

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

NRUPATUNGA ROAD, BANGALORE-2

(Founded in 1909)



67243

MANAGING COMMITTEE

(From 6-12-1984)

President :

Prof. K. T. Pandurangi

Vice-President :

Prof. K.N. Iyengar

Hon. Secretary :

Dr. M.K.L.N. Sastry

Hon. Treasurer:

Sri Y. K. Raghavendra Rao

Hon. Editor :

Dr. Suryanath U. Kamath

Members ;

Prof. T. Keshava Bhat

Sri K. Subramaniam

Smt. Nirupama

Sri B. C. Krishna Iyengar

Sri M. C. Jayadeva

Sri K. Narahari

Sri V. Suryanarayana

EDITOR'S NOTE

This is a combined issue for 1985, July-Dec. The next issue, for 1986 is also being sent to the press.

Death of noted Indologist and Historian, Prof. A. L. Bhasham on 27-1-1986 is a great loss to Indological studies. His "Wonder that was India" has been a popular book. Of late he had been staying at Calcutta, heading a newly started academic department at the Asiatic Society.

Two new endowment lectures have been instituted at the Mythic Society. One is in memory of the late Pandit B. Shivamurthy Shastry. Another is in memory of the late Sri S. Srikantaiah who had been the Society's Hon. Secretary and Editor of QJMS for over two decades. The Society is thankful to the sons of these scholars for their generous gesture.

15-3-86

Suryanath U. Kamath

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

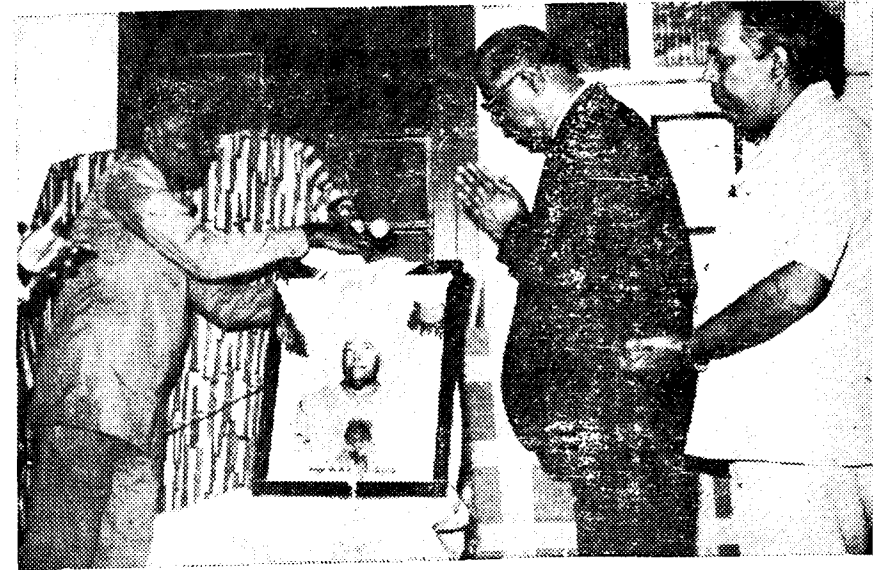
Vol LXXVI July—Dec 1985 Nos. 3-4

CONTENTS

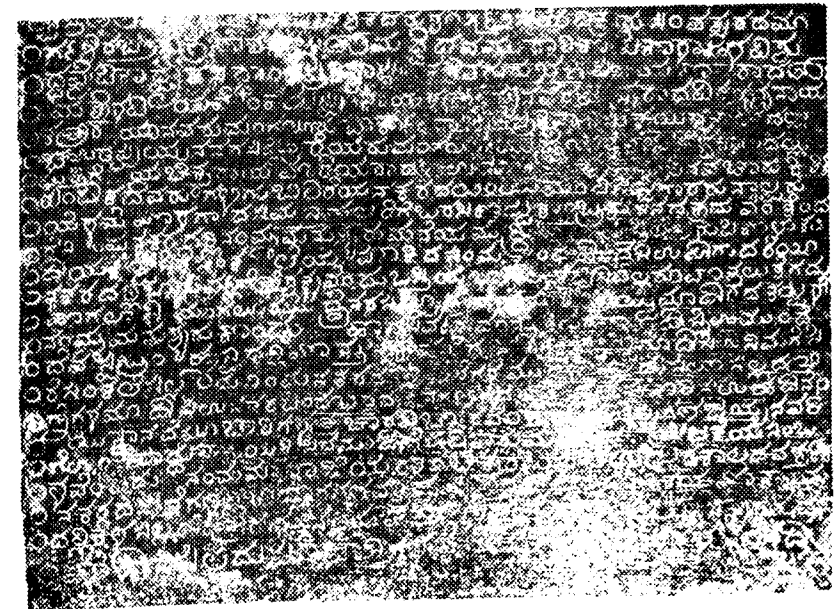
	Page No.
Influences of Sanskrit and Prakrit Grammars on Kannada Grammarians— <i>Prof. K. T. Pandurangi</i>	197
Identity of the Yeravas of Kodagu — <i>N. P. Shankara Narayan Rao</i>	211
Communalism in Retrospect : Problems and Perspectives — <i>Dr. Raju Kalidos</i>	229
Note on a Pattadakal Inscription — <i>Dr. Srinivas V. Padigar</i>	247
Press and Politics in Princely Mysore : 1874-1908. — <i>R. Ramakrishnan</i>	251
The Vicissitudes in the Administration of Kittur (1686-1814) — <i>K. N. Chitnis</i>	272
Prehistoric Research in Retrospect — <i>D. B. Murti</i>	279
Ganapati Disturbances of Bangalore-1928 — <i>Ba Na Sundara Rao</i>	288
Mahamandalesvara Manalera—A Note <i>Dr. (Miss) Zakia Khanum M. Pathan</i>	299
The Talavakāra Upaniṣad-Champion of the Dvaita System of Vedānta — <i>Dr. K. B. Archak</i>	303
A Late Acheulean Site at Kandukur, Manner Valley:Coastal Andhra Pradesh— <i>K. Srinivasulu</i>	313

A Note on Language Games in Kannada Folklore — <i>Dr. H. M. Maheshwaraiah</i>	319
Some Aspects of Gānapatyam in Srilanka <i>V. Sivasamy</i>	323
The Moodabidre Copper Plate Inscription of Chauta Chikkaraya Wodeya <i>U. Umanath Shenoy</i>	337
The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's Lectures in Mysore (1911) and the "Blundering Dewan". — <i>Dr. Leela B.</i>	343
Local Self-Government in Pre-Vijayanagara Karnataka — <i>G. S. Dikshit</i>	351
A Page From the Mughal Newsletters : the Siege of Wakinkhera (1705) <i>Sethumadhava Rao Pagadi</i>	361
The Ex-Criminal Tribes of North Karnataka—a Study — <i>Dr. K. V. Kurian</i>	366
Original Jayakhyana Bharata, Bhagavadgita and Siribhuvalaya — <i>K. Nagaraja Rao</i>	378
Some New Facts About the Early History of the Honneya Kambaris of Dakshina Kannada — <i>B. Vasantha Shetty</i>	389
Hāvaṅgi Inscription of Rāshtrakūṭa Indra <i>Dr. M. D. Sampath</i>	393
Resemblance in the Teachings of Gurunanak and the Tamil Bhakti Saints — <i>R. Ponnu</i>	398
Sympathetic Magic in the Puranas <i>Mrs. Kala D. Acharya</i>	405
Book Reviews	412

Edited by Dr. Suryanath U. Kamath, Editor, The Quarterly Journal
of the Mythic Society. Printed by B. V. Ramachandrappa at
Shalivahan Printers 52/30, Cart Stand Road, Jolly Mohalla,
Bangalore-560 053 and Published by Dr. M. K. L. N. Sastri,
Secretary, The Mythic Society, at the Mythic Society, Daly
Memorial Hall, Nrupathunga Road, Bangalore-2. 16-3-1986.



Dr. Siddayya Puranik unveiled the portrait of Pandit B. Shivamurthy
Shastri at the Mythic Society on the 25th of Jan. 1985



Moodabidri Copper Plate (See P. 211)



Panjari Yerava Women. Photos by Sri K. N. S. Iyer

INFLUENCES OF SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT GRAMMARS ON KANNADA GRAMMARIANS

PROF. K. T. PANDURANGI

From the title of this paper the scope of this paper appears to be quite vast. However the scope is restricted to indicating only certain outlines of the influences and to suggest the lines of investigation that may be pursued to trace the details of Sanskrit and Prakrit grammars on Kannada grammarians, so as to assess their contribution towards providing a formal grammar for Kannada and evaluate the material gathered in their grammars in terms of descriptive and historical linguistics of Kannada language.

The sources of influence on Kannada grammarians appear to be three-fold. Pāṇini's grammar, non-Pāṇinian Schools of Sanskrit grammar, particularly Kātaṇṭra and Sākaṭāyana Schools, and Prakrit grammars. Kannada grammarians do not seem to have been aware of Tamil or Telugu grammar available at their times nor they press into service any usages of Tamil or Telugu in handling Kannada grammar. Bhaṭṭakalaṅka refers to eighteen great languages and mentions āndhrabhāṣa (S.S. 1.1) by name. However, though he mentions and quotes a large number of Sanskrit grammatical works, he does not make any reference to Tamil or Telugu grammars.

While assessing the influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit grammars on Kannada grammarians, it has to be borne in mind that the three grammarians of Kannada i.e., Nāgavarma, Kēśirāja and Bhaṭṭakalaṅka did not intend to write their grammar for pure Kannada ; but proposed to write for a Kannada



Panjari Yerava youth aiming stone with bow



Pani Yerava Colony, Bhadragola, Titimati, Panimale.



Panjari Yerava old man and his grand-daughter (See page 211)

that had already absorbed Sanskrit and Prakrit vocabulary, and was influenced by the phonetics, morphology and even syntax of Sanskrit and Prakrit. No doubt they declare that they are writing their grammar for Karnāṭakaśabda. But by Karnāṭakaśabda they mean the literary Kannada that had already absorbed Sanskrit and Prakrit vocabulary. Bhattakalanka explains this term so as to include *tatsama*, *tadbhava*, *deśya* and such other words that were accepted by great poets. Nāgavarma uses the word *apabhraṃśa* (B.B 194) to signify pure Kannada words thereby suggesting that the word Karnāṭakaśabda was of much wider scope. The word *apabhraṃśa* was in vogue in the sense of spoken language in those days. (in addition to meaning corrupt Sanskrit words and the dialect of the Ābhiras). Bhaṭṭākalanka considers even Sanskrit compound words and Sanskrit words with *kṛt* and *taddhita* suffixes as part and parcel of Kannada language and states that since their grammatical formation is already discussed in Sanskrit grammars, he is not dealing with them. Therefore it is clear that they were dealing with a language that was not merely pure Kannada.

It has also to be noted that Kannada grammarians did not intend to evolve their own system of formal grammar; but tried to fit in a scheme of formal grammar for Kannada in a system of grammar that already existed for Sanskrit and Prakrit languages. In this regard they had the lead of non-Paninian Sanskrit grammarians and the grammarians of Prakrit who accepting the basic scheme of formal grammar laid down by Panini had only worked out deviations from Panini in case of Sanskrit, and phonetic changes and other peculiarities in the case of Prakrits. This explains Kannada grammarians adopting the terminology of Sanskrit and Prakrit grammars for Kannada grammars also. This also was, perhaps, reasonable for the first Kannada grammar *Bhāṣābhāṣaṇa* by Nāgavarma being written in Sanskrit. Nāgavarma, perhaps, found it more convenient to write his grammar for Kannada in Sanskrit since he

had adopted the scheme and terminology of Sanskrit grammar. The Prakrit grammarians earlier to him had already written their grammars in Sanskrit. However, he gave a gist of it in Kannada in the *Śabdasmṛti* chapter of his *Kāvyaśāloka* which enabled Kēśirāja the next Kannada grammarian to write his work *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* in Kannada only. *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* is an amplification of *Śabdasmṛti* chapter and *Bhāṣābhāṣaṇa* of Nāgavarma.

The third and the most important of Kannada grammarians from the point of view of Sanskrit influence i.e. Bhaṭṭākalanka again reverted to Sanskrit. His *Śabdānuśāsana* in *sūtras*, his own *vyṛtti* on it, and his *vyākhyā* on the *vyṛtti* again, are in Sanskrit. An interesting discussion whether it is worthwhile to write a grammar for Kannada and whether Kannada can be a competent medium for *śāstric* topics since Sanskrit alone can occupy such honoured position is raised by Bhaṭṭākalanka in the introductory portion of his work. In answer, he points out the existence of high works on *śāstric* topics in Kannada and strongly argues the case for Kannada. However, this very defence is commended in Sanskrit and his own masterly work is written in Sanskrit. This, though looks strange, is not quite unpardonable. His work, though, intended to work out a scheme of grammar for Kannada more elaborately than his predecessors, Nāgavarma and Kēśirāja, is really a comprehensive work on grammar discussing some of the basic principles of formal grammar. On quite a few points he differs from Panini's school of thought, following the lines of Kātantra and other non-Paninian schools. He also presses into service the Jain metaphysics to argue his case. The philosophy of grammar of Panini's school was being developed on the basis of Vedānta metaphysics. The Nyāya vaiśeṣikas, Mīmāṃsakas and Jains opposed it. In this connection we may note his discussions on the nature of Śabda, līṅga or prātipadika, gender, karma-kāraka, apāya or viśleṣa samāsa, viśeṣanviśeṣyabhāva, etc. These discussions indicate his differences from Panini's school of

thought both on account of his adherence to Kātantra School and Jain metaphysics, and also his desire to score over Panini's rules in some respects. He sets before him the whole range of grammatical literature in Sanskrit and discusses several points of formal grammar. He found it, perhaps, more convenient to present his view point in Sanskrit which was the medium of such scholastic discussions in those days than in Kannada. Thus, since the opportunity of writing a grammar for Kannada was also being utilised to present his views on several points of grammar, he preferred to write in Sanskrit.

In adopting the system of Sanskrit grammar for Kannada with necessary changes and consequently even writing their grammars in Sanskrit, the Kannada grammarians seem to have made a far-reaching assumptions. They appear to have thought that so far as the principles of formal grammar are concerned there is no difference from language to language. In this commentary under 442 of *Śabdānuśāsana*, Bhattakalanka states that there is no difference in so far as the theory and the grounds for the theory are concerned. Only in implementing the theory the procedure suitable to each language has to be followed. Again under 309 he remarks that the theory of grammar follows the theory in regard to the real state of affairs. Therefore, grammarians need not be called into question. What applied to Sanskrit grammar also applies to Kannada grammar. This assumption misled them to believe that the principles of formal grammar both for Sanskrit and Kannada are the same and all that they have to do is to notice certain peculiarities of Kannada language. The *dictum* of Prakrit grammarians i.e., '*Prakritiḥ Sanskritam tata āgatam Prākṛtam*' and '*Seṣam Sanskritavat*' even though was not followed, and could not be followed, the spirit of it was largely followed in analysing the structure of Kannada language and providing a formal grammar for it. Broad correspondence in the expression of syntactical relations, juxtapositions of words were sufficient to frame the rules of *kāraka*, *samāsa*, etc., closely

A Summary of the Data

Thus we see that Pani Yerava and Panjiri Yerava societies have no common basis in sociological sense. Their kinship organisations are different, their gods are different, their rites and rituals are different, their origin and history are different and their dialects are different. Only one condition binds them together. In the recent past they have been reduced to serfdom. This is not enough to make them one tribe.

Pani Yeravas and Panjiri Yeravas are two distinct and different tribes.

Are they Distinctive of Kodagu?

A few simple questions will indicate the direction of getting this problem solved. All the authorities are agreed on one issue viz, that the Yeravas originally came from Wynad to Kodagu. Did all the people, whom we now call Yeravas come out of Wynad? Did any remain back in Wynad? If any stayed back who are they? Have we any basis to identify them?

Changing borders : The present borders of districts and states in this region are of recent origin. They have remained there only from the end of eighteenth century. Prior to Mysore War-III, Wynad was a part of Tippu's Kingdom. As a result of the treaty which took away half of his possessions, Wynad was lost. Thick and impenetrable forests divided Coastal Kerala and South Mysore Plateau. This area which was the passage between the two is called Wynad. In fact Wynad means *nad* which lies on the path. Penetration of civilization from both the sides has been going on in this area from a long time. The area concerned may be identified roughly as present Gudalur, South and North Wynad taluks, parts of Gundlupet, Heggadevanakote and Hunsur taluks and Virajpet taluk. Many forest tribes including the present day Yeravas were its inhabitants

from times immemorial. Due to historical circumstances beyond their control, in shaping which they had no hand, this region has been parcelled out to different states. It is not the people who have moved, but the borders.

Slavery in Malabar : Some of these forest tribes, particularly the Paniyans, had been enslaved and were put to agricultural work. They were being sold and purchased in annual fairs. Valiyoor Kavu near Manandavady was a famous slave market. A Aiyappan in his article "The tribes of south and south west India" (*Adivasis*-page 42) says "Some of the food gathering tribes such as the Paniyar of Wynad were enslaved and came to have a precarious, symbiotic existence under the peasant communities of the plains. Large annual fairs where agriculturists of Wynad used to engage their indentured labourers mostly of Paniya tribe were a regular feature of the economy of the area".

The above statement echoes the plight that Manathur Makka underwent.

Thurston's references to Paniyans : Edgar Thurston in his "Castes and Tribes of Southern India", has given an ethnographic note on Paniyans. They are found in Gudalur taluk of Nilgiri district and Wynad. They trace their origin to Ippimalai. They exclaim 'Ippi, Ippi', when surprised. They perform the main funerary rite on the seventh day after the death. In innumerable details his note agrees with the customs and practices that may be observed among the Pani Yeravas of Kodagu. From a long time census reports of Niligiri district have shown speakers of Paniyan dialect as a linguistic group. A number of Kodagas, who have visited tea estates of Gudalur area say that the dialect spoken by the Paniyan workmen there is the same as that of Pani Yeravas of Kodagu.

With all these evidences we may safely identify the Pani Yeravas of Kodagu as a section of Paniyan tribe of Gudalur-Wynad area.

Adiyan tribe of Wynad : There is a tribe called Adiyans, who live just beyond the borders of Kodagu. They are spread over from the border area of Heggadadevankote taluk with Wynad, to the border with Kutta in Kodagu. They were also agricultural serfs. But they were not being sold and purchased as individuals. They were attached to the land and changed masters as the land changed hands. Anually they were made to affirm their loyalty to the master by chanting "*Ayyandadiya Nangalo*" and prostrating before him. Their names were also mentioned in such a way as to indicate their master; such as "Chatha Adiya of Padmanabhan Nambiyar." Among themselves they call their tribe as "*Iryavuleru*". Any colony of Adiyans may be visited and if an enquiry is made as to their Chemma, we hear the same Chemma names that we hear from Panjiri Yeravas of Kodagu. Their gods, funerary songs, language are all the same as those of Panjiris. Though small in number, many marriages have taken place between the two groups. Even now a considerable number trek the hilly paths and attend the annual festival of Kuttadamma.

Panjiri Yeravas are a section of this tribe called Adiyan, or Iryavuleru, residing in Wynad.

Conclusions

Proper identification of tribes, based on ethnographic studies is very essential for many reasons. Firstly it will help us to indicate the sections of our people who are really in need of upliftment. Secondly, it will help in proper adjustment in welfare activities of the state so as to make them really beneficial to the recipients. Thirdly such proper identification

will have beneficial impact on historical, linguistic and folklore studies of the region and the people concerned.

As far as the proper identity of the people who are known as Yeravas of Kodagu is concerned, we may conclude as follows:

i) Yeravas of Kodagu are not a single tribe, speaking one dialect as has been made out hitherto. They are two distinct and different tribes namely Pani Yeravas and Panjiri Yeravas, each one speaking its own dialect.

ii) They are not distinctive of Kodagu as Kodagas are, but form a part and parcel of larger tribes across the borders of Kodagu. Pani Yeravas are a section of Paniyan tribe and Panjiri Yeravas are a section of Adiyan tribe.

[I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Sri Thirunada, Kanjaladi of Panjiri Yeravas, Nanchi Tribal Colony, Kutta, Sri P.K. Mara, Panjiri Yerava, Krishna T.C., Bekkesodlur, Sri Kariya, Attali of Pani Yeravas and Sri P.C. Bollappa, Chemmi of Pani Yeravas, both from Bhadravola T.C., Thithmathi for having narrated and explained their songs and legends to me. I thank Sri B.K. Das, formerly Director of Census Operations in Karnataka and Sri M.S. Ramachandra, Assistant Director in charge of Special Studies for their steadfast support during the study.]

COMMUNALISM IN RETROSPECT : PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES*

DR. RAJU KALIDOS, M.A., Ph.D., Dip. Arch. **

The term communalism is very modern in usage and connotation which takes its root from *commune* in old French. *Commune* denoted in medieval usage a self-governing municipal institution in Europe. Later it came to be associated with a group of people, united under a common ideology. The famous Commune of Paris (1871) was the first to organise an uprising of the proletariat against capitalism, after the fall of the Second Empire (1852-70) of Napoleon III.¹ The suffix "ism" in modern usage is added to any term, denoting a particular ideology. So communalism may be taken for granted to denote an ideological group activity or movement. In India it has its own characteristics. Here ideological "oneness"² being focussed through religious, racial, linguistic and caste factors: any movement connected with these and such other factors could conveniently be described as communal. In ordinary understanding the evil sides of communal activities are brought under communalism. So it is a racial or social or religious or linguistic or other groupism, leading to associations, creating problems and outbursts, disrupting the peaceful existence of peoples in a multi-national state like India, often resulting in a cold war or open confrontation and armed conflicts, involving anti-social activities against a weak minority by a dominant majority or the recalcitrant minority subverting

* Paper presented in the JCHR seminar, University of Madras, March, 1985.

** Head, Dept. of sculpture, Tamil University, Thanjavur-613001

the oppressive activities of the majority through a *coup d'etat*. Exterminating rival and inferior groups, resisting the dominance of higher groups, and protecting the interests of allied groups are the forces behind communalism. The communal elements are often aligned under the patronage of a ruling power or act under the guidance of a communal leader through communal associations. So communalism has two sides. Its infra-structure aims at the promotion of the welfare of communally united groups. Its super-structure aims at the extermination of dominant communal forces or subordination of minority communal elements³.

Viewed in the perspective of the definition of communalism as attempted in the previous paragraph, it would appear that the 'ism' under consideration is a modern force in operation. But a closer observation of the Indian historical heritage would indicate that the same racial, religious, caste and other factors have operated since long time back as formative forces leading to communal tensions. So the present day problems didn't arise all of a sudden upon the surface of a surprised Indian society but had the precedence and example of centuries of activities. The present paper makes an attempt to trace the various channels of communal outbursts in India and it is shown how they are deeply rooted in the historical past. The problems arising out of modern communalism are pin-pointed. Reviewing the problem in a retrospect, certain suggestions are given to contain communalism under check. So the paper consists of three parts under the following heads: (1) Heritage of the Past, (2) Problems and Perspectives and (3) Solutions to Problems. Thus the paper is mainly historical and partly sociological.

I. Heritage of the Past

The earliest notation of communalism could be traced back to the days of the *Rg Vedic* society in India. When the chariots of the Āryans rattled towards the Indus plains, they produced a

heroic poetry called the *Rg Veda* which abounds in references to the destruction of the Dasyu.⁴ These Dasyus were wealthy people, residing in fortified cities and leading a sophisticated urban life. But they are called barbarians by the Āryans. Here we find two racial elements, the Āryan and Dasyu, at logger-heads, the former attempting to conquer a living space for their migrating multitude and the other in a desperate bid to protect their own lands. If we could apply our modern definition of communalism, it is explicit that the animosity exhibited so outspokenly in the *Rg Vedic* hymns against the Dasyus is the earliest trace of racial communalism in India. From the then jurist's point of view acquiring the other man's land could have been a feat of belligerency and the victory over the dark-skinned *mlecchas* a *varna-dharma*, but from the modern sociologist's point of view it is a clear case of racial communalism.

There are a number of examples for the operation of communal forces on caste grounds in ancient India. Since the Vedic period, the *Brāhmaṇas* used to occupy the upper rungs of the *caturvarṇa* pyramid. At one time the *Kṣatriyas* seem to have challenged their position through a silent revolution. Thus we find the *Kṣatriya* placed at the acme of caste pyramid in Buddhist literature.⁵ The founders of both Buddhism and Jainism were *Kṣatriyas*. These two sects never recruited the *Brāhmaṇas* as officiating priests as in the case of the Vedic religion. Again they came to the rescue of the down-trodden communities and dispensed with *varṇāśrama*. So the genesis of Buddhism and Jainism seem to have had a communal background in the sense that they tried to cut at the root of society headed by the *Brāhmaṇa*. In the wake of this historical development if we view the mythology pertaining to Paraśurāma's persecution of *Kṣatriyas*,⁶ it would appear that a communal force against a caste background was brooding in India in a few centuries preceding the Christian era. In this respect the *Tolkāppiyam* (*Porul* 32) version which places *aracar* (king) in a cadre superior to that of *andaṇar* or *Brahmaṇa* is

significant in Tamil Nadu.⁷ While in the case of Buddhism and Jainism a sociological revolution based on the principles of *ahimsa* (non-violence) was set in operation, in the case of Paraśurāma we trace the origin of a caste was directed against the popularity of an equally powerful *varṇa* which in those days must have produced lot of communal fire. Caste communalism and class war is vouchsafed by another incident in which Puṣyamitra Suṅga in the second century B.C. is said to have persecuted Buddhist monks according to Tārānātha (17th century A.D.), the Tibetan historian.⁸

Religion was a notorious crucible breeding communal outbursts in ancient and medieval India. It is generally said that during the pre-Pallava period in Tamil Nadu as a result of the overthrow of the *Cankam* triarchy by the outlandish Kaṭabhras, a new wave of Buddhist-Jain dominance swept across the land⁹. Till their power was dislodged in the early 7th century A.D., they continued to persecute the Śaivas like Appar.¹⁰ When Śaivism revived under Kaṇṇaṅṇ and Mahēndravaramaṇ I in Tamil Nadu the retaliatory process of persecution was set in operation. We hear of the Jain attempts to destroy Madurai by creating magical elephant, cow and snake of gigantic size which attempts are said to have been nullified at the intercession of Lord Śiva himself.¹¹ When Śaivism won the upper hand, winning over the Pāṇḍya king, the Jains are said to have been impaled at the stakes.¹² In the above account two channels of religious communalism are discernible in which the Jains and Śaivites stand in the offensive and defensive sides as demanded by the occasion. The intensity of these religious strife seems to have been very deep since they survived in local *sthalapurāṇa* form till they were committed to writing centuries later under the title *Tiruvilaiyāḍal Purāṇam* by Perumbarrāp. puliyūr Nambi (12th century A.D.) and Parañjōti (17th century A.D.). Even now an echo of this communal animosity is heard in the festival celebrations of the Miṇākṣi-Sundareśvara

Temple at Madurai wherein an enactment pertains to the impalement of Jains¹³

There are other evidences from the annals of medieval Tamil Nadu. The circumstances under which the Vaiṣṇava savant, Śrī Rāmāṇujāchārya, was forced to flee to the Hoysala country and the idol of Lord Govindarāja of Chidambaram was hurled into the Bay of Bengal at the command of Kṛmikaṇṭha Cōḷa are¹⁴ classic examples of Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava communal forces in action. Communal ferocity was so deep-rooted in Kāñchipuram that the city itself was divided into Jaina-Kāñchi, Śiva-Kāñchi, and Viṣṇu-Kāñchi.¹⁵ In the early 16th century A.D., during heyday of the Vijayanagar power, the Śaivites had the guts to quarrel with the Vaiṣṇavites of Kāñchipuram when the Vaiṣṇava stalwart, Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, was the Emperor. The problem was the route for the festival cars of the Varadarājaswāmi and Ēkāmbarēśvara temples. To solve the crisis the Emperor had to sit in judgment and adjudicate the issue¹⁶

The advent of Islam in the 7th-11th centuries A.D. added a new fuel to the burning question of communalism. The Islamic invaders came to India with a three-fold objective: (1) to acquire booty, (2) to establish an empire and (3) to spread their religion. Desecrating idols and destroying temples were pious acts for them and these activities constituted a *jihad* (holy war) in their dictionary. Somnath in Sourashtra and Kutb Minar area in the Delhi bear ample testimony to the vandalistic activities of the Muhammadans. They demolished the Hindu temples and erected *minars* (towers of victory) upon the ruins, using the debris, to symbolise the victory of Islam over the Hindu religion. Muslim chroniclers are very outspoken in telling that the Hindu temples were "dug up from its foundation"¹⁷ and that the Hindu Gods flew from their abodes, hearing the onmarch of Islamic forces. Having conquered the land, they spread their religion at the point of gun. Mass conversion must have taken place though it has been argued

that the conversion of a noble or *zamindar* need not necessarily mean large-scale exodus from Hinduism to Islam.¹⁸ The fact was that when the leader of a particular area, wielding influence over the mass, is converted, it is needless to say that the mass under his jurisdiction also accepted the imposition of the new religion. Unyielding Hindus were called *zimmis* and forced to pay *jizya*. In the wake of the coming of Islam and their process of conversion, the instrument of force occurs as a recurring feature. This led to communal outbursts in the days to come by creating an inevitable barrier between the Hindus and the Muslims. Both began to look upon each other as competitors and infidels and a historic sense of animosity between the two developed in course of time. As a historic subconscious feeling, this hatred continued to exist till the late 19th century A.D. when both ceased to be ruling powers. For all the communal outbursts of the freedom struggle period, though kindled by the British to serve their egoistic policy of divide and rule, this sense of natural enmity could have been the reason behind the curtain of history.

From the above study it is clear that communalism has acquired a solid ground in India through the historic periods. Various communal forces like race, caste, religion etc. had contributed for communal manifestations. Castegrowth in India had its own special problems which contributed lot of fuel for major communal outbursts. The coming of Christianity and its efforts at conversion also had its reflection on the communal politics. So in modern India a complex of problems like religious bigotry, racial jingoism, caste groupism and linguistic fanaticism jeopardised the healthy growth of a united India.

II. Problems and Perspectives

Of the various factors, contributing towards the proliferation of communal activities, caste has proved to be one of the most potent. It is pan-Indian while others operate vigorously in vicious circles. Caste based communalism arises mostly due

to the ill-treatment of lower-castes by the higher. Lower castes mostly consist of what is denoted with the prefix 'scheduled'. It is well known that caste proliferated in India during the ancient and medieval periods. The *dharmasāstras* enlist a number of castes which grew in a prolific measure under the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* methods.¹⁹ Most of these castes were treated with scorn and contempt by the high castes as they were supposed to be born with pollution, *janma-candālas*, and allotted the dirtiest of avocations like work in crematoria, leather, etc., which were least profitable and more toilsome, thus always keeping them under conditions of servitude and dependence upon high caste patronage. The jurists of the time treated these children of god as nothing more than dogs in human form.²⁰ For centuries together such degraded castes groaned heavily under a socially repressive system. Through the ages their hardships continued to increase till they reached a melting point in free India.

Now, we may take a few specific cases of caste onslaught which operated through repressive social legislations, framed by the so-called high castes, directed against the "exterior castes". In the thirties of the present century the Kallars of Rāmanāthapuram, a dominant war-like caste of the region, enacted a series of social legislation directed against the liberties of the scheduled castes as follows :

1. They (low castes) should not wear any ornaments of gold and silver.
2. Men should not wear clothes above the hip.
3. Men should not wear shirts, coats and banians.
4. Men should not crop their hair.
5. They should not use utensils other than earthen vessels.
6. Women should not wear jackets or any cloth to cover the upper part of the body.

7. Women should not decorate themselves with flowers or saffron paste.
8. Men should not use umbrellas or chappals.

Naturally in those days when the eight commandments were meekly obeyed by the 'under dogs', there was no communal problem. But when protests or violations raised their heads from any quarter it was enough to tease the 'upper-dogs' to react violently. The huts of the poor people were burnt, their properties destroyed and their live-stock looted.²¹

Such communal incidents were quite numerous and took place all over India. In all these cases the under-current or force was the same, i.e., the oppression of the scheduled castes. For example, the Pulayas in Travancore, constituted 10% of the local population, were subjected to a number of social repressions like denial of entry into public roads, schools, offices, temples etc.²² In an age of social awakening such inequalities had to be fought under the leadership of great men like Aiyankāṭi through communal associations like the *Sadhunaja Paripalana Yogam*, later called the *Travancore Pulaya Mahasabha* (1938). Another caste, by name Nāyāḍi, was not even allowed to beg publicly in Kerala.²³ Untouchability and unapproachability reached the acme of their operation in Mahārāshtra where the Mahars (serfs) and Maṅgs (leather workers) were not even allowed to tread the public places during the long shadow hours, lest their shadow should fall on caste Hindus and thereby pollute them. This is called unshadowability.

We get a full picture of the problems and perspectives of contemporary communalism in a book recently written by Prof. N.D. Kamble. It represents a graphic account of the communal episodes which were/are taking place in the different parts of India. Few such recorded incidents may be charted below:²⁴

1. Kidnapping and raping scheduled caste (SC) women. In a particular case, the victim who was raped by a

- caste Hindu reported the matter in a police station where she was again raped twice by the police inspector. (Gevrai, Maharashtra, 1962).
2. School teachers were scolded for teaching SC boys.
3. SCs were stoned for entering a caste *chāvāḍi* 'meeting place'. (Melur, 1951)
4. Assaulting SCs and ransacking their living quarters.
5. SCs were denied service by the village barber. (Melur, 1951).
6. SCs were not allowed to conduct a funeral procession in public roads, nor were they allowed to ride in cycles. (Melur, 1951)
7. SCs were denied the right to draw water from public wells (Melur, 1951) and bathe in public ghats.
8. SCs were forced to wear shirts. (Melur, 1951).
9. SCs were denied the right to enter village tea stalls. (Māṅkuḷam, Madurai, 1951).
10. SCs were beaten for entering a temple
11. SCs were not allowed to enter post offices. Instead separate post boxes were allotted for them. (Tirunilakudi, Kumbhakōṇam, 1953).
12. Police men were assisting caste Hindus in communal incidents.
13. Jains refused to admit SCs into their temples. (Indore, 1955 & Ujjain, 1956, MP).
14. Government servants (SCs) were not allowed to sit in chairs during office hours. (Bombay, 1957).
15. Government servants (SCs) were subjected to serious punishments like termination of services and retrenchment.²⁵
16. Houses of SCs were burnt and the victims also butchered in cold blood. (Mudukulattur, 1957).

17. Converts to Buddhism treated on par with SCs in Delhi²⁶ and most parts of Mahārāshtra.
18. SC *panchayat* members were not allowed to be seated during proceedings. (Khilchipur, Madhya Pradesh, 1963-64).
19. SCs were beaten for being seated in cots in their houses while caste Hindus passed that way. (Uttar Pradesh, 1965-66)
20. SCs were sold as slaves.

The above examples are a few dynamic aspects of communal atrocities committed by the caste Hindus against the weaker section of their society. The problem was not just one concerned with the mass, the powerless weak ones. Even high officials and national leaders of the low caste group were subject to such inhuman treatment. It is recorded that Shri Morarji Desai took some action against the low-caste slum dwellers.²⁷ Similarly Sri Y. B. Chavan as Chief Minister of Mahārāshtra didn't allow the cremation of the great national leader, Dr. Ambedkar, in the Chaupathi burial ground at Bombay. He also refused to declare a public holiday to mourn Dr. Ambedkar's death.²⁸ A judge in Karnāṭaka (Cundapura, 1963) is said to have acquitted some miscreants practising untouchability.²⁹

With reference to the above hints we may summarise as follows: Caste Hindus have consistently waged a war against the fundamental rights (to use a legal term) of scheduled castes. These problems are well spread out in all parts of India. In certain circles still these atrocities continue. The high castes in their jingoistic moves were supported by policemen, judges and political leaders. Violence perpetuated on the scheduled castes were quite horrible and there were none (in most cases) to rescue them. So in a desperate bid, the victims also had resorted in violent defences. In certain circles the degraded castes such as Puḷayas and Shāṇārs had fought heroically against

the oppressive caste Hindus and achieved their legitimate rights of equality through caste associations.³⁰ Thus caste has acted as a potent factor breeding communalism in India.

Other factors such as race, religion and language have operated in certain circles as warranted by the local ethos. The origin of regional political parties like the Drāviḍa Kaḷagam and its offshoots had a racial background. The time old dominance of minority Āryans against the majority Drāviḍians in the helm of affairs in Tamil Nadu was the chief impetus for genesis of these parties as their titles indicate. *Drāviḍa Munnētram* (Elevation of the Drāviḍian) was their motto³¹ which motivated these parties into action. They claimed a separate land for the Drāviḍian race, consisting of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnāṭaka and Āndhra Pradesh and pleaded for the upliftment of the Drāviḍian culture. When Hindi was imposed, leaders like Periyār E. V. R. vehemently opposed it and since the twenties of the present century they staged anti-Hindi (a dummy in the place of the Āryan Sanskrit) demonstrations. The D. M. K. imbibed this message and staged a major agitation against the imposition of Hindi and pro-Āryan Congress Government in the General Elections of 1967. The mobilisation of student power, the most vulnerable element to reactionary ideas, in the 1965 agitation served to produce lot of communal fire which resulted in burning buses, trains etc., Though the D. M. K. subsequently gave up its claim for Drāviḍa Nāḍu in the wake of the 9th Constitutional Amendment (1963), banning separatist parties, the anti-Hindi and anti-Āryan spirit continued to operate and appealed to the mass in a great measure. As a result of this the Shiva Sena in Mahārāshtra rose against the Tamils in Bombay. In Tamil Nadu during these anti-Hindi and anti-*Brāhmaṇa* agitations no damage was caused to any private property but in Mahārāshtra the Tamils were persecuted and their property looted as in Sri Lanka today. This is a good example for racial communalism in contemporary times.

The D.M.K. movement was significant in another sense in as far as it boosted the place of Tamil in the day to day affairs. The domination of Sanskrit vocabulary in administrative and ordinary parlance was rooted out (eg. *Satyameva Jayate* into *Vāymaiyē Vellum*). This was a triumph for Tamil against *maṇippravālam*. Though interpreted as a case of linguistic fanaticism by the North Indians, the Tamil revivalist movement through D.M.K. and A.I.A.D.M.K. has rendered a memorable service for the resurgence and preservation of Tamil culture through its language in its pristine purity. Of course it had a set back in the educational history of the land as a result of the drop out in national competitive examinations that candidates from Tamil Nadu had to face.

