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EDITOR'S NOTE

We have kept our promise. We have made the journal a refereed one. In otherwords, the quality of the Journal is higher than ever before.

We would like to thank Prof. T.K. Venkatasubramaniam, Prof. Vijaya Ramasamy, and Prof. A. Satyanarayana for taking time off from their busy schedules to referee the papers that we sent them. We are indeed grateful to them.

As regards the papers, Prof. T.P. Sankaran Kutty Nair's work on 'Atula's Mushikavamsa Mahakavya' is a path breaking one. Prof. R.C. Misro and friends from Orissa deserve our thanks for their continued interest and contribution to the Journal.

We are happy that senior scholars like Prof. V. Balambal and Dr. K.G. Vasantha Madhava have sent in their papers.

Brilliant young scholar like Ms. Madhumita Saha who is currently a Fullbright Fellow has contributed to this issue and she hopes to contribute in the future too.

We are happy that certain scholars had readily agreed to the suggestions of the referees and re-submitted their papers after modification.

We are carrying several Book Reviews this time. I hope this will become a regular feature in the years to come.

My Doctoral Candidate Ms. P. Pramila deserves my thanks for helping me with the proofs.

Dr. Nanditha and her staff deserve to be congratulated for making this Journal a refereed one.

Dr. G.J. SUDHAKAR

ANCIENT HISTORY

Journal of Indian History and Culture

BHIMA DEULA: THE EARLIEST STRUCTURE ON THE SUMMIT OF MAHENDRAGIRI

Some Reflections

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Mahendragiri, the *kulaparvata* of the Eastern Ganga Kings, identified with the Eastern *ghats*[1], is located on the Andhra-Orissa border in the Gajapati district of Orissa. The abode of Gokarneswara Siva, Mahendragiri, rising to a height of about 5000 feet from the sea level, is a sacred hill since very early times. Gokarneswara on the Mahendragiri was the family-deity of the Early Gangas of Kalinga[2]. Apparently, a temple of the God stood on this hill when the Early Gangas were ruling from Kalinganagara. The present-day shrine of Gokarneswara, however, is of a much later date[3]. On *Sivaratri*, pilgrims from the surrounding area make a night-long journey along a very difficult path to worship Gokarneswara on the Mahendragiri.

Epigraphic records also refer to this mountain as sacred and famous for the temple of Gokarneswara Siva, the presiding deity of the Gangas of all the mountains of ancient Kalinga. The most famous one is the Mahendragiri which finds mention in the epics and the *Pur´nas*[4]. The *Pur´nas* refer to Mahendragiri as one of the seven *kulagiris* in India. The Sailodbhava kings considered Mahendragiri as their *kulagiri*. The kings of the Early Ganga age salute Lord Gokarneswara in the preamble of their charters[5].

However, the antiquity of Mahendragiri may be traced back to the epics and *Pur´nas*. The *Mah´bh´rata* describes this religious centre as being connected with Parasurama, one of the incarnations of Vishnu[6]. Tradition also associates this mountain with the visit of the Pandavas. In the *Mah´bh´rata*, we find that, on the way to Kalinga, the

Pandavas, on the advice of their guide sage Lomasa, climbed upon a *vedi* in Mahendragiri to get blessings, and thus acquired divine power[7]. After climbing the *vedi,* they had a sacred bath in the sea and then went to Mahendragiri to take rest during the night. It is interesting to note that even today there are three dilapidated temples on the top of Mahendragiri that bear the names of Yudhishthira, Bhima and Kunti. According to local tradition, these temples were constructed by the Pandavas when they visited this locality.

The summit of Mahendragiri is not only rich with monuments of the ancient Palaeolithic and Gupta ages, but also of the early medieval age, when the Gangas and the Sailodbhavas ruled the land to the north and south of the mountain. A number of temples crown the summit of Mahendragiri. Besides the Gokarneswara temple, otherwise known as the Kunti temple, the other two outstanding temples on the summit of Mahendragiri are the Yudhishthira and Bhima temples. The construction of Bhima *deula* with seventeen huge rocks is very surprising. How the huge rocks were lifted to that height, since that type of granite stone was not available on the mountain, fills one with wonder. The local people believe that the temple at that height was built by super human beings.

The Ganga kings built more temples in the seventh and eighth centuries at a level lower than the Bhima *deula*. Thsee later temples were named after Kunti, Yudhishthira, Arjuna, etc. and may be compared for similarity of style with the Somesvara temple of Mukhalingam[8] (Kalinganagara), which was the capital of the Eastern Gangas. The temples were probably named after the Pandavas because the *Mahabharata* describes that the five Pandava brothers with their mother Kunti had arrived at the *t+´rtha* to worship the God Gokarneswara and also to perform the holy *pitra sr´ddha*, as prescribed in the *´gamas*[9].

Bhima *deula*

The Bhima temple (or *deula*), which appears to be the earliest structure on the top of Mahendragiri, is situated further southwest of the Yudhishthira temple. The temple is made out of huge stone blocks placed one over another - a pile of huge granite stones balanced on each other. No carving, no decoration, only the panoramic view of the temple, is its majesty. It is needless to say that though the temple is smaller in height

(over 7 metres), it is unique due to its large dimensions (4m. x 4m.). The temple was constructed with only seventeen pieces of huge stone blocks. The four lower courses are made out of four pieces. Altogether, there are sixteen pieces of huge dressed stone placed one above another. The seventeenth stone forms the top, serving as the last course of the *rekha* temple, enormous in size (3m. x 3m. x 1.40m.). One circular *beki* was added, followed by the usual *amalaka* again dressed out of a single stone. The huge stone blocks were not only lifted to such a height but were also placed in a proper plumb. The temple has one small door, 1.2 m. in height and 31 cm. in width. The inner *garbhagriha* is 1.5 x 1.5m. It is no exaggeration to say that the Bhima temple is an architectural marvel. But it stands on barefeet: the temple's basement is out of plumb and big gaps are formed, probably due to the dislocation of the plinth because of tectonic movement and lightening. A portion of the temple has fallen on the ground, creating big crevices. In the *arbhagriha,* there are no deities, neither Sakti nor linga, except a block of stone kept as an object of worship. Due to the uneven dislodgement and the out-of-plumbness of the top courses, the joints have been widened and water leaks inside[10].

Somewhat clumsily built, the Bhima does not belong to any recognised temple type[11]. The huge blocks of stone used in its construction give it a cyclopean character, which lends it a primitive appearance. There is no deity in its *garbhagriha.* The plan of the temple is *ekaratha*[12]. Along the vertical axis, it is divided into *bada*, *gandi* and *mastaka*. The *deula* has two openings, one on the west and the other on the east. Entry into the *deula* is through the western opening. On the east, the aperture is a little more than a slit in the wall. It was obviously made for something other than a passage for entering the *deula*. The *garbhagriha* is a square chamber. The width of the Bhima temple is not in keeping with its height, while its *bisama* is unduly massive. In consequence, the *deula* is heavy and squat, or, more precisely, dwarfish[13]. Discussing on the character of the Bhima temple, D.R. Das says, "Though crudely designed like a temple, the Bhima may not be a shrine at all. The evidence of it ever housing a deity is absent. The opening giving entry into it is more like a window than a door. This opening is made above the *pabhaga* in contravention of the common practice of placing the door at the floor level. The aperture in its eastern wall is equally against the convention of providing the sanctum chamber with the door opening alone. Viewed against these

facts, the Bhima seems to have been built to serve the need of something other than enshrining a deity" [14].

The Bhima temple on the summit of the hill is not constructed in the traditional style of Orissa temple architecture. The temple was possibly constructed much earlier than the Yudhisthira and Kunti or Gokarneswara temples[15]. While many scholars put it immediately after the post Gupta period, it has the square sanctum, squat [´*ikhara* and flat roof. These early temples depict the architectural skill that led to the growth of [´*ikhara* or *rekha* temples in Orissa. The Bhima temple appears to be the earliest structure on Mahendragiri. It is made of a few huge blocks of stone, each almost square. The low and squat tower does not assume any great height. The doorway of the temple is narrow and the walls are without any niche. Upon the last tier rests the *amalaka*[´*ila.* The *kala*[´*a* is conspicuous by its absence. Except for a few carvings in the form of straight lines on the projections, there is no sculptural decoration anywhere on the temple walls[16].

Mahendrachala contains other important archaeological monuments besides the three standing stone temples (Kunti or Gakarneswara temple, Yudhishthira temple and Bhima temple). There are many other unfinished and dilapidated stone structures of smaller temples, like the temples of Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva, which are in ruins[17]. There are other smaller temples in and around the periphery of the Mahendra temple complex that are incomplete for reasons unknown to us. For instance, one can notice three other structures built like huts with uncut stones enshrining Siva lingas. These may be regarded as models of the earliest temple types of Orissa. Since Mahendragiri was the home of the Sailodhavas, the early temples possibly were their handiwork[18]. These may be the earliest products of the temple building movement in the region. Moreover, the conspicuous absence of sculptures in Bhima and Yudhishthira temples speak of their early origin[19].

These early temples depict the architectural skill that led to the growth of the [´*ikhara* or *rekha* temples in Orissa. The Yudhisthira and Bhima temples are considered to be the tentative efforts of Orissa temple building art and may be the progenitors of the early [´*ikhara* temples of Orissa that finally led to the emergence of the more prominent [´*ikhara* types. Thus, by their distinguishing architectural features and peculiar

style of temple construction, the temples on the summit of Mahendragiri, especially the Bhima *deula*, occupy a definite place among the monuments of Orissa.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOUTH INDIA TO SANSKRIT STUDIES IN ASIA – A CASE STUDY OF ATULA'S MUSHIKAVAMSA MAHAKAVYA

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The *V´igveda* and the historical sense of Indians

"*History divorced from truth does not help a nation •its future should be laid on the stable foundations of truth and not on the quicksand of falsehood, however alluring it may appear at present. India is now at the crossroads and I urge my young friends to choose carefully the path they would like to tread upon.*"

Ramesh Chandra Majumdar.

"*History has had assigned to it the task of judging the past; of instructing the present for the benefit of the ages to come*."

Leopold von Ranke.

These two views of two great historians carry considerable weight even today. Ranke is the father of modern scientific history and R.C. Majumdar a doyen among Indian historians.

With the opening of the Vasco da Gama epoch in Indian history began the long interaction between the East and the West. In those days, one of the charges against India was that India produced, "*no great historian or historical work, and Indians had no historical sense, although Indians excelled in other branches of learning*". The western scholars charged Indians with not having a proper written history of India. To this charge, Indians reacted by projecting the *V´igveda*, which remains even today the oldest book of knowledge of the whole globe[1]. Col. Brooke has revealed that the oldest product of Indian literature is the *V´igveda*. The three German scholars Bopp, Grimm and Humboldt established the intimate relationship among all Aryan languages, the most primitive form of which was shown to be preserved in the language of the *V´igveda*[2]. Max Mueller (1823-1900) a German Orientalist and Indologist settled at Oxford, acquired a mastery over Sanskrit without the help of a teacher. He then turned to comparative language studies which involved

him in the study of the *Zend Avesta*. The *Zend Avesta* led him to the comparative study of religions and to the editing of the whole text of the *V´igveda* (1845-79) with the commentary of Sayana. His *History of Sanskrit literature* (1859) mapped out in chronological order all the Sanskrit texts known till then. His interest in mythology, on which he wrote appealing essays, led him further into the study of comparative religion and to the publication of *The Sacred Books of the East* (1879-1904). A monumental achievement, this collaborative enterprise made available in English, i.e. they were translations of fifty major oriental non-Christian scriptures.

The *V´ig Veda* is neither a historical nor heroic poem, but mainly a collection (*samhita*) of hymns by a number of priestly families, recited or chanted by them with appropriate solemnity at sacrifices to the God. Naturally it is poor in historical data. Of the various recensions of the *V´igveda* known in tradition only one, namely the [´*akala* recension consisting of 1017 hymns of very unequal length, has come down to us apparently complete, and it is this *[´akala* recension that is meant when one speaks of the *V´ig Ved*". The *V´ig Veda* is not – as it is often represented to be – a book of folk poetry nor does it mark the beginning of a literary tradition. Bucolic, heroic and lyrical elements are not entirely absent, but they are submerged under a stupendous mass of dry and stereotyped hymnology dating back to the Indo-Iranian Era and held as a close preserve by a number of priestly families whose sole object in cherishing those hymns was to utilize them in their sacrificial cult [3].

Most of the hymns were not composed as such but were mechanically manufactured out of fragments of a floating anonymous literature, and the process of manufacturing hymns in this manner must have continued for a long time. The division of the whole *samhita* into ten *maF´dalas* and the number and arrangement of hymns in these *maF´dalas* are not at all arbitrary. It is hardly an accident that the number of hymns contained in the first and the last *maF´dalas* is exactly the same, namely one hundred and ninety one[4]. The kernel of the *V´ig samhita* is however constituted by the so-called family *maF´dalas*, that is, the six consecutive *maF´dalas* from the second to the seventh, each of which supposed to have been composed by a particular family of priests. The ninth *maF´dala* is most pronouncedly a ritual *maF´dala.* The principle governing the original arrangement of hymns in the family

maF´dalas seems to have been determined by three considerations – deity, metre and the number of verses contained in the hymns concerned. Each family *maF´dala* opens with a group of hymns dedicated to Agni, immediately followed by another group addressed to Indra, then dedicated to various Gods. That the tenth *maF´dala* is later in origin than the first nine is however perfectly certain from the evidence of the language. But it is also certain that the whole of the *V´ig samhita*, including the tenth *maF´dala*, had assumed practically the same form in which we find it today, even before the other *samhitas* came into existence.

The hymns of the *V´ig Veda* contain abundant geographical data, including references to the mighty Himalayas. Out of thirty one rivers mentioned in the Vedic texts, about twenty five names occur in the hymns of the *V´ig Veda* alone[5]. The *V´ig Veda* enumerates several streams most of which belong to the Indus system. The *Rig Vedic* people not only knew the sea but were mariners and had trade relations with the outside world. The Vedic literature confined itself to religious subjects and notices political and secular occurrences only incidentally so far as they had bearing on the religious subjects. As Pargiter has very pertinently observed, "*Ancient Indian history has been fashioned out of compositions which are purely religious and priestly, which notoriously do not deal with history and which totally lack the historical sense. The extraordinary nature of such history may be perceived if it were suggested that European history should be constructed merely out of theological literature. What would raise a smile if applied to Europe, has been soberly accepted when applied to India*"[6]. The force of these remarks is undeniable and no student of Indian history should ignore the legendary element in the *Puranas* and the epics. It is necessary to remember that the traditions are not genuine historical facts as long as they are not corroborated by contemporary texts as other reasonable evidence. But traditional history is valued beyond doubt because it helps us to reconstruct genuine history. The historical sense of Indians, as projected earlier through the *V´ig Veda*, is then proved to be not a reality but a myth.

Rajatarangini and Indian historical sense

Some of the Indian scholars have pointed out the importance of the *R´ajatarangini* written by Kalhana of Kashmir. It is not only a classic

of Sanskrit narrative poetry but is the earliest extant history of Kashmir. Written in the middle of the 12th century, in the age when the Crusaders of Europe were fighting in Western Asia, it is a unique masterpiece of Kalhana, a blend of authentic chronicle and imaginative poetry inspired by the poet's passionate love of his exquisitely beautiful homeland. It was in 1892 that Pandit Durga Prasad published the *R´jatarangini* in Sanskrit text form, followed by similar efforts by Sir Aurel Stein. Stein brought out an English translation in two volumes in 1900 under the caption *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* based on a French translation done by Troyer during 1840-1852 period[7].

The name of the book actually means "Saga of the Kings of Kashmir" or "River of Kings". It is narrated in eight cantos, each called a *taranga* or wave by the author. It is a continuous history of the Kings of Kashmir from mythical times (1184 B.C.) to the date of its composition, i.e. A.D. 1149 - 1149. The colophon of the work informs us that its author Kalhana was the son of Champaka, the Minister of King Harsha of Kashmir (1088-1100)[8]. The *R´jatarangini* is the only Sanskrit work with a historical perspective.

To quote Jawaharlal Nehru, "*R´jatarangini is the only work hitherto discovered in India having any pretensions to be considered as a history. Such a book must necessarily have importance for every student of old Indian history and culture*"[9]. (sic-*Ancient Indian History*).

It is a history and a poem, although the two perhaps go ill together, and in translations, we see the unavoidable admixture of myth and reality combined together. Written eight and half centuries ago, the work covers the history of over two millennia. The early part of mythological phase is brief and vague and sometimes fanciful (first three *taranginis*) but Kalhana's period has been covered in a close-up narrative. It is not at all a pleasant story, as it was a period when romanticism and warfare went side by side. Consider it as the romantic age in Indian history, as testified by the romances of Rajput princes and princesses, spread all over the Indian subcontinent. It was also an age of quixotic chivalry and knighthood wherein the people of Kashmir suffered under mighty feudal barons. It is too much of palace intrigue, murder, treason, tyranny and civil war. It is the story of autocracy and military oligarchy. In essence it is

a story of the kings, the royal families and the nobility not of common folk. No wonder it is given the title "River of Kings"[10].

It is beyond a record of the kings' doings. It is a veritable storehouse of information, be it political, social or economic. Politically, the work sheds light on self-willed warrior kings like Lalitaditya and successful, enlightened kings like Chandrapida. But the over mighty group in the kingdom i.e., the *K´yasthas*, the *Tantrians*, the *Ek´ngas* and the *Br´hmaF´as* reduced the absolute kings to a pitiable position[11]. The *Tantrians* and the *Ek´ngas* controlled and exhibited their royal master, "like snakes by snake charmers" for their own benefit. The priests, in case of differences with kings, "resorted to hunger strike in a body as a powerful political weapon". Kalhana is very frank and open minded when he says that *Br´hmaF´a purohita pari[´ad*, the *Tantrians*, the *Ek´ngas*, the *Damaras*, the *K´yasthas*, etc. were all more powerful than the kings and their lives very much proved contemporaneous with European feudal barons. The picture of the economy presented by Kalhana was a decaying one – of the old order in Kashmir. His descriptions of famine, food prices, taxation, currency, etc. portray a pitiable economic life of the people[12]. Kashmir had been the meeting ground of the different cultures of Asia, the Western Graeco-Roman and Iranian and the Eastern Mongolian. They inherited Indo-Aryan traditions, and the collapse of the economic structure shook the foundations of Indo-Aryan polity. Kalhana describes Kashmir as a "country which delighted in insurrection" and they were adventurers. The chaotic conditions ultimately ushered in the Muslim conquest of India[13].

Socially, Kalhana's *R´jatarangini* provided us with deeper insights into the caste factor in the life and culture of the people. Caste was no bar to holding any civil or military post in Kashmir, whereas in other parts, caste was the only potent factor for holding positions of power. Again, inter-caste marriages of a kind not heard elsewhere in India are mentioned. The mother of the warrior king Sankaravarman was the daughter of a low-caste spirit distiller[14]. King Chakravarman (923-33) married an untouchable Domba woman, Hamsi, and she was made the main queen after the marriage. She entered the sacred Vishnu temple of Ramaswamin, near Srinagar, with a retinue. Society, in general, ignored the *purdah* system and knew nothing about harems. The higher-ups of the society proved to be polygamous. Some of the kings like Sankaravarman plundered temples and Kalhana has listed the oppressive

acts of the king[15]. Sometimes we get intimate glimpses of human relations and human feelings of love and hatred, of faith and passion. We read of Suyya's great engineering feats and irrigation works, of Meghavahana's curious attempts to spread non-violence.

From the fourth *Tarangini*, Kalhana begins to give us an accurate record in point of chronology. The work is invaluable for fixing many dates in Indian history, as it mentions the names of many authors, poets and playwrights. But at the same time, knowingly or unknowingly, Kalhana had also become a victim of flagrant improbabilities and impossibilities, as in the case of a king like Ranaditya reigning for three hundred years. No historian in the twelfth century could have used a wider variety of sources than Kalhana and consequently we have no other way but to treat Kalhana's *R´jatarangini* as the perfect approach to the writing of ancient Indian history in a dispassionate style[16]. Kalhana occupies a pre-eminent place in the history of Indian historiography and therefore he may be credited with the title and rank of "ancient and medieval Indian historiographer", taking into account his *magnum opus* in Sanskrit – a clear proof of the historical sense of Indians. From all points of view, *R´jatarangini* is the most acceptable and least objectionable historical treatise written in Sanskrit[17].

Mk´shikavam[´a of Atula

One century prior to the compilation of the *R´jatarangini* of Kalhana, a South Indian Sanskrit scholar named Atula had brought out a work in an epic style named *Mk´shikavam[´a*[18]. In the 1970's, Prof. M.G.S. Narayanan, Visiting Professor of the Tokyo University, projected *Mk´shikavam[´a*, written in Sanskrit by Atula, as the first historical work produced in India, written with a historical perspective[19]. *Mk´shikavam[´a* provided us with a succinct history of the Ezhimala kingdom (Rat Mountain or eli-mala) of Malabar, ruled by king Srikanta.

In other words, nationalist historians continued to project *V´igveda* as clear evidence of Indian's historical sense. But scientific historians used to treat Kalhana's *R´jatarangini* as the first historical work written with a historical perspective. All North Indian historians are not ready to give *Mk´shikavam[´a* its due credit since it came from the South, particularly from the far South. No historical work is perfect from

all points of view. This is true of Toynbee's *The Study of History* or of Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West* or Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empir*". Numerous imperfections are there in these historical classics. This is applicable to *Mk´shikavam*[´*a* also[20].

The development of Indology as a branch of learning is a long process, which began with the founding of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1784. New light was shed and new interpretations were given to India studies in the name of the "*white man's burden*". As a result, many British historians brought out new studies like those of Grant Duff (on the Marathas), Cunningham (the Sikhs), Tod (the Rajputs), Wilks (Mysore), and men like W.W. Hunter (an imperialist historian), Vincent Smith (Ancient History) and Moreland (Economic History) added to this type of literature[21].

In the long list of British historians, names like T.B. Macaulay, Robert Orme, James Mill, John Malcolm and John William Kaye deserve special mention. Lord Macaulay enriched Modern Indian History with a number of works, like, *Essays on Clive*, *Essays on Warren Hastings*, *Essays in History and Essays in Encyclopaedia*. Besides the life of Clive, John Malcolm published *The Political Sketches of India* in 1811. It was republished in two volumes in 1926 with the title, *Political History of India* which earned for him fame and name as a scholar-historian[22].

Atula's *Mk´shikavam*[´*a* was introduced to the world of scholarship in 1916 by Turaiyoor A. Gopinatha Rao (1872-1917)[23], Curator and Head of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Travancore. Rao published the *Mk´shikavam*[´*a* with a study (in English) of the fifteen *sargas* in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, for the year 1920[24], published posthumously. From the references in the poem, Rao could only guess that the area must be "somewhere in the Southern Presidency"[25]. He also observed clearly that the matter contained in the last *sargas* appear to be historical and from the style of the composition, the *k´vya* seems to be somewhat old[26]. Rao also felt then that one Srikanta, the successor of King Vallabha must have maintained Atula in his court in the eleventh century[27].

K.V. Subramanya Iyer went a step further to say that the area covered by the poet is somewhere in Malabar or North Kerala or in an

area in and around Kannur, which formed part of the Kollam or Kolathunadu Swarupam under the overlordship of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram[28]. Kolathunadu was ruled by Kolathiris or Colastri of English records. He also located places like Madayi, Vallabhapattanam, Talipparamba, etc in the poem. The dynastic title "*R´maghata Mk´shaka*" of the *kavya* must be the same as the Ramakuta Moovar of the inscriptions of the Chera period. King Nanda, the first Mushaka king had been identified with Nannan, king of Ezhimala, the celebrated hero in the Sangam Literature[29]. Iyer's identification of Pantalayani Kollam is, however, incorrect, according to M.G.S. Narayanan, as this place was outside the periphery of the Kolathiris[30]. The *Mk´shikavam*[*´a k´vya* professes to give a history of the Mushaka dynasty of Mushaka *parvata* from the time of its mythical founder Ramaghata Mushaka, a contemporary of Parasurama, to that of Srikanta, contemporary and patron of poet Atula.

The *k´vya*, of which the really historical portions begin with the XII[th] *sarga*, spells out the intimate relations between the Cheras of Mahodayapuram and the Mushikas of Ezhimalai near Payyannur of today's Kannur District of Kerala State. The poem clearly states that an ancient ruling family of Ramaghata existed in Kolathunadu at least from the beginning of the Christian era. The early Tamil Sangam works (1-300 A.D.) like *Ahan´nk´ru* and *Puran´nk´ru* also testify to this. They were considered as Kshatriyas of Somavamsa (lunar race)[31]. Their ancestral home before their migration to Kerala seems to have been Ramaghat near the Vindhya mountain ranges on the banks of the river Musi which gave them the dynastic title of Ramaghata Mushika[32]. Their earliest headquarters in Kerala might have been Ezhimalai where the Ramantali village is situated[33]. Later, the city of Kollam was built at the mouth of the river Prathana[34]. The Musika King Vallabha II is believed to have set up twin capitals for his country at Marahi (present Matayi, where there is a temple as well as a palace even today) and Vallabhapattana (Valar Pattanam or Valapattanam; Europeans call it Baliapatam). Subsequently, the capital was shifted to Karipattu near Talipparamba as at present, probably after the disintegration of the Second Chera Kingdom (1124 A.D.)[35]. The Mushika kings followed the patrilineal system of inheritance after their close contact with the Cheras of Kodungallur[36] (Mahodayapuram or Makotai or Cranganore).

There are detailed references in the poem about the great Aryan settlement of Perumchellur or Talipparamba side by side with references

to the temples of Trichambaram[37]. The Mushika King Vallabha II is stated to have conquered several islands of the ocean, and in all probability this is a reference to the conquest of the Laccadive Islands[38]. From Atula we get a long list of nineteen kings or chieftains who controlled the Mushaka kingdom, the last being Srikantan or Kantan Kari, who ruled till about 1020 A.D. These rulers belonged to twelve generations and the last ruler Srikantan figures in the record of Bhaskara Ravi Varman (962-1019 A.D.) of the Second Chera Kingdom[39]. The Ay (885-925) King Vikrama Rama or Vikramaditya Varaguna is believed to be partial towards the Buddhist center of Sreemoolavasam located at Trikkunnappuzha in North Travancore[40]. Like the Ay and Chera Kings, the Ezhimala Mushika Kings like Vallabha also showered concessions to the Christians and to the Jews. The trade guilds or *manikkiramams* or *anujuvannam* might have had their full existence here, as testified to by the poems. So also the references to Juthakkulam, or the pond used by the Jews[41]. The genesis of religious catholicity or secular ideas could be seen in these Mushika Kings who ruled atleast upto 1020 A.D.

From Kanchivarman to Srikanta, we have a list of 118 kings of Ezhimala who, for a time, decided the destinies of the North Malabar people. Rulers like Sri Vallabhan laboured hard to construct a harbour at Vallabhapattanam, at the mouth of the Killa River, thereby giving a great filip to maritime trade. They were patrons of arts and literature, as testified to by poet Atula. The life and culture unravelled by this Sanskritist about a long-forgotten kingdom of antiquity clearly brings to light the historical sense of the Sanskrit scholars of South India. The historical poem of fifteen cantos and more than one thousand verses dealing with the real history of Kolathunadu is a scientific history of the Mushika kingdom *par excellence*. No doubt ancient India produced at least an Atula to tell us about the policies of religious tolerance followed by the Ezhimala rulers. The enlightened despotism established by the kings at Fort St. Angelo of later years opens an important chapter in South Asian history and culture. The contribution of South India to studies in Sanskrit is an area unexplored by historians, Indologists and Sanskritists of Asia. The maritime and cultural contacts established by them at length and in depth open our eyes to study more and more about less and less things of Asia.

Like Kalhana's *R´jatarangini*, the *Mk´shikavam*[*´a k´vya* of Atula is an important contribution to Indian Sanskrit studies.

Mk´shikavam[´*a* is the first historical work produced in India and written with a historical sense, that too at least half a century before the compilation of *R´jatarangini*. Since it came from the far south of India, it was neglected successively by all orientalists. This partiality should be avoided and an objective, unbiased and scientific interpretation of history is required. This is the mission and vision of a true historian.

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23. T.A. Gopinatha Rao was a pioneer in Indian epigraphy. His *magnum opus* is *Elements of Hindu Iconography* published in 1916. Rao, the well-known editor of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, was a Marathi Brahmin who had settled at Srirangam from Thuriyoor of Tamilnadu (Chola). Born in 1872, he took his M.A. in Chemistry in 1899 from the Trichi College. In 1902, Rao joined the Travancore Archaeology Department and from this period onwards he started the work of deciphering inscriptions untouched or unexplored by epigraphists and threw a lot of light on South Indian history and culture.
24. Manuscript of the *k´vya* with the study was submitted in 1916, but due to unforeseen situations, it was published only in 1920. However, it is clearly stated in the TAS title page that vol. II, parts I to IV on Tamil and Vattezhuthu inscriptions on stone and copper plates are brought out by the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeology Department, Travancore State, and the same page states that K.V. Subramanya Iyer, B.A., MRAS, as the editor of table of contents, list of plates and *addenda*, *corrrigenda* and index. Iyer succeeded Rao as the Superintendent of the Department till A.S. Rangnatha Iyer took over. K.V.S. Iyer belonged to Coimbatore (1875-1969) and was an epigraphist of the Government of British India.
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31. *Sarga* XII, *[´lokas* 3-4. See the word *Somavam[´a pradibha* in the poem. See note No 29 above.
32. The poem refers to the Chedi – Haiheya ancestry. See M.G. S. Narayanan, *History from the Mk´shikavam*[´*a*, *A.L.O.C Porce*. 1969.
33. The name Ramantali literally means the temple of Rama.
34. There is no place as Kollam in modern Kerala history, at least after 1498, the beginning of the Vasco da Gama epoch in Indian history. Most probably, the ancient and early medieval capital of Kollam might have been situated near today's Payyangadi, which literally means the old town or old market place. The temple of the family deity is very much here.
35. *Mk´shikavam*[´*a k´vya sarga*_XIV, slokas 66-70.
36. Almost all editions of Keralolpathi treat the ruler of Kolathunadu as the Karippattu Udayavarman. Therefore Karippattu must have been a capital or an ancestral town in forgotten days.
37. *Sarga* XIII, *[´lokas* 50-72.
38. *Sarga* XIV, *[´lokas* 69-70.
39. *Ibid*
40. *Sarga* XII, *[´lokas* 72-112.

41. *Ibid*. It was Foucher, a foreign scholar, who for the first time found an epigraphic piece from the modern state of Bihar - land of Buddhist Viharas. The inscription says that the Buddhist *bhiksu's* pilgrimage would be incomplete if he fails to visit the holy Buddhist pilgrimage center at Srimoolavasam i.e. "*dakshinapathe lokan´tha mk´lavasam*". The search for this Buddhist center of South India resulted in locating it at Sreemoolavasam, which is now under water. Varaguna used to give very liberal donations for the maintenance of this temple of Buddhism. Kerala has had deep Buddhist roots. This is evident from the land grants given by the Mk´shika kings like Vallabhan. See details in T.P. Sankarankutty Nair, "Sree Moolavasam – Gaya of the South" in *Samsara Keralam* monthly publication, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, October 1986.

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ANCIENT INDIAN AND PRE-COLUMBIAN NATIVE AMERICAN PERCEPTION OF THE EARTH

MYTHOLOGY, ICONOGRAPHY AND RITUAL ASPECTS

Jayalakshmi Yegnaswamy

The physical earth in the form of a divine entity can be found in two distinct cultural spheres that happened to share a common designation as 'Indians' due to historical circumstances[1]. Among the two, the first group belongs to the Indian subcontinent and the other to the South American continent (Latin America), which earlier was known as the land of the Native Indians, American Indians, Indians of South America, etc., who presently has been termed as Native Americans. The practice of nature worship and the veneration of earth as mother in particular prevailed as a socio-religious phenomenon in both these two geographically unconnected regions since very ancient times.

The belief in 'mother earth' as such has not only been a universal idea, but also one of the most ancient among all human socio-religious conceptions. The earth has been universally conceived by human societies throughout history as an enormous repository of sustenance, shelter and bountiful good, as well as of dangers and mysteries. The ancient Indians and the pre-Columbian (the term refers to pre Columbus period circa 1492 A.D)[2] Native Americans sanctified the earth as a deity by bringing it into the religious trajectory on account of its indispensable life-sustaining features. In addition, the generative aspect of the physical earth was conceived as parallel to the feminine birth-giving phenomenon, placing the earth on the pedestal of the supreme divine feminine, which is evident in both Indian and pre-Columbian Native American cultures. Thus it is seen that the discovery of agriculture, besides the realization of mother's role in the process of progeny being an essential phenomenon for social continuity and survival, were the core ideas that transformed the perception of physical earth to 'Earth Mother' in both cultures[3].

In India, the notion of the earth underwent changes through centuries under various distinct cultures resulting in varied interpretations. The prehistoric people, known as pre-Aryans or Dravidians (prior to circa 2500 BCE -1750 BCE)[4] are thought to have associated the earth with agricultural and medical needs, as well as with the cycles of birth and

death. They transformed the physical earth into a divine womb of benevolence, a place from which life arises and a place that reclaims the mortal body and soul of the dead. In this regard, various ceremonies and rituals became customary in order to appease the earth deity to bestow favours and prevent calamities.

As the history of the pre-Aryan past generally lacks substantial evidence, the practices of venerating the earth can be assessed mostly on the basis of contemporary rituals, practices and traditions. The ancient Indians, both Dravidians and Aryans and their descendents the Hindus, revered various feminine deities, building further on the association between the earth and the feminine. For example, goddess Lakshmi is conceived in multiple forms, known as the pre-Aryan goddess of corn[5] and later as Kshama, meaning the earth itself, associated with material riches[6]. The other deities are the soil and agriculture-related goddesses Bhudevi and Varahi found in ancient Aryan texts[7], who are revered to this day as the Earth Goddess among Hindus in India. In addition, certain folk rituals such as the soil fertility, death ceremonies, etc. related to the veneration of the earth as mother can also be assumed to characterize ancient religious practices in India.

The pre-Columbian Native Americans (circa 9500 BCE - circa 1462 A.D.)[8], on the other hand, had a complex and sophisticated system of beliefs centered on the veneration of the earth, which was initially associated with agriculture and later developed with the concept of life and death phenomenon. As a deity, the earth was a serious concern to Native Americans, and various types of rituals, ceremonies and sacrifices were made necessary in order to ensure food and wealth in superfluity, and the well-being of mortals in a disaster-free and healthy earth[9]. The primary earth deity of the Native Americans is known as Pachamama (pronounced as *pah'cha-ma-ma*). The word *pacha* signifies "abundance, infinity, and benevolence," relating to the earth, which in such context could be analogous to the Vedic goddess Aditi of India[10], and the word 'mama' means 'Mother' the life giver. Thus Pachamama is perceived as the Earth Mother, and has been regarded as the most dominant goddess in the Native American socio-religious ambience since ancient times.

The region of South America has been inhabited by various tribes since ancient times, and the veneration of the earth varied among them. However, goddess Pachamama remained a major deity among all

the Native American tribes. For example, the ancient Peruvian Native Americans worshipped Pachamama under the name Mamapacha. This deity was responsible to oversee the planting and harvesting of crops. Similarities arise between Mamapacha and the ancient Indian goddesses Sita[11], who was perceived as the earth's furrow, associated with generating and harvesting aspects, and also goddess Varahi who was associated with agriculture[12]. In some areas, due to Incan[13] influence, the Native Americans perceived Mamapacha as a great dragon, who caused earthquakes. The pre - Incan Yuncas worshipped the male god by name Pachamac who was believed to be the earth maker. The Goddess Pachamama or Mamapacha is said to be his consort. This patriarchal view was also held in the Vedic epoch[14], where the ancient Indian earth goddess Prithvi[xv] was made subordinate to the Sky *(*Dyus*)*. The Inca tribes who formed the most influential ancient civilization until circa 6th century A.D. in Peru, Bolivia and parts of the northern parts of South America venerated Inti as their sun god, and Pachamama (earth) as his honored wife[xvi].

