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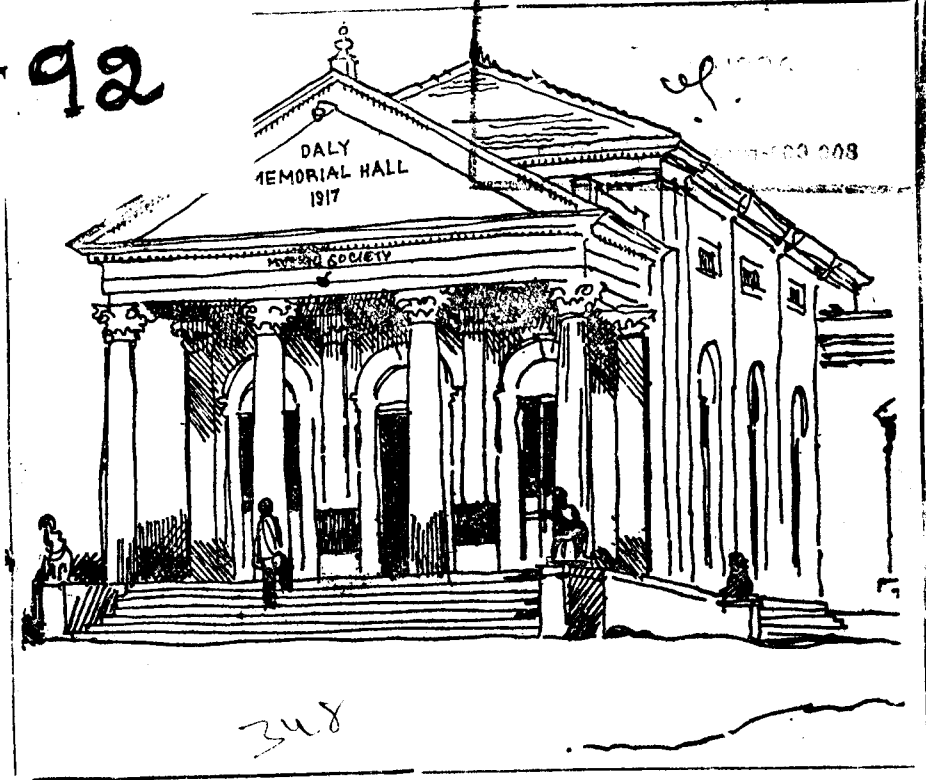


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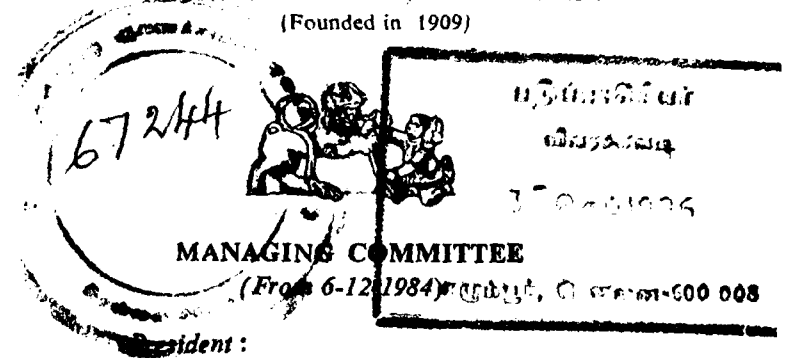
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THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

NRUPATUNGA ROAD, BANGALORE-2

(Founded in 1909)



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EDITOR'S NOTE

Sri S. Srikantaya, former Hon Secretary, Treasurer and Hon. Editor of the Mythic Society for long years, would have been 100 year old if he were alive on 18-7-1986. An endowment lecture instituted in his memory in the Mythic Society will be delivered on 18-7-1986 at the Society. This is how the Society plans to begin celebrating his Birth Centenary year. An introductory article on him is published at the end of this issue.

A Seminar on India's Scientific Heritage is being organised in the Mythic Society in September this year. Scholars of all-India repute in the field and some from abroad are expected to attend the Seminar. Dr. B.V. Subbarayappa, eminent authority in the field is helping the Society in organising the Seminar.

The B. M. Srikantiah Foundation is planning to hold a Seminar on the foundation and the first dynasty of Vijayanagara in October in memory of Sri S. Srikantaya. Incidentally it can be stated here that Sri S. Srikantaya had been a close relation of Prof B. M. Srikantaya, the two eminent scholars having married sisters.

29-6-1986

Suryanath U. Kamath

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THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

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THE KAIFIYATS ON DHARWAD

DR. K. N. CHITNIS

Dharwad has gone through many vicissitudes in history. In medieval times it was included in the Vijayanagara Empire. On the fall of Vijayanagara, it passed under the sway of Bijapur. It had a strong fort, and there was a separate commandant of the fort. Since it lay on the highway from Miraj in the north to Bankapur in south, it occupied a strategic position. Aurangzeb took possession of it after defeating Bijapur in 1686. Its name was changed into Nishirabad. It was under the Mughals until Nana Saheb Peshwa conquered it in 1753. Under the Peshwas it was considered to be the doorway to the south, and was on the road leading to Srirangapattana.

As Dharwad was regarded as an important place politically, strategically and also commercially it gradually developed into a flourishing town. In the beginning there was only a fort, but in due course the areas round the fort began to be peopled, and across the tank called Halgere to the south there came into existence the nucleus of a town in the form of various market places set up along different lanes. Thus the Shukrawar Peth, the Mangalwar Peth, the Adityawar Peth or the Javali Peth

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coast towards the Āndhra region and carried on the brisk internal and external trade.

In the Kākatīya kingdom, the coastal region naturally played a dominant role in the internal and external trade. Trade centres also were more numerous in the hinterlands of Motupalli, Krishnāpattanam, etc.

Analogous to the nagara of 18 *bhumis* of Tamilnadu in Andhra the merchants of 18 towns were organised into a *nakara* and had their head quarters at Penugonda.⁶¹ But the names of the constituents *bhumis* and the head quarters of the guilds (Padinenimidi bhūmi) were not found.

Mummaridandas : It is another guild that frequently referred in the records of Andhra and Karnataka⁶² along with the other *nanadesi* guilds Ayyavāli 500, *nakaras*, merchants of 18 *bhumis*, etc., whenever they met as Mahanadu for conducting their business transactions. In Āndhra the guild was found in Mahanadu conducted at Chintapalli, Sangamesvaram, Alampur, Peddakadumur, Basinikonda and several other places in the Dharwad and Bijapur districts of Karnataka.

M. Somasekhara Sarma describes⁶³ the Mummaridandas as the advance guard of the trading caravan or that have borne the staff with three bands probably weapons. They were described as the brave of braves, cruel to the wicked, good to the good and conquerors of the powerful enemies. Their war-like spirit is described. In some of the Kannada records they were said to be *Balanjas* and *muṣṣatnuru bidu*,⁶⁴ Mummaridandas or Mummaridanda-36 bidus.⁶⁵ Bidu generally refers to a market place just like the *peṇṭa* of the Andhra region.

It can be interpreted that the advanced guards or the mummaridandas of 36 bidus or market places would have been organised into a guild or 36 can also be a conventional number.

It is possible that the Mummaridanda-36 would have accompanied the *nanadesi* guild which travel with heavy loads and provide protection to them against robbery and piracy. This guild is common to Āndhra and Karnataka. As cited already similar mercenary organisations are seen in Tamilnadu named Velakkair.

Articles of Trade : The *nanadesis* of this period under study integrated trade at different levels into a system which articulated the distribution of agricultural and higher order of commodities through out the hinterland. The following table (see page 26) represents different types of commodities dealt by the *nanadesi* guilds.

In spite of the measures taken by the state against fraud in business and provision made for free supply of goods in the markets, the merchants appear to have made enormous profits in trade. The economic prosperity of the merchants was reflected in their lavish donations made to the temples in the form of shares on the sale and purchase of merchandise. At Pērūr the Tamil and Telugu merchants erected their respective Nakaresvara temples and followed the same *samayadharma*. At Tanjavur, a *mandapa* on the Nakaresvara temple was constructed and named after by the guild ticayirattainnurur.⁶⁶

The State collected variety of taxes on agriculture, trade and industry that yielded much to the royal treasury. Thus the State enjoyed much prosperity as testified by travellers like Marco Polo and Muslim writers like Abdullah Wassaf. By the end of the 13th century, the general prosperity of these three South Indian kingdoms attracted the attention of Delhi Sultans who contracted heaps of gold and immense wealth as tribute and war indemnity from them.

merchants is an indication to the encouragement given by the kings to trade and commerce. The literary works like *Vijñāneśvara*¹⁰ suggest the effective measures to be taken by the kings for the promotion of trade and commerce as well as those against fraud and malpractice.

The contemporary literature refers to trade routes connecting important trade centres in these three regions and the hinterlands with the ports.

The *Āndhrabhāṣāsāhuṣaṇam*¹¹ of Ketana (A.D. 1210-1300) speaks of a High Road connecting the northern regions, i.e. from Ayodhya to Kāñchi through Warangal and Nellore. There was another route from Motupalli to Karnataka through Yanamadala, Vinukonda, Tripurāntakam, Panyam, Alampur and Raichur.¹² There was a route from the coastal towns¹³ and ports on the east coast to Bellary through Tripurāntakam which was a pilgrim centre as well as the trade centre.¹⁴ The road between Koppal-Raichur in Karnataka and Kolanupaka in Āndhra was a highly traversed way during the period of the Later Cālukyas.¹⁵ This route passed through Alampur, Vaḍḍamānu, Jadcerla, Gaṅgapur, Pērūr and Panagal. This became famous as Daṇḍubāṭa¹⁶ because it was used by the Cālukya armies that frequently invaded Veṅgi during the 10th and 11th Centuries. Even today it is an important highway between Āndhra and Karnataka.

In Tamilnadu, there were trunk roads that connect one corner of the State with that of the other. The inter-state routes were *Vaḍugappervai*¹⁷ or *Āndhra patha* and *Konguppevai*¹⁸ or great road to Kongu country from Tamilnadu: there was also one highway connecting Tanjore in Tamilnadu to Kalyāṇa in Karnataka.¹⁹ The merchants from Tamilnadu would have reached the Andhra region through *Vaḍugapperuvai* and Karnataka through Kalyāṇa-Kolanupāka or Bellary-Tripurāntakam

routes. The inscriptions from Bapatla²⁰, Visakhapattanam²¹ and Simhacalam²² inform that the caravans on these highways were protected by their own armies.

The Āndhra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu states were traversed by network of trade routes that connected almost all important centres of trade and port towns of South India.

Merchant Guilds And Inter-State Trade: Trade was carried on through highly organised merchant guilds with basis from village to Imperial city with intermediary links in between. We come across in the inscriptions terms like *svadeśi*²³ which might mean local merchant with whom the itinerant traders established contacts, *nānādeśi*²⁴ foreigners from different neighbouring countries, *paradeśi*²⁵-foreign merchants, *ubhaya nānādeśi*²⁶-representatives of the various groups included in the organisation's membership.

Nānādeśi: The *nānādeśi* or the itinerants were a powerful autonomous merchant corporations whose activities apparently took to little or no account of political boundaries.²⁷ They visited all neighbouring kingdoms in course of their trade and every where they enjoyed a respectable and privileged position. Their success and prosperity were to some extent independent of the vicissitudes of war and peace among the states in which they carried on trade.

In coastal region the Tamil merchants appear very prominently. It is interesting to note that important ports in Andhra had Tamil counter names viz., Viśakhapattanam-Kuloṭṭungacōḍa pattanam²⁸, Ghaṇṭasāla-Cola Pāṇḍya puram²⁹ and Krishnapattanam Gandagopāla Coda pattanam³⁰. Another significant feature was at Pērūr there existed *Arava nakara* along with the *Telugu nakara* functioning side by side simultaneously conducting trade.³¹ At the same time in the Western

In the end, Acharya Dinabandhu Sastry states that he had made this Hindi translation in the form of an autobiography based on the Bengali manuscripts collected as mentioned above (which were translations of the Sanskrit version as given out by Swami Dayananda from his mouth regarding his life, travel and activities).

Unlike the two earlier short biographies viz., the one as the 15th discourses at Poona in the year 1875 and the second one as published in "The Theosophist" during 1879-80, this third detailed autobiography has three striking features : i.e., (i) extensive wanderings and travellings by Swamiji throughout the length and breadth of the country covering Mt. Abu in the west to Hooghly and Assam in the east and north-east and Nepal and Tibet in the Himalayas in the north to Kanya Kumari and Ceylon in the south (ii) detailed lessons on yoga—he was taught by the yogis and his yogic powers and (iii) his involvement in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and his meeting with the mutiny leaders like Nana Saheb Peshwa, Tantia Tope and Rani Lakshmi-bai, etc.

It is seen that the autobiography published in "The Theosophist" during 1879-80 and this (new) autobiography are supplementary to each other in detail, as also the 15th discourse at Poona in 1875

A brief outline of this autobiography (published in 1969-70) is, therefore, given below :

1) *Early life* : Born in Sourashtra in 1824 AD in the Auddichya Brahmin family—now my age 48 years—Father was a wealthy revenue officer—Learnt Ramayana, Mahabharata, puranas and other *stotras*, learnt by heart Shukla Yajurveda—Initiation in Shiva *pooja*, Shivaratri vigil, renunciation—Flight from home.

Swami Dayananda Saraswati & the Mutiny

2) *Wanderings & Sanyas* : Took the name Brahmachari; Shuddha Chaitanya, Sirdhapur fair—caught by father unawares flight from his captivity—Reached Ahmedabad—Learnt lessons in yoga and Adwaita philosophy and other doctrines under various teachers at Ahmedabad and Baroda—Learnt Upanishads, Darshanas, Sanskrit grammar and Jaina and Bouddha *darshanas* in Varanasi—From Varanasi, proceeded southwards to find out the source of the Narmada river—Wandered along the south bank of the Narmada from east towards west in search of yogis—Attempt by Vamamargis to sacrifice me at the altar of Kālabhairav near Dharampuri saved by the Mahratta sepoys—Reached Chanoda—initiation into Sanyas by Swami Purananda and got the name Dayananda Saraswati.

3) *Detailed lessons on Yoga* ; At Vyasashram on the bank of the Narmada was taught lessons on yoga by Swami Yogananda—daily routine as per yogic discipline. Control over hunger, an incident in which a queen of some Raja of a state in Madhya Bharat wanted to malign me ; saved by my guru ; lessons in Asanas, Pranayama, 'nadi shuddhi'; works of various *pranas* ; workings of *pitta*, *shleshma tattvas*, age of various animals on the basis of their *shvasa-prashvasa* ; Went to Sinnore to take lessons in Sanskrit grammar under Pt. Krishna Shastri ; Came back to Chanoda : Learnt theory of yoga from Swami Jwalananda Puri and its practice from Swami Shivananda Giri ; Three years at Chanoda - Ahmedabad and three years at Mt. Abu.

Hatha yoga-kriyas, trataka yoga, mudras, Kumbhaka yoga, mantra yoga, laya yoga, Raja yoga, food, place and asana. Yama-Niyama, Kriya yoga, tapa-swadhyaya-Iswarapranidhana. Nādi shuddhi. Four types of pranayamas. Sadhanas of Yama-Niyama. Obstructions in yoga Sadhana. Methods to ride over them. Chittapātha. Bhagavat-tattva. Some incidents: A cow

sprang up. Round this town and the fort many villages and hamlets also began to develop and gain in importance. Such were, for example, Rayapur, Haveri Peth, Madihal, Saptapur, and Navalur. Many of these villages have now become the suburbs of the Dharwad town.

In the Pune Archives there are a number of Kaifiyats which throw light on the development of this town. They give us a glimpse into the economic, social and cultural conditions of Dharwad in medieval times. They supply information regarding the different taxes levied at different times by different rulers, the religious sects prevailing in those days, various grants made to temples, mathas, watandars and other individuals either as *inam* or as *mokasa*.

A few Kaifiyats have been selected for the purpose of this paper. These documents deal with the religious arrangements and traditions of a temple at Shukrawar Peth in Dharwad, with the watan of Mullagiri in Malapur, and with some agrarian matters in Hosayellapur and Navalur.

Krishnacharya, son of Ramachandracharya, and grandson of Sheshacharya, surnamed Vyasasamudra was the priest of the Vyenkatesh temple at the Shukrawar Peth of Kasba Dharwad. He was in possession of a *bele* of land in Navalur granted as *inam* for the temple of the god Sri Vyenkatesh. The land was a dry land, and had no mango trees in it. Since the land was an *inam* land, no tax or imposition such as *judi*, *yekasali* or *najarana* was paid for it.

This land was granted originally to Krishnacharya's father Ramachandracharya in the times of Tipu Sultan. After the death of Ramachandracharya, his son Rangacharya who was elder than Krishnacharya, was in possession of the land, and after the death of Rangacharya the land went to Krishnacharya, during the Companys' rule in India.

This land was cultivated by the ryots on the terms of *Lavani*. Deducting the expenses of cultivation from the gross produce, the average annual income from the land was Rs. 21-8-0.

Besides the produce of the land, Krishnacharya was getting some other grants from the Government and some voluntary contributions from the people for the service of the god Vyenkatesh. The sources of income were the following ;

- (1) Rs. 21-8-0 Average annual income from the inam land, as noted above
- (2) Rs. 87-9-0 Annual grant from the Government Treasury for celebrating the chariot festival of the god, for the daily food offerings to the god and for burning a perpetual lamp before the god
- (3) Rs. 3-8-0 Being the exchange value of one Dharwadi (gold) coin (or *hon*) from Desai Ramrao.
- (4) Rs. 3-8-0 Being the exchange value of one Dharwadi (gold) coin from Jivanarao Deshpande
- (5) Rs. 3-8-0 Being the exchange value of one Dharwadi (gold) coin from the Nadgauda.
Thus Rs. 10-8-0 were offered by the three Mahal Jamidars of Dharwad every year for the Chariot festival of the god.

Thus the total annual income for the services of the god Vyenkatesh was Rs. 119-9-0

The yearly expenses were as follows :

- (1) Rs. 12-0-0 For the daily food offerings to the god at the rate of one rupee for month; annually twelve rupees.

- (2) Rs. 12-0-0 For the expenses of oil for burning two lamps perpetually before the god.
- (3) Rs. 4-0-0 For purchasing a pair of *dhotees* for the god every year at the price of four rupees.
- (4) Rs. 12-1-0 For the yearly expenses on repairs of the temple, on erecting the pandal on the occasion of the Navaratra celebrations, and on whitewashing the temple walls and ceilings.
- (5) Rs. 21-0-0 For feeding the Brahmins daily during the Navaratra festival and for the great community lunch generally at the end of the festival.
- (6) Rs. 5-0-0 For feeding the Brahmins and for their *dakshina*.
- (7) Rs. 2-0-0 For repairing the "Vehicles of gods" during the festival, by way of wages to the Jinagars.
- (8) Rs. 10-0-0 During the Vehicle Festival at night the wages paid to the man at the rate of one rupee per day for ten days.
- (9) Rs. 8-0-0 To courtesans
- (10) Rs. 3-0-0 To play the band
- (11) Rs. 1-0-0 To the Brahmin expounding the Puranas.
- (12) Rs. 4-0-0 For repairs of the chariot.
- (13) Rs. 4-0-0 For expenses on oil during the Car Festival.

Total Rs. 98-1-0

Deducting the annual expenditure of Rs. 98-1-0 from the annual income of Rs. 119-9-0, the priest was left with a profit of Rs. 21-8-0. This was how permanent arrangements were made for conducting the various types of services in the

Vyankatesh temple at the Sukrawar Peth of Qasba Dharwad or Nashirabad.¹

Another Kaifiyat throws light on the office of Mulla in a suburb of Dharwad. This Kaifiyat gives the genealogy of the occupant of the office of Mulla in the village of Malapur,² included in the Mahal of Dharwad. In 1844 Mulla Mohi-ud-din, son of Bade-Miya and grandson of Raje Mahmud was the occupant of this office.

In Malapur the Mulla was enjoying a land of 6 *beles*³ as *inam*. Although this piece of land was granted as an *inam* originally, a quit-rent came to be levied on it, and hence it was turned into a judi-inam land. It was a dry land, containing no mango trees. The quit-rent or the judi began to be levied under the Peshwas while originally Aurangzeb had granted it to the original grantee as a complete inam land. The quit-rent for 6 *beles* or 12 *annas* (i.e. 4 *annas* less for a *guntha*) of land was 87 rupees. Till A.D. 1825 (1234 Fasli) Bade-Miya, father of Mohi-ud-din was paying this quit-rent and after his death in that year his son began to pay it to the Government.

The original inam was granted by Aurangzeb in A.D. 1690 (1102 A.H.) to the ancestor of Mohi-ud-din named Shaikh Daud, son of Shaikh Raja. Mohi-ud-din belonged to the 14th generation of Shaikh Daud. The Kaifiyat says that at the close of the Peshwa rule about 131 years had elapsed since the grant of the original inam land to Shaikh Daud. This inam had never been attached till 1844 when this Kaifiyat was submitted. Mohi-ud-din had a hereditary right to the enjoyment of this judi-inam land. On the death of Bade-Miya the land was automatically inherited by Mohi-ud-din, there being no necessity to take the permission of the Govt. for inheritance. He inherited the land during the Company's rule.

Unfortunately this inam land of 12 *annas* was reduced by

about 3 annas owing to two reasons. Unexpectedly a stream changed its course and began to flow through this land. Secondly a strip of land, probably on either side of the stream, began to be used as a path. Thus Mohi-ud-din really had only 9 annas of land.

Deducting the expenses of cultivation from the total yield of the land, Mohi-ud-din got only 100 rupees as the output from the land. This land was not cultivated actually by the inam-holder, but was given to a cultivator for cultivation on a rental basis. The cultivator was required to till this land, grow crops on it, take some stipulated part of the yield for himself and the remaining which was worth Rs. 100 in this case was to be surrendered to the Inam-holder. Out of this sum of Rs. 100, Rs. 87 were paid, as noted above, as judi or quit-rent to the Govt., and thus only Rs. 13 constituted the net yield of the land for Mohi-ud-din.

The various sources of income for this office, besides the above inam-land, and the expenses incurred on account of this office, and the balance that ultimately went to Mohi-ud-din were as follows :

(A) Other Sources of income :

- Rs. 13 The net yield from his inam-land, as shown above.
- Rs. 2 On account of Moharram which the Govt. sent to the office of Taluka Dharwad every year.
- Rs. 3 On account of the marriages among Muslims, the holder of this office used to get Rs. 3 on an average annually.

Rs. 18 Total income per annum.

Expenses

Rs. 12½ Expenditure incurred for the work of the village.

Details are as follows :

- Rs. 8 Annual payment to the Patil and Kulkarni on account of the *hugi* (harvest)
- Rs. 4½ Expenditure incurred on account of Moharram and the supply of oil, etc. to the mosque.

Rs. 12½

On deducting the annual expenditure of Rs. 12½ from the annual income of Rs. 18, a profit of. 5½ went to Mohi-ud-din at his brother Mulla Imam who had a claim to a half share of the profit. Thus the actual profit that Mohi-ud-din got was only Rs. 2-12-0.

For substantiating the claim to the above inam land, Mohi-ud-din produced 7 *sanads* or documents. All the 7 documents are in Persian.

- 1) The original *sanad* was given by Aurangzeb to Shaikh Daud, son of Shaikh Raje. He belonged to the 14th generation before Mohi-ud-din.
- 2) The original *sanad* was regranted by Siyad Khan, the Killedar of Aurangzeb, to Shaikh Daud, son of Shaikh Raje.
- 3) The original *sanad* was again regranted by Alaf Khan the Killedar of Aurangzeb, to Shaikh Daud, son of Shaikh Raje.
- 4) Same as the 3rd one. But the word "regranted." is not used. It was simply granted.

(5) The original sanad granted by Mohin-ud-din, the killedar of Aurangzeb, to Shaikh Daud, Son of Shaikh Raje.

(6) The sanad granted by Kalandar Khan, the Killedar of Aurangzeb, to Maujan Khan Mulla, who was the brother of Mohi-ud-din belonging to the 11th generation before the present occupant of the office, whose name also is Mohi-ud-din.

(7) Letter of warning given in A.D 1713 by Mahamad Nasar, the Killedar of Mahmud Shah Gazi, to Wali Mahmud, who belonged to the 13th generation before the present Mohi-ud-din.

In these Persian *sanads* Malapur is said to have been a village in Pargana Nasirabad alias Dharwad belonging to Sarkar Bankapur of Suba Dar-ul-Jaffar Bijapur.

The functions of the Mulla included officiating at the celebration of the Muharram, officiating at the marriage ceremonies of the Muslims, and supplying oil to the mosques for burning lamps in them.

The Kaifiyat highlights the following points :

- 1) The office of Mulla was hereditary.
- 2) The Mulla performed mainly three functions (see above.)
- 3) For performing his functions satisfactorily
 - i) he received an inam land, sometimes a judi-inam, from the Government ;
 - ii) he received annually a fixed grant (in cash) from the Government for officiating at the celebration of the Muharram.
 - iii) he received from the Muslims some honorarium for officiating at their marriage ceremonies.

- 4) The lands were of three kinds : dry, wet and garden lands or mango groves.
- 5) The lands were measured in terms of *visas* or *annas*, *beles* and *pattis*. A *patti* was equivalent to a *guntha* and consisted of 16 *annas* or 8 *beles*.
- 6) The payment of rent was either in rupees or in *varahas*.
- 7) The Mulla was one of the Balutedars.
- 8) The East India Company also recognised the right to inheritance of this office with its inam lands and perquisites.
- 9) The grant of inam land was confirmed by every new Killedar, the officer in charge of Kille Dharwad.
- 10) The income from the office belonged to the family, not to the individuals. It was shared among brothers.

According to a third Kaifiyat a certain Iranagauda, son of Sanganagauda, and grandson of Lingaganagauda Patil was enjoying a land measuring 6 *beles* and one *visa* in Hosayellapur, a village of Taluka Dharwad (but now a suburb of Dharwad) as an *inam* and for his office of Patil. In this land a piece of one *bele* was wet (*tari*) land, and the rest was dry. There were no mango trees in it.

Although this land was originally granted as an inam land to one of the forefathers of Iranna, part of it had now become the *judi* land, for which he was paying Rs. 175-13-0 as *judi* tax. Iranna inherited this land during the Company's rule. He had been enjoying it for 15 years.

In this land of 6 *beles* and one *visa*, a stream was formed in due course, on account of which on *kurgi* of land became waste.

1) Rs. 0-3-0	Profit from land, as mentioned above.
2) Rs. 25-0-0	Income from <i>hutagi</i> (retch)
3) Rs. 18-0-0	From Mohatarfa or shop tax.
4) Rs. 2-0-0	From Jukayi people regarding <i>lavani</i> .
5) Rs. 0-8-0	From Mahars in lieu of leather footwear.
6) Rs. 0-12-0	Perquisites on the occasion of the celebration of the Nagapanchami festival in lieu of jaggery, etc.

From this amount Iranna had to give a share of Rs. 9-1-6 to his brother Basannagauda from land and *Mohatarfa* and the remaining amount of Rs. 37-5-6 was the net income or profit of Irannagauda.⁴

Genealogy of Mulla Mohi-ud-din

Mahmad Khan

Shaikh Raja

1 Shaikh Daud (original inam granted in A.B. 1690)

2 Wali Mahmud

3 imam

4 Mohi-ud-din

Manjan Khan
(Extinct)

Raje Mahamd
(Extinct)

5 Shaikh Daud

6 Rajc Mahmud

7 Hussain

8 Hasan Khan

9 Abdul Karim

10 Mahamad Khalif

Raje Mahmud

11 Imam Khan

Usman Khan

12 Raje Mahmud

Imam

13 **Bade Miya**

Wali

14 Mohi-ud-din (1844 Kaifiyat given)

Notes :

- 1 Pune Archives, Karnatak Jamav, Rumat No. 1597
- 2 At present Malapur is a suburb of the town of Dharwad.
- 3 A *bele* was a denomination of the Vijayanagar coin *Varaha*. A *Varaha* contained 10 *hanas*, and the *hana* 8 *beles* or 16 *visas*. In land measurement the *hana* was equated with a *guntha*, and its sixteenth part (*visa*) was called an *anna*. Thus a *guntha* consisted of 16 *annas* or 8 *beles* of land.
- 4 Pune Archives, Karnatak Jamuv. Rumat No. 1597, *Kaifiyat* No. 32, dated A.D. 1844.

INTER-STATE TRADE DURING THE KĀKATIYA
PERIOD

(A.D. 1000-1323)

P. S. KANAKADURGA*

The establishment and consolidation of the Kākatiya, the Hoyasala and the Pāṇḍyan kingdoms in the south put an end to the unsettled political conditions in each of the above linguistic areas and helped the rehabilitation of the economy of the region as a whole. The State's encouragement in the form of better irrigational facilities gave fillip to agriculture and the artisans formed into guilds and tried to develop their respective industries in a spirit of cooperation. In the southern Āndhra and Tamilnadu, the Citrameḷi¹ was the professional guild of agriculturists whereas in north coastal Āndhra, the Kampus were formed into a similar organisation.² In Karnataka the Okkalu³ appear to have been the counterparts of the Citrameḷi of Āndhra and Tamilnadu. The frequent references in the records to Pañcāhaṇāmvāru⁴, the guild which traded in five metals⁵, and to the Telikivevuru, a prominent professional guild of the oil mongers with their head quarters at Vijayawada⁶ is an indication to the prosperous conditions of those industries⁷ and diamond⁸ in Andhra.

The kings followed a liberal policy towards the artisans and the traders protecting at the same time the interests of the consumers. The Abhayaśāsana of Kākati Gaṇapatideva at Moṭupalli⁹ dated A.D. 1244-5 giving assurance to foreign

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merchants is an indication to the encouragement given by the kings to trade and commerce. The literary works like *Vijñāneśvara*¹⁰ suggest the effective measures to be taken by the kings for the promotion of trade and commerce as well as those against fraud and malpractice.

The contemporary literature refers to trade routes connecting important trade centres in these three regions and the hinterlands with the ports.

The *Āndhrabhāṣābhūṣaṇam*¹¹ of Ketana (A.D. 1210-1300) speaks of a High Road connecting the northern regions, i.e. from Ayodhya to Kāñchi through Warangal and Nellore. There was another route from Motupalli to Karnataka through Yanamadala, Vinukonda, Tripurāntakam, Panyam, Alampur and Raichur.¹² There was a route from the coastal towns¹³ and ports on the east coast to Bellary through Tripurāntakam which was a pilgrim centre as well as the trade centre.¹⁴ The road between Koppal-Raichur in Karnataka and Kolanupaka in Āndhra was a highly traversed way during the period of the Later Cālukyas.¹⁵ This route passed through Alampur, Vaddamānu, Jadcerla, Gaṅgapur, Pērūr and Panagal. This became famous as Daṇḍubāṭa¹⁶ because it was used by the Cālukya armies that frequently invaded Veṅgi during the 10th and 11th Centuries. Even today it is an important highway between Āndhra and Karnataka.

In Tamilnadu, there were trunk roads that connect one corner of the State with that of the other. The inter-state routes were *Vaḍugappervai*¹⁷ or *Āndhra patha* and *Konguppevai*¹⁸ or great road to Kongu country from Tamilnadu: there was also one highway connecting Tanjore in Tamilnadu to Kalyāṇa in Karnataka.¹⁹ The merchants from Tamilnadu would have reached the Andhra region through *Vaḍugapperuvai* and Karnataka through Kalyāṇa-Kolanupāka or Bellary-Tripurāntakam

routes. The inscriptions from Bapatla²⁰, Visakhapattanam²¹ and Simhacalam²² inform that the caravans on these highways were protected by their own armies.

The Āndhra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu states were traversed by network of trade routes that connected almost all important centres of trade and port towns of South India.

Merchant Guilds And Inter-State Trade: Trade was carried on through highly organised merchant guilds with basis from village to Imperial city with intermediary links in between. We come across in the inscriptions terms like *svadeśi*²³ which might mean local merchant with whom the itinerent traders established contacts, *nānādeśi*²⁴ foreigners from different neighbouring countries, *paradeśi*²⁵ foreign merchants, *ubhaya nānādeśi*²⁶ representatives of the various groups included in the organisation's membership.

Nānādeśi: The *nānādeśi* or the itinerents were a powerful autonomous merchant corporations whose activities apparently took to little or no account of political boundaries.²⁷ They visited all neighbouring kingdoms in course of their trade and every where they enjoyed a respectable and privileged position. Their success and prosperity were to some extent independent of the vicissitudes of war and peace among the states in which they carried on trade.

In coastal region the Tamil merchants appear very prominently. It is interesting to note that important ports in Andhra had Tamil counter names viz., Viśakhapattanam-Kulotungacoda pattanam²⁸, Ghaṇṭa-āla-Cola Pāṇḍya puram²⁹ and Krishnapattanam Gaṇḍagopāla Coda pattanam³⁰. Another significant feature was at Pērūr there existed *Arava nakara* along with the *Telugu nakara* functioning side by side simultaneously conducting trade.³¹ At the same time in the Western

Andhra and a few places in the heart of the state like Basinikonda, Alampur, Peddakadumur, Gangapur, Vaddamānu Chintapalli, Tangeda and Durji had the impact of the Kannada merchants. The *nānādeśi* merchant guilds whenever they were mentioned in the records were found along with the local. **Ayyavāli-500**: The Ayyavāli 500 was common to Āndhra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu but were known by different names. **Pekkandru** in Āndhra,³² **Ayyavāli** ainnūruvur in Karnataka³³ and **Ticaiyāyirattainnūrvur** in Tamilnadu,³⁴ But all of them were described as the protectors of *Virabalanjadharma* and had the banner. In Āndhra this guild used a variety of prefixes like *deśi*, *paradeśi*, *nānādeśi*, *cālumūla ubhaya nānādeśi*, etc. The following table represents the distribution of different classes of Pekkandru at different places along with the other merchant guilds like nakaras, mummaridaṇḍas, etc.

Type	Description	Inscription & date	Reference
Local	Pakkendru of that	Vijayawada	SII Vol. IV.
Suravaram	Place	A.D. 1270	No. 784
Pekkandru			
Kātukūru			
Pekkandru	Balamjasettikāndru	Kātukūru	H.A.S. 12
		A.D. 1303	Km. 6
Paradeśi	Foreign	Krishnapattanam, A. D. 1256-7	N.D I Vol Gudur-39
Nānādeśi	Those belonging to or coming from different countries so Paradeśi and nānādeśi Pekkandru denotes	Tripurāntakam	SII Vol. X.
		A.D. 1292	No. 473

Type	Description	Inscription & date	Reference
	the Pekkandru whose members were also foreigners from different neighbouring countries		
Ubhaya	Pekkandru in which both local members and foreigners from different neighbouring countries are seen	Yanamadala, A.D. 1269	SII Vor. IV. No. 935
Nānādeśi		Tripurāntakam A.D. 1292	SII. Vol. X No. 473
		Tangeda A.D. 1308	SII. Vol. X No. 495
		Alampur	Tel. Ins. I. p. 88
		Peddakadumūru	Ibid 87
		Chintapalli 1240	A.R. 1935, Part II Para 33
Cālumūla	Included local and		
Ubhaya	foreigners from		
Nānādeśi	different neighbouring countries (nānādeśi) as well or from far of lands in all directions.	Durji 1269	SII. Vol. X No. 422

In the Cola domain Ticaiyāyirattainnūrvur,³⁵ 'the five hundred merchants of the one thousand directions,' had a long and notable record of achievement. The records of these guilds were found in East Indies like Sumatra, Pagan³⁶ and

Burma³⁷ regions indicating their overseas relations in trade. In Tamilnadu this guild developed special relationship by the application of distinctive titles 'erivirāpattinam'* to the name of the emporium.³⁸ Further this guild converted several villages of commercial importance into erivirāpattinam.³⁹

The Ayyavāli Ainuru of Karnataka is noted from Bijapur and⁴⁰ Belgaum⁴¹ Districts and several other places like Kallambadi,⁴² Mudigonda⁴³ and Agara⁴⁴.

As known from the records this guild was confined to certain types of merchandise, those of export sector in particular such that they would not compete with the local merchants within the local marketing system.

Nagaram : *Naka(ga)ram* was one of the most important guild that monopolised trade in South India. Kenneth R. Hall defines⁴⁵ *nakaras* as a self-governing institution which administered a *nakara* and is market place, maintaining streets and providing for garbage collection, police protection, etc., and collecting taxes for its own use as well as for that of superior political authorities. The word *nakara* represents both merchant guild and town assembly in Āndhra, Tamilnadu and Karnataka regions. The members of *nakara* were described as the devotees of the lotus feet of God Nakaresvara. The *nakara* provided setting for more market oriented exchange of goods and services.

An inscription from Tripurāntakam dated A.D. 1270⁴⁷ registers gift made by *nānādeśi nagara sangha* to Tripurāntakadeva. The jurisdiction of this *nagara* was extended over Pottapinadu. It applies that this *nānādeśi nagara sangha* include the *nanadesis* of the guild *nakara*, residing in Pottapinadu. The example is of Pērūr in Nalagonda dt., where Tamil (Araval) and Telugu *nakara* followed the *Samayadharma* and conducted their transactions.

The existence of *santa nakara* (guild of the fair merchants) and *Bachumāde nakara* (money exchange guild) in Āndhra is notable.⁴⁸ The former is responsible for the organisation of trade in the *nagara* by different functional guilds and the later is incharge of money exchange for the *paradeśi* and *nānādeśi* merchants. In Coḷa, Pāṇḍya and the Hoyasala domains also the fairs were conducted by the *nakara* and *taraga* or the brokers looked after the duties of Bachumade *nakara* of Āndhra, thus serving wholesale and retail commercial relations. It seems that money exchange guilds would have been in almost all centres of trade where merchants from different lands meet for the exchange of commodities facilitating the monetary transactions.

The other significant guild of *nānādeśi* was the *nagara* of *Padinenimidibhūmi*⁴⁹ that frequently appear in the records of Āndhra and Tamilnadu. R. Narasimha Rao held the view that *Padinenimidibhūmi* is a territorial division in Colamandalam.⁵⁰ *Bhumi* is territorial unit like that of *Valanādu*, *Kottam*, etc., and 18 must have been a conventional number. It was common to have numerical suffixes or prefixes to the territorial divisions. It seems that the merchants of 18 *bhumis* were organised into a guild and conducted intrastate and inter-state mercantile activities along with the other itinerant guilds. It is interesting here to note that this guild was named differently in different inscriptions like *ubhyanānādeśis* of 18 *visayas*⁵¹, *paradesis*⁵² of 18 *paṭṭaṇas*, *Padinenimidi bhumi nagara*⁵³, *padinenimidi nagara*, *padinenimidi bhumi visaya*, etc.

This guild is frequently referred in the coastal town or ports as *Krishṇapaṭṭanam*⁵⁴, *Ganapesvaram*⁵⁵, *Simhacalam*⁵⁶, *Visakhapattanam*,⁵⁷ etc. in Āndhra and prominent places like *Sinnamannūr*⁵⁸, *Mudigonda Coḷa puram*⁵⁹, *Valikandāpuram*⁶⁰ in Tamilnadu region. It seems that the guild *nagara* of 18 *bhumis* of Tamilnadu regions would have moved along the

coast towards the Āndhra region and carried on the brisk internal and external trade.

In the Kākatiya kingdom, the coastal region naturally played a dominant role in the internal and external trade. Trade centres also were more numerous in the hinterlands of Motupalli, Krishnāpatṭanam, etc.

Analogous to the *nagara* of 18 *bhumis* of Tamilnadu in Andhra the merchants of 18 towns were organised into a *nakara* and had their head quarters at Penugonda.⁶¹ But the names of the constituents *bhumis* and the head quarters of the guilds (*Padinenimidi bhūmi*) were not found.

Mummaridandas : It is another guild that frequently referred in the records of Andhra and Karnataka⁶² along with the other *nanadesi* guilds Ayyavāli 500, *nakaras*, merchants of 18 *bhumis*, etc., whenever they met as Mahanadu for conducting their business transactions. In Āndhra the guild was found in Mahanadu conducted at Chintapalli, Sangameśvaram, Alampur, Peddakadumur, Basinikonda and several other places in the Dharwad and Bijapur districts of Karnataka.

M. Somasekhara Sarma describes⁶³ the Mummaridandas as the advance guard of the trading caravan or that have borne the staff with three bands probably weapons. They were described as the brave of braves, cruel to the wicked, good to the good and conquerors of the powerful enemies. Their war-like spirit is described. In some of the Kannada records they were said to be Balanjas and *muvvatnuru bidu*,⁶⁴ Mummaridandas or Mummaridanda-36 bidus.⁶⁵ Bidu generally refers to a market place just like the *peṇṇa* of the Andhra region.

It can be interpreted that the advanced guards or the mummaridandas of 36 bidus or market places would have been organised into a guild or 36 can also be a conventional number.

