUSLIMS	3	...	...

138. The Statutory Panchayat Board is one of the most important institutions in the village. It is of recent origin having been set up in the year 1960 and it is too soon to assess its full impact on the life and economy of the villagers. The Board consists of nine members of which seven belong to the Sengunthar Mudaliar community, one to the Nattar and one to the Pandaram community. The President, Sri Ponnambala Mudaliar is a Sengunthar. The election of the President as well as the members were unanimous through informal consultation among the villagers. From this one aspect alone it would be easy for readers to deduce the power and influence of the Sengunthars in the village. Being only five miles from Kancheepuram, the stronghold of the D. M. K. Party, it came as no surprise to us that the youth among the village held forth opinions critical of Congress policies and more in tune with the manifesto of the D. M. K. However, I found that actively they were not as united in voicing their opinions frankly and freely. One curious feature we noted was the number of party flags in this village, each tea shop having an individual party flag flying aloft and in one street belonging to the Nattars, we came across no fewer than three flags, one a Congress, one a D. M. K. and the third a Communist flag. But generally, we noticed that party affiliations were more in keeping with community interest rather than any distinct political creed. The Sengunthars, without exception, are solidly behind the Congress. The Nattars mostly favour the D. M. K. as also the Acharis, whereas quite a few of the Pandarams belong to the Communist Party.

The Statutory Panchayat—Constitution

Panchayat—Sources of income and achievements

139. The income of the Panchayat is derived from the following sources. The house tax is levied at the rate of 25 nP. per Rs. 100 of the full capitalised value of the house and leviable biennially. There is a tax levied on cycles at the rate of 75 nP. per cycle for every six months and another tax on bullock carts at the rate of Rs. 2/- per cart also twice a year. The total income accruing from these three sources amounts to Rs. 300/- per year.

TABLE No. XXXIV

Information about main functions of panchayat

Caste / Tribe/ Community	No. of households	No. that could tell the period of existence of panchayat correctly	No. according to whom the main functions of the panchayat is improving the village
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Mudaliar	211	39	211
Nattar	45	7	45
Valluvan	33	3	33
Others	46	2	46

TABLE No. XXXV

Opinion about improvement through panchayat

Caste/ Tribe/ Community	No. of house-holds	No. according to whom after establishment of Statutory Panchayat there has been improvement (a) Ditch in the streets	No. according to whom after establishment of Statutory Panchayat there has been improvement (b) Auction of goods now known	No. according to whom after establishment of Statutory Panchayat there has been harm House tax	No. according to whom after establishment of Statutory Panchayat there has been neither improvement nor harm
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
HINDUS					
Mudaliar	211	211	...	...	...
Nattar	45	...	45	45	...
Valluvan	33	33	7	33	...
Naicker	9	9	...	...	...
Pillai	8	8	...	...	...
Achari	7	7	...	...	...
Naidu	5	5	...	...	...
Pandithar	5	5	...	...	...
Vannan	4	4	...	...	...
Chettiar	2	2	...	...	...
Brahmin	1	1	...	...	...
Rao	1	1	...	...	...
Irular	1	1	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	3	3	...	...	...

Assessing the achievements of the Panchayat, we may say that they have not done much during the last two years, but then, as the President put it, the Panchayat has had a rather short innings for anyone to review its achievements critically and judging from the enthusiasm of the members, they may achieve all that they desire to make Ayyangarkulam a very prosperous village of the countryside. The Panchayat has attempted a sort of make-shift drain by digging ditches on both sides of the main street, but this is far from being an answer to the drainage problem and the Panchayat pleads lack of funds for its negligence in this regard. Considering the affluence of the Sengunthars, we do not think this plea of insufficiency of funds can be justified under the circumstances and unless the richer section of the community comes forward to do something, drainage may still remain crude and unartistic as the present attempt of the Panchayat to solve this problem. They have also paid the amount for fifteen points under the Street Lights Electrification Scheme recently completed in the village. The Panchayat is in charge of the celebration of days like Independence and Republic Days. Unofficially they decide minor disputes between the villagers obviating the need for fruitless litigation and collect small fines which are spent for the benefit of the temples in the village. The Panchayat Board Office is housed in a pucca building and boasts of a radio-set and though the Sengunthars who own radio-sets do not care to come and listen to the music, it provides some sort of recreation to the Pandarams and the Nattars who are not fortunate enough to own radios.

Recreational facilities

140. There are few recreational facilities both for the young and the old. No reading room or recreation club is found in the village. The only playground in the real sense is the one adjacent to the school where the children play indigenous games like Chadugudu, a vigorous game in which two parties vie with each other in preventing the other from touching them beyond a pre-arranged line. The game generally is played at a fast pace and calls for great reserves of stamina and skill in free style wrestling. Both young and old play this game with great gusto during festivals and at every other available opportunity. The young children play another game called 'Nondi' or a sort of one-legged game of catch and run in which, within a perfect square, one man hopping on one leg is supposed to catch out six or seven others who try to run within the square. Once they cross beyond the square or are touched by the one who is hopping, they are declared as out. Another favourite game among the villagers is the game of Indian Cricket which is also played by both young and old. The Panchayat Board has recently attempted to popularise the game of Volley Ball by preparing a make-shift ground and providing the net as well as the ball offered to them generously by the Block Development Office. But we find that this game is not very popular among the villagers. Old men invariably sit for a game of cards whenever they can find time for it. During the month of 'Thai' all the villagers have a gala time for ten days and during this period, ladies play games like 'Pallanguli' which is played with a board containing a number of shallow depressions and beads or join in group games like 'Kummi.' The boys of Ayyangarkulam who study at Kancheepuram are fond of Cricket and we found groups playing Cricket armed with bats and balls and this seems to be replacing in popularity indigenous games.

141. The villagers show no interest in extra-curricular activities. Table No. XXXVI indicates that only in seven households members take active interest in politics. Only five households buy newspapers daily, while no family has actively taken part in work relating to social uplift.

TABLE No. XXXVI

General

Caste / Community	Total No. of households	Number of households			Member or members of which have joined Co-operative Societies
		Reading daily news paper	Member or members of which work for social uplift	Member or members of which take active part in politics	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
HINDUS					
Mudaliar	211	5	...	7	18
Nattar	45	...	...	...	37
Valluvan	33	...	...	...	...
Naicker	9	...	...	...	...
Pillai	8	...	...	...	1
Achari	7	...	...	...	...
Naidu	5	...	...	...	...
Pandithar	5	...	...	...	...
Vannan	4	...	...	...	...
Chettiar	2	...	...	...	...
Brahmin	1	...	...	...	...
Rao	1	...	...	...	...
Irulat	1	...	...	...	...
MUSLIMS	3	...	...	...	...
Total	335	5	...	7	56

