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EDITOR'S NOTE

The 18th issue is in your hands. It is a milestone in several respects. First of all, the Journal has come to be known at the all-India level and more so in South India. This is testified by the number of papers received from different regions with Andhra Pradesh topping. Contributions from Western India being notable this time.

The quality of most of the papers are good. Few scholars have to realise that writing for a Journal is a lot more serious business than presenting a paper in an annual conference.

We would like to thank Prof. V. Balambal, Prof. A. Chandrasekaran, Dr. S. Vasanthi and Dr. Chitra Madhavan for sparing their valuable time for refreeing the papers for the Journal.

While inviting high quality papers for the 19th issue, we would like to inform that certain papers could not be accommodated in this issue as the response has been overwhelming. They shall be seriously considered for the next issue.

We are grateful to Dr. Vikas Kumar Verma of the Delhi University for sending an excellent book review. In this context, we request our readers to send more book reviews.

I would like to thank Dr. Nanditha Krishna, Mrs. Malathy Narasimhan and Mr. Narayan Onkar and other staff members of the foundation for their support.

Dr. G. J. Sudhakar

BALA NARASIMHA – TWO UNIQUE SCULPTURES

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There are different sculptural representations of *Sthuna* Narasimha, *Girija* Narasimha (Yoga Narasimha), *Kevela* Narasimha, and Lakshmi Narasimha.[1] There was one lesser known Narasimha image found at a few places, that is Bala Narasimha. The Bala Narasimha representation of Vishnu is found at Deogarh (Uttar Pradesh) and Namakkal (Tamilnadu). Both these places are far away from each other but the sculptures are iconographically important to study.

The Gupta period representation of Narasimha found at the Dasavatara temple, Deogarh (5th c. CE) is important to note for its iconographic development. The image on a panel projecting in the centre of the doorway is of Vishnu shown seated on a coiled serpent. To his right stands a small human figure with a lion's head, evidently Narasimha. (Fig.1) In this image Vishnu is shown as Vaikuntha Narayana, seated in *sukhasana* on the coil of the seven headed Adisesha or Ananta (snake). He has four arms the upper right and left carry the *chakra* and *sankha* respectively. His lower right hand is in *abhaya* and the lower left is kept on the left knee. He is adorned with *kirita makuta*, *kundalas*, neckles, armlets, bracelets, and with all other attributes of Vishnu.

The Bala Narasimha standing on the right side of the Vaikuntha Narayana is a small figure. He has four arms, of which three are visible. The right upper hand is visible without any weapon. The bare hands of Bala Narasimha indicate that he is going to kill the demon without any weapon but with his claws. His lower hands are in *anjali hastha* (in salutation). He has been shown getting the blessings of the Vishnu before exerting himself. In the other words, Vishnu shows his Narasimha incarnation to the world and tells them how he going to destroy the demon Hiranyakasipu. A small *gana* is shown standing left of Vishnu and witnessing this event. He holds a sword in his left hand and his right hand is in *vismaya* (astonishment).

The second sculpture is from the Narasimha cave temple at Namakkal (8th c. CE), a historically important city of Tamilnadu. There was one more cave temple for Anantasayana Vishnu. Both these caves were excavated by the Adiyaman rulers of the Kongu dynasty, among the ancient ruling families of south India. Together with the Cheras, Pandyas and Cholas, they are known to us from Tamil Sangam literature dating from the early centuries of this era. Among the most prominent rulers of that early time was Adiyaman Neduman Anji, patron of the renowned poetess, Auvaiyar. The Adiyamans ruled from Tagadur, modern Dharmapuri, and their domain was northern Kongu which included the Salem district.

The Adiyamans appear to have been involved in frequent wars with the neighboring kings, and in the days of Neduman Anji were forced to accept Chera suzerainty. We know very little of the fortunes of the Atiya rulers in the succeeding centuries and hear of them again only in the eighth century CE from inscriptions of the Pandya kings and from their own undated records at Namakkal. We may regard it as quite certain that the

Atiya inscriptions at Namakkal were engraved in the days of independent Atiya rule prior to A.D. 784, since these records refer proudly to the Atiya *kula* and proclaim the greatness of the ruler Gunasila who was responsible for the cutting of the caves. [2]

In the Narasimha cave, we come across three different depictions of the Narasimha *avatara* of Vishnu. The first one is a narrative relief on the left wall of the *ardhamandapa* depicting the Bala Narasimha form of Vishnu. The second is the Ugra Narasimha who tears open the chest of the demon Hiranyakasipu with his claws. And the third and main deity (*moolavar*) of the cave is the seated Narasimha. In these three panels both the seated *kevela* Narasimha and *ugra* Narasimha sculptures are commonly noticed. But the Bala Narasimha image within the Vaikuntha Narayana panel was a rare one. In this panel Vishnu himself reveals to the gods the form he will take to destroy the demon Hiranyakasipu.

The Vaikuntha Narayana relief panel is beautifully carved with all the iconographic details. It depicts Vishnu as Vaikuntha sitting on the coil of the five headed Ananta or Adhisesha in ease. He is accompanied on either side by Brahma and Shiva. Vishnu is shown seated in *maharajalilasana*, one leg folded and hanging in ease and the other raised with heel on the seat. He is adorned with *krita makuta* on the head, *makara kundalas* on the ears and *kankanas* on the hands. He has four hands; the upper two hands hold the *chakra* and *sankha.* They are shown a little above his fingers standing in the air and the fire tong on the top of each weapon is unique. This feature is to be seen in all the Namakkal reliefs and seems, to some extent, to set it apart from Pallava and Pandya representations. Vishnu's lower left hand rests on his knee, and the lower right hand is in *kataka mudra*.

