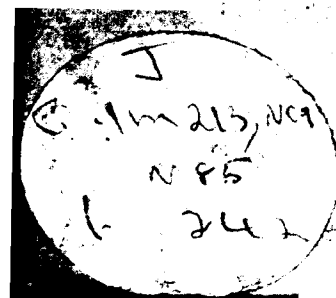
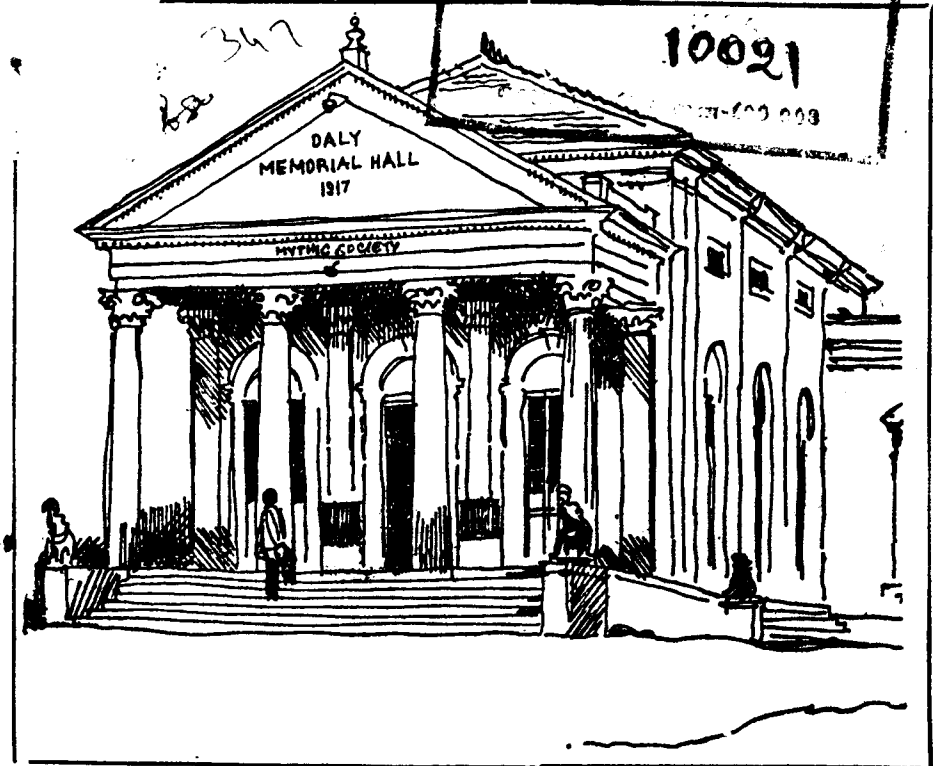


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This issue has to be a combined one of Nos. 1 and 2 for 1985, as I was sick in March. Even this combined issue has been delayed due to some technical problems in printing.

The Society's Vice-President, Prof. K. N. Iyengar (who has been a close associate of the late Sri K. Guru Dutt, the Society's former President and renowned scholar in philosophy) has written an obituary note on K. Guru Dutt.

The year 1985 has snatched away the renowned epigraphist Dr. D. C. Sircar (10-1-85), noted historian Prof. G. H. Khare (5-6-85) of Pune, the renowned Indologist Prof. Mirashi of Nagpur and the outstanding museologist Grace Morley, an American savant who had made India her home. The first two were closely associated with the Mythic Society. The gap created by their demise is hard to be filled.

This issue contains the Index of articles published in the Vols. from 71 to 75 of the *Q. J. M. S.* The Index for Vols. 1 to 70 had been published in the 71st vol. in two instalments. In future, the Index will be published in the last issue annually.

29-6-'85

Suryanath U. Kamath

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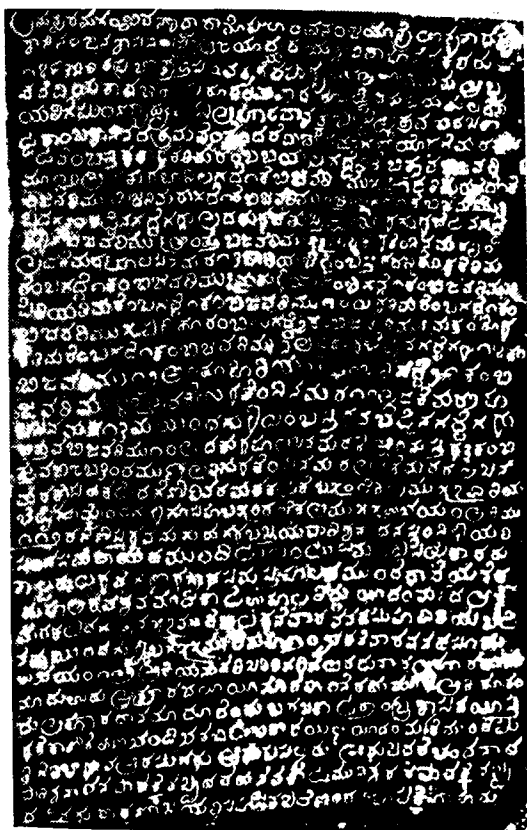
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## TRANSFER OF POWER TO SAMUDRA GUPTA

DR. S. V. SONONI\*

Harishena has given a very vivid account of the scene in the court of Chandragupta relating to Samudragupta being told by his father that he should protect the earth-*'Pahi tvam urvim iti.'* The relevant account is contained in verse 4 of Harishena's *prashasti*,<sup>1</sup> and the bulk of the letters of this verse recorded in lines 7 and 8 are fortunately, quite legible:-

(A\*)ryyo hi iti upaguhya bhava-pishunaih utkarnnitai  
romabhih sabhyeshu uchhoasiteshu tulya kulaja-mlana-  
ananovikshi [tah] [1\*]

[sne] ha-vyalulitena bashpa-guruna tattvekshuna  
chakshushayah pitra bhihito ni [rikshya] nikhi [lam\*]  
[pahyeva] [murvi\*] miti [11\*]"

Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra<sup>2</sup> has suggested, after a detailed, examination of earlier eye copies of this record that the first letters in the verse had not been read correctly. According to him (A\*)ryyo hi should be read as *'ehi ehi'* i.e. that Samudragupta was not called *'Arya'* by Chandragupta but that he was in fact, told to move nearer and nearer-*'Ehi, Ehi'* or *'come, come'*. This is an emendation worthy of very serious consideration. Firstly, it would be strange if a king were to summon his son, by calling him *'Arya'* i.e. *'Respected Sir'*. Secondly, this would be contrary to usage or court etiquette. It should not be overlooked that it was a powerful emperor asking his son to move over to him, at an official function,

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attended by the members of the *sabha*<sup>3</sup> and by the male members of the royal family. On the other hand, this expression 'Ehi, ehi, occurs frequently in Sanskrit dramatic works. The expression appears not only to be a standard one and such as could be used when a king calls his son, but, as pertinently noted by Banabhatta, was understood to be 'Sabahumanam' i.e. suggesting a ceremonially appropriate way of summoning somebody to come closer. When Hamsavega, the envoy from the king of Kamarupa, wanted to have an audience with Harshavardhana, he was summoned in these very words by Harshavardhana to come to him. Hamsavega was already there, but was asked to come nearer. Banabhatta's account, as usual, is complete and vivid: "Atha tatra prathihras prthivprishthe pratisthapita pani pallavo vidnyapitvan 'Deva Pragjyotisheshwarena Kumarena prahito Hamsavega-name duto antarangastoramadhyaste iti. Raja tu Raja tu 'tam ashupraveshya, iti samadidesha... anantaramcha Hamsavegah savinayam akrityaiva... pravivisha rajamandirama ... "Ehi ehi" iti sabahumanam ahoatashecha pradhavito appasrtah pa d a p i t h e luthita lalatalekho nyaste hastah prushthe parthivena upasutya bhooyo namashchakre, S u i g d h a n a r e n d r a d r u s h t y a n i r d i s h t a m a v i p r a k r u s h t a m s a p r a d e s h a m a d h y a s t a ' Banabhatta's detailed narration of Hamsavega's entry into the royal presence (vide H. C. VII) deserves a close study in the present context. For it brings out emphatically the point that the entrant had to perform several motions in accordance with the *etiquette* then in vogue, whereas the royal figure remained virtually without changing his posture. This should explain why the words spoken by Chandragupta were quoted by Harishena; and why we should understand them accurately to appreciate their full import. The comparison also explains what details were altogether omitted by Harishena while describing the court scene. Thus the respectful homage rendered by Samudragupta while approaching his father was completely passed over by Harishena.

Further, "Aryo hi ...pitra abhihitah" cannot be a complete sentence. To assume that the most important words intended to be spoken after these two were left unuttered, would be an assumption which cannot be defended. For the words next recorded as having been spoken by the father viz., "Pahi tvamurvim" carry a self-contained or complete statement. On the other hand, if the initial words were 'Ehi ehi' they carried not only an appropriate significance but also a vital and timely instruction to the concerned party, who was thus invited to approach the emperor at the latter's behest. The word 'ehi' is in the second person singular and means, "come" and, when it is uttered, it conveyed the permission or the order given by the speaker. The words 'Ehi ehi' indicate the urgency and the eagerness besides his distinct approval of the act of coming nearer on the part of the person to whom they are addressed. The very fact that the word was employed twice was considered to be indicating the *bahumana* shown by the royal personage. The expression, 'ehi ehi' has been thus used in many Sanskrit dramas, including in Rajashekhara's *Bala-Ramayana* in this sense.

Protocol demanded that one could approach the imperial presence only when expressly permitted to do so. The movement, when authorised, was called, *upasarpana* a term specifically employed by Harishena in the closing portion of the *prashasti*. Its various stages required frequent contact with the floor, on the part of the person allowed to have the audience. The *pratihari* and the *tambulavahini* were the essential members of the staff. Harishena assumed all this to be common knowledge.

Chandragupta embraced his son when the latter came to him. The father was thrilled to do so - and his emotion was indicated by 'Bhava pishunaih utkarmi-taih romabhih'. Almost similar was the feeling entertained by the members of the

royal council, 'Sabhyeshu unchchvasiteshu' - they too had a feeling of exaltation and enthusiasm.

In contrast was the appearance of the 'tulya kulaja' or princes of equal birth whose mouths looked lack-lustre while they were looking at what was going on in front of them, "mlana—anana—udvikshitah". Their faces carried an 'alaran' look while watching Samudragupta going near Chandragupta. Some scholars of Gupta History have based their surmise that these princes of equal birth were not only jealous of Samudragupta because he was selected by Chandragupta to undertake the responsibility of taking over the charge of public administration - according to them this also indicated a civil war among the later contenders for the throne. One argument in support of the view that though nominated by Chandragupta as successor, there was no smooth transfer of power in favour of Samudragupta thereafter, was that there was atleast one 'tulyo kulaja' viz. Kacha who contested the throne. They rely on the 7th century *Manjushri Mulakalpa* reference<sup>4</sup> to one Bhāsma or Bhasma, described there as a younger brother, anuja, of Samudragupta and as holding royal power for some time. This view is untenable as a detailed examination would bear out. Briefly put, Kacha cannot be an equivalent of Bhāsma or Bhasma; and Kachagupta was an earlier name of Samudragupta himself and moreover, it has connection with *ashvamedha* rites in the initial stage of that sacrifice, when the horse was let loose to wander about. The result is that there is no substance in the theory of a civil war being faced by Samudragupta when he succeeded his father,

The verse further states clearly the intensely emotional state of Chandragupta, when he actually uttered the words, "Pahi tvam urvim"<sup>5</sup> i.e. "you, should protect the world (i.e. the kingdom or empire). This intensely emotional frame of mind was reflected in the eyes of Chandragupta. They were wet with tears, on account of his compelling affection, "*Snehavkya-*

*lulitena bashpaguruna chakshusha*". It was not that Chandragupta was unable to see Samudragupta. As defined in the lexicon, Vishnu, 'Bashpe netrajalośmoh'; and though through the veil of that watery film, the eyes looked bigger, the chosen prince could still be seen by the emperor. To settle the matter beyond doubt, the word 'Chakshusha' is qualified by the adjective 'tattvekschina'. It was a discerning eye of the father; and no matter howsoever, tearful it was, the tears were tears of joy indicating the exhilaration of having made the correct choice.

Harishena has called his prashasti a 'satkavya'<sup>6</sup> or good poetry. The vivid details, conveyed through a minimum use of words in this verse no. 4 is one good evidence among many to support this confident claim. It is not unlikely that Harishena had got an account of this memorable scene either from his own father who was in royal service from earlier years or that he was himself present at this important ceremony.

We have seen how Sanskrit literature clarified the position regarding the expression "ehi ehi". A reference may now be made to Banabhatta's account; in *Kadambari*, of the *youvarajyabhisheka* of Tarapida, there was not only a full emphasis on the king sprinkling the prince with holy waters obtained from different places, rivers and oceans, "*Sarvebhyah tirthebhyah sarvebhyo nadibhyah sarvebhyashcha sagarebhyah*" but at the same time it was delicately stated that, "*Parigruhitena anandabashpajalamishrena mantraputena varina, sutam abhishishecha*" i. e. the king's joyous tears had got into the purified waters which were then being sprinkled. What Harishena had hinted at was explicitly stated by Banabhatta.

#### NOTES:

1. Fleet, *Corp*, In *S. Ind*, pp 6 ff Fleet translated this verse 4 as follows—"1. 7.8 Who being looked at (with envy) by the

faces, melancholy (through the rejection of themselves) of other of equal birth, while the attendants of the court breathed forth deep sighs (of happiness was bidden by his father-who exclaiming, 'Verily he is worthy', embraced (him) with the hairs of his body standing erect (through pleasure) and thus indicative of (his) sentiments, and scanned (him) with an eye turning round and round in affection, (and) laden with tears (of joy), (and) perceptive of (his noble) nature (to govern of a surety) the whole world".

2. I. C. XIV, pp 141-50 Chhabra has quoted some examples of 'ehi ehi' occurring in *Valmiki Ramayanam*, *Vikramorvashiyam* and *Kadambari*. The *Harshacharitam* reference quoted by me adds to this account the valuable part 'Ehi ehi' was *Sabahumanam*'.
3. The 'sabhyas' were not mere court attendants, as wrongly interpreted by Fleet. They were members of the royal council which had constitutional role in the public administration
4. K.P. Jayaswal: *III*, p. 48
5. *Evam* in '*Pahi evam urvim*', is a palpably wrong reading.
6. Vide line 31 in the inscription.
7. Not only the scene was similar. There is similarity in description. The word, 'bashpa' is used in both.

## ACHEULEAN ARTEFACTS FROM LANKELAPALEM, NORTHERN COASTAL ANDHRA

D. B. MURTI\*

Acheulean artefacts have been recovered from various parts of Andhra Pradesh. In the nature and context of occurrence, local variations are noticed among the industries (Murti D. B. 1984). Chronologically the various artefact groups have been assigned to the early, middle and late Acheulean phases mainly on the basis of their typotechnological aspects. Though Acheulean localities are wide spread across the southern coastal Andhra and Western Andhra, they are rarely encountered in northern coastal Andhra, particularly in areas lying to the north of the Godavari. But for a few notices (Reddy K. T. 1974) no detailed account describing the nature of Acheulean culture in the area has been published. In this context an attempt has been made here to describe the typotechnological and metrical details of the Acheulean handaxes from Lankelapalem, located in the Visakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh.

Lankelapalem (17°41' N. Lat: 83°07' E. Long) is a small village located at about 12 km east of Ankapalle, a major town in the Visakhapatnam district. In the vicinity a few wet weather hills, which finally drain into the Sarada, flow due south-east cutting across the lateritic hardpans and exposing thick deposits of red earth overlying the weathered gneissic rocks. At places where the top lying red earths are eroded Acheulean artefacts are exposed as surface remains. A few of the artefacts were

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subjected to drift and as such they have been recovered from gullies. Some of the specimens underwent 'natural transforms' (Schiffer, M. B. 1976) indicating that they were long associated with the factors of natural environment. A few artefacts retain red stains due to contact with the local laterites while a few others are with crusts of lime.

#### Nature of the Industry

The Acheulean industry at Lankelapalem consisted of a large number of core-made and flake-made artefacts. Typologically they could be divided into hand axes, cleavers, knives, utilized flakes and flake-blanks along with debitage.

Handaxes of the industry are fabricated on subangular blocks of stone and fragments from rock resources situated locally. With the result that primary trimming of the nodules and the core-blanks became essential for the final fabrication of the desired shapes of tools. Some of the handaxes exhibit flat stretches on one or both the surfaces. With the result that the cross section normally appear more or less plano-convex while in a few of the specimens they are biconvex or lenticular. Trimming as a feature is more expansive and extensive on the surfaces. The flake scars appear bold and the ridges are slightly rounded as a result of the weather wear. Stains due to contact with ferruginous horizons and crusts resulting from chemical weathering are indicative of features resulting from the exposure of artefacts over long stretches of time to the factors of natural environment. Butt ends of the handaxes are rarely trimmed. In a majority of cases patches of cortex covering angular feathers remain close to the butt end. The working end is usually pointed produced by the convergence both the side margins and the surfaces close to the distal portions of the specimens. In some of the cases the tip of the working end is not pointed but spatulated. The broad spatulated end or edge offers a good working support

while digging tubers and such other food catches. It is interesting to note that some of the handaxes possess a parallelogramatic cross-section resembling features common to the 'Stellenbosch industry' of South Africa. Also, though there is not much of a functional importance, some of the specimens bear S-Twist along the side margins. In the general make-up a number of handaxes resemble those from Bed No. II of Olduvai gorge of South Eastern Africa.

Among the hand axes Lanceolates could also be identified. They have flat surfaces punctuated by flake scars. The side margins begin to taper from portions very close to the butt side and converge to a pointed distal end. The proximal end is characterised by carefully trimmed shallow surfaces to facilitate proper hafting.

There are a few 'Micoquian forms' with the characteristic globular butt side and beak like projecting working end. These are variously fabricated on nodules of gneissic rock and quartzite. The presence of the Micoquian forms indicate an evolved nature of the industry.

The cleavers of the industry are not many in numerically compared to the handaxes. Most of the cleavers are fabricated on chunks. They possess triangular plans with broad cutting edges wider than the butt side. They are mostly worked unifacially and their surfaces are literally devoid of cortical patches. That some of the specimens were fabricated thick flakes is indicated by the presence of the diffused bulbs of percussion on the ventral sides. The cutting edges in a majority of cases are straight with occasional dispersal of concave feature. In either case the edges exhibit unmistakable evidences of heavy weary signs.

There are a few specimens which could be identified as picks. Some of them possess working ends on both the

terminals. Thus we have single-ended and double-ended picks in the industry. The working ends are characterised by side margins converging to the distal end or both the ends. The presence of picks is again suggestive of the part played by tubers and roots in the economy of the Acheulean artificers of Lankelapalem,

There is a wide variety of flake-knives made on chunks and large flakes. The cutting edges are obtained by careful trimming from both the sides close to a single margin. The side opposite to the cutting edge is naturally blunt with a cover of cortex or made blunt by trimming, with the result that we have knives resulting from both the unifacial and bifacial working. Patches of cortex remain on portions of the specimens indicating that they were functionally sound but aesthetically not mature. The presence of knives in the industry is suggestive of the clearance operation attended to by the acheuleans of the area. It is likely that the forest cover of the surroundings was mostly of scrub jungle type. In the context to Africa intensive use of flake knives was noticed in the areas where open scrub jungles and savannahs prevailed. It is also interesting that the Mousterian of Africa, the middle palaeolithic stage, is characterised by regional variations among which those industries with a domination of the flake knives make a special item by themselves. Thus the presence of flake knives at Lankelapalem is again a feature to be identified with the late Acheulean characters.

There are a few spherical balls in the industry. We know of such stones being used as 'bolas stones' in a sling and socket in parts of Africa. Some of these spherical stones could as well be the hammer stones utilised for the fabrication of the acheulean tool kit. As is correctly opined by Nancy (1977) some of the spherical stones could have been employed as food processing equipment. If the observation of Nancy were to be accepted, we will have to

surmise that the spherical stones could have served as pounding equipment for removing husks from the edible grains. Also they could have been employed for splitting and breaking the bones of heavy game from which the marrow could be extracted.

The various flakes and flake tools bearing signs of retouch or use damage are indicative that they played a vital role in the economic exploitation of their makers. Also some of the pieces could have resulted as debitage in the manufacture of heavy duty tools like hand axes, cleavers, etc. It is worth noting that the acheulean industry at St. Acheul of France incorporated a large number of flakes some of them being blade like.

Thus it would appear that the acheulean industry of Lankelapalem could have belonged to the middle—late Acheulean phase of coastal Andhra.

Table—1  
Statistical Analysis of the Artefacts from Lankelapalem

| No.   | Type                         | No. | Percentage |
|-------|------------------------------|-----|------------|
| 1     | Handaxes                     | 25  | 27.77      |
| 2.    | Cleavers                     | 6   | 6.66       |
| 3.    | Discoids                     | 3   | 3.33       |
| 4.    | Spherical stones             | 5   | 5.55       |
| 5.    | Choppers and chopping tools  | 4   | 4.44       |
| 6.    | Knives                       | 5   | 5.55       |
| 7.    | Picks                        | 2   | 2.22       |
| 8.    | Flakes with signs of retouch | 13  | 14.44      |
| 9     | Flake—blanks                 | 17  | 18.88      |
| 10.   | Amorphous cores              | 10  | 11.11      |
| TOTAL |                              | 90  | 99.95      |

**Table—2****Sub Types of Hand Axes**

| No.   | Sub type      | No. | Percentage |
|-------|---------------|-----|------------|
| 1.    | Pointed       | 11  | 44         |
| 2.    | Spatulated    | 1   | 4          |
| 3.    | Broad ended   | 5   | 20         |
| 4.    | Micoquian     | 1   | 4          |
| 5.    | Victoria West | 1   | 4          |
| 6.    | Limande       | 1   | 4          |
| 7.    | S—Twist       | 1   | 4          |
| 8.    | Lanceolates   | 2   | 8          |
| 9.    | Ovates        | 1   | 4          |
| 10.   | Miniatures    | 1   | 4          |
| TOTAL |               | 25  | 100        |

**Table—3****Form Classification of Handaxes**

| Form                    | No. | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----|------------|
| Symmetric               | 15  | 60         |
| Symmetric about B-axis  | 7   | 28         |
| Symmetric about T- axis | 2   | 8          |
| Asymmetric              | 1   | 4          |
| TOTAL                   | 25  | 100        |

**Table—4****Frequency of Flake Scar Counts in Handaxes**

| Range    | No. | Percentage |
|----------|-----|------------|
| Up to 10 | 2   | 8          |
| 11 — 15  | 4   | 16         |
| 16 — 20  | 11  | 44         |
| 21 — 25  | 6   | 24         |
| 26 — 30  | 2   | 8          |
|          | 25  | 100        |

**Table—5****Weight Frequency of Handaxes**

| Range (gms.) | No. | Percentage |
|--------------|-----|------------|
| Up to 200    | 2   | 8          |
| 201-300      | 4   | 16         |
| 301-400      | 5   | 20         |
| 401-500      | 3   | 12         |
| 501-600      | 3   | 12         |
| 601-700      | 3   | 12         |
| 701-800      | 3   | 12         |
| 801-900      | 2   | 8          |
| TOTAL        | 25  | 100        |

Table—6

## Length Frequency of Handaxes

| Range in mm | No. | Percentage |
|-------------|-----|------------|
| Up to 100   | 4   | 16         |
| 101-120     | 3   | 12         |
| 121-140     | 9   | 36         |
| 141-601     | 9   | 36         |
|             | 25  | 100        |

Table—7

## Breadth Frequency of Handaxes

| Range in mm | No. | Percentage |
|-------------|-----|------------|
| Up to 60    | 2   | 8          |
| 61-70       | 7   | 28         |
| 71-80       | 3   | 12         |
| 81-90       | 11  | 44         |
| 91-100      | 2   | 8          |
|             | 25  | 100        |

Table—8

## Thickness Frequency of Handaxes

| Range in mm | No. | Percentage |
|-------------|-----|------------|
| Up to 25    | 2   | 8          |
| 26-30       | 8   | 32         |
| 31-35       | 4   | 16         |
| 36-40       | 3   | 12         |
| 41-45       | 3   | 12         |
| 46-50       | 3   | 12         |
| 51-55       | 2   | 8          |
|             | 25  | 100        |

Table—9

## Frequency of Breadth Angle (A)

| Range in Degrees | No. | Percentage |
|------------------|-----|------------|
| Up to 50         | 3   | 12         |
| 51-60            | 7   | 28         |
| 61-70            | 10  | 40         |
| 71-80            | 4   | 16         |
| 81-90            | 1   | 4          |
|                  | 25  | 100        |

## Breadth Angle :—

|      |       |               |
|------|-------|---------------|
| Mean | . . . | 63.80 Degrees |
| S.D. | . . . | 10.33         |
| C.V. | . . . | 16.20         |

**Table—10**  
**Frequency of Thickness Angle (B)**

| Range in Degrees | No. | Percentage |
|------------------|-----|------------|
| Up to 25         | 7   | 28         |
| 26-30            | 6   | 24         |
| 31-35            | 5   | 20         |
| 36-40            | 6   | 24         |
| 41-45            | —   | —          |
| 46-50            | 1   | 4          |
|                  | 25  | 100        |

Thickness Angle - B : —

Mean . . . 31.20 Degrees  
S.D. . . . 9.27  
C.V. . . . 29.72

**Table—11**  
**Volume Frequency of Handaxes**

| Range<br>in C.C. | Expected<br>Volume (VE) |             | Actual<br>Volume (VA) |            |
|------------------|-------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|------------|
|                  | No.                     | Percentage  | No.                   | Percentage |
| Up to 100        | —                       | —           | 6                     | 24         |
| 101-200          | 5                       | 20          | 14                    | 56         |
| 201-300          | 4                       | 16          | 5                     | 20         |
| 301-400          | 5                       | 20          | —                     | —          |
| 401-500          | 3                       | 12          | —                     | —          |
| 501-600          | 4                       | 16          | —                     | —          |
| 601-700          | 1                       | 4           | —                     | —          |
| 701-800          | 3                       | 12          | —                     | —          |
|                  | 25                      | 100         | 25                    | 100        |
|                  | VE                      |             | VA                    |            |
| Mean             | 405.32 C.C.             | 146.32 C.C. |                       |            |
| S.D.             | 192.65                  | 71.33       |                       |            |
| C.V.             | 47.53                   | 48.75       |                       |            |

**Table—12**  
**Frequency of Refinement Indexes**

| Range       | No. | Percentage |
|-------------|-----|------------|
| Up to 0.30  | 2   | 8          |
| 0.31 — 0.40 | 5   | 20         |
| 0.41 — 0.50 | 5   | 20         |
| 0.51 — 0.60 | 9   | 36         |
| 0.61 — 0.70 | 4   | 16         |
|             | 25  | 100        |

Refinement indexes —

Mean . . . 0.4212  
S.D. . . . 19.20  
C.V. . . . 45.58

**Table—13**  
**Handaxes From Different Areas**

| Area        | Sample<br>size | Weight<br>gms. | Length<br>cms. | Breadth<br>cms. | Thickness<br>cms. |
|-------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1. Chikri   | M              | 539.23         | 13.30          | 7.60            | 4.88              |
| on Pravara, | 88 S.D.        | 171.43         | 3.70           | 0.30            | 1.26              |
| Maharashtra | C.V.           | 31.78          | 26.80          | 3.94            | 25.81             |
| 2. Birach,  | M              | —              | 11.63          | 8.05            | 3.91              |
| Rajasthan   | 22 S.D.        | —              | 2.15           | 1.74            | 1.09              |
|             | C.V.           | —              | 18.48          | 21.61           | 27.87             |
| 3. Paleru   | M              | 216.84         | 9.80           | 68.8            | 3.06              |
| Valley,     | 172 S.D.       | 105.19         | 1.74           | 1.06            | 0.66              |
| Andhra      | C.V.           | 48.51          | 17.75          | 15.38           | 21.56             |
| Pradesh     |                |                |                |                 |                   |

| Area                                | Sample size    | Weight gms.               | Length cms.            | Breadth cms.          | Thickness cms.        |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 4. Rajupalem, M Krishna Valley      | 55 S.D. C.V.   | 293.60<br>158.48<br>54.08 | 10.78<br>3.38<br>22.07 | 7.64<br>1.55<br>20.28 | 3.50<br>0.90<br>25.71 |
| Andhra Pradesh                      |                |                           |                        |                       |                       |
| 5. Lankela-palem, N. Coastal Andhra | M 25 S.D. C.V. | 473.16<br>210.47<br>44.40 | 12.96<br>2.19<br>16.92 | 7.88<br>1.24<br>15.78 | 3.75<br>0.96<br>25.63 |
| Date for 1 and 3                    |                |                           |                        |                       |                       |
| .. Rao V.V.M. (1979)                |                |                           |                        |                       |                       |
| Date for 2                          |                |                           |                        |                       |                       |
| .. Joshi R.V. (1976)                |                |                           |                        |                       |                       |

### Conclusion

Apparently the Acheulean industry at Lankalapalem belongs to the late stages of the Acheulean succession. Some of the specimens bear similarities with the industries distributed across the other parts of Andhra Pradesh.

The specimens from Lankalapalem are comparable with those from Nagarjuna Konda, Karempudi and Giddalur areas. However in the technical skill they have not yet reached the superiority achieved by the Acheulean artefacts of Diguvumetta located on the Sagileru, the various states of the Manneru and Paleru valleys. It is also possible that the site being on open air situation far removed from any major river system, the craftsmen were perhaps forced to quarry and collect the rock resources from the nearby hill flanks. The geographical setting bereft of water worn pebbles must have been responsible for the relative crudeness among the equipment. Though typologically the specimens are fit to be placed among the late acheulean stones, the nature of the raw material hanged heavily on the exhibition of their technical skills. The evolved forms like

lanceolates and Micoquian features, the occurrence of flake knives in good numbers etc., suggest a late nature of Acheulean industry at Lankalapalem.

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## THE VOICE OF FEMALE POETS FROM VIJAYANAGARA

JULIE H. HIEBERT\*

I am going to write about history and some rather unknown historians. It is a history that you may question. They are historians you may never have considered as such. Can we afford to ignore the historians of Karnataka who lived before the 19th Century? Let us consider the Sanskrit *kāvya*s of Vijayanagara poetesses.

What kind of historical questions can be asked of Sanskrit *kāvya*? According to one of the first poetic theorists, Dandin, *kāvya* preserves the lives of famous kings long after they are dead. He also says the themes of poetry should be derived from historical tradition. (*Kāvya-darśa* 1.5;1.15). In fact, *kāvya* is Indian history, which is a strange concept, at least for the Westerner, who may see *kāvya* at first glance as mythological, hyperbolic, and often fantastical and outrageous. It seems important to ask, what does history mean in the context of Sanskrit literature? And the grander question of what does history mean to Indians?

One angle of inquiry into this is offered by some rather unknown historians, the queen/courtesan poetesses from the Vijayanagara Period. Because their *kāvya*s are about historical people, of whom records survive in the Vijayanagara archives, we are given the chance to see how these women interpret history in the very act of creating *kāvya*. on the one hand we

have the actual life and actions of a person, in the form of a king, and on the other hand we have the demands of the hoary traditions of Sanskrit *kāvya* that must be met by the poetesses. History is at least twofold: The relationship between king<sup>s</sup> and people; queens, courtesans, enemies and vassals. Finally the interaction of these two creates another sphere of meaning, for anyone who comes in contact with the king is, in fact, coming into contact with god.