The organisation of Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh and the linguistic consciousness in West Bengal for their local language are good examples of linguistic communalism. But in these cases as linguistic force in operation, the 'ism' under study didn't produce any harmful results. But the concentration of a language people in certain pockets other than their own state (eg. Tamils in Bombay, Bengalis in Assam and Orissa) produced communal tensions and anti-social activities. The genocide in Sri Lanka is a classic example of communalism, at its worst in South Asia where atrocities on a minority people, racially and linguistically, are planned and executed at the cost of state patronage while sympathisers remain inactive spectators. Thus the language and language-based racialism have proved to be very active phenomena in the history of communalism in India.

Communalism on religious ground takes place mostly due to large-scale conversions. In this issue the affected party in most cases are low caste Hindus. Due to the age old oppression and suppression by the high castes, those in the lower rungs of the social system migrate to Islam, Christianity and Buddhism³². The temptations are mostly money. The enticed being poor,

easily fall a prey to incentives and imagining a better social status in the allured camp, cross the frontier. Strictly speaking a man has got the right to follow any religion of his choice according to his conscience. But some communal elements publicise these incidents as events of forcible conversion and as a result try to assault the group that attempts conversion. Here it is very difficult to say what that force is. Obviously there can be no physical force and no man will yield to it also. But force may operate indirectly. This we may call as the 'push' and 'pull' factors. The orthodox Hindus with their inherent notion of taboos towards the low castes and their obstinacy to accord equality of status to them 'push' their brethren outside the orbit of their society. Those who fish in troubled waters await for such an opportunity and 'pull' the elements under the process of exodus. This is also force, the victims being socially forced to quit a religion and seek asylum in a new one. When the process is complete, the affected religion which is obsessed with its taboo system, makes all the hue and cry through publicity. Communal problems break out as a sequel. The Hindu religion as a system had no faith in conversion. Recently there is an awakening as a result of which it wants to maintain its integrity and strength. When this is threatened by conversion they are alerted and so the problems.³³

Another important factor leading to religious communalism is festival celebrations. In a particular place like Mandaikkadu or Hyderabad which naturally in a cosmopolitan age lodge people of different religions, insinuating remarks or objections for festive processions in a thoroughfare easily kindle the communal fire, leading to violent outbursts. Yet another perspective of the problem is that two religious groups may lay their claims over a particular place, hillock or island or land (eg. Kanyakumari), for erection of a temple or church or mosque. Quarrels and skirmishes ultimately result in violent outbursts.

To summarise: In a multi-national state like India where there are a number of races, castes, religions and languages,

33. This being a sensitive question the author doesn't want to cite examples and analyse them. Let it be the concern of sociologists. But we may add that in most cases the *modus operandi* is like this.
34. M.N. Srinivas, *Caste in modren India and other Essays* (Bombay, 1978) pp. 42-62.

NOTE ON A PATTADAKAL INSCRIPTION

DR. SRINIVAS V. PADIGAR*

The famed Virūpāksha temple in Pattadakal, attributed to Lokāmahādēvī, the senior queen of Chālukya Vikramāditya II (c. 733-744 A.D.), has some inscriptions on it. They mostly record the honours conferred on the architects of the temple or mention architects or sculptors themselves. A quarter of a century ago an inscription of the latter category was published by A. M. Annigeri.¹ He has read the inscription as follows :

1. Svsti Śrī Sakarēsavādiga-
2. la pādadhūli Lōkēśvara
3. mēlgaṇḍu geydōn Āditya-
4. śrīpādadēvaputran

He has summarised its contents as : "Āditya-Śrīpādadēva's son, the foot-dust of (i.e., disciple of) Sakarēsivādi, made the ceiling (*mēlgaṇḍu*) of the Lōkēśvara (temple)."² A less perfect summary of this record has also appeared in a work of B. R. Gopal and S. H. Ritti : "States that Dēvaputraka, the disciple of Saṃkarēsivādi constructed the *mēlgaṇḍu* (of the temple) of Bikēśvara".³ Scholars have since blindly followed this reading.⁴

During a recent visit to Pattadakal, I happened to examine this record. I found that the actual text of the record differed considerably from the one published by Annigeri. As such its interpretation also needs revision. The inscription is in four lines on the inner face of the right wall of the Virūpāksha

*Lecturer in Ancient Indian History & Epigraphy,
Karnatak University, Dharwad-580003.

living in close quarters, the chances for disagreement and communal outbursts are numerous. Each and every one of this group is homogenous. They have their own problems within and others which are mutual. These problems serve to breed violence. When violence is mobilised and organised under associations and leadership, they acquire a multi-dimensional character, threatening the establishment of an egalitarian society. So the need of the day is solutions to problems.

III. Solutions to Problems

Communal problems mostly arise out of caste inequalities. To get rid of caste maladjustments, it has been suggested that conversions could act as an effective pill. But our analysis has proved that conversions themselves have served to kindle communal tensions. Again through conversions the place of a socially backward caste may be shifted from one religion to another but the problems continue because even Islam and Christianity have their own castes and are prone to the same problems. So it is not the right way towards eradication of communalism.

Similarly the suggestion to create a separate state for untouchables, *dalitsthan*, is a far fetched idea, utopian in nature. Even if such a state is created it may try to avoid the problem but not eradicate it. The eminent sociologist, M.N. Srinivas, has suggested Sankritisation and Westernisation to create an awareness among the scheduled castes and thereby solve the problem.¹⁴ But this could only be a slow and steady process. So also the suggestion of urbanisation will take decades together to urbanise the 5,60,000 villages in India.

So what is needed is a strong action against all caste and communal questions. Just like the Anglo-Indian administrators of the British Raj who did away with *sati*, *thugi* etc., an iron

policy should be framed to root out all communalisms. For this purpose India needs a race of rulers like Sardar Vallabhai Patel. If caste is effaced from the surface of Indian society most of the communal problems are sure to vanish. The map of India should be redrawn in straight lines, doing away with the linguistic states as in the United States of America. Regional chauvinism and linguistic fanaticism could be eradicated through this process. All narrow minded organisations and institutions, caste associations in particular, should be banned. Indians should feel the Indian-ness in them and not as Aryans, Dravidians, Hindus, Muslims, Tamilians Bengalis and the like. As long as the Indians lag behind in this sentiment of secularism all communal movements will continue to persist.

Notes and References

1. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (15th ed 1981), III p. 44
2. G.R. Madan. *Indian Social Problems* (New Delhi, 1982), I, p. 391.
3. Raju Kalidos, "Historical Background of Caste and Communalism in India", *Kalvi Arangam*, Oct. 1982, p. 74
4. H.H. Wilson, *Rig Veda Samhita* (New Delhi, 1977), V, p. 238; Swami Satya Prakash Saraswathi & Satyakam Vidyamkar, *Rig Vedic Samhita* (New Delhi, 1977), II p. 105; H.D. Grigworld, *The Religion of the Rig Veda* (Delhi, 1971) pp. 37, 194, 177, 208; A.C. Clayton, *The Rig Veda and the Vedic Religion* (New Delhi 1981), pp. 6, 17, 182.
5. R.C. Majumdar (ed), "The age of Imperial Unity" *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bombay 1968), II, p. 547.
6. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India* (Calcutta, 1971), p. 142.

7. C.E. Ramachandran, *Ahanānūru in its Historical Setting* (Madras, 1974), pp. 58-9.
8. Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (Oxford, 1962), p. 213.
9. M. Arunachalam, *The Kalabhras in the Pandya country and their impact on the life and Letters there* (Madras, n.d.) pp. 94-100.
10. *Ibid* , pp. 25-100.
11. *Tiruvilaiyāḍal Purāṇam* (of Parañjōti), *Kūḍar-kāṇḍam* : 4 *Yānai-yeytiya-paṭalam*, 10. *Nāgameyda-paṭalam* & 11. *Māyappacuvai-vataitta-paṭalam*.
12. *Tiruvilaiyāḍar Purāṇam* (of Perumbarrappuliyūr Nambī) 38 *Kaḷuvēriṇa-tiruvilaiyāḍal*.
13. R. Panchanatham Pillai, *Madurai Arulmiku Mīṇāḷci-Sundarēśvarar Kōvil Varalāru* (Madurai, 1975), pp. 77-82.
14. N. Jagedeeaan, *Sri Vaiṣṇavism in the Tamil Country* (Madurai, 1977), p. 283.
15. K.V. Raman, *Śrī Varadarājswāmi Temple-Kāñchi* (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 2-3.
16. *Annual Epigraphical Reports*, 1919, No. 644.
17. Elliot & Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (Allahabad, n.d.), VII, p. 283.
18. Harbans Mikhia, "Medieval Indian History and the Communal Approach" *Communalism and the Writing of Indian History* (New Delhi, 1981), p. 82.
19. Raju Kalidos, "Varṇa Saṁkara in Ancient India" *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore, 1984), LXXV:4, pp. 374-87.

20. *Yajñavalkya-saṁhita*. 1:103, 192; Raju Kalidos, *op cit.*, p.378.
21. J.H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (Oxford, 1961), pp.205-6
22. T.P. Sankarankutty Nair. "Aiyankali : the Social Reformer". *SIHC Annual Proceedings* (Madurai, 1980), p.168.
23. E.Edgar Thurston. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), V.pp. 274-82.
24. N.D. Kamble, *Atrocities on Scheduled Castes* (Delhi, 1981) pp. 1-69 *passim*.
25. *Ibid.* p. 21. 26. *Ibid.*, p. 28. 27. *Ibid.*, p. 11. 28. *Ibid.* pp. 31-2. 29. *Ibid* , p. 54.
30. But it is disheartening to note that some historians in recent years are trying to exaggerate the part played by some communities like the Nāḍārs in a general text-book on the History of Tamil Nadu. No doubt Nāḍārs played a role in social awakening but will it amount to any period or chapter in a general history book ? This is communalism in historical writing. Similarly a story-teller by name Sujata who had something to say about the social status of Shāṇārs during the British days was forced to stop writing his novel in the *Kumudam* as a result of the boycott of the journal, announced by their caste association. This is another type of communalism which attempts to subvert the historical fact.
31. Anita Diehl, *Periyar E.V. Ramaswami* (Bombay etc., 1978), pp. 9-10, 58-65 *passim*
32. For a case study of the Mahars of Mahārāshṭra see N. D. Kamble, *Depressed Castes and their Struggle for Equality*, (New Delhi 1983).

temple. It is in Kannada characters of c. 8th century. The inscription reads as follows :

1. Svasti Śrī Sakkarēsavādiga
2. la pādadhūli Lōkēsvara
3. mēlganḍu geydōn Āditya-
4. grihada Dēvaputran

It may be translated as follows : "Hail ! Dēvaputra of the Āditya temple, the foot-dust of Śrī Sakkarēsivādi, made the ceiling (sculpture) of (the temple of) Lōkēsvara."

Apparently the record refers to a Dēvaputra (son of God) who made the ceiling sculpture of the Sun-god in the eastern *mukhamandapa* of the Virūpāksha temple. It is not clear whether, like Achala, he was the son of Dēvayya⁵ or his name itself was Dēvaputra. But we may certainly reckon him among the best sculptors of the Virūpāksha temple.

Nor can anything definite be said about Sakkarēsivādi whose disciple Dēvaputra claim to be. Was he a religious priest or an architect-sculptor? Since instead of the commoner terms *Chaṭṭa* or *Śishya* the term *pādadhūli* has been used in the record, we may regard him as a religious priest associated with the Virūpāksha temple.⁶

There can be no doubt about the identification of god Lōkēsvara. We know from the other inscriptions of Pattadakal⁷ that the deity of the Virūpāksha temple was originally called Lōkēsvara, being named after Lōkamahādēvī, the queen of Vikramāditya II.

The new reading also brings to the fore an interesting fact, i.e., the existence of an Āditya temple (*Āditya-griha*) in Pattadakal. Sun worship was considerably popular in the region around Pattadakal, particularly in Aihole and Badami, during the Vātāpi Chālukya period.⁸ But in Pattadakal so far only the

Śaiva and Jaina monuments are known. Should we then discern here a reference to a Sun temple in Pattadakal? Or is it merely a casual reference to the *mukhamandapa* of the Virūpāksha temple itself? The latter possibility cannot be swept aside, and precisely for this reason : The *mukhamandapa* referred to in the record is on the eastern side ; and the most excellent and delicate carving found in this *mukhamandapa* is that of Sūrya (Āditya) in the ceiling which Dēvaputra claims to have made. However, since the inscription does not refer to the Ādityagriha of the Lōkēsvara temple such a possibility is less likely. Hence it is plausible that an early Chālukya temple dedicated to the Sun-god may come to light in Pattadakal if a careful search is undertaken

Notes and References

1. Annigeri, A. M., *Pattadakalla Guḍigalu* (in Kannada), Kannada Research Institute, Dharwad, 1960, p. 82, No. 9.
2. *Ibid*.
3. Gopal, B. R. and Ritti, Shrinivas, *Summaries of Inscriptions (1943-44 to 1949-50)*, (Gen. Ed., Desai, P. B.), Kannada Research Institute, Dharwad. 1966, No. 37 of 1945-46.
4. For instance, See Rajasekhara, S., *Early Chālukya Art at Aihole*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi-1985, p. 33.
5. A couple of inscriptions on the Virūpāksha temple refer to one Achala as son of Dēvayya (Annigeri, A. M., *op. cit.*, p. 81, No. 7 and p. 82, No. 10). But he is described as an expert in the art of dance and drama. Therefore he is not likely to be the Dēvaputra of the inscription under consideration. It would appear that "Dēvaputra" is the actual name of the individual concerned.

6. But we must note that the term *pādadhūli* has been also used in the contemporary records in the context of disciples of craftsmen. e.g., *Kalkuṭṭigara pādadhūli* (the foot-dust of stone-cutters); Rajendra Prasad, *Chalukyan temples of Andhradesa*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1983, p. 11.
7. Annigeri, A. M., *op. cit.*, p. 78, No. 1; p. 80, No. 5; p. 95, No. 24.
8. For instance, the Mālaggitti Sivālaya in Badami, the Durga temple, the Sūryanārāyana temple, and the Ambigēraguḍi, etc. in Aihole show decidedly *Saura* affiliation.

PRESS AND POLITICS IN PRINCELY
MYSORE : 1874-1908.

R. RAMAKRISHNAN*

(Continued from previous issue)

V

In the history of the Press in Mysore, the *Deshabimani* was the first paper to be suppressed by the Government. This Kannada weekly, started in 1892, was owned and edited by B.C. Srinivasaiyengar. According to the editor, the paper dealt 'with the politics of Mysore with a special object of representing the real public grievances caused by the mal-administration of Sir.K.Seshadri Iyer.'⁶⁶ The paper also participated in the Mysorean-Madrasi controversy on the Mysorean side, and in addition, published comments on a variety of subjects.⁶⁷

The *Deshabimani* published matter of a scandalous nature involving the Maharaja also. Four articles that appeared in the paper between the 5th of February and the 10th of March 1894, attracted the attention of the Government.⁶⁸ The first of these articles was in the form of a dialogue between the editor and a certain *Karala* (in Kannada meaning 'the terrible' but here referring to the Government). The dialogue was on the subject of the autocratic ways of the Government and the paper's exposure of the same. While *Karala* warned the editor of serious consequences if he continued publishing articles criticising the Government, the editor warned *Karala* that the people were just waiting for an opportunity to revolt against the Government. The other three articles made indecent remarks

against the head of the Parakala Math, education for women and to the ruler of the state.

Deeming these articles as scurrilous and abusive, the Government summoned the editor of the *Deshabimani* to appear before the Dewan and offer explanations.⁵⁸ But Srinivasiyengar sought clarifications regarding the nature of explanations required and added that he would be able to explain better in writing than orally.⁶⁰ The Dewan was not interested in carrying on any correspondence and hence he was warned that if he failed to appear personally, final action in the matter would be taken.⁶¹ Srinivasiyengar failed to comply and the Government suspended the *Deshabimani* for one year.⁶² The Deputy Commissioner of Mysore who was to carry out the order was separately directed to proceed by attaching the printing press and issue the notice of suspension to the proprietor, printer, editor and the subscribers of the paper.⁶³

Several newspapers both from Mysore and outside the state, distinguished between two related issues in the *Deshabimani* case: They agreed that the writings in the paper were vituperative and deserved punishment but, they were critical of the Government's order suspending the paper without instituting legal proceedings against the erring editor.⁶⁴

The *Deshabimani* had been suspended for one year only. But as it turned out to be, the Government's order of the 15th March 1894, marked the demise of the paper. But Srinivasiyengar was not cowed down. He continually battled with the Government for the next twelve years. Sometime after the paper had been suspended, the Government offered to return printing machinery provided Srinivasiyengar gave sufficient security to abide by the order suspending the publication of the paper. Srinivasiyengar not only refused to obey the order of suspension but charged the Government with illegal action and demanded the return of the machinery with damages for the same. Subsequently he threatened to bring suit against the

Government and later went on to address a memorial to the Representative Assembly in October 1894, condemning the administration of the Maharaja and Sir K. Seshadri Iyer.⁶⁵ The Assembly did not have the necessary power to discuss this question and hence the memorial was ignored.

After the period of suspension was completed, Srinivasiyengar was asked to take back his property. However, he demanded that the press be delivered to him as and where it had been at the time of attachment. The Government refused and for the next five years, the case remained closed. In 1902, Srinivasiyengar memorialised both to the Maharaja and his Private Secretary regarding the injustice meted to him. He prayed that either his press be returned or he be compensated in some manner for the loss of income. The Government intimated that he may take back his property but rejected his prayer for compensation. Srinivasiyengar refused to take back his press machinery.⁶⁶

While refusing to take back his machinery, he again memorialised the Government that he be granted some lands as compensation for the loss of income. This time, the Government acceded and granted him some fifteen acres of land in the Nanjangud taluk. Strangely, Srinivasiyengar did not take possession of the lands set apart for him but went on to write to the Resident in 1906 that his press had been illegally attached.⁶⁷ The matter was referred to the Dewan who gave the Resident the details. The *Deshabimani* case closed at this stage.⁶⁸

VI

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of far-reaching social reforms in the country. While Mysore was slow in initiating social reforms or even copying the work that was being done in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, it could not remain unaffected by the trends and development in the Presidencies. Gradually, with the spread of education, Mysorean

Hindus also realised the need for reforming their society. Added to this was the impetus for reform provided by the Christian missionaries' exposure and even denigration of Hindu social practices.

The *Karnataka Prakasika* began to react very early, to the reformist issues then being debated in the three Presidencies. But, the paper took a stand of caution. It was not for wholesale revamping of the Hindu society in the rush to Westernise it. The *Prakasika* commented in favour of reform of Hindu society within the framework of the Shastras and cautioned reformers, especially the English educated youths not to blindly ape the West in everything but to carefully go about altering only those customs and practices which were really evil.⁶⁹ As early as in 1877, the *Prakasika* carried a series of articles advocating the remarriage of widows.⁷⁰ The paper advocated education of women but advised care in the matter.⁷¹ Women should not be allowed to jostle with men in public life, the *Prakasika* said.⁷² The paper was against the dowry evil and the Western practice of divorce.⁷³ It did not want reformers to ape the West in advocating the liberation of Indian women and suggested that Hindus should give up their unnecessarily expensive wedding customs which had no *shastric* sanction. In a general sense, the *Prakasika* said that any social reforms should be the result of a spontaneous surge in society and the Government should not interfere in such matters.⁷⁴

One of the important social reform legislations passed by the Government of Mysore was the Infant Marriages Prevention Regulation of 1894. Leading papers of Mysore had supported the Age of Consent Bill, which had come before the Viceroy in 1891 and there had been considerable discussion of the issue in Mysore before the legislation was mooted.⁷⁵ The Government's announcement that a Bill to prevent infant marriages would be brought up resulted in a great deal of newspaper comment and most of them supported the law.⁷⁶ There was considerable

public opposition to the measure and in spite of it the Assembly passed the measure in 1894.⁷⁷ Though the regulation was rigidly not enforced, the initially important fact that such a law had been passed at all, made Mysore the darling and bright star of India to social reformers.⁷⁸

As in social reforms, so in nationalism, Mysore could not isolate itself from the emerging movement in British India. It is significant to note that, in Mysore the beginnings of the nationalist stance was the expression of the need for starting public associations. As rightly pointed out by Anil Seal "Associations brought nineteenth century India across the threshold of modern Politics."⁷⁹ As early as in 1885, the *Karnataka Prakasika* expressed the need for an organisation on the lines of the Madras Mahajana Sabha and the next year it wrote: "What, indeed is the use of a Representative Assembly, unless it is properly instructed by a consensus of opinion such as a Mahajana Sabha could evoke and put into practical shape? Scores of political questions are passed by or slurred over for want of such an institution as that which we advocate. If the Bangaloreans have no originality of idea, they may, at least, take a leaf out of the example set to them let us say, by Madras, and establish for themselves a Mahajana Sabha, which as an English paper says...may become, one of the 'watch-dogs of civilisation'. Any thing, any measure, any redress of a public grievance or wrongs, suggested by an influential and intelligent body of men, of whom the Sabha will be composed, must, on the face of things have some force and effect on the Government. In our union lies our strength."⁸⁰

The culmination of the many public associations that had been started in the three Presidency headquarters was the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885. While Mysore did not have an organisation comparable to the several predecessors of the Congress and until the 1930s, it could not directly participate in the Congress activities, the Press very early

recognised the momentous nature of the founding of the Congress. The *Karnataka Prakasika* was a great advocate and supporter of the Congress. In 1887, the paper called upon all other public political associations in the country to merge themselves with the Congress and petition the Government of India for reform of the representative institutions.⁸¹ Later the paper wanted the Congress to support the people of the native states in their fight against oppression and it cited the example of Mysore under the administration of Seshadri Iyer.⁸² The *Prakasika* never doubted the usefulness of the Congress for the country. It said, "The voice of the Congress is that of the whole people of India, from Himalaya to Cape Camorin, and from Bombay to Calcutta. It must make itself heard, and though—we cannot expect that it will carry everything before it, there can be no doubt that its labours will not have been in vain."⁸³

The paper trusted that the Congress would achieve many great and astonishing things in the years to follow⁸⁴ and to detractors of the movement it retorted, "The opposition it has met will only make it all the stronger; it will strike its roots deeper as does the tree that is blown about by the storm. A few leaves may fall off; a few branches may be snapped, but the tree itself remains intact. Sir Auckland Calvin may prophecy evil, Sir Ahmed Khan may show his displeasure, but the Indian National Congress stand firm."⁸⁵ However, the paper did not consider the Congress as an anti-British organisation. It agreed that the British rule had conferred numerous benefits to the people but the Congress was only trying to teach the ruler what more they ought to do for the people.⁸⁶ There was even a demand that the Princes ought to become members of the Congress.⁸⁷

In addition to reacting to the work of the Indian National Congress, the Press in Mysore also commented on most of the important national level events and happenings. The *Karnataka*

Praksika demand that the natives of India should be allowed seats in the British Parliament to vote on all Indian subjects and in general it also wanted a larger share for the Indians in the administration.⁸⁸ Several papers commented that the poverty of India was due to the selfish economic policies pursued by the British Government of the country and, that this otherwise benevolent Government was sure to pauperise the country unless it changed its land revenue policies.⁸⁹ The outrages in Poona during the plague,⁹⁰ the conviction of Bal Gangadhar Tilak,⁹¹ the Indian Councils Bill of 1890 which became an Act in 1892,⁹² and the Partition of Bengal⁹³ were all subjects of mild critical comments in the Mysorean papers.

There were voices of dissent on some of these national subjects. One paper felt that the very establishment of the Congress was immature and felt that it would fail.⁹⁴ The extremist movement brought forth some strong opposition. The *Mysore star* initially mild in its displeasure to the *swadeshi* propoganda⁹⁵ and extremism, came out strongly against the cult of the bomb in 1908 stating that, "the ultimate result of the vapourings of the extremists can be nothing but disaster to their country as their method is the impossible one of forcing the strongest Government in the world to yield to their clamour."⁹⁶

VII

The history of Christian connection with Mysore goes back to the fourteenth century, though there are evidences supporting an even earlier connection. But from the closing years of the eighteenth century, as a result of the evangelical revival in the West, a new era began in the history of Christian endeavour in South India. Stations, schools and seminaries were opened all over the Peninsula and a multi-pronged attempt was made to spread the message of the Gospel among the masses. Though the Protestant connection with Mysore began only in the nineteenth century with the starting of the London Missionary

Society and the Wesleyan Christian Mission in 1820, they out-did the Catholics who had at least a century earlier nexus, both in quantum and effectiveness of work.

The grand design of missionary activity in Mysore, as it was elsewhere was the conversion of the natives to their religion. To achieve this, they adopted a variety of methods, one of which was to show to the natives moral and spiritual superiority by systematically denigrating Hinduism, its gods, rituals, philosophy and social practices. Numerous articles and notes were published in the *Harvest Field*, the principal organ of missionary propaganda, describing the natives, as a depraved people, their religion as a system abounding in gross absurdities, contradictions and sanctioning the most cruel vices. Such articles, though sufficiently harsh did not provoke any reaction from the Hindus. The proselytising activities of the missionaries went on unhampered. But conversion involved certain socio-legal problems: 1. The question of the rights of minors in age to get converted, 2. The question whether a married convert could enter into a second marriage by deeming the pre-conversion marriage as dissolved, and 3. The question of the rights of a convert such as, right of guardian-ship of minor children, right of inheritance, right of conjugal society with a non-Christian married partner and the right of residence in the family house. All these issues were involved in two law suits that came up before the courts in Mysore between 1872 and 1894.⁹⁹ The missionaries started a campaign seeking legislative solution to these civil disabilities suffered by native converts to Christianity. The Hindus also reacted. The result was a long feverish battle between Hindus and Christian missionaries in the form of articles, memorials, pamphlets and political pressurising. The Missionaries demanded the extension to Mysore of the Act XXI of 1850 to remove the civil disabilities suffered by native converts to Christianity and the Act XXI of 1866 providing for the dissolution of marriages. Missionary propaganda involved

the active co-operation of British officers and Residents of the state such as William Lee Warner, J. A. Bourdillon, Copeland, Evans Gordon and Stuart Fraser. They even carried the campaign to England and saw to its culmination in brief debate in the House Commons.⁹⁹

A series of articles were written in the *Harvest Field* projecting the missionary viewpoint.¹⁰⁰ These articles described conversions as 'liberty of conscience' and demanded that the Government should protect minors in age when they were seeking conversion. The authors also demanded that women should be given liberty to protest against enforced marriages and that generally there should be legislative sanction for divorce by either party in a marriage. Further, they also demanded that a convert should not be barred from inheriting from joint family property and, that he should be free to reside in the family house and practice his religion without hinderance. Most important of all, they demanded that the Maharaja of Mysore should positively encourage Christianity but, if that was not possible, he should at least protect converts to Christianity by removing the disabilities suffered by them.

Native reaction was vociferous. Native newspapers, and public men sounded their battle cry and a sustained, miasmatic and occasionally vituperative campaign against the missionary demands was unleashed in Mysore. The *Karnataka Prakasika*, the *Mysore Herald* and *Mysore Standard* carried a series of articles and letters expressing categorical opposition to the demands of the missionaries. As early as in December 1875, the *Karnataka Prakasika* wrote, "There may come a time when, without Governmental interference, Jacob Crane will inherit equally with Mookoonda Bhat, from their common father Yagnambhat; but we wish to see such thoughtless conversions take their own course, and not to be facilitated by any Act of the Government, to the greatest discontent and horror of the people at large, which state of things to the best

of our understanding is very derogatory to the peaceful character of a British Administration."¹⁰¹

In a later issue, the same paper said that if the Government acceded to the demands of the missionaries they would be going against the Royal Proclamation, which promised non-interference in native customs and religion.¹⁰² More systematic arguments were posited by the *Mysore Herald* and the *Mysore Standard*.¹⁰³ These papers based their arguments on the promise that Mysore was being ruled by a Hindu ruler and that a majority of his subjects were Hindus. Hence, if the laws demanded by the missionaries were introduced, the very basis of the Hindu law of inheritance and property would be destroyed. Apostasy was a punishable offence in Hindu law, the paper pointed out. The papers urged that the Maharaja should not assent to the passing of a statute that would derange the social, religious and legal institutions of the majority of his subjects. It was further argued that the proposed laws would benefit very few people since moneyed classes rarely if at all elected to conversion. And if an individual was convinced of the need for change in religion, he could as well seek a division of property before being converted. The proposed laws would only act as a premium to conversion and in the final analysis cut at the roots of Hindu society and solidarity, the papers urged. Writing on the subject, the *Mysore Standard* said, "Hindu laws will be restricted and lessened in dignity, if exceptions quite incongenial to its basic principles could be made. It is therefore very serious innovation that is not being discussed in Mysore. Let not His Highness the Maharaja raise up a Frankenstein. There is no overwhelming necessity for the immediate introduction of the provisions of the Draft Regulation and let all of these be better topics for academic discussion than for serious legislation".¹⁰⁴

Finally the missionaries lost the battle after thirty-four years. In 1906, the Government of India intimated the Resi-

dent and through him the missionaries, that it would not intervene in the matter. Taking this cue, the Government of Mysore also gave up its intention of introducing the two statutes that were demanded.¹⁰⁵

VIII

The *Mysore Standard*, an English weekly, owned and edited by one M. Srinivasaiyengar and his brother, published a note, in 1897, that the Maharani-Regent of Mysore had entertained a group of South Indian dancing girls in the palace and that it would have done her great credit had she not entertained those 'fallen angels'.¹⁰⁶ The Maharani felt hurt, not so much by the statement which was basically false but by the spirit of disloyalty shown to her by the writer and sought the assistance of the Dewan to afford her legal protection against such calumnious attacks.¹⁰⁷

Seshadri Iyer agreed that the statement in question in the *Standard* was scurrilous and said that, while in an absolute monarchy like Mysore a newspaper could be drastically punished, the question of expediency had to be carefully considered. Repressive action against an erring editor, especially when the public opinion in the country was warped would "send up a howl...from all parts of India against all from Her Highness downwards," he felt.¹⁰⁸ The Resident Colonel Robertson agreed that it was not "good policy to suppress a newspaper,"¹⁰⁹ unless there was very strong need for it. Finally, the editor of the *Standard* was forced to publish an apology in his paper. Srinivasaiyengar regretted his "false publication barbed by an insinuation and allusion highly disrespectful to the personality of the Sovereign."¹¹⁰ In 1900, the editor of the *Suryodayas*, another weekly paper, was warned for what the Government deemed as a false article regarding the plague, the Resident having opined that stronger action was unnecessary.¹¹¹

Between May and October 1905, the *Mysore Standard* published three articles which were considered objectionable by the administration of P.N. Krishnamurthy. The first was a Leader, which charged the Dewan with favouritism in the matter of certain appointments.¹¹² The second article was in the form of a dialogue. It dealt with the question of the Dewan vis-a-vis the Executive Council.¹¹³ This was the subject of a forceful debate between the Dewan, the Maharaja and the Resident. While Krishnamurthy felt that the Dewan should be given more powers and the Executive Council should be converted into a Consultative Council, the Resident advised the ruler to the contrary.¹¹⁴ The *Standard* discussed this subject and said, "the Dewan must be subservient to the Council. The term must in future be, 'the Maharaja in Council decides' so and so."¹¹⁵ This dialogue went to charge the Dewan of having excluded Mysoreans from participation in local politics. The last article in question, referred to the Dewan's Address to the Representative Assembly and said, that he had filled "about 26 pages of empty words with the sole object of making the people believe that he had done everything that lay in his power."¹¹⁶ The editor concluded saying, "The people have not been benefited in the least. The service is disorganised, the departments have gone out of control and we here of official frauds and defalcations twice in three months."¹¹⁷

Referring to these articles, the Government wanted the editor of the *Standard*, to explain within three days failing which he was threatened with final action.¹¹⁸ The editor did not comply.¹¹⁹ The Government reacted first by throwing out a representative of the newspaper from the Representative Assembly hall and later issued circulars to all the Government departments to suspend subscriptions and withhold information and advertisements to the paper.¹²⁰ The editor memorialised the Government vainly for the withdrawal of these orders.¹²¹ Several newspapers from all over the country criticised the action of the Government of Krishnamurthy. In this mass of

pungent censure several critical directions may be discerned: "that the action of the Government was arbitrary and autocratic,"¹²² "that the Government should have given the editor a hearing before taking action,"¹²³ "that the editor if found guilty, could have been legally prosecuted,"¹²⁴ "that the action of the Government was an outrage on the freedom of the Press,"¹²⁵ "that the reputation of the Government of Mysore was at stake,"¹²⁶ that the Indian National Congress should discuss the issue, "that the action of the Government was a retrograde step and a mere theatrical procedure, and"¹²⁸ "that" it was a sad commentary on the Mysore Representative Assembly not to have protested."¹²⁹

The Government letter withdrew its orders on the *Mysore Standard*.

IX

The 34 years between 1874 and 1908 constitute a momentous period in the history of the Press in the Princely state of Mysore. Even apart from the role of the Press, these years are very significant in the history of Mysore as such. Both the political and social scenes in the state witnessed important events and developments and what is more important, newspaper participated in all the happenings. The press in the state was also alive to all the national level happenings.

One of the dominant issues of the period between 1874 and 1908 was the Mysorean-Madrasi controversy. In this contest, the claims made by both the lobbies were exaggerated. The Mysorean claim that the administration was being flooded by Madrasis had no foundation in facts. Except in the top echelons in the bureaucracy, the Mysoreans dominated in the services. At the end of 1879, Madrasis accounted for only one out of every three posts in the Mysore administration. Again between 1883 and 1895, omitting the non-Indian element, hardly

one out of every five men in the administration was a Mad-rasi.¹³⁰ The Mad-rasi view point of the general inefficiency of the Mysoreans was also an obvious exaggeration.

The charge made by the Press that Chamaraja Wodeyar X had been denationalised was a matter of opinion. Criticisms against Rangacharlu and Seshadri Iyer should be basically seen as part of the anti-Madrasi posturing of the Mysorean lobby. To this extent the papers started from a fundamental bias. In considering the allegation that Seshadri Iyer attempted to wield all administrative authority by himself by suppressing the Maharaja, the Assembly and the Council, it has to be admitted that Seshadri Iyer was such a forceful personality that he almost looked an autocrat. Again it has to be admitted that Seshadri Iyer was definitely tolerant of pungent criticisms of his administration and personality. Further, Rangacharlu and Seshadri Iyer have been generally considered as efficient administrators. Comments regarding the Rendition Instrument shows how the Press in Mysore had very early become so bold as to comment on the policies and attitudes of the Paramount power.

The fact that Mysore was influenced by the nineteenth century trend of social reform that swept over British India is borne out by the newspapers of Mysore. The Press championed the cause of reforming Hindu society but expressed a note of caution. Papers warned reformers not to be swept off their feet in the rush to change Hindu society to make it conform to the fashionable western model. Rightly did the papers ask the reformers to change only those aspects of the Hindu social order which were hampering its progress and those practices which were really evil. Such an attitude aimed at maintaining the identity of Hindu society while cleaning it of all meaningless accretions and social evils. This was a very balanced point of view. The agitation against the statutory redressal of civil disabilities suffered by native converts to Christianity is an important chapter in the social history of Mysore. In spite of

the massive and forceful campaign by the missionaries for thirty-two years, if the Acts XXI of 1850 and XXI of 1866 were not introduced into Mysore, the prime reason was the opposition of the native newspapers. The native opposition campaign brings out the limits set by the Press for reforming Hindu society. The Press did not favor revamping Hindu society to suit missionary needs.

That Mysore could not isolate itself from the early nationalism is also borne out by the Press. While the national movement was a late development in Mysore, at least a section of the population in the state were influenced by the Congress and its work in British India. Until 1908, there was no statutory control on the Press in Mysore. The Government naturally wielded its executive authority on two papers for what it deemed as objectionable writings.

In 1908, Mysore brought into force the Newspaper Regulation III to control the Press. While the ostensible purpose of this law was to control irresponsible and objectionable writings in papers like the *Deshabimani* and the *Mysore Standard*, in fact it was thrust upon Mysore by the Paramount power to restrict the nationalist propaganda through newspapers.¹³¹

Notes & references :

56. G & R S, G.M. No. 184-02, sls., 1-14 of 1902-03, B.C. Srinivasayengar in a Memorial to H.H. Maharaja of Mysore dated, 23.10.1902. (Karnataka Archives)
57. NNR for 1892, noticing *Deshabimani*, 6.8.1892; NNR for 1893, noticing *Deshabimani*, 4.2.1893 and 20.5.1893.
58. G & R S, G.M., 42 of 1906-07.

59. *Ibid.*, Observations on certain articles which appeared in the *Deshabhimani* newspaper, see and Secretary to the Dewan of Mysore to B.C. Srinivasaiyengar, *Official Memo* No. 18 dated, 14.3.1894.
60. *Ibid.*, B.C. Srinivasaiyengar to the Secretary to the Dewan of Mysore, dated, 13.3.1894.
61. *Ibid.*, Secretary to Dewan of Mysore to B.C. Srinivasaiyengar, *Official Memo* No. 22 dated, 15.3.1894.
62. *P.G.M.*, for March 1894, Order No 23 dated, 15.3.1894.
63. *G & R S, G.M.*, file No 184-02 of 1902, sls. 1-14, *Endorsement* no. 895 dated, 27.10.1902 referring to the direction to the Deputy Commissioner of Mysore district.
64. *Vrittanta Bodhini*, 21.4.1894; *Vrittanta Patrike*, 26.4.1894 in *NNR* for 1894; *Karnataka Prakasika*, 26.3.1894; *The Hindu*, 24.3.1894 quoting *Mysore Herald*; the *Banglore Spectator*, 31.3.1894 and the *Mail*, 24.3.1894.
65. *G & R S, G.M.* file No. 189 of 1904-05 sls., 1-2 and No. 12 of 1906-07 *op.cit.*
66. *G & R S, G.M.* file No. 12 of 1906-07, *op.cit.*, file No. 184 of 1902-03 sls. 1-4, *op.cit.*, and No. 189 of 1904-05 sls. 1-2, *op.cit.*
67. *G & R S, G.M.*, file No. 42 of 1906-07, *op.cit.*
68. Srinivasaiyengar, however, attempted to secure permission from the Government for starting papers several times but in vain. See, *Compilation of Papers Relating to the Mysore Newspaper Regulation*, 1908, pp. 64-70, 89-90 and *pp* file No. 11 of 1923.