There are several mythologies surrounding the earth goddess in both India and South America. One of the most popular Indian mythologies is the one where the demon by name Andhakasura carries off the earth goddess to the depths of the ocean, which leaves the whole universe in chaos. In the end, a boar-faced manifestation of Lord Vishnu called Varaha rescues the earth[17]. This particular myth became the basis of the sculptural

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THE HORSE AND THE INDUS SARASVATHI CIVILIZATION

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The presence or absence of the horse in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization has been a bone of contention for decades, especially in the context of the Aryan invasion theory. The argument is familiar: the Rig-Veda uses the word *ashva* over 200 times, *ergo* the Vedic society must have been full of horses, *ergo* the Harappan civilization, from which the noble animal is conspicuously absent, must be pre-Vedic and non-Aryan. The horse must therefore have been brought into India around 1500 BCE by the invading Aryans, who used its speed to crushing advantage in order to subdue the native, ox-driven populations. This line of reasoning is regarded as so evident and foolproof that it is taken to be the final word on the issue; as a result, we find it confidently repeated in reference books and history textbooks dealing with India's prehistory.

However, on closer view, there are serious flaws at every step of the argument — and indeed several concealed steps. I will first examine the physical evidence of the horse from various Harappan sites, both in terms of skeletal remains and depictions, before turning to problems of methodology that have compounded the confusion, in particular the double-edged use of negative evidence, and the persisting colonial misreadings of the Rig-Veda.

Physical remains of the horse in Indus-Sarasvati sites

Our first surprise is that contrary to conventional assertions, quite a few archaeologists have reported horse remains from

India's prehistoric sites. A. Ghosh's respected and authoritative *Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology* mentions without fuss:

> In India the ... true horse is reported from the Neolithic levels at Kodekal [dist. Gulbarga of Karnataka] and Hallur [dist. Raichur of Karnataka] and the late Harappa levels at Mohenjo-daro (Sewell and Guha, 1931) and Ropar and at Harappa, Lothal and numerous other sites. … Recently bones of *Equus caballus* have also been reported from the proto-Harappa site of Malvan in Gujarat[1].

Mortimer Wheeler, a flamboyant proponent of the Aryan invasion theory if ever there was one, admitted long ago that "it is likely enough that camel, horse and ass were in fact a familiar feature of the Indus caravan[2]." The well-known archaeologist B. B. Lal refers to a number of horse teeth and bones reported from Kalibangan, Ropar, Malvan and Lothal[3]. Another senior archaeologist, S. P. Gupta, adds further details on those finds, including early ones[4]. In the case of Lothal, the archaeozoologist Bhola Nath certified the identification of a tooth[5]; he also made similar observations regarding bones from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa[6]. A. K. Sharma's well-known identification of horse remains (Fig. 1) at Surkotada (in Katchchh) was endorsed by the late Hungarian archaeozoologist Sándor Bökönyi, an internationally respected authority in the field; in 1991, taking care to distinguish them from those of the local wild ass (*khur*), he confirmed several of them to be "remnants of true horses[7]," and what is more, domesticated horses. In his

1993 report to the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, Bökönyi made no bones about the whole issue:

> Through a thorough study of the equid remains of the prehistoric settlement of Surkotada, Kutch, excavated under the direction of Dr. J. P. Joshi, I can state the following: The occurrence of true horse (*Equus caballus* L.) was evidenced by the enamel pattern of the upper and lower cheek and teeth and by the size and form of incisors and phalanges (toe bones). Since no wild horses lived in India in post-Pleistocene times, the domestic nature of the Surkotada horses is undoubtful. This is also supported by an inter-maxilla fragment whose incisor tooth shows clear signs of crib biting, a bad habit only existing among domestic horses which are not extensively used for war[8].

Quite in tune with the findings at Surkotada and Lothal, P. K. Thomas, P. P. Joglekar et al., experts from the Deccan College on faunal remains, reported horse bones from the nearby Harappan site of Shikarpur "in the Mature Harappan period[9]," and from Kuntasi (at the boundary between Kutch and Saurashtra)[10].

To the Neolithic sites mentioned by A. Ghosh, we must add Koldihwa (in the Belan valley of Allahabad district), where G. R. Sharma et al. identified horse fossils[11]. Contemporary with the Harappan period, the culture of the Chambal valley (in Madhya Pradesh) was explored by the respected archaeologist M. K. Dhavalikar, with layers dated between 2450 and 2000 BCE. His observations are remarkable:

> The most interesting is the discovery of bones of horse from the Kayatha levels and a terracotta figurine of a mare. It is the domesticate species (*Equus caballus*), which takes

> back the antiquity of the steed in India to the latter half of the third millennium BC. The presence of horse at Kayatha in all the chalcolithic levels assumes great significance in the light of the controversy about the horse[12].

Let us stress that just as at Surkotada, the horse at Kayatha was domesticated.

In the face of so many reports from so many sites by so many experts, a blanket denial of the animal's physical presence in pre-1500 BCE India passes one's comprehension. Are we to believe that *all* identifications of horse remains by experts are wrong and misleading? Have scholars rejecting such evidence personally crosschecked even 10% of it? Have they, too, expressed similar doubts about the identification of other animal remains found in the same sites and conditions?

Richard Meadow and Ajita Patel did challenge Sándor Bökönyi's report to the Archaeological Survey[13]. Bökönyi however stuck to his views (although he passed away before he could give his final response), and Meadow and Patel concluded their long plea with the rather weak statement that "… in the end that [Bökönyi's identification of horse remains at Surkotada] may be a matter of emphasis and opinion[14]." What makes their eagerness to convince Bökönyi to change his mind suspect is that they never challenged Indian experts such as A. K. Sharma, P. K. Thomas or P. P. Joglekar; it was only when Bökönyi endorsed findings on the "Harappan horse" that they got alarmed. Since then, amusingly, their inconclusive paper has been quoted by several Marxist[15] historians as the last word on the nonexistence of the horse in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization[16]. Even more ironically, when invasionists attempt to trace the introduction of

the horse into Europe, they turn to the same Bökönyi[17]! His expertise was never in question in Europe, but is unacceptable in India.

The old argument that so-called horse remains invariably belong to species of wild ass such as the onager (*Equus hemionus onager*), the khur (*Equus hemionus* khur), or the plain as (*Equus asinus*) is unacceptable, firstly because it is sweeping in nature and produces little or no evidence, secondly because in several cases, experts have *simultaneously* reported remains of the wild ass from the very same sites, which implies some ability to distinguish between those species[18].

Another frequent and sweeping objection is that the dates of the disputed horse remains are not firmly established and might be much more recent. But Jagat Pati Joshi's excavation report, for instance, makes it clear that,

> At Surkotada from all the three periods quite a good number of bones of horse (*Equus Caballus* Linn) ... have been recovered. The parts recovered are very distinctive bones: first, second and third phalanges and few vertebrae fragments[19].

The first of Surkotada's "three periods" coincides with the mature stage of the Harappan civilization[20], which rules out the possibility of the horse having been introduced by Aryans around 1500 BCE. Moreover, we have the case of Mahagara (near Allahabad), where horse bones were not only identified by G. R. Sharma et al., but "six sample absolute carbon 14 tests have given dates ranging from 2265 B.C.E. to 1480 B.C.E.[21]" The case of Hallur, mentioned by A. Ghosh above, is even more striking: the excavation (in the late 1960s) brought out horse

remains that were dated between 1500 and 1300 BCE, in other words, about the time Aryans are pictured to have galloped down the Khyber pass, some 2,000 north of Hallur[22]. Even at a fierce Aryan pace, the animal could hardly have reached Karnataka by that time. When K. R. Alur, an archaeozoologist as well as a veterinarian, published his report on the animal remains from the site, he received anxious queries, even protests: there had to be some error regarding those horse bones. A fresh excavation was eventually undertaken some twenty years later — which brought to light more horse bones, and more consternation. Alur saw no reason to alter his original report, and wrote that his critics' opinion "cannot either deny or alter the find of a scientific fact that the horse was present at Hallur before the (presumed) period of Aryan invasion[23]." The claim that horse finds are undated is therefore disingenuous.

Finally, S. P. Gupta offers a sensible reply to the further objection that horse remains, if at all they are accepted, rarely account for more than 2% of the total animal remains at any site. Pointing out that the same holds true of the camel and elephant (animals undeniably present in Harappan sites), he explains that this low proportion is "simply because these animals are not likely to have been as regularly eaten as cattle, sheep and goats as well as fish whose bones are abundantly found at all Indus-Saraswati settlements[24]."

All in all, the case for the horse's physical presence in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization is quite overwhelming, and is bound to be further strengthened by evidence yet to come out of thousands of unexplored sites. Archaeologist A. K. Sharma's conclusion, in a paper that surveyed the "horse evidence" and his own experiences in this regard, is worth quoting:

It is really strange that no notice was taken by archaeologists of these vital findings, and the oft-repeated theory that the true

domesticated horse was not known to the Harappans continued to be harped upon, coolly ignoring these findings to help our so-called veteran historians and archaeologists of Wheeler's generation to formulate and propagate their theory of 'Aryan invasion of India on horse-back'....[25]

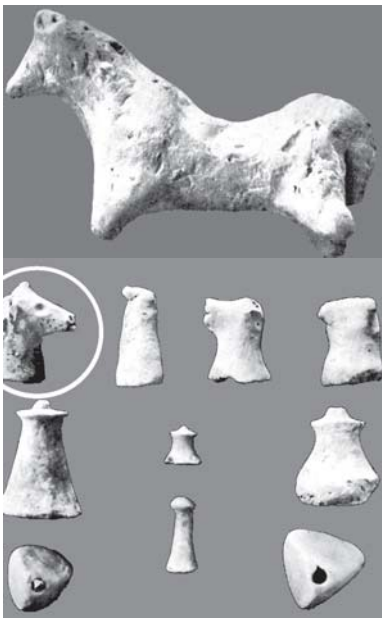
Depictions of the horse and the spoked wheel

The Harappans certainly built much of their religious symbols around animals, depicting many of them on their seals and tablets, in terracotta figurines, or as pottery motifs. While it is true that the horse does not appear on the Harappan seals (except if we were to accept the conjecture by S. R. Rao[26] and a few other scholars that the composite animal represented on thousands of seals as a unicorn actually has a horse's head), it has been hastily claimed that the animal is never depicted at all.

A horse figurine did emerge at Mohenjo-daro (Fig. 2), which drew the following comment from E. J. H. Mackay, one of the early excavators at the site:

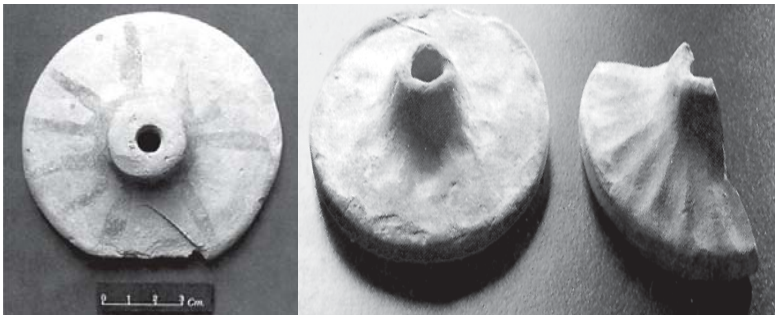
> Perhaps the most interesting of the model animals is one that I personally take to represent a horse. I do not think we need be particularly surprised if it should be proved that the horse existed thus early at Mohenjo-daro[27].

Wheeler himself accepted it as such[28]. Another figurine was reported by Stuart Piggot from Periano Ghundai, and several at Lothal, some of them with a fairly clear evocation of the horse (Fig. 3 & 4)[29]. The horse also appears on some pottery,



for instance at pre-Harappan levels of Kunal (Haryana), among other animals, according to the excavator R. S. Bisht et al[30]. Another figurine was found at Balu, with what looks like a saddle[31]. Dhavalikar, quoted above, mentioned "a terracotta figurine of a mare" in the Chambal valley. Finally, the horse is depicted in rock art (for instance at Bhimbetka or Morhana Pahar in the Narmada valley), but unfortunately, we have very few absolute dates for rock art in India.

It is not just the horse that invasionist scholars sought to erase from pre-1500 BC India: they also asserted that the spoked wheel came to India only with the Aryans[32]. "The first appearance of [the invading Aryans'] thundering chariots must have stricken the local population with a terror..." writes Michael Witzel in a grandiloquent echo of nineteenth-century racial theories[33]. The spoked wheel was thus seen as a crucial element



in the speed game, compared to the slow bullock-driven solid-wheeled Harappan cart — until it turned out that Harappans did have spoked wheels, after all. Fig. 5 shows a few terracotta wheels from Banawali and Rakhigarhi where the spokes are clearly visible in relief or painted[34]. More such wheels have been found at Kuntasi[35] and at Lothal.

All this material illustrates the danger of "negative evidence": it takes very little to make it irrelevant.

Methodological issues

Raw evidence apart, the appearance of the horse in the Indian subcontinent is, in reality, a complex issue, and by treating it crudely, the conventional theory suffers from serious methodological flaws. Let us briefly highlight a few of them.

Physical remains and depictions of the horse in India after 1500 BC

> The invasionist school posits that the horse was introduced into India by the "Aryans" around 1500 BC. One would therefore expect a marked increase in remains and depictions of the animal after that fateful event (or non-event). Yet — and this is one of the best kept secrets of Indian prehistory — nothing of the sort happens.

Looking only at the early historical layers, Taxila, Hastinapur or Atranjikhera (Uttar Pradesh) have indeed yielded bones of both the true horse and the domestic ass (strangely, the distinction between the two is no longer disputed here!), but at other sites, such as Nashik, Nagda (Madhya Pradesh), Sarnath, Arikamedu (Tamil Nadu), Brahmagiri (Karnataka), Nagarjunakonda (Andhra Pradesh), no remains of either animal have turned up. There are also sites like Jaugada (Orissa) or Maski (Karnataka) where the ass has been found, but not the horse[36]. Finally, data available

from sites that do come up with horse remains show no significant increase in the overall percentage of horse bones or teeth compared to Harappan sites such as Surkotada.

If, therefore, the low amount of evidence for the horse in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization is taken as proof that that civilization is pre-Vedic, we must extend the same logic to the whole of pre-Mauryan India! It is clear that the horse was as rare or as common an animal before and after 1500 BC — "rare" is probably the correct statement for both.

As regards "post-invasion" depictions of the horse, they are also no more frequent than in Harappan sites: barring a few figurines at Pirak, Hastinapura and Atranjikhera, we find no striking representations of the animal, while we would have expected the aggressive "Aryans" to pay rich tributes to their instrument of conquest, which, invasionists tell us, the Rig-Veda glorifies so much. And yet, "the first deliberate and conscious attempt of shaping a horse in durable material like stone was witnessed in the art of the Mauryas in India," writes historian T. K. Biswas[37]. Another historian, Jayanti Rath, commenting on the animals depicted on early Indian coins, remarks: "The animal world of the punch-marked coins consists of elephant, bull, lion. dog, cat, deer, camel, rhinoceros, rabbit, frog, fish, turtle, ghariyal (fish eater crocodile), scorpion and snake. Among the birds, peacock is very popular. The lion and horse symbols appear to have acquired greater popularity in 3rd century B.C.[38]"

All in all, an eerie equine silence pervades pre-Mauryan India.

Physical remains and depictions of the horse outside India

It helps to take a look at a few regions outside India. In contemporary Bactria, for instance, the horse is well documented

through depictions in grave goods, yet no horse bones have been found. "This again underscores the point that lack of horse bones does not equal the absence of horse," writes U.S. Indologist Edwin Bryant[39].

In the case of the horse in America, where its spread is fairly well known, Elizabeth Wing points out,

> Once safely landed in the New World, they are reported to have prospered along with cattle in the grazing lands, free of competitors and predators. Horse remains, however, are seldom encountered in the archaeological sites. This may be a function of patterns of disposal, in which remains of beasts of burden which were not usually consumed would not be incorporated in food or butchering refuse remains[40].

This fits with the picture we have formed of the horse in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization, and with S. P. Gupta's similar observation on the non-consumption of horse meat. Clearly, invasionists have sought to put too much weight on the rarity of horse remains in the third millennium.

Introduction of the horse = Aryan invasion?

Another *non sequitur* is that since the true horse was undoubtedly introduced into India at some time, and probably from Central Asia, it can only have been introduced by invading Aryans.

As we have seen, the horse's introduction must have taken place right from Mature Harappan times, if not earlier; but let us assume for the sake of argument that it only happened, as invasionist scholars assert without the least evidence, in Late Harappan times. Even if it were so, how would it establish that the horse came as a result of an invasion or a migration, when

other possibilities are equally valid, or more so if we look at the evolution of the region? Bryant, again, puts it crisply:

> In the absence of irrefutable linguistic evidence, there is no reason to feel compelled to believe that the introduction of the horse into the subcontinent is indicative of the introduction of new peoples any more than the introduction of any other innovatory items of material culture (such as camels, sorghum, rice, lapis lazuli, or anything else) is representative of new human migratory influxes[41].

In other words, at whatever epoch, the horse could have been introduced as an item of trade — and we do know that Harappans had extensive trade contacts with a wide region, from Mesopotamia all the way to northern Afghanistan and possibly parts of Turkmenistan. This is indeed the stand of archaeologists like Jean-François Jarrige or Jonathan M. Kenoyer. The latter, for instance, notes that the adoption of the horse or the camel reflects "changes [that] were made by the indigenous [Late

Harappan] inhabitants, and were not the result of a new people streaming into the region. The horse and camel would indicate connections with Central Asia[42]."

Whatever the date of the horse's introduction into the subcontinent might be, there is no ground to assume a "violent" introduction through a war-like conquest.

The problem of depiction

Regardless of the issue of physical remains, invasionists have persisted, understandably so, in stressing the nagging non-depiction of the horse on Indus seals (conveniently glossing over the figurines mentioned earlier). However, S. P. Gupta points out that the camel, "wolf, cat, deer, Nilgai, fowl, jackal are rarely or never found in [Harappan] art but their presence has been attested by bones[43]." We can add the camel and the lion, which were certainly present in some regions of the Harappan civilization yet were never depicted. The scholar K. D. Sethna pertinently asks, "As there are no depictions of the cow, in contrast to the pictures of the bull, which are abundant, should we conclude that Harappa and Mohenjo-daro had only bulls?[44]" Sethna goes further; he makes the opposite point that the mythical unicorn is found on numerous seals, and asks, "Was the unicorn a common animal of the proto-historic Indus Valley?"[45]

Clearly, animal representations, or their absence, have cultural reasons: the Indus seals were not intended to be zoological handbooks. Until we have a deeper understanding of Harappan culture, we can only conjecture about its iconography.

Is the Vedic horse the true horse?

Invasionists are usually unaware that they begin by making an important assumption: they take it for granted that the Vedic horse is the true horse, *Equus caballus* L. Although this might appear self-evident, it is not. In fact, as some scholars have pointed out, the Rig-Veda[46] describes the horse as having 34 ribs; so does a passage in the Shatapatha Brahmana[47]. However, the true horse generally has two pairs of 18 ribs, i.e. 36 and not 34.

This suggests that the horse referred to in the Rig-Veda may have been a different species, such as the smaller and stockier Siwalik or Przewalski horses, which often (not always) had 34 ribs. The scholar Paul Manansala, who stressed this point, concluded: "So the horse of India, including that of the asvamedha sacrifice in what is regarded as the oldest part of the Rgveda, is a distinct variety native to southeastern Asia[48]."

The question is far from solved, as experts in the field do not always see eye to eye, but it also cannot be wished away.

Meaning of *ashva* in the Rig-Veda

We now come to a more fundamental point. After the nineteenth-century European Sanskritists, most scholars have taken it for granted that Vedic society should be full of horses because of the frequent occurrence of *ashva* in the Rig-Veda. This conclusion is flawed on two grounds.

First, because the language of the Rig-Veda is a symbolic one that constantly operates at different levels. Else, how could we explain powerful images with no possible ritualistic or "animist" explanation, such as a lower and an upper ocean[49], a "wave of honey" rising from the ocean[50], rivers of ghee rising in the "ocean of the heart[51]," a "well of honey" hidden under the rock[52], a divine fire born of waters[53], present in the stone[54], or compared to a child that gave birth to its own mothers[55], an "eighth sun, hidden in darkness[56]," and dozens more? A purely materialistic or ritualistic reading of the Rig-Veda is bound to fail us at every step, and is unjustified when other mythologies, from the Babylonian to the Egyptian and the Greek, have long been explored at deeper figurative and symbolic levels. It is strange how most scholars, hypnotized by colonial misinterpretations, have failed to follow the Rig-Veda's own clue: "Secret words that reveal their meaning [only] to the seer[57]."

So let us turn to one such "seer." As early as 1912-14, a decade before the discovery of the Indus-Sarasvati civilization, and thus long before our "Harappan horse" controversy, Sri Aurobindo in his study of the Rig-Veda and the Upanishads found that

> The word *ashva* must originally have implied strength or speed or both before it came to be applied to a horse[58].

More specifically,

> The cow and horse, *go* and *ashva*, are constantly associated. Usha, the Dawn, is described as *gomati ashvavati*; Dawn gives to the sacrificer horses and cows. As applied to the physical dawn *gomati* means accompanied by or bringing the rays of light and is an image of the dawn of illumination in the human mind. Therefore *ashvavati* also cannot refer merely to the physical steed; it must have a psychological significance as well. A study of the Vedic horse led me to the conclusion that *go* and *ashva* represent the two companion ideas of Light and Energy, Consciousness and Force....[59]

> For the ritualist the word *go* means simply a physical cow and nothing else, just as its companion word, *ashva*, means simply a physical horse.... When the Rishi prays to the Dawn, *gomad viravad dhehi ratnam uso ashvavat*, the ritualistic commentator sees in the invocation only an entreaty for "pleasant wealth to which are attached cows, men (or sons) and horses". If on the other hand these words are symbolic, the sense will run, "Confirm in us a state of bliss full of light, of conquering energy and of force of vitality[60]."

In other words, Sri Aurobindo rejects a mechanical equation *ashva* = horse. The constant association of the Vedic horse with waters and the ocean, from the Rig-Veda to the Puranic myth of the churning of the ocean, confirms that we are not dealing here with an ordinary animal, as does the depiction of the Ashvins as birds. Within this framework, the *ashvamedha* sacrifice also deserves a new treatment, which the Indologist Subhash Kak has recently outlined very cogently[61].

Sri Aurobindo's stand received indirect support from a wholly different angle, that of the late anthropologist Edmund Leach, who warned against the picture of a horse-rich Rig-Vedic society:

> The prominent place given to horses and chariots in the Rig Veda can tell us virtually nothing that might distinguish any real society for which the Rig Veda might provide a partial cosmology. If anything, it suggests that in real society (as opposed to its mythological counterpart), horses and chariots were a rarity, ownership of which was a mark of aristocratic or kingly distinction[62].

Thus the place of the horse in the Rig-Veda needs to be reassessed from a decolonized standpoint, with a fresh look at the Vedic message and experience. If Sri Aurobindo and Leach are both right, then the word *ashva* refers only occasionally to the actual animal, and its rarity is well reflected in the modest amount of physical remains and depictions. Indeed, even in today's India, despite having been imported into India for many centuries, the horse remains a relatively rare animal, invisible in most villages.

At this point, a valid objection could be raised: if the horse did exist in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization, and if one wishes to equate this civilization with Vedic culture[63], the latter

at least makes a symbolic use of the animal; why is the horse therefore not depicted more often as a symbol in Harappan art, for instance on the Indus seals? The answer I propose is simple: even if the Rig-Veda is contemporary with, or older than, the mature Indus-Sarasvati civilization, we need not expect Harappan art to be a pure reflection of Vedic concepts. The Veda represents the very specific quest of a few rishis, who are unlikely to have lived in the middle of the Harappan towns. Although Vedic concepts and symbols are visible in Harappan culture, the latter is a *popular* culture; in the same way, the culture of today's Indian village need not exactly reflect Chennai's music and dance sabhas. Between Kalibangan's peasant sacrificing a goat for good rains and the rishi in quest of *Tat ekam,* That One, there is a substantial difference, even if they ultimately share the same worldview.

Only a more subtle approach to Harappan and Vedic cultures can throw light on their apparent differences.

Is *ashva* only Aryan?

One more unstated assumption of invasionists, who trust that their readers will not go and check the original text, is that *ashva,* in the Rig-Veda, is a purely Aryan animal. But is that what the text actually says? No doubt, most of the references place *ashva,* whatever the word means in the Rishis' mind, squarely on the side of the Aryan gods and their human helpers. But it turns out that there are a few revealing exceptions, when Dasyus and Panis also possess *ashvas*.

For instance, Indra-Soma, by means of the truth (*eva satyam*), shatters the stable where Dasyus were holding "horses and cows" (*ashvyam goh*)[64]. In another hymn, Indra's human helpers find the Pani's "horses and cattle": "The Angirasas gained the whole enjoyment of the Pani, its herds of the cows and the horses[65]."

The most striking passage[66] is from the famous dialogue between the divine hound Sarama, Indra's intransigent emissary, and the Panis, after she has discovered their faraway den, where they jealously hoard their "treasures." Sarama boldly declares Indra's intention to seize these treasures, but the Panis are unimpressed and threaten to fight back; they taunt her: "O Sarama, see the treasure deep in the mountain, it is full of cows and horses and treasures (*gobhir ashvebhir vasubhir nyrsah*). The Panis guard it watchfully. You have come in vain to a rich dwelling." Every verse makes it clear that all these treasures, horses included, belong to the Panis; at no point does Sarama complain that these are stolen goods: "I come in search of your great treasures[67]," she declares at first, and the Panis would not be insolent enough to taunt her with goods seized from the Aryans; yet Sarama considers that Indra is fully entitled to them.

Now, if we followed the same colonial reading that invasionists impose on the Vedas, we would be forced to acknowledge that the Dasyus and Panis also had horses of their own — which of course negates the whole idea of the animal having been introduced by the Aryans. It does look as if this Vedic landscape is getting a little too crowded with horses, rather like a cheap Hollywood western.

To understand the Dasyus' and Panis' "horses," we need to return to the Vedic symbolism proposed by Sri Aurobindo: the demons do possess lights (cows) and energies or powers (horses), but, as misers, keep them for themselves, neither for the gods nor for man. In the Vedic view, this is a transgression of the cosmic law. The duty of the rishi, helped by the gods, is to reconquer those "treasures" and put them to their true purpose; only then will the cosmic order be reestablished. This is certainly more interesting than the tribal clashes of a barbaric and primitive age. In fact, the Rig-Veda itself makes its symbolism

clear again and again, if only we can learn to read it with an open mind. In the last verse[68] of the dialogue between Sarama and the Panis, for instance, the narrator concludes, "Go away, you Panis! Let out the cows which, hidden, infringe the Order!" This "order" is *ritam*, the true cosmic law. It is infringed not because the Panis hide a few cows and horses inside a cave, but because they misuse their lights and powers and do not offer them up as a sacrifice. That is why Indra is entitled to their treasures — not because he is a greedy tribal leader out to expand his territory and wealth; and that is why he can shatter the demons' dens only "by means of the truth."

Had it not been for the Aryan invasion theory, the Rig-Veda would have long ago been the object of interpretations on a level with that accorded to Greek or Egyptian mythology, instead of being constricted to a literalist reading.

Conclusions

That the invasionist scholars should have skirted such important issues, as regards both findings and methodology, does little to inspire confidence. Clearly, the whole question of the Vedic and Harappan horse has been treated simplistically. To sum up:

1. Several species of Equus, including the true horse, existed in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization, probably in small numbers. Some of them may have entered India over a much longer time span than is usually granted, in the course of the Indus-Sarasvati civilization's interactions with neighbouring areas, but certainly not through any Aryan invasion or migration, which in any case has already been rejected by archaeological, anthropological, genetic, literary and cultural evidence[69].
2. This process continued with a gradual but slight increase after the end of the mature phase of the Indus-Sarasvati

civilization right up to early historical times. There was no epoch exhibiting a sudden, first-time introduction of the animal.

3. The Rig-Veda has been misread; it tells us strictly nothing about a sizeable horse population, and rather suggests its rarity. The animal was important in symbolic, not quantitative terms.

4. The Rig-Veda also tells us nothing about conquering Aryans hurtling down from Afghanistan in their horse-drawn "thundering" chariots and crushing indigenous tribal populations; it is high time we abandoned once and for all those perverse fancies of nineteenth-century scholars, even if some of their peers hang on to such myths even today.

The hypothesis I have put forward is testable: if correct, we should expect further excavations of Harappan sites to come up with more horse remains and depictions, although nothing on the scale that the Aryan invasion theory wrongly expects of a Vedic society — and has failed to document in post-Harappan India.

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5. Quoted in S. R. Rao, *Lothal – A Harappan Port Town* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1985), vol. II, pp. 641-642.

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8. Sándor Bökönyi, 13 December 1993, in his report to the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, quoted by B. B. Lal in *The Earliest Civilization of South Asia*, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

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12. M. K. Dhavalikar, *Indian Protohistory* (New Delhi: Books & Books, 1997), p. 115.

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14. Ibid., p. 314.

15. I use the word "Marxist" not in any derogatory manner, but in the way those historians and scholars use it to describe their own school of thought. D. D. Kossambi's *Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (1956) set the tone, declaring its intent to use "dialectical materialism, also called Marxism" to read the evolution of Indian society, complete with a "proletariat" and class war. My use of the term "Marxist" is the same as Romila Thapar in her *Penguin History of Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2003), p. 22 ff.

16. For instance Ram Sharan Sharma, "Was the Harappan Culture Vedic?", *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in History and Archaeology* (University of Allahabad), 1:2, Winter 2004, pp. 135-144. See also Romila Thapar *Penguin History of Early India, op. cit.,* p. 85 (although she does not specifically refer to Meadow's and Patel's paper, the context makes it clear).

17. For instance, J. P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-European: Language, Archaeology and Myth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989), p. 273, note 8; Bernard Sergent, *Les Indo-Européens: Histoire, langues, mythes* (Payot, 1995), p. 397.

18. This is the case at Surkotada. See Jagat Pati Joshi, *Excavation at Surkotada and Exploration in Kutch* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, Memoirs N°87, 1990), pp. 381-382.

19. Ibid., p. 381.

20. Period IA starts about 2300 BCE (see ibid., p. 60 ff.), but this is based on uncalibrated C-14 analysis; a calibrated date will usually be a few centuries older, which would fit well with the now accepted date of 2600 BCE for the start of the mature Harappan phase.

21. G. R. Sharma et al., *Beginnings of Agriculture* (Allahabad: Abinash Prakashan, 1980), pp. 220-221, quoted by Edwin Bryant in *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture, op. cit.*, p. 170.

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24. S. P. Gupta, *The Indus-Sarasvati Civilization – Origins, Problems and Issues*, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

25. A. K. Sharma, "The Harappan Horse was buried under the dunes of …" in *Puratattva,* N°23 (1992-93), p. 31.

26. S. R. Rao, *Dawn and Devolution of the Indus Civilization* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1991), p. 196 & 299.

27. E. J. H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro* (Delhi: Government of India, 1938), vol. I, p. 289.

28. Quoted by B. B. Lal in *India 1947-1997: New Light on the Indus Civilization* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 1998), p. 109.

29. The set of chessmen is taken from S. R. Rao, *Dawn and Devolution of the Indus Civilization*, *op. cit.*, detail of plate N°120. I suggest the following test to anyone who doubt that this figurine represents a horse: show the whole set of "chessmen" to schoolchildren and ask them what it is; the answer will always be, "Chess!" (This, at least, has been my own experience.) Then as, "Why?" The reply: "Because of the horse." I suggest that children's sense of observation in such a case is more reliable and less biased than even that of "experts," all the more so as many of the Harappan figurines were very likely toys for children.

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31. See K. D. Sethna, *The Problem of Aryan Origins* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2nd ed., 1992), pp. 419-420.

32. See for instance Romila Thapar, *Cultural Pasts* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 1131.

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Language, Material Culture and Ethnicity, ed. George Erdosy (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), p. 114.

34. Both pictures are taken from B. B. Lal, *The* Sarasvati Flows On*: the Continuity of Indian Culture* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2002), p. 74.

35. M. K. Dhavalikar, *Indian Protohistory*, *op. cit.,* p. 297.

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37. T. K. Biswas, *Horse in Early Indian Art* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987), p. 46.

38. Jayanti Rath, "The Animal Motifs On Indian Coins (Ancient And Mediaeval Period)" in *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. XLVII, No. 1, p. 57.

39. Edwin Bryant, *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 175.

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41. Edwin Bryant, *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture, op. cit.*, p. 228.

42. Jonathan M. Kenoyer, "Interaction Systems, Specialized Crafts And Cultural Change," in *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia*, ed. George Erdosy (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), p. 227.

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44. K. D. Sethna, *The Problem of Aryan Origins* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2nd ed., 1992), p. 179.

45. K. D. Sethna, *The Problem of Aryan Origins*, p. 179.

46. Rig-Veda, I.162.18.

47. Shatapatha Brahmana, 13.5.

48. Paul Kekai Manansala, "A New Look at Vedic India," published and circulated over the Internet (http://asiapacificuniverse.com/pkm/vedicindia.html).

49. Rig-Veda, VII.6.7. (All translations from the Rig-Veda are adapted from Sri Aurobindo's.)

50. IV.58.1.

51. IV.58.5.

52. II.24.4.

53. III.1.3.

54. I.70.2

55. I.95.4.

56. III.39.5, X.72.9.

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GENDER ASPECTS IN PALLANKULI IN TAMILNADU

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Introduction

In the initial stages of human life most games were played for entertainment. In course of time, there were different types of games played to show physical strength; some to exhibit mental strength and memory; few others to show strategy; and some games of chance. Both men and women, boys and girls find pleasure in playing games. There are games set aside for men, some for women and some for both, and a few more for girls and boys separately. But knowingly or unknowingly, most of the games of physical strength have been played by men and boys. Women were assigned to play indoor games and outdoor games of soft nature. Hence, in the case of women, board games were found very suitable. The reason given was that, compared to men, women were physically weak, soft and incapable of playing games which proved their physical strength. Hence almost all games requiring physical strength had become the choice of menfolk, while women were relegated to playing mostly indoor games. But it was not a permanent feature. It is a well-known fact that in modern times women compete with men in all fields. In games too they participate in almost all games played by men at the regional, national and international levels.

In spite of the changes taking place in society in all fields and clarion calls given to put an end to gender discrimination, traditional practices do not vanish very easily. In Tamilnadu, one of the well-populated and traditional states in India, in the rural areas, male domination and gender discrimination continue

to be the same. Traditional games like *pallankuli*, *tayakattam*, *paramapadam*, *adu-puliattam*, etc. are played by men and women. But, of all these games, *pallankuli* is considered to be a game of women, No one could give the exact reason for such a notion.