The aim of this paper is not to verify historical records through the poetry's contents, but to present history as it is conceived by the Vijayanagara poetesses, while contrasting their accounts with those of some of the travellers to the Vijayanagara Empire, whose account are found in B. A. Saletore's book, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*. Whether or not the seemingly historical facts in the poems are true, in the sense of verifiable, does not interest me as much as the fact that when those *kāvya*s were composed the mixture of fact and fiction, history and myth was totally appropriate in capturing what may be termed, the essence of a king's life, and only a person far removed in time and space from the Vijayanagara times would think to question this historical conception of the poetesses' and the historicity of *kāvya* in general.

Poetesses are very uncommon in Sanskrit. It is significant that the majority of them lived in South India during the Vijayanagara time period. Though I am not discussing today, what my dissertation Includes: The contribution of South Indian women to Sanskrit *kāvya*, I feel a brief introduction to the poetesses is in order.

At present I am aware of three *kāvya*s and one *campū* by four different women, probably all queens, but possibly courtesans among them. The earliest chronologically is Gangadevi, 14th A.D., whose focus is King Kampana, followed by Tirumalāmbā, 16th A.D., who wrote about King Narasimha and

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Acyuta Deva Raya, and finally Rāmabhadrāmbā and Madhuravānī, 17th A.D. writers on King Raghunatha. Although proof is not available, it can be defended that the works were composed by women. Passionate descriptions of kings' physiques, detailed accounts of personal rendezvous with their husbands, are evidence of female authors. Rāmabhadrāmbā's poem devotes two chapters to the women in Raghunatha's court and their artistic talents. Madhuravānī takes the time to explain exactly how she acquired her name. 'Sweet Speech', and how she was chosen among several qualified women to compose her poem. Furthermore the poetesses proclaim their mastery over Sanskrit in the poems' prologues and colophons; perhaps to counter the doubts of readers who knew they were women, for probably then, as now, Sanskrit was thought to be primarily the domain of male writers. This brief introduction to the poetesses aside, the question is raised : What do the voices of the poetesses tell us about the Indian concept of history as seen through *kāvya* ?

It is interesting to note that most of the events Dandin includes as essential to good *kāvya* are included in the poems of the Vijayanagara poetesses and in the travelogues of those foreigners who toured Vijayanagara : descriptions of cities, seas, mountains, seasons, tours, battles, and the hero's glories and amours. If anything can be drawn from their shared concerns and interests it is the fact that what makes good reading, and eventually good history are poignant places, events and people. (*Kāvya-darśa* 1.16-19). One place especially poignant to *kāvya*, to history, is the battlefield. The time of battle is a liminal time for all participants; a threshold between the past and the future. Each battlefield, in *kāvya*, becomes a microcosm for the re-enactment of all celestial battles. It is a time when gods and men commune most visibly. Pre-battle preparations as described by historians, such as the Vijayanagara poetesses, may be contrasted to begin to understand what

history means in *kāvya* and consequently in India before the modern era.

Saletore discusses methods of encouraging warriors before the battle, culling his information from the accounts of various travelogues. He says: "From the Muhammadan standpoint the Brahmans appealed to the baser instincts of the soldiers, confirming the hatred of the latter for the enemy by depicting them as destroyers of temples, images and cows." (p. 446-447, Vol. I)

What does the poetess Gaṅgādevi have to say concerning the very same subject ? First, instead of the Brahmins encouraging the warriors, in her poem it is a goddess who encourages the king. The goddess says :

"I'am so sad to see the temples of the South with their wooden doors eaten away by termites, their mandapas overgrown with grasses and weeds, their sanctum sanctorums demolished. And that's not the end of it. (8.4)

It used to be that the temples were filled with the sounds of drum beats, now they are filled with a cacaphony of horrible jackal howls. (8.5)

The South was a place where Brahmin neighborhoods resounded with Vedic chants and with the fragrance of sacrifices, but now its filled with lionine roars of drunken Tuluskas and the smell of roasting meat. (8.7)

Palace courtyards once cool with drops of invigorating sandalwater are stained now with the tears of imprisoned Brahmins. (8.11)

The Tamrapani's waters, once white with the sandalpaste from ladies breasts, are now red with the blood of cows slain by enemies. (8.13)

There's no wealth on earth. Indra doesn't shower anymore.  
Anyone who's left alive by the Yavanas is taken away by Yama  
(8.14)

Knowledge has vanished. Polity dissolved. Righteous stories  
stopped. Character lost. Duties abandoned. Nobility passe.  
Only one thing is glorified here and that's the Kali Yuga, what  
else?  
(8.16)

After she had told the king about the frightful behaviour  
of the Yavanas, despised by everyone, suddenly she produced a  
magical sword.  
(8.18)

Gaṅgādevī's history is not so different from Saletore's in  
the essential areas she mentions, but her history is definitely  
imbued with a divine ambiance that is totally lacking in  
Saletore. In the first place she envisions the temples through  
very specific imagery: the doorways, mandapas, and *sanctum  
sanctorum*s, through which we progressively enter the very heart  
of the holy, and demolished structure. From here we are told  
to imagine what we cannot hear, the auspicious drumbeats that  
are now drowned out by the din of jackal howls filling the  
temples. A once holy land filled with Vedic chants,  
clear waters, wealth and plenty of rains has been overrun  
by cowkillers, drunken and meat eating Tuluskas. Besides the  
temples and the vedas, other significant religious imagery is  
brought into the picture: Yama and the Kali Yuga. Finally  
the fact that her encouragement to the king comes from the  
mouth of a goddess firmly establishes this entire event's divine  
significance. The conclusion must be drawn that the king has  
the grace and even the power of god. This is borne out by  
yet a further comparison of pre-battle preparations.

Saletore tells of another form of encouragement: "The  
third feature of the Vijayanagara army was the encouragement  
given to the soldiers by the king who presented to them precious  
ornaments and bestowed on them the unique distinction of  
receiving betel leaf and nut at the royal hands....on the eve of a  
great conflict, the king gave costly presents to the generals and  
soldiers." (p. 447. Vol. I)

You could say a somewhat similar exchange takes place in  
Gaṅgādevī's poem, but it is an exchange once again between the  
goddess and the king. The poetess describes the exchange:

She lifted the sword by its handle from a silver sheath: A  
shiny black snake who'd just sloughed its skin.  
(8.18)

"King!" she cried, "This sword, made from various parts  
of all the gods' weapons, was given long ago to Siva by  
Visvakarma for the sake of defeating demons.  
(8.23)

Then Siva gave it to the Pandya Kings, pleased with his  
severe tapas, and for a long time the Pandyas ruled as universal  
sovereigns.  
(8.24)

But as time past, Agastya noticed the Pandyas had lost  
their valour and he now present this sword to you.  
(8.25)

Never will you fall in battle with this mighty sword! Not  
a single blow from the best swords, darts wheels, or sorrows can  
penetrate your body.  
(8.27)

Quickly now, King, take up the incarnation of Krishna  
and smite the king of the Yavanas in Southern Madura, like  
Krishna did Kamsa in the North.  
(8.29)

The exchange in Gaṅgādevī's poem again is imbued with  
sacred significance. The sword, a gift from Agastya, is given  
to king by this goddess in much the same way the king gave  
precious gifts to his soldiers before battle, as recounted by  
Saletore. The interesting thing is, whereas Saletore may suggest  
the sacred significance behind various goings on the kingdom  
Gaṅgādevī visualizes and confirms the actual presence of the  
the sacred in the kingdom. Can we say one is more historical  
than the other? Both have given us a history that is in many  
ways similar, but we may be tempted to call the *kāvya* unrealis-  
tic at first glance. It is descriptions like Gaṅgādevī's that have  
led to the unfortunate claim that there are no historians in

ancient through Medieval India. This is not true. There were plenty of historians. Their history was a combination of mythological and mundane truth. In many ways their concept of history may be more realistic than what we could call a "scientific" concept of history, because it makes accommodations for the inexpressible aspects of historical characters. Most people are very complex and a straight-forward objective recounting of their lives from point A to Z would not encompass their true essences. Indian history as seen through *kāvya* gives us multi-dimensional people by including facts about their characters drawn from both myth and history.

I will conclude this paper with one more example from *kāvya* from history. In this example it is not the similarity of description that is significant, but the total effect produced from reading the historians and the poetess' account. It is fascinating to see how two areas ostensibly unrelated, history and poetry, can work together in creating pictures of history that are neither pure fiction nor dry fact. Once again the battlefield provides a very vivid stage on which to witness the manner in which a Western traveller views the existence of women on the field, and the manner in which the Vijayanagara poetess Triumalāmbā views the actual battle, most probably from first-hand experience. Saleore says: "One particular feature of the camp which struck the foreign witnesses as remarkable was the presence of the public women in the army. There is no denying the fact that these formed an indispensable element in the Vijayanagara camp. Nuniz's remarks are confirmed by the other Portuguese traveller Barbosa, who gives us the reason why they were taken to the front with an account of the manner in which the monarchs started their campaigns." In order that these may not take to flight he directs large pay to be given to all; in the first place, to the enchanting single women who are numerous, and who do not fight, but their lovers fight for love of them very vigorously." (p. 454 Vol. I).

How might such a battle look through the poetess' eye? Tirumalāmbā describes the moments before the final defeat of the Cola king by king Narasimha:

That king Narasimha, scattering all the warriors on top his lofty elephant, with a volley of arrows, like Surya sitting on the Eastern mountain scattering darkness with his rays, violently attacked the Cola king who came head on showering arrows all like Siva attacked Jalandhara, Rama Ravana. It was hard to watch those two; their anger was so fierce. Both trying to stake a victory claim, fighting each other with all sorts of of unimaginable weapons. (verse 42).

Their elephants mashed trunks and struck tusks while their bells rang and fire sparks ignited between their blows, stirring fury as the fierce battle brewed. (verse 43).

In the same way Guha split the Kraunca mountain with his sakti, so Narasimha let loose his dart that pierced that lofty brow of the Cola king's elephant, as it ran full speed towards him, its golden bells clanging.

A flood of blood mixed with pearls from the elephant's broken brow silently announced the sun of the Cola king's mighty arms had set, like evening sky full of stars.

As the elephant tumbled, its knees akimbo, its eyes now shut, ignoring the jabs from the goad, his tongue lolling back and forth, Narasimha incarnate, seized the Cola king like Garuda a serpent, like a lion siezes the elephant and the deer, an elephant a prisoner.

True or False: Did this battle really take place in such a manner? Whatever the answer, it is still history, for *kāvya* is history, as it is literature, as it is mythology, and perhaps many other things as well. To begin to understand what *kāvya* can tell us about the Indian conception of history, at least

history as perceived from the ancient through Medieval times, we have to envision both historical and mythological truth as offering a united reality in the poetesses' visions. In their time myth and history were both "scientifically" true; there was no separation between them. With the poetesses' visions, no less true than visions we take from the history we may read in Saletore, we can see history in *kāvya* as a multi-dimensional conception that seeks to encompass the many facets of poignant people, places and events. The *kāvyas* of the Vijayarāṣaṭa queens spark several questions. I would like to leave you with this one: was history really a neglected study in India before modern times, or in fact, was history perhaps a more exciting and living enterprise than it is even today?

## IN SEARCH OF FREEDOM\*

Justice Sri N. D. VENKATESH \*\*

The preoccupation of the primitive man was to satisfy his basic needs and to protect himself from his enemies. These efforts necessitated a sort of an organised living, though on a limited scale. A family, came into being, and later, a clan and a State. Thus, it is his instinct to preserve and protect himself that made him compromise with his personal freedom at the physical level. It was unavoidable, in order to preserve his family, he had to adjust himself with the need and desires of the other members of the family, and to keep his clan intact, he had to bow down to its collective decisions. This inevitable collective living of human beings in small groups, communities and states gave room for collective thinking, pattern of thought and ambitions. The individual, in order to survive, had now to subordinate his thinking and ambition to that of the group to which he belonged. In his effort to escape from hunger and insecurity of life he was caught in a collective net. His effort at the political level now has been to regain that lost freedom, if possible, or to remove as many constraints as he can so that he may enjoy more freedom. Professors and students of political science all over the world have been incessantly debating about the right of the citizens or human rights and the various methods to secure the same.

If from one angle this problem of freedom is intertwined in the relationship between the individual and the State, at the

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other angle it is closely inter-linked with the relationship between or amongst different nation states. If the king, the dictator or an oligarchy can be said to rob the individual of his freedom, so will be the fate, if a bunch of political self-seekers enter into the legislatures in a democracy and start manipulating the system to entrench themselves in power. Unlike in the past the modern state is a formidable entity. Science and technology have invested it with enormous power that a ruthless manipulator of the state machinery can easily make his position secure against any ordinary organised opposition. Even in the so-called democracies where the rule of law is said to prevail the plethora of rules, regulations and administrative intricacies have made the life of the citizen miserable.

Since the survival of the individual is said to depend on the survival of his State, the State, of course, with the approval of its citizens constantly tries to preserve its own independence. The rulers say that in the interest of the ruled themselves it was necessary to strengthen the powers of the State, to bolster its arsenal of destruction and to have treaties of friendship with other nation states. Since no love is lost amongst the members of the comity of nations the first priority of each nation state is to win friends and weaken its enemies. In a situation like this no wonder the liberty of the citizen gets no priority with those who rule or hold reins of administration.

If man is only a political animal our above analysis of his predicament can be said to have placed the problem in a proper perspective. Political freedom becomes meaningful only if his basic necessities of life are satisfied. In modern times the states largely control internal trade and commerce, the exploitation of the natural resources and the production and distribution of wealth. By whatever name the political system of a State is called what ensures to a considerable extent the well-being of the citizen is its economic system. And this much

can be said with certainty, and, that is, that in any State where the economic system allows those who control the means of production to ruthlessly exploit the rest, the political freedom the citizens may have will remain only a chimera.

Again, is a citizen in a theocratic state, which may have ensured considerable political freedom and economic order, free? Freedom in personal beliefs is one of the fundamental characteristics of human freedom. If an individual lacks this freedom is life worth living at all? This equally applies to an oppressive social system like the caste system which is prevalent in this country. In a system like this both the sinner and the sinned against are slaves. How religious bigotry and social inequality rob an individual of his greatest treasure, the freedom of the spirit, can well be seen.

What else is freedom, if it is not the inward freedom of the individual to choose his own life style, his relationship with world and the spirit? If the system, without giving any choice to him, moulds his life and spirit, is that individual really free? Can this inward freedom or freedom of the spirit be compromised or bargained for any thing? In one of his speeches delivered on 2-12-1933, at the Sir Cowasjee-Jahangir Hall in Bombay, with Srimathi Sarojini Naidu Presiding, Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore beautifully highlighted this aspect—the great poet posed to himself the question “what is real freedom?” and went on to answer as under :

“Real freedom” is of the mind and spirit. It can never come to one from outside. He alone has freedom who ideally loves freedom himself and is therefore glad to extend it to others. He who chooses to have slaves must himself be in slavery by being chained to them. He who builds walls to exclude others only builds walls across his own freedom, and he who distrusts freedom in others loses at once the moral right himself to have it.”

"I would urge my countrymen to ask themselves if they are ready to make space in their society for the minds of their children to grow up in ideal human dignity, unhindered by restrictions that are unjust and irrational.

We have ignored the laws of life and growth. We have forced living souls into permanent passivity, making them incapable of mastering their own destiny. Borrowing our ideals of life from dark degeneracy, we have set up an elaborate ceremonial cage of worship and covered up our sensitiveness of soul under the immovable weight of the remote past.

Men who treat contemptuously their brothers, and who treat their sisters as eternal babies, never to be trusted even in the most trivial details of their personal life coercing them at every step by cruel threats of persecution, into following blind lanes, leading nowhere, driving into hypocrisy and moral inertia such will not be able to rise to the height of their true responsibility. They, for sure, will not be able to fight in freedom's cause."

Swami Vivekananda, emphasising how important it is for an individual to develop his individuality and how harmful it would be for the growth of his spirit if he relies on borrowed ideals or tutored virtues, spoke thus in the Sanfransisco Area of the United States of America on the 10th of April 1900 :

"You all talk about and get distracted over losing your individuality. You are losing it every moment of your lives by this eternal swallowing. If any one of you believes what I teach I will be sorry. I will only be too glad if I can excite in you the power of thinking for yourselves ————— Remember this indivi-

dualism at any cost. Think wrong if you will, no matter whether you get truth or not. That truth which you swallow from others will not be yours—————  
————— None can teach another.  
All must struggle to be individuals."

So, unless one is able to breathe freedom at all these levels political, economic, social and spiritual, can one be ever free ? Of these, the first two, political and economic freedom can never be absolute, in the sense, to achieve a measure of freedom in these spheres—one has to sub-ordinate to some extent one's own freedom to the society or state in the form of citizens obligations and duties to ensure order in society. But no dent whatever can be made in the other two concepts namely, social equality and freedom of the spirit (of man).

Thus far we have been trying to understand the nature of freedom and external constraints that may rob it of its attributes. There are also many internal handicaps that may prevent the blossoming for the freedom in an individual and make him a stultified or fragmented being. As the poet has said "real freedom is of the mind". So, unless one is mentally or inwardly free, he is not really a free individual.

Is a person tainted by fear, anxiety and worry, or for that matter, one who is full of vanity, prejudice, bias, hatred and greed free ? Is he not the prisoner of these attributes ? Is his thinking not clouded by them ? Can he be objective in his assessment of his own self, let alone that of the world around him ?

And a society which does not tolerate debate on all issues touching the human spirit or freedom is the worst prison house. Majority of men in such a society will be so passive that it would be extremely easy for a few unscrupulous people to exploit them

and subdue their spirit. There are various subtle ways by which the few wield power over the vast majority. As Max Weber, the German sociologist and political scientist defines, "power is the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of other people". Looked at from this angle, how the elders in traditional societies, using their power when the child is young, gradually, by various ways, shape its thinking according to their wish! Youngsters born and brought up in such rigid and authoritarian families will never attain fullness of spirit. Such a person may show academic brilliance or earn money and fame but not knowing how to relate himself to the varied, everchanging outside life, suffers tremendous isolation and will not be a full man. If a narrow sectarian view of life is inculcated into the young mind and heart this narrowness holds its firm sway throughout and what the child later acquires in the form of name and fame will have no meaning. And as the famous author V. S. Naipaul puts it that in such an individual's life, everything will be contained in that beginning and to that beginning there will have only been added events, tools and age.

Though there is constant invasion on and threat to man's freedom, by methods subtle and not so subtle, it has not been possible to suppress the urge to freedom completely. From time immemorial efforts have gone on unremittingly both individually and collectively for political freedom, and social and economic equality. The French Revolution, the American War of Independence, the Russian Revolution and the Indian Freedom Movement are some examples of such collective efforts.

What lies behind this craving for freedom? There is a view which holds that even the very dim perceptions of freedom at physical level are the first beginnings of that great aspiration of an awakened thought for spiritual freedom. In the end, Man cannot but be free. The journey may be long and hazardous

but aspire he must. This yearning of the human heart is thus stated by Sri Aurobindo in that great epic Savitri :

"A formless yearning Passions in man's heart,  
A cry is in his blood for happier things."

These lines are explained by a great devotee of the Maharshi as follows :

"Whether he is aware of it in his mind or not, there is always discontent in the being of man with his state of imperfection, limitation and want. Deep down in his heart there is persistent and gnawing feeling of inadequacy and a vague, restless urge towards a fullness. This impulse translates itself into a desire for growth, expansion, a hunger for freedom and strength, an aspiration for progress and felicity. It is because of this innate urge towards perfection that man is ever on the move forward in the evolutionary course. He is unique because of this divine discontent. As Sri Aurobindo observes elsewhere, the animal is satisfied with the modicum of its necessities and the gods are content with their splendours. Man alone is seized by this yearning for self exceeding which puts him at the head of evolutionary Nature."

From an average individual's point of view what is freedom if it is not non-dependancy, non-attachment, freedom of thought and action? Solitude and self-reliance are at the core of that feeling.

The Poet, the painter and the sculptor, the dancer and the scientist, all in their own way are giving expression to their freedom. So is a man who does not want to depend upon another for his livelihood. So also is the case with one who does not desire to accept any view without questioning it.

Freedom is a concept that cannot be easily defined. It can only be experienced. The world is not related to all in the same way. So too the freedom experienced by each differs. One can labour to give its negative attributes. One may guess as to the ideal surroundings wherein it may flourish.

Since we are dealing with the freedom of the Modern Man at this stage of his evolution on earth and whose conditions of life inevitably depend on the organisation of the state in which he is a citizen, while envisaging the ideal conditions where he can be aware of his freedom, we have to take into consideration more than one factor. If he is a citizen of a free country wherein the political system is not attached to any organised religion, where the elite is wholly rational and scientific in its thinking, and in which the economic system assures a minimum standard of living to its citizens and where socially there is no discrimination between man and man, in such a society an individual of average intelligence, if he becomes aware of his desire to be free, may consciously pursue that goal———

## WHO FOUNDED THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ?

DR. MADHAVI YASIN\*

Like the seven cities of Greece claiming to be the birth place of Homer, various theories have been put forward either accepting the claims of certain persons or institutions or crediting certain persons as the founders of the Congress. Above generalisations would have been more accurate, if the word 'inspirator' had been used instead of 'founders'. Undoubtedly the Congress was an inspired association, deriving life and breath from the indefatigable labour and mental exercises of the nationalist India. The Indian Association with its all-India complex<sup>1</sup> had already been born, which did the spade work for the Congress<sup>2</sup>. Sri Pattabhi Sitaramayya puts forth certain possibilities<sup>3</sup>, namely the idea of the Congress might have come either from the great darbar of 1877 or the international Exhibition at Calcutta or the Theosophical Convention or Mr. Hume's Indian National Union.<sup>4</sup> R. C. Majumdar contradicts all these possibilities, except the last one. The Delhi Darbar of 1877 inspired Surendra Nath Banerjea to found the National Conference and not the Indian National Congress. Again the International Exhibition at Calcutta was not the motivating factor for the birth of the Congress, but was exploited by S. N. Banerjea to convene a national conference at the same date to get the large audience out of those who had come to attend the exhibition. But Dr. R. C. Majumdar totally rejects the theory that the seventeen persons, most of whom attended the Theosophical Convention at Madras, conceived the idea of the Congress<sup>5</sup>. The theory is supported by Mrs. Besant. But,

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when he says that except Mrs. Besant there is no authority to corroborate the fact, he is wrong. Professor Sundar Raman,<sup>6</sup> Raghunath Rao,<sup>7</sup> N. N. Sen<sup>8</sup> and to some extent B. C. Pal<sup>9</sup> had supported it. A recent research work attributes social factor as the predominant factor in the birth of the Congress.<sup>10</sup> Even under Gandhiji when Congress was turned into a radical political movement, it carried on social work with equal vigour.<sup>11</sup>

Surendranath Banerjee says that his National Conference was the precursor of the Congress, as the latter was conceived on the ideology and programme of the national conference.<sup>12</sup> One president of the Congress categorically said that the National Conference forestalled the Congress by two years and prepared its base.<sup>13</sup> Congress borrowed from the National Conference the idea of holding an all-India Conference with representatives from every province.<sup>14</sup> The organisers of the Indian National Congress requested Surendranath Banerjee to send him some notes about the first National Conference held in 1883.<sup>15</sup>

Dadabhai Naoroji was also credited with the foundation of the Indian National Congress, but it was contradicted by Sir Dinsha Wacha, who says that the idea of holding a National Congress came from Hume and not from Dadabhai Naoroji.<sup>16</sup> For a broad based organisation a national fund is a requisite necessity. Tarapad Banerji, a Bengali lawyer advocated the establishment of a national assembly and to constitute a National Fund.<sup>17</sup> He also suggested in 1883 appointment of a Managing Committee with a fund to station a permanent delegate in England to apprise the English people true state of India and to inculcate in them interest in the Indian affairs. The other objects of the managing committee would be to impart political education to the masses, to encourage national trade and industry and to create good feelings between the different

religious communities in India.<sup>18</sup> Sir Dinsha Wacha, who had a wonderful memory for details vouchsafed the fact that idea of a National Assembly with a National Fund came from the public leaders of Bengal, notably from Kristodas Pal.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. N. L. Chatterjee has his own theory about the foundation of the Congress. He poses certain questions and then answers them. He questions the justification for founding the Congress when there was already a national organisation in the National Conference. His reply is that Hume wanted to sabotage the Indian National Conference sponsored by a dismissed Government servant, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and controlled by the 'Babus from Bengal.'<sup>20</sup> Dr. Chatterjee break fresh ground by presenting his thesis that the birth of the Congress was the outcome of Russophobia, a subtle attempt on the part of Hume to checkmate the Russian danger. He derives his theory from the statements of the viceroys, e.g. Lytton<sup>21</sup> and Ripon<sup>22</sup>, and addresses of the Congress Presidents. The early addresses of the Congress Presidents are a definite proof according to Dr. Chatterjee that the Congress became in its early years a platform for anti-Russian and pro-British propaganda.<sup>23</sup> Dr. R.C. Majumdar while agreeing with Dr. Chatterjee on this point, finds his whole thesis rather untenable in the absence of more positive evidence.<sup>24</sup> Dr. Grover also points out to the Russian menace as one of the likely reasons for the foundation of the Congress.<sup>25</sup> He reinforces his arguments on the basis of anxiety expressed by some Britishers about the acceptance of the Russian rule by the Indians against the 'unsympathising' British bureaucracy.<sup>26</sup> Sir Verney Lovett also testifies to the Russian menace in tracing the foundation of the Congress.<sup>27</sup>

Another thesis is that the Indian National Congress as a political body owed its origin to Lord Dufferin. This thesis

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dominated the scholastic world until the private papers of Lord Dufferin came into lime light during the sixties of the present century. W. C. Bannerjee as early as 1898 had written that the idea of the Congress came from Lord Dufferin. His version is that Hume during one of his visits to Lord Dufferin at Simla conveyed to him his project of convening a body of leading politicians to discuss social matters once a year. The Viceroy pondered over the matter, and called Hume after some time. He told him that it would be much better if the body he proposed to convene was to discuss political matters so as to function as a counterpart to 'Her Majesty's opposition in England'. Such a body would also be helpful to the Government if it brought to its notice the public reaction to the administrative measures and suggested ways and means to improve it. Viceroy, however, ruled out categorically Hume's proposal that the association should be presided over by a local governor.<sup>18</sup> Hume's proposed association for discussing social problems is open to much controversy, which will be discussed shortly. But his version of rejection by Lord Dufferin of his proposed chairmanship of the body to a local governor is amply borne out by two letters one from Dufferin to the Governor of Bombay<sup>19</sup> and other from Hume to Ripon.<sup>20</sup> The second letter brings to light three points; first, that Hume did consult Dufferin before launching the Congress, second that Dufferin did bless his project, and third the idea of associating the officials with the Congress was dropped at the suggestion of Lord Dufferin.<sup>21</sup>

Now coming to the first point that Hume told Dufferin that a body should discuss social matters. Professor Sundar Raman one of the first members of the Congress says that Hume used to see Lord Dufferin at Simla very often. At one of the meetings he placed his proposal before the Viceroy for starting a movement in England for the political unity and regeneration of India. Lord Dufferin

advised Hume not to take a risk in starting a movement in Britain, rather he should start in India with the help of the Indian leaders under his own direction.<sup>22</sup> This contention makes Lord Dufferin founder of the Congress. But again the facts do not testify the statements of W. C. Bannerjee and Professor Sundar Raman. Here two points emerge which are subject to much controversy. First Hume's proposal for founding an association to discuss social matters, second Lord Dufferin's suggestion to turn the body into a political association. Both are interconnected and are not borne out by facts. Malabari, a social reformer and Editor of the Indian Spectator during 1884-5, was very active in carrying out propaganda against 'Infant marriage and Enforced widowhood'.<sup>23</sup> He had requested Lord Ripon to abolish them under an enactment, but the latter declined to intervene.<sup>24</sup> Hume warned Lord Dufferin not to fall into the trap of Malabari and advised him 'to seize some occasion for preaching a little sermon' to Malabari.<sup>25</sup> Dufferin thanked him for the advice.<sup>26</sup> During the age of Consent Bill Controversy Hume wrote to Lansdowne<sup>27</sup> on March 5, 1891, 'perhaps now thoughtful men will begin to realise why I have ever kept social questions out of Congress as such'.<sup>28</sup> Again Hume before launching Indian National Union, stirred up political activity in the three presidencies. At Calcutta, which was most politically alive, he addressed a letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University to strive for getting due share in the administration of the Country. This was a political appeal to form a political forum which was named as Indian National Union.<sup>29</sup> Dufferin calls it a political convention.<sup>40</sup> Thus the contention that the idea of the Congress originated from Dufferin had no documentary proof. The letter of Lord Dufferin to Reay clearly states that Hume came to him to discuss about his proposed plan to form a 'political convention of delegates'.<sup>41</sup> This takes the wind out of the sails of Bannerjee's thesis that the idea to

form a political forum came from Dufferin. Again Dufferin wanted to weaken the Congress by getting his proposed reforms of the Legislative Councils passed.<sup>42</sup> He thought it "a great pity that these Congresses should have only occupied themselves with political questions...instead of the great social and economic problems which are now pressing for solution in India."<sup>43</sup> Dufferin in his farewell speech at the St. Andrew's Day dinner in Calcutta lashed out at the Congress for pursuing political reforms instead of taking up social reforms.<sup>44</sup> Thus the statements of Lord Dufferin are an eloquent proof that the idea of the Congress did not originate with him. The first man who deserves credit for his research that the Congress was not the handiwork of Dufferin, was Anthony Parel.<sup>45</sup> His thesis later on was developed by the other historians on Modern India namely Anil Seal<sup>46</sup> and Briton Martin.<sup>47</sup> Dr. Grover does not agree with Anthony Parel's reasoning<sup>48</sup> but supports his thesis on the basis of Dufferin Papers. However Anthony Parel's reasoning is also correct that Hume was a, *persona non grata* with the administration.<sup>49</sup> Hume's formal communication with Lord Dufferin does not mean that the Viceroy would have taken him into confidence. Even Ripon, who had recommended Hume,<sup>50</sup> to Dufferin, acted on the advice of his councillors<sup>51</sup> as against Hume's advice. At the same time the excerpts from the correspondence of Hume to Ripon,<sup>52</sup> Dufferin<sup>53</sup> and Lansdowne<sup>54</sup> reveal the fact that Hume was never interested in the social problems of the Indians. Dr. Mehrotra<sup>55</sup> is of the opinion that it is not unlikely that Dufferin advised Hume to exclude social questions from his proposed conference, keeping in view the current tempo for social reforms in India. But it is only a surmise, and the documentary proofs go against the contention.<sup>56</sup> The riddle, which baffled the scholars for quite a long time is solved in the light of understanding Hume's enthusiasm and eagerness to hold political conference. Captured by this mood he must have told the organisers and workers that the idea of holding a political convention was suggested by

Lord Dufferin to enthruse them to work more energetically and without fear from the government.