Bala Narasimha is shown seated on the lower left of the panel below the left leg of Vishnu. He has four arms and is adorned with *karanta makuta*. He is shown seated in *ardhaparyankasana*, sitting with one leg folded and the other rose with the heel on his seat. The leonine face is very beautifully carved by the sculptor; mane, ears, eyes, and wide opened jaws are the clear representations of the lion. His face has a peaceful expression, indicative perhaps of the deliverance from trouble that he will bring about. His lower right hand is resting on his knee and lower left is in *kataka mudra*. His upper left hand is holding the sankha, but his upper right is in *bhuddhasramana*[3], this is the hand-pose of salutation. Bala Narasimha, reveals to the gods the man-lion form in which he will destroy the *Asura* king Hiranyakasipu, to whom Brahma had already granted a boon that he would be killed by neither man nor beast. The sculptor placing the Bala Narasimha figure exactly below the figure of Brahma is also appropriate.

The Bala Narasimha sculpture in the Vaikuntha relief at Deogarh belongs to the 5th c. CE and it is less ornamental when compared to the Namakkal sculpture (8th c. CE) of Bala Narasimha. The similarity between these two sculptures is that both of them are part of the Vaikuntha Narayana sculpture. But both the sculptures have many iconographical differences.

Bala Narsimha	Deogarh	Namakkal
Date	5th c. CE	8th c. CE
Posture	Standing	Sitting
Face	Broken but ear, eyes	Good condition, all the leonine features are

	and jaws are visible but mane not visible	visible particularly mane decorated like a long beard.
Head gear	No	*Karanta makuta*
Upper hands	Right hand visible but no weapon	Left hand hold *sankha* and right hand shown points towards Vaikuntha Narayana
Lower hands	In *anjali hasta*	Left in kataka mudra and right kept on the knee.
Legs	*samabanga* (Erect)	*ardhaparyankasana*

It is amazing that this rare sculpture of Bala Narasimha appears 300 years after the Deogarh relief at far away Namakkal, in the period of the Adiyaman rulers.

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Fig. 1. Bala Narasimha standing on the right side of Vaikuntha Narayana, Deogarh, Gupta, 5th c. CE.

Fig. 2. Bala Narasimha seating on the lower left side of Vaikuntha Narayana, Namakkal, Atiya, 7-8th c. CE.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON BUDDHIST NUN, MONASTERY IN ANCIENT INDIA

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Any code of conduct is meant for keeping society in a particular situation. However, it takes unnatural shape when it is used as a band to keep the interests of a particular class intact.[1] At the beginning of civilization, society was matriarchical. After the prehistoric age, during pastoral and nomadic life when labour was divided between men and women, indirectly the properties also got divided. The basis of this division lies not in consumption but in the real production. The cattle-wealth made the production oriented man the head of society and subsequently it opened the door of private property.[2] But when nomadic man was introduced to agriculture he built houses for his safety and started cultivation on a very large scale. In about 1000 B.C. due to the use of iron, an amazing change was brought about in the system of agricultural production. By the 6th century B.C. production multiplied to such an extent that the upper classes of society-Brahmin and Kshatriya greedily looked at the residual production and for it they extended their philosophical tenets towards it. In such a society, man being the producer of wealth immensely increased his power and privileges, whereas woman slowly became like his property. The love or respect shown towards them were due to the reason that for a man she was a commodity.[3] She eventually turned into a slave of man's sexual appetite and a machine for procreating offsprings.[4] During this period with the

breaking of the primitive tribal family-structure man's life-style changed. It became difficult for people, used to the ancient life-style, to change as per the needs of new emerging material condition. So, to overcome such a deep social inequality people saw relief in escapism.[5] As a result, women entered the monastery - and the code of conduct framed for them were in favour of men.

At the beginning women were forbidden to enter a Buddhist monastery. Later on however, on eight conditions the doors were open to them. These eight conditions became '*gurudharma*'[6] for them:

1 Even a nun of 100 years would perform prostration before a fresher monk for self-development.
2 A monk's words must be listened to.
3 Every fortnight nuns were to be seperated from the monk's 'Sangha'.
4 During rainy seasons whatever they see and hear, must be kept in mind, in both monasteries.
5 A nun who has accepted the '*gurudharma'* need to keep her views in both the monasteries.
6. On no condition should a nun provoke angry behaviour.
7. Since, the day of entry the nun's privilege to speak to the monk was used.
8. And it paved the way for monk to speak to any nun.