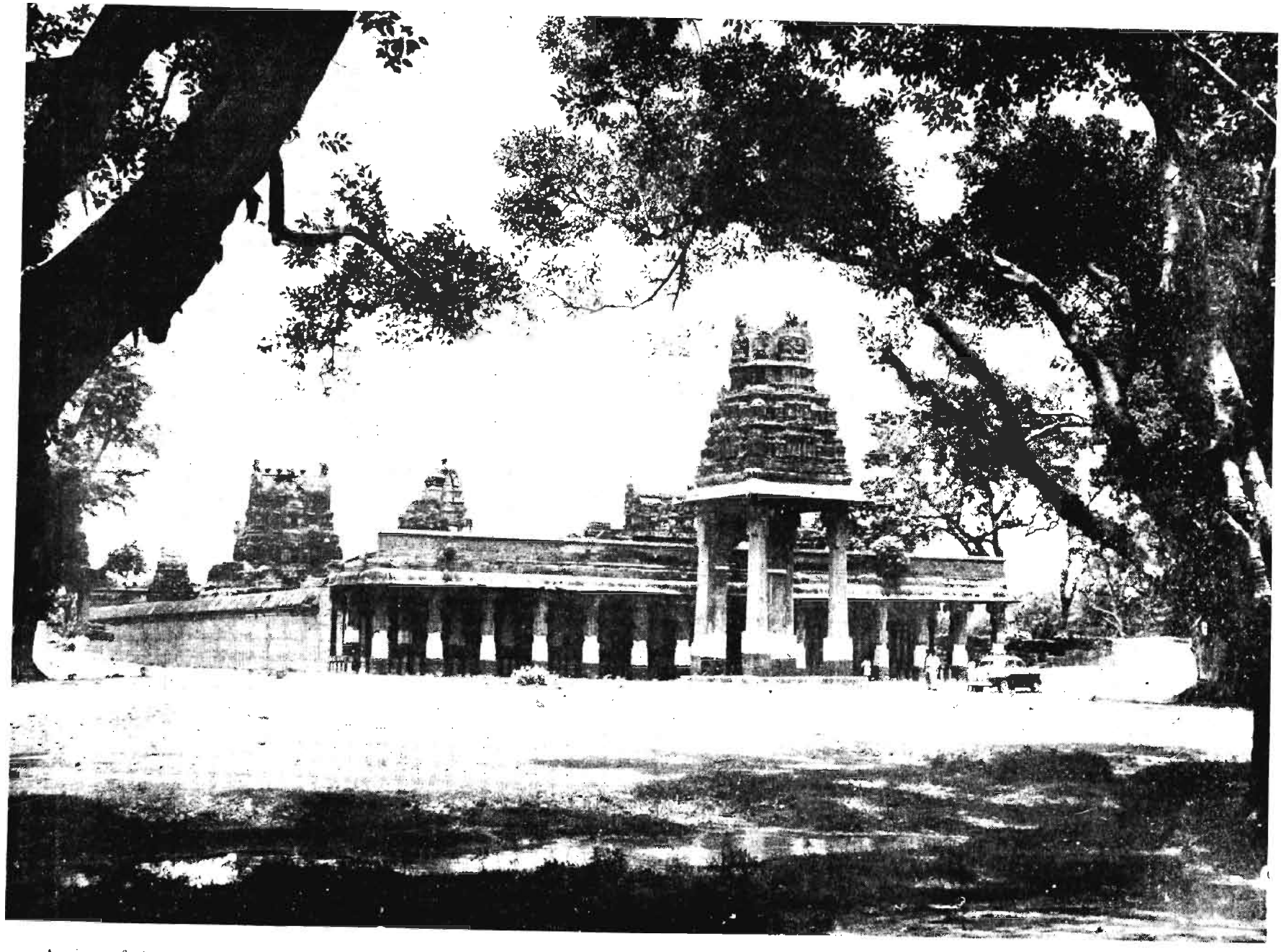
142. The villagers celebrate countrywide festivals like Deepavali, Ayudha Puja, Vinayaka Chathurthi and Pongal. But the last named is the most important of the festivals.

Common Festivals

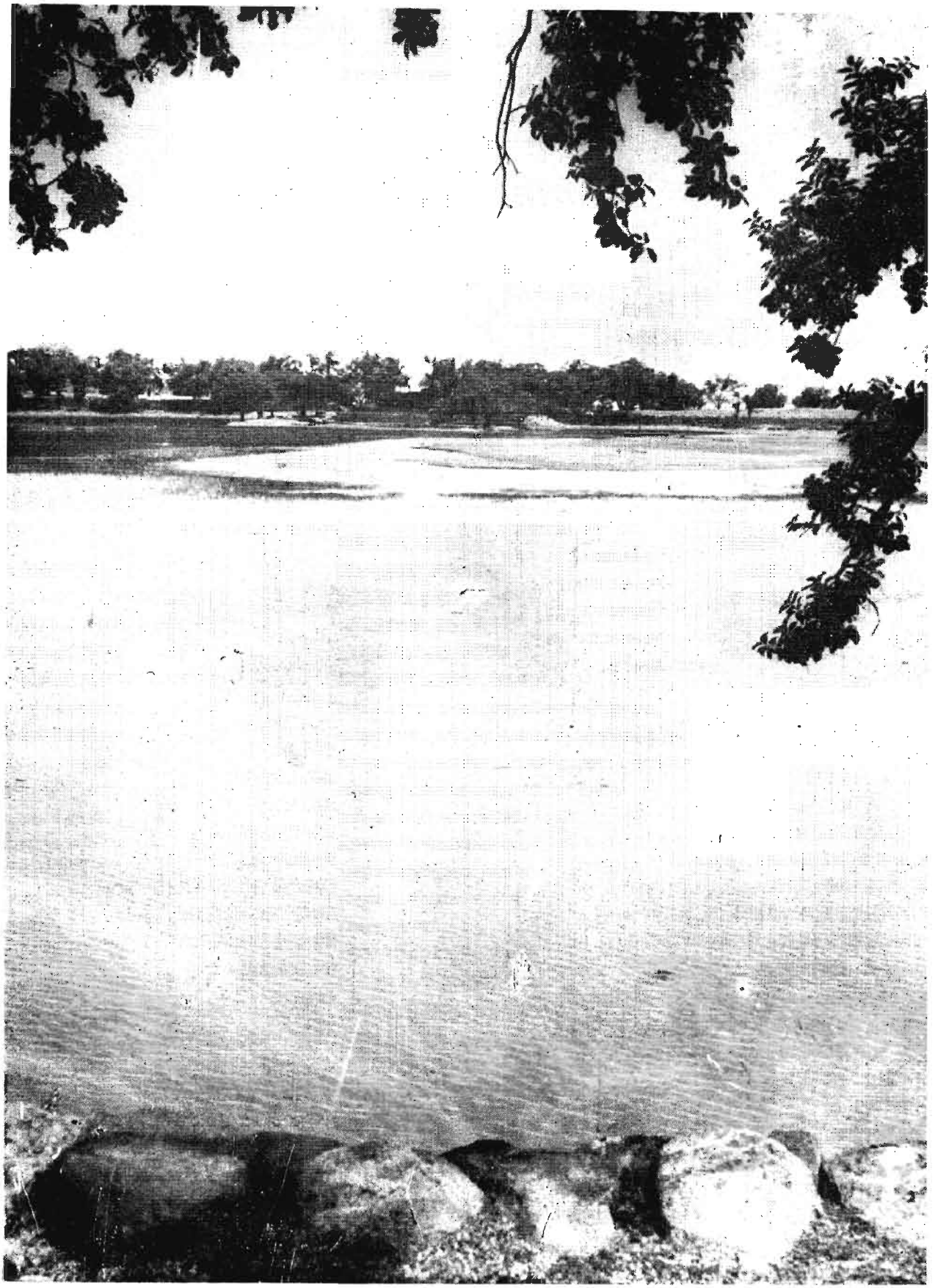
The expenditure on this festival is considerable and invariably everyone purchases new clothes to be worn on that day. It is a sort of thanks-giving day for bountiful harvest and the day is celebrated with great eclat by a gathering of all the villagers and the conduct of group games. Mattu Pongal is another important festival. On that day all the available cows, goats, buffaloes and livestock are gaily caparisoned and decorated and taken in procession through the streets. The 'Kambuvetti' and the cowherd beat on drums called 'Thappattai' and they proceed to the well situated at the north-eastern end of the village. There the drummers circumambulate the assembled cattle three times in order that the cattle may be protected from epidemic disease. The cowherd then falls at the feet of the people assembled there symbolically and asks for their blessings.