During the eighties of the nineteenth century, the political atmosphere was rife with the idea of founding a national organisation.<sup>57</sup> Further, the Ilbert Bill and Ripon's surrender to the Anglo-Indian community brought out the stark reality that the Government House was incapable of acting on their behalf.<sup>58</sup> The Indians had realised that they could alone help themselves. The idea of a national forum, which was only on the paper, began materialising after Ripon's farewell demonstrations.<sup>59</sup> For the first time in the history of Modern India, the Indians got united and had put up a grand and successful show, which astonished the British bureaucracy and commercial class alike. At this time Britain was holding general elections from Nov. 25 to Dec. 1, 1885. The educated India tried one more experiment to get its grievances redressed through the liberal English people, elected to the Parliament. Some of the Indians also thought of contesting to the Parliament.<sup>60</sup> An Appeal was addressed to the British electorate highlighting the nonfulfilment of the pledges made in the Queen's Proclamation and the Act of 1858. The Appeal of 1885 was "a direct, temperate, and well phrased document."<sup>61</sup> The Indian delegation in London made close contacts with the radical Liberal Englishmen, Bright, Caird, Ripon, and Digby, sympathetic to the Indian aspirations.<sup>62</sup> The Indian delegates also canvassed in favour of radical liberals.<sup>63</sup> The result of the election was a big blow to the Indians. The majority of the radical Liberal candidates, for whom the Indian delegation had canvassed, had been defeated.<sup>64</sup> Lal Mohan Ghose lost by a slight margin.<sup>65</sup> The moral drawn by this defeat was that "salvation to India must come from India itself".<sup>66</sup> The same sentiments were echoed candidly by the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* that the Liberals and conservatives were alike for them, so long "as we cannot help ourselves our miseries will not cease".<sup>67</sup> The frustrations resultant from the

apathy of the rulers and indifference of the British electorate brought home to the Indians the plain truth that no outside agency would work for them unless they worked for themselves.

The idea of a political conference was fathered by the impact of the West to the nationalist India, which was put to a safe delivery by A. O. Hume acting as a midwife. The offspring was christened as the Indian National Congress.

- \*1. Bagal, J. C., *History of the Indian Association, 1876-1951*, Calcutta, 1953.; *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance* (Bhavan's) I, p. 500.
2. Banerjee, S. N., *A Nation in Making* p. 42. *B.P.I.R.*, I, p. 501; Griffiths, Sir Percival. *The British Impact on India*, p. 278.
3. Sitaramayya Pattabhi, *History of the Indian National Congress*, p. 110.
4. Martin B., *New India*, 1885, p. 77. "The Indian National Union was a compromise between Sen's national organisation and provincial, or 'federal' schemes. With distinct theosophical and utilitarian overtones, it followed the proposals Hume had advanced in his letter to Malabari to provide Indian reform on a national scale and absorb and integrate Indian political ambitions into the official governmental system as Ripon had aimed to do. It sought to provide a forum for Indian public opinion in order to make the government more alert and responsive to the wishes and needs of its subjects. Such was the objective of Hume and his colleagues. — A system of representation to effect political reform had been Hume's aim in the spring of 1884; it was still his aim in the spring of 1885. It was the focus

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of the plan for the Indian National Union", Seal, Anil *The Emergence of the Indian Nationalism*, p. 272.

5. Majumdar R.C., *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, pp. 525-26.
6. Andrews & Mookerjee, *The Rise and Growth of the Congress*, p. 71,—"in December 1883, after the annual convention of the Theosophical society, Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Rao got up a special meeting of his friends to find ways and means of bringing together Indian politicians to inaugurate a political movement for the regeneration and reform of the methods of government of this country, calculated to promote a future India advance towards swaraj."
7. *Times of India*, March 6, 1888.
8. *Indian Mirror*, May 21, 26 1889; Mehrotra, S. R., *The Emergence of the Indian Nationalism*, p. 391, 392, Raghunath Rao in 1888 and N. N. Sen 1889 reiterated the claim and virtually accused Hume of having stolen their thunder. Both asserted the real origin of the Congress should be traced back to the meeting held at Raghunath Rao's house in Madras late in December 1884."
9. Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times*, II, ivii-iviii: By the beginning of the eighties, he wrote, "the Theosophical Society had covered the Indian continent with quite a number of branches; and the success of the annual Theosophical conventions encouraged some of the leaders...to make an experiment of an Indian National Congress."
10. Dua, R. P., *Social Factors in the Birth and Growth of the Indian National Congress Movement*, pp. 26-27.

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11. *Ibid*, pp : 72, 122

12. Banerjee, S. N., p. 98.

13. Majumdar, R. C., *Indian National Evolution*, Madras, 1917; p. 40.

14. Mehrotra, S. R., *op. cit.*, pp. 406-7; Andrews and Mookarjee, *op. cit.* p. 116.

15. B. P. I. R., p. 527.

16. Wedderburn, W., *Allan Octavian Hume, C. B. 'Father of the Indian National Congress 1829 to 1912'*, London, 1913, p. 63.

17. Andrews and Mookarjee, *op. cit.*, p. 73, "I wanted two things (1st) A National Assembly (2nd) A National Fund. To me they were like Purush and Prakriti (Soul and body) A National Assembly without a National Fund is like an engineer without his instruments".

18. *Ibid*, p. 72.

19. *Ibid*; p. 73.

20. *Journal of Indian History*, p. 172; *Modern Review*, October 1950, p. 273.

21. *Ibid.*, Lytton later on admitted this in so many words; "I affirm that the real and the only cause of the Afghan War was an intrigue of long duration between Sher Ali and the Russian authorities in Central Asia, an intrigue leading to an alliance between them for objects which, if successfully carried out, would have broken to pieces the Empire of British India"----- Again he said justifying his Vernacular Press Act that the Vernacular papers of Bengal had begun

"to inculcate combination on the part of native subjects for the purpose of putting an end to the British Raj. He alleged, "these mischievous scribblers have of late been preaching sedition".

2. *Ibid*, Ripon did not approve of his predecessors repressive measures, 'To create loyal public opinion in India,' he said, "movement has begun which will advance with greater rapidity and force every year. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of government and specially despotic government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind; to move too fast is dangerous but to lag behind is more dangerous still-----and the problem is how to deal with this new born spirit of progress so as to direct it into a right course and prevent it from becoming a source of serious political danger'.

3. *Ibid*: Wedderburn according to Dr. N. L. Chatterjee "explicitly corroborated the fact that the foundation of the Congress was a move to safeguard India against the menace of Russian invasion".

4. B.P.I.R., I, p. 538.

5. Grover, B. L., *A Documentary Study of British Policy Towards Indian Nationalism*.

6. Blunt, W. S., *India under Ripon* (1909), p. 293. He noted during his tour in India in 1883-84 in his private diary "Nor can it be denied that under the present circumstances the Czar's Government has much to offer which the people of India might be excused for 'thinking twice before they probably less hateful as a master than our unsympathising official Englishman----- Russia might well appear as an ally, a liberation from the deadly embrace of our financial system, a friend of liberty, sound economy and material progress.

Who is to say that Russia should not in exchange for a new commercial pact with herself offer to establish in India complete Home Rule, and thus outbid us in the popular affection?"

27. Lovett, Sir Verney, *A History of the Indian National Movement*, p. 33 "But just as now, even the most ambitious section of Indian Progressives has been compelled to recognise the perils from Central Asia to which India unsheltered by British protection, would certainly be exposed. So in 1885 disputes with Russia about the Afghan frontier caused all classes to realise their dependence on the stability of British rule."
28. Bannerjee, W. C., *Introduction to Indian Politics*, 1898 pp. vii-viii.
29. Dufferin Papers, Reel 528 No. 47 (hence D.P.). Dufferin to Reay, May 17, 1885. In this letter he wrote that Hume proposed Reay's name, who was the Governor of the Bombay Presidency, to preside over the proposed association, and he objected it because, "The functions of such an assembly must of necessity consist in criticising the acts or policy of the Government in formulating demands which probably it would be impossible to grant, and in adopting generally the procedure of all reform associations. The idea of wishing to associate the head of the Executive Government of a Province with such a programme I told him was absurd".
30. Ripon Papers, Add. Mac. 43616, to 160, Hume to Ripon January 13, 1889. Hume's version of the interview with Dufferin is contained in the letter he wrote to Ripon in January 1889. In June (SIC) 1885, before the Congress

was started Lord Dufferin was one of the first persons consulted. At that time the idea was to include officials as well as non-officials...and Lord Reay was to have been invited to be the first President...both by reason of his warm sympathy with the movement and his being Governor of the province in which the first Congress was to be held. The whole scheme exactly as it was carried out (save as regards the exclusion of the official element) was laid before him — There has not been smallest change in the programme. "But", he said, I quote his exact words, 'don't ask Lord Reay to preside..... don't have officials... if you gentlemen do your duty you will criticise the administration and officials ought not to take part in this. Consider how awkward it will be for Lord Reay if Grant Duff's administration comes to be severely criticised whilst he is 'in the chair'. I told him that his view would I was sure be law in such cases, and he said, "then I am perfectly satisfied and I wish you every success".

31. Mehrotra. *op. cit* , p. 397-398.
32. *The Hindu*, Congress Jubilee Supplement, reproduced in the *Indian Social Reformer*, January 4, 1936.
33. *Hindu*, Dec. 5, 1884. In late 1884 Malabari also projected an All-India Social Reform Association.
34. *Indian Mirror*, October 23, 1885. "My friend, you are leading me into a jungle where the lions may devour me".
35. Dufferin Papers, reel 528, No. 84, Hume to Dufferin, February 1885
36. *Ibid*, No. 59, Dufferin to Hume.
37. Governor-General of India 1888—1893.

38. Grover, B. L., *op. cit.* p. 5.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Martin, B., p. 118, Dufferin had the impression that the Indian National Union was to be "a political convention of delegates on the lines adopted by O'Connell previous to the Catholic emancipation".
41. *Ibid*; Dufferin papers, reel 528, No. 173, Dufferin to Reay, May 17, 1885.
2. Dufferin Papers, Reel 516, No. 30, Dufferin to Cross, August 17, 1888 (Priv.)
43. *Ibid.*
44. Martin, B., *op. cit.* p. 334.
45. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLII, Part III, December 1964, Anthony Pavel's article entitled "Hume, Dufferin and the Origins of the Indian National Congress".
46. Seal, Anil, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, p. 275.
47. Martin, B., *op. cit.* p. 119, "From this reconstruction of Dufferin-Hume interview based on private papers, the reader will see that there is nothing to W. C. Bonnerjee's contention that Hume wished to see the plan for the Indian National Union for social reform, but that Dufferin persuaded him to make it political in aim."
48. Grover, B. L., *op. cit.* pp. 2-3; Dr. Dr. Grover does not agree with Anthony Pavel, when he says that 'The first thing to bear in mind in this connection is that in 1885 Hume was a *persona non grata* to the Administration—

That within two weeks of his arrival Dufferin should take into his confidence such an ex-civil servant, and make him a tool of policy must appear puzzling indeed." But Dr. Grover says that Hume and Dufferin were in good terms until the middle of 1886.

49. Martin, B., *op. cit.* p. 61.
50. Dufferin Papers, reel 528, Dufferin to Hume May 5, 1885; *Ibid*, reel 525, Dufferin to Ripon July 8, 1886; Dufferin Papers, reel 528, No. 173, Dufferin to Reay, May 17, 1885.
51. Ripon Papers, British Museum Additional Manuscripts, 43516, pp. 66-69.
52. See Foot Note 30.
53. See Foot Note 35.
54. See Foot Note 38.
55. Mehrotra, S. R., *op. cit.* p. 400.
56. Chiplonkar Papers, Hume to Chiplonkar, November 27, 1884, February 12, 1885; *Indian Spectator*, February 1, 1885; an article by Hume, 'Prospects and Methods of National Reform'.
57. "The Present Revival of National Life in India and our Immediate duty", *Indian Mirror*, Jan. 13, and editorials, Jan. 18, 20, 28, Feb. 3, 7, 13, 1885;
58. Voice of India (hence V. of I.), December 1883, II, Jan. 1884; Ripon Papers, Hume to Ripon, March 4, 1884, I. S. 290/8-1, No. 87 a. The Indians asked, "If, with

such a Viceroy, things are to be thus, what hope is there for the future."

59. "The Outlook", Liberals and New Dispensation, Dec. 23, 1883; "The Ilbert Bill and Our Future Course of Action". *Indian Mirror*, Jan. 19, 1884; V. of I. II. Jan. and Feb. 1884.
60. *Swadesha Mitran*, August 24, published in V. of I. III. Sept. 1885; Editorial, *Indian Mirror*, August 25, 1885; V. of I., *The News of the Day*, August 25, quoted in V. of I., III, Sept. 1885.
61. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
62. Chandavarkar, *English Impressions*, p. 70
63. *Pall Mall Gazette*, December 8, 1885.
64. V. of I., December 1885,
65. Election Intelligence, *Times*, Nov. 28, Dec. 1, 1885, pp 6-12.
66. *Indian Spectator*, December 6, 1885.
67. Quoted in *Englishman*, 28 December 1885.

## THE ROLE OF CIVIL SERVANTS IN A DEMOCRACY\*

T. R. JAYARAMAN, IAS (Retd.)\*\*

There is a view that the civil service is just a tool in the hands of politicians. There is also the opposite view that the politicians are just tools in the hands of the civil service. Mr. Crossman's diary propogates the latter view. Mr. Crossman was a minister in the British cabinet from 1964 to 1970. He felt like a prisoner in the hands of civil servants. All information, he said, was with the civil servants. They revealed only a part of the information to the minister. Sometimes they gave wrong information. Afterall the minister cannot read all the files in the ministry. He depends on summerized information given by the civil servants. This brings us to the crux of the matter Administration is the art of getting work done through others. In government the "others" are the thousands of civil servants.

Article 53 of the Indian constitution recognises this principle stating : 'The executive power of the union shall be vested in the president and shall be exercised by him either directly or through officers subordinate to him in accordance with the constitution'. Article 154 says the same thing regarding the states. Articles 308 to 323 deal with recruitment and conditions of service of the civil servants in the country as a whole. Thus the civil service is a constitutionally recognised component of the government in this country. It's role is to channelise the executive power of the Union and the States.

The civil servants have several tasks. The important ones are 1. Advise Ministers on formulation of policy. 2. Keep

\* Prof. M. V. Krishna Rao Endowment Lecture, 1983 (28-8-83).

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records and administer the secretariat. 3. Manage services such as education, health, etc. 4. Act as two-way link between the government and the public. 5. Run the government in the absence of Ministers.

Sometimes a distinction is made between the industrial civil service and the ordinary civil service. Officers of Railways, Posts and Telegraphs and Public sector factories are included in the former. In a Socialistic pattern of government this difference is only of academic interest.

In theory the state administration in a democracy is supposed to rest on three pillars. These are the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. In a cabinet system of government the legislators are also in charge of the executive. Thus, in practice, there are only two pillars. Another curious feature of modern democracy is that the legislators, the civil servants, the judges, Governors, and the President are all paid officials. They have pay, pension, and perquisites. The only difference is in the method of recruitment and tenure. Some are elected and the others are selected. Some serve for five years and others for thirty years. In both types some may be part-time and others fulltime. Thus it is one grand bureaucracy!

One may ask why we cannot have all officials elected. The main reason is the impracticability. For a person to be elected, he or she should be known to the electorate so that the worth or ability for the job can be assessed. Further the electorate must be sufficiently well informed about the nature of the job. The number of candidates will be enormous. The other reason is the need to have some officials who will be neutral as between parties. Politics change and the politicians change. The electorate may be conservative one day and communistic on another day. Without a neutral or apolitical service it will be impossible to administer a state according to the wishes of the

people and ensure continuity of administration. Hence the need for the so-called permanent civil service. It ensures continuity, neutrality and professional touch to administration. It is recruited and trained for the specific purpose of administration in a democracy.

The permanent service gives strength to the administration by absorbing the shocks of the party system of government. Politicians have to be soft by the very nature of their profession. They have to ensure the support of their party-men as well as keep an eye on the electorate. Unpleasant decisions that will affect party supporters will usually be postponed if left to politicians. Hence a "steel frame" is required.

The politician's fortunes are closely linked with the fortunes of the party. Due to the bungling of some other party member his government may have to resign or lose an election. He himself might have been a good administrator. This is not the case with the civil servant. He is answerable to his superiors and the constitution. Any unlawful act will attract enquiry, prosecution or disciplinary action. He has to remember that the government is for all people and not only for the supporters of the ruling party. All citizens deserve just treatment. By and large the civil servant's future is in his own hands as long as he follows the law. But here lies the rub. The politician is very uncomfortable in the midst of laws. If left to himself he would prefer rule by discretion. Rules, regulations and defined policies give little scope for the politician to exercise power or help his supporters. If rules are inevitable then the politician wants power to relax them in favour of his supporters. The minister frequently exclaims on seeing an office note 'But can't I relax the rule'. The secretary who put the note may say that the law did not provide for such relaxation. He may also say if such relaxation is made it will be applicable to all persons. He may point out the consequences

of such relaxation. The minister with good administrative experience will understand the position. He may at first feel that he runs the risk of losing a vote. But mature reflection will convince him that in the long run he will benefit.

The general human weakness of helping a friend or a relative at the expense of some one else is found naturally among politicians as well as in civil servants. Such help means doing injustice to some other more deserving person. In the long run it will create dissatisfaction among the public. It is also injurious to the efficiency of administration. When a civil servant succumbs to the weakness he is acting illegally. Even if he has discretion in matters such as transfers, his exercise of such discretion favouring a friend or relative is open to review by his superiors.

This brings us to the question of delegation of power. It is a well-known principle of administration that there should be adequate delegation of powers to lower levels. Over-centralisation means delay and lack of flexibility. Once power is delegated the man on the spot should be allowed a free hand to exercise the power according to his judgement subject to policy decisions, rules and regulations laid down by government. But alas, interference in day-to-day administration by politicians and superiors is a fact of life! On paper, a subordinate has specific powers. But the poor officer is pressurised frequently to do things against his better judgement. There are telephone calls, recommendation letters and personal intercession. It requires a lot of moral courage to ignore all such pressures and pass orders on merit. In most cases it is not just a politician trying to help his friend or relative. It is an attempt to exercise power from behind. The MLAs and MPs have no executive powers under the constitution. They somehow feel they have a right as people's representatives to influence executive actions. Officials are usually afraid of complaints

to superiors, threat of transfer, etc. Interference from one's superiors, whether minister or departmental head, is more serious as they are in a position to really hurt. It is one thing if the minister or superior takes the decision himself but it is quite a different thing to ask the subordinate to take the decision against his better judgement. This is unfair to the subordinate as well as to the public. This is the time for the officer to exercise tact and moral courage. By taking a correct decision and facing the consequences the official will fare better than if he takes an incorrect decision due to pressure from above. If there is a stricture from the courts, he will be left alone to defend himself.

As a manager of government services the civil servant has a disadvantage compared to a manager in private industry. In the latter a manager is judged by the overall results but a civil servant is usually judged by failures. One adverse remark in his confidential report may be enough to stop promotion. Hence a civil servant is obliged to concentrate on avoidance of mistakes. This is the view of the famous British management expert Sir Derek Rayner. The civil servant is responsible to the public through the machinery of the parliamentary form of government. He has to face the public accounts committee, estimates committee, and others. He has to defend his minister as well as himself for decisions taken or advice given. This means he must place on record much that is not essential for quick disposal of work. If different decisions are taken on the same type of request or application his impartiality or integrity will be questioned. Hence the great stress in government to rely on precedents. This again contributes to delay. The role of the civil servant as a manager is thus restricted as compared to an industrial manager. A manager under political supervision has to sacrifice efficiency and economy at the altar of politics. This is the price one has to pay for democracy. In the long run it is a price worth paying.

In his role as keeper of records of the government the civil servant ensures continuity of policy. He provides statistics. In this role the permanent civil service constitutes the memory of government.

The role of the civil service as the eyes and ears of the government is usually overlooked. The politicians are supposed to be directly in touch with the people. In practice, the MLA or MP knows his constituency. This is mostly obtained through his supporters. A department head on the other hand, is in touch with all the people in the state. He gets regular feedback from district and taluk officials. He tours the entire state and would have himself served in several districts before becoming the head of the department. When a new minister comes to be in charge of a department the advice of the civil servant will be quite valuable. It takes year for the new minister to know the workings of the department and the needs of the people. Similarly it is the departmental officials who explain government schemes and policies to the villagers. If a scheme is not working properly a report comes from the village officer up to the department. Thus the entire departmental set-up is like the human body's nervous system to the government.

In our system of quasi-federal government the top civil servants must also be able to run the government in the states under President's rule as also when election is announced. Thus the role of the civil service under the Indian constitution is somewhat complex. It is not exactly the same as that of the Indian Civil Service during the days of the British rule.

The government services have entered more areas of the public life and are much larger than in British days. The question is often asked whether the huge apparatus is being put to the best use by the people's representatives. The bureaucracy is usually blamed for government's failures. Red tape and corruption are said to be the main weakness of the bureaucracy.

On the other hand, we have the lowering of efficiency due to bad recruitment policies, encouragement of indiscipline by political interference in transfers, promotions, punishments, etc. which are known failings of the political machinery. Journalists occasionally get hold of such misdeeds and publish scoops. Why cannot the public be told of the truth in a regular manner? The Public Accounts Committee does only a sort of post-mortem examination. A mechanism is required to inform the public how and why decisions were taken. What was the professional view on any question? It may be recalled that in the former princely state of Mysore the secretaries to government were members of State Assembly. Even now the Advocate General has the right to address the State Legislature under Art : 177 of the constitution. The Attorney General can do the same in Parliament. Why not extend the idea to top officers?

ORIGINAL JAYAKHYANA BHARATA,  
BHAGAVADGITA and SIRIBHUVALAYA

K. NAGARAJA RAO\*

Part—I

“The Gita is one of the clearest and most comprehensive summaries of the perennial philosophy, ever to have been made. Hence its enduring value not only for the Indian, but for all mankind...The Bhagavad Gita is perhaps the most systematic spiritual statement of the perennial philosophy”, says Aldous Huxley.<sup>1</sup>

The Bhagavad Gita is a philosophical discourse on the ethics of war. It convinces Arjuna, who at the eleventh hour, feels a nervous recoil, from engaging in a deadly and fratricidal combat of the righteousness of discharging, under all circumstances one's duty as laid down in the scriptures, in a mood of equanimity of trust. The master teacher Lord Krishna, an accepted *avatāra*, undertakes not only to guide his friend Arjuna's chariot, towards victory on the battlefield, but also his foot-steps on the more perilous path of life, with a view to ensuring the attainment of the *summum bonum*.

The Bhagavad Gita is a short poem of 700 stanzas divided into 18 chapters. But the problems raised and adjudicated in the Bhagavad Gita have a universal appeal. The Bhagavad Gita has already secured an assured place amongst the world's foremost Gospels of life and conduct. During the course of

the past two thousand and odd years, since it was originally preached, it has attracted hosts of Commentators, annotators, expositors and translators, in almost all the important languages of the world.

Millions of Hindus for centuries have found comfort and a guiding philosophy in this divine Gospel, which sets forth in precise and penetrating words the essential principles of a spiritual religion. The Bhagavad Gita serves even today as a light to all who will receive illumination from its wisdom, which insists on a world wider and deeper than wars and revolutions can touch. Its ever fresh message to humanity has brought about a revolution in modern thought. Its apparent simplicity is the hallmark of its sublimity. “The Bhagavad Gita represents Hinduism as a whole in its universality without limit of time or space, embracing within its synthesis the whole essence of the human spirit, from the crude fetishism of the savage to the creative affirmations of the saints.”<sup>2</sup>

The Bhagavad Gita is both metaphysics and ethics. *Brahma-vidyā* and *Yōgaśāstra*, the science of reality and the art of union with reality. The Gita is called an Upanishad, since it derives its main inspiration from the Upanishads. It is said that, “The Upanishads are the cows, and the cowherd's son Krishna, is the milker; Arjuna is the calf, the wiseman is the drinker, and the nectar-like Gita is the excellent milk”.

At the time when Lord Krishna preached the Bhagavad Gita to Arjuna, it seems that different elements were competing with each other, within the system of Hindu philosophy, and in the Bhagavad Gita they are brought together and integrated into a comprehensive synthesis. The master teachers Lord Krishna refines and reconciles different currents of thought; the Vedic Cult, the Upanishadic teachings, the Bhāgavata theism, the Sāṃkhya dualism and the science of Yōga.

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The Bhagavad Gita has been accepted as one of the three fundamental works of Hinduism the *Prasthānatraya* - together with the Upanishads and the Brahmasūtras. All the great religious āchāryas have interpreted the Gita from their points of view: Advaita, Dvaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, Saktiviśiṣṭādvaita, Bhēdābhēda, Aciūtya Bhēdābhēda - Sāṁkhya, Karma, etc. Even now, philosophers are putting forth their own explanations, almost every day.

The eighteen chapters of the Bhagavad Gita form chapters 23 to 40 of the Bhishmaparva of the great epic Mahābhārata. The authorship of the Bhagavad Gita is usually attributed to Maharshi Vyāsa, the legendary compiler of the Mahābhārata. In addition to the Bhagavad Gita the present Mahābhārata contains many independent works such as Anugita, Sanatū Gita, Durgāstuti, Harivaṁśa, Mārkaṇḍeya samśaya, etc.

Different opinions exist among the scholars regarding the date of the Mahābhārata War. Mr. Wheeler opines that the Bhārata war took place somewhere about 6,000 B. C. Mr. Bentley assigns it to 575 B. C. Pandit G. D. Shastri argues for 1,800-10 B. C., Based on Magadha Chronology, Br. Sitānatha Pradhan assigns it to 1,250 B. C. According to Satishchandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa the Mahābhārata war took place in 1922 B. C. Dr. Pargiter places it at 1810 B. C. Bālakrishna Dixit and C. V. Vaidya favour 3,000 B. C. Radhakumud Mukherji, Kashj Prasad Jayswal, Jayachandra Vidyalankar and a host of Indian scholars have argued in favour of 1,450 B. C. Velandi Iyer says, that the Mahabharata war started on 14th October 1194 B. C. and Dr. D. S. Trivedi argued for 3,137 B. C.<sup>3</sup>

Though the Mahābhārata war took place some five thousand years ago, the present text of Mahābhārata is said to have been compiled between 400 B. C. to 400 A. D. The date of the Bhagavad Gita is generally accepted as 500 B. C., though the

text may have received many alterations and interpolations in subsequent times.

Regarding the text of Bhagavad Gita differences of opinion exist. According to *Gītāmāna* the Bhagavad Gita contains 745 stanzas. The detailed distribution of the extant stanzas amongst the individual speakers that figure in the Bhagavad Gita is: Krishna 620, Arjuna 57, Sañjaya 67, Dhritarashtra 1 = 745. But, the present traditional text of the Bhagavad Gita contains only 700 stanzas: Krishna 575, Arjuna 84, Sañjaya 40, Dhritarashtra 1 = 700. Sankara's commentary tells us that the Bhagavad Gita consists only of 700 stanzas. Out of this 700 stanzas Sankara leaves 47 stanzas of the first chapter and the first ten stanzas of Chapter II, but for all the remaining stanzas he offers a word to word exposition, which enables us to determine exactly what the text before him was. As Sankara's date generally accepted, is A. D. 788-820, his testimony for the text of the Bhagavad Gita is earlier than that of the any other manuscripts or commentator.

Apart from the traditional text, a Javanese version of the Bhagavad Gita also exists. The Javanese version of the Bhishmaparvam and the Gita is said to have been compiled in the eleventh century A.D., when Sri Dharmavamsa Dēgu Anañta Vikramadēva ruled Java. Out of the traditional 700 stanzas, the old Javanese version actually cites in Sanskrit, a total of 81 stanzas, while the equivalent of 56 stanzas is preserved in Old Javanese paraphrase; so that a total of as many as 563 stanzas are altogether missing in the Javanese version. (Pointed out by J. Gonda, 1935).

According to F. A. Schrader the Kashmir version of the Bhagavad Gita embodies fourteen additional stanzas and four half stanzas unknown to the vulgate.<sup>4</sup> A few more extra stanzas are also recorded in some non-Kashmirian sources. Most of these additions are admittedly interpolations and doctrinally

insignificant. According to Kashmirian sources the Bhagavad Gita contains 745 stanzas (*Gītāmāna*) in place of 700 as mentioned by Śankara. This *Gītāmāna* insertion is given mostly by Kashmirian sources; the Bengali and Southern versions show little knowledge of it. But anyway these additional stanzas, presuppose a *sāra* or synopsis of the Bhagavad Gita teaching being inserted into the Gita and along with the Gita itself 'poured into the mouth of Arjuna'. This is clearly recorded in the old manuscript of the Baroda Oriental Library (MSs. No. 11458) wherein the first line reads: *Bhāratāmṛita sarvasya gītāyām (yā) bhāratasyaca*. In some other MSs. it is recorded: *Bhāratodadhimanyasya gītāniryacānasyaca*.<sup>5</sup>

It is said that there are two texts of the *Gītāsāra*.<sup>6</sup> The one has been published in the critical edition of the Bhīshma-parva<sup>7</sup>, which was found in some of the Mahābhārata MSs. The other which was translated into Marathi by Ekanātha, and into Persian by the translators of the Mahābhārata, under the order of the great emperor Akbar<sup>8</sup>, is different, and is named "Ōmkara (Pranava) Mahātmya",<sup>9</sup> The first, which is written in Śārada character and is accompanied by a learned Sanskrit commentary, contains about sixty stanzas, and in particular a translation of some "*Gītā Praśasti*" verses. The *Gītāsāra* translated into Persian appears to have been a much shorter work than the "Ōmkara Mahātmya" of BORI MSs.

In his introduction to the critical edition of the Bhīshma-parvam, Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, while discussing *Gītāmāna* (745 Stanzas) and *Gītāsāra*, opines: "On the ground that the Gita commentators like Keśhāva Kashmirin, while expressly mentioning 745 stanzas as the extent of the Bhagavad Gita, do yet give a text of the Gita proper containing only 700 stanzas, it is possible to argue, that the enhanced extent is the extent of the Bhagavad Gita + *Gītāsāra*. The detailed distribution of the combined extent amongst individual speakers, that figure

in the Bhagavad Gita can also be made very approximately with the actual extent of the Gita + *Gītāsāra*.

Alberuni in his "India" quotes passages from the Bhagavad Gita which are not to be found in the current text.<sup>10</sup>

Anyway the Bhagavad Gita which was read and adopted as a religious text book, one of the Prasthana Traya, throughout India has been more or less a standard text at least from the time of Śankara and has probably acted as a sort of check among the latter day Vyasaids, and since then the text of the Bhagavad Gita with one or two exceptions assumed a more or less stereotyped form. Thus, during the past twelve centuries, there has been little scope for alterations or interpolations in the present text, which contains 700 stanzas.

It will be very interesting to know the Western Sanskritists' opinions regarding the text and extent of the Bhagavad Gita. The first English translation of the Bhagavad Gita by Charles Wilkins, with a letter from Warren Hastings to Nathaniel Smith, was published in 1785. Since then a host of oriental scholars of the West have written volumes on the Bhagavad Gita. Some scholars have argued, that Lord Krishna could not have recited the 700 stanzas to Arjuna on the battle field. He must have spoken a few stanzas, which were later elaborated by the narrator into an extensive work.