These codes of conduct revealed that even if a nun was 100 years had to stand up with folded hands and bow down if a monk passed before her. During the rainy seasons she could not rest in those areas where there was no monk because she had to listen to religious sermons from a monk. Every fortnight

she had to present herself before a monk in order to decide the dates and times of religious sermons and she had to wait for it for next fifteen days to come. She had to confess and repent for her mistakes, if committed, in any of the monasteries. In case of severe mistakes she had to undergo a penance, before both the monasteries. For two continuous years she was given status and considered as a senior nun. However, she could not accuse or abuse any monk, even a junior. Nor could she pass any orders to the monk. On the other hand a monk could do that. Thus, it is clear that these orders were a preplanned and conspiracy for bringing the nuns into the fold of male - dominated ambience of Buddhist monastery.[7]

Due to the pleadings of Anand, Mahaprajapati got entry into the monastery. But why did Buddha do so? Was he afraid[8] of Anand due to the politics of the monastery? Why did Mahaprajapati choose Anand for this job? or else, was Shyamkumar a relative of his? or was it due to some relationship[9] that Anand had entered a monastery. Thus, it is worth considering whether the Buddha was unaware of the mutual relationship between a man and woman or he did it in helplessness.

Buddha was born in a republican state. In the monastery he followed the same path. In this system freedom and equality of an individual were given due weight. But there was so much of difference between words and deeds that a nun of 100 years used to greet a newly baptized monk by bowing down.[10] A nun who disobeyed this instruction was expelled from the monastery. But on many occasions many groups of nuns had broken this rule and the Buddha could not punish them. The reason behind it was that they belonged to a higher strata of society and their position in the monastery was higher than the common nuns.

The hierarchy of 'Kula' was rather significant in the monastery.[11]

Only a monk could deliver sermons in the '*Sangha*'. Nuns did not have this right. Once some nuns returned to '*Shravasti*' during '*Varshavasa'*. When asked, they reported that in the obsence of monks, sermons could not be delivered[12] and nuns could not stay even where monks were not there. This implies that it was compulsory for a monk to stay where nuns stayed.

The third code of conduct also vindicates the dependence of nuns on the monks. According to it in a fortnight nuns waited for monks on the date of '*Uposath*' procession and on the occasion of the deliverance of sermons. Once the monks got angry with the nuns as a result of their refusal to ask questions and consequently they had launched a complaint against them to the Buddha. As a result, of which there was a provision of '*Pachittiya*'[13] introduced.

During this age renunciation was given due emphasis. This came in the wake of the habit of ideal collection of wealth. A philosophy was propounded which emphasized the virtues of giving alms and also laid emphasis on sacrifice and meditation. In it remained the benefit of the upper two classes - *Brahmin* and *Kshatriya*. Upanishads have laid emphasis on the fact that a person's happiness and sorrow were the result of previous birth. In the coming birth good fortunes can come due to meditation and sacrifice. According to this philosophy *Brahmins* got grains, animals etc., due to sacrifice and alms; the *Kshatriyas* got benefits out of renunciation and meditation. This practice of the common people enabled the king to obtain rights over movable and immovable properties of these people.[14] Because women were also a form of property, men could not forsake their rights over them. And this mindset was equally reflected in the life of the

monastery as well and nuns were thus kept under the subjugation of monks.

It appears that the attitude of saving developed in the monasteries. Monks were forbidden to instruct the nuns regarding the useful objects pertaining to food, clothes, medicines and beds.[15] In this context it is seen that the Buddha was not in favour of distribution of wealth among individuals rather he was in favour of collections of it.[16] Nuns could not deliver sermons in their own *'Sanghas'*. Therefore, they had to depend on monks. They were responsible for nothing but timely listening to sermons. Nuns did not have right to inspect and examine the situation of their '*Sangha*'. After the rainy seasons they had to recollect their mistakes and what they saw, heard and experienced during their days. This mistake was a blot on the nature and character of the nuns as to the inspection and examination of both the '*Sanghas'*. In this connection the person who should be given priority does not find mention. The monks were predominant even in this regard. It is easier to explain others faults but to speak of one's own fault is indeed very difficult.

For all kinds of serious crimes people had to do '*manatta*' on penance. These crimes included sexual acts such as caressing a male above the thighs, licentious touch of a male or living alone with him; following an expelled person from the '*Sangha'* or hiding any crime committed by another nun. This reveals that nuns performed such services to monks. Is it that such nuns came from lower strata of society? Were nuns who came from higher classes also engaged in such works? Was class discrimination workable even in the '*Sangha*'? These questions need further investigation. The defaulters of their nature were required to follow the '*namatua*' rule. Although the nature of punishment is not clear, it clearly brings to the fore that there were instances

of sexual abuse in the '*Sangha'* and the victims were undoubtedly the nuns. Later, however, the Buddha gave nuns the privilege to take legal action against defaulter nuns.[17] This liberty was the result of outside pressure.[18] The one reason behind a woman renoucing the worldly life was her desire for liberty and freedom which, however, they never got even living in the '*Sangha*'. On the other hand, the monks enjoyed all kinds of liberty. They had many such responsibilities and rights which were critical in the worldly life.

Nuns used to get the position of '*upsampad*' after two years of continuous following of six codes of conduct. Those were: non-violence, non-theft, celibacy, sweet tongue, prohibition and timely food. After undergoing such conditions alone they could become a complete nun and could practise meditation. In spite of this achievement they were not free from inspection and control. They had to live under the moral and disciplinary tutelage of two seniors. Such senior monks were chosen by the nuns themselves. It is but natural that such occasions were very auspicious. However, whatever rules we came to know regarding all these, it appears that the Buddha hesitated in taking any clear cut decision. First of all, nuns were asked twenty six questions regarding their disqualification.[19] Nuns used to be perturbed at such questions as these were difficult to be answered. As right answers were not known to even the questioners, here also the interference of the monks became possible.