143. Apart from these two important festivals, the villagers celebrate the 'Nadapavai Uthsavam' and the 'Masi Magam' on a very lavish scale. These two festivals are not restricted to the village, but people from the neighbouring villages, from Kancheepuram town and all over the taluk join in the fun and festivities. A large concourse of people, numbering a lakh assemble and the village once a year presents a gay and colourful appearance. It provides a gala day to itinerant hawkers and petty shop-keepers as well as amusement park owners. All sorts of multi-coloured edibles and gaudy clothes are on display and villagers spend on these two occasions more than they are likely to spend on their clothing all the year round.

Important Festivals



A view of the 'SANJEEVARAYAR' temple. Note the massive four pillared Mandapam in front of the temple dwarfing the standard car. This age old temple has a number of intricate carvings and stone inscriptions not yet deciphered.



The temple overlooking the tank - Thathachari's monument to LORD ANJANEYA. The village acquired its name after this tank.

144. The 'Nadapavai Uthsavam' owes its origin to a person who was a resident of Kancheepuram taluk named Kodi Kannigadanam Thathachariar and the money he collected for Varadarajaperumal temple with which he excavated a tank and built a temple in honour of Lord Anjaneya, popularly known as Hanuman who saved him from dacoits. Alive to the fact that the money was originally collected on behalf of Lord Varadarajaperumal, it was agreed upon by the devotees of the Lord that He should be taken on His birth day to Ayyangarkulam. Since Lord Varadaraja is supposed to have been born with Agni (fire), He is taken to the mandapam inside the Nadapavai well during the festival. It is a well of architectural splendour containing beautiful carvings on the pillars and the sides. This well is situated about two furlongs away from the Senjeevarayar temple and can be reached by a gravelled pathway leading from the temple entrance. The main pillared doorway is constructed above the two steps and has a carving of Goddess Lakshmi garlanded by two elephants on the niche and with beautiful carvings of swans on the sides. There are massive pillars with a carving of a warrior on horse back on both sides. Immediately beyond the doorway is a deep hollow with a number of steps leading to the actual well. At the time of the festival, the well is full and the water overflows and laps the last step. The image of the Lord is brought through the door way to the steps, immersed in the well and then taken out. The well is square in structure and at the time of our visit, there was water to the depth of 16'. The well itself is about 20' × 20'. During the uthsavam, an amount of one anna per head is levied from all those who wish to enter the well and the money so collected is spent for renovations as well as the daily maintenance of the Sanjeevarayar temple. The term 'Nadapavai' is only a distortion of the word 'Nadavavi' which means a well into which people can walk. The descendants of Kodi Kannigadanam Thathachariar who are living in Kancheepuram to this day celebrate this festival every year during the month of 'Chitrai' corresponding to April-May of the calendar year on the Full Moon day. This festival is so famous that businessmen from the City of Madras come here to discharge their vows and provide food and drink to the needy throughout the duration of the festival.

Nadapavai Festival

145. Masi Magam festival is celebrated in the month of 'Masi' corresponding to February-March of the calendar year on the day of the star Magam. According to the villagers, originally there were eighteen streets of Senguntha Mudaliars, seventeen in Kancheepuram town and one in Ayyangarkulam village. The Katchapeswarar temple in Kancheepuram town was built by the ancestors of these Sengunthars. It was then agreed that once a year Katchapeswarar should be brought to Ayyangarkulam. The villagers chose the Masi Magam day as it falls after Pongal, when people are likely to have completed the harvest and would be having ready cash to spend on the festivals. Thus, did the Masi Magam festival originate. On that day Lord Katchapeswarar is brought in procession to Ayyangarkulam village and worship is offered by all the Senguntha Mudaliars residing in the three streets. Other communities are also permitted to join in the celebrations.

Masi Magam Festival

146. The practice of offering sacrifice is still in vogue in the village. Fortunately, no human sacrifice is permitted. The Senguntha Mudaliars used to sacrifice sheep and goats, but in the recent past this practice has been abolished. The Nattars even now sacrifice goats and fowls during certain days. This is specially permitted during the time of the 'Angalamman Uthsavam.' This Uthsavam takes place in the month of 'Masi' corresponding to February-March. The celebrations are spread over a period of three days. The first day is the Shivaratri day when a ceremony called 'Kappu kattuthal' is performed during which the deity is bathed in milk, honey, oil, ghee, fruits etc. and then a thread is tied around the deity to ensure its safety during the entire period of the festival. The deity is afterwards taken in procession through the streets in the village. On the next day which happens to be a New Moon day, at 2 O' clock

The Angalamman Festival

in the afternoon, sacrifice of sheep, fowls and pigs belonging to the temple are offered. After that, people who have taken vows are permitted to offer their sacrifices. The man who actually performs the duties of a sacrificing priest is the drummer who plays on the drum during the period of the Uthsavam. After this, the deity is again taken to the banks of the river Palar flowing a mile away from the village where an image of the 'Periyandavar' is kept. Here people scatter coins, cocoanuts, mangoes and other eatables and this is known in the native patois as 'Mayana Kollai.' The deity is then brought back to the temple. The third day is given over to enjoyment when people partake of the meat of the sacrificed victims which is cooked and distributed among the devotees.