It is possible that the Mummaridanda-36 would have accompanied the *nanadesi* guild which travel with heavy loads and provide protection to them against robbery and piracy. This guild is common to Andhra and Karnataka. As cited already similar mercenary organisations are seen in Tamilnadu named Velakkair.

Articles of Trade : The *nanadesis* of this period under study integrated trade at different levels into a system which articulated the distribution of agricultural and higher order of commodities through out the hinterland. The following table (see page 26) represents different types of commodities dealt by the *nanadesi* guilds.

In spite of the measures taken by the state against fraud in business and provision made for free supply of goods in the markets, the merchants appear to have made enormous profits in trade. The economic prosperity of the merchants was reflected in their lavish donations made to the temples in the form of shares on the sale and purchase of merchandise. At Pērūr the Tamil and Telugu merchants erected their respective Nakareśvara temples and followed the same *samayadharma*. At Tanjavur, a *mandapa* on the Nakareśvara temple was constructed and named after by the guild ticayirattainnurvur.⁶⁶

The State collected variety of taxes on agriculture, trade and industry that yielded much to the royal treasury. Thus the State enjoyed much prosperity as testified by travellers like Marco Polo and Muslim writers like Abdullah Wassaf. By the end of the 13th century, the general prosperity of these three South Indian kingdoms attracted the attention of Delhi Sultans who contracted heaps of gold and immense wealth as tribute and war indemnity from them.

Andhra	Tamilnadu	Karnataka
Deśi :- arecanut, fruits, vegetables, gingelly, mustard, wheat, grains, green grams, oils, ghee, paddy. Parādeśi Nānādeśi : cloth, betels, salt, jaggery, sesame, sugar, garlic, wood, vamu, ginger, cumil, jute, etc. Ubhaya Nānādeśi : sandal, camphor, musk, civet, pepper, black pepper, lac, metals like tin, copper, lead, bronze, veligaramu, yarn, wool, fine cloth, muslin, falsehair, paccapattu, manjista, golden silk, precious stones like pearls, beads, rubies, sapphires, etc., Animals like horses, sheep, oxen, etc.	cardamoms, cloves, bedellium, sandal, camphor, musk, apphron, melegāju, all kinds of perfumes. precious stones like sapphire, moon stones, pearls, rubies, diamonds, lapis lazuli, topaz, carbuncles, emerald, coral, pearls. Animals like elephants, well bred horses.	grains of all sorts, cereals, pepper, betel, arecanuts, fine cloth, silks of superb quality, cotton, yarn, jaggery, salt, precious stones. Animals like elephants, horses, camels, cattle, etc.

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* Erivirapattinam assumed commercial importance between the *nagaram* which were primarily centres for exchange of goods of local origin and were periodically involved in the exchange of foreign commodities and pattinam of coast. which were clearly centres for exchange of foreign merchandise, a position which allowed the Erivirapattinam to participate in both the realms of commercial exchange.

SOURCES ON SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE 19TH CENTURY KARNATAKA

Dr. SURYANATH U. KAMATH

After the studies by Dr. T.V. Mahalingam and Dr. B.A. Saletore on the social conditions of Vijayanagara times, there have been few detailed studies on the subject for subsequent periods—especially the 17th, 18th and 19th century Karnataka. The reasons for this are many. The one reason may be the impression that the glory of Karnataka ended with Vijayanagara. The other reason may be the impression that we lack in source material. The main reason appears to me to be the ignorance of languages like Marathi, Persian, French and Portuguese in which such material is available in abundance.

Anyway when we reach the 19th century, we have considerable amount of literature both in Kannada and English to help us in outlining a picture of the society in Karnataka. They include literary sources in English and Kannada, travelogues, reminiscences, newspapers and administrative records, the last named found mostly in the State Archives at Bangalore, Bombay and Madras.

Nineteenth century is a period when society was exposed to a new administration, Western learning, propaganda of the Christian Missionaries and the new phenomena like opening of railways and introduction of printing. Introduction of plantation crops like coffee and the "Cotton Boom" of the 1860s and the slow process of ending the isolation of villages had its own impact on the society. Its social practices, customs, beliefs etc., were bound to change. There is no need to enumerate the changes. I shall concentrate here on the sources which

help us to give a picture of the society of the times. Outlining a clear picture of the society and the phases of social changes is not the aim here.

The earliest works that give us a picture of the 19th century Karnataka are Colin Mackenzie's accounts and Francis Buchanan's *Journey*. Colin Mackenzie, who had been the Surveyor in Madras in 1783 was appointed surveyor in Mysore in 1799. His work continued from 1799 to 1807. He not only reduced to writing myths, legends, local traditions, poems and inscriptions but recorded in his diary many details on the life of the people of this region. *The Asiatic Annual Register* (1804) gives some glimpses of his work. His collection and his diaries are a veritable mine of information on the society of Karnataka. It may be recalled here that Devachandra's Kannada *Rajavali Kathe* (1838) was written by the urgings of Mackenzie. Here an effort was made to outline the history ("rajavali") of this region. This is a very interesting source book on Karnataka including contemporary Karnataka.

Buchanan's *Journey Through Mysore Malabar and Canara* in three volumes (1807) is a major and better source. He speaks a lot about the caste system, social practices, etc., together with topography, forests, crops, fauna, flora, transport system and trade. A careful study of Buchanan helps us to derive a good picture of the society of the times. These two men visited Mysore, and the latter Canara Districts or Coastal Karnataka too. Buchanan had been a physician, but a first rate academic person with a keen eye to see the future prospects of exploitation of the new territory the British had acquired. He had been commissioned by Governor General Wellesley "for the express purpose of investigating the state of Agriculture, Arts, Commerce; the Religion, Manners and Customs....." etc., in this newly conquered territory. Though more useful for the

study of economic history, the work gives a fairly good survey of the customs and manners of various castes. He gives an account of the political history of the places that he had visited by consulting records with the people and the readings of inscriptions. The book is full of description of agricultural implements in use in various regions, tools of craftsmen and other details of contemporary life. The book has been reprinted in two parts in 1870.

Another British official who did useful work in North Karnataka, though on a very smaller scale, is Meadows Taylor. He served in the Nizam's dominion as a Resident and worked in Surapur state for long. Of his many writings, *Confessions of a Thug* (1839) and *The Story of My Life* are useful sources for the study of Karnataka's society. Taylor had lived at Shorapur in Gulbarga district and his residence, 'Tailor Manzil' has a library even now. He has also done lot of spade work on pre-historic studies of the Hyderabad Karnataka Area.

Of the missionaries of the period, mention must be made of Benjamine Rice (father of B.L. Rice) who has left some writings on India. This is seen in two books, *Benjamin Rice* (published from London) and *Addresses and Presentations to Rev B. Rice* (Bangalore, 1879). Rev. Rice states in 1887 that forty years ago only Hindu boys were educated at the new schools, but by that date (1887) lady students too were admitted in good numbers at the schools of Mysore and Bangalore. Another notable source is Herman Moegling, a German Missionary connected with the Basel Mission His *Coorg Memoirs* (1855) is a good account of the life in Coorg. In addition his two books in Kannada *Jati (Mata) Vicharane* and *Eeraru Patrike* (1842) are notable. The latter is a small booklet which describes the first notable incident of conversion of a brahmin, and these books contain many interesting facets of contemporary life. Abbe Dubois, the French Missionary (died in 1848) who wrote

Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies had lived in Mysore State for long. Though he was highly prejudiced towards the Hindus, Col Wilks has rightly commended his work as the outcome of "original research and personal observation." His is a detailed and copious description of the Society of his times. *Gold Sort and Coffee Planting* (1894), reminiscences of a European coffee planter from the Malanad area (R. H. Elliot) is a very useful source book on the life and habits of Mysore Society.

Equally interesting and useful are the memoirs of R.S. Dobbs, published from Dublin in 1882, *Reminiscences of Work in Mysore, South Africa and Burma*. Dobbs had been a British Civil servant and Dobbspeth is a place named after him in Tumkur district, of which he had been the Deputy Commissioner and also the Superintendent of the Nandidurg Division. J.S. Fraser (1783-1869), who had been the Resident at Mysore and Commissioner of Coorg has some gleanings on the subject in his *Memoirs and Correspondence of Gen J.S. Fraser*.

Of the latter English publications, I shall make a mention of *Revived Memories* by K. Subba Rao (Madras, 1933). The author was a journalist and had also worked as an Assistant Commissioner in Mysore. He writes in detail how the social reform movements led by Ranade, Bhandarkar and others influenced enlightened men in Madras and the elite and the Dewans of Mysore like Sheshadri Iyer who was responsible for many social legislations like the one viz. Mysore Infant Marriages Prevention Regulation of 1894. He also speaks of Ambil Narasimha Iyengar, the Palace Bakshi and his efforts to encourage female education. This book is a veritable mine for any research on social reforms in Mysore at the close of the 19th century.

Next we have to turn towards the literary works of the period. This is a period when prose became popular and literature became secular. Novels, plays and short stories

came to be written, and many of them had their thrust against infant marriage, polygamy, bride price, etc. Many more supported the idea of education of girls, marriage of widows, etc. There were pamphlets and newspapers, just being published which took up these various social causes seriously.

I must make a mention of an incident of "sahagamana" being graphically described in a Kannada novel *Madiddunno Maharaya* (1915) by M. S. Puttanna. Though *sati* was not popular in the 19th century, it appears to be no way unknown and the State too and perhaps, the princely administration, encouraged the rare phenomenon. The novel while describing an incident of earlier times (early 19th century) states that the widow had to secure the permission of the State and the State supplied her with many materials generally presented to a married woman or *muttaide* such as turmeric powder, vermillion, betel leaves, flowers, a yellow saree, etc. As the lady volunteering to perform *sati* later leaving the funeral pyre out of fear was considered as not propitious to the State, pots of oil and ghee and pots filled with explosive material were also supplied to make a quick job of the burning. But I have not come across any State record to support this statement. Still the description's authenticity cannot be brushed aside. The novel held a mirror to many social institutions of the 19th century life.

Indirabai Athava Saddharma Vijayavu (1899) by Gulvadi Venkatarao is another novel which upholds the ideas of opposition to infant marriage, need for female education and widow marriage etc. This novel was translated into English, and the translator, Couchman, says that the novel gives a true account of an incident having taken place 30 or 40 years ago (vide S. Havanur *Hosagannada Arunodaya*, 1974, page 551-2).

Iggappa Heggade Vivaha Prahasana by Karki Venkatarama and Shastri and *Kanya Vikraya* by Shivarama Dhareshwar, two

plays, published in 1877, expose very effectively the pitfalls of infant marriage and the evils of brideprice then prevalent among many communities including the Havik brahmins. Karki Venkataramana Shastri was also publishing *Havyaka Subodha* or *Karawara Chandrike*, a Kannada magazine from Bombay which upheld his social ideas. Venkata Rango Katti's play *Aru Beralina Kuruhu* of almost the same period pleads strongly for the education of women and upholds the idea of widow marriage. Katti had been influenced by the Paramahansa Sabha of Bombay. He was a civil servant and had also translated *Bombay Gazetteer* volume into Kannada. This *Gazetteer of the Bombay Karnatik of the Districts of Dharwar, Belgaum, Bijapur and Kanara* published in 1893 contains a summary in Kannada of four district gazetteers published earlier in English. This book and the earlier four English volumes on the four districts contain copious details on castes, professions, customs and other social matters. The volume on *Canara* in English is in two parts (1883) and has long sections on castes in Uttara Kannada district in English. Madras State had published *South Canara Manual* in two parts and the *Manual of Bellary* (1904). *The Manual of Coorg* edited by Richter (1870) also is a valuable source. Katti has written pamphlets on social reform such as *Vidhaveyara Itihasa* and *Vid'aya Vivaha Apachara Mandana* (1889). Katti had even entered into a disputation with the Swamy of the Uttaradi Matha on the question.

The same issue was widely discussed by the Saraswats in a number of writings during the same period. Sham Rao Vithal Kaikini, hailing from Karwar but working as lawyer in Bombay was associated with a Kannada magazine *Kannada Suvarte* being published from Bombay which had wide circulation among the Saraswats of Bombay, Madras, Mangalore and Kundapur (vide *Shamrao Vithal Kaikini*, Kannada, by Gaurish Kaikini, Bangalore, 1972, p. 35). Kaikini, for supporting widow marriage and

having sent his nephew Sir Narayan Chandavarkar to England in 1885, was subjected to *bahishkara* by the Mathadapathi, and in the long run, a majority of the community had to face this boycott (Ibid, p 38-40). *Samudrayana Meemamse* a pamphlet published during this period by Kaikini condemns the taboo on oceanic travel. (*Indirabai*, the novel already referred to also speaks of this belief and condemns it). The pamphlet had to be written to defend Chandavarkar's visit to England. Kaikini also wrote *Vidhaveyara Vivaha*, a pamphlet in Kannada.

Rodda Tirumalrao's *Stree Shikshanada Avashyakate* (1894), Bangalore-based Indian Progressive Union's *Balyavivaha* (1904) and many such pamphlets can be mentioned here in this context. Dr. Havanur in his book *Hosagannada Arunodaya* has listed many of them (vide pp. 471-77) and the State Archives had acquired few more pamphlets from Dhardwad (vide Bhise Collection). *Veerashaiva Matabhyudaya Chandrike* (1893) discusses the need for modern education among the Lingayats. *Ganesha Ramayya Hegade Kilara Ivata Atmacharitre* (1950) gives us an idea of the conditions of Malnad area during the close of the 19th century such as the severity of malaria, innumerable deaths caused by it, and social problems arising out of such deaths, including increase in the number of young widows. Another English booklet in English *Lest we Forget* on the great social reformer Kudmul Rangarao of Mangalore speaks of the social conditions prevailing in Mangalore during the second half of the 19th century, calling for the establishment of Brahma Samaj in Mangalore (1870) and establishment by Kudmul, the Depressed Classes Mission in Mangalore (1877). Gangadhar Rao Deshpande's autobiography originally in Marathi, translated into Kannada by Ramachandra Wadavi is also an important source

There were newspapers too of this time which discussed social problems and depicted social life. Extracts from

Vrittanta Bodhini and *Karnataka Prakashika* (1865), both from Mysore can be had from Karnataka State Archives. Maharashtra Archives has extracts from *Jananabodhaka* (1865), perhaps being edited by Katti and *Chandrodaya* (1883) by Honnapurmath. Files of *Karnataka Vaibhava*, started from Bijapur in 1892 are available with the publishers at Bijapur. This is a Kannada magazine, being published even now. When we turn towards newspapers, their list is long, but most of these files are not available and the extracts made available to us are mostly political in nature.

Of the Government publications, B. L. Rice's *Mysore Gazetteer* (two editions, 1887 and 1897) contains a chapter on Ethnology with a discussion on dress, food habits, customs and manners, etc. Similarly, for the Bombay Karnataka area we have the *Gazetteers* for the Kannada speaking districts, as already noted. How the British tried to introduce certain humane measures in administration and tried to change the outlook of the society as indicated by a report in the bundle on Judicial Records in the State Archives (No. 1 of 1835) which gives an account of the corporal punishment in vogue in Mysore prior to the British, Dewan Purniah stopping it (perhaps on instructions from the British) and Krishnaraja Odeyar III reintroducing and the British totally abolishing it.

The Report on the Administration of Mysore from 1862 is printed and is available in the State Archives. These annual reports contain many useful items of information for social history as they contain details on governmental activity under various heading. Under Education, we hear that there were 81 schools in Mysore by April 1866 in which 5642 pupils were studying and seven boys had passed matriculation examination in the year. The figures for 1885-86 were a total of 2,237 schools including 1148 run by the Government with a total strength of 57,530. Out of this 5,543 were girls. Of the girls,

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1,189 were attending boys' schools and the rest were attending 12 middle and 43 primary schools exclusively meant for girls. Such figures are available for every year. Religion and community-wise figures are also available in subsequent years' reports under this head. We have a list of Panchama schools during later years. There are also details regarding scholarships and concessions made available to student every year, and special concessions granted to Panchama pupils.

Proceedings of the Government of Mysore are available in print from 1834. Under various heads these too throw light on social conditions. For example, under the head Revenue, you get an item Liquor or Toddy which gives the statistics of toddy shops and the annual revenue from this item. The progressive trend in income under this head gives an idea of the increasing popularity of this pernicious evil. Under the head Judiciary, we hear of many interesting social issues discussed. For example in the year 1895, three persons have been convicted for practising infant marriage in contravention of the provisions of the 1894 Regulation (against infant marriage).

Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency, published by the Bombay Government annually has exclusive sections on each district. Information on education, crime and other aspects with statistical tables are found in it. "The Kanarese School at Anturbentur, in the Gadag Taluka, is a model village mixed school. Some five or six years ago there was no school there, and the Patel and Kulkarni were the only persons who could sign their names. The school has maintained its reputation for the last two years" (Report for the year 1881-82, p. 281). The report for the year 1872-3 informs us that there were 59 members of Church of England and 1580 Catholics in Belgaum District and that Belgaum District had 119 schools with 8,152 pupils and Dharwad 148 with 7,891 pupils in the same year. These figures are only examples to show the

value of these Reports. Madras Presidency too has such printed reports containing information on Bellary and Dakshina Kannada districts. The importance of Census Reports, beginning with 1881 need not be specially stressed here.

The *Kadatas* (records written on cloth) of the Sringeri Matha discuss many social issues at length. There are individual cases referred to the Matha and Matha giving its decision on them. Many of these have been copied by the State Archives in microfilms. Dr. A. K. Shastri has undertaken to publish some select records (vide A. K. Shastri, *Sringeri Dharma Samsthana*, 1983).

This is only a bird's eye view of the sources. The survey is by no means exhaustive. I am sure this will provoke the scholars to come forward to add to our information on the subject. These very sources will be of use for the economic history of Karnataka as well. They have accounts on agriculture, crafts, famines, changes in technology and various statistical tables too.

SWAMI DAYANANDA SARASWATI (1824-1883)
AND
THE MUTINY (1857-59)

V. UPENDRA RAO *

What the world presently knows about Swami Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of Arya Samaj in India is that he was one of the greatest world teachers and one of the greatest religious and social reformer.

However, he was more than these. He was a great yogi, widely travelled throughout India and had some connection with the Great Mutiny of 1857. Various hints of direct and indirect nature to this effect are available in his works¹, and in the biographies written by various authors².

A short and incomplete autobiography of Swami Dayanand Saraswati was published for the first time in "The Theosophist", monthly journal of Bombay in three instalments viz., October 1879 (pp. 9-13), December 1879 (pp. 66-68) and November 1880 (pp. 24-26). At the end of the third instalment (ie., Nov. 80 issue), the editor gave his remark: "Here the autobiography ends".

In this short and incomplete biography, brief statements of his life are included viz., his birth, early education, vigil in the Shiva temple on Shivarathri, reflections on idolatry, flight from his house, wanderings in the northern and central parts of India in search of yogis, etc. The autobiography abruptly ends when he was on his way from Varanasi to find out the source of the Narmada river in the dense forests

(of Shahdol/Mandla/Bilaspur district of the present Madhya Pradesh). This was at the end of the year 1858 AD³. Nothing was authentically known about his life till he reaches Mathura on 14th November 1860 via Hathras and Mursan in the present Uttar Pradesh.

The above autobiography was an English translation of the original Hindi version⁴.

Earlier to this, in a series of discourses at Pune, Swami Dayananda Saraswati presented a brief account of his life to the audience on dated 4th August 1875 in Hindi. This was recorded in Marathi by Shri Ganesh Janardan Agashe, B.A., as the 15th discourse and published by him along with other discourses. It was translated into Hindi afterwards and published in a book form (containing 15 discourses) entitled "Upadesh Manjari" in the year 1915.

This brief account of his life includes his birth, vigil in the Shiva temple on Shivarathri, distrust in idol worship, flight from his house, wanderings in northern and central parts of India in search of yogis, his studies at the feet of Dandi Virajananand in Mathura, travels for the propagation of 'arsha vidya' at places like Gwalior, Karouli, Jaipur, Ajmer, Mathura, Haridwar-renouncing everything at Haridwar; then to Farrukhabad Shastrarth at Ramgarh; then to Cawnpore, Allahabad and the famous shastrath at Varanasi; during the last two years gave discourses at Calcutta, Lucknow, Allahabad, Cawnpore and Jaipur etc., established Sanskrit Pathasala at Farrukhabad; came to Bombay last year; founded Arya Samaj; gave discourses at Bombay, Ahmedabad and Rajkot, etc., and finally came to Pune.

The third and a detailed autobiography of Swami Dayananda Saraswati was published with the title—"Ajñātha Jivani".

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in several instalments in the "Sarvadeshik", a Hindi weekly journal of The Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Asaf ali Road, New Delhi during 1969-70 (5th Jan. '69 to Nov. '70). This was a Hindi translation (of the Bengali version) by Shri Dinabandhu Vedashastry, Secretary, Bihar-Bengal Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Calcutta.

It was claimed that during his 4 months' stay (between 16th Dec. 1872 & 16th Apr. 1873) at Bengal, Swami Dayananda Saraswati dictated his detailed autobiography in Sanskrit to Bengalee pandits as per the requests of Brahma Samaj leaders viz., Maharshi Devendranath Thakur, Pt. Iswarachandra Vidyasagar and Keshavachandra Sen, etc. It was also stated that Swamiji directed the Brahma leaders not to publish his autobiography during his life time (as otherwise, serious complications might arise).

A Bengali translation of this autobiography was later on made by Bengalee Pandits, but no attempts to publish this seemed to have been taken after the death of Swami Dayananda as the relations between Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj were strained at that time.

Shri Nagendranath Chatterjea, a Brahma leader published a short biography of Swami Dayananda entitled "Mahatma Dayanander Sankshipta Jivani" in Bengali in the year 1886⁵. It seems that he was not aware of this autobiography in Bengali lying in dust in the bookshelves of Brahma leaders.

After publication of this autobiography in Hindi in the "Sarvadeshik" weekly journal, Swami Satchidanandh Yogi of Sri Narayana Swami Ashram, Nainital carried out investigations and got published this autobiography in a book form (containing about 250 pages) entitled "Yogi ka Atmcharitra" by Yogeswar Maharshi Dayananda Saraswati in the year 1972 along with the

results of his investigations, several appendices giving supporting proofs, additional informations and photostat copies of several pages of manuscripts in Bengali. The publishers were Patanjala Yoga Sadhna Sangha, Rohtak.

Acharya Dinabandhu Sastry, in his preface to the Hindi translation, states that his efforts to collect the various manuscripts in Bengali⁶ from the houses of several Bengalee pandits and Brahma leaders covered nearly 45 years (1923-68). He gives out names of several Bengalee pandits, viz.,

1. Pt. Satyavrat Samashrami
2. Historian Ramesh Chandra Dutta, I.C S.,
3. Pt. Satyacharan Sastry of Rishida (Hooghly)
4. Acharya Anantha Krishna Sheel of Sadharan Brahma Samaj
5. Shri Kshemendranath Thakur, great grandson of Maharshi Devendranath Thakur
6. Sri Balai Chand Mullick
7. Acharya Hrudaya Krishna De of Ulta, Banga Sa. Br. Samaj
8. Shri Hemendranath Chatterjea of Behala
9. Sri Devavrat Chakravarty of Varahanagar
10. Acharya Sureshchandra, Sankhya-Vedanta Thirtha of Adi Brahma Samaj
11. Shri Kshitindranath Thakur of Adi Br. Samaj
12. Pt. Sitanath Tattwa Bhushan of Sa. Br. Samaj

In the end, Acharya Dinabandhu Sastry states that he had made this Hindi translation in the form of an autobiography based on the Bengali manuscripts collected as mentioned above (which were translations of the Sanskrit version as given out by Swami Dayananda from his mouth regarding his life, travel and activities).

Unlike the two earlier short biographies viz., the one as the 15th discourses at Poona in the year 1875 and the second one as published in "The Theosophist" during 1879-80, this third detailed autobiography has three striking features: i.e., (i) extensive wanderings and travellings by Swamiji throughout the length and breadth of the country covering Mt. Abu in the west to Hooghly and Assam in the east and north-east and Nepal and Tibet in the Himalayas in the north to Kanya Kumari and Ceylon in the south (ii) detailed lessons on yoga—he was taught by the yogis and his yogic powers and (iii) his involvement in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and his meeting with the mutiny leaders like Nana Saheb Peshwa, Tantia Tope and Rani Lakshmi-bai, etc.

It is seen that the autobiography published in "The Theosophist" during 1879-80 and this (new) autobiography are supplementary to each other in detail, as also the 15th discourse at Poona in 1875

A brief outline of this autobiography (published in 1969-70) is, therefore, given below:

1) *Early life*: Born in Sourashtra in 1824 AD in the Auddichya Brahmin family—now my age 48 years—Father was a wealthy revenue officer—Learnt Ramayana, Mahabharata, puranas and other *stotras*, learnt by heart Shukla Yajurveda—Initiation in Shiva *pooja*, Shivaratri vigil, renunciation—Flight from home.

2) *Wanderings & Sanyas*: Took the name Brahmachari; Shuddha Chaitanya, Sirdhapur fair—caught by father unawares flight from his captivity—Reached Ahmedabad—Learnt lessons in yoga and Adwaita philosophy and other doctrines under various teachers at Ahmedabad and Baroda—Learnt Upanishads, Darshanas, Sanskrit grammar and Jaina and Bouddha *darshanas* in Varanasi—From Varanasi, proceeded southwards to find out the source of the Narmada river—Wandered along the south bank of the Narmada from east towards west in search of yogis—Attempt by Vamamargis to sacrifice me at the altar of Kālabhairav near Dharampuri saved by the Mahratta sepoy—Reached Chanoda—initiation into Sanyas by Swami Purananda and got the name Dayananda Saraswati.

3) *Detailed lessons on Yoga*: At Vyasashram on the bank of the Narmada was taught lessons on yoga by Swami Yogananda—daily routine as per yogic discipline. Control over hunger, an incident in which a queen of some Raja of a state in Madhya Bharat wanted to malign me; saved by my guru; lessons in Asanas, Pranayama, 'nadi shuddhi'; works of various *pranas*; workings of *pitta*, *shleshma tattvas*, age of various animals on the basis of their *shvasa-prashvasa*; Went to Sinnore to take lessons in Sanskrit grammar under Pt. Krishna Shastry; Came back to Chanoda: Learnt theory of yoga from Swami Jwalananda Puri and its practice from Swami Shivananda Giri; Three years at Chanoda - Ahmedabad and three years at Mt. Abu.

Hatha yoga-kriyas, trataka yoga, mudras, Kumbhaka yoga, mantra yoga, laya yoga, Raja yoga, food, place and asana. Yama-Niyama, Kriya yoga, tapa-swadhyaya-Iswarapranidhana. Nādi shuddhi. Four types of pranayamas. Sadhanas of Yama-Niyama. Obstructions in yoga Sadhana. Methods to ride over them. Chittapātha. Bhagavat-tattva. Some incidents: A cow

would not go elsewhere unless she gave me milk. Dragged a boat to the shore when it was caught in the storm in the Narmada river. Saved a leper from the tyranny of villagers in a fair near Kanyali. Preachings by Swami Jwalananda Puri ; by Swami Shivananda Giri : Control of the 'Chitta', concentration. Pranava japa, Pancha klesha, Pratyahar, Sanyama sadhana.

4) *Teachings about Yoga Vibhuti* : Power of Sañyama; prajnaloka : knowledge of the past & future ; knowledge of the sound and languages of animals and birds ; knowledge of the past birth ; knowledge of other's chitta ; antardhana ; knowing beforehand about death and its time ; symptoms of coming death. Laying the body to rest by the power of yoga i.e., self-embracing of death not considered as suicide ; Attainment of : mind power, physical strength, 'divya chakshu', elements of the universe of the body, and its functioning ; winning over hunger and thirst ; 'Siddha darshana'. Atma sakshatkara ; Hindrances to Samadhi ; Celestial powers—of the body, of the hearing, of the sight, weightlessness and flying in the sky, 'Ashtaishwarya' or 'siddhis' ; moksha or salvation ; Four types of yoga and yogis.

With Swami Jwalananda Puri proceeds to Mt. Abu via Ahmedabad ; from Ambarisha Ashram Swami Tarpanananda accompanied ; Started practice of yoga in Ramagupha near Ram kund ; samadhi observing of natural scenery : the lesser observing of constructions by human effort was better : least dress and food ; least connection with outsiders ; Meeting of Swami Kaivalyanand and Swami Dharmanand ; Supervision of my practice by my gurus ; their advice not to make attempt to exhibit 'siddhis' but to use for the benefit and service of others. 'After the practice for another year, gurus were intimated of the siddhis attained.' I could do without food & water for two months. 'The Gurus told me that I became a second grade yogi and that I should go out into the world for the service of humanity.' Started with at Haridwar.

5) *Mutiny of 1857 & Kumbha mela at Haridwar* : Decided to attend Kumbha Mela at Haridwar in the year 1912 Vikram Samvat (1855 AD). Mt. Abu to Puskar and then to Ajmer. Heard about peoples unrest for the liberation of the country and protection of religion. Experience gained at Ajmer, Marwar and Jaipur : Jaipur to Delhi ; experience gained at Delhi ; Delhi to Meerut. Pilgrimage to Haridwar, conversation on the situation among the pilgrims ; narration by a south Indian *sadhu* about the atrocities by the British upon the sepoys at Vellore 50 years back ; narration by a Bengalee *sadhu* about the atrocities by the British on the sepoys at Barrackpore 20 years back. Indications of the rising at the centenary of the Plassey war. Forming of secret committees, deliberations in temples and mosques, secret messengers and adoption of code language. 'I kept aloof from other sanyasis. Five leaders of the Mutiny met me at Haridwar-Nana Saheb, Azimullah Khan, Bala Saheb, Tantia Tope and Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur.'

Replied to Nana Saheb's question that the British had no right to govern a foreign country like India. Replied to Bala Saheb's question that the enmity between the rulers of our own country was the cause of our degradation. *The combined power of Mahrattas and Sikhs was able to govern our country, but because of the mutual opposition between them, the country went into the hands of the British.* Replied to Azimullah's question that the sepoy uprising would bring a bright future for the country as long as the movement was based on true Dharma, since both Hindus and Muslims were engaged in this conflict against the foreign power ; but it would become futile if the Muslims wanted the King of Delhi to become the ruler of India or the Hindus wanted Nana Saheb Peshwa to rule India, because both of them were at logger-heads ; when Nepal was at war with the Britishers, no help came from the Indian people ; Nepal had not forgotten this attitude of her neighbour ; however, it was likely that this war with the foreign power would continue for another hundred years.

Replied to Tantia Tope's question that the causes for this country-wide uprising were varied viz., conversion of people to Christianity, the British rulers keeping aloof from the mainstream of life of Indians and showering of abuses on the subjects eg., native, nigger, black, idiot, pig, bloody, bastard, fool, dog bitch, etc., and using the expression 'native' prince for rulers like the Gaikwar of Baroda and the Nizam of Hyderabad; for them, Raja Rajendralal Mitra and Pt. Satyavrata Samashrami were 'native' pandits, Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar and Gangadhar Kaviraj were 'native' physicians, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar were 'native' reformers everything 'indian' was thus an object of disgust; the main cause being the forcible annexation of various princely states by hook or crook, such as the Punjab, Pegu (Burma), Sikkim, Satara, Sambalpur, Jhansi, Bhagalpur, Udaipur, Nagpur, Jaitpur, Karouli, etc: transfer of country's wealth to England, resulting in poverty, famines and deaths due to starvation; imposition of various taxes such as education tax, road tax, water tax, income tax, land tax, etc, scarcity of cloth and food grains made people semi-naked and half-dead; recruitment of soldiers from illiterate and foolish populace who were deprived of education for the rest of their lives; great discrimination and partiality towards European soldiers with respect to treatment and salaries; merciless suppression of country's soldiers who dared to register their protests against maltreatment; thus, the treatment of soldiers by the British Officers being worse than that of animals, mutiny appeared to be imminent. Replied to Kunwar Singh's question that a war for independence would never go unrewarded: India had become dependent gradually in a hundred years against foreign aggression and so, another hundred years might be required to gain independence. My chief aim of coming to Kumbha Mela at Haridwar was two-fold: one to search out adept yogis and the other, to organize the *sadhus* who numbered in lakhs; had I not this latter aim in my mind, I would have joined you immediately.

The five leaders asked me to continue the task of organising the *sadhus* as hundreds and thousands of people were already engaged in rousing the public from Peshawar to Calcutta and from Meerut to Karnatak. "I advised them to adopt the method of circulation of lotus flowers and of *chapatis* as per the ancient traditional practice to spread the secret message of rising among warriors and civilians respectively. The leaders then took leave of me."

"In the course of my efforts to organise *sadhus*, I put forth my request before the four Heads of Mutts of Advaitins (followers of Adi Shankaracharya). They replied that for them, only Brahma was real and all else—nation, society, family, life, world, independence, slavery *varna*, *ashrama*, mine-thine, etc., were false and unreal; as such it would be futile to do anything with respect to things which they considered unreal. The Dwaita Vaishnavite *sadhus* replied in a different manner, but carrying the same purport that their bodies were reserved only for the devotion and *bhajan* of Shri Rama or Shri Krishna and for no other purpose at all; it would be a great sin to use that body for other purposes such as service to the country, society or nation; the human body was not meant for such useless errands; salvation was certain if the rituals of service to God and his *bhajan* were adopted; it was not wise to use the human body for such purposes which came in the way Bhagavad-bhajan."

"While returning with disappointment, I remarked that in a country where such devotees were in the largest numbers its doom was quite certain. I then, approached leaders of various sects and subsects of Vaishnavism; they failed to understand even the importance of an organisation. Observed various processions of *sadhus* making deafening noise in the Kumbha Mela and felt very bad that in a dependent country like India under foreign aggression, the *sadhus* were so overwhelmed with joy, forgetting everything."

"Raja Govindnath Roy and Rani Lakshmibai along with her associate Rani Gangabai met me. Second meeting with Nana Saheb and three or four other new persons sought my blessings for the forth-coming rising, for which the date was not yet fixed. Gave blessings and warned that leadership of the public was like playing with fire: one mistake would result in ruin. Assured them that I would send to them for the sake of country's liberty whatever money and presents I would receive from the public."

"I advised the *sadhus* that it would be beneficial to lay down lives for the sake of Dharma and for the welfare of the race; the first duty of a *sadhu* was to perform *yoga sadhna* for the uplift of his soul and the second was to propagate the ideals of Vedic Dharma for the uplifting of the masses." Departure for the Himalayas in search of yogis.

6) *Wanderings in the Himalayas*⁷: Reached Rishikesh, On the way, met yogis and took lessons in yoga. Worked for the organisation of *sadhus*. Lakshman Jhula. Reached Shri Nagar via Tehri. Met yogis in Kedarghat. Spent three weeks. Reached Amarnath via. Pahalgam, Chandanwari, Sheshnag and Panchtarani. Met Betal Siddha Baba, who explained the attainment of salvation through sitting on a stolen new-born baby in the cremation ground and reciting Chamunda devi's *bijamantra* for 1010101 times. Ran away from him with disgust. Accompanied Buddhist *sadhus* and pilgrims. Visited, Kshir Bhavani temple, Gandharbal, Tulumul. Departure for Tibet along the bank of the river Sindhu. Reached Kangan, Gund, Hayan, Ganjan, Sonamarg, Dras, Sirbal, Baltal, Jojilla. Crossed the Himalayas and reached Matayan in Tibet. Pandas, Dundulyang, Tasgam, Shamsa, Khurba, visited. Reached Kargil town and then Leh, the principle town of Ladakh state. Likir mountain. People here considered a yogi as one who worshipped a corpse or spirit through *tantra-mantra*. Poor

families had only one common wife among all the brothers. Muslims were considered as enemies because of their involvement in the destruction of temples and idols. Buddhist pilgrims stayed back at Ladakh.

Met the Lama in Himis Gompa. Came to know that Jesus Christ had visited India; his biography was available in the Mutt. Came back to Shrinagar via Leh, Likir cave, Kargil and Shalimar gardens along with a Buddhist *sadhu*. Met Swami Gangagiri, Agastyashram. Reached Rishikesh with Swami Gangagiri. Dehradun. Yamunotri, Uttara Kashi, Gangotri, Gowrikund, Triyugi Narayan, Kedarnath, Gupta Kashi, Joshi Mutt, Badrinath, Brahmakund, Vasudhara, Satpath, Bhagirathi-Alakhnanda sangam, Alkapuri, Man Sarovar, Rakshastal.

Marched towards Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. Criticized Buddhism. Arrested and brought before the court of Lama of a big town. Both (myself and Swami Gangagiri) were convicted and sentenced to death. Swami Gangagiri was sewn within a yak-skin. I was thrown into a well containing corpses. Some ladies became compassionate and released Swami Gangagiri. I was given a rope to climb up the well; thus, released and granted life, we reached Lhasa within two months. In Tibet, the *sadhu* who could recite "Om Mani Padme Hum" was considered a yogi... From Lhasa, crossing Kichu river, reached Neta along with Swami Rudranand, then to Syang-po (Brahmaputra river)... Crossed the river and reached Chumbi. Met two yogis, who demonstrated before us some yogic feats (*vibhutis*) of the Vibhutipada of Patanjala Yoga darshanam. Caught by the Tibet detectives. Released after interrogation. Reached Darjeeling. Met two Christian missionaries at Kalimpong, who stated that within two hundred years all the educated men and women in India would adopt Christianity. I observed wide influence of Christianity in that region, esp. among educated Bengalees and tribes. Reached Natore. Met Raja Ratanmani

In order to find an eminent Vedic scholar, came to Mathura and sat at the feet of Dandi Swami Virajanand. Learnt Vedvidya from him, and in lieu of the 'guru dakshina', took the vow of spreading the Vedic dhrama and condemning non-vedic sects. Travelled for nine years between Agra and Varanasi. Gave discourses at more than sixty places and took part in various shastrarthas for the spread of Vedic dharma. In the famous shastrartha on Moorthi Pooja at Varanasi twenty seven pandits including six Bengalee pandits were opposing me; the pandits included Pt. Satyavrata Samashrami of Bengal Royal Society. He, later on, declared the result in my favour and published it in his Sanskrit journal "Pratnakamra nandini"; so also was in the journals "Hindu Patriot" and "Tattwa Bodhini".

Came to Calcutta at the invitation of Devendranath Thakur etc., with the chief object of establishing Veda Vidyalaya and, the other being to give discourses on Vedas. Reached here on 16th December 1872. To-day is 31st March 1873. Wished to visit Hooghly and Burdwan, and then to Bihar.

Have narrated completely whatever was in my memory, but one request to make, that this should not be published during my life time.

(End of the Autobiography)

The incidents described in this autobiography have their support in the works of, and about, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, in his correspondence and in his three basic biographies (in Hindi) by Pt. Lekh Ram, Babu Devendranath Mukhopadhyay and Swami Satyanand and (in English) by Diwan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda.

The involvement of Swami Dayananda Saraswati in the Great Mutiny of 1857 was a foregone conclusion, which contained in the fact that whoever came in to contact with Swamiji, either directly during his life time, or listened to his discourses or read his works, or, after his death, studied his works and biographies, AND CAME UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF HIS TEACHINGS, became a freedom fighter or an ardent supporter of the freedom struggle against the British. This is true even to day (although India had already thrown off the foreign yoke in 1947), because, any person who comes under the influence of his teachings is filled with patriotism. No examples to prove the above statement are required, because, there is not one exception.

With the publication of this new autobiography in 1969-70, and in 1972 in a book form, experts have already started investigations and collecting evidences at Delhi, Chandigarh, Patna, Varanasi, Calcutta and Bangalore, etc. esp. with reference to the connection of Swamiji with the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

The publication of the first autobiography in "The Theosophist" was during 1879-80. But the relations between Arya Samaj and Theosophical Society were strained afterwards due to the misunderstanding of principles and doctrines they believed as common, and hence, the two departed. So also was the case with regard to Brahmo Samaj and its relationship with Swami Dayananda which halted the publication of this new autobiography in time. Now that the relations of Arya Samaj either with the Theosophical Society or with Brahmo Samaj are normal, or nearly cordial, and that the autobiography published in "The Theosophist" during 1879-80 and this (new) autobiography are supplementing each other as regards the details. This article has been written with the intention of inviting scholars and investigators on the three sides, and historians, to fling into action for verifying the incidents in his life and throw more light on the life of Swami Dayananda.

Saraswati, with respect to his wanderings throughout India, and his involvement in the Mutiny of 1857, so that the political history of India could give the proper place to Swami Dayananda to which he is entitled.