The rendering of the position of '*upsampada*' was also possible through a messenger. A courtesan named 'Aththakasi' got this through a messenger. The story goes like this: the courtesan wanted to get this position through the Buddha himself. When she wanted to go to the Buddha for this purpose the inhabitants of the city stopped her. When the Buddha came to

know of this he sent a nun deliver this '*upsampad*a' to her.[20] Why did the Buddha do so? Had a nun from the common class of deprived women emerged which took up the profession of prostitution for their livelihood**?** [21] People who went away to far flung areas for trade they needed women for their carnal desire. Here a poor, helpless and diseased woman could also be desired. This was the product of a material society in which the Buddha was born and broughtup. And therefore he was a little liberal to this class whereas Brahmins were against them.[22] For them the doors of the *Sangha* were open as their entire property reached the *Sangha* in the form of alms whereas, on the other hand, the city - people were not ready to part with the commodity of their pleasure.

In the ceremony of *'upsampada' t*en questions were asked. An analysis of such questions is necessary to understand the cultural situation of the time. Buddha had opposed the superstitions and obscurantism. But some references to such incidents betray otherwise. The question was asked whether one was a human being. This question is based on an incident. Once a serpent took the banner of '*Sangha*' in disguise. When the matter got disclosed there was hue and cry in the '*Sangha*'. Thereafter this question was asked in order to get everything settled. Many such questions emerged as a result of some incidents related to people's entry into the 'S*angha*'. There was also a question whether one was a woman. As important people were precluded from entry to the 'S*angha'*, they came here and sexually excited the monks. In such a situation there was much criticism of it and thereafter such a question came to be asked.

In the **6**th century B.C. there was no dearth of slaves from different sources. They had significant use in the process of production. In this situation to make them free was not in the

favour of the class which had helped them economically on many occassions. The Buddha under this obligation, did not allow the slaves to enter the '*Sangha*'. In questions, a woman was asked whether she was an independent woman. It is obvious that due to a specific economic situation the slaves were prevented from entering the '*Sangha*'. One such question was whether one was free from debts. Meaning thereby that a person was not allowed to enter into the *'Sangha*' who had fled away from the fear of repaying debts. In this age along with the use of metallic coins also started the use of usury.[23] In this age of economic flux those who could not get control over the means of production were trapped by exorbitant debts. Due to the fear of debts people used to run to the '*Sangha*' for rescue. Had such people been permitted to enter into '*Sangha*' it would have been detrimental to the class which had full control over the means of production and which practised usury. Although there is a reference to money lending even in the Rigvedic period, the practice of usury came later which was also indirectly approved of by the Buddha.[25] This came in the wake of development of trade during this period. As such, a person trapped in debt was forbidden to enter the *'Sangha'*.[26]

To what extent does the state allow freedom to an individual is betrayed in the law, according to which an individual was asked whether he or she was in the government service. Such people were not allowed entry to the '*Sangha*'. Although there is no reference to women serving the armed forces, among the ten kinds of winners there is also a description of a woman nursing the injured soldiers in the battlefields. The state had control over such persons. The inclusion of such people in the fold of '*Sangha*' generated the wrath of the authorities. The '*Mahamatya*' talks about severing the head, cutting the tongue and breaking of collarbone of an individual serving the state who dared to migrate

to such places.[27] Bimbisara himself after meeting the Buddha and threatening him, got revenue and armed officials prohibited from entering the '*Sangha*'. The helpless Buddha had no way out and to cover it he called such individuals inflicted with '*tukkat*'.[28] Whether one sought permissions of her parents was the sixth question. This question betrays a ruthless alienation from family life. After Nanda's renunciation when Rahul's turn came, Shudhodhana got angry and accused Buddha as he was worried about his inheritor. Later on, Shudhodhana prayed Buddha for enacting such a law. Consequently such persons who were desirous without the permission of their parents were again considered ineligible on account of '*tukkat*'. Likewise nuns could have been, in such cases, inflicted with '*Patchittiya*' for not being allowed entry.

The seventh question related to the age of the incumbent whether one was of twenty years or not. According to the Buddha, a women with immature body and mind could not lead an austere life in the '*Sangha*'. They could not have withstood the extremities of weather; hunger and thirst; or the sting and bite of a scorpion and snake. The rules pertaining to the age came into force for this simple reason.[29] If one flouted this rule he or she was convicted for '*Patchittiya*'. The Buddha could not decide whether a person desirous of 'Sangha' be allowed or persons young or agile. It appears that he indulged himself in quality and capacity of a potential entrant rather than the question of '*Sangha*' itself.[30]

The eighth question was whether one had arranged for clothes and utensils meant for fetching alms. It is a matter worth consideration that the '*Sangha*' did not manage these for the members of the '*Sangha*' but it had rights of ownership over these. An individual monk or nun did not have any right, whatsoever, on these objects. Meaning thereby that '*Sangha*'

was more interested in the distribution of the alms and donations than its generation. Monks and nuns were always asked to remain indifferent to these objects.[31] After their death these were handed over to their domestic aids. But before accepting these they had to submit their own clothes and utensils in the store of the 'Sangha'.[32]

The ninth question was related to the name of the entrant. This was due to a fear that they might change their names after the '*upsampada*' ceremony. The reasons behind this fear and who could have been affected by it are matters that need further probing.