Early connections

Pallankuli is the Tamil form of well known *mancala* game of the West. It is also known as *pandi* in Tamil. Similarly, in more than 1140 languages in Africa, *mancala* is known by different names. The word Mancala refers to a group of games that come from Africa. The game is played on a board and it most commonly known in the U.K. as *mancala*, *oware*, *aware*, *ware* and *wari*. The most common *mancala* board is with two rows of six holes and two store pits on either side. There are variations to this board and we can have more holes on either side or more rows, to create four rows of *mancala* boards which are common in African countries. There are rules and instructions for every game.

Stone *mancala* boards have been found carved into the roofs of temples in Memphis, Thebes and Luxor. It is believed that the game was definitely played in Egypt before 1400 B.C. It appears that the game might have evolved in Egypt from boards and counters which were used for accounting and stock taking; evidence for such record keeping boards having been found more even in Ancient Sumeria as well as Ancient Egypt.

Tamilnadu

Pallankuli is also known as *pallankuliattam*, *pandiattam*, *kuliattam*, *pandiankuli*, etc., but it is very much referred to as *pallankuli* or *pandi*. In India it is generally a board game played in rural areas and the urban people also play it to some

extent. This game board consists of seven pits in two rows with two more saving pits. It is interesting to note that *pallankuli* is played in most of the African countries with great interest. It is also the national game of Somalia and some other African countries. Though some scholars call it a game of chance, an in-depth study reveals that it is a game of skill, memory and strategy. Though in earlier times it was meant to be a game of recreation, in recent times, it proves to be different.

Sangam period

A greater research on this game suggests that it might have been played in the *Sangam* age, the earliest historical age in Tamilnadu, stretching roughly from 5th century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. There is a reference in *Sangam* literature to a game called '*val'* , played on a wooden board called '*vallu palakai'* and the game piece used was '*val'* or '*vallu nai'*, comparing it to the nipple of woman's breast.(*Kalithokai***,** l94) The board is rectangle in size and as the *pallankuli* board is also a rectangle one, this game has been identified as *pallankuli* by later scholars (Tayammal Aravanan**,** *Pallankuli*, 1982, Chennai, p.21)**.** The Tamils use the seeds of tamarind, cowries, molucca beans, etc as game pieces. Molucca beans (*Kalarchikkai* or *Kalakkodi*), a light green seed resembling, more or less, the nipple. It is interesting to note that most of the Africans also use molucca beans seeds as game pieces for playing *mancala*; it is accepted that the nipple of African women resembles the same seed.

Nomenclature

Pallankuli is described as a game of 14 pits. In Tamil *pan* and *nanku* mean ten and four respectively, meaning 14. (Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras, Chennai, p. 2528). As it is played more in the southern districts of Tamilnadu (Pandya region) the game in general is known as *pandi*. There is also

an outdoor game known as *pandi*, a game played by girls. A diagram is drawn on a large scale on the open field and girls play with a piece of pottery as a throwing piece. The co-ordination of hand and legs is necessary for this game. But it has nothing to do with the nomenclature *pandi* associated with *pallankuli*. Hence when rural people refer to the *pallankuli* game, they add *pandi* to each game played on the board (e.g.*) pasuppandi*, *kasipandi, muthupandi, rajapandi, tadavumpandi*, etc; or they use the word *attam*(e.g. *mutthattam, kattattam, kalyanattam*, etc. It is interesting to note that it was also known as *kuzhattam (*pit game) in the North Arcot District of Tamilnadu.

Game pieces

The gamer pieces used in the game are of different kinds. If we analyse the coins, it is interesting that most of them are used by women in their day to day life. Tamarind seeds, beans, neem seeds, *kundumani (Abrus precatorius)*, areca nuts, ground nuts, etc. are a few of such game pieces. If they play the game in the urban areas, they use cowries and made game pieces available in the shops.

Pallankuli is also played in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Punjab and elsewhere in India, mostly by women. The gender discrimination was shown in playing this game. As the Tamils are heroic people, men are supposed to play games which would prove their physical strength. They play *kabadi*, javelin, shot put, boxing, wrestling, controlling the oxen, etc. Hence if men try to play *pallankuli*, they are even teased by their families.

It is heartening to note that scholars in foreign universities have taken *pallankuli* for research projects. They not only study the recreational aspect of the game but also do research on its implication on the human body and mind. Co-ordination

of fingers to take the game pieces from the pit, swiftness in spreading the coins in other pits, analyzing the capacity of the opponent, remembering the coins in each pit, calculating the coins and expecting the outcome, etc. are important features of this board game.

The study reveals that there are nearly more than ten different types of games being played in *pallankuli*. They are *pasuppandi, saripandi, muthupandi, ethirpandi, rajapandi, thaichipandi, arisipandi, kasipandi, kattupandi, seethaipandi* and *kalyanapandi*. The first ten games have been dealt with in detail in my book '*Folk games of Tamilnadu*' (pp.105-115) and the *kalyanapandi* is explained as a part of the wedding ceremony.

Gender discrimination

While naming the *pallankuli* games, games such *as seethaipandi* and *thaichipandi* are named after women. It is interesting to note that a game known as *seethaipandi* is some how associated with Seetha, wife of Rama. There is reference to this play being played by the couple. But the *seethaipandi*, also known as *asokavattam (asoka* circle) or *Seethalakshmi attam* supports the view indirectly that *pallankuli* was a game of women. Even as a lone player, Seetha is believed to have played this game in *asokavana* (forest of *asoka* trees) in Lanka. These two nomenclatures may denote their relationship with the *Ramayana* in which the heroine Seetha is forced to stay under the *asoka* tree in Lanka by Ravana. As she was alone without any relatives around her, the game was perhaps played by Seetha alone, and hence could have been known as *seethaipandi* (the game played by Seetha under the *asoka*.tree).

Of course there is no direct evidence to prove that Seetha played this game in Lanka any time.

Thaichipandi is played by four players, two assumed to be mothers and two children, each having three pits in a game board of fourteen pits. One mother and one child form a pair. So there are two pairs playing the game. But each one plays individually. The centre pit in each row, known as *thaichikkuli* (Mother pit) is common to all the players. At the end of each round of the game, the game pieces in the *thaichikkuli* are equally divided among the four players. Although everyone plays a separate game, each having her individuality, the mother and child could share game pieces with each other if there is a lack of coins to fill up the three pits. Being considered to be a game of women, this game promotes the good bonding between mother and child.

It is interesting to note that women of the lower strata, working in agricultural fields in rural areas, play *pallankuli* during their lunch break. They do not have a game board or coins with them. But they make an instant board by drawing the same on sand under the tree and make pits and use the pot shells or seeds of the trees (mostly tamarind) which are readily available to them. They just leave the board and coins when they are called to resume the work. Although only two women play the game, others watch with great interest. At home also, they draw the board with a piece of limestone or charcoal and use available seeds as game pieces. Hence *pallankuli* is mostly attributed to women.

Socio-anthropological aspects

Festivals

Apart from regular playing of this game, on special Hindu festival days like *Vaikuntha Ekadasi* and *Maha sivaratri,*

women play *pallankuli* throughout the night as a ritual. There is a belief among orthodox Hindus that if they are awake through out the night on *sivaratri* (Day of siva) and *Vaikuntha Ekadasi* (Day of Vishnu), their sins are forgiven and they will reach the lotus feet of god in Kailasa or Vaikuntha. To some it may be a superstitious belief, but for believers, it is a boon. What ever it might be, the role of *pallankuli* in this context is to be understood by social anthropologists.

Although men may play card gamea, *adupuliattam*, etc, women play *pallankuli* or *paramapadam* during these two auspicious days of the Hindus. A number of Maldivian women are familiar with the successful opening of the game known as Dakon. The game is played in houses by women and children and sometimes men. During Ramadhan it is a popular pastime and frequently women and men also play together.

Puberty

Every stage of a girl's life is associated with some ceremony. Socialisation is a part of each ceremony. In Tamilnadu the puberty ceremony of a girl has sociological significance. Western society considers it to be a simple biological change and so no importance has been attached to the attainment of puberty by a girl. *Pallankuli* plays an important part during the onset of puberty in a girl's life. It is a matter of great pride to the family as the girl is considered fit for life only if she has attained puberty. Hence it is celebrated with pomp and splendour even by the poor. The girl is kept in seclusion as the three day period is considered to be a period of pollution. She cannot mingle with people during the three days. The girl who has been a free bird till then, playing all sorts of outdoor games, is directed to control herself and follow some discipline

from then onwards. Tamil society expects the matured girls to behave in a soft and obedient manner

The girl who is expected to follow the period of pollution has the company of girls of her age. As she is not expected to jump or hop or run, and needs good rest during the period, she can play any game sitting quietly in her place. The board games are very handy. It has been the practice to play *pallankuli* during this period with her girl friends as she has to shun the company of the boys. For hours together, the girls play this indoor game happily. It is interesting to note that during this period, girls play all types of *pallankuli*, other than *kalyanapandi* (the one played during marriage). The sociological factor plays an important part in playing this game in this specific period.

Menstruation

During menstruation, in Hindu homes, women were supposed observe a period of pollution. As they had to be indoor like untouchables, they were left to themselves. Women played *pallankuli* during those three days with playmates of their age. It is interesting to see the girls play the game without even touching the coins in orthodox homes, asking the opponent to play her game too. In very orthodox families, they still follow these practices, which is not acceptable to many.

It is shocking to note that in the present day, some tribal people are very strict towards the girls during their menstruation. The family sends them to the hills or forest where they remain uncared for the three days. Only very few families are good enough to send them food. Compared to this, the condition of girls in orthodox families is better.

Marriage ceremony

Marriage is a social ceremony of joy and get together. Child marriage was common in earlier times in India, The couple does not know the seriousness of marriage and they take it as a game in which they are the hero and heroine. To bring the bride and bridegroom together many games such as swing, *nalangu*, searching for the ring in the pot, etc. become parts of the marriage ceremony. *Pallankuli* was one more game played by the couple surrounded by relatives encouraging each side. In many Hindu families, the bride was sent to her in-law's house with *pallankuli* made of brass or wood with game pieces so that she could play in her new home with new relatives and friends. In marriages, the affluent people used small denominations of coins (*paise*) as game pieces, of course supplied by the bride's parents, and the winner would take away the coins.

It is interesting to note that in the Muslim community in the Tirunelveli region in southern Tamilnadu, this practice still exists. The bride and the groom have no opportunity to meet each other till the wedding ceremony is over. Actually the tying of the black beads on the bride is performed not by the groom, but by an elderly woman belonging to the family. Hence, to bring in a congenial atmosphere between the couple, they are asked to play some games two or three days after the wedding. The bride's father is expected to supply 25 *paise* coins to be filled in each pit. The coins, at the end, belong to the winner. Hence, in Tamilnadu, *pallankuli* is given importance in the marriage ceremony.

Contrary to the playing of *pallankuli* on happy occasions, in India it was also played in the time of mourning. R.C Bell, in *Board and Table Games from Many Civilisations* describes

how Awari has traditional spiritual significance. It is played in a house of mourning to amuse the spirit of the dead before it is buried. It is very unlucky to play the game at night as the spirits will want to join in and may carry off the living at the end of the game. Each village would have two types of board, one with a flat top and one with a curved top, a bit like a banana. When a man died, the villagers would play on the board that was not his favourite, so that his spirit would not want to join in. It may look very superstitious, but people believe it. Traditional Awari boards are not carved out very intricately so that they can become smooth and worn by many years of play

Thus the same board game is used differently in different places. While Indians use it for making merry, the Africans play this to ward off spirits. What is to be understood is that customs and traditional practices differ from community to community.

Kalyana pandi

Kalyana pandi is played during marriage. It is already stated that young girls who had attained puberty were not allowed to play *kalyana pandi* during the puberty period, as this game forms part of the marriage ritual. This is a different type of game. The game board consists of fourteen pits, seven for each player. Each pit is initially filled with five coins. The method of playing it is as follows: Instead of spreading the coins taken from a pit, one each in every pit, all the coins from the pit will be put in the next pit and coins from the following pit will be put in the fourth pit; the play is continued till one reaches an empty pit; then the player is allowed to take all the coins next to the empty pit and from its opposite pit. When the first player's round is over, the other player plays in the similar

manner. The person who gets the maximum coins will be the winner. The game could be continued till one player loses all coins. Generally the one who starts the game will be the winner. Hence there will be a tough fight between the two players regarding who the starter would be.

Epic characters and *pallankuli*

It is believed that Rama, the epic hero, played *pallankuli* with his beloved wife Sita. It clearly shows that there was no gender discrimination in playing this game. If Lord Rama himself played *pallankuli*, Hindus would be happy to play the game played by him. A Telugu folk song refers to it as "*vamana kunda aduthama vanitha janaki*…" *Pallankuli* is known in the Telugu language as "*vamana kunda" (vamana* = small and *kunda* = pit, meaning small pit). Janaki is the other name of Sita. Both Rama and Sita might have played the pit game during their marriage or during the leisure time or when they were away from their royal household for fourteen years.

Another devotional song on Lord Rama says that both Rama and Sita happily played this game looking at each other and exchanging words of love and understanding. While praising the Lord, the devotee wants to listen to that conversation of divine couple. He says that though *pallankuli* is the game of women, Rama won Sita. What is to be noted here is that although the devotional song was written at a later period, it recognises the existence of the *mancala* game in the *Ramayana* period and Rama himself was skilled enough to win Sita. Perhaps this song indirectly expresses the chauvinistic attitude of men and man's success over women even in a board game. It is interesting to note from the devotee poet that *pallankuli* was the game of womenfolk.

The song goes like this:

O Ruler of Ayodhya, of the inestimable form.
I have the desire to listen
To my heart's fill and and ears delight, your sweet speech
That you and Sita spoke with truth true love and understanding,
Gazing at each other, when you played the game of pallankuli
With her and won, which was heard by Bharata and Hanuman.

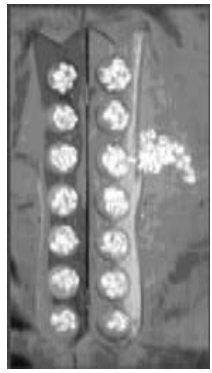
It may be the imagination of the devoted singer, but it indirectly stresses the success of a male (Rama) in the woman's domain and establishment of male power over women. The beautiful drawing available below is a clear expression of the poet. Rama and Sita are playing the *pallankuli*, but the concentration of Sita is more on Rama. Perhaps in that situation Sita fails to play the proper game and Rama easily wins over her. As it is described in the song, Bharata and Hanuman are overhearing the conversation of the couple. There is a possibility of the non-occurrence of this event, but the poet's imagination made it possible for Rama's devotees. What is more interesting is the choice of the game played by the couple, by the poet. There are innumerable board games played in India, but how and why the poet chose *pallankuli* is not known. Perhaps it was a popular game of the time in which the poet lived, or it was a game of the couple. Hence the poet has taken the liberty to express the way in which the game was played by Rama and Sita, exchanging words of love which were overheard by Rama's brother Bharata and his devotee Hanuman.

The following painting shows Rama and Sita playing *pallankuli*; also seen are Bharata and Hanuman.

Mentally-challenged children

It was a pleasant surprise when I received an invitation, after the publication of my book on *Folk Games of Tamilnadu*, from Retired Vice Air Marshall Krishnaswamy and his wife Mrs.Jaya to conduct a workshop on traditional board games for the teachers of their school for mentally challenged children, run by the Madhuram Narayanan Trust. They said that they had listened to my talk on the traditional board games of the Tamils

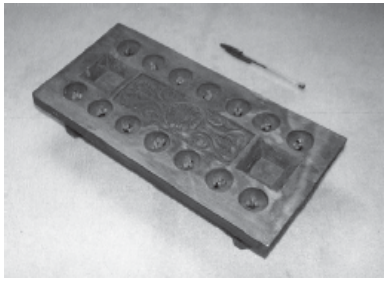
and were impressed with the values and uses of the games for growing children. I had already said that though initially these games were mainly played for recreation, later research has proved that the players are able to consciously or unconsciously cultivate their motor and mental skills, better memory, tackling of opponents and finishing the game, not only fast but first too. I happily agreed and organised a workshop on May 31, 2006 at their school premises. Some 20 teachers and parents participated in the workshop. *Tayakattam* and similar game boards, three types of *paramapadam* (snakes-and-ladders) and three *pallankuli* (*mancala*), along with the game pieces and throwing pieces, were displayed to the participants. To my surprise, only few of them knew to play some of the games. The teachers and parents were quite young and showed keen interest in the workshop. I introduced the games to them by showing the game boards, the necessary coins to be used for each game, and the different throwing pieces used for some board games. As far as *pallankuli* was concerened, very few had seen the game board earlier or played it. Others expressed their ignorance of the subject.



During the earlier Colloquium at Fribourg in 2001, I had traced nine games of *pallankuli*, the tenth one in my recent publication and the eleventh one (*kalyana pandi*) in this paper. I explained to the participants about the number of players for each game, game pieces for each pit and the method of playing. When they started playing the game, they realised the difficulty in taking the game pieces from the pit, distributing the same one each, in each pit, analysing the condition of the pits and coins of the opponent, etc. It is not possible to master all these in one stroke. It needs regular play, good memory and fast finger action.

They slowly realised the intricacies of the game. In the beginning, every one was very slow in picking the coins from the pit and distributing the same.Sometimes coins were not distributed properly. Then they realised how useful this game would be for mentally challenged children. They wanted me to come again and play with the children.

My next visit took place on July 31, 2006. Then I took *pallankuli* boards, cowries and *kundumanis (Abrus precatorius)* and took four children for a board. It was not as easy as I expected. Only then did I realise the utility and value of the game, especially for these special children. Though one or two children were able to take the coins from the pit (initially I had put only four coins in each pit), other children found it very difficult to pick the coins from the pit, hold it for a minute and distribute one each in pits.Coins were falling from their hands. They spread the coins unequally in the pits. It was only possible on the first day. No rules and methods of playing the game were understood by them. But we were happy that they spent their time happily and tried to do something with the game pieces and the game board.



As it was time consuming to deal with the children, we took a decision to teach the game to the teachers, so that they would be able to teach the same to their class children on daily basis as they are with them every day. It suited me. Hence

I made another trip to the school on 17th August 2006 and taught the teachers some games which they understood easily and played. I am sure that they will take this as part of the curriculum to improve various skills of the children. No miracle will take place over night. But as it is a game, and as both the teachers and mothers, who stay with the children, are very interested in imparting the knowledge and method of playing the game to these children, I am hopeful that these folk games, especially *pallankuli*, will be of use to them.

Blind *pallankuli*

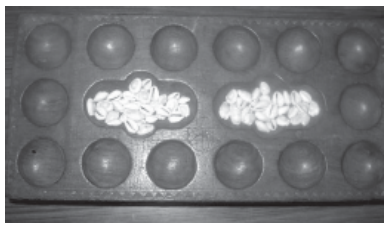
In an article on "*Blind Mancala*", Víktor Bautista, one of the European Oware players, reported in 2006 that he played Oware blindfolded together with a friend in a restaurant while half the restaurant was looking at them amazed. Both are not visually impaired. Victor says,*"At the beginning it was not easy, but after a few moves, we really enjoyed the experience. We mostly counted by touch, but were also just remembering everything."* He also recommended, at least when starting to play blindfolded, to have a referee at hand, who may assist when problems arise. Though this game is played by *mancala* experts blindfolding themselves for fun and challenge, I feel that it could be taught to really blind people so that theymay not only enjoy the game but also develop a sense of confidence in themselves. It could be a part of their curriculum for the blind children.

Alexander J. de Voogt wrote in his dissertation on the characterization of *bao* mastership that in 1992 Blind *bao* was unknown in Zanzibar or even in East Africa. He then designed a "Blind Play Experiment" to research the cognitive abilities of *bao* masters, which was conducted from 1992-1994. This could be followed in all countries not only to know the abilities of the experts but also train the visually handicapped in developing

skills. Similar experimental workshops could be conducted in *pallankuli* in Indian schools. It will be interesting to train the *pallankuli* players in blind play. Youngsters can be encouraged to play the game blindfold to improve their talents. Perhaps it may give way to the blind to learn the game and become experts.

Teaching Maths through *pallankuli*

At Sivananda Balalaya, Tiruchi, the Maths textbooks authored by the educational consultants of the school are called *Joyful Math*. The teaching-learning methodology employed is child-learner-centric and activity based. So the math concepts are assimilated easily. A math lab has been set up as a support and to supplement classroom teaching. The lab is equipped with abacus, *pallankuli*, sticks, tamarind seeds, geo board, straws, inch tape, playing cards, carom coins and many more such commonly used articles.



The children are introduced to concepts like division, LCM and averages through *pallankuli*. The abacus comes in handy to explain the concept of splitting of numerals, partial place value, addition, subtraction and decimals. The children use the geo-board to learn theorems and shapes. Outdoor math classes are a common feature here. The math lab is equipped with a math kit that contains self-learning activity and problem cards. What is interesting to our study is that *pallankuli* board and coins are also used as equipments in the lab (*The Hindu*, September 20, 2003).

Conclusion

Pallankuli has regional and local importance. The nomenclature used in each game reveals its local identity. They reflect the human mind, feelings, talents, approach and interest of not only the players but the onlookers too. The mathematical and geometrical knowledge of the makers of these board games is amazing. Without any appliances, rural people are able to draw the boards either on the floor, sand or slab with a piece of limestone, brick or charcoal. The game pieces cost nothing. Whatever is easily available could be used as coins.The rural people enjoyed their short lunch intervals by playing *pallankuli* under the tree or in the work spot itself. Because of their simple origins, these games have not attracted the attention of earlier scholars and have not been treated with much value, unlike the game of chess. The anthropological and sociological impact of these games tells the cultural history of the region.

Although the game of *pallankuli* has been closely associated with women, an in depth study on the subject reveals more details .The recreational aspect of *pallankuli* has been set aside and scholars and educationists have started looking at the proper use of *pallankuli*. Research has proven that there is overall improvement in the motor skill, memory and activities of differently abled people and mentally challenged children. Although it continues in villages as a game of entertainment mainly for women, and the game boards of different shapes, sizes and metals find their place in different museums, there is no doubt that the gender theory attached to this game is no longer acceptable. It is a game for all people – men and women, boys and girls and differently abled people of all ages

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formation of the earth deity Bhu (circa 350-550 A.D.)[18]. A popular Incan myth from South America is one where Goddess Pachamama, the wife of sun god Inti, is asked by her husband to civilize human beings who were living like beasts on earth. Following his request, Goddess Pachamama performs her duties as a ruler of the earth. She begins destroying everything if not appeased at regular intervals with substantial sacrifices, with dairy products, alcohol, animals, human beings etc[19]. Both these myths are based on the duality concept[20], but the Indian myth portrays the earth goddess Prithvi or Bhu as a passive, subordinated deity, whereas the Native American myth depicts the empowerment of Pachamama by making her the ruler of the earth.

The Incans later conceived Pachamama as an independent earth deity who, when associated with Inti, is conceived as a benevolent goddess; and when worshipped alone is more related to mystic phenomena, ranging from sexuality, warfare, devastation, death, etc. The Native American tribes, being engaged in an infinitum tribal warfare in the past for their physical survival and expansion, worshipped Pachamama for victory over the enemies. Upon attaining success in war, they provided offerings of human body parts and the blood of their enemies, sacrificed by extreme torture, to the deity. Today, the worship of Pachamama in both benevolent and malevolent forms are conducted in the form of pilgrimage to her temple shrines found mostly in the mountainous regions of Cuzco, Peru and in parts of Bolivia where the folks rejoice, dance and offer corn, corn syrup, coca leaves, dashes of cane alcohol and Llama sacrifices, in order to soften the hard soil to give way to the seeds to generate[21]. In ancient India, Sakti[22] was perceived as a war deity and was worshipped by the Kshatriyas (warrior clan) for the gain of land, and the rituals included in her worship were mystic incantations, votive offerings, sacrifice of birds, animals and human beings[23]. During the course of time, Sakti worship evolved as a complex phenomenon where she became associated popularly with the fertility of the land and human beings.

The earth deity of Indians and the Native Americans possess peculiar iconography. In India, the iconography varies as per the epithets attributed to the earth deity. For example, the earth goddess Prithvi of the early Aryan period[24] was confined to the Vedic texts and remained totally in abstract status. On the other hand, the earth goddess of the later Vedic periods, under the name Bhu, attained a significant place in ancient Hindu

temples in the form of stone sculptures. Generally, Bhu has been depicted in an anthropomorphic form, with feminine luster, having two hands, an attractive face, and seated on the lap of shoulder of her consort, Varaha. Similarly, the other earth goddesses also were attributed with due iconographical features in the later Vedic periods in India. For example, the earth goddess Lakshmi has been portrayed with two or four hands holding attributes that signify agricultural and material riches. Under the form Varahi, the earth deity has a face of a boar, possesses four or more hands, one of which generally holds a plough to indicate her association with the earth and agriculture. Few earth goddesses such as Sita and Bhumata attain a symbolic form as an earth mound, worshipped for planting and harvesting of the earth. The iconographical aspects of the earth goddess in India are based on myths and follow the iconographical cannons of the ancient sculptural texts.

On the other hand, the Native American traditional Pachamama attains a simple iconography derived from a primitive form. She is generally depicted in stone or wooden sculptures in an anthropomorphic form, with an upright standing posture with legs stretched straight, exaggerated breasts, a bulging stomach, and her two hands resting on the stomach in a folded position, her facial features varying according to regional taste, which at times is with rigid facial contour. In this form, she mostly symbolizes the fertility aspects of woman and the earth, and is worshipped for progeny besides healthy agriculture. Today, her sculptures are not found in any temples, but in the portable sculptural form, Pachamama is popularly placed in home shrines of Peruvians, Bolivians and other South American communities who, though converted to Christianity, continue to venerate this goddess with high esteem. The turning point for the worship of Pachamama was the Spanish invasion (circa 6th century A.D.), where Christianity was imposed in the South American regions. However, it has been observed that the worship of Pachamama was so deeply ingrained in the socio-religious realm of the local subjects that the conquerors failed to do away with it. Hence, the deity Pachamama served as an archetype goddess who synchronized with Virgin Mary, the main deity of the successive Columbian culture. Today, almost all the rural folks of South America worship Pachamama. In places such as La Paz, the people of the Christian faith continue to offer a small portion of food to the earth that symbolizes Pachamama, before commencing any of their Hispanic fiesta[25].

As the similarities depict, it would be pointed out that the ancient Indians and the Native American possessed a commonality in conceiving the planet earth. The earth represented a fruitful and prolific mother, a great entity involved in the creation of progeny and agriculture essential for survival. The main idea perhaps was to preserve the benevolent earth forever, and in this context the societal arbiters of both Indian and Native Americans civilizations probably brought the earth into the framework of religion by including various myths, rituals and ceremonies. Subsequently, these religious obligations encouraged people to take care of the earth. Unfortunately, the rapid urbanization of the present world curbs the sentiment of preserving the planet for a healthy life. However, traditional sentiments and practices still continue among the rural folk of both India and Native America, where the fertile earth is the prime concern and revered as a supreme deity to this day.

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THE HORSE AND THE ARYAN DEBATE

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The presence or absence of the horse in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization has been a bone of contention for decades, especially in the context of the Aryan invasion theory. The argument is familiar: the Rig-Veda uses the word *ashva* over 200 times, *ergo* the Vedic society must have been full of horses, *ergo* the Harappan civilization, from which the noble animal is conspicuously absent, must be pre-Vedic and non-Aryan. The horse must therefore have been brought into India around 1500 BCE by the invading Aryans, who used its speed to crushing advantage in order to subdue the native, ox-driven populations. This line of reasoning is regarded as so evident and foolproof that it is taken to be the final word on the issue; as a result, we find it confidently repeated in reference books and history textbooks dealing with India's prehistory.

However, on closer view, there are serious flaws at every step of the argument — and indeed several concealed steps. I will first examine the physical evidence of the horse from various Harappan sites, both in terms of skeletal remains and depictions, before turning to problems of methodology that have compounded the confusion, in particular the double-edged use of negative evidence, and the persisting colonial misreadings of the Rig-Veda.

Physical remains of the horse in Indus-Sarasvati sites

Our first surprise is that contrary to conventional assertions, quite a few archaeologists have reported horse remains from India's prehistoric sites. A. Ghosh's respected and authoritative *Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology* mentions without fuss:

> In India the ... true horse is reported from the Neolithic levels at Kodekal [dist. Gulbarga of Karnataka] and Hallur [dist. Raichur of Karnataka] and the late

> Harappa levels at Mohenjo-daro (Sewell and Guha, 1931) and Ropar and at Harappa, Lothal and numerous other sites. … Recently bones of *Equus caballus* have also been reported from the proto-Harappa site of Malvan in Gujarat[1].

Mortimer Wheeler, a flamboyant proponent of the Aryan invasion theory if ever there was one, admitted long ago that "it is likely enough that camel, horse and ass were in fact a familiar feature of the Indus caravan[2]." The well-known archaeologist B. B. Lal refers to a number of horse teeth and bones reported from Kalibangan, Ropar, Malvan and Lothal[3]. Another senior archaeologist, S. P. Gupta, adds further details on those finds, including early ones[4]. In the case of Lothal, the archaeozoologist Bhola Nath certified the identification of a tooth[5]; he also made similar observations regarding bones from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa[6]. A. K. Sharma's well-known identification of horse remains (Fig. 1) at Surkotada (in Katchchh) was endorsed by the late Hungarian archaeozoologist Sándor Bökönyi, an internationally respected authority in the field; in 1991, taking care to distinguish them from those of the local wild ass (*khur*), he confirmed several of them to be "remnants of true horses[7]," and what is more, domesticated horses. In his 1993 report to the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, Bökönyi made no bones about the whole issue:

> Through a thorough study of the equid remains of the prehistoric settlement of Surkotada, Kutch, excavated under the direction of Dr. J. P. Joshi, I can state the following: The occurrence of true horse (*Equus caballus* L.) was evidenced by the enamel pattern of the upper and lower cheek and teeth and by the size and form of incisors and phalanges (toe bones). Since no wild horses lived in India in post-Pleistocene times, the domestic nature of the Surkotada horses is undoubtful. This is also supported by an inter-maxilla fragment whose incisor tooth shows clear signs of crib biting, a bad habit only existing among domestic horses which are not extensively used for war[8].

Quite in tune with the findings at Surkotada and Lothal, P. K. Thomas, P. P. Joglekar et al., experts from the Deccan College on faunal remains, reported horse bones from the nearby Harappan site of Shikarpur "in the Mature Harappan period[9]," and from Kuntasi (at the boundary between Kutch and Saurashtra)[10].

To the Neolithic sites mentioned by A. Ghosh, we must add Koldihwa (in the Belan valley of Allahabad district), where G. R. Sharma et al. identified horse fossils[11]. Contemporary with the Harappan period, the culture of the Chambal valley (in Madhya Pradesh) was explored by the respected archaeologist M. K. Dhavalikar, with layers dated between 2450 and 2000 BCE. His observations are remarkable:

> The most interesting is the discovery of bones of horse from the Kayatha levels and a terracotta figurine of a mare. It is the domesticate species (*Equus caballus*), which takes back the antiquity of the steed in India to the latter half of the third millennium BC. The presence of horse at Kayatha in all the chalcolithic levels assumes great significance in the light of the controversy about the horse[12].

Let us stress that just as at Surkotada, the horse at Kayatha was domesticated.

In the face of so many reports from so many sites by so many experts, a blanket denial of the animal's physical presence in pre-1500 BCE India passes one's comprehension. Are we to believe that *all* identifications of horse remains by experts are wrong and misleading? Have scholars rejecting such evidence personally crosschecked even 10% of it? Have they, too, expressed similar doubts about the identification of other animal remains found in the same sites and conditions?

Richard Meadow and Ajita Patel did challenge Sándor Bökönyi's report to the Archaeological Survey[13]. Bökönyi however stuck to his views (although he passed away before he could give his final response), and Meadow and Patel concluded their long plea with the rather weak

statement that "… in the end that [Bökönyi's identification of horse remains at Surkotada] may be a matter of emphasis and opinion[14]." What makes their eagerness to convince Bökönyi to change his mind suspect is that they never challenged Indian experts such as A. K. Sharma, P. K. Thomas or P. P. Joglekar; it was only when Bökönyi endorsed findings on the "Harappan horse" that they got alarmed. Since then, amusingly, their inconclusive paper has been quoted by several Marxist[15] historians as the last word on the nonexistence of the horse in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization[16]. Even more ironically, when invasionists attempt to trace the introduction of the horse into Europe, they turn to the same Bökönyi[17]! His expertise was never in question in Europe, but is unacceptable in India.

The old argument that so-called horse remains invariably belong to species of wild ass such as the onager (*Equus hemionus onager*), the khur (*Equus hemionus* khur), or the plain ass (*Equus asinus*) is unacceptable, firstly because it is sweeping in nature and produces little or no evidence, secondly because in several cases, experts have *simultaneously* reported remains of the wild ass from the very same sites, which implies some ability to distinguish between those species[18].

Another frequent and sweeping objection is that the dates of the disputed horse remains are not firmly established and might be much more recent. But Jagat Pati Joshi's excavation report, for instance, makes it clear that,

> At Surkotada from all the three periods quite a good number of bones of horse (*Equus Caballus* Linn) ... have been recovered. The parts recovered are very distinctive bones: first, second and third phalanges and few vertebrae fragments[19].

The first of Surkotada's "three periods" coincides with the mature stage of the Harappan civilization[20], which rules out the possibility of the horse having been introduced by Aryans around 1500 BCE. Moreover, we have the case of Mahagara (near Allahabad), where horse bones were not only identified by G. R. Sharma et al., but "six sample absolute carbon 14 tests have given dates ranging from 2265 B.C.E. to 1480 B.C.E.[21]" The case of Hallur, mentioned by A. Ghosh above, is even more striking: the

excavation (in the late 1960s) brought out horse remains that were dated between 1500 and 1300 BCE, in other words, about the time Aryans are pictured to have galloped down the Khyber pass, some 2,000 north of Hallur[22]. Even at a fierce Aryan pace, the animal could hardly have reached Karnataka by that time. When K. R. Alur, an archaeozoologist as well as a veterinarian, published his report on the animal remains from the site, he received anxious queries, even protests: there had to be some error regarding those horse bones. A fresh excavation was eventually undertaken some twenty years later — which brought to light more horse bones, and more consternation. Alur saw no reason to alter his original report, and wrote that his critics' opinion "cannot either deny or alter the find of a scientific fact that the horse was present at Hallur before the (presumed) period of Aryan invasion[23]." The claim that horse finds are undated is therefore disingenuous.

Finally, S. P. Gupta offers a sensible reply to the further objection that horse remains, if at all they are accepted, rarely account for more than 2% of the total animal remains at any site. Pointing out that the same holds true of the camel and elephant (animals undeniably present in Harappan sites), he explains that this low proportion is "simply because these animals are not likely to have been as regularly eaten as cattle, sheep and goats as well as fish whose bones are abundantly found at all Indus-Saraswati settlements[24]."

All in all, the case for the horse's physical presence in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization is quite overwhelming, and is bound to be further strengthened by evidence yet to come out of thousands of unexplored sites. Archaeologist A. K. Sharma's conclusion, in a paper that surveyed the "horse evidence" and his own experiences in this regard, is worth quoting:

It is really strange that no notice was taken by archaeologists of these vital findings, and the oft-repeated theory that the true domesticated horse was not known to the Harappans continued to be harped upon,

coolly ignoring these findings to help our so-called veteran historians and archaeologists of Wheeler's generation to formulate and propagate their theory of 'Aryan invasion of India on horse-back'....[25]

Depictions of the horse and the spoked wheel

The Harappans certainly built much of their religious symbols around animals, depicting many of them on their seals and tablets, in terracotta figurines, or as pottery motifs. While it is true that the horse does not appear on the Harappan seals (except if we were to accept the conjecture by S. R. Rao[26] and a few other scholars that the composite animal represented on thousands of seals as a unicorn actually has a horse's head), it has been hastily claimed that the animal is never depicted at all.