Notes :

1 (i) *Satyarth Prakash* (in Hindi) (ii) *Rgvedadi Bhashya-bhoomika* (in Sanskrit & Hindi) (iii) *Rgveda Bhashya* (in Sanskrit & Hindi) (iv) *Yajurveda Bhashya* (in Sanskrit & Hindi). All published by Vedic Pustakalay, Kesarganj, Ajmer. (v) *Patra our Vijnapan* (4 volumes) (mostly in Hindi) Ramlal Kapoor Trust PO Bahalgarh, Sonapat (Haryana)

2 *Maharshi Dayanand ka Jivancharitra* By Pt. Lekharam, published by Arsha Sahitya Prachar Trust, 455, Kharibaoli, Delhi-6

Dayananda Charit by Devendranath Mukhypadhyaya, published by Arya Sahitya Mandal, Kesarganj, Ajmer.

Dayanada Prakash by Swami Satyanand published by Satya Prakashana. Vrindavan Road, Mathura.

Life of Dayanand Saraswati by Harbilas Sarda, published by Paropakarini Sabha, Ajmer.

3 As per the version of this autobiography, the year comes to 1856, but since there are two gaps (between 1855-56 and 1856-57), this has been corrected as 1858. Refer the article entitled "Five & A Half years in the life of Swami Dayanand" written by Shri A.P. Singh of Bhopal in the book *World Perspectives On Swami Dayanand* published in 1983.

4 Original Hindi manuscripts of the first and second instalments are available at the Paropakarini Sabha, Ajmer, while the third one is not traceable.

5 Mostly based on the autobiography published in "The Theosophist".

6 Original Sanskrit manuscripts are not available.

7 1856-57 AD

8 1858-60 AD.

TAMILNADU CONGRESS AND TEMPLE-ENTRY CAMPAIGN 1932-39

Selvi P. N. PREMALATHA *

"Live not in a place where there is no temple" is the famous saying of the great poetess Avvaiyar. Temple serves a vital purpose in the Hindu life. The daily life of every Hindu irrespective of sex, caste, creed or status in life is closely associated with temple worship. But unfortunately in this land of temples certain section of the Hindu population was not allowed to enter the temples and worship with other Hindus and they led a secluded life. They were called untouchables.¹

Our sages had written against such a distinction being made between caste and caste. Sankarachariar spoke against it. Ramanujachariar took all the people into temple. Vaikunda Swami of South Travancore organised a Society to establish equality among the various castes. Ramalinga Adigal better known as Vallalar condemned the artificial distinctions among the castes and he founded 'Samarasa Sutha Sanmarka Sangam' in which all people without any distinction could pray to God. Even then the evil practice continued.

This age old practice was viewed with much concern by the Indian National Congress. Till 1917 the Congress leaders kept all questions of religious and quasi-religious character outside the deliberations of the Indian National Congress. For the first time, Congress at its Calcutta session in 1917 passed a resolution urging upon the people of India the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the depressed classes.²

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First organised attempt in this line was started by the Kerala Congress leaders at Vaikom in the State of Travancore in 1924, where the untouchables were prevented from using a road leading to a temple. With the help of E. V. Ramasami Naicker, the then President of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, the movement became successful and the roads were thrown open to the Untouchables.³

Though Congress gave much importance to the programme of eradication of Untouchability from 1917 onwards, the right of temple-entry became a prominent feature in the anti-untouchability campaign only in 1932. The announcement of 'Communal Award' on August-16, 1932 which accorded separate electorate to the Depressed Classes awakened the Caste Hindus. The recognition of the claim of Depressed Classes to separate electorate marked them distinct from the rest of the Hindus. Gandhiji who was in jail at that time decided to stake his life to prevent the disaster of the Depressed Classes being isolated from the Hindu Community and on September 20, 1932 began an interminable fast in the Yeravada jail.⁴

In the Madras Provincial Legislature eighteen seats were reserved for the Depressed Classes. So the Depressed Class members in the South, especially Mr. M. Devadasan, member of the Madras Legislative Council, were unanimous in saying that they were not prepared to forego the privilege conferred on them in the Communal Award. They asserted that they were already cut off from the rest of the Hindu Community and that the provision of separate electorates, was not going to widen the breach.⁵

The Non-Brahmin Justice Party of Madras took advantage of the prevailing situation, worked to win over the Depressed Classes to their side. The Raja of Bobbili gave a dinner to the Depressed Classes at which both Caste Hindus and Depressed Classes sat together.⁶

Congress leaders realized the policy of 'Divide and Rule' pursued by the Government of India to keep the Depressed Classes away from the Congress so that they could strengthen their Government in India. This awakened the Congress leaders in Tamilnadu, who felt that if they did not take measures to abrogate the separate electorate in the Communal Award, all the Depressed Classes would join the Non-Brahmin Justice Party. They promised to eradicate untouchability altogether from the Hindu soil to keep the Depressed Classes with them and to save the life of Gandhiji. C. Rajagopalachari, the then president of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee interviewed important Depressed Class leaders of Madras such as Mr. Srinivasan, W. Shiva Raj and Dharmalingam Pillai, who were in favour of separate electorate only.⁷

Meetings were held by the Congress Party in many places and they explained the issue on which Gandhiji had taken his resolve and admitted the indifference of the Caste Hindus in respect of the removal of untouchability. They appealed too, for the starting of social propaganda in the places where Depressed Classes were residing to remove the social disabilities of the Depressed Classes.⁸

During the course of the fast on 25 September 1932, Mahatma Gandhi issued a statement from Yerawada prison appealing to the people to throw open all temples to the outcastes. In pursuance of that appeal the citizens of Madurai at once began to circulate an effective statement signed by respected leaders of the town including Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, the leader of the Sanatanist Movement.⁹ The statement said that in the imperative interest of National unity and Hindu solidarity the South Indian temples should be thrown open to the Harijans.¹⁰

On 7 October 1932, at a meeting of the Madurai Devasathanam Committee, the following resolution was passed: "In

view of the strong public support in favour of removing the disabilities under which certain classes of Hindus are suffering in respect of entry into the temple under our jurisdiction and for admitting those excluded castes into the temple along with other Hindu devotees, the Committee feels that steps should be taken to give effect to this just and reasonable desire, but the Committee is of opinion that under the existing law it is beyond the powers of the committee to make the innovation. The Committee therefore recommends the early introduction of legislative measure to remove the disabilities".¹¹

C. Rajagopalachari persuaded Dr. Subbarayan to put up a bill that would authorise the holding up of referenda among the users of any temple to decide whether it should be opened or not to the Harijans.¹² He formally separated himself from the Civil Disobedience Movement saying that the Harijan Movement could work only if he was out of it; he would prefer to quit.¹³

The crusade for the abolition of untouchability reached its highest pitch on November, 1932 when Dr. Subbarayan's Temple Entry resolution was carried in the Madras Legislative Council. The victory showed that the citadel of orthodoxy in India had already begun to crack and would ultimately collapse.¹⁴ Support for the bill was mobilised through meetings and conferences at various places in Tamil Nadu. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and Devadas Gandhi toured extensively in the Tamil Country and addressed numerous meetings.¹⁵ Gandhiji twice visited Tamil Nadu in 1933 in connection with Temple-entry movement. Madurai which had till then remained a stronghold of orthodoxy and had resisted all the attempts of even non-Brahmins the privileges of temple worship showed a disposition to listen to temple entry reform preached by Gandhi.¹⁶

Referendum were taken in four centres namely Madurai, Kumbakonam, Kanchipuram and Srirangam municipalities. Majority of the people were in favour of the temple-entry of

untouchables.¹⁷ People who refused to sign in the first instance signed readily when approached by the Provincial Congress organisers in the city.¹⁸ Again at the instance of the Harijan Sevak Sangh¹⁹ a regular referendum of all Hindus who were entitled to attend the temple was taken. As a result of which it was found that eighty per cent of the people were in favour of temple-entry. Then, on the 6th January 1933, the membership of the Madurai Devasthanam Committee was thrown open to election by the Government. There were six seats vacant and the election to the six seats were fought on the specific issue of temple-entry. There were two parties contesting the election the Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Agama Sangh. All the seats were captured by the Harijan Sevak Sangh. A total of 79 per cent of the votes were in favour of the temple entry. The matter did not stop there. Immediately after the elections in January 1933 the Devasthanam Committee sent a telegram to the Governor and the Viceroy which ran thus: "We, the Meenakshi Devasthanam Committee Members, Madurai, recently elected after pledging support to temple-entry for Harijans unanimously request the Viceroy to accord sanction to Dr. Subbrayan's bill for temple-entry and to that of C. S. Ranga Ayyar²⁰, public opinion is overwhelmingly in favour of it".²¹

Swami Venkatachalam Chetti, a Congress member in the Council on 9 January 1933 recommended to the Government that a committee of Hindus be appointed to ascertain the public Hindu opinion in the right and desirability of the entry of Avarna Hindus into Hindu temples and on the restrictions if any either in respect of region or of the time of such entry or the performance of ceremonies which would have to be recommended for compliance by Avaranas before they were allowed admission into the temples. The Government of India which was then considering bills on temple-entry of the so-called untouchables, reported that they received numerous memorials against temple-entry and refused to appoint a committee.²²

As there was great pressure from the Congress, at last the Governor-General announced his decision on the question of

sanctioning the Temple-Entry Bill.²³ The Act of Subbrayan was called the 'Temple-Entry Disabilities Removal Act' and it came into force on the first day of March 1933.²⁴ This bill was considered to be the most momentous so far introduced by the non-official agency on which the country's attention was focussed.²⁵

Even though the bill was passed, the temples were not opened. Disturbances occurred in Trichinopoly district when Adi-Dravidas attempted to enter Hindu Temples and was settled peacefully.²⁶ In many places the movement and counter-movement had aroused considerable feeling and created a tense atmosphere in which clashes occurred between the opposing parties.²⁷ Various protest meetings were held at which the champions of the established tenets proclaimed that the Act injuriously affected their religious belief and customs and demanded that the Government should maintain the position of non interference on religious matters.²⁸

A bare enacting of the Bill would show that no single temple could be opened to Harijans under the Bill, unless the caste Hindus worshipping in such temples agreed to it, which again would be, only if the work of peaceful persuasion had been proceeded with successfully.²⁹ To Gandhiji himself, Temple-Entry Legislation in itself was of no consequence. The acid test was of a change of heart. The public mind should be overwhelmingly in favour of entry of Harijans into temple on the same terms as other Hindus. The temple entry unaccompanied by that change of hearts to him was of no consequence. Therefore he asked the Congressmen to concentrate their efforts on educating public opinion on that question.³⁰

The Government of Madras issued an order prohibiting Government servants from participating in any manner in the anti-untouchability movement including that of temple-entry campaign. The Harijan Sevak Sangh condemned the order and asked the Government to rescind that order and issue another

in its place favourable to the anti-untouchability movement³¹ *Andhra Patrika* also condemned the Government order and asked how the Harijan Movement became a political movement by Congressmen taking part in it. It was purely a social movement³²

The Travancore Durbar passed a proclamation on November 12, 1936 thereby earned the appreciation of every citizen of India, which runs as follows—"... there should henceforth be no restriction placed on any Hindu by birth or religion on entering or worshipping at temples controlled by us and our Government"³³

This proclamation greatly induced the leaders of Tamil Nadu. When C. Rajagopalachari was the Premier of Madras, a great supporter of the removal of untouchability, A. Vidyana-tha Iyer, a member of the Tamil Nadu Congree Committee announced his decision to lead a batch of Harijan devotees into the famous Meenakshi Temple in Madurai. It led to a lot of agitation on the part of the Brahmins, but Iyer was undaunted. On 8 July 1939, under his leadership 5 Harijans and one Nadar were admitted by the temple authorities into the famous Sri Meenakshi Temple at Madurai where they were received and all ceremonies were duly performed. The Sanatanists had raised an outcry but the general public had refused to become excited.³⁴

On 9th July, Vaishnavite temple i.e. Sri Soundaraja Perumal Temple in the Melur Taluk which was intimately associated with the Saivite temple of Sri Meenakshi Sundareswarar Temple at Madurai was opened. Then, on the 16th July the great Brahadswarar Temple at Tanjore was opened after consultation with the trustees. On the 26th July at Courtallam in the Tinnevely district, the very famous shrine of Tirukkuttalanathaswami near the falls was opened. Following that Kasi Viswanatha Swami temple at Tenkasi, Sri Kudalalagar temple at Madurai and Sri Kalamega Perumal temple at Tirumohur in Madurai

district were opened. All these temples were situated in the very orthodox parts of the Tamil Country. The opening of these seven temples were therefore counted upon by people who were interested in this reform as something most remarkable and as something that forms a landmark in the history of India so far as Hinduism was concerned.³⁵

When these temples were opened, it was necessary to take steps to help the progress of this reform and to prevent all evil consequences arising out of it.³⁶ Immediately C. Rajagopalachari introduced the Madras Temple Entry Indemnity Bill on 3 August 1939 in the Madras Legislative Council. This Act indemnified and protected Government Officers and the trustees of the Meenakshi Temple in Madurai and six other temples against legal action for having permitted Harijans to enter the temple and to offer worship. At the same time the Act permitted the trustee of other temples to throw open the doors of the temples to Harijans provided that the worshippers were not opposed.³⁷

Due to ancient custom in India Caste had crept into Indian Society and Indians in the past set a section of the Hindus at the outskirts of Society. But thanks to the work of Congress and especially A. Vaithyanatha Iyer that ugly custom was broken in Tamil Nadu and temples were thrown open to them. Harijans for the first time got their birthright in the religious reform. Opening of the temples to the Harijans was the crux of the problem of the removal of untouchability and atlast it had come to be realized.

REFERENCE

1. It is to be noted that it was not only the untouchables but also most of the non-Brahmin Castes were denied the right to temple-entry. The question of allowing

temple-entry depended upon the custom prevailing in each locality. Even the higher class Nayers were not allowed to enter the Rameswaram temple. With regard to Nadars in some districts, they were allowed to go into temples, while in others they were not. But nowhere the untouchables were allowed temple-entry.

2. Report of the Thirty-Second Indian National Congress Session, Calcutta. 1917, p. 1260.
3. Viswanathan, E.Sa., *The Political Career of E. V. Ramaswami Naicker*, I Edition, Madras, 1983, pp. 42-45.
4. Kapur, A. C., *Constitutional History of India 1765-1975*, New Delhi, II Edition, 1976, pp. 283-84
5. Letter from the Tinnevely Collector to Mr. Bracken, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, 18 September 1932.
6. Government of Madras, Secret, Under Secretary Safe File No. 804, 16th December 1934.
7. Letter from the Commissioner of Police, Egmore to Bracken, Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Madras, 19 September 1932, No. 2901/1-S-32.
8. Government of Madras, Fortnightly Report (hereafter FR), 20 October 1932.
9. The claim put forward on behalf of the Depressed Classes had given rise to a counter movement known as the sanatani movement.
10. Madras Legislative Council Debates (hereafter MLCD), Volume IX, August 1939, pp. 63-64.

11. *Ibid*, p. 64.
12. Aruna Sivakami, *Rajaji - A Study in Politics and Administration*, University of Madras, (Unpublished thesis). 1980, p. 10
13. *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (hereafter CWMG), January-March, 1933, Vol. LIII, Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad 1977. p. 495
14. Ammu Menon Majumdar, *Social Welfare in India, Mahatma Gandhi's Contribution*, Bombay 1964, pp. 66-67.
15. Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency, (hereafter RAMP), 1932-33, Madras 1934, p.x,
16. Baliga, B. S., *Madras District Gazetteers, Madurai*, Government of Madras, 1960, p. 81.
17. FR, 5 January 1933.
18. ER, 20 January 1933.
19. Harijan Sevak Sangh was founded by the Congress leaders in 1932 to eradicate untouchability.
20. C. S. Ranga Ayyar introduced a bill called 'Untouchability Abolition Bill' in the Legislative Assembly.
21. MLCD, Vol. IX, August 1939, p. 64.
22. Public Department, G. O. No. 205, Government of Madras, 4 March 1933.
23. FR, 4 February 1933.
24. Public Department, G.O. No. 205, 4 March 1933.
25. *Indian Express*, Madras, 9 January 1933.

26. FR, 19 April 1933.
27. Press communiqué of the Government of Madras, Fort St. George, Public Department, 18 July 1933.
28. *RAMP*, 1932-33, Madras, 1934, p.x.
29. Mitra, N. N., *The Indian Annual Register*, Vol. II, July-December 1934, Calcutta, p. 315.
30. *CWG*, Vol. LVII, January-May 1934, Ahmedabad, 1977, p. 189.
31. *Sutandira Sangu*, Madras, 5 July 1933.
32. *Andhra Patrika*, Madras, 3 July 1933.
33. *The Harijan*, 21 November 1936.
34. *FR*, 20 July 1939.
35. *MLAD*; Volume; XIII, August 1939, p. 29.
36. *Ibid*,
37. Robert L. Hardgrave (JR), *The Nadars of Tamilnadu*, University of California Press, 1969, p. 189.

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT KARNATAKA

DR. M. CHIDANANDA MURTHY *

The word denoting a slave in ancient Karnataka was *toḷṭu* from which *tottu* of medieval and modern Kannada is derived. The verbal root underlying the word is *toḷu* which literally means 'to serve' in Dravidian. In the *vachana* compositions of the twelfth century there are expressions like *baḷidottu*, *baḷa gadottu* and *vamśadottu* which mean a permanent slave attached to a family. In other words, the *vamśadottu* was a slave who was part of the property belonging to the master. In Basava (12th cent.) we have evidence to argue that when a person was reduced to the status of a slave, he was to shave his head as a sign of his slavery¹. Although *tottu* is both feminine and masculine and is used as such, it is usually used in the feminine and in general it suggests a female slave, and to suggest a male slave, the expression *gaṇḍudottu* is used². The word *tonḍa*³ which is derived from the same verbal root *toḷu* is also used in the sense of a male slave. In many cases, the people who were defeated by a powerful king were made to work as slaves under the conqueror. These slaves served as servants in palaces and nobles' quarters. Their wives were employed in harems and there is a reference saying that the "(female) slave is not bothered what happens in places, she only minds her duties (as a slave)". They were forbidden to wear golden ornaments; if at all they were, they were allowed to wear brass ornaments⁴. Both the male and female servants in palaces attended to menial duties like cleaning houses and they had no pleasures of their own except those of their masters ('*oḍeyar*'). There were slaves in aristocratic families, and whenever a daughter of the family was married and sent to her bridegroom's family,

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tottu or a female slave formed part of the gifts given to the daughter.⁵ There are references to children born of their slave mothers and since they did not know to whom they were born, they would call any male their father. In other words, the master of a house could call his slave girl to his bed any time, and the child born to him would not claim any rights over the property; it was just another slave. The slaves were severely punished for any lapse in their duties, and there are indications that they would run away from their masters' houses to avoid the punishments⁶. The poetic work *Nēminēsha Sāngathi* (29:6) clearly states that slaves were mercilessly whipped by their masters.

It is well known that gods in the temples enjoyed all the pleasures of a king. If kings had slaves in their palaces, gods had slaves attached to their temples. Slaves, both men and women, formed part of the gifts given over to temples⁷. There is a reference to a lady Rebbakabbe giving her slave Machabbe as a gift to the diety Sakaleshvara ("ā kāladol Rebbakabbe tanna tottu Mācabbeyam Sakalēśvaradēvarge biṭṭaḷ"),⁸. The slaves were part of the temple establishment doing menial jobs like cleaning, etc., and needless to say, they were maintained by temples.

In 'Nambiyannana Ragale' an epic by poet Harihara (c. 1220 A. D.), there is a whole episode depicting how slaves were claimed as property by their masters. Jedeya Nayanar and his wife Yasyajnanadevi were 'family slaves' (*Vamśavaliyāgi banda baḷidottu*) to Smashanashayana Bhatta of Bhaktapura. Since they were 'family slaves', they gave in writing that their son Nambi would also be a "family slave" (*baḷidottu*) to their master. A few witnesses from the village had affixed their signatures to the document. When he was grown up and about to be married, the master suddenly appears in the wedding house, produces the document claiming and even forcing that Nambi should accompany him to serve him. Though the whole episode is imaginary, the narration clearly indicates

the nature of slavery, how it was maintained through documents and executed. "Family slaves" had no opportunity of freedom from slavery as opposed to ordinary slaves who had chances of freedom.

It was inauspicious to mention the names of slaves, and hence the female slaves were euphemistically called "Siriyaidevi" or the auspicious one.⁹

We have two important references as to the sale of slaves, one literary and another epigraphic. Balachandradeva (12th century) in his Kannada commentary on Umasvamy's 'Tatvārthasūtra', while elaborating on concepts like *Klēśa-vañijye* and *Tiryak-vañijye* says that *Klēśa-vañijye* is "the profit one gets by selling one's female slave (*toḷtor*) and male slaves (*baṇṭar*) in distant lands." *Tiryak-vañijye* is "the profit one gets by selling one's cattle in the nearby villages".¹⁰ There were merchants who would go round the area, buy slaves from their masters, take them to distant lands and sell them away for a profit. Strong and healthy male slaves were perhaps, forced to join the army or were employed as agriculture labourers by their new masters. The female slaves, similarly had their own tale to tell. In the process of slave trade, there were all the chances of a slave's family being disintegrated.

The slaves were also kept for sale in the weekly fairs or bazars (*sante*) which take place even now in the rural areas. The people around the area flock to a particular spot on a particular day along with their merchandise like grain, oil, cattle, etc., and the trade goes on almost till the evening. An inscription dated in 1430 AD from the Kolar district mentions that a weekly fair was arranged to be held in the grove near the village Maragallu, and a list of a few items that were bought and sold in the weekly fair are as follows: bullocks, slaves, horses ("ettu tottu kudure kondaḍū māridaḍū sarvamānya"). Those masters who had either excess of their slaves or who did not need them brought them to the Maragallu fair either to sell or barter them for other slaves, or for cattle or for other articles.

How were the slaves marked out as commodities for sale in market places? Probably, a bunch or a ring of grass was tied to their heads as if to show that they were, for all practical purposes, just equal to cattle. This is borne out by Raghavanka (1220 A.D.) who describes the episode of Harishchandra trying to sell away his wife Chandramati and son Lohitashva in the streets of Benares. He ties grass to the heads of his wife and son and announces in the streets that they were for sale. The Brahmin who buys them does some bargaining in the beginning on the ground that the lady was too old and the boy too young to work (This gives us a picture of how slave trade would take place in weekly bazars). If Chandramati does such jobs like fetching water, threshing, pounding of corn, milking, cooking and cleaning in her master's house, the boy would go to the forest to bring firewood. Chandramati was even expected to wash her master's feet. When the news of the death of Lohitashva reaches her, she was permitted to go to her son only after finishing her work at home. Her master refuses to perform any death rituals to the dead body of Lohitashva, because the boy was a slave and a *shūdra*. During her slavery she was all the while dreaming that Harishchandra would earn some money and release them from the bondage after repaying to her master (*oḍeya*).

Harishchandra who sells himself to Virabahu does all the work ordained by his master. Even if he was asked "to kill a cow, Brahmins and even his own parents, or to drink poison or to catch a cobra", as a slave he was expected to just follow his orders. Slaves had no freedom of their own. The above picture gives a real picture of slavery during the thirteenth century.

There is epigraphic evidence that those who were conquered were taken away as slaves under the conquerors¹². The vanquished soldiers many times, to avoid slavery and the consequent inhuman treatment, ran away into mountains and forests.¹³ Many disguised themselves and became beggars¹⁴.

The famous *maṭha* at Shringeri, as recent as the eighteenth or the nineteenth century had slave trade under its supervision, as is evidenced by numerous *Kaḍitas* deposited in its manuscripts' library¹⁵. Many of them are termed as 'sale deed of women' (*heṇṇina krayaciṭu*). They record that when women were found to resort to immoral acts like adultery, the *maṭha* had powers to have them brought to the *maṭha* and sold. One such sale deed says that in 1818 A. D. a widow by name Pani did 'darkness sin' (*irulu-tappu*) or adultery and she was sold to three *varahas* to Ahobala Somayaji. There is a touching record of a Brahmin himself buying his own widow sister from the *maṭha*, lest she is bought by somebody else and employed to serve as a slave. The following is the summary of the record.¹⁶ "Woman's sale deed (date mentioned). This is the sale deed given to Chintamani Bhatta by Narasi Bhatta, the administrator of the Shringeri *maṭha*. Your widow sister Godi (= Godavari) committed the 'darkness sin' and when she was brought to the courtyard of the holy *maṭha*, you requested us to sell her to you. Accordingly we have taken twelve *varāhas* and given you this 'sale deed of women' (*heṇṇina krayaciṭu*) Narayanappa's signature, Narasimbhatta has written this".

There are a few *Kaḍitas* which are named as "sale deed of untouchable servants", *holeyalugala krayaciṭu*. They deal with the sale of untouchable servants who were slaves under upper caste people. The slaves were part of the 'ancestral property' (*pitārjita*). According to a sale deed dated in 1758, Channa, an untouchable was a slave under Durgabhatta. After Channa's death, his wife, a widow committed adultery and she was brought to the courtyard of Shringeri *maṭha* for public auction. Durgabhatta and his relative Subbannayya bought her and she was given over to Mallu as his keep (Mallu was a slave under Subbannayya.) The children of Mallu and his *holati* (untouchable woman) were the common property of both Durgabhatta and Subbannayya. When this

property was divided, Durgabhatta got the eldest son of Mallu as his share and since he did not need the services of the boy, the boy was sold to one Krishnayya for six *varahas*. Krishnayya was given the right of ownership over the boy and his progeny. The sale of women and untouchables was a source of income to the *matha*.

The Mysore Government in an order dated 9th September, 1826 instructed the *matha* that the names of those women who committed adultery and who came within the 'administration' of Shringeri *matha* should be recorded in the register of the institution and receipts be obtained. The British Government declared in 1834 that the Shringeri *matha* had powers to punish the immoral women and that the *matha* should seek its permission to sell or auction such women.

There was slavery alive almost till the end of the last century. Thurston in his *Castes and Tribes* (see the entry Holey), mentions two kinds of slaves among untouchables *mūlālu* and *sāladālu*; *mūlālū* is one who is a slave by birth, his slavery is permanent, *sāladālu* is a slave who has become so because he could not repay his debts. Both *mūlālus* and *sāladālus* had to work in the farms and fields of their masters. They were not paid in cash; they were paid periodically the necessary provisions, a pair of clothes and a blanket per year; during festivals they were given some oil and salt.

There was slavery among the Yeravas of Virarajpet taluk of Coorg district. The slaves formed part of the lands owned by the land owners. When a piece of land was sold to another land owner, the slave along with his whole family was transferred along with the land. The land owners were not paying them money; housing, food and clothes were provided to them by their owners. Slaves in excess were sold or auctioned in weekly bazars. In 1817, a strong Yerava male was valued at seven standard coins¹⁷.

Notes :

1. *Basavaṇṇanavara Shaṭsthalada Vachanagaḷu* (Ed. R.C Hiremath, Dharwar. 1968). Vachana, 496.
2. *Ibid*.
3. Narayana P.V 'Vachanagaḷalli tottuviṇāra', *Kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol 62 : 1-2. 1877.p.3
4. *Basavaṇṇanavara Shaṭsthalada Vachanagaḷu*, Vachana, 401, 635.
5. P.V. Narayan, *op. cit* p.8.
6. *Ibid* p.9.
7. *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhrapradesh*, p. 79 ; *Ep. Indica* XIII, pp. 321-30 1126 A.D; *Ep. Carnatica* (Rice Edition), Vol. V. Pt. 1. p 565.
8. *Inscriptions of Northern Karnataka and Kolhapur State*. No.4, 1083, A.D.
9. Nayasena's (1112 A.D.) *Dharmamritam*, 8 : 176.
10. *Tatvaratnapradipike*, Ed. A Shanthiraja Sastry, Mysore, 1955, pp 276-71.
11. Hari-hchandra Kavyam (Ed : N. Basavaradhya and S. Basappa), Mysore, 1969, XI.5.
12. M. Chidananda Murthy, *Kannada Shasanagala Samskrita Adhyayana*, Mysore. 1979. p. 295.
13. *Ibid* p 295
14. *Ibid*.

15. A.K. Sastry : *Shringeri Dharmasamsthana*, Shringeri 1983. pp. 182-85; 187, 191, 193.
16. A.K. Sastry : *Selections from the Kaditas of Shringeri Math* (Manuscript).
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THE FABRIC OF SOCIAL LIFE IN PRE-BRITISH MYSORE

SUSAN S. BEAN *

When Indian and Western social scientists began studying rural South Asia in the mid-20th century, they encountered a society which was organized around agricultural production and in which manufacture and trade were of comparatively little importance. This situation was the relatively recent result of competition from the industrializing West abetted by a colonial policy which favored British products over Indian ones.

For Mysore it is possible to reconstruct the role of the manufacturing sector in rural society before the impact of the industrial revolution and British colonial policy from published sources. The economy of Mysore was investigated and reported on by Francis Buchanan shortly after the defeat of Tipu Sultan by the British in the Fourth Mysore War, the conclusion of a lengthy struggle for the Deccan between Mysore, Hyderabad, the Marathas, the French and the British. Governor General Wellesley, intending to take commercial advantage of the East India Company's virtual control of the southern Deccan, commissioned Francis Buchanan, a seasoned observer of Indian economic life, to travel through the newly acquired dominions and submit a report. Buchanan was assigned the task of surveying the newly acquired territories to observe conditions there and to identify manufactured products and raw materials of potential interest to the British. Buchanan's account was published in 1807 as *Journey through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malbar*. Buchanan's report contains excellent information on the conduct of agriculture, artisanry, commerce and many details of social life. This three volume work is an invaluable source on rural society in Mysore before the British period. In this

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paper, Buchanan's *Journey* will be used to investigate the place of textile manufacture and trade in pre-British Mysore. Important comparative information has been gathered from Edgar Thurston's publications on textiles and society in South India almost a century later (Thurston 1897, 1898, 1909) and C.G.E. Bunt's article in the *Christian Science Monitor* in 1920, on the eve of the Gandhian revival of hand made cloth.

For millenia textile production and trade have been second only to agriculture in India's economy. Indian cloth, especially fine muslins and painted and printed cottons, were prized commodities in the ancient world, in China as early as the 5th century B.C. and later in Imperial Rome. India remained supreme in cotton textile production and trade until the European industrial revolution of the late 18th century. British technological advances in textile manufacture together with British control of import and export taxes depressed Indian cloth manufactures. By 1820 nearly all Indian cottons were woven with British mill-made yarns, and in subsequent decades inexpensive British cloth became readily available. The Indian textile industry declined sharply and the gap between the agrarian sector and the manufacturing sector filled by textiles, widened.

Through a close reading of Buchanan's *Journey* it is possible to identify the kinds of textiles produced in pre-British Mysore, as well as the social identity of the textile artisans, and the primary and secondary places of manufacture and trade. The later 19th and 20th century sources allow some charting of the changes that took place during British rule, and the gradual displacement of Mysore's textile economy. The goal of this survey is to stimulate further research on the spinners, weavers, dyers and textile merchants of Karnataka to establish their place in Indian Society and its transformations from pre-colonial and pre-industrial conditions to the present.

Cloth production in Mysore, as elsewhere in India, was a complex process in which tasks of fiber production, fibre

processing, dyeing, spinning, fabric design, loom preparation and weaving were often divided between castes and among caste members by age and sex.

Two minor fibers, hemp and wool, were each the speciality of a caste. The Gonigaru in the environs of Bangalore raised, processed, and wove hemp. In other places farmers raised hemp as an alternate crop and sold it to Gonigas who processed and wove it. Although hemp was the least important of Mysore's fibers, it was very widely used for ropes and sacks (gunny bags).

Like hemp, wool was raised, processed and woven by the members of a single caste, the Kurubaru or "shepards" while many Kurubaru combined agriculture with animal husbandry and cloth production, one endogamous section of the Kuruba caste, the Handi Kurubaru, were entirely occupied as shepards and weavers. Both men and women processed the wool and spun it into yarn. The wool was not dyed, but woven in its natural colors. Pure black was considered the finest. Kurubaru wove their textiles on the same type of pit loom used by cotton and silk weavers. Although men were the primary weavers, women also wove (Thurston 1909, v. IV, p. 137). Blankets were made in several qualities from very rough and coarse to very soft and so fine as to be water repellent. The finest quality was prized for use in the rainy season. A woolen blanket for warmth and protection was an article of dress universal in Mysore: worn by servants, farmers, gardeners, and the militia. Most Kurubaru wore nothing else, though the well-off wore cotton next to their skin. By Thurston's time the finest quality was no longer being made (1909, v. IV, p. 135), and blankets were little used as garments but continued to be produced for carpets and bedding.

The Gonigaru and Kurubaru were the only cloth specialists who processed the fibres they worked with from growing to the finished cloth. The apparent flexibility and local variation of tasks assigned to men and women among the Kurubaru, stands

in sharp contrast to the rather rigid division of labor among cotton and silk weavers where women spun and prepared warp threads, but the weaving was done by men.

Cotton and silk production were much more complex than jute and wool. Many separate groups of specialists participated in the process that transformed raw fibre into cloth. In Mysore as in the rest of India, cotton was by far the most common fibre, while silk was the most prestigious and costly. The cottons for which India was world famous, on which early (pre-1700) East India Company trade relied, were not cottons produced in Mysore. Mysore cottons were produced for local consumption and trade within South India. No silk was raised in Mysore, but the fibre was imported and made into cloth for the well-to-do in some of the larger towns. Cotton production was not limited to towns but carried on throughout the Kingdom in towns and villages.

Cotton was grown in Mysore mostly in the black soil districts north-west of Seringapatam, but it was not grown in quantities sufficient for the cloth making industries, so additional raw cotton was imported from the North, the territories of the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad. Cotton was also grown to the South in Coimbatour, but most of it was consumed there or exported to Malabar or Madras.

In Mysore the yarn for weaving was made by women. Spinning was a major occupation and source of income for women of all castes except Brahmins, "but those of the Parriar are reckoned to make the best thread" (Buchanan 1807, vol II: 263). Women bought cotton wool at markets, spun it and either sold it or traded it with weavers for cloth. According to Buchanan a woman could earn as much for a day's spinning as for a day's field labor. He reports that Golla women were industrious spinners and field hands who could maintain a household with many wives.

The importance of cloth manufacture and trade to social life and the social order of Indian states is exemplified by the situation of Mysore in the late 18th century. Both Tipu Sultan and his father Hyder Ali regulated cloth manufacture and trade in their dominions. Both ruled from Seringapatam, near modern Mysore city, and encouraged (occasionally forced) makers of fine cloth to settle there and produce luxury goods for the court. Buchanan, noting this, observed that the restored Hindu dynasty would not have the resources to maintain former levels of consumption, and that the Company ought to find new outlets for the fine fabrics made there.

Bangalore had been founded by Hyder Ali as a manufacturing and trading center through which goods passed between the dominions of the Marathas and the Nizam in northern Deccan and the British controlled territory below the Ghats. During the years Tipu Sultan fought to maintain his place, he prohibited that trade, probably because a major portion of the trade was cloth which was paid for in cash that would, in war time, provide support for the armies of his enemies.

Seringapatam and Bangalore were the twin centers of manufacture and trade in Mysore. Production of luxury textiles for the court, wealthy land owners, and merchants was concentrated there. The Cuttery (Khatri) and Puttuegar castes, weavers of silk and mixed cotton and silk fabrics, and the wealthiest of the weaving castes, lived principally in these towns. Hyder Ali had forcibly brought Khatri families from Tanjore to Seringapatam. They spoke a dialect closely related to Gujarati and were part of a migration of silk weavers from Gujarath throughout southern India.

Cloth production was not confined to the larger towns. A number of smaller towns in Mysore were important centers of manufacture and trade. In smaller towns lived weavers of the Kannada speaking Samay Shalay (or Pattu Saale), the Telugu speaking Padma Saale, and the Kannada and Telugu divisions

of the Shaynagaru castes. These weavers were, Buchanan reports, better off than most agriculturists. The Kannada and Telugu-speaking sections of the Devanga caste lived in villages as well as towns and wove coarse and fine cotton. Togata weavers lived in smaller towns and villages and wove coarse white cloth with red borders used by the poorer people. A subcaste of Whalliaru (Holeyaru, a formerly untouchable caste) were weavers of coarse strong white cloth for the poorest villagers. Buchanan reports that they were the only weavers who worked part time in agriculture.

All of this castes produced cloth of varying fineness according to the demands of the customer, often a merchant. All of them worked primarily by contracts for which they were advanced money and materials for the production of a specified quantity and quality of goods. Some of the more wealthy also borrowed from banks. Very few of the weavers marketed their own goods. Most of the cloth made in Mysore was sold in local and regional markets; very little of it left the state.

In addition to weaving, two other parts of the production process were carried out by caste specialists. The Niligaru, a division of the potter caste, were indigo dyers, an occupation that became extinct in the later 19th century after the acceptance of synthetic indigo. The Rungaru were dyers and also specialists in the manufacture of tailored (i.e. cut and sewn) garments.

In Mysore cloth production was not part of a 'jajmani system'. Buchanan discusses this traditional exchange of goods and services between agriculturalist and other castes: weavers and dyers did not participate. Cloth production, spinning, weaving, dying, were associated with local, regional and inter-regional markets in which money and barter rather than traditional obligation were the bases of exchange. To accommodate their craft cloth makers usually lived apart from the agriculturists and their service castes, either in separate hamlets or in

distinct villages. Weavers sought groves of trees where women and children could prepare the warp for the looms. Dyers required access to water (which their work often left polluted) and large open spaces for processing the cloth.

Not being tied to the land, weavers were more mobile than agriculturists and their servants. They were especially responsive to political and commercial relations between states and sometimes packed up their looms and moved if they could not make a living, or if prospects looked better elsewhere.

This system of textile production and distribution in Mysore was radically altered by the 1820's and 30's when India began importing most of its yarn from England. The women of Mysore (and elsewhere) were no longer able to contribute to their households' money earned from their spinning or cloth traded for their yarn. Women lost their only respectable source of income since families preferred that their women not work as field laborers. Imported British mill-made cloth was becoming widely available at lower prices than comparable quality cloth of local manufacture. Weavers of coarse cloth could not compete. Holeya weavers became landless laborers, and many Togata, Devanga, and Kuruba weavers became laborers, tenants or landlords. Thurston reports that at the turn of the 20th century the Devangas at the Bellary bazaar "laughingly said that, though they are professionally weavers, they find it cheapest to wear cloths of European manufacture" (1909 vol. III, pp. 154-55). With fewer goods of local manufacture being produced for sale, markets which had been important in the distribution of local products now became centers for the distribution of British-made goods.

Weavers of fine fabrics, muslins, silk and cotton, pure silk and of saris, dhotis, and turbans with special borders were less adversely affected since these goods could not be easily copied on British power looms.

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Weavers of fine fabrics, muslins, silk and cotton, pure silk and of saris, dhotis, and turbans with special borders were less adversely affected since these goods could not be easily copied on British power looms.

In the 18th century the economy and social order of Mysore was more differentiated, less agrarian, than in the 19th century. In the 18th century rural Mysore was an active region of agriculture, artisanry and commerce. Major segments of society were not tied to the land or to land-owners. Hamlets and whole villages were dominated by the production of handicrafts rather than food grains. For this non-agrarian sector, as well as for women spinners, money and the market were more important than relations with landowning castes.

As among agrarian groups, caste regulated marriage and relations among kin. However, in at least two important respects the significance of caste was very different for the non-agrarian groups. First, unlike agrarian groups, the market rather than the caste system dominated relations with outsiders. Second and more importantly, caste with its hereditary assignment of occupation was an institution almost uniquely suited to the maintenance and transmission of the highly skilled and poorly remunerated handicraft manufactures for which India was world renowned.

Until the mid-nineteenth century all textiles were produced on handlooms by weavers who wove fibres, patterns, and sizes according to caste custom. The 20th century development of factory production reshaped the textile industry, opening it to other castes, and shifting production and marketing centers to large towns and cities. Because research on Indian rural society began in the 20th century, after the de-industrialization of the countryside, the picture that has emerged has emphasized the agrarian sector and its organization to the near exclusion of artisanry and commerce. While this vision may be accurate for the 20th century, it cannot be taken as representative of earlier eras. Sources such as Buchanan (1807) and Thurston (1887, 1889, 1909), which illuminate the economy of rural India on the eve of British domination, contribute to our knowledge of the social

order that produced the technological, aesthetic and commercial achievements of pre-colonial Indian civilization.

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ORIGINAL JAYAKHYANA BHARATA,
BHAGAVADGITA AND SIRIBHUVALAYA

(Continued from previous issue)

K. NAGARAJA RAO *

PART THREE

Krishna says : "The nasal sound is devoid of sound, vowel, consonants, etc. Both space and non-space (*anākaśa*) exist in the human body. Space is like sound, and soundlessness is called Supreme Brahma. Men think of liberation of the soul from the body through controlling the senses. If the gross body is destroyed there will be no knowledge. It is essential to preserve knowledge and science through effort." (*Gitasara* 46-49)

According to the Tantras, from *nāda* came *Māhābindu*, and this letter differentiated into *tribindu* which is *kāmakalā*, the origin of all *mantras*. 'Shāradatilaka' (1-7) deals with *nāda*, *bindu*, etc. in detail.