69. *Karnataka Prakasika*, 23.7.1888, 17.12.1888, and 24.12.1888.
70. *Ibid.*, 5.11.1877, 12.11.1877, 19.11.1897, 26.11.1877, 3.12.1877, 20.6.1877 and 24.12.1888.
71. *Ibid.*, 23.7.1888; 30.4.1888; 11.1.1878; 18.1.1878; 25.2.1878.
72. *Ibid.*, 23.7.1878.
73. *Ibid.*, 23.7.1888; 18.7.1887; 17.12.1888; 24.12.1888.
74. *Ibid.*, 20.6.1887.
75. *Karnataka Prakasika* carried numerous editorials, letters, and notes on this subject. See, *Karnataka Prakasika*, 7.1.1878, 21.1.1878; 11.6.1890; 11.8.1890; 18.8.1890; 1.9.1890; 15.9.1890; 22.9.1890; 13.10.1890; 3.11.1890; 17.11.1890; 24.11.1890; 2.2.1890; *Vrittanta Patrike*, 31.7.1890; *Vrittanta Chintamani*, 28.1.1891. All references except for *Karnataka Prakasika* are from *NNR* for respective years.
76. *Some Newspaper notices of the Dewan's Address to the Representative Assembly of 1892* (Mysore, 1893)
77. Minutes of a meeting at Chikmagalur in August 1893; *Proceedings of the Mysore Representative Assembly*, 1893, p. 185 and petition, p.186-187; Gulliford Dairy, 23.9.1893 and 11.10.1893, (United Theological College, Ecclesiastical Archives, Bangalore, hereinafter cited as UTC. E.A., Various private Papers).
78. *Mysore Residency* file No. 338 of 1894; *Report on Police Administration in Mysore for 1898-99* *Karnataka Archives* and Natarajan, S., *A Century of Social Reform in India* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1959), p. 102.

79. Seal, A., *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism-Competition and Collaboration in the later Nineteenth Century*, (New Delhi : S. Chand & Co., 1981), p. 194.
80. *Karnataka Prakasika*, 9.10.1885 also see 8 11.1886.
81. *Ibid.*, 24.1.1887. 82. *Ibid.*, 24.10.1887. 83. *Ibid.*, 16.1.1888.
84. *Ibid.*, 17.9.1888 ; 24.9.1888 ; 8.10.1888 ; 24.12.1888.
85. *Ibid.*, 3.12.1888 ; cf., 17.12.1888. 86. *Ibid.*, 13.1.1896
87. *Vrittanta Chintamani*, NNR, 1889.
88. *Karnataka Prakasika*, 10.2.1896.
89. *Ibid.*, 28.3.1887, *Vrittanta Chintamani*. 18.6.1904, *Nadeganadi*, 18.9.1904, *Suryodaya Prakasika*, 19.10.1904 : NNR, 1904, *Vrittanta Chintamani*, 30.12.1905 ; NNR, 1905: and *Suryodaya Prakasika*, 3.1.1906, NNR, 1906.
90. *Suryodaya Prakasika*, 30.7.1897 ; *Karnataka Prakasika*: 5.4.1897 ; 12.6.1897 ; 19 7.1897 ; 26.7.1897 : *Vrittanta Bodhini*, 3.6.1897 : NNR, 1897.
91. *Vrittanta Chintamani*, 6.10.1897, NNR 1897.
92. *Karnataka Prakasika*, 10.3.1890 : 7.4.1890 : 11.8.1890, *Suryodaya Prakasika*, 25.4.1892 ; NNR, 1892 : *Khasim-ul-Akbar*, 1.5.1890 ; NNR, 1890.
93. *Vrittanta Patrika*, 16.10.1905 NNR, 1905.
94. *Kasim-ul-Akbar*, 20.4.1889 ; 26.2.1890 : NNR, 1889 and 1890.
95. *Mysore Star*, 16.4.1906 : 29.11.1906 ; and 20.5.1907, NNR, 1906 1907.
96. *Idid.*, 28.12.1908.

97. *Harvest Field*, vol. II, 1862-1863, Pp. 69-70, 84-87, 97-101, 109-112, 120-123, 131-133, 144-149, 205-206, 226-230, 252-266, 270-278, 279-281. vol. III, 1863-1864, Pp. 44-48, 37-38, 85-90, 99-111, 124-125, 140-132' 193-201, vil.V. 1865-1866. pp. 56-61.
98. OS 376 of 1876, *Hutchi (a) Helena Gertrude Vs. Devanahally Appaih*, *Bangalore Missonary Conference* collection, 5, and OS 865 of 1892, *Dasappa Vs. Chikkamma*, *Karnataka Central Diocese*, collection LI (2) (UTC E.A.).
99. *Banglore Missonary Conference*, collection, 5, *Church of South India* collection, LI, (2) and (4) and *London Missionary Society*, collection. 53, (UTC. E.A.).
100. *Harvest Field*, Vol, 180-181, Pp., 342-352, Vol., XII, 1901, Pp. 17-23, Vol., 1900, Pp., 446-448, Vol., X, 1899, Pp., 332-343.
101. *Karnataka Prakasika*, 15.12.1875. 102. *Ibid.*, 5 1.1875;
103. *Mysore Herald*, 2.11.1905 ; 27.11.1905 ; 20.11.1906 , 7.12.1905 ; 21.12.1905 : 8.1.1906 and 11.1.1906 ; *Mysore Standard*, 25.10.1905 ; *G & R S Legis.*, file No 25 of 1904, sls, 1-44 (Karnataka State Archives).
104. *Mysore Standard*, 27.11 1905 : *G & R S Legis* , file No. 25 of 1904, *op.cit.*
105. *G & R S, Legis.*, file No. 1904. *op.cit.*
106. *Mysore Standard*, 10.11.1897, *G & R S, G.M.*- file no. 87 of 1897.
107. Cambell to Dewan, dated, 28.11.1897, in *Ibid*,
108. K.Seshadri Iyer to Thumboo Chetty, 23.11.1897, in *ibid.*
109. Robertson to Thumboo Chetty. 26.11 1897. in *ibid.*

110. *Mysore Standard*, 4.12.1897. in *ibid*
111. *Letters of Thumboo Chetty* (Karnataka Archives)
112. *Mysore Standard* 6.5.1905, *Newspaper Persecution in Mysore*, (Bangalore : The Standard Press, 1905, hereinafter cited as NP) ; Pp. 72-73.
113. *Mysore Standard*, 20.6.1905, NP, Pp. 73-76.
114. *Correspondence regarding Reforms of the Council*, (1906) (Karnataka State Archives)
115. NP p. 75.
116. *Mysore Standard*, 14.10.1905, NP, p.77. 117. *Ibid.*, Pp. 79-80.
118. Secretary to Government, General & Revenue Departments, to M. Gopalaiyengar, *Memo* No.46, (Confidential), 10.11.1905, G & R S, G..M, file No. 135 of 1905-06, sls. 46-49.
119. M. Srinivasiyengar to Secretary to Government of Mysore, General & Revenue Departments, dated, 12.11.1905 and 13.11.1905 in *Ibid.*
120. M. Gopalaiyengar to H.H. Maharaja of Mysore, memorial dated, 22.1.1906 in *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Daily Post*, 19.10.1905, NP, p. 15 ; *KGF News*, 1.12.1905, NP, Pp. 28-29 ; *Indian Social Reformer*, 23-10-1905, NP, Pp. 15-17; *Indian Spectator*, (date not given), NP, Pp. 19-20 ; *Citizen*, [date not given], NP p.50 ; *Tribune*, (date not given), NP, Pp. 51-52 ;

- *Vrittanta Chintamani*, 22-10-1905, NP, Pp. 24-25 ; Pp. *Vrittanta Chintamani*, 22-10-1905, NP, Pp. 24-25 ; *Malbar Mail*, 28.10.1905, NP, 26-27 and *Wednesday Review*,, (date not given). NP, p. 27.
123. *Hindu*, 18-10-1905, NP Pp. 14-15 ; *Indian Social Reformer*, 25.10.1905, NP, Pp. 15-17 ; *Malbar Mail*, 28.10.1905, NP, Pp. 26-27 ; *KGF News*, 8.11.1905, NP, Pp. 37-39.
124. *Malbar Daily News*, 23.10.1905, NP, Pp. 17-19; *Suryodaya Prakasika*, 25.10.1905, NP, Pp. 22-24 ; *Indian*, (date not given), *Tribune*, (date not given), NP, Pp. 51-52.
125. *The Gujarathi*, (date not given), NP, p. 32 ; *Daily Post* (date not given), NP, Pp. 32-35 ; *Indian Social Reformer*, 5.11.1905, NP, Pp. 36-37 ; *KGF News*, 8.11.1905, NP, Pp. 37-39 ; *Hindu Patriot*, 7.11.1905, NP, Pp.48.49 ; *United India & Native States*, (date not given), NP, Pp. 52-54.
126. *Malbar Daily News*, 23.10.1905, NP, Pp. 17-19 ; *United India & Native News*, 23.11.1905, NP, p. 61
127. *KGF News*, 14.11.1905, NP, 56-58.
128. *Peoples Guardian*, 13.11.1905, NP, Pp. 60-61. ; *Indu Prakash*, (date not given), NP, Pp. 29-31.
129. *Indian Social Reformer*, 25-10-1906, NP, Pp. 15-17
130. Gustafson, D.R., *Mysore 1881-1902 The Making of a Model State*, (Unpublished dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1969), p. 77 and Pp. 158-159.
131. *Mysore Gazette, Supplement*, 6.8.1908, p. 2ff ; cf., *Crown Representative Records*, Proceeding Nos. 15-16 of 1907 and 15-16 of 1908 and *Foreign Department, Deposit-I*, Proceedings No. 135 of August 1908 (National Archives of India).

THE VICISSITUDES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF KITTUR (1686-1814)

K.N. CHITNIS*

The Kittur principality which flourished in the 17th and 18th centuries included some portions of the present Belgaum and Dharwad districts. It was actually founded by Allapagauda Sardesai (1650-81), although four of his predecessors including the progenitor of this dynasty Hiremallasetti, were serving in this area under the Bijapur Adlishahs. After Allapagauda, seven rulers ruled over Kittur till 1824. After the fall of Bijapur in 1686, when Allappgauda's successor Mudimallappa was ruling, for one year from 1686-87, the administration of the Kittur principality was carried on by the Savnur Nawab Rauf Khan. Thereafter till 1747 the Kittur Desais seem to have been under the Nawabs of Savanur. In 1747 the Pargana of Sampgaon-Kittur was one of the 35 *Mahals* surrendered to Balaji Bajirao Peshwa by Abdul Majid Khan, the Nawab of Savanur by a treaty concluded between them.¹ At this time Malavarudragauda, the fifth from Allappgauda, was the chief of Kittur. Only two years after this treaty, that is in 1749, Virappagauda succeeded him as the chief, and it was with Virappagauda that the Marthas came in closer contact. Virappagauda was ruling over Parasgad, Sampgaon, Bidi and other areas. Although Sampgaon-Kittur were surrendered to Balaji Bajirao in 1747, it appears that Virappa Mallappagauda was ruling over Mamla Hubli and other areas in the capacity of a feudatory chief paying some tribute to the Peshwa. In 1753-54 Virappagauda was compelled to pay a

tribute of 80,000 rupees to the Peshwa Govt. through Lingo Appaji, this time mainly for meeting the expenses incurred by the Peshwa when his troops were engaged in an attack in this area.² In 1778 Virappgauda occupied Gokak which was under the Peshwa, but was defeated in 1779 by Parashuram Bhau sent by the Peshwa against the Desai. Virappagauda was defeated and taken prisoner.³ Virappgauda was succeeded by Mallapa(gauda) in 1782. This was a crucial date in the history of the Southern Maratha Country as well as of North India. In this year the Treaty of Salbai was concluded bringing to a close the first Anglo-Maratha War in the north, while in the south Hyder Ali was succeeded by his son Tipu Sultan. Hyder Ali who had been a party to the Anti-British confederacy organised mainly by Nana Phadnis during the first Anglo-Maratha War, was not consulted for concluding the Treaty of Salbai. Feeling highly offended and humiliated, Hyder Ali launched a wide-spread and highly organised aggression against the Maratha territories in Karnataka. After his death in the same year, his son Tipu continued these aggressive activities in a more violent manner, seized Badami, Nargund and Kittur, overrunning the Doab between the Malaprabha and the Ghataprabha. In 1785 Kittur fell and Mallasarjya, its ruler, was taken prisoner by Tipu. But the Marathas retrieved this loss very soon and in 1787 the Gajendragad Treaty was concluded by which Tipu surrendered among other principalities and places, Kittur to the Marathas. On its surrender, the Maratha Govt. appointed Baburao Bhaskar as an officer in charge of Kittur. From now onwards the Kittur principality mostly remained under the Marathas, except for some time after 1814. The Kittur chief was turned into a Zamindar (Jagirdar) giving him a *jagir* of just 11 villages. These villages were 1) Hunashikatti, 2) Hosur (both in Karyat Kadarvali), 3) Itagi, 4) Gandigwad, 5) Badas (all the three in Karyat Phutgaon), 6) Hongal (in Karyat Belvadi), 7) Tigadi (in Karyat Sampgaon), 8) Sutagatti (in

*Head, Dept. of History, Poona University, Pune

Karyat Nesari), 9) Devalati (in Karyat Lokoli), 10) Degaon (in Karyat Ambadgate), and 11) Devara-Sigihalli (in Karyat Phutgaon).

It appears that in 1747 after taking Kittur-Sampgaon from the Nawab of Savanur by a treaty, Nana Saheb appointed an officer in charge of the Kittur area, although at present we do not know the name of this officer. In 1764, however, the officer in charge of Taluka Kittur was Mahadaji Khanderao when Moro Bapuji was the Sarsubha of Prant Karnataka.⁴ In 1782, as noted above, Baburao Bhaskar was the officer in charge of Taluka Kittur. In 1792-93 the Mamlat of Kittur was under Abaji Baburao,⁵ probably the son of Baburao Bhaskar. At this time Taluka Kittur was organised for administrative purposes into the following 14 Karyats: 1) Nesari, 2) Sampgaon, 3) Bagevadi, 4) Lokoli, 5) Karlakatti, 6) Manoli, 7) Nandgad, 8) Halasi, 9) Belvadi, 10) Kadaroli, 11) Ambadagatti, 12) Phutgaon, 13) Kakkeri and 14) Godholi. It may be noted that in the Modi document⁶ Karlakatti is mentioned as Karalge, Lokoli as Kekholi, Ambadagatti as Amargate, Kakkeri as Kalori and Godholi as Golehalli.

In 1794 Mahadaji Khanderao was the Mamledar of Kittur Taluka. In 1814, however, the administration of Taluka Kittur including Mamla Hubli and other Mahals (Kittur Desgat) was entrusted by the Peshwa to Mallasarja.⁷

A document of A.D. 1793⁸ speaks of the earlier administration of Taluka Kittur by Anandrao Ramachandra who seems to have immediately preceded Abaji Baburao. It also says that earlier the Kamavisdar was Balaji Trimal. Of the four Modi documents dealt with in this paper the first is dated 1793 the second and the third are Talebands, dated A.D. 1794 and the last one dated 1820. The second is a memorandum (Pune Archives, Karnatak Jamav, Rumal No. 325) of Taluka Kittur. In the beginning itself the memorandum says that the Mamlat

of this Taluka was earlier with Abaji Baburao, and that in this year (1794) only he was replaced by Mahadaji Khanderao.

The document gives the revenue collection (in Rs. As and Pais) of this year Karyat-wise as follows: 1) Kadarvali 6488-1-0 2) Kekoli 4014-6-2 3) Nesari 6741-9-2 4) Bagevadi 1563-0-0 5) Halasi 6899-1-0 6) Nandgad 3817 0-0 7) Karalge 5528-11-0 8) Amargate 12292-12-2 Peth Kittur 4869-8-0 9) Phutgaon 7577-0-1 10) Manoli 6785-9 2 11) Golehalli 4418-10-1 12) Sampgaon 29409-8-0 13) Belvad 12035-6-0 and 14) Qasba Hubli 5873-0-1.

In Taluka Kittur there were a number of Zamindars to whom the lands (or land revenue) were alienated, and Mallappa Virappagauda Desai of Kittur, was just one of them. From the alienated villages held by Mallasarja, a sum of Rs. 15,818-9-2 was realised as revenue. The villages alienated to him were 1) Mangaon (in Karyat Chandgad) 2) Tigadi (in Karyat Sampgaon) 3) Hanabarhatti and 4) Hosakore (both in Karyat Sardesgat) 5) Itagi 6) Ranakude and 7) Bastavad (both in Pargana Shahpur) 8) Hosur and 9) Hunasikatte (both in Karyat Kadarvali) 10) Sampgaon (Patilki) in Pargana Shahpur 11) Sardesgat in Pargana Khanapur 12) Kamat Balegaon, and 13) Some villages not named.

The custom duties amounting to Rs. 460-3-2 were realised from Peth Kittur, Karyat Kekoli, Karyat Nesari, Karyat Halasi Nandgad and Karyat Sampgaon.

The Siway-Jama and Kamavis brought in an amount of Rs. 2517-15-2. Under this head *Nazar-bhet* (presents) and *masala* (fees to minor revenue officials) were included. *Nazar-bhet* and *masala* were collected from Karyat Amargate, Karyat Nandead, Karyat Halasi, Karyat Sampgaon, Karyat Kekoli, Mauje Rankude and Bastavad in Pargana Khanapur, Qasba Hubli, Karyat Golehalli, Karyat Karalgi, Karyat Balevadi (Belavadi), Mauje Akale in Karyat Bagevadi, Karyat Kadarvali, Karyat Nesari, Karyat Manoli and Karyat Phutgaon. Under

Kamavis which was a joint head with Siway-Jama collections from judicial fees (*Khanda-gunhegari*), *batta* and *kasar* were included.

The total revenue realized from Taluka Kittur for the year 1794 came to be Rs. 1,37,976-0-1 as shown below :

A)	1,34,047-13-1	Original Jama from various villages included under different Karyats, including 19,234-9-2 from Zamindars like Desai, etc. 145-0-0 From Inamat
B)	460- 3-2	From Zakat or customs dues
C)	2517-15-2	From Siway-Jama and Kamavis
D)	950- 0-0	Arrears of the previous year
Rs.	1,37,976- 0-1	Total revenue.

The heads of expenditure included salaries to the Mamledar, Darkdars, to the Gardis of the Peshwa who had been despatched to Dharwad for putting down a local riot, to Karkuns, etc. Rs. 6858 were paid to Mahadaji Khanderao Mamledar, of which 6000 constituted the basic pay, and 858 the Palanquin allowance. *The Darakdars who received the salaries and the amount of their salaries were as under:*

<i>Amount of Salary per year (in Rs)</i>	<i>Name of Darakdar</i>
1) 433	—Balavantrao Siddheshwar Majamdar
2) 421	—Krishnaji Sadashiv Phadnis
3) 250	—Balaji Govind Daftardar
<i>Salaries yet to be sanctioned</i>	
4) 1373	—Gardis in the service of Balaji Vithal
5) 341	„ Jafar Beg

6)	840	Gardis in the service of	Muse Khan
7)	575	„	Sidi Mubarak

Temporary Darakdars appointed by the mamledar on ad hoc basis as the regular Darakdar could not join their duties

8)	361- 4-0	Ramachandra Balal Hashamnis
9)	214- 8-0	Visaji Narayan Phadnis under Hasham
10)	171- 8-0	Janardan Ramachandra Daftardar under Hasham
11)	171- 8-0	Dhondo Govind Potnis
12)	85-12-0	Mahadaji Balal Karkun

Besides, the Mamledar appointed some Karkuns, exercising his discretionary powers, for some specific purposes. These were the following :

13)	1057- 8-0	Venkaji Ramachandra
14)	257- 8-0	Bapuji Ramachandra
15)	342- 0-0	Hari Govind
16)	257- 8-0	Damodar Baburao
17)	428- 0-0	Govind Balal

Karkuns employed for helping the Phadnis

18)	300- 0-0	Keso Krishna
19)	200- 0-0	Anandrao Krishna

Tarafdar Karkuns employed for work in the Karyats

20)	64- 0-0	Venkaji Hari
21)	58- 4-0	Naro Balal
22)	63- 8-0	Sivram Anant
23)	57- 0-0	Ramachandra Narahar
24)	114- 0-0	Rajaram Vasudev
25)	80- 8-0	Bhivrao Subbarao
26)	54- 0-0	Ganesh Govind

27)	151- 8-0	Babaji Chimnaji
28)	85-12-0	Moro Ramchandra
29)	84- 0-0	Bhivrao Sripat
30)	107- 0-0	Venkaji Bhikaji
31)	213- 8 0	Sadasiv Chinaji
32)	79- 0-0	Abaji Malhar
33)	64- 4-0	Bapuji Bhikaji
34)	156- 4-0	Gopal Devaji
35)	190- 0-0	Govind Balal
36)	35-12-0	Abaji Jaganath
37)	172- 8-0	Sakha Devrao
38)	26- 8-0	Chudapa Naik
39)	149- 8-0	Ganesh Balal
40)	79- 0-0	Bhaskar Krishna
41)	39- 8-0	Moro Sakharam
42)	Different sums were paid to many others as their salaries.	

The administration of the Taluka of Kittur seems, from a perusal of the above list, to have been carried on mainly by the Marathi officers including mostly Brahmins and also a few Marathas and Muslims. Only one official, namely, Chaudapa Nayaka, seems to have been employed from among the local people.

PREHISTORIC RESEARCH IN RETROSPECT

D. B. MURTI*

During the past five decades extensive and intensive explorations were focussed to search the prehistoric past of India both in terms of the temporal and spatial distributions of surviving fossilised human behaviour. With the passage of time and efforts bestowed by foreign and Indian scholars the horizons of prehistoric India have been getting very much broadened; particularly the past two decades have seen pouring in of hoards of prehistoric antiquities for examination, synthesis and explanation.

Prehistorians of India honour R. Bruce-Foote as the father of prehistoric archaeology as it was he who for the first time picked up palaeoliths from a gravel pit near Pallavaram in Tamilnadu. L. A. Cammiade, F. P. Manley, Coggin Brown Miles Burkitt and a host of other scholars have richly contributed for our understanding the prehistoric past of India, in particular reference to South India. The chronological limits for the hoards of palaeolithic antiquities have been tentatively fixed on the basis of the observations made by Cammiade and Burkitt (1930 : 1932) a few decades back. They also studied the various river valleys of peninsular India and fixed up a climatic sequence based on their observations on the possible sedimentation processes resulting in alluvial, colluvial and aeolian deposits. With regards to the climatic sequence of the prehistoric times in Gujrat and the adjacent area, the pattern presented by Wain Right (1964) and Zeuner, F. E. (1950) is

*Dept. of Archaeology, Nagarjuna University,
Nagarjuna Nagar - 522 510.

significant. For bringing about a chronological matrix for the climatic sequence in peninsular and Western India the work done by de Terra and T.T. Paterson (1939) on the Ice age in Kashmir and the associated human remains becomes pivotal. The results of the work, representing the Yale-Cambridge expedition have not only allowed the then known stone age pattern in India to have chronological confines but also allowed comparison of the Indian Stone Age materials with those of Europe and Africa. Also a comparison of the Himalayan cycle of glaciation with similar cycles in the Alps and the Scandinavian belt was also made possible. Some of their observations are being subjected to correction in view of the recent research focussed into the climatic sequence of prehistoric India. Information obtained through SEM (Agarwal, D.P. and others 1978) and other studies (Agarwal, D.P. and others 1977; 1981; Rajaguru, S. N. and A. R. Marathe 1977; Joshi, R.V. and others 1974) has been widening our understanding the Quaternary climatic sequence in India.

Terminology

The stone age divisions and terminology of the Indian context have been undergoing a number of ramifications through time. At the rise of the century not many vestiges of the stone age were known in India. Whenever a stone age location was identified, the artefacts therein were called as per the then current nomenclature. In some of the early writings terms like Boucher, coup-de-pong and pigmy implements were used to represent some of the tool types. Obviously as a result of the shortage of data pre-neolithic stone age divisions in India could not be compared well with similar divisions of the European context. Prior to the identification of clearcut Middle and Upper palaeolithic horizons in India the descriptive notes published by earlier workers used to be very much simple and sometimes ambiguous too: more or less the data used to be summed up as catalogues (Coggin Brown 1917; Aiyappan A and Mauley, F.P. 1942).

During the early fifties of this century the situation improved much. The pre-neolithic stone age divisions constituted Early, Middle and Late Stone ages. The Middle Stone Age is always represented by industries intervening between the Early and Late Stone Age industries. The Late Stone Age used to comprise all the flake-blade industries irrespective of their size, dimension and type variety. Also microliths used to be reported as forming part of the Late Stone Age.

Subsequent researches made it clear that there are clear-cut blade-burin industries analogues to the Upper Palaeolithic tradition of Europe (Murthi, M.L.K. 1970, 74, 75). Detailed investigations and careful scrutiny made it possible to identify in India the pre-neolithic cultures comprising of Early Stone Age, Middle Stone Age, bladeburin industries and microliths. There is still a certain amount of doubt as to whether the blade-burin industries of India could be properly compared with the Upper palaeolithic industries of Europe. Yet, ignoring some of the difficulties prehistorians of India have chosen to use the European terminology for the Indian Stone Age divisions. This resulted in the identification of Lower, Middle, Upper Palaeolithic cultures followed by the Mesolithic.

Another set of scholars proposed a core-tool tradition, flake tool tradition, blade-flake tradition and a microlithic tradition as proper substitutes for the terminology cited above. This division is clearly based on the blank categories. On a superficial examination this classification may seem likely, but a closer scrutiny draws our attention to a number of overlaps. As for example we have coremade specimens in both Lower and Middle Palaeolithic while flake-made specimens occur in all the pre-neolithic divisions.

Though the European terminology has been employed freely to designate the Indian Stone Age divisions, in important respects, however, many of the South Asian artefacts bear stronger

resemblances to counterparts in Africa than in Europe, and the new application of European nomenclature to South Asian assemblages can be misleading' (Jacobson, J. 1979, p.474).

The Lower Palaeolithic of India is supposed to comprise the pebble tools falling under the chopper-chopping tool complex and the handaxe cleaver-discoïd categories of tools. In the African context pebble tools are much popular as the Oldowan type of tools, after the type site Olduvai gorge in South East Africa. The succeeding phase, characterised by tools which are very crude but in a process of evolution into handaxes, is termed as the Chellean or Abbevillian stage: Abbevillian is the name derived from the type site at Abbeville on the river Somme in Franche. Refined specimens of handaxes which have neater outlines and are characterised by flake scars resulting from soft hammer technique are known as Acheulean tools after the type site St. Acheul in France. A further development of the handaxe tradition leading to the Middle Palaeolithic facies is characterised by Micoquian tools after the type site at La Micoque also in France. With the result that the Lower Palaeolithic industries are categorically named as Oldowan types, Abbevillian types, Abbevillio-Acheulean types, Chelles-Acheulean types, Acheulean types, Micoquian types, etc. To the already over-loaded terminology a few more terms have been added primarily based on the way the flake-blanks were detached for the making of the tools from the cores. Clactonian is one such term often times used to designate a particular type of flake detachment practised at Clacton-on-Sea, a site in England. Similarly we come across terms like Levalloisian, Acheuleo-Levalloisian, etc. derived from a particular mode of tool-making practised at Levallois in France. In addition we have tools resulting from a particular flaking technique called the bi-polar technique recognizable in the industries of Anyathian culture of the Irrawady valley, Burma and the Padjitan culture of Jawa. Obviously these traits have much to do with the mode of detachment of flakes from proper cores

rather than with the type-fossils of the Lower Palaeolithic industries. Viewing these and various other connected problems it is generally agreed to use terminology such that it will have a clear and profitable universal application. All the Lower Palaeolithic industries, irrespective of their provenience and time scale are now-a-days called the Acheulean industries, the various subdivisions within the Acheulean development being termed Lower Acheulean, Middle Acheulean and Upper Acheulean universally.

Stratigraphy

A hoast of early scholars have emphasised the importance of stratigraphy in the context of our understanding the pre-neolithic cultures. The brief reports about the find spots were loaded with enormous detail about the stratum of strata from which the artefacts were derived. Attempts were also made to correlate or cross-check the relative positions of groups of artefacts hailing from two geographical positions within a single river valley and some times between two different river valleys. These observations were based primarily on the assumption that the valley or valleys under consideration had been subjected to similar climatic cycles since the human occupation atleast. We have no objection to accept this on a primary basis but when detailed scrutiny of the strata for comparative purposes is attempted one is likely to face several difficulties. 'An outline of the stratigraphic sequence of pleistocene events can be obtained by comparative evaluation of reliable and fairly complete local sequences. Unfortunately few such sequences exist, and much of what is widely held as fundamental is in fact dubious or unclear' (Butzer, K.W. 1979, p.21). Also 'without the chronological makers which are provided by their contained remains, the stratigraphic sequences of archaeological sites are of little historical or cultural value — in that broader study, the individual strata of one site are not of much value in comparison with other archaeological strata due to the very localized character of such deposits' (Edward CH. 1979. pp. 98, 99).

It is extremely difficult to compare two deposits made by the same stream at two different localities; the amount and quality of rock debris brought down and deposited by any stream varies from place to place within its own valley depending upon various factors including the local geography, geology, ecology, etc. With the result that the dichotomy enlarges itself out when analogies are made about the stratigraphy between sections exposed along two river systems supposed to have been influenced by similar climatic periods. When observations of this kind of stratigraphy are applied as a chronological matrix for the associated artefacts one will be erring too much on the wrong side. Granted that stratigraphy is a tool to fix up the relative chronology of the artefacts coming from a series of strata at a given place. Even then at more than one instance archaeologists worked out stratigraphic correlation in great detail inspite of the fact that the site represents a single culture. 'Stratigraphy and Chronology are indeed important, but they have been unduly emphasized' (p. 7) — Beyond the pale of history, time becomes a relative concept only, dealt with by approximate methods of stratigraphic absolute dating, and with the philosophy of the geologist rather than of the historian (p.13, Butzer, K.W. 1979). Systematic analysis of alluvial, colluvial and aeolian deposits in the context of palaeo-environmental reconstruction is still at infancy in India. These and various other associated constraints discourage any overdoing with the alluvial or colluvial strata in which the artefacts and ecofacts lie unconsciously. Contextual analysis rather than stratigraphic correlation is the norm of the day — which is yielding fruitful results.

Contextual analysis

Contextual analysis allows archaeological sites to be classified either on the basis of the particular activity with which the site was connected or on the basis of context of occurrence of artefacts. For the first category we may give examples like

a primary site, a temporary settlement, a seasonal camp or a kill site and for the second stratified and surface sites. Where archaeological evidence is geologically stratified-it is a stratified site; on the other hand if the evidence is distributed on the surface-it is a surface site.

Archaeological sites can also be classified into interesting groups on the basis of the geological context-basic geomorphological situation in which they are located. The pre-neolithic locations could be studied as alluvial sites, lacustrine sites, aeolian sites, slope sites, cave sites, coastal sites, surface sites, etc. (Butzer, K.W. 1979).

The life and culture at an archaeological location could finally be reconstructed on the basis of artefacts and ecofacts, choosing an appropriate model (Clarke D.L. 1969).

REFERENCES

- Agrawal D.P., D.K. Bhatt, Sheela Kusumgar and R.K.Pant. 1981. "The Neogene/Quaternary boundary in India: A Review", *Proc. of Indian Academy of Science (Earth and Planetary Sciences)* Vol. 90, No. 2, July, 1981, Pp. 111-123.
- Agarwal D.P., R. V. Krishna Murthi, R.P. Dhir, V.N. Misra and S. N. Rajaguru, 1977. *Quaternary Studies in Rajasthan. Preliminary results.* *Recent Researches in Geology*, Vol. 9, Delhi.
- Agarwal D.P., S. N. Rajaguru and Bhaskar Roy, 1978. "SEM and other studies on the Saurashtra Miliolite Rock", *Sedimentary Geology*, 20, p.p. 41-47. Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, Amsterdam—printed in Netherlands.
- Aiyappan, A. and Manley, F.P. 1942. "Manley collection of Stone Age tools with topographical and other notes". *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 68, pp.1-90.

Burkitt M. C., Cammiade and Richard-1932. "Climatic changes in S. E. India during Early Palaeolithic times." *Geographical Magazine* LXIX: 327 ff.

Butzer, K. W. 1979. *Environment and Archaeology* New York: Aidine, p. 21.

Cammiade, L. A. and Burkitt M. C. 1930. "Fresh light on the Stone Ages of South-east India." *Antiquity*. Vol. 4, pp. 327-339.

Clark, D. L. 1969. *Analytical Archaeology*, Methuen : London.

Coggin Brown 1917. *Catalogue of prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta*, Simla.

De Terra H. and Paterson T. T. 1939. *Studies on the Ice Age of India Associated Human Cultures*. Carnegie Institution of Washington publication, No. 499.

Edward C. H. 1979, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, pp. 98-99. Academic Press; London.

Jacobson, J. 1979. "Recent developments in South Asian Prehistory and Protohistory. *Ann. Rev. Anthropology*, No. 8, p. 474.

Joshi R. V., S. N. Rajaguru, R. S. Pappu and B. P. Bopardikar, 1974. "Quaternary glaciation and Palaeolithic sites in the Lidder valley (Jammu-Kashmir)." *World Archaeology*, Vol. 5, No. 3. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

Murti M. L. K., 1970. "Blade and Burin and Late Stone Age industries around Renigunta. Chittor Dt." *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV.

Murti M. L. K., 1974. "A Late Pleistocene cave site in Southern India." *Proce. Am. Phil. Soc.* No. 118.

Murti M. L. K. 1975. "Late Pleistocene Fauna of Kurnool caves, South India." In. A. T. Clason ed. *Archaeo Zoological Studies*, Amsterdam.

Rajaguru, S. N. and A. R. Marathe 1977. "Miliolite Formation in the Hiran valley. In. *Ecology and Archaeology of Western India* Ed. Agrawal D. P. and B. M. Pande. pp. 209-216, Delhi.

Wainwright, G. J. 1964. 'An Early Stone Age Industry from the river Chamabl' The Pleistocene deposits of the lower Narmada river and an early stone age industry from the river Chambal, Baroda.

Zeuner F. E. 1960. *Stone Age and Pleistocene Chronology in Gujarat*, Poona.

GANAPATI DISTURBANCES OF BANGALORE — 1928

BA NA SUNDARA RAO*

The story of what are generally known as "Ganapati Disturbances of Bangalore", going back to 1928, unfolds unprecedented scenes of spontaneous popular enthusiasm in defence of the right to worship climaxing in uncanny Hindu-Muslim clashes triggered off by wild and unfounded rumours. Bangalore City was the scene of a high drama that began on 23rd July and happily ended in truce on 1 August. Here is the sequence of events that took the City by storm for ten days.

It began on 23rd July 1928. H.V. Subrahmanyam of Malle-swaram organised the students of the A.V. School on the Arcot Srinivasachar Street and held a demonstration before the school. The demonstration was repeated on 24th. The demand was for the reinstallation of the Ganapati idol in its original place in the school compound from where it had been removed and consigned to a dark room. The head master tried to reason with the demonstrators, but didn't succeed.

Why had the Ganapati idol been removed and deposited in a room? The Ganapati idol in front of the school building was dear to the students. On the last day of the examination they made it a point to empty the contents of their ink bottles over the head of Ganapati; it was a kind of offering. The Ganapati idol was without shelter, washed by rain, warmed by the sun. When repairs were carried out to the school building, a well-meaning contractor, at his own expense, provided a small

*422, Narasimha Nilaya, 38th Cross, V Block, Jayanagar South Bangalore - 560 041.

mantap just to please the boys. The event would have passed unobserved but for the fortuitous circumstances.

Opposite the school building was the residence of Mohamad Abbas Khan, who was the president of the Bangalore Municipality. And the school building provided the passage for Muslim boys of the Urdu School on the other side. The *mantap* for the Ganapati idol sparked off wild speculation among Muslims. Word reached the Dewan, and his Private Secretary wrote a demi-official letter to Mr. N.S. Subba Rao the then Director of Public Instruction, to inquire into the matter and report.

Mr. Subba Rao visited the school on the 15th June 1928 and he instructed that the Ganapati idol should be deposited in a room. And he sent a report to the Dewan's Private Secretary.

The news was played up by *Veerakesari* and it was soon picked up by *Prajamitra*, *Navajeevana*, *Mysore Star* and *Viswakarnataka*. Mr. T.T. Sharman, editor, *Viswakarnataka* addressed an open letter to Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore on 29th June 1928. *Veerakesari* carried with caustic comments its reporter's interview with Mr. Subba Rao on 28th June 1928.

The cause was taken up by Mr. Subrahmanyam who organised the student demonstration on June 23rd and 24th. Students deserted classes and there was commotion in the school. The head master reported the matter to Police Station in the City Market. Police were posted in the premises of the school. Police also kept a watch on the student procession on its way to Chickpet.

Attendance in the A.V. School was low; only 49 out of 344. On 25th students were active on the streets. Ramlal Tiwari joined Subrahmanyam in leading them. The students sought the support of other schools. In Mamulpet they demonstrated vigorously, shouting and raising slogans, urging students to come out, and pelting stones at the school building. They

roamed in Chikpet and Balepet, and rained stones on Arya Vidyashala. The head master refused to let out students. The Demonstrators later held a meeting at Chikkalbaugh (also known as Tulsi Tota). Ramlal Tiwari and Subrahmanyam called on the students to be united and to carry on the struggle until the Ganapati idol was installed in the *mantap*.

The student demonstrators passed through Akkipet, Arlepet and Chamarajpet, and in the afternoon demonstrated before their school for one hour. The headmaster was firm; he said he had nothing to do with them. The students resorted to throwing of stones. The headmaster closed the school for the day. He reported the matter to the police. The students held another meeting on the Parade Grounds near the Fort High School and resolved that they would not give up until their agitation met with success. Later in the evening, they held a meeting near City Market. Another leader who addressed them was J. Bheema Rao.

On 29th there was a dramatic turn in the events with the arrest of Subrahmanyam and Bheema Rao. Students mobbed the Police Superintendent's office. T. T. Sharman rushed to the school where he addressed students. Mr. K. Shankaranarayana Rao (who later became a judge) met Mr. Mathen (Member of the Council) and urged that the leaders be released. (The Dewan was then on tour). Mathen was conciliatory. He made a visit to the school, gave a patient hearing to the students and assured them that he would do his best. In the afternoon, the Private Secretary to the D. P. I. brought good news for the headmaster. The Ganapati idol was brought out of the room and was installed in the *mantap*.

The student demonstration continued unabated. It would end only on the release of their leaders. Ramlal Tiwari also was in gaol. In the evening efforts to obtain release failed; neither an expression of apology, nor personal surety satisfied the

authorities. Later, a large group of students took out a lantern procession to Central Jail. The Superintendent (Sri K. Siddaramappa) tactfully sent them away, saying they could meet their leaders the next day. The students struggle picked up. T. T. Sharman threw himself into it heart and soul. Meetings were organised and handbills were distributed all over the city. Even the Cantonment was responsive. Mr. Shankaranarayana Rao's continued efforts to secure release of the arrested persons did not succeed. Government insisted on a specific assurance that the movement would be suspended.

On 30th July 1928 more schools joined in the agitation. Students of the Fort High School, London Mission School and Wesleyan Mission School walked out of their classes. They marched in procession to the Central College where they held a meeting on the lawns. Later, they mobbed the Central Jail. Some were carrying branches of trees; others had stones. There was a rampage. The Superintendent said that the leaders could not be released until a magistrate ordered. When students didn't relent, he warned of dire consequences. Even the threat of firing didn't daunt them.