The last question was what was the name of the proposer? The question was meant for ascertaining whether the person was approved by the '*Sangha*' for this kind of work or not.[33]

An analysis of all these questions reveals that women were never asked about the reasons behind their desire of coming to the fold of '*Sangha*'. Also they were never asked to reveal how they spent their earlier life. Such matters of their personal life remained hidden during their probation.[34] There is no hint regarding the fact that they should not forshake the lures of worldly life or their sanctity would remain intact when they go out of the *'Sangha'*. They were given no better treatment except being kept under the subjugation of the monks.[35] This is the rationale behind the framing of the seventh and eighth condition of entry into the '*Sangha*' which eventually resulted in the precautious condition of women. They could not search for an alibi in order to abuse a monk.[36] '*Shadwargiya*' nuns were accused of '*Patchittiya*' when they did so.[37] Stronger groups always thrust the responsibilities of limitation and deficiency on weaker groups. The Buddha did the same to her. Monks never promised to behave properly and decently with the nuns.

Not only this, the nuns could not pass office orders on monks. On the other hand, the codes of conduct, in their wake, paved the way for a situation where monks issued orders to nuns in the '*Sangha*'. It is obvious that the nuns were seen with a jaundiced eye and looked down upon by then male counterparts.

After having accepted these eight rules pertaining to the conduct of the '*Sangha*' the '*mahaprajapati*' took them into the fold of '*Sangha*'. In accepting all such rules the nuns could have no existence of their own. Yet '*mahaprajapati*' readily agreed to these. Either to compensate the loss of the son or due to the attractions caused by the act of associations. The rules of conduct in the '*Sangha*' enunciated by the Buddha seems to have brought new dimensions in the material life of the people of that period and it also helped in further strengthening it.[38] And in many other institutions there was also a material background to the rise and growth of such rules of conduct in the Buddhist '*Sangha*'.[39]

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BUDDHIST SITES IN VISAKHAPATNAM DISTRICT

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Andhradesa witnessed a phenomenal growth in Buddhist religion, art and architecture. Buddhism in Andhradesa from its pre-Asokan advent, enjoyed the patronage of both the ruling dynasties and the trading communities. We notice a cluster of Buddhist remains in Visakhapatnam district. A general survey of the Buddhist sites in Andhra Pradesh reveals that the north coastal region played a dominant role in the propagation of the Hinayana school of Buddhism.

The district of Visakhapatnam lies between 17^0?14'30" and 18^0?19 and 83^0?59 latitude and between 82'19 and 83^0?59 East longitude. It has a coast line of 110 miles and an extreme inland extension of about 180 miles. In area it was the largest district in then Madras Presidency and a large one in India, covering 18,344 square miles. It is bounded on the north by Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, on the east by Orissa and the sea, on the south by the sea and the Godavary district and on the west by Madhya Pradesh.

As regards the name, it may be pointed out that the term Visakha is of utmost significance, as gleaned from the Buddhist literature, which contains atleast a dozen references to Visakha.

Among them, Visuddhimagga, a contemporary on Anguttara Nikaya mentions the name of a certain Visakha Thera, who was a rich householder of Pataliputra.[1] He wanted allegiance to Buddhism and came to know that Tamraparni (Ceylon) would be an ideal peace, since it is endowed with a row of religious shrines, ample space for sitting and lying, where the climate, the residences, the people and doctrines were congenial, in short it is easy to obtain everything there. He gave his wealth to his wife and son and came to a sea-port to reach Ceylon.[2] It also occurs in the Sumangala Vilasini of Buddhaghosa. Another reference to the name Visakha occurs in the Manoratha Purania commentary on Anguttara Nikaya, which mentions a female lay disciple of the Buddha, named Visakha, daughter of Dhanamjya and Sumana, declared by the Buddha, to be the foremost among those who ministered in to the order (Dayikanam Agga).[3] Another reference to Visakha occurs in Majjma Nikaya, who accompanied Bimbisara on his visit to the Buddha. She is also mentioned as one of the seven disciples of Buddha.[4] The foregoing study of the name Visakha reveals the sanctity attached to it in Buddhist literature. This may lead us to surmise that the city of Visakhapatnam, in all probability, owes its origin to one of the disciples of the Buddha, mentioned above, bearing the name Visakha. Further, it is probable that the city of Visakhapattana may have derived its name from Visakha mentioned in Visuddhimagga and Sumangala Vilasini, for he is said to have begun his voyage to Ceylon from a sea-port, which, in all probability, may be identified with Visakhapatnam.

Historically speaking, the known antiquity of Visakhapatnam seems to go back to the 5th century A.D. and it derived its name from a king called Visakhavarman, who was the lord of Kalihga.[5] Afterwards, the history of Visakhapatnam seems to have been

shrouded in mystery, as we do not hear anything of it, till the medieval period i.e. 11th century A.D. When Anantavarma Choda Ganga, the eastern Ganga king of Kalinga, held sway over the region. The next reference to Visakhapatnam occurs in an inscription dated 1068 A.D. at Draksharama, which refers to a merchant of Visakhapatnam, who endowed some gifts to the temple of Bhimeswara.[6] Another record dated 1083 A.D. mentions a general of Kulottunga I, named Karunakara, who captured Visakhapatnam and named it as Kulottunga Chola Pattana.[7] Another inscription dated 1091 A.D. refers to Kulottunga Chola Pattana.where, a guild of 12 merchants existed.[8] From the above records, it becomes clear that during medieval times Visakhapattana was renamed as Kulottunga by the Chola Pattana general. These inscriptions also reveal that Visakhapatnam had cultural and mercantile contacts with the Tamilnadu and Malabar regions.