Origin of Angalamman Festival

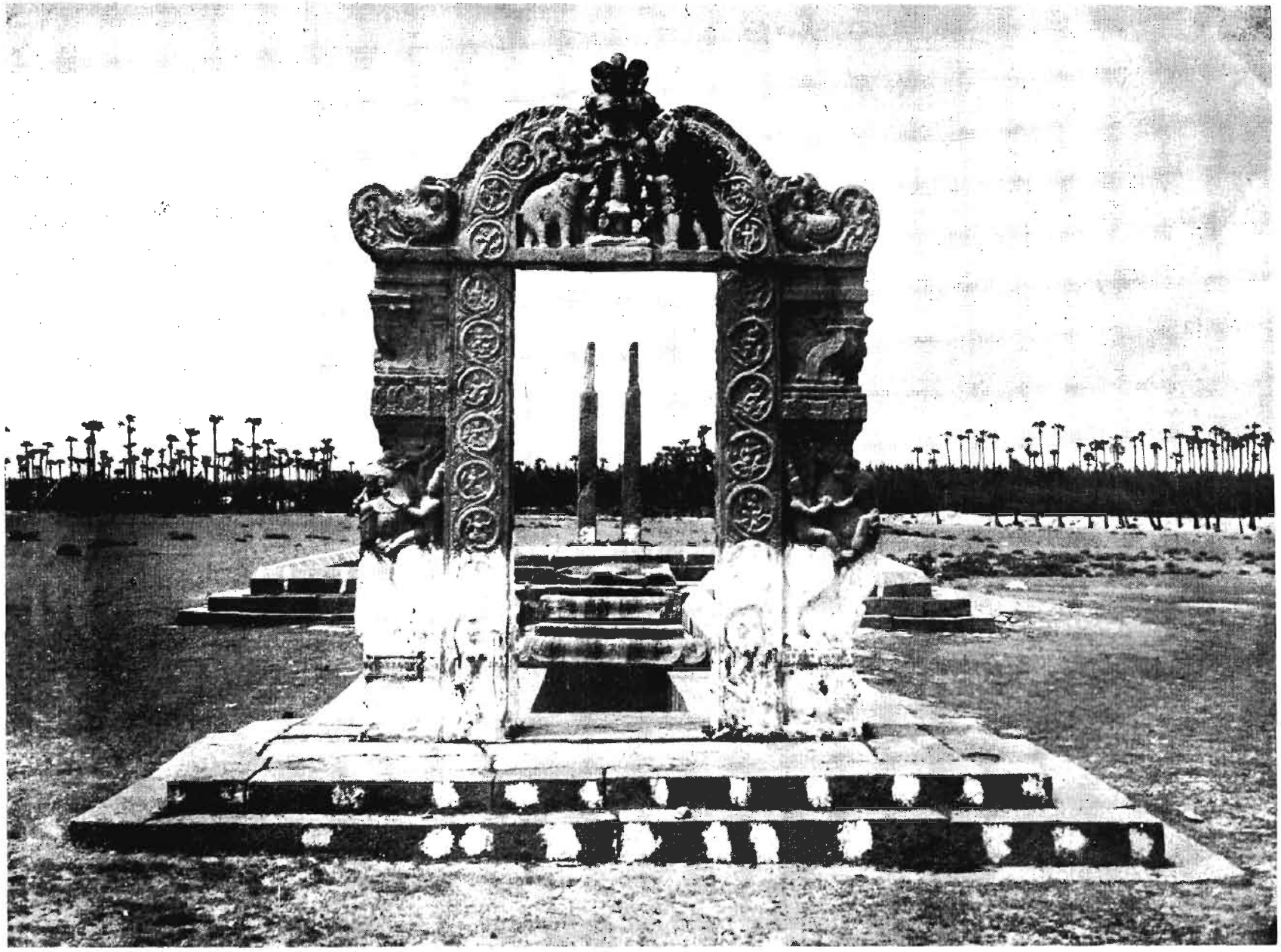
147. This Uthsavam owes its origin to the legend that in ancient times Lord Siva destroyed the earth by fire and while doing this he separated himself from Sakthi and performed a cosmic dance on the burning ghat where earthly lives are burnt and destroyed. Sakthi taking compassion on the destroyed lives pleaded successfully with Lord Siva to restore them back to life. This prayer was granted. Thereupon Sakthi became known as 'Angalamman,' a distortion of the words 'Ankali,' and 'Amman' meaning a beautiful mother descending in the form of Kali. The act of Lord Siva in restoring their lives involved three different processes of action which combined in them the quintessence of all earthly life, viz., destruction, creation and redemption. The Uthsavam is celebrated in memory of this great act and in honour and praise of Goddess Angalamman for three days corresponding to the three acts of Lord Siva. This is also called 'Simhavahana Uthsavam,' as the deity is taken in procession in a car designed to resemble a lion.

Prolixity of temples

148. In addition to the four major temples we have mentioned, there are eleven other minor temples and three *Bhajana* temples where religious discourses and performances of devotional music are periodically held. To locate some of the main temples, one temple is situated in the village *cheri* where Valluva Pandarams offer worship. The priest belongs to the Valluva Pandaram community. There is another temple called the *Bhajanai Koil* beside Nattar Street and situated to the left of *Meltheru* occupied by the Senguntha Muduliars. This is a temple managed by the Nattar Community, but Senguntha Mudaliars also worship here. There is another *Bhajanai Koil* at the junction of *Nadutheru* and *Kurukkutheru* managed by Senguntha Mudaliars. There is a big Perumal temple dedicated to Lord Vishnu at the end of *Meltheru* also managed by Senguntha Mudaliars. Adjacent to the school situated at the entrance of *Nadutheru* is the *Pillaiyar Koil* dedicated to Lord Ganesa, the Elephant-headed God, which is also managed by Pillais and Senguntha Mudaliars. Of the eleven minor temples, nine are dedicated to Lord Ganesa, the Elephant-headed God. Three streets have temples of their own and four temples are concentrated near the Keelthangal tank. Of the four, one is a temple dedicated to Goddess Ponniamman, the guardian deity of the village. The Harijans have a temple of their own and the Angalamman temple is situated facing the Nattar street inhabited by the fishermen community.

The Sanjeevarayar temple

149. Of the four major temples, the most noteworthy and by far the most important is the temple situated at the far end of the village called the Sanjeevarayar temple. The photo will provide an idea of the antiquity of this temple and its architectural eminence. The temple overlooks a large tank spread over an area of 131 acres. This tank is about 30' deep. It is oval in shape and is provided with an inlet. At its eastern side, dry earth packing with small boulders to prevent soil erosion forms the bund of the tank. The upper level of this bund is on a level with the surrounding area on which the dwellings are situated. To-date, the tank has never gone dry. Cattle are allowed to graze nearby and drink water from this tank. The tank has no outlets and, therefore, the water is not used for irrigaiton purposes.



Well of architectural splendour — A view of the 'NADAPAVAI' well -Note the image of Gajalakshmi intagliated on the niche and the intricate carvings on the sides of the arch-way. It is at this well that countless pilgrims throng during the Nadapavai festival to pay homage to Lord Varadaraja Perumal.

People come and bathe in the tank. We could not help noticing the fact that people wash their clothes also in this tank which practice should be deprecated, but nobody seems to be objecting to the strange desecration of a temple tank.

150. The tank and the temple were built by an Ayyangar named Kodi Kannigadanam Thathachariar. Many stories are current about this Ayyangar's devotion, piety and his munificence, but the most important relates to his celebration of a number of marriages for poor couples unable to meet their marriage expenses, at his own cost. Since he made 'Kannigadanam' meaning the gifting of virgins to bridegrooms, he was hyperbolically called Kodi Kannigadanam Thathachariar. Roughly 500 years back, this devotee along with his retinue went on, a fund raising tour to several places for the benefit of Lord Varadaraja Perumal, the principal deity at Kancheepuram. After visiting many places and collecting adequate sums, he and his retinue were returning to Kancheepuram. When they neared the spot where the present Ayyangarkulam is now situated, then merely a forest area, the sun had set and with darkness engulfing them, they decided to spend the night at this place. During the night, dacoits who heard of Thathachariar and the money in his possession, came to the spot where he and his party had camped with the intention of robbing him. Thathachariar prayed to Lord Anjaneya to protect him and his party from the dacoits and legend has it that Lord Anjaneya constructed a fort around Thathachariar and his men with his tail till the morning. The dacoits who had come there were also blinded by Divine Grace. Thathachariar on being shown the blind dacoits beseeched Lord Anjaneya to restore their sight which the latter was kind enough to grant. Thereupon, in honour of Hanuman and as his humble thanks for the succour rendered to him, Thathachariar started to construct a permanent monument for Lord Anjaneya and hit upon the idea of digging a tank at the exact spot where a fort was built by Divine Grace. The money collected on behalf of Lord Varadaraja was spent in digging this tank and building a temple dedicated to Lord Anjaneya. The temple, however, is not called the Anjaneya temple, but the Sanjeevarayar temple because of a legend connected with the Ramayana. The villagers have, however, linked the story from the epic to their own village in the following manner. They informed us that this legend has been handed down from generation to generation in the village, and, therefore, they believe it to be true. It is said that there was a small hillock adjacent to the place where the present tank is situated. Boulders were taken from it to form the bund of the tanks. Legend has it that at the time when Rama was fighting with Ravana to rescue Sita, Rama's brother Lakshmana tried to protect Rama and became mortally wounded from the arrow aimed at Lakshmana and his followers by Indrajit, son of Ravana. It was then found that unless certain medicinal herbs were brought from the Sanjeevi mountain, Lakshmana and others would certainly die. Anjaneya being the only person capable of traversing this distance, undertook to bring the herbs, but on reaching the Sanjeevi mountain, he was unable to distinguish between one plant and another. He thereupon tore out the entire mountain and flew with it on his palm. When he was flying over the spot where the tank is now situated, he is said to have transferred the mountain from one palm to the other. During this transfer, a small portion of the mountain is said to have fallen down and formed the hillock from which the boulders were taken to form the bund of the tank. Hence the temple came to be called the Sanjeevarayar temple. It must not, however, be forgotten that Sanjeevarayar is another name for Lord Anjaneya and it is quite possible that this temple might have been known as Sanjeevarayar temple in honour of Lord Anjaneya, rather than due to this story about a portion of the Sanjeevi mountain falling near this village.