The demonstrators proceeded to Carlton House, the Dewan's residence. They met the Dewan who was just leaving the place. One boy carried on his back an appeal for donations to Ganapati Satyagraha. There arrived the third member of the Council, Chief Secretary, the District Magistrate, the Police Superintendent and the I.G.P. They were horrified by the behaviour of the students. The District Magistrate telephoned for an Army Unit. But the students refused to disperse. The Dewan told the Officers that at his premises no one should be taken into custody. The Dewan left, but not without students trying to stop him. Those lying before the car were removed. Soon the army unit arrived, and the students were dispersed. One boy was seriously injured.

They returned to the Central Jail, raising slogans. It was around 2.30 in the afternoon. All round the Central Jail security guards were posted. At different places, like Yelahanka Gate, Kantaraj Urs Circle, City Railway Station, etc., the police were posted. Upto Krishnarajendra Circle, security was tight. Nevertheless, there was stone throwing. The I. G. of Prisons, the Superintendent and several others were injured. They approached the arrested leaders in the jails and requested them to advise the students to disperse. But the leaders refused. The gathering outside the Central Jail had 3,000 students and 1,000 men. From Central Jail they proceeded to the Athara Kacheri the seat of the Government. Another Army Unit was summoned to control the mob. Boys played hide and seek with the mounted men. They would hide behind bushes, climb up trees, and re-emerge. There was stone throwing too occasionally. In the stampede, one boy, Mylarayya was seriously injured overrun by a horse. He was removed to hospital where one of his legs was amputated.

To control the mob it became necessary to summon one more army unit. Besides the army personnel, there were police and reserve police on the scene. Around 3.30 in the afternoon students clashed with the security men in the District office compound. There was heavy stone throwing at two points, the Avenue Road and the Yelahanka Gate. The mounted men were later withdrawn. As they withdrew, students hurled stones. Near the Kantraj Urs Circle, there was fresh engagement between the mounted men and the mob. Mounted men were forced to go into action again. The situation did not improve until 5.30 in the evening. Mr. Krishne Urs arrived, and the mounted men were led away to Carlton House. The situation relaxed a little. In the meanwhile, prominent public men held discussion with the Dewan. They urged that the arrested leaders be released. Leading lawyers also joined in appealing. The Dewan acceded. He telephoned to the

District Magistrate, and he conveyed the message to the City Magistrate. The students had won.

It was 6.30 when the leaders were released on bonds. Students were advised to suspend the agitation and to return to their classes. They agreed in deference to the wishes of the elders. Yet, they were disorderly as they marched in a body via the Dharmambudhi Tank to Sultanpet. The leaders were brought in a procession, borne on the shoulders of hefty men. J. Bheema Rao, who was ill, was brought in a car by Dr. Gopalakrishna Rao. Well-known advocate Belur Srinivasa Iyengar also arrived. He addressed the students from his open car.

The air of jubilation at the school was overshadowed by the presence of small groups of Muslims at different points. Police kept a watch on them. Police also had an eye on the Nalbandwadi Chowk. The estimate was that 5,000 had gathered near the school. The leaders offered prayers to Ganapati, and in minutes the ceremony was over.

But the story did not end there. Muslims saw red in the reinstallation of the Ganapati idol. Attacks and counter-attacks followed in a flash. Among the seriously injured were 74 Hindus and two Muslims. They were rushed to Victoria Hospital. Top police officers arrived on the scene. Major Krishne Urs also was present. It was 8 o'clock in the night. Hindus and Muslims were confronting in battle readiness. Muslims were armed with staves and knives, Hindus with stones.

The residence of Mohamed Abbas Khan was under siege. All of a sudden the whiz of bullets was heard. Dharmaprakash Chandre Gowda conveyed the news to the Dewan. He arranged for the despatch of mounted men. It was 8.30 P.M. For one month after this, the City was tense. The Hindu-Muslim

chappals and shoes had been hurled, and they were removed by sweepers. S. Narasimha Iyengar, a student of Engineering College, said he was an eye-witness to Muslims attacking Hindus with lathis, and police inaction. He questioned a Muslim Police Superintendent why the police were not taking action. He also said he saw bullets issuing from the residence of Md. Abbas Khan. Abdul Samad Khan, Sub-Inspector, said he was taking notes. He said some speakers at the gathering alleged that it was the Muslims at the top and the Muslims at the bottom in the administration.

Ramaiah, son of Naranappa of Doddahullur in Hoskote Taluk said that Muslims attacked Hindus with lathis raising the war cry 'Ya Imam, Deen Deen'. His leg was fractured in the incident. Mattur Mylaraiah, Adi Karnataka, said he was injured in the violent incident. He was on the scene by accident. He had come to the city on business. N. Venkatasubbaiah, residing in the vicinity of the school, said he had seen a large group of Muslims near the cycle shop. Seshadri Aiyar, Sub-Inspector, said that he saw three or four Muslims entering and then leaving the residence of Md. Abbas Khan. Sergeant Venkateshaiah said he saw 8 or 10 Muslims inside the residence of Md. Abbas Khan, and 10 or 15 Muslims outside. Sanjeevappa, Market Contractor, said he saw 4 or 5 Mapillais hanging around the residence of Md. Abbas Khan, and then entering it. Vajapeyam Venkateshaiah said he saw Belur Srinivasa Iyengar's car surrounded by 10 or 15 Muslims. Pamidi Subbarama Setty said he went along with Vajapeyam Venkateshaiah into the residence of Md. Abbas Khan, and that he saw piles of bamboo staves. He also saw Muslims armed with lathis.

B. Abdul Rehman, District Board President, said that the disturbances were engineered by a group hostile to the idea of a Mysorean Dewan. The group was patronised by interested people from Madras. It was an old feud.

Brahmins disgruntled with the Miller Committee Report exploited the situation. There had been clashes between Brahmins and non-Brahmins between 1918 and 1922. The acrimony was carried into the Representative Assembly and Council. Brahmins were jealous because non-Brahmins were being elected. Sir Mirza was close to the Maharaja, and he had been successful in having the State subsidy reduced by ten and a half lakh rupees per year. This had caused heart-burn in some quarters. The Maharaja had during the Dasserah procession shared with Sir Mirza Ismail the *howda*, and this was intolerable to many. They had set their hearts on mischief to see that Sir Mirza Ismail's name came under a cloud, and the goodwill of the Maharaja for his Dewan turned sour. Md. Abbas Khan was a Muslim leader, and as President of the city Municipal Council had earned the Dewan's affection. This was an attempt to besmirch his reputation. The whole thing was motivated by hatred and selfishness. Its echo had been heard in the Representative Assembly when it met in June 1928. There had been protests and a walk-out. Md. Abbas Khan did not join the walk-out. It marked the parting of ways between him and the non-Brahmins. Even Brahmins who were close to him, deserted him. The object was to denigrate the man, and thereby dislodge the Dewan, Abdul Rehman added.

Mohamed Abbas Khan had earned further odium because he had a number of peapal trees cut off in the course of acquiring lands for forming new extensions.

The part played by N. S. Subba Rau had nothing to do with Md. Abbas Khan's wishes in the matter. It was a coincidence.

It was said in some quarters that politicians had made use of students in the Ganesha idol affair.

fracas was world news. London's 'Daily Mail' flashed the story. Government denied the news of shooting. To its embarrassment *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay published the picture of Chandraraja, a boy who was struck by a bullet on the shoulder.

What happened on the night? Little was known. Speculation and wild rumours circulated. It later transpired that Mohamed Abbas Khan was led out of his house in disguise. Peace returned to the City on 1st August 1928. This was followed by a conference called to restore communal harmony. Unfortunately, it ended in bitterness and mutual recrimination. An off-shoot was a breach among the Hindus. The pro-Government and the anti-Government were sharply divided. Among those eager to go along with the Government were K.H. Ramaih, H.C. Dasappa and Neelagiri Sanjeevaiah. In the opposite camp were Sampige Venkatapathiah, Veerakesari Seetharama Sastry, Pamadi Subbarama Setty, N.P. Somasekhara Rao, Nittoor Srinivasa Rao and Tirumale Tatacharya Sharman.

Sir Mirza Ismail set up a committee to inquire into the causes of the communal disturbances and to suggest measures for prevention. The committee was headed by the former Dewan, Sir M. Visveswaraya. It had a distinguished composition: Justice D.K. Rama Rao, H.G. Basavaih, Gulam Ahmed Kalami, V. Manikavelu Mudaliar, Barrister B. Nagappa, and Ralph Nye. The committee heard laymen, distinguished men in public life, police officers. Comptroller Shamana was among those who appeared before the committee. The committee exonerated Sir Mirza Ismail, but cautioned that without the moral support of the people it would henceforth be difficult for the Government to rule.

That Sir Mirza Ismail delieved in his own innocence is clear beyond doubt. He set up the committee to demonstrate it to

the public world. The Maharajah, whose confidence and trust the Dewan enjoyed, so far shared Sir Mirza's belief in his innocence that in a letter to him, at the height of the committee's proceedings, he expressed profound sympathy for the Dewan's, anguish, and confided that he was praying that the stress and strain would not tell on his health. After the completion of the report, which Sir Mirza Ismail had not yet seen, Sir, M. Visveswaraya called on him. Conscious of certain strictures in his report, he pointed out his own portrait in Sir Mirza's chamber and remarked that there would be no place for it thereafter. Sir Mirza Ismail promptly replied that the portrait would remain for all time because he had fatherly regard for the elder statesmen.

Among others, the following witnesses appeared before the inquiry committee: C. Mahcaiah, Mun. Commissioner; Abbas Khan, Mun. President; R. Thammaji Rao, Special Magistrate; T.T. Sharman, Editor, *Viswakarnataka*; B. Seshadri Aiyar, Sub Inspector; S. Nanjundaiah, Contractor; George Mathen, First Member; S. Hiriyannaiah, I.G.P.; G.B. Heblikar, City Magistrate; John Appaji, Head Master; N.S. Subba Rao, D.P.I.; Sirajuddin Mohammed, D.S.P.; B.H. Sanjeevappa, City market Contractor; M.K. Narasimha Iyengar, D.S.P.; K. Siddaramappa, Central Jail Superintendent. On behalf of the Hindus, Sampige Venkatapathiah argued; Mohamed Sharief Khaleej represented the Muslims; K. Shamanna spoke for the students and V.S. Sanjeeva Rao for the press.

Chandraraj, 12-year-old unlettered boy, who worked in a tailor's shop was a star witness. Though he could'n read a clock, he could'n be faulted over time. Asked why he had gone to the school, he said he was interested in the offering distributed after the *puja*. He fell from a wall after a bullet hit him, and said he was carried by a Brahmin to his house. The boy said the bullet came from the residence of Md. Abbas Khan. Earlier,

The communal disturbances considerably embarrassed the Dewan who was a Muslim. On a long-term view, the episode shook the complacency of the administration.

(Based on papers in Karnataka State Archives including Viswesaraiah Committee's report "Disturbances in Bangalore City 1928-Report Submitted to the Mysore Government" and contemporary newspapers).

MAHĀMAṆḌALĒŚVARA MAṆALERA—A NOTE

DR. (MISS) ZAKIA KHANUM M. PATHAN*

The reinterpretation¹ of the famous Ātakūr hero stone inscription regarding *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Maṇalera now preserved in the Government Museum, Bangalore requires a note to be added to the already known history of the Maṇalera chiefs who ruled over a small area of Purigere-300 from 9th to 12th Century A.D.². The Ātakūr inscription dated 949 A.D.³ states that this Maṇalera was an officer under the Ganga chief Būtuga-II, a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishṇa-III. Further, it is interesting to note that he was described as *Valābhi Puravaradhīśvara*.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Maṇalera took an active part in the famous battle of Takkōlam which the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishṇa III fought against Chola Rājāditya. The epigraph states that this Maṇalera prayed for and got from the king Kachchega Krishṇarāja who is no other than Krishṇa-III, a hound named *Kāli* in token of appreciation of the valour displayed by him in the battle. This hound later on came to be pitted against a great boar on a hillock to the West of Belatūru in Keḷale-nāḍ. In the fight that followed both of them ultimately died. A memorial stone was set up. This is one of the very unique records that have come into existence in memory of such pet animals.

Earlier this record has already been edited by Dr. Fleet⁴ and also by Rice. There are slight variations in the reading of the text as given by Fleet and Rice and by B. R. Gopal.

* Camelia, Narayanpur, Dharwad-580008

Both Fleet and Rice held that the hound named *Kāli* was given to Mañalera by Būtuga-II, the Gaṅga chief. The 6th line in the text according to Fleet reads thus :

*Śrīmat permmānāḍigaḷ nanniya-Gaṅga (m)-jaya (d= u)
ttaraṅgam Gaṅga-G(āṅge) ya (m) Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇan= ātan= ālu
(tti) l (d) u.*

This he translated to mean that when the Gaṅga Permmānādi was ruling, his subordinate Mañalera asked and got the hound from Būtuga. Although Rice rightly read the last portion of this line as *ātan-ālu* i.e., to mean his servant of subordinate, still he has opined that it was Būtuga-II that made the gift of the hound. But a close examination of the original clearly shows that the reading of Rice is correct. But after *ālu* there is a symbol resembling the one at the end of line 19.

But B. R. Gopal expresses the view that a more careful analysis of the text would further show that it was Krishna-III who made the gift.

The record first refers to the king who having fought and killed the Chōḷa king at Takkōlam, then it refers to Mañalera the servant (*ālu*) of the Gaṅga chief Būtuga-II, who when being pleased in battle was asked to pray for a favour, asked and received the hound. It is clear that Būtuga-II herein figures only in the context of being the master of Mañalera. Hence the donor of the hound was the king Kachchega Krishnarāja (Krishna-III) and not Būtuga-II. Therefore the summary of the record as given on page of E.C. vol VII revised edition may kindly be read as follows.

The record states that while the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kanna-dēva also referred to as Kachchega Krishnarāja was on the victorious march after killing Mūvaḍi Chōḷa in the battle of Takkola, Mañalera of the Sagara family a subordinate

(*aṅkakāra*) of Permmānādi Būtuga, the Gaṅga bearing the title *Valabhi Puravaradhīśvara* prayed for and got from the king a hound named *Kāli* a token of appreciation of the valour displayed by him in the battle.

Two points may incidentally be noted here. The king is described as *Kachchega*. It is well known that Krishna-III bore the title *Kachchiyum Tanjaiyum Koṇḍa* i.e., conqueror of Kanchi and Tanjavur, generally associated with his name in his records found in the Tamil region. It was in the battle of Takkōlam that he defeated the Chōḷa king Rājāditya. This was in 949-950 A. D. This meant his conquest of Kanchi. It must have been sometime later that if at all Krishna-III went up to and occupied Tanjavur. Since clearly by the time of our record Krishna-III had only conquered Kanchipuram. Kachchega obviously was the title assumed by him in memory of his conquest of Kanchi. It has been doubtfully surmised that this word may be a short form of *Kanchigonḍa*.⁵ We feel that there need be no doubt about it.

Another point of interest is that the king made the gift of a dog which was obviously used in hunting. According to Sitaram Jagirdhar on the basis of a verse in Nagavarma's *Kavyalokana* verse 183 it is suggested that Krishna-III had a pack of hounds with him.⁶

The verse in question refers to the hounds protecting their master who is said to be *Gandhamartanḍa*. This reading in one manuscript is found differently in other manuscripts as *Kandumartanḍa* or *Gannamartanḍa*. Jagirdar suggests that it should be *Gandhamartanḍa*, a title borne by Krishna-III as is known from the Jura inscription. The verse in question was perhaps included in *Bhuvanaika Rāmabhyudayam*, a lost work of Ponna who was a contemporary of and honoured by Krishna-III. Available evidence seems to indicate that prior to the date of *Kavyalokana* i.e., Circa 1042 A.D. *Gandamartanḍa* was a title

borne only by Krishna-III. If the suggestion of the verse in question as also its attribution to Ponna are accepted, then the fact that Krishna-III gave a hound as a gift to Maṇalera would not in any way sound unusual, for Krishna-III did have a pack of hounds with him.

Thus it becomes clear from this stone inscription that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Maṇalera was gifted with a hound *Kāḷi* by Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna-III and not by Gaṅga Būṭuga-II as known so far.

NOTES :

1. Gopal, B. R. (ed). *Epigraphia Carnatica* VII, Md. 42.
2. Pathan, Z. M., *Some Feudatory Families (Minor Dynasties) of Medieval Karnataka-A Study (unpublished thesis)* p. 80.
3. *E.I.* VI p. 54.
4. *Ibid* II, p. 67 & VI, p. 50 ff.
5. Cited from *E.C.* VII. intro, p xcii.
6. *Ibid*.

THE TALAVAKĀRA UPANIṢAD - CHAMPION OF THE DVAITA SYSTEM OF VEDĀNTA

DR. K.B. ARCHAK, M.A , Ph.D.*

The *Talavakāra Upaniṣad* is the second among the ten major Upaniṣads recognised by the tradition as scriptures. This *Upaniṣad* derives its name as it belongs to one of the chapters of *Talavakāra Brāhmaṇa* or the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* appertaining to the *Sāma Veda* which sings the supremacy of the Supreme Lord. It is called also by the name *Brāhmaṇopaniṣad*¹ as it forms a part of the *Brāhmaṇa*. It is best known as *Kena Upaniṣad* as it begins with *keneṣitam patati*... the first word of the first verse.

We have in this *Upaniṣad* four chapters, of which the first two are in metrical form and the latter two are in prose form. "Like the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* it commences with the question, who it is by whose decree mind, life and the senses are engaged in the performance of their functions."² A close study of this *Upaniṣad*, without referring to the commentaries of Śaṅkara and Madhva, unfolds emphatically the principal doctrines of the Dvaita system of Vedānta. Even Madhva's commentary on this *Upaniṣad* is an extract from the *Brahmasāra* clearly substantiate the Vedāntic teachings of this *Upaniṣad*. With reference to the contents of the *Talavakāra Upaniṣad*, some of the principal doctrines of Madhva are cited here, which in fact, are latent in the Upaniṣadic teachings :

1. *Supremacy of the Lord* : The Supremacy of the Lord in the Dvaita system is ensured by the concept of His independence.³ This concept is more evident when transcendence and Immanence of the Lord are taken into consideration.

*Department of Sanskrit & Prakrit, Karnatak College, Dharwad

2. *Dependence of souls on Lord* : All souls including Goddess Lakṣmī, Mukhya Vāyu and insentients are dependent on the Supreme Brahman at every moment of their existence ⁴

3. *Concept of Difference*: According to Madhva, difference between the souls and the Lord is *atyanta-sat* but not *prātibhāsika-sat*

4. *A Role of hierarchy among the gods* : Madhva has given equal importance to the concept of hierarchy among gods. This hierarchy is fixed in respect of one's intrinsic capacity.

5. *Concept of Mokṣa* : Ultimate cause of realization is being instrumental to God's grace ⁵ One gets this grace only through the knowledge of Brahman.

It is discussed below how the doctrines propounded by Madhva are contained in the philosophical teachings of the *Upaniṣad* :

The *Talavakāra Upaniṣad* states All-impelling capacity of Brahman : “*Śrotrasya śrotram manaso mano yadvāco ha vācam sa u prāṇasya prāṇaḥ cakṣuṣaścakṣurati mucya dhīrāḥ pretyās-mālokaṭ amṛtā bhavanti*” (1.2). Brahman is the giver of hearing capacity to the ear. Impelled by Him it hears. In spite of our best efforts, the mind thinks of unpleasant things and is drawn towards the objects of enjoyment. It being an instrument cannot move on its own accord. It is Supreme Brahman that activates the mind to move towards its desired objects. Similarly, He gives enlivening capacity to Mukhya Vāyu, who is superior to all souls ⁶ Thus, each and everything is activated by the Supreme Force, Lord Viṣṇu.

Then, the *Upaniṣad* explains- “*yadi manyase suvedeti daharamevāpi nūam tvam vettha brahmaṇo rūpam yadasya tvam*

yadasya deveṣyatha nu mīmāṃsyameva te’. The nature of Brahman is inexplicable. Therefore, none of the individual souls is capable of knowing His glory in full. His glory is so vast that even higher deities like Brahmā cannot comprehend Him fully ; but His grace one can intuit a small fraction of Him.

Thus, the facts showing His supreme superiority approve the concept of *Guṇaparipūrṇatva*. The narrative of this *Upaniṣad* determines what kind of Brahman is meant to be taught in it. It is the Lord endowed with all attributes showing His Supreme superiority. This unassailable concept of *Guṇaparipūrṇatva* tends to deny the monistic idea of “Qualityless Brahman.” As the subjects are under the control of a king, the ruler of a Kingdom, so also all things in the universe are dependent upon the Supreme Ruler. In the verse *śrotrasya śrotram manaso manah*, it is indicated that the deities presiding over the organs are motivated by the Supreme Power : it means, they are controlled and dependent on the Supreme Lord ⁸

More specifically, the idea of independence of even higher deities is elaborated in the third chapter of this *Upaniṣad*. This chapter describes an interesting allegory ⁹ as follows : Once there was a great conflict between the gods and the demons. The gods won a victory with the help of the Supreme Lord. But gods having ignored that success is due to the manifestation of Brahman in them, were blinded by their success and became proud. Supreme Lord having noticed the conceit of the gods, appeared before them in the form of Yakṣa along with Goddess Umā, Śiva and Caturmukha Brahmā ¹⁰ in order to remove their conceit and to teach His almighty power. The gods not knowing what it was, sent forth Jātavedas to know who that Yakṣa is. After mutual enquiry that Yakṣa placed a blade of grass and asked him to burn. Agni returned being unable to burn it. Similarly Nāsikya Vāyu approached Yakṣa and came back not being able to know the nature of Yakṣa.

Being addressed by the gods, Indra approached Yakṣa. As soon as Indra approached it, the latter disappeared from the former's sight. Then, in the place where the Yakṣa had stood, there appeared Goddess Umā, to whom Indra asked what the Yakṣa was. Indra, then was advised that Yakṣa is none other than Almighty, Supreme Lord, by whom the gods had won a victory over the demons. This story clearly represent and dependent nature of the Lord and the gods (lower souls too) respectively.

Dr. E. Roer remarks in this connection: "And it is He, upon whom all depends, who has called these substances into existence and appointed to them their own actions."¹¹ When the dependence of all souls on the Supreme Lord is evident, it is no surprise to say that the souls are different from Paramātman.

In the verse *śrotrasya śrotram manaso manaḥ* the genitive case shows a relation in general with another noun connected with it in a sentence. Thus, the genitive case symbolically the difference between two entities - Jiva and Brahman. It may be noted here that Śaṅkara differs in no way regarding the interpretation of "*Śrotrasya śrotram*."¹² Moreover, it is positively stated in the *Upaniṣad*: *Anyadeva tadviditādatho aviditādhi* (I, 4). It is explained here that the Supreme Lord who is not reached by the gods presiding over the sense organs and the organs of action, is different from the universe which can be understood by any one of the *pramāṇās* or means of knowledge. And it is absolutely different from non-apprehensible entity like the horns of hare.¹³

More significantly the *Upaniṣad* puts forth the idea of difference in the following verses (I.4-8).

Yadvācānabhyuditaṁ yena vāgabhyadyate
Tadeva brahma tvam viddhi nedam yadidamupāsate.

Yanmanasā na manute yezāhurmano matam
Tadeva brahma tvam viddhi nedam yadidamupāsate
Yaccakṣuṣā na paśyati yena cakṣuṁṣi paśyati
Tadeva brahma tvam viddhi nedam yadidamupāsate
Yacchrotreṇa na śruṇoti yena śrotramidaṁ śrutam
Tadeva brahma tvam viddhi nedam yadidamupāsate
Yat prāṇena na prāṇiti yena prāṇaḥ prāṇiyate
Tadeva brahma tvam viddhi nedam yadidamupāsate

It is Brahman which is not fully expressed by speech, but impelled by which, speech is uttered. That Brahman is seated close to you as your Inner Controller, but It is not this individual soul. One should know that to be Brahman which is not thought of by the mind; but ordained by which the mind comprehends things. That Brahman is seated close to you as your Inner Controller, but It is not this individual soul. It is Brahman which is not seen by the eye; but directed by which the eye gets capacity to see the objects. That Brahman is seated close to you as your Inner Controller, but It is not this individual soul. It is Brahman which the Jiva does not hear by the ear, but impelled by which the ear hears. That Brahman is seated close to you as your Inner Controller, but It is not this individual soul. Whose activities are not activated, impelled even by Mukhya Vāyu, but impelled by which the Chief Vāyu, makes others to move; know that alone to be Brahman. That Brahman is seated close to you, as your Inner Controller, but It is not this Individual soul.

Hence, it is evident that the Chief Vāyu who is the Impeller of the mind, the eyes and the ears is essentially the Supreme Lord. As He controls all, He is Independent and Supreme self; and so individual soul cannot be identified with Him,¹⁴ or cannot become that Independent Brahman. Therefore, the difference between individual self and the Supreme Self is not a vague hypothesis but mystic teaching of the *Upaniṣad*.

The concept of difference tends to the idea of gradation among the souls. This knowledge of gradation is so important that without it liberation cannot be attained under any circumstances.¹⁵

The opening two verses of the fourth chapter of the *Upaniṣad* unravel the aspect of the hierarchy among the gods as follows : *Brahmaṇo vā etadvijaye devā amahīyadhvamiti tato ha vai vidāṇcakāra brahmeti. Tasmādvā ete devā atitarānivānyān devān yadagnirvāyurindraste hyenannediṣṭham pasprśuḥ. Te hyenat prathamam vidāṇcakāra brahmeti. Tasmādvā indro'ntitarāniva anyān devān sa hyenannediṣṭham pasparśa. Sa hyenat prathamam vidāṇcakāra brahmeti.*

Supreme Lord appeared before the gods along with Brahmā, Vāyu, Garuḍa, Śeṣa, Rudra and their consorts. He did so as to show to Indra and to others that He is superior even to these higher deities. Moreover, those deities are superior to Indra and others as they are free from such pride.¹⁶ Here, *iva* indicates that the superiority of these gods is not newly acquired but only made manifest by this time.¹⁷

And Indra, Agni, Vāyu have surpassed other gods below them as they are first to behold the Supreme Brahman who appeared as *Yakṣa*. Among them, Indra is superior to Agni and Nāsikya Vāyu as he is instructed first by Umā and understood *Yakṣa* as Supreme Brahman. Agni and Nāsikya Vāyu are superior to below them as they are first to enquire into the nature of Supreme Brahman.

It is not illicit to add here the quotation from *Brahmasāra* adduced by Madhva in his commentary on this *Upaniṣad*, since it continues the line of hierarchy among the gods :

*Dakṣādibhyaḥ tathā kāmāḥ tat jñātum pūrvamuktavān
Dakṣo bṛhaspatiścaiva manuḥ kāmātma-jastathā
Sūryācandramasau dharmau varuṇascocuromiti (IV. 2)*

Kāma is equal to Indra, as he was first to say "we must know who this *Yakṣa* is." Therefore Kāma is as superior as Indra to Dakṣa, Bṛhaspati, Manu, Aniruddha, Sūrya, Candra, Yama and Varuṇa.

Thus Agni, Nāsikya Vāyu, Varuṇa, Yama, Candra, Sūrya, Aniruddha, Manu, Bṛhaspati, Dakṣa, Indra (Kāma), Rudra, Śeṣa, Garuḍa, Vāyu (Brahmā) -all excel in merit the one next preceding by hundreded counts.¹⁸

Thus, the *Upaniṣad* has given us a beautiful account of the hierarchy among the souls beginning with Brahmā, that forms one of the fundamental teachings of the Dvita system of Vedānta.

The *Upaniṣad* in its last section enjoins the performance of religious duties for the attainment of emancipation :

*Tasyai tapo damaḥ karmeti pratiṣṭhā, Vedāḥ sarvāṅgāni
Satyamāyatanam. Yo ha vā etāmunipāṣadamevaṁ
Vedāpahatya pāpmānāmanate sarge loka jyeye
Pratitiṣṭhati jyeye pratitiṣṭhati (IV.4)*

The meaning conveyed here is that Brahmavidyā will remain firmly established in him who possesses the practice of penance,¹⁹ self control, daily and occasional ties in duaccordance with one's *varṇa* and *āśrama*. "It seems that this conception is based on the idea that it is moral virtues (including conformity to prescribed duties, etc) that enable a man to attain to intellectual knowledge. 'No knowledge without virtue' would be the thesis which the conclusion of the *Upaniṣad* would accordingly seem to propound to us.²⁰ The *Upaniṣad* calls the practice of these three, penance, self-control and *Karma* as *Pratiṣṭhā* or support of the knowledge of Brahman. Vedas and their accessories including *Brahmasūtras* are the sources of knowledge of Brahman. The above statement reminds the fact that even

after attaining the knowledge of the Supreme Lord one has to perform religious activities. One who maintains thus, crosses over the sins and attains salvation, enjoys his own bliss by the grace of Lord Viṣṇu²¹

Thus, we find an unique thought of fundamental principles of the Dvaita Vedānta, a protest against the monistic theories of Śaṅkara. In this way, enucleations shown by this *Upaniṣad* sought to spare a growing idealistic philosophy of the Dvaita system. And, it is not an exaggeration to say that Śaṅkara has no place to find his own monistic theories in the *Upaniṣad*. In addition to this, scholars opine, "It is very significant that even Śaṅkara, while commenting on the *Upaniṣad*, narrative is obliged to make no distinction between Brahman and Īśvara."²² Hertel contends that "the Kena wants to fight against the doctrine of identity of the world-soul and the individual soul." (*Die Weisheit der upaniṣaden München*, 1921, pp. 23-32 ff).²³

In fine the doctrines of the Dvaita system of Vedānta have been tested and found fit upon the touch-stone of the philosophical tenets of the *Talvakāra Upaniṣad*.

Notes

1. Cf. a) B D. Basu, *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. I., Allahabad, p. 21. b) Baldev Raj Sharma, *The Concept of Ātman in the Principal Upaniṣads*, Dinesh Publications, New Delhi, p.183.
2. E. Roar, *The Twelve Principal Upaniṣads*, Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1979, p.15.
3. i) *Svatantram Caitanyam sve mahiminitīṣṭhamānam-Maitri Upaniṣad* II.4.

- II) *Svatanthro Bhagavān Viṣṇuḥ-Madhva, Tattvasaṅkhyāna*, p. 1.
4. Cf. *Bhagavadgītā*. (B. G) IX. 4.
5. "Viṣṇurhi dātā mokṣasya." Madhva, *Mahābhārata-Tātparya-Nirṇaya*, I. 90 "Mokṣo viṣṇuprasādena vinā na labhyate", Madhva, *Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya*, Cha. I. "Tameva śaraṇam gaccha sarvabhāvena bhārata Tatpra-sādāt param śāntim sthānam prāpyasi śāśvataṁ." B. G. XVIII. 62.
6. *Chāndogya Up.* V. i. 1.
7. "Yah prāṇasya prañetā ca cakṣurādeśca sarvaśaḥ agamyah sarvadevaiśca paripūrṇatvāhetutaḥ Praṇadīnām prañetā ca sarvavettā ca sārvaśaḥ Sarvottamaśca sarvatra sa viṣṇuriti dhāryatām." Madhva, *Tala Up. bh* I 3-4, pp. 53-55.
8. "Śrotram cakṣuḥ sparśanam ca rasanām ghrāṇameva ca Adhiṣṭhāya manaścāyam viṣayānupasevate" B G XV 9. "Mukhyaprāṇāścendriyāṇi dehaścaiva tadudbhavaḥ Mukhyaprāṇavaśe sarvaṁ sa viṣṇorvaśagaḥ sadā" Madhva, *Aṇu-bhāṣya*, II. 5.
9. Similar account of the victory of the gods over the demons, occurs in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* I. 3. 1-7.
10. *Yakṣarūpaḥ prādurabhūdumāsīvasamanvitaḥ Brahmanā caiva sahitaḥ etebhyo'pi paro hyaham Ete'pi me bhṛtyabhūtāḥ parivārya vyavasthitāḥ Iti jñāpayitum viṣṇuḥ saha tairapyupāgataḥ.* Madhva, *Tala Up. Bh*, III. 1, p. 60.
11. *The Twelve Principal Upaniṣads*, Vol. I. Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1979, p. 20.
12. *Tattu svaviśayavyaṅjinasāmarthyam śrotrasya caitanye hyātma jyotiṣi nitye asamahate sarvāntare sati bhavatī, ityataḥ śrotrasyaśrotram ityādyupapadyate.* Śaṅkara, *Keno-paniṣadbhāṣya*, Adhyatma Prakash Karyalaya, Holenarasipura, 1967, p. 18.
13. *Tat cakṣurādyagamyam vastu viditāt parmitāt jagutaḥ atho aviditāt apramitāt śaśaśṅgādeśca anyadeva Vilakṣaṇamevetyarthaḥ.*

Rāghavendrayati, *Tala. Up. Khandārtyha*, Ramakrishnappa Dvitavedantha Pathasala, Bangalore, 1970, I. 4, p. 54.

14. *He jīva viṣṇvākyaṁ tat brahma idam paridṛśyamānam jīva khyam tava svarūpaṁ na. Tathā sati jīvasyaiva viṣṇutvena sarvendriyaprakṛatvasambhavāt kenēṣitamityādiprasnasy-āsaṅgatiprasaṅgaḥ ; yatte upa samipe hṛdītyarthaḥ, āsate-niyāmakatayā aste. Vādirājatīrtha' Tala Up. bhāṣya-ṭippaṇī*, Udipi, 1955
15. *Tāratamyam tato jñeyam sarvocatvam, etc.*, Madhva, *Mahābhārata-Tātparya-Nirṇaya*, I. 81.
16. *Yasmāt brahmā ca vāyuśca śeṣavīndrau śivastathā Sa bhāryā garviṇo nāsan surebhyaste adhikāstathā* Madhva, *Tala. Up. bh.*, IV 1, p. 63.
17. *Ivaśabdastu goryābhāvādādhikyam avidyamānam devānām nedānimiva prāptm kintu anādisiddhameva. Tadidānim vyaktamabdhūdyabhiprāyaḥ* Rāghavendrayati, *Tala. Up. Khd.* IV. 1. p. 63
18. Cf *Kṣitipā manuṣyagandharvāḥ devāśca pitarāścīrāḥ Ajāna jāḥ karmajāśca devā indrah purandaraḥ Rudrah sarasvatī vāyurmuktaḥ śataguṇottarāḥ Eko brahmā ca vāyuśca vindro rudrasamastathā* Madhva, *Mbh. Tn.* I. 72-73
19. *Tapah kṛcchracāndrāyaṇādi śāstraparyālocanam vā* Rāghavendrayati, *Tala. Up. Khd.*, IV. 4 p. 67.
20. R. D. Ranade & S. K. Belvalkar, *History of Indian philosophy*, Vol. II, Poona, 1927, p. 177.
21. Cf "Mere knowledge untouched by divine grace will not do." S. Radhakrishnan, *The Principal Upaniṣads*, London, 1953, p. 589.
22. B. Venkateshachar, *Talavakāra Upaniṣad Khandārtha* Ramakrishnappa Dvaita Vedanta Pathashala, Bangalore, 1970, p. 45.
Cf. *Sā brahmeti hovāca ha kila brahmaṇaḥ īśvarasyaiva vijaye, etc.* Śaṅkara, *Kenopaniṣad-padabhāṣya*, p. 83.
23. Q. B. N. K. Sharma, *A History of Dvaita School of Vedānta and its Literature*, Vol. I, Bombay, 1960, p. 212.

A LATE ACHEULEAN SITE AT KANDUKUR, MANNER VALLEY : COASTAL ANDHRA PRADESH

K. SRINIVASULU. *

The Manneru is one of the important river systems in the Prakasam District of Andhra Pradesh. The river rises on the Eastern spurs of the Velikondas and after having a course of 100 kms. falls into the Bay of Bengal on the East. The river system is located between the Palleru valley in the north and the Pennar in the South. Naturally the Manneru shares the same climatic impact as any other minor river system of the peninsular India. The Manneru Valley was habited by the pre-historic populations at various locations viz , Ramapatnam, Kondasamudram, Lingasamudram, Irur, Istkapalle and Eastern part of Kandukur, (Bruce-Foote : 1916). Recent investigations conducted at Singarayakonda, Kandukur, Bollagudur and Iaimerla brought to light a good amount of information about the Acheulean settlements there. In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to provide a brief account of Acheulean Industry of Kandukur.

Kandukur is a town and a Taluk Head Quarters in the Prakasam District. The Manneru, one of the important river systems of the District, flows at a distance of 4 kms. south of the town. To the west of Kandukur along the right side of the road leading to Pamur, a small hill stream flows, which finally drains into the Manneru. The stream has entrenched its bed upto the bed rock and exposed cliff sections measuring about 3 mts. on average. The sections at places comprise of conglomerates in a calcareous and lateritic matrix. As a result of the lateral cutting by the current, gravels from

* Lecturer in History, S. M. S. Oriental College, Proddatur-516360

the sections are brought down and laid in the bed of the stream. From this context a few Acheulean artefacts have been collected. As the specimens are picked up almost all along the stream bed and sides, the correct provenance from which they got drifted cannot be stated with precision. Yet, as the tools do not show signs of heavy rolling, possibly the original Acheulean occupation site cannot be too far away from Kandukur.

A total number of 105 artefacts have been collected at the site. On typological grounds they may be classified as Choppers, Chopping tools, Handaxes, Cleavers, Scrapers, retouched and ordinary flakes and cores. Light brown quartzite is the main raw material used. However a few artefacts are made on quartz also available at this site.

Typological Analysis of the Artefacts

	No.	Percentage
1. Chopper	1	2.17
2. Chopping Tools	12	26.09
3. Handaxes		
Lanceolates	2	
Ovates	3	
Tanged	2	
Amorphous	9	
Broken	8	
4. Cleavers	24	52.17
5. Scrapers	1	2.17
6. Retouched flakes	3	6.53
	5	10.80
Total	46	100.00

Waste Products :

1. Cores	15
2. Flakes	44
Total	59

Choppers : Choppers represent a minority in the collection. Only one specimen of this kind is found. The specimen belongs to the side chopper variety, fabricated on an oval pebble with one of the surfaces being flat. Large flakes are removed towards one of the side margins to obtain the cutting edge. On the remaining surface of the specimen cortex is present.

Chopping Tools : These occur in large number. They appear very crude bearing irregular edges produced by bold and haphazard flaking. There is no specific shape which recurs among them. They vary in size and extent of the cutting edge. A few of these specimens show shapes anticipating those of the forthcoming handaxes. The edges and relief features are sharp and therefore indicate that they were not acted upon by agencies of denudation or weathering. This aspect, however, does not preclude the possibility of their being utilised.

Broken Handaxes : Under this group, those specimens, whose portions of the body are missing are placed. It is thought that in the absence of any flaw in the blank, they should have got broken during usage. In a few specimens the working-ends are missing while in others the butt-ends are missing. The presence of these pieces is a sure sign to conclude that we are dealing with an acheulean occupation level.