The occurrence of a large number of Buddhist sites in Visakhapatnam along the east-coast seems to be mainly due to its proximity to the coast-line and the flow of rivers and rivulets like Sarada, Varaha, Gosthani etc. which merge into the Bay of Bengal and serve as safe anchoring points for the ships at several confluence points. The archaeological discoveries enable scholars to trace the antiquity of Visakhapatnam to a much earlier period i.e. as early as the 3rd – 2nd centuries B.C. if not earlier. The Buddhist monks who move from place to place, preferred the sea route and built stupas and monasteries along the coast probably near the ports. A number of Buddhist stupas, chaityas, viharas, congregational halls, refectories, dining halls etc. at Bavikonda, Bojjannakonda, Gopalapatnam, Thotlakonda etc. were discovered along the coast of Andhra Pradesh.

(1) Amalapuram or Arampuram

It is a remote village situated in Nakkapalli Mandalam of Visakhapatnam district. Near the village was brought to light a religious structural complex on the hill-top on the eastern side locally known as Rakasimetta and an extensive habitation site on the slopes of the hillock away from the religious complex, on the south-eastern side of the village, known as "kota-lova". A brick-built stupa was discovered over the top-most terrace. It has a circular brick rim. Inside the circle, unburnt bricks are neatly paved. The entire Anda was built with solid brick masonry. The *Pradakshinapatha* around the dome is rammed with line concrete. A broken pillar having a square base, decorated with lotus medallian and an octagonal shaft, made of khondalite stone is noticed in the debris on the southern side of the lower platform. To reach the lower storey from the ground level a stair case consisting of seven steps preceded by a half-moon and moon-stone steps in succession was provided on the southern side.[9]

(2) Bavikonda

It is an important Buddhist heritage site located on a hill about 16 km. north-east of Visakhapatnam. Here the Buddhist habitation is noticed on a 40 acres flat, terraced area. The place name appears to be of recent origin, as it denotes in Telugu, a Bavi-well and *konda* a hill, due to the presence of a number of rock-hewn wells on the hill top, possibly meant for storing rain water for the usage of the monks throughout the year. Excavations conducted here from 1982 to 1987 have laid bare a *Mahachaitya*, several voitive stupas, apsidal *chaityagrihas,* stupa *chaityas*, congregation hall, extensive *viharas,* rectangular halls and a refectory.[10] It also contains bone relic, suvarna *pushpas,* coral beads and precious stones, enshrined in a receptacle

called Manjusha. On the southern side of the Mahastupa, which in turn were embedded in a miniature stone stupa-like reliquary called Karandaka,[11] here is an inscription on a stone trough found at Thothakonda[12] states *"Dona Datti Chimaka Chika Maya 10 Dasama-Di… Mata Senakagiri Ni(Vasi) no Bha (ri) ya… China*," which means that the wife of Chilkamaya, son of Chimaka, the resident of Senakagiri endowed by Dona, donated for the maintenance of the *Vihara. Syena* in Sanskrit means eagle, and *giri* a hill, with monastic establishments nearby Thotlakonda. Bavikonda looks like a seated eagle. Since it is an early settlement with a *Mahachaitya*, it is quite likely that a resident of this *Vihara* donated the trough *Danta Dhatu Charitra* denotes Dona, a Brahmin who divided the corporeal remains of Buddha into eight parts and distributed to eight kings. So far no reference has come to light regarding the enshrining of the relics appropriated by Dona. It is unique that, for the first time a reference to Dona appears, who made endowments to Senakagiri, probably Thotlakonda. Thus, it is quite likely that the *Dona Datti Senakagiri* is none other than the Buddhist settlement at Bavikonda where the above relics were retrieved from a *Mahastupa.* Nowhere, in the relic casket found so far has such a huge quantity of ashes been deposited in an urn, as at Bavikonda. It has the remains of an entire Buddhist complex, comprising 26 structures belonging to three phases. An analytical study reveals that the *Mahachaitya* at Bavikonda has a simple and superb architectural style, with a plain brick outer railing, devoid of any ornamentation, clock wise staircases leading to the *ayaka* platforms and the upper *Pradakshanapatha*, the location of *Buddhapadas* profusely decorated with *Ashtamangala* symbols on the southern and northern *ayaka* platforms and inscribed Brahmi labels in Mauryan characters and ceramics like red ware, black and red ware etc., clearly establish that this Hinayana centre flourished for a couple of centuries before Christ.[13] The procedure followed in depositing

ash, burnt charcoal and charred bone in an earthen urn with a lid reminds us of the contemporary burial customs followed by megalithic folk in the 4th–3rd centuries B.C. The presence of carved *Buddhapada* slabs on the northern and southern ayaka platforms is an important factor to be reckoned with. Perhaps nowhere in the known Buddhist sites in Andhra Pradesh, are *Buddhapadas* are placed before the corporeal remains as object of worship facing the *ayaka* platform. The discovery of an urn with plenty of corporeal remains facing the southern *ayaka* platform indicates that it was chosen, as it is the above of yama, the lord of death. Similarly, the occurrence of bigger silver and gold caskets on the northern side seem to indicate the direction of the birth place of the Lord, i.e. at Lumbini.[14]