Nāda, which etymologically means sound, is a technical term in the *mañtra shāstra*. *Mañtra* is manifested sound. *Nāda* is the most subtle aspect of sound, as the first putting forth of *Kriyāsakti*. *Parānāda* and *Parāvāk* are also called *Parāsakti*. *Nāda*, into which it evolves is the unmanifested seed or essence (*Nāda Mātra*) of that which is later manifested as sound, devoid of particularities such as letters. It develops into the *bindu* which is of the same character. From the *mañtra* aspect 'Om' (*mahābindu*) is the source of sound. This *mahābindu* as it differentiates to create is called *Śabda-brahma*, which is the source of manifested sound and meaning.

then called "primitive religion" having discovered the vastness, complexity and antiquity of human culture. The only "primitive" he ever met was when the "Wild Man of Borneo" chased him at a carnival when he was a small child. What he knew was what he read in the thirty thousand books of his library and what he learned from questionnaires which he sent out to missionaries, travellers, and colonial officials. Anthropologists from Malinowski on have faulted him for his "If I was a horse" tactics. The phrase comes from a story about a Yorkshire farmer looking for a horse who ate a clump of grass and then mused "Well, if I was a horse I'd go that way." Where contemporary primitives are concerned, Frazer had no better data than what his informants supplied him which was not nearly good enough. Consequently, he was no scientist despite his insistence to the contrary but a humanist who had insights, ideas, and insistence to the contrary but a humanist who had insights ideas and intuitions which occurred to him in the course of his tireless studying. Frazer was one of those fortunate few of the Victorian Era who was affluent enough to be relieved of all of the practical exigencies of life in an uncrowded, leisurely world where he could enjoy books, good companions, and be bothered with few intrusions. He lived to be eighty-seven.

Shortly after he began his studies of mythology, Frazer met William Robertson-Smith who had been expelled from Free College, Aberdeen for heresy. The latter was University Librarian and Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. Frazer helped him with his *Religion of the Semites* (1889). Frazer was influenced by Robertson-Smith in return. After years of study and writing Frazer produced *The Golden Bough* which was published in two volumes in 1890; the second edition of three volumes (which the young Malinowski borrowed from Craeow University Library) came out in 1900; the massive twelve volume edition came out between 1911 and 1915. A thirteenth volume was added in 1936.

The Golden Bough is a vast, encyclopedic study of magic, totemism and myth. According to Lionel Trilling, "no book

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The Yōgakundalini Upanishad says : "That *vāk* which sprouts in *parā* gives forth, leaves in *paśyanti*, buds in *madhyamā* and blossoms in *vaikhari*. By reversing the above order sound is absorbed. Whoever realises this great Lord of *Vāk*, the undifferentiated illuminating self, is unaffected by any word be it what it may".

The creative Brahma is called *Śabda brahma*. He is the cause of all *śabdas* and *arthās* (words and meanings) and *pratyaya*. *Śabda Brahma* is in itself *avyakta* (unmanifest) *śabda*, which is the cause of manifested sound (*vyakta śabda*), *artha* and *pratyaya* and which uprises from the form of *bindu*, on the differentiation of the Supreme Bindu due to the prevalence of *kriyā-śakti*. The unmanifest potentiality of power which subsequently appears as *śabda* and therefore as *artha* and *pratyaya* becomes manifest, through its activity, manifesting in *prakṛiti* (nature) in the form of *bindu* which is the undifferentiated *Śiva Śakti*. With such activity the *bindu* becomes threefold as sound etc., such as *nādamātra*, (*S. Tilaka* 1-12). This undifferentiated sound, not specialised in the form of letters, but which is manifested through creative activity, is the cause of manifested *śabda* and *artha* which are its forms.

Brahma considered as pervading sound undivided and unmanifested, whose substance is *nāda* and *bindu*, is the proximate creative impulse in *Parāśiva* and the proximate cause of manifested sound and meaning. (*S. Tilaka* 10-13).

This *Sabda Brahma* is *Veda*, which reproduces itself gradually and partially as countless finite centres of varied experiences of name and form (*nāma* and *rūpa*) and forms together with sounds, sights etc., vary as do the *Śabdas*. The sound which represents the primordial functioning of the *Brahma Śakti* is the *Mahābija* 'Om' or *Pranava* (*Omityēkāksharam Brahma tasya vācakah prāṇavaḥ*).

The eternal *Śabda Brahma* manifests at creation (*srishti*) and lapses into its quiescent ground in dissolution (*laya*). The sound of its first creative movement is *nāda* or *dhvani* Om. From this issue all *śabdas*, both *varṇātmaka* and *dhvanyātmaka*. The *varṇās* are considered to be eternal and represent in themselves and their variations all the possibilities of articulate speech in all the languages.

According to *Pāṇini* the *Vaidika varṇas* are sixty four. According to *Kātyāyana Shukla Yaju Prātisākhya* the number is 65; the *Taittiriya Prātisākhya* says 60 letters; the *Māhishēya*, *Kālānirṇaya*, *Araṇya* and *Lakshmikānta Sikshas* say 53, 73, 65 & 108 letters respectively. In *Vēda* the activity (*karma*) of these *varṇās* is eternal and therefore the *Vaidika* words are also claimed to be eternal.³²

The subject of *varṇās* (letters) occupies an important place in the *Tantra Śāstras*. In the *Tantra Śāstra* the letters are classified according to their place of pronunciation, guttural, labial, dental, etc. *Pāṇini's* 'Siddhaṇṭa Kaumudī' and *Patañjali's* 'Mahābhāṣya' deal with the letters and effort in speech, dividing it into the inner and outer effort (*antarprayatna* and *bāhyaprayatna*). The inner effort is of four kinds: *Sprista*, *Ishatsprista*, *Vivrita*, *Samavṛta*. Outer effort is of eleven kinds: *Vivara*, *Samvāda*, *Svāśa*, *Nāda*, *Ghōsha*, *Aghōsa*, *Alpaprāṇa*, *Mahāprāṇa*, *Udātta*, *Anudātta* and *Svarita*. Thus according to *Pāṇini* the letters from 'ka' to 'ma' are *Sprishtaantarprayatna*; and *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va*, etc., are *Ishatsprista antarprayatna*.

What is eternal then is *śabda*, or *Sabda Brahma*. The letters evolved from the *Pranava* or *Om*, and the combination of these letters which constitute the approximate natural name. The *Sabda Brahma* is all-pervading and undifferentiated, and the letter is its particular manifestation. It is *varṇātmaka*. *śabda* (lettered sound) manifested by *ākāśa*, caused by the contact of the surrounding air with the vocal organs, the formation of

which in speech is in response to the idea, which by the will, thus seeks outward expression as audible sound.

Sound is produced by the contact of one thing with another in case of the unlettered sounds, and the vocal organs and air in case of the uttered speech. Causal stress itself is uncreated, is self produced and caused by the striking of a thing against another. This *śabda* called *anāhata* - is the Brahman movement which is heard in the heart. This uncreated self existing *śabda* as causal stress, manifested in double form as unlettered sound or *dhvani* is called *dhvanyātmaka śabda* and as lettered sound or *varṇa* is called *varṇātmaka śabda*. According to Bhashā Parichēda the *śabda* is of two kinds-Dhvanī and Varnas.

The functioning of the vocal organ does not constitute the distinction between unlettered and lettered sound. For the vocal organ is exercised in laughing, crying and so forth and also in the cries of animals, but they are not lettered sounds or articulate speech. *Dhvanis* may be produced by the vocal organs. The lettered sound may not express a meaning. But each letter may have a separate meaning. According to the Vyāsa Bhāṣya on the Yōgasūtra, each letter is capable of expressing different meanings. But any arbitrary combination of letters will not give meaning. A special combination of letters is necessary to express full meaning.

The *dhvanis* are different, but we make a rapid comparison of them and find that though they have differences in pitch, timbre, etc., still they have a great deal of similarity. The differences are then abstracted and then the sounds are assimilated so as to give us a generic sound which we recognise as the letter. According to Indian thought, the letters or *varṇās* have imperishable and invariable forms. As the atoms of matter are imperishable so are the *varṇās*. (*Vedānta Paribhāṣa*)

In the beginning of creation and at the end of dissolution the lettered sound persist. According to *Vedānta Paribhāṣa*,

“the lettered sounds are always (during *kalpa*) actually going on continuously and uninterrupted, produced by artificial means. But they are often unmanifested to the gross sense organs. They become manifested to gross sensibility through certain manifestations (*abhiyāñjakas*), which are *dhvanis*. Thus the sound ‘Om’ is uninterruptedly going on, but one can only hear it in certain stages of *sadhana*, or in a quiet place during the night when there is little interference with the sound waves.

Whether the letters are uttered and heard or not, they are infinite sound forms and they are more real and more actual than the variations which are uttered and heard. Such variations are not actual phenomena as the Western empiricists hold. Therefore, a *dhvani* as an acoustic manifestation of a *nitya śabda* is subject to all conditions of place, time and circumstances and is *anitya* (not permanent) and variable.

Śankarācāryar discusses the theory of *varṇas* (letters) and *spṛṣṭa* (splitting) in his commentary on the Brahmasūtra: “By *Dhvani* is to be understood, that which is heard by a person listening from a distance without distinguishing the separate letters and which in the case of a person standing near by affects the letters with its own distinctions of high and low pitch and so forth. It is in this *Dhvani* that all the distinction of *Udātta*, *Anudātta*, etc., depend and not on the intrinsic nature of the letters, which are recognised to be the same whenever pronounced.”

The *dhvanis* (sounds) are : gross embodiments of *nitya avikāri varṇa śabda*; other gross sounds-either produced in nature or produced by ourselves-which do not appear to us as embodying lettered sounds. In the Tantras, *dhvani* is a form of causal sound. Thus we hear the sweet murmuring sound in *Kundilini*. *Kundilini* being in the heart, throat and palate and going through the passages of the head and nose and teeth and coming out from the base of the tongue, and the lips,

becomes audible Vaikhari—the Kundilini who has invested herself with the *varṇās* and is the mother of all varieties of sound. Kundiliniśakti, *dhvani*, *nāda* and the rest are described as various aspects of *chit* due to its varied association with the three *gunas* : *sattwa*, *rajas* and *tamas*.

The notion of sound, word, speech is very ancient. The Hebrew scriptures deal with the divine word which has creative power. In Greek *logos* means thought and the word which denotes the object is thought. According to Heraclitus, *logos* was the principle underlying the universe. The Stoics called the word the “word-soul”, which is the uniting-principle of all rational forces working in the world. Plato and Philo also dealt with the divine speech.

The fourth Gospel begins with “In the beginning was the word and the word was with God and the word was God”. The Vēdic conception is the same. In the beginning was the Brahman, with whom was the *vāk* or word. It is the opinion of many scholars that the Philonic and Neo-platonic and Johannian conception of divine speech were influenced by Indian thought.

At many places in the Rigveda descriptions of Divine speech occur. “All the Gods have taken their seats upon this supreme heaven, the imperishable text of the Vedas what will he, who knows not this, do with the Veda, but they who do know it, they are perfect”³³. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa says (VI, 1-1-8) : “This Puruṣa, Prajapati willed : ‘May I be many ... May I be propagated’. He energised. Speech was his. She was produced by him and pervaded all which exists. By his mind he united with speech.” In the Kāthaka it is said (12-5, 2-17) : Prajāpati only was then. This speech was second to him. He united with her, and she became pregnant. She went out from him and produced these creatures and again re-united with him”. In the Pañchavimśa Brāhmaṇa it is said (20-14-2) : “Prajapati alone was this universe. He had

speech too as his own. He thought : Let me now put forth speech. She will traverse and pervade all this”³⁴. The Rigvēda says (X-125-5; 71-3, ‘I (*vak*) make him when I love formidable him a Brahmana, him a Rishi, him a Sage. By sacrifice they followed the path of Vak and for her entered into penance”.

According to Vēdic thought the substance of the whole word is *vāk*. (*Jagat vañgmāya*) for as previously stated the world is *śabda prabhava*. “Four are the definite grades of speech; those Brahmanās who are wise know them, three deposited in secret indicate no meaning, the fourth is spoken by men in their speech”³⁵.

What is said about ‘Om’ as the source of all knowledge in the Vedas, Brahmanas, Upanishads and Tantric literature has been explained in the ‘Gita Sara’ in detail with more clarity than in the Bhagavad Gita. The Chandogya Upanishad says : “Om”. This syllable is this whole world. Its further explanation is : the past, the present, the future, every thing is just the word ‘Om’, and whatever else that transcends threefold time—that too, is just the word ‘Om’.”³⁶

Kumudendu’s theory of ‘Om’ not only agrees with the above Upanishadic concept but also with that of the ‘Gita-sara’ and his work ‘Śiribhuvalaya’ (i.e., the Bhagavad Gita) is a *prima-facie* proof. Kumudendu’s Bhagavad Gita begins with, “He who utters the monosyllable ‘Om’ which is Brahman, remembering me as he departs giving up his body, he attains the highest goal”. (K’s BG 1-1 ; BG 8-12).

The first stanza of the second chapter begins : “The great Brahma (i.e., monosyllable ‘Om’) is my womb ; in that I place the germ, and from that, O Arjuna, is the origin of all beings” (BG 14-3). The third chapter begins with, “Thus this most secret doctrine (i.e., of ‘Om’) has been expanded by me, O, blameless one, knowing this one becomes wise and accomplished are all his duties” (BG 15 20). And it ends with, “therefore

with the utterance of 'Om' the acts of sacrifice, gift and penance enjoined in the scriptures are always undertaken by the expounders of Brahma (BG. 17-24).

After many years of studies I am convinced by Kumudendu's conception of 'Om' etc. But until the whole book is published i.e., 59 chapters of 'Mangala Prabhrta'... all that is said and written about the author and the work will be like a magic spell. It is left to the Central Government and other institutions to publish the work in full and it is the duty of scholars to shed more light on the other theories which Kumudendu explains in his work.

One may wonder, how can such a work-which is the source of all knowledge - ever exist or be expounded? But, in the light of the limitation of our knowledge of the past history of mankind there is nothing to wonder at.

With our ignorance, if we ignore this remarkable work, it will be a loss to the nation and to the world at large, but not to the author Kumudendu. As Bhavabhuti said: "Time has no limit. The world is wide enough." In the future some one will be born who can understand the value of the work and the author. I hope this generation of India will have the opportunity of becoming acquainted with this treasure at an early date.

Notes :

31. Quoted from Sir John Woodroff's, "The Garland of letters" (1951) p. 123-4
32. *Kaṭha* 1-3-15, *Cha. Upa* : 4-10-5, *Muṇḍa* : 2-1-6-7.
33. 1-164-39: See also Sayana's commentary.
34. See also *Brh Upa*; *Mbh.*, *Sha. Parva*. 12-920; *Vana Parva* 13-432; *Taittiriya Brah.* 11-8-8-5; *Sha. Bra.* : VI. 1-2; 6-5-4.
5. *RV* 1-164-45; *Nirukta* 13-9; *Taittiriya* 1 5;
36. *Chan. Upa* 1-1.

UPPER PALAEOLITHIC SITE AT G. V. SATRAM, DT. CUDDAPAH, A.P.

K. SRINIVASULU*

K. S. B. Kesava and D. B. Murti

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

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

The following is an account of an extensive Upper Palaeolithic site identified recently at Guddi Veeraiah Satram (14°43' N. Lat : 78°50' E. Long) located at 9 km. east of Mydukuru and 2.4 km. north of Nagasaniapalle in the Cuddapah district of

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Andhra Pradesh. To the east of the site Lankamalai ranges are located. A few wet weather rills, originating on these ranges, cut across the area exposing unsorted gravel lenses in cliff sections. As Shales and Quartzites with Lydionite injections constitute the local lithology, the craftsmen of the stone age could easily draw his raw material from the local gravel exposures. A number of stone age working platforms have been identified right on the banks of the winding course of a local stream and also away from it. A sample of 645 artefacts has been collected from the vicinity and a few details are summed up in the following paragraphs ; a detailed report would be published shortly.

Typological analysis of the artefacts indicated that the site under study belongs to the Upper palaeolithic phase abound in all the important tool types (Table). The presence of a few geometric microliths in the industry is only indicative of the late nature of the culture. The blade element of the industry is broadly divisible into the full length specimens and bladelets. Among those which retain the full length a broad and long variety and a narrow and long variety are available. Among the bladelets also the broader variety and the narrow variety are seen. The average length of the long blades is 55 mm. while the bladelets possess nearly 35 mm of length. In either case either a longitudinal central ridge or a long shallow flake scar occupies the dorsal surface. The ventral side is usually characterised by a featureless plain and a bulb of percussion occasionally truncated by chipping. Some of the blades are thick while the others are thin. Patches of cortex do not remain on the surface. It indicates the prevalence of primary trimming of the core. Most of the blades retained a part of the striking platform at the proximal end. Normally both the side margins are characterised by sharp edges, though in some cases one of the margins is deliberately truncated by retouch. The retouching of the margins is normally done from the dorsal side though a few specimens retain signs of them on the ventral side.

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

The retouched blades of the industry are of long parallel sided type. Some of them show signs of retouch on both the side margins while a few others retain such signs on one margin only. The purpose of retouching is only to re-sharpen the specimens. There are cases where the retouch is done from the ventral surface. There are a few notched blades. On one of the side margins a few notches were produced by flaking from the dorsal surface. These were employed probably to sharpen the tips of certain bone points, etc. However implements made on such materials like bone have not been detected.

The denticulates are another important category of the blade element. The dentition is obtained by a careful retouch on one of the side margins. The retouch, however, is done from the ventral surface in a majority of cases. Pen knives which are a variety of backed knife blades constitute a feature in the industry. Though the number of specimens recorded is only 1.24% of the total collection, their presence is quite significant. They normally show a thick neatly retouched back and a sharp cutting edge. The edge shows signs of heavy usage. Also it is possible that some of the signs are indicative of retouch to sharpen the edge. In all the pen knives the side margins converge at the distal end. At the proximal end a part of the striking platform and a truncated bulb of percussion would remain.

The points of the industry are categorised as the simple variety, tanged variety and Levalloise type. All of them are symmetric in shape and show signs of retouch. The simple points are made on small leaf shaped flakes. On the dorsal surface, a longitudinal ridge occurs as a feature. The side margins bear signs of retouch. The proximal ends are thick

and characterised by the remnants of the faceted platform. Occasionally the central ridge is broken by a few flake scars. A few of the specimens do not retain the tips probably because they were broken during usage.

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

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

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

The borers constitute 0.77% of the total collection. They are made on a variety of flakes. These flakes possess a number of primary flake scars. The working end of borers is always produced at the distal end of the flake. On either side of the working end retouch is given.

Scrapers of the assemblage are normally made on blades, blade-flakes, or bladelets. A few specimens are found to have

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

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

Some of the flake blanks appear to be either proto Levalloise or Levalloise types. Earlier it has already been stated that among the flake points a few Levalloise types are seen. Now in the light of them the presence of Levalloise flakes stand out as a supplementary evidence for the prevalence of levalloise technique. On the dorsal surface a few flake scars or a large single flake scar will be present close to the proximal end. On the other portion of the dorsal side a few flake scars get scattered. A part of the striking platform and a diffused bulb of percussion are the common features of them.

A few denticulates produced on flake blanks constitute an interesting feature. Normally denticulates and ~~notched~~ flakes

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

Trapezes and lunates, the usual geometric microliths, are also associated with the industry. They have been shaped on blade blanks and lydionite was the chosen raw material. A few dumpy lunates called 'Elura' have also been produced, primarily on flake blanks. A few miniature cleavers modelled on quartzite flakes have been recognised in the industry. Their size does not permit them to be used as heavy duty cutting equipment.

The presence of a large number of fluted cores in the assemblage is quite remarkable. They occur in triangular cylindrical, and rectangular forms. Some of them are thin and blades were removed from a part of their surface. They retain an intentionally prepared faceted platform and on some of them a few patches of cortex still remain. A few cores of the assemblage resemble Levallois types. They possess a flat ventral surface and a deliberately chipped dorsal surface. From some of them large flakes were already removed.

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

The blade industry at G. V. Satram is interesting for it preserved the evidences relating not only to the Upper Palaeolithic but also of its gradual evolution into the Mesolithic Phase. Though it is in an open air situation the site preserved the lithic tool assemblages *in situ*. The large number of working

TABLE

Typological analysis of artefacts

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

platforms recognized at the location suggest that it was a primary base camp of the palaeolithic hunter-gatherers.

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TWO NOTES ON *MRCCHAKATIKAM*

Dr. S.V. SOHONI*

Āryaka had regained his freedom and it was being widely proclaimed that he had escaped. An intensive search was on. A high security officer, Candanaka, had seen Āryaka seated in a vehicle which had even been stopped for inspection. Candanaka whose life had been saved once, by Śarvilaka, was aware that Āryaka was his intimate friend. Yet, in that tense moment following his sighting Āryaka sitting in Cārudatta's vehicle along with Vasantasēnā, Candanaka had uttered quite tactlessly, after his personal inspection ('*Candanaka nātyena pravahana-māruthya avalokayati*'), on getting down from the vehicle (*sabhayam avatirya*), '*dittho ajjo*' ('iti ardhoktam') '*na, ajjoā Vasantasena*'.

2. The author of *Mrcchakatikam* took over some names of his *dramatis personae* from Viśākhadatta's *Mudrā Rākṣhasam*; and at least two from Kathāsaritsāgara, which was derived from *Bṛhatkathā*. These two were Āryaka and Pālaka. While Pālaka does not come on the stage at all, Āryaka does—and nowhere is his name more tell-tale than in the '*pravahana*' scene, when he was found sitting in Carudatta's vehicle and on noticing whom, Candanaka had exclaimed "*Dittho, Ajjo*" i.e. '*Dṛṣṭa Āryah*', leaving the expression incomplete ('*ityardhoktam*'). Was it to facilitate this remark that the name Āryaka was chosen? For it was a reference to it which aroused Viraka's suspicion and led to his insistence on the vehicle being searched by himself. This would only show how the author preplanned every detail in this drama, while it may yet be an example of the tail wagging the body.

3. Viraka decided to make a personal inspection of the vehicle. At this crucial moment, Candanaka decided to assist effectively Āryaka's escape, come what may.

4. The dialogue between Candanaka and Viraka, who were officers of nearly the same rank, has been handled with great skill. Candanaka, who arrives on the scene in response to Viraka's distribution of work between Jaya, Jayamalla, Candanaka, Mangala and Puspabadra, conducts his conversation with Viraka in such a way as to take on the control to himself. In the beginning, he is addressed as 'Bhadra Candanaka' by Viraka; and the order to inspect the vehicle is given by Candanaka and not Viraka.

5. As a first step, he tried to allay Viraka's suspicion by stating, 'As southerners, we are not careful in our speech.' He also sought to make out a point that moreover, (their having to do with *mleccha* communities) there was lack of precision and inaccuracy of grammar in speech. To emphasize his argument and to add to its exposition a touch of humour, he proceeded to name these *mleccha* communities (with whom he had become knowledgeable, '*abhidgnyah*', through association).

6. Candanaka gave many reasons for the inaccuracy in his speech; (i) that he was southerner i.e. came from the south of the Narmada. Viraka was obviously not necessarily a Dakṣiṇātya; (ii) that people like him had to be familiar with a number of languages of non-Aryan communities, whose common feature was bad grammar; and according to Mahabhasya, these communities did not bother about grammar; "*dusṭān śabdan ma prayunkshmaḥ mlecchāśha mā bhūme-tyadhyeyam vyākaraṇam*". Candanaka was definitely capable of speaking very accurately and in fact, subsequently spoke to Āryaka in Sanskrit. He, clearly, had Mahabhasya in mind when he used terms like '*avyakta bhāṣiṇah*' and referred to the *mleccha* impact of bad grammar.

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7. There is little doubt that Candanaka had expected that Viraka would contest both the logic of his statement as well as his claim that he was proficient in so many other languages. For one thing, Viraka must have known that when he wanted, Candanaka could employ very precise expression. Further, it would have been difficult to sustain a contention that Candanaka was so intimately in touch with these spoken languages to permit his own speech to have been influenced by them. Thirdly, Viraka could have questioned whether Candanaka really knew so many languages. Fourthly, Viraka could have pointed quite a few among those communities, mentioned as 'mleccha' by Candanaka, were really not 'mleccha' at all, e. g. Odra, Kunakkha, as well as Dombila. As would be presently shown Dravida, Cola and Cora, clearly do not find a place in a 'mleccha' list.

8. It may be recalled that Haribhadra Suri had divided mankind into two categories, Arya and non-Arya, the latter being devoid of high thinking and noble conduct, making departure from norms of all kinds (Sā. Ha, Prā, A. p. 368 Samarāiccakahā, p. 348 905). Udyotana Sūri, following his guru, made a long list of non-Arya communities - 'Saka Javana Sabara-Babbara- Kāya-Murundodu-Gonda-Kappaniā.'

9. The list of such communities given by Candanaka is very significant in the instant context. Firstly, it clearly means that Candanaka's work had brought him into close contact with the members of these outside ethnic or language groups. Secondly, it showed how Ujjayini had attracted such people even from distant areas, and they spoke in a *patois* of their own, which was even reflected in the speech of the officialdom which dealt with them. This is also a major suggestion of the post-Gupta *bhāṣa*, 'Pādatāḍitakam.' Thirdly, the communities featuring in the list can, by and large, be identified, in terms of independent sources of information.

10. Thus, we know from which regions members of Khusa, Khatti, Karnaṭa, Karnaṇprāvaraṇa, Drāviḍa, Cola, Cina, Barbara and Kharamukha communities could reasonably be deemed to have come over to Ujjayini. An attempt, moreover, can be made to identify the original proven habitats of the rest, at any rate on a tentative basis.

11. The mention of the Dhatti community is significant. They were a fighting people in the North-west and have been mentioned by Huentzang as having occupied North Punjab and Kashmir. They have been generally identified with a section of the Hunas, whose political advance in India commenced in the latter half of the 5th century and was consolidated in in Jalundhar-Kashmir region in the 6th century AD.

12. What is even more interesting is the mention of the Madhuhāta community, which is not likely to be a reference to the Arabs in the initial phase of their political aggression on the western coast of India. The names of some Arab communities in the records of "Śilāhāra" kings and some of their predecessors, would easily support this identification.

13. Accordingly, Candanaka's list of the so called non-Aryan communities is a clear proof that it could not have been thought of either in the 4th or 5th century A D. and hold been complete in the closing decades of the sixth century A D. It was by no means an accurate catalogue; and its element of error was deliberate.

II

14. The text of Mṛcchakatikam as it stands today, abounds in palpable errors at a number of places. The factors leading to inaccuracy, generally, are- (1) copyist's mistakes in writing; and (2) mistakes in interpretation.

15. Two examples are discussed below. In each case, the correct position is not only important in itself. It has a bearing on the larger problems of the historical background of the drama.

16. In act VI, there is the all important incident of Candanaka successfully avoiding the search insisted upon by Viraka, of the carriage carrying Aryaka. On finding that Viraka was bent on the search, Candanaka quickly turns the situation over in his mind, ('*vicintya*') and settles on his strategy. At this point, the prevalent text reads: '*Kaṇṇāta kaluhappayogam kalemi*'. The variants for the word, *kaṇṇāta* occurring in mss. were noted by Godbole as '*Karṇāta/kaṇṇāla/ṇāla*' and '*kaṇāla*'. The oldest available *śikṣā*s are silent as to what this sentence means. The standard current interpretation of this expression is that based on H. H. Wilson's remarks.

17. Wilson led the way in not being critical; and his view was adopted by other editors, later on. According to Wilson, "*kaṇyāta kalaha*" meant a quarrel intentionally provoked, "As used to be done in the poet's own days in Karnataka." Wilson explained the expression to imply that the Kanarese were notorious for their grossly personal abusive speech. He rendered the sentence as, "I must give my friend, Viraka here, a specimen of Kanarese eloquence."

18. In his edition of 1937, Prof. R. D. Karmarkar quoted Shrinivasacharya: '*Karnata kalaha prayogam - śushka kalaha pravartanam, kastvam madapeksayā kastavātiśaya ityarthah*'; and added, "karṇta-kalaha, literally means a quarrel indulged in by the people of Karnataka and in the times of the author; these people were perhaps known to be quarrelling without a reasonable pretext: the expression seems to mean, a quarrel deliberately picked up. Candanaka decides on this course for he is afraid of Carudatta would unnecessarily come into trouble if Aryaka was discovered."

19. Wilson's understanding of the matter and its virtually blind endorsement by later critics, cannot be defended. It should have been apparent to anybody that Candanaka could not have imagined, even for a moment, that he indulge in

quarrelling for its own sake, was a particular region's monopoly and that too of Karnataka. There was no point in making a reference to an alleged psychological trait of a people in a region so far south of Ujjayini. Yet, in some recent comments on the period and authorship of the drama, this totally incorrect impression was given value as evidence pointing to the southern origin of the author, whereas, both the impression and the inference are wholly unacceptable.

20. The truth of the matter is that the reading is based on error in writing. What was, originally, recorded in Brahmi is the Prakrit equivalent of '*kāṣṭha-(kalaha)*' i.e. '*kaṭṭha*' (*kalah*), which got, thereafter, wrongly changed into '*kannāṭa*', i.e. '*Karṇāṭa kalaha*'.

'*Kāṣṭha kalha*' is '*Śushka kalaha*' and the expression occurs in the *bhāṣya*, *Pāṇinīyāsya* '*kāṣṭha* standing for being dry i.e., devoid of juicy substance or that which matters. In other words, the expression means 'purposeless' or 'unreal' or 'lacking reason'. A similar expression is found employed by Viśakhadatta in *Mudrā Rākṣasam*, after the famous incident of a '*Kṛta-kalaha*' between Canakya and Candragupta Maurya in Act III. Both *kalahas* were artificial or unreal, in a sense, though both had a pivotal dramatic utility controlling subsequent events. It is well known that there are many corresponding points between the two great Sanskrit dramas, *Mrcchakatikam* and *Mudra Rakṣasam*. Let us add to this list, that of the deliberately picked up quarrel. The implication that the sensitive author of *Mrcchakatikam* had chosen to refer to an alleged psychological trait of the people of a distant region has, then, no basis whatsoever.

21. The second illustration of confusion in the current text is in the eighth act. The context is that Śākara wanted to convince his Viṭa that he himself was a member of a very high noble family and *therefore*, was not expected to do anything unworthy: '*Baddhake hi mallakappa māṇe hi kulechi jāde*' with

variant for *baddh khie* being *baddhakāhi akajjom kalemi* [*baddhahālī/yadākāhi* ; and for 'mallaka', 'mālika or 'gallaka' ; and for 'appamaṇe' 'mānāhi' Prthivīdhara's *ṭika* explains the sentence in these words "Kathanharam evam brhato maluka pramāṇāt samudra pramanad iti vaktavye mourkyadupaminoti iti pracina tika." Thus, the origin of the confusion lies in a *Prācīna ṭika*, (whose author has not been named by Prthivīdhara)

22. Karmarkar has explained the sentence, thus "*Brhattaraih mallakapramāṇaiḥ* - *mallaka* - *patra* - *puta* (*droṇa*, in Marathi), a wine cup. At any rate, it must be something very small to allow a Śākārist in the use of '*Brhattaraih Mallakapramāṇaiḥ*'" Karmarkar quoted Shrinivasacharya's observation, '*Samudrapramāṇairiti vaktavye mourkhyād viparyastamupanyastam*'.

23. Such an interpretation is based on a failure to trace the origin of the expression as '*Maṇappamāṇa*', which is combination of two words '*māṇa* and '*ppamāṇa*,' standing for '*māṇa* and '*pramāṇa*,' respectively, which combination belongs to ancient commercial parlance. There it means, standards units of weights and measurements. By usage, the sense of good proportion was also implied. The expression occurs some times in Kuvalayamalakatha. Thus, Kumara's horse was *manappamanajutena muenā* (23.17) ; and Ujjayini's Rajkumara's picture was, similarly compared to a '*vipaṇimarga*' (232.22), on its basis.

24. Karmarkar's comment carries the confusion even further ; "Sakara has stated that he belonged to the Mallārakakula and could not behave as a criminal."

25. Sakara repeated his claim of having a noble origin, even before the judge in the famous trial incident in Act IX, using these words.

26. The original expression (in Sanskrit *cchāyā*) in the instant case was, "*brhattaraih mānapramāṇaiḥ*." The term '*mānapramāṇa*' is of fairly common occurrence, especially in

commercial circles and freely translated, means, 'a standard or authentic yardstick.' howsoever big

27. What Sakara wanted to emphasize was that by any big criteria or standards of judgement or metes and bounds, he hailed from a great family.

Yet, the interpretation of the expression, in a manifestly corrupt reading, leads to queer results. It would be sufficient to quote Karmarkar's translation, as that is typical : "How shall I, born in so very big families of the size of Mallikas (cups), (do a base deed)?"

It should be clear that there is no justification whatsoever, for this meaning as it leads to total absurdity howsoever one may be inclined to associate Sakara with a habit of making distorted or completely foolish remarks.

28. For this expression is *not*, by itself, one among such remarks of his.

It is not doubted by anybody that king Palaka, ruling over Avanti at that stage of the development of the plot, was Sakara's brother-in-law. The sarcasm of the author of the drama does not find room in this expression, but in the depiction of (i) Sakara's psychology - of his bland assertion that because he hailed from a noble family he could not be credited with a foul deed like murdering a helpless woman, and (ii) in Sakara, later on, repeating the same relationship between him and Palaka but in various ways... "*Rājaśyaśure mama pitā, rājā tātsya bhavati jamātā | rājaśyālakoaham mamāpi bhagini pati rājā* " (Sanskrit *cchāyā*) (IX.6,

29. What is equally important is to take into account the import of the reactions of the Viṭa as well as of the judge to such vanity about his nobility claimed by Sakara - and it is noteworthy that their reactions, they both uttered the same verse, though the two occasions and who said it, are wholly different. The text of this verse is --

"Kim kulenopadishtena śilamevatra kāraṇam !
Bhavanti sutarām sphitāḥ sukṣetre kantaki
drumāḥ " (VI. 29 as well as IX 7)

Neither the Vita nor the judge suffered from the braggadocio style of Sakara. Accordingly, what they stated deserves being closely looked into.

30. Sudraka not only intended to stress the importance of 'śila' but also wanted to convey an important aspect of the origin of Sakara. That is why, the verse has recited twice on the stage, by two different persons, once by the Vita and the second time by the judge. As shown separately, the reference to the 'kantakai drumā' is extremely significant in the context of the Sakara's career, the natural soil, in which it grows being clearly contrasted with the 'sphita deśa' of Malva - Avanti. The change or transfer of surroundings had definite political implications which throw valuable light on the historical sub plot in the drama itself.

ORIGIN OF THE POLIGARI SYSTEM

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Like the feudal chieftains in medieval Europe, the Poligar chieftains who controlled the different *pollams* in South India during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries represented one of the important institutions in the history of southern part of the Indian peninsula. Poligar, a term derives from *palayokkaran* in Tamil indicated the holder of a *palayam* which literally meant an armed camp.¹ It is used variously in other languages, for instance in Kannada and Marathi as *palegar*, in Telugu as *palegadu* which conveyed the same meaning as the holder of a camp or barony on military tenure. Unlike the zamindar and jagirdar, the Poligars exercised the power to collect the revenues as well as the maintenance of the military force. He was the virtual administrator of his territory, renter to his sovereign, commander of forces, guardian of public welfare and a ryot among his people.² Further in normal times they undertook charitable activities, cleared forests, executed irrigation works and built villages.³

Mostly the Poligars were holders of a *pollam* and also served as the feudal subordinate chiefs to the local rulers. They took advantage of the weakness of their masters and erected castles like the baronial chiefs of Europe in the feudal ages. Gradually they became the virtual feudatories paying tribute and became proprietors of lands. They valued themselves highly on their ancient descent and esteem and considered themselves the first of Hindus next to the Brahmins and equal to the Rajputs.⁴ The Poligari system originated in the Mysore and Carnataka regions during the Vijayanagar period.⁵ As per one of the inscriptions

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of A.D. 1516 Krishnadevaraya granted to Kunapuli Peddi Nayadu the right of policing the Mallela *samutu*. The *salaries* of all the villages in the Samutu were his subordinates and they were placed under his supervision.⁶ Sadasivaraya made another grant to Mahipati Yarra Nayadu conferring the right of policing the *samuts* of Tadaki, Jadapatri, Vellalur, Singanamala, Siyyeduceruvu, Pamidi, Konakondha and Tarupur with the territory of Gandikota.⁷ In the beginning the Poligars were exclusively concerned with the military and police functions.

The Poligars assisted their respective masters with armed men and money. They were regulated by the major condition viz. the duty to perform military service to the sovereign. Their military establishment contained three categories of soldiers, the *amarum* peons, the *catabudi* and the mercenary peons: the first two groups were paid chiefly in land and the last one in cash and grain. The *amarum* peons exercised the right on the land on hereditary basis and always remained prepared to execute the orders of the kings.⁸ The *catabudi* peons, the virtual ryots extended military service and paid by assignments of waste lands in lieu of pecuniary wages.⁹ They served the Poligars with pikes or matchlocks at their expense and made restitution of any property plundered within the villages, entrusted to their care. The mercenary peons were recruited only in times of emergency. During times of military operation the armed men received subsistence in money and grain, exclusive of the traditional privileges. These peons were left at the complete disposal of the concerned poligars. They received orders directly from the Poligars. When the Poligar commanded them they executed his orders implicitly that on such occasions, they considered murder and robbery as mere matters of duty for which he alone was responsible.¹⁰

The weapons in common use included the bow and arrow, cannon, muskets, wall pieces, shields, pikes and match lock.¹¹ Target spear, dagger and sling were also familiar to them. Clay

pellets, prepared by mixing the white of the egg with clay, served the purpose of bullets. They engaged in regular battles for all silly matters. When a superior force threatened them, they assumed defensive positions in their thick jungles. Their number varied from 200 to 3000 depending on the capacity of the Poligars.¹² In order to assemble their troops they fired *sarabogies*, a kind of park guns.¹³ If the cavalry of the enemy launched a surprise attack, the pike-men of the poligars formed themselves into a close ring encircling the match-lockmen, pointing the pikes against the invading cavalry. The match-lockmen taking their position on the elevated part of the fort, fired at the approaching enemy. The pike-men, meanwhile wielded the sharp pikes from the sheltered enclaves in the walls. The assailants advancing towards a breach on the wall could never reach the pike-men and could seldom tell from whence the blow was struck.¹⁴ The poligars were a type of mountaineers ever with an axe, like the butchers blade and bows and poisoned arrows for protection.¹⁵

For a stranger it was very difficult to scale the heights of a Poligar hill, there was no clear pathway and if there was one it might lead the unwary to a wild jungle or end in an ambush. The regular pathway was known only to the chief and to the members. The slopes of the hills were covered with scrubs and huge trees providing a safe retreat for wild animals. The Poligar chieftains built one fort in the most difficult part of the country intended as the last retreat of the Poligar and all his relatives. Usually it was situated in the centre of the mountainous forest and accessible only by a narrow winding path of the width, capable of receiving only three men abreast and five miles in length and every turning guarded by works.¹⁶ The ceremonies and functions in their families were conducted with lavish expenditure of money.¹⁷ The paraphernalia of their dress included among other things turban, turban band of golden colour, lawrel adorning the head, war bracelets, gold chains, bangles, golden bells tied around the waist, white fleece, sticks,

flags, umbrella, torch and parasols. Horses, camels, elephants and palanquins were some of the conveyance used by them.¹⁸ The Poligari system originated from the ruins of the Vijayanagar empire gathered further momentum from the political turmoil of the period and it finally began to collapse following the establishment of the British hegemony.

Notes :

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3. R. C. Temple and Dr. Bhandarkar (ed.), *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 43, Bombay, 1914, p. 114.
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5. Rev. Henry Heras, *The Aravindu Dynasty of Vijayanagar*, Vol. I, Madras, 1927, p. 134.
6. *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, Madras, 1923, No. 13.
7. *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, p. 23.
8. Revenue Consultations Vol. 118, pp. 2688-90.
9. Selections from the Records of the Bellary District, p. 74.
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11. Military Country Correspondence. Vol. 15, p. 139.
12. Board of Revenue, Circuit Committee Records Reports, 1788, Vol. 173, pp. 306-7.

13. Military Consultations, Vol. 288, p. 6934.
14. J. Welsh, *Military Reminiscences*, Vol. I, p. 6778.
15. Meyrick, *Illustration of Ancient Arms and Armour*, p. 472.
16. Thomas Pennant, *op. cit.*, p. 123.
17. Henry Moris, *Descriptive and Historical Accounts of the Presidency of Madaras*, London, 1875, p. 246.
18. T. B. Pandyan, *The Ancient Heroes of South Indian Peninsula*, Madras, 1895, p. 17.