Legend concerning construction

151. The temple itself is a beautiful monument though comparatively neglected, but in spite of its neglect and disuse, one can very well visualise its architectural beauty. The entrance consists of a massive four pillared mandapam, the pillars of which are over 60' height, topped by a *gopuram* intagliated with fine carvings. Beyond this is the main entrance to the temple

consisting of a huge mandapam having 40 pillars. Further on is a massive oaken door studded with brass knobs to open which, a key, a foot in length is required. We now enter the inner courtyard containing the *vimanam* and the sanctum sanctorum. The inner courtyard is comparatively neglected and the *vimanam* itself is damaged and a tree supposed to have been the 'Sthala Vriksha' has overgrown this *gopuram*. To the left of this courtyard is a small chamber which contains a well which is said to be the original 'Nadapavai' well. The later addition seems to be the finely carved 'Nadapavai' well, two furlongs away from this temple. The inner sanctum contains the deity of Lord Anjaneya, but worshippers will first have to pay homage to Lord Vishnu and Sri Rama whose images are found within the temple before coming to Lord Anjaneya. Adjacent to the temple is the Ayyangarkulam tank. There are certain inscriptions on the wall inside the temple which are said to contain details about the construction of the temple and the property belonging to the temple, but so far no one has been able to decipher these writings. The temple has inam lands to the extent of 1·5 acres and patta lands to the extent of 7 acres. These are wet lands. The temple has an additional area of 4 acres of dry land also. All the tamarind trees on the bund of the tank and on the adjacent poramboke land, about 70 in number, have been assigned under the Tree Tax Patta in favour of Lord Anjaneya and the income from the usufructs of these trees accrues to the temple.

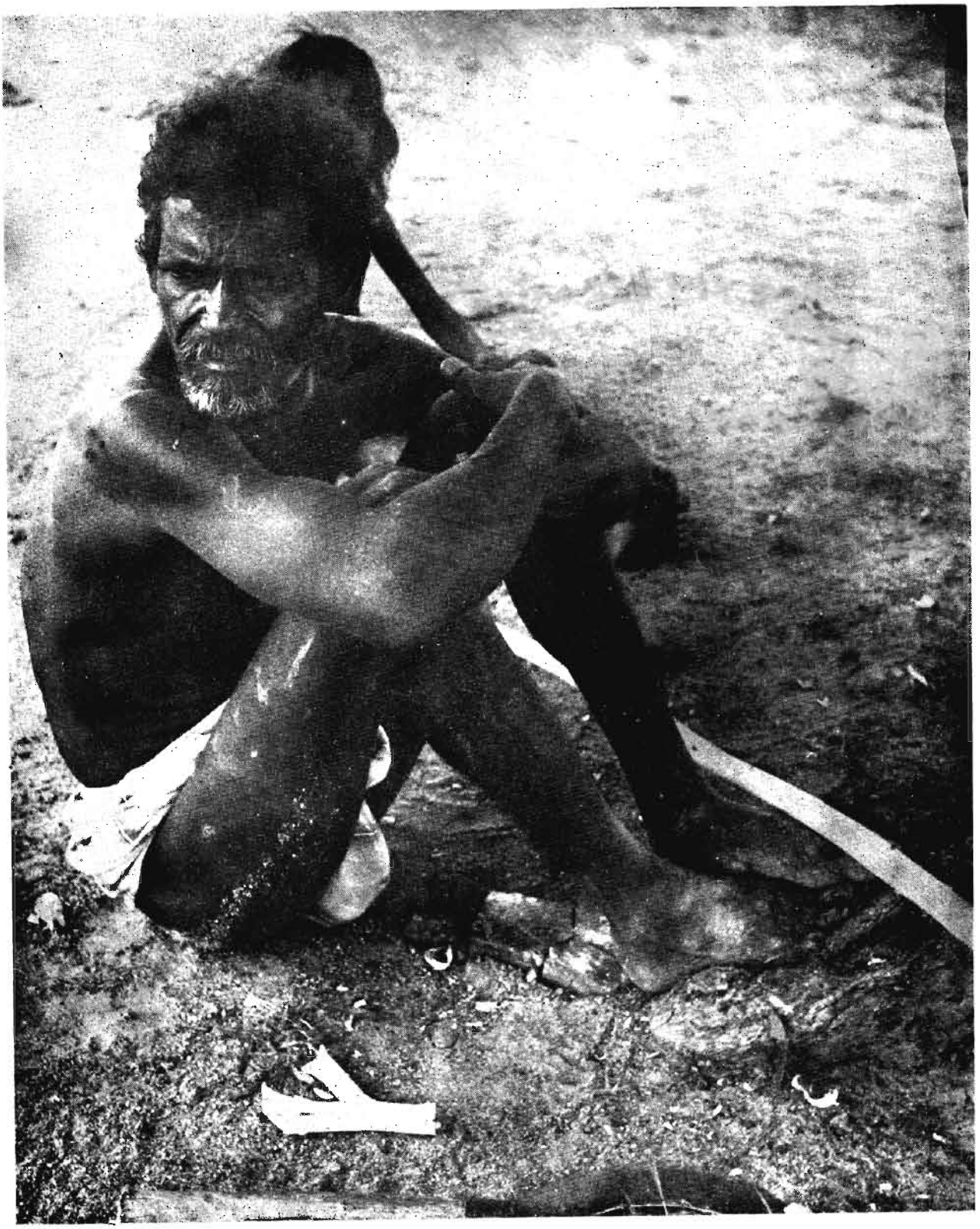
The Sanjeevarayar temple—A description

152. The village has no shandy of its own. But the people go to a fair held every Friday at a place called Mamandur, about four miles away from this village. Otherwise fairs are normally arranged at the time of the festivals and the villagers do not hold separate fairs where they need to purchase their requirements. Whenever they require provisions, they invariably go to Kancheepuram as it provides them a greater variety and a wider range of choice.