(3) Bojjnnakonda

One of the most remarkable groups of Buddhist remains were found on twin hills locally knows as Bojjannakonda and Lingalakonda, near the village of Sankaram. Sankaram village at Bojjannakonda near Anakapalle is a popular Buddhist heritage site. The name of the village Sankaram derived from the word "*Sangharama*" which meant monastery. It is located at a distance of 45 kms from Visakhapatnam. There are many monolithic stupas, rock-cut-caves, ruins of prayer halls, meditation halls, brick build structural edifices, resting places available on the twin hills of Bojjannakonda and Lingalakonda. The more western of these hills is formed of a series of rock strata which have been thrust over into a vertical position, and along its crest these crop out in four or five low, parallel, walls of rock which have weathered into parallel rows of pinnacles. Each of these pinnacles, some scores in number and of all sizes, has been fashioned into a Buddhist *stupa* of the usual pattern. The villagers, call them the *Kotilingam*, or crore of lingams. This place offers a glimpse

into the rich Buddhist heritage and culture. This place is located by the side of the River Sarada. Alexander Rea unearthed Sankaram, a 2000 year old Buddhist heritage site in 1907. The three phases of Buddhism viz. Hinayana, Mahayana and Vajrayana flourished here. There are prayer halls where are places marked in elevated platforms in semi-circular shape for the teacher and in circular shapes for the followers. The rooms of the followers are still available and each room has a grooved place on the wall for lamps. There is a single rock-cut, cave with four pillars with a Buddha statue and another cave with nine pillars. There are wells built by cutting the rocks for storage of water. Excavations yielded several historic potteries, coins, seals, sealings inscribed tablets. One of these coins is an issue of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta 1st century A.D. (D.Mitra 1971-219). Bojjannakonda attracts many Buddhist pilgrims from several countries, especially during *Buddha Purnima.* At the Pongal feast a large gathering of some thousands of Hindus takes place at the foot of these two hills.

(4) Dharapalem

It is a remote place situated near the temple complex of Simhachalam. On the western side at Dharapalem, resides a brick built square platform, with ten courses raising to a height of 0.65 mts. The hollow space inside was filled with rubble and earth and finally paved with well dressed stone slabs. The brick used in the construction, measures 54x27x8 cms. The brick platform exposed at one corner of the mound measures 3.15 mts. East-west and 2.45 mts. north-south. In the foundation a row of big boulders were placed to support the brick wall. A good number of wedge shaped stone slabs lie in and around the structure which suggests the existence of a brick *stupa,* veneered with dressed stone slabs. On the southern side of the

mound an extensive pillared congregation hall was found. Each pillar contained a square base and on octagonal shaft in the middle. On the western side fragments of a circular *amalaka*, carved with lotus petals and sherds of black and red ware, red ware etc. were found here.[15]

(5) Gopalapatnam

It is situated on the left bank of the rivulet Tandava in Payakaraopeta (M) of Visakhapatnam district. Hinayana Buddhist settlement flourished here. Excavations revealed brick structural alignments, stone veneered *stupas*, chatrapieces tiles and other early historic cultural materials, in the habitation as well as on the flat summit of the isolated hill range locally known as Budhikonda, Seethammakonda, Burelametta and Veerulametta.[16] An interesting discovery is a pot shred inscribed in Brahmi characters reading "Megha Kala", datable to the 1st century A.D. A stone carving of Lajja Gowri i.e. a nude squatting Mother Goddess, a lady playing Guitar like stringed musical instrument and the Naga sculptures are also very interesting. The presence of Lajja Gowri, i.e. the nude squatting Mother Goddess in the region, north of Godavary suggests the advent of the Vajrayana cult.

(6) Pavuralakonda

Pavuralakonda (the hill of pigeons) or Pavurallabodu is a hillock lying to the west of Bheemili, at about 32 km. from Visakhapatnam. It is popularly known as Narasimha Swamy Konda. The river Gosthami which flows near the north periphery of the hill joins the sea and form a confluence, thus facilitating

anchoring of ships. The ancient settlement on the hill which covers an area of 10 to 12 acres of land command a panoramic view of the crescentric coast line along the east and a chain of Kaiasa ranges on its south west and north west. It is about 168 mts in height from ground level. *Vihara*s, a circular *chaityagriha* with stone pedastals having octagonal sockets, a circular *chaitya* with square *garbhagriha/dhatugarbha* chamber, on eight – pillared rectangular hill with an entrance on the west, votive stupas, two square platform, votive *stupas* on platforms, a rock-cut stair-case leading to the upper-terrace etc. were noticed here. Altogether the foundations of four *viharas* were unearthed. Each *vihara i*s rectangular in plan with common veranda and consisting of 3 to 9 number of cells. The floor of the veranda and cell is decorated with *purnaghata* motif and is provided a sill in between half moon stone steps. Traces of lime plaster on the wall suggest that external and internal walls of the brick structures were smoothly plastered and lotus medallions made in stucco were luted to the exterior surface of walls as decorative motifs. The circular *stupa* chaityagriha with stone pedestals having sockets around the central *stupa* suggest that all *chaityas* invariably were provided with tiled roofs, supported by wooden posts and beams.[17]

(7) Ramatiratham

The village Ramatiratham is 8 miles from Visakhapatnam (Durgakonda and Gurubhaktikonda). The ruins of a Buddhist monastery called "the hill community (*Saila Sangha*) and patronized by a king named Siva (maka) *Vijaya-rija* have been discovered. The only piece of sculpture that this site has yielded his a standing figure of the Buddha of which the head and right arm are missing.