Tanged Handaxes : A couple of miniature handaxes with intentionally prepared tangs forms a special feature of the industry. These are asymmetric about their plan and section and fabricated on thick flakes. On both the specimens flake scars emerging from the centre of one or both the surfaces radiate to meet the margins. The tangs are produced by deliberate chipping bifacially at the proximal-end.

Ovates : A couple of specimens of miniature size having oval plans are identified. They are not exactly ovates in the strict sense of the term. But in the absence of a better term, supported by their shapes, they are designated so.

Lanceolate : This is a handaxe in the shape of a betel leaf. It is bifacially worked on a quartz pebble and the edges are very neatly trimmed straight. The butt-end is chipped deliberately so as to provide a haftable base.

Handaxes : Under the general category of handaxes, two major sub-divisions could be seen, miniature apart. The first division consists of larger tools intended for heavy duty activities and the second group is characterised by tools with relatively smaller bodies, and the specimens of the latter variety could easily be hafted.

The first group tools are thick and heavy, modelled on cores. The flake scars are deep and large. The number of flake scars present on the specimens is too less to be considered under sophisticated specimens. Symmetry in plan and section are not to be traced in the shapes.

Under the second group a considerable number of tools is placed. The butt sides are covered by cortex. Most of them are bifacially worked and occasionally the flaking imparted on one of the surface exceeds that on the other surface. Interestingly the tools have got a flatish look suggesting that the craftsmen were careful in producing one of the surfaces flatter than other, the purpose behind being unknown. This feature is independent of the blank chosed as we have examples made both on water worn pebbles, sub angular blocks, core fragments and even on thick flakes. In a majority of cases the butt-end and pointed-end fall close to the long axis making the specimen almost symmetric about it, and the vertical sections are always asymmetric save in a single example. In three samples in addition to the asymmetrical in vertical sections one can see a slight concavity towards one of the side margins near the pointed-end. This features coupled with convexity on the opposite margin recalls specimens from Victorian west. Technologically the specimens do not convey a good amount of the attention. They have

received from the craftsmen, specially with respect to the secondary working. The flake scars are bold and occur irregular. The edges are never trimmed but they are left with the alternately flaked cutting edges, probably in one or two instances we would see the signs of secondary working. A few examples show slightly rounded ridges resulting from weather wear.

An example of quartz made in symmetric leaf shaped handaxe is also identified. It is symmetric in vertical section and bears neatly trimmed side margins, and a trimmed butt-end, probably ment for an easy hafting. A couple of specimens do not conform to any known type-morphic form, yet they are placed under the group of handaxes, for want of a better term. Of course they bear a few filial links with the handaxes.

Cleaver : A 'U' shaped cleaver fabricated on an oval split pebble. The vertical section is plano-convex and the cutting edge is nearly straight with respect to the long axis of the tool. The edge is produced by unifacial flaking from the dorsal surface. Though the purpose is not known, on either side of the edge close to the side margins, two flakes are removed, one each on either side. Close to the butt-end a large flake is removed on the dorsal surface and exactly at the same position a few flakes are removed on the vertical side also. Probably this is intended to thin out the butt-end to provide a proper clutch. On the rest of the dorsal surface cortex remains.

Handaxes of various evolved forms like Lanceolates, Ovates, tanged and other tool types of advanced forms would indicate that the artefacts collected from Kandukur belong to the Late Acheulean times. On type-technological grounds the specimens from Kandukur may be compared with similar finds from Botlagudur (K. Srinivasulu 1982), Innimerla (K. Srinivasulu 1984), Late group of Singarayakonda (K. Srinivasulu 1980) and with those from Paleru (V.V.M. Rao 1979).

However, local variations in the specific tool type densities are perceivable in the clusters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bruce-Foote, R. : *The Foote collection of prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Madras* p. 120; 1916.
2. Rao V.V.M. : "Investigation into the Acheulian Phase of Paleru valley-Prakasam District". *ITIHAS* : VOL. VII No. 1; pp 32-39. 1979.
3. Srinivasulu, K. : *A Study of the Acheulean Sites in the Manneru valley*. Unpublished M.A., Dissertation, Nagarjuna University Library, 1980.
4. Srinivasulu, K. : "An Acheulean site at Botlagudur on the Manneru, District Prakasam, Andhra Pradesh". *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. Vol.1 LXXIII No. I pp 53-60 ; 1982.
5. Srinivasulu, K. : "A Late Acheulean Industry at Inimerla, District Prakasam". *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. Vol. LXXV No. 1, pp 55-71, 1984.

A NOTE ON LANGUAGE GAMES IN KANNADA FOLKLORE

DR. H. M. MAHESHWARAIHAH*

Today there is a great necessity for collecting and analysing the folk material because of its fast dying nature. Like other folklore types, folk mathematics and folk language games are becoming rare nowadays. Folk language games and folk mathematics in Kannada language look like disappearing. Folk mathematics and language games come under riddle games. I call the few riddle games as language games because they are more concerned with language than with literature. Most of such games are based on pun, word-plays and sound articulations. In this brief note I would like to discuss some of the riddle games which are more directly concerned with language. Such games are also found in other languages like Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, etc. Word-plays are found in American languages and in Greek, Latin and German languages.

Puns

A statement which can be interpreted in more than one way is given for analysis to the competitor. If the competitor is successful in one answer there is a possibility of another interpretation. For example :

*nānūru guṭadāge nūru gūṭakke
kuduregaḷannu kaṭṭide, hāgādare uḷida gūṭagaḷeṣṭu ?*

Its translation would be, how many pegs remain unused if one hundred horses are fastened to one hundred of four hundred pegs.

*Institute of Kannada Studies, Karnatak University, Dharwad-580 003

The term *nānūru* is amenable to two interpretations like 'nānu + nūru' (I + hundred) and 'nālku + nūru' (four + hundred). So the number can be either hundred or four hundred. Even if the competitor wins in one answer, the other answer will escape.

In another example, one buffalo is described variously in terms of its activities.

Keriyāge ēlemme, ērige hattemme
manige hiṇḍemme, oṭṭu eṣṭemme ?

In the above example *keriyage ēlemma* give two meanings i.e. 'seven buffaloes', and 'buffalo gets up in the tank.' 'Erige hattemme' means 'ten buffaloes' and 'a buffalo which climbs up a bund'. *Hiṇḍemme* means 'a herd of buffaloes' and 'milching buffalo.'

In the above two examples two different meanings of a single word, play an important role in the game.

In some of the examples there is a common answer to different questions. Here is an example in Kannada.

Nanna kudure nōḍidya ?
Tenginakāyige duḍḍeṣṭu ?

Its translation would be 'have you seen my horse?' and 'what is the price of the coconut?'. The reply for these two questions is 'Nakane' it means 'I have not seen' and 'also four annas'.

World Play

In the word-play a letter in a word is indicated in a symbolic way. The game is to find out the letter. Such games are considered to be of recent origin and some what pedantic. An example is given below :

Ardacandranange kāṇabēku, aydu akṣarada aḍige pada
adāgirabēku. Modalakṣhira ka kone akṣara bu, identhadu ?

This is the name of the edible thing which looks like a crescent moon. It is a five lettered word. The first letter is 'ka' and the last letter is 'bu'. Identify the word. The answer for this is 'karigadabu' a festival sweet dish in Karnataka.

In another example one can find the word consciousness of the folk mind. The game suggests to identify three 'gi' in a cart.

Ondu baṇḍyāge mūrgi: a bullock cart carries three things of which it is made, ending with 'gi' represents them (that *dambargi, jotgi, uddagi*). 'Dambargi' is a side plank, 'jotagi' is a rope with the help of which neck of an ox is fastened to the yoke. 'Uddagi' is a main pole in the cart.

In the following word-play one can witness a jugglery of words. The form remains the same even if it is read in the reverse order. For example, *Giribasakana kasabarigi*. The meaning of the statement is 'broomstick of Giribasakka'. This game is nothing to do with the meaning, only the forms are important.

Sound Forms

Some of the examples which are in folk riddle games dealing with the articulatory nature of the sound production. Here the articulators of sounds are used for composing the games. Here is the game which refers to bilabial nature of 'pa' sound. The game runs like this :

Chikkahanasōgili ondu tagaru
Doḍḍahanasōgili ondu tagaru
Ta andra guddalla
Ayyappa andre guttave

Its translation would be ; there is one ram in Chikkahananasogi and one in Doddahanasogi. When you say 'ta' they won't

hit, but they do hit when you say 'ayyappa'. The answer is that, the lips touch each other when you pronounce 'ayyappa' while they do not, when 'ta' is pronounced.

The other example describes retroflex nasal sound 'na': *Akka andre muṭṭōdilla aṇṇa andre muṭṭutayti*. It means when you pronounce 'akka' (elder sister) it won't touch but it touches when you pronounce aṇṇa (elder brother)

In the above example we can find that the tip of the tongue touches the palatal region when 'aṇṇa' is pronounced. Parallals are also found in other Dravidian languages.**

In the foregoing pages it is explained how our common folk are aware of language behaviour such as pronunciation of sounds construction of compound words through play. Language games may be used in the production of the teaching materials to the children. In one way or the other it helps to create learning interest in them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Siddalingappa Jinahalli (1981): *Jānapada Jaṇagaṇita Mattu Bhāṣa Camatkāra*. Prema Prakashana, Jinahalli.
2. Srikanatha Kudige (1982): *Būmihunṇime*, Dakhan Publisher, Bangalore.
3. Lakkappa Gowda H. G. (1973): *Ogaṭugaḷu*, Mysore University, Mysore.
4. Ragow (1979): *Namma Ogaṭugaḷu*, Usha Sahitya Male Mysore.
5. Imrapur S. G. (1976): *Kannada Sāvira Ogaṭugaḷu* Karnatak University, Dharwad.
6. James A. Kelso - *Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics* Vol. X
7. Tristram Coffin (Ed.) (1969) - *American Folklore* Higginbothams Pvt Ltd. Madras.

** Telugu Riddles by Aroki in *DLA NEWS*, Feb. 1983

SOME ASPECTS OF GĀNAPATYAM IN SRI LANKA

V. SIVASAMY*

Gāṇapatyam means the worship of the God Gaṇapati as the Supreme Being. He is the lord of the *ganās* of the God Siva. Gaṇapatyam is one of the six sects in Hinduism. Like the five other sects, Śaivism, Śāktam, Kaumāram, Vaiṣṇavam and Sauram, this is also based on the Vedas, Āgamas and other common and particular sources.

Gaṇapatyam is of hoary antiquity dating back to the Neolithic Civilizations of India and perhaps West Asia too. Its antecedents could possibly be traced back to the Indus Civilization and the Early Civilizations of the Fertile Crescent and Egypt. It appears that Gaṇapatyam was originally an independent religious cult which was later integrated into Hinduism. Religiously and philosophically, Gāṇapatyam is also an integral part of Śaivism as the five other cults.

The Supreme God is conceived as *nirguna* (without attributes) and *Saguna* (with attributes). As *Saguna* He assumes different forms and names like Siva. In the divine family of the God Siva, Gaṇapati and Muruga (or Skanda) are the elder and the younger sons respectively of Siva and Śakti-the Primeval Couple. God Viṣṇu is the brother of Śakti and thereby the brother-in-law of Siva and an uncle of their two sons. Sūrya is identified with an aspect of God Siva. In short, the Supreme God of each of the six cults signifies one and the same Supreme Being who is called by different names, while He performs different functions. Further, the God Gaṇapati has an

*Head, Department of Sanskrit, University of Jaffna, Jaffna, Sri Lanka

important place in the non-Vedic religious and philosophic systems like Buddhism. Thus, there is a curious syncreticism which is quite interesting. This aspect is noticeable not only in India but also in Sri Lanka, South-East and East Asian countries.

There are numerous sources literary and archaeological, available for a study of Ganapatyam in India. But in Sri Lanka the sources, though significant, are limited.

It is worthwhile to refer to some of the salient features of Ganapatyam, before dealing with the prevalence of this cult in Sri Lanka. The figure of Ganapati is a composite one, being a blend of the human and animal forms (elephant face and human body). This is said to signify the strength of man and animal. The elephant symbolizes strength, majesty, sagacity and beauty. Like the elephant which brushes aside all obstacles on its way. He also removes the obstacles of his devotees. He seems to have been an agricultural deity. There is a striking contrast to his huge body and the small vehicle-rat. This, perhaps, shows that everything is quite simple and light with God. According to a Purāṇic story, He is said to have broken one of his tusks to write down the *Mahābhārata* at the request of the author, the Sage Vyāsa. This shows that God condescends to sacrifice any thing for His devotees. He is worshipped in various ways. There are various forms of this God. In one of the most popular forms, He is represented with four hands, one trunk and seated cross-legged. In one of the hands, He has the broken tusk; in the other, He holds a *modaka* (a sweet ball) which symbolizes among other things, bliss. Some take this to mean that God has everything in the universe in His hand. In the other two hands, He has a *pāśa* (noose) and an *ankuśa* (goad). The *Angamas* and other texts describe the various forms and names of the God Vināyaka; some refer to His 16 or 32 or more of His forms. He is very benign and showers all types of favours on His *bhaktas*. He can

be propitiated very easily with single or big offerings which include not only food stuff but specially the *stotras*. As the lord of obstacles, He has to be propitiated at the commencement of any undertaking, big or small, trivial or important. Though, He is generally said to be a bachelor God, He is depicted with one (Goddess Vallabhā) or two (Siddhi and Buddhi) *śakties*. Vallabhā means love or kindness. Siddhi means success. Buddhi means intelligence. Rightly, He is worshipped as the God of learning and wisdom, as well as, remover of all obstacles. The relations between God and soul are conceived in terms of the lover and his beloved, father and child, mother and child and two intimate friends. Of these, the first one - the *nāyaka - nāyikā bhāva* is quite popular. The love between Krishna and Rādhā is very significant. God Vinayaka is an embodiment of love and also God of love, as clearly known from name of His consort Vallabhā. This aspect of the God is not popular in India or Sri Lanka but it is still prevalent in the far-off Japan. He is popularly worshipped by the rich and the poor. Among the Tamils, He is popularly known as Pillaiyar (as a pet child). As one who is above all, He is called Vinayaka; as the lord of obstacles, He is Vighneśvara. Following this, He is the God of protection also; as the leader of the *ganas*, He is Gaṇeśvara, or Gaṇapati. Many of His character traits, achievements and peculiarities are known from His numerous *nāmavalis* (name-) like the *aṣṭottara sata nāmāvali* (108) and *sahasra-nāmāvali* (1000).

The antiquity of the worship of Ganapati in Sri Lanka, may be traced back to pre-Buddhist times. This might have spread to this island in the wake of the expansion of Indian Civilization across the Palks Strait as evidenced by sources like the Pali chronicles and early Brahmi inscriptions of Sri Lanka. The words like "Gana", "Ganaka" and "Ganakasa" occurring in the early Brahmi records of Sri Lanka, dating from the third century B.C., perhaps refer to the prevalence of this cult in some form or other in those days. The first tangible evidence

for the prevalence of the worship of Ganapati in Sri Lanka is found in one of the most important and earliest edifices of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. This is at the Kantakacetiya in Mihintale. In the Vāhalkadas or frontispieces of this edifice, there are dwarfish figures with elephant heads apparently with one tusk which is turned to the left². They are attended by the Ganas. The elephant-headed figures probably represent the God Ganapati or His prototype. If they are so, they represent perhaps, the earliest extant sculptures of the God discovered so far either in India or out side. Prof. S. Paranavitana³ and Dr. Ellawala⁴ have assigned a period ranging from the second century B. C. to the first Century A. D. to these important sculptures. It is also not known as to when these sculptures evolved either in Sri Lanka or in all probability in India. Further, these are found in a Buddhist edifice and associated with Buddhist worship. In Tamilnāḍu, the part of India which is closest to Sri Lanka, it is generally held that the worship of the God spread in the wake of the conquest of Vātāpi the capital of Cālukyas by Paranjoti (later Siruttondar of *Periyapurānam* fame), the general of the Pallava king Narasimha Varman in the seventh century A.D. Besides other evidences, like the image of the God, the word "Vātāpi" prefixed to the name of Ganapati is also adduced to confirm this point of view. But this is not fully borne out by facts. The Pallava general might not have just introduced a strange and unfamiliar God (Vinayaka) to the Tamils. Most probably, he would have been an ardent devotee of the God. Further, the evidence though not insignificant from the contemporary Saiva hymns (*Tevaram*) of the Saints Tirugnānasampantar and Tirunavukkarasar indicates that the worship of Ganapati had become popular by this time (7th C.)⁵. These hymns refer to some important traits of the God namely, His birth and greatness. Further, recent archaeological excavations in Tamilnadu have unearthed images of the God dating back to about the 4th Century A. D.⁶. Studies in the Archaeology of Tamilnadu have not progressed much. Therefore, proper archaeological excavations of some important sites in

Tamilnadu may perhaps bring forth still earlier images of the God. It is also interesting to note that some images of this God have recently been discovered in Afghanistan beyond the North West frontier of historic India. But they are of a later date than those at Mihintale⁶. Some early images of the God are known from Andhra Pradesh also. It is also suggested that the Mihintale figures might have been inspired by these. It is interesting to note that the earliest images of a popular God of Hinduism are found in two places at the extreme boundaries of historic India. Any way, the Mihintale sculptures are unique in the sense that they contain perhaps, the earliest representation of this God.

Some images of this God are found either among the Buddhist or Hindu remains of a subsequent period. With the growing influences of Mahayanism and Hindu revival in South India during the Pallava-Pandya period, the worship of Ganapati too would have become more popular than during the earlier period. There were also close relations between the Pallava king Narasimhavarman and his Sri Lankan contemporary Mānavarman⁸. The image of this God at the Gedige which is generally taken to be a Hindu edifice, though some think that to be of Mahayana origin, is noteworthy. Another image of this God found North of the Bodhi tree at Anuradhapura is worshipped by the Buddhists⁹. A battered image of the God is found among the remains of a shrine North of the ancient Capital city, Anuradhapura¹⁰. In this ancient city, there was a temple of God close to the Basawakulam sluice¹¹. An old temple dedicated to lord Ganeśa stands adjacent to the Nuwarawewa bund¹². The Ganesa image in this shrine is very beautiful and differs in many ways from those found in other areas.

A good number of the images of Ganapati date from the beginning of the Polonnaruwa Period (10th Century A. D.) which started with the Cola conquest of Sri Lanka, when it was subject to greater Hindu influence than perhaps ever before.

Images of this God not only in stone but especially in bronze too were discovered recently. Among the bronze images, one may refer to the small image of the God Ganapati noted by the Kalāyogi Ananda K. Coomaraswamy in his publication, *Bronzes from Ceylon Chiefly in the Colombo Museum*¹³. Of greater significance both from the religious and artistic point of view is the bronze image of the God found at Polonnaruwa and kept at the Anuradhapura Museum¹⁴. This fine image of the God has height of 23 inches. This with the lotus *piṭha* is 32 inches in height. The God has mango in one of his left hands. Dr. C.E. Godakumbura who wrote a note on this has described it as the best of its kind in the world¹⁴. He has referred to the Puranic and Sinhalese versions of the story of this God Ganapati obtaining the mango from His Primeval Parents. Henrich Zimmer has wondered at the exquisite workmanship of such images in Sri Lanka and South-East Asia and has said that these have "Superb art genus of their own". This image of the God appears to have been a *utsavamurthi* as the *piṭha* has two holes for the use of the wooden or metallic bars which could be used by those who carry the deity during the festivals. Most probably, this might be from one of the temples that existed during the Polonnaruwa Period. One is not sure as to whether this was from a Siva temple or a temple of Ganapati. Further, one is not certain as to whether this was made locally or brought from Tamilnādu.

The recent discovery of bronze images of Hindu Gods from Trincomalee also are of great importance¹⁵. Tirukkoneswaram (In the Trincomalee District) in the North East Coast and Tirukketisvaram in the North West Coast of Sri Lanka are two of the most important holy places hallowed by the sacred songs of the Saiva saints Tirunāvukkarasar (7th C) and Suntaramūrti (8th C.). Among the finds at Trincomalee, there is an excellent image of Ganapati. A stone image of this God is reported to have been discovered very recently in Trincomalee.

There were temples and images of the God Ganapati in the hill country too in the medieval and later times. The Lankatilaka rock inscription and copper plates refer to the image of this God. Contemporary Sinhalese literature (14th-15th Century) too confirms the prevalence of the worship of this God. This meant that this was widely prevalent and continued later as attested to by Ganadevi Sahalla, a text book used in Buddhist temple schools. There was a separate shrine for this God with consorts¹⁶.

There were temples of the God Ganapati in the South-West coast of Sri Lanka. The Sinhalese literature of Mediaeval times refer to such a temple at Dondra¹⁷. This was built by a rich merchant named Ramachandra in the 15th century; there was another near the Kaluganga North of Kalutara¹⁸. Images of the God were discovered at Munesvaram another noted Sivasthala on the West Coast.

In the Northern Kingdom of Jaffna by about the 13th Century A D, there were numerous Hindu temples including those dedicated to the God Ganapati. At the four cardinal points of the capital city Nallur, there were four important temples dedicated to Pillaiyar. There were the Veyilukanta Pillaiyar Kovil in the East, the Kailāsa Pillaiyar temple in the South, the Talankaval Pillaiyar temple in the West and the Chandrashekara Pillaiyar temple in the North. Here He is regarded as a guardian deity also. Some years ago, eight images of Hindu Gods were unearthed from an old tank by the side of a medieval Siva temple called Sattanātar Kovil at Nallur. These included an exquisite stone image of Vinayaka. This and other images are now kept at the Jaffna Museum¹⁹. The stone image of Vināyaka is 18 inches in height. The God is seated on His vehicle, the rat. He has four hands. The form of Vinayaka represented in this image is called the "Bhakta Vinayaka -murthi" which is generally found in many of the Vinayaka temples of Sri Lanka. There were other famous temples of

Pillaiyar like the Marutatippillaiyar Kovil at Manipay, Karunākarappillaiyar Temple at Urumpirai and the Kesātturaippillaiyar Temple at Kankesanturai. Besides such big temples, there were small temples of this God as a *parivaradevatha* in the temples dedicated to the other pantheon of Hinduism. All the early temples in the Northern, Eastern and Western littorals of Sri Lanka were targets for the vandalism of the Portuguese in the 16th and 17th centuries. As a result of this and other factors, it is extremely difficult to trace even the foundations of many temples of the early and medieval times. Here and there, one comes across images of the God, as mentioned in an earlier paragraph. There were some temples and images of this God in the Vanni areas too.

The Dutch who succeeded the Portuguese as rulers of the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka in the mid. 17th Century were equally intolerant of other religions at the outset. But in the 18th century, they allowed religious toleration following the era of religious toleration and enlightenment in Europe. As a result, many of the temples destroyed earlier by the Portuguese were rebuilt either on the previous site or at a place close by, on a modest scale. New temples also were built. This continued during the period of British occupation (1796-1948). With the Saiva Revival inaugurated by the Saiva Savant Srilasri Arumukanaāvalar, more temples were built. This trend continued with greater vigour with the advent of freedom in 1948. There is a great number of temples dedicated to this God all over Sri Lanka, especially in the North.

A full and detailed study of the names of the temples of Ganapati all over Sri Lanka reveals the various aspects of the God as cherished and worshipped here. A good number of temples are named after the places where they are sited. One may cite for example, the famous Murikantippillaiyar, Villūnri Virakatti Vinayakar, Kumbilavalai Pillaiyar temple and Urelu Pillaiyar (in the North), Māmāngappillaiyar in the East and

Nuvarakkulam Pillaiyar in Anuradhapura. Some are named after the sacred tree of the place where they are located. Marutatippillaiyar (Pillaiyar at *Maruta* tree) at Manipay, Arasutippillaiyar (Pillaiyar at the *arasu* tree) at Jaffna and Ālatippillaiyar at the banyan tree) at Jaffna or Trincomalee may be cited as examples.

Some of the names indicate the particular aspect of the God Vinayaka. "Mūta Vinayaka" or "Mūttanayina" (elder son or lord) Vinayaka signifies that He is the eldest son of the Primeval Parents. "Katpaka" (the heavenly tree that grants everything that are asked) Vinayaka shows that He bestows everything as requested by the devotees. Since Vinayaka destroyed a demon Vira, He is called "Virakatti Vinayakar". He is regarded as the eldest son of the Siva and Parvati. He is above all. In this respect, He is called *Īsvara* an epithet of Siva. As the lord of everything in the Universe, He is *Visvesvara*. Some temples are named "*Īsvara Vinayaka*" or "*Visvesvara Vinayaka*". Similarly epithets and names like *Candraśekhara*, *Sivalinga*, *Sivagnāna*, and *Naṭaraja* peculiar to Siva are applied to Vinayaka also. One of the temples is named "*Aṭputa nartana Vinayakar Kovil*" (Temple of the God Vinayakar of wondrous dance). Temples bearing the above names are found in Sri Lanka, especially in the North.

Vinayaka is the lord of obstacles. He removes obstacles and showers boons on the devotees. He accomplishes everything. These ideas are evident in such names as "*Siddhi Vinayaka*" "*Varasiddhi Vinayaka*". "*Varadaraja Vinayaka*" and "*Vighna Vinayaka*". Temples with such names are found in Sri Lanka. Vinayaka as the lord of the Universe, creates and protects everything; In his respect, He is called "*Bhūpālā Vinayaka*". A temple with such a name is built at Peliyagoda in the South.

Bhaktas often describe God as the most precious gem. Pillaiyar is associated with the "*Navaratnas*" also. He is called

"Manikkappillaiyar", "Muttu (Pearl) Vinayaka", "Sembavala (red-coral) Vinayaka" and "Cintamani (divine gem) Pillaiyar." There are temples bearing these names as well,

Vinayaka is the lord of the *ganas*. He is also the most Primeval Being and yet ever young. "Ganapatippillaiyar", "Mahāganapatippillaiyar", "Kumāraganapatippillaiyar", "Uttunga (noblest) pillaiyar" and "Paḷam (most ancient) Pillaiyar" indicate the above ideas. There are temples bearing these names also.

Some are named after a king or a member of the royal household. Hence, they have a historic basis or remembrance. One may cite, for example, Arasakesarippillaiyar. Sekara-sekarappillaiyar and Pararajasekarappillaiyar.

Some of the temples were believed to have been founded by members of the royal family like Marutapuraveekavalli and other families like Inankattamudali who had come from South India. Many of the temples were founded by local kings and others. One temple in Jaffna is called Tavitutinni Pillaiyar Kovil (Pillaiyar who ate the bran.)

Devotees often speak of God as a pet child. The child is considered to be the best wealth of the parents. The popular Tamil name of Vinayaka is Pillaiyar. This indicates this aspect directly. Some temples are named as "Selva Vinayaka", "Balaselva Vinayaka", "Jñānaselva Vinayaka" and "Sella (pet) Pillaiyar". The word "Selva" means wealth in Tamil. He is lord of wealth also. Further, "Selva" may also mean the wealth of knowledge or wisdom.

Thus, even a cursory glance of the names of the temples of excellence in the worship of Ganapati. Several temples are hallowed by centuries of religious traditions. Pious devotees have composed various literary compositions in Tamil about the

greatness of the God and the locality where the particular occasions like the Brahmotsava. Many of the compositions are noted for the religious fervour and literary merits. Therefore, in this respect, one can speak of a *corpus* of Vinayaka literature in Tamil composed in Sri Lanka.

Vinayaka is not only a lord of obstacles but the God of agriculture, prosperity, wealth, love and learning. He is worshipped according to the most elaborate Agamic rules as well as in the simplest way as under the shades of some sacred trees or in a handful of cowdung rolled into a ball with a piece of *arugu* grass fitted on it. The *pūjas* are performed by Brahmins as well as non-Brahmin priests. In one of the temples in the Western part of Jaffna the *pūja* is first performed to an image of the God in the well (as *jalāntara*) and then at the main temple. In another, at Karaveddy in Jaffna, the temple is situated in the midst of paddy fields. The people take the cattle and leave them there for protection in fulfilment of their vows.

The various *vratas* peculiar to Vinayaka are observed by the Sri Lankan Hindus. Of greater significance, are the Vinayaka Caturthi observed in August-September and the Vinayaka Sasti in November - December. Vinayaka is invoked first in all Hindu rituals and undertakings. Vinayaka is the *Iṣṭadevata* for many Hindus in Sri Lanka.

Vinayaka is worshipped in Sri Lanka with or without his consorts. Generally, many of the temples do not have His consorts. But in rituals, He is invoked with one or two of his Saktis. Some temples have images of Vinayaka with five faces (*Pancamukha*). There are images for the sixteen forms of Vinayaka in one of the temples in Jaffna. In the *vimana* outer walls and *gopurams* of the temples, there are sculptures describing the various divine sports of Vinayaka. There are images of dancing Vinayaka also. One of the temples at Paraloi in

Jaffna has a *ratha* (chariot) which is about two centuries old. It has some interesting sculptures including some depicting *Kāmakalā*.

The worship of Vinayaka is not confined merely to the Hindus of Sri Lanka. His worship is an important feature in the life of many of the Buddhists too. He is one of the Hindu Gods associated with Buddhism right from early times. He has an important place in popular Buddhism. Like the Hindus, Buddhists also worship Him for the bestowal of learning, removal of obstacles, etc. He is known as 'Ganadeiyo' in popular Sinhalese.

As noted earlier, the early sculptures and images of Ganapati are found in the midst of Buddhist edifices. This indicates that this worship is accommodated in Buddhism. Of course the position of the God in Buddhism is different from that in Hinduism, where He is considered as the Supreme Being.

As among Hindus, He is associated with Buddhist fine arts too. In the art of Kandyan dancing called Vannam consisting of eighteen parts, the eighth one is in praise of Ganesa. He is invoked with other Gods like the Kataragama Deiyo (Muruga) and Pattini (Kannaki) for blessings on the audience, cattle and people in the Sokari plays of the Sinhalese.

Thus, the worship of Ganesa is popular among the Hindus and the Buddhists of Sri Lanka and transcends religious and linguistic barriers.

Foot Notes :

1. Paranavitana, S. *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Colombo, 1970. pp. 201, 212, 419, 580, 679 etc.

2. *ASCAR* 1935.
3. Paranavitana S., *Glimpses of Ceylon's Past*, Colombo, 1972, pp. 61-62. *The Art of the Sinhalese*, Colombo, 1971, pp. 9-10.
4. Ellawala E.D., *Social History of Ancient Ceylon*, Colombo, 1969, p. 159.
5. Venkataramiah K. M. (Compiler), *Kanapatikantar Tevarattirattu* (In Tamil), 1947.
6. Gurumurti S., *Archaeological Research and Tamil Culture* (In Tamil), Madras, 1974, p. 50. An Image of the God Vinayaka was unearthed at Alakarai in Tamil Nadu. This is dated to about 4th to 5th centuries A.D.
7. a. Ramachandran T.N. *Vighnesvara Images in Afghanistan* Madras Hindu Weekly Magazine, Sept., 11, 1961.
b. Dhavalikar M. K., *Ganesa beyond India's frontier's* Bhavan's Journal, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, Aug., 22, 1971, pp. 26-30.
c. Alice Getty, *Ganesa*, New Delhi, 1971.
8. Ray H. C. *University History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Colombo 1960, pp. 315-317.
9. Navarathnam C.S. *A Short History of Hinduism in Ceylon*, Jaffna, 1964 : p. 71.
10. Paranavitana S., *Glimpses of Ceylon's Past*, Colombo, 1972, p. 113.
11. Navaratnam C. S. *opt. cit.*, p. 71.
12. Navaratnam C. S. *opt. cit.*, p. 72.

13. Coomaraswamy A. K. *Bronzes from Ceylon Chiefly in the Colombo Museum*, plate XXVIII fig. 186.
14. *Polonnaruwa Bronzes* (In Tamil), Dept. of Archaeology, Colombo 7, p. 7, also plate 1.
15. Balendra Dr. W. *Trincomalee Bronzes*, Colombo, 1953, p. 11; Somaskandar, V. *Tirukkoneswaram* (In Tamil), Jaffna, 1963, p. 52.
16. Nandasena Mudiyanse, *The Art and Architecture of the Gampola period (1341-1415)*, Colombo, p. 83.
17. Ray H. C. (ed.) *opt. cit.* p. 768.
18. Ray H. C. (ed.), *opt. cit.*, p. 768.
19. Sivasamy V. *Kālattāl Muntiya Nallārccilaikal*. (Earliest extant images from Nallur), Kalaikkan (in Tamil), Jaffna, 23.11.1973.
20. Raghavan M. D., "Kandyan Dancing", *Bulletin of the Traditional Cultures*, Madras, pt. I, University of Madras 1961.

THE MODABIDRE COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF CHAUTA CHIKKARAYA WODEYA

U. UMANATH SHENOY, M.A.*

(This is the summary of the Paper presented in the Eleventh Annual Conference of the Epigraphical Society of India, held at Karnataka University, Dharwad, in January, 1985)

This is an interesting document dealing with a socio-religious pact of the second quarter of the 17th century A.D. made by a political authority after his aggressive actions, with the head of a religious institution and the members of a town municipality.

The political authority was King Chikkarāya Wodeya of the Chauta family ruling from Puttige, Kārkala Tālūk. Dakshina Kannaḍa District in the Coastal Karnāṭaka and he had once raided and plundered the house of the tenants of a nearby monastery called Digambar Jain Maṭh at Mūḍabidre, which was headed by Śrī Abhinava Chārukīrti Paṇḍita Swāmiji. Then, at the excesses of ruler, the Swāmiji closed all the 18 temples of the place which were under his control, and deserted the place complaining that he would no longer like to stay there in the midst of these atrocities of the ruler.

Then, apprehending the serious repercussions of the Swāmiji's desertion of the place, the Chauta ruler approached him, consoled him and entreated him to rehabilitate the deserted place, assuring full obedience to the Swāmiji thereafter, and promising varieties of services to the Maṭh. Enumerating all the promises and assurances on this document, the ruler

*SVS College, Bantval. D. Kannada

over this to the same Swāmiji in the presence of some important local Kings and Chieftains and also an officer from the Nāyaks of Keladi. Thus, the document in the form of an Inscription on a Copper Plate, is available in the Math of Śrī Chārūkirtī Bhaṭṭāraka Swāmiji of Digambar Jain Math at Mūdabidre in the Coastal Karnāṭaka.

The author of this peace-agreement is the Chautā ruler called Chikkarāya Voḍeya Chautā who was ruling from Puttige in Kārkala Tālūk, Dakshina Kannaḍa District, in 1640 A.D. as known from one more Inscription (Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy for 1929-30, No : 421) apart from this.

The date of this peace settlement is the 2nd day of the Dark fortnight of Mārgaśīra, Friday, in the year Vikrama of the Śālivāhana Śaka year 1562, which regularly corresponds to November 20, 1640 A.D. The Copper Plate on which the agreement was inscribed is of rectangular shape, 22 by 31 cms. And the first 23 lines are found on the front-side fully and the remaining 16 lines on the reverse covering 3/4 of the area.

The language and the script of the document remain Kannada throughout. The text of the document is as follows :

1. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ಮತು ಶಾಲಿವಾಹನ ಶಕವರುಷ ೧೫೬೨ನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಮಾ
2. ಗೌರಿರ ಬ್ರ ಶುಕ್ರವಾರದಲ್ಲು ಶ್ರೀ ಮದ್ದಡವ ಮುರಾರಿ ಕೋಟೆ ಕೋಟಾ ಹಳ ವಿಶು
3. ದ್ವ ವೈದಿಕಾದ್ವೈತ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಪಕ ಶಿವಗುರುಭಕ್ತಿ ಪರಾಯಣ ರಾದ ಶ್ರೀ
4. ಮತ್ಸ್ಯೇದಿಯ ವೆಂಕಟಪ್ಪನಾಯಕ ಅಯ್ಯನವರ ಪೌತ್ರರಾದ ವೀರಭದ್ರನಾಯ
5. ಕ ಅಯಾ (ಯಾ) ನವರು ಮಂಗಲೂರು ಬಾರ್ಕೂರ ರಾಜ್ಯವ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಲಿ ಸುತದ್ದ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲು
6. ಚೆಲುಡಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ(ಯ್ಯ) ನ ನರಸಮ್ಮೋಡೆಯರು ಮಂಗಲೂರ ಮುದ್ದೆಯ ಮಾತಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲು.