A horse figurine did emerge at Mohenjo-daro (Fig. 2), which drew the following comment from E. J. H. Mackay, one of the early excavators at the site:

> Perhaps the most interesting of the model animals is one that I personally take to represent a horse. I do not think we need be particularly surprised if it should be proved that the horse existed thus early at Mohenjo-daro[27].

Wheeler himself accepted it as such[28]. Another figurine was reported by Stuart Piggot from Periano Ghundai, and several at Lothal, some of them with a fairly clear evocation of the horse (Fig. 3 & 4)[29]. The horse also appears on some pottery, for instance at pre-Harappan levels of Kunal (Haryana), among other animals, according to the excavator R. S. Bisht et al[30]. Another figurine was found at Balu, with what looks like a saddle[31]. Dhavalikar, quoted above, mentioned "a terracotta figurine of a mare" in the Chambal valley. Finally, the horse is depicted in rock art (for instance at Bhimbetka or Morhana Pahar in the Narmada valley), but unfortunately, we have very few absolute dates for rock art in India.

It is not just the horse that invasionist scholars sought to erase from pre-1500 BC India: they also asserted that the spoked wheel came to India only with the Aryans[32]. "The first appearance of [the invading

with a terror..." writes Michael Witzel in a grandiloquent echo of nineteenth-century racial theories[33]. The spoked wheel was thus seen as a crucial element in the speed game, compared to the slow bullock-driven solid-wheeled Harappan cart — until it turned out that Harappans did have spoked wheels, after all. Fig. 5 shows a few terracotta wheels from Banawali and Rakhigarhi where the spokes are clearly visible in relief or painted[34]. More such wheels have been found at Kuntasi[35] and at Lothal.

All this material illustrates the danger of "negative evidence": it takes very little to make it irrelevant.

Methodological issues

Raw evidence apart, the appearance of the horse in the Indian subcontinent is, in reality, a complex issue, and by treating it crudely, the conventional theory suffers from serious methodological flaws. Let us briefly highlight a few of them.

Physical remains and depictions of the horse in India after 1500 BC

The invasionist school posits that the horse was introduced into India by the "Aryans" around 1500 BC. One would therefore expect a marked increase in remains and depictions of the animal after that fateful event (or non-event). Yet — and this is one of the best kept secrets of Indian prehistory — nothing of the sort happens.

Looking only at the early historical layers, Taxila, Hastinapur or Atranjikhera (Uttar Pradesh) have indeed yielded bones of both the true horse and the domestic ass (strangely, the distinction between the two is no longer disputed here!), but at other sites, such as Nashik, Nagda (Madhya Pradesh), Sarnath, Arikamedu (Tamil Nadu), Brahmagiri (Karnataka), Nagarjunakonda (Andhra Pradesh), no remains of either animal have turned up. There are also sites like Jaugada (Orissa) or Maski (Karnataka) where the ass has been found, but not the horse[36]. Finally, data available from sites that do come up with horse remains show no significant increase in the overall percentage of horse bones or teeth compared to Harappan sites such as Surkotada.

If, therefore, the low amount of evidence for the horse in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization is taken as proof that that civilization is pre-Vedic, we must extend the same logic to the whole of pre-Mauryan India! It is clear that the horse was as rare or as common an animal before and after 1500 BC — "rare" is probably the correct statement for both.

As regards "post-invasion" depictions of the horse, they are also no more frequent than in Harappan sites: barring a few figurines at Pirak, Hastinapura and Atranjikhera, we find no striking representations of the animal, while we would have expected the aggressive "Aryans" to pay rich tributes to their instrument of conquest, which, invasionists tell us, the Rig-Veda glorifies so much. And yet, "the first deliberate and conscious attempt of shaping a horse in durable material like stone was witnessed in the art of the Mauryas in India," writes historian T. K. Biswas[37]. Another historian, Jayanti Rath, commenting on the animals depicted on early Indian coins, remarks: "The animal world of the punch-marked coins consists of elephant, bull, lion. dog, cat, deer, camel, rhinoceros, rabbit, frog, fish, turtle, ghariyal (fish eater crocodile), scorpion and snake. Among the birds, peacock is very popular. The lion and horse symbols appear to have acquired greater popularity in 3rd century B.C.[38]"

All in all, an eerie equine silence pervades pre-Mauryan India.

Physical remains and depictions of the horse outside India

It helps to take a look at a few regions outside India. In contemporary Bactria, for instance, the horse is well documented through depictions in grave goods, yet no horse bones have been found. "This again underscores the point that lack of horse bones does not equal the absence of horse," writes U.S. Indologist Edwin Bryant[39].

In the case of the horse in America, where its spread is fairly well known, Elizabeth Wing points out,

> Once safely landed in the New World, they are reported to have prospered along with cattle in the grazing lands, free of competitors and predators. Horse remains, however, are seldom encountered in the archaeological sites. This may be a function of patterns of disposal, in which remains of beasts of burden which were not

> usually consumed would not be incorporated in food or butchering refuse remains[40].

This fits with the picture we have formed of the horse in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization, and with S. P. Gupta's similar observation on the non-consumption of horse meat. Clearly, invasionists have sought to put too much weight on the rarity of horse remains in the third millennium.

Introduction of the horse = Aryan invasion?

Another *non sequitur* is that since the true horse was undoubtedly introduced into India at some time, and probably from Central Asia, it can only have been introduced by invading Aryans.

As we have seen, the horse's introduction must have taken place right from Mature Harappan times, if not earlier; but let us assume for the sake of argument that it only happened, as invasionist scholars assert without the least evidence, in Late Harappan times. Even if it were so, how would it establish that the horse came as a result of an invasion or a migration, when other possibilities are equally valid, or more so if we look at the evolution of the region? Bryant, again, puts it crisply:

> In the absence of irrefutable linguistic evidence, there is no reason to feel compelled to believe that the introduction of the horse into the subcontinent is indicative of the introduction of new peoples any more than the introduction of any other innovatory items of material culture (such as camels, sorghum, rice, lapis lazuli, or anything else) is representative of new human migratory influxes[41].

In other words, at whatever epoch, the horse could have been introduced as an item of trade — and we do know that Harappans had extensive trade contacts with a wide region, from Mesopotamia all the way to northern Afghanistan and possibly parts of Turkmenistan. This is indeed the stand of archaeologists like Jean-François Jarrige or Jonathan M. Kenoyer. The latter, for instance, notes that the adoption of the horse or the camel reflects "changes [that] were made by the indigenous [Late Harappan] inhabitants, and were not the result of a new people streaming

into the region. The horse and camel would indicate connections with Central Asia[42]."

Whatever the date of the horse's introduction into the subcontinent might be, there is no ground to assume a "violent" introduction through a war-like conquest.

The problem of depiction

Regardless of the issue of physical remains, invasionists have persisted, understandably so, in stressing the nagging non-depiction of the horse on Indus seals (conveniently glossing over the figurines mentioned earlier). However, S. P. Gupta points out that the camel, "wolf, cat, deer, Nilgai, fowl, jackal are rarely or never found in [Harappan] art but their presence has been attested by bones[43]." We can add the camel and the lion, which were certainly present in some regions of the Harappan civilization yet were never depicted. The scholar K. D. Sethna pertinently asks, "As there are no depictions of the cow, in contrast to the pictures of the bull, which are abundant, should we conclude that Harappa and Mohenjo-daro had only bulls?[44]" Sethna goes further; he makes the opposite point that the mythical unicorn is found on numerous seals, and asks, "Was the unicorn a common animal of the proto-historic Indus Valley?"[45]

Clearly, animal representations, or their absence, have cultural reasons: the Indus seals were not intended to be zoological handbooks. Until we have a deeper understanding of Harappan culture, we can only conjecture about its iconography.

Is the Vedic horse the true horse?

Invasionists are usually unaware that they begin by making an important assumption: they take it for granted that the Vedic horse is the true horse, *Equus caballus* L. Although this might appear self-evident, it is not. In fact, as some scholars have pointed out, the Rig-Veda[46] describes the horse as having 34 ribs; so does a passage in the Shatapatha Brahmana[47]. However, the true horse generally has two pairs of 18 ribs, i.e. 36 and not 34.

This suggests that the horse referred to in the Rig-Veda may have been a different species, such as the smaller and stockier Siwalik or

Przewalski horses, which often (not always) had 34 ribs. The scholar Paul Manansala, who stressed this point, concluded: "So the horse of India, including that of the asvamedha sacrifice in what is regarded as the oldest part of the Rgveda, is a distinct variety native to southeastern Asia[48]."

The question is far from solved, as experts in the field do not always see eye to eye, but it also cannot be wished away.

Meaning of *ashva* in the Rig-Veda

We now come to a more fundamental point. After the nineteenth-century European Sanskritists, most scholars have taken it for granted that Vedic society should be full of horses because of the frequent occurrence of *ashva* in the Rig-Veda. This conclusion is flawed on two grounds.

First, because the language of the Rig-Veda is a symbolic one that constantly operates at different levels. Else, how could we explain powerful images with no possible ritualistic or "animist" explanation, such as a lower and an upper ocean[49], a "wave of honey" rising from the ocean[50], rivers of ghee rising in the "ocean of the heart[51]," a "well of honey" hidden under the rock[52], a divine fire born of waters[53], present in the stone[54], or compared to a child that gave birth to its own mothers[55], an "eighth sun, hidden in darkness[56]," and dozens more? A purely materialistic or ritualistic reading of the Rig-Veda is bound to fail us at every step, and is unjustified when other mythologies, from the Babylonian to the Egyptian and the Greek, have long been explored at deeper figurative and symbolic levels. It is strange how most scholars, hypnotized by colonial misinterpretations, have failed to follow the Rig-Veda's own clue: "Secret words that reveal their meaning [only] to the seer[57]."

So let us turn to one such "seer." As early as 1912-14, a decade before the discovery of the Indus-Sarasvati civilization, and thus long before our "Harappan horse" controversy, Sri Aurobindo in his study of the Rig-Veda and the Upanishads found that

> The word *ashva* must originally have implied strength or speed or both before it came to be applied to a horse[58].

More specifically,

> The cow and horse, *go* and *ashva*, are constantly associated. Usha, the Dawn, is described as *gomati ashvavati*; Dawn gives to the sacrificer horses and cows. As applied to the physical dawn *gomati* means accompanied by or bringing the rays of light and is an image of the dawn of illumination in the human mind. Therefore *ashvavati* also cannot refer merely to the physical steed; it must have a psychological significance as well. A study of the Vedic horse led me to the conclusion that *go* and *ashva* represent the two companion ideas of Light and Energy, Consciousness and Force....[59]

> For the ritualist the word *go* means simply a physical cow and nothing else, just as its companion word, *ashva*, means simply a physical horse.... When the Rishi prays to the Dawn, *gomad viravad dhehi ratnam uso ashvavat*, the ritualistic commentator sees in the invocation only an entreaty for "pleasant wealth to which are attached cows, men (or sons) and horses". If on the other hand these words are symbolic, the sense will run, "Confirm in us a state of bliss full of light, of conquering energy and of force of vitality[60]."

In other words, Sri Aurobindo rejects a mechanical equation *ashva* = horse. The constant association of the Vedic horse with waters and the ocean, from the Rig-Veda to the Puranic myth of the churning of the ocean, confirms that we are not dealing here with an ordinary animal, as does the depiction of the Ashvins as birds. Within this framework, the *ashvamedha* sacrifice also deserves a new treatment, which the Indologist Subhash Kak has recently outlined very cogently[61].

Sri Aurobindo's stand received indirect support from a wholly different angle, that of the late anthropologist Edmund Leach, who warned against the picture of a horse-rich Rig-Vedic society:

> The prominent place given to horses and chariots in the Rig Veda can tell us virtually nothing that might distinguish any real society for which the Rig Veda might provide a partial cosmology. If anything, it suggests that in real society (as opposed to its mythological counterpart), horses and chariots were a rarity, ownership of which was a mark of aristocratic or kingly distinction[62].

Thus the place of the horse in the Rig-Veda needs to be reassessed from a decolonized standpoint, with a fresh look at the Vedic message and experience. If Sri Aurobindo and Leach are both right, then the word *ashva* refers only occasionally to the actual animal, and its rarity is well reflected in the modest amount of physical remains and depictions. Indeed, even in today's India, despite having been imported into India for many centuries, the horse remains a relatively rare animal, invisible in most villages.

At this point, a valid objection could be raised: if the horse did exist in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization, and if one wishes to equate this civilization with Vedic culture[63], the latter at least makes a symbolic use of the animal; why is the horse therefore not depicted more often as a symbol in Harappan art, for instance on the Indus seals? The answer I propose is simple: even if the Rig-Veda is contemporary with, or older than, the mature Indus-Sarasvati civilization, we need not expect Harappan art to be a pure reflection of Vedic concepts. The Veda represents the very specific quest of a few rishis, who are unlikely to have lived in the middle of the Harappan towns. Although Vedic concepts and symbols are visible in Harappan culture, the latter is a *popular* culture; in the same way, the culture of today's Indian village need not exactly reflect Chennai's music and dance sabhas. Between Kalibangan's peasant sacrificing a goat for good rains and the rishi in quest of *Tat ekam,* That One, there is a substantial difference, even if they ultimately share the same worldview.

Only a more subtle approach to Harappan and Vedic cultures can throw light on their apparent differences.

Is *ashva* only Aryan?

One more unstated assumption of invasionists, who trust that their readers will not go and check the original text, is that *ashva,* in the Rig-Veda, is a purely Aryan animal. But is that what the text actually says? No doubt, most of the references place *ashva,* whatever the word means in the Rishis' mind, squarely on the side of the Aryan gods and their human helpers. But it turns out that there are a few revealing exceptions, when Dasyus and Panis also possess *ashvas*.

For instance, Indra-Soma, by means of the truth (*eva satyam*), shatters the stable where Dasyus were holding "horses and cows" (*ashvyam goh*)[64]. In another hymn, Indra's human helpers find the Pani's "horses and cattle": "The Angirasas gained the whole enjoyment of the Pani, its herds of the cows and the horses[65]."

The most striking passage[66] is from the famous dialogue between the divine hound Sarama, Indra's intransigent emissary, and the Panis, after she has discovered their faraway den, where they jealously hoard their "treasures." Sarama boldly declares Indra's intention to seize these treasures, but the Panis are unimpressed and threaten to fight back; they taunt her: "O Sarama, see the treasure deep in the mountain, it is full of cows and horses and treasures (*gobhir ashvebhir vasubhir nyrsah*). The Panis guard it watchfully. You have come in vain to a rich dwelling." Every verse makes it clear that all these treasures, horses included, belong to the Panis; at no point does Sarama complain that these are stolen goods: "I come in search of your great treasures[67]," she declares at first, and the Panis would not be insolent enough to taunt her with goods seized from the Aryans; yet Sarama considers that Indra is fully entitled to them.

Now, if we followed the same colonial reading that invasionists impose on the Vedas, we would be forced to acknowledge that the Dasyus and Panis also had horses of their own — which of course negates the whole idea of the animal having been introduced by the Aryans. It does look as if this Vedic landscape is getting a little too crowded with horses, rather like a cheap Hollywood western.

To understand the Dasyus' and Panis' "horses," we need to return to the Vedic symbolism proposed by Sri Aurobindo: the demons do possess lights (cows) and energies or powers (horses), but, as misers, keep them for themselves, neither for the gods nor for man. In the Vedic view, this is a transgression of the cosmic law. The duty of the rishi, helped by the gods, is to reconquer those "treasures" and put them to their true purpose; only then will the cosmic order be reestablished. This is certainly more interesting than the tribal clashes of a barbaric and primitive age. In fact, the Rig-Veda itself makes its symbolism clear again and again, if only we can learn to read it with an open mind. In the last verse[68] of the dialogue between Sarama and the Panis, for instance, the narrator concludes, "Go away, you Panis! Let out the cows which, hidden, infringe the Order!" This "order" is *ritam*, the true cosmic law. It is infringed not because the Panis hide a few cows and horses inside a cave, but because they misuse their lights and powers and do not offer them up as a sacrifice. That is why Indra is entitled to their treasures — not because

he is a greedy tribal leader out to expand his territory and wealth; and that is why he can shatter the demons' dens only "by means of the truth."

Had it not been for the Aryan invasion theory, the Rig-Veda would have long ago been the object of interpretations on a level with that accorded to Greek or Egyptian mythology, instead of being constricted to a literalist reading.

Conclusions

That the invasionist scholars should have skirted such important issues, as regards both findings and methodology, does little to inspire confidence. Clearly, the whole question of the Vedic and Harappan horse has been treated simplistically. To sum up:

Several species of Equus, including the true horse, existed in the Indus-Sarasvati civilization, probably in small numbers. Some of them may have entered India over a much longer time span than is usually granted, in the course of the Indus-Sarasvati civilization's interactions with neighbouring areas, but certainly not through any Aryan invasion or migration, which in any case has already been rejected by archaeological, anthropological, genetic, literary and cultural evidence[69].

This process continued with a gradual but slight increase after the end of the mature phase of the Indus-Sarasvati civilization right up to early historical times. There was no epoch exhibiting a sudden, first-time introduction of the animal.

The Rig-Veda has been misread; it tells us strictly nothing about a sizeable horse population, and rather suggests its rarity. The animal was important in symbolic, not quantitative terms.

The Rig-Veda also tells us nothing about conquering Aryans hurtling down from Afghanistan in their horse-drawn "thundering" chariots and crushing indigenous tribal populations; it is high time we abandoned once and for all those

perverse fancies of nineteenth-century scholars, even if some of their peers hang on to such myths even today.

The hypothesis I have put forward is testable: if correct, we should expect further excavations of Harappan sites to come up with more horse remains and depictions, although nothing on the scale that the Aryan invasion theory wrongly expects of a Vedic society — and has failed to document in post-Harappan India.

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15. I use the word "Marxist" not in any derogatory manner, but in the way those historians and scholars use it to describe their own school of thought. D. D. Kossambi's *Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (1956) set the tone, declaring its intent to use "dialectical materialism, also called Marxism" to read the evolution of Indian society, complete with a "proletariat" and

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28. Quoted by B. B. Lal in *India 1947-1997: New Light on the Indus Civilization* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 1998), p. 109.
29. The set of chessmen is taken from S. R. Rao, *Dawn and Devolution of the Indus Civilization*, *op. cit.*, detail of plate N°120. I suggest the following test to anyone who doubt that this figurine represents a horse: show the whole set of "chessmen" to schoolchildren and ask them what it is; the answer will always be, "Chess!" (This, at least, has been my own experience.) Then as, "Why?" The reply: "Because of the horse." I suggest that children's sense of observation in such a case is more reliable and less biased

than even that of "experts," all the more so as many of the Harappan figurines were very likely toys for children.

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GENDER ASPECTS IN PALL´NKU; ´I IN TAMILNADU

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Introduction

In the initial stages of human life most games were played for entertainment. In course of time, there were different types of games played to show physical strength; some to exhibit mental strength and memory; few others to show strategy; and some games of chance. Both men and women, boys and girls find pleasure in playing games. There are games set aside for men, some for women and some for both, and a few more for girls and boys separately. But knowingly or unknowingly, most of the games of physical strength have been played by men and boys. Women were assigned to play indoor games and outdoor games of soft nature. Hence, in the case of women, board games were found very suitable. The reason given was that, compared to men, women were physically weak, soft and incapable of playing games which proved their physical strength. Hence almost all games requiring physical strength had become the choice of menfolk, while women were relegated to playing mostly indoor games. But it was not a permanent feature. It is a well-known fact that in modern times women compete with men in all fields. In games too they participate in almost all games played by men at the regional, national and international levels.

In spite of the changes taking place in society in all fields and clarion calls given to put an end to gender discrimination, traditional practices do not vanish very easily. In Tamilnadu, one of the well-populated and traditional states in India, in the rural areas, male domination and gender discrimination continue to be the same. Traditional games like *pall´nku<´i*, *t´yakattam*, *paramapadam*, *´du-puli´ttam*, etc. are played by men and women. But, of all these games, *pall´nku<´i* is considered to be a game of women, No one could give the exact reason for such a notion.

Early connections

Pall´nku<´i is the Tamil form of well known *mancala* game of the West. It is also known as *pF´di* in Tamil. Similarly, in more than 1140 languages in Africa, *mancala* is known by different names. The word Mancala refers to a group of games that come from Africa. The game is played on a board and it most commonly known in the U.K. as *mancala*, *oware*, *aware*, *ware* and *wari*. The most common *mancala* board is with two rows of six holes and two store pits on either side. There are variations to this board and we can have more holes on either side or more rows, to create four rows of *mancala* boards which are common in African countries. There are rules and instructions for every game.

Stone *mancala* boards have been found carved into the roofs of temples in Memphis, Thebes and Luxor. It is believed that the game was definitely played in Egypt before 1400 B.C. It appears that the game might have evolved in Egypt from boards and counters which were used for accounting and stock taking; evidence for such record keeping boards having been found more even in Ancient Sumeria as well as Ancient Egypt.

Tamilnadu

Pall´nku<´i is also known as *pall´anku<´i´ttam*, *pF´di´ttam*, *ku<´i´ttam*, *pF´dianku<´i*, etc., but it is very much referred to as *pall´nku<´i* or *pF´di*. In India it is generally a board game played in rural areas and the urban people also play it to some extent. This game board consists of seven pits in two rows with two more saving pits. It is interesting to note that *pall´nku<´i* is played in most of the African countries with great interest. It is also the national game of Somalia and some other African countries. Though some scholars call it a game of chance, an in-depth study reveals that it is a game of skill, memory and strategy. Though in earlier times it was meant to be a game of recreation, in recent times, it proves to be different.

Sangam period

A greater research on this game suggests that it might have been played in the *Sangam* age, the earliest historical age in Tamilnadu, stretching roughly from 5th century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. There is a reference in *Sangam* literature to a game called *'val'*, played on a wooden board called *'vallu palakai'* and the game piece used was *'val'* or *'vallu nai'*, comparing it to the nipple of woman's breast.(*Kalithokai*, 194) The board is rectangle in size and as the *pall´nku<´i* board is also a rectangle one, this game has been identified as *pall´nku<´i* by later scholars (Tayammal Aravanan, *Pall´nku<´i*, 1982, Chennai, p.21). The Tamils use the seeds of tamarind, cowries, molucca beans, etc as game pieces. Molucca beans (*Ka<´archikkai* or *Ka<´akkodi*), a light green seed resembling, more or less, the nipple. It is interesting to note that most of the Africans also use molucca beans seeds as game pieces for playing *mancala*; it is accepted that the nipple of African women resembles the same seed.

Nomenclature

Pall´nku<´i is described as a game of 14 pits. In Tamil *pan* and *nanku* mean ten and four respectively, meaning 14. (Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras, Chennai, p. 2528). As it is played more in the southern districts of Tamilnadu (Pandya region) the game in general is known as *pF´di*. There is also an outdoor game known as *pF´di*, a game played by girls. A diagram is drawn on a large scale on the open field and girls play with a piece of pottery as a throwing piece. The co-ordination of hand and legs is necessary for this game. But it has nothing to do with the nomenclature *pF´di* associated with *pall´nku<´i*. Hence when rural people refer to the *pall´nku<´i* game, they add *pF´di* to each game played on the board (e.g.) *pasuppF´di*, *k´sipF´di*, *muthupF´di*, *r´japF´di*, *tadavumpF´di*, etc; or they use the word *´ttam*(e.g. *mutth´ttam, katt´ttam, kalyan´ttam*, etc. It is interesting to note that it was also known as *kuzh´ttam (*pit game) in the North Arcot District of Tamilnadu.

Game pieces

The gamer pieces used in the game are of different kinds. If we analyse the coins, it is interesting that most of them are used by women in their day to day life. Tamarind seeds, beans, neem seeds, *kuF´dumaF´i (Abrus precatorius)*, areca nuts, ground nuts, etc. are a few of such game

pieces. If they play the game in the urban areas, they use cowries and made game pieces available in the shops.

Pall´nku<´i is also played in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Punjab and elsewhere in India, mostly by women. The gender discrimination was shown in playing this game. As the Tamils are heroic people, men are supposed to play games which would prove their physical strength. They play *kabadi*, javelin, shot put, boxing, wrestling, controlling the oxen, etc. Hence if men try to play *pall´nku<´i*, they are even teased by their families.

It is heartening to note that scholars in foreign universities have taken *pall´nku<´i* for research projects. They not only study the recreational aspect of the game but also do research on its implication on the human body and mind. Co-ordination of fingers to take the game pieces from the pit, swiftness in spreading the coins in other pits, analyzing the capacity of the opponent, remembering the coins in each pit, calculating the coins and expecting the outcome, etc. are important features of this board game.

The study reveals that there are nearly more than ten different types of games being played in *pall´nku<´i*. They are *pasuppF´di, saripF´di, muthupF´di, ethirpF´di, r´japF´di, th´ichipF´di, arisipF´di, k´sipF´di, k´ttupF´di, seethaipF´di* and *kalyF´apF´di*. The first ten games have been dealt with in detail in my book '*Folk games of Tamilnadu*' (pp.105-115) and the *kalyF´apF´di* is explained as a part of the wedding ceremony.

Gender discrimination

While naming the *pall´nku<´i* games, games such *as seethaipF´di* and *thaichipF´di* are named after women. It is interesting to note that a game known as *seethaipF´di* is some how associated with Seetha, wife of Rama. There is reference to this play being played by the couple. But the *seethaipF´di*, also known as *a[´okavattam (a[´oka* circle) or *Seethalakshmi ´ttam* supports the view indirectly that *pall´nku<´i* was a game of women. Even as a lone player, Seetha is believed to have played this game in *a[´okavana* (forest of *a[´oka* trees) in Lanka. These two nomenclatures may denote their relationship

with the *R´m´yaF´a* in which the heroine Seetha is forced to stay under the *a[´oka* tree in Lanka by Ravana. As she was alone without any relatives around her, the game was perhaps played by Seetha alone, and hence could have been known as *seethaipF´di* (the game played by Seetha under the *a[´oka*.tree). Of course there is no direct evidence to prove that Seetha played this game in Lanka any time.

Th´ichipF´di is played by four players, two assumed to be mothers and two children, each having three pits in a game board of fourteen pits. One mother and one child form a pair. So there are two pairs playing the game. But each one plays individually. The centre pit in each row, known as *th´ichikku<´i* (Mother pit) is common to all the players. At the end of each round of the game, the game pieces in the *th´ichikku<´i* are equally divided among the four players. Although everyone plays a separate game, each having her individuality, the mother and child could share game pieces with each other if there is a lack of coins to fill up the three pits. Being considered to be a game of women, this game promotes the good bonding between mother and child.

It is interesting to note that women of the lower strata, working in agricultural fields in rural areas, play *pall´nku<´i* during their lunch break. They do not have a game board or coins with them. But they make an instant board by drawing the same on sand under the tree and make pits and use the pot shells or seeds of the trees (mostly tamarind) which are readily available to them. They just leave the board and coins when they are called to resume the work. Although only two women play the game, others watch with great interest. At home also, they draw the board with a piece of limestone or charcoal and use available seeds as game pieces. Hence *pall´nku<´i* is mostly attributed to women.

Socio-anthropological aspects

Festivals

Apart from regular playing of this game, on special Hindu festival days like *Vaikuntha Ek´da[´i* and *Mah´ Z´ivar´tri,* women play *pall´nku<´i* throughout the night as a ritual. There is a belief among orthodox Hindus that if they are awake through out the night on *Z´ivar´tri* (Day of Z´iva) and *Vaikuntha Ekad´[´i* (Day of Vishnu), their sins are forgiven and they will reach the lotus feet of god in Kail´sa

or Vaikuntha. To some it may be a superstitious belief, but for believers, it is a boon. What ever it might be, the role of *pall´nku<´i* in this context is to be understood by social anthropologists.

Although men may play card gamea, *´dupuli´ttam*, etc, women play *pall´nku<´i* or *paramapadam* during these two auspicious days of the Hindus. A number of Maldivian women are familiar with the successful opening of the game known as Dakon. The game is played in houses by women and children and sometimes men. During Ramadhan it is a popular pastime and frequently women and men also play together.

Puberty

Every stage of a girl's life is associated with some ceremony. Socialisation is a part of each ceremony. In Tamilnadu the puberty ceremony of a girl has sociological significance. Western society considers it to be a simple biological change and so no importance has been attached to the attainment of puberty by a girl. *Pall´nku<´i* plays an important part during the onset of puberty in a girl's life. It is a matter of great pride to the family as the girl is considered fit for life only if she has attained puberty. Hence it is celebrated with pomp and splendour even by the poor. The girl is kept in seclusion as the three day period is considered to be a period of pollution. She cannot mingle with people during the three days. The girl who has been a free bird till then, playing all sorts of outdoor games, is directed to control herself and follow some discipline from then onwards. Tamil society expects the matured girls to behave in a soft and obedient manner

The girl who is expected to follow the period of pollution has the company of girls of her age. As she is not expected to jump or hop or run, and needs good rest during the period, she can play any game sitting quietly in her place. The board games are very handy. It has been the practice to play *pall´nku<´i* during this period with her girl friends as she has to shun the company of the boys. For hours together, the girls play this indoor game happily. It is interesting to note that during this period, girls play all types of *pall´nku<´i*, other than *kalyF´apF´di* (the one played during marriage). The sociological factor plays an important part in playing this game in this specific period.

Menstruation

During menstruation, in Hindu homes, women were supposed observe a period of pollution. As they had to be indoor like untouchables, they were left to themselves. Women played *pall´nku<´i* during those three days with playmates of their age. It is interesting to see the girls play the game without even touching the coins in orthodox homes, asking the opponent to play her game too. In very orthodox families, they still follow these practices, which is not acceptable to many.

It is shocking to note that in the present day, some tribal people are very strict towards the girls during their menstruation. The family sends them to the hills or forest where they remain uncared for the three days. Only very few families are good enough to send them food. Compared to this, the condition of girls in orthodox families is better.

Marriage ceremony

Marriage is a social ceremony of joy and get together. Child marriage was common in earlier times in India, The couple does not know the seriousness of marriage and they take it as a game in which they are the hero and heroine. To bring the bride and bridegroom together many games such as swing, *nalangu*, searching for the ring in the pot, etc. become parts of the marriage ceremony. *Pall´nku<´i* was one more game played by the couple surrounded by relatives encouraging each side. In many Hindu families, the bride was sent to her in-law's house with *pall´nku<´i* made of brass or wood with game pieces so that she could play in her new home with new relatives and friends. In marriages, the affluent people used small denominations of coins (*paise*) as game pieces, of course supplied by the bride's parents, and the winner would take away the coins.

It is interesting to note that in the Muslim community in the Tirunelveli region in southern Tamilnadu, this practice still exists. The bride and the groom have no opportunity to meet each other till the wedding ceremony is over. Actually the tying of the black beads on the bride is performed not by the groom, but by an elderly woman belonging to the family. Hence, to bring in a congenial atmosphere between the couple, they are asked to play some games two or three days after the wedding. The bride's father is expected to supply 25 *paise* coins to be

filled in each pit. The coins, at the end, belong to the winner. Hence, in Tamilnadu, *pall´nku<´i* is given importance in the marriage ceremony.

Contrary to the playing of *pall´nku<´i* on happy occasions, in India it was also played in the time of mourning. R.C Bell, in *Board and Table Games from Many Civilisations* describes how Awari has traditional spiritual significance. It is played in a house of mourning to amuse the spirit of the dead before it is buried. It is very unlucky to play the game at night as the spirits will want to join in and may carry off the living at the end of the game. Each village would have two types of board, one with a flat top and one with a curved top, a bit like a banana. When a man died, the villagers would play on the board that was not his favourite, so that his spirit would not want to join in. It may look very superstitious, but people believe it. Traditional Awari boards are not carved out very intricately so that they can become smooth and worn by many years of play.

Thus the same board game is used differently in different places. While Indians use it for making merry, the Africans play this to ward off spirits. What is to be understood is that customs and traditional practices differ from community to community.

Kalyana *pF´di*

Kaly´na pF´di is played during marriage. It is already stated that young girls who had attained puberty were not allowed to play *kalyana pF´di* during the puberty period, as this game forms part of the marriage ritual. This is a different type of game. The game board consists of fourteen pits, seven for each player. Each pit is initially filled with five coins. The method of playing it is as follows: Instead of spreading the coins taken from a pit, one each in every pit, all the coins from the pit will be put in the next pit and coins from the following pit will be put in the fourth pit; the play is continued till one reaches an empty pit; then the player is allowed to take all the coins next to the empty pit and from its opposite pit. When the first player's round is over, the other player plays in the similar manner. The person who gets the maximum coins will be the winner. The game could be continued till one player loses all coins. Generally the one who starts the game will be the winner. Hence there will

be a tough fight between the two players regarding who the starter would be.

Epic characters and *pall´nku<´i*

It is believed that Rama, the epic hero, played *pall´nku<´i* with his beloved wife Sita. It clearly shows that there was no gender discrimination in playing this game. If Lord Rama himself played *pall´nku<´i*, Hindus would be happy to play the game played by him. A Telugu folk song refers to it as "*v´mana kunda ´duthama vanitha j´naki…*" *Pall´nku<´i* is known in the Telugu language as "*v´mana kunda" (v´mana* = small and *kunda* = pit, meaning small pit). Janaki is the other name of Sita. Both Rama and Sita might have played the pit game during their marriage or during the leisure time or when they were away from their royal household for fourteen years.

Another devotional song on Lord Rama says that both Rama and Sita happily played this game looking at each other and exchanging words of love and understanding. While praising the Lord, the devotee wants to listen to that conversation of divine couple. He says that though *pall´nku<´i* is the game of women, Rama won Sita. What is to be noted here is that although the devotional song was written at a later period, it recognises the existence of the *mancala* game in the *R´m´yana* period and Rama himself was skilled enough to win Sita. Perhaps this song indirectly expresses the chauvinistic attitude of men and man's success over women even in a board game. It is interesting to note from the devotee poet that *pall´nku<´i* was the game of womenfolk.

The song goes like this:

O Ruler of Ayodhya, of the inestimable form.
I have the desire to listen
To my heart's fill and and ears delight, your sweet speech
That you and Sita spoke with truth true love and understanding,
Gazing at each other, when you played the game of pall´nku<´i
With her and won, which was heard by Bharata and Hanuman.

It may be the imagination of the devoted singer, but it indirectly stresses the success of a male (Rama) in the woman's domain and

establishment of male power over women. The beautiful drawing available below is a clear expression of the poet. Rama and Sita are playing the *pall´nku<´i*, but the concentration of Sita is more on Rama. Perhaps in that situation Sita fails to play the proper game and Rama easily wins over her. As it is described in the song, Bharata and Hanuman are overhearing the conversation of the couple. There is a possibility of the non-occurrence of this event, but the poet's imagination made it possible for Rama's devotees. What is more interesting is the choice of the game played by the couple, by the poet. There are innumerable board games played in India, but how and why the poet chose *pall´nku<´i* is not known. Perhaps it was a popular game of the time in which the poet lived, or it was a game of the couple. Hence the poet has taken the liberty to express the way in which the game was played by Rama and Sita, exchanging words of love which were overheard by Rama's brother Bharata and his devotee Hanuman.

The following painting shows Rama and Sita playing *pall´nku<´i*; also seen are Bharata and Hanuman.