According to Garbe the Bhagavad Gita was originally a Sāmkya yoga treatise with which the Krishna Vasudeva cult got mixed up and in the third century B. C., and it became adjusted to the Vedic tradition by the identification of Krishna with Vishnu. The original work probably arose in about 200 B. C. and it was worked into the present form by some followers of the Vedānta in 200 A.D.<sup>11</sup> Wilhelm Von Humboldt argued (1926) that, the original Bhagavad Gita consisted

only of the 1 to 11 chapter and 63 to 78 stanzas of the 18th chapter of the present Bhagavad Gita. According to Rudolf Otto, the original Gita contained only 133 stanzas. He affirms that the original Gita was "a splendid epic fragment and did not include any doctrinal literature". It was Krishna's intention not to proclaim any transcendent dogma of salvation, but to render Arjuna willing to undertake the special service of the almighty will of the God who decides the fate of battles. Rudolf Otto believes that the doctrinal treatises are interpolated.<sup>12</sup> Prof. Jacobi concurs with Otto's opinion.<sup>13</sup>

Hopkins regards the work as "a Krishnaite version of an older Vishnuite poem and this in turn was at first an uncertain work, perhaps a late Upanishad".<sup>14</sup> Farquhar writes of it as "an old verse Upanishad written rather later than the *Sveta vartara*, and worked up into the Gita in the interests of Krishnaism by a poet after the Christian era".<sup>15</sup> Keith, Oldenberg, Winternitz, Oltramare, Barnett, Franklin Edgerton, J. Charpentier, Lomotte, Douglas P. Hill, Sir, Edwin Arnold, F. Loriser, R.G. Taki and others have written about the Bhagavad Gita text and its contents.<sup>16</sup>

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, discussing the existing different opinions amongst the scholars, says: "These different opinions seem to arise from the fact that, in the Gita are united currents of philosophical and religious thought diffused along many and devious courses. Many apparently conflicting beliefs are worked into a simple unity to meet the needs of the time. The question whether the Gita succeeds in reconciling the different tendencies of thought will have to be answered by each reader after he completes the study of the book".<sup>17</sup> But scholars like Prof. D. D. Kosambi do not agree with this view.

Now let us have a glance at the Indian commentators. After the decline of Buddhism different religious trends

prevailed in India, the chief being Advaita (Non-dualism), Viśiṣṭādvaita (Qualified non-dualism), Dvaita (Dualism), and Suddhādvaita (Pure non-dualism). The founders and their followers of these religions wrote commentaries on the Gita in support of their *sampradāyas* and refuting others. The commentary of Sankara is the most ancient, though according to Anandagiri there existed other commentaries older than that of Sankara. In his comment on the 10 stanza of the second chapter Anandagiri says that prior to Sankara there was a *vṛttikāra* who wrote a voluminous commentary on the Brahmasūtra and he also wrote a *vṛtti* (gloss) on the Gita urging that neither Jnana (knowledge) nor Karma (action) by itself leads to spiritual freedom; and a combined pursuit of them takes us to the goal.

According to Sankara Brahma is definable only in terms of being; he is one without a second. The whole world of manifestations and multiplicity is not real in itself and seems to be real only to those who live in *avidya* (ignorance). To be caught in ignorance is bondage. Mere *karma* does not remove this bondage, but binds us firmly to this unreal *samsara* (cosmic process). Only the *Jñāna* (wisdom) which propounds that the universal reality and the individual self are identical can bring redemption to human beings. When this wisdom arises the ego is dissolved. According to Sankara wisdom and action are mutually opposed like light and darkness, and he rejects the view of Jñāna Karma Samucchaya. (Com. on Slo. II of Ch. II). Even if *karma* may not be the immediate cause of liberation, still it is a necessary means for acquiring saving wisdom. Along with Anandagiri, Sankarānanda, Sridhara, Madhusūdana Saraswati, Sadānanda, Dhanapathi, Venkatanātha, Daivajñanapadita and others also wrote commentaries on the Bhagavad Gita upholding Sankara's Advaita philosophy. The Maharashtra saints Tukārāma and Jñānēswara were great devotees of Sankara.<sup>18</sup>

The Kashmirian commentators, Abhinava Gupta (*Gītārtha Sangraha*), Ānandavardhana (*Jñāna Karma Samucchaya*),

Rājanka-Rāmakantha (*Sarvatōbhudra*) and Keshava Kashmirin have also written commentaries on the Bhagavad Gita.

Rāmānuja, the most authoritative exponent of the Viśiṣṭa-dvaita school, who flourished in the eleventh century A.D., keenly refutes Sankara's interpretation of the Bhagavad Gita. Rāmānuja follows the interpretation given by Yāmūnāchārya in his *Gītārtha Saṅgraha*: Brahma, the highest reality, is spirit, but is not without attributes. Brahma has self-consciousness with the knowledge of himself and the conscious will to create the world and bestow salvation on his creatures. According to Rāmānuja, Brahma is the sum of all ideal predicates, infinite and eternal, before and above all worlds, without any second. All other Gods are his servants, appointed to perform their ordained duties. Before creation the world is in a potential form, undeveloped into the existing and diversified manifestations. In creation it is developed into *nāma-rūpa* (name and form). The world is not only the body of God, but his remainder (*Iśvarasya śeṣa*). Rāmānuja says, because God indwells and penetrates the soul, God and the soul are one. Rāmānuja develops a peculiar type of personal mysticism in his commentry on the Bhagavad Gita. He admits the path of knowledge (*Jñāna marga*), devotion (*Bhakti*) and action (*Karma*) as mentioned in the Bhagavad Gita, but gives prominence to devotion. According to Rāmānuja Vishnu is the supreme Lord. He is the only true God, who will not share his divine honours with others. Liberation is service of and fellowship with God in Vaikuntha or heaven. Vēdāntadēśika Venkatanatha, a follower of Ramanuja also wrote a commentry on the Bhagavad Gita called *Tātparya-Chandrika*.

Madhva, the founder of the Dvaita school of Vedānta, who is generally assigned to the 13th Century A.D. gives a brief commentary on the Bhagavad Gita, which is elaborated by Jayathirtha, in his sub-commentary called—*Pramāyadīpikā*.

Madhva, who has written a more elaborate dissertation named '*Gita Tātparya Nirṇaya*' attempts to derive from the Bhagavad Gita the tenets of the dualistic philosophy. It is self-contradictory to look upon the soul as identical with the supreme in one sense, and different from him in another. He interprets the passage *tattvamasi* (That art thou) as meaning that we must give up the distinction between mine and thine, and hold that everything is subject to the control of god (*Madiyam tvadiyam iti bhedaṁ apahāya sarvaṁ īśvarādhiṇam iti sthitiḥ*: Bhāgavatha Tātparya)

Nimbarka, who flourished in the 12th century A.D., holds that the *Jiva*, [soul] *jagat* [world], and God are different from each other; yet the existence and activities of the soul and the world depend on the will of god. According to him *Bhakti* [devotion] to the Supreme is essential. He adopts the Theory of Dvaitādvaita [Dualism non-dualism].

Vallabha, who belongs to the 15th and the early part of the 16th Century, is the great exponent of the śuddhādvaita [Pure non-dualism] School. He has summarized the Bhagavad Gita teaching in about a 100 stanzas known as "*Śāstrārtha Prakaraṇa*". The present "*Tattvadīpikā*" commentary comes from a 17th century descendant of Vallabha. According to Vallabha the *Jiva* (ego) when pure and unblinded by illusions and the supreme Brahma are one. Souls are particles god like sparks of fire and they cannot acquire the knowledge necessary for obtaining release except by the grace of the supreme. *Bhakti* is the truth associated with love.

Apart from the above mentioned religious commentators there have been several other commentators on the Bhagavad Gita. The Chief are Bāla Gangadhara Tilak and Maharshi Aurobindo. Mahātmā Gandhi and Vinōba have given their views on the Gita. Tilak's *Gītā Rahasya* has been translated

into all the important languages of India. Aurobin's essay on the *Gītā* is considered to be the best exposition.

R. S. Taki in his commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā* (published in three parts, Bombay 1922-25) made attempts to interpret it in terms of Theology (1-6 chapters), Cosmology (7-12 chapters), and Eschatology (13-18 chapters). V.G. Rele tried to interpret the *Bhagavad Gītā* on the basis of modern psycho-philosophy and psycho-analysis.

There are some scholars who question the historicity of the framework story of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Prof. D.D. Kosambi in his work<sup>19</sup> raises many problems such as the social and economic aspects of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Prof. Kosambi with his versatile knowledge of Indology, has made sweeping remarks in this book. According to him, the *Bhagavad Gītā* shows "dexterity to reconcile the irreconcilable" and "a sort of slippery opportunism characterises the whole book." He finds some significance, in "the eighteen main *gōtra* clan groups of the Brahmins, the eighteen *purāṇas* and the eighteen *Parvams* of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Kurukshētra* war fought over eighteen days between eighteen legions, and lastly eighteen *adhyāyas* of the *Bhagavad Gītā*" and opines "these are surely not without significance indicating particular sanctity attached to the Brahmin complex groups". Prof. Kosambi, who tried to analyse Indian History from the Marxian dialectical and historical materialism point of view, feels that, most of the Hindu scriptures, including the *Bhagavad Gītā* which contain myths are largely economic in origin. In the name of scientific analysis, the *Diamat* Theory usually neglects the other aspects of the historical forces like anthropological, ethnological, linguistic, etc., which form the foundation of any human society.

But, whatever opinion we may hold regarding the scholars' opinion about the present *Bhagavad Gītā*, one finds some sort of inconsistency in the work. Though the *Bhagavad Gītā*

has played an important role in the development of Indian thought, it is very difficult to assess the impact it made on Indian society. Neither the *Bhagavad Gītā*, nor any other Hindu scripture has saved Indian society from the sweeping influence of Western thought and culture. Indian society with its imitation of the West, in all its life, is changing rapidly. In spite of all these changes which are shaking the very foundation of our society whether for good or bad—we try to identify our past socio-cultural, ethico-religious values in the ultra-modern tenets without adducing positive proofs. A peculiar way of thinking is developing in India which tries to find solace only in identifying the past with the present, and citing *scriptures* in its defence. Such people will trace the nucleus of modern thought and scientific and technological developments in ancient scriptures by ambiguous ways. We can defend our neutrality, non-violence the so called democratic socialism and what not, by quoting the *Bhagavad Gītā* and other scriptures. With all our socio-cultural, ethico-religious changes in day to day living, we yet proclaim, that we are following *swadharma* as prescribed in the Holy books. How far this way of thinking can save us and the coming generation, only the future will decide.

The present *Bhagavad Gītā* with all its diversified ethico-religious and philosophical tenets contains contradictory statements and many discrepancies. Space does not permit me to go into those details.

Many Indian and Western scholars opine that there existed in ancient times an original epic *Mahābhārata* containing the *Bhagavad Gītā* which in the course of time expanded to the present form.<sup>20</sup>

Though the existing *Mahābhārata* is called an epic poem it does not possess all the characteristics of an epic poem. Almost all Sanskrit works, such as grammar, philosophy,

pathology, astronomy, cosmography, and mathematics are written in verse. The Mahābhārata was originally a history—an *akhyāna*—recording contemporay events. The present Mahābhārata itself says: “We desire to hear Bhārata, the sacred history which drives away all fears” (Adi 1-20), and again, “some bards have already sung this history, some are now teaching it, and others in like manner will hereafter promulgate it upon the earth,” and again “The son of Satyawati (Vyasa) by penance and meditation having classified the everlasting Veda, composed this unique history”. (Adi. 1-55). It is even called an *Itihāsa*. According to Sanskrit Lexicographers *Itihāsa* means, “accounts of the past that contain instructions on *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, *moksha* are called histories”.

In its present form the Mahābhārata is neither a history nor an epic. It is almost like any other Purāṇa—a collected record of various subjects written in the course of hundreds of years. A cursory view of it shows that it holds in its capacious bulk many independent works.

The present Mahābhārata itself says: “Vyasa originally compiled Bharata exclusive of episodes, in 24,000 stanzas. This much only is called by the learned as the real Bharata. He subsequently composed an epitome in 150 verses (1-1-61, *raṇabharata*). But the present Mahābhārata contains more than 105,000 stanzas and it contains a table of contents which instead of 150 stanzas, has more than 250 stanzas. This is a clear indication that many thousand *śloka*s have been added to the original Mahābhārata.

It is said that the present Mahābhārata was recited by a certain nameless man and one day when the great sages of hard austerities who had been at the twelve years sacrifice of Kulapati Śaunaka, were comfortably seated in the Naimiṣa forest *rishi* Lōmaharshaṇa's son Ugraśrava, popularly known as Sauti, well versed in the *purāṇas*, came to them in all humility”. (Ādi. 1-2).

The nameless sage who recites these two stanzas goes on to say, that Ugraśrava Sauti at the request of the *rishis* then began to recite the Mahābhārata, which was originally composed by Vyasa, and narrated by Vaiśampāyana at the *sarpayaga* (snake sacrifice) of Janamējaya. Thus we find, when it was recited in the Naimiṣa forest before the sages, even then it has come down to the fourth generation:- 1) Vyasa who taught it to 2) Vaiśampāyana who taught it to 3) Lōmaharshaṇa, who taught it to his son, 4) Ugraśrava. But even this Mahābhārata we do not possess. The present Mahabharata is spoken by some nameless person who recites what Ugraśrava narrated when it was recited by Ugraśrava in the Naimiṣa forest, it had, even then undergone some additions and alterations, and a difference of opinion had already arisen about the various ways of reading the text. “Some read the Mahabharata from the first *śloka*, some from the story of Āstika, some again from the *Upārichara*, while some Brahmans read the whole,” (1-1-53).

Ugraśrava himself says in the Ādiparva, that “he knows only 8,800 *sloka*s”, (1-1-8), but the Mahabharata we now possess, even the critical edition, contains more than a lakh of *sloka*s.

According to the opinion of the learned the present Mahabharata contains a lot of Upākhyānas, myths and interpolations made by the Bhṛgu. In this connection, it will be interesting to know the opinion of the Late V.S. Sukthankar, chief architect of the critical edition of the Mahabharata published by the BORI, Poona.

Sukthankar says: “Now there can be no question that all this Bhargava material in our present Mahabharata is entirely foreign to the plan of the original saga of the Bharatas, occurring as it does almost wholly in the episodic portion of the epic. There should be, therefore, in my opinion no hesitation in

concluding that in our version of the Mahabharata there is a conscious, nay, deliberate weaving together or rather stitching together of the Bharata legends with the Bhargava myths.

"The question how precisely this Bhargava element, which we find concentrated mostly in the Upakhyanas, came into the cycle of the Bharata legends is intriguing, but unfortunately the answer is largely a matter of speculation — since the diaskeuasts of the Mahabharata have been fortunately frank enough to admit that Vyasa's work, the Mahabharata, which originally consisted merely of 24,000 stanzas —

"Nobody is, however, so credulous now-a-days as to imagine the Sūta as the author of these extensive innovations that must have been necessary in order to convert a heroic poem of 24,000 stanzas into an encyclopaedia of the present dimensions.

"Just as the different collections of Vedic hymns, the various Brahmanas and the ritualistic manuals were all at some time, the closely guarded property of diverse Vedic schools and families of sages, which had respectively cultivated and developed them, so also our remodelled Bhārata now elevated to the rank of the fifth Veda must have remained for some time in the exclusive possession of the Bhārgavas as their close literary preserve. That would in my opinion account for the apparent homogenous character of this heterogenous mass: it all came from different hands, but out of the same mould.

"If the above considerations have any validity, they might help us to lift up a corner of the thick veil enveloping our great epic, allow us to have a covert peep into the history. Such a peep would show that there existed in India, in very ancient times, an epic poem of about 24,000 stanzas, attributed to Vyasa, which described in great detail the Bhārata war and sung the glory of Pandavas. This heroic poem, the Bhārata, which used to be recited by the Sūtas mostly at Royal courts and had in course of time become very popular, was at a critical

stage of history appropriated by the Bhṛguṣa (who had certainly specialized in the Dharma and Nitiśāstras and probably also developed bearings towards Vishnuism) with the idea of developing the epic into a vehicle of popular instruction and edification, combined with entertainment".<sup>21</sup>

Though some scholars have made attempt to show the ungrammatical (un-paninian) usages and discrepancies in metres in the present Mahābhārata as far as I know little attempt has been made to find out the nucleus of the present text, in the way suggested by the late Sukthankar.

According to the Jaina Purāṇas the Mahābhārata war was mainly a fight between Krishna, who was supported by the Pandavas, and Jarasanda, supported by the Kauravas. Kamsa's wife Jivadyaśa on the death of her husband at the hands of Krishna, complained to her father Jarāsandha, and he attacked Krishna. The war ended at the death of Jarāsandha at the hands of Krishna. The story of the Mahābhārata has been related in all the biographies of the twenty second Tirthankara Nēminātha, who was the brother of Krishna. The majority of Jaina (*digambara*) *puranas* are in Sanskrit, Apabhramśa, Kannada and other languages, and they are more concerned with Ariṣṭanemi.

The Jaina works Uttarādhyayan Sūtra, Praśna Vyākaraṇa Antagadadasao, Nāyadhamma Kahāo, Samavāyaṅga Sūtra, Nirayāvali narrate the story of Krishna according to the Svētāmbara tradition. According to this tradition, there existed a work named "Bhīmasurakki Kathā" which narrates the valour of Bhīma. But in Jaina literature the Bhagavad Gita has little or no place.

Amarchandra Suri, a Jaina poet of the thirteenth century A.D., in his "Bāla Bhārata" summarises the whole of the Mahābhārata. The Bhīṣma Parvam has been summarised in 384 stanzas and the Bhagavad Gita in four stanzas.<sup>22</sup>

Then, what was the nature of the original Mahābhārata which is attributed to the great sage Vyasa ?

The first stanza of the present Mahabharata reads :

*Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya naram caiva narottamam  
Devi saraswatim caiva tato jayam udirayet ॥*

The English translation of the above stanza by P.C Ray reads : "Having bowed down to Narayana and Nara, the most exalted male begins and also to the Goddess Saraswathi, must the word Jaya (victory) be uttered." The translation of the above passage : "Tatō Jayam Udirayet" as "must the word Jaya (victory) be uttered" is not correct. According to Neelakantha the history of the Mahabharata was also called "Jayākhyāna".<sup>1</sup> Probably this may be the original Bharata which is attributed to Vyasa.

(continued)

#### Foot Notes

1. *Introduction to "The Bhagavad Gita"* by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood (1945)
2. *Bhagavad Gita* : Translated by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Intro. p. 12.
3. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 16, part 3 (1937)
4. Prof. S. K. Belvalkar's introduction to *Bhishmaparvam* (BORI)
5. BORI MSs., No. 164 of 1883-84.
6. See, 'Bhishmaparva' Intro. (BORI) 1947.
7. Ibid, see Appendix I (3).

8. Abul Fazal also translated the 'Bhagavad Gita' into Persian which contains 745 stanzas; another man named Faizi also translated Gita which also contains 745 stanzas. Shaha Ali Dastur also translated Gita (See Intro. "Sri Bhagavad Gita with Gloss : Siddhi Dhatri" edited by J. K. Shastry, Gondal 1937).
9. The MSs of 'Omkāra Mahātmya' is at BORI : MSs No. 563 of 1886-92, and No. 164 of 1883-84.
10. On the question of Alberuni's "Gita quotations" see : V. P. Limaye's Marathi booklet (No. 5) published by the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapitna, Poona, 1929.
11. Garbe : 'Die Bhagavad Gita' with introduction (1905).
12. Rudolf Otto : 'The Original Bhagavad Gita' (Eng. Transl. 1939); Prof. S. K. Belvalkar refutes Otto's thesis (See JUB Vol. 5 Pt. 6 (1937) pp : 63-133; Dr. A. D. Pusalkar and others also refute Garbe's and Otto's theories (see Dr. Pusalkar's "Studies in Epics and Puranas")
13. See "Deutsche Literature Zeitung" 24-12-1922; 8-4-1923.
14. See 'Religions of India' (1908).
15. See Section 95 of "The Outlines of the Religious Literature of India" (1920).
16. See S. C. Roy's *The Bhagavad Gita and Modern Scholarship*, London (1941).
17. See his introduction to the "Bhagavad Gita" (E.T.)
18. For Advaita, Dvaita, Viśiṣṭadvaita commentaries on the Bhagavad Gita cf : *The Bhagavad Gita Commentaries* (in two Vols. Vol. I published in 1938, Vol. II in 1912) published by the Gujarati Printing Press of Bombay. These

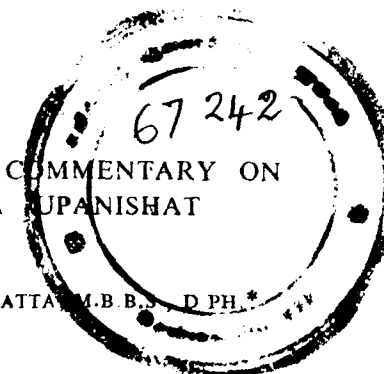
two Vols. contain about twenty comentaries on the Bhagavad Gita.

19. D. D. Kosambi, "Myth and Reality", Bombay, (1962).
20. 'Studies in Epics and Puranas' p. 164.
21. See "Sukthankar Memorial Edition" Vol. I. (Critical studies in the Mahabharata); "The Bhrgus and others Mahabharata: A Text—Historical Study" pp 278-336.
22. Published by "Kavyamala Series" No. 45.
23. See R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume: (1917) article by Sylvain Levy. "Tatōjayam udirayet".

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THE SCIENTIFIC COMMENTARY ON  
MANDUKYA UPANISHAT

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The World Health Organisation, among its constitutional responsibilities under head e) "fosters the ability to live harmoniously in a changing total environment". A scientific realisation of the doctrine of *Mandukya Upanishat* (vide ref 1) helps to achieve this ideal. There seems to be no other way. Dr. C. G. Jung, one of the greatest psychiatrists of modern times has said that "The spiritual aspect of the psyche is at present known to us only in a fragmentary way. We have not yet succeeded in determining the particular uniformities or Laws" regarding the ultimate questions "Whence does consciousness come? What is the psyche?", he concludes. "At this point all science ends" (vide pages 225 and 229 of ref 2). The following scientific commentary of *Mandukya Upanishat* is set out to satisfy these yearning enquiries of modern scientists. Though this *upanishat* is one of the smallest, the doctrine contained in it is described as the quintessence of the entire Vedic literature and culture. It is the crest jewel in the crown of the Vedas. Though commonly described as mystic, it will be found to be 100% scientific in all its aspects, by one who ardently applies his mind to it. The following English translation and scientific commentary are purely original, based on the author's intensive study and experience as a scientist. It is hoped that with this commentary, all the unexplained parapsychic phenomena shelved at present, will be explained and utilised.

## English Translation

I. All this (the universe), that is designated as Aum, is imperishable. The explanation for this is that, all the experiences of the past present and future are verily (indicated by) the sound Aum. Anything that may transcend the three divisions of time that also is (indicated by), the sound Aum. All this is verily Bramha (The universal Being). This self is Bramha. This self said above has four states.

II The Universal Human in the waking state with his outward consciousness, having seven limbs and nineteen mouths, enjoying gross objects, is the first state. (According to the Vedic concept the seven limbs are 1) the sky with its luminaries 2) The sun 3) The air 4) The ether (space) 5) The water 6) The earth and 7) The fire. The nineteen mouths are, The five organs of perception (the eye, ear, nose, tongue and skin); the five organs of action (the hands, the feet, the organs of speech, generation and evacuation); the five vital breaths, the mind, and the intellect, the ego and the basic power of life.)

III The effulgent, in the dream state, with the internal consciousness, with seven limbs and nineteen mouths (as above) enjoying fleeting objects, is the second state.

IV That in which one desire no object whatsoever, and sees no dream of any kind, is the deep sleep state. The omniscient in the deep sleep state, having been condensed into one, the diffusing knowledge having been consolidated as it were, full of bliss and enjoying bliss, facing the dynamicity of life, is the third state. This is the all powerful, all knowing, all pervading the source of all, that from which all objects proceed and into which they recede.

V That which is neither consciousness of the external, nor of the internal nor that which is conscious of both, nor the cognitive

mass, neither cognition nor non-cognition, the unseen, the untransactable, incomprehensible, uninferable, unthinkable, undemonstrable, the essence of the concept of one universal self, that in which the universal creation rests for a while (*upashama*), the peaceful, the potent, the non-dual, that they consider as the fourth, that is the self that will have to be realised scientifically.

VI This self, described as above, from the point of view of the letters, the states are the letters and the letters are the states. They are the sounds A, U and M. (In Sanskrit the vowel 'O' is reckoned as a diphthong consisting of A as in 'that' and U as in 'but' and is pronounced as 'O' in 'Ohm')

VII The universal Human in the waking state indicated by the sound 'A' is the first letter because it is readily attained (after each of the other states) and is the first. One who knows as such, attains all the desired objects, and becomes the first.

VIII The effluent one in the dream state indicated by the sound 'U' is the second letter, because it is drawn up (a second time after the waking state) or because it is intermediate (between the first and the third). One who knows as such draws up (acquires) the gamut of knowledge and becomes equipped. No one who does not have the knowledge of Brahma is born in his family.

IX The omniscient in the state of deep sleep indicated by the sound 'M' is the third letter, because of its measuring quality (as the grains are put into a bushal) and its unifying quality, one who knows as such, measures (comprehends) all this and becomes one with all.

X That which is not indicated by any letter the untransactable in which the universal creation rests for a while (*upashama*). The non-dual, is the forth. The sound Aum described

as above is the self only. He who knows as such merges by himself into the universal self.

#### Commentary

The doctrine of the Upanishat as pronounced in its preamble is that the universe consisting of the experiences of the past, present and the future, is imperishable and that the self of the individual is identical with this universe. It follows from this that the self of the individual is immortal.

The doctrine has been arrived at by the discovery of the fourth state of the self by the Vedic scientists who delved in the depths of the unconscious. They discovered that the objective universe of the waking state, with its myriads of forms, dissolves and merges indistinguishably into the imperceptible subjective self momentarily and re-emerges into its full blown form after the moment. After this emergence the subjective self becomes distinguishable from its objects which appear to be other than and independent of the self. But they arise from the same source, namely, the creative energy of the self in its formless potential phase in the fourth state.

The faculty of perceiving objects as other than, and existing independently from the subjective self, though they are the same at the source, is the first and most predominant sign of the dynamicity of the creative energy as it proceeds to form the universe of the waking state. This faculty is innate in the self and is consistent with the sole function of the self to enjoy.

The process by which the creative energy of the self proceeds to form the universe of the waking state and recedes into its potential fourth state, occurs with an eternal rhythm because the universe and the self are both imperishable as concluded above. This universal rhythm is comparable to the rhythmic movements of the heart and lungs during life. The self can therefore be conceived as the eternal living being heaving in and

out with the universe. There can be no doubt therefore that one who realises this transcends the fear of death.

This *upanishat* recognises two types of knowledge. In stating that all this is imperishable, the self enjoys the objects that all the desired objects will be attained, etc., the knowledge that objects other than the self, existing independently of it is presumed to operate. This we may call, the differential knowledge as it proceeds in a centripetal direction from the self conducive to the expansion differentiation and proliferation into the myriads of objects in the universe. The entire science is based on this knowledge. The entire human activity depends on this.

In propounding its doctrine, the *Upanishat* points out the existence of another type of knowledge by which all objects in the universe are found to be manifestations of the self only and not really independent from it. This knowledge we may call the integral knowledge as it proceeds in the centrifugal direction taking the multiplicity of the universe towards unity and dissolution in to the fourth state of the self. While by the differential knowledge the creative energy of the self dissipates into creation, the integral knowledge helps in the reaccumulation of the creative energy in the self for being rechannelled and harnessed for enjoyment.

The *Upanishat* concludes that when one has realised this integral knowledge he enters into a state in which he finds the universe function as his body. The primordial elements of the universe, the earth, the ocean, the air, the heat and light from the sun etc., function in harmony with his wishes, just as the organs of the body and mind of a healthy individual function in harmony with his wishes. This is the state of the universal human depicted by the *upanishat* while describing the waking state. We thus find that "the ability to live in harmony with the changing total environment" envisaged by the world health

organisation becomes a reality by this method. No other way seems possible for attaining this ideal.

Psychologists are well aware of the phenomenon in which the child in its early infancy views the organs of the body as things other than its own. As it grows up, it begins to treat them as its own and assumes a position in which it views the body and its mind as its 'self'. The above *Upanishadic* ideal discovered by the brave vedic scientists who delved the depths of the 'unconscious', that the universe itself is one's own self, is only the next step in human evolution.

The fruits of this effort, namely the fulfilment of all the desires, etc., follow upon the above realisation because all objects seen as other than the self towards which the desires arise, merge into the self with all their desirable qualities fulfilling all the desires in this way.

To achieve this realisation, the method advocated by the *upanishat* in its laconic fashion is mere knowledge of the four states assumed by the self. By recollecting the four states from memory with their designations AUM and the soundless, in quick succession, and feeling "I am AUM", the waves of creative energy recede and condense themselves, dissolve and merge indistinguishably into the ever imperceptible subjective self to enter the fourth state for a moment, after which the universe reemerges in a state of harmony. The fact that the waves of creative energy recede, when the four states are recollected as swiftly as the component letters of the syllable AUM are pronounced in the sound AUM, indicates that the four states are the first flickering signs of life when creation started from the self. Recollecting this first sign of creation helps the self to withdraw to its precreation state, that is the potential fourth state.

This phenomenon wherein the objective universe merges indistinguishably into the subjective self can be tested a thou-

sand times or more as desired. Any one who has developed the requisite mental constitution can confirm it. It is therefore scientific.

The four states of the self are recollected in this order from the point of view of their magnitudes in space, time and dynamicity. The waking state is largest in space, longest in time and most dynamic. The other two are lesser. The fourth potential state has neither space nor dynamicity. It has only one dimension in time, being momentary.

Scientists of the Vedic time have discovered that taking food or drink free from harmful micro-organisms using sterilised spoons, cups, plates etc., is an indispensable discipline for achieving success in the above realisation (vide ref 3 and Ch. U. 7. 26. 2 of ref. 4). Thus the effort towards this realisation and its auxiliary discipline are both vedic as much as they are scientific.

Summing up the teaching of the *Upanishat* we may say that one must feel "I am AUM", recollect the four states in the order enjoined in the *upanishat*, and with the above scientific vedic discipline, march forward from disharmonies into a life of harmony and joy.

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THE PRESS AND POLITICS IN PRINCELY  
MYSORE : 1874-1908.

R. RAMAKRISHNAN\*

Addressing the Modern Section of the Indian History Congress in 1961, the late Dr. S.P. Sen exhorted historians to urgently take up the study of the history of the Princely States of India.<sup>1</sup> Since then, while the history of Princely Mysore has attracted the attention of scholarship, the quantum of published work is almost negligible.<sup>2</sup> Very many areas remain to be systematically studied. A comprehensive history of Mysore in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is a desideratum.

To date there are very few studies on the role of the Press in the history of modern India. These studies are all limited in so far as they either do not treat this subject in the context of the Princely states and much less of Mysore or, make only casual references.<sup>3</sup> The same comment holds good about the existing works on the history of Mysore.

The thirtyfour years between 1874 and 1908 constitutes a significant epoch in the history of Mysore and particularly from the point of the role of newspapers. During this period not only as many as fifty papers started from Mysore, what is more important, these papers led and participated in several social and political movements. These papers discussed both local level and national issues. The nature of the commenting in the newspapers of Mysore during this period was so strong that in 1908, under pressure from the Paramount power, the state passed a statute to expressly control the Press.