7. ಪುತ್ತಿಗೆಯ ಚಿಕ್ಕರಾಯ ವೊಡೆಯರಾದ ಚೆಲುಟರೂ ಶ್ರೀ ಮದಭಸವ ಚಾರು ಕೀರ್ತಿ
8. ಪಂಡಿತ ದೇವರುಗಳಿಗು ಬಿದಿರಯ ನಕರದಲು ಎಂಟು ಮಂದಿ ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಗಾರರು ನಾಲ್ವರು
9. ಯೆಳಮೆವೊಳಗಾದ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಹಲರಿಗೆ ಬರಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟ ತಾಂಬ್ರ ಶಾಸನದ ಕ್ರಮ ವೆಂತೆಂದ
10. ರೆ ನಿಂಮ ನಕರದಲ್ಲಿ ನಂಮ್ಮ ಮನುಶ್ಯರು ಮನೆಯ ಮುದ್ದಿಸಿ ಹೊಸ್ತಲ ಅಳುಪಿಕೊಳುಕು
11. ದಿಯ ಕಟ್ಟ ಸೆರಸಂಕಲೆಯ ಹಾಕಿದ ಸಂಮಂಧದಿಂದ ನೀಲು ಹೀಗಾದರೆ ಯಾ
12. ನಕರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಾಳುವಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಅಶಕ್ಯವೆಂದು ಬಸ್ತಿಯ ಬಾಗಿಲ ಕಟ್ಟಿ ನೀವೆಲ್ಲರೂ ವೊಕ್ಕಲು ತೆಗೆದು
13. ಹೋಗಲಾಗಿ ಮುಂಗಲೂರ ಮುದ್ದೆ ನರಸಮ್ಮೋಡೆಯರ ಮುಂದಿಟ್ಟು ಮಾಡಿದ ಕಟ್ಟಳೆ
14. ನಂಮ್ಮ ಮನುಶ್ಯ(ಷ್ಯ)ರು ಕೊಂಡು ಹೋದ ಸರ್ವಸ್ವವನ್ನು ತಿರುಗ(ಗಿ)ಕೊಡಿ ಸೇಲು ಮುಂದೆ
15. ದೇವಸ್ತ ಬ್ರಂಹ್ಮಸ್ತದಲ್ಲಿ ವೊತ್ತುಸತ್ತ ಮಾರಲಿಸೆಲು ಬಿಟ್ಟಿ ಮಾಡಿಸೆಲು ನಿಮಗೆ ಸೆ
16. ರೆ ಸಂಕಲೆ ಸಲ್ಲದು ನಿಂಮ ನಕರದಲ್ಲಿ ಮನೆಗಳ ಮುದ್ದಿಸ ಸಲ್ಲದು ಸಲೂ ಸಲ್ಲದ ಆ
17. ಗ್ಗೆಗಳ ಮಾಡಿಸೆಲು ನಕರದಿಂದ ಬಿದ್ದ ಮನೆಗಳಿಂದ ಕಲ್ಲು ಮರನ ಹೊರಿಸೆವು ಹದಿನೆಂ
18. ಟು ಸ್ಥಾನದ ಪೂಜಾರಿಗಳ ಆಚಾರ ವಿಚಾರವೆಂಬುದು ಅಯ್ಯಗಳ ಜೀಯ್ಯ ನವರಿ
19. ರಿಗೆ ಉಂಟಾದ್ದು ನೀಲು ಯಿರಿಸಿದ ಮುಡಿಗೇ ಹದಿನಾರು ಮಂದಿಯ ಅಜಕೆಯ ಸಂಬ
20. ಳ ವೆಂಬುದು ನಂಮ ಮಾವಾಜಿಯರಾದ ಚಿಕ್ಕರಾಯ ಚೆಲುಟರ ಕಾಲದ ವರ್ತಕ
21. ನಕರದ ಮನೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬೀಧಾರಗಳ ಮಾಡಸಲ್ಲದು ಕಡ ಪರಪತ್ತಿಕೆಯ ವೊತ್ತಾಯ
22. ದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೇಳಸಲ್ಲದು ಅರಮನೆಯವರು ಉಪೇಕ್ಷೆಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ನ್ಯಾಯವ
23. ಮಾಡಿಸಸಲ್ಲದು ಪೂಜಾರಿಗಳ ಮನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿಧಾರಗಳ ಮಾಡಿ

ಹಿಂಭಾಗ

24. ಸ ಸಲ್ಲದು ಬೋನಗುಡಿಕೆಯ ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಹೊರಿಸ ಸಲ್ಲದು ಗುಂ
25. ಮಟ ದೇವರ ಪೂಜಾರಿ ಮನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂಸ್ಯ ಆಹಾರಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಬಿ
26. ಧಾರವ ಮಾಡಿಸ ಸಲ್ಲಿ(ಲ್ಲ)ದು ನ್ಯಾಯ ಬಂದರೆ ಪೂರ್ವ ಮರಿಯಾದೆಯ
27. ಲ್ಲಿ ಹಾಳವ ಹಾಕಿ ಹದಿನಾರು ಮಂದಿ ಬುದ್ದಿ ವಂತರು ಕಂಡಪ್ಪಂದ
28. ದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಚಾರಿಸೇಲು ನ್ಯಾಯಬಂದರೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಳುರಿಸಬೇ
29. ಕು ಚಿಪ್ಪೊಕ್ಕಲಿಗೆ ವಾದ್ಯದವರಿಗೆ ಅವರವರ ತದಂಗದ ಬಿಟ್ಟು
30. ಯಲ್ಲದೆ ಹೊರೆಯ ಹೊರಿಸಲಾಗದು ಕಳ್ಳರು ಕದ್ದ ಪೊಡವೆಯ ವಿಚಾರ
31. ರಿಸಿ ಪೊಡವೆಯ ಕರ್ತೃಗಳಿಗೆ ಕೊಡಿಸೇಲು ಯೆಂದು ಯೆರಡು ಬಸ್ತಿಗೆ
32. ಅಭಿಷೇಕ ಪೂಜೆಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಯಲ್ಲಾ ಬಸ್ತಿಯ ಬಾಗಿಲುಗಳ ತೆ
33. ಗಸಿ ನಿಮನು ಸಂತೈಸಿದವು. ಯೀ ಬರದ ಶಾಸನದ ಪ್ರಮಾಣುನ
34. ಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಮ್ಮನೂ ಬಾಳಿಸಿ ಕೊಂಡೆ(ಡೆ)ಲು ಯೀ ಅಡಕಕ್ಕೆ ತಪ್ಪದರೆ ಸೋಮನಾ
35. ಥ ಕಾಂತೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ತಪ್ಪಿದವರು ಚಂದ್ರನಾಥ ಪಾರಿಶ್ವನಾಥ
36. ಗೆ ತಪ್ಪಿದವರು ಯಿದಕ್ಕೆ ಮದ್ಯಸ್ತರು ಚಿನ್ನ ಭಂಡಾರದಲ
37. ಕ್ಷಪ್ಪಯ್ಯನವರು ಹುಬ್ಬರ ಕರಣಿಕೆಯ ಕೊಳಾಲ ಕೋನಪ್ಪಯ್ಯ(ಯ್ಯ) ಸೋಣ
38. ರಸರಾಧ ದೇಸಿಂಗರಸರು ಚಿನ್ನೆಯರಸರಾದ ತೊ
39. ಳಹರು ದೇರರಸರಾದ ಡೊಂಬ ಹೆಗ್ಗಡರು ಕನೆಯರಸರು ರಾಮರಸರು ಶ್ರೀ ಸೋಮನಾಥ,

JUST TRANSLATION

Be it well. On Friday, the 2nd day of the dark of fortnight of Mārgasīra, in the year Vikrama of the prosperous Śālivāhana Śaka year 1562, while Lord Virabhadra Nāyaka, the grandson of Lord Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of prosperous Keladi who was Viśnu to the dashing, revolutionary in forts, installent of pure Vaidic and Advaita principles, well-versed in devotion in Siva-śaraṇas, was administering Maṅgalūr-Bārakūr Kingdoms (and) while Cha-udappayya Narasappaḍeya was acting as an arbitrator of caste-disputes in Mangalore, Chikkarāya Voḍeya Cha-uta of Puttige gave this Copper Plate Inscription to Śrīmat-abhinava

Chārūkīrti Paṇḍita Dēva (and) the eight settikāras (the Municipal members) and all the Jain merchants of the four merchant-guilds of Mūdabidire town like this :

In the event of your desertion by shutting all the Jaina temples (Basadis) from Mūdabidire complaining that it was impossible to live in the town, as against the seizure of property crossing the threshold, raiding and locking the houses of your people in the town, by our people, we, in the leadership of Narasappaḍeya of Maṅgalūr, made this agreement :—

We will restore all the property carried off by our people, (we) will not take possession of and sell temple-property and Brahmins'—property, we will not force free labour, no arrest and imprisonment for you, no more sealing of houses in your town, (we) will not make befitting or otherwise orders ; will not get carried rock-cuts or timbers from the collapsed houses. The observances and practices of the priests in the eighteen temples (in Mūdabidire) belong to (you) the Master, the Lord. It is that the fixed payment for the sixteen nominees is (from) your allotment. Should not allow temporary settlements in the houses of merchants of the town, of the days of, our uncle, (Māvāji) Chikkarāya Chautā. Should not demand loans on the basis of authority. The people of the palace should not instigate quarrels by discord. Should not arrange for residence in the houses of priests. Should not impose free service in the kitchen. Should not permit the residence for other food-eaters, in the house of priest of Gommatā Dēva. In case a quarrel arises, we will hold the enquiry in the way the sixteen wise people propose, treating them on the traditional lines. In case a quarrel rises they should be seated in the store house (Koṭṭhara). Apart from their regular duties, extra free labour should not be imposed on tailor-tenants and musicians. (We) will restore the goods stolen by the thieves to the owners, conducting enquiry.

With provision for worship and anointment in two Jain temples and opening the doors of all the Jain temples, we consoled you. According to the terms of this inscription, (we) will look after you. If to violate these contents, Gods Sōmanātha, Kāmtēśvara, Chāṃdranātha are violated. The middle-men to this (are) Lakshmappayya of Gold treasury, Kōṇappayya of Kolāla of the clerkship in Hubura, Deṣṃgarasa, the Sōṇa King Chēṃneyarasa the Toḷaha King, Dērarasa, the Ḍomba Heggade (king) Rāmarsa, the Kaṃneyarasa, Śrī Sōmanātha

THEME AND IMPORTANCE

This particular document deals with a pact or a peace agreement that was made by King with the head of a religious institution and municipal members of a town in the coastal Karnataka. It contains all the provisions of the peace agreement, which, in fact gives a sample of the later-medieval society in this part of the country and also reflects how, political institutions used to react to the actions of the religious institutions during those days.

This is an unpublished document. It refers to a hoast of Kings and officers, who held authority over many parts of western Karnataka in the second quarter of the 17th century and thus it enables us to fix the dates of those persons who are hardly known from other sources. This document reveals also the fact that the provincial and local (like the municipal) administration under the rule of the Nāyaka of Keladi in this part of Karnataka remained the same as it was during the hey-days of Vijayanagara Empire. The mention of Śrī Sōmanātha at the end of the document testifies to the fact that the Hindu God, Śrī Sōmanātha continued to be the State deity of the Chāṇṭas then, who were Jainas by faith.

(Courtsey: H. H. Sri Charukirti Bhattaraka Swamiji of Moodabidre, D. K.)

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE V.S. SRINIVASA SASTRI'S LECTURES IN MYSORE (1911) AND THE "BLUNDERING DEWAN".

Dr. LEELA B.*

In this paper an attempt is made to analyse the relationship of Sir V.S. Srinivasa Sastri with Mysore and to examine how far Mysore was a progressive State; it had earned the name of a model State by 1901 itself. The sources for the paper are drawn from Palace newspaper clippings of the Karnataka Archives, Bangalore, Maharashtra Archives, Bombay, supplemented by original biographies and chronicles.

It is paradoxical to note, that Mysore, which had welcomed cordially the Rt. Hon V.S. Srinivasa Sastri in the year 1906, rejected and banned his speech in 1911. "The State of Mysore and particularly, the City of Bangalore, were dear to the Late Rt. Hon. V.S. Srinivasa Sastri".¹

The Servants of India Society in Poona was founded in the year 1905 by Gopala Krishna Gokhale to train young men "to take a real Part at their own initiative in public life".² V.S. Srinivasa Sastri believed in the tenets of the Servants of India Society and became a member at the instance of G.K. Gokhale, the founder. Earlier, he had also attended a meeting of the Indian National Congress, held at Calcutta, in December, 1906. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was present, applauded the Society. V.S. Sastri's public work began the day he was admitted to the Society.

* 46 Shyamala, Matunga, Bombay-400019

In the year 1907, Sastri visited Bangalore and was warmly welcomed by the public of Bangalore. The main intention of Srinivasa Sastri was to collect donations for the Ranade Memorial in Poona. V.P. Madhava Rao who was the then Dewan of Mysore, actively participated in it and in fact Sastri was the guest of the then Dewan V. P. Madhav Rao. Srinivasa Sastri who was too well known for his oratory, took Bangalore by storm through his speeches. Several of the speeches which Sastri had delivered were followed with intense interest and influenced many. Thus Srinivasa Sastri was not an unknown figure in Mysore and his intentions too were clear, and his first visit as a member of the Servants of India Society had been a great success. However, this Great Son of India was not treated well by the 'Mysorean' Dewan in the year 1911, when he visited Bangalore on 23rd August, 1911.

Prior to Srinivasa Sastri's meeting, in the year 1910-11 Miss A. Tenant Carrie,^{2A} a religious leader from America, visited Mysore to propogate against the evils of infant marriage, and certain other defects inherent in Hindu Society. She was to deliver her lecture at the Shankar Mutt, Bangalore, and V.P. Madhava Rao was to preside over the function. But, however, Tenant Carrie's speech was cancelled by the order of the Mysore Government and people returned with disappointment. "Perhaps this is the first time in the History of Mysore that such a ban on a public meeting was imposed".³ The above incident clearly marks that T. Anand Rao the then Dewan was taking shelter under paramountcy without exercising any independent judgement. The above incident was a minor one as later on Miss Carrie's lectures were attended by important officials. However, the Dewan was precipitated to take an independent but unpopular decision when V. S. Srinivasa Sastri visited Bangalore for a second time in 1911.

The invitation was extended to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the 23rd August, 1911 on behalf of the Indian Progressive

Union, a purely non-political body. Many officials of standing were members of this body. As Srinivasa Sastri was an educationalist and was the Head of the Madras Branch of the Servants of India Society, it was but natural for the public to await for such an intellectual treat. Several members, including the ex-Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao thought it wise to utilise the opportunity for having a series of lectures by Srinivasa Sastri. But to everyone's utter dismay, Sastri's fourth lecture was banned by the Mysore Government. The Mysore Durbar, through the Inspector-General of Police, acted under the Dewan's orders and prohibited Sastri's meeting, when the lecture was about to begin.

It was no new experience for Mysoreans to have such public meetings, but what was dismayingly novel was the cancellation and that too in the last moment. Earlier, another member of the Servants of India Society had visited Mysore and had been warmly welcomed by the public. The members of the Servants of India Society adhered to the principles of the Society, and were always careful not to embarrass an organisation which had invited them. Thus, the prohibition order served on Srinivasa Sastri by the Mysore Durbar caused embarrassment to G. K. Gokhale "as it involved not only the reputation of the individual but the reputation of the Society too".⁴ G. K. Gokhale, First member, Servants of India Society, Poona, therefore asked the Dewan to furnish an early reply. "Mr. T. Anand Rao's reply to Mr. G. K. Gokhale is in the nature of an apology for a libel; but the apology is neither unreserved nor adequate. "Reasons of policy", may mean anything; and except that the expression has been convenient for the Dewan to shield himself from serious blame, it will enlighten nobody."⁵

The ban on the meeting of V. S. Srinivasa Sastri led to doubts on the "enlightened rule" of Mysore as it put a check on an elementary human freedom. *Indu-Prakash*, a paper,

criticised the policy of the Dewan, and questioned how an enlightened State like Mysore, ruled by an educated prince, and administered by an educated Dewan, could take such an action? But the Dewan was not prepared to be drawn into any discussion. Gopala Krishna Gokhale's reply to Dewan T. Ananda Rao is reproduced below as found in the Correspondence.

From ;

The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E.
First Member, Servants of India Society,

Servants of India Society
Poona City,
2nd October, 1911.

To :

The Dewan of Mysore
Bangalore.

Sir,

I am obliged to you for your letter No. 2862 dated 30th September which arrived here today. I had no desire to draw you into any 'discussion'. The action of the Mysore Durbar, of which I complained, was liable to be construed into a reflection of Mr. Shastiar personally or on the Servants of India Society in General, and it, therefore, became my plain duty, as First Member of the Society, to ascertain from you the grounds on which it was taken, so that I should know that it was that we had to meet. As, however, you disclaim all intention of reflecting in any way Mr. Shastiar or the Servants of India Society, I have no further concern with the reasons of policy on which you acted, and I am content to leave the matter where it is.

In view of the misapprehension which the incident has caused in several quarters, I think it necessary to communicate this correspondence to the press.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

Sd/-

G. K. Gokhale
First Member, Servants
of India Society, Poona.

One thing seems very evident. Dewan T. Ananda Rao was not able to substantiate his reply and the Dewan wanted to keep it vague and could not expose the 'reasons of policy'.

To a student of Mysore History, it is rather puzzling how an able and cultured Dewan, who had inherited liberal ideas from his predecessors, could have behaved in such an autocratic manner. Moreover, the topic on which V. S. Sastri was to speak, was not politics but "Hindu marriage reform" which was very dear to Mysore, as she had already forged ahead of British India by passing 'Infant Marriage Regulation' in 1894. It was natural for Srinivasa Sastri to anticipate a warm welcome in Mysore as he had already published a pamphlet in 1906 under the auspices of Madras Hindu Association on "Marriage after puberty according to Hindu Sastras".⁶ He had substantiated, in his pamphlet, how post-puberty marriages were prevalent in ancient India. So it can be warranted that Dewan T. Ananda Rao, in his enthusiasm to please the paramount power, did not gauge the harm, he was doing to the natives and to public opinion. He seems to have been satisfied that he could think for the public. Is it likely that he had personal prejudice against Sastri in particular and "Indian politicians from British India entering princely States",⁷ in general. Much

later in the year 1913, when D. V. Gundappa approached T. Ananda Rao with his friends for a donation towards the unfortunate victims of Indians in South Africa he did not even want to utter Sastri's name and would rather say "this gentleman" and pointing out to an article written by V. S. S. Sastri in the "Indian Review".

Dewan T. Ananda Rao by his action became unpopular with the people. The incident of the Address created in the people's mind a sort of doubt about the abilities of the Dewan. Then T. Ananda Rao retired on 11th November, 1912 and Mr. Anniah Pandit and a few members of the Representative Assembly wanted to present the Dewan an Address and when he wanted the members to sign the Address, "many politely declined to do so. Of the few that considered themselves to have been hoodwinked to sign it, some requested Anniah Pandit later on to scratch out their signatures, and, on the day of Address presentation, many actually abstained from attending the meeting. The mofussil members left the Assembly, although they wanted to attend the whole day, because of the 'Address Business'."

Even though, Srinivasa Sastri later on visited Mysore on many occasions and was a guest of Mysore Rajah Krishna Raja Wodeyar IV, and normal relations were restored with this Great Son of India, but even so the model State must be said to have erred in its judgment in the year 1911, which perhaps remains a black spot in the history of modern Mysore.

In conclusion several questions can be raised. In the history of Hindu social reform in the State, initiative and leadership came from the enlightened Dewans as well as from the western educated public. Since the lectures of both Miss Carrie and Sastri related to social reform there was nothing subversive about them and one fails to see any ostensible reason for prohibiting the holding of such meetings. Perhaps

it was the personal predilection of the Dewan more than the influence of the paramount power that mattered. For it is well-known that the bureaucracy as well as British political authority were both in favour of such reform which they supported as best as they could.

However, in defence of Ananda Rao, one may point out to the suspicions that the authorities, particularly the bureaucracy, had of Gokhale and other liberal leaders. It is a well known fact that all of them were shadowed by the police, and this was true of Sastri as well, and the Dewan perhaps did not want to be associated with these people.

The most plausible explanation is that the Dewan was prejudiced against social reform which consistently explains his attitude; also he might have had personal animus against the gentle Sastri.

When we recall that, only a few years earlier, the government had brought in a Press Regulation Bill and had virtually exiled the journalists from the State it is very clear how tenuous the appellation of "progressive" was in connection with Mysore. It appears as though it was not the State policy that was consistently progressive; certain individuals had progressive inclinations and the policy at certain situation reflected their preferences. From this precarious and accidental correlation many perhaps were led to believe that the State was "progressive".

Foot Notes :

1. P. Kodanda Rao, *The Late Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Mysore* (in Dasara Souvenir 1956) p. 15.

2. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, *Life of Gopala Krishna Gokhale*, p. 50.
- 2a. Tenant Carrie's book, *Hindu Marriage Reform League*, though indicated in the India Office Library Catalogue, was not available for reading.
3. D. V. Gundappa, *Gnapaka Chitra Shale*, Vol. IV, p. 96.
4. Correspondence letters of G. K. Gokhale and Dewan T. Anand Rao, (The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, G. I. E. First member Servants of India Society to the Dewan of Mysore, Bangalore, 20th Sept. 1911).
5. *Indian Patriot*, October 5th, 1911.
6. P. Kodanda Rao, *V. S. Srinivasa Sastri*, p. 14.
7. D. V. Gundappa, *Gnapaka Chitra Shale*, Vol. 4, p. 101.
8. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, "The Passive Resistance Struggle", *Indian Review*, Vol. XIV. Note. 1913, p.p. 865-867.
9. *United India & Native States*, 16th November, 1912.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN PRE-VIJAYANAGARA KARNATAKA*

G. S. DIKSHIT**

It may be asked how will a study of ancient local self-government be of use in modern times. Local self-government in pre-Vijayanagara Karnataka, as in the rest of India, had both democratic as well as undemocratic features. The undemocratic features like the caste system and untouchability in our traditional society and polity have so far been emphasised especially by western writers. They should neither be ignored nor belittled. But to set the record straight we must know the democratic features also, especially because we can learn lessons from them to improve our modern democratic system.

The tendency in modern India is to look to the West for all reforms. But when some Westerners themselves approach India for guidance, it is high time we paid more attention to our traditional democracy. For example, Sidney Webb¹ wrote "We make much in western Europe and America of decision by majority vote; the Indian village offers us... a possibly higher alternative if we believe in government by consent, in decision by the general sense of the community." In other words, the consensus method followed by our Village *Panchayats* is considered by some Western critics as superior to the majority principle. This is just the time when we must pay more attention to democratic features developed in India as they are more likely to succeed than other experiments which are not based on our experience.

* The Bangalore City Corporation Endowment Lecture delivered in the Mythic Society on 29-2-1984.

** Retd. Professor of History, Karnatak University, Dharwad.

The most important feature of the organisation of local bodies in ancient India was that they were self-created. This was true of ancient Karnataka also. A village or town had its own assembly known as *ūru* or *nagara*. The *nagara* had a number of suburbs known as *baḷa* or *baṇa* or *kēris*. In such cases, the suburbs had their own assemblies. Thus Barkur in Dakshina Kannada district and Huli in Belgaum district had a number of *kēris*, each with its own assembly.

The villages grouped themselves in *nāḍus* which had an assembly also known as *nāḍu* containing representatives of villages. The *nāḍus* would correspond to modern *hōblis* or taluks and the *nāḍus* in their turn combined among themselves to form bigger groups. Thus a *nāḍu* of 70 villages and a *nāḍu* of 30 villages in Dharwad district together formed one *nadu* known as Nūrubāḍa or a *nāḍu* of 100 villages.² Sometimes these associations of *nāḍus* were known by the number of *nāḍus* which formed them. Thus we have associations of *nāḍus* known as Padināḍu³ that is a group of ten *nāḍus* and Padinalkunadu⁴ or a group of fourteen *nāḍus*. And if many more *nāḍus* came together, the association was known as Mahanāḍu.⁵ This was the biggest local assembly and it contained representatives of the different *Nāḍus* as well as the *Nagaras* within its area. It was something like a Zilla Parishad. Many times, the initiative for forming it and after its formation in running it was taken by the *nagaras*, so much so that some scholars think that the Mahanāḍu was like the *nagara*- a guild organisation. There were no popular assemblies larger than a Mahanāḍu.

All these assemblies, the *ūru*, the *nagara*, the *nāḍu* and the Mahanāḍu were popular in two senses of the term. One is they contained representatives of the peoples. The people were known in our records as *praje*⁶, *halaru*⁷, *samudāya*⁸, *samūha*⁹- all signifying all the people. In the village assemblies the *prajā* or the *okkalu*¹⁰ the original inhabitants were the members. In

the *Nāḍus* the representatives of the villages namely the *gavundas* were the members¹¹ and in the Mahanāḍu, the representatives of *nāḍu* and of the *nagara* were the members.¹² In another sense of the term these assemblies were popular. They were created by people themselves or self-created. The central government was there in an advisory capacity and came into the picture only when these assemblies mismanaged their affairs.

If each territorial unit had its own assembly, each profession, industry and craft had its own assembly in villages and towns and they also formed larger associations like the territorial associations. They were known as *srēṇis* or *koṭṭāḷas* or guilds and they had as vigorous a public life as the territorial assemblies and in some cases the two viz., the guild and the territorial assembly coincided. For example, in the towns the *nagara* was both the assembly of the merchants as well as the town assembly and their leaders were the same-the *paṭṭanasetṭi* was both the town mayor as well as the president of the merchants' association.¹³

Similarly in the *ūru* or village, the *okkalu*, from which the term *okkaliga* has come was both the farmers' association as well as the village assembly. We have villages known as *Aivaṭṭu Okkalu* or *Aravattu Okkalu*,¹⁴ that is, villages containing fifty or sixty farmers' families, the assemblies of which contained fifty or sixty heads of such families. And in villages which were given to scholars who were Brahmins the members were known as the *mahājanas* whose business was both the cultivation of learning as well as the administration of the *agrahāras* as their villages were called.

Not only in forming local bodies, the people took the initiative, but in running them also, the people were all in all. The most important lesson we have to learn from our ancients is in the conduct of the assembly.

Theoretically all the inhabitants of a village town or *ābāla-vriddhaśēsha*¹⁶ as the records call them, were members of the assembly. In practice, however, the *Okkalu* or the founding fathers, formed the core of the assembly because its decisions affected them most. That is why the assembly or *uru* or *grama sabha* was also known as *okkalu*.

The village assembly had one class of leaders, the *gāvūṇḍa*, the *śanabhōga* or the *gaṇaka* or the *kulakarni* and the *talavāra*. All assemblies had another class of leaders and they were the *madhyastha*,¹⁷ the *kāryachintaka* and the *hitavādin*¹⁸ and in one *nād* assembly there was one *nādanālage*.¹⁹ The second class who conducted and guided the proceedings were two or three. The Dharmasastras were particular that they should not be more. Their names describe their functions. A proverb says that one should not stay in a town even one *madhyāha* or day if there was no *madhyasta* in it. The *kāryachintaka* was like the chairman of the steering committee, who decided what business was to be taken up and when. The *Hitavādin* was like the modern president, who counselled the members properly. *Nādanālage* or the tongue of the *nadu* was its spokesman.

Having seen who their leaders were we must now see how they conducted their business. The procedure was the same whether it was to provide the town or the village with a facility like tank or well or temple or election of officers like those mentioned above or to conduct judicial proceedings. If it was the last, the task of the village elders was to find out the culprit and punish him or they would try to bring about a compromise between the contending parties. In fact it was the last, which was the most important task of the village *ponchayat*. Even now *panchayati* means bringing about a compromise or a consensus, that is, to arrive at a unanimous decision by bridging the differences.

Here we may note the difference between the proceedings of a modern assembly and an ancient or traditional assembly. The modern Western procedure is based on the party system. The parties stick to their opinions rigidly and find fault with the opponent's point of view and strive hard to get success to its point of view by all means. Ultimately the matter is decided by voting. Since matters are decided by the party system, weightage is given not so much to the quality of the opinion as to the strength of the parties behind it. By their constitution, the parties have to be united. Once the whip is given the individual member has to subordinate his view to that of his party. In this system the differences are exaggerated, the feelings run high and the parties are perpetually divided. The opposition wants to discredit the party in power and will not allow it to claim any success or achievement, so that at the time of the next election it cannot boast of its achievements.

In the traditional consensus system, the efforts of the leaders are directed at bridging the differences, calming the emotions and arriving at a consensus. All points of view are heard and all the while the leaders' efforts are concentrated in finding what is acceptable to all. The assembly is not divided by discussion; it is united by it and all can claim a hand in shaping the opinion. The chances of implementation of such a decision are greatest because all have a hand in it, whereas on the other side, the party which has opposed may try to undo a decision when it comes to power.

We have no contemporary examples of how the consensus was arrived at. But we have two nineteenth century descriptions of how the village assemblies worked and we may take it that they represent the traditional way of its working. "The method by which the *Panchayat* arrived at a decision cannot be expressed in terms of European political phraseology. The people get together and they talk and eventually an opinion emerges from their talk which is the opinion of all of them.

There is no majority for they are unanimous ; there is no minority, for the minority has been talked over and cast its lot with the majority";²⁰ It was a perfectly democratic and open assembly to which all were admitted and in which all were encouraged to participate. "The old *panchayat* normally conducted its deliberations in the presence of all who cared to attend. The onlookers, although having no direct share in the proceedings, formed a sort of chorus ; decisions were eventually reached after the interested parties had been heard and the elders had given their views at great length. All the time the reactions of the listening crowd would be registered and would have their influence. Everyone present considered that he was playing a part in the proceedings. In such ways the inhabitants identified themselves with the life and government of the village".²¹

Contemporary inscriptions do not give such detailed descriptions of the working of the assemblies and of the method of arriving at a consensus. But from the expressions used we can guess that this system was in vogue. These expressions are *sarvaikamatyavāgi*²² and *ekastarāgi*,²³ which means that all became united and this unanimity was possible because there was the will on the part of the members to sink their differences or thrash them out *Ubhayānumatadim*²⁴ and *oḍambaḍisi*²⁵ would refer to this process of hammering out a compromise.

As regards the provision of amenities to the people, our local bodies relied more on the charities of the rich than on taxes from the public. One and all including the rich were induced to perform charitable acts because from their infancy people were told about the necessity of doing so. The lullabies which children heard contained exhortations to be charitable. Lakshmidhara, a minister of the Vijayanagar King Devaraya I says that his mother while feeding his mouth with milk at the same time sang into his ears a lullaby to this effect : "Construct tanks and sink wells, O child build temples."²⁶ While the

children learnt these lessons with their mother's milk, to the elders one inscription²⁷ advised that there was no friend like merit to be obtained by performing charities.

But what kind of charities did our ancestors recommend? There is a belief that our people did not think highly of secular charities and that they always recommended religious charities. It is not so. Because the charities recommended by them were food, shelter, medicine and learning and in that order²⁸. Not only the charities, but the order in which they were recommended shows how practical they were. But they were practical in other ways also. They knew that mere exhortation would not do. Society saw to it that those who made these secular gifts to the public were suitably rewarded. The most important reward was the person who gave his village all kinds of facilities get the headship of his village. Whenever there was a vacancy, the foremost benefactor of the village became its head. An inscription of 1388 from Belur,²⁹ Hassan District, says that the inhabitants of Baṇṭanahalli gave the headman's post to Bayirappa for having improved the village by building a tank and several ponds at his expense. The builder of a tank was given wet land under the tank, in all cases.

It is easy to build public works but difficult to maintain them in good condition over a long period. Our ancestors knew this and therefore they ensured the maintenance of public works in the following way. The first step was exhortation like the following : "A ruined family, a breached tank, a damaged temple who so restores or repairs acquires four-fold merit than those who established them for the first time."³⁰ But they did not merely stop at exhortations. They also promised a material reward for those who continued the charities when they had been discontinued. An inscription from Advani,³¹ in the Kurnool district, relates to the establishment of a water-shed for travellers in summer months. It says if this charity is discontinued, whoever reads this inscription and continues it will

get one third of the benefit from the donated lands while two-thirds would go to those who work in the water-shed. This method of giving a material reward for a person who revives the charity is very necessary even now because many charities have fallen into disuse for want of such a wise provision.

In conclusion, it may be said that the aspects of the local bodies of earlier times in Karnataka which should appeal to us are that they were self-creating, that is, their existence was due to the initiative of the people, self-governing, that is, they administered their own affairs and were self-sufficient, that is, they looked after their communal needs themselves.

References :

1. Foreword to *Village Government in British India*, by John Mathai, London, 1915.
2. *ARSIE* 28 of 1934-35.
3. *EC* III, TN 31 of 1196.
4. *EC* IV, Ng 25 of 1211.
5. *JBBRAS* X, p. 238.
6. *SII* XI (i), No. 12.
7. *SII* VII, No. 552.
8. *EC* II, No. 242.
9. P. B. Desai *A Corpus of Inscriptions in Kannada Districts of Hyderabad*, State No. 7.

10. *SII* VII, No. 279.
11. *EC* VI, Cm 15.
12. *JBBRAS* X, p. 238.
13. *SII* XI (i), No. 116, L. 39 and *EI* XXVIII, pp. 35-38.
14. *JBBRAS* X, p. 204.
15. *SII* IX (i), No. 50.
16. *Ibid.*, No. 89.
17. *EC* IX, Cp 77.
18. *Smritichandrika* of Devanna Bhatta III (ii) p. 527.
19. *EC* XI Tp 48 Kan text pp 145-46.
20. Sir Herbert Risley's speech in the Bengal Legislative Council on July 23, 1892, quoted in J. Mathai's *Village Government in British India*, pp. 30-31.
21. Tinker, *Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma*, p. 20.
22. *EC* V, Ak 158.
23. *Ibid.* Ak 146.
24. *EC* II, Md 70.
25. *EC* VIII, Sb 328.
26. *Kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. 14 pt. 1, p. 31.

- 27. *EC VII*, Sk 131.
- 28. *EC II*, No. 127.
- 29. *EC XV*, Bd 309.
- 30. *EC VII*, Sh 30.
- 31. *SII IX (ii)*, No. 436.

A PAGE FROM THE MUGHAL NEWSLETTERS :
THE SIEGE OF WAKIN KHERA (1705)

SETHUMADHAVA RAO PAGADI*

The Akbharat Newsletters from the Mughal camp, so copious in the details pertaining to the Deccan campaigns of Aurangzeb, are unfortunately scarce in regard to the siege of Wakinkhera, the stronghold of the Bedas in the Gulburga Dist of North Karnataka. The siege and fall of Wakinkhera took place in the early months of the year 1705. Aurangzeb himself marched from his camp at Khed in the Dist. of Poona to Wakinkhera on what was his last campaign. The pages of the newsletters relating to the siege are missing. They must have been destroyed as in the case of hundreds of other papers by white ants. Fortunately one or two pages relating to the final assault on the fort have been preserved. As is well known the Mughals even under Aurangzeb could not make an effect on the Fort. It was the arrival of Aurangzeb's great general, Zulfiqar Khan Nusrat-Jung and his assistants, Daudkhan Panni, Rao Dalpat Bundela, Ramsingh Hada and Kanhoji Shirke which changed the situation and resulted in the capture of the Fort. The Bedas who were fighting with great valour under their chief Pid Naik received assistance from the Marathas led by Dhanaji Jadhav and Hindurao Ghorpade. The following is the translation of the Newsletters relating particularly the events of the siege : *forty ninth year of Aurangzeb's reign*, Thirteenth of Zilhaj, Wednesday-28th March 1905. :

*Vasudha, Plot No. 1074 A, Melund (West) Bombay-80

"The Emperor ordered as follows: Chingilich Khan-Bahadur (Governor of Bijapur, the future Nizamul-mulk) should encamp near the tank in the direction of the elephants quarters. Zulfiqar Khan should occupy the place to be vacated by Chingilich Khan."

29th March: Yesterday the Emperor had ordered Zulfiqar Khan-Bahadur to inspect the outer defence of the Fort of Rehman-Bakhsh-Khera (Wakinkhera). Today the messengers (*harkara*) brought the news that Zulfiqar Khan-Bahadur had, in accordance with orders gone out towards the Fort. He was accompanied by Rao Dalpat Bundela and Ramsingh Hada. He inspected the Morchas (trenches and posts) of Tarbiat Khan, and the *thanas* (outposts) of Sultan Hussain and others.

31st March: "Last night His Majesty called Zulfiqar Khan-Bahadur to his presence. He said to him, "Tomorrow you and Chingilich Khan-Bahadur should crush the Bedars effectively and capture the Fort of Rehman-Bakhsh-Khera". The Khan was then allowed to return to his tents. At this stage Chingilich Khan-Bahadur arrived. His majesty said to him "Tomorrow Khan Nusart Jung is marching to put down the Bedars. You two should move along with your troops to the side of Nuratzungi and push the Bedars effectively."

"The *harkaras* brought the news that Zulfiqar-Khan-Bahadur accompanied by Rao Dalpat Bundela and Ramsingh Hada, and Chingilich Khan-Bahadur and with their troops proceeded towards the fort to put down the Bedars. His majesty ordered that Mansoor Khan should go along with Nusratjung and Bakshi-ul-Mulk Mirza Sadruddin Mohamad Khan should go to the side of Chingilich Khan-Bahadur.

"Last night His Majesty ordered that Ameer Khan, the officer of the *Khawas* (personal attendants) should stay for the night in the arsenal in charge of Hamid-ud-din Khan.

"The *harkaras* brought the following news: The Bedar soldiers had issued out of the Fort. They had occupied the Mughal *thanas* (outposts) belonging to Sultan Hussain Bakar Khan and others. Zulfiqar Khan-Bahadur arranged the army. Rao Dalpat Bundela was at the front (*harawal*). Ramsingh, was in the rear (*chadawal*). Zulfiqar Khan himself took up a position as a support to his army. He stood just behind his army. He said to Chingilich Khan, "As soon as my troops fall upon the Bedars, you move in the rear of my army and take up position to guard it. After having said this Khan Nusratjung hurried forward and fell upon the Bedars. A great fight in which arrows and guns were used ensued. The Bedars who had occupied the *thana* (outpost) of Sultan Hussein were killed. After this he moved against the Bedar army towards the Fort. The Bedars fled. Khan Nusratjung beat them up to the walls of the Fort. At this time the enemy (Marathas) forces consisting of cavalry and infantry, led by Dhana Jadhav (Dhanaji Jadhav) and Hindurao (Hindurao Ghorapade) had arrived to the assistance of Bedars. A great fight ensued in which arrows, guns, rockets (*ban*), canons, *gophan* (sling), swords, daggers and spears were greatly used. After this, Khan Nusratjung with his cavalry once again fell upon the Bedars. About four hundred enemy were killed or wounded. The Bedars retreated and fled to the gates of Fort. On the Mughal side a number of soldiers belonging to Rao Dalpat Bundela, Ramsing Hada, Khan Nusratjung, Mansoor Khan and others were killed and a number of soldiers were wounded. His Majesty read the report and sent it to the Amir-ul-umra (Prime Minister Asad Khan-the father of Zulfiqar Khan), with the remark, "your son has really crushed the Bedars."

"His Majesty issued orders to his officer as follows: - "You hurry up to Khan Nusratjung and convey to him my instructions that he should breakdown the gateway of the fort, capture the fort and slaughter the Bedars". The officer, as

ordered went to Nusratjung; meanwhile the *harkaras* brought following report. "Khan Nusratjung has with his troops returned to his tents." After this Tarbiyat Khan-Bahadur, Hamid-ud-din Khan-Bahadur, Matlab Khan, Aziz Khan who had gone against the enemy moved towards the Fort at this time.

Hafiz Masand informed the Emperor as follows: "Khan Nusratjung says "God willing (*jushallah*) tomorrow I will kill the Bedar rebels."

"Muhuram Khan, informed His Majesty as follows :- "Hamid-ud-din Khan-Bahadur, Tarbiyat Khan-Bhadur, Amanullah-Khan and others have arrived with their troops. They are sitting in the camp of Hamid-ud-din Khan-Bahadur and request an audience. The Emperor said "Let them go back to their tents."

"Yesterday it was reported to his Majesty that Muhammad-Amin Khan, Tarbiyat Khan-Bhadur, Amanullah Khan, Aziz Khan and others had cut off the heads of robbers (Marathas and Bedars) and sent them to the Royal camp. His Majesty ordered that the heads should be thrown away."

As is well known the Bedars vacated the Fort on the next day - 17th Zilhaj - 1st April 1705

On this day the Emperor distributed rewards to the officers. A brief mention of these officers would give an idea of the court of Aurangazeb.

"Hamid-ud-din Khan-Bahadur, Tarbiyat Khan and others had gone beyond the Fort against the robber (Marathas). They returned at this time and had audience of the Emperor. Their names are as follows: 1) Hamid-ud-din Khan Bhadur. 2) Tarbiyat Khan. 3) Matlab Khan. 4) Amanullah Khan. 5) Muhammad Amin Khan-Bahadur. 6) Saifullah Khan. 7) Yusuf Khan. 8) Sayad Jan. Yusuf Khan was the commadant

of the Forts and Fauzdar of Qamar Nagar (Karnool) and Raichur. His *mansab* was increased and he was given a robe of honour. Rao Rao Kanhoji Shirke attached to the army of Zulfiqar-Khan-Bahadur had an audience. He presented eighteen muhars as *nazar*. He had a *mansab* of five thousand Zat. It was increased by one thousand. He was given robes of honour. Rewards were given to Ram Singh Heda, the son of the deceased Kishor Singh, Rao Dalpat Bundela, Bharatichand, Prithvichand (sons of Rao Dalpat Bundella). The following persons had audience of His Majesty 1) Rustum Beg Khan captain of the artillery of Khan Nusratjung, 2) Bazid Khan, the adopted son of Daudkhan (Panni)."