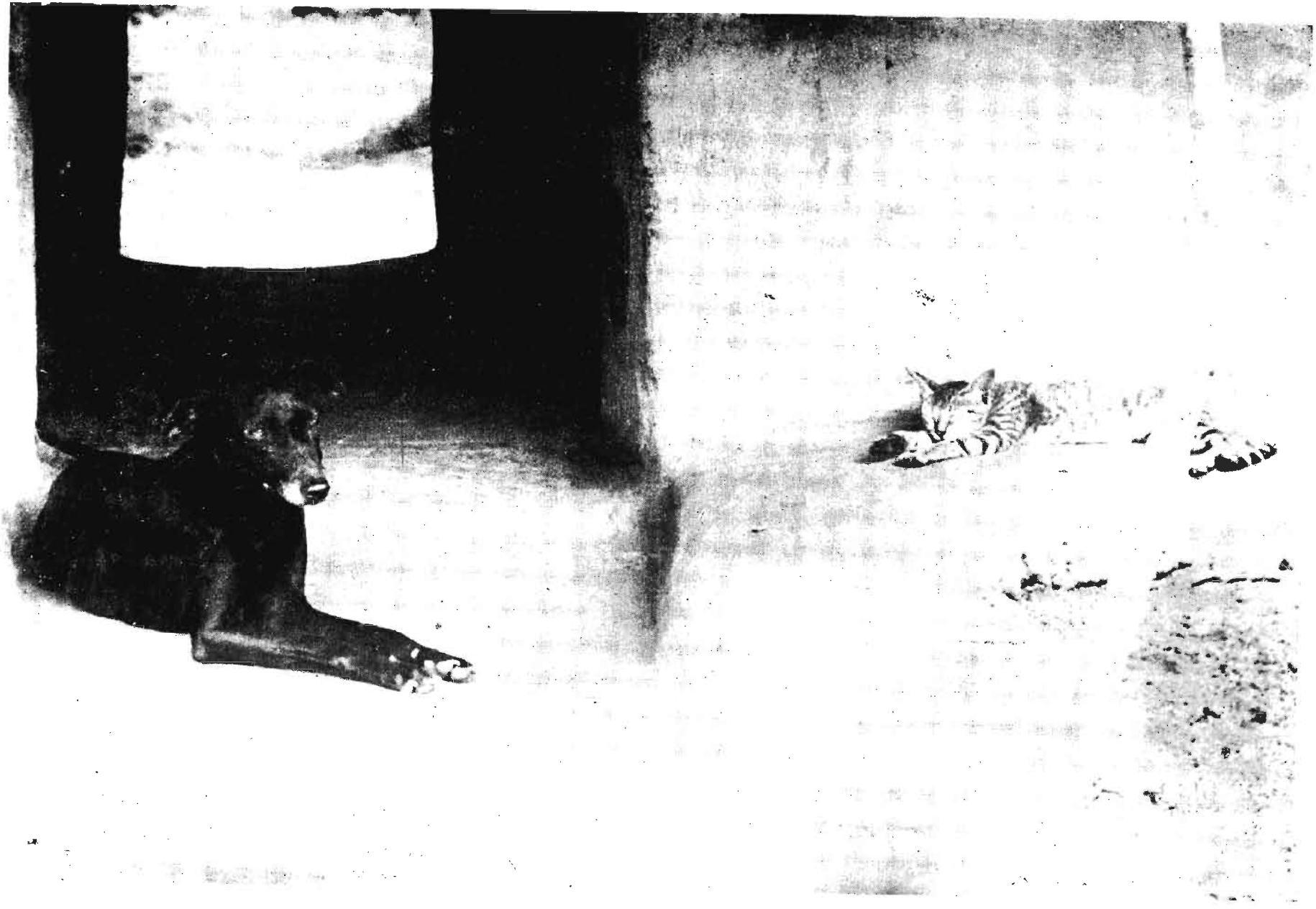
Fairs

153. The village of Ayyangarkulam is covered by the Block Development Scheme from April 1957 with headquarters at Kancheepuram. The Panchayat Union Council was constituted for the area from the middle of April 1961. The Gramsevak is said to live in Kancheepuram and visits the village once in a way. During our enquiries we found that nearly 60% of the villagers were not aware of the existence of the Block Development Scheme. The question which comes automatically to one's mind is, whether the villagers themselves should approach the Gramsevak and the Block staff and ask for the benefits or whether the Block Development staff and the Gramsevak should create a kind of atmosphere among the villagers which should lead to spontaneous enthusiasm to lift themselves by their own boot straps. But we wish to give certain details about the achievements of the Block staff in this village and leave it to the readers to draw their own conclusions about the efficiency of the Block staff. During the last five years, the Block staff have distributed 325 lbs. of paddy seeds, 395 lbs. of green manure seeds, 118 lbs. of pesticides, 2 lbs. of vegetable seeds, 20 mango and other seedlings and just three implements. Regarding the details about compost development, they have opened one community compost yard, have had 22 compost pits dug, have covered 14 acres with green manure, have planted 1,430 green manure plants, have constructed one cattle shed scientifically to conserve cow dung and cattle urine and so far trained six village leaders in schemes relating to Community Development. These facts were given to us by the Block Development Officer himself. The villagers informed us that the seeds, manures and other loans given to them are not supplied at the proper time and that they do not benefit the people. During our visit, we never once came into contact with the Gramsevak. It is hoped that the establishment of the Panchayat Union will foster a spirit of community consciousness and promote self-help among the villagers and thus pave the way towards the implementation of schemes directed for the benefit of villagers.

Block Development Scheme—A review of activities



A son of the soil — Years of hard labour have etched those lines on his face—but he would never exchange this way of life for another — A Valluva Pandaram farmer with his scythe.



A case of peaceful co-existence in the village - Or is it armed neutrality? A rare photograph of a cat and a dog dosing in the afternoon heat on the threshold of a Nattar house.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

154. We have now come to the end of our report on the Socio-economic conditions in Ayyangarkulam. It has been a story predominantly of Senguntha Mudaliars who are numerically the dominant community in the village and the part they play in village politics and in shaping the occupational structure of the other communities in the village. We have seen how the village got this quaint name through the Sanjeevarayar temple and the tank overlooking it, excavated by Kodi Kannigadanam Thathachariar. The village boasts of a famous festival the 'Nadapavai Uthsavam' which attracts people from all over the countryside. Thus for a few days each year, the village shakes off its attitude of somnolence and sparks into laughter and gaiety. On these days, people tend to throw off their cares and participate in the festivities forgetting rank, caste or creed.

155. In spite of the apparent dominance of the Sengunthars, it is not roses roses all the way for them. Though they are much better off than the other communities like the Nattars and the Pandarams and show more signs of prosperity by having better houses, radio-sets etc., their income per month is not in any way comparable to the wages earned by industrial workers in towns. As between weavers in Kancheepuram town and the weavers in Ayyangarkulam, the former are much better off. This accounts for the steady migration of Ayyangarkulam weavers to Kancheepuram. In spite of the traditional occupation of fishing through the ages, more and more Nattars, finding that weaving is securing them a better income, have discarded fishing and taken to silk weaving, though not with as much success as they anticipated. The Pandarams, as befitting their status to which they are relegated everywhere, have managed to remain completely cloistered from all influences which are current in the village. They still form the backbone of agriculture providing the necessary agricultural labour on the fields of the Mudaliars and other land owners and themselves forming the class of petty cultivators. To weaving they have not taken, mainly because of lack of opportunities and their own disinclination. Even though untouchability is not overtly practised in the village, their position vis - a-vis the other communities is not a very happy one. Fear of social ostracism is as much a potent factor in human relations as the overt act itself and so the Pandarams continue to remain isolated for so many generations and are likely to continue in the same vein in future also notwithstanding social legislation, until and unless there is a change of heart and man realises that birth alone cannot form the basis of social distinction.