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The history of the press in India is bound up with the history of the spread of Western ideas and civilization in the country. In the Princely state of Mysore, Western civilization came to be introduced when the state came under direct British administration between 1831 and 1881. Printing was introduced into Mysore by the Christian missionaries for the purpose of spreading the message of the Gospel. In 1840, the Wesleyan Christian Mission started a Kannada printing press in Bangalore. This was followed by the press started by the Roman Catholic Missionaries of the Karnatic Mission in Bangalore by about 1852 and the Mysore Government Press in 1858. These and other presses of this period initially took to printing books and tracts and later some of them shifted to printing and even publishing periodicals and newspapers.

Comprehensive data regarding the newspapers and periodicals of Mysore before 1908 is not available. Information is found scattered in the *Mysore Annual Administrative Reports*, the *Reports of the Department of Public Instruction in Mysore* and the *Native Newspapers Reports of the Madras Presidency*. In a few cases these source contradict each other. However, the available information has been cross-checked and presented here.

The first newspaper to be started in Princely Mysore was the *Mysore Vrittanta Bodhini*. This vernacular weekly paper was current between 1859 and 1898.<sup>4</sup> This was followed by the *Harvest Field* in 1862 and the *Karnataka Prakasika* in 1865.<sup>5</sup> While the *Harvest Field* was an English monthly, the *Karnataka Prakasika* was an Anglo-Kannada weekly and was for some time published separately in both the languages. The *Karnataka Prakasika* temporarily stopped publication in 1868, was revived in 1874 and continued till 1898.<sup>6</sup> The year 1866 saw the birth of the *Mysore Gazette* the official organ of the Government of Mysore. The purpose of this Anglo-vernacular weekly was,

"to convey to the inhabitants of the Province generally through the medium of their own vernacular, a knowledge of all those administrative orders, changes and reforms which, at present, it is feared, is confined to a small section of the community, represented mainly by the official classes. It is of great importance that the people of Mysore should be reliably informed of all Government measures so as to enable them to take an intelligent interest in the same."

Two other English weeklies of this period which played a leading role in the affairs of Mysore were the *Bangalore Herald* started in 1868 and the *Bangalore Spectator* started in 1869. Both the papers were published from the Civil & Military Station of Bangalore. Between 1872 and 1876 several papers and periodicals were started from the Civil & Military Station of Bangalore of which, the *Talismekartan*, (1873), a Urdu weekly, the *Mysore Budget* (1874) an English weekly, the *Munshuri Mohemadi* (1874), and the *Mysore Akhbar* (1874) both Urdu weeklies, the *Bangalore Guardian* (1874) and the *Law Journal* (1874), both English weeklies, the *Sujana Ranjani*, (1876) a Tamil weekly and the *Bangalore Examiner* (1876), an English weekly, are noteworthy.<sup>8</sup>

After 1881, several papers were started of which the following are important. In 1885, an English weekly, the *Mysore Standard* was started.<sup>9</sup> Two years later, the Wesleyan Mission started a Kannada weekly, the *Vrittanta Patirke* which lasted till 1948.<sup>10</sup> These were followed by *Vrittanta Chintamani*, the *Mysore Herald*, both English weeklies, in 1889 and the Anglo-Kannada weekly the *Mysore Star* in 1890.<sup>11</sup> Two years later, the *Suryodaya Prakasika* and the *Mysore Deshabhimani*, the former an Anglo-Kannada weekly and the latter a Kannada weekly were started.<sup>12</sup>

## II

In 1835, after Mysore was sequestered under the conditions of the Subsidiary Treaty, the Governor-General in instructing

the British Commissioners of the state regarding the administration went on to say, that in "addition to preserving native forms, the native agency was to be adhered to."<sup>13</sup> However, there were two major hurdles in the way of pursuing this instruction. Very early, Mark Cubbon, the Chief Commissioner observed, "that a purely native agency that was moderately trustworthy could not be got together in such a hot-bed of intrigue and corruption as Mysore had long become."<sup>14</sup>

He wrote to the Governor-General that the 'present time' afforded no encouragement for the preservation of the native agency since there was 'rancorous animosity' between the Brahmins and the other communities and the Brahmin community itself which supplied most of the public servants, was divided.<sup>15</sup> The Governor-General while permitting the continuation of supernumerary European officials hoped that a body of native functionaries might be found in Mysore at no distant future.<sup>16</sup> The second hurdle was more serious. The British commissioners did not entirely trust the Brahmin community of Mysore which had been supplying functionaries for the administration. The Committee which had been appointed to enquire into the Nagar disturbances of 1831, which led to the take-over of the state, had observed that Krishnaraja Wodeyar III the then ruler of the state, had been strongly influenced by the Brahmin community and that he had also shown an excessive partiality to that community by making excessive grants of land.<sup>17</sup> And within the Brahmin community Krishnaraja Wodeyar had lavished his patronage on the Viashnava and Sriviashnava sects. Since the Report on the Nagar disturbances had posited the view that the Brahmins had corrupted Krishnaraja Wodeyar finally leading to mal-administration and sequestration of the state, the British Commissioners had a basic distrust of the Mysore Brahmins and began to look outside Mysore for functionaries to run the administration. Further, the Commissioners needed a collaborative elite to check and balance the local elitist influences. The nearest place was the Madras Presidency,

where the British had been ruling for more than a century. Thus, while not expressing it, the Commissioners developed a policy of importing men from outside the state for the bureaucracy.<sup>19</sup>

This importation of men from the Madras Presidency naturally attracted the attention of the Mysorean Brahmins and they started a journalistic campaign criticising it.<sup>19</sup> The beneficiaries of this policy, the Madrasis as they were described, also retorted through the Press.<sup>20</sup> Through newspapers which espoused their respective causes, the Mysoreans and Madrasis hurled at each other invectives of various sorts bringing in a variety of issues such as the historical antecedents, moral nature, and mental aptitudes and capacities.

Replying to a letter in the *Bangalore Examiner* of the 18th November 1876, a correspondent to the *Karnataka Prakasika* went on to describe the many qualities of head and heart of the Mysoreans and Madrasis. Further, he said that the term Hebbar Brahmin, the group which constituted the Mysore lobby, etimologically signified a high caste Brahmin and had no secondary or derogatory meaning like the term 'Kumbakonam Brahmin' which was synonymous with refined fraud, a cuckold or a pimp.<sup>21</sup> This correspondent was categorical that the Mysoreans possessed all the sterling qualities which the Madrasis were supposed to have and said "if you can just manage to induce Mr. Saunders to give leave to Chelola Iyer, Katapat Rao and host of others, Iyers, Raos, Acharies, Chetties, Mudaliyars and Naidus, I undertake to find for everyone of them an equally good substitute from this country, provided you do not make it necessary qualification that my nominees should be able to read and write some other language than the language of the country and be possessed of the Judicial training and experience, which quill-driving in some office like the Palace Controller's confers, if they have not the more transcendent qualification of a marriage with a big man's daughter."<sup>22</sup>

Continuing, this correspondent asked, what had these men Madrasi Ramaswami and this Kumbakonam Panchanadam—been in Mysore's history before the days of Purnaiya? Had they even shed a single drop of blood for the cause of Mysore, perhaps a Milton among them could justifiably sing their glory. While the Hebbar Srivishnavas had fought to make Mysore a great nation, before 1780, this correspondent could not see any Madrasi "who had taken any conspicuous part in our history except as 'Paricharakas', 'Fiddlers', and 'Mountebanks'".<sup>23</sup> Finally he said that he was not speaking for the Hebbar Iyengars but was opposing the attempts of the Madrasis to 'finish the Mysorean nation'.<sup>24</sup>

The Madrasis posited the view that Mysoreans generally lacked 'high character', a quality very necessary for men occupying positions in the administration. The Mysoreans retorted by saying that the 'high character' of the Madrasis consisted in mere cleverness and nothing more. In addition to cleverness, the Madrasis were good at toadyism and sychophaney with which they were dazzling the 'Gods that be' into taking a 'jaundiced view of real native character'. Those who were steering the vessel of the state, the Mysoreans said, should keep clear of such sychophants and be guided by rules without fear or favour lest they plunged the state into the Charybdis of degeneration.<sup>25</sup> The Mysoreans further argued that the Madrasis, these 'birds of passage', the B.A.s from the benighted Presidency, had no historical *locus standi* to claim positions in the Mysore administration. For, it was the Hebbar Iyengars who had been responsible for several Wodeyar scions rising to greatness and they had also played an important part in the restoration of the state to the Wodeyars in 1799.<sup>26</sup>

In the course of replying to a letter in the *Bangalore Spectator* in September 1879, a correspondent to the *Prakasika* made certain veiled remarks to a certain Brahmin official, who had been for some time Comptroller of the Palace and alleged that

this official had not only misused his power but had used his position to attempt to initiate the prince in the "mysteries of the Panchachary contrary to the rules of the sect to which the Maharaja belongs, which recognises only the tenets of the Astatshary."<sup>27</sup> This finally resulted in K. Seshadri Iyer suing the editor of the *Karnataka Prakashika* for defamation and being awarded Rs. 1,000 as damages.<sup>28</sup>

### III

As the Rendition of Mysore neared, the question as to what extent the state had been prepared for being restored to native rule came to be debated. This debate commenced in 1878, the year when J. D. Gordon became the Chief Commissioner of Mysore. Like in the Mysorean-Madrasi controversy upto this time, one side of the debate was taken up by the *Karnataka Prakashika*.

The contest for power, patronage and situations in the administration continued with added importance. Rendition was just three years away and the group which held the key posts in the bureaucracy would obviously dominate the political scene in the state after restoration.

In December 1879, the *Bangalore Spectator* commenting on Mysore affairs under the titles 'The Mysore Stables' went on to say that the Chief Commissioner, J. D. Gordon had successfully played a role identical to that of the hero of Greek mythology, Hercules who had swept the stables of King Augeas of Elis. Gordon was entrusted with a mission according to the *Spectator*: "The cries of the ryots and the oppressed of the province whether direct or indirect, have reached the ears of the gods that be in the North; and to Mr. Gordon our Chief Commissioner has been entrusted the Herculean task of cleaning the Mysore Official Stables, where horses and asses in the shape of well-paid Government servants have for years been fattening on the poor classes of the Province."<sup>29</sup>

Hence Gordon had asked those men who were unfit for service "from a thousand and one causes", men who were a "curse to the people", to retire from service voluntarily.<sup>30</sup> Deprecating this as "fearful trash" the *Prakasika* said that it was just an attempt to cover up some of the enforced retirements from service made during the month of November of that year<sup>31</sup>. Gordon's policy was not liked by the *Prakasika* and the paper charged him with responsibility for originating the open party strife between Mysoreans and the outsiders.<sup>32</sup> To the *Prakasika* the most blatant case of favouritism by Gordon was the promotion of C. V. Rangacharlu as Revenue Commissioner and the promotion of K. Seshadri Iyer to the post of Comptroller held till then by the former.<sup>33</sup>

Exactly one year before the Rendition, there was a further shift in the debate and, the question was whether Chamaraja Wodeyar, the heir apparent, was properly educated and trained to take up the onerous task of administration. Several articles appeared in the *Madras Standard*, the *Madras Athaneum*, the *Madras Mail*, the *Bangalore Spectator* and the *Bangalore Examiner* on the question of the Rendition of Mysore.<sup>34</sup> The *Karnataka Prakashika* in commenting on these articles' advanced views on the subject, which were part of its posturing as the organ of the Mysorean lobby. The *Prakasika* was critical of the education and training of Chamaraja Wodeyar X. The education of the prince, his cultivation of European manners and the company of English society, which he kept, had alienated him from his own native society and he shunned his own subjects. Chamaraja Wodeyar was, "neither a thorough European, nor a thorough native; he is a half-and-half kind of young gentleman with a strong and, under the circumstances, natural preference for the society of the Europeans."<sup>35</sup>

In short, he had been 'denationalised'. and hence was unfit to rule Mysore. Further, the *Prakasika* foresaw a gloom

future' for Mysore for, the ruler was surrounded by a compact body of Madrasis the "Brahminocracy from the Southern Presidency..."<sup>36</sup>.

#### IV

Mysore was renditioned in March 1881 and C. V. Rangacharlu became the first Dewan of the state. But, as early as in March 1880, the *Prakasika* had referred to Rangacharlu as the 'Dewan to be' after restoration and later a correspondent to the same paper made veiled references to the nepotism that Rangacharlu would practice in Mysore as the Dewan.<sup>37</sup>

While the restoration of native rule in Mysore was a welcome development, the *Prakasika* considered the Instrument of Transfer a un-generous engagement and even made so bold as to say that "the Deed of Transfer shows that the main spring of British policy and action in India is covetousness."<sup>38</sup> But, the Rendition was an act of grace and the Maharaja was in no position to complain and had to take whatever was granted to him and under whatever conditions or not get anything at all, the paper said.<sup>39</sup> Commenting on a contemporary's views on the Rendition, the *Prakasika* said, "The young Maharaja, in short, has been given, as it were, a white elephant, the keep and feed of which it is said, consumes the greater portion of the donee's income, and is made generally by the donor with a view to punish as a secret enemy of the giver's and our contemporary must also remember what Shakespeare says of gifts and their givers--Rich gifts wax poor, when givers prove unkind."<sup>40</sup>

And surrounded as it were, by Madrasis, the *Prakasika* saw nothing encouraging in the circumstances under which native rule in Mysore was commenced.<sup>41</sup>

The *Karnataka Prakasika* was a declared opponent of Rangacharlu's administration, but its criticism was mild. Again

Rangacharlu was Dewan for hardly twentyone months, which precluded any clear assessment of his administration. The *Prakasika* recognised that Rangacharlu's Dewanship had been so short that any criticism of his policies and actions in a negative tone would be unfair.

One year after restoration to native rule, the *Prakasika* wrote that the record of the first year native administration was barren of interest.<sup>42</sup> Subsequently, this paper was mildly critical of Rangacharlu's administration and it mainly related to the Dewan being a 'great talker' making flowery speeches with no visible results.<sup>43</sup> Rangachalu died on the 20th January 1883, and the *Prakasika* wrote a fine obituary column on the following week that while it saw "much in the policy and actions of the late Dewan to deplore...we cannot but admit that it was quite possible that that policy and those actions might have turned out for the good of the people and of the Province, had they had sufficient time to come to maturity—a test to which all human schemes and actions must be put before we can be justified in pronouncing a determinate judgement on them."<sup>44</sup>

Rangacharlu's death opened up the controversy of Mysoreans and Madrasis with added vigour. Commenting on the tip in the *Madras Mail* that K. Seshadri Iyer was to be the successor, the *Prakasika* said the opportunity of rectifying the wrong of 1881, namely the appointment of a Madrasi as the Dewan of Mysore especially, when there were well qualified Mysoreans, should not be lost. The paper mentioned the names of several Mysoreans as eligible Dewan and according to it these gentlemen were better qualified than Seshadri Iyer to be Dewan of Mysore. As for the contention of the *Mail* that Seshadri Iyer was well informed of the plans and programmes of Rangacharlu for the future development of Mysore because of his close association with the late Dewan, the *Prakasika* doubted whether Rangacharlu with all his inconsistencies had

any plans for the future development of Mysore at all. In any case the paper did not want the administration of Rangacharlu to continue.<sup>45</sup> But, this Mysorean argument did not find favour with the Government. For, in February 1883, Seshadri Iyer was appointed Dewan of Mysore. Announcing the appointment, the *Prakasika* deprecated the policy of the Government and went on to say, "The Dewan is dead, long live the Dewan."<sup>46</sup>

During his administration of nineteen years, Seshadri Iyer was literally attacked by the Press. Newspapers criticised him and occasionally even lampooned him on the ground of his being a native of the Madras Presidency. Another line of Press criticism against the Dewan was that he was extremely autocratic in his ways and that he suppressed even the ruler and concentrated all power in his hands. To a certain extent both these lines of criticism were interlinked.

In addition to the *Prakasika*, papers like the *Vrittanta Bodhini*, the *Virttanta Chintamani*, the *Suryodaya Prakasika* and the *Deshabimani* were critics of Seshadri Iyer. The *Karnataka Prakasika* continually accused Seshadri Iyer of gross nepotism and even jobbery in the matter of conferring appointments in the state on Madrasis.<sup>47</sup> This paper defined Mysoreans as those individuals and families which had been domiciled in the state from at least the beginning of the eighteenth century and those who had been honoured and patronised by Krishnaraja Wodeyar III. But those families which were being just then patronised by Chamaraja Wodeyar X were not to be considered as Mysoreans since it was the Dewan who was forcing the ruler to confer patronage.<sup>48</sup> When the *Hindu* of Madras attempted to justify Iyer's policy in the matter of appointments, the *Prakasika* made bold to lampoon the Dewan thus: "People may fret and fume—no matter. I shall bring my Appan and Samy and back them on to the gradation list. They are left in the cold in the dreary gardens; this highest pinnacle of my glory cannot be everlasting and something must be done to

them soon. The charm that I possess is of no ordinary kind and can I not command even waves to retire.

"O Place O Form How often dost thou with thy case thy habit, wrench awe from fools, and tie the wiser souls to thy false security."<sup>49</sup>

More significant than the accusation that Iyer patronised his own fellow Madrasis, was the charge that he was attempting to concentrate all power in his own hands and relegate the Maharaja to the position of a figurehead.<sup>50</sup> In addition to keeping the ruler under his tutelage, the Dewan was accused of imposing his autocratic authority on the Mysore Representative Assembly thereby making it a mere farce.<sup>51</sup> The paper also felt that the Maharaja's Council was performing no useful function since it was dominated by Madrasis and did not have any mandatory powers.<sup>52</sup> Briefly, a section of the Press in the Mysore was intensely hostile towards Seshadri Iyer. These papers did not want the administration of the Madras Dewan to continue. In 1883, Seshadri Iyer had been appointed for a period of five years and hence in 1888, the *Karnataka Prakasika* expected him to retire.<sup>53</sup> This did not happen and later in 1895, the *Vrittanta Chintamani* wanted a change in the Dewanship, again in vain.<sup>54</sup> Albeit his forceful personality, Iyer was not entirely untouched by the hostile propaganda against him. In 1888, in the course of a letter of resignation to the Maharaja, he described the papers, which were hostile towards him as his 'detractors', and 'vendors of faceless falsehoods' and went to say, "it is not a little surprising that the highest ones in India should speak well of me judging me by my acts while the low vulgar local prints should abuse me and base in every case their abuse upon lies concocted for the purpose. My rule has been not to write to newspapers or allow my friends to write in defence of me. I have since I became Dewan never once violated this rule, though it generally know perhaps that I could

write for newspaper something that would command some degree of public attention.<sup>55</sup>

When in 1901, P.N. Krishnamurthy succeeded Seshadri Iyer as the Dewan, this old raging controversy of Madras domination in Mysore was quietened because Krishnamurthy was recognised as native of Mysore. (To be concluded)

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The date of starting of *Harvest Field* is on the basis of the paper on file at the United Theological College, Bangalore. The date of starting *Karnataka Prakasika* is given by Havanur, S.K., *op cit.*, on the basis of the paper on file at the British Museum. *Karnataka Prakasika*, 6. 10. 1879 mentions that the paper was started in 1865. Krishnamurthy, N., *Bharatiya Patrikodyama*, Mysore: Mysore University, 1969, pp. 390-391 makes a statement not supported by evidence that the *Karnataka Prakasika* was started under the name *Virttanta Bodhini*.

For information regarding revival see *Karnataka Prakasika* 6. 11. 1876. The paper is not noticed in *NNR* after 1898, obviously it had ceased. In the issue dated 1. 8. 1898, the editor observes that for financial reasons the paper would be stopped. Havanur S. K. *op. cit.*, is wrong when he says that the paper ceased in 1896.

*Mysore Gazette*, 7.4. 1866, emphasis added

See *Reports of the Department of Public Instruction in Mysore*, (hereinafter cited as *RDPI*) for 1873, 1874 and 1876; Appendices.

9. See RDPI, 1885, Appendix and NNR 1885.
10. See *ibid.*, 1887 and Appendix *ibid.*, 1887.
11. See *ibid.*, 1889 and 1890, Appendices and *ibid.* 1889 and 1890.
12. See *ibid.*, 1892, Appendix and *ibid.*, 1892. Both Havanur, S.K., *op. cit.*, p. 507 and Krishnamurthy, N., *op. cit.*, p. 293 are wrong in mentioning that *Deshabimani* was started in 1894
13. *Indian Political Consultations*, 30th March 1835, No 73, Serial 1, paper 7, quoted from Sastri K. N. V. *The Administration of Mysore Under Sir Mark Cubbon* (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1982). p.
14. *General Memorandum on Mysore*, quoted from Sastri, K. N. V. *op. cit.*, p. 19.
15. Quoted from Sastri, K.N.V., *op. cit.*, p. 155.
16. *Indian Political Consultations*, *op. cit.*, 28th November 1836, No. 32, paras 7-8, quoted from Sastri, K. N. V., *op. cit.*, p. 156.
17. Gopal, M. H., *The Finances of Mysore State: 1719-1831*, (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1960) pp. 74-209; *Origin, Progress and Suppression of Recent Disturbances in Mysore* (Bangalore Government Press, 1833) Para 17; *List of Enamdars of the Survamanyam or Jagheer Villages in the territory of His Highness the Rajah of showing the dates when they were granted & how they are at present enjoyed, 1838 & G & RS, Muzrai collection, file No. 1, 1900-1901 (II)* (Karnataka Archives).
18. This problem of locals versus outsiders was an all India phenomenon, see Johnson, G., *Provincial Politics and Indian*

*Nationalism: Bombay and the Indian National Congress 1880-1915*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1973), p. 26 ff.

19. Exactly when this contest started is not known. The earliest available reference are from 1874.
20. Gustafson D. R., *Mysore 1881-1902, The Making of a Model State*, (Unpublished dissertation), (University of Wisconsin: 1969), pp. 150-172, has discussed this problem mainly from the Madras stand point with references mainly from the *Bangalore Spectator*, and the *Bangalore Examiner*. In this essay, this issue has been discussed mainly from the Mysorean standpoint with reference from the *Karnataka Prakasika* and other pro-Mysorean papers.
21. *Karnataka Prakasika*, 15. 2. 1877, (Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs, Bangalore)
22. *Ibid.*, 12. 3. 1877.
23. *Ibid.*, 29. 3. 1877.
24. *Ibid.*, 26. 3. 1877.
25. *Ibid.*, 31. 3. 1879.
26. *Ibid.*, 31. 3. 1879 and 8. 9. 1879.
27. *Ibid.*, 8. 9. 1879.
28. *Ibid.*, 6. 10. 1879; 29. 3. 1880 and 12. 4. 1880.
29. *Ibid.*, 15. 12. 1879, quoted from the *Bangalore Spectator*.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, and *Mysore Gazette*, 29. 11. 1879, part I where the retirements of officials is announced among whom are two Srivaishnva gentlemen, V.N. Tirumalachari and S.B. Krishnaiyengar.

32. *Karnataka Praksika*, 30. 8. 1880.
33. *Ibid.*, 4. 11. 1878; 25. 11. 1878; 19. 5. 1879; 28. 7. 1879; 11. 8. 1879 and 8. 8. 1879.
34. These articles were not available for study however, they have been referred to in the *Karnataka Praksika* 22.3. 1880 and 5. 4. 1880.
35. *Karnataka Praksika*, 22. 3. 1880. also see issue for 29. 3. 1880.
36. *Ibid.*, 29. 3. 1880; 5.4. 1880; 26. 7. 1880; 30. 8. 1880 and 13. 9. 1880
37. *Ibid.*, 22. 3. 1880 and 30. 1. 1880.
38. *Ibid.*, 4.4. 1881.
39. *Ibid.*, 8. 4. 1881.
40. *Ibid.*, 6. 5. 1881. This was a reference to the expensive administrative machinery developed by the British Commissioners in Mysore.
41. *Ibid.*, 9. 5. 1881.
42. *Ibid.*, 27. 13. 1882
43. *Ibid.*, No. 44, 6. 11. 1882.
44. *Ibid.*, 29. 1. 1883.
45. *Ibid.*, 5. 2. 1883.
46. *Ibid.*, 19. 2. 1883.
47. *Karnataka Praksika*, 2. 3. 1883; 24. 3. 1884, 11. 2. 1884, (Kannada edition, 9. 8. 1886; *Vrittanta Chintamani*,

6. 10. 1897, *Suryodaya Praksika*, 30. 4. 1882; 25. 6. 1897; *Vrittanta Bodhini*, 14. 10. 1893. All references except *Karnataka Praksika*, are from *NNR* for the respective years
48. *Karnataka Praksika* 7. 4. 1884 (Kannada edition).
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52. *Karnataka Praksika*, 21. 6. 1886; 30. 3. 1887; 27. 6. 1887; 12.3.1888 and 5.3.1888 (Kannada edition) *Vrittanta Patrike*, 30. 8. 1888.
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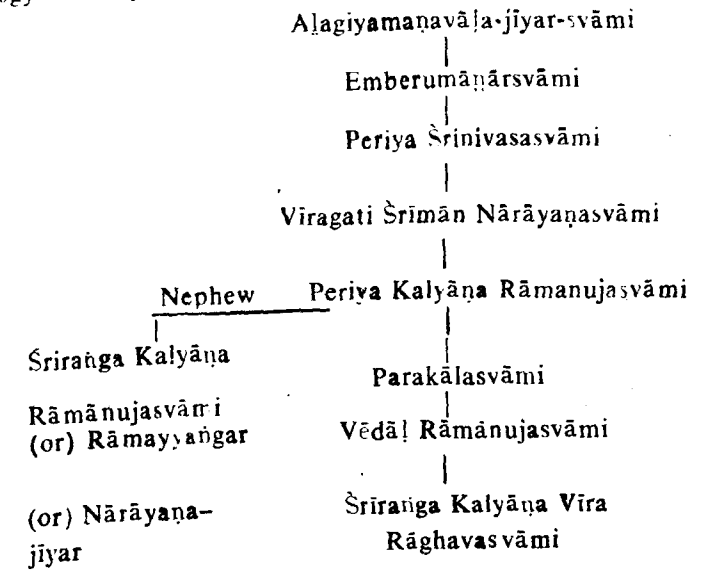
# DAŚĀVATARA TEMPLE-A RELIGIOUS AND ARCHITECTURAL STUDY FROM EPIGRAPHS\*

DR. M.D. SAMPATH\*\*

Among the inscriptions of Śrīrangam in Tiruchchirappalli Taluk and District, three inscriptions that are found engraved on the walls of the central shrine and on the pillar of the *mandapa* in front of it in the Daśāvatāra temple are of religious and architectural importance. They are dated in the Śaka years 1618, 1619 and [1639].<sup>1</sup> One of them traces the pontifical genealogy of a local pontiff beginning with Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-Jiyar who was initiated by Ādivarāha Śaṭṭagōpasvāmi. The latter is stated to have resided in the Perumāḷ temple and had the surname *Mūḍapūṣi*.

The earliest among them is dated Śaka 1619, *Iśvara*, *Pura-ttāṣi*, *śu. 11* probably corresponding to 1697 A.D. September 16. It records the conferment of the title *jiya* of the *Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār* Sannidhi on Rāmayyaṅgār under the name Nārāyaṇa *jiyar*, specifying his duties in the general administration and the periodical renovation of the temple.<sup>2</sup> Rāmayyaṅgār referred to here as *kōyil-sēvagar* (servant of the temple) is the same as *Sōmavēda Rāmayyaṅgār*<sup>3</sup> alias *Śrīraṅga Kalyāṇa Rāmānujasvāmi* who is the nephew (*marumān*) of *periya Kalyāṇa Rāmānujasvāmi*. He is also stated to have succeeded *Periya Kalyāṇa Rāmānujasvāmi* in the supervision of the affairs of the

Daśāvatāra temple. On the same date, he was also conferred with the title of a *jiyar* and was named Nārāyaṇa-*jiyar*. The genealogy of this pontiff is traced below:



The Nārāyaṇa-*jiyar* is perhaps identical with Nārāyaṇa-*svāmi* referred to as the agent in-charge (*śrīkāryattukku-Karttar*) of the *Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār* shrine in the Daśāvatāra temple in a record<sup>3</sup> of Śaka 1639-40 (1717.18 A. D.). Since only the last alphabet of the cyclic year can be read in the original, the year may be either *Hemalāmbi* or *Viḷāmbi* corresponding to the Śaka years 1639 and 1640, respectively. The other details of date viz., *Uttarāyaṇa*, *Rishabha*, *śu. 2*, Monday, and *Rēvati-nakshatra* cannot be equated. He is stated to have granted some lands in the villages *Seṅguḍi* and *Aṇalai* along with the house sites as *nityāgnihōtra-vṛitti* to a certain *Śrīraṅga-Dikshitar* from out of the *tiru-viḷaiyāṭṭam* lands of the shrine of *Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār* in the Daśāvatāra temple at *Tiruvaṅgam* in between the two *Kāvēri* rivers of *Chōḷamaṇḍalam*. The *jiyar* was entitled to certain honours in the temple after daily worship and on the five festival days, in honour of *Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār*.

\* Paper read at the Second Annual South Indian History Congress held at Trivandrum from 29th to 31st March, 1981.

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Carrying out the periodical repairs of the various structures and amount allotted for *śrīrūḍḍhāraṇam* as one of the duties of Nārāyaṇa-jīyar are specified in the record dated Saka 1619. From this record we find that the *vimāna*, *ardha-maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Daśavatāra temple underwent changes in the latter half of 17th century.

The expression *vimāna* as stated above refers not to the superstructure of the central shrine but denotes the entire structure from *upāna* to *stāpi* (*upānīdī stāpi paryantam*). In the present record the word *divya vimāna* is used and not the expression *śrīvimāna* occurring in a record of about the 10th century A.D. from Tirukkodikāval.<sup>5</sup> The expression *paḷaiya śrīvimānattu jagatippaḍai*<sup>6</sup> and *paḷaiy kal paḍi inda śrīvimānattile eṇa veṭṭinamaiyil*<sup>7</sup> figuring in the 13th and 10th century inscriptions respectively attests that *śrīvimāna* or *vimāna* cannot be taken as a superstructure alone.

The various parts of the Tirumāṅgai-Ālvār shrine like the *triṇilai-kāl* of *tiru-gōpura-vāṣal*, *agavaṇai*, *mugavaṇai* and *uttaram* have been taken up for renovations by the jīyar during this period. The word *titunilai-kāl* of *tirugōpura-vāṣal* referred to above is used in the sense of the jamb of the superstructure of the gateway. This term occurs as early as the 12th century in one of the records of the Chōḷa king Rājādhiraṇa from Varāṇjanam<sup>8</sup> in Kallakurichchi Taluk in South Arcot District. The expressions *agavaṇai* and *mugavaṇai* seem to refer to the facade or jamb of the gate. An inscription<sup>9</sup> from Maṇḍakulaṭṭūr in Polur Taluk in North Arcot District dated in the 16th year of the Śambuvārāya chief Vengumaṇkoṇḍa Śambuvārāya and engraved on the door-jamb at the entrance into the central shrine states that the *mugavaṇai* was the gift of an individual — Sōkkaṇār. *Uttaram* is the cross-beam that is used above the cornice in the construction of super structures of the temple. This has been introduced here distinctly to show that the superstructure is supported by *uttaram* found in between the *prastara* of the lower tier and the *triṇilai-kāl* of

the storey. It is also practice to introduce this part in the *kapṭha* or *paṭṭigai* of the *adhishṭhāna*. A record of (1014-15 A. D.) of the third year of the reign of Rājendra I from Thanjavūr<sup>10</sup> mentions that a part of it is engraved on the panel (*kandapaḍai*) underneath the projecting stone (*uttiram*) on the southern side of the portico (*chatuskikā*).