These are the only entries pertaining to the assault on the Fort which were found in the newsletters. It is curious to reflect that following the advice of the Marathas, Pid Naik vacated the Fort, following Maratha tactics of keeping the enemy engaged in front of the Fort and subjecting him to utmost harrassment before surrendering the Fort and recapturing it. Pid Naik returned and recaptured Wakinkhera during the life time of Aurangazeb. Nothing highlights the military weakness of Auragazeb and the bravery of the Bedars as the siege of Wakinkhera.

THE EX-CRIMINAL TRIBES OF NORTH KARNATAKA

-- A STUDY * *

Dr. K. V. Kurian, M.A , Ph.D. *

Most of the cities and towns of North Karnataka are infested with mendicants and vagrant tribes of various descriptions to a greater degree than any other cities and towns of Karnataka. The immediate cause for this may be traced to the availability of opportunities for livelihood without much labouring. These vagrant tribes have various ostensible means of livelihood, but it is more than probable that thieving and rum-running are greater sources of profits to them than the occupation they profess to be engaged in. These people are reputed in the skill of witch-craft. Some of them believe in this ability. It goes without saying that these vagrant illiterates arrogate to themselves, the ability to cure men and beasts, of their diaseses owing to their infinite faith in black magic and witch-craft. There are few among them, the able bodied men, whose absence are rather conspicuous by their

nefarious propensities. Nothing was more apt to curtail the pilferous prodicities of these semi-nemadic tribes than confining them to a particular settlement of high wall fencing of barbed wires.

Unless these rustics are properly sheltered, settled in lifes infused with a social awarness and treated preferentially, the much vaunted freedom of ours of the past few decades would be reduced to a travesty or a camouflage and the poverty might blame us for the abysmal failure in discharging our sacred duties towards these helpless brethren.

As each caste is a social unit in itself, these various tribes too form a social unit in themselves. Each tribe follows its own profession and faith. In the following lines, a brief attempt has been made to explain the few of the characteristics of these vagabands.

A Brief History

There were many semi-nomadic tribes whose sources of livelihood were thieving and rum-running. In order to entail the pilferous prodicities, the then Collector of Bijapur mooted the idea of confining them to 'settlement areas'. Taking advantage of the Government of India's Criminal Tribes Act., Mr. O.B.H. Stat, the Collector, confined them in the so called Settlement Areas. A Settlement Manager was appointed to manage these rustics. The social work done by Rev A. L. Bradbury is remembered with reverence. The people who were confined in these areas were set free in the year 1947. The people of the following castes and tribes were considered to be Criminal Tribes'. (i) The Sikkaligars (ii) Kunchi Korawars (iii) Kanjarbats (iv) Ghantichors and Girmiwaddars (v) Jogi or Gosavis (vi) Kaikad (vii) Koraj (viii) Bestar (ix) Chap; a-band (x) Aranya Shikari.

* 23, Saraswatpur, Dharwad, 580 002,

* * In this note, I do not claim any originality or exhaustive treatment of the life and growth of these multitudes. I have in my own way made an endeavour to focuss the living conditions of these Ex-Criminal tribes who are confined in the settlement areas of Hubli City. I have been during my enquiry a very frequent visitor to these areas for the past five years, of course with an intention to know their way of living. I have also listened to their explanation and has been a close observer of their mode of living, dressing, food, marriage and the religious life. A casual observer may infer of their crude relationships, but to me, it was facinating. Though poverty prevails in its naked form, organised bargaining of their rights altogether is not absent.

Sikkaligars

The Sikkaligars as a tribe of nomadic nature are settled in eight *tandas* or camps. The survey reveals that there is much to be desired both in their living conditions and their social status. Bound by customs and rough in nature, their life has remained a veritable saga of misery and suffering for centuries.

They are steeped in poverty and have almost become figures touching the periphery of the society. Though in humble surroundings, they have a hoary past. They are supposed to have bailed from Rajasthan or Gujarat. According to few elders of the society they migrated after the defeat of their benefactor Rana Pratap Singh. During their hey days they were working as talwars, eking out a honourable living. For the present most of them are polishers of swords and iron implements. They also engage themselves in drawing ornamental designs specially on she-buffaloes. They converse in corrupted Gujarathi and Parsi language.

TABLE-1 : Settlements or *tandas* of Sikkaligars of Hubli city and their approximate population.

Sl. No.	Location of <i>tandas</i>	Number of huts	Estimated population
1.	Siddarudhmath	200	1200
2.	Krishnapur	100	600
3.	Asarhonda	60	360
4.	Padyanahakkala	30	180
5.	Valvekkarhakkala	60	360
6.	Irapur Oni	30	180
		480	2880

All the eight *tandas* have their own local panchayats. Being the headman of the *tandas*, they settle the disputes in the group

These people also do certain social work. Themselves illiterate and addicted to drinks, how could they effect any improvement? The only social agency that works for the betterment of this community is Dharwad Jilla Gurubajak Shikkaligar Samaj Seva Sangh with headquarters at Hubli. This association named after their leader who fought against conversion to Islam during 1955, is established in the year 1973.

Since its inception, it has been possible for this Sangh to stop polygamy, to procure she-buffaloes on government subsidy, to establish a Balawadi and an Ashram School upto fourth standard, also to get the people of the community Janatha Houses allotted. Two Samaja Mandiras, one at Krishnapur and the other at Padyanahakkala were constructed by the Hubli-Dharwad Municipal Corporation at the instance of this Samaja.

The work force consists of the whole family. The main business of the women folk is selling fruits and vegetables on the road sides. They also work as coolies. Pick-pocketing and petty thievish activities too, are not rare. We are told that on an average 10% of the able-bodied men are in jails for such criminal activities. Only one percent of its members are literates. Prostitution is also not uncommon. The Headman says that nearly 10% of the able bodied woman of the community are prostitutes.

The pattern, custom and the caste may change, but the basic principle which governs the institution of marriage cannot be altered. The marriage system except certain innovations brought about by the social change remains the same traditional pattern and identical to that of the Kunbi caste.

Even an unborn child is tied by marriage bonds by its parents. The mothers performs the marriage ceremony on the complete

understanding that if the two infants happens to be of the opposite sex. In such cases at a later date, if the prospective bridegroom dies, the bride should spend her whole life unmarried.

Under the marriage system of Sikkaligars, the bridegroom should give an amount of Rs. 76 to the bride and the elders of the *tanda* should be paid an amount of Rs. 2 and Rs. 4 by bride and Rs. 4 by bride and bridegroom respectively.

Only a red sari without any designs is to be used for marriage. The bridegroom has to provide a nose ring of silver and a *gundalle* or *tale* of glass beads of white colour. The bride should also use minthol (A seed, spherical in shape, is to be tied to the left wrist). Until recently polygamy was in practice. Widow marriage is also allowed.

Most of the woman folk wear Gujarati or Rajasthani dresses and invariably use anklets on their legs. Metal bangles of copper, brass too are being used by them like the Banjara or Lambadi woman of Karnataka

Being of Hindu stock Shakthi Pooja is more prevalent. Durga and Yellamma are also worshiped. This shows that they are of Kshatriya lineage. All of them invariably worship sun and moon Gods. Durgadevi idols are commonly seen in their temples but they have no religious leader of their own. Our sensitive social environment has created a fear psychosis in these eroded communities which is dangerous and everything possible should be done to consolidate the position of these people.

Table-II : Sikkaligars and Sub-Castes

Sl. No.	Sub-Caste	Profession
1.	Vajjauna or Shetura (Tirma)	Manufacture of metal tools

2.	Billana	Preparing arrows and bows
3.	Panchana	Headmen of the Sikkaligars
4.	Hangalona	Workers under Panchana
5.	Kanana	Specialists in cooking

They place the dead bodies in a lying position face down. They are not to be washed. The legs of corpse were to be stretched backwards upto the shoulder back and to be broken thereby and if in the process, the legs were not broken, a heavy boulder to be placed. Three days *poojas* are to be offered for the soul of the departed.

Ghantichors and Girniwaddars

These people follow their different occupations. There are timber cutting Waddars, stone Waddars and earth Waddars, etc. It has been estimated that there were 56 types of Waddars who follow various occupations of their own and known after the occupation. The stone Waddars and earth Waddars are more honest than the Korvis or Kanjarbats. Among these tribes, there is a certain group who are rat eaters and prefer the flesh of rat to any other kind of food.

The origin of this community according to tradition are either from Kolhapur of Maharashtra or from Bellary. They were settled in Hubli in the year 1918. The name Ghantichors probably originated from their profession (*ghant* means bundle of valuables and *chor* means thief). The people now commonly known as Waddars were originally known as Ghantichors. Towards the end of 1918, the then British Officers assigned different names to these People on the basis of their profession. Thus the people originally known as Ghantichors were came to be known after their professions.

The Ghantichors too have a panchayat of their own manned by the elders of *tanda*. In order to bring to the fore, the need to unite and fight against the injustices, an association has been

formed which is known as Ghantichors and Girniwaddars Samaja Seva Sudharana Sangha. This was registered during January 1982. There are about 90 to 100 families of this tribe in Hubli and the population may be in between 600 to 700. Though there is no system of dowry, the expenditure on marriages are beyond the reach of ordinary member of the caste. The educational standards of this tribe is better when compared to other tribes of Hubli City. Out of the total population, more than 60% are addicted to alcoholic drinks.

Income and Expenditure

The income and expenditure of an average family of Ghantichors of Hubli City is tabulated below.

Table III : Income and Expenditure of an average family of Ghantichors

1	Average members of the family	12
a. Expenditure		
i)	Jowar 1 kg	2-00
ii)	Rice 1 kg	3-00
iii)	Kadle bele 200 grams	1-00
iv)	Sweet oil 100 "	1-50
v)	Firewood 2 kg	1-00
vi)	Chillies 100 grams	0-75
vii)	Tea/milk/coffee	2-00
viii)	Marriage expenditure calculated once in twenty years (Rs. 5000/)	2-00
ix)	Funeral expenses calculated once in twenty years (Rs. 2000/)	0-50
x)	Household utensils	0-50
xi)	Dress twice in a year	2-50

xii)	Education	0-75
xiii)	Miscellaneous	3-00

	Daily expenses	20-50
	Monthly expenditure	615-00

b. Income

1.	Pension of the head of the family being retired govt. employee from railways	150-00
2.	Assuming that three able bodied male members do the coolie work at Rs. 5/- for 24 days in a month	360-00

		510-00

There is a deficit of income by Rs. 105/- a month. The average expenditure per member of the family works out to only Rs. 1-70 per day.

The average income per member of the family comes to Rs. 1-42 per day. The employment potential utilised is only 25% and the remaining 75% are engaged in unproductive activity. The rock bottom standard of life may be due to unemployment. Out of 100 families, the educational standard is to the tune of five percent of the population. Prostitution is prevalent due to poverty and ignorance.

Kanjarbats

They are identical to Lambadis and Gypsies. They are the most numerous of these tribes. Some of them possess cattle,

donkeys, asses and horses. They are frequently found in the Settlement areas and are nomadic in nature. They also indulge in black marketing. They usually locate their *tandas* in any place that pleases them but almost invariably at a distance from the thickly populated areas. They often remain for more periods at a place. Like the Gypsies of every country they are without doubt cattle healers and the wandering life entailed by their trade afford great facilities for transfer of stolen goods.

The language of these people are corrupted Gujarathi. The Kallar and Marawar of Tamilnadu, a criminal tribe whose profession is more or less identical to that of Kanjarbats. Due to pressure from money lenders, the matured daughters are sold at Bombay and Ahmedabad. No doubt they resort to selling of their daughters very rarely.

Few people have a comprehensive idea of the multitude of the problem of the socially weaker sections of our society who are inhabitants of urban areas. Nobody has cared about their numbers or their ignorance, their poverty, their addiction to drinks and their isolation from the main stream of urban life. We can ill-afford to allow these people as that of Adivasis or aborigines, to remain any longer illiterate, ignorant and labouring under great hardships and desperately joining the gang of robbers at the end.

Poverty

It may not be out of place to say that though suffering under various social disabilities they are part of our urban life. They live in a water tight compartment of their own which we in our pride of birth and possession, never cared to peep into. From time immemorial, these people have been neglected by the rulers and thereafter by the British who treated them as criminals and forced them to live in seclusion with the result that even after 38 years of freedom, they are still labouring under very hard primitive conditions of life waging an un-equal war.

Majority are engaged in various professions such as making designs on animals, working as coolies in the railways, preparing grass ropes, some of them as notorious thieves, black marketers, timber cutters, polishers of swords, illicit distillation of country liquors, etc. The habit of drinking is another cause of poverty. The other causes of poverty may be found in their having no house of their own and their wandering habits from one place to the other.

Though excise rules are being strictly enforced, these people produce liquor on the crude form, sell it at a nominal price and they too drink as a race. Their children too are brought up in such circumstances, and their women folk are not an exception. The percentage of literacy is only 3% of the total population of 1698. Thus literates are only 53 and 1485 are illiterates.

Due to crude marital relations and ignorance in sexual matters, venereal diseases are common and this greatly tells upon the capacity for hard labour. The areas under study portray a very pitiable hygienic condition and it may be said that their dwelling places and environs are filled with filth and rubbish.

The population of the Kanjarbats is estimated to be 1638 consisting of 98 families. Males and females above the age of 18 are 248 and 265 respectively. The work force consists of 200 members for manual labour, and of these 15 are in railways and eight in State Transport. Thus the percentage of employment to the total population comes to 13.6%. We are told that they eat only once a day and that too low quality foods.

The women of this tribe are masters in delicate embroidery work. While these people were kept in seclusion in the settlement areas, they were engaged in weaving carpets, purses, handbags, etc. We are told that these works of art were exported to European markets and were in great demand.

There are two sub-castes in Kanjarbats. They are known as Nala and Bagat. Hindu system of disposal is followed. In case of Nala sect, they carry the dead body in a bamboo cot to the graveyard covered by a white cloth whereas in the case of Bagat a curious system of disposal of dead is reported. They keep the body of the departed on a cot. Before that both the legs of the dead person is broken by striking seven times and an amount of Re. 1-00 is kept in the mouth of the body. The body is cremated in fire and religious prayers by keeping wheat, grapes, etc. and continue the same for three days.

Before fixing the marriages, arrack has to be offered to all the elders, living and departed. On the day of celebration of the marriage, the eldest of the community hold his right hand upon the clasped palms of the couple. On the wedding night the bride's sister should bring her to the room of the groom dressed in a new sari. If the bride happens to be not virgin (which is decided by the elders, the next day morning after examining the sari), a fine of Rs. 100-00 is to be paid by the bride's parents.

In case of the bridegroom, a fine of Rs.360-00 shall have to be paid to the parents of the bride. Some of them have three wives which is admissible only after due permission from the Kanjabat Panchayat. Many ballads about marriage are current among these tribes.

They hold the panchayat near the arrack or toddy shops and the disputes were settled on a go-gay basis. Somanappa Kanjarbat still holds the wand which his forefathers used at the time of panchayat meetings. Somanappa Kanjarbat is the eldest living member of the community and is about 97 years of age. He explains that he was born in Miraj in Maharashtra State and has been engaged in thievish activities from very early childhood. His activities have took him to almost all the nooks and corners of Karnataka and Maharashtra. He was engaged mainly in looting the bullock carts and

houses of the rich people. He was caught hold of by the British officers and was kept in Settlement areas, respectively at Gokak, Bijapur, Sholapur, Khanapur, Belgaum and Hubli, while at Bijapur, he escaped from the settlement and was caught at Hyderabad. For this crime he was fined Rs. 76.

He was married while in Gokak Settlement. He explained how the British officers kept them under strict surveillance by fencing out the whole area and making two times attendance compulsory.

These criminals were allowed to participate in the sports. He was the winner of 15 miles race held at Delhi and sports activities have helped him to travel throughout India at Government cost.

He is getting an old age pension of Rs 40 = 00 from the Karnataka Govt. He had the luck to see his great grand children though he does not remember how many children he had and how many are still alive.

During the year 1917-18, he was getting a daily wage of Rs.0-25 and he recalls that he and his family were happy since for Re. 1-00, 25 seers of jowar was available. He has worked in textile mills and Railway workshops. Each of the members were given identification records which were required to be produced when called for.

ORIGINAL JAYAKHYANA BHARATA,
BHAGAVADGITA AND SIRIBHUVALAYA

(Continued from previous issue)

K. NAGARAJA RAO*

PART TWO.

The remarkable Kannada work called 'Siri Bhūvalaya', which is attributed to a Digambara saint Kumudendu, claims to have the "Jayākhyāna" of Vyāsa (in 10,368 stanzas) and the original Bhagavad Gīta in five different languages, in the body of its text. Siri Bhūvalaya, which is said to be composed according to mathematical and phonetical formulae, claims that the work can be read in 718 languages, and includes 363 philosophical system and 64 *kalas* (arts). In fact all the arts and science in the world.

The author Kumdēndu says that he was the teacher of Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha and Ganga Sivamāra of Talakad, and a disciple of Virasēna and Jinasēna, the celebrated authors of Dhavaḷa and Jaya Dhavaḷa tika. Kumudendu belongs to the time of Senagaṇa Inata Vamśa, Saddharma Gotra, Dravya-ṅga Śakha, Ikshvaku dynasty, down to Prabhavasēna, Dhara-sēna and Bhūtabali and Virasēna Bhūtabali. Though it is very difficult to decide the date of the work, it cannot be called as by some scholars a freak or a curiosity. Though one cannot agree, with the late Sri K. Srikantaiah on the question of the date of the work, the so-called mathematical tables, original MSs, etc., undoubtedly the work is earlier than the tenth century A. D.

* 9, Masilamani Street, T. Nagar, Madras-600017

Siri Bhūvalaya contains 600,000 verses in Kannada. It is a compendium of Indian culture, philosophy, religion, art and science. Kumudēndu, though a Digambara Jaina, says that the *Rgvēda* is the source of all knowledge, and tries to prove it in all aspects, nay, he has proved it. He mentions almost all the canonical literature belonging to the different schools of thought, of his time.

Kumudendu's work 'Siri Bhūvalaya' is divided in to nine parts (volumes), and the first volume which is called, "Mangala Prābhṛta" is an epitome of the remaining eight volumes. Out of the remaining eight volumes the first four contain: 1) almost all the canonical literature of the Vedic school, Brāhmanās, Upanishads, etc.; digambara and Svētāmbara Jaina works and other religious works; 2) original texts belonging to different Ayurvedic and Veterinary systems. Kumudendu mentions more than 27 Ayurvedic systems which existed in India; and in the 3rd and 4th volumes he deals with the Indian positive sciences like physics, chemistry, alchemy, biochemistry, biology, botany, zoology, astronomy, space science, etc. The latter four volumes deal with the *karma* theory and the liberation of the soul.

In the words of Dr. S. Srikantha Sāstri the importance of this work may be briefly analysed under the following heads:- 1) for the political history of India and Karnataka it provides fresh material; 2) for the history of Indian Mathematics it is an important document. The recent studies in Virasena's Dhavaḷa Tika show that, Indians even before the 9th Century A.D. were conversant with the theory of place values, the laws of Indices, the theory of logarithms, special methods to deal with fractions, the theory of transformations, geometrical and mensuration formulae, infinite processes and theories of infinity.²⁴ Kumudēndu's Siri Bhūvalaya seem to be far more advanced than Virasena's work; 3) Further it gives three versions of the Rigveda differing entirely from the accepted version and also Valmiki's original Ramayana. Besides these

works, Bhūvalaya professes to contain the texts of important Jaina works like the Tatvārthādhigama Sūtra of Umaswati, Gandhahasti Tahābhāshya, Devagama Stotra of Samanta Bhadra, Chūdāmāni, Samayasāra, Pravachanasāra of Kundakundāchārya, the works of Puṇyapāda, Akalanka and others of the Digambara school; the Angās and many works considered lost by the Digambaras, but claimed to have been preserved by the Svetambaras; technical works like, Suryaprajñapti, Chandra-prajñapti, Vihāyapaṇṇatti, Jambudwīpa prajñapti, Trijñapti, etc.; 4) for the history of the fine arts like architecture, sculpture, iconography, painting, etc., Bhūvalaya forms an inexhaustible source. In brief the importance of this work can hardly be exaggerated for the study of Indian and world culture.²⁸

The first volume 'Maṅgaḷa Prābhṛta' contains 59 chapters which can be read in Kannada, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Suraseni Ardha Māgadhī. The first part containing 20 chapters was published in 1953. The second part containing a further 13 chapters was printed in 1955, but is not yet available to the public. The remaining 26 chapters have not yet been published.²⁹

II

According to Kumudendu the Bhagavad Gita is a synopsis of the Vedas and the Upanishads. 'Maṅgaḷa Prābhṛta' which contains the Bhagavad Gita in Sanskrit and a commentary in Kannada verses is an epitome of the remaining eight volumes, which are said to be based on the Rigveda, and deals with all the sources of knowledge in detail.

According to Kumudendu the original Bhagavad Gita was preached by Vṛshabha to his sons Bharata and Bāhubali on their Upanayana. Again after the fight between the brothers Bahubali told the Ādi (first) and Anādi (eternal) Gita to Bharata in Prakrit. Samudravijaya at the Upanayana of Nēmi, Krishna and Balarāma preached the Bhagavad Gita to them as

Brahmōpadadeśa and invested them with 'Janivāra and Jinavara'. Later, Nēmi taught the same to Krishna in Magadhī. During the Mahābharata war Krishna preached the Bhagavad Gita to Arjuna in five languages at the same time. On the order of Lord Krishna Maharshi Vyasa included the Bhagaved Gita in his Jayākhyāna. The same tradition continued down to Lord Mahāvira, who taught it to Goutama Gaṇadharas. Goutama Gaṇadhara preached this Bhagavad Gita to Sr̥ṇika, and finally Kumudēndu-preached it to Amōghavarsha and Sivamara. Kumudēndu's Bhagaved Gita is divided into three chapters and contains 162 stanzas and another eight extra stanzas. According to the published text, Kumudēndu begins the Bhagaved Gita with the Sanskrit Prose: "Atha Vyāsamunindropadiṣṭa Jayākhyānātargaṇa Gītā prathamodhyāyah'.

The first stanza of the first Chapter reads: "Omityākā-kṣaram Brahma vyāharan māmanusmarah—" ²⁷. The second chapter begins with: "Atha Vyāsamunindrapadiṣṭa Jayākhyānāntargata gita—".

The first stanza of the second chapter reads:- "Mama yonirmahadbrahma tasmin garbha—" (Present Gita, 14-3). The first stanza of the third chapter begins... with the śloka:- "Tatriguhyatumam śāstram..." (Gita, 15-20; but the Gita in currency starts with a different śloka, and, the chapter ends with: "Tasmadomistiyudahritya," etc., (Present Gita, 17-24),

If we read the first letters of each stanza in each chapter, from top to bottom we will get the first stanza of each chapter. According to Kumudēndu each letter of the first stanza of each-chapter is the initial letter of a separate stanza, giving 54 stanzas.

III

According to Kumudendu 'Om' is a monosyllable; 'O', which forms the nasal in the Sanskrit alphabet. From this monosyllable 'Om', three stanzas are

formed according to mathematical and phonetical formulae, which in turn gives 162 stanzas in total. Apart from these 162 stanzas, under the heading "Pratyēka Gaṇita Sāra", the author gives eight or more stanzas, which also form part of the Bhagavad Gita. The verses of Kumudendu's Bhagavad Gita look as if strung together without reference to the context, and many new verses, distinctly Jaina in character, have been included as part of the Bhagavad Gita. Most of the stanzas of Kumudendu's Bhagavad Gita can be traced in the present Bhagavad Gita with slight changes; some in the 'Gita Mahātmya' of *Varāha Purāna*; some in the 'Vrishabha Sahasraṇāma'; and eighteen stanzas in the 'Nitisāra' of Indranandi.

Surely, one will hesitate to accept this as the original Bhagavad Gita of the 'Jayākhyāna' written by Vyāsa. But all such doubts will vanish when one goes through the Kannada commentary in detail. Kumudēndu explains every stanza convincingly, in a lucid style with clarity and perfection.

Kumudendu mentions God Hanuman's commentary on the Anadi Gita in the Paisachi language²⁸. But the text of this commentary is not found in the printed portion. Probably it may be in the body text of the remaining chapters. According to Kumudendu the Bhagavad Gita is not merely a divine gospel preaching *Jñāna*, *Bhakti* and *Karma Yōga*. Lord Krishna taught Arjuna the science of war and weapons together with other sciences.

Though Kumudēndu preaches non-violence, he calls the Bhagavad Gita "Yuddhāgama" (Science of war) and "Source of jñānagangā." The Mahābhārata war, according to Kumudēndu is a "Yugaparivartana Dharma Yuddha". According to him, during the war, Krishna explains to Arjuna often the different types of weapons, the formulae for their manufacture, and their use. One example: Krishna says to Arjuna: "Drōṇāchārya, the master of the science of war and weapons, pasted his feet

with bhasma prepared with mercury, will attack your army like an eagle. O Arjuna, beware, you must use this weapon as a deterrent against Drona's attack".²⁹ Such examples can be found in abundance in the Kannada commentary.

Kumudēndu's theory of 'Om' i.e., 'O' is very difficult to explain. According to him the nasal 'O' called also Bindu is 'Om'; and it is the source of all knowledge. From it the sixty four letters are formed, which form the foundation of 718 languages and literature.

Kumudendu explains how this monosyllable 'Om' i.e., 'O' (zero) forms the base for the science of numbers, mathematics and allied subjects. Kumudēndu elaborately analyses the value of zero, the theory of infinity, the science and value of numbers, etc. I need not explain here the place of zero and value of numbers in higher mathematics.

According to the present Bhagavad Gita "The highest imperishable principle is Brahma, its existence as embodied soul is called Adhyātma, and the offering (into the sacrificial fire) which causes the origin and development of beings is called action". (8-3) Krishna says to Arjuna: "I shall briefly describe to you that state which the knowers of the Vedas call the imperishable (*akṣara*) which ascetics, fired from passion enter and desiring which they lead a life of self-control." (8-11). "Controlling all the inlets (organs), confining the mind to the heart, fixing the lifebreath in the head betaking himself to absorption in *Yoga*, repeating the monosyllable 'om', which is Brahman, and thinking of me, he who departs leaving the body attains the highest goal". (4-12, 13). "'Om tat sat' - this is considered to be the three-fold designation of Brahman. By that were fashioned, of all the Brāhmaṇās, the Vēdās and sacrifices. (17-23). Therefore the acts of sacrifice, gift and austerity enjoined by the ordinance on the followers of the Vēdās, by uttering the word 'Om', are always begun well". (17-24).

The mystic sound 'Om' is regarded as a very sacred and secret sound by the followers of all the branches of Hindu philosophy and also by Jaina and Buddhist philosophers. It has been described as the primordial letter (*akṣara*) originating in the highest ethereal region (*parama vyōma*) in which reside all the Gods and he who realises its significance gets himself merged into it. (RV. 1-164-39).

According to the Chāndōgya Upanishad (1-1) the letter 'Om' is the most appropriate name of the Supreme spirit. By its application he becomes propitiated. It is emblematic of the divine soul. Being thus a designation and a representative of the supreme spirit, it is known in all the Vedas and the Upanishadas as the best means towards the accomplishment of his adoration. Its repeated use at the beginning and end of the prayers and Vedic recitations establishes its pre-eminence and for these reasons this eternal letter denoted by the term Udgitha should be adored; to this 'Om' as the substance of all actions and the representative of the Supreme spirit attention should be directed. The letter 'Om' is more usually called 'Praṇava' ³⁰

The object of the Upanishads is to explain the various meanings which the syllable 'Om' or 'Praṇava' may assume in the mind of a devotee. The highest meaning assigned to it is Brahman, the intelligent cause of the universe. The Upanishad says: "The word (Om) of which all the Vedas speak, which all the deeds of penance proclaim, desirous of which they live as Brahmacharis, this word I will briefly tell thee: it is 'Om'. This sound means Brahman, the supreme. Whoever knows this sound obtains whatever he wishes. This means is best, the supreme is adored in the place of Brahman".

'Om' considered as a sound (*dhvani*) in the approximate natural name of the first undifferentiated movement (*sāmānyaspaṇḍa*) of the stressing material call (*prakṛiti*) of the Universe. This primordial functioning of the Brahma-shakti and the Bija

Mantras are its various forms. According to the Rāmātāpānīyopanishat 'Om' is constituted by six letters 'A'; 'U', 'M', Crescent, Bindu and Nada.

When a person engrossed in indifferent thoughtlessness utters a sound 'O', signifying just a change over from his indifferent state of mind which, however, has not yet been set to any thing particular. This state is represented by the first vowel of the Sanskrit alphabet 'A'. Then, when the mind starts to set itself to sprouting activity it is represented by the letter 'U'; and then when the mind is actively set to function, and when it is completed, the final stage is represented by the last consonant 'M'. Thus it is said that the whole phenomenon of creation of the physical Universe, starting from the change over from the pre-creation non-vibrant stage to the final manifestation, is represented by A.U.M. The whole of creation being constituted of the simultaneous processes of expansion and contraction, like the functioning of a tortoise the above three letters are represented by the symbol of a tortoise. A.U.M. is written like the extension of the neck of the tortoise, and the tongue of the flash of lightning is represented as 'Om'.

The universe is compared to a wheel, in which 'A' is the bearing (Nābhi or Bhūh), 'U' is the spoke (Ara or Bhuvale) and 'M' is the felly (Nēmi or Svah). The universe is also compared to a lotus, in which the three aspects represented by 'A.U.M' are three lotus buds, grown on three stalks sprouting from the same root. In the Tantric literature 'AUM' is also called 'Tri-Brahma' and 'Tripadma'. AUM represents the union of the Hindu trinity Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra, and also represents the three Vēdas.

Before the 'A' stage developed, there was the primordial non-vibrant or Bindu (Point - mere existent without any kind of manifestation) stage just localised, then there was a stage of

vacuity or hiatus, and then a stage of a momentary thrill. These three stages are represented by a point, a space, and a curve like a crescent. But before the point was localised the position of the point was supra-transcendent or in other words the creative energy was spread out.

As the first vibration in the process of creation shoots up like a mountain peak in the form of an ethereal wave, it may be stated that all the processes of the development of creation are nothing but some stages of a ladder coming down from the peak of that mountain. So three stages of actual manifestation are the three lotus buds, the Bhūh, Bhuvah and Svah; the thrill and the hiatus are taken as the fourth stage and the localised point as the fifth step; if the hiatus and the supra-transcendent stages are taken into consideration it becomes seven stages. Along with these different explanations the Tantric Cult propounds various concepts about the syllable 'Om'.

It is said that the approximate sound 'Om' is constituted of the letters A.U.M. This is not to say that the primordial sound was these letters or their combination. These letters are the product of the primordial sound which precedes them. What is meant is that 'Om' as a gross sound heard by the gross ear in the combination of these letters. According to Indian belief 'Om' is a sound actually heard by Yogis. Om is sounded from the navel with a deep rolling and continuous sound ending at the upper part of the nostrills where the Chandra Bindu is sounded.

Though the Bhagavad Gita deals with the concept of 'Om' in six stanzas, it does not explain in detail the theory as expounded in the 11th and 13th stanzas of the eighth chapter and in the 23rd and 24th stanzas of the seventeenth chapter.

The 'Gitasāra', already mentioned deals with the conception of 'Om', Bindu and Nāda which are considered to be the

source of all knowledge. The Gitasāra which is a discussion between Arjuna and Lord Krishna also deals with 'Yōgashastra'

Answering the questions raised by Arjuna Krishna says : "Arjuna, I will impart to you the knowledge of Bhairavagranthi (grantha ?) which is omnipresent, which even *dēvās* are unable to possess. It is the storehouse of all shastras" (*Gitasara* 9)

Lord Krishna then explains to Arjuna details of Yōgashāstra and Mantrashāstra; and then says : "O Arjuna, the man who knows the Veda, which is without and above syllables, sound, vowel, consonants etc., will possess the eternal knowledge of the Vedas. Those persons in whose hearts Jñāna and Vijñāna rest, will attain eternal peace, and they need not engage in Yoga and Dhāraṇa" (GS, 38-39) Arjuna asks : "O, Krishna you told me that all the letters and *mātras* rest in Bindu. Bindu can be pierced by Nāda, but how to pierce Nada?" (GS, 43).

Krishna answers : "The sound of 'Om' pervades all space. The Nāda of 'Om' dissolves in infinite space which has no support" (GS, 44). Arjuna asks : "The supreme Brahma pervades infinite space. The whole of space is filled with the sound which comes through the nose, which is considered as *vyōma*. How can this sound rise from the navel towards the nose through the throat?" (GS, 45)

(Continued)

Foot Notes :

24. See "History of Mathematics in India from Jaina Sources" by Dr. A. N. Singh; "Jaina Antiquary" Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 46-54.
25. from Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri's letter to the editor dated 9-10-53.

26. More than a decade ago, the National Archives of India took the initiative in microfilming the MSs. of the first Vol.
27. Present Bhagavad Gita : 8-12.
28. The second volume of the Bhagavad Gita commentaries (published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1912) contain along with other commentaries, Hanuman's "Paisacha Bhashya". Though it is called Paisacha Bhashya the commentary is in Sanskrit. Also see Anandāśrama Series published in 1909, Edited by Hari Narayan Apte,
29. 'Siri Bhūvalaya' 22-262.
30. "Ya onkarāḥ sa pramāṇosaḥ..." (*Atharva Śirṣa*)

SOME NEW FACTS ABOUT THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE HONNEYA KAMBAḢIS OF DAKSHINA KANNADA

B. VASANTHA SHETTY *

The Honneya KambaḢis were one of the feudatory dynasties of Dakshina Kannada. They ruled over Kollūru HosangaḢi, BaggarāḢi, LuṅgināḢu, ArunāḢu, Kadari and KabbunāḢu in the Northern most region of Dakshina Kannada and Paṭṭaguppe and Chinna Bidarūrusimes above the Western Ghats.¹ They ruled over these areas from HosangaḢi of Kundapur Taluk in Dakshina Kannada. From there they could have effective control over the regions both above and below the ghats.²

The early history of the Honneya KambaḢis is still in obscurity. The earliest reference to this family is in a record³ of the 13th century A. D. which states that one Vekaṇṭha Savaṇṭa who was the grandson of Bankiyarasa alias Honna KambaḢi undertook the reconstruction of the temple of Kollūru out of granite stone and made gift of charity to Paramēśwara AḢigaḢu for the conduct of worship. About this record Dr. P. Gururaja Bhat remarks, "It is doubtful whether this epigraph is genuine, because the temple structure clearly indicates the features of the 15th and 16th century A. D. and not of the 13th century A. D. Moreover on personal enquiry, I have been told that the text of the record was taken from a palmyra leaf, whose authenticity again is questionable."⁴ Moreover nowhere in the later records "Bankiyarasa" and 'Honneya KambaḢi' appear separately as two names of a person as mentioned in the above record. Hence

* Vice-Principal, St. Mary's Syrian College, Brahmavar, 576213

the view of Dr. Bhat is acceptable. Dr. Bhat also came to the conclusion that the epigraph dated 1482 A. D.⁵ mentioning the gift of land by Śāvanta Bankiyarasa Honna Kambali to the temple of Mūkambika was the first reference to this royal family. But Śāvanta is not the name of the ruler.

With the help of the existing records neither the earlier position of this family nor its earlier rulers could be traced. Though an inscription⁶ belonging to the 15th century found at Bhandarkeri Matha mentions one Tiruma Kambali, he appears there as an ordinary individual along with Sanku Setti as a witness and there is nothing to prove that he was a member of Honneya Kambali family.

The recent discovery of an inscription has brought to light certain new facts about the early history of the Honneya Kambalis. This stone inscription was discovered at Jansale⁷ in Siddapur village of Kundapur Taluk, Dakshina Kannada District. The record belongs to the reign of Mallikarjuna, the Sangama ruler of Vijayanagara and it is dated Saka 1379, Cyclic year Isvara i. e. 1457 A. D. It states that Narasimha Daṇṇāyaka was looking after the administration at the orders of Mallikarjuna. We do not know whether he was the same as Śāluva Narasimha who became the ruler of Vijayanagara later. Find spot of this inscription was within the Bārakūru Venṭhe and the Governor of Bārakūru Rājya at that time was Bhānappa Oḍeya. Quite interesting in this inscription is the mention of Tirumala Savanta Bankiyarasa Honneya Kambali Oḍeya who was the lord of *Kadali*.

Two things have to be noted in this connection- (1) Tirumala Savanta is a new ruler of the Honneya Kambali family known from this record. He is the earliest ruler of this family known so far. (2) Tirumala Savanta is mentioned as the lord of *Kadali* which is the same as Kadri of present times. Kadri is a part of Siddapur Village and the find spot of this inscription is not far away from Kadri. In the 42nd line of the

inscription Kadali is spelt as Kaḍari. As Tirumala Śāvanta is mentioned as the Lord of Kadari we may conclude that it was here that the Honneyakambalis first rose to prominence and Kaḍri was their first capital. They must have made Hosangadi their capital city after they extended their authority beyond the ghats.

The Honneya Kambalis used the title Baṅkiyarasa Honneya Kambali Oḍeya along with their names, and Tirumala Śāvanta of this record used this title. It may be suggested that 'Baṅkiyarasa Honneya Kambali' may be the name of the founder of the family which the later rulers used as their title.

The Honneya Kambali family rose to prominence during the reign of the last rulers of the Sangama Dynasty of Vijayanagara. Political confusion that prevailed during the last days of the Sangamas and early days of the Śāluvas must have favoured the rise of the Honneya Kambalis. However the Honneya Kambalis were loyal to the Vijayanagara rulers and their rise was not by challenging the Vijayanagara authority but by political adjustment and by accepting subordinate position.

Jansale inscription of Tirumala Savanta reveals that the Honneya Kambalis followed the policy of religious tolerance though they were strong supporters of Śaivism. The above inscription shows that in their kingdom extreme forms of Śaivism, like Kālamukha and Pāśupata sects existed. Arrangements made for the offering of Naivēdya to Gōpinātha through a Śaiva Muni is a very good example of religious tolerance. Reference to different sects of Śaivism, mention of the worship of Gōpinātha and Brahmādēva, etc. reveal that Kadri-Siddapur-Jansale region ruled by the Honneya Kambalis was an important centre of religion and culture from the very beginning of their rule.