ASEPTIC PRECAUTIONS REGARDING FOOD AND DRINK REVEALED BY VEDIC LITERATURE-I

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

1. A.S.S. = *Apastamba Srauta Sutra*
2. A.V. = *Atharva Veda*
3. B.U. = *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*
4. C.U. = *Chandogya Upanishad*
5. K.S.S. = *Kaityana Srauta Sutra*
6. R.V. = *Rig Veda*
7. S.B. = *Sata patha Bramhana*
8. S.U. = *Subala Upanishad*
9. Y.N. = *Yaska's Nirukta.*

Science can be considered as light from the universal Human. Just as the objects hidden in the darkness of the night shine up with the light of the rising sun, so are the doctrines of the Vedas hidden by ages of ignorance flood-lit by the search light of modern science.

An instance of this is seen in a laconic legend in the Vedas. It has been stated earlier (in an earlier article) that the Ancient Aryans discovered through their divine insight without the help of microscopes, the life and movements of the unseen microorganisms and utilised this knowledge for practical purposes. We can see in this short legend, the secret underlying their divine insight. More than this, the legend reveals how the scientific Aseptic Principle was ordained to set at naught a widespread scepticism that fell upon humanity once in ancient times.

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By these revelations the legend has established the immutable relationship between the science and the Vedas and commends itself to be recorded as a new chapter in the world's history of public health and will be remembered for long in the hearts of men.

This legend occurs in Satapatha Bramhana of the white Yajurveda (S.B.1.2.5,24,25,26). Its English rendering is as follows: Those who performed sacrifices in early days made the offerings by touching (the altar and the oblations) They became wretched and miserable, while those that did not perform any sacrifice remained prosperous. Unbelief took hold of men. They said "Those who perform sacrifices become wretched and those who do not sacrifice remain prosperous". Sacrificial food did not go to the Gods. Gods, verily, subsist on what is offered up from this world.

The Gods thereupon said to Brihaspati Angirasa "Verily unbelief has come upon men. Ordain thou the sacrifice to them". Brihaspathy Angirasa (then went) and asked (men) "How comes it that you do not sacrifice?" They replied "from a desire for what should we sacrifice? Those who sacrifice become wretched and those that do not sacrifice remain prosperous."

Then Brihaspati Angirasa said "What we have heard of as marked out for the Gods, that achieves the sacrifice, that is, the cooked food and the prepared altar, you have performed the sacrifice by touching them. That is why you became wretched. Now sacrifice therefore without touching them. You will become glorious". "How long?" the men asked (referring to the touching of the altar). "Till the spreading of the sacrificial grass on the altar" he replied (and added) "verily this altar becomes tranquilised by the spreading of the sacrificial grass. If before the spreading of the sacrificial grass anything were to fall on the altar, let him remove it (with the foot, vide K.S.S. 1-6.41 - ref. 1) while in the act of spreading

'self, for when they spread the sacrificial grass, they also step on it with the foot. He who knowing this as such, performs the sacrifice without touching, becomes only glorious. Therefore sacrifice without touching only'.

In the devotional parts of the Vedas as in this legend gods stand for energies responsible for the manifestations of psychic faculties such as mind and intellect. This nomenclature is conventional and serves to facilitate meditation, etc. In the higher parts of the Vedas dealing with knowledge the same psychic faculties are described without the Gods responsible for their functions. For example, the descriptions of faculties, such as mind and intellect in *Subala Upanisad* (S.U. 5.6 to 9) may be compared with the corresponding ones in *Chandogya Upanisad* (C.U. 7.3 to 7). In these higher parts of the Vedas devotion to Gods is unequivocally condemned (see B.U. 1.4.6 and 1.4.10) when the aspirant is in quest of pure knowledge as in science.

In view of these facts the description in this legend that guided by the Gods Brihaspathi Angirasa ordained the sacrifice, may be understood to mean that, guided by his faculties such as mind and intellect Brihaspati Angirasa ordained the sacrifice. This is evidently the correct interpretation in view of the subject matter of the legend which involves an investigation into the causes of an extraordinary problem in society and a solution there of which is purely scientific as shown by following discussions.

As a solution to the problem narrated in this legend Brihaspathi Angirasa ordained that if one sacrifices without touching altar and the oblations, he will have glorious results. Although there is no direct mentions of the reasons leading to such an order, that his order is based on a scientific truth, can be made out by examining one of the sentences in his order. This sentence is that, the altar becomes tranquilized by the spreading of the sacrificial grass over it. In this sentence the Sanskrit

word *shanyathi* is used to mean 'becomes tranquilized' in which *sham* is the root. In Yaska's *Nirukta* (YN 3.1), the root *sham* is one of the 26 synonyms which stand for the act of heating after the fire is blazoned, which is described as an act of sterilising implements as seen in Vedic extracts 7.9 and 11 of reference 5 noted below. This root *sham* is used in the same sense in the Rigveda also (Vide Sayana's commentary on R.V. 1.8.4.). It is described that micro-organisms live in the soil and cause disturbances (A.V.4.20.9 and S.B. 1.3.1.5). We may therefore conclude that the experts in Vedic knowledge could readily understand the expression that 'The altar becomes tranquilized', to men that the disturbances caused by the presence of micro-organisms in the soil become suppressed by covering them with the sacrificial grass. That is why no separate reasons are adduced by Brihaspati Angirasa in support of his order.

It is stated in the *Apasthamba Srouta Sutra* that if a sterilised utensil touches an unsterilised one, it must be re-sterilized in the brightest flames of the fire (A.S.S. 2.4.9 and 2.4.10). It is therefore clear from this, that even a momentary contact of a sterilized utensil with an unsterilised one is sufficient for the contaminations to spread in to it. This phenomenon is confirmed also in modern science. It is stated in Taittiriya samhita (Vedic extract No. 2 of ref. 5) that one must wash his hands for eliminating micro-organisms. Brihaspati Angirasa's order that one must not touch food with the hands includes that, even with washed hands one must not touch. This is also confirmed in modern science.

It is clear to an expert in Vedic knowledge that the order given by Brihaspati Angirasa not to touch the soil of the altar and the oblations, was with a view to eliminate contaminations. This is why Brihaspati Angirasa did not think that there was any need to give separate reasons for his order. We may

therefore conclude that his order was based on the scientific principle, in terms of modern science.

From the sentence in the order of Brihaspathi Angirasa discussed above, we may also conclude that, the sense organs of such a divine seer were sharp enough to detect the disturbances caused by the presence of micro-organisms in the soil and also the tranquility resulting from its being covered by the spreading of the sacrificial grass over the soil of the altar. This is evidently the secret of their divine insight, for, by it they could detect and study the life and movements of the micro-organisms without the help of microscopes and formulate measures to eliminate them.

To the question how long one should refrain from touching, Brihaspathi Angirasa has replied that they should not touch the soil of the altar until it is covered with the sacrificial grass. In respect of the oblations, the *Katyayana Srauta Sutra* which is an authentic elaboration of this legend states that they should not touch the oblations till the end of the sacrifice (K. S. S. 1.6.39). These restrictions show that the divine seers discovered that, during the sacrifice when the mind of the sacrificer is withdrawn by concentration or communion with the Gods, the immunity of the peripheral organs is reduced rendering them more vulnerable to the attack. They came to the conclusion that this was the reason why men engaged in spiritual pursuits suffer from wretched consequences whereas people who do not suffer (their minds being not withdrawn).

These findings are revelations even to modern scientists to whom they provide food for thought and open up new avenues for further research. Since the need for mental concentrations arises at one time or other in life of every man, these findings of the divine Vedic seers are of fundamental importance in shaping the lives of men of all religions and professions all over the world and Brihaspathi Angirasa is the first among the divine seers to have revealed this aseptic discipline for the benefit of humanity

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NUMERICAL TAXONOMY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

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Numerical Taxonomy and Metrical analysis provides a new dimension for archaeological interpretation. As the archaeological record consists of a mass of varied individual units which are not easily manageable into a body of information leading to conclusions, classification of the units becomes essential. The process is intended to provide a basis for description and to reveal unsuspected groups which may otherwise be proved to be of importance in the final assessment of the culture traits. The modes of normative classification, which involve in the arrangement of individuals in a class which are close to each other, are time consuming and often times subjective but when related units or classes are grouped together through numerical taxonomical framework the task of analysis becomes easy and informative.

Gordon Childe (1956 pp 15, 33, 34 and 122) was the first to introduce the fundamentals of Numerical taxonomy while he discussed the status of culture as 'a clear assemblage of archaeological types.' Types are features resulting from the standardization of patterns of behaviour within a given society. According to him 'not all types to be assigned to a culture need occur in every assemblage constituent of that culture-least of all is an archaeological culture characterised by a few fossil-types. Yet these type fossils are the sole marks by which a culture can be recognised and distinguished from another-the archaeological concept of culture is largely statistical-no doubt a quantitative element must enter into any definition of a culture.'

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To achieve this end 'measurements are taken for some groups of artefacts--- basically to assist in attributing tools to defined types as part of a diagnostic key' (Doran J E. and Hudson F.R., 1975 p. 163). 'a type (may be defined) as the mean of a group of standardized artefacts. Standardisation may be judged overall, or over a given aspect only, e.g. functional, technological, stylistic; however, it would be expected that the more attributes included, the more significant any type would be and the simpler the total classification' (p. 167).

'Classification is -- a procedure for maximizing information about a culture system from archaeological data analysis. In archaeology it is largely on the basis of the classification of the raw data -- that inferences are made. The accuracy of the classification, in a very real sense, determines the extent to which meaningful and significant inferences will be possible. Inferences in archaeology are, to a large part, based on patterning in data through space and time.' (Read W. D., 1974, p. 216).

Numerical taxonomy aims at recognition and interpretation of regularities in the artefact classes. The recognition could be done at the level of individual objects or at the assemblage level. Practical taxonomy, Pure taxonomy and Phylogenetic taxonomy are the three basic approaches to classification in prehistoric archaeology.

Practical taxonomy relates to the classification of individual artefacts basing on key measurements while pure taxonomy deals with the description of taxonomic unit in which an 'individual, or a group of individuals or a set of groups' may be present and the chosen characters or measurements are classified. Phylogenetic classification does not, however, seem to find a good application in prehistoric artefact units. Archaeologists follow a search strategy after handling the artefacts -- to isolate and group artefacts having similar features

'Quantitative variables are measured by familiar scales of length, weight and so on. Application of the quantitative and qualitative scales produces a list of attributes for each artefact and artefacts are compared by comparing attribute lists --- artefacts do not in fact exhibit innumerable combinations of attributes; instead they exhibit a relatively small number of combinations. Combinations of attributes tend to be repeated rather than endlessly varied.— Certain purposes demand certain combinations of attributes — repetition of attribute combinations occurs even when no criterion of efficient utilization can be applied. We can prepare attribute lists, note the attribute combinations exhibited by the collection, prepare a frequency distribution table for the combinations, and analyse the frequency distribution in terms of groups of associated and clusters of similar artefacts' (Hodson, F. R, etal.. 1971 pp. 45).

Statistical description is already an established norm and used in almost all the natural, physical and social sciences as the inferences drawn are 'less obstrusive than description-underlying the technique of statistical inference is the idea that the numerical behaviour of collections of phenomena is more alike than the phenomena themselves; we can apply the pooled experience from great masses of the most diverse kinds of data to some particular array of numbers to gain a richer appreciation of its significance' (Spaulding A.C., 1960. p. 60).

When sets or groups of artefacts are considered for archaeological description, statistical approaches provide an easy and the most economic means to achieve an explicitly scientific basis for comparing traits within a given industry or industries distributed through time and space.

The descriptions and comparisons attempted by archaeologists through statistical methods are based primarily on the skills applied for identifying and discriminating the attributes

the procedure involving in the usage of a particular type of 'vocabulary for communicating the result of observations economically' while analysing the measurements or metrical attributes.

These 'Principles and techniques are directed to two main objectives. The first is the numerical description of the quantitative aspect of things or events—the presentation of groups of measurements, counts and relationships between or within these measurements and counts. The second objective is the making of the best possible decisions in the face of uncertainty about numerical matters, and the process used is called statistical inference' (Spaulding A.C., 1960 p.60).

'A clear distinction is made between constructing a classification and a key to that classification. A key is a procedure by which a new unit may be assigned to an appropriate established class. — Typically, classes themselves are defined on a wide range of features; the key simply emphasises those features that distinguish one class from another' (Doran J.E. and F.R. Hudson, 1975 p.160).

To summarise in the words of Doran and Hudson (1975 pp. 185 and 186) 'The archaeologist is regularly faced with the task of classifying great numbers of highly complex items. We do not believe that intuitive classifications by archaeologists are necessarily invalid. On the contrary, the visual appreciation of complex morphological patterning is a major human ability which it would be perverse to discount. It is certainly naive to suppose, as several archaeologists have done, that a relatively simple numerical technique will provide a better classification in this difficult context. However, it is clear that the innate abilities for pattern recognition that archaeologists may possess are rarely controlled sufficiently for consistent, communicable classifications to result. In this predicament, numerical taxonomy has a dual function: first, by making the whole series of different concepts involved in classi-

fication, it should help the archaeologist to channel his natural abilities for recognising morphological patterns into a more constructive approach, so that consistent, communicable classifications are produced. Two obvious lessons which the traditional archaeologist may learn from numerical taxonomy are the need, before any classification, to define the universe for which the classification is intended, and also to make precise his views of type or cluster. The second broad function of numerical taxonomy will be to provide classifications in those areas where unaided pattern-recognition can make no headway --.

There is a good lot of literature dealing with the application of Mathematical and statistical techniques for data analysis and interpretation in archaeology and other connected fields (Siegal, Sidney 1956; Hodson, F.R. ed. 1971; Doron, J.E. and Hodson F.R. 1975; 1966; Clarke, D.L. 1978; Dunell, R.C. 1971; Hodson, F.R., Sneath P.H.A. and J.E. Doran 1966; Brownlee, K.A. 1965). A host of scholars have attempted to discover artefact types through statistical techniques (Spaulding, Albert C. 1953; 1960; Sneath, P.H. and Sokal R.R. 1973; Rouse, Irving 1960; Krieger A.D. 1844; Hill J.N. and J.K. Evans 1972; Ford J.A. 1954). Consistency in archaeological measurement and Classification (Fish, Paul R. 1978), explanation (Spaulding, Albert C. 1968), and analogy (Ascher, Robert 1961) besides the analytic, synthetic and comparative (Rouse, I 1973) treatment of the facts provide an explicitly scientific approach to archaeology. Metrical analysis and numerical taxonomy have been applied by various scholars to elicit functional comparisons and functional interpretation of artefact types (Bennett, John W 1943; Sackett, James, R. 1966; Daniels, Steve 1967; Wilmsen, Edwin N. 1968; Sylvia J. Halam 1978; Glover, I.C. 1969). Statistical analysis of ceramics helped understanding the dynamics of social change (Deetz, James 1965; Gifford, James C 1960) and Stylistical similarities could lead to the assessment of social interaction (Plog, Stephen 1978). A closer understanding of the distribution of artefacts

with specific attributes leads to cultural inferences like community patterning (Beardsley, R.K. et. al., 1956; Chang, K.C. 1958; Wilmsen, Edwin N. 1970). Cultural chronology could also be built up using a quantitative method (Ford J. A. 1962) while factor, cluster and proximity analysis (Cowgill, George L. 1958) and multivariate artefact analysis (Redman, Charles C. 1978) help multidimensional interpretations of the data and finally contribute for the enrichment of social archaeology. That any overdoing of the mathematical and statistical exercises can sometimes lead to misleading result has been advocated by Thomas, D. H. (1972 and 1978). Clark J.G.D. (1954) was able to present distributions of classes of artefacts by provenience units at Star Carr. Statistical use of artefact distributions to establish chronological sequence has been demonstrated by Paul Dempsey and Martin Baumhoff (1963) while Robinson W.S. (1951) and Brainerd W.G. (1951) discussed chronological ordering of archaeological deposits through statistical techniques.

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LAPIDARY SECTION IN BHOJA'S YUKTIKALPATARU — AN ASSESSMENT *

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and

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The *Yuktikalpataru* (Yk), as the name itself suggests, is verily a compendium of the different branches of knowledge. In this paper it is proposed to give an assessment of the lapidary section in this work. There are different treatises which deal with the lapidary science. L. Finot¹ presented a comparative study of the *Agastimata*, *Agastīya Ratnaparikṣā*, *Ratnaparikṣā* of Buddhabhaṭṭa, *Brhatsamhitā*, *Garuḍapurāṇa*, *Navaratnaparikṣā*, *Ratnasāgraha* and *Maṇimālā*. The *Brhatsamhitā* treats the topic briefly in four chapters. The section in *Garuḍapurāṇa* (GP) is comparatively longer. We find that the text found in GP is almost the same as found in the name of Buddha-bhaṭṭa (*Ratnaparikṣā*) and the texts of *Brhatsamhitā* and *Ratnaparikṣā* are independent and have borrowed from a common early source prior to 6th century A D.

We have made a brief survey of the whole section in Yk comparing with that in GP². *Agni*, *Ratnadīpikā*³ of Caṇḍeśvara, *Ratnasāstra*⁴ of Buddhabhaṭṭa, *Mānasollāsa*⁵ of Someśvara and Finot's dissertation and have pointed out Bhoja's contribution. A recent notice was made⁶ by Gy. WOJILLA about the different works on lapidary science.

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Mānasollāsa of Çhalukya king Someśvara composed in 1131 A.D. describes briefly the characteristics of diamond, ruby, sapphire, emerald, crystal, topaz, lapis lazuli, zircon and coral, in verses 362-536. A good number of verses here agree with those in Yk.

The *alankārayukti* section in Yk. has 480 verses; 128 verses agree with those in GP., some having been cited as from GP. But some of the verses cited as from *Viṣṇudharmottara* or *Matsya* could not be traced in those two *Purāṇas*. As such the said *Purāṇas* do not have any material on lapidary science. This section first advises the proper constellations and days on which the ornaments should be worn. Then it describes the mythical origin of the different gems from the limbs of the demon Vala (p.85, verses 47-51). Quoting from *Viṣṇudharmottara*, it enumerates as many as 30 gems (pp. 85-86, verses 52-57). These, except the last, are actually found in *Agnipurāṇa* (ch 246) with little variations. But it describes only the *karketana*, *bhīṣmamaṇi*, *pulakamaṇi*, *rudhirākhyā* (*ratna*) *sphaṭika* and *ayaskānta* in addition to the well-known nine gems⁷.

Padmaraga (Ruby)

Out of 82 verses here (pp. 86-96. verses 58-100, 1-39), the first 20 verses have a special importance. Only 2 verses are found in GP and the last 7 verses of these 20 verses agree with Caṇḍeśvara's *Ratnadīpikā*. The other verses could not be found in other works consulted. In these verses the text mentions the four places from where the *padmarāga* is obtained—*padmarāga* (from Simhala, red in colour), *kuruvinda* (from Kālapura; yellow), *saugandhika* (*aśokapallavachāyā*), *nīlagandhi* (*tumburchāyā*) (long gourd?) among which the first variety is the foremost. Then it describes in detail the different shades of redness present in different kinds of stones. The text again explains the same in verses 72 & 73. It may be pointed out here that the *Agastimata* makes only three divisions. But this

four-fold division is followed by the *Navaratnaparikṣā*, which cites Somabhūbhuja (evidently author of *Mānasollāsa*). The Yk. then explains the shades of colours of these varieties drawing analogy with those of *guñja*, *dāḍima*, etc.

The Yk. then points out the properties of different kinds of *padmarāga* and their effects in 44 verses (pp. 89-94) (verses 78-100, 1-21) of which the last verses agree with those in GP (ch. 70), although the source has not been mentioned as GP. At first the text briefly refers to the eight kinds of flaws (verses 80-84) and explains them in detail in the succeeding verses.

It may be given in a tabular form as follows :

Name	Property	Evil effect
1. <i>dvicchāya</i>	emits a two-fold shade	death of friends
2. <i>virūpa</i>	bears a mark like a bird's foot	brings humiliation
3. <i>sambheda</i>	mark like a rift	liable to be struck by a weapon
4. <i>karkara</i>	broken	destruction of one's relatives or cows
5. <i>aśobhana</i>	as if immersed in milk	numerous evils
6. <i>kokila</i>	mark like a drop of honey	inimical to life and fame
7. <i>jala</i>	discoloured	loss of wealth and grains
8. <i>dhūmra</i>	resembles smoke	indication of being struck by lightning.

Heaviness, glossy appearance, stainlessness, deep redness, clearness and bringing good to users are the qualities. The best ruby is that which spreads its red lustre around when put into milk or illumines all around when kept in dark. That

variety which resembles the burning fire is known as *vaṁśakānti* and yields all prosperity. The succeeding eight verses (pp. 92-3, verses 8-15) point out the spurious ones obtained from Konkana, etc. and explain further their qualities.

The rough test to find the genuineness to rub it on a whetstone. The genuine one will not lose its radiance and weight. Except diamond and *kuruvinda* no other gem can scratch the *padmarāga* or *indranila*. This holds good even now as it is next in hardness (nine points) to diamond. The text then deals with the methods of appraisal of gems (pp. 94-6, verses 22-39). These 18 verses could not be found in the texts consulted. The price of the weighed diamond that is spoken in terms of one to 2 *tanḍula*, the same price is said for ruby weighing from one to twenty *māśas*. The four kinds of rubies are appraised each one a quarter less than the preceding ones.

Hiraka (Diamond)

Then the text describes the testing of diamonds (pp. 96-97), the good qualities (pp. 97-100), defects (pp. 100-103) and their appraisal (pp. 103-4) in 80 verses. Among these verses only 15 are found in GP., the rest could not be found in any of the texts consulted. In the above treatment, the text first (p. 96, verse 40) follows the text of GP and gives the eight broad classifications based on their area of availability as follows : 1. Himālaya, 2. Mataṅga mountain, 3. Saurāṣṭra, 4. Puṇḍra country, 5. Kalinga, 6. Kośala, 7. banks of Venā river, and 8. Sauvira. Then it gives the individual characteristics of these in the subsequent verse (p.96, verse 41)⁸. The succeeding verses (42-43) associate a particular variety with a particular *yuga*. The next three verses (44-47 a) classify them into five groups on the basis of predominance of one of the five elements and the qualities noted here. Then the text makes a four-fold classification of the diamonds as *vipra*, etc (47 a - 48). The text then agrees with that of GP and gives qualities of the above four kinds.

The succeeding verses (53-57) quoted as from GP describe the qualities. The gems have six or eight or 12 facets. They generally shed long shining rays. Possessing five facets, light weight, eight even *dalas*, pointed tips and without any flaw are the five qualities. It has been made possible now to increase the number of faces by means of precision instruments thereby increasing the scope for reflecting rays and brilliance. The variety difficult to find is then pointed out. Here verses 53 and 56 are found in GP and *Ratnaśāstra* (RS) (pp. 27-28). The next two verses quoted as from *Viṣṇudharmottara*, and *Agnip.* are not found in these two *purāṇas* as also in other texts. They describe the quality of a diamond which brings good to the king if worn. The succeeding 20 verses (pp. 98-100, verses 60-79), describe the benefits arising by wearing diamonds of different qualities. Only two verses (62-63) are found in the GP and RS.

The text then describes the defects in 28 verses (pp. 101-3, verses 80-100 and 101-7). The common defects are impurities, dots, lines (on the facets or sides), brokenness, mark resembling the foot of a bird (*mala*, *bindu*, *rekhā*, *trāsa* and *kākapada*), each one of which is supposed to bring serious trouble and suffering to the owner and wearer¹⁰. It is also said that a diamond, whose face is cracked, whose top is rent and whose centre is full of dirt could deprive Indra of his prosperity. That quality diamond which when rent is defective should not be worn. The good and bad effects of wearing rough gems are pointed out corresponding to the number of angular points. These verses could not be found in the texts compared by me (especially those which describe the effects of angular points).

The verses 104-7 describe the imitations made of *avas*, *padmarāga*, *gomedaka*, *vaiḍūrya*, *sphaṭika* and *kāca* and suggests methods to test the genuineness. One or two additional verses are found. Then verses 108-10 describe how the diamond can scratch all other minerals on earth and cannot be scratched by

any other. This is also true even now as diamond is given ten points for its hardness, being the highest among the precious stones. The succeeding 8 verses (112-19) describe the methods for evaluating the diamond. Except one or two verses the rest completely agree with GP though not mentioned as from GP. The idea expressed in the concluding verses is noticed in Nārāyaṇa's version and it advises that the four kinds of gems should be worn by the respective type of people and if worn differently will have evil consequences.

Vidruma (Pravala, Corals)

This section in 14 verses (pp. 104-6, verses 20-33) gives the origin of corals, their four divisions, their characteristics, the effects of wearing the different kinds, and the defects which have evil propensities. These verses are not found in any of the texts compared by us. Actually the material in GP is very brief. The major flaws are paleness (*vivarṇatā*) and roughness (*kharatā*.) Just as in the case of the diamond, the *rekhā*, *kakapda* and *bindu* are considered as flaws in the case of corals also. It points out the evil effects of these flaws. The price of pure *pravala* is given as twice that of rupee (*raupyādviguṇa*) This statement does not occur in other texts on lapidary.

It may be mentioned that just as the mythical origin given in Sanskrit works, the Greek tradition also records the origin of corals from the blood dropping from the head of Medusa. Many legends¹¹ are associated with the corals in the West, using corals as charm, medicine or amulet.

Gomeda (Zircon)

This section in 8 verses (pp. 106-7, verses 34-42) is also not found in the other texts. These verses speak about the place of availability of zircon (Himālaya or Sindu) It is stated to be brilliant, heavy, smooth, much hued (*varṇāḍhya*), white (*valakṣa*), tawny or golden (*piñjara*), and lucky. The *gomeda* also admits of four classes as in the case of diamonds. They

are white, red, yellow and blue and heavy, lustrous, smooth and soft respectively. This gem if worn makes one prosperous. The gem which is rough, light and disfigured brings ruin. Which-ever defect has been pointed out in the case of the diamond, it holds good in the case of *gomeda* also. The stone has to be tested through fire or whetstone. Imitations are made only from crystal.

According to some the value of *gomeda* is twice that of gold. But others hold that it is the same as that of the coral. Some others hold it, as equal to chowrie. The *Ratnadīpikā* of Caṇḍeśvara describes in six verses the divisions, the characteristics and medicinal properties. Among these, two verses almost agree with the verses in Yk and one verse with that in *Mānasollāsa* (verse 527).

L.A.N. Iyer¹³ has pointed out that it is next to diamond in brilliancy and fire, and ought to be a popular one, but it is not even well-known. This is indeed one of the few stones whose characteristics have not been fully understood.

Mukta (Pearls)

The elaborate description here is in 124 verses (pp. 107-20, verses 43-100. 1-66), As such the chapter on *muktāphala* in GP has only 43 verses and the section in *Ratnaśāstra* has only 60 verses. Only 18 verses from Yk agree with those in GP as shown in the tables¹³. It is obvious that the Yk has either elaborated or depended on some other source. Omitting the verses which agrees either with GP or RS we have described here briefly the additional material.

Verses 46-50 (p. 107)¹⁴ describe the 4 clans of pearls got from the elephants (among those got from elephants, clouds, boars, conch, fish, serpents, oyster and bamboo) dependent on the four types of elephants and point out the colours of these kinds. The pearl got from the Kāmboja elephant resem-

bles the *dhātṛi* (myrabolan) and is heavy. It is extremely tawny in colour and has dull lustre. Probably any white glossy material was taken to be a variety of pearls. This conception of their eight varieties has been often referred to in the Sanskrit literary works. Mallinātha quotes the verse on eight kinds. The class of pearls got from mountains and formed by drops of water is difficult to get and that is taken away by the celestials. That pearl which equal the size of an egg, round, dense, heavy and radiant like the sun is divine and is fit for the celestials.

Verses 56 and 57 (d. 108) not found in GP describe the three kinds of clouds depending on the predominance of water, lightning and wind and the characteristics of those. The verses 59-74 (pp. 108-110)¹⁵ not found in GP describe the 4 class of *varāha* type of pearls, and their colours. Verse 62 describes the colour of the *kola* type of pearls as resembling that of the teeth of boar, cannot be got by men devoid of merits. Verse 63 names the class called *śaṅkha* and verses 65-68 describe the characteristics such as -size as that of a dove, extremely beautiful, 27 kinds corresponding to 27 asterisms in which they were produced. They are of nine colours, 27 kinds are based on the measures of big, medium and small sizes.

The succeeding verses 69-74¹⁶ (pp. 109-10) mention at first the class of pearls obtained from the fish resembling the upper part of the fish called *pāṭhina*, circular, light and not very small in size and found in the mouths of fish and describe their seven varieties. After the next verse (found in GP) about that got from the serpent, the succeeding three verses (76-78) not found in GP, speak of them as difficult to get and describe the quality as round, beautiful, blue shaded and very radiant. They could not be seen by people devoid of merit. They are of four kinds, based on their size.

The succeeding verses 79-82 (pp. 110-111) about the effects of good pearls are found in GP. The next verse (83) not found

in GP, states that pearls may be found in the frogs also sometimes which should be taken as comparable to those got from serpents. The next four verses (84-87) describe the mythical origin from the teeth of the demon after their fall into waters of the eight oceans. These are also found in GP. The succeeding 28 verses (88 on p. 111-16 on p. 115) are not found in GP. Here verse 88 states that the water drops released from the clouds when the Sun is in the asterism *Svāti*, after getting dried in oysters became pearls with spotless glitter.

Verses 89-95 (pp. 111-12) describe the characteristics of the pearls got from *Simhala* and other places. The pearls are classified into four groups and their characteristics are pointed out (verses 96-99, pp. 112-12 13). The pearls got from bamboo are like the moon in their lustre and like the *kakhola* berry and are obtained only by meritorious deeds got through Vedic *mantras* (verse 100). We may cite a verse from *Saundaryalaharī* referring to this variety. Verses 1-3 (p. 11) describe the qualities of the five different kinds of pearls formed in the bamboos depending on the five elements. Verses 4-7 a (p. 113) quoted without mentioning the source furnish the names of different kinds of pearls got from the elephant and other sources and describe the characteristics. Verses 7b-9 (pp. 113-14) point out the four colours and the good effects of these four.

The succeeding six verses (p. 114, 10-15) quoted as from *Matsyapurāṇa* (but not found therein)¹⁷ describe the eight qualities of pearls and define them. They are termed as *sutāra*, *suṣṛṭṭa*, *svaccha*, *nirmala*, *ghana*, *snigdha*, *sacchāya* and *asphuṭita* respectively. The succeeding verse quoted as from GP is not found in GP. But the next two verses are found in GP. Among those verses, the first verse names the pearls got from bamboo, elephant fish, conch and boar as most shining. The next two verses as well as the subsequent two verses speak about the good effects of good quality pearls.

The succeeding nine verses (pp. 115-16) (verses 21-29) not found in GP describe the ten defects—four great and six medium.

The succeeding eight verses (pp. 116-17, verses 30-37) describe the spurious ones and the methods to test the genuine ones. The succeeding 29 verses (pp. 117-20, verses 38-66) give a detailed description of valuing the pearls. It names the different units of measures here. Quoting from an unspecified source it equates *guñjā* to *sañcālī* and points out its relationship with *rūpaka* and *kalañja* (p. 119, verse 59).

Vaidurya (Cat's eyes)

This section in 28 verses (pp. 120-23, verses 67-94), although does not mention GP as its source, as many as 14 verses agree with those in GP. It begins with a reference to the mythic origin of the gems from the *nāda* of the demon. After three verses found in GP, the next three verses point out an inferior variety. The subsequent two verses point out the colour of a good variety of *vaidūrya*, their four kinds and their respective colours. The next six verses (pp. 121-22, verses 75-80) speak about an excellent variety worthy of adorning the divine form and the five excellent qualities marking a good variety—*sutāra*, *ghana*, *atyaccha*, *kalila* and *vyrnga* followed by an explanation of these.

The next verse (81) is found in GP, stating that good quality gem yields good fruits and bad quality the opposite. The subsequent five verses (82-86) not found in GP mention five great defects—*karkara*, *karkaśa*, *trāsa*, *kalañka* and *deha* and explain these. The subsequent eight verses (pp. 122-23, verses 87-94) concluding the section are found in GP and they point out the imitations, the methods to find out the same and the mode of valuing.

Indranila (Sapphire)

This section in 37 verses (verse 95 on p. 121 to verse 31 on p. 127) begins with five verses quoted from GP accounting for the mythic origin of *Indranila* and pointing out the location,

It may be mentioned that the GP has only 19 verses in ch. 72 on *Indranila*.

The subsequent 18 verses (verse 100 on p.124 to verse 17 on page 126) are not found in GP. These verses name the four varieties-*śventanīla*, *raktanīla*, *pītanīla* and *kṛṣṇanīla* corresponding to the four castes of stones, the four shades giving out *sita*, *tāmra*, *pīta* and *kṛṣṇa* rays. As in the rubies, here also there are three varieties. That which spreads its radiance when put in milk is *mahānīla*. An unspecified quotation of 2 verses defines the *indranīla* (blue), *padmarāga* (lohitā), *mānavaka* (?) (whitish blue), *kāṣāyaka* (tawny), *puṣparāga* (yellow and white), *kauruṇḍaka* (*lohitākāra*).

Then the five important characteristics - *guru*, *snigdha*, *varṇāḍhya*, *pārsvavān* and *rañjaka* are pointed out and explained (verses 8-12). Then the 6 defects and their effects are pointed out (verses 13-18). The defects are *abhraka*, *saśarkara*, *trāsa*, *bhinna*, *myttikāgarbhaka* and *citraka*. Here the single line numbered as a verse in the text and found in GP points out the effects of the defect '*citraka*' (18). Quoting from an unspecified source the text points out¹⁸ the following defects- *abhraka* - *pañacchāyā*, etc. in *indranīla* (verse 19).

The subsequent three verses (p.126, verses 20-22) describe the different shades. The next 2 verses (23-24) speak of the good effects of a good *indranīla*. The latter describes the effect as similar to wearing ruby and is found in GP. The next three verses (pp. 126-27, verses 25-27) found in GP describe the methods of testing the genuineness. Then the three verses which follow (28-30), not found in GP., point out the usefulness of a good *indranīla* and also the specialities of two kinds known as *Uśināra* and *Tīttibha*. The last verse on its valuation is found in GP.

Marakata (Emerald)

This section here has 40 verses (pp. 127-32, verses 32-71) whereas the GP has only 29 verses and only 16 verses are

identical with those in GP. The first eight verses (32-39) agreeing with those in GP give a detailed description of the mythical origin from the bile of the demon. The succeeding seven verses (40-46) point out the efficacy in healing poison due to serpents (in their mythical origin) and mention the characteristics of the excellent varieties of *marakata*. The next two verses (47-48) are not found in GP. The first one speaks of an excellent variety which spreads radiance on the hand under sun's rays. The second points out four kinds of stones based on their *chāyā*.

The subsequent 18 verses (pp. 129-31 verses 49-66) not found in GP. deal with the following topics : eight kinds of *marakata*, based on their *chāyā* (49-52), the seven kinds of defects and their effects (53-56), the five good characteristics and the benefits accrued by wearing good quality gems, the seven good characteristics (quoted from an unspecified source) (57-62), and the methods of testing for imitations (63-66).

The next two verses (67-68) quoted from GP and found therein describe their evaluation. The next two verses (69-70) quoted from an unspecified source speak of the price of the gem based on its different varieties (*jātibheda*). The last verse in this section states that the text would take up description of other gems after having described the characteristics of eight great gems.

Pushparaga (Topaz)

There are 6 verses in this section (p. 192, verses 72-77). Out of these verses, only the first and the last verse are found in GP. The first verse refers to the mythical origin. The succeeding verses speak of the good effects of wearing a good gem, two broad classifications of the gem, definition of the term '*puṣparāga*', the four classes (castes) of *puṣparāga* and their five kinds. The last verse found in GP. states that its evaluation and effects of wearing are as in the case of *vaiḍūrya*.

It is interesting to point out that the verse 75-

Ishatpitacchavicchāyā svaccham kāntya manoharam !
Pushparāgamiti prōktam raṅgasōmamahibhujā ॥

mentions the term '*raṅgasoma mahibhūja*'. We may compare this verse with *Mānasollāsa* 525-

Ishatpitam pavicchaya swaccham kāntya manōharam !
Pushparāgamiti khyātam ratnam ratnaparikshakaiḥ ॥

(the only verse on *puṣparāga*) which makes us doubt about its inclusion in Yk.

Karketana (a species of Quartz – MW)

There are seven verses (pp. 133-34, verses 78-84) quoted as from GP. and are found in GP. (ch. 75 verses 1-7). These verses refer to their mythical origin from the nails of the demon and describe the colour, their efficacy in curing ailments, the effects of defective ones, and evaluation of good quality ones.

Bhishmanni

Out of the 10 verses (pp. 134-35, verses 85-94) quoted as from GP., only seven are found in GP. First there is an account of the mythical origin from the *vīrya* of the demon. The next verse not in GP. refers to its area of availability - Kāṇḍa etc. The next two verses (87-88) found in GP speak of its varieties and the good results accruing from wearing good quality ones. The next two verses (89-90) not found in GP. describe the usefulness of good quality ones in warding off effects of poison, and fear from wild animals.

The rest of the verses (91-93) speak of their efficacy in satisfying the manes, in warding off fear from fire, etc., and points out the bad ones. The last verse speaks about their evaluation. We may point out that there is a work called *Bhīṣmaratnaparikṣā*.

Pulakamani

This section has four verses (pp. 135-6, verses 95-98), and has not been described in the GP. These four verses first describe their mythic origin from the nails (*nakhara*) of the demon and then their commendable colours, the benefits of the good quality ones and the bad effects of the defective ones.

Rudhirakhya (Ratna)

The three verses here (p. 136, verses 99-100 and 1) agree completely with GP though source is not mentioned as GP. Herein we find that their origin is attributed to the *rūpa* of the demon and then we have a description of their colour etc.

Sphatika (Crystal)

There are 12 verses (pp. 136-137, verses 2-13) here among which three are quoted as from GP and are found there. But the succeeding verses quoted without specifying the source are not found in GP. These verses point out the places of availability, their 2 kinds - *Sūryakānta* and *Candrakānta*, their characteristics, the impossibility of getting the latter variety in Kaliyuga and other varieties depending on different qualities.

Ayaskanta

There are two verses here (p. 138, verses 14-15). These are not found in GP. The *ayaskānta* is said to attract *loha* and is of two kinds - *uttama* and *adhama* based on their colour and is said to be found in the waters of the ocean.

Concluding our observations we may point out that the text of Yk. deals with the characteristics, good qualities and bad qualities and their effects and the methods to find the imitations of gems. The general principle to evaluate a gem is its quality and it holds good even now. Moreover, the Yk., although has borrowed from GP., there are many verses which could have been its original contribution. Some later texts also seem to have been influenced by the Yk.

Although the mythic origin of the gems have to be discredited in the light of the modern development of the geological science, one cannot deny recognition to the theories propounded about the influence exercised by the gems on the humanity. The Western opinion would like to brush aside that they are superstitious. We may recall here the reference to corals used as charm, etc., as already pointed out. But the *āyurveda* and recognition in *rasaśāstra* about their use as internal remedies and recent theories¹⁹ about gem therapy and their practical application have shown beyond dispute that the gems do exercise great influence on the every day life of man.

NOTES :

1. Les lapidaries indiens, Paris, 1896.
2. For a comparison of Yk. and GP. see *Garudapurāṇa A Study App.* pp. 44-50. We have noted in this paper as an appendix only those left out in the above.
3. Madras Government Oriental Series, LXXVIII 1951.
4. Same Sec. as fn. 2
5. Verses 362-536 in *GOS* edn. XXVIII, 1925
6. Bhārati Bhānam, (K. V. Sarma Fel. Vol.) Hoshiarpur 1980. pp. 396-402.
7. See *Technical Literature in Sanskrit*, Kerala University Trivandrum, 1978. p. 151.
8. Cf. L.A.N. Iyer, *A Handbook of Precious Stones*, p. 105.
9. See Vijayaraghavacharya, *The Science of Diamonds*, pp. 32-33.

10. See L.A.N. Iyer, p. 87
11. Michael Weinstein, *Precious and Semi-precious Stones* pp. 128-29.
12. See pp. 136-9 : Weinstern pp. 76-77 and Coggin Brown *India's Mineral Wealth* pp. 596-7.
13. See *Garudapurāṇa - A Study* Appendix pp. 44-50.
14. Verses 48-50 are found in *Mānasollāsa* 425, 427, 428.
15. Verses 62 and 65 are found in *Mānasollāsa* 430 and 433 (little different).
16. Verse 70 found in *Mānasollāsa* 431.
17. There is no section on lapidary science in *Matsya-purāṇa*.
18. *abhrakapaṭalacchāyā trāsaścitraka eva ca |
mṛdaśmagarbharaṅkṣāṇi mahānīleṣu dūṣaṇam* ||
19. See B. Bhattacharya, *Gem Therapy*. Calcutta, 1976.