Mentally-challenged children

It was a pleasant surprise when I received an invitation, after the publication of my book on *Folk Games of Tamilnadu*, from Retired Vice Air Marshall Krishnaswamy and his wife Mrs.Jaya to conduct a workshop

on traditional board games for the teachers of their school for mentally challenged children, run by the Madhuram Narayanan Trust. They said that they had listened to my talk on the traditional board games of the Tamils and were impressed with the values and uses of the games for growing children. I had already said that though initially these games were mainly played for recreation, later research has proved that the players are able to consciously or unconsciously cultivate their motor and mental skills, better memory, tackling of opponents and finishing the game, not only fast but first too. I happily agreed and organised a workshop on May 31, 2006 at their school premises. Some 20 teachers and parents participated in the workshop. *T´yakattam* and similar game boards, three types of *paramapadam* (snakes-and-ladders) and three *pall´nku<´i* (*mancala*), along with the game pieces and throwing pieces, were displayed to the participants. To my surprise, only few of them knew to play some of the games. The teachers and parents were quite young and showed keen interest in the workshop. I introduced the games to them by showing the game boards, the necessary coins to be used for each game, and the different throwing pieces used for some board games. As far as *pall´nku<´i* was concerened, very few had seen the game board earlier or played it. Others expressed their ignorance of the subject.

During the earlier Colloquium at Fribourg in 2001, I had traced nine games of *pall´nku<´i*, the tenth one in my recent publication and the eleventh one (*kaly´na pF´di*) in this paper. I explained to the participants about the number of players for each game, game pieces for each pit and the method of playing. When they started playing the game, they realised the difficulty in taking the game pieces from the pit, distributing the same one each, in each pit, analysing the condition of the pits and coins of the opponent, etc. It is not possible to master all these in one stroke. It needs regular play, good memory and fast finger action.

They slowly realised the intricacies of the game. In the beginning, every one was very slow in picking the coins from the pit and distributing the same.Sometimes coins were not distributed properly. Then they realised how useful this game would be for mentally challenged children. They wanted me to come again and play with the children.

My next visit took place on July 31, 2006. Then I took *pall´nku<´i* boards, cowries and *kundumanis (Abrus precatorius)* and

took four children for a board. It was not as easy as I expected. Only then did I realise the utility and value of the game, especially for these special children. Though one or two children were able to take the coins from the pit (initially I had put only four coins in each pit), other children found it very difficult to pick the coins from the pit, hold it for a minute and distribute one each in pits.Coins were falling from their hands. They spread the coins unequally in the pits. It was only possible on the first day. No rules and methods of playing the game were understood by them. But we were happy that they spent their time happily and tried to do something with the game pieces and the game board.

As it was time consuming to deal with the children, we took a decision to teach the game to the teachers, so that they would be able to teach the same to their class children on daily basis as they are with them every day. It suited me. Hence I made another trip to the school on 17th August 2006 and taught the teachers some games which they understood easily and played. I am sure that they will take this as part of the curriculum to improve various skills of the children. No miracle will take place over night. But as it is a game, and as both the teachers and mothers, who stay with the children, are very interested in imparting the knowledge and method of playing the game to these children, I am hopeful that these folk games, especially *pall´nku<´i*, will be of use to them.

Blind *pall´nku<´i*

In an article on "*Blind Mancala*", Víktor Bautista, one of the European Oware players, reported in 2006 that he played Oware blindfolded together with a friend in a restaurant while half the restaurant was looking at them amazed. Both are not visually impaired. Victor says,"*At the beginning it was not easy, but after a few moves, we really enjoyed the experience. We mostly counted by touch, but were also just remembering everything."* He also recommended, at least when starting to play blindfolded, to have a referee at hand, who may assist when problems arise. Though this game is played by *mancala* experts blindfolding themselves for fun and challenge, I feel that it could be taught to really blind people so that theymay not only enjoy the game but also develop a sense of confidence in themselves. It could be a part of their curriculum for the blind children.

Alexander J. de Voogt wrote in his dissertation on the characterization of *bao* mastership that in 1992 Blind *bao* was unknown in Zanzibar or even in East Africa. He then designed a "Blind Play Experiment" to research the cognitive abilities of *bao* masters, which was conducted from 1992-1994. This could be followed in all countries not only to know the abilities of the experts but also train the visually handicapped in developing skills. Similar experimental workshops could be conducted in *pall´nku<´i* in Indian schools. It will be interesting to train the *pall´nku<´i* players in blind play. Youngsters can be encouraged to play the game blindfold to improve their talents. Perhaps it may give way to the blind to learn the game and become experts.

Teaching Maths through *pall´nku<´i*

At Sivananda Balalaya, Tiruchi, the Maths textbooks authored by the educational consultants of the school are called *Joyful Math*. The teaching-learning methodology employed is child-learner-centric and activity based. So the math concepts are assimilated easily. A math lab has been set up as a support and to supplement classroom teaching. The lab is equipped with abacus, *pall´nku<´i*, sticks, tamarind seeds, geo board, straws, inch tape, playing cards, carom coins and many more such commonly used articles.

The children are introduced to concepts like division, LCM and averages through *pall´nku<´i*. The abacus comes in handy to explain the concept of splitting of numerals, partial place value, addition, subtraction and decimals. The children use the geo-board to learn theorems and shapes. Outdoor math classes are a common feature here. The math lab is equipped with a math kit that contains self-learning activity and problem cards. What is interesting to our study is that *pall´nku<´i* board and coins are also used as equipments in the lab (*The Hindu*, September 20, 2003).

Conclusion

Pall´nku<´i has regional and local importance. The nomenclature used in each game reveals its local identity. They reflect the human mind, feelings, talents, approach and interest of not only the players

but the onlookers too. The mathematical and geometrical knowledge of the makers of these board games is amazing. Without any appliances, rural people are able to draw the boards either on the floor, sand or slab with a piece of limestone, brick or charcoal. The game pieces cost nothing. Whatever is easily available could be used as coins.The rural people enjoyed their short lunch intervals by playing *pall´nku<´i* under the tree or in the work spot itself. Because of their simple origins, these games have not attracted the attention of earlier scholars and have not been treated with much value, unlike the game of chess. The anthropological and sociological impact of these games tells the cultural history of the region.

Although the game of *pall´nku<´i* has been closely associated with women, an in depth study on the subject reveals more details .The recreational aspect of *pall´nku<´i* has been set aside and scholars and educationists have started looking at the proper use of *pall´nku<´i*. Research has proven that there is overall improvement in the motor skill, memory and activities of differently abled people and mentally challenged children. Although it continues in villages as a game of entertainment mainly for women, and the game boards of different shapes, sizes and metals find their place in different museums, there is no doubt that the gender theory attached to this game is no longer acceptable. It is a game for all people – men and women, boys and girls and differently abled people of all ages

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

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ANTIQUITY OF DOCUMENTS IN KARNATAKA AND THEIR PRESERVATION PROCEDURES

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Introduction

Documents of historical importance are innumerable and different in nature and kind. These provide useful sources of the cultural history of Karnataka in the medieval period. However, these documents are scattered in different places and are also in the possession of different individuals. The documents mentioned here include paper documents, particularly handwritten books, known as *hastaprati* (manuscripts). An attempt is made here to trace the antiquity of the documents, their locations, contents and conservation procedures.

Historicity of the *hastaprati* documents

The availability of *hastaprati* in different places of Karnataka in known from various sources namely inscriptions, Kannada literary works and foreign travelogues. The earliest known Kannada manuscript is the work of Vittala entitled *Vidyagadchudamani*. Its date of composition is Saka 1053 (or 1130 A.D.). It is a commentary on the *Amarakosa* in the Kannada language[1]. Inscriptions and literary works often cite *baresida* (written) *hastaprati*, *pustaka bhandara* and *kavalige*, etc. For instance, an epigraph dated to the year 1204 A.D. refers to *oleya baresi*. Similarly, an inscription discovered by the late Dr. Vasantha Shetty at Kundapur, dated Saka 1335 (or 1413 A.D.), informs us that Raja Tirtha Padamgalu wrote *Kotinathapurana* and offered it to King Immadi Devaraya of Vijayanagara. The latter was pleased and honoured the writer[2].

It is already known that Mahmud Gawan, Prime Minister of Sultan Muhammad III of the Bahamani kingdom, was a patron of learning. He set up a library at Bidar and Gawan and is said to have owned thousands of manuscripts. His college library had 3000 of them.

Further, we get also come across evidence of such documents from the accounts of European travellers. For instance, Dr. Fryer, an English doctor of 1674, noticed a huge number of manuscripts in the renowned

Mahabalesvara temple at Gokarna. According to him, the latter was a Brahmanical University endowed with the literary manuscripts. These manuscripts were considered mysterious and hence could be understood only by the Brahmins[3].

Locations of documents and manuscripts

The historic documents, namely *kadatas* - paper documents, palm leaf writings and manuscripts- are found in renowned centres of religion and trade. *Kadatas* (writing on black cotton clothes with white pencil), are mostly unpublished. Some of these are available in the Sringeri Matha at Sringeri and Srimad Anantesvara temple at Manjesvara (Kasargod district, Kerala State); some are in the possession of prominent individuals. Dr. A.K. Shastry of Sirsi has done extensive research on the *kadatas* of the Sringeri and Svarnavalli Mathas[4]. These *kadatas* are generally account books, but often throw light on the social and religious conditions of the period.

There are a few paper documents in the Kannada language and similar scripts are kept in the Goa State Archives. These are documents of instructions, letters from higher authorities to their subordinate officers, treaties and trade transactions. They furnish valuable information about the history of Karnataka between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The manuscripts found in the renowned Jaina centres at Mudabidre, Karkala and Dharmasthala are worthy of notice. These manuscripts deal with various aspects. For instance, the Gurugala basadi at Mudabidre has many manuscripts of historical importance. Of these *Ramachandra charitre* and *Mudabidre tribhuvana tilaka chudamani basadiey jirnodharar charitre* (history of the repair and restoration of the Tribhuvana Tilaka Chudamani basadi) are useful sources for the history of Mulki and Mudabidre in the middle of the eighteenth century. These works were composed in the year 1751 and 1745 respecitvely[5]. Besides these works, the basadi has lot of manuscripts of different subjects such as *Yog sutra*, *Vrta vidhan*, *Vyakarna Kosa*, *Ithihas Ayurveda* totalling 2069 manuscripts[6]. Roughly 224 manuscripts have been discovered in the Karkala basadi. The manuscripts concern the grammar history of the basadi and *Alankara sastra*. One of the manuscripts that deserves our attention is the *Aradha nemipurana*. A copy of it is found in the

possession of Adiraja Indra. Its significance is that it is illustrated with figures[7]. The manuscripts in the *tigalari* script were collected by K. Gunda Jois and deposited in the Keladi Museum. Similarly, the same type of script, known as Tulu, is kept in Manjusa Library at Dharmasthala[8]. The manuscripts of historical importance have come to light from places like the Bangadi palace, Nelikar, Aiyar, etc. The writer of this article collected a few historic documents namely *kadatas*, paper documents and palm leaf records and manuscripts.

Classifications

Usually, the manuscripts are classified on the basis of their content, date and language. However, there is yet another method of classification. According to this, the manuscripts are of three categories. The first category has a date, place and title. If any one of them is missing, the manuscripts belong to the second category. If only one of them is found in the manuscripts, these can be assigned to the third division. Besides, there are manuscripts which bear only a title. Such manuscripts are classified to the fourth division. Among these, the first category of the manuscripts is more useful than the other categories[10].

Preservation procedures

The documents are perishable. Generally, physical features such as light and heat (moisture, fire), and biological features such as fungus, insects, rodents and human factors work against the durability of the documents. Among these, the historical records often mention the fire and human factors that caused the destruction of the manuscripts and inscriptions and other historical records[11]. Prominent persons who showed interest in preserving manuscripts took measures to conserve their valuable records. The conservation in their sense was to preserve and to pass them on to the next generation. The historical records often cite the measures taken to save the documents from destruction. For instance, an inscription dated 1058 A.D. mentions the *Sarasvati Bhandara* and the amount set apart, probably for its maintenance. Often, the epigraphical records and literary works mention Attavani, meant for the safekeeping of the records[12]. In this context, two inscriptions, dated 1434 and 1456 A.D. and hailing from Vantalli near Udupi deserve our attention. The inscriptions refer to a *granthalaya* (library) at Sringeri. Further, the same documents cite the

grants to Kavi Krishna Bhatta for the maintenance of the library[13]. The European travellers who passed through Karnataka noticed the measures taken by the rulers to preserve documents of importance. For example, Peter Mudny, an English traveller in 1637 noticed the records at Ikkeri and the measures taken to preserve them. He saw in the king's palace hundreds of records. These were "*written palm leaves, being very long and narrow, handsomely rounded uppe those against tied up into bundles, hung up the order about his room or office, so that he may (not improperly) be stilled Master of Roules*"[14].

The destruction caused by human factors to the manuscripts is also noticed in the historical records. Kannada literary works often cite the destruction of the manuscripts and records of the rulers or prominent persons by their opponents. Similarly, Gawan's college, which stored thousands of manuscripts and books, was practically destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder during the reign of Aurangzeb[15].

Measures taken for the preservation of the manuscripts by their owners in the past were as follows:

Books written on palmyara leaves or on bark or paper sheets had wooden covers on the top and bottom. Further, the whole was tied up with a string. Often, the string passed through the holes on the leaves or sheets. The whole was wound round the covers and knotted. This was noticed in the Kannada literary works *Nambiyannana ragale* and *Jivandahara charitre* (1200 and 1500 A.D. respectively). We get words like *karuna suttinante kambhi pachisi* in these works[16].

In Jaina institutions, manuscripts were often kept in small jars of copper. Preserving manuscripts in wooden boxes was also in vogue in Karnataka. The boxes containing the manuscripts were usually kept under the staircase of the kitchen. The documents like *kadatas* were kept under a hard wooden rack.

In the library attached to educational institutions and monasteries, the handwritten documents were generally preserved in boxes of wood or cardboard, under the charge of Librarians. There were instances also of cataloguing the manuscripts. Further, there is evidence to show that both local scribes as well as copyists hailing from neighbouring kingdoms

were employed for the purpose of copying the manuscripts[17]. It is interesting to note that there is reference to copying the manuscripts in Kannada. The *Namalinganusasanam* was copied in the year A.D 1120. It is the earliest copied manuscripts[18].

Conclusion

The documents, namely *kadatas*, and manuscripts have antiquity. The study of their antiquity indicates that these are of historical importance and serve as sources for the cultural history of Karnataka from the eleventh to the end of the eighteenth centuries.

The people of Karnataka realised the importance of preserving these documents. To them, preservation meant any action taken to prevent or retard deterioration. For that they took several measures to preserve the records in the forms of documents and manuscripts. They intended to preserve these records and hand it over to their successors.

Despite their intention of preservation of the manuscripts, the condition of these early manuscripts today is not encouraging.

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TRADE AND URBANISATION IN THE PALAR VALLEY DURING THE CHOLA PERIOD - A.D. 900 -1300 A.D.)

V.Palanichamy

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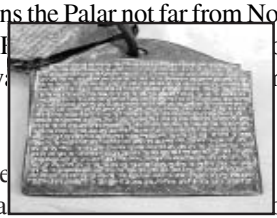
ginates in the a State from th Kaivara villag eters to the we and Rahama south-eastwa d Bangarpet t about 100 km and enters the Kuppam taluk of Andhra Pradesh. It flows about 30 km distance in the Kuppam taluk of Chittor district and then enters Vellore district of Tamil Nadu near the village G Palar is situate 3° 05' (North 30° 30' (East nd on the n Nellore distric on the south part of Kongu nd Salem dis Bay of Benga Kolar distri e total length 48 km and its q. km. lying in three states viz. Karnatakas, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Further, it flows southwards and turns north-east near Vaniyambadi town and runs upto Gudiyatam. Then it turns in an easterly direction up to Kanchi in a southea s into the Ba

Palar are Poi Nadi and Ch y and Cheyy taries, Poiny side of the ri eyyar joining the right side near Guduvancheri. Its courses are almost due south, and after receiving the waters of numerous smaller streams flowing from the Eastern Ghats, it joins the Palar not far from North Arcot. The Kortalayar rises close to the Palar f of Arcot, commencing its course at the surplus w n tank, which is itself fed by the Palar[1].



The Palar rive the villagers to cultivate their land. Now there a on the banks of the River Palar[2]. The flow of the Palar is irregular, with considerable variations from

year to year. Although it generally does not flood, heavy rains have caused the river to be flooded for as long as six months. The river has been dammed for irrigation, especially along its course in Tamil Nadu. The largest communities along its banks are Vellore, Arcot and Chingleput districts.

The spread of temples and *brahmadeya*s (in Chengleput district) resulted in the expansion of urban centres in Palar valley in the eleventh century. After the twelfth century, when the Chola Empire faded away, urban centres began to come up further south, in the Pandya country[3].

Mamallapuram was a famous trading centre during the Pallava and Chola period, a region also called Tondaimandalam. The Cholas re-emerged in the 9th century A.D, defeating the Pallavas, and consolidated their empire over the next four centuries. The Cholas were the first Indian dynasty to engage in overseas naval conquest. Rajaraja Chola conquered peninsular South India and annexed parts of Sri Lanka by defeating the Pandyas. Rajendra Chola went beyond, occupying coastal Burma, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Lakshadweep, Sumatra, Java, Malaya in South East Asia and Pegu islands, with his fleet of ships. Chola armies exacted tribute from Thailand and Cambodia.

The power of the Cholas declined around the 13th century. The Chola period witnessed maritime expeditions to neighbouring Sri Lanka and South East Asian countries and forging of trade and cultural links with these countries. Historians refer to the existence of an elaborate bureaucracy during this period with some autonomy for village level political units[4].

The urbanisation of the 12th and 13th centuries merely replaced older forms of trade by concentrating formerly dispersed commercial activities (e.g. fairs and settlements) in growing urban places. A town (Kanchipuram)-centred trade freed many commercial and artisan groups, engaged in commodity production and older social constraints imposed by the agrarian-centred concerns of the localities. Trade in the Chola time become sophisticated. Earlier commerce had focused upon the marketing relationships of the patron-client type, in which an artisan entered into a long-term contractual agreement with members of his own village. The artisan was guaranteed a specified share of the local commercial groups,

inhabited permanent sectors of the community and either sold his own merchandise from their shops or entered into relationships with a professional merchant class who acted as the intermediaries. Commercial centres provided the setting for this more market-oriented exchange of goods and services in the Chola province[5]. Another feature of local commerce was the fair (*tavalam*). Local inscriptions indicate that market centres held periodic fairs which were convened in another area of the community, while Kanchipuram was the scene of a weekly fair. Periodic fairs (*santhai*) served as centers of local commercial transactions and linked local and itinerant trade networks.

Itinerant trade

The itinerant trade networks between major population areas were relegated to lowly places within the social order of any locality. Tamil traders were organized into commercial corporations (e.g. Manigramam, Ainnurruvar), which were extensions of the great itinerant trade associations of peninsular India and received some support from the Chola State. Rajaraja and Rajendra placed emphasis on trade and conquest outside the South Indian peninsula. Kulottunga I, who ruled from 1070 to 1122 A.D., also maintained relations with Southeast Asia. As per the Chinese Chronicles, he sent a special trade mission to China. Traders individually and collectively are mentioned in inscriptions throughout the Chola period; organized trade, especially long-distance trade, flourished during the 9th century. *Brahmadeyam* and *devadana* emerged as trade centres. Due to their sustained importance as religious centres, Kanchipuram and Mamallapuram helped to continue as urban or trade centres in the Chola period.

The city of Kanchipuram has one of the longest continuous histories of any urban site in South India. Among the many recent studies of commercialization in South India during the Chola period, works of Hall, Spencer and Champakalakshmi have described the roles of the mercantile assembly (*nagarattar*) and merchants (*vanniyar*, *viyap´ri*) in the economy of Kanchipuram and the region of Tondaimandalam[6]. Kanchipuram was a central component of the mercantile expansion culminating in a unified trade network by the 13th century.

The commercial systems confined their attention to the itinerant trade organizations which seem to have developed during the period of Chola rule. The important local commercial centres were inhabited by artisans and traders who produced valuable commodities for consumers beyond the agrarian centred, patron-client relationships of the village community. The external economic relations united the local system of commercial exchange into multi-regional and even international trade networks. The local *nagaram* assembly of merchants generally functioned as one among several assemblies of a town, although it sometimes existed as the only assembly in an important regional trade centre. Local goods would have been transferred through the *nagaram*'s marketplace to a wider network of commercial exchanges with links to Chola coastal ports and the world. These local economic units in turn were serviced by itinerant trade groups who claimed high status appropriate to those who supported the *Brahminical* religion[7]. Contemporary inscriptions identify such groups as '*samayam*', associations of long-distance traders who established permanent exchange relationships with the local economic system and represented the local marketing units within the larger system of Asian trade[8].

A *samayam* may best be defined as an organization in which membership was on an individual basis and was a matter of convenience. Individual merchants were free to enter trade partnerships with other organization members or with non-members on an individual basis[9]. The *Artha[´stra* clearly distinguishes trade and commerce transacted in a *nagaram* from that transacted in a designated centre for international exchange, known as *pattana* (*pattinam* in the South Indian context). A *pattana* was a port, a place officially designated as a centre for the exchange of goods which arrived by boat or by caravan[10]. Such ports were principally located either on sea coasts or on river banks in the interior, although, in a broader sense, pattana could also include major landlocked commercial centres which were visited only by merchant caravans. Itinerant merchants, in some instances, developed special relationships with major hinterland emporia and symbolized this relationship by the application of the distinctive title *erivirapattinam* (a centre of trade) to the emporium's name. A 13th century inscription of the *ticaiyayirattainnurruvar* (Five Hundred Merchant Communities) organization from Virinjipuram, North Arcot, reflects the hardships of the itinerant trade, alluding to a local tradition that a merchant named

Danapalan, who traded in pepper, halted in his village on his way to Kanchipuram. Since he was afraid of being robbed on his journey, he promised as an offering to the local deity ten bags of pepper if he reached his destination safely.

Nagaram

The *nagaram* was the assembly of merchants in important trade centres, where mercantile interests overshadowed all the rest. The term *nagaram* denotes a mercantile quarter or township of the merchants. There were also local organizations of merchants called *nagaram* in big centres of trade like Kanchipuram and Mamallapuram. Kenneth R. Hall gives a detailed study of trade and statecraft in the age of the Cholas. The *nagaram* played the role of a market-place and the *m´nagaram* is a big commercial centre. In the arena of trade, Hall argues that the *nagarams* were the regulatory market bodies through which all merchandise, including commodities brought in by itinerant merchants, and guilds were channeled to the local markets[11]. This inference would seem to receive corroboration from the fact that the *nagaram* fixed the duties payable on all commodities imported and exported, many of which were obviously imported from overseas markets. Abraham, on the other hand, is of the opinion that while there were many instances of cooperation between the *nagaram* and the Ayyavole guild, there is no direct evidence that the guild dealt only with the *nagaram* and not directly with local markets[12].

Champakalakshmi notes, further, that stages can be identified in the expansion of the activities of the *nagaram* in the Chola period. During the earlier Chola period, the role of the *nagaram* became prominent in the first half of the tenth century when there was a noticeable shift in the donations of gold and money and in the quantum of gifts as well. In the middle Chola period (Rajaraja to Kulottunga II till 1150), there was a noticeable increase in the number of *nagaram*s which now extended into the newly conquered territories in Karnataka and Andhra, and were used as "agents of political synthesis" together with the *brahmadeyas*. The *nagarams* were also now linked to interregional and overseas trade in this period. Equally significant was the growing specialization among merchants who increasingly traded in specific commodities. These included cloth merchants (*saliya-nagarattar*), oil merchants

(*sankarappadi-nagarattar*), a wider association of oil merchants (*vaniyanagarattar*).

In the late Chola period (A.D.1150-1278 A.D.), the organization of the *nagaram* and specialised trading were the major factors in urban growth[13]. Champakalakshmi also observes that the tax-levying authority of the *nagaram*s, in association with the powers of the *chitiramelli-periyan´du,* becomes conspicuous during the thirteenth century, when Chola power had become ineffective in most of South India[14].

The *nagarams* of Kanchipuram, Mamallapuram, Tirukkalukunram, Tiruvorriyur, Kattur and Narasingapuram continued as market centres under the Cholas. The *nagaram*s were brought into a wider network of international trade. In the eleventh century, Aiyapolil and Kattur in Chingelput district respectively became *erivirapattanas* or protected mercantile towns under special charters from the Chola rulers for the Tondaimandalam region, also called Jayankondacholamandalam. Hall's model of networked centres links the villages of the *n´ddu* to the *nagaram* and the *nagaram*, in turn, to the higher marketing centres or trading centres *erivirapattinam* and *m´nagaram*, where the guilds, it is suggested, controlled a major part of the trade and commercial activities[15]. *Erivirapattinam*, or chartered mercantile towns, also begin to appear only from the 11th century, pointing to the need for creating protected warehouses for merchant groups on major trade routes. The *m´nagarams* were organized and controlled by the local *nagaram* members rather than by itinerant important groups. The *nagaram*s were used as much as the *brahmadeya*s as interdependent agents of political synthesis under the Cholas. As a result, the *nagaram*s became part of a wider network of inter-regional and overseas trade form the 11th century[16], with enhanced political influence in areas of crucial links. Mamallapuram was superseded by Nagapattinam as the chief port of the Cholas. Yet it continued to be a part of the huge commercial network till about the 13th century.

Nagaram as a marketing centre

The *nagaram* was a major marketing centre, where agricultural produce was brought for profitable sale. A *nagaram* was also a major landholder in some areas and received income from its "common lands". An inscription from Poygai near Kanchipuram, for instance, records four

cesses on the elaborate local weaving industry: *acca-tari*, a general weaving tax; *parait-tari*, a tax on hand looms; *caligait-tari*, a tax on larger looms and *tucagat-tari*, a tax on looms which were used to weave tent materials[17]. It is clear that these taxes were levied on different groups of people, indicating cloth weaving during this period.

A *nagaram* was one among the several indigenous administrative institutions in existence prior to the establishment of Chola rule over the South. The administrative responsibilities and organization of *nagaram*s are indicated in an inscription from Kanchipuram that the local *nagarattar* held *nagarakkani*, i.e, a tenure right to administer the affairs of the nagaram. The new administrative initiatives were associated with the demands for revenue collection by the Chola State elite. In the collection of taxes, the *sabha* of the Taniur had collective responsibility. The fact that Kanchipuram has such a colourful political and religious history has tended to obscure its economic pursuits. Even though the city's commerce derived much of its vitality from political and religious activity, epigraphical records from Kanchipuram and other locations in its vicinity tell us a great deal about its pre-modern commerce.

Trading merchant guilds

The guild was one of the most significant institutions in South Indian trade and merchants involved in interregional and overseas trade organised themselves into guilds. According to Kanakalatha Mukund[18], the best known of these were the Manigramam and Ayyavole guilds, though other guilds such as Anjuvannam and Valanjiyar were also in existence. Specialised merchant guilds like the Sankarappadi and Saliya *nagarattar* also functioned in urban centres. Champakalakshmi also points out that the guilds or, more correctly, associations of merchants, were a differentiated group. The Manigramam was a localized merchant body, while the Five Hundred was an association of itinerant merchants and was supra-regional in character. The Anjuvannam was an association of foreign merchants first established on the west coast, who subsequently moved to the east coast ports[19]. This diversity of organizational arrangements of merchant bodies was in keeping with the varying needs and locales of the different merchant groups. Vijaya Ramaswamy[20] mentions, in her works, that weavers were organized in guilds called *samaya* or *samayam*. The term guild has been used here for the weaver's organization, i.e. it must be distinguished from the South Indian guilds.

The members of the weaver's guild usually belonged to the weaver caste and heredity formed an essential part of the professional guild. The Kaikkola guild of weavers is said to have been divided into four *tisai nadus,* eight *kilai nadus*, and seventy two *nadus*. The *mah´nadu* was at Kanchipuram, and the weaving communities of the surrounding areas secured their privileges only through representation to the Kanchipuram guild.

Every guild was organized locally, though there were extra territorial organizations in existence. It may be gathered from contemporary evidence that the medieval guilds were of two kinds, the craft guild and merchant guild. The guild acted as a body not only for securing rights and privileges but also for making gifts for all of them. This process was the organized trade through merchant guild specialization in the marketing of specific local commodities through itinerant guilds.

Trade and commercial activity were consciously promoted by the royal policy of conquests, the development of ports and the encouragement of specialized crafts production centres catering to expanding internal and external markets through organized commerce. The craft guilds were professional associations in which caste and heredity played an influential role. These guilds gave them an identity apart from their profession. These economic units varied from single to multiple groups. They could sue and be sued as units.

There is no doubt that Mamallapuram was the principal sea port of the Pallava period. Numismatic evidence also gives some glimpses about the trade relations between Mamallapuram and western countries like Rome[21]. Western commercial records from this period support Kulottunga's claim and attestations that there was regular commercial interaction with Chola port. The Chinese traveller Hieun-Tsang also mentions Kanchi as a sea port. Ancient Kanchi and Mamallapuram were connected by a long canal[22]. This canal was used for urban development and commercial trade transactions with foreign countries. Chau-Ju-Kun, a Chinese traveller of the 13th century[23], refers to the export of cotton, cotton thread, silk thread and textiles, especially coloured silks. Chinese sources note that regular commercial conduct was maintained with South Indian ports throughout the Sung period. The Chola port of Kanchipuram was the source of valuable commodities, including manufactured textiles

(especially cotton), spices and drugs, and valuable commodities such as ivory, amber, coral and various aromatic products and perfumes that were used in the preparation of incense or for perfuming the body[24]. The rival long-distance trade in the Kanchipuram sea-port in the 10th century was a part of the increased South Asian trade involving such distant regions as China and South East Asia. By the 13th century, the patterns of Asian sea-borne trade were becoming well established with a regular pattern of commodities traded as well as of shipping routes.

The *m´nagaram* or local *nagarams* wielded greater influence and the Five Hundred and other merchant groups were more or less confined to the routes linking all other outlying regions with the Chola heartland and to the commercially important areas. In the 11th century, the Tamil Ayyavole guild inscriptions are noticed in the Palar Valley, used by the Rashtrakuta armies and by Kumara Kampana, and may have been used by merchants proceeding either north or south between Kannada and Tamil areas. In Kanchipuram taluk in A.D. 1050, the Ayyavole and Valanjiyar merchants supported a *matha*. They were in Kolar taluk north of the upper reaches of the Palar valley. In both areas the inscriptions are in Tamil and *grantha*. The most important feature of the economic history of this period was that well-defined commercial organizational forms and institutional practices were current, testifying to the functioning of trade as a specialized economic activity.

Inscriptional evidence also shows that maritime trade had revived to a considerable extent after the tenth century. Both Nilakanta Sastri and Meera Abraham link this to the aggressive policy of conquest and commercial expansion followed by the Chola state[25]. The presence of the guilds in several Southeast Asian trade centres is recorded in inscriptions, among which are the fragments found in Takuapa in Thailand, referring to the Manigaramam and two inscriptions which refer to the Ayirattu-Ainnurruvar (but the first word *disai* is probably missing). One is from Sumatra, dated 1088, and the other of the thirteenth century from Pagan in Burma, which refers to a locally resident merchant and to a temple built by the Nanadesi, called Nanadesi-Vinnagar-Alvan[26]. All this scattered evidence collectively establishes the wide-ranging activities of the guilds, and the links between merchants, temples, trade and urbanization, both within and outside the Coromandal Coast. According to Kanakalatha Mukund[27], several kinds of migration and trading networks are indicated

by the inscriptions regarding individual merchant donors. Merchants often migrated to other localities for trade. Since their place of origin is also invariably mentioned in the inscriptions, it would seem that they still had strong links with their own home base and also perhaps that they were regarded as outsiders in their place of trade. Most of the migration took place over very short distances, and merchants moved within a relatively small radius, as for instance from Tiruvannamalai to Kanchipuram, or from Tanjavur to Tiruvaiyaru or Uttaramelur to Tiruvottur (North Arcot)[28]

Urbanisation

Urbanisation during the medieval period is closely identified with the rise and decline of kingdoms and dynasties. As far as South India is concerned, two major periods of urbanization are remarkable: First, the Sangam period, and second, the Chola period from 9th to 13th centuries A.D. The modern city of Madras did not develop, like Kanchipuram, as a unified, compact centre of urban concentration in the pre-modern period. Urban developments remained closely bound to the agrarian interests of temples and temple donors, especially with the expansion of cultivation in peripheral zones. In South India, the third phase of urban development began under the Pallava and Chola (six to thirteenth centuries), centred in capital city of Kanchipuram. Mamallapuram and Kanchipuram formed part of the early exchange nexus dominated by external trade. During the early medieval urbanization, it came to be linked with the network of *nagaram*s and inland commerce from the 9th century. Urban centres like Uttiramerur, Tiruvorriyur, Mayilapur, and Kanchipuram (Kanchipuram district) all the centres doing the weaving on handlooms. The commerce of Mayilapur was handled by the Nanadesi or Valanjiyar, with their mercantile town at Kattur, and later by the *manigr´mam* and *anjuvannam*[29]. Traders from Mayilapur travelled to Chola centres in the distant Kaveri delta and Tamraparani Valley, where fairly large urban complexes had developed under the Cholas.

The *nagaram* as an organization of merchants makes oblique references to 'temple urbanisation' of the 12th to 13th centuries as an inevitable part of the changing scene at the decline of the Chola power. The growth of urbanization and the expansion of commerce were interlinked processes which unfolded within the overarching framework of the temple,

which was evolving into an integrating central institution in medieval Tamil Nadu. Trade in agricultural commodities and local goods, as well as luxurious and exotic items from distant lands that such centres attracted, must be seen as a complementary factor in this development. The demand generated by the local elite and temple for locally unavailable goods brought internal trade to these markets, and encouraged the large-scale settlement of craftsmen and artisans who were eventually accommodated in the temple centre.

Weaving communities

Certain changes can be perceived in the comparative position of the weaving communities. Vijaya Ramaswamy has compiled a detailed study of the textiles and weavers of medieval South India. She has mentioned in her work that some weaving communities migrated from one place to another for manufacturing and making different kinds of cotton and silk sarees. The reference to the Devanga weavers in Tamil country comes from Chengleput district[30]. The Kaikkolar gradually emerged as the leading weaving community, displacing the Saliyar who are mentioned in many inscriptions as Chooiya-Saliyar. The leading weaving communities of the Palar Valley were the Saliyar and the Kaikkolar. During the Chola period, i.e. roughly from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, it was the Saliyar who formed the major weaving community. In fact they were called the Choliya-Saliyar. References to them are found in Chingleput and North Arcot districts[31]. The weaving communities were concentrated in textile centres which were invariably linked to ports. Certain weaving communities were traditionally associated with certain geographical regions, although it is not easy to make precise demarcations of the spread of these communities over regions.