The expressions *tiruchchuvu*, *ēḍutuk-kattī* and *tirumadil* are related with each other. *Tiruchchuvu* refers to the *prākāra* and the wall encasing it is termed *ēḍutukkattī*. The latter term is used in a similar sense in a record<sup>11</sup> of Kulōttuṅga dated in his 33rd regnal year (1211 A. D.) from Varāṇjanam. It is obvious that here *tirumadil* refers to the *prākāra* wall. The meaning of the term *mettirai* is not clear.

A few interesting terms relating to the methods of construction of temples or shrines are mentioned in the present inscription. The *aṇḷai-maṇḍapa* and Kumudavalli - Maṇavāla - vilāse are said to have been the stone structures which were renovated during the 17th century. Coating of the walls of the old kitchen (*paḷaiya-tiru-maḍapaḷli*), *tirumadil* etc., is indicated by *kārai* for which the lime should have been used. The use of *pakkalḷu* for paving slabs of the Ālvār shrine is mentioned. A similar practice was made use of during the Vijayanagar period in the course of the construction or renovation of the temples.<sup>12</sup> *Maḍak-koḷuṅgai*, *māḍa-māḷigai* etc. are the other terms that are interesting.

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2. *Ibid.*, No. B. 102, *SII*, Vol. XXIV, No. 561
3. *Ibid.*, No. B. 100; *SII* Vol. XXIV, No. 586
4. *Ibid.*, No. B. 101. *SII* Vol. XXIV, No. 563.

5. *Ibid.*, 1931, No. B. 9.
6. *Ibid.*, 1929, No. B 145.
7. *Ibid.*, 1931 Nos. B 9-39.
8. *Ibid.*, 1941, No. B 198.
9. *Ibid.*, 1942, No. B 123.
10. *SII.*, Vol. II, p. 87 and p. 90.
11. *A. R. Ep.* 1941, No. B. 200.
12. *Ibid.*, 1929, No. B. 434.

REFORM AND REACTION AND THE PRINCELY  
REGIME: MYSORE 1881-1900  
(With Particular Reference to Women)

BY DR. S. CHANDRASEKHAR\*

India of the 19th Century was in for certain convulsions due to the pressure exerted by the British imperial policy. The system of education, economy and administration underwent thorough changes which contributed to the origin of new social classes. The emergence of these classes in different regions and among different communities was uneven and it largely depended on the sequence of their annexation and penetration by the British.

While British squeezed India economically and followed a policy of divide and rule politically when it suited them, it should be admitted that they also sowed seeds of India's integration, if not directly, indirectly. In their attempt to transform India on capitalist line which could subserve the imperial interests, the British had to be liberal in their administrative policy.

Liberalism meant the recognition of the principle of individual liberty and social equality. For efficient maintenance of political order they framed a defined set of rules of governance which were broadly uniform. To oversee the enforcement of these rules, a system of judiciary and bureaucracy was also developed. To these wings of administration, at middle and lower levels, were recruited the English educated Indians.

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The orthodox Indian society, however was found inconsistent with the new state policy. Besides this, the British being 'civilised westreners' did not approve of the hopelessly graded Indian social structure, at least upto 1857.<sup>1</sup>

Certain Indians who in the early years of 19th Century came into contact with Western education and liberal philosophy were impressed by the overall advancement of the West. They found that many of their social beliefs were irrational, unscientific and responsible for the degradation of not only their society, but the country as a whole. These Indians also found that the new state policy was inconsistent with their religion and society. They wanted the removal of those abuses with which their society was beset and made the society inconsistent with the liberal state policy. They were supported by the British government in their views and the result was the socio-religious reform movements. This alliance was instrumental in removing social evils like sati, infanticide, slavery etc.

However the wave of such a feeling did not reach south of India till the last quarter of the 19th century. It was in the 1870's that it slowly reacted and witnessed reformist thinking.<sup>1a</sup>

#### **In Mysore**

Mysore, due to socio-political reasons perhaps, was one of the last to be influenced by Western liberalism (the last being Hyderabad)<sup>2</sup>. But the state had inherited the administrative set up developed by the British during half a century (1831-1881) of their direct rule. Dictated by the treaty of 1881 this could not be changed by the native ruler who was installed in the same year. This set up, in which a large number of Madras University products occupied prominent places, were influenced by the peninsular reformist activity. This group also was from Madras and settled in Mysore. Supported by the Englishmen and Christian Missionaries, they started speaking about social and religious reform.

This paper seeks to study the attempts at reform affecting the status of women. Emphasis is laid on the aspects of female education and marriage. An attempt is made to gauge the public opinion vis-a-vis the reform. The motivations of different agencies concerned including the state are also sought to be analysed.

#### **Early Attempts**

Mysoreans in general were conservative and hence opposed to any reform. Even the educated of them were not even willing to discuss about social reform.<sup>3</sup> Like the British predecessors, the Wodeyar who assumed reigns of power in 1881, continued to be overcautious about the issue. However as referred to earlier, a few individuals in Mysore influenced by the reform activity started at least taking academic interest and founded three organisations. They were the Bangalore Literary Union, Ranade Society and Widow Marriage Association.

The Bangalore Literary Union started in the 1870's arranged for lectures on social reform by leading reformers but since it was dominated by conservatives, could not go beyond discussing the problem.<sup>4</sup> The Ranade Society which in the initial stages was active under the leadership of a European, after a few years fell into the hands of the native orthodox people who naturally were not inclined to continue the activity and in fact due to misappropriation of the Society's funds it was to be wound up.<sup>5</sup>

Certain others with the support from the missionaries and Europeans started 'Widow Marriage Associations' in Bangalore and Mysore. But none of them could survive after their first meeting.<sup>6</sup> It is also reported that the societies failed due to personal differences and contradictions.<sup>7</sup> However it is clear that they had no conviction to carry on the work.

In the circumstances it was very difficult to organise move-

ments advocating radical changes. Yet a few individuals took interest in female education in the late 1870's.

### Female Education

It was one Narasimha Iyengar who took the lead and convened a meeting of some Hindus to discuss about the starting of a school for girls of 'Higher castes' with subscriptions from the public.<sup>8</sup>

Without much sympathy and support the school came into being in 1881 at Mysore with 28 students. The management was so afraid of the opposition that in teaching "nothing was permitted that was contrary to native custom or disagreeable to native feeling—". The aim of the school was to "succeed in turning out from the school, girls that would grow to be faithful, devoted and loving wives...and affectionate mother—." Only Kannada was taught in the primary classes because it was felt that English and Western education contained information that would offend the native tradition. But yet only poor brahmins sent their daughters to school and not the affluent, educated and the top officials in Mysore. In 1884 most of the grown up girls (above the age of 10) were withdrawn from the school and this was a new problem that threatened the growth of the school and hence higher education of girls.

But Iyengar persisted and appointed two pandits for home teaching. Slowly public opinion changed with regard to the school and thereafter there was increase in the strength.<sup>9</sup> In 1885 and 1888 two schools, one each at Melkote and Nanjangud were also opened. These schools were open to only brahmin girls and in the higher classes only the "daughters and relations of managers" continued their study and not others. A teacher training section to secure lady teachers to teach was opened in 1887.

The government took over the school in 1891 and it was

opened for admission to all Hindus except of course the untouchables.

### Reaction

The general public outside Mysore City hardly knew about the school. But that did not preclude the people of the city of Mysore from reacting to the attempts. Rangacharlu the Dewan who definitely was a liberal in political and administrative matters, it appears was a conservative in social matters. Hearing from his wife that women did not approve of the teaching of music in the school, he visited the school and ordered the dismissal of the concerned teacher. Iyengar was at pains to explain and it was only after the Dewan's wife was convinced that Rangacharlu could reluctantly be silent.<sup>10</sup>

The Maharaja who was liberal enough to order grant to the school did not take any interest. He was too conservative and had to withhold the temptation of visiting Europe and cancel it, apprehending the loss of his caste status as the tradition prescribed it, against those who had undertaken the voyage.<sup>11</sup> This was in spite of the fact that a returning brahmin after voyage was allowed to undergo the purification ceremony.<sup>12</sup> Here it is interesting to note that similar attempts to readmit one Meenakshi Iyer in the 1870's was to be given up despite the fact that he was supported by conservatives like Rangacharlu.<sup>13</sup> As years passed by and when material benefits from such a voyage increased, the orthodox sections had to reconcile themselves.

The orthodox sections opposed to female education went to the extent of spreading vile rumours against Iyengar and did not hesitate to drag the name of the Maharaja himself.<sup>14</sup> But for the singular devotion of Iyengar and the government grants and the ultimate take over of the school by the government, the opposition would have been successful in forcing the closure of it.

Liberal minded Europeans, dignitaries and the press outside Mysore spoke supportingly. Whoever visited the school, from the royal couple of Wales to princely couple of Baroda paid, ecomiums.<sup>15</sup> The government after 1891, started opening girls schools in the different towns. Philanthropists also came forward to contribute liberally and by 1894 while the government spent Rs. 61072, the public contribution was Rs. 35760 and in all these were 140 government, aided and private girl schools in the state.<sup>16</sup>

### Marriage

The number of enthusiasts in the field of marriage reform were still less as we have referred to earlier. The widow marriage issue was a non-starter atleast in the period upto 1900 despite the fact that Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu, the crusader in this regard came and settled in Mysore to propagate the idea.<sup>17</sup>

It was again certain Newspapers which took up the Marriage issue along with the missioneries.<sup>18</sup> T. E. Slater of the Wesleyan mission and Raja. T. Madhav Rao forcefully pleaded for state action to prevent atleast marriage of infant girls. Raghunath Rao, Pandit Shivanatha Sastry, the leaders of the movement also toured Mysore to campaign. But without being able to stir the hearts of the Mysore conservatives and the government the widow marriage issue was to be completely given up while feeble voice here and there against infant marriage could be heard.

Credit should go to the 'Hindu' newspaper from Madras for keeping alive the problem. This paper which was the supporter of the Mysore Iyengars (who of course were conservative) against the Madhwa Madrasis (including the Dewan who interestingly were sympathetic to reform) campaigned for abolition of infant marriage. Much publicity was given to the presence of the Dewan at the marriage of a six year old girl in

Mysore city.<sup>19</sup> The Marriage of a seven month baby girl was also highlighted in the columns.<sup>20</sup>

Incidentally in 1891 the government of India passed the 'Age of Consent' bill, restricting the marriageable age of girls at twelve without of course much teeth. But the Mysore liberals who were urging the government to do away with infant marriage, surprisingly criticised it saying that the bill would interfere with their social institutions. The local press which likewise wanted the reform, turned a *volte-face* and attacked the British Indian bill as it would in their opinion "set a dangerous Principle that Government has a right to interfere in Hindu social customs".<sup>21</sup>

This reaction clearly establishes that the so-called Mysore reformers were merely interested in academic discussion and when the time approached they had to come out in their true colours. The Mysore elite were caught in the issue and made it a controversy. It was a matter for discussion among the members of the bureaucracy and the Assembly.

### Discussion in Assembly

The representatives who came to attend the Assembly session in 1891 were concerned about the governments' intentions. Not that they wanted the government to follow the British Indian example, on the contrary they were worried that the state might plunge into taking such a decision. However not many of them could speak before the imposing personality of the Dewan Seshadri Iyer. While a few members, most of them Europeans, led by Robert H. Eliot requested the Mysore Government to follow suit, the orthodox group that overwhelmingly dominated the Assembly opposed it.

The Dewan was over-cautions in his reaction and felt that there was "no need for such a legislation in Mysore" but he

hastened to add that "if the heads of conservative group and ancient texts did not bar it, the state as well could pass such an act".<sup>22</sup> The Dewan obviously was eager to avoid courting the displeasure of any. Particularly he did not want to incur the wrath of Europeans and the Resident who were exerting pressure on the Dewan to do away with social disabilities.<sup>23</sup> Left to himself the Dewan it appears was against any change in the tradition. In fact he postponed the opening ceremony of his new Bungalow because his wife felt that it was a place where no brahmin priest, brahmin woman and temple were available.<sup>24</sup>

#### Reaction to the Draft Bill

However to the astonishment of all, the Dewan announced in the Assembly a draft bill banning certain types of infant marriage. He declared, obviously to persuade the conservatives that contrary to belief "Infant Marriages were opposed to the Shastras" and added "however it would be unwise at present to attempt at more than the prohibition of the mairrages of a girl below 8 years and of the marriage of a man above 50 years with a girl below 16 years."<sup>25</sup>

The small pro-reform group was jubilant. However they reminded the government of their indifference to their pleas earlier. Speaking on the draft bill on European sarcastically said that they were convinced "that his (Maharaja) government has an ear and that they have a voice that, that ear is always sympathetic if only the voice speaks with soberness and sincerity....(adding) the government has waited just long enough for the voice of the people"<sup>26</sup>

Except the Europeans, none of the others were enthusiastic to speak about the issue. It is obvious that the others simply did not want to openly oppose the Dewan. The leader of the orthodox group, who was vehemently opposed to the bill was

content by saying that "It is hoped that the Dewan will in the matter decide in accordance with public opinion and wishes",<sup>27</sup> which needless to say was against the enactment as we shall see below.

Certain others who claimed themselves to be progressive while wanted a ban on all marriages consummated before the girl was 18 years felt that the punishment proposed to the breakers of the Regulation was too severe and pleaded for "reduction" and urged for an upward revision in the marriageable age of oldmen to "55 and above" as against the proposed 50.<sup>28</sup> There was interesting debate in the Assembly. While one member wanted the government "to wait till education spread, to reap better results" another supporter of the bill retorted "mere education and conviction are not enough, look at the cases of Keshab Chandra Sen and Telang—who had to marry their daughters contrary to this conviction—"<sup>29</sup>

#### Representations

The most interesting part of the whole exercise is the Memorandums submitted by two groups of Assembly members and one by some citizens of Chickmagalur.

One group of 53 assembly members while gave strings attached 'approval', the acceptance of the strings by the government was to defeat the very purpose. They contended that the provision to imprison the breakers of the Regulation was severe and asked the government "to do away with it and impose fine only — and to provide for marriages being celebrated before the prescribed age in exceptional cases."<sup>30</sup> Thus the very essence of the Regulation was to be diluted.

Another group 168 strong urged the government that "the Regulation may not be passed as the people of the province in general are against the introduction, should it be passed to meet the wishes of an insignificant minority of one in a lakh the measure will greatly injure the feelings—"<sup>31</sup> The third group of

citizens led by one member of the Assembly wanted relaxation in the provisions to certain castes which felt it "statistically necessary to marry" against the provisions of the Regulation.<sup>32</sup>

While 2/3 of the members (53-168-221) signed the two memorials, the remaining 1/3 (123) of them chose to keep away from the controversy. This was well perhaps the attitude of the Mysorean public. All those who expressed an opinion including those who gave conditional approval were against the Regulation, except a handful of Europeans and natives whose exact number it is difficult to calculate.

Still, the Dewan announced the "passing" of the 'Prevention of Infant Marriage Regulation in the Assembly of 1894'. He admitted that "in some quarters it was regarded as an undue interference with the liberty of the subject..."<sup>33</sup> The leader of the opposition group unwittingly quipped that there were "many objectionable customs among Mohmedans and Christians" and felt that the Regulation "Chiefly effected brahmins who are physically the weakest". However the Dewan had clarified that it was applicable to all.<sup>34</sup>

#### Motivations

As discussed above, Mysoreans almost unanimously were opposed to the reforms that were to affect the status of women. But still the government after initial hesitation took certain steps by taking over the responsibility to provide for female education and then passed the Marriage Regulation. It is obvious that Mysore government which was bent upon cultivating a good image outside Mysore found the female welfare experiment made by certain liberals which was constantly being praised in British India as an area where they could build up image.

It does not mean that the government was really progressive and wanted radical changes in the society and religion. They

never wanted to displease the orthodox Mysoreans. The government had their own way of pleasing all. With regard to Infant marriage regulation, the government was hardly honest in enforcing it. As urged by the orthodox, only fines were to be levied on the breakers of the act. Only 52 cases were booked between 1894-1900 and the guilty were let off after collecting from them negligible sums of fines.<sup>35</sup> Mysore as in the case of female education must have ventured to enact the marriage act as this act could also enhance its prestige outside Mysore.

Apart from these acts Mysore also was trying to pose as a 'Model' in the eyes of thinking public who could speak of good government, social and constitutional reforms in India. The Dewans particularly Rangacharlu (1881-1893) and Seshadri Iyer (1883-1901) wanted Mysore to be a leader in all respects. This was not, as was the practice then, by aping the British ideals but Indian. The government was interested in Indian National Congress. The Dewan not only allowed three Mysore officials to attend the Congress session in 1878, but the Maharaja contributed Rs. 1000 to the Congress funds.<sup>36</sup>

The expectations of Mysore were more than realised in winning her the applause. It was hailed as the "bright star" of social reform in India.<sup>37</sup> The Marriage Regulation was so popular among the Indian liberals that they felt they would do well to "persuade the Government of India to extend the provisions" to British India.<sup>38</sup> While this was the favourable reaction of British India, most of the native states were interested in following the example of Mysore.

The striking feature of the reform exercise in Mysore is the dominance of the Government itself in so far as claiming credit for the steps taken. Hesitantly but positively the state reacted and capitalised the reform issue to raise its image outside Mysore. The initiators no doubt were the handful of liberals usually from outside Mysore, but the Government on finding

that the assumption of the responsibility by them would enhance their prestige never lost the opportunity and claim credit and publicity for any such work.

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26. *Ibid.* 93. The member was Reverend Haigh.
27. The member was Channagiri Malhari Rao P.M.R.A. Oct. 1893 p 27
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29. *Ibid.* pp 45-46. While the first was Gans Sheriff Saib the second was Srinivasa Rao
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## PERIYAVĀRIKKAM INSCRIPTION OF CHOLA PARĀNTAKA I, YEAR 28 (935 A. D.)

S. SWAMINATHAN, MYSORE\*

The epigraph<sup>1</sup> edited here is noticed in the Annual Report of the year 1921. It is from a village Periyavārikkam in Gudiyattam Taluk of North Arcot district. On account of its importance it is edited here with the kind permission of the Director of Epigraphy.

The epigraph refers to a gift of 500 *kuli* as *neṭṭalpatti* by the assembly of Varikkayam *alias* Chandrādityamaṅgalam, to the wife and children of a certain Sāmanāyakkaṇ Sāttanrāḷi, a close attendant of prince Rājakēśaripamma Bhaṭṭakēśari, who took part in the skirmish of recovering cattle and fell in the 28th year of Parāntaka I i.e. 935 A:D.

The epigraph is an admixture of Tamil and Grantha words. The following Grantha words may be noted. In line no. 2 *mā* in *vanmaṭṭkku* is Grantha word while the other letters are in Tamil. Again in the same word instead of *repha*, *ṇ* is used, which are grammatically incorrect. *Chandrāditya* in line 4, *pamma* in line 6, *Sabhaṇjām* line in 8 and *prasiddham* in line 13 are in Grantha words. As they are in Sanskrit language, Grantha script was resorted to, to preserve the phonetic values.

The omission and commission of letters and words can also be noted, which however, due to the negligence of the engraver *Kēśari* in line 6 is redundant *kk* and *tt* in lines 6 and 7

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are omitted. Again *ti* in line 13 is omitted. Again in lines 15 and 16 in the word, *pāvattil* the lengthening of consonants was omitted. The characters of the script, however do not call for any remark or comment, as they conformed to the age to which it belonged.

The person who was killed in the course of cattle lifting, was a close attendant (*anukkili*) of Prince Rājākṣaripaṇṇa bhaṭṭakēśari. The prince can be identified with a certain amount of certainty with prince Rājaditya, the eldest son of Chōla king, Parāntaka I (907-55 A.D.) The identity of the prince with Rājaditya will be explained in the sequel.

The students of the Chōla history are well aware of the fact that Parāntaka Chōla I defeated two Bāṇa kings in 910 A.D.<sup>2</sup> and conferred their territory along with Sembiyanmāvalvānarāyaṇ on the Gaṅga king, Prithivipati II (895-940 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> The deposed ruler, having deprived of their domain took shelter with Krishna III, the Rashtrakūta king, the arch rival of Parāntaka I.<sup>4</sup>

The demise of the Gaṅga chief Prithivipati II, the trusted friend and loyal lieutenant of Parāntaka I in about 940 A.D.<sup>5</sup> may be said to mark the commencement of Parāntaka I's troubles in the northern fringe of his empire. The supplanted Vaidumba rulers, along with their counterparts of the Bāṇa kingdom, were on their wings to cross swords with the Chōlas.<sup>6</sup> To add insult to the injury, Butuga II (936-961 A.D.) the recalcitrant ruler of the Gaṅga line became the brother-in-law of Krishna III<sup>7</sup> and also assisted him in securing his throne from a usurper, was now left in an unquestioned supremacy in the Gaṅga country. Krishna III was not only ambitious to strike at the appropriate moment but also to further his ambitions in the extreme south.

It is quite possible, that Parāntaka I, who was a seasoned ruler perceived all these developments and took stern measures

to strengthen the vulnerable portion of the northern frontier of his kingdom, by posting his eldest son prince Rājaditya with a large army as the commander of the Northern frontier to ward off any possible attack.<sup>8</sup> As the northern frontier became a fly in his ointment, Parāntaka I was prudent enough to make elaborate arrangements to meet any emergency. Rājaditya guarded the northern frontier with a large retinue from his headquarters, Tirunāmanallūr,<sup>9</sup> and he was ably assisted by his younger brother Ariñjaya with his own army.<sup>10</sup> The retinue of prince Rājaditya made many endowments to the Siva temple at Tirunāmanallūr, called Tiruṭṭonḍiśvaram and Rājadityēśvaram.<sup>11</sup> It is interesting to note that the mother of Prince Rājaditya, Kōkkilānadigaḷ, who was the chief queen of Parāntaka I, constructed the above shrine and named it after son's name.<sup>12</sup> While the Kōraja General of Rājaditya, Vellaṇ Kumaran, was also present at Grāmam in Tirukkoyilur Taluk, South Arcot district and he also constructed a stone temple of Siva on the banks of the river, Pennār.<sup>13</sup> Tirunāvaḷūr, a village near Grāmam called, Rājadityapuram was the headquarters of Rājaditya for many years. Hence it is apparent, the northern frontier was well guarded and protected since 923 A.D.<sup>14</sup> The epigraph which is edited here, has to be studied in the light of the above facts. Our record is from a border area, between the Chōlas and Gaṅgas. Several cattle raids are noticed in this area during the period under review. It may not be far wrong if we venture to make a suggestion that these raids were portends of the coming of a storm. We may take one from another epigraph of the 29th year,<sup>15</sup> belong to the same king and also from a neighbouring village in the same taluk Mukkuttūr, where a warrior was killed after he had recovered some cattle which the *Perumānadigaḷ* had seized at Mukkuttūr. By *Perumānadigaḷ*, probably to be understood as one of the rulers of the western Gaṅga family who are known to have borne the title Perumanadi. We may now conclude with the help of this epigraph, the raid referred to in our inscription too

must have been engineered by the doughty Western Ganga Prince Rājaditya who acted as sentinel of the area must be the same person, as Rājākṣaripaṇma bhaktakṣari of our record. Besides, Parāntaka I was Parakṣari and his son Rājaditya should have been Rājākṣari, as the practice of the Chōlas. Hence it is now evident, while the prince was guarding the northern part of his empire a raid launched by the enemy in the form of cattle lifting was frustrated by his bodyguard Sāmāy-gam Sāttaṁ tāli and he was killed in the encounter.

The epigraph is not without any lexicographical interest. The following terms may deserve to be noted.

*Anukkili* means a bodyguard which was a tamilised form of *Anuga*, a Sanskrit word. *Toru* means herd or flock of cattle *erumaittoru* refers to a flock of buffaloes, which here, become a bone of contention between the warring factions. This term occurs frequently in hero stone inscriptions. *Maṇavāṭṭi* is another, interesting but familiar term, which means wife. Hence its occurrence in the early period deserves to be noted. *Nettalpatti* is another interesting term. It is a very rare occurrence in Tamil epigraphs, and it refers to blood money given as compensation to the family of the deceased. *Nettal*<sup>16</sup> is a Dravidian word, which means blood. It is similar to *udarappatti* which occurs in Tamil epigraphs,<sup>17</sup> which has also a similar meaning. It is interesting and important to note we get the same term in a Kannada epigraph belonged to the middle of the 7th century A.D. With the same meaning<sup>18</sup> Both *Nettarpatti* and *Nettarugoduge* were common terms in Kannada epigraphy, having the same meaning.<sup>19</sup>

The place-name Chandrādityamaṅgalam, which made the above grant needs some elucidation here. Chandrāditya was a petty *nondescript* who ruled over the parts of the Pallava empire.<sup>19</sup> His historicity is veiled in obscurity. An epigraph from a cave at Melaielcheri, Gingee Taluk, South Arcot district

states the cave temple was caused to be made at Sinhapura by this king, Chandrāditya and he named the shrinḡ as Pallaveśvaram. The palaeography of the script, the extreme simplicity of the cave and the presence of the rock-cut *līṇag* with *āvudaiyār* would all tend to show that the cave temple belongs to the period of Pallava Narasimhavarman I's time or a little later to that. Hence we may not be wrong if we say Chandrāditya was a petty chieftain or a feudatory, who paid allegiance to the Pallavas and he himself would have created this Chaturvēdimāṅgalam after his own name as the location is not far from the location of Periyavārikkam.

### TEXT

1. Svasti śrī Madurai ko-
2. ṇḁa kopparakṣarivanmaṁkku yā-
3. ṇḁu 28 - āvadu varikkayamāgiya-
4. chandrāditya maṅgalattū erumai
5. toru kolḷa pḷḷaiyār Rāsake-
6. sarī panma [baḷḷa] kēśarī (keśari) aṇu[k\*]
7. kili Sōmanāyakkṇ Sāttan = tāḷi eru-
8. mai toru koḷil baḍa ivvūr Sabhai
9. yōm eṅgaḷ-----
10. lettatil aiṇṇūru kuli ivan
11. kku nettalpaṭṭi vaṭṭōm ivan-
12. maṇavāṭṭikkum makkaḷukkumchandrādi
13. dya prasiddham vaiṭ [t\*]ōm sabhai.

14. *yōm idu alippān Gangai Ku-*
15. *mari idai saidān saida p-*
16. *[ā\*] vattil paduvān.*

#### Notes and References

1. *A.R. Ep.*, 1921, No. 180.
2. K. S. Vaidyanathan: "A Note on the Date of the Chōla Conquest of the Bāna Country", *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society* Vol. XXXV, No. 1.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, IV. No. 32.
4. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. *Colas* (1983), p. 127
5. *Ibid.*, p. 128
6. *Ibid.*, p. 127
7. *Ibid.*, p. 128
8. *SII*, VII, Nos. 954, 955, 956, 957 and 958.
9. *Ibid*, No. 956.
10. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. No. 20.
11. *SII*, VII, No. 955.
12. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VII, No. 19.
13. *A.R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 739
14. *SII*, VII, No. 1005

15. *A.R. Ep.*, 1921, No. 186. See also *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, No. 22.
16. Kittel: *English-Kannada Dictionary*.
17. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarattar: *Pandya varalāru* p. 73
18. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol, XVII Sp, 116. This epigraph which belongs to the middle of the 7th Century A.D. during the reign of Śrīvikrama, registers the gift of a wet land to a warrior, who was killed in a fight as *nēttarupaṭṭi*. I thank Mr. Madhav N. Katti, Chief Epigraphist, who has drawn my attention to this epigraph. He also pointed out two epigraphs one belonged to the year 1100 A.D. and the other 1125 A.D. refer to *Nettelugaḍuge*. See *Epigraphia Carnatica*, C. vii CI. 65, HK 65 and HL 65.
19. *SII*, XII, No. 115.

The relevant text runs as follow :

#### TEXT

1. *Kāritamidannṛipatinā*
2. *chandrādityēna sarvv [nāthē] na [1\*]*
3. *Śrīshikharinṁ pallavēśvaramitī*
4. *Shaivabandhā [ma] Singhapure [11\*]*

## UPPER PALAEOLITHIC SITE AT G.V. SATRAM DT. CUDDAPAH

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Studies relating to the spatial and temporal distribution of the Upper Palaeolithic Culture in India have gained momentum in the light of recent discoveries made in different parts of the country (Allchin, B., Gouda, A., Hegde, K. 1978; Ghosh, A.K. 1970; Murti, M.L.K. 1977). Stone industries sharing features common to the Upper Palaeolithic have a limited distribution in India and there is still an amount of doubt as to whether these industries could be compared well with those of Europe. The blade and burin industries of India are variously dated to 23,000-10,000 B.P. (Agarwal D.P., Kusumgar, S. 1975; Joshi, R.V., Marathe, A.R. 1979; Wakankar, V.S. 1978)

In Andhra Pradesh the Kurnool caves (Murti, M.L.K. 1974; 1975) the Renigunta area (Murti, M.L.K. 1969), the Paleru river valley (Rao V.V.M. 1979) besides a few other locations in the Cuddapah basin (Reddy K.T. 1970) have produced tangible evidences about Upper Palaeolithic culture in the region.

The following is an account of an extensive Upper Palaeolithic site identified recently at Guddi Veerappa Satram (14°43' N. Lat; 78°50' E. Long) located at 9 km. east of Mydukuru and 2.4 km. north of Nagasampalle in the Cuddapah district of Andhra Pradesh. To the east of the site Lankamalai ranges are located. A few wet weather rills, originating on these ranges,

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cut across the area exposing unsorted gravel lenses in cliff sections. As shales and quartzites with Lydionite injections constitute the local lithology, the craftsmen of the stone age could easily draw his raw material from the local gravel exposures. A number of stone age working platforms have been identified right on the banks of the winding course of a local stream and also away from it.

A sample of 645 artefacts has been collected from the vicinity and a few details are summed up in the following paragraphs; a detailed report would be published shortly.

Typological analysis of the artefacts indicated that the site under study belongs to the Upper Palaeolithic phase and is abundant in all the important tool types (Table). The presence of a few geometric microliths in the industry is only indicative of the late nature of the culture.

The blade element of the industry is broadly divisible into the full length specimens and bladelets. Among those which retain the full length a broad and long variety are available. Among the bladelets also the broader variety and the narrow variety are seen. The average length of the long blades is 55 mm. while the bladelets possess nearly 35 mm. of length. In either case either a longitudinal central ridge or a long shallow flake scar occupies the dorsal surface. The ventral side is usually characterised by featureless plain and bulb of percussion occasionally truncated by chipping. Some of the blades are thick while the others are thin. Patches of cortex do not remain on the surface. It indicates the prevalence of primary trimming of the core. Most of the blades retained a part of the striking platform at the proximal end. Normally both the side margins are characterised by sharp edges, though in some cases one of the margins is deliberately truncated by retouch. The retouching of the margins is normally done from the dorsal side though a few specimens retain signs of them on the

side. Some of them might have been directly employed to serve certain functions in the economic life. A few specimens retain signs of heavy usage.

The retouched blades of the industry are of long parallel sided type. Some of them show signs of retouch on both the side margins while a few others retain such signs on one margin only. The purpose of retouching is only to resharpen the specimens. There are cases where the retouch is done from the ventral surface.