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3. Michael Weinstein, *Precious and Semi-precious Stones*, London, 1930.
4. L.A.N. Iyer, *A Handbook of Precious Stones*, Calcutta, 1948.
5. Raymond B. Ladoo, *Non-metallic Minerals*. McGraw Hill, 1951.
6. J. Coggin Brown & A.K. Dey, *India's Mineral Wealth*, London, 3rd edn. 1955. ch. XV. pp. 575-643.
7. B. Bhattacharya, *Gem Therapy*. Calcutta, 1976.
8. *Technical Literature in Sanskrit*, Trivandrum, 1978.
9. *Bhārati Bhānam*. Hoshiarpur, 1980.

Appendix

The following table gives the additional numbers of verses from *GP*, quoted unspecified in *Yk*, other than those pointed out in *Garuḍapurāṇa-A Study* App. pp. 44-50.

page	Yk. verse no.	GP.	
		Chapter	verse no
97	50	68	21 (with little difference)
102	97		42
	4		44

page	Yk verse no.	GP	
		chapter	verse no.
	5. 6a		45
103	12a		37b
	13		34
	14		35
104	15		36
	16		39
	17		40
118	48	69	32
	49c		33a
	50a		33b
	50b		34a
	51a		34b

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FRAZER AND THE GOLDEN BOUGH

R. W. BROCKWAY *

It is no exaggeration to say that *The Golden Bough* is the font of all modern studies of mythology, even though both the voluminous, multi-volume discussion itself and its author have fallen into disrepute among anthropologists. Frazer was a classical scholar who thought he was an anthropologist because he read so much anthropology. His achievement was a massive and erudite study which initially inspired Malinowski to leave physics for anthropology and Levi-Strauss to make the same intellectual journey from philosophy. Freud read *The Golden Bough* and was moved to embark on his own study of mythology which led to *Totem and Taboo*; Toynbee tried to do for history what Frazer had done for mythology. It is not unfair to say that the impact of mythology on Western Civilization has been chiefly because of the Bible and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and that our present century has learned its mythology chiefly from Frazer.

James George Frazer was born in Glasgow in 1854. He learned his Greek and Latin at Larchfield Academy, and instead of entering his father's business, went to Glasgow University to study more Greek and Latin. In 1873 he entered Trinity College, Oxford, studied law, which was his father's idea, was admitted to the Middle Bar but never practised. At Cambridge he continued on with his classics studies and became a Fellow. Frazer was busy with his edition of Pausanias when his attention was called to E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871). It was the turning point of his life. He plunged into a study of what was

then called "primitive religion" having discovered the vastness, complexity and antiquity of human culture. The only "primitive" he ever met was when the "Wild Man of Borneo" chased him at a carnival when he was a small child. What he knew was what he read in the thirty thousand books of his library and what he learned from questionnaires which he sent out to missionaries, travellers, and colonial officials. Anthropologists from Malinowski on have faulted him for his "If I was a horse" tactics. The phrase comes from a story about a Yorkshire farmer looking for a horse who ate a clump of grass and then mused "Well, if I was a horse I'd go that way." Where contemporary primitives are concerned, Frazer had no better data than what his informants supplied him which was not nearly good enough. Consequently, he was no scientist despite his insistence to the contrary but a humanist who had insights, ideas, and insistence to the contrary but a humanist who had insights, ideas and intuitions which occurred to him in the course of his tireless studying. Frazer was one of those fortunate few of the Victorian Era who was affluent enough to be relieved of all of the practical exigencies of life in an uncrowded, leisurely world where he could enjoy books, good companions, and be bothered with few intrusions. He lived to be eighty-seven.

Shortly after he began his studies of mythology, Frazer met William Robertson-Smith who had been expelled from Free College, Aberdeen for heresy. The latter was University librarian and Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. Frazer helped him with his *Religion of the Semites* (1889). Frazer was influenced by Robertson-Smith in return. After years of study and writing Frazer produced *The Golden Bough* which was published in two volumes in 1890; the second edition of three volumes (which the young Malinowski borrowed from Craicow University Library) came out in 1900; the massive twelve volume edition came out between 1911 and 1915. A thirteenth volume was added in 1936.

The Golden Bough is a vast, encyclopedic study of magic, totemism and myth. According to Lionel Trilling, "no book

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has had so decisive an effect on modern literature as Frazer's. The plot of *The Golden Bough* is the story with which the first volume begins: "Who does not know Turner's picture of the Golden Bough?" he asks. "The scene, suffused with the golden glow of the imagination in which the divine mind of Turner stepped and transfigured even the fairest natural landscape, is a dream-like vision of the little woodland lake of Nemi... 'Diana's Mirror', as it was called by the ancients... Diana herself might still by the lonely shore still haunt the woodlands wild." In a sacred grove on a cliff above the lake "a figure might be seen to prowl. In his hand he carried a drawn sword, and he kept peering warily about him as if every instant he expected to be set upon by an enemy." He was a priest and he was also a murderer. He was on guard lest his own murderer catch him unawares. "Such was the rule of the sanctuary. A candidate for the priesthood could only succeed to office by slaying the priest, and, having slain him, he retained office till he was himself slain by a stranger..." In "Adonis, Attis, Osiris", Volume Five, Frazer analyzes the dying and resurrected gods of Near Eastern mythology. He discusses those of Greece such as Dionysus in the sixth volume, and then concludes with his study of "Balder the Beautiful" and the dying and reviving gods of the Horse. In all of these myths there is a beloved individual who is in the full bloom of life when he is attacked and killed by a wild animal (Adonis), betrayed by a traitor (Osiris), slain by a physically trivial but magically lethal wound (Balder), or set upon and dismembered (Dionysus). The god descends into the underworld. He is resurrected into the land of the living, and, by participating in his death and resurrection, his votaries have eternal life.

At the end of *The Golden Bough* Frazer comes to the obvious conclusion. Was not Christ born to a virgin, like Attis? Was he not slain through the treachery of an enemy, hung on a tree like the Phrygian god? Did his mother not weep for him and his disciples sorrow? There is an echo of the dismembered Dionysus in the parting of his garments among his executioners.

He was buried, descended into hell, and on the third day he rose triumphant, like Attis, Adonis, Osiris, Dionysus and Balder. Until Frazer, it had not been realized how mythic the story of Christ is. There is, as Christian apologists, a big difference. The dying gods were mythical but Christ was the historical Jesus of Nazareth, as the Gospels are at point out. He was born in Judea in the fifteenth year of the Emperor Caesar Augustus and when Quirinius was governor of Syria. Nothing of the sort can be said for Osiris, Attis, Adonis, Dionysus, or Balder. But how important is it that Jesus was an historical figure? Would it really make any difference if some archaeologist was able to prove that there really had been an Osiris? Of far less importance than the issue of the historicity of Christ is the fact that he was a dying god who rose from the dead.

Frazer was a Christian. Unlike Freud, he does not qualify as an atheist. Frazer did not write *The Golden Bough* either as a polemic or an apologetic. It emerged out of his scholarship. Scholarship was his whole life. Even on holiday he lugged along a tea chest full of books and paper. Much that he wrote is rubbish. There is no evidence whatsoever to support his notion that religion originated from the failure of magic and that there has been a three stage progress in human history from magic to religion to science. Though it deeply impressed both Freud and Durkheim, most of what he had to say about totemism and taboo is worthless, and so is almost everything he wrote about "primitive religion". We read Frazer with respect when he writes as a classical scholar, which is what he was, and not when he writes as an amateur anthropologist. And, here, it is his insights and intuitions which are most interesting, not his research which is unreliable. He was a sage, less important for his data than for his intuitions and insights. In ancient Greece he would have been a philosopher. And, as with Plato and Aristotle, what is most interesting about Frazer are his ideas.

The Golden Bough has one big idea, just as Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* and Jung's *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*. It seems to take an enormous scholarly effort over the course of a lifetime to produce just one big idea, and it is seldom that any scholar ever produces more. Jung's big idea was the collective unconscious, Freud's the dream as the royal road to the unconscious, and Frazer's was the death and resurrection of the god.

Frazer's idea is far more parochial than he supposed. The death and resurrection motif only occurs in Western mythologies, in those of the cultures from Iran to Ireland and from Egypt to Iceland. One does not encounter this theme in India or China, at least not as a major motif, nor does it occur in the Americas, Australasia, the Pacific Islands, or Africa south of the Sahara. Here one encounters the "myth of eternal return" in which there are cosmic cycles from everlasting to everlasting. This, according to Campbell, is the most archaic mythic theme in the world. But, during the Bronze Age, another myth emerged in which time is viewed as a linear progress from alpha to omega, as we noted in the previous chapter. All of the myths of West participate in this basic theme of death and resurrection in which the victory of the risen god is victory over death and the Devil. In turn, all of these redemptive myths culminated in the four great religious mythologies of the Western World: Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

As Frazer pointed out, the death, departure, and resurrection of the god was celebrated in rituals which became sacred dramas in which the suffering, eclipse, and revival of the god is presented mimetically either by images or actors. "When the ritual mourning was concluded, images of the god, clad to imitate corpses, were buried." Adonis was cast into the sea; Attis was buried. Frazer describes the Attis ceremony: When night had fallen, the sorrows of the worshipers were turned to joy. For suddenly the light shone in the darkness: the tomb was opened: the god had risen from the dead; and as the

priest touched the lips of the weeping mourners with balm, he softly whispered in their ears the tidings of salvation.

Frazer traced the origins of this theme to the cycles of nature, but this explanation no longer suffices. Something deeper than the experience of death and rebirth in animals and vegetation seems involved and this led Freud and Jung to seek the origins of the depths of the unconscious. The hero myth, as Frazer called it, is the major theme of Jung's *Symbols of Transformation* (1912) and it figures prominently in Freud's *Totem and Taboo* (1913). The controlling ideas of *The Golden Bough* are these. As Frazer remarks in his preface, "The present volumes, forming the first part of the whole, contain a preliminary ingoing into the principles of Magic and the evolution of the Sacred kingship in general. They will be followed shortly by a volume which discusses the principles of taboo in their special application to sacred or priestly kings. The remainder of the work will be mainly devoted to the myth and ritual of the Dying God."

Diana's king of the wood is the microcosmic priest-king. Kings must have divinely and magical powers. According to Frazer, "Kings were revered, in many cases not merely as priests, that is as intermediaries between man and god, but as themselves gods, able to bestow upon their subjects and worshipers those blessings which are commonly supposed to be beyond the reach of mortals and are sought, if at all, only by prayers and sacrifices offered to superhuman and invisible beings."

Since the gods were magicians so were the kings. Both magicians and kings are divine creatures. The magical man-god is a man who wields wide powers of the same type that others do on a small scale. The religious man-god is the receptacle of the divine spirit. "His whole being, body and soul, a touch of his hand or a turn of his head may send a thrill vibrating through the whole universal framework of things: and

conversely, his divine organism is acutely sensitive to such slight changes of environment as would leave ordinary mortals wholly unaffected."

The Golden Bough presents the entire sojourn of the human race as a quest. This idea originated in the myths of the dying and resurrected gods, culminating in Christianity, and was, in turn, translated into secular terms during the Enlightenment. It appeared as the hero cult of Romanticism. Frazer fuses both the Enlightenment and Romantic traditions. Freud died in 1939 Frazer in 1941. The impact of both was enormous up through the second half of the present century, but, as mentioned that impact has lessened since.

The great, seminal thinkers of the first half of the century, like Frazer, Freud, Jung, and Toynbee presented us with grand designs and schemes based on the big ideas which they intuited and which they respectively claimed were universal explanations. Scholars since then have found too many exceptions and reasons for qualification so that there has been disinclination to construct schemes of any kind. Where the study of mythology is concerned, this has meant that most anthropologists since Malinowski have avoided the subject altogether except in the very limited attention given to particular myths from the functionalist point of view. Structural anthropology which does deal with myth is not accepted by most professional anthropologists. The same is true of psychology in which behaviourist and experimental psychology pays little heed to psychoanalysis and even less to analytical psychology. Most professional historians are not impressed with Toynbee. Among historians of religion, Mircea Eliade is something of a maverick. In literary circles the archetypal criticism of Frye is viewed askance.

Where the study of myth is concerned, we encounter two very different approaches during the second half of the century. The majority of scholars and social scientists either avoid discussions of myth altogether or else deal with myth

only in very limited ways and from the functionalist or behaviorist points of view. At the same time, a small company of scholars who are, for the most part, relegated to peripheral areas of the Groves of Academe, carry on the old tradition which culminated in Frazer, Freud, and Jung during the first two decades of the present century. This is essentially the Romantic tradition although it partakes, to some degree, of the tradition of the Enlightenment as well.

The Golden Bough presents the entire sojourn of the human race as a quest. This idea originated in the myths of the dying and resurrected gods, culminating in the Christian Myth, and was, in turn, translated into secular terms during the Enlightenment. It appeared as the hero cult of Romanticism. Frazer's impact on literature and literary criticism has been particularly significant. T.S. Eliot drew heavily on *The Golden Bough* when he wrote "The Waste Land", as did James Joyce when he wrote *Ulysses*. Eugene O'Neill was profoundly influenced, especially in plays such as *Mourning Becomes Electra*. As mentioned, the literary school of archetypal criticism is predominantly derived from Frazer. Frye, for example, was profoundly influenced by Frazer in his youth. Frazer was to the literature of the early Twentieth Century what Ovid had been to the literature and art of the Renaissance.

Frazer has profound impact on both Freud and Jung. Both learned more about myth from *The Golden Bough* than from any other single source. As mentioned, Frazer also had enormous impact on both Malinowski and Levi-Strauss. He is therefore the single most significant modern scholar in the field of mythology. All schools of modern mythic study began with him. Thus, Malinowski, Levi-Strauss, Freud, and Jung all became interested in myth because they read *The Golden Bough*. As mentioned, Frye, too, as well as Campbell became interested because they read Frazer when young. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that everyone interested in myth from the turn-of-the-century to World War II was initially inspired or strongly

influenced by reading *The Golden Bough*. It is no longer true today. Frazer's credibility has been challenged and he is now an anachronism. One reads him chiefly with an interest in intellectual history rather than as a primary source of mythic thought. But the tradition of mythic study which rooted in Romanticism and culminated in the various archetypal theories chiefly stems from *The Golden Bough*.

In particular, the impact of *The Golden Bough* on Freud and Jung is of the greatest possible significance. Specifically speaking, it concerns the myth which all of the scholars of this tradition hold underlies all others, what Campbell calls the "monomyth". This is what is variously called the saga, hero myth, or quest myth which, as we have seen, is a peculiarly Western motif of Indo-European and Semitic origin. The Romantics and Frazer perceived it to be rooted in the initiation of the warrior. It is typically masculine, indeed, the very essence of the masculine mystique. As noted, this myth displaced or assimilated with the older feminine myth of the agrarian Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures which the Indo-Europeans over ran and subjugated. This resulted in the devaluing of the feminine mystique. Campbell thinks that this is the primary symbolic significance of the Eden story, for example. Both Eve and the Serpent were feminine fertility images who symbolize the goddesses whom Yahweh, the Semitic warrior god, triumphs over. Adam, Eve, and the Serpent were punished for their sexuality which was a feature of the Neolithic and Bronze Age Mother Goddess Cults throughout Eurasia. We encounter the same theme in the preaching of Amos and Hosea against the Canaanite Cult of Baal and Astarte.

Frazer was the first modern scholar to recognize this mythic displacement. Jung, who reread *The Golden Bough* in the course of his mythic studies in 1911 and 1912, became aware of the particular significance of the hero myth. It seemed to be linked with early man's recurrent experiences with the rising and setting of the sun, the chase, and initiation. He also

noted the feminine myth of birth and death, that the womb is the tomb and the tomb the womb. In death there is return to the womb from which there is rebirth. Consequently, there are two major mythic themes, each intimately linked to masculinity and femininity respectively. From this point of view, the Freudian emphasis on the sexual impulse as the basis of culture gains strength. While Frazer did not pursue these themes himself, he provided the documentation for Freud and Jung who explored the implications further.

Jung became engrossed in the study of myth from 1909 and 1912, chiefly the Western literary tradition. He began this study in the course of the interest which he shared with Freud concerning the application of psychoanalysis to culture as an interpretative tool. The study led to his rejecting Freud's sexual theory altogether because he found it too narrow and doctrinaire. In the course of his research and the writing of the first two parts of *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*, Jung became aware of the central importance of the hero myth. All other mythic themes seemed to be assimilated to it or subordinated by it.

A NOTE ON BABBEPALLI PLATES OF KUMĀRAVISHNU

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An interesting copper-plate¹ charter of one of the early Pallava rulers was reported to have been discovered by Dr P. V. Parabrahma Sastri, Hyderabad. It is a set of five plates of which the first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate are left blank. Each side of the other plates contains four lines of writing.

The charter is composed in Sanskrit language throughout. It is not free from errors. It is written in southern characters. The letter *k*, *r*, *j* and *i* show early features. The palaeographically, the record may be assigned to the middle of fifth century A. D.² The grant was issued by king Kumāravishnu. It registers the royal grant of the village Kaligoṇḍavēri in Karmāraśṭra to a brāhmaṇa named Rudra-śarma. The gift is stated to have been made on the orders (*ājñayā*) of Lālarāja. Also, it registers the royal grant of three pieces of land (*traibhūmyām*) in the aforesaid village to one Išvara-śarma of Kāśyapa-gōtra. The gift lands are stated to have been lying under Vṛiddha-taṭāka and Kamsāri-taṭāka in the above *rāṣṭra*. The three pieces of lands thus donated to Išvara-śarma are described as *aupashṭhiti-varttamāna*.

The charter furnishes the genealogy of the donor Kumāravishnu, who is mentioned as the son of Skandamūlavarman,

grandson of Karāḷavarman and great grandson of Vira Kōrchchavarman. He is described as a *mahārāja* with Kānchīpura as the seat of his rule.

The grant is of interest from more than one point. It is the earliest of the Pallava charters to mention the week-day and the *nakshatra*. The details of date viz., thirteenth regnal year, Mahākārttika month, śu 5, Thursday and Viśākha-nakshatra are not verifiable. The *nakshatra* Viśākha is not likely to fall in the month of Kārttika.

The charter under examination furnishes some additional information for early Pallava genealogy. It is clear from the genealogy quoted in the record that Virakōrchchavarman is the founder member of at least one line of four successive members mentioned earlier. We hear of the members of the early Pallava kings from the plates of Kaśakkuḍi,³ Udayēndiram⁴ and Vēlūr-pālaiyam.⁵ H. Krishna Shastri assigned these charters as later in date to the stone inscription⁶ from Vāyalūr in Chinglepet District. The Vāyalūr record besides giving *purāṇic* names furnishes names of thirty-six kings. The genealogy mentioned in the present charter does not agree with the list of succession quoted in the latter record. Assigning the conventional reign period to each of the kings prior to Kumāravishnu, the founder of the family, Virakōrchchavarman can be assigned to the last quarter of the fourth century A. D.

The name Virakorchcha is the same as the Sanskrit form Virakurcha found referred to in the Vāyalūr pillar inscription. This confirms the fact that the early grants of the Pallava were considerably influenced by Prakrit language. A few other charters which show a similar influence may be cited here. They are the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Skandavarman and the Dārśi grant⁷ (king not exactly known). The charter of Kumāravishnu, under study, is the second record which establishes the historicity of

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three of his predecessors. The ruler Virakörchchavarman may be identified with his namesake known from the Dārśi plate.

It is not impossible to connect the line of kings ending with Kumāravishṇu with that of the members of the Ōṃgōḍu first set,⁸ beginning with Kumāravishṇu. In this set the name of Kumāravishṇu's father is not referred to. One of the two Kumāravishṇus mentioned in the Chāṇḍalur grant⁹ is the son of Budhavarman, while the other being the son of Skandavarman. The donor of the present charter Kumāravishṇu was the son of Skandamūlavarman, who is probably the same as Skandavarman of Chāṇḍalūr grant.

References and Notes

1. A paper on this charter was presented by Dr. P.V. Parabrahma Sastri at the Epigraphical Society's Annual Conference that held at Calcutta in 1980. This was copied later by the office of the Chief Epigraphist for inclusion in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for the year 1981-82*. I am thankful to Dr. K.V. Ramesh for his valuable suggestions and interpretation of the text of this charter.
2. See my paper on the 'Recent Epigraphical Discoveries in Andhra Pradesh' presented at the SARC workshop on Epigraphy held at Mysore from 25th to 31st March 1985.
3. *SH*, Vol. II, p. 363.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 500.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
6. *Ep Ind*, Vol. XVII, pp. 145 ff.
7. *Ibid*, Vol. I, pp. 397-98.
8. *Thirty Pallava Copper-Plates*, p. 277 ff.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 323 ff.

GUILDS AS PROMOTERS OF FINE ARTS IN MEDIAEVAL ĀNDHRADEŚA

P. CHENNA REDDY, M.A., M. phil. *

The temple, in the mediaeval period, became a great socio-economic institution. It served as a bank, provided employment to the unemployed, centre of cultural activities, promoter of twin arts like music and dance and finally played the role of a big consumer of goods. The guilds, besides looking after trade and commerce, took very interest in constructing temples and added to the existing temples additional architectural adjuncts. This is borne out by several inscriptions of our period.

An inscription at Nādenḍla, dated A.D. 1124, records the construction of a temple (Viśvēśvara of Nādenḍla) by a certain Kāmi *setti*, lord of Penugonda of Makkala family.¹ Another inscription records that a certain Kēśanāya *setti*, son of Vasaya *setti* built a temple of Sōmēśvara and consecrated it.² An inscription found at Errabālm, in the Guntur district records the construction of the temple of Nagarēśvaradēva at Konḍavidu by Sākalya *setti*, a Vaisya of Venukula *gōtra*.³ Another inscription records the construction of Nāgēśvaradēva by merchants who styled themselves as the Lords of Penugonda.⁴ The Undavalli epigraph of A.D. 1526 records that Pāpi *setti*, Tippi *setti*, Malli *setti* and Krishna *setti* of the Murukula Gotra built the temple of Bhāskarēśvara at Undavalli on the banks of river Krishna and endowed that temple with a garden, a tank and some land.⁵ The Tamil and Telugu branches of the

guild of *nakharamu* constructed two separate shrines, viz. *Arava Nakhayēśvara* and *Telugu Nakhayēśvara* at Peruru.⁶ An inscription found at Siddhāntam in the Kṛṣṇa district and dated in the A. D. 1404 records that a pillar in the *mukha-mandapa* in the temple of Nāgēśvaradēva of Konḍavidu was caused to be made by Rāvīpūndi Vīri *setti* called lord of Penugonda who belonged to *Peṇṭikula gōtra*.⁷

Besides trade guilds, craft guilds also promoted the cause of architecture and art. Inscriptions from the Palnād tāluk of Guntur district acquaint us with the famous line of architects who built some temples in the area. These architects of artisan community might have formed into a guild and did some substantial service for the promotion of fine arts. They are first mentioned in an inscription from Aingāripālem, written in the characters of the seventh century A.D. It states that the temple of Jalapēśvara was built by one Kalagarābharaṇācharya.⁸ Another inscription from Macherla of the year A.D. 1101 gives the pedigree of the architects, Navōju and Tippōju, who built the Adityēśvara temple at the place i. e., Macherla.⁹ Some of the famous *acharyas* are enumerated in the inscription and are represented to have been experts in cutting *līngās* of Siva and in preparing images. It is also stated that the *āchāryas* were experts in the building of four kinds of mansions—*prāsādeśu chaturvidheśu*—in grasping geometry involved in the study of *Vāstuśāstra* (architecture), and in gracefully handling the implements of the profession — *vāstu-kshetravidha prasāda-vāchasah*.¹⁰ Another inscription records that Navoju and Tippōju added a *nāgastambha* to the Adityesvara temple. All these inscriptions hailed from Palnād tāluk of Guntur district, starting as early as seventh century A. D. indicate that the Palnād region must have witnessed a considerable volume of building activity. This activity gave birth to the famous line of *āchāryas* who formed the very core of the guild of architects. And it is for this reason that Peṇḍōṭa in Palnād is considered to be the birth place of architects.¹¹

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The guilds and the individual merchants not only took interest in constructing temples and erecting *stambhas* and *mukha-maṇḍapas* but also took sufficient care in maintaining the same by donating sumptuous endowments. Thus the Gaṅga-puram inscription of A.D. 1116 registers a gift of income derived from tools for the worship and offerings of the god Śalēśvara by the *Ṣettikāras* and the *Ubhya-nānādēṣi* traders.¹² Another epigraph of A.D. 1182 states that the representatives of various trading corporation assembled in a conference and made the gift of income derived from the tolls on various transactions to the god Gavarēśvara.¹³

It is evident from the above inscriptions that the trade and craft guilds were in a prosperous state, for they undertook the cause of constructing *stambhas*, *mukha-maṇḍapas* and temples. Further, magnificent gifts, either in cash and kind, were donated for the maintenance of these religious institutions. The construction of these temples required the services of artisans who were well versed in *Vāstu-śāstra*. The *āchāryas* who were supposed to be the custodians of *Vāstu* and *Śilpa śāstras* appear to have formed a corporate body of their own and did yeoman service for the cause of architecture and art. The architects also received patronage from the rules and philanthropic public. Thus the Macherla inscription of Śaka 1033 records a gift of land to the architect Tippōji.¹⁴ The undated Gaṇapavaram inscription records that certain villagers granted a piece of land to the temple builder Kāmōju.¹⁵

The temples thus constructed by the guilds, rulers, chiefs and the philanthropic public were endowed with a variety of gifts of which *sānis* were one. The term *sāni* is a derivative of the Sanskrit word *svāmini*. The *sānis* of the temples were a particular class of women who were donated to temples by the devotees for the purpose of conducting dance during the time of daily *ranga-bhōga* performed in the *ranga-maṇḍapa* of the temples. They do not seem to have been paid fixed

salaries in kind or cash as other employees. Their income depends on the grants of the donors. An epigraph at Velpūru states that Kōṭa Ganapatideva donated certain Akkama as *sān* to the god Rāmēśvara and granted some lands and house site for her.¹⁶ A similar record at Elēśvaram, dated in A.D. 1271, states that a certain Mankiṣetti made a gift of his two grand daughters *assānis* to the god Elēśvaradēva.¹⁷ The Nādeṇḍla inscription of Śaka 1061 refers to certain lands assigned to *sānis* and some other servants of the temple.¹⁸ The Mōpparru inscription of Śaka 1092 gives a list of *sānis* attached to the temple of Chōdēśvara-Mahadēva of Mōmparru and the extent of land granted to each by way of emoluments.¹⁹ The Śiripuram and Masulipatam epigraphs also record land assignments to the *sānis* attached to the local temples.²⁰ About the *sānis*, their position in the society and their contribution to culture, Dr. P.V.P. Sastry states, "They were not ordinary prostitutes as generally mistaken. They were respectable married women leading family life. But they were attached to the temples for a set purpose i.e., to perform dance and music before the god on behalf of the donor. Because *nritya* (dance) and *gita* (music) are also included in the sixteen kinds of worship (*shōḍashopachāras*), the devotees generally used to make the arrangement in temples on their behalf. The temple authorities allot time for their performance, and see that the arrangement was being continued without any lapse on the part of the *sānis*."²¹

It is known from the epigraphic records of our period that these temple servants by name *sānis* formed themselves into a corporate body called *sāni-munnūrvuru*. The Kommūru inscription of Śaka 1041²² and the Ghantasala inscription of Śaka 1066²³ refer to the existence of *Sāni munnūrvuru*. The number three-hundred (*munūrvuru*) does not indicate "the actual number of (*sānis*) employees on rolls of a particular temple which was not possible always, but the strength of the governing body of that profession incorporated in a big temple like Śrīśaila, Drakshara-

rama and Tripurantaka. All employees in the branch temples affiliated to the main temple, were the general members of the parent corporate body which had 300 governing members."²⁴

The institution of *sāni munnūrvuru* i.e., the dancing girls, did the greatest service for the promotion and preservation of the twin arts of music and dance. Besides, they also made munificent grants and gifts. Thus the Juttiga inscription of Śaka 1063 that Prōli Pāva, the *sāni* attached to the temple of Vāsukiravi Sōmēśvara of Duttika, made a gift of 50 *inupadlu* (oxen) for the perpetual lamp in the said temple. The *sthānapati*, the three hundred *sānis* and the *nibandhakartas* are enjoined to see that the gift is properly administered.²⁵ Another inscription of Śaka 1098 states that a certain Prola-*sāni* made a gift of 55 sheep for the perpetual lamp in the temple of Rāmēśvara of Velpūru.²⁶ Another epigraph, dated in Śaka 1181, states that Eraka-*sāni* gave 25 cows for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tripurāntaka-Mahādēva.²⁷ The Mogallu inscription of Śaka 1237 records that a certain Kūna-*sāni* put up a stone pillar in the *nandi-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Bhimesvara of Mongolanu.²⁸

It would thus appear from the above discussion that the guilds and the individual *śettis* (merchants) constructed temples parts of temples and endowed them with lands, sheep, cows, gardens, oil, etc. In this connection the artisan community of the Palnāḍ region played a memorable role. This act of the guilds and merchants resulted in the development of architecture and art. The guilds and the merchants also donated dancing girls to the temples. The classic example to illustrate this is that of Mankilśetti who made a gift of his two granddaughters as *sānis* to the god Elēśvara. These *sānis*, as stated above, promoted the cause of music and dance. Thus the guilds contributed their might for the development of architecture, art, music and dance.

Footnotes :

1. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. X, No. 82.
2. AR, 364 of 1915.
3. Ibid., 85 of 1917.
4. Sundaram, K., *Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra*, Masula, 1968, p. 64.
5. SII, Vol. X, No. 737.
6. Ramanaiah, N.V., *Peruru Inscriptions*, p. 6.
7. AR, 354 of 1936.
8. AR, 331, 332 of 1937.
9. Sundaram, K., *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p. 28.
12. APGAS, No. 3, Mn 42; Cf. Mn. 43, 47, 48, 49, 51.
13. Ibid., Alampur, 32, No. 104.
14. SII, Vol. X, No. 66.
15. Ibid., No. 122.
16. Sastry, P. V. P., *The Kakatiyas*, Hyderabad 1978, pp. 286.
17. Wahced Khan, A.Md., *A Monograph on Yelēśvaram Excavation*, Hyderabad, 1963, p. 63.
18. SII, Vol. X, No. 107.

19. *Ibid.*, No. 71.
20. *Ibid.*, Nos. 177, 192.
21. Sastry, P.V.P., *op. cit.*, p. 286, The Later Eastern Ganga and Gajapathi records point out that the *sānis* were divided into two classes : 1) those who were attached to the temples and remained unmarried and 2) those that lived independently, married, but employed by the temple on a part-time basis. The inscriptions refer to the former as *Sampradāyamuvāru* or *Lanjalu* and the later merely as *Sanulu* (Ramachandra Rao, C. V. *Administration and Society in Mediaeval Andhra* (AD 1038-1138) under the Later Eastern Gangas and the Somavamsa Gajapathis, Nellore 1976, p. 304).
22. *SII*, Vol, X, No. 80.
23. *Ibid.*, No. 115.
24. Sastry, P.V.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff.
25. *SII*, Vol, X, No. 110.
26. *Ibid.*, No. 195.
27. *Ibid.*, No. 361.
28. *Ibid.*, No. 315.

DEVELOPMENT THROUGH INDIGENOUS RESOURCES

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Rather than state my own definition of development it is better to consult the most authoritative source of the English language, the unabridged Oxford English Dictionary of some 13 volumes. It is necessary to examine the word "develop" to find out what it actually meant, because only by finding out what words mean are we able to communicate accurately. Confucius said that if words are not exact, communication is not exact with inexact communication comes disorder in government and society. This is an important statement with practical consequences in terms of development today.

The word "develop" is a 12th or 13th century word. The Italian form, is "velupare" which means, significantly "to unwrap", "to disentangle", "to rid free off". The opposite of "develop" is "envelop" which means "to hide", "to cover up", "to put constraints upon" - which is what we do when we envelop something. When we develop we do the reverse. We remove constraints, whatever they may be. The word "develop" maintains its original definition in photography. When we develop a film we reveal what is already latent in that film. We cannot put new things on the film and call it developed. Development is a process of revealing. As we continue with the dictionary definition, it says, "to unfold, as a tale or as a story develops", "to lay open by removal of that which enfolds". That is to say, something more comes out of that which already exists. This is the fundamental meaning.

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We must also turn our attention to what has happened to this word. Develop which meant "to unfold", "to reveal", "to open up", "to remove constraints" continues with that basic meaning in most of its usages with one major exception. About 1850 a new interpretation begins to appear. It is said of "series of organisms showing progression from simpler or lower to higher or more complex types".

Around the middle of the 19th century this new idea began to appear and the word today primarily means "to evolve from lower to higher". We have to ask ourselves. What was happening at this time to change the meaning this way. When I say 1850 and add 7 years you know that I am 100 years after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and at the high watermark of British imperialism. In 1857 the sovereignty of India passed from the East India Company to the Crown itself and India became "the greatest gem in the British Crown" and so forth. This was also a period of major darwinism intellectually in which concepts of evolution were also saying that things go from lower to higher. More importantly, imperialism and colonialism asserted that countries go from lower to higher and what was lower were the colonies and what was higher was the civilization of mother countries. If you look at the *Illustrated London News* between 1850 and 1900 you will see reports of explorers who discuss "primitive peoples" living in these conquered countries. Who are these "primitive people"? These are people who were alleged to have primitive religions, primitive arts and primitive music.

This viewpoint of India, Africa and other countries continues today. By the 1930's and 1940's it changed slightly and instead of being known as primitive people they were simply known as backward people, backward countries and backward societies. So from primitive they became backward. You know the rest of the genealogy. From backward they became underdeveloped and from underdeveloped they became developing.

That is where they remain today as developing societies. To put it in political terms, they became known as the Third World. What was the First World? Obviously, the First World was the United States and its allies. Obviously, the Second World was the Soviet Union and its allies. The Third World? About 75% of the rest of the world's population became Third. The statement is amazing in its ethnocentric arrogance and yet that term is basically accepted today to describe most of the people in the world.

This interpretation of going from inferior to superior had a particular impact on India in almost every respect. In order to understand that impact, it is necessary to look at the writings of travellers and reporters to India before the 1900's. I am not romanticising the writings of Huan Tsang or Fa Hien or Marco Polo, or even the writings that are found in the Mugal period—in the Akbar Nama or such texts. Even if we bring it up to persons such as Sir Thomas Roe, the Ambassador of James I or we discuss some of the very early reports of the Agricultural Commissions in this country, we will find a very different society than one that was "primitive," "backward" or "underdeveloped".

Here we must introduce the issue of indigenous resources. I am suggesting that indigenous resources are fundamental to the idea of development. This is not a totally new concept. The use of phrases such as "local resources", "local felt needs", "people's participation"—all of those are part of the standard vocabulary of development workers in most parts of the world. They are included in most donor agency charters and manifestos and they are part of the almost every apex, intermediate or primary voluntary groups' discussion.

The first question is what does indigenous mean and what are indigenous resources? The word indigenous means, very simply, whatever is born in that area. It is clear from that area. It is clear from that very meaning that indigenous

resources cannot be something that are transposed from another culture or other institutions. Indigenous resources are those which are closely associated with the specific area with which development is involved. The issue of development itself revolves, knowingly or unknowingly around this central question of indigenous resources.

If we look at the history of what is involved we will observe that indigenous resources were the very first to be attacked in this country and in this culture by the colonial and the imperial powers. One may say that it was almost a necessity of Western colonialism to assume that the cultures, ideas and institutions of the people governed are inferior to their own ideas and institutions. Throughout earlier Indian history this was not the case.

In fact, the idea of local institutions and in particular, of local laws were so important that throughout the classical and legal texts of India, and this includes even the centralized texts such as the Artha Shastra, it is indicated that the king or the central government may not override local laws, unless those laws are clearly opposed to the interest of Dharma. Even then, kings are advised to be very careful in overruling local laws because, the text points out, some kings who have done that have been assassinated. The importance of local laws and local institutions were so central in the history and culture of India that no ruler would have thought of overriding them—that is until the British period. Even the Mughal emperors, though they were far more oriented to centralizing than the rules that arose in the different wars between kingdoms of India, did not go as far as the British. The British introduced a whole new concept of imperialism that had not existed in the history of India. That was the concept of centralized empire rather than tributary kingdoms which had previously been the usual method of administration.

Local laws and local institutions were amongst the first and the earliest victims of the new colonialism that arose in the

18th and the 19th centuries in India. This unfortunately was at the same time when the idea of development itself was undergoing a new definition. In this new definition, development did not emphasize 'to reveal' or 'to unfold' or 'to remove constraints', but rather "to go from inferior to superior". That was part of the new doctrine of Darwinism and evolution and it could be conveniently applied politically to the relationship between the countries that were governed and the colonial powers. It was not a long stop from discussing primitive organisms such as amoeba and paramecium to discussing primitive societies and primitive people and to determine that primitive was clearly inferior and to label wholesale the institutions of these colonialized countries as primitive.

One of the first targets in India was the practice and institution of agriculture. Indian agriculture is, even today, in most Western texts, labelled as primitive agriculture. In fact one of the most common descriptions of the agricultural system of India is to call it a primitive system. We call the plough that is used by the farmers as a primitive plough. We condemn this major institution of agriculture on which Indian society has existed for well over five thousand years as "primitive". It was a gigantic step (backward) to insist that "primitive" agriculture change to the recent Western chemical based agriculture.

The religions of India were also described as primitive. The Hindus particularly were identified as believers in a primitive religion which was riddled with idolatry and superstition. Today this is still a major image and stereotype of Hinduism. In the same way Europeans misinterpreted folk religion in their own countries, they were making the same misinterpretation with respect to India. They compared Hinduism at its folk level with Christianity at its elite, philosophical level. Obviously when you make that comparison, the differences in the religions are enormous. Had Hinduism been compared in its philosophical level as found in the Upanishads, the concept of

Atman or Brahman, the idea of Reality, with philosophical Christianity-ideas of St. Thomas or Augustine-the comparisons and the understandings would have been very different.

But, that did not take place. What took place was a comparison of gods at the village level with Christianity at its elite, montheistic level. Even today many believe that Hinduism is a polytheistic religion and that Christianity is a montheistic religion. Neither of those statements are correct. Hinduism is a monotheistic religion; it is a monistic religion. It is a pantheistic religion; and it is a polytheistic religion. By the same token, Christianity is also a monotheistic religion: a pantheistic and a polytheistic religion. It depends on the level of practice - whether it be by the village peasantry of Mexico or Italy, or in elite priestly philosophical discussion - those interpretations will vary. In any case, Hinduism was given this branding and that continues to this day. One of the most widespread of the Episcopal Hymns, which was found until recently in the Hymnal says:

“What though the breezes blow soft
Over Ceylon’s spicy Isle
Where every prospect pleases
And only man is vile
In vain with lavish kindness
The gifts of God are strewn
The Heathen in his blindness
Bows down to wood and stone...”

In other words, it does not really matter what God does, the heathen bows down to wood and stone and this is the best you can expect of primitive, superstitious people.

Once this branding had been made, the culture itself was understood to be primitive, backward and inferior. The pity was that many people who belonged to the Indian intellectual

classes went along with that interpretation of Indian culture. They also agreed that it was primitive, inferior, and backward. That in essence becomes the cradle ground of development. With that agreement it now became necessary to bring in a transposed technology and new institutions - political, medical, legal, educational institutions - not as an afterthought, not in a sly, secret way, but with all of the clear arrogance of imperialism.

Macaulay, in his famous “Minute on Education” said that one good shelf of British literature was worth all the books that India had produced and that it would be the aim of the educational system in India to produce people who, while Indian in colour and in appearance, would behave like Englishmen in all other ways. These would be the people who became the foundation of the Indian Civil Service. With their ideas, their concept of bureaucracy and their mistrust of the people (because fundamentally colonialism is based on mistrust) they built a Government that was based on mistrust. This concept of mistrust now extends very deeply into the fabric of Indian society. It is the foundations of daily behaviour of the present bureaucracy and Government of India.

Development meant that these indigenous systems were to be replaced. They were replaced. The Anglo-Saxon system of British law established that every legal proceeding is an adversary proceeding. Someone is against someone else. The issue is who is guilty and who is innocent. This concept of law was quite different from the classical Indian concept of law which was that Dharma or harmony or the balance has been put out of order and the purpose of law would be to right the imbalance to make things harmonious again. It was not a question of who is guilty or innocent; but how to restore the balance. That concept was fundamental in a village society because balance and harmony were crucial. In the urban and technological society out of which the legal systems of the West had grown-

whether Roman or British-the principles of law and the needs of the law were quite different.

The political system of a parliament, political parties and other institutions that developed as a result of the very peculiar and particular historical experience of the West were now understood under a concept of universalism. This idea of universalism is still one of the most dominant of Western cultural values. It is unfortunately one of the foundations of the United Nations operations today - that what is good around the world. That same chemical medical system of the World Health Organization is good anywhere in the world. It is universally applicable. The United Nations believes that its charter of human rights-in terms of western Anglo-Saxon law - must be human rights around the world. We have seen it in the development phenomena in terms of the women's movements. Once again a situation that is felt within the problems of women in the West is universally applicable around the world.