An important weaver community of medieval times was the *Sale* or the Saliya community, classified as the *Padma sale* and the *Pattu sale*. This was probably the same community as the Tamil Saliya, the root of both names, is the Sanskrit *shalika,* meaning 'weavers'. Mayilappur, as a weaving centre, was linked to the larger Kanchipuram region[32], which had a concentration of weaving communities. In every town weavers had their own separate quarters. During the period of Uthama Chola (10th century), the *Pattu sale Saliyars* were settled in the four quarters of Kanchipuram (called Kanchipattu in the inscription known as

Karvulanpatti, Karisahanapatti, Atimanappatti and Eruvalichcheri)[33]. The references to the Saliya in the Tamil country are of course numerous. The weavers produced various types of cloth for the requirements of the temple, the royal household and the common people. One of the main articles of weaving was the *pudavai*. The *pudavai* was probably not very different from present day, of a length between five to six yards. The main articles of clothing woven for the common man were *vetti* and *uttiriyam*. The *vetti*, worn from the waist downwards, was roughly one and half yards in length and the *uttiriyam* was worn to cover the upper body. Reference to *vetti* and *pudavai* is also made in the reign of Rajaraja III in 1243 A.D[34]. Cloth was dyed with vegetable dyes. Dyeing had gradually emerged as an independent profession. A tax on dyers is to be found in several inscriptions. A similar tax on dyers or *Sivapputoyar* in the Tamil country is mentioned from Tiruvorriyur (A.D.1223)[35]. According to Vijaya Ramaswamy[36], the implication of the economic position of the weavers in the social sphere can be seen by examining the following aspects:

i. The nature and extent of weaver corporate organizations
ii. The size and nature of the donations made by weavers to temples, including temple
services such as the celebration of important festivals
iii. Individuals as well as collective rights over land enjoyed by weavers, which in medieval times was an important status symbol
iv. The conferring of economic and social privileges on weavers in recognition of their importance.

The weavers were organized into guilds called *samayam*. The members of the weaver guild usually belonged to the weaver caste and heredity formed an essential part of the professional guild; thus there is reference to *samaya pattagara* (pattagara=weavers). The weavers' guilds had excellent local and regional organizations and this was also true of some other prominent guilds of the time, such as those of the Banajigas or the Kammalar. The *mahanadu* was at Kanchipuram and the weaving communities of the surrounding areas secured their privileges only through representation to the Kanchipuram guild[37]. Economic privilege sometimes took the form of tax exemption, as in the Uthamachola record. But the position of weavers was not always high in the Palar region.

Weaving centres

The weaving industry was systematically promoted by the rulers of South India from pre-Chola times. The Cholas bestowed special care on old centres of textile production and also encouraged the settlement of weavers in new areas. The biggest concentration of weaving centres in Tondaimandalam were in Kanchipuram[38], Uttiramerur[39], Vayalur[40], Veppangulam[41], Manimangalam[42], Tirukkalukkunram[43], Tiruvannakkoil[44], Mahabalipuram[45], Perunagar[46], Pillaipalayam[47], and Kulattur[48], Tiruppulivanam[49], and Achcharapakkam[50] (all the above centres were situated in the Chengleput District). The following weaving centres were located in North Arcot district: Kodungalur[51], Tiruvottur[52], Veppur[53], and Devikapuram[54]. The availability of cotton and the easy accessibility of vegetable dyes and mordants were the principal factors that helped in the development of these places as textile centres. The proximity to a port was another leading factor in the growth of textile centres, because land transport was expensive and slow, consisting mostly of pack bullocks and carts, while transport by sea was easier, cheaper and swifter[55]. The increased monetization of the economy there probably centred on the local cloth industry and the large cloth production and marketing networks around Kanchipuram and the north[56]. This cloth industry and the commercial system of northern Tamil Nadu predated the Chola Empire, resting originally on the cotton growing regions of Tondaimandalam. In the weaving industry, a group of merchants such as the Saliya Nagarattar could well have supplied yarn to local weavers. After Saliyar weavers had woven a piece of cloth, they would have returned their finished product to the source of their raw materials.

Conclusion

The city of Kanchipuram was not only a religious centre, but it was a commercial trading and urbanization centre too. By the 12th and 13th centuries the textile industry in and around Kanchipuram was more dynamic than any other industry in Chola heartland. South Indian textiles had a growing demand and widening market in the medieval period, and hence the weaver communities of Tondaimandalam (especially of the Kanchipuram region) acquired a special importance in the commerce of this region. The Saliyar and Kaikkolar were two weaver communities producing varieties of silk and cotton cloth for inland and overseas markets. The Saliyar gained considerable influence in Kanchipuram, while the Kaikkolar, without status or titles, were apparently weavers who had

no economic influence, being dependent on traders for organizing the marketing of textiles. The ninth to thirteenth centuries were characterized by flourishing trade conditions, powerful guilds and village assemblies. However, their influence was based on caste. The status and the role of the various weaving castes in contemporary medieval society reflected the ups and downs in their economic conditions.

The Saliyar was the main weaving community of the Palar valley under the Chola period. The wavers or artisans were quite distinct from the merchants and produced a great variety of fabrics which were mainly exported. In urban centres, there were several artisan-merchants (oil-mongers, coppersmiths, brass smiths, toddy-tappers and others) selling their products directly to local customers. At the upper end of the hierarchy were the rich merchants, (Nattukkottai Chettiar, Vaniga Chettiar, Komatti Chettiar, etc.) involved in long-distance trade. At the lower levels of the economic hierarchy, trade was not distinguished from production, nor was there a mercantile or commercial capital distinct from the commodity capital of the producers. Travelling merchants also had to internalize the costs of protecting themselves from attacks by robbers on the trade routes and organized their own defence. The earlier pattern of urban primacy, in which an inland centre was tied to a subordinate port (in the case of Kanchipuram to Mamallapuram), the effective system was that it preserved its commercial role in seaborne trade throughout the Chola period. There is a thirteenth century evidence of increasing foreign trade in luxury goods. Kulottunga I abolished the tolls and reduced the taxes for importing the commercial goods. He encouraged the artisans, weavers, and merchants for the development of internal and external commercial trade.

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inscriptions which record gifts made by merchant families, father, sons, daughters to temple (S.I.I., vol. XIII. No.258; S.I.I., vol.XIII, no.101). At Chingleput, twelve entire families of people who were said to have made their livelihood through the marketing of woven goods agreed to conduct a seven days festival in honour of Rajaraja I (A.R.E., 274 of 1910) and also see Kenneth R. Hall. *op.cit*. fn.p.158.

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41. *S.I.I*., Vol. VIII, no.4.
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43. *A.R.E.*, 170 of 1933.
44. *A.R.E.*, 286 of 1910.
45. *A.R.E.*, 303 of 1961-62.
46. *A.R.E*., 370 of 1923.
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BHATTAS AS TEACHERS IN CHOLA TIMES

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Bhatta is a Sanskrit term, which is still in vogue, from the time of the Pallavas in Tamil history. The epigraphical glossary describes Bhatta as an ephithet of Brahman[1]. There is no reference to Bhattar or Bhattan in the *Pre"Pallavan index* whereas *pattar* has been mentioned by *Naladiyar* and *Narrinai*. The word means, a trough, or a huge vessel[2] and a pot like wooden rest of the *y´ l,* a musical instrument[3]. The Sanskrit dictionary, mentions that Bhatta means a person worthy to be worshipped, especially for his learnedness[4]. The founder of Maitreka Kingdom was named as Bhattaraka. He belonged to Maitreka clan and established a kingdom at Saurashtra with Vallabhi as its capital, after the demises of Guptas around 6th century A.D. The fourth Vardhana king of Thaneshwar, named Parabhakara Vardana, assumed the title 'Parambattaraka'[5].

In the history of the Tamils, this word Bhatta appears right from the Pallava to Vijaynagar periods. The term had been always used as a title. In most of the occurrences this appears as an adjective for Brahmin personalities. But at times it also appears as titles to Jain teachers and Saiva ascetics too.

Generally, it is assumed while reading the epigraphs that the term Bhatta was a title of respect attached to the names of learned Brahmans. Though all the Brahmins were learned personalities, the title was not adopted by all members of the community. The other titles of Brahmins, like Chaturvedins and Trivedins, which were added to those who had learned four Vedas and three Vedas respectively, the bhatta also appears to be a title attached to a section among the Brahmins who were specialists of certain wing of the study of the Vedas. The title Bhatta seems to be more personal than hereditary in the time of the Cholas.

The inscription from Mannarkoil of Gopalaswami temple[6], mentions Srikumara Bhattan who was a son of Sri Vasudevan as one of the signatories of the inscription. This makes clear while the father Vasudevan did not have the title Bhattan, the son Sri Kumaran possessed it.

Five Brahminas gave a donation to Srirangam temple for the purpose of reciting *Tiruppalliyelucchi*, which is the morning awaking ceremony of God, and *Tiruv´ i mozhi*[7]. All were brothers and their father was Karambichettu Bhatta Piram Kramavid. The eldest son was Sriranganatha Kramavid and his brothers were Tirumazhavadi Kramavid, Eiyanja Kramavid, SriRanga Narayanan, and Solai Piram Kramavid. In one single family, while the father has the title Bhatta none of his five sons owned it. There are many such instances in inscriptions to show that the title bhatta was not a hereditary one but very personal of ones' own caliber.

The names like Vasudevan, Krishnan, Sridharan, Srirangan, etc. in inscriptions show that they were Brahmins, but without the title of bhattan. Hence the assumption that every Brahmin had a title of bhatta does not gather enough ground. It can be rather assumed that bhatta is one of many titles which Brahmins assumed for ones personal abilities.

An analysis to find out the specialty behind the title Bhatta requires a study of the nature of the professions that were carried out by the Brahmin personalities whose personal names were suffixed with the term Bhatta.

As a case study, Srirangam, a renowned Vaisnnava site, has been considered, where a number of Brahmin names associated with Srirangam temple appear but the title Bhatta is rare and very few[8] whereas the occurrence is more and often in Tondaimandalam region.

The Brahminas with the title of Bhatta had engaged themselves in varied positions like teaching, temple administration, village administration, and rarely royal officials in prescribing penance or expiation for the general public.

Among all these professions teaching seems to be the field over which most of the bhattas were engaged and a study of it is attempted in this paper. Bhatta"*vritti*, the assistance for the livelihood was given by the rulers and also the public for the cause of expounding knowledge.

Though bhatta"*vritti*s were not created separately every time by the rulers, they formed a part of many other arrangements made for the

learned Brahmins. In an inscription of Nandivarman II, the Pallava rulers' time speaks about it.

The Pallava king Nandivarman II created a Brahmin village Dayaamuka Mangalam, west of Tandantottam, near Kumbakonam in his fifth regnal year. The village was donated to a number of Brahmins; among them were 104 Chaturvedins, 20 Sadangavids, 20 Trivedins and some Bhattas and Kramavids.

There were a number of private people among the Brahmins who donated for bhatta"*vritti*. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar remarks that most of the bhatta"*vrittis* were from the ladies[9].

The royal donations do not specify any qualification for receiving bhatta"*vritti*, whereas the public had specified certain qualifications. Besides, certain restraints were also levied on donee's movement, place of profession and number of students to be taken at a time.

In the time of Rajaraja111 (1243 AD), it is stated that when the village of Attiyur was granted as a *devad´ na* to a local temple at Poygai, the inscription excluded some of the lands in the village known as Vaidya-*vritti*, Bhatta-*vritti* and Pallichandam [10].

To quote Prof. S. Gurumurthy 'the recipients of bhatta"*vritti* were not men of ordinary learning, who propagated their knowledge through teaching[11]. But he has not supported his statement with any illustrations.

Certain inscriptions[12] which record the donation of bhatta"*vritti*, carry certain terms that were laid by the donor to donee. There lithics are very useful in understanding the educational requirements of a bhatta, who could be eligible for the enjoyment of *vritti*, a piece of tax free land.

An inscription from Uttaramerur-Chaturvedi-Mangalam also lays down the needed educational and other qualifications of a Brahmin to claim a bhatta"*vritti*.

The bhatta should not own any shares in the village land and was supposed to reside in the Mata constructed for the purpose of

expounding knowledge by the same donor who happened to be a lady of some respect named Sannaiccani, who was also called Uttaramerur *mangai*[13].

The man who would like to have bhatta"*vritti* should have proficiency at least in one *Veda* with *vy´ karana* (grammar) and two chapters of *mim´ msa* (philosophy). Besides this, he should be quite competent in *ny´ ya bhashya* (logic). One *Veda*, with competence in expounding *vy´ karana*, the *ny´ ya bh´ shya* with *vartika* and *vai[´eshika* with its commentary are the specializations specified as an option in the inscription, with other restrictions.

An inscription of Rajaraja I, dated in the 14th regnal year (999 AD) from Aniyur, specified that
(a) One should be a man born of a Samavedin
(b) One should not be the native of the village in which one takes up the profession, but settle down in the village, assigned to discharge the functions
(c) One should be able to teach *vy´ karana astadhy´ yi*, i.e. elementary grammar or P´ niniya *vy´ karana*, *alank´ ra [´astra* and *mim´ msa [´astra* in all its twenty chapters besides two Vedas with regular commentary.

The bhatta who received the bhatta"*vritti* was told that he should not take more than four students at a time for tutelage. He should make them fully thorough in all the subjects referred above. It seems that this course was a study of minimum three years. During the study period, the bhatta was supposed to provide one meal for the students. It may be the midday meal, by which the teacher could retain the students with him for the whole day for the cause of study, though it was not a *gurukula* study (a study at the residence of the teacher).

The bhatta-*vritti* that was donated to the bhatta should have been sufficient that he could provide a meal for four students besides maintaining himself and his family.

The limitation in the number of students to four deserves some attention. There should be some reasons for the restriction of the strength of the students under a teacher. The possible simple reason may be the

feeding issue of the students. Since the teacher was compelled to provide a midday meal for each student throughout the period of study, taking view of the resources provident to the teacher, except the land donation, nothing in the form of remuneration was granted, so the number of students was restricted.

The other reason could be that the need for more personal attention from the teacher if the subjects mentioned were of a high standard. Hence it becomes necessary to assess the standard of the subjects, if they were of elementary in nature or advanced study. Anyway, no particular inscription openly declares the stages of education and the subjects meant for the same.

Making a turn of our attention to the well known higher educational centers of Chola times, like Ennayiram, Tribhuvani, Tirumukkudal, etc, we could get some help. In the Ennayiram institute, the students of *vy´ karana* and *mim´ msa* were paid ½ *kalanju* of gold besides their daily allowance in terms of paddy. The number of students of this subject according to the inscription is 70, while there were 340 students in total, including those studying other subjects. The rest of the 270 students belonged to the course that dealt with the *Veda*s and *rk´p´vat´ra*, who were also called as Brahmacarins. The students of the first group, who stud´ied *vy´ karana* and *mim´ msa*, were called Catirar.

In the school of Tribhumvani (1048 A.D.) while the total strength of the students was 260, 70 among them belonged to the study of *ved´ nta*, *vy´ karana* and *rk´p´vat´ra*, while the remaining 190 of them studied the *Veda*s and other *[´astras*. With regard to the remuneration part, we are unable to find out in detail, as the inscription is incomplete and badly damaged.

In the Tirumukkudal institute (1069) there was twenty students of *Rig* and *Yajur Veda*, while the students of *vy´* karana and *rk´p´vat´ra*, besides some brahmanas, were twenty in number. We are not clear who these brahmanas were, who are referred to in this inscription. However, this identification is not very important for our study. One point that is very clear is that the strength of the students of *vy´ karana* was less than the students of the *Veda*s.

In the Triuvorriyur institute, 60 Veli of land was endowed to construct a separate hall christened *vy´ karana d´ navakhyana* mandapa. This was to be used specially for the teaching of Panini's grammar and worship of Viyakarna devaperumal [14](Siva).

From the above mentioned instances it could be presumed that the study of *vy´ karana* and *mim´ msa* was not primary or elementary in nature, but advanced. The number of students of this course of study remained to be less in strength in comparison to that of the Vedic study. Hence, it will not be beyond truth to suppose that the restriction of the number of students to the donee of bhatta-*vritti* was because of its advanced nature.

Next, to strengthen the hypothesis that the study of *vy´ karana* and *mim´ msa* was of a higher education level, let us concentrate on the remuneration of the teachers. This also the other scale to measure the level of study of the subjects concerned.

In the Ennayiram college, the teacher of *vy´ karana* was given 1 *kalam* of paddy (*kalam* is the highest measure of grains) per day and 8 *kalanju* of gold for expounding 8 chapters. The teachers of the *Veda*s and *rk´p´ vatara* were given only ½ *kalanju* of gold and daily remuneration in terms of paddy, which is again less than that of the teacher of *vy´ karana*.

In the Tirumukkudal institute the teacher of *Veda*s received 60 *kalam* of paddy and 4 *k´ su* (money) annually, while the teachers of *vy´ karana* and *rk´p´ vat´ ra* could gain 120 *kalam* of paddy and 10 *k´ su*. The remuneration of *vy´ karana* teachers was double when compared to their counterparts.

The above-mentioned instances of the limited number of students and high remuneration to students and teachers of *vy´ karana* and *mim´ msa* for which bhatta-*virittis* were endowed clearly show that the bhattas were teachers of advanced standard.

Apart from the above-mentioned advanced centers of learning, there are many references in the inscription which refer to many small and big educational centers. What ever may be their size and strength, the

study of *Veda*s and subjects like *vy´ karna*, *r k ´p´ vat´ ra* and *mim´ msa* are mentioned. Even the earliest Vedic institution of advanced study at Bahur (877 A.D.) records the study of these subjects without fail.

There seems to be much thrust on the subjects of *vy´ karana* and mim´ msa, etc. and also a scarcity felt for teachers of such subjects. The inscription from Uttaramerur[15] emphasis that the one qualified to receive Bhatta"*vritti* should teach only the students of the village concerned. The bhatta should not engage himslf in teaching the students of other villages. In the same way, the villagers of Uttaramerur also should not engage other bhattas rather should engage the one who had gained bhatta"vritti in their own village.

The Chola inscriptions that mention bhatta-*vrittis*, almost all, and the centers of advanced study like Bahur, Ennayiram, Tribhuvani, Tirumakkudal and others emphasize the importance of subjects like *vy´ karana* and *mim´ msa* as subjects of higher learning and support the idea that bhatta-*vrittis* were endowed as highly qualified teachers who were competent enough to teach the subjects. The bhattas who enjoyed bhatta-*vritti* were the highly educated and creamy layer of the learned Brahmanas. Thus, the title bhatta which was not hereditary should have been conferred on the most learned among the learned of the Chola Brahmin society and they should be teachers of higher education.

Footnotes

1. D.C. Sircar, *Epigraphical Glossary*, p-51
2. N.Subramaniam, Pre Pallavan Index.
3. *Naladiyar*: 257: 1; *Narrinai*. 92; 6. *Puram*: 136: 1; *Silambu*: VII:1:3, XXXVIII:32.
4. Williams Monier, *Sanskrit to English Dictionary*, p.475.
5. R.C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p.249.
6. *ARE.* No.B, 404 of 1906
7. *ARE*120 of 1947-48
8. Vide, S.11- Vol.XXIV – *Inscriptions of the Ranganathaswami Srirangam*
9. S.K.Iyengar, '*Evolution of Hindu Administrative Instituions in South India*', P-142.

10. S.I.I., Vol.I, No.64, p-91
11. S.Gurumurthy, *Education in South India*, P-36
12. *S.I.I*, Vol.VI, No.322, p-154.
13. A lady or daughter of Utramerrur.
14. *ARE*.120 of 1912.
15. *S.1.1., Vol.VI, No.322, p.154.ss*

PERUNDEVI SAMUDRAM, DEVARAJA SAMUDRAM AND ACCHARAVAKKAM GRANTS OF SRIRANGARAYA III (OR VI) OF ARAVIDU DYNASTY♣

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The copper plate charter studied here is in the custody of Dr. Nanditha Krishna, Director, C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation, Chennai. The charter consists of five plates held in a ring with a seal. The entire set with ring and seal weighs 3.524 kilograms. The length of each plate is 22.5 cms and the breadth is 17 cms. At the top centre of the plates is a hole through which a ring with a diameter of 7 cms was inserted. Another small ring with the Vijayanagara seal, which measures 4.5 cms in diameter, contains in relief the images of sun, moon, boar (Varaha to the left) and a dagger vertically set with the end downwards, with the legend *Sri Venkatesa* in Nagari script, passed through the bigger ring. The plates are numbered from 1 to 5 in Telugu-Kannada numerals.

The charter is composed in Sanskrit verses in various metres. There are some mistakes in the text. The script employed is Nandinagari. The concluding attestation *Sri Rama*, the colophon or the sign manual of the Sri Rangaraya III (VI) of the Aravidu dynasty, the last dynasty of Vijayanagar rulers is in Telugu-Kannada script. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate are left blank, the remaining plates being written on both sides. Thus the record is contained on 8 sides, the total number of lines being 166. The preservation of the plates and the writing are fairly good. The distribution of the writing on the plates is:

Plates	Front side	Back Side

First Plate	-	22 lines
Second Plate	21 lines	21 lines
Third Plate	22 lines	24 lines
Fourth Plate	23 lines	19 lines
Fifth Plate	14 lines	-

The orthography calls for no special remarks, all peculiarities having been noticed by previous editors of the copper plate grants of Kaniyur, Vilapaka, Kondayata, Kallakurichi Pendekallu and Utsur[1].

The charter begins with the invocation to the gods Venkatesa, Sri Rama whose feet could turn a stone into a lady, the god Vishvaksena and the god Ganesha. Then the moon, who is said to have been born in the milky ocean and to be the right eye of the god Vishnu, is introduced. His grandson (Buddha's son) was Pururava, whose son was Ayu and the latter's son was Nahusha. His son was Yayati and to him was born Puru. In that line of kings Bharata became the king and in his family was born Santanu and the latter's fourth generation was Vijaya whose son was Abhimanyu. His son was Parikshit. Nanda, Chalikya, and Rajanarendra were born in that line. Bijjalendra, Vira Hemali and Mayapurisa, whose fourth progeny was Tatapinna, are mentioned. Tatapinna's son was Somideva who conquered seven forts of the enemies in a single day. His son was Raghavadeva whose son was again Pinnama, said to be the lord of Aravidu. His son was Bukka, who is said to have firmly established even the kingdom of Saluva Nrisimha. Bukka's son was Rama who is said to have captured the fort of Avanigiri from Sapada (?) whose army consisted of seventy thousand horses. Driving away Kasapudaya he captured the fort of Kandanavolu. To that Ramaraja, Lakkambika was the queen like Lakshmi to the god Vishnu. To that couple was born Sri Rangaraja. He married Tirumalambika. To them couple were born three sons Ramaraja, Tirumalaraya and Venkatadri. Having defeated all his enemies in battle, valorous Ramaraja ruled the kingdom. Venkata is described to have been a great warrior like Lakshmana. Among the three brothers, Tirumala Maharaya was coronated as the king of the entire kingdom. To him were born four sons: Raghunatha, Sri Rangaraya, Ramaraja and Venkatadevaraya. Among them Sri Rangaraya became the sovereign of Penugonda. Then came Venkatapatidevaraya. To his elder

brother were born Tirumalaraya and Sri Rangaraya. To Sri Rangaraya was born Sri Ramaraya. To Ramaraja, (the elder of brother of Tirumala) were born five sons. Among them Sri Rangaraja became the ruler. To him were born Peda Venkatendra and Pina Venkata. Of these two, the illustrious Peda Venkatendra became the lord of Penugonda. To his younger brother Pina Venkatadri was born the glorious king Sri Ranga who was the adopted son of Gopala.

Verses 43-48 describe the greatness of Sri Rangaraya in the usual literary eloquence, without any historical bearing. It is stated that he subdued his enemies from Ramesvaram till as far as the Himalayas. He received presents from the kings of the Bhojas and Magadhas who prostrated themselves at his lotus feet. He was the capturer of the fort of Chaurasi, causing great terror in the minds of hostile kings of the eight quarters, and was the devotee of Vishnu. He was credited with the titles like *Hosabirudaraganda, Rayarahuttaminda*, *mannyan samul, Mandalikadharanivaraha, etc*. He was the foremost of kings descended from the *gotra* of Atri, of great renown, whose cheeks resembled the moon, who eclipsed the god of love in beauty and who is the very tree of paradise to the crowd of scholars.

The charter is dated in the chronogram *rasa, ritu, bana, chandra*, i.e. *Saka* 1566. In the cyclic year of *tarana*, on the day of solar eclipse in the month of *Sravana* (Thursday, 22nd August 1644 A.D.), it is stated that the villages Perundevi Samudram alias Panaiyur, Devaraja Samudram alias Mullikambavaram and Accharavakkam were granted as *sarvamanya* (tax free) to Ramachandra, son of Ranganatha and grandson of Ellambhatta, of *Visvamitra Gotra*, *A[´valayana Sutra* and *Rig Z´akha*.

It is stated in the charter that the donated village Perundevi Samudram alias Panaiyur was bounded on the east by Bangaragramam situated in the Uttaramaluru Sima, which is in the well known Pullilakhyanadu in (pa)nayyurkottam, which is in the Tundiramandalam, of Padaividurajya, on the south by Nambacchyeri Gangeya Nelur, on the west by a tank in the village of Karivambudi, and on the north by Andividu *mahagramam*.

Devaraja Samudram, alias Mullikambavara *gramam*, and Srimad Accharavakkam *gramam* are situated in the *sima* of Tirukkacchi

Kunnapattana kuvam, in Srimatkumulinadu, in Ikkattu *kottam*, in ~~Chandragiri *rajyam*. The donated villages were bounded on the east by~~ Ihapullur, on the south by Yacchuri Sri Kulisha krittandala gramam, on the west by Perunallur Karshangadu, and on the north by Konatturu gramam.

The charter was composed by Ramakavi, son of Kamakoti and grandson of Sabhapati, and was written by Somanatha, son of Kamaya and grandson of Ganapaya.

TEXT

Plate 1 Back Side

1. *Sri Venkatesaya namaha | yasya samparka punyena nari ra*
2. *tna nabhucchila | yadupasyam sumanasam tadvastu dvandva masra*
3. *ye |yasya dvirada vaktradyaha parishadyaha parassatam | vighnam nighnam*
4. *ti bhajatam vishvaksenamtamsraye |jayati kshira jaladhehe |*
5. *jatam savyekshanam harehe salambanam chakoranamamarayushkaram mahaha |*
6. *pautrastasya pururava budhasutastasyayurasyatmajaha |sangjagjnena*
7. *husho yayati rabhavat tasmaccha purustataha |tadvamse bharato babhu*
8. *va nripatistatsantatau santanuhu |tattulyo vijayobhimanyu ruda*

9. *bhuttasma parikshittataha |nandastasyashtamo bhutsama jani nava*
10. *mastasya rajna chalikka kshmapastat saptama sripatiruci rabhava*
11. *drajapurvo narendra |tasyasid bijjalendro dasama iha nripo vira*
12. *hemalirayastarttiyiko murarau kritanati rudabhustasya maya*
13. *purisaha |tattulyo jani tatapinnama mahipalo nijalokana*
14. *trastamitraganastatojani haran durganisaptahitat |*
15. *anhaikena sa Somidevanripatistasyaiva jajne suto viro ra*
16. *ghava devaraditi tatah Sri Pinnamobhunripah |Araviti nagari*
17. *vibhorabhudasya Bukkadharanipatih sutah |yena Saluva Nrisimhara*
18. *jyamapyedhamanamahasa sthirikrtam |svah kamini svatanukanti*
19. *bhirakshipantim Bukkavanipatilako budhakalpasakhi*
20. *kalyaninim kamalanabha ivabdhikanyam Ballambikamudava*
21. *hadbahumanyasilam |suteva kalasambudhessurabhilasu*
22. *gam madhavatkumaramiva sankarakulamahibhritah kanya*

Plate 2 Front Side

23. *ka |jayantamamara prabhorapi saciva Bukkadhipacchri*
24. *tam jagati Ballamalabhata Ramarajam sutam |sahasraissaptatya sa*
25. *hitamapi yassindhu janusham sapatasyanikam samiti bhuja saurye*
26. *na mahata |vijityadattesmadavanigidurgam vibhutaya vidhuten*
27. *dra kasappudayamapividravya sahasa |Kandanavolidurga murukam*
28. *daladabhyudayo bahubalaya (bahubalena) na yo bahutarena vijitya Hareh |sam*
29. *nnihitasya tatre charanambushu bhaktatayajnatibhirarpitam sudheya*
30. *tisma nishevya visham |Sri Ramarajakshitipasya tasya chintamane*
31. *rarthikadambakanam | Lakshmirivambhoruhalochanasya Lakkambika*
32. *mushya mahishyalasit |tasyadhikaissamabhavastanayastapobhih | Sri*
33. *Rangarajanripatih sasivamsadipah |asan samullasati dhamani ya*
34. *sya chitram netrani vairisudrusam cha niranjanani |satim Tirumalam*
35. *bika charita lilaya rundhati prathamapi titkshaya vasumati ya*
36. *sorundhatim himamsuriva Rohinim hridayaharinim sadgunai ramo*
37. *datah sa dharminimayamavapya viragranih |rachita nayavicharam Ra*
38. *marajam cha dhiram vara Tirumalarayam Venkatadrikshitisam | aja*
39. *nayata sa etatananupurvya kumaraniha Tirumaladevyameva raja*
40. *mahoujah |sakalabhuvanakantakanaratin samiti nihatya sa Ra*
41. *maraja virah Bharata Manu Bhagirathadi rajaprathitayasah prasasa*

42. *sa chakramurvyah |vitarana paripatim yasya vidyadharinam nakhara mu*
43. *khara vinanada gitam nisamya |anukalamaya mavalambu bimba pa*

Plate 2 Back Side

44. *desadamaranagara sakhi lajjaya majjativa |vyarajata Sri vara Venkatadrira*
45. *jah kshitau lakshmana charumurtih |jya ghosha*
46. *durikrita meghanadah kurvin sumitrasaya harsha posham |trishu Sri Ranga kshma*
47. *paribridha kumareshvadhiranam vijityari kshmapan sTirumalamaha*
48. *nripatirmahauja ssamrajye sumatirabhishiktah nirupame pra*
49. *sastyurvim sarvamapi tisrushumurtishviva harih |yasasvina magrasara*
50. *sya yasya pattabhisheke sati parthivendoh |danambu purai rabhishichya ma*
51. *na devi padam bhumiriyam dadhati | samadayovidha mukha diva sa*
52. *tyavachah samadyupaya nivaha iva samyuginat |ramadayo da*
53. *saratha diva rajamouleh |tasmadameyayasasah stanaya babhuvuh |ra*
54. *ja tato bhud Raghunatha nama Sri Rangarajah Sritaparijatah*
55. *Sri Ramarayah sisiramsu rurvyah vikhyatiman Venkatadeva ra*
56. *yah Sri Rangaraya sahajeshu teshu parangato nitipathah payo*
57. *dheh ashtasu dikshu prathitah sa lebheh pattabhishekam Penukondarajye |*
58. *atha jathah Sri Venkatapatidevarayo nayojvalah avanimasishat kirtya*
59. *diso dasa visobhayan | tajjaya sah suradrumalajjavahacha*
60. *rita Ramarajavibhoh |jatastirumalarayah khyata Sri Rangarayo*
61. *pi | tayoh Sri Rangarajasya tanaya vinayadhikah |ajayanta*
62. *dayavanto srutavanto yasasvinah |Sri Rangarayanripate stanaye*

63. *shu teshu param giramadhigata kavipungavavanam|ratneshu kaustu*
64. *bha ivambudhi sambhaveshu Sri Ramaraya nripati(h) suchiram vilasin|*

Plate 3 Front Side

65. *purvam vidhatta Ramarajanripatehe Sri Ramabhadra kritehe|ka*
66. *lyanodaya salinastanubhava pancha prapanchavane dakshanati*
67. *pathanuga samabhavanne Sri rapakakamino girvana laya*
68. *bhuruha iva budha srenishta danotsutaha | ajna vijita sugri*
69. *vaha prajna vana kritagrahaha| sarvate vibudha grahya gunairuchira*
70. *viddhaha vikhyata charyeshu nripeshu teshu Sri Rangaraja sisiram*
71. *suruvyaha|visvatraye, visruta kirti rasi saureshu da (sa)lesviva*
72. *paritjataha Sri Rangarajasya tapau visveshaihi santoshanaha sa*
73. *pta girisvarasya karunya bhumya kamaniya sobhau putravabhu*
74. *tam puruhota bhogam Peda Venkatendra Pina Venkatadhi raditi*
75. *Namakau prakriti palanotsukau khara Dushanaha prahati dakshinaba*
76. *bhau dadataha pramoda miva Ramalakshmanau Sri Sali Peda Venkatesa*
77. *nripatihi jyeshtho vayobhistayoho sauryodarya gabhiraya iti ka*
78. *la purvaihi sa sarvaihi gunaihi rasyarati nripala bheda na kala yasu se*
79. *na rajaha puraihi bhujala divya vedi haraschittescha dhatte statam Sri*
80. *Rangarajendra kaumara kesmin viraottama Venkatadevaraya*
81. *pattabhishikta Penukonda rajya tadabhishikta sudhiyopi*
82. *hemna yatha raghu lo dvahah svayamarundhati janina svagotra*
83. *guruna sudhi tilaka Tatayaryena pyaha yathavidhi yasa*
84. *svina virachitabhisheka kshanadhi bhistaya vanadaran vijaya*
85. *te prasasan mahim |yasmin Venkataraya bhukriti vahatturvi mu*

86. *da nirbhara kurmo Venkatanatha mupagataha tamrane vichitaha |*

Plate 3 Back Side

87. *Sesho pyetya manishavesha achala durgatta mapyasritaha khya*
88. *tastasyapi tamahinu jatayaha Sri Venkatadri kshmapasrila*
89. *lanasvayam vritapateh jatanukampaspadam |asidudhrita satrugandha*
90. *karati pradhvamsa baddhau vrato haryakshah kaviloka rakshana kala pratya*
91. *gra bhoja kritih tasya Sri Rangapati kshonipatih ratma bhurguna bhir*
92. *rabhut yassaudarya mahimna kalpa taraouhu kapi nandane vasati*
93. *rajnastasya gunarutasya sukrutaih prachina janmarchitaih putro*
94. *bhut puruhuta kalpa mahima Gopala rajagrani sarvesan vidu*
95. *sham samhita tatham datva syayam yo vistara yati sma da*
96. *na chaturan bhojati man parthivan soyam priya sahacharah sukri*
97. *ti tapobhih raradhya venkata sailanatham pritastadam magadhi | ta da*
98. *bhishtadayi saderaha kripaya tamenam putra sandharani ma vapa madhu*
99. *nam Srirangaraya bhido vikhyata chinna Venkatendra nripati rugrai*
100. *stapo vaibhavaihi purvam Sri Vasudeva bhuvarya vibhoh Krishnabhi toham yatha*
101. *nandah pragiva tam sutam kalayatam Sri Rangarayabhidham | Sri Rangaraya*
102. *kshiti nayakamtam Srikanta rupam kshitirakshanaya ava*
103. *pya putram kula vriddhi hetohp Gopalaraja sambhut prahrishtaha | soyam*
104. *Sri Rangaraya kshitipati Ravitum sajjananam, durjananam ga*

105. *rva dhvamsaya kamsasura mada garima dhvamsino rupadhariprajnam sa*
106. *raja simhasana adhi vasati pratyaksha bhakti purvam nanadesavanadau*
107. *vinata anupamam prapta pattabhishekam Sri Rangesvaradatta ra*
108. *ja mahimam Sri Rangarayagranih padambhoja vinamra Bhoja Magadhah kshma*
109. *parpitaprabhritah |sarvesham prithvibhuja madhisiro vinyasta padam*
110. *bujah prithvim pala (yateh) nayena yena mahata saptarnavim mekhalam | varasi gam*

Plate 4 Front Side

111. *bhirya visesha dhurya chaurasi durgai ka vibha la varyah*
112. *parashta dighraya manah prakama bhayankara Sarngadharanta*
113. *Rangah |hataripuranimeshanokaho yachakanam hosabirudara*
114. *gandoraya rahuttamindah saravira Ramanya samullasan Aravi*
115. *ti pura raharnayakah |Kundalisvara mahabhuja srayanne mandalika*
116. *dharani varahatam atreya gotra janamagra sarobhubhuja mu*
117. *dara yasah ati biruda turaga ghetto matigururaratta Maga*
118. *dha manyam padah |soyam niti jitadi bhupati tati sutrama sakhi*
119. *sudhi saryanam bhujate jasa kham vasyan karnata simhasanam |*
120. *asetorapi chahimadri vimatan samhrutya sasanmuda |sa*
121. *rvairvim prachakasti sindhuparigham Sri Rangarayagranih |rasartu*
122. *bana chandrakhya ganite sakavatsare |tarunakhye bhidhe varshe ma*

123. *si sravana namani |suryoparaga samaye Venkatesvara sanni*
124. *dhau |prakhyata Sri kamukaya Visvamitrakhya gotrine |Asvala*
125. *yana sutraya rik sakha dhyapakaya cha |pagulurvam dasa dugla*
126. *lbisah samvarddhana himatvisham |yallambhattasya pautraya phulla panka*
127. *ja chakshushah |Ranganathasya putraya Srimadbhagavatasya tu |dhi*
128. *mate Ramachandrakhya Srimad bhagavataya cha Padavidu maharajye*
129. *(Pa)nayyur kotta namake |prakhyata Pulillakhya nadau tondira*
130. *mandale |Srimad Uttaramaluru simne bhusura vibhushite |ramye*
131. *dottara maghane bangaragramanamatah purvasyam disi so*
132. *bhantam santatam bhuruhavrutam |nambachyeri gangeya neluru dakshinam*
133. *disam |sritam karivembudi grama tpaschima digtatam |Andi*

Plate 4 Back Side

134. *vidu mahagrama duttara samadhishthitam Perundevi*
135. *samudrakhya pratinama samanvitam |Panaiyuru grama sahitam*
136. *sarva sasyopa sobhitam vana nagara grama tilakam vara deva*
137. *layam chitam | Sri Chandragirirajya mikkattu bhushi*
138. *tam Srimatkumulinadu Tirukkacchikunnapattana Kuvattu*
139. *simni rajantam Ihapulliri namatah prachyam disi sobhan*
140. *tam sobhitam sobhanaih gunaih yacchuri Sri Kulishakrittandala*
141. *dakshinam disam |lasitam Peruneluru Karshamkadu paschimam*
142. *Konatturumahagrama duttarasamupasritam devaraja sa*

143. *mudrakhya pratinama virajitam Mullikambavara gramenanvi*
144. *tam bhuruha vritam |Srimadaccharavakakhya gramam sasyopasobhitam*
145. *sarvamanyam chatuhsima sahitam cha samantatah|nidhi nikshepa pa*
146. *shana siddha sadhya jalanvitam|akshinyagami samyuktam gana*
147. *rajyam (ekabhojyam) sabhuruham| vapi kupa tatakai scha kaccha ramaischa samyutam|*
148. *putra pautradibhih bhojyam kramada chandratarakam|danadhamarnavikri*
149. *ti yogyam vinimayochitam|paritah prayatah snigdhaih purohita puro*
150. *gamaih|vividhaih vibudhaih Srotah pathikaih adhikaih gira*
151. *Sri Ranganatha bhupalo mananiyo manasvinam|sahiranyapayodharapurvakam*
152. *dattavan muda|*

Plate 5 Front Side

153. *Vira Sri Ranganatha kshitipati varyasya kirti dhu*
154. *ryasya|sasanamidam sudhijanakuvalaya chandrasya bhumahendra*
155. *sya| Vira Sri Rangarayoktyah praha pautrah sabhapateh|Kamakoti su*
156. *to Ramakavih sasana vangmayam|Vira Sri Rangaraya kshmapati desena*
157. *Somanatharyah sasanamalikhah kamayya tanayah|Sri Ganapaya*
158. *rya pautramanih|danapalanayormadhye danat sriyonupalanam danat bho*
159. *gamavapnoti palanadachyutam padam|svadattadadvigunam punyam paradattanu*
160. *palanam|paradatta paharena svadattam nishphalam bhavet| svadattam paradattam*

161. *vayo haret vasundharam /shashthih varsha sahasrani vishtayam jayate*
162. *krimih /ekaiva bhagini loke sarveshameva bhubhujam nabhojya na ka*
163. *ra grahya vipradatta vasundhara /samanyoyam dharmasetu nrupanam*
164. *kale kale palaniyo bhavanti /sarvanetan bhavinah /parthiven*
165. *dran bhuyo bhuyo yachate Ramachandrah / Srih*
166. *Sri Rama*

The following table gives the genealogy of the rulers of Aravidu dynasty.