There are few notched blades. On one of the side margins a few notches were produced by flaking from the dorsal surface. These were employed probably to sharpen the tips of certain bone points, etc. However implements made on such materials like bone have not been detected.

The denticulates are another important category of the blade element. The dentition is obtained by a careful retouch on one of the side margins. The retouch, however, is done from the ventral surface in a majority of cases.

Pen knives which are a variety of backed knife blades constitute a feature in the industry. Though the number of specimens recorded is only 1.24% of the total collection, their presence is quite significant. They normally show a thick neatly retouched back and a sharp cutting edge. The edge shows signs of heavy usage. Also it is possible that some of the signs are indicative of retouch to sharpen the edge. In all the pen knives the side margins converge at the distal end. At the proximal end a part of the striking platform and a truncated bulb of percussion would remain.

The points of the industry are categorised as the simple variety, tanged variety and Levalloise type. All of them are symmetric in shape and show signs of retouch. The simple

points are made on small leaf shaped flakes. On the dorsal surface a longitudinal ridge occurs as a feature. The side margins bear signs of retouch. The proximal ends are thick and characterised by the remnants of the faceted platform. Occasionally the central ridge is broken by a few flake scars. A few of the specimens do not retain the tips probably because they were broken during usage.

The tanged variety of points also fall under the symmetric type. The side margins which are convex to the long axis converge to the distal end. The proximal ends are worked into thick tangs by flaking on the side margins. Retouch extends over a large part of the side margins.

The Levalloise points of the industry are a simple variety of flake points. They are triangular and long leaf shaped on plan. They bear large flake scars on their dorsal surface, close to the proximal end. The longitudinal central ridge does not extend on the entire dorsal surface. Occasionally a few flake scars are present, close to the side margins. The tips are broken in certain cases and majority of the tools show retouched margins. Normally the retouch is imparted from the dorsal side, though some of the specimens were retouched from the ventral surface.

Crescentic points normally get associated with the Mesolithic assemblages. Their presence in the present industry indicates that the folk have already realised the part played by them in the exploitation of their surrounding ecological niche. They are made on lydinite. The arcs and the chords are well modelled and the pointed ends are functionally sound. Small blade blanks appear to have been shaped into them.

The borers constitute 0.77% of the total collection. They are made on a variety of flakes. These flakes possess a number of primary flake scars.

The working end of the borers is always produced at the distal end of the flake. On either side of the working end retouch is given.

Scrapers of the assemblage are normally made on blades, blade-flakes, or bladelets. A few specimens are found to have been made on a small thick cores. On the basis of the orientation of the scraping edge, the specimens are divisible into side scrapers, end scrapers, convex scrapers, and hallow varieties. Normally most of the side scrapers are produced on blades. The scraping edge is obtained by steep working on one of the side margins from the dorsal side. The convex and the hallow varieties are however made on flakes with flat under surfaces; the working edge is obtained along one of the margins by steep retouch. Most of the end scrapers are produced by retouching the distal ends of the blades or bladelets.

A variety of retouched flakes constitute an interesting item of the industry. The moment the actual functions that were served by these pieces cannot be visualised but their association in the other typical tool types of the times indicates that they have a role in the economic life of man. On the basis of shape these flakes could be divided into oval, roughly circular, oblong, rectangular, etc. varieties. Close to the margins signs of retouch are clearly seen on the dorsal side. There are also cases where the retouch was done from the ventral side. In many cases the bulbs of percussion have been truncated willfully by flaking. The signs of usage or retouch are normally seen on the side margins.

Some of the flake blanks appear to be either proto Levalloise or Levalloise types. Earlier it has already been stated that among the flake points a few Levalloise types are seen. Now in the light of them the presence of Levalloise flakes stand out as a supplementary evidence for the prevalence of levalloise technique. On the dorsal surface a few flake scars

or a large single flake scar will be present close to the proximal end. On the other portion of the dorsal side a few flake scars get scattered. A part of the striking platform and a diffused bulb of percussion are the common features of them.

A few denticulates produced on flake blanks constitute an interesting feature. Normally denticulates and notched flakes are found in the association of the middle palaeolithic assemblages. However they continue to occur in the upper palaeolithic assemblages also. In the present context both normal flakes, oblong flakes and blade flakes form the medium for the denticulates. Though represented by a small number their presence is quite significant. In almost all the cases the serration occurs on one of the side margins. The edge is obtained by retouch from the dorsal side.

Trapezes and lunates, the usual geometric microliths, are also associated with the industry. They have been shaped on blade blanks and lydionite was the chosen raw material. A few dumpy lunates called 'Elura' have also been produced, primarily on flake blanks.

A few miniature cleavers modelled on quartzite flakes have been recognised in the industry. Their size does not permit them to be used as heavy duty cutting equipment.

The presence of a large number of fluted cores in the assemblage is quite remarkable. They occur in triangular, cylindrical, and rectangular forms. Some of them are thin and blades were removed from a part of their surface. They retain an intentionally prepared faceted platform and on some of them a few patches of cortex still remain.

A few cores of the assemblage resemble Levalloise types. possess a flat ventral surface and a deliberately chipped dorsal surface. From some of them large flakes were already removed.

A wide variety of amorphous cores have been found. They occur in triangular, subtriangular, rectangular, oval and a variety of non-discript forms. As a common feature they possess a number of flake scars all over their bodies.

TABLE

## Typological Analysis of Artefacts

| Type                     | No. | %     |
|--------------------------|-----|-------|
| 1. Parallel sided blades | 164 | 25.42 |
| 2. Retouched blades      | 89  | 13.79 |
| 3. Notched blades        | 13  | 2.01  |
| 4. Denticulates          | 16  | 2.48  |
| 5. Pen knives            | 8   | 1.24  |
| 6. Simple points         | 10  | 1.55  |
| 7. Tanged points         | 2   | 0.31  |
| 8. Levallois points      | 8   | 1.24  |
| 9. Crescentic points     | 2   | 0.31  |
| 10. Borers               | 5   | 0.77  |
| 11. Scrapers             | 14  | 2.17  |
| 12. Retouched flakes     | 36  | 5.58  |
| 13. Levallois flakes     | 15  | 2.32  |
| 14. Denticulate flakes   | 11  | 1.70  |
| 15. Trepazes             | 2   | 0.31  |
| 16. Lunates              | 4   | 0.62  |
| 17. Elurs                | 2   | 0.31  |
| 18. Miniature cleavers   | 3   | 0.46  |
| 19. Amorphous flakes     | 62  | 9.61  |
| 20. Amorphous cores      | 78  | 12.09 |
| 21. Levallois cores      | 7   | 1.08  |
| 22. Blade cores          | 12  | 1.86  |
| 23. Debitage             | 82  | 12.71 |
| Total                    | 645 | 99.94 |

The blade industry at G.V. Satram is interesting for it preserved the evidences relating not only to the Upper Palaeolithic but also of its gradual evolution into the Mesolithic Phase. Though it is in an open air situation the site preserved the lithic tool assemblages *in situ*. The large number of working platforms recognized at the location suggest that it was a primary base camp of the palaeolithic hunter-gatherers.

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## ŚRĪ ĀNDĀḤ IN KARNATAKA

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Śrīvaishnavism is one of the live religions in Karnataka. This has stronghold in the southern districts of the Old Mysore State, specially Mysore, Mandya, Hassan, Bangalore and Kolar with a sprinkling population in other districts below the Tungabhadra. We could say that practically there are no followers in the districts north of that river. Śrīvaishnavism gained popularity after Śrī Rāmānujāchārya's sojourn in Karnataka. It does not necessarily mean that there were no Vaishnava temples at all in the earlier period. The Vishnu cult and worship of Vishnu in several *avatārs* date back even to the early Kadamba period, the 4th-5th centuries, as evidenced by the inscriptions like the Halmili epigraph and the later sculptures in the Vaishnava caves of Bādāmi. But Śrīvaishnavism as such came to be promulgated in Tamilnadu by Nāthamuni, Yāmunāchārya, etc., but it was Śrī Rāmānuja that expounded the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita lucidly and elaborated the system in all its dimensions. In Karnataka, prior to the period of Rāmānuja we find temples of Vishnu-Viṇṇagar Viṣṇugriha constructed and deities consecrated in those southern regions occupied by the Chōlas before they were ousted by the Hoysaḷas. The Tadiṁāḷiṅgi inscription<sup>1</sup> for example registers a sale deed of wet land to the Ravikula māṇikka Viṇṇagar-āḷvār temple. The sale deed of this transaction was placed under the protection of the Śrīvaishnavas (*Śrīvaishnavar rakshai*). The record is of the period of Chōla Rājarāja I whose other records are also found on the basements of the present day Janārdana temple of the place.<sup>2</sup> One of them.<sup>3</sup> is dated sometime between 1004-05

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and 1013-14 while another<sup>4</sup> is dated 1015-16 A.D. Reference to the Śrivaishnavas herein is clearly a century earlier than the sojourn of Śrī Rāmānuja.

I have shown in my book *Śrī Rāmānuja in Karnataka* that the āchārya came to the Hoysala country around 1138 A.D., and stayed in places like Sāligrāma, Tonnūr and Mēlukote for a period of 12 years between 1138 & 1150 A.D. It was this āchārya that was solely responsible for laying down rules and regulations for temple worship. It was he that made arrangements for the recital of the *Tiruvāymoli* and other *Divya prabandhams* in the temples. Among the ālvārs of South India, Nammālvār figures prominently in the records in Karnataka. It could therefore be as we surmised that *Tiruppāvai* of Śrī Āṇḍāl had also found favour even in those days, as it has been today. The month of *Mārgaḷi* is considered to be the month of Āṇḍāl and in all the Śrivaishnava temples of Karnataka today, early morning services are held by reciting the *pāsurams* of *Tiruppāvai*. Likewise, *Tiruvāḍippāram* is another festival, connected with the birth ceremony of Āṇḍāl which is duly celebrated in the Śrivaishnava households.

But what is the place of Āṇḍāl in epigraphy, sculptural art and literature of Karnataka? Surprisingly indeed there are very few epigraphical reference to Śrī Āṇḍāl. Of what little are found, there are no direct references to this ālvār as such. The earliest epigraph referring to the name Āṇḍāl is found in a record from Tonnūr dated 1152 A.D. Herein the name is that of an individual and not the woman-saint. This record<sup>5</sup> registers a money grant for the celebration of *Śrījayanti* in the temple (shrine?) of Krishna within the temple of Singapperumāl by Āṇḍāl of Maṭṭiyambākkam who, from another record,<sup>6</sup> is known to be the wife (*nangai*) of Ilaiyabiran bhattaṇ. This record is

\* Vide Gopal B.R., *Rāmānuja in Karnataka* Sandeep Prakshana, New Delhi, 1974

said to have been dated 1136 A.D.<sup>7</sup> Very clearly this woman had been a domicile from Tamilnad. We know that Āṇḍāl had become a quite popular name among the Śrī Vaishnavas. In another record<sup>8</sup> engraved on the wall of the *prākāra* of the Krishna temple we find the name of another donatrix, known as Kōḍai-āṇḍāl-ammai, who made a grant to god Virgūṇḍa-perumāl in the temple of Tūttāṇḍi-Vinnagagam at Tonnūr alias Yādavanārāyaṇa-chaturvēḍi naṅgalam. This record is assigned to c. 12th Century. The name of the donatrix herein is noteworthy: Even here the name is that of an individual. These definitely indicate the popularity of that name associated with Śrī Andāl. That these records are in Tamil is yet another point of interest.

It may be incidentally noted, in this connection, that even in Tamilnadu there are very few epigraphical references to this ālvār. At Śrīvilliputtūr itself we have no records of earlier periods, upto the 13th Century, that refer to the temple of Āṇḍāl. It was Mahābali Bānādhirāja that built the *sanctum*, the *ardhamantapa* and *mahamantapā* of the Āṇḍāl temple in the 14th century. In this connection it may be stated that epigraphs generally contain matter of fact statements and they do not pointedly refer to social or religious conditions of the times if they are not concerned with them directly. It would be too much to expect from epigraphs any direct information about Śrī Āṇḍāl. But inferences could be certainly drawn.

At Śrīraṅgam, for example, we have a record of the Chōla king Vikrama-chōla dated in 8th regnal year (1126 A.D.) wherein it is stated that an individual, Sāṇḍūr Maḡilalāṅkāra-dasaṅ and his youngest brother received some land from Periyakōyilpriyar in exchange for the garden land called *Kōḍai Āṇḍāl tirunandīvanam*. This would show that by the 12th century Āṇḍāl had become so popular that even gardens came to be named after her. So far as my knowledge goes this is probably the earliest epigraphical reference even in Tamilnad.

It is only three decades later that such a name figures in the inscriptions of Karnataka, as noted above. A record of Kulōttunga III,<sup>10</sup> the date of which is lost, registers a gift of land by an individual to rear flower-garden called *Sūdikkoṭṭūāl*, for the god. This name *Sūdikkoṭṭūāl* is clearly a reference to Sri Andal who according to legends, is the one that offered the flower-garland to the deity at Srivilliputtur after decorating (*śūḍi*) with it and satisfying herself about its being worthy of decoration to god. We may perhaps surmise that it was only Sri Rāmānuja that popularised the worship of these *ālvārs* in the temples.

A Kannada epigraph<sup>11</sup> of the Vijayanagara king Sadāśivārāya dated 1564 A. D. registers a grant of the village and thier hamlets to the temple of Chennigarāya of Mēlukōṭe for the celebration of the birth day festival of the *ālvārs* and also Chūḍikuḷuttanāchchiyār. The text of the record (*"ālvāragala aṭu tirunakshatrake—Chūḍikuḷutta nāchchāra tirunakshatra"*) seems to indicate that Chūḍikuḷutta-nāchchiyār had not been regarded, at least in this record, as one of the *ālvārs* for whom a general reference is made. There are the few epigraphical references.

We now come to sculptural art. Here it may be stated, in general terms, that at last in Karnataka, the temple with its ancillaries and several shrines, as a complex came to be developed only in the Vijayanagara period. The Vijayanagara rulers did not very much build new temples, but adopted the policy of conservation and addition. In Karnataka the concept of constructing separate shrines for *parivāra dēvatas* and other deities was an innovation of the Vijayanagara period. So far as the shrines for *ālvārs* and others are concerned, generally we find stone sculptures consecrated in the outer *maṇḍpās* surrounding the sanctum. This is true also of the *nāyanmārs* whose sculptures are similarly consecrated in the Śaiva temples.

So far as the Andal shrines are concerned, the earliest example is found at Bēlūr where within the Kōśava temple we find a shrine for Andal. It was by the end of the fourteenth century, sometime around 1397 A. D., that behind the main temple we find three important monuments raised from out of the materials collected from the ruined Hoysala buildings freely used. To the north-west of the temple is the shrine of Andal. The sculptures within and the style of construction are definitely of the Vijayanagara period. But the walls and the basements of this shrine are decorated with beautiful sculptures of the Hoysala craftsmen. They are not in tune with the shrine as such, as in the case of the lintel depicting Tāṇḍavēśvara, the entire piece belonging to a Śaiva temple.<sup>12</sup> At Tirumakūḍal Narasipūr is the temple of Guṇja Narasimha wherein we find a shrine for Andal, and this is of the period of Krishṇadēvarāya.<sup>13</sup> We have, at Sāligrāma, in the Yōga Narasimha temple, an image of Andal of the late Vijayanagara period.<sup>14</sup> Huliganamaradi is a small hill about 4 miles from Terakaṇāmbi. Here is a temple of Venkātaramaṇa, in the *navaraṅga* of which, in a cell to the left, is found a seated figure with folded hands. It is said to be that of Gōḍādēvī.<sup>15</sup> However, it may be noted that as a rule this goddess is represented as standing, holding a lotus in one of the hands. Interestingly in this temple is another cell which contains 21 figures of *ālvārs* and *āchāryas*, the largest number in a Vaishṇava temple.<sup>16</sup> The Paravāsudēva temple at Guṇḍlupēṭe is a late structure built in granite. In the *navaraṅga* of this temple was an image of Andal which was later removed to the *navaraṅga* of the Vijayanārāyaṇa temple.<sup>16</sup>

Separate cells or shrines for this saint is found also at Holē Narasipura (Lakshminarasimha temple), Śrīraṅgapattṇa (Narasimha temple), Guṇḍlupēṭe (Paravāsudēva temple) and Kalale. The shrine at Holē Narasipura is built by the local chief, Rangappanāyaka in 1687 A. D., within the *prākāra* of the temple the main part of which is in the Chālukyan style.<sup>17</sup> A Śrīraṅgapattṇa within the covered *prākāra* of the Narasimha

temple at the four corners, are situated the shrines for the *ālvārs* and Andal. This is also attributed to the 17th century.<sup>18</sup> The shrine at Kalale is a late structure, but has a sanctum, *sukhanāsi*, *mukhamantapa* and *pātālāṅkaṇa*, thus being almost a replica of a full-fledged temple.<sup>19</sup>

It may be mentioned in passing that the architectural and iconographic aspects of the shrines and images of Andal have not been a subjects of study in Karnataka. Perhaps this is true of Tamilnadu also.

Let us now examine Kannada literature pertaining to Sri Andal. Srivaishnavism gained impetus in the whole of South India during the Vijayanagara period. It is well known that the great king Krishṇadēvarāya composed the epic '*Āmuktamālyada*' in Telugu. This was also called *Vishnuchittiyam*. *Āmuktamālyada* is in fact the Sanskrit version of the story of Śūṭikudutta-nāchchiyār and is, thus the story of Gōḍā. In Karnataka, the Mysore Wodeyars were followers of Sri-vaishnavism and the pontiff of the Parakāla-maṭha at Mysore was their royal preceptor, although, interestingly indeed; these Wodeyars also regarded the pontiff of the Virasaiva maṭha, viz., the Suttūru-maṭha as their preceptors. These Wodeyars offered patronage to Srivaishnavism. Kings like Chikkadēvarāja Wodeyar and Krishṇarāja Wodeyar III patronised poets and scholars a good number of whom were Srivaishnavas. Chikkupādhyāya was one such poet who adorned the court of Chikkadēvarāja, and among his several works *Divyasūricharite* is one.

For the biographical details of the *ālvārs* one has to rely much upon literary works, the *Divyasūricharitam* and *Prapannāmritam* in Sanskrit and the two versions—the Tēngalai and Vadagalai—of *Guruparamparāprabhāvam* in Tamil. Of these, the first mentioned work is of the 12th century and is the earliest. It deals with the life of Gōḍādēvi in greater detail

than those of other *ālvārs* as also *āchāryas*—Nāthamuni and Rāmānuja. *Prapannāmritam*, said to be of a much later period, is the work of Anantasūri and has drawn material from the earlier one. The *Guruparamparāprabhāvam*, by Piṇḇaḷagiya Perumāla Jiyar and the third Brahmatantra-svatantra-svāmi of the Parakāla-maṭha are condensations of the Sanskrit works. The only Kannada work dealing with Śrī Āṇḍāl has drawn inspiration from these earlier Sanskrit and Tamil works.

Chikkupādhyāya has nearly 300 works to his credit, and perhaps in the history of Kannada literature none else has out-beaten him in the number of works composed. They are not of such great literary merit, however. Yet, so many of his works pertain to Srivaishnava philosophy, tradition, biographies, etc. that it has been said that he has compiled as it were, a religious encyclopaedia of Rāmānuja philosophy.<sup>20</sup> *Chikkupādhyāya* seems to be an epithet of this poet, since he was probably the youngest of the several teachers (*upādhyāya*) of king Chikkadēvarāja. His original name is not known. He has been familiar to Kannada literature only as *Chikkupādhyāya*. From his *Divyasūricharita* we learn that his father was Raṅgācharya and he belonged to Purukutsa-gōṭia. He appears to have also been one of the ministers of the king and this work is said to have been composed in Kannada at the instance of the king. The work was completed in Śaka 1600 = 1678-79 A.D.

This is a *champū* containing 14 *āśvāsas*. The life of Śrī Āṇḍāl is depicted in the sixth *āśvāsa*. It is said that Bhaṭṭa-nātha was born in the family of Vēdapṇirān at Śrī Villiputtūr and he was in the service of god Vaṭapatraśāyi offering the deity a garland of flowers. One day he found a child in the garden and he considered her as the incarnation of Bhūdēvi. The work later on narrates the incident of Pūṇiālvār's participation in the philosophical discourse in the capital of Pāṇḍya king and of his composing *Tiruppallāṇḍu* and *Tirumōḷi*. It then reverts to the story of Śrī Āṇḍāl and narrates how she was

decorating herself with the garland prepared by her father before it was offered to the deity and how once the father discovered her act and discarded the garland as unworthy to be offered to the deity, who, however, insisted upon such a garland to be offered. The girl was, from then, named *Sūḷikkuduttā*. When the father decided to have her married she said that she would never marry a mortal. Perturbed, but convinced about her conviction he described the several forms of Vishnu in 108 different places and she preferred to be married to god Rangadhāma. That god appeared in his dream and ordered Periyālvār to take her to his place—Śrīrangam. Likewise, the priests of his temple there also were informed of his marriage with Śrī Āṇḍāl. The city was decorated and prepared to receive the bride. As all the devotees were witnessing, this great bride bashfully entered the *sanctum* of the temple, sat at the feet of Ranganātha and vanished. She was absorbed by the lord who declared to Periyālvār that the latter had become his father-in-law (*śvasura*)! Periyālvār returned to Villiputtūr and got consecrated the images of Mannār, the form the bridegroom had assumed and was nothing but Krishna himself and also of Sūḷikkudutta-nāchchiyār. Thus ends this chapter containing 62 verses and is described as the grandeur (*Vaibhava*) of Sūḷikkuduttanāchchiyāramma.

## NOTES :

1. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V, (ed B. R. Gopal, Tn 227).
2. *Ibid.*, Nos. 227-36.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 230.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 232.
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 119 ; *Śrī Rāmānuja in Karnataka Ins.* No. 5.

6. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VI, pp. 120.
7. *Śrī Rāmānuja in Karnataka, Ins.* No. 4.
8. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VI, pp. 82.
9. *SIL.*, Vol. XXIV, (ed : H. K. Narasimhaswamy) No. 114
10. *Ibid.*, No. 138.
11. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VI, pp. 128.
12. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1931, p. 29.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
14. *Ibid.*, 1936, p. 6.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
17. *Ibid.*, 1933, p. 35.
18. *Ibid.*, 1933, p. 59.
19. *Ibid.*, 1934, p. 56.
20. R. S. Mugali : *Kannada Sāhitya Charitre* (III edn., 1964), p. 325.
21. *Chikupādhyaṇa Divyasūricharite*, (ed. M. A. Ramanujay yangār), 1911.

## THE MUDABIDRE COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF CHAUTA ABBAKKA DEVI

Y. UMANATH SHENOY. M.A.\*

This Copper Plate is in the possession of His Holiness Sri Chārūkīrti Bhaṭṭāraka Svāmiji of the Digambara Jaina Matha at Mūḷabidre in Dakshina Kannada District. The whole Inscription is engraved in 36 lines on one side of the plate fully and the copper plate is of rectangular shape with 38 cms. by 25 cms. The language and script of the inscription is Kannada of the middle ages except the first one and a half lines which are in the Sanskrit language.

The author of the inscription is Abbakka Dēvi, a queen of the Chautā family, ruling from Ullāla in Mangalore Taluk, D.K. Dist. in the latter part of the 16th century. She appears to have left the main palace of the Chautas at Puttige in Kārkala Taluk, after the death of her husband, Lakshmapparasā Banga, and have started to rule from Ullāla independently. This particular Inscription deals with a land-grant of food-charity made by Chautā Abbakka Dēvi for the sake of merit to her deceased sister, Padumala Dēvi.

The Date of Inscription is the 8th day of bright fortnight of Puṣya, in the year Prajōtpatti of the Śaka year 1493, which corresponds to Monday, December 24th, 1571 A.D. The text of the inscription is as follows :

1. ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತರಮಗಂಧೀರ ಸ್ಯಾದ್ವಾದಾಮೋಘಲಾಂಘನಂ ಜಯಾತ್ಯಶೋಕನಾಥಸ್ಯ
2. ಶಾಸನಂ ಜನಶಾಸನಂ ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿಶ್ರೀ ಜಯಾದ್ವೈ (ಛು.)ವಯ ವಾರಿವಾಮನ ಶಕ ವರುಷ

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3. ೧೪೯೩ ಸಂದ ಪ್ರಜೋತ್ಪತ್ತಿಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪುಷ್ಯ ಶುಕ ಅಲೂ ಶ್ರೀಮತು ಅಬ್ಬ
4. ಕ ದೇವಿಯರಾದ ಚಲುಟರು ತಂಮೊಡಹುಟ್ಟಿದರು ವರುಮಲ ದೇವಿ
5. ಯರಿಗೆ ಪುಣ್ಯಾರ್ಥವಾಗಿ ಆಹಾರ ದಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವ ಬರಸಿಕೊ
6. ಟ್ಪ ತಾಂಬ(ಬ್ರ) ಶಾಸನದ ಕ್ರಮವಂತೆಂದರೆ ಮಿಜಾ(ಜಾ)ರ ಮಾಗಣೆಯೊಳಗೆ ಮರಕ
7. ಟ ವಂಬ ಸ್ತಳ ಕೊಳಕೆ ತಿಮರೆಂಬ ಬಯಲು ಗದ್ದೆ ಅದಕೆ ಬಿತ್ತುವ ಬೀಜವರಿ
8. ಮು ೧೨ ಅದಕುಳ ಬಾಗಿಲ ಗದ್ದೆ ೧ಕೆ ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮುಖ ಹಾಡತಿಮರು ಗದ್ದೆ ೧ಕೆ
9. ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೩ ಓಜತಿಮರುಗದ್ದೆ ೧ಕೆ ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೭ ಜಾಲಗದ್ದೆ ೧ಕೆ ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೩
10. ಬಡಗೂ ತಟ್ಟಿನ ಗದ್ದೆ ಗಳು ಅದಕುಳ ಚತುಸ್ಸಮೆಯೊಳಗುಳ ಬೆಟಿನಗದ್ದೆ
11. ಗಳಿಗೆ ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೬ ಅಂತ್ತು ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೩೬ ಅದಕುಳ ತೆಂಗಿನ ಮರ ೨೦
12. ಅದಕೆ ಮರ ೬ ಹಲಸಿನ ಮರ ೧೩ ಹಿರಿಯಬೆಟ್ಟೆಯ ಸ್ತಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಳಕೆ ತಿಮ
13. ರೆಯ ಗದ್ದೆ ೧ ಕಂ ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೩ ಮುಕುಳಯರೆಂಬಗದ್ದೆ ೧ ಕಂ ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೬
14. ಪೆಯತಿಮರೆಂಬ ಗದ್ದೆ ೧ ಕಂ ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೧೦ ಉಳತಿಮರೆಂಬ ಗದ್ದೆ ೧ ಕಂ
15. ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೫ ಪಳಕೂರಂಬಲು ಗದ್ದೆ ೩ ಕಂ ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೬ ಮತ್ತಂ ಕೊಳ
16. ಕೆ ತಿಮರೆಂಬ ಗದ್ದೆ ೧ಕಂ ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೨ ಅದಕುಳ ಬೆಟ್ಟಿನ ಗದ್ದೆ ಗಳು ೧೪ ಕಂ
17. ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೧೨ ಅಂತೂ ಹಿರಿಯ ಬೆಟ್ಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಗದ್ದೆ ೨೦ ಕಂ ಬೀ
18. ಜವರಿ ಮು ೪೭ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಉಳ ತೆಂಗಿನ ಮರ ೧೨ ಅದಕೆ ಮರ ೨ ಹ
19. ಲಸಿನ ಮರ ೧೩ ಮಯಿಂದಗುಳ ಎಂಬ ಸ್ತಳದ ಬೆಟ್ಟಿನ ಗದ್ದೆ ಗಳು
20. ಬಿತ್ತುವ ಬೀಜವರಿ ಮು ೧೧ ಅದಕುಳ ಹಲಸಿನ ಮರ ೪ ಅಂತು ಸ್ತಳ ೩ ಕಂಬಿ
21. ತ್ತುವ ಬೀಜಬ ೩೦ ರ ಮು ೯೩ ಅಲ್ಲಗುಳ ತೆಂಗಿನ ಮರ ಅದಕೆ ಮರರ(ಪ) ಲಸಿನ
22. ಮರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಹ ಕಟಿದ ಗೇಡೆ ವಿವರ ಮರಕಟಕೆ ಬ ೫೦ ಲೆಕ ಅ ಮು ೫೭ ಹಿರಿಯ
23. ಬೆಟ್ಟಗೂ ಮೈಂದಗುಳಗೂ ಸಹಾ ಬ ೫೦ ರ ಲೆಕ ಅಮು ೫೫ ಉಭಯಂ ಅಕೆ ಮು

24. ನಿಂತಿರ ಗೇಡೆ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪವನು ಗುರುಗಳ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಪಾರಿವರ್ತನಾಧನ ಸಂಭವಿಸಿ.
25. ಸಂಘ ಸಮುದಾಯವ ಮುಂದಿಟ್ಟು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಮುಂದಿ ನೆಟ್ಟ ಕಾರಣ.
26. ಪಾಲ್ವರು ಎಳೆದುಗೊಳಗಾದ ಸಮಸ್ತಪುರ ಮುಂದೆ ಘರಣಿ ಸಂ.
27. ಮು ವಲರ ವಶವ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ ಯಿ ಧರ್ಮದ ಅಕ್ಕ.
28. ಮರಣವಾಗುತ್ತಿರ ೫೦ ಮುಂದೆ [ಯ] ನು ಬಿಡುವು ಪಾಲದ ಸದಸ್ಯರು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಬಿಟ್ಟು.
29. ಸ ಮುಂದಿಟ್ಟು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ೫೦ ಮುಂದೆ ಮುಂದಿಟ್ಟು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಪಾಲದ ಸದಸ್ಯರು.
30. ಉಳಿಯು ನಿಂತಿ ಮುಂದಿ ಅಕ್ಕವನು ತಂದಿ ತಿಂಗಳಿಗೆ ಎರಡು ಸಾರಿ (೫) ಅಪಾರವಾದ.
31. ಮಾತುಳಿದು ಅಕ್ಷರಭ(ವ)ಲಿ ಯಿ ಮೂರ ವಂದೆರದು ಮುಂದೆ ಅಕ್ಕನು ಕಂ(ತಂ).
32. ಮು ಅಪಾರ ವಾನ ಮಾಡುವೆಂದು ಬಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಟ್ಟು ಪಾಲ್ವಕಾಸನ ಯಿ ಸ್ವ.
33. ಈ ಕಾನಕೆ ಮೂ ಧಂದಿ ಧತ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಯಿ ಧರ್ಮದ ಮುಂದೆ ವ.
34. ತ್ರಿಗೇರಿ ವಾಸವ ಅರಸುಗಳು ಅಳುವುದು ಅಳುವುದು ಬಿಟ್ಟುನಾಥ.
35. ಪಾರಿವರ್ತನಾಧನ ಪಾದಕ್ಕೆ ತಪ್ಪಿದವರು ತಕ್ಕೋಟಿ ಮುಂದಿಟ್ಟು ಪಾದಕ್ಕೆ ತಪ್ಪಿ.
36. ವದರು 1 ಪಾರಿವರ್ತನಾಧನ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಕಾಲ ಕೊಂಡ ಪಾದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂದಿಟ್ಟು.

## TRANSLATION

May the doctrine of Jina be victorious, the doctrine of the lord of the three worlds, the unfailing characteristic of which is the glorious and most profound Syādvāda.