The same is true of another phenomena that is just beginning to arise in India. This puts a new and a very unfortunate interpretation on Indian society to separate people into age groups, so that the old and the young are separated from each other. This process has already gone a long way in the West particularly in the separation of the old, who sadly are understood to be unproductive people. They are put into separate homes, separate institutions and given specialized treatment that is sometimes patronizing, sometimes welfare - but essentially removed from the main stream of the society. This, of course, has never been the case in India where old and young have been the two greatest sources of educational transmission. We now begin to see aspects of these Western values coming into India with development organizations arising specifically for the purpose of "benefitting" the aged. The concept of dividing people into age groups or dividing people into sex groups-these are all part of a

transmission of different institutional systems and alien cultural values.

The result of this very aggressive drive under colonialism and imperialism - whether that imperialism was political, cultural or economic does not really matter a great deal - came in an analysis of development in this country which said that the main problem of development and the main obstacle to development is the people of this country ! The people are so tradition bound and so backward that it is going to be almost impossible to develop the country. This amazing and most arrogant concept said that the very foundation of the culture had to be changed if development was to take place ! This was also one of the minor chants of the Government of India itself. The ideas and the institutions of the people it claimed must be changed. The emphasis on indigenous resources has exactly the opposite awareness. It is the planners who must change their ideas. It is the Government which must change. Development must be built and indeed can only be built on the institutions of the people.

The effect of this attack on indigenous resources was, very tragic. It was to result in a very substantial lack of confidence of the people in themselves. It was to produce a mentality of passiveness. The new mentality said : "We cannot do anything for ourselves. We are dependent on you to do for us." That mentality is now one of the major hurdles of development programming. Indians themselves began to adopt a very negative attitude towards their own culture and their own country, with expressions such as "Oh well, we are only Indians." This attitude carried over to Indian products - if fountain pens, one had to have a Parker or toothpastes had to be Colgate or radio to be Grunig or tires had to be Firestone. Whatever it was, if it was foreign it was much better and if it was Indian it was only Indian.

This attitude had and continues to have most regrettable results. But fortunately it never really penetrated fully into the

village level of Indian society. There the people took a different attitude and many of them resisted these mentalities that have now been subscribed to by a whole generation of Indian intellectuals, many of whom had been educated in the West as a from of "development" activities. It was considered highly developmental to give scholarships and fellowships and bring elite Indians to the West where they could be "properly" trained in understanding and ideas and then come back to this country. A number of them did not return which some lament as being a "brain drain". In my judgement, it is probably better that they did not return to bring even more of these culturally offensive ideas into the country.

This lack of people's confidence and passiveness is itself one of the major reasons why many of the development programmes have been unsuccessful. To emphasize indigenous resources is to validate the heritage which most people of this country still use as their foundation. There is no possibility of any meaningful development without the restoration of confidence, since confidence and development go together. The only way that confidence will be restored is by voluntary agencies and the government and others validating the existing cultural heritage and ideas and institutions. Not because it is a sentimental, romantic or nostalgic thing to do, but because it helps to personal experience of centuries of living that much of the people of this country have had. Because to emphasize indigenous resources gives more than lip service to concepts such as "power to the people", "people's rights to make decisions about their own lives" or "learning from the people". Many of these are today little more than empty cliches and slogans. An emphasis on indigenous resources reaffirms these ideas as central and these ideas will necessarily have to be given more than lip service if development is to be meaningfully achieved.

It is not necessary to indicate in great detail the number of projects that have failed in this country - projects that were

essentially based on alien ideas, on alien institutions, on transposed technology. It really did not matter how powerful the organization was sponsoring those ideas - whether it was the family planning drive of the Ford Foundation, or whether it was the agricultural technology of tractors and pesticides and chemical fertilizers which, unfortunately, are now to be found dominating in every agricultural college of India. Most of these projects I am delighted to say have been failures in this country. It is my hope that one day the agricultural colleges will create a major department of organic people's gardening which is not based on the expensive debilitating system of Western agriculture. So long as development plans are based on Western concepts the number of failures will rightly continue.

The use of indigenous resources is a meaningful village entry strategy - meaningful because it can gain the confidence of the people honestly rather than by gimmicks. A leading Indian development Institute, funded by the Government of India told me that their village entry strategy was to take a bunch of pills and go to the village a few times and distribute those drugs. Once this was done it was possible to plan and work with the villagers. Such an ignorant and dishonest approach does not lay any foundation for meaningful village entry strategy. Indigenous resources can make a major difference in project success.

Even if all this were untrue, if all this evidence were without any historical basis and if all the statements made here were false, one still must consider the futility of the pursuit of non-indigenous resources. It will never be possible to produce in India enough automobiles for example, that is equivalent to the situation in the west. If that were achieved we should all die of pollution. China wisely ruled out the pursuit of that kind of transportation. In the field of medicine it will never be possible to produce physicians in sufficient number or enough accessible and inexpensive hospitals and a supply of drugs to supply all the people in India through the Western allopathic system. All you

can do is to make the resources available for the rich at the expense of the poor. This is the greatest danger in following a model that is based on alien technology. To sustain that model the poor have to pay for it. It is the rich who always benefit from the Western legal, medical, educational, technological, political and economic systems. When development organizations build legal aid programmes they contribute to that exploitative system. It is true as well when they build hospitals or use or advocate the use of pumpsets and diesel or pesticides and chemical fertilizers. When they use these they help only to increase the profits of multinational companies and contribute to the power of the rich. For the landless labourers and small peasants are without those resources. All these indicate the clear futility of the pursuit of non-indigenous resources. The use of such scarce resources and the practice of pesticides, for example, are under heavy attack even in the west. Many countries have banned varieties of pesticides and medicines. Unfortunately and with great danger those that are banned are now profitably dumped in India and South East Asia.

Indigenous resources are the only way by which dependencies can be avoided. If development is accepted as an activity of relying on one's self, then indigenous resources are the genuine methods by which dependencies will be avoided. When people cannot supply resources to themselves it is not genuine development. I am not advocating a museumised or fossilized culture which continues on the basis of a romance with ancient India. Development first means the removal of constraints that become sources of exploitation. These need to be removed be they local or native or indigenous. I am not supporting those indigenous institutions. What I am saying is that indigenous resources are the soil and the root on which new ideas can be grafted. A mango tree cannot be grafted to an apple tree. Alien institutions and ideas cannot be grafted to Indian systems. Modifications and adaptations may be necessary but the foundation must be indigenous.

Indigenous resources are a method of preventing exploitation in a society. If exploitation is central to the whole question of underdevelopment, the more we use resources which are scarce the more those resources are capable of exploitation. This is another aspect of indigenous resources that is particularly important especially for activist and neo-marxist groups who discuss the question of resources seriously. We must change our understanding of resources to an understanding that resources are far wider than simply saying that land is the fundamental resource, as some of these groups argue.

The indigenous resource position says that because resources are locally available you do not require specialized knowledge for their control. Specialized knowledge is at the base of western resources, technology and medicine and of exploitation itself. But once you are using Grandmother's medicine, once you are using a system which can be taught to most of the people in the villages then everyone has the resource. Anyone can pick the neem leaf. Any one can find the bark of a tree that is local to make a paste for a massage. As long as you cannot control the resource you cannot exploit by selling that resource.

It may be of some value to say a few words about folk medicines. The Manthravadis of the folk system of medicine which is used by most people of the country are held in contempt by those who imagine themselves as scientific. They say that this is a superstitious quack system of medicine. Recent reports in Canada show that 60% of the medical prescriptions are ineffective for the purposes for which they are prescribed. When you start with a system of medicine that is 40% effective and then you begin to add the enormous exploitative financial cost of that medicine, then you see you may be dealing with one of the most repressive medical systems that the world has ever produced. Here it is salutary particularly in South India to look at the early medical folk systems that were practised and in smaller villages and ask whether those systems are not far

better foundation of development, rather than more and more chemicals based on the control of multinational corporations.

The objective of a programme of indigenous resources is to make local resources and particularly the resources of knowledge, which is a fundamental resource, more widely available. It is that resource of specialized exploitive knowledge which enables the lawyers to bleed the people in this country. It is that knowledge resource of exploitive medicine which enables physicians to become a special group—one of the highest paid in the society. It is knowledge that is the resource. Take that resource and awaken it in the people in as many areas as possible and you will limit the amount of exploitation. It must be done in the field of education where universities now charge enormous capitation fees and when the degrees they give are not worth much. Alternative educational systems remove the resource from the hands of the specialists. Stimulate technology that people themselves can repair with materials that are locally available and you remove the power of the technicians to control those resources. Indigenous resources then is also a method of preventing or minimizing or reducing exploitation which is fundamental to the question of development.

We talk about learning from the people, but the truth is that our education system is based on a top-down approach. "I am the specialist. I teach you and you teach some one below you and they teach someone below them and finally we teach the people in the village". But as matter of fact, our educational system is quite impoverished and it ignores an enormous body of knowledge. There is a big fashion in development organizations for what is called literacy. There are people who think that literacy is of the highest importance and illiteracy is a terrible curse. I cannot help asking what University Buddha went to, or how literate was Krishna, or what were the degrees that Christ had in this exercise of literacy. But that apart it is important to recognize that the oral tradition that is to say the illiterate tradition, is a culturally significant

phenomena. What does literacy mean? Literacy is not knowledge. Literacy is not wisdom. Literacy is not education. Literacy is the ability to read and write the local language. That is it. Even an illiterate person like myself is able to communicate in India and understand many things that are going on. That is no less true of people in the villages.

More important is what happens when you replace an oral tradition with a literate tradition. Many beneficial things in the society die. What are some of the casualties of a literate society? One of the most important is personal communication. To the extent that a society emphasizes literate communications, it de-emphasizes oral and personal communications. The traditional educational system of this country based on the Guru-Chela concept was on oral tradition. It is a fact that India has what we call the oldest living literature to day because of the oral traditions, not because of the literate traditions. The Vedas and other texts were all orally transmitted by pundits. They were in early times not even permitted to be written down. It was that oral tradition that ensured their survival and not a literate tradition which has interpolations and corrections in the margins of the text. Imagine what would have happened to Indian music had that music been a literate system. Had it been written as Western music is written, there would be no Indian music. Indian music is based on a parameter of the rāg or the tāl within which all of the spontaneity, all of the personal creative expression is displayed. Reduce that to literacy and you destroy the system.

In many European countries, no dominant cultural concept of guesthood is fundamental. Continuous daily personal relationship are on the contrary the dominant part of Indian society. One of the greatest complaints of Western societies today is the enormous depersonalization of people. It is not simply an issue of romantic nostalgia. It is a serious problem of mental illness, in a society where people receive therapy because they do not and cannot find enough scope for substantial personal contact

and personal recognition and personal relationships. We should thus examine literacy programmes as we should critically look at other projects that have been introduced as part of alien ideas and institutions.

It is important to re-examine very critically other "development" programmes including balwadis and creches which split up families and take children away from their parents by putting them in the hands of strangers in the name of employment. Indeed, we must re-examine the concept of employment itself and ask ourselves to what extent development agencies are building programmes which put people into humdrum, boring uncreative work day after day, considering its development, simply because it provides them with a few rupees. Employment is understood in the Western world to be fundamental form of personal identification. People are identified by their jobs, by their form of employment. In moving in those directions we may often be doing acts which are quite underdevelopmental. That is to say, quite uncreative, quite unrevealing. Many "income generating" projects are some of the worst curses of existing development programmes.

Beyond exploitation, and beyond indigenous resources the fundamental issue of development must be the revealing of the creative genius, the inner person, the higher aspirations of a people and a society.

Indigenous resources are not a romantic accessory to the issue of development. Indigenous resources are at the very heart of developmental activity, and ought to be at the heart and head of development organizations.

RELATIVES AND RELATIONS IN RAMAYANA*

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Ramayana is a source book for knowing the society at that time. It also depicts various aspects of Indian culture. Valmiki has ably delineated the plot, characters and sentiments in his *kāvya*. Each aspect is unique by itself. He has inspired poets, scholars and academicians in the world at all times.

Ramayana contains the delineation of the events in the story of the family of Dasharatha, a great king born in the dynasty of the Raghus. Dasharatha's family consisted of three wives and four sons and a daughter. Śānta, eldest of all, was his daughter. Ramayana represents very well the social relations and family affections that these members of Dasaratha's family enjoyed. As a parallel situation the poet Valmiki also describes Vali and Sugriva, Vanaras (brothers), Ravana and his two brothers among Rakshasas, Sampāti and Jatāyu brothers among the class of birds. Actually we have these sets of family, which have achievements, which are depicted by Valmiki.

In the present paper the 'Relative and Relations' shown forth and with reference to the characters of the epic, are considered. It is proposed to describe that Ramayana is a veritable source for knowing the right meaning for the term 'Bandhupriti', 'Bhandhusneha' on the one hand; on the other, the 'Bhandhumoha', 'Bhandhudvesha', and desire for 'Bandhunāśa', etc. Moreover, this poet lays down certain 'maryada' for the maintenance of good contacts with relations and relatives. He offe-

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red a suggestion that if the relatives and relations do not respect normal norms of conduct, then they are exposed to suffering and severe punishment in the hands of those who protect *dharma*. Death is the ultimate punishment prescribed for violation of *dharma* in this epic.

The characters of Ramayans behaved admirably, supporting Rama, the hero of the epic. The family of Dasaratha is appreciated for the manner that each member behaved with reference to Rama, the eldest brother, born in the family. Such a situation of comly relationship is an *envious* one for any family. Infact, Valmiki represented an 'idealistic state' in the aspect of friendly relations among people. The poet generalises the law and makes it a common phenomena to all beings in the creation viz., whether it be men or birds or animals.

Law of nature, under its idealistic conditions, is suitably depicted by Valmiki. One would see evidently that such a tie of friendship, started to become loose and loose in the times and in the literature subsequently after Ramayana. To mention readily, the immediate work Mahabharatha, by Vyasa, contains several lapses in the matter of attachment between relatives and relations (Bhandhu-bandhavas).

Rama with his illustrious behaviour, attracted the co-operation and co-ordination from various facts of the nature and subjects. This epic leaves an impression *Rāmavat vartitavyam na Rāvaṇavat*.

Now let us define the terms. It is indeed hard to draw a sharp line of difference between the meanings of the terms.

'RELATIVES AND RELATIONS' : These are synonyms, almost to mean, 'bandhu' (related). However, in this paper, relative is considered to connote internal relatives viz. father, mother, brother, sister, wife, husband, uncle etc., while the

term 'Relations' to cover the external associations like supporters, friends and subordinates etc. The epic, however, contains the terms *bandhu*, *dāyādi*, *mitram*, *suhṛdah* etc., on the one hand, *ripuh*, *arih* etc., on the other, indicating friendly and inimical relations. That is natural in any society.

As mentioned, the degree of love for *bandhu* is varying. It is bad in the later literature. For example, war was raged between the brothers, the Pāndavas and Kauravas for the sake of land, also just for the sake of jealousy and anger etc., a brother's wife, viz. Draupadī was insulted in the public place by Duryodhana. The so-called uncles of the Pāndavas and Kauravas, deprived their nephews and relatives, the due support from them, and so on. Not going for contrast, the epic itself is well, a self contained one. Now let us consider the relatives from the verses of Ramayana.

Relative(s) : Relatives are known for observing faithfully the affectionate feelings in words and deeds, basically with reference to beings in the creation. We have different sets of Relatives in this epic. The sets of relatives are as follows : 1) father and sons 2) father and daughter 3) mother and sons 4) uncle and nephews 5) brothers 6) brother and sister and 7) wife and husband. To begin with let us consider :

1. Father and Sons : The King Dasaratha showed immense affection to his sons. In fact, he was not willing to send Rama and Lakshmana with Visvāmitra for the sake of 'yāgasamrakshaṇa' from the demons. However, on the words of the royal preceptor Vasistha, Dasaratha agreed to send his two sons. When the news of brides being fixed for Rama and his brothers was conveyed, then Dasasatha was very happy. He gave ready consent. Dasaratha loved Rama most. Dasaratha could not ask Rama to go for forests. He was caught between affection to son and duty for keeping the promise given for Kaikeyi. Dasaratha's love for Rama was so great that he did not live to see Ayodhya after departure of Rama.

Rama was highly obedient, interested in the fame of his father. He performed 'antyești's when he heard the demise of Dasaratha. Rama's devotion for his father was simply great.

Next, we have another set viz. Vali and Angada. Angada was an affectionate son. Vali felt the responsibility of care for Angada who was still a boy, at the instance of his demise. He entrusted Angada to the care of Sugriva. Vali's worry over Angada is clearly described in the nineteenth canto of Kishkindha Kāṇḍa of Ramayana. Vali says to Rama "balascākrta buddhisca, ekaputrasca me priyah, tareya rama bhavata raksh-niyo mahābalaḥ" (Kish, 53 canto). Actually Valmiki has made this, episode to be full of pathos and significance. Ramayana illustrates the greatness of father valued by the sons.

2. **Mother and Son :** Poet Valmiki is very powerful in showing fine relations between mother and son. There are prominently four sets in this epic viz., Rama and his mothers viz., Kausalya and others. Secondly Angada and Tara. Finally Nala and his mother among the Vanaras. Nala was equal to his father Visvakarma himself.

Rama's mother was Kausalya, the Pattamahishi of Dasaratha. She was struck with grief when she heard Rama's exile. Her affection to Rama was simply great. She announced her decision to go with Rama to forest. Rama being 'dharmabhṛtām varishthah' advised his mother "yavaj jivati kākutsah, pitā me jagati patih, susrusha kriyāām, sa hi dharmassanātanah". He added "bhart, susrushaya nārī labhate svargam uttamam" (Ayodh. 24 canto) Kausalya saw the meaning in the words of Rama. She performed 'svastyayana' rite and permitted Rama to leave for forest with Sita and Lakshmana.

Bharata and Kaikeyi is another set in the family of Dasaratha. Kaikeyi was greatly affectionate to Rama as much

as to Bharatha, her own son. Poet shows in the epic that Kaikeyi was weak-minded as to yield for influences easily. Her extra love to her son prompted her to own all bad name and admonitions from every quarter.

Bharata was a noble son. His love and respect for Rama his elder brother made him to spare Kaikeyi. He was satisfied by chiding his mother. Basically Bharata proved a dutiful son to his father and mother. He kept his senses and anger under control. He infused correct balance of mind even to Satrugna.

Angada was a boy when he lost his father Vali. Tara took care of him, even though she shared her love and respect with Sugriva, the brother of Vali. She did not loose her interest and care upon Angada. Angada too was affectionate to Tara. Nala was given a gift by his mother that 'what is thrown upon water would float'.

3. **Father and Daughter :** It is not clear who was the mother of Śanta. Valmiki mentions that Dasaratha brought luck and happiness to his state by offering his daughter to Rshyasṅga, the son of Vibhandaka seer. No more details are known in the epic.

Dasaratha was advised 'prayaccha kanyām tām vai vidhina susammāhita'. Also... śanta cāsmāi pradiyatām; also 'Rshyasṅgastu jāmāta... putramstava vidhasyati'. In view of these references we notice, Śanta to be the daughter of Dasaratha.

Janaki and Janaka is another set. Names of wives of Janaka are not known. Sita was 'ayonija'. However, Janaka gifted her in marriage to Rama as a 'Viryaśulka'. He had three more daughters. They are given to Rama's brothers. No further details are known in respect of Janaka and other daughters. It is so probable that Valmiki's preview of plot of the epic did not necessitate dilation of that part of the story of Janaka.

4 **Uncle and Nephew :** Valmiki depicts two sets of this combination viz., Bharata and his uncles. Bharata went to his uncle's place. His uncle was Yudhajit. He had a nice time enjoying the love and affection from them. It is not definitely known whether Maricarakshasa was the uncle of Ravana. However, Marica interested in Ravana, gave necessary advice. But Ravana turned a deaf ear. The Demon preferred to die in the hands of Rama rather than that of Ravana. Here, the uncle has a bad nephew who honoured his decision more than the advice.

Angada and Sugriva is another set. Here also Sugriva was affectionate to Angada. However Angada had his own criticism against Sugriva. For example, Angada says :

"Sthairyamatma ma nassaucamanrasmsyamathârjavam
Vikramas caiva dhairyamca sugrîve nopadyate," and adds :
"Bhraturjyeshthasya yo bhâryâm jivato mahisâm priyâm
Dharmena mataram yastu svikaroti jugupsitah"

(Kish. 56-11)

Angada spoke out this criticism out of disgust to which he was exposed when Hanuman asked Angada to get back to Kishkindha. However, Sugriva showed necessary affection to Angada. Actually Sugriva was the uncle of Angada. Sugriva was a Vanara and so his 'morale' could be different compared to men.

Sugriva derived support and cooperation from his father-in-law viz., Tara's father. Tara's father was requested by Sugriva to go westwards in search of Sita. Valmiki says :
Tarâyâḥ pitaram rāja svasuram bhîma vikramam". (Kish, 4)

Indrajit and Vibhishana is another set. Vibhishana showed affection only on Indrajit. Indrajit was haughty, supporting his father.

5. **Brothers:** Rama, Ravana, Vali and Sampati are the elder brothers: Rama has three younger brothers; Ravana, two while Vali and Sampati, one each. It is interesting to notice that those brothers showed a great deal of affection, love and regard to their respective younger brothers. They enjoyed, on normal conditions, the co-operation and friendship from their younger brothers. In the case of Ravana and Vali, there is seen some difference. That difference obviously was due to their impertinence, for serious things.

Rama was unique. He never hurt his brothers. The vice versa was also true. Ravana and Vali acted against dharma and moral ethics. This was not liked by Vibhishana and Sugriva. It is said "apanthānam to gacchantam bhrataropi-vimuñcati". Accordingly, the younger brothers of Ravana and Vali deserted them. On the other hand, Vibhishana and Sugriva sought protection and support from Rama who by nature would not tolerate such violation of Dharma. Rama pledged to punish them with no less a punishment than 'death' itself.

Rama was ever a composed personality. It is amply illustrated in the epic. He simply assented to go to forest to make the words of his father Dasaratha real. He made all efforts to bring alive the deer, for Sita. He sent envoy to Ravana to advise him the right thing. He endured great suffering for himself. He was selfless. He did not grumble to part with his 'Pādukas' even to Bharata. It meant Rama was to move about in forest without Pādukas. He evinced immense love upon Lakshmana. He declared 'sakyā Sita samānāri... na Lakshmana samo bhrātā' in the Yuddhakanda of Ramayana. He always considered Lakshmana to be a 'sacivah' and a 'sāmparayakah' (warrior). He cared Dharma more than any other features ('kevalam dharmam, asthitah') In view of this and several other qualities, Rama became victorious.

Ravana is also a powerful personality. He was highly learned, nobly placed on the throne and proved a terror to all

beings in the world. He had irresistible weakness. That is the weakness for beautiful women. Sita, Rama's wife, brought Ravana, the much desired ruin. Overwhelmed by 'Moha' for Sita, Ravana never took the counsel of anybody. He was simply prompted for possessing Sita by Sūrpanakha. Ravana is also known for great 'bandhu prīti'. When Kumbhakarna died he said :

Rajye nāsti me kāryam kim karishyāmi sītayā

Kumbhakarnavihinasya jivite nāsti me ratih'.

Also, out of anger, he takes an oath to kill the killer of his brother. He adds, "yadyaham bhrātr hantāram...nanu mara-
nam sreyo

idam vyartham jivitam"

He does not betray his real self when he utters his worry "Katham indram jayishyāmi Kumbhakarnā hate tvayi." In the same manner, Ravana repents realising the value of the words of Vibhishana : when he met with defeat and disappointment in war, he says : "tadidammāmanuprāptam vibhishanavacassubham", and admits : "yanmaya dhārmikas srimān sanirastu vibhishanah". We see a contrast in the affection between Rama and Ravana. Rama maintains his affection to his brothers while Ravana is fickle and selfish.

Vali is also basically affectionate to Sugriva. Vali goes to fight with Sugriva in order to remove 'darpa' in him. He promised accordingly to Tara, his wife. He says "aham jitva nivartishye tamarim bhrataram raṇe", and adds,

"darpamātram vineśyāmi na ca prānaih vimoksyase". Vali kept up his promise. He had also his own weakness. He took away the wife of Sugriva which was against Dharma. He denied due share of land to Sugriva, rather he drove him away also out of anger. However, he reconciled himself when he was wounded in the fight. He entrusted his son to the care of

Sugriva and Rama. This shows that Vali had not lost trust and confidence in Sugriva.

4. Sāmpati is a Bird-brother of Jatāyu. Sāmpati was also affectionate to Jatāyu. He protected Jatāyu from the direct heat-rays of Sun even at the cost of getting his wings burnt. Valmiki mentions Sāmpati episode in the Sundara Kāṇḍa of the epic. Sāmpati felt very happy when the Vanaras mentioned Jatāyu's deed. He was highly distressed when he heard Jatāyu's death. He helped the Vānaras by providing clue regarding Ravana's place. He got back his wings at the *darshan* of the Vānaras as per the blessings of a sage. He was thus a good affectionate elder brother among species of the birds.

The younger brothers of Rama were quite good, loyal and obedient. They behaved always in such a way that Rama may not grow angry upon them and also may not reject their cooperation.

1. Lakshmana was his life, moving outside (Prāṇo bahiś-carah). As a 'dāyādi', he became suspicious of Bharata and prepared himself to fight with Bharata. But Rama stopped him of such a move by saying that Bharata was good and would never take arrow against them. He advised him not to utter even harsh words against Bharata. Rama knew the mind of Bharata well

Lakshmana is a 'saciva' to Rama. When Rama was upset at the loss of Sita he was repeatedly in great sorrow. He advised him : 'Tyaja sneham priye jane... ati sneha parshvangāt vartirārdrāpi dahyate'.

Lakshmana respects his sister-in-law. When Sita's ornaments were to be identified, he could identify only her anklets since he was familiar with them owing to his practice of saluting her feet everyday..

2. Satrughna was also a dutiful younger brother of Rama. He controlled his anger and abstained from killing Manthara.

just because Rama would not like such actions. He respects Bharata. He followed the advice of Bharata and did not harm Manthara who was the cause for the thought of Rama's exile.

Ravana's younger brothers Kumbhakarna and Vibhishana were obedient to Ravana. They were wise and learned. Vibhishana's temperament was slightly different. He was a witness to all developments in the life of Ravana after Sita was brought to Lanka. He detested Ravana's way of handling the situation in Lanka. He advised rightly to set his elder brother on the right path. Vexed at the indifference of Ravana, he left the place of his brother. However, Vibhishana expressed his sorrow when Ravana fell dead in the battle. The poet Valmiki then says : 'bhrātaram nihataṃ... vilālāpa vibhiṣaṇaḥ'. Vibhishana completed the last rites of Ravana.

Kumbhakarna was also an affectionate brother. This brother too despised Ravana's action. However, he proved a faithful brother by fighting the battle with Rama on behalf of Ravana. He instilled confidence in Ravana that he would kill Rāma and that he can be happy with Sītā. Kumbhakarna was a tower of strength and support to Ravana.

Sugrīva the younger brother of Vāli was also a loyal and affectionate. He repents : "krodhādāmarśhādāti pradharsāt bhrāturvadho me nunataḥ purastāt". He exclaims : "bhrātā katham nāma mahāguṇasya, bhrāturuadham rāghava rocayet".

Sugrīva records the merits of Vāli gratefully. He states : "dharmaścānena rakshitah" as a contrast, for himself he says : "mayā krodhaḥ kāmāśca kapitvam ca pradarśitam". Vālmiki represented the monkey brothers to be essentially affectionate to each other. Circumstances prompted them to differ temporarily. The poet hints that being foresters they might indulge in deeds of less culture.

Jatāyu's feelings with regard to Sampāti are not mentioned in the epic. However from the words of Sampāti, it is possible

to imagine that Jatāyu loved his brother. Now we turn to

VI. Brother and Sister : We have two sets in this combination. They are Sānta and Rāma and Śūrpanakha and Rāvaṇa. We have some details for the latter set. Śūrpanakha says to Rāma : "Rāvaṇonāma me bhrātā... viro visravasaḥ putrah". Rāvaṇa was affectionate to Śūrpanakha. In fact at the instance of that sister being insulted Rāvaṇa decided to kidnap Sītā away from Rāma as a mark of vengeance to Rāma. He turned deaf ear to the advice of Mārīca. He succeeded in his plan.

VII. Wife and Husband : Vālmiki has depicted prominently five sets of couples in the epic. They are Daśaratha and his wives. a) Rāma and Sītā, b) Rāvaṇa and Mandodari c) Vāli and Tārā d) Sugrīva and Tārā and (e) Atri and Anasūyā.

Daśaratha and his three wives are described upto Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the epic by the poet. Kausalya and Sumitra were devoted to Daśaratha. Kaikeyī, being young, earned special love of her husband. Added to that she exhibited her valour in a war. She was given two boons. Daśaratha was bound by the boons sanctioned to her. Kaikeyī became a chief cause to shorten the life of Daśaratha. Kausalya was a dutiful wife. Kausalya listened to the words of Rāma. She stayed back in Ayodhya although she willed to accompany Rāma to forest. It shows her regard to her husband. The three wives however, were basically affectionate to king Daśaratha.

Rāma and Sītā are the best couple. Rāma loved Sītā very much. Valmiki says : "priyātu sīta ramasya dārāḥ pitṛkrta iti guṇadrūpaguṇāccāpi prītir bhūyobhyavardhata"

Rama and Sita enjoyed a fine understanding and cooperation. Sita always respected Rama even in the instances of mental agony and distress. She was a great adviser to Rama, awakening the sense of duty and dharma in him.

Maṇḍōdari was a lovely wife to Ravaṇa. She advised him to give away Sita to Rama. She suggested even that he can see everything in her what he hoped to see in Sita. Rāvaṇa rejected such an advice. He met with death in the war with Rama. Rāvaṇa was voluptuous. However he was a good husband to Maṇḍōdari and loved her equally.

Vāli and Tārā form an ideal couple. Tārā advised Vāli not to go for fight. Tārā was a faithful wife. She was highly upset at the death of Vali. She expresses certain truths pertaining to the plight of a woman when she loses her husband. She says : “patihinā tu yā nāri kāmam bhavatu putrini.. vidhveityuccyate janaiḥ”.

She therefore, gives out a subhāshita that “a girl should not be given in marriage to a ‘śūra’ in view of the danger that she would be turned into a ‘vidhavā’”. Her lamentations, stricken with grief, indicate the affection and attachment as a wife she had for her husband Vāli.

Tārā, however, being a vānarastrī got adjusted to Sugriva. She proved her love and affection to Sugriva when she accepted him as her husband. Tara faced angry Lakshmaṇa at the request of Sugriva.

Vālmiki suggests that Atri sage enjoyed faithfulness, love and affection from Anasūyā. This we deduce from the discourse Anasūyā gave to Sītā on the greatness of ‘pātivratya’. Rather that was an opportunity created by the poet to prepare the mind of Sītā that she should exercise great control over temptations which she would face in future.

Relations : As mentioned, hereunder let us consider external relations. Then we have to begin with Gods, sages and Rakshasas. The plot of Ramayana is a queer one. There is plenty of supernatural element. The noted characters viz Rāma, Rāvaṇa etc., enjoyed a great deal of contact with gods and others. These persons enjoyed happy relations with them.

Rāma's journey in the forest was guided by sages. It was in such a way that Rāma met difficult Rākshasas who were to be killed by him. In fact, Rāma's mission to protect the good was the fulfilment because of timely interference and support by gods and sages, etc. Even those Rākshasas who became Rākshasas due to curses, guided Rāma out of regard to him. Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Agastya etc., were the sages who guided the life of Rama. Agastya was the last sage who suggested to seek the grace of Lord Ādiya. Ādiya inspired and blessed Rāma to fight with Rāvaṇa and put an end to him. Deities like Indra, Agni Vāyu, Ādiya, Varuṇa etc., have benefic relations with Rāma and Sītā. Agni obeyed the prayer of Sītā. He remained cool for Maruṭi in Lanka. Samudra gave a plan that Sushena could be the right engineer to build a bridge across the ocean. Gods were interested that Ravaṇa should die. They helped Rama, whenever required.

Vāli has good relations with Ādiya. He gave him a golden necklace which Vali wore for good luck. Later the same was given to Sugriva. Ravaṇa and his associates gave trouble to the good. All Rakshasas were not always malefic. As Śūrpanakha puts : “vibhishanastu dharmatma na tu rakshasa ceshtataḥ—” Rakshasas are known for cruel deeds (Krūrakarmabhiḥ). It is interesting Valmiki introduced good Rakshasas also. Trijaṭa was good among women of that class to Sita. Sita, in fact held her hope upon reunion with Rama due to words spoken by her. Tātaki, the mother of Marica and Śūrpanakha, the sister of Ravana were hostile to the good. They were punished by Rama. Vibhiṣaṇa is discussed already. Vibhiṣaṇa's effort was that he did not like Ravaṇa to become killed by Rama in the war. He says ‘na tvam icchami—nihatam śaraiḥ’.

Friends : The bondage of friendship is described to be sacred. Like marriage, even the friendship was to be solemnised in the presence of Agni, the immortal. The epic introduces two sets of friends viz., Daśaratha and Jatayu ; and Rama and Sugriva.

Rama recognises Jatāyu, as the friend of his father: (ayam pitravayasyo me gṛdhrarājo jarānvitah) (Ar. 68), when he saw him wounded and lying on the ground. As a loyal friend Jatāyu, the king of birds fought to rescue the daughter-in-law of his friend Daśaratha. Jatāyu's brother Sampāti was also Daśaratha's friend. He helped the Vānaras although tormented by pain of hunger and weakness due to old age.

The 'sakhya' between Rama and Sugriva is proverbial. Their friendship was witnessed by Agni. Rama and Sugriva had 'samāna śoka'. Both had lost wives and kingdom. They helped each other and got their aims fulfilled. Valmiki depicts the affection that existed between Rama and Sugriva in several terms. The epic asserts that a friend is always worthy to seek for protection or shelter. The poet says: "nirdoshō vā sadoshō vā vāyasyah paramāgatih": Kish. 7.8

Subordinates: The various subjects of the respective kings bear cordial relations with the kings and their superiors. There is no betrayal or fraud unnecessarily shown in the epic. The poet pointed out that if subordinates did it, it was to benefit their masters.

Rama is perfectly happy with subordinates. His chariot driver Sumantra loved 'Dharma'. He listened to the words of Rama and took him to the outskirts of Ayodhya when Rama was to go on exile. His servant Hanuman was ever faithful that the latter always received applause and admiration from Rama. The divine charioteer Matali sent by Indra helped Rāma to kill Ravana in the final battle.

Ravana as a king, could not afford total cooperation from Vibhishana, Śuka and Sārana. However, his servants were all loyal and faithful to him. They fought and died in the battle for the sake of pleasing Ravana. Valmiki shows a single case of betrayal by the car-driver of Ravana in the war,

But the same was substantiated. The chariot driver of Ravana took the chariot away during fight from Rama. Ravana chided him for that. But the chariot driver replied that he did so in order to save him from Rama. He added that he was tired of battle and had he been allowed then, he would have collapsed there itself. Ravana was satisfied with the explanation of the car-driver. He rewarded him.

Sugriva is represented as a good administrator. He used his knowledge of the land and sent the Vānaras to different directions to locate Sita. Subordinates of Sugriva respected Rama and Lakshmana. As a result, a mighty war with the mighty giant Ravana was won by a man, Rama. Valmiki has provided many details where servants were faithful to their duty and were anxious to execute properly the orders of the king.

The ministers of Ravana and Sugriva were affectionate and dutiful to their respective kings. Ravana ignored the counsel by his subjects. He suffered the consequences. Thus the epic delineates the various facts regarding the happiness of having 'relative' and 'relations' in this world. Decay is greater in the later times. Mahabharata provides many examples to see the cleavage in the beautiful net work of social relations of a powerful individual.

IV. Conclusion

The following points would be of interest, after having discussed the various sociological ties which the characters of the epic enjoyed in the hands of the master poet Valmiki. 1. Ramayana is a source book for knowing idealistic state of responsible man Rama and other possessed of various relatives and relations. 2. The sweetness of conjugal relationship among beings of the creation is well described by the poet. 3. A suggestion is thrown in the epic that if one were to have perfect cooperation and coordination he could undertake any

hard task and obtain laurels in the same. Man can accomplish fulfilment. 4. Rāmāyana has already made a broad suggestion that lapses in the network of relations do creep if one's behaviour is not conforming to Dharma.

ANNEXATION OF BURMA : A SEQUEL TO BRITISH COMMERCIAL PRESSURES.

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The three Anglo-Burmese wars saw in 1886 the complete subjugation of Burma to British Empire. A factual and just assessment of the whole affair at that time was out of question. Even long afterwards the books were written on the basis of Blue-Books and White Papers. Unfortunately, the portions which throw light on British guilt were expunged from these documents. Consequently, it was pointed out that the whole fault lay at the doors of Burma. Unpublished documents on both the second and the third Anglo-Burmese wars bear witness to the fact that truth is war's first casualty.

It must be noted that the omissions in the Blue Book did not escape the notice of public even at that time. The Indian newspaper *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, says "The Blue Book enumerates all the offences committed by Theebaw against the British Government and the British subjects. Well, everyone, who commits offence against the British Government ought to be punished. But why are people of Burma punished for the offences of their despotic sovereign?"¹

The Blue-Book does not give reasons for thus punishing an innocent nation for the offences of another. The indictment of the people of Burma is one of the severest on record. They knew nothing, and were engaged in the peaceful occupation of agriculture. They found shrapnels, by proved Marshalls and hangmen. There was no declaration of war and the Blue-Book, it would appear, omits to take notice of this important fact.² The British writers at that time had certain limitations. The vogue for Colonialism and Imperialism,³ the jingoism

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of the era, the time factor, and last but not the least a detached approach, were the main hurdles.