Tata – Pinnama I

Somideva

Raghavadeva

Pinnama II
(the lord of Aravitinagara)

Bukka, md, Ballambika

Rama I, md, Lakkambika

Ranga I, md, Tirumalambika

Rama II (also known as Venkatadri Aliya Ramaraya) md. Vengalambika (A.D. 1565) md. Sister of Sadasiva

Tirumala I

(A.D. 1565).

Ranga IV Raghunatha Ranga, II
Rama III Venkata I Ranga V
(one of five brothers) (S' 1497 – 1506)
md. Vengalamta
Raghavamta

edobamanta

Krishnamamba

Kendramamba

Peda-Venkata II Pina- Venkata
Tirumala II Ranga III
Gopala
md. Bangarama or China Venkata
adopted Ranga VI
Ranga VI
Rama IV

adopted by
Gopala
(one of several brothers)
(S' 1566)

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MARITIME TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PORT OF GOPALPUR AND OVERSEAS COUNTRIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY : SOME REFLECTIONS

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The maritime trade of Orissa dates back to the ancient period of its history. The unique geographical position of Orissa provided an excellent opportunity to its inhabitants for transoceanic commerce[1]. Being situated on the shore of the Bay of Bengal and having enjoyed all the privileges to develop her maritime activities, Orissa, from time immemorial, had a reputation as a seafaring country[2]. Orissa trade and commercial activities during the 16th and 17th centuries received great encouragement with the establishment of European factories. With a favourable geographical situation and rich in good navigable rivers and ports, Orissa attracted a number of European trading nations like the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, English and the French[3].

Mercantile communities

European merchants who settled down in different parts of Orissa, were generally interested in maritime or overseas trade. But for doing so, they had to ally themselves with the powerful local merchants of Orissa. Among all the European trading nations, the English had a better share in the maritime trade of Orissa[4]. The maritime importance of the ports, the facility for reconstruction and repairing of the ships and the availability of export commodities encouraged the European merchants to establish their factories in different port towns of South Orissa[5]. The local Oriya merchants, Telugu Komaties and Banjaras engaged in marine trade[6]. They collected different country and forest products and used to sell those to the European merchants[7]. There were also many Muslim merchants, Muhammadans who were very wealthy and influential[8]. The local

merchants carried on trade a very small scale. The major portion of this trade was in the hands of the outsiders.

Historical accounts indicate that in the 19th century A.D., during the British Period, south Orissa had a number of ports, namely Gopalpur, Ganjam, Baruva, Babanapadu and Calingapatnam. Of all the ports, Gopalpur or Mansurkota was the Chief Port of Ganjam district under the British. It is situated at a distance of nine miles by road from the silk city of Berhampur. The maritime trade of south Orissa was handled by the Gopalpur port.

The port of Gopalpur had good commercial contacts with various other countries. There was movement of ships between the port of Gopalpur and the ports of United Kingdom, Straits settlements, Ceylon, Germany, free-ports, France, Italy, United States of America, Belgium, Burma, etc. The principal items in the export and import trade at the port of Gopalpur and their quantity and value have been shown in the following tables.

Between the years 1875-76 A.D. to 1876-77 A.D., a good volume of merchandise was exported to foreign countries through the port of Gopalpur[9]. The following table shows the total value of imports and exports at the port of Gopalpur in each official year from 1875-76 A.D. to 1876-77 A.D.

Table No.1

Year	Gopalpur port	Imports
	Exports	
	Name of the Article	Value in Rupees
	Value in Rupees	
1875-76 A.D.	Merchandise (Country)	(Foreign) Treasure
	9,026——32,000	11,74,225700
	Total	41,026
		11,74,925
1876-77A.D.	Merchandise (Country)	(Foreign) Treasure
	13,078——15,510	8,70,823——

Total 28,588

8,70,823

The principal articles imported from the different foreign countries to the port of Gopalpur in the years 1872-73 A.D. to 1876-77 A.D. were apparel (including haberdashery, millinery, etc.), fire arms, cement, coal, corks, candles, canvas, musical instruments, boots and shoes, wine and liquors, brass-wrought, copper-unwrought, wrought-shelf, wire, cast-iron, iron mixed with steel, pipes, tubes, paints and colours, writing paper, envelopes, perfumery, bacon, ham, stone and marble, toys and requisites for games, fruits, vegetables, butter, flour etc. The value of these imported articles have been discussed in detail in the following table.

The following table[10] exhibits the value of the principal articles imported from foreign countries in each official year from 1872-73 A.D. to 1876-77 A.D. to the port of Gopalpur.

Table No.2

Principal Articles Imported.
To the Port of Gopalpur

Value in Rs.
Apparel (including haberdashery, millinery, etc., but excluding hosiery).
503
Fire arms, & Parts thereof
200
Cement
50
Coal
100
Corks
2
Candles of all sorts
36
Canvas
15
Fruits & other sorts
20

musical Instruments
390
Boots & Shoes
668
Other sorts
301
Ale, Beer & Porter spirits
865
Brandy
288
Rum & others
1,254
Wine Champagne
285
Claret (wine)
270
Port (wine)
177
Sherry (wine)
281
Other sorts of wine
517
Agricultural (not being steam, other sorts)
25
Brass - wrought
63
Copper - unwrought (ingots, cakes)
110
Wrought sheets & others
8
Wire, wrought or cast-iron, or iron mixed with steel.
2,799
Lead pig
11
Wrought sheets, pipes, & tubes
67
Steel - cast
224

Wrought plates or sheets & other sorts
194
Zinc or spelter unwrought
34
Paints & colours
298
Writing paper & envelopes
85
Perfumery (other than musk)
21
Bacon & hams
166
Butter
100
Flour
4
Fruits, vegetables - salted or dried
41
Other sorts of provisions
1,354
Stone & marble
75
Toys & requisites for games
70
Manufactures of other sorts
1,100

The following table[11] shows the total quantities of principal articles imported from foreign ports, to the port of Gopalpur in Madras Presidency in each official year, from 1872-73 A.D. to 1876-77 A.D.

Table No. 3

Principal Articles Imported to Gopalpur Port	**Quantity**
Cement	7 cwt.
Candles of all sorts	114 lbs.
Coal	6 tons.
Corks	1 gross.

Canvas	40 yards.
Manufactures of boots & shoes	84 pairs.
Liquors, Ale, Beer & porter spirits	344 galls.
Brandy	21 galls.
Rum & other sorts	88 galls.
Wine & liquors, champagne	17 galls.
Claret (wine)	12 galls.
Sherry (wine)	22 galls.
Liquor & other sorts	33 galls.
Brass - wrought	2 cwt.
Copper - unwrought (ingots cashes &c.)	2 cwt.
Wire, cast-iron, or iron mixed with steel	290 cwt.
Lead	1 cwt.
Lead sheets, pipes & tubes	6 cwt.
Steel cast	9 cwt.
Teen wrought plates or sheets	5 cwt.
Zinc or spelter - wrought or manufactured	2 cwt.
Paints & colours	24 cwt.
Bacon & hams	262 lbs.
Butter	352 lbs.
Cheese	11 lbs.
Flour	60 lbs.
Fish & vegetable , dried or salted or preserved	2 cwt.
Other sorts	18 cwt.
Wool shawls & other sorts	3,338 lbs.

The following table[12] shows the total quantities of the principal articles and manufactured items exported to foreign ports from the port of Gopalpur in each official year from 1872-73 A.D. to 1876-77 A.D.

Table No.4

Principal Articles Exported		
Quantity		**Value**
	in Rupees	
Myrabolams		18,257
cwt.		61,201

Other sorts of dyeing & colouring materials	8 2 5
cwt.	1,515
Cabinet-ware & furniture	——
1,000	
(Grain & Pulse) grams	1 4 4
cwt.	392
Rice not in the husk	57,614
cwt.	
1,41,536	
Pulse	2 9 1
cwt.	697
Raw hemp	3 , 3 8 4
cwt.	23,565
Raw hides	3 , 8 6 2
cwt.31,944 nos.	42,731
Raw hides dressed or tanned	3 6 2
cwt.4,500 nos.	5,063
Horns	1 , 2 5 3
cwt.	20,144
Ghee	56 lbs.
22	
Rape seeds	6 , 7 3 7
cwt.	32,191
Teel or gingelly	45,610
cwt.	
2,88,245	
Other sorts of seeds	6 , 3 6 5
cwt.	24,441
Spices, turmeric	
5,93,024 lbs.	29,553
Other sorts of spices	20 lbs.
2	
Sugar and sugar candy & other saccharine produce	33,063
cwt.	
1,96,705	
Wax (excluding candles)	27 cwt.
1,800	
Toys and requisites for games	—
20	

The following table[13] exhibits the quantities and values of principal articles exported free of duty from the port of Gopalpur to various foreign countries in the official year 1876-77 A.D.

Table No. 5

Principal Articles and the Countries to which Exported	**Quantity Values inRupees**
Cabinet ware and furniture to United Kingdom	———
——	1,000
Myrabolams to United Kingdom	
18,037cwt.	60,151
Myrabolams to France	220 cwt.
1,050	
Other sorts of dyeing and colouring materials to united kingdom	
825 cwt.	1,515
(Grain & pulse) gram to Ceylon	144 cwt.
392	
Pulse to Mauritius	291 cwt.
697	
Raw hemp to United Kingdom	3384 cwt.
23,565	
(Hides and skins) Raw hides to United Kingdom	3862 cwt.
31,944 nos.	42,731
Dressed or tanned hides to United Kingdom	362 cwt.
4,500 nos.	5,063
Horns to United Kingdom	1,253 cwt.
20,144	
Ghee to Ceylon	56 lbs.
22	
Rape seeds to United Kingdom	6,737 cwt.
32,191	
Teel or gingelly seeds to United Kingdom	42,974
cwt	2,72,945
Teel or gingelly seeds to Mauritius	2,636 cwt
15,300	
Other sorts of seeds to United Kingdom	5,564 cwt
22,800	

Other sorts of seeds to Ceylon	801 cwt
1,641	
Turmeric to United Kingdom	5,04,058
lbs.	25,126
Turmeric to Ceylon	88,968
lbs.	4,427
Other sorts of spices to Ceylon	20 lbs.
2	
(Sugar and sugar candy) & other saccharine produce to United	
Kingdom	33,063
cwt.	1,96,705
Toys and requisites for games to United Kingdom	—
20	
Wax (excluding candles) to Straits settlements	27 cwt.
1,800	

The following table[14] exhibits the value of total imports and exports of foreign trade at the port of Gopalpur in each official year, from 1877-78 A.D. to 1881-82 A.D.

Table No. 6

Imports

Port of Gopalpur	**1877-78**	**1878-79**	**1879-80**	**1880-81**	**1881-82**
	In Rs.	**In Rs.**	**In Rs.**	**In Rs.**	**In Rs.**
Merchandise					
Country	7,263	26,357	8,758	21,534	28,313
Foreign	—	—	—	—	—
Total	7,263	26,357	8,758	21,534	28,313
Treasure	—	10,030	—	—	—
Total	7,263	36,387	8,758	21,534	28,313

Exports

Port of Gopalpur	**1877-78**	**1878-79**	**1879-80**	**1880-81**
			1881-82	
	In Rs.	**In Rs.**	**In Rs.**	**In Rs.**
In Rs.				
Merchandise				
Country	7,66,221	7,11,881	10,77,956	—
—				
Foreign	—	—	1,252	—
—				
Total	7,66,221	7,11,881	10,79,208	—
—				
Treasure	—	—	—	—
—				
Total	7,66,221	7,11,881	10,79,208	—
—				

The following table[15] exhibits the exported quantities and value of principal articles free of duty from the port of Gopalpur to various foreign countries in each official year, from 1877-78 A.D. to 1881-82 A.D.

Table No-7

Principal Articles and Countries to which exported	
Quantity	
	Value inRupees
Manufactured articles of merchandise to United Kingdom	
361	
Myrabolams to United Kingdom	7,608
cwt.	
17,949	
Turmeric to United Kingdom	1,010
cwt.	4,224
Turmeric to Ceylon	1,044
cwt.	5,141
Wheat to United Kingdom	781
cwt.	2,655

Raw hemp to United Kingdom	9,690
cwt.	
72,453	
Hides, dressed or tanned to United Kingdom	58
cwt. 1,259 nos.	4,331
Raw skins to United Kingdom	28
lbs. 12 nos.	22
Skins, dressed or tanned to United Kingdom	4
cwt. 387 nos.	591
Horns to United Kingdom	1,033
cwt.	
25,986	
Animal bones to United Kingdom	3
tons.	82
Various sorts of provisions to United Kingdom	16
cwt.	48
Rape seeds to United Kingdom	5,088
cwt.	
23,215	
Teel or gingelly seeds to France	
36,021 cwt.	
1,93,640	
Other sorts of seeds to United Kingdom	5,495
cwt.	
22,590	
Refined sugar to Ceylon	2,288
cwt.	
42,190	
All other manufactured articles of merchandise to United Kingdom	
—	125

Quantities and value of principal articles, subject to duty, exported from the port of Gopalpur to various foreign countries in the official year 1881-82 A.D. have been shown in the following table[16]

Table No - 8

Principal Articles, and Countries to which exported	Quantity	Value inRupees
Rice not in the husk to United Kingdom	2,95,053 cwt.	7,20,263
Rice not in the husk to Ceylon	807 cwt.	1,751
Rice not in the husk to France	4 cwt.	11
Total	2,95,864	7,22,625

Apart from rice (not in the husk), 10 lbs. of wrought brass worth Rs 30/- and 1 lb. of unenumerated metals worth Rs. 20/- were exported, subject to duty, from the port of Gopalpur to foreign countries in each official year from 1877-78 A.D. to 1881-82 A.D.[17].

The value of the total exports of merchandise exclusive of Government stores to foreign countries from the port of Gopalpur in the years 1902-1903 A.D. to 1906-1907 A.D. has been shown in the following table[18].

Table No. 9

To Foreign Countries

Form Gopalpur Port

(Value in Rupees)

To France

Merchandise - Country - 301

Foreign - .....

Total - 301

To Italy

Merchandise - Country - 1,07,670

Foreign -
.....

Total -

1,07,670

To United Kingdom

Merchandise - Country -
65,802
Foreign -
1,825

Total -

67,627

To Ceylon

Merchandise - Country -
10,95,388
Foreign -
.....

Total -

10,95,388

Grand Total

Merchandise Country -
12,69,61
Foreign -
1825

Total -

12,70,986

The following table[19] exhibits the total value of the Imports and Exports of Foreign Trade, exclusive of Government stores, in each official year from 1903-04 A.D. to 1907-08 A.D. at the port of Gopalpur in the Madras Presidency.

Table No. 10

Imports **Exports**

Years	Merchandise Country	Merchandise Foreign	Foreign	Total	Total
	In Rs.	In Rs.	In Rs.	In Rs.	In Rs.
1903-04 A.D.	———	7,735	7,735	6,90,124	6,90,700
1904-05 A.D.	———	4,134	4,134	11,95,187	11,95,270
1905-06 A.D.	———	13,051	13,051	6,80,871	6,81,111
1906-07 A.D.	———	3,673	3,673	12,69,161	12,70,986
1907-08 A.D.	———	10,190	10,190	8,58,510	8,61,660

Quantities and value of principal articles exported to foreign countries, in the official year 1907-08 A.D. from the port of Gopalpur, has been shown in the following table[20].

Table No.11

Principal Articles and Countries to which exported	Quantity Value in Rs.
Various sorts of provisions (articles of food and drink) to United Kingdom	8 lbs. 4
Grains and pulse to United Kingdom	1,35,992 cwt. 7,37,897
Various sorts of fruits and vegetables (dried, salted or preserved) to United Kingdom	14 lbs. 7
Seeds to Ceylon	423 cwt. 4,699
Sugar to United Kingdom	42 lbs. 6
Myrabolams to Germany free ports	200 cwt. 478

Hemp to United Kingdom	1,942 cwt.
24,953	
Hemp to France	198 cwt.
2,755	
Hemp to Italy	7,144 cwt.
85,725	
Jute to United Kingdom	24 cwt.
289	
Animal bones to Ceylon	30 tons.
1,020	
Various kinds of manures to Straits settlements	1 ton.
157	
Wool to United Kingdom	300 lbs.
200	

The following table[21] shows the value of total exports of merchandise exclusive of Government stores to foreign countries in the year 1903-04 A.D. to 1907-08 A.D. from the port of Gopalpur.

Table No. 12
Foreign Countries to which exported
Value in Rs.

United Kingdom

Merchandise Country -
25,759
Foreign -
3,150

Total -

28,909
Straits Settlements

Merchandise Country
157
Foreign
——

Total -

157

Ceylon

Merchandise Country -
7,43,616
Foreign -
——

Total -

7,43,616
Germany-Free Ports

Merchandise Country -
478
Foreign -
——

Total -

478
France

Merchandise Country -
2,775
Foreign -
——

Total -

2,775
Italy

Merchandise Country -
85,725
Foreign -
——

Total -

85,725
Total Export :

Merchandise Country -
8,58,510
Foreign -
3,150

Total -

8,61,660

The following table[22] exhibits the total value of the exports of merchandise exclusive of Government stores, to foreign countries from the port of Gopalpur in the years 1907-08 A.D. to 1911-12 A.D.

Table No.13

Countries to which Exported

Value In Rupees

United Kingdom

Merchandise Country -
19,251
Foreign -
——

Total -

19,251
Ceylon

Merchandise Country -
33,484
Foreign -
——

Total -

33,484
Italy

Merchandise Country -
2,85,378
Foreign -
——

Total -

2,85,378
Total Merchandise Exported

Country -
3,38,113

Foreign -

——

Total -

3,38,113

Besides the port of Gopalpur, other small ports of this area provided scope for carrying maritime trade with overseas countries. The Ganjam port, situated on the mouth of the river Rushikulya, was an important port of Ganjam. T.J. Maltby in 1882 A.D. wrote about the Ganjam Port: "Once this was the chief port, now it is difficult to understand why it has been so thrown into the shade by Gopalpur, unless it be that the latter has had the advantage of British enterprise to bring it forward[23]. Once the most important items exported from the Ganjam port were paddy, raw rice, boiled rice, gram, turmeric, tobacco etc.[24], Ganjam port had important trade links with various foreign countries, especially with Ceylon[25]. The minor ports of this region were Sonnapur, Pundi, Baruva, Bavanpadu. At a particular stage these ports served as the principal, shipping centre for the navigators[26]. It is to be noted that articles of merchandise were exported to various foreign countries from the port of Pundi during the British Period. For instance, from the port 38,671 cwt. of rice not in the husk worth Rs.1,11,851/- was being exported to the United Kingdom in each official year from 1877-78 A.D to 1881-82 A.D.[27]. The principal items of exports from Baruva port to Ceylon and Burma were coconuts, coir ropes, yarn, etc[28]. Similarly, rice, gingelly, jaggery and myrabolams, were exported from the port of Kalingapatnam to Ceylon, France, Mauritius and United Kingdom[29]. But gradually these ports were dwindled towards the last part of 20th century.

The port of Gopalpur which provided an ample scope for carrying trade with overseas countries gradually declined towards the mid twentieth century A.D. The decline was noticed in the value of both imports and exports. However, it is noticed that a good volume of merchandise (country) and surplus products of agriculture and articles of natural resources of south Orissa were drained to the United Kingdom during the British Period. Overseas trade of Ganjam was flourishing during British time. Hence Gopalpur port occupied an important position in the overseas trade map of the world.

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CATTLE VARIETIES AND THEIR BREEDS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY (1920-1936)

The cattle of the Madras Presidency have long been famous, and of the several breeds which are to be found in this part of the country, those designated the 'Mysore' and the 'Ongole' are undoubtedly significant on account of their prepotency. The former is most assuredly entitled to first honours as a visit to all the various large cattle fairs held in the Madras Presidency. Those cattle vary from province to province either as to size, form and symmetry, or as to the growth and length of their horns according to the varying local peculiarities of the climate, soil etc. Many of the Provinces in the Madras Presidency were essentially cattle raising zones and the very objective of tins paper is to review and study the various cattle varieties and their breeds in the Madras Presidency in between 1920 and 1936.

In a country in which majority of the percentage of the population subsist by agriculture, and where cattle play a very important role in the economy as well as in the sentiments of the people, this type of study is very significant. The Madras Presidency was the Southern most province of the Indian empire and almost surrounded the state of Mysore and the British province of Coorge. It was bounded on the east from the Chilka lake at about latitude 19.30" to Cape Comorin, by the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of manner and on the West by the Arabian Sea[1]. The Madras presidency comprises tenty five districts, namely 1. Ganjam, 2. Vizagapatnam, 3. East Godavari, 4. West Godavari, 5. Kristna, 6. Guntur, 7. Kurnool, 8. Bellary, 9. Anantapur, 10, Cuddapah, 11. Nel1ore, 12. Chingleput, 13. South Arcot, 14. Chittor, 15. North Arcot, 16. Salem, 17. Coimbatore, 18. Trichinopoly, 19. Tanjore, 20. Ramnad, 21. Madura (Madurai), 22. Tinnevelly, 23. Malabar, 24. South Kanara, 25. The Nilgiris[2]. It had an area of 143,887 square miles of which 19,279 square miles are occupied by the agency tracts in the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatnam and East Godavari and 23,935 square miles by Zamindaris in the Madras Presidency[3].

Different breeds of Cattle

Scind Bull. It was a fine animal and was rich in colour. The bull was very docile and made a very good work animal. There was a Scind herd at

Coimbatore in this period[4]. Scind Cow, was the Karachi breed, this was the best cow in the Scind herd and had yielded 6,71,766 lb of milk in a lactation. Inoculation caused her to go dry and so she only yielded 4,56,416 lb of milk. She yielded up to 2516 lb of milk per day.

Ayrshire Saniwal Bull – "Inglis". This bull was a first generation cross-bred bull Ayrshire bull on Saniwal cow. This bull made a very good work animal. Saniwal cow was white in colour. This bull's sister was of the same colour and had yielded over 9,000 and 11,000 lb. of milk in her first two lactations[6].

Ayr Scind Bull – "Superb" Sire – "Superfine". This bull was the progeny of an Ayrshire bull on a Scindhi cow. It was very dark brown in colour. Animal weighs over 1,000 lb. It makes a very good draught bull. This bull was used for crossing on Ayrshire Scind heifers. None of it progency are in milk yet. Its dam yielded over 5,000 lb. of milk in one lactation[7].

Ayrshire Scind Bull. This was the off-spring of cross-bred bull on a cross bred heifer and is called a second generation cross. This bull was not so big as the first cross, There were other second generation cross-bred bulls which were bigger than Ayrshirc Scind Bull Ayrshire Scind bull was red[8].

Ayrshire Cross Cow – "Dora". This cow was purchased from Hosur Remount Depot in 1920. He ancestry could not be traced. Her last yield was 8,406 lb. of milk, the daily average being 19.7. lb. She was the best cow in the whole herd for yield in this last lactation, she gave up to 45 lb. of milk per day. She was a vcry vicious cow. She has been served several times and so her dry period was prolonged[9].

Cross-Breed Jersey Cow. This was a very good cow born and reared on the college farm. Her milk yields were 6,577, 6,454, 8,014 lb. She has yielded as much as 38 lb in one day She was a regular breeder and very docile. In 1922 she was considered the best cow in the college herd[10].

Delhi Buffalo Bull. This was one of the three Delhi buffalo bulls kept at the college dairy for improving the buffaloes of Coimbatore District. These bulls were very much in demand by the villagers in this period. Buffalo milk was purchased from the villages by the college dairy for butter making.

Cream from buffalo milk was also supplied to the imperial dairy, Wellington from these villages. These bulls were much appreciated.

Oncale Cow. This was one of the best breeding cows on the Ongole cattle farm. She was a very good milker and even on dry fodder rations had yielded as much as 22 lb. of milk per day. In spite of her heavy milking she maintained good condition throughout and was a very regular breeder[12] in this period.

Ongole Bull. This was the first bull calf born at the Ongole Cattle Farm, Chintaladevi. It had some slight defects and was not considered good enough for a breeding bull. It however made a very good work animal. This bull was the pet of the farm. It had grown into a very big animal[13]. There were a number of these bulls for sale at Chintaladevi farm aged 2-21/2 years. Prices ranging from Rs. 200-300 each in the year 1924.

Kangayam Bull. This bull was born and reared on the college farm. It was kept for serving outside cows of the neighbourhood along with two others. These bulls were much in demand by the villagers. A service for Rupee I was charged. The bulls were also used for work purposes. It was expected that bulls of this type would be supplied in three years time to the purchasers[14].

Livestock – Cattle". Breeding bulls were maintained at seven stations for service on payment of the prescribed fees. Work on livestock was however concentrated on the improvement of the Ongole breed of cattle by the production of a number of good breeding bulls in the farm of Chintaladevi, the improvement of the milking qualities of the country buffaloes at the buffaloes breeding station at Samalkota and the improvement of the Madras milk supply[15]. The twelfth cattle and pony show was held at Tiruppur from the 23rd to the 25th May 1921 and opportunity was taken of this to carry out propaganda work by means of exhibits of crops, manures insects and implements and by delivering lantern lectures on the benefits of green manure, the improved breeding of cattle, the application of the Pest Act to Cambodia Cotton[16].

Four cattle farms were managed by the Department. The largest was at Hosur and extends over 1,600 crores. This station was of historic interest as it dates from the year 1828, when it was established as a military

remount depot. It was taken over from the Military Department in September 1924. Two herds were maintained for Cross-breeding the Bangalore herd. Consisting of 83 animals which were divided between the farms at Coimbatore and Hosur, and the Coimbatore herd a mixed herd of 88 cross-breeds selected from the old dairy herd at Coimbatore. At Coimbatore the Department kept a milch herd and there was a model dairy which produced about 200 lb. of milk a month. There were also farms at Chintaladevi, where a farm was maintained for the study of the Ongole breed at Guntur where there was a small buffalo herd[17].

The Department continued to manage its four cattle farms, the largest of which was that at Hosur. It was definitely decided during the year to make breeding the primary object of these farms and to regulate milk supply to a secondary position. The ultimate object of the breeding work experiments in which were continued during the year was the production and distribution of bulls of a type most suitable for the presidency[18]. The four cattle farms at Hosur, Chintaladevi, Guntur and Coimbatore continued during the year. The primary object of these farms was breeding, but in many cases improvement of milk yield was also aimed at. There were in all twenty four Government bulls at a stud outside Madras as compared with 16 in the previous year. Eight bulls were maintained at the veterinary college. Madras and seven bulls in six veterinary hospitals in the mufassil for breeding purposes. Investigations into the nutritive value of different foodstuffs for farm animals were continued during the year[19].

The work on cattle was directed towards the establishment of high class herds of two local breeds and of a new breed to be evolved from the cross between the Aryshire and an Indian breed. A small herd of buffaloes was maintained at the Buffalo breeding station attached to the research station at Guntur with the object of grading up gradually the local breed and improving it in size and milking capacity[20]. The livestock research station at Chintaladevi and the Buffalo station at Guntur were abolished the work in live stock being confirmed mainly to Hosur. Progress was made in the improvement of the four important breeds, namely, the Kangayam. Ongole, Scindhi and cross-breds. Experiments on breeding half-bred to half-bred were however discontinued as the progeny in the second and third generations appeared to be reverting to the Scindhi type. The total number of livestock at the end of the year including breeding bulls at Madras was 614 as against 904 previous year[21]. The

average yield of milk per day per cow from the cross-bred, Ongole, Scindhi and Kangayam herds were 13.1 lb., 12.1 lb., 12.7 lb, and 6.8 lb. respectively. During the year a foundation stock of Hallikar cattle was started[22].

Grass

A large proportion of the cattle were underfed and of little use of value and merely encroached on the subsistence of the useful cattle. Dried Cholam stalks in the uplands and Paddy Straw in the delta from the chief dry fodder for cattle. (people also purchase well-bred). Large extents of occupied land in the uplands were left waste for pasturage. The cattle in the delta were sent to the forests in the uplands for grazing and return at the end of cold weather. The plan of cutting and preserving grass for use as fodder in the hot weather was unknown. Cotton seed and horsegram were also given to draught bullocks and ploughing cattle in addition to dry fodder and gram. Bullocks and buffaloes the later in the delta - were used for the plough. In the delta ploughing cattle - especially bullocks – do not live long, principally owing to the unsuitable food they get for greater pan of the year. The inoculation by the veterinary department was gradually becoming familiar. The Sunnhemp raised after harvest of wet paddy was used only as fodder for cattle. The Sunnhemp seed is supplied to the delta ryot by the upland ryot who stocks the seed for sale. During periods of prolonged drought the local supplies of fodder and pasturage fail and all except the more valuable stall-fed bullocks and the milch buffaloes were driven off to the Nallamalai Jungles for pasturage[23].

Market

An increased number of small agricultural exhibitions were held at local fairs and festivals, numbering some fifty in all as against twenty five in the previous year. These exhibitions proved to be of great use and arrangements were made to develop this line of work more fully in the future. Owing to the prevalence of famine conditions the usual cattle show at Tiruppur was not held[24]. Travelling dealers visited the district periodically and sold cattle on credit, the purchase money being recoverable in annual installments. Cattle were also purchased during cattle fairs. The veterinary Department had done its best to minimize the loss from (these) diseases and the ryots have also been freely taking advantage of the services of this deapat1ment[25].

Veterinary

During the year the policy of the civil veterinary Department underwent a change. The systematic village visiting and propaganda work which was carried on by the touring veterinary Assistant surgeons was discontinued and the touring staff redistributed by attaching some to large institutions with one or more taluks as their jurisdiction for the purpose of attending out breaks of cattle disease, and by placing the rest in charge of certain taluks to attend to outbreak of disease and maintain camp dispensaries in important centers when not attending to outbreaks. Six new veterinary dispensaries were opened during the year making a total of eighty three government veterinary institutions in the presidency[26]. Eleven veterinary institutions were opened during the year, bringing the total number in the presidency to ninety three[27].

There was a further expansion of the activities of the civil veterinary Department during the year. Nine new Government veterinary institutions were opened and five new circles were formed with headquarters at Rajahmundry, Nellore, Madanapallem, Trichinopally and Calicut. Temporary vacancies in the Madras veterinary service were filled by promotions from the subordinate service. The strength of the cadre of Veterinary Assistant surgeons was increased from 249 to 254. During the year there were virulent outbreaks of rinderpest in several parts of the presidency. The Cattle Disease Act was in force in certain districts and compulsory inoculation was insisted upon in the few cattle fairs which were kept open in spite or the prevalence of the disease. The superior efficacy of the serum – simultaneous method having been established inoculations by this method were conducted on a large scale, the number of inoculations up to the end of October 1929 being about three times that performed during the whole of the previous year. Nine story cases of Surra were detected. Seven animals were destroyed under the Glanders and Farcy Act, the other two having died before destruction. Paper dealing with scientific researches conducted by officers of the department were compiled and published in the form of a pamphlet. Investigations into the causes for several animal diseases and for abortions in certain agricultural farms were in progress during the year at the Madras veterinary college. The laboratory attached to the college continued to produce rinderpest virus for distribution to the staff of the Department. The usual six months post-graduate class held at the college was attended by seven veterinary Assistant surgeons one from the Federation of Malay States[28].