REFERENCES

1. Aigal Ganapathi Rao, *Dakṣiṇa Kannaḍa Jilleya Prāchīna Itihāsa*, Mangalore 1928, p. 35F.
2. Gururaja Bhat P., *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture*, Kallianpur 1975. p. 106.
3. *Sri Kṣhētra Kollāru-Appendix* pp. 16-17.
4. Gururaja Bhat. P. 'Studies' Foot Note p. 106,
5. *ARSIE* 1927-28 No. 403.
6. *Ibid*, 1931-32 No. 286
7. Find spot of this inscription is a small forest known as Sālihaḍi and it belongs to Chikkamma Shedthi. Existence of this record at that place was brought to my notice by Mr. Achyutha Hebbar, Teacher; P.V.T.C. Section, Kota Junior College and the inscription was copied by Mr. Jagadeesh Shetty Lecturer, Dept. of History, Sri Poornaprajna College, Udupi with the help of Mr. Hebbar. Later I visited the spot and took the insitu reading.

HĀVAṆAGI INSCRIPTION OF RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA INDRA

Dr. M. D. SAMPATH*

This damaged and incomplete inscription is engraved on a stone set up in the fort in the village Hāvaṇagi, Hangal Taluk, Dharwad District, Karnataka and was copied in the year 1949-50 by the Epigraphy Office.¹ As I could not get the impression of this record, I had to rely on the reading available with the Chief Epigraphist, with whose permission and the permission from Director of Epigraphy, the record has been edited here. The record is in Kannada language and script. The characters are regular for the period and well executed. The alphabets may palaeographically be assigned to the 10th century A. D.

It records the grant of land for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp to the deity Kalidēva of Hāvaṇige by Kāmarasa, the *ṣuṃkaverggaḍe* of the tract [Eḍe]voḷal, while Dōrapayya was governing Banavāsi-nāḍu and *mahāsāmantha* Baṅkeya of the Mugula family was administering Eḍevoḷal-Seventy division.

The record refers to the reign of Indara Ballaha *i e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra and is dated Śaka 840 (in words), Bahu-dhānya, Bhādrapada, Puṇṇame, Monday corresponding to 918 A. D., August 24, Monday.² The record can be assigned to Indra III since it falls within his reign period.³

The record under review furnishes the names of two chiefs who were serving under Indra III. A certain Dōra is known from this inscription as a governor of the Banavāsi-nāḍu. He

* Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India Mysore-570 005.

cannot be identified with his namesake discussed below. We know from the Konnūr inscription of Amōghavarsha I⁴ dated Śaka 782 (860 A. D.) that the administrator of Kolanuru was one Adhōra or Dhōra,⁵ son of Erakori belonging to the Mukūla family. According to this record, his son Baṅkēśa born of Vijayānkā, had an epithet *Sallakētana*. This Baṅkēśa has been identified with Chellakētana, the father of Lōkāditya *alias* Chellapatāka, the younger brother of Chelladhvaja of the Mukūla-kula.⁶ It is possible that the epithet *Chellakētana* first assumed by Baṅkēśa under Amoghavarsha I in 860 A. D., was later assumed by his successors as a family name. The chief Lōkaditya *alias* Chellapatāka had three sons viz., Kalivitta, Dhōra, and Baṅkeya. Lōkaditya's elder brother Kundatte is mentioned as ruling Nidugundage-Twelve under Amoghavarsha in 874-75 A. D.,⁷ In this record also, the father of Lōkaditya, is mentioned as the Chellakētana Baṅkeyarasa. After Lōkaditya, one of his sons, Kalivitta took charge of the administration of Banavāsi province in 913-14 A. D.⁸

It is quite possible that the chief Dōrapayya of our record is identical with Dhōra of the Itagi inscription of Indra III dated Śaka 837 (915-16 A. D.), though neither of the records indicate the family to which he belonged.

The record further discloses that a Baṅkeya, who is described as *Muguḷamārttaṇḍa* was the *nālgāvunda* of Edevoḷal-70, when Dōra was the governor of Banavāsi province. We know from the inscriptions that a second Baṅkeya succeeded Dhōra as a governor of the Banavāsi region. Except in a record of his last known date *i. e.* Śaka 850 (928 A. D.),¹⁰ wherein he is stated to have belonged to the Chellakētana family, in other records the name of his family is not specified.

It is necessary to take stock of the position of Baṅkeya referred to in the different records as it may help us to identify

our chief. In a record from Hirēmāganūr,¹¹ Raṇebennur Taluk, Dharwad District, a certain Baṅkeya is stated to have been governing the Banavāsi-nāḍu in Śaka 837, Īśvara. Taking cyclic year to be of the southern cycle, the details of date cannot be equated. The Śaka year cited seems to be the expired year corresponding to Īśvara of the northern cycle. So it is likely that Baṅkeya of this record may not have assumed the governorship of Banavāsi prior to 917-18 A. D. Since Baṅkeya happens to have come immediately after Dōra (*i. e.*, Dhōra) and found to be administering the division of Edevoḷal-70 under the latter, it is not unlikely that Baṅkeya may be considered as the younger brother of Dōra. It would, therefore, follow that this Baṅkeya was earlier administering a smaller division *i. e.*, Edevoḷal and later on, he was entrusted with the government of Banavāsi province in 919 A. D., as the under Indra III himself¹² Thus our record furnishes 918 A. D., last date for Dōra.

As seen above, the name Chellakētana was assumed later. Hence, these chiefs were originally of the Muguḷa stock.

TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī Indra Va (Ba)llahaṃ pri.....
- 2 Dōrapayyam Banavāsi-nāḍ= āle.....
- 3 samadhigata - pañcha - mahā-sa (sa)bda mahā āma [ntād-hipati*]
- 4 va[m*] s (ś)-ōdbhavaṃ Muguḷa-mārttaṇḍam chaladutta.....
- 5 patākam śrīmat Baṃ keyan= Edevoḷal - ē.....
- 6 man =abhyantara - siddhi āḷuttire samasta - go (gu)ṇaga....
- 7 yanaliga kulōdbhavaṃ śrī Ba [m] keyan = Edevo.

- 8 l-e (ē) lpattarkkan (kkam) nāl-gāvunḍu-geyye śrīmatum...
- 9 voḷala sumkaverggeḍe Kāmarasam Hāvaṇigeya śrī Kali-dēvara [nam] -
- 10 dā divigege voṁd = okkala vokkalu dēreyam biṭṭaru *
- 11 Sa (śa) kha (ka) varisaam = eṇṭu - nūra - nālvattaneya Bahudhā -
- 12 nyam = emba varisham pravarttise tad = āntad(r)gata Bhādra -
- 13 pada puṇṇame Sōmavārad = andu
- 14 yanun = nāḍa*

References and Notes

- 1 *A. R. Ep.*, 1949-50, No. B 87.
- 2 There is another record of this king giving the same Śaka and Cyclic years from Gadag, Gadag Taluk, Dharwar District. It refers to the reign of Nityāvarsha Indara Vallabha and is dated a month earlier than the date of our record,
- (see, *SII.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 22).
- 3 *SII.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 23.
- 4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 30, Text lines 17-18.
- 5 *SII.* Vol. XVIII, Introd. p. V, foot-note 4.
- 6 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 217 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 28, foot-note 1.
- 7 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII. p. 211 and p. 213.

* Incomplete.

- 8 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII. Sb. 88.
- 9 *SII.*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 20 and 23 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 225.
- 10 *SII.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 23.
- 11 *Ibid.*, No 20.
- 12 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XXXII, p. 224.

I am thankful to Dr. K. V. Ramesh and Dr. B. R. Gopal for their valuable suggestions.

RESEMBLANCE IN THE TEACHINGS OF GURUNANAK AND THE TAMIL BHAKTI SAINTS

R. PONNU, M.A., M Phil. *

The Bhakti cult began as a mass movement in Tamil country by the Saiva Nayanmars and the Vaishnava Alvars during the Pallava period, c.A. D. 550-900. Following the path of Tamil devotees, a number of saints and religious reformers advocated *bhakti* all over India and condemned the then existing socio-religious evils, superstitious beliefs and meaningless rituals eating the social-fabric like cankering worms. These obnoxious customs defiled the Hindu society. The advent of these *bhakti* saints was like a waft of fresh-breeze refreshingly soothing and reforming. Saints like Ramana-
nanda, Kabir, Guru Nanak, Namdev and Chaitanya endeavoured to reform religion and society on the basis of love and service. Guru Nanak differed from the others in his doctrines in that while all other saints confined themselves to the restrictive walls of Hinduism, Nanak openly declared: 'I am neither Hindu nor Mussalman'. His teachings and work ultimately culminated in the birth of a new religion, Sikhism. In this paper an attempt is made to reveal the ideological unity in the teachings of Guru Nanak and the Tamil Bhakti-Saints.

Punjab, the homeland of Guru Nanak suffered the most during the rule of the Muslim dynasties. The subjugated Hindu majority was subjected to untold atrocities. The Hindu temples were demolished; there was a blanket ban for the building of new temples and the renovation of old ones was

restricted; the Hindu schools were closed; the people were forced to embrace Islam; obnoxious taxes like *jizya* and pilgrim tax were imposed upon the Hindus; they were forbidden from bathing at the ghats of the holy rivers; they were not allowed to wear rich clothes and to ride on horses; justice was openly denied to them; the law of blasphemy was strictly enforced; the Hindus were treated as unwanted creatures and *kafirs* or infidels. In order to show their inferior status, the Hindus were required to put caste-marks on their foreheads or clothes¹. Besides the oppression from the Muslims, majority of the Hindus became victims at the hands of the Brahmins also. The Brahmins exploited their votaries through their vast rituals and ceremonies and inhumanly decimated the human dignity of the common people². In the four-fold caste system, the lower strata became the ill-starred social section, called *candalas*. They were treated as untouchables and unseeables. At this juncture Nanak propagated the message of unity and equality of mankind with accent on the dignity of human being. According to him,

"Religion consisteth not in mere words;
He who looketh on all men as equal is religious"³

He denounced the caste-system and received men from all sections of the society as his disciples irrespective of caste-affiliation respecting the dignity of human birth. He states:

Castes are folly, names are folly;
All creatures have one shelter, that of God,
He who serveth the one God knoweth not others;
He layeth aside the bitter things, deceit and evil,
Recognize divine light in everyone;
Do not inquire about caste.
There is no caste in the next world,
There are the lowest men among the low classes;

* Asst. Professor of History, Govt. Arts College, Udhagamandalam, Tamil Nadu.

Nanak, I am with them, what have I got
to do with the great ?
God's eyes of mercy falls on those
who take care of the lowly.

The Tamil *bhakti* saints also disapproved of caste system. They tried to establish an equalitarian society through the institution of *bhakti*. Thirunavukkarasar, one of the leading Nayanmars, condemned those who upheld the caste and questioned "What are you going to do with *kula* (caste) and *gotra* (sub-caste)?"⁵ Tirumular, the author of *Tirumantiram* and Siva devotee asserted that "mankind is one as God is one".⁶ Tondaradipdodi Alvar stated that "The high caste people become the Pulayas if they insult the true devotees irrespective of castes". To Nammalvar, "the people are worthy of deep veneration and adoration if they are the devotees of God"⁸. Thus the saints made it clear that there is no difference between man and man. Irrespective of their caste distinctions, Guru Nanak and the Tamil saints considered "all are one" and developed a sense of unity and equality in society.

As an apostle of monotheism Guru Nanak advocated faith in personal God, but the God was neither the God of the Muhammadan nor that of the Hindu, but the God of the Universe, of all mankind, and of all religions. In his words,

There is One God,
Eternal Truth is His Name,
Creator of all things,
Fearing nothing, and at enmity with nothing
Timeless is His image.³

Though the Guru identified Truth with God, he laid emphasis on religious behaviour. He says,

Truth is higher than everything
But higher than truth is character.¹⁰

Like Guru Nanak, the Tamil Saints preached the oneness of God. Tirumular asserts that "Love is God"¹¹ Here, he lays stress on the human character of God-realisation.

Guru Nanak condemned the religion of scriptures. He introduced a new pattern of religious life based on love and service. He taught.

There can be no love of God,
without active service ;
Let us serve in the world, then shall
we find a place in the court of the Lord ;
True service can be rendered only
By those who, free from all personal ambition
and in perfect contentment pay homage
to Truth alone¹².

The Tamil *bhakti* saints were equally service-minded. They declared themselves *tondari*¹⁹, one who serves others. The life of the Nayanmars, depicted in *Periyapuranam* expresses the truth that salvation is attained by means of service to humanity. In the name of devotion to God, the saints served the mankind.

Tirunavukkarasar himself states thus :
 "My duty is only to serve"¹⁴.

Tirumular says,

What is offered to God in the temple
Does not accrue to the benefit of the moving God in man
What is offered to the God in man reaches God¹⁶.

Thus, the idea of service is evidently the main doctrine of the Tamil saints and Guru Nanak.

Guru Nanak rejected asceticism. He condemned "the pseudo monks who pretend to have renounced the world but who secretly nourish love for money, who call themselves celibates but do not practise continence and cast lustful eyes on

women, and whose tongues covet delicious foids. Nudity and ochre robes, matted hair or clean-shaven heads-Nanak characterised them as garbs of hypocrisy rather than of holiness¹⁶. In the vein of Guru Nanak the Tamil saints attacked the ascetic life and advocated the cause of wordly life. *Periya Puranam* mentions the saint's wordly life and condemns the Jain asceticism.

Guru Nanak gave due consideration to women in his religious order. Prior to his advent women were as lowly considered as to be equal in status to a man's shoes. They were treated as domestic slaves-simply an agreeable blunder of Nature¹⁷. They had no personal religion, no spiritual responsibility, no claim, no part in the law of God. But Guru Nanak offered ample chance for their spiritual development by bestowing equal status on par with men. He says,

Of a woman we are conceived,
Of a woman we born,
To a woman are we betrothed and married,
It is a woman who is friend and partner in life
It is a woman who keeps the race going
Why should we consider woman cursed and condemned
When from her womb are born leaders and rulers?¹⁸

In the *pangat* or *langar*, a place where people of various castes, creeds or religions partake of the food without any distinction, the woman takes equal responsibility with man to serve in the kitchen. Contrary to the view of the Digambara Jains who believed that woman in this birth could not attain salvation, the women saints became the followers, custodians and partons of the Tamil Bhakti Movement. Saints like Karai-kkal Ammaiar, Manakaiyarkkarasi and Andal played a vital role in the success of the Tamil Bhakti Movement. Furthermore Guru Nanak propagated his doctrine in vernacular, made exquisite musical compositions and travelled far and wide like

the Tamil saints. The mammoth edifice of their movement was based on the bed-rock of love and service.

References :

1. R. C. Majumdar (ed.) *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VII, Bombay, 1974, pp 305-6.
2. Sher Sing 'Sher'. *Glimpses of Sikhism and Sikhs*, New Delhi, 1982 ; pp 3-5.
3. Ganda Singh, *Sources of the Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak*, Patiala, 1969, p.403.
4. *Ibid*, p.405
5. *Tirunavukkarasar Tevaram*, Dharumapuram Adheenam (ed.), Dharumapuram, 1961, 5 : 34 : 7.
6. *Tirumantiram*, The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society (ed.). Madras, 1976, V. 251.
7. *Nalayira Divya Prabandham*, K. Venkadasami Reddiyar (ed.), Madras, 1981, V.914.
8. *Ibid*, V. 940.
9. *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*, London 1960. p.28.
10. H. I. Sadarangani, 'Guru Nanak and the Movement of Sikhism in Sind', K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar (ed.) *Guru Nanak : A Homage*, New Delhi, 1973, p.86
11. *Tirumantiram*, V.257.
12. Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-98

13. *Sundarar Tevaram*, Dharumapuram Adhaenam (ed.), Dharumapuram, 1964, 78 : 10.
14. *Tirunavukkarasar Tevaram*, 5 : 56 : 3.
15. *Tirumantiram*, V.769,
16. Harbans Singh, *The Message of Sikhism*, Delhi, 1968, p. 109.
17. Abdul Mejid Khan, 'The Punjab of Guru Nanak', K.R.S. Srinivasa Iyengar (ed.) *op. cit.*, p.84.
18. *Selections from the Sacred Writing of the Sikhs*, p.93

SYMPATHETIC MAGIC IN THE PURĀNAS

Mrs. KALA D. ACHARYA *

The term 'Hindu Religion' used today indicates mainly the 'Purāṇic Religion' having its roots in the 'Vedic Religion'. The devices of the 'sympathetic' magic as it is called in the terminology of cultural anthropology, are found in the purāṇas extensively. As J. G. Frazer has pointed out and illustrated in his volumes of *Golden Bough* the magical formula works on two principles - (i) Like produces like and (ii) Once in contact is always in contact or a part stands for the whole. The first he calls by the term homoeopathic, imitative or mimetic magic and the second by contagious magic.

The purāṇas have given emphasis on gifts and many gifts mentioned in the purāṇas can very well go under the heading *homoeopathic magic* (or *Sympathetic Magic* as commonly designated) because by giving a particular thing, a person wants to achieve in this world or the other world, a thing, which is similar to it. The articles to be made as gifts are vast, such as food, corns, lamp, land, knowledge, water-jars, garments, abodes, beasts, human-beings, etc. The composers of the purāṇas were fully aware of the human nature and so they have described the fruits which people would gain by making the gifts. These fruits are properly linked up with the gifts by thinking over human psychology. For example, the giver of water gets satisfaction and the giver of food gets eternal happiness.¹ Accordingly to Var. P, one gets the faculty of memory and wit by giving food.² It is added that the gift of water helps one to get eternal satisfaction and the gift of food and water

* Sainathkripa No. 4/6. Behind Saibaba Temple, Rajaji Path, Dombivli (East) 421 201. Dist. Thana

helps one to fulfil his desire for sensual enjoyment.³ It is narrated in the Br. P. that people, who give water to the thirsty and food to the hungry die happily in time.⁴ It is also added that a person who was already given food as gift with devotion in mind gets satisfaction while going to the abode of Yama, even if he might not get any food at that time.⁵

In fine, it can be stated that the gift of food and water is linked with eternal satisfaction because one gets satisfied by receiving them. So, the gifts of food and water can be treated as the devices of *sympathetic magic*.

The gift of medicine is linked with healthiness. It is stated in the Kūr. P. that one should give medicine and meals to a sick person to make him free from diseases. The giver himself gets free from diseases and gets a long life.⁶ The principle of the magical formula, 'like produces like' can be applied here and so the gift of medicine goes under the device of sympathetic magic. The gift of *Kālapuruṣa* is advised to be made specially in illness. The ill person is soon cured by making the gift.⁷

The gift of lamp is mainly linked with sharp eyesight and lustre. According to Sk.P. giver of a lamp to 'Śiva' gets lustre. It is pointed out that a lamp destroys darkness. It gives lustre to the donor.⁸ It is stated in the same p. that one who places lamps in front of *Rāmanātha* destroys his spiritual ignorance and goes to the *brahman*.⁹ In the Agni p. it is vehemently emphasized that one who gives lamp gets long, life, sharp eyesight, wealth, sons and good luck.¹⁰ In the Var. p. it is pointed out that the givers of lamps get lustre.¹¹ It is pointed out in the Br. p. that one who worships the sun with a lamp, containing ghee or sesame-oil does not become blind. The giver of the lamp becomes a learned person.¹² The gift of a lamp made to the sun is significant. The sun is

the greatest deity of lustre. The lamp is full of lustre and light and the fruit gained by giving it is again lustre, sharp and faultless eye-sight and memory. Thus, the rational link between the gift and the fruit makes it clear that the gift of lamp goes under the device of sympathetic magic.

The gift of a bed is to be made to get a good life partner.¹³ The prayer to be uttered while giving a bed very well reveals that the gift can be treated as the device of sympathetic magic. It is uttered, "Oh Purusottama ! I have given the bed. So you are requested to give me peace. As your bed is always filled with Lakṣmī my bed too should not remain empty (i.e. without a life-partner) for births after births."¹⁴

The gift of *agnīṣṭikā* fuel and fire also goes under the device of sympathetic magic. In the Bh. P. it is stated that they, who give *agnīṣṭikā* in the winter season (*Hemanta Śiśira*) get a lustrous body.¹⁵ In the Agni P. it is stated that one gets lustre by giving fire or fuel.¹⁶

In the Var. p. it is pointed out that one who gives a house including a beautiful bed in it, to a brahmin, gets an abode with a wife, an elephant and horses. The formula 'Like produces like' is applied here.¹⁷

One who gives wooden sandals gets a vehicle and comfort to feet.¹⁸ It is added in the same p. that one who gives shoes obtains a vehicle with horses yoked to it.¹⁹ In the Var. p. Yama has narrated to Nārada that by giving an umbrella one gets an abode and by giving a pair of shoes one gets a chariot.²⁰ To give shoes is to give comfort to feet. So, it is significant that that one obtains a vehicle or a chariot by giving shoes. To get a chariot or a vehicle is to get free from the fatigue caused by walking. According to Brah. P. the giver of an umbrella obtains a palace.²¹ An umbrella is a protection on head. An abode or a palace like mansion is also protection from heat, and rain. So the gifts of shoes and umbrella go under the devices of sympathetic magic.

The gift of a golden eye is mentioned in the Sk. P. It is stated in the Sk. P. that the golden eye with a jewel in the middle of it should be given in the name of Indreśvara at the sacred place Indratīrtha. The giver does not become blind in the coming birth. His eye-sight becomes clear.²²

It is pointed out in the Var. P. that a golden serpent should be made and it should be given to brahmins in the name of Viṣṇu. The giver gets peace and he need not be afraid of serpents for-ever.²³

The gift of a golden or silver moon can also be treated as the device of sympathetic magic. It is stated in the Var. P. that a golden or silver moon should be given to a brahmin, in the name of Viṣṇu to obtain lustre and beauty. The giver immediately becomes lustrous and handsome.²⁴ The moon is supposed to be the symbol of beauty for innumerable years. So a gift of a symbol of beauty i. e. the moon, with the purpose of achieving beauty goes under the device of the sympathetic magic.

In the Agni P. it is stated that one who makes a garden in the name of Viṣṇu lives in the celestial garden of Indra.²⁵ Giver of directions (*āśās*) gets all his wishes fulfilled.²⁶

Those who give the row ploughs along with land become kings.²⁷ The giver of the golden earth becomes a sovereign.²⁸

The '*Mahādānas*' which were to be made by the kings were fruitful in sovereignty.²⁹ So the kings in India used to make the *mahādānas*. As Inden Ronald has pointed out Those "grant gifts" e. g. *Tulāpurusa-dāna*, *Hiranyagarbha-dāna* were of immense significance because they were used by the regional Hindu Kings to establish (or renew) their universal imperial sovereignty."³⁰ The *mahādānas* were actually made by Gupta kings and others. This shows the impact of the sympathetic magic on the minds of rulers also.

One who gives a cow gets a cow in return.³¹ According to Bh. P. a sesame-cow (*tiladhenu*) should be given on the second mansion (*bharanī*) to a brahmin. The giver obtains a number of cows.³² The woman who gives a she-buffalo (*mahiṣī*) becomes the chief queen (*rājamahiṣī*).³³

According to Br. P. givers of wealth overcome cold. Givers of sandal-wood overcome heat and pain. Givers of knowledge overcome temptations. The formula 'Like produces like' can be applied in all these matters.³⁴

Thus without hesitation one can state that the devices of sympathetic magic can be found in the puranas in the form of gifts.

Foot Notes

1. SK. P. III *Brahmakhaṇḍa* 3.3 ab.
2. Var. P. 207.45 cd
3. Ib. 47
4. Br. P. 214 30
5. Ib 35
6. Kur. P. 26.50
7. Bh. P. *Uttara Parvan* 181.24 cd-27.
8. Sk. P. III *Brahmakhaṇḍa* 7.50 cd.
9. Ib. 43.III cd-112ab
10. Agni P. 200.3

11. Var. P. 207.53 cd.
12. Br. P. 29.35 cd-36
13. Bh. P. *Uttara Parvan* 184.14 cd,
14. Ib. 13-14
15. Ib. 173.12 cd.
16. Agni P. 211.47 ab cf Brah. P. *Madhyama bhāga* 16.21. cd-22ab.
17. Var. P. 207.50 cd-51 ab.
18. Brah. P. *Madhyamabhāga* 16.8
19. Ib. 10
20. Var. P. 207.46ab.
21. Brah. P. *Madhyamabhāga* 16.11
22. Sk. P. III *Brahmakhaṇḍa Purvabhāga* 19.23-24ab.
23. Var. P. 60.7 cd-8.
24. Ib. 57.12 cd.
25. Agni P. 66.27 cd.
26. Bh. P. *Uttara Parvan* 193.42ab.
27. Ib. 166.22d
28. Ib. 165. 31-32
29. Ib. 187. 46 cf Ib 183. 15-16 cf Ib 181. 26 Agni P. 211. 27 cd.

30. Inden Renald- "Ritual Authority and Cyclic Times in Hindu Kingship."

Kingship and Authority in South Asia ed. by J. F. Richards, South Asian Studies University of Wisconsin, Madison Publication Series, No. 3, 1978, p. 38.

31. Brah. P. *Madhyamabhāga* 16.20cd-21ab.
32. Bh. P. *Uttaraparvan* 192.35 cd. -36 ab.
33. Ib 162.15 ab.
34. Br. P. 214-40.

Abbreviations

- 1) Bh. P. — *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* ; 2) Br. P. — *Brahma Purāṇa* ;
- 3) Brah. P. — *Brahmaṇḍa purāṇa* ; 4) Kūr. P. — *Kūrma Purāṇa* ;
- 5) P. — *Purāṇa* ; 6) Sk. P. — *Skanda Purāṇa* ;
- 7) Var. P. — *Varāha Purāṇa*

BOOK REVIEWS

I

Nikhiles Guha : Pre-British State System of South India—Mysore, 1761-1799, Ratna Prakashan, Calcutta. 1985, pp 257, Rs. 125.

We have here an in-depth study of the administrative history of Mysore under Haidar and Tipu, good attention being paid to the financial aspect. The chapter headings indicate the scope; Land Revenue Administration; Trade and Manufacture; Army; Nature of Personal Rule; Changes under the British Government; and the concluding chapter entitled Potentialities of Development. The field is no doubt largely covered by the classic work on Tipu Sultan by Dr. Mohibbul Hasan, and the equally competent studies of the economic and financial aspects by Dr. M. H. Gopal. But the reappraisal by Dr. Guha, presenting new facts and ideas, is welcome. Besides, in the two appendices, he has given in *extenso* Tipu's Commercial Regulations and Land Revenue Regulations; these present in a nutshell the aims and objects and the practical steps to be taken as envisaged by the great ruler. The study is based on a wide range of archival and published materials in English, including translations of Persian records. Broadly, this is the material which earlier scholars have relied upon; only Dr. Mohibbul Hasan has tapped the original Persian sources also in a big way. It may not be out of place to mention that grass-root materials in Kannada such as the Sringeri math records are becoming increasingly available for research. Their study may not shed much new light on military and political happenings; but they are sure to provide us a more vivid and varied picture of the administrative and socio-economic life of the times.

Dr. Guha's study raises many interesting issues. That Tipu considered the English to be his arch-enemies and the latter reciprocated the sentiment and the military confrontations that followed are well known. What is less known is his calculated and sustained attempt to throttle them economically. The English were not allowed to trade or have trade links with Tipu's dominion, and every hurdle was placed in their way in their trade with Malabar. "Deprived of trade, how long would they survive?...this is the question he posed to the Faujdar of Calicut in 1788" (vide p. 49). This aspect has been brought out very well by Dr. Guha. The impact of this policy as a prime long-term cause for the Third Mysore war, which maimed Tipu beyond recovery, however, does not seem to have received adequate attention. An Act of the British Parliament forbade wars of aggression: the Court of Directors at home were more concerned with trade and profit than acquisition of territory, and the Company's servants in India were reminded of this often. In this situation, would Cornwallis have been intent upon eliminating Tipu, if the Company had not been hit hard on its most vulnerable side—trade? What chain reaction would have been produced if Tipu's commercial policy had been different?

How far did Tipu suffer from communal bias? - this is a question invariably raised in various contexts. Dr. Guha is on strong ground when he recounts various acts of patronage and friendliness towards Hindus in matters of religion, and rejects the statement of a contemporary that about 1788 Tipu ordered destruction of all temples in the Kingdom, excepting those at Seringapatam and Melkote (pp. 95-7). His view finds further support from the information furnished by Dr. M. H. Gopal that, according to the figures furnished by Dewan Purnaiya in July 1799 to the British Commissioners for the Affairs of Mysore, 1,93,959 Kanthirava Pagodas were allowed by Haidar for temples and *agrahras* and 20,000 K. Ps. in respect of *mathas*, and Tipu allowed 20,000 K. Ps. in respect of

Mahomedan institutions. (The Finances of Mysore. 1799-1811, Mysore, 1948, p. 36.). In another case, Dr. Guha seems to be hypercritical of Tipu, viz., his replacing most of the senior Brahmin officers at the Taluk level and upwards in the Revenue Department with Muslims (p 32). On the face of it, this was a gross act of communal bias, but a detailed examination of all the circumstances leading up to it takes away much of the bite. In the first instance, Brahmins held most of the Revenue posts from the lowest to the highest. This was so because they were as a community literate; shut out of active agricultural life and trade by tradition and custom, they held a virtual monopoly of this field—it was in fact a Caste Profession of Brahmins as other Caste Professions in Hindu society. Any attempt to reform revenue administration either to improve collection or otherwise affected the fortunes of this community only mostly. Secondly, as Dr. Guha has stated, the Revenue Department, dominated by Brahmins, was highly venal and corrupt in Tipu's time. There was, as such, a strong case for introducing reforms. Thirdly, the timing is very important. According to Dr. M.H. Gopal, the large-scale displacement of the Brahmin officers took place after Tipu's defeat in the Third Mysore war; this is a point which Dr. Guha seems to have failed to notice. Having lost half of his kingdom and having to pay heavy reparations to the Allies, Tipu was in desperate straits to raise money. Distrusting "the old foxy Brahmin officials" who held the revenue citadel, he appointed Muslims, whom he trusted more, in their place. His real mistake, as a ruler, lay in his not realising that the new Muslim officers could not deliver the goods, as they wholly lacked the tradition and knowledge of revenue administration. As Dr. Guha has pointed out, they had to depend upon the same old Brahmin class at lower levels, and they too became equally venal and corrupt, with the result that matters became worse. In view of the above, Tipu is to be largely exonerated of communal bias on this count. I am not, however, sure if he will come

out that clear in certain other cases which it is needless to consider here.

What was the secret of the success of Haidar and Tipu as administrators, a fact vouchsafed by eminent contemporaries like Sir Thomas Munro. Dr. Guha puts this down to their "Personal" rule, high competence and untiring energy, and he is right. But he seems to be less than fair when he says, "if Mysore under Haidar and Tipu could be regarded as exceptional it was more for the efficiency with which it was run than for any administrative innovation" (p.146). More than any other contemporary Indian ruler, Tipu knew very well the strong points in the institutions and practices of the Europeans in India in the field of military organisation and defence and also trade and industry, and he sought to effect changes in a big way in different directions. Dr. Guha has himself described many of them. That his efforts did not bear fruit was due to the simple fact that his strong and effective rule lasted only for ten years, from 1781 to 1792. After his defeat in the Third Mysore War, he was like a drowning man swimming against strong currents, though this is the time we see him at his best as a reformer and innovator as seen from his Commercial Regulations (1793-94) and Land Revenue Regulations (1796?).

Dr. Guha's study is a welcome and invaluable addition to the literature on Haidar and Tipu.

S.V. DESIKA CHAR

650, 14th a in, 38th Cross, IV T Block, Jayanagar Bangalore 560011

II

M. Rama Jois : Legal and Constitutional History of India, N. M. Tripathi & Co, Bombay

The two volumes of this recent book illustrate to the reading public how our ancient jurisprudence evolved from Vedic times matured into medieval mastery of legal knowledge and jurisprudence ethos right upto an introduction of our Indian Constitution.

The first volume develops the ancient concept of dharma and after telling us the development of jurisprudence both in the *smrithi* and post-*smrithi* legal literature, the first volume ends with the brilliant thesis on 'Raja Dharma'. The second volume is replete with Modern Constitutional Law and its development from 1940. CRISIS IN CREATIVITY is an attractive phrase that one comes across in Mundoka Upanisad. The all time great and the matchless Vedavyasa tells us in time there is a crisis in creativity, some useful persons appear on the horizon. It is a sad commentary that, by and large, most members of our noble legal profession and some distinguished judges, are more acquainted with works on Anglo Saxon jurisprudence than our ancient Indian jurisprudence. Salmond, Smith, Holland, Austin, Prof. Keith and Ivor Jennings are all known to the legal profession. It is indeed thousand pities that Vedavyasa, Goutama, Narada, Jaimini, Manu, Yajnyavalkya and quite a galaxy of Hindu intellectuals in the domain of law, jurisprudence and social philosophy are seldom known and perhaps never read.

The author here has analysed the various ramifications of our modern constitutional law in a satisfactory manner in the second volume and the evolution of the jurisprudential ethos

of our constitution. The author's comprehensive treatment of the constitution right from 1940 is very instructive; but have a feeling that the learned author could well have denoted his thought on the development of "Modern Judicial Activism" so hopefully inaugurated by the robust Judges of our Supreme Court. This is exactly where I as a lawyer see the light in the tunnel.

The first volume of 'Legal and Constitutional History of India' is a creative and cognitive intellectual venture. It does help us to be reborn as alert and self-respecting citizens of India. The book is an encyclopaedia of Vedic, Upanisadic and Smirti thoughts and concepts. The metaphysical realities of the Vedic jurisprudence are projected in a concrete style. His diction and depth and dimension of his research into our ancient jurisprudence in Volume One is matched only by his cosmic sweep on the entire gamut of *Shrutis*, *Smritis* *Sutras* and aphorism of our galaxy of ancient law givers, seers, savants and immortal *rishis*.

The concept of 'Dharma' is handled by the author in depth. He draws copiously from the Shanti parva of *Mahabharata* and ancient texts for definition of Dharma. We learn from the book that our ancient jurisprudence is deeply embedded in Dharma contained in the Vedas, Puranas, Smritis and the Sutras. Sure enough, the fountain source of ancient Indian jurisprudence are the Vedas. Manu, Yajnyavalkya, Narada, Apastamba, Gauthama, Brihaspati and Kaytyayana and the galaxy of saints, seers of ancient jurists have invested our jurisprudence with ever lasting glory and power and brilliance. In translation 'Dharma' means "That which is signified by a command and leads to a benefit and sustains the Society."

The great American wonder-lawyer Louis Nizer tells us that a good lawyer must reconstruct the past and adduce persuasive facts for his client. He is like the Archaeologist

who must find, exhume and examine old evidence. When to search? Where to search? This is the supreme test of preparation. That is the preparation which is discernible from the two volumes.

The development of substantive law, adjectival law, miscellaneous laws on ancient India are dealt with, in great detail. The wide range of topics covered by the ancient legal system and the principles underlying them are of eternal value. To quote a few, the definition of Law (Dharma) "*The Law is the king of kings. No one is superior to law. The Law aided by the power of the King (State) enables the weak to prevail over the strong*" is superb. Supremacy of the Law was an article of faith of the Legal system. Five fundamental duties of the State (Rajadharma) were: To punish the wrong doer, to protect the good, collection of taxes justly, *TO BE IMPARTIAL TOWARDS LITIGANTS* and the defence of the realm. The provisions of substantive civil laws covering topics like Contract (*samaya*), Suretyship (*pathibhavya*), Partnership (*sambhuya samuthana*), Associations (*samvidvyatikrma*), master and servant (*swamipalavivada*), boundary disputes (*seemavivad*), Easements, Weights and Measures, Apprenticeship, the provisions of procedural law as to how to write a plaint (*pratijna*) a written statement (*utpara*), a judgment (*jayapatra*), sound modern and amazing. The Law of Evidence laid down only a person who had seen, heard or perceived an event (*samaksha darsana*), could be a witness before the Court. Some of the basic rules of interpretation like literal construction (*shruti*), harmonious construction (*samanjasya*), contextual construction (*prakarana*), and purpose oriented construction (*sarthakya*) and the rest are scintillating.

In the unique treatises in two volumes running to 1080 pages, the author has indeed covered himself with glory. His prose is eloquent. His ideas are neatly arranged. The author has tremendous legal preception, streamlined with a sense of

Book Reviews

of History. The books are informative. They have tremendous utility to the students, to the members of the Bar, Professors of Law Colleges, Judges and the general public. They are rewarding.

V. BALARATNAM

32, Veerapillai Street, Bangalore-1

III

*Shriram Sathe : Is Sandrokottas Chandragupta Maurya ?
Sahitya Niketan, Barketpura, Hyderabad-27.*

Price : Rs. 12 00.

This short monograph is a very earnest effort by the author to make the historians of India to reconsider the accepted chronological arrangement in Indian history. It was Sir William Jones in 1793 who claimed to have provided the sheet anchor for the chronology of Ancient Indian history by identifying Sandrokottas mentioned by the Greek writers with Chaudragupta Maurya and Palibothra mentioned by them with Pataliputra.

The author argues here that identification of Sandrokottas with Chandragupta Maurya was erroneous. Rather the description even by the Greek writer on Sandrokottas tallies with the career of Samudra Gupta of the Gupta dynasty, and the latter must be identified as the contemporary of Alexander, he argues. He produces evidence of the Puranas like *Bhavishyottara Purana* (*Kaliyuga Vrittanta* in it) and other Sanskrit sources and rightly finds fault with Jones for relying only on Bhagavata Purana in this regard. The statement of even this Purana that there were nine Nandas has been not taken note of, and Jones speaks of only one Nanda. The statement of other Puranas regarding the Andhras, who are described as having been overthrown by the Guptas is not given due credence. In view of all this, the author, joins hands with some other earlier scholar

in arguing that there is a need to thoroughly review this question by a multi-disciplined approach. The author's appeal is convincing.

But his statement here that Priyadarshi of literary works cannot be identified with Ashoka requires further review. The Maski inscription in Raichur district and three of the four Ashokan edicts recently discovered in Bellary district make it clear that Priyadarshi was Ashoka. Identifying Samudra Gupta with Sandrakottas and taking the former to the Before Christ era is a complicated exercise. The Talagunda inscription clearly states that the Guptas were contemporaries of the Kadambas of Banavasi and the later Kadamba records which are dated indicate that the Talagunda record is of around 450 A.D. There cannot be any mistake here because in about 550 A.D. the Kadambas were overthrown by the Chalukyas of Badami and Pulikeshin II of this dynasty has his record of 634 A. D. dated both in the Saka (556) and Kali (3735) Eras. How then, can Samudra Gupta be taken to a period 600 to 700 years earlier to the date assigned to him at present ?

But this is not belittling the authors views here. By summarising the arguments against Prof. Jones sheet-anchor, the author has provoked thinking, and the monograph is a painstaking piece of publication.

[illegible]