The main sufferer in this affair was king Theebaw, who is accused of anti-British activities and attitude. But the charge is refuted by the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Bernard He pronounces king Theebaw not guilty.⁴ The king is presented as a monster by the English commercial class. But the facts are otherwise. Even if he was cruel and addicted to drinking that does not give sufficient reasons for the action taken against him.⁵ As a matter of fact he was sacrificed to the British commercial interests. With the resources of South Burma, they wanted to exploit mineral and timber wealth of Upper Burma. That Burma, sooner or later, would fall to the might of British Imperialism, was as clear as daylight to all those with a political vision. J.A. Haldermon, American Consul and Minister, Resident in Bangkok prophetically wrote to his government that ultimately, "Viceroy will throw his arms around Theebaw, his dominions, treasures and monopolies and incorporate one and all into her Britannic Majesty's Indian Empire"⁶. He also quoted a highly respectable English journal at Hongkong as saying, "Burma is practically at the mercy of the Indian Government, and had so frequently given trouble that it is really marvellous that the country has not long since been converted into a presidency or province of the British Indian Empire".⁷

Though political reasons are advanced as the factor leading to the annexation, they are simply a synonym for commercial considerations. The French danger which was sometime back harped upon as a political cause of the annexation, actually has no force.⁸ The treaty of Tientsin signed between the Chinese and the French in June 1885 had no direct bearing and its consequences were not serious.⁹ But the Irrawaddy trade suffered most on account of an "independent Burmese kingdom". China, a defeated power in the recent war, could not be dreaded. The French at this time, despite their wish to

extend their commercial influence in Burma, did not dare to risk an open conflict with Britain. The Blue-Book did not put all these facts on record.¹⁰

The French danger still more lessened when Jules Ferry, an advocate of "Forward Policy", was replaced by M. de Freycinet, who in September 1885, repudiated all attempts to acquire French predominance in Burma.¹¹ But the reversal of the French Policy in Burma in no way deterred the British commercial interests in putting an end to king Theebaw. Unilateral and arbitrary demarcation of Manipur frontier by the British caused further deterioration in personal relationship between British traders and Burmese officials. It put the whole issue on a volcano. To British merchants, annexation was the only panacea.¹² A vigorous propaganda campaign started in favour of annexation and they did play havoc with all the resources at their command.¹³

The spark to the heap of combustible material was provided by the Bombay Burma Corporation, though, curiously enough, the manager of the corporation, fraudulently exported timber without any payment of royalty. The Burmese court of justice, Hlutdaw, imposed on the corporation a fine of Rs 24 lacks for the breach of contract. And the British Government jumped in between and settled the dispute and solved the problem by devouring Burma itself. The English public opinion remained unruffled as their conscience on the "prospects of the opening of the new markets would scarcely stifle".¹⁴

After the Bombay Burma Corporation Episode, the London Chamber of Commerce petitioned to Lord Randolph Churchill (or rather dictated the lines of policy) 'To give instructions to the Indian Government either to annex the whole of native Burma or to assume a protectorate over that country'. The Chamber maintained that every argument in the interests of the country itself and of British trade pointed to annexation as the best and only really safe and wise course to adopt.¹⁵ Lord Churchill gladly supported their case. Parliamentary

elections were to take place shortly, and the annexation of Burma would be a handy device to catch votes. It would be hitting two birds with one stone.¹⁷

It may be noted that after the fall of Ryingham the king of Burma sent a message of submission and surrender conceding all their demands as contained in the ultimatum of October 22, 1885. But Lord Dufferin argued that an unfriendly Burma would be an inconsistency. He ruled out the idea of Burma as a buffer-state on the ground that it had neither elasticity nor the ultimate power of resistance which a "buffer state" ought to possess and also the idea of maintaining Burma as a protected state at par with the Indian princely States.¹⁸

If the British press was silent over the rape of Burma, its counterpart in India was not. It began to probe into the ulterior motives of the government with forensic skill. The press in the beginning had pleaded to avert war in the spirit of Lord Ripon's policy of peaceful negotiations.¹⁹ But when annexation was carried out, the press as a whole, whether in English or vernacular editions, had condemned it with one voice, except the Anglo Indian press²⁰ and a few minor Gujarati newspapers, linked with the Pars textile industry, in the hope of finding a big market in a British dominated Upper Burma.²¹ The dismayed Indian public opinion discovered a Lytton in the makeup of Dufferin²² — a comparison which Lord Dufferin disliked most.²³ One editor said that the Indian public opinion was never violated before in such a flagrant fashion.²⁴ They criticised the government for throwing the financial burden of the Burmese war and its consequent pacification upon the Indian taxpayers as most unjust and unwarranted.²⁵ They crumbled the defences of the government by highlighting the real motives behind the annexation — building up an industrial empire for Britain, and to get a landslide victory for the Tories in the forthcoming parliamentary election.²⁶ Sarvadhikari wrote that the British parliament was

subservient to commercial interests and the annexation of Upper Burma was a sequel to its dictates.²⁷

The editors also censured the government for punishing an independent king for his alleged drinking bouts, massacre and misrule. They quoted pro-commercialist organ, *The Times* whose correspondent disclosed that the King Theebaw told him that he had never touched wine, and that he was totally ignorant of the 'Carnage at his accession but after he came to know it, he made adequate penance'.²⁸ The editors put forward the argument that the king of Nepal and Amir of Afghanistan were equally guilty of the charges made against Theebaw, whereas "One is hugged, the other sent to prison as a felon. The Blue-Book of course does not take notice of these inconvenient matters".²⁹

The Indian press also assailed the British press for "stifling the promptings of their sense of justice in advocating annexation in this downright fashion and saddling the people of India to bear the expenditure of the Burmese war."³⁰ India was bequeathed with the problems of maintaining peace on a long north-eastern frontier³¹ as an aftermath of the annexation³² — an additional strain on its already crashing exchequer on account of the drain on the border troubles on its north-west frontier. A newspaper displayed a cartoon with a caption, "Lord Dufferin is distributing the blessings of British rule in India", in which Lord Dufferin was illustrated as pointing at the Burmese people, while his soldiers "with bull-dog faces are hacking them to pieces."³³ The Indian press also questioned, the *raison d'être* of the annexation in the light of the government's declaration that they punished Theebaw in order to give a better government to the people. The better government for the Burmese people would have been their own government.³⁴

Thus the Indian press attacked the annexation on two counts first, a violation of the Proclamation of Queen Victoria, second

the financial implication on account of the war.³⁵ Even the pro-government media criticised it for not taking the Indians into confidence.³⁶

The annexation was in contravention to all known conventions, moral and international law. The British commercial pressure swallowed up the sovereignty of Burma in bits. They played a political game to boost up their commercial interest.

Notes :

1. Dorothy Woodman, *The Making of Burma*, p.2.
2. *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Feb. 18, 1886.
3. Rangoon Chamber of Commerce to Bernard. Sept. 24., 1885, Parliamentary papers (hence P.P.), 1886, Vol 50, Com. 4614, pp. 216-217, 215; Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, to Viceroy's Private Secretary, Sept. 25, 1885, Dufferin Papers, Reel 528, No. 303.
4. Correspondance relating to Burma since accession of king Theebaw, C. 4614, 1886, p 134.
5. *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Feb. 18, 1886.
6. Quoted by T. L. Christian in article "Burma and the American State Papers" *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Vol. 26 part 2, 1936.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Memorandum, Oct.3, 1885, Commonwealth Relations Office, Home Correspondence, 1885 Vol.80; Martin, B, *New India*, 1885, p.243, "—Burne, who in Lytt- on's time had advocated a forward policy against

Theebaw, counselled his friends at the Foreign Office to reject the French overtures, and declared "We should now get any pretext to annex or make Burma into a protected State".

9. Foreign Deptt., Prog.3, January 5, 1886.
10. Dorothy Woodman, *op.cit*, pp.226-27. Walsham to Salisbury (hence S.) with enclosures, Sept. 24, S to Walsham, Sept. 26, 1885, pp : 1886, vol.50, Command paper (hence Com.) 4614, pp : 220-221, 210; Secretary of State to Viceroy, telegram, Oct.3, 1885 (priv), Dufferin Papers, Reel 519, No.335.
11. Home Correspondence, 1885, vol 80. Above is not in C. 4614.
12. *The Indian Mirror*, July 7, 1886.
13. Com. 4614, p. 135.
14. For, Sec. E., Nov. 1885, No. 55, dated Rangoon 19th September 1885 (Demi-Official); Martin, B., *op.cit* p.224, "—Churchill had no doubt that it should be annexation Why? Because it would be a Very popular step in England and Scotland 'On account of the prospects of good trade'. Moreover, the press prefers annexation : Secretary of State to Viceroy, telegram, Oct. 17, 1885. (secret), D.P. Reel 519 No. 356; *Ibid*, Oct. 16, 1885, Reel 517 No. 76. A check of the press shows that in London *The Times*, *Evening Standard*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Globe*, *Army & Navy Gazette*, except the *Daily News* and *Echo*, and in the provinces the major journals, *Manchester Guardian*, *Leeds Mercury*, *Glasgow Observer* and *Birmingham Daily Post*, though liberal, supported the Cabinet's Burmese policy.

15. *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Feb, 18, 1886.
16. Above document is not in Blue-Book, it is in letters from India, 1886, Vol. 46.
17. Martin, B. *op. cit*, p. 243,
18. Lyall, Lord Dufferin & Ava, p. 120, Viceroy to Secretary of State. Telegram. Oct, 18, 1885 (priv), DR. Reel 517. No. 58.
19. *Bihar Herald*, Nov. 24, 1885; Bodh Sudhakar, Nov. 25, 1885; Advocate of Agriculturists, No. 27, 1885.
20. *The English Man*, Calcutta, *The Indian Daily News*, Calcutta, *The Pioneer*, Allahabad, *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, *The Times of India*, Bombay. These papers tied with the Anglo-Indian business communities and the Chambers of Commerce, carried on vigorous propaganda in favour of annexation, James Wilson, friend of Churchill and editor of the *Indian Daily News* started a crusade in favour of annexation through his paper.
21. *Bharoch Samachar*, Oct. 29, 1885; *Gujrati Mitra*, Nov. 1, 1885; *Akbar-e-Saudagar*, Nov. 10, 1885; *Surya Prakash*, Nov. 17, 1885, *Satya Mitra*, Nov. 15, 1885.
22. Martin, B. *op. cit*, p. 315, Translation from Bombay "Native" press enclosed in T. Bennett, editor, *Bombay Gazette*, to Wallace, May, 3, 4, 1886. Dufferin papers, Reel 529, Nos. 453, 459.
23. Dufferin wrote to Kimberley, the new Secretary of State for India, "I have been more or less denounced as a very unworthy successor to Lord Ripon, and various evil designs similar to those conceived by Satanic

- imagination of Lyton have been attributed to me." Editorial, *Indian Spectator*, Nov. 1, 1885.
24. Editorial by N.N. Sen, *The Indian Mirror*, Nov. 17, 1885.
 25. Ibid. Jan 9, 1886; Editorial, *The Hindu* Dec. 8, 1885. The Editor V. Chariar remarked, "neither the political nor the commercial needs of our country require the annexation of Burma—why then, should India be forced to contribute the necessary cost in money as well as in blood, of an undertaking intended solely to conciliate the powerful mercantile interest of England."
 26. Editorial, *The Indian Spectator*, Nov. 1, 1885. Malbari wrote that Churchill took advantage of a confused English public. "On the eve of a great election to bid for power publicly announcing his intention of annexing the other half of the Burmese Empire".
 27. Editorial. *The Hindu Patriot*, Oct. 12, 26, 1885: "King Cotton is ever anxious to extend his territories and his power is irresistible — Neither Conservatives nor Liberals dare to go against his commands". Editorial. 'The Threatened Military Expedition to Mandalay', *Indian Mirror*. Oct. 21, 1885, "The Gods of the English nation --- the manufacturing classes of Glasgow and Manchester, London, Leeds, Birmingham and Sheffield" were thirsting after new markets in Asia to succour their depressed industries, and that the Home and Indian Governments had responded to their insatiable craving" by producing a pretext for the expansion of the British Indian Empire."
 28. *The Times* (London) Dec. 5, An interview with the Burmese king by Colonel Sladen and correspondent of *The Times*.

29. *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Feb. 18, 1886.
30. *Ibid*, Jan. 28, 1886 ; Editorials, "The Threatened Military Expedition to Mandalay". "A war sought to be forced on Upper Burma". "Native Opinion and the pending war in Upper Burma"; *The Indian Spectator*, Nov. 1, 1885 ; Editorial; *The Hindustani*, Nov. 11, 1885, "The war with Burma" Editorial, *The Hindu*, Dec. 8, 1885.
31. *The Rast Gofter*, Dec. 12, 1885.
32. *The Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Thursday, March 11, 1886, "We must expect constant raids on our frontier, these raids will cost money and will bring in no returns".
33. The Beaver published from Chandranagore, quoted in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, March 11, 1886.
34. *Ibid*, Feb. 28, 1886.
35. *The Indian Mirror*, Jan. 3, 1886
36. *Statesman and Friend of India*, Dec. 5, 1885.

SAMKHYA AND YOGA *

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Sāmkhya Tantra or Sāmkhya Shastra, the foundation of Ayurveda, is a very ancient philosophy. In the *Mahabharata*, which is itself ancient, Bhishma the elder statesman, warrior and philosopher is said to have stated that the science which was once propounded by Samkhya about the formation of the Universe is everywhere to be found "— in the Puranas, in history and in books on political economy and other places." It is further stated there that "all knowledge in this world originates in the Samkhya philosophy."¹ While the exact origins of Samkhya are a matter of dispute, what is of interest here is the fact that such an ancient philosophy developed an exacting scientific outlook towards the gigantic riddles of living, and evolved a monist, materialist explanation of the Universe and the human being. By scientific here is meant, "the approach of the knowing...experimenting mind which is prepared to accept anything that factually or theoretically justifies itself and which goes ahead on the basis of it."² This study of the Samkhyas was without access to sophisticated methods for experimentation and therefore without the empirical knowledge of biology, chemistry, etc.

It is necessary to stress here, that in interpreting ancient Indian texts, it must be remembered that much of recent interpretation has been clouded by the distortions deliberately wrought by colonialism. Besides bringing about material, organisational and cultural destruction, colonialism enslaved the psyche of the Indian people.

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Even today, Indians and others discuss Indian history, culture and philosophy in a translated language. Also recent times have witnessed the counter-scientific trend of ultra-Indianism, with an interpretation of Indian history, culture and philosophy under the banner of Hinduism: this in spite of the fact that the word 'Hindu' has no existence in any literature upto the time of colonialism, and has no real content. The objective assessment of Samkhya is clouded by all these factors, not to speak of the distortions brought on by the various reinterpretations over hundreds of years. For e.g., B.G. Tilak is of the opinion that in the Samkhya Karika of Ishvara-krishna itself the original philosophical content has been tampered with, and he attempts reconstruction of one *karika*.⁸

Here, Samkhya is interpreted to mean not merely 'one who counts'⁴ but 'knowledge revealed by calculation', or estimation through reasoning and practical experience: the total knowledge beginning with the Universe and ending with the human being comprised of twenty-five elements in the main. An even better interpretation perhaps, is *sam* (complete or perfect)—*khyā* (to state or declare), therefore meaning the complete enumeration or perfect declaration.

According to the Samkhya karikas, "nothing exists which is more subtle than the Prakriti" (*Prakriteh sukumarataram na kinchithasthr*)⁵. B. G. Tilak elaborates: according to the Samkhya philosophy, *prakriti* is the final cause of the visible world and there is no other—ulterior cause...They recognise neither Ishvara nor anything else as...controlling the *prakriti*... (the *sutras*) clearly state that Ishvara cannot be proved to be the final cause...⁶ Again, the Samkhya Pravachana Sutra states, "The world is not a mere idea." (*Na vijñānamatram bahyapratiteh*).⁷ It is thus clear that the philosophy is monist, materialist and based on objective reality.

⁸ The methodology of Samkhya involves *Satkaryavada*⁸, whereby each entity that is an evolute cannot have in it qualities

that were not in the original evolvent. There is also the principle that "constituents come out of constituents" (*guna guneshu vartante*)⁹, and there is no invoking of extraneous factors.

It is in the light of the above that it is attempted here to consider the essence of what is available of the Samkhya Tantra and also of the Yoga Sastra which is derived from it. Yoga, the concepts of Samadhi and Ishvara are reinterpreted, and in view of this there is no contradiction between Samkhya and Yoga.

Materialist Foundations of Samkhya

While many interpreters say that the original Samkhya Tantra is monistic and materialistic¹⁰, some call it atheist as there is no mention of 'God'. Still others call it dualistic¹¹, as there is the factor of Purusha in it which is interpreted as 'spirit', soul etc., independent and eternal. In his genealogical tree of the Cosmos, B. G. Tilak puts 'spirit' and 'matter' on the same level, both of which are self-created and eternal¹². The interpretation of some Western scholars is similar: that Purusha, a divine something has a separate existence different from Prakriti and that they somehow get together (even by a cosmic sexual union between the male Purusha and female Prakriti). M. Stepanyants of the Soviet Union has recently stated "...the ancient Indian Samkhya philosophy comprised along with idealism also of materialistic ideas"¹³. But what is the truth?

It should be noted here that significantly, the Samkhya Tantra begins with an analysis of the social sufferings of man.¹⁴ & ¹⁵ It is of relevance here to examine the meaning of Dharma and Karma, two words that appear extensively since time immemorial, both in literature and common parlance. While a bit of these words is in the psyche of every Indian indelibly, the interpretations are many, including the highly fanciful (e.g., man is born "high" or "low" according to his 'Karma' in a previous birth, etc).

It is speculated here that sometime in the remote past, in an era which legends and historians refer to as the Krita Yuga, people must have lived happily, all working (Karma) together (Dharma). It might have been primitive in the sense of not having the fruits of advanced technology, but yet highly civilised in the sense of not having private property nor exploiting classes; where there was universal prosperity and a high sense of the good of the whole community (*Sarva bhuta hite ratah*). The guide was Dharma—a code of conduct and an unwritten constitution for the administration of things.

Social structure would have changed with the times, and so with the concepts of Dharma Karma; both individual and group sufferings would have ensued, provoking sensitive minds to find remedies. Being unable to understand the roots of suffering as being in economic and social processes, and therefore unable to rectify them, they turned to the individual who suffered; Kapila perhaps was one such. He probed deep into the individual, social and other sufferings of the self, leading to the psyche, then to the living body, the environment and then on in this chain to the first principle. Thus the outlines of the development of the universe and the human being were arrived at in a scientific way, through experience, arguments, deduction and reconstruction from the material first principle, without resorting to divine, super-intelligent agencies. These thinkers totally rejected rituals and other forms of worship and invocation to 'Divinities' as an excess and a waste.¹⁶ They declared that it is only the above knowledge of the universe and the human being that would enable the attainment of Moksha: Moksha, it is suggested, is no divinity alienated from social life and activity, but a state of freedom from desires in the very midst of society.

Prakriti and its Evolution

Samkhya describes the development of the universe in terms of the evolution of *prakriti*, the fundamental entity.

While there are many commentaries on this, there prevail confusions with regard to many of its aspects. Some of them are pointed out below and an attempt is made at a consistent interpretation.

While Samkhya is attributed to Kapila, many commentators say that he is the incarnation of Vishnu. But Panchashikha refers to him as the *Adividvan*¹⁷, which merely means the first intellectual or first teacher, and not something superhuman.

Prakriti was conceived by the Samkhyas as a dynamic entity *pra-kri-kti* that which multiplies, modifies and procreates¹⁸ through the interaction of the three *gunas* (*Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*), giving rise to the diverse forms and processes. *Guna* is usually interpreted as 'quality' which may not be wholly correct: B. G. Tilak says "nay it may even be said that these three constituents together make up matter".¹⁹ The *gunas* are perhaps better understood as forces with differing qualities.

Down the genealogical tree of the Cosmos, the eleven *Indriyas** and five *Tanmatras*** are spoken of as derived from the *Ahamkara*, and the *Bhutas* or *Visheshas* † (gross elements) as derived from the *tanmatras*.²⁰ This would imply, contradictorily, that the inorganic is derived from the organic.

Again, *Mahat*, derived from *prakriti*, is interpreted as *jnana*²¹ (or *mati*, reason, intelligence, etc.), which is contradictory, since *jnana* cannot arise without the *Indriyas* which are later evolutes. By *Mahat* is perhaps meant the very beginnings of elemental life: it is 'Mahat' perhaps because the

* *Indriyas*: Eye, Ear, Nose, Skin, Tongue (the five *Jnanendriyas*)
Hands, Feet, Speech, Excretory organ, Organ of generation (the five *Karmendriyas* plus *Manas*=11).

* * *Tanmatras*: Sound, Touch, Smell, Taste, Form.

† *Mahabhutas*: *Akasha* (Time and Space), Wind, Fire, Water, Earth

emergence of life (as a result of evolution of Prakriti) is a revolutionarily new or great quality.

In the classical description, the Tanmatras are said to be derived from the Ahamkara. However, the Tanmatras are not included in the *karana* (intelligent life) which comprises of thirteen elements—eleven Indriyas, Ahamkara and Mahat : but they are included in the *linga sharira* (subtle body). This is consistent, if the Tanmatras are understood as derived from *prakriti* independently of Mahat (and hence of Ahamkara) and therefore devoid of the quality of life, but as essential for the development of the Indriyas (for if there is no light, no eyes develop, etc.). Hence while being excluded from the *Karana* they are included in the seventeen elements of the *linga sharira*. Here again there is disagreement as to the number, the Sutra "Saptadashaikam Lingam"²² being interpreted as eighteen. It must however mean, "all the seventeen are one"

Again, in the schematic development it is stated by some commentators that the five gross elements are derived from the Tanmatras. But Arada Kalama clearly says that the gross elements are constituted of *prakriti*²³ and this indeed is plausible considering the basis of Samkhya in the material fundamental entity and their belief in objective reality.

In the following, the genealogy is summarised. From the imperceptible fundamental *prakriti* that is matter eternally changing, evolved the gross elements (Visheshas) with their five qualities (Tanmatras) on the one hand, and elemental life (Mahat) on the other. Here there is the question of *prakriti-vikritis* vs. *vikaras*. It is possible that while the *prakriti-vikritis* are entities evolved independently of each other from *prakriti*, the *vikaras* are entities evolved by interaction between the evolvents. Therefore there are seven *prakriti-vikritis* (*prakriti*, Mahat and the five *visheshas*).

The elemental life with the aid of the Tanmatras—also called Indriyarthas—develops the Indriyas. In its development

and interaction through the Indriyas it gets individuated (Ahamkara). The Mahat and Ahamkara with the eleven Indriyas constitute the *Karana*. This with the five Indriyarthas constitute the *Linga Sharira*. The development of the entities takes place by their innate *Svabhava*. The human body (*Deha*) when alive supports the *Linga Sharira*, when dead, it merely exhibits the qualities of the *Visheshas* of which it is comprised.

The Mahat develops the *Manas* (brain) and also evolves into the *Buddhi* or perhaps acquires the quality of *Buddhi* (intelligence) by which things are known and understood through the media of the Ahamkara and *Manas*. These three which constitute the *Antahakarana* act and interact together; thereby they develop the attribute of instinctive consciousness (*Bhutatma*) that is common to all living beings. Thus evolve the twenty-three *Tattvas* from the *Pradhana Tattva*, viz., the *prakriti*, *Satkarya* *avada* operates; whereby each *Tattva* has in it *Prakriti* in a changed form exhibiting the three *Gunas* of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. Also operating is "Sancharah *Pratisancharah*"²⁴ the *Vikritis* that are evolutes of the *Prakriti*, on their destruction disappear back into the *Prakriti*. This leads the Samkhyas to the idea of the ultimate collapse of the universe itself into the state of *Pralaya*.

The instinctive consciousness is thus a product (in the sense of attribute) of matter and depends on it. Though the development is described in terms of several entities, while considering life and the living world all these have to be understood as a synthesised whole, all the entities change exhibiting different qualities, both with regard to the *Karana* and the gross body. The further development of life is by *Svabhava* and *Karma*, leading to the multiple differentiation in the living world. In the developed human being, the instinctive consciousness reaches a higher level—the '*Purusha*'.

The Purusha in Samkhya

The higher level of consciousness that develops as an attribute of the *Antahakarana* is called '*Purusha*' by the

Samkhyas, to mean "embodied"; i.e., the Purusha is within the body and cannot be somewhere outside. Since this attribute is specific to humans, the human being is also referred to as Purusha. The information supplied by the organs of perception to the Manas, is individuated by the particular being and the Buddhi takes cognition of it, reflects, thinks and acts. The Ahamkara—Buddhi—Manas complex changing and developing according to Karma in man, develops the quality of Purusha. Purusha is thus not a bit of Prakriti evolving out of it. Therefore, it is differentiated from both *prakriti* and *vikriti*. However since it is an attribute of an evolute of *prakriti*, it has no existence without *prakriti*.

Purusha translated into 'He' is probably wrong. It is an entity applicable to man and woman alike. It is stressed that Samkhya Tantra does not anywhere put Purusha as *moola* or *pradhana*, nor are there more than one *moola*.

The Samkhya thinkers classified the experiences of man as of three kinds. Adibhoutika,—from external social environment. Adhyathmika—from the individual self. and Adidaivika—from natural calamities like floods, earthquakes etc. 'Adidaivika' cannot mean 'originating from God' for which there is no place in Samkhya, but must mean 'originating in natural causes'.

The Anthakarana processes, the objective world of these experiences which is reflected in the Purusha. The distinction between Buddhi and Purusha is a subtle one. In fact the Samkhyas caution against confusing the instrument of the entity viz., Buddhi, with the entity itself (Purusha).

The imitational ideas in the consciousness are ideas of the objective world but not the objective world itself ('The seer is consciousness only; even though pure, he cognises ideas by imitation'—(Drashya Drishimatrah). Shuddhopi, Pratyannupashyah).²⁸

When Purusha is unable to differentiate between *Prakriti* and itself, i.e., between the objective world and the consciousness, it is said to be in a state of *avidya*. 'Avidya' may loosely be described as the knowledge which conditions the mind to think of the wrong social happenings as the right. In this state due to the experience of the three kinds of suffering mentioned above, Purusha suffers. It is only with the discriminative knowledge that Purusha is distinct from *Prakriti*, can Purusha train itself to isolate the imitations from reality, and decondition the mind: thence by its conscious act, the Purusha refuses to be perturbed or disturbed by happenings around, at the same time involving in them; in this sense Purusha gains control over the Buddhi and the mental states that accompany suffering.

An individual who has achieved the full ability to control the Buddhi can achieve freedom from desires; he is said to have attained Moksha and is the Jeevan-Mukta.

All facts considered, the attribute of the developed *anthakarana* in man, viz., the Purusha, must be the consciousness that is determined by social being. Though the Samkhyas did say that Purusha was influenced by social happenings, perhaps because of the undeveloped historical conditions prevailing then, they were unable to trace the origins of the Purusha as a product of social being.

Yoga and Samkhya

Yog is a physio psychological technique based on a sound understanding of the processes of the body and the psyche of man. Yoga is certainly a part of Samkhya Tantra: "*Iti sripatanjale samkhyappravachane yogashastre*".²⁹ It was developed using the *triguna* concept. While Samkhya Shastra deals with the theoretical aspects of the Tantra, Yoga Shastra deals with the practice of it. With the aid of the knowledge taught by Samkhya Shastra, the individual can overcome suffering by con-

trolling the modifications of the mental states that accompany suffering. This is Chittavritti: "*Yogashchittavritti nirodhah*"²⁷. 'Chitta' perhaps could be understood as the products of the *anthakarana* to be reflected in the Purusha (consciousness). Thus the purpose of Yoga is not to attain something divine or transcendental, but to strive to overcome the pains of social suffering, and at the same time involving in the happenings around.

The practice of Yoga involves as the prerequisite, the *niyamas*: keeping the physical body in good condition by exercising, subscribing to the rules of hygiene, eating the right kind of food (as determined by applying the Triguna principle), etc. (Thus must have evolved vegetarianism, though now it has acquired religious colouring). Further, it involves the *yamas*, to decondition the mind and rid the individual of Avidya. *Yamas* are the practice of restraints, viz., Ahimsa, Satya, Astheya (abstinence from stealing), Aparigraha (abstinence from avariciousness) and Brahmacharya. Brahmacharya is commonly taken to mean celibacy; it is probably better translated as a well disciplined lifestyle. To overcome *avidya*, is no mean task, and that is why deep study and hard practice are required.

The process of study and deconditioning by the method of concentration (Dharana), abstraction (Pratyahara) and meditation (Dhyana), executed in a comfortable posture (Asana), helped by a regulated breathing process (Pranayama). By concentration, the individual identifies the various causes of suffering; by abstraction, he delinks them from the consciousness; by meditation he trains to maintain this changed state of mind, and thus achieves equanimity-*samadhi*-to attain Moksha and become the Jeevan-Muktha.

It is clear that the technique of Yoga has a tremendous role in modern psychology, to achieve psychological control over

mental processes. It is close to the theory of higher nervous activity of I. Pavlov²⁸ and may even prove a better technique than the current ones in vogue in Psychiatric Practice. It must be stressed that it is not merely a therapeutic technique but a preventive one as well.

As long as Purusha is influenced by the mental modifications, Purusha is at the receiving end; when *samadhi* is achieved, Purusha becomes active and dominates the being. This leads to the concepts of Ishvara. The Purusha who has achieved total *samadhi* by the mastery of Samkhya Shastra and the practice of Yoga is *qualified* as Ishvara: rich in the power of knowledge and in the power of control over the senses. Several commentators remark that while there is no 'God' in Samkhya, Patanjali introduces it in Yoga. But what Patanjali actually states is, "*Purusha visheshah Ishvarah*"²⁹: i.e., Ishvara, the distinguished Purusha. The Ashtanga Yoga says that the practice of Yoga becomes easier if the pupil follows "*Ishvara Prani-dhana*"³⁰: concentration on the Ishvara—a model. There is thus no contradiction between Samkhya and Yoga.

It may be noted here that the four Purusharthas of Dharma-Artha-Kama-Moksha, are usually interpreted as four different stages of life. It is more likely to mean the life of an individual who has his material life and desires (Artha-Kama) subject to the code of conduct (Dharma), and is living in society in a state of equanimity, having attained Moksha.

According to social scientists who base their theories on monism and materialism, until man is freed from necessities, his individual consciousness is determined by his social being; when men are freed from necessities, the individual consciousness determines their being, and they will step into the real history of Man, i.e., men will begin to consciously shape history. For the individual who is desirous of achieving this (Moksha-kami), even amidst adverse historical conditions, Yogashastra shows a way.

It is worth mentioning here that an important outcome of Samkhya advocated by the *yamas* of Yoga is the practice of tolerance. This concept is of historical significance: it is due to the tolerance in the Indian mind that the country absorbed the many diverse cultures, sciences, social habits, and above all, differing religious and ideologies.

Conclusions

The Samkhya philosophy was stimulated by the social sufferings of man and is monist and materialist. Samkhya Tantra teaches as to how by the knowledge of the development of the universe and human life, the individual can attain a state of equanimity and freedom from desires-Moksha-while at the same time being involved in the social happenings.

The consciousness that is an attribute of the developed *Anthakarana* in man, viz., the *Purusha* must be the consciousness that is a product of social being.

Yoga Shastras that deals with the practice of Samkhya, is very much "this worldly", with the aim of attaining not Godhood but manhood. Ishvara is no 'God' but the distinguished MAN who has attained complete Moksha. There is thus no contradiction between Samkhya and Yoga.

Yoga being a physio-psychological method to control the mental processes of man, is of importance in modern psychology, not merely as therapeutic technique but also a preventive one.

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SŪRYA CULT IN COASTAL KARNATAKA : A NOTE

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Sūrya, one of the important Vedic deities, has been worshipped from very early times. He is to be worshipped for the acquisition of wealth and prosperity. In many Vedic verses, Sūrya is addressed as Savitr, and as the son of Aditi or as Āditya. In some of the Vedic hymns, He is described as the bestower of immortality, deliverer from all sins, and conductor of the deceased into the realm of the righteous. He is known as Dinakara (day-maker), Bhāskara (creator of splendour), Mārtanda (descendant of mṛtānda), etc. All these epithets indicate Surya's individual qualities of brilliance, protection, powerful rays and universal sight.¹

In the Puranas Surya is represented as seated. In the *Matsya Puranas*, He is depicted as sitting on a lotus throne with the lotus flowers in his hands and circumambulating the Meru mountain. He is also regarded as the lord among the Nava-grahas (nine planets).

Although the worship of Surya continued in subsequent centuries, his importance as a prominent deity declined. In the Buddhist pantheon, Surya is represented as one of the nine planets. The Jains also considered Surya as one of the planets. On the basis of the study of epigraphs, the Surya temple at Mandasor (modern Dasor in M. P.) is the earliest. It was constructed in Saka 395 – 473 A.D. It is interesting to note that in the sixth century A.D. the worship of Surya became merged with the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva creeds. His shrines have been mentioned in South Indian inscriptions from the 8th and 9th

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centuries.² In Karnataka the worship of Surya was considerably popular in the region around Pattadakal, Aihole and Badami during the rule of the Vatapi Chalukyas.³ (540-757 A.D.)

In Coastal Karnataka

In coastal Karnataka a region extending from the 12th to the 15th degrees of north of latitude, the worship of Surya was prevalent as known to us from a literary work of eight century A.D known as the *Sankara Vijaya* of Anandagiri.

Gokarna, Dharāśvara, Murdāśvara, Bainduru, Kotesvara, Kumbhasi, Bārakūru, Basrūru and Kukke Subrahmanya were prominent places of His worship. It is said that at Subrahmanya (Sulya Taluka) Sankarācharya, the great exponent of Advaita philosophy defeated the followers of Saura Pantha and introduced Panchayatana (collective worship of five deities in which Surya was included). It is curious to note that the worship of Surya together with other deities namely Ambika, Vishnu, Gaṇapati and Mahēshvara is still in practice in the Umamahesvara temple there.⁴

A number of shrines are dedicated to Surya and Suryanarayanan in the region of our study, which may be taken as suggestive of the popularity and significance of the Surya cult. Based on the study of iconography, it may be inferred that from the tenth century A.D., this cult may have received religious practice.⁵ The late Dr. Gururaja Bhatt discovered the following Surya temples in coastal Karnataka: The Suryanārayana at Naravi (11 C.A.D), Surya at Kumbhasi, and Maroli, (circa 11-12 C.A.D.) the Surya Matha (Aditya) at Barakuru, the Suryanārayana temple, Kellaputtige, Surya shrine at Belle, the Aditya icon at Bainduru (9 - 10 C.A.D) and a two-feet high image of Aditya at Gokarna⁶.

A few epigraphs from Dakshina Kannada reveal the nature of Surya's worship. An epigraph dated Saka 1299 (1377 A.D)

from Bantavala-Muda of the Mangaluru Taluk; informs us that the Surya is worshipped here as Timershvāra.⁷ The same deity by the same name was also worshipped at Kadri (in the vicinity of Mangalore) as known to us from an epigraph dated Saka 1355 (1433 A.D). Further, it states that in the reign of Virapratapa Devaraya II of Vijaynagara, Naganna Odeya, the Governor of the Mangaluru Rajya donated land yielding 11 *mudes* of rice to Timeresvara, under the order of Pradhani Bachchaṇṇa Dananāyaka. The above grant was made for the performance of rituals and worship known as Mrtyunjaya Shanti (performance of sacrifice by uttering Siva's name) on different occasions and the grant was entrusted to one Madhava Joisa.⁸

Nārāvi was another centre of Surya worship. An inscription dated Saka 1401 (1479 A.D). refers to the grant of land to the same deity known as Suryanarayana.⁹

Basrur (Kundapur Taluk) has a Surya temple and the deity is known as Āditya. In honour of this God, provisions were made in the Khara Samvatsara (1531 A.D) by the Settis (merchants community) of that place. The grants were to be utilised for the performance of *samaradhane* (feeding) of the Brahmanas.¹⁰

The same practice was prevalent in Barakur as known from an inscription dated Saka 1491 (1569 A.D.)¹¹

Rituals and Forms of Worship

Ashvalayana observes that Surya should be worshipped with *arghya* (water libation) and the utterance of the Gayatri *mantra* for the same purpose.¹² During the *upanayana* (thread ceremony), every Brahmana boy is asked to look at the sun and to pray for his protection. This is prevalent even today. Feeding of the Brahmanas in Śrāvāna and Kārtika Sundays and uttering of Sūrya *mantra* (Gayatri) on every morning and evening are popular rituals performed in honour of Surya

Conclusions

The worship of Surya was prevalent in coastal Karnataka from the eighth century A.D. But it was incorporated into the Panchayatana form of worship. From the tenth century A.D., the Surya shrines were constructed. However, from the fourteenth century onwards, the Surya shrines of different names received land grants from the rulers and prominent people*. It seems that the Surya cult came under the influence of Vaishnavism and at the same time it is closely associated with the worship of Gayatri which has to be uttered by every Brahmana before sun rise and sun set. In many inscriptions of coastal Karnataka, Surya is invoked as a witness to the land grants.

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5. Gururaja Bhatt, P., *Studies in Tuluva History and Culture* (Manipal 1975) p. 338
6. *Ibid*, 338-340
7. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* (cited as ARSIE) 1928, No. 381

*There are icons of Surya in Dhareshvara, Murudeshvara, Gunavante and Maroli, but we do not have inscriptions concerning their history.

8. *South Indian Inscriptions* (cited as SII) VII, No. 195.
9. *ARSIE*, 1929, No. 523.
10. *SII*, ix Pt ii, No. 540
11. *Ibid*, VII, NO 389.
12. Saletore R. N., *op. cit.*, p. 1406.

SAKLESPUR SRIKANTAYA (1886-1966)

K. G. NAGARAJAN *

The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century represented sloughing off process in India's History. It was essentially due to the atmosphere generated by the Indian renaissance. During this period great ferment had set in in the realm of intellectual activity. As there was a great stir in the people's mind, ideas and aspirations took a new shape. Every Indian became proud of the past. This was a part of the process of preparation to rid the country of the foreign rule. A number of institutions and individuals strove towards this end. Saklespur Srikantaya was one such man.

Srikantaya was born in a respectable family at Arkalgud on 18th July 1886. He lost his father when he was a child of six years. He was brought up by his mother who was affectionate and good natured. He completed his secondary school education at Hassan. Later he studied at the Central College, Bangalore and Christian College, Madras. Among his class mates and college contemporaries were S. Sathya Murthy, John Mathai, A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, A. V. Ramanathan, Masti Venkatesa Iyengar and S. V. Krishnaswamy Iyengar. Even during his student days Srikantaya evinced abiding interest in several subjects. Astronomy, astrology, history and literature were a few of them. Though he never professed his learning, he was very firm when it came to hold his strong views. He gave masterly treatment to all topics handled by him. He took up practice of law at Bangalore. He was the first legal adviser to the Bangalore City Municipality.

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The period in which he was born and lived had its importance in his making. He was service orientated and was associated with several institutions which afforded an opportunity for him to serve several public causes. During the year 1907, he settled down at Bangalore. The same year he founded the people's convention at Bangalore, along with M. P. Somashekara Rao and D. V. Gundappa. He became a life member of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat. He presented to this institution several books from his personal collection and also a colour portrait of B. M. Srikantaya. He was an office bearer of Basavangudi Cooperative Society Ltd. Mysore State co-operative Land Mortgage Bank and Mysore State Journalists Association. He was a member of the Bangalore District Board, the Mysore Representative Assembly and the Senate of the Mysore University. He advocated imparting education at the university level in Kannada. As early as 1921, he pleaded for the establishment of Law faculty in Mysore University. He was also associated with Masonic Lodge. He was elected secretary of the Lodge. He was one of the first few Indians to be elected to this office, which was then the preserve of the Europeans.

Srikantaya was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Among the institutions he served, the most meaningful was his association with the Mythic Society, Bangalore. His first contact with the Society was in 1919, when he read a paper on the "Hoysala Empire." Immediately, he was elected the Branch Secretary for History. He became Joint Secretary in 1922, and was elected Secretary and Treasurer in 1923. He held these offices till 1956. Apart from the administrative responsibilities of the Society, he was also connected with the academic side namely with the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*. He was one of the Editors of the *Journal* together with F.R. Sell and K. Devanathachar during the years 1931-1934. Sell left India during 1934 when Srikantaya and Devanathachar continued the assignment. After

the demise of Devanathachar in 1945, Srikantaya edited the *Journal* single handed, for a period of over 9 years.

Srikantaya had a flair for writing. His indepth study on several topics in various disciplines stood in good stead in this enterprise. He contributed to several papers like *The Hindu*, *The Daily Post* besides the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* in which over 30 articles of his have appeared. He was the author of a "Guide Book of Bangalore." He was desired to write an account of the pilgrimage of Kailas by the Late Maharaja of Mysore, Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV. Another publication of his is a Souvenir brought out on the occasion of the Silver Jubilies of the reign of his late Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

Though this article is not the proper vehicle to highlight his scholarship, vividness and articulate manner of expressing his views on many varied subjects, it would be a failure of duty if a few words are not said at least about a couple of his articles, when we are paying our homage to this multifaceted person. In his articles on Anuradhapura and Chitradurga, both of which places were visited by him there are all good elements of a travelogue. A fondness for the historical background, observation of details, vivid descriptions of places, monuments like Be tree, Ilala's tomb. Isurumuniya temple, Tessa wewa, concern over disappearance of forest in Chitradurga, excavations conducted at Chandravalli by Narasimhachar and Dr. M. H. Krishna and Krishna's excavations at Brahmagiri are dealt with in a sincere and scholarly style. His articles published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* belong to several categories. A few of them are lectures delivered by him earlier, a few are travel accounts, reviews of books in several disciplines and articles on cultural and Indological topics. His reviews on B. M. Shri's *Asvatthaman* gives an insight to Srikantaya's love of literature. A work that is based both

on the Indian epic *Mahabharatha* and *Ajax* of Sophocles, it has been a successful work. Srikantaya also highlight the fact that though by and large the tragic atmosphere is not in vogue in Oriental literature, there was an exception on the Indian scene in *Urubhangam* of Bhasa. In his review of the novel *Channabasava Nayaka* by Masti, the Bednur historical background is very vividly traced from the days of the Vijayanagara kingdom. The manner in which Rani Veerammmaji proudly defended the capital as best as she could against Haidar, and the fact that she was steady and astute as if she were a man is well brought out. In the review of the book by S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religions and Western Thought* one is made aware of the stark truth that with the progress of mankind on one side, another bleak aspect of destruction throughout the globe is also growing. He observes that political, social and economic policies must subserve the common interests of humanity. In obituary notes on persons whom he knew well and personally, Srikantaya highlights several contributions of the departed souls. Thus one becomes aware of the contributions of R. Narsimhachar, who showed that Mysore State was no back water in the early periods of history. N. S. Subba Rao the eminent economist and good teacher was the first Inter University Board of India. Though Srikantaya did not personally participate in the country's freedom struggle, his articles on the Vijayanagar Empire, Hind Swaraj, and Gandhi bring forth the evidence that he was a staunch nationalist.

Srikantaya passed away on 12th August 1966. He had a special place in his heart for the Mythic Society with which he was associated for nearly three and a half decades as Secretary and Treasurer, and had a stint with editing it *Quarterly Journal* for nearly two and half decades. Savants like Tabard, F. J. Richards, B. L. Rice, Fleet, S. Krishna. swamy Iyengar, R. Narasimhachar, C. Hayavadana Rao, Dr. M. H. Krishna and a host of others were responsible for

nurturing the Society to its present pre-eminent position. Srikantaya also contributed his mite for this cause. He had longed that the Society should be a premier research centre. The best way of paying tribute to Srikantaya is to see that his wish is fulfilled.



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