By cross-breeding the Delhi buffalo with the local animal it is hoped to improve gradually the local breed in size and milking capacity. The Madras veterinary service has been recognized and a new provincial service was constituted. The cadre of Veterinary Assistant surgeons was increased from 254 to 267. The number of veterinary institutions rose from 106 to 112 during the year[29]. Several important advances were made in the real of research. Encouraging results were obtained in the use of goat virus in inoculations against rinderpest as own alternative to serum simultaneous inoculations. The special rinderpest officer submitted a detailed report on the prevalence and control of rinderpest in this presidency[30].

A new veterinary dispensary was opened at Shivali in Tanjore and six additional temporary posts of touring Veterinary Assistant surgeons were created during the year. A mobile x-ray unit was installed in the Madras veterinary college hospital to facilitate diagnosis and to demonstrate to the students cases of fracture and other surgical conditions. The officers of the department continued to attend to meet inspection work.

Six, eight, twelve and even twenty-four oxen were used to drag the plough. The oxen were yoked and harnessed with traces and guided by the ploughman. The natural manure of cattle in the field was very much useful. Dung was used as a fuel for cooking purposes. Smooth handle, well lying and lance pointed plough was used. Draft oxen were generally geld. Female draft - cattle also were used. Pasture lands were carefully looked after. The livestock research stations, grass and food materials were provided for the cattle. The cattle market places were well organized. The veterinary facilities were provided by the Madras presidency government for the protection of the cattle.

During this period the cattle played an imporant role in the agriculture sector as well domestic life, giving scope for the economic development of the society. All over the Presidency so far as cattle breeding is concerned two descriptions of cattle exist side by side, and this is particularly noticeable in Mysore, and also in the East coast where the Ongole breed are to be found. These areas enjoyed from a very early period -a just renown for a superior breed of cattle. The generally mild and salubrious climate of the plateau, with an extensive pasture on which

cultivation has not made much in road favoured cattle breeding and attracted Gollas and other nomadic nibes from the north, who brought with them their excellent breeds.

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REMEDIAL MEASURES FOR INDIA'S ECONOMIC UNDERDEVELOPMENT: FROM "SWADESHIS" TO M.K. GANDHI

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Swadeshi movement – anticipating Gandhi?

The origins of the Gandhian form of mass movement are often traced back to the Anti-Partition Movement which broke out in Bengal in 1905. It should, however, be borne in mind that myriad threads constituted the rich tapestry of the movement. Surendranath Bannerji and Aurobindo Ghose were both integral part of this movement, yet, poles apart on tactical/ strategic questions that held little value to the excited educated youth of Bengal who were keen to ameliorate the situation through the political creed of extremism. Notwithstanding such diversity of discourse and actions, certain consistent features of the movement can be identified, which can be said to embody Gandhian tactics in germinal form. The conception of swaraj[1], boycott, national education, village societies (akin to Gandhian ashrams), volunteer organizations, swadeshi crafts (the charkha of Gandhian movements) and the use of religious idioms was to overcome the hiatus between the elite and the masses (Gandhi's appeal for Ramrajya and repeated references to sins and divine retributions). All these were generalized gradually into a programme of passive resistance, anticipating in virtually every detail (without the dogma of nonviolence) the techniques of Gandhi's non-cooperation[2]. The centenary publications of the swadeshi movement in its present revisionist mood should also try to figure out whether the nature and thrust areas of the National Education curricula, which formed such a significant and long-lasting part of the swadeshi movement could have been of use to Gandhi in his mission of regeneration of Indian character and help him to solve the moral crisis of the people which according to Gandhi was the main malady of India leading to political and economic crisis under the British rule[3].

The Education Conference of 16th November 1905 at the Bengal Landholders' Association under the presidency of Raja Peary Mohan Mukerjee formulated the objectives of the National Education efforts:

"…it is desirable and necessary that a National Council of Education should be at once established to organize a system of education-literary, scientific and technical-on national lines and under national control[4]." The scheme as a whole sought "to train students intellectually and morally so as to mould their character according to the highest national ideals; and on its technical side to train them so as to qualify them for developing the natural resources vernacular medium[5]" - to these Gandhi in all probability would have no objections, but the problem area was definitely the techno-scientific bias of the curriculum. The position of the swadeshi leaders was also ambiguous regarding this aspect. Implicit tension prevailed over how to juxtapose the disparate objectives. How is one to link up the rudimentary infrastructure of higher education under indigenous initiative in a colonial set up to both pursuit of excellence in vernacular literature and techno-scientific education and training, especially when the tilt was definitely on the latter[6]. Moreover, the sphere of autonomy constantly desired by the national educationists was bound by technology. It was beyond their visualization that the transfer of techno-scientific knowledge from Europe would loosen the type of "national control" they wanted. In 1911 this realization dawned on P.N. Bose; when he stated, "we cannot have technical education…on national lines in the sense we can have general education[7]".

The question of techno-scientific education on 'national lines', was however somewhat tenuously solved by both the 'Ways and Means Committee' and Pramathanath Bose. The former in its Report on the Proposed National University[8] pointed out in clauses 4 and 5 that "imparting of scientific, professional and technical education chiefly in those branches of science of science, arts and industries which are best calculated to develop the material resources of the country, and to satisfy its pressing wants". The 5th clause is more interesting and somewhat acts as a sub-clause to the 4th clause – "inclusion in scientific education generally of a knowledge of the scientific truths embodied in oriental learning and in medical education especially of such scientific truths as are to be found in the Ayurvedic and Hakimi systems". The author/s did not care to elaborate what do they mean by "scientific truths", what kind of such truths are embodied in oriental learning, how are they different from the "truths" present in western science and if they are so different how they can be methodologically integrated? It has been correctly pointed out[9] that the Indian interlocutors of this generation had been pluralists aimed at a cultural synthesis; they wanted the best of both

worlds. But not knowing how to bring this about they had pursued a great variety of strategies – imitation, translation, assimilation, "distanced" appreciation, and even retreat to isolation. Many attempts had been made to articulate modern scientific rationality in terms of indigenous traditions and requirements.

Notwithstanding the claim[10] that Gandhi did not suffer from a similar kind of identity crisis it can be amply illustrated that he often appropriated modern/western scientific rationality and claimed it in favour of ancient traditions, especially Indian[11]. Gandhi accepted that science represented the spirit of the age and was the only currently acceptable mode of acquiring and legitimizing knowledge. For him, science aimed to discover truth by means of carefully planned and controlled observations and experiments. But he rejected the science-tradition dichotomy and insisted that all traditions, especially the Indian, were based on science. There was no other way to arrive at valid knowledge than the method of "rigorous research", "experience" and experiment, and that is what both science and tradition did[12]. Gandhi claimed that he also took recourse to "science" to propound his *yugadharma*.

Gandhi definitely had greater mental faculty than the generation of *swadeshi* leaders. Moreover he was formulating a theory to back up his actions, so his arguments seem more articulate. But otherwise in its essence it bears close resemblance to the protagonists of national education, hopelessly trying "…… to fit the best of the new into the best of the old civilization[13]". Pramathanath Bose was comparatively forthright in interpreting "technical education on national lines" as "technical education on western methods but adapted to our national requirements[14]".

It would be worthwhile to make an in-depth analysis of P.N. Bose's speeches and writings to find out how leaders of the National Education Movement were visualizing the industrialization of India and how they sought to integrate technical and scientific education to assist and speed up the process of industrialization. The analysis of Bose's views expressed over a period, 1886-1921, would also show how technology and science based developmental discourse of the swadeshi period lost out to Gandhian discourse of development.

National education and vision of industrialized India - Role of P.N. Bose 1886-1906

1880s was a crucial decade. In that first flush of nationalism, in the attempt to develop all aspects of national life, admiration leading to blind imitation of western education was over, its overt literary character was loosing its romantic appeal to the educated middle class as the number of educated-unemployed was spiraling every year[15]. Thus, the thrust shifted to the study of science (medical and engineering included). One is reminded of Mahendralal Sarkar who left Hindu College (quite unthinkable even today!) for National Medical (College) in pursuit of good scientific education[16].

Pramathanath Bose was a noted geologist and a science-enthusiast. He was on a Gilchrist Scholarship in England in 1874. His political activities forced the British government to send him back to India. In 1886, he wrote an article on "Technical and Scientific Education in Bengal", which inaugurated the movement for technical education in Bengal. He is probably the first to talk about science-based industries and the need to remodel the university curriculum accordingly[17]. Bose writes bitterly in this article, ".....the Calcutta University is primarily responsible for this highly unsatisfactory state of things. It takes cognizance of theoretical knowledge only, ignoring most lamentably the principle now universally recognized that practical tests should form the distinctive feature of science examinations".

In order to assist development of science-industries like dyeing, tanning, sugar-refining, soap-making, glass-manufacture, electro-engineering, mining etc., Bose proposed the introduction of better methods of science teaching in colleges[18]. The technical education that would be imparted, according to Pramathanath, needed to be highly selective, focsussing on the few industries that would most likely lead to satisfactory economic results. Thus, engineering, mining and electrical industries made studying of chemistry and physics important for Bose. He was even keen to introduce elementary science in High and Middle schools. Bose divides post-entrance non-arts students into three groups – (a) students for general science and its application to industry; (b) students for engineering, (c) students for medicine. He opined that these students could altogether dispense with second language (i.e. Bengali), history and logic[19]. He would point out, "such dispersion of energies as

is fostered by the Calcutta University is quite inconsistent with the spirit of the age[20]". He went to the extreme to point out that "…. If the university be found unwilling so to remodel its science courses… the institute where the technological training in the scientific-industries is to be imparted, may well undertake the work of High General Scientific education also, and its science diploma would be certainly more valued by the public than the degree of the Calcutta University obtained by candidates[21]". For this purpose, he even proposed the setting up of a Central Science and Technical Institute and also a "Society for the Development of Indian Industries".

In 1906, Bose was offered the chair of Principal of Bengal Technical Institute[22], which he occupied till 1908. Much later in the 25th anniversary of BTI, Bose reminiscences, "During the Swadeshi upheaval…the late Mr. T. Palit consulted me as to the purpose to which the swadeshi impulse might be advantageously directed and I advised him to start an institute for technical education[23]" which would revive the "extinct" industries on modern lines. In the initial stages, due to lack of entrepreneurship, capital must be accumulated by appealing to patriotism. The principal donors of BTI formed a "worthy" but curious alliance – it included several Maharajas like that of Cooch Behar, Mymensingh, distinguished professionals like Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh, Taraknath Palit, and other elites of Bengali society like Gaganendranath Tagore, Maharaja Tagore, S.P. Sinha, Anath Bandhu Guha, R.N. Mukherjee and others. Bose was impressed to see fruition of such coordinated efforts. In fact such native response was bound to please Bose because he was skeptical of over-dependence on government or outside agency, "…we talk loudly of national progress, but are oblivious of the elementary principles of such progress that a nation has to work out its own salvation by its own effort, and that the more help we take beyond a certain limit the more helpless we become[24]".

At the Industrial Conference of September 1906[25], Bose talked of a concerted effort at industrialization. He wanted the industrial conference to develop as the center of industrial interests of India which would be competent enough to form well-matured plans for the economic welfare of the entire country, powerful enough to carry them out when formed and representative enough to voice the industrial aspirations of a new India.

BOOK REVIEWS

Gandhi was also in favour of indigenous-local effort to foster all-round development, but he was against centralized planning (ENi). How nonchalant he was in contrast to Nehru and Subhash Bose when the National Planning Committee was formed. Because centralization and mechanization were totally inconsistent with the Gandhian concept of swaraj, "…we have to concentrate on the village being self-contained manufacturing mainly for use[26]". But the first-generation Nationalists deeply imbued by the De-industrialization Theory pointed out that it would relieve the pressure upon land (which had led to "depeasantisation" and also "ruralisation"), open out promising avenues of employment for "our middle classes" and diminish the economic drain from India. The third reason given by Bose is a little tenuous – the aggressive imperialism of modern Europe is based upon industrialisation. It is chiefly in the interests of their industries that the greater powers of the West are anxious to dominate the peoples of the East. If these peoples made a vigorous, well-concerted effort to develop their resources on western methods, and supply their own wants, their markets would cease to be exploited in the way they now are by the western manufacturers. Western imperialism would thus die a natural and peaceful death. "That is a revolution so wholesome and far reaching in effects…. That it is well worth a mighty effort on the part of all Orientals [27]".

Gandhi, like the contemporary nationalists, sought to resist western imperialism and was deeply aggrieved by the ruin of Indian handicrafts and rampant unemployment caused by British economic policy. He wrote, "when I read Mr. Dutt's *Economic History of India*, I wept …. it is machinery that has impoverished India… it is due to Manchester that Indian handicraft has all but disappeared[28]". But unlike the nationalist economists who thought rapid industrialization as the only remedy to this evil, Gandhi was in favour of totally shunning machineries. He repeatedly pointed out that the driving social urge behind industrial production is the craving for excessive consumption. It is in this context that Gandhi interprets the modern spirit of scientific inquiry and technical advance. "We have had no system of life-corroding competition…it was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that if we set out hearts after such things, we would become slaves…they, therefore, after due deliberation decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet[29]".

1909 – The first shift

Bose, who almost single handedly articulated the industrial planning of the country and tried theoretically to forge a link between techno-scientific education and industrialization, slowly started shifting his position to the other end of the spectrum, epitomized by Gandhi. His Rectorial Address of 1909 at BTI, contains the first hints of the shift, "I am fully aware of the manifold critics of modern industrialism. If I had the choice, I would go back to the old ways. But there is none, at least under present conditions". But in 1909 there were still ambiguities in Bose's criticism of technology and industrialization: It still gave him "great pleasure" to note that "vigorous attempt is now being made in the direction of industrial development on modern lines[30]"

By 1911, however, Bose had a revivalist tone. He was already talking of "Hindu science" and "western science" and its comparative benefits. "The goal of Hindu science is mental and spiritual development…western science…takes but little heed of spiritual life, and seeks to accomplish the well being of man by material developments, by the gratification of senses, by adding to his physical comforts and conveniences by multiplying his wants and desires. The ancient sages sought spiritual development at the expense of the animal, the modern scientists seek the expansion of the animal life taking but little account of the spiritual[31]". He almost sounded like Gandhi in his glorification of spiritual well-being in comparison to physical pleasures; but Gandhi never glorified Hindu science – this categorization of Hindu and Western science held no relevance to him. Gandhi like Bose would be caustic about industrialization and the "never ending urge for consumption" which it fostered. He would talk about "our ancestors" who "set a limit to our indulgences". But his "ancestors" ranged from Buddha, Mahavira and Nanak, to Kabir – what he meant were the inhabitants of the pre-industrial world. Unlike his predecessors, Gandhi insisted that the colonial encounter was not between Indian and European but ancient and modern civilizations. Instead of territorial, this was a temporal formulation and allowed him to affirm the unity of mankind even within a colonial context.

As the Rector of the National Council of Education[32], Bose imposed upon it the impossible task of "harmonizing" the "ancient ideals

of spiritual culture" and of "plain living and high thinking" with the "modern ideal of material development". Bose had become by this time from a "modernist" to what Gandhi terms as "critical traditionalist". According to Gandhi they were dazzled by modern civilization and unwittingly defined their own in terms of it. They did not dig deep enough into their civilization to see if it had the resources to cope with the crisis and how it had dealt with similar ones in the past. They borrowed or indigenized European institutions rather than explore alternatives more suited to India. This comes out most blatantly in another section of the Bose's speech, "the desire for the promotion of technical education… is the offspring of a deep conviction of the imperative necessity for minimizing this difference in mental attitude between India and the West, for adapting ourselves to our industrial environment so far as practicable[33].

Swadeshi/Industralization and "Conservation of Energy"

In his Rectorial Address of 1915, Bose explained the necessity of harmonizing the "positive" method of industrialization with the "negative" method of conserving our energy and resources, with a cry of halt to "rise" in our standard of living. The two methods must work hand in hand because the agriculturalist will never be able to improve agriculture if his resources are frittered away instead of being husbanded for manures and improved appliances. Industries cannot be developed on modern lines without large capital, and capital will not accumulate if it is wasted upon objects which contribute "neither to physical, nor to moral efficiency". According to Bose, *swadeshi* activities instead of concentrating on everyday articles was largely directed towards the "manufacture of futilities, inutilities, or superfluities" which he thought to be as much as a "social menace" as imported articles of similar character. Unlike *swadeshi*-ism, the principles of the negative method, according to Bose, stand on the "broad foundation dug deep down into the eternal verities of human nature by the ancients". He claims universal "fruitfulness" of this method[34]. This claim of universality can be interestingly contrasted to Gandhi's negation of modern European civilization's claim of universality by isolating it in time and space.

By 1916, Bose had already taken a partisan position. He wrote that if industrialization after the western fashion be carried to any considerable extent the decadence of cottage industries would be

accelerated directly by the "educated" people ceasing to patronize the products of cottage industries and indirectly by their frittering away upon unsubstantial "comforts". "In fact thorough industrialization under existing condition would tend on the whole to impoverish rather than to enrich the Indian people[35]. Was there a sense of disillusionment about the middle class? The ebbing of the nationalist spirit of the *swadeshi* days left a stark realization that educated people ultimately do not compromise on quality. In Tagore's *Ghare-Baire* and several of Nikhilesh's *swadeshi* ventures failed because they could not cope up with the import quality[36]. It could also be that a Gandhian realization was dawning that an Indian Rockfeller was no better than an American and industrialization as a panacea to poverty without a comprehensive economic policy was bound to ground the national economists on such hard rocks. But Bose somehow nurtured his earlier dreams deep down his heart. In the same article he talks about supplementing the cottage industries by power industries to stem the tide of foreign imports. Here again lies Bose's subtle difference with Gandhi. The latter writes, "we have managed with the same kind of plough as existed thousand of years ago… we have retained the same kind of cottages… and our indigenous education remains the same as before[37]". To control consumption Gandhi was willing to control the productivity of labour. He says "The satisfaction of one's physical needs, even the intellectual needs of one's narrow self, must meet at a certain point a dead stop, before it degenerates into physical and intellectual volutousness"[37].

1921 – The altered contour

By 1921, Bose was almost incorrigible. He was writing such articles as "Hindu Culture – Why Necessary?"[39]. He wrote in it, "large mill owners… when they are foreigners, an augmentation of the economic drain from India, and when they are Indians, an undesirable encouragement of capitalism and industrialism… I think Manu was quite right in condemning the establishment of huge machinery as sin" Bose seemed to be oblivious of the fact that in 1906 in the 2nd Industrial Conference, he spoke highly of the Maharaja of Gaekwad for establishing a cotton mill, three large weaving and spinning mills, a sugar industry, numerous ginning presses and dying, chocolate, rectified spirit and matches units – all organized and managed by private indigenous agency. Incidentally, by this time, Gandhi had already emerged as a phenomenon on the national

scene and his influence was pervasive. The same Gandhian indictment against over-consumption forms a recurrent theme in his articles, linking struggle for acquisition of wealth (competition) and exploitation. He even started quoting Spencer at this stage that industrialization ultimately destroys "religion of amity" for "religion of enmity[40]". To prove his point, Bose started peppering his arguments with mythological anecdotes, "Viswakarma, the divine patron of art in India, receives homage only from artisans, and he is no way superior to Maya, the architect of the Danavas. Sukracharya, the greatest Indian inventor … was a professor of the Daityas"[41].

Notwithstanding the fact that Bose himself was a high caliber trained geologist, his antipathy for industrialization turned him even against scientific research "inventional activities" because it not only tended to "commercialise" education but also efface the old line of demarcation between "education for culture" and "education for livelihood", the latter being fit only for "people in lower planes" because they pursue money-making occupations. Bose seemed to be under the influence of that old attitude preferring intellectual pursuits (the *Brahman's* domain) to livelihood involving commerce and physical labour (the domain of the *vaishyas* and *shudras*). Gandhi in all probability would not have given acquiescence to this demarcation and prioritization of a kind of labour. The second reason which turned Bose against the scientists was that unlike the ancient scholars who also pursued "acuteness, thoroughness and profundity…" the former lacked moral qualities. Gandhi also lamented the divorce of scientific spirit from considerations of morality[42]. The third reason given by Bose would resurface in post-colonial India when a section would question the relevance of fundamental research in an underdeveloped country like India where resources are so scarce. Bose writes "probably not more than 1 in 10000 of our people engage in research work of any discipline and not more than 1 in 5000 take any interest in it. There is absolutely no reason why the majority of our community should pay so highly for the benefit ... of a microscopic section of it, why 100s of 1000s should suffer in order that a few 100 may have the satisfaction of gratifying their taste for research or desire for show…"[43].

The coming of the *charkha*

Such theoretical departure from Nationalist economics (with pro-industrial bias) partially explains why *swadeshi* ultimately failed to bring

the long cherished revival in indigenous industries. The popularity of BTI did not wane. Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh's bequest of Rs. 16 lakhs in 1920 enabled the Council to locate the BTI in magnificent buildings at Jadavpur with well-equipped labs, workshops and hostels. The technical education imparted there was so greatly improved and expanded that the name of BTI was changed to "College of Engineering and Technology" in May, 1929. However, the fallacy in the entire set up was that neither the techno-scientific education nor the trained engineers, could be of any help to the revival of industrial ventures. In the Vijayawada session, the AICC decided to install 20 lakh *charkha*s by 20th June 1921[44]. The event rather symbolized the shift and the predominant trend of the future. India had to wait till 1938 for its first National Planning Committee with a plan of industrialization based on mixed economy.

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excluding all sort of centralized authority including that of the state. Hiteshranjan Sanyal, *Swarajer Pathe*, 1994 p.2-3.

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12. cf. 3, p.85.
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28. Hind Swaraj, *The Collected Works of Gandhi*, Vol.10, p.57.
29. *Ibid*, p.37.
30. P.N. Bose, *Rectorial Address*, (R.A) 1909, p.71.
31. *Ibid*, 1911, p.78.
32. The formal amalgamations SPTE with Council will take place on 25th May 1910,
33. *Op.cit*., p.82.
34. *R.A*., 1915, p.108-109.
35. P.N. Bose, "Is Industrialisation Desirable?", *The Statesman*, 1916.
36. Rabindranath Tagore, *Ghare-Baire*, 1916, p.66.
37. Cf., vol. 63, p.241.
38. Cf., vol. 63, p.241.
39. P.N. Bose, *National Education and Modern Progress*, 1921.
40. Bose quoting Herbert Spencer appears strange to me because they did not share a thing under the sun. Spencer was a dissenting Protestant, extremely anti collectivist and believed in the Doctrine of the Fittest and unrestricted commerce.
41. Cf, Vol. 63, p.241.
42. *Op.cit*., p.93.
43. *Op.cit*., ch.4.

44. Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India*, p.205.

A NOTE ON UNDERSTANDING OF HISTORY AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH

by

PROFESSOR B.C. RAY, THE FRONT-RANKING HISTORIAN OF ORISSA

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Professor Bhabani Charan Ray born on 5th November, 1921 A.D. and a product of London University's School of Oriental and African Studies, is an eminent historian and an intellectual known for his significant contributions to different aspects of Orissa's History and Culture. Presently, he is the founder Director of the Centre for Advanced Studies in History and Culture, and also the Chief Editor of the Research Journal entitled, "*Journal of Historical and Social Analysis*".

Dr. B.C. Ray graduated in B.A with Honours at the Utkal University and thereafter obtained his Master's degree in History from the University of Allahabad in 1948. He became a Lecturer and thereafter a Reader in History in the Government college of Orissa. He preferred the University service, and hence left government service in 1964 to join the Utkal University as a Reader. He obtained the Ph.D. degree in History from the University of London in 1957. During this period, he was lucky to meet the renowned historians of the world like Sri Jadunath Sarkar, A.L. Basham, C.H. Philips etc. From 1973, he was the Senior Professor and Head, Post-Graduate Department of History, Berhampur University. He was a Visiting Professor at the Harvard University, U.S.A. in 1961, and in 1977 he was also a Visiting Professor in Poland delivering lectures in Jagiellonian and Warsaw Universities. Before his superannuation from Berhampur University in 1981, he established the "Centre for Advance Studies in History and Culture" at Bhubaneswar.

Dr. Ray is a front-ranking historian of Orissa who pioneered conceptualized research in the sphere of historical methodology. In all his research woks, based on critical contemporary source material analysis, he has uniformly applied a scientific research methodology and he has, thus, shown the right path to young researchers and scholars of today.

His brilliant academic ability and high intellectual excellence as testified to by his works like *Foundations of British Orissa* (1960), *Orissa Under the Marathas* (1960), *Orissa Under the Mughals* (1981), *New Lights on Maratha Orissa* (1993), etc. are unparalleled in Orissa's history. Prof. Ray has published many books of high research quality both in English and Oriya. In recognition of his merit, the ICHR had also conferred on him a Senior National Fellowship.

During the last five decades, Prof. Ray has made strenuous efforts to write the history of Orissa for the first time using the modern trends of historical analysis. He not only has introduced in Orissan history, the modern method of research on a comprehensive scale, but has also harnessed all available sources of information original as well as secondary, official and unofficial, inland and foreign. In fact, he has tapped all possible sources of information for his study. Therefore, his works contain a mine of information regarding source materials for researchers working on the History of Orissa.

Contributing more than sixty original research papers on various aspects of Indian and Orissan History and Culture, Prof. Ray has created a tradition of original research. In his monumental works, Prof. Ray scans almost all available sources, cross-checks facts, and tries to come to logical conclusions without any bias. For writing such works, Prof. Ray depended on first-hand materials including official documents, and he also consulted standard secondary authorities. The chief merit of Prof. Ray is that his books are fairly well-grounded in sources, and they are quite informative and readable, a quality not to be found always in scholarly works.

Professor Ray's main strength is his objectivity. Most of the works of Prof. Ray are based on exhaustive studies. They are well-documented, and offer a balanced, critical and analytical exposition. It is obvious that as an author Prof. B.C. Ray can be justifiably proud of having written authentic history, but the people of Orissa, both inside and outside the Oriya land, are proud of him because of two things: firstly, he is the first Oriya historian to explore original sources who could provide a new look at modern history, and secondly, he has thrown light on the neglected areas of Orissan historical research and thus, filled the major gaps in the study of Orissan history. These merits brought glory of Professor Ray, and they influenced greatly the subsequent writings on Orissan history.

As an original and careful researcher, Prof. Ray is a trend-setter in Orissan Historical Research. Dr. Ray's book entitled "*Orissa Under the Marathas*" (1751-1803) (Allahabad, 1960) with Foreword by A.L. Basham is a complete record of the Maratha rule in Orissa. The importance of the work lies in that it is a pioneer work based principally on primary sources. Dr. Prabodh Kumar Mishra, Ex-Vice-Chancellor of North Orissa University, Baripada, says, "Ray's motive in discussing the history of Orissa during Maratha rule (1751-1803) appears to be to remove the prejudice created by the Imperialist historians like W.W. Hunter, in whose opinion the Marathas were rapacious adventurers who imposed oppression and misrule in Orissa. Ray discussed that aspect and also the other aspect of Maratha rule which introduced certain beneficial measures as well[1]".

Ray's hypothesis centres on the point that Maratha rule was an 'important period' which saw the collapse of the Mughal rule in Orissa, and though the Marathas assumed political power, they failed to resist British diplomacy[2]. During their fifty years of administration, Orissa's economic and social life was affected. The Marathas acted as custodians of Orissa's traditional culture and religious life it came under the influence of western culture only after the collapse of Maratha rule[3]. Prof. Ray took up research on this topic because he felt that the history of the period had not been properly studied. He has not only furnished new source materials but thrown new light on the period on the basis of original sources. He was inspired to work on the topic by Sir Jadunath Sarkar and during his stay in London, he had the opportunity to consult new sources in the British Museum and India Office Library[4]. However, to quote Dr. P.K. Mishra, "Despite Ray's attempt to place new source materials at the disposal of Oriya scholars, no scholar has ever felt tempted to work further on analogous themes. Ray's book "*Oriya Under the Marathas* (1751-1803)' still remains the only work on the period, probably because of the inaccessibility of source materials and unintelligibility of either Maratha or Persian records[5]".

Another significant contribution of Prof. Ray is his book entitled, '*Foundations of British Orissa*' (Cuttack, 1960) which is still unsurpassable for completeness of detail, judgement and findings. For years to come, it can be regarded as an authority on the subject. C.H. Philips writes in the Foreword, "Dr. B.C. Ray's work is particularly to be welcomed because he not only provides new knowledge on the conquest of Orissa but for the

first time analyses in detail the beginnings of social policy in the period[6]". The social policy includes religious policy and economic policy relating to revenue system, currency problem, salt monopoly, embankments; and the judicial system. Analysing the causes of such change in the British attitude, the author suggests that apart from the rising of 1817 which forced the Government to assess the situation, the liberal utilitarian principles and pragmatic considerations influenced the attitude of the authorities. There is no doubt that Ray has thrown light on a neglected chapter in Orissa's administrative history. In fact, he is the first Oriya historian who infused new ideas for a fresh approach towards British administration[7]. He has profusely substantiated the narration with both primary and secondary sources culled out of the Libraries in London.

Whereas his *Orissa Under the Marathas* filled up a big gap in Orissan history, his another work *Orissa Under the Mughals* (1981) filled up another major gap in the study of medieval history of Orissa. This latter work is also based on original Persian, Maratha, English, Sanskrit and Oriya sources.

In justifying the scope of the book "*Orissa Under the Mughals*", Ray says that a picture of the society cannot be formed on the basis of political events alone[8]. So he has included the socio-economic and cultural aspects besides political. Professor P.K. Mishra in his book, *Historians and Historiography in Orissa* (Delhi, 2001) has very judiciously discussed the merits of this book. "The book under review contains five chapters on political events and eight chapters dealing with revenue administration, religion, shipping and maritime activities, shrines and monuments, pictorial art, social condition, Oriya literature and influence of Islam on Oriya language and literature. The information given on language and literature are very helpful for scholars working on these areas". He observes an upward trend in Oriya literature. Similarly, achievement in writing Palmleaf Manuscripts and drawing pictorial art on them was considerable. He further finds out that "the co-existence between Hinduism and Islam was peaceful on account of reconciliation and mutual tolerance"[9]. He notes carefully the advent of new cultural ideas in the Mughal period. Thus, this book is a veritable source of new information which enriched Orissan historiography on Mughal rule in Orissa as never before.

Similarly, in the light of new sources which he collected, he prepared another major work entitled "*New Lights on Maratha Orissa*"

(1993). Apart from this, he has to his credit many more notable contributions to historical studies written in Oriya language, such as:

1. *Sunyat Sen* (1975)
2. *Baji Rao I* (1981)
3. *Mughal Orissa Itihas O' Samskrit* (1989)
4. *Sahitya Samskruti O' Itihas* (1991)
5. *Ardhasatabdira Orissa* (1995)
6. *Biplabi Vira Jagabandhu* (1996)
7. *Mahavir Samrat Kapilendra* (1998)

He had also edited some important books, such as

1. *Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, Vol. I (1984)
2. *Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, Vol. II, Part I (1996)
3. *Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, Vol. II, Part II & Part III (2000)
4. *Tribals of Orissa †the changing Socio-Economic Profile* (1989)

Prof. Ray is also the author of the book "*Boxi Jagabandhu*: *the Path Finder of the Freedom Movement of India*".

Dr. Ray's greatest contribution to the scholarly world is his research guidance to the Doctorate and M. Phil students. As he had a passionate zeal to conduct basic research on regional history, he assigned to his scholars different unexplored and neglected history as complimentary to the study of Indian history. Prof. Ray says, "The richer the regional history, national history becomes more extensive and comprehensive[10]". In his opinion, regional history is always interrelated. It can not be exclusive. He criticized the writings of imperialist historians as prejudicial. He called upon scholars to fill up the gaps in Orissan history and to make a comprehensive work available for the people. Prof. Ray is of the opinion that "Since past many years, there is increasing interest for the scholars, for regional study mainly because of the availability of fresh data found from the region or fresh look they desire to give to the already given situation. There is no denying of the fact that it is only through the extensive research in regional history that the main stream of Indian national history will be sufficiently enriched and strengthened.[11]"

Talking on periodisation in Indian history, Prof. B.C. Ray says, "For the sake of convenience of study, history has been periodised, in India as elsewhere, as ancient, medieval and modern. In fact, such rigid classifications in Indian history is faulty and does not stand the scientific division because in different areas the division of ancient and medieval period are overlapping or indistinguishably intermixed due to several facts inter-related with each other. Yet conveniently, though arbitrary, the 3-tier periodisation of Indian history has remained acceptable[12]".

Referring to the research activities in the post-Independence period, he observes, "Even after Independence of India, it is observed that large number of Indian historians are found to have been more interested in study and research, mainly on modern Indian history and very much less interested to work on ancient Indian history, which today perhaps needs special attention for presenting a full picture of the socio-economic and cultural life of ancient India[13]." Talking on research in ancient Indian history, he said, "A research scholar, particularly in ancient Indian history, is often found seized with the problem of not having large amount of source materials. In dealing with such limited materials, the merit of the work is to depend on the ability he shows in correct interpretation of the documents handled, and unbiased inference he draws from those documents written in the classical style in the language of the time, often in eulogistic hyperbole. To draw out facts from such materials in their true historical perspectives is not always an easy one. A scholar conversant with historical methodology should not be prepared to accept any view (old or new) without proper examination and scrutiny of those documents on which they are based. Again because of limited source materials, there arises sometimes a tendency with some to give more play to imagination than is needed and such ambitious interpretation leads to lopsided and conjectural conclusions. But a right-minded researcher takes full control of such tendency and follows the principle of saying what is needed in the perspective and not more or less than that[14]".

On another occasion Prof. Ray says, "The socio-economic life in Ancient India, though in many cases have been dealt with care, it does not seem to have received adequate attention in many respects. The writing in ancient Indian history based on ideological approach by some historians has taken away the reader far from truth presenting a misleading

conclusion. Therefore, ideology and such other ideas, of the present age shall not have to be thrust upon the past events[15]".

His ideas on history and historiography had crystallized. Explaining his own role indirectly he writes, "The job of a historian is to maintain a high sense of objectivity and not to create a bias in the minds of the readers with the help of a set of ideological standard of a propagandist nature, nor to present an ambitious, far fetched and lopsided conclusion to claim superiority on others. Perhaps the best course left to him is to interpret the situation in a given time as it is, rather than as it should have been. Even such interpretation does not mean an interpretation of a static society, because history deals with the human society, which is dynamic. History can not but be dynamic. It is so in the sense that it traces the changes in the trend of socio-economic-political and cultural life if the people in the society, though sense of continuity is not to be totally overlooked[16]".

On the occasion of the annual session of the Orissa History Congress held at Berhampur University with Ray, as the President, he had said, "Historian is a product of the changing society with a philosophy of his own: History is something dynamic. It rolls with experiences, presenting an awareness and that in its turn, leads to a modification both of circumstances and results[17]".

Dr. Ray did not like history to be explained through generalisations unsupported by facts as that amounted to be unscientific and unhistorical[18]. He appreciated the role of history as a vital force to promote national growth and sustenance. He is, therefore, full of admiration for the "Oriya Movement of 19th century' which in is his opinion, was an epoch making event of resurrection of a rich culture which powerful Imperial elements had conspired to condemn to oblivion[19]". Very conclusively, he would declare, "If the historian traces the foot prints of time, it is only to provide the present with a stable foot stool and to hold the torch for the future. The historian has a social role to play without which national integration and national progress would remain idle talk[20]".

Again, with regards to the true nature of history he explains, "History should not be a cloistered virtue of ivory towers. It should be a living science to shape and inspire people on the basis of their cultural and political background. For this, we need literature for the people — literature in popular language presenting lively aspects of national life. This will be a source of inspiration for the masses and history would then have a vital role in building up national progress and national integrity[21]".