156. Literacy standards are rising but slowly in the village. There is a slight spurt in literacy rates during the last decade and this is likely to shoot up considering the enthusiasm of the children in the village for studies. But the very occupational structure of the inhabitants makes this difficult of achievement, though a desirable one. Weaving and agriculture call for all types of human resources, young and old, as they are mostly family occupations. Even children have to do their bit to augment the family income and hence the disinclination of parents to allow their children more than a fixed period of schooling. It is only in rare cases that young men get an opportunity to study beyond the Junior Basic or the Matriculation Standard. The situation is bleaker among females. Their education now stops with the attainment of puberty and we have come across only isolated instances where girls are sent beyond the age of 14 to school. Without a change in attitude, it may be difficult to achieve a greater measure of literacy and higher educational standards in this village. The villagers often repeated to us that they were desirous of converting the present Elementary School into a High School. Whether this was only on account of prestige value or whether there is likely to be a change for the better and people are really thinking in terms of educating their young ones is something we were unable to fathom. But we hope that the conversion of the Elementary School into a High School will promote not only a desire to study, but will also lead to concrete results in raising literacy rates in the village.

157. Four years of Community Development has done but little to the villagers on all fronts. Much has been expected and much has been written on the aims of Community Development and National Extension Service. In Ayyangarkulam at least, the results have not been far-reaching. In fact, in addition to its minor achievements, it has not even fostered a sense of self-help among the villagers. But promoting of local initiative and local leadership in any form is worthwhile and it is hoped that the ushering of Panchayat Raj will lead to an awakening and translate into action many of the hopes and aspirations of these simple folk.

158. For a brief moment in June 1961, it looked as if Ayyangarkulam would be placed permanently on the mineral map of Madras. It startled and shook the villagers of Ayyangarkulam as no other event has done before in their simple and uneventful life. It created as much stir in them as Russia's first rocket into space did to the world. A Mudaliar of the village while, digging a well on his land just opposite the Sanjeevarayar temple, unearthed a piece of earth with a sticky viscous liquid adhering to it. It smelt strongly of crude petroleum. Had he struck oil? Was Ayyangarkulam going to have an oil bonanza? These questions were on everybody's lips when the news spread throughout the village. This information was promptly conveyed to the Collector by the Village Officers and thence to the geologists and other authorities. They came to the village, made further excavations and took the samples for survey. No news has been heard about the results for the last six months. We are afraid that this was only a false alarm and subsequently Ayyangarkulam slipped back into its old sequestered way of life.

159. But the last word lies with these simple minded hospitable folk. Theirs is a hard war of existence. For the Sengunthar, in spite of being relatively more prosperous compared to other communities, it is no easy matter to make both ends meet. He has to work at times 12 to 14 hours a day to earn about Rs. 100. His wants are many and his resources are too few to satisfy his wants. He has no organised marketing facilities to sell the silk fabrics, but yet he manages to smile and welcomes his guests with open arms. The Nattar, on the contrary, has given up his traditional way of life and is attempting to ape the Sengunthar. But it is difficult for him to maintain an external facade of prosperity. He is steeped to his neck in debt, but yet he does not know how to live frugally. But then he does not complain. We had a long talk with a Valluva Pandaram farmer—an old man of 60 and we asked him whether he would like to change his occupation or live elsewhere where he can get a better income. His reply did not surprise us. He politely refused to contemplate any other sort of life. He was a true son of the soil. Years of hard labour have etched strong lines of care and anxiety on his face. Yet, he will never exchange his way of life for another. For such is the spirit of the villagers of Ayyangarkulam.

APPENDIX I

CENSUS 1961—SOCIO ECONOMIC SURVEY

Household Schedule

Name of village :

Serial number of household :

L. C. No.

Name of Taluk/District in which it is situated.

I. Approximate dimensions of the house ...

Number of rooms in the house ... ...

Number of households residing in the house ...

II. COMPOSITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD :

	Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head	Marital status	Age at marriage	Literacy & education	Occupation		Income	
								Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1.	Head										
2.											
3.											
4.											
5.											
6.											
7.											
8.											
9.											
10.											

III. DURATION OF RESIDENCE :

(*a*) Does the family previously belong to this village?

(*b*) If not, from where did they migrate to this village? (Give name of village, town, taluk and district).

(*c*) When and why did they migrate? ...

IV. LANGUAGE:

	1st member	2nd member	3rd member	4th member	5th member
What languages can each member of the family:—					
(*a*) Read, write and speak					
(*b*) Speak only					
(*c*) Examinations passed in languages under (*a*).					

V. DIET:

(*a*) How many times do they take meals in a day?

(*b*) What are the main constituents of their food?

(*c*) How many times a week do they consume non-vegetarian food?

(*d*) Is any article of food forbidden. If so, which and why?

(*e*) Do the members of the family chew pan regularly?

(*f*) What are the oils and fats commonly used for cooking?

(*g*) What types of utensils are used for cooking and household use—

(*a*) Earthenware.

(*b*) Aluminium ware.

(*c*) Copper.

(*d*) Brass.

VI. DRESS:

(*a*) What are the types of dresses usually worn by—

(1) Males.

(2) Females.

(*b*) Is there any special dress for festival occasions?

(*c*) What types of ornaments are worn?

VII. LIVESTOCK AND POULTRY:

(*a*) Does the household own any cattle? (Give numbers and types.)

(*b*) What other domesticated animals does the household keep in the house? (Numbers and types to be specified.)

VIII. MARRIAGE:

(*a*) Has any inter-communal marriages taken place in your family?

(*b*) What is the expenditure on marriage?

(*c*) Is dowry given? If so, is it in cash or in kind?

(*d*) Is the family in debt on account of this?

IX. RELIGION:

(*a*) To what religion does the family belong?

(*b*) What are the principal deities worshipped?

(*c*) What is the expenditure incurred by the family on important religious festivals?

X. LAND AND CULTIVATION:

(*a*) Extent of land owned (acres and cents).

(*b*) Is it inherited or acquired?

(*c*) Does the family possess for itself agricultural implements? (Number and types to be specified.)

(*d*) Are these of the improved or traditional pattern?

(*e*) What is the type of cultivation adopted—
(*a*) Improved, (*b*) Traditional.

(*f*) How do you market your surplus produce?

(*g*) Do you have a vegetable garden in your house?

XI. FURNITURE AND PERSONAL BELONGINGS:

(*a*) What items of furniture are generally in use?

(*b*) Are they of local manufacture or imported from outside?

XII. GENERAL:

(*a*) Do all children between 6-16 attend school regularly?

(*b*) If they do not, how do they occupy themselves?

(*c*) What is the general range of household expenditure per mensem for the family?

(*d*) What are the main items of household expenditure and their proportion to the total?

1. Clothing
2. Food
3. Fuel
4. Lighting
5. Luxuries (pan, smoking, etc.)
6. Others not specified.

(*e*) What is the outstanding debt?

(*f*) Source from which money is generally borrowed:

Co-operative Society	—Rate
Private money lenders	Do.
Governmental agencies	Do.

(*g*) Who is responsible for clearing the debts of a deceased person?

(*h*) Does the family members wear shoes?

(*i*) If so, are they of local manufacture or imported from outside the village?

XIII. SANITATION:

(*a*) Is the house equipped with a bathroom?

(*b*) Where does the household deposit its rubbish?

(*c*) Is the house neatly and cleanly arranged?

(*d*) Do the children urinate or defecate near the house?

APPENDIX II

CENSUS 1961—SOCIO ECONOMIC SURVEY
Village Schedule

1. Name of village :
2. District/Taluk :
3. Area :
4. No. of households :
5. Distance from nearest town :
6. Distance from nearest Railway Station :
7. Distance from main road :
8. Is it connected by bus ?
9. (*a*) Is there a Post Office/Telegraph Office in the village ?