Be it well. On the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Pūṣya in the year Prajōtpatti, of the lapsed Victorious prosperous Śālivāhana Śaka year 1493, Chautā Abbakka Dēvi, having made land grant for food-charity for the sake of merit to her own sister, Padumala Dēvi, gave this copper plate inscription which is like thus :-

(In) The place called Marakata in Michā(jā)ra Māgane a wetland called Kolake Timaru-12 muras of sowing seeds\* for that, 5 muras of seeds for the field at the entrance of it, 3 muras of seeds for 1 field-Hādatimaru, 7 muras of seeds for 1 field-Pijatimaru, 3 muras of seeds for 1 field-Jālagadde, fields to the northern flat land, 6 muras of seeds for the dry fields (fields irrigated by rain-water) within the four boundaries of that, in total, 36 muras of seeds, coconut trees 20, arecanut trees 6, jackfruit trees 13 : In the place called Hiriyabettu, 3 muras of seeds for 1 field called Kolake Timaru, 12 muras of seeds for 14 fields, (related) to that. However 47 muras of seeds for 21 fields in Hiriyabettu, coconut trees 12, arecanut trees 2, jack-fruit trees 13 ; 10 muras of seeds for dry fields in place called Mayimdaguli,<sup>1</sup> jackfruit trees 4 for that, however, 93 muras of 30 ballas<sup>2</sup> sowing seeds for 3 places. The details also of the rent paid for coconut tree, arecanut tree jackfruit tree there :- 57 muras of rice of 50 ballas for Markata 50 muras of rice of 50 ballas for Hiriyabettu and Mayimdaguli, also, from both lands 122 muras of land-rent,-having placed before the society and group, in the presence of Pārisvanātha of Gurugala Basti, the eight Setṭikāras, by pouring libation water before all the Jaina merchants of four administrations,— has been given to the protection of Jaina merchants (and) the Jaina merchants gathered, will carry on for seven weeks, 57 muras of the charity-rice of Markata Guttu ; will carry on for thirty-nine weeks, 55 muras<sup>3</sup> for the sake of Mayimdaguli of Hiriyabettu. Getting brought 112 muras of rice from both, food-charity should be observed twice a month. In letters,

\* Sowing capacity.

1. The number of fields is not specified here.
2. A balla is 1/30 or 1/50 of mura (known as muḍi). 30 ballas formed a *saṇṇa muḍi* and 50 ballas formed a *doḍḍa muḍi*. The weight of a balla is said to be equal to the weight of 50 rupees (tolas) of olden days.
3. Not specified whether it is rice.

bringing these hundred and twelve *muras* of rice, food-charity should be observed and for this, written this copper plate inscription (and) given.

For this land no tribute, payment, vehicle-service, paddy paid at the harvest, free-labour, house tax. For this charity the kings living at Putrige in future, should not violate. If violated, those violated to the feet of Pārīśvanātha, the feet of hundred crore *munisvaras*, subject to the sin of killing thousand *kapile* (cows) in Vāranāsi.

#### THEME AND IMPORTANCE

This Copper Plate Inscription is about a land grant made by Abbakka Dēvi, a Chauta Queen ruling from Ullala in Mangalore Taluk, for the food charity to be observed for the sake of merit to her deceased sister Padumala Dēvi. The epigraph specifies the lands allotted for the food charity in several places like, Hiriyabettu, Mayindagutti, and Marakata in Mijāru Māgane, near Mūlabidre, in Kārkala Taluk, Dakshina Kannada District. This responsibility of observing the food charity was given to the Jaina merchants by pouring libation water at Śrī Pārīśvanātha Temple in Mūlabidre.

This is an unpublished inscription, though it was reported by the Department in 1940-41, (A. R. Appendix A. No. 3). This inscription is an evidence to the generous nature of Abbakka Dēvi ("Buca Devi"—as referred in Portuguese sources), who is well remembered in the region for her encounter with the Portuguese who, then, had been a menace to the safety and security of her people.\* This inscription gives some very valuable ideas on the agrarian system that prevailed during those days.

(Courtsey : H. H. Charukeerthi Bhattaraka Swamiji of Moodabidre)

\* Her daughter Abbakka II became more famous by defeating the Portuguese in 1618—Ed.

#### NOTES ON MUGHAL RULE IN KARNATAKA

SETUMADHAVA RAO S. PAGADI\*

Going through the daily gazettes of the Mughal Court, I found the following under the date 11 Oct. 1703. Aurangzeb was camping at Pune at the time. The translation is as follows :

*Akhbarat (news letter) dated 11th Oct. 1703 A.D. :* "The petition (*Arzadasht*) of Jagdev Rao, Zamindar of Srirangapattan along with a tribute (*Peshkash*) of 4,000 Ashrafi (gold sovereigns) and 5,000 Rupees was received. It was brought to the notice of the king (Aurangzeb) through Inayatulla Khan (Secretary to Aurangzeb and the compiler of Aurangzeb's letters, *The Ahkam—Alamgire*, Orders of Alamgir).

The king ordered that Lakhmaji, the Wakil (agent) of the Zamindar (Raja of Srirangapattan) be given a *khillat* (robe of honour)."

Similarly while going through the pages of the news letters from the Mughal camp of Aurangzeb, I came across the following entry indicating the names of the Mughal Faujdars of Bangalore.

I. Entry of 5th July 1703 : "Nurullah was the Faujdar of Bangalore. In his place Muhammad Tahir the son of the late Khane Alam had been appointed as Faujdar. Tahir held a *mansab* of 500 (*zat*) and 80 horse. His *mansab* was now increased by 100 horse. Muhammad Tahir was given the title Tahir Khan "

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II. *Entry of 13th July, 1703* : "The *mansab* of Nurullah the son of the deceased Qadar-Dad Khan and lately Faujdar of Bangalore was ordered to be reduced". Obviously Khane Alam must have been the title of Qadar Dad Khan.

III. *Entry of 20th July, 1703* : "Tahir Mohammad Khan had been appointed the Faujdar of Bangalore. He was now given robes of honour and allowed to depart from (the Moghul camp at Pune) and depart for Bangalore." From the above we come to know the names of at least Two Faujdars of Bangalore during the time of Aurangzeb.

In an earlier note there was a reference to one Abdur Rahman the Harkara or the reporter stationed by the Moghuls at Srirangapattana. This man had picked up quarrel with the Raja of Mysore. The Raj protested as the result. Abdur Rahaman was transferred from Mysore. The entry in the Moghul court dated 8th July, 1704 :

"Abdur Rahaman, posted as Harkara at Srirangapattana, was transferred as Harkara to the province of Malwa. His *mansab* was increased. Venkat Rao was appointed as Harkara at Srirangapattana in the place of Abdur Rahaman."

## K. GURU DUTT — A TRIBUTE

PROF. KESHAVRAM N. IYENGAR\*

To write a tribute to one who was separated by so many superior years but was bound by so much affection is not an easy task. Superlatives come easily, but the man as he was must not be obscured by them.

In the Mythic Society Sri Guru Dutt will be remembered first as one of its past presidents (1958-61) and one of the ablest speakers from its platform for many years. Another institution in Bangalore that will be proud to cite his name among its directors and which is fortunate to have received the bulk of his personal library as gifts from time to time, is the Indian Institute of World Culture. But it was at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bangalore that he delivered his last and memorable lecture.

The numerous positions of responsibility Sri Guru Dutt held in his career of thirtyseven years with the Mysore Civil Service and his three years as Personal Secretary to His Highness Sri Jayachamaraja Wadiyar matured him in his *svadharma* as he later said, and provided him the leisure for *Serious study*.\*\* And one must observe at once how rare it now is to find persons in India, in responsible positions, devoting themselves to the study of our timeless intellectual heritage—that *essential* knowledge for which India is still respected in the

\* Vice-President, Mythic Society.

\*\* Born on 3-3-1897 at Kundapur, Mr. Guru Dutt joined Mysore Civil in 1920 as Asst. Commissioner. He retired as Director of Public Instructions (1950-55). He was re-appointed as Chairman, Mysore Electricity Board in 1957 and held the post for three years.

world. The best brains in our post-independence era have mostly gone in pursuit of the mechanistic sciences that brought quick monetary gains, but the leadership of the country was left to those whose main interest was to aggrandise themselves in power and pelf during their terms in office.

As no tree grows to a great stature without deep roots, no individual grows to the stature of a 'universal personality' without firm roots in a particular community. This principle was tellingly expounded by Sri Guru Dutt in his book "Community and Communion" (1972) and earlier by that French visionary Simone Weil in her urgent book "The Need for Roots" (1949). The Chitrapur Saraswat Community can be proud to claim such an eminent spokesman for Hindu Culture as Sri Guru Dutt and count him with other eminent members like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Benegal Rama Rau, B. Shiva Rao, and many others of that generation.

Two years ago the Deccan Herald of Bangalore invited a few veterans of Karnataka to write on "WHAT LIFE HAS TAUGHT ME". Mr. Guru Dutt's was first contribution. One may get various answers by shifting the emphasis from one word to another in the heading. The simplest and profoundest answer this writer found to the question was that provided (in 1974) by the Paramacharya of Kanchi, Sri ChandraSekharendra Saraswati. The lesson he learnt was that there are some persons whose sole mission in life was to be of service to others. And this he illustrated by a number of persons who were successively responsible for his education. We the readers of his account, could easily turn the table on that person himself and understand how *his* life was dedicated entirely to the service 'of all others'. Sri Guru Dutt's answer was offered by turning the question in effect to-What *he* had gathered from the limitless treasury of life. There is a saying by a great pilgrim traveller—"However far one travels, one never discovers anything but oneself". This is true in the deepest sense of what a person reads and writes. Every essay in black and white is only another step in self-discovery.

It would be presumptuous on this this writers part to review the writings of Sri Guru Dutt. My *satsanga* with him began only in 1970 when I wrote to him on reading one of his articles in *Deccan Herald* on Hindu Dharma. Very prompt and encouraging was his reply and ever since that date to his last days, I had the fortune of reading almost every article of his that was published. How much I have digested his writings is another matter, but there was much common ground in our interest and values when we met, so that the reception of his thoughts was like meeting common friends.

He was not what one would call a reputed author with a regular turn over of books, but his few books - "Hindu Culture" (1943 and 1951), "Existentialism and Indian Thought", "Pratibha" (1964), "Hindu Sadhana" (1966), "Community and Communion- The saraswat Experience" (1972), merit careful study by all students of Indian Culture. Much more vast and versatile however are his numerous articles published in journals and newspapers and his *Reviews*, some 600 of them spread over three decades.

A few years ago, he gave me a list of 40 articles of his grouped under three headings: A) India to-day, B) Modern Trends, and C) Ancient India. The first article in group A was *The Intellectual in India* and down the list in B was, *The Problem Values*. By the keenest of counts, Sri Guru Dutt would qualify to be ranked as an *Intellectual*, one who had eminently grasped the *Problem Values*, one who could be called as a *Vidwan* in our traditions, that is, one who has an intellectual grasp of the highest truth (*Paratatva*) and who has a *true hierarchy of values*.

One could measure his intellectual calibre, for instance, in his review of Arun Shourie's book-"Hinduism: Essence and Consequence" (1979), brilliantly pointing out the fallacies of a

one sided view of a multifaceted *mata* like Hinduism. He had often told me that he deplored the fact that there were extremely few persons in India with whom one could establish an intellectual rapport on any serious subject. The dons who sat on our university chairs were little better than time-servers, and that generation of newspaper-editors of the class of N. Raghunathan of the Hindu was long since past. I could vouch for his assessment in my own field of architecture. It is impossible to discuss the 'Quality' of architectural works or of architectural education with any of our modern educated academicians. It is mere gossiping and slogan-mouthing all the way. A writer like Guru Dutt therefore can never be a 'best-seller' in our times.

Another aspect he pointed out to me was that, "confrontation is a part of the Hindu tradition, not the present docile acquiescence by scholars to politicians". So had Hinduism its glorious chapters when the Chārvākas were given their legitimate place in discussions; they kept you alert. Not now when "Indian Cultural Organisations" are apologetic about the word *Hindu*.

He also taught me that the fundamental ideas of Hinduism could be built up from certain key words like—*Dharma*, *Rta*, *Yajña*, *Samskāra*, *ācārā*, *āstikya* and many others. These words like *mantras* practised and understood in the right perspective would lead to enlightenment and peace (*śānti*). The more one contemplated them, the fuller one's understanding would be. But in our modern world we have inherited words from the West which we have swallowed without reflection like *mantras*; words like—'Science', 'Progress', 'Development', 'Socialism', 'Democracy' and quite pathetically—'Secularism'! In contrast to the keywords our Sanātana, Dharma, these words have the opposite effect, of ensnaring one deeper into the meshes of *Māyā* (illusion).

I would wish everyone of our leaders read and ponder over Sri Guru Dutt's essay—"What Price Secularism?" Like women being 'liberated' from their natures (*dharma*) in order the more closely to imitate men, the Asiatic countries, in this century, have received their Independence only to imitate Western modes and values the more assiduously, imagining all the time that they were "coming of age".

These points of view have been incomparably well presented in the writings of Western savants like René Guénon and Ananda Coomaraswamy who knew both the Indian and Western traditions equally well. Among Indian writers, it would be difficult to name more than a couple of scholars like Guru Dutt who had well absorbed our Hindu traditions as well as the writings of the most eminent Western thinkers who had outgrown the stranglehold of 'Modern Science'.

As a person Guru Dutt belonged to the aristocratic culture of past generations, as, who else but an intellectual aristocrat would have the etiquette and generosity to acknowledge condolence letters written to him. Indeed in nothing more than in the personal letters written by an individual, could one measure his head and heart. He was extremely methodical in his writing, in keeping track of his papers [he could lay his hands on any of his writing 'in a jiffy'], in quoting references, in remembering passages from the numerous books he read, in carefully 'scoring' the books he studied and in the appraisal of views on all the subjects of his interest. On my last meeting with him, on the very morning of the day he had to be rushed to hospital in an emergency, he was telling me about 'his methods' of study and noting and filing—all indicative of a vigorously active mind even at 87. He had many more articles to write and to discharge his self-imposed debt to the world of learning. At howsoever ripe an age such persons are called away by providence, their passing is always 'untimely'.

One of the tragedies of life is *not* to have someone either living or in memory *to look up to* for guidance in one's journey, however advanced in age one may be. In the passing of Sri Guru Dutt, I have personally lost such a mentor and counsellor. May the memories of his association and the wisdom of his writings be with us for all our lives, and his soul Rest in Peace.

## THE ORIGIN OF BRAHMI SCRIPT : AN INFORMATIVE REVIEW

L. S. WAKANKAR \*

A book of above caption is edited by Dr. S. P. Gupta, National Museum and Dr. K. S. Ramachandran, Archaeological Survey of India, published by Indian History and Culture Society, 1979, which should be read by the discerning scholars and layman alike. For those who had no occasion to see the book the following notes should induce reading of the original book. [It is available from D. K. Publications 29/9, Nangia Park, Shakti Nagar, Delhi 110007.] The main subject is informed hereunder :—

It was natural for the 19th Century European scholars whose nations had conquered India to try to create an image that all cultural achievements were gift to Indians from foreign sources. After Sir William Jones, the Asiatic Pundit, Max Mueller brought out the theme of a common Indo-European mother language, on which Edward Thomas constructed a tell-tale story of "Aryan Immigration" into India pushing down the Dravidians (whom he had termed 'Turanians') in a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, on 7th April 1866, with Rt. Hon. Viscount Strangford in the chair :—

Mr. Thomas then proceeded to advert to the single point open to discussion under the fourth head, tracing the progress of the successive waves of Aryan immigration from Oxus into the province of Aryania and the Hindkush, and the downward course of the pastoral races from their first entry into the

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Punjab and the associate crude chants of the Vedic hymns to the establishment of the cultivated Brahmanic institutions on the banks of the Saraswati and the elaboration of the *Sanskrit grammar at Taxila*, connecting the advance of their literature with the simplified but extended alphabet they constructed in the Arianian province out of a very archaic type of Phoenician, and whose graphic efficiency was so singularly aided by the free use of birch bark (J. R. A. S. Minutes, New Series V, p. 420 ff.)

To make such a statement it was not necessary for them to produce any substantial archaeological, scientific or logical evidence, nor has it been found till today, but it is taken to be an absolute truth by later writers. In the chapters on Indian scripts in a modern and profusely illustrated book "*The Alphabet*" (David Diringer, 1953) the learned author has given one-sided and distorted picture of facts basing his dissertations on outdated sources, as his avowed object is to credit an unknown Syro-Palestinian Semite for the invention of the idea of Alpha-Bets.

"At any rate it must be said that the great achievement of the inventor was not the creation of the signs. It lies in the adaptation of a purely alphabetic system, which moreover denoted each sound by one sound only. — No other people in the world has been able to develop a truly alphabetic writing. — But only the Syro-Palestinian Semites produced a genius who created the alphabetic writing, from which have descended all past and present alphabets. Thus the Brahmi, the great mother-script of India, the Korean alphabet, the Mongolian scripts are derived from the same source as the Greek, the Latin, the Punic, the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Russian alphabets, although it is practically impossible for a layman to see a real resemblance between them" (pp. 216—17).

Other bold and untrue statements are :

Max Mueller : "There is no mention of writing materials — the whole of Brahmana literature, however incredible it

may seem, shows not a single vestige of the art of writing" (History of Sanskrit Literature, London, 1159, pp : 500—501).

M. Winternitz : "From such facts one would conclude that at the time, that is, in the fifth century B.C., the idea of possibility of writing books had not yet occurred at all" (A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, 2nd ed. Calcutta, 1959, p. 29).

Georg Buehler : "Prof. Max Mueller's final conclusion was, therefore, that the art of writing became known to India about 400 B. C. in the middle of the Sutra period and that, then and even later, it was not applied to literary purposes." (On the origin of the Indian Brāhmi alphabet, 1895, Choukhambā Series, Varanasi, 1963, p. 6).

David Diringer : "The extensive Vedic literature gives no indication whatsoever of the existence of the art of writing in early Aryan India. — Writing is never mentioned (4). — Only the Buddhist literature gives clear reference to writing in ancient times (5)" (*The Alphabet*, London, 1947, p. 329).

Let alone post-Vedic literature, it seems none of the above scholars had read original texts of Rigveda or Atharva Veda, from which G. H. Ojha, S. D. Satawalekar, Y. R. Date, B. S. Naik and L. S. Wakankar have discovered references to Letters, Metres with counted Syllables (Akshara-Chandas), Books, etc.

#### Foreign Origin Hypothesis

Greek origin theory was first proposed by James Princep, the discoverer or the first key to reading of Ashokan Brahmi, and supported by Raoul de Rochette, Emile Senart, Goblet d'Alviella, Halevy, Wilson; it did not tally with literary and palaeographic evidences and has been discarded since long.

Semitic origin theory was floated by Sir William Jones in 1806, Von Seetzen (1811), Kopp (1821), Lepsius (1834). A. L. Basham still adheres to it. Following are the sub-groups in the Semetic school is divided—

*Phoenician* : A. Weber, R. N. Cust, Beaufey, Jensen.

*South Semetic* (the parent of Sabeian)-Isaac Taylor, Deeke, Cannon Taylor, Sethe.

*North Semetic* - Georg Buehler (1895), Monier Williams David Diringer.

I. J. Gelb is a proponent of Evolution theory, from logography to syllabography and then to alphabetography and the reverse operation of this process is possible according to him. Therefore Brahmi, which according to him is not a fullfledged alphabet, was not derived from Semetic alphabet but from an earlier stage of Semetic writing, viz. the Semetic Syllabary, which was also proposed by Rhys Davids (I. J. Gelb, *A Study of Writing*, 1962, p. 201. He is critical of Buehler, Diringer and Dani, p. 144-5).

#### Indian Origin Theories

Edward Thomas (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883, N. III, quoted by R. B. Pandey, *Indian Palaeography*, pp 19-21) proposed Turanian (Dravidian) origin of Brahmi; this is improbable as Brahmi is much more developed than the phonetically insufficient proto-Tamil. Other believers in Indian origin of script are Dowson (1881), Lassen and Cunningham who hold that Brahmi developed from Indian Hieroglyphs. R. Shamashastri also proposed it. Supporters in a different way are D.R. Bhandarkar, G. Ojha, R.B. Pandey, A.C. Das, K. P. Jayswal, Jayachandra Vidyalkar, S. D. Sarawalekar, Y. R. Datta who carry it back to Vedas. The least known contributors from the Grammatic traditional sources are A.B. Walawalkar (1951), Ganesha-Vidya, (1968), B. S. Naik (1971) and L. S. Wakankar; this team brought out in their writings important pre-Ashokan epigraphs from collections in European museums, about the periods of which there is no controversy. These finds have justified the pre-Ashokan Maheshwari script reconstruction by late A. B. Walawalkar. Quotations cited by

L. S. Wakankar from the Vedic texts in the Rigveda and Yajurveda belie the prejudices created by earlier writers who did not search the Vedic texts themselves. That there is an influence of non-Indian sources on Brahmi of Ashoka may be true, but the logical structure of pre-Ashokan Maheshwari Phonography is unique and matches with the elaborate phonetic logic of the Vedic Sanskrit grammarology.

#### Ashokan 'invention' theory

The book, *The Origin of Brahmi Script* "has tackled the problem of the origin of the Brahmi script, which even today is a topic of fierce controversy" and, as is hoped by the editors it should be welcomed by the discerning scholars and laymen alike. Contrary to the 'evolution theory' as proposed by I. J. Gelb that 'Alphabets developed gradually through many generations from logography to syllabography to alphabetography' (*A Study of Writing*, Chicago, 1962). Prof. Dr. S. R. Goyal of University of Jodhpur began the debate with a well-documented paper with a negative approach; on the testimony of Buddhist literature he brings out that Brahmi script was not in existence in pre-Asokan India, he doubts the antiquity of Brahmanic literature like that of Panini, *Dharmasatras* of Vasishtha, Vishnu and Gautama and the 'pre-Ashokanness' of Eran coin, Taxila coins, Bhattiprolu casket, Sohagura copperplate, Piprahava inscription, the Badli, the Parkham and Patna inscriptions which Buehler to Pandey consider to be pre-Ashokan; he is taking support from D. C. Sircar, T. P. Verma, Upasaka, Dani and even Cunningham, O. C. Gangoly and R. P. Chanda. K. V. Soudara Rajan of Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, is intregued by the large period of gap between Harappan system and indegenous Ashokan Brahmi. K. G. Krishnan of Archaeological Survey of India (Mysore) does not favour 'invention of Brahmi by Ashoka' relying on the statements by Megastheness of 300 B. C., as quoted by Strabo that 'Indians have no knowledge of written letters and regulate every single

thing from memory'; some think that 'memory' is a wrong meaning of 'Smriti'. Gift Siromony and Michael Lokwood of Madras Christian College have suggested that Brahmi is the result of the brainwave or invention of a single mind, at the behest of the felt-need of the rulers of the time, say of Ashoka (*Scientific Report*, No. 30, 1977). Brahmi by itself presents a rather simple and severely fundamental aspect of alphabetical notation, the entire shapes of letters, being modification of the component parts of the square, circle and cross symbols! Goyal argues - 'Indians of the Gangetic valley were in close contact with the Greeks and the people of Gandhar, etc., at least since the conquest of Chandragupta Mourya. Now if Chandragupta married the daughter of Seleucus and Bindusara was her son, Ashoka as well as his father might have learnt the Greek alphabet from that Greek lady or even from Megasthenes. Therefore, theoretically it is quite possible that the message which Bindusara is said to have sent to the contemporary Greek rulers were in Greek language and script (p.3)----- In such a situation the learned *pundits* of the age of Ashoka could easily create a system of writing with the help of geometrical forms of pictographs (p. 17). -----Panini was most likely a contemporary of Nandas who are known to have ruled in the fourth century B. C. But it should also be noted that he belonged to Shalatura in Gandhara, an area which was at that time under the hegemony of the Achaeminid emperors of Iran. ----- Thus, Yaksha, who flourished probably a century earlier than Panini, could also have been an inhabitant of the Achaeminis empire (p. 26)." Mr. Goyal should be pitied for his naive belief in the type of ancient history presented by Oxford scholars like Vincent Smith!

The Pre-Ashokan inscriptions mentioned by Buehler and others are challenged for their pre-Ashokan-ness by D. C. Sircar, etc. A benefit of doubt is demanded because they are not dated and it is surmised that Ashoka himself created Brahmi or got created *at one stroke*.

It would be worthwhile to know the comments of other experts here :

*K. G. Krishnan* : 'Until and unless the rationale behind the entire system (of *Varga* letters) is explained satisfactorily in respect of all forms, notwithstanding the pictorial representations quoted by Goyal from Cunningham, the question of its origin should be left open' (*ibid* p. 68).

*Lallanji Gopal* : 'The Brahmi script does not seem to have resulted from the historical process of evolution. It is an instance of conscious creation of a script at some fixed period' (*ibid* p. 69).

*R. Nagaswami* : 'S. R. Goyal's approach to the origin of Brahmi script seems to me penetrative, judicious and most acceptable. ----- Goyal proves clearly that there is no positive evidence to show the existence of the Brahmi script before the time of Ashoka' (*ibid* p. 72, 82).

*S. Sankaranarayanan* : 'Possibility of revival of the Indus script. ----- it is certain that they had for their own use some indigenous script (not named) which must have been, in all probability an offshoot of the Indus script as the circumstances indicate (p. 84). ----- Brahmi may have been a derivative of the Indus script (p. 85) Coming to testimony of Megasthenes, to give too much credence to Megasthenes' testimony and to arrive on that basis at some weighty conclusions may prove dangerous (p. 88). Further the negative evidence on which the invention theory mainly rests is itself against it. For had Ashoka been responsible for the invention of Brahmi he would have certainly mentioned more often in his edicts the great achievement. But the edicts are surprisingly silent on this point [p. 89].

*Ajaya Mitra Shastri* : The box-headed alphabet remained almost unaltered for a few centuries. But it would be wrong

to conclude from the latest records in this script that it had just come into existence'. He says 'Brahmi was already in existence before Ashoka's accession (p. 94). ... It is known from various sources, Indian as well as Chinese, that the script employed in the majority of Ashokan inscriptions was known as 'Brahmi'. This name, however, smacks of Vedicism. The tradition of its invention by Brahma is recorded, *inter alia*, in the Chinese sources which were pre-Buddhistic. It cannot, therefore, be argued that the tradition of its formulation by Brahma is a later fabrication of the followers of Brahmanic Hinduism (p. 96). It would certainly not have been given a Brahmanical name which it bore for centuries. 'Prior to the reign of Srong-tsen-Gam-po, in Tibet a grammatical work was composed as a corollary to the introduction of a system of writing based on the Indian counterpart whereas, it is admitted that, in India, grammar was in a highly developed stage much before the alleged invention of Brahmi in the time of Ashoka' (p. 95).

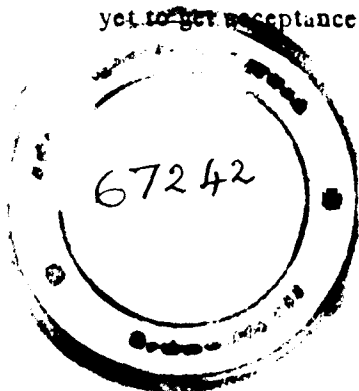
T. P. Varma : 'The earliest possible positive evidence for the existence of the Brahmi script does not go beyond the time of Ashoka' (p. 100). Even Chandragupta Mourya did not issue any royal proclamation (p. 101). To this conclusion we had reached, some thirteen years ago (in 1964 Dr. Goyal develops a similar theme, notes p. 114).

Dr. T. P. Verma, however, believes that some other kind of writing existed before Ashok. Mention by Nearchos, one of the generals of Alexander, records that 'the people of this place know the art of manufacturing paper out of cotton and tattered clothes' and by another Greek writer Curtius about 'soft inner barks of certain trees (Bhurapatra) as a writing material', compel us to believe in the oft-repeated evidences in favour of the antiquity of art of writing in India going upto the Vedic period (p. 109). He further says : 'In the present condition of our knowledge we cannot ascertain the exact nature of a sacred script which was used for writing Sanskrit and Vedic language.

But we can say it confidently that this script must have been a complicated one, because we know the amount of emphasis given to the correct pronunciation of the Vedic literature. It is also said that some letters were pronounced in several ways with different emphasis, thus the necessity of a complicated script cannot be over ruled. Alberuni wrote "As to the writing of the Hindus we have already mentioned that it had been lost and forgotten; that nobody cared for it and that in consequence people became illiterate, sunken into gross ignorance and entirely estranged from science. But then Vyasa, the son of Parāśara, rediscovered their alphabets of fifty letter by an inspiration of God (Sachau, E. C., *Alberuni's India*. p. 171-72)". Writing 'In Retrospect', the editors write : "It is interesting to note that Goyal and all others like Prof. (Lallanji) Gopal and Verma, who believe in the Mouryan origin of Brahmi, presuppose the existence of Sanskritic *Varna-Mala* without written forms, which is something improbable. For the very conception of *Varnas* (alphabet) is based on definitely recordable symbols, without which precision and purity of a language like that of Vedic hymns could not have been maintained in the post-Yask period. The appearance of the name of a North-western scribe Chapada in Kharosthi (Zarathru-shtri script), in a southern inscription of Ashoka need not be generalised or overemphasised because it was possible for an official within a united kingdom to work in a place far from his native land; after all Yawana-rāj Tushāshpa, a high Mauryan official was not an Indian prince. Brahmi must have had a definite earlier source, internal or external, and probably it was preserved by the priestly class as a sacred and secret script in conformity with the Sanskritic *Varna-Mala* (*Brahmitu Bharati* Amarakosha, II, 1-1). We are yet to have more convincing direct evidence." Bharati as Devalipi is mentioned in *Padma Purana* (Patal khand, Chapter 100. 'Shiva Raghava Samvad. Loka.)

Fortunately let it be known at the end that Rigveda and Atharva Veda as well Sanskrit grammatic texts, which have not

been properly delved into, definitely allude to writing (which is a subject matter of another separate documented paper). Structural study of inscriptional forms in the light of the Maheshwari Sootras, which Panini used as open key to his condensation technic, revealed to late A. B. Walawalkar, the 'photographic logic' in the construction of the Maheshwari crescental script, which was forgotten (as mentioned by Alberuni) when Brahmi script ruled the day, and was raised its head in the form of the Siddhmatrika and Devanagari forms afterwards, displacing the Ashokan Brahmi letter forms. With this key, Walawalkar deciphered the Maheshwari endowment on a cuneiform script tablet in British Museum (6th cent. B.C.) and the Djokha (Umma) Seal from Paris-Louvre Museum (3000-2400 B.C.). Important portions of ABW's 'Pre-Ashokan Brahmi' are reproduced in CALTIS-84 issue. About ABW, Dr. S. V. Sohoni, ex-I.C.S., Vidya-Vachaspati wrote "Walawalkar's versatile talents deserved far better recognition in his lifetime than they actually received. — It was in the area of palaeography that Walawalkar can be said to have received the highest levels of the flight of his genius. — His innate modesty, habitual use of a restricted forum for presenting his conclusions and a comparatively limited attachment to the mainstream of related Indian scholarship — did not get him the due recognition". Brahmi is claimed to have been evolved from Indus script by Langdon (in Marshall's *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization*) and Hunter, but it has yet to get acceptance, by palaeographers.



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