   (*b*) If not, which is the nearest Post/Telegraph Office and distance at which situated ?
10. Is the village covered by the Community Development Programme ?
11. Is there a Panchayat in the village ?
12. Total population of the village—1951 & 1961 (& 1941 & 1931, if available)
13. Is the village electrified ?
14. Give the number of births and deaths during the past 10 years ;

I. HOUSING :

(*a*) What are the common types of house ? (Give a brief description about type of roof, wall, flooring etc.)

(*b*) Are houses owned or rented ?

(*c*) Are the house sites sufficient for the population ?

(*d*) Do members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes live separately from the others or is there any progress towards their living together ?

(*e*) What is the arrangement of houses in the village?

II. LITERACY & EDUCATION;

(*a*) Is there any school in the village? (Specify whether it is Elementary, Higher Elementary, High School and also whether it is a night or day school.)

(*b*) What is the highest Class upto which education is imparted?

(*c*) Who runs the school?

(*d*) Specify the number of students and teachers in each.

(*e*) Is there a reading room / library in the village?

(*f*) Total number of schools:

III. HEALTH & SANITATION:

(*a*) Common diseases of the village:

(*b*) Is native or indigenous medicine practised? If so, by how many?

(*c*) Give your impression of cleanliness (Inside and outside the houses):

(*d*) Are there any latrines in the village?

(*e*) If there is no latrine, where do the villagers go to answer their calls of nature?

(*f*) What is the source of drinking water?

(*g*) What are the drainage facilities available in the village? Is it adequate?

(*h*) Do villagers send their clothes to the washerman for cleaning?

(*i*) How often do they bathe and what do they use for body cleaning?

(*j*) Was the village affected by epidemics recently like Cholera, Malaria, Smallpox etc.?

(*k*) What measures were taken to control their outbreak?

(*l*) When did the last cases of epidemics occur?

(*m*) What diseases are commonly prevalent in this village?

(*n*) Which is the nearest hospital?

(*o*) Is there a Primary Health Centre in the village?

(*p*) Does it have a Maternity Ward?

(*q*) Where does delivery take place? At home or in the hospital:

(*r*) Are there any midwives in the area?

IV. SOCIAL LIFE:

(*a*) Do the villagers mix freely with each other on all occasions?

(*b*) Is widow remarriage allowed?

(*c*) What is the system of inheritance among the villagers?

(*d*) What are the essential ceremonies that a man undergoes from birth to death?

(*e*) What are the essential ceremonies that a woman undergoes from birth to death?

(*f*) How is the body disposed of after death?

(*g*) What is the expenditure incurred on these funeral rites?

V. AGRICULTURE:

(*a*) Total cultivable area:

(*b*) Principal crops grown with their area for 10 years:

(*c*) Have the villagers taken to improved methods of cultivation?

(*d*) What are the sources of irrigation prevalent in the village?

(*e*) Are there any disused tanks in the village? Has any steps been taken to renovate them?

(*f*) Number of pumpsets and irrigation wells:

(*g*) Do people hire out ploughs etc.?

(*h*) What are the usual hire charges?

(*i*) Is there mutual co-operation in agricultural practices?

(*j*) Are chemical fertilisers used?

(*k*) Is there any Industrial establishment like flour mill, rice mill etc., in the village?

VI. MARRIAGE:

(*a*) At what age are marriages contracted?

(*b*) Write a note on the marriage ceremonies?

(*c*) Is polyandry or polygamy practised?

(*d*) Is divorce granted? If so, by whom and for what reasons?

VII. RELIGIOUS PRACTICES:

(*a*) No. of temples/mosques/churches in the village:

(*b*) Do villagers ever join in common worship?

(*c*) What are the main fairs and festivals celebrated?

(*d*) How ancient is the festival? Mention the local legend about the village and the fair or festival:

(*e*) Does this attract people from nearby villages?

(*f*) Mention the name of the deity:

(*g*) What is the duration of the festival?

(*h*) Is any shandy conducted during the festival either in the village itself or in the outskirts?

(*i*) Are communal feasts or free kitchens organised during the festival?

VIII. CO-OPERATION:

(*a*) Is there a Co-operative Society? What is the nature? (Credit, marketing etc.)

(*b*) Total share capital:

(*c*) Number of members:

(*d*) Total dues outstanding as on date;

(*e*) Is there scope for development of co-operative activities?

IX. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES:

(*a*) What are the recreational facilities available?

(*b*) Do all villagers participate in these activities?

(*c*) Is there any play ground in the village? Mention area of playground:

(*d*) Is there any club for sports or recreation? What sports are played and what amenities are provided in the Club?

X. LIVESTOCK:

(*a*) Total number of livestock in the village as per 1956 Livestock Census:

(*b*) Are there any improved breeds of cattle in the village?

(*c*) Average milk yield—buffallo/cow:

(*d*) Which is the nearest Veterinary hospital?

(*e*) Is there a cattle pound in the village?

(*f*) Is animal transport used?

XI. GENERAL:

(*a*) Do villagers tattoo their bodies?

(*b*) Do villagers favour female education?

(*c*) Do the children get sufficient quantities of milk?

(*d*) No. of street lights (Kerosene or Electric lamps to be specified.)

(*e*) Are there any craftsmen in the village?

XII. Is any legend attached to the origin of the village?

XIII. Are there any ancient monuments or places of architectural value in the place? If so, describe them.

APPENDIX III

Glossary of Local Terms

Tamil words	*English equivalents*
1. Ayah	... Unqualified midwife
2. Bajanai koil	... Temple where devotional hymns are sung and religious discourses are conducted.
3. Cheri	... The segregated settlement of the low castes (untouchables)
4. Dosai	... A delicacy made out of rice flour
5. Gopuram	... Tower of a temple
6. Graha Pravesam	... The ceremony of occupying a new house
7. Idli	... Steam cooked rice-cake usually had for breakfast
8. Kichidi Samba	... A superior vareity of paddy
9. Kilai gramam	... Hamlet
10. Kist	... Land revenue
11. Kulam	... Tank
12. Mahanattan	... Regional head of the caste
13. Manai	... Wooden plank for sitting
14. Mandapam	... Hall
15. Marakkal	... A local cubic measure, equivalent to 8 Madras measures. (1 Madras measure is more or less equivalent to 2 litres.)
16. Melwaram & Kudiwaram	... Kinds of tenures
17. Nadutheru	... Central street
18. Nava Graha	... Nine Planets
19. Nattukattada Nainmar	A class of mendicants
20. Nattu Naduvuthal	... Transplantation
21. Neerganti	... Person in charge of regulating the supply of water
22. Periadanakkaran	... The hereditary headman of Senguntha Mudaliars in a Village
23. Perur	... Big village
24. Prasadham	... Cooked rice and other edibles first offered to the deity and then distributed to the devotees
25. Sengunthar Maha Sangam	... The caste association of the Sengunthars
26. Sethukal, Puzhithikal	... Methods of cultivation
27. Sirumani, Chinna Samba, Kullakkar, Perungar	... Varieties of paddy grown in Ayyangarkulam
28. Sithur	... Small village
29. Thai	... Tamil month corresponding to January–February
30. Thali	... Marriage badge which is tied to the bride's neck at the wedding
31. Thamboolam	... Betel nuts and leaves served to guests on important occasions
32. Thappattai	.. A kind of drum
33. Theru	... Street
34. Viboothi	... Sacred Ash