(8) Thotlakonda

It is an ancient Buddhist centre located on a high hillock over looking the Bay of Bengal in the north-east coastal part of Andhra Pradesh. It lies on the beach road from Visakhapatnam to Bhimunipatnam. It is approximately 600 feet above the coastal strip. The existence of the Buddhist site at Thatlakonda came to light during an aerial survey undertaken by the Indian Navy. The excavations conducted from 1988 to 1992 have exposed structural remains include pillared hall, *stupas* with their usual components, sculptured pillars and *viharas*. A good number of sculptured pillars, pilasters, railing upright, *chhatra* pieces with early Brahmi letters, *Buddha padas* with auspicious symbols, *harmika* with *amalaka* motifs were found on the north-eastern part of the settlement[18]. The complex comprises of several structural components, such as a *Mahastupa*, 16 votive *stupas*, a stone pillared congregation hall, 11 rock-cut cisterns, well paved stone path ways, an apsidal *chaitya-griha,* 3 circular *chaitya grihas*, two votive platforms, 10 *viharas* consisted of 72 cells, a kitchen complex with three halls and a refectory etc. *Buddhapadas* depicting *Dharmachakra* in the middle of the sole, triratna on the heel and swastika and fish on the toes with the space in between the toes and heel filled with figures of Purnaghatas and Srivatsa are unique. The highly elevated part of the mound situated in the north-eastern part of the site appears to be the site of the *Mahastup*a. A fallen pillared congregation hall with a variety of pillars in different sizes at the centre of the habitation is a unique feature of the site. It flourished from the second-first century BC to the first – second century A.D. The site covers between 10 to 15 acres.

Thus, from the above it is clear that the Visakhapatnam district is rich in Buddhist monuments. A number of Buddhist *stupas, chaityas, viharas* etc. were discovered in and around Visakhapatnam.

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CONTRIBUTIONS OF SALUVA NARASIMHA RAYA TO TIRUMALA TIRUPATI TEMPLES: A STUDY

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The temple of Lord Venkateswara at Tirumala is one of the most sacred shrines in India. People believe that Balaji manifested at the Tirumala hill to redeem peoples from the miseries of the Kali age.[1] Several million people throng has get the sacred *darshan* and obtain the boons from the Varadahasta of the Lord here. The temple was richly endowed by kings and chieftains of various dynasties like Pallavas of Kanchipuram (9th Century AD), Cholas of Tanjavur (10th Century AD), Pandyas of maduri(14th Century A.D) and Vijayanagara kings (14th, 15th Century) who were committed devotees of Lord Venkateswara.[2]

The Vijayanagara period started a new era of Hindu resurgence throughout South India. In the temples of Tirumala - Tirupati and Tiruchanur there are about 900 inscriptions belonging to the Vijayanagara period. Of these 169 belong to Saluva Narasimharaya (AD 1485-1492) who was responsible for many important gifts and additional structures. He ruled the Vijayanagara Empire from 1485 to 1491. Lord Venkateswara was adopted as the household deity of the Saluva dynasty of Vijayanagara. Tirumala achieved a position of pre-eminence during his times. In this article an attempt is made to discuss how king Saluva Narasimharaya helped to develop the Tirumala temple into a great Hindu pilgrim centre, and how he became the model for the successive kings of

Vijayanagara Empire including Sri Krishnadevaraya to continue the tradition of gilding and adding additional structures.

Saluva Narasimharaya was son of Saluva Gunda and grandson of Saluva Mangideva Maharaya. It was he who was instrumental in gilding Vimana and Siknaram of the Tirumala temple in AD 1359.[3] The inscription being Telugu with Kannada Finge in the language, we may infer that he was in touch with people of both the regions.

The Saluvas of Vijayanagara are said to be originally Kalachuries of northern Karnataka. The Gorantla inscription traces their origins to this region from the time of the Western Chalukayas and Kalachuries of Karnataka.[4] The term "Saluva" is known to lexicographers as "Hawak" used in hunting. They later spread into the east coast of modern Andhra Pradesh.

Saluva Narasimharaya (AD 1445-1492)

He was an emperor of the Vijayanagara Empire of the Saluva Dynasty. Long before he became emperor he was the Governor of Chandragiri. Chandragiri gained importance with the rise of the Saluva lineage of the Vijayanagara Empire. The Saluva rulers became great patrons of Vaishnavism and accepted Lord Venkateswara of Tirumala as their family deity. Saluva Narasimharaya was an ardent devotee of Lord Venkateswara and he used to visit the temple by walking up the hill to worship.[5]

Saluva Narsimha was known as a pious ruler and also the first king who laid the real foundation through immense contribution to the growth of Tirupati into a great Hindu pilgrim centre. Until the rule of Saluva Narasimha there was very little improvement in the Tirupati Govindaraja Temple. During his reign of about

half-a century, the festivals and food offerings increased in number. There was also a new temple for Sri Raghunatha called Periya Raghunatha to distinguish the deity from the other Ragunatha installed in Sri Ramanuja shrine.[5] It was constructed in AD 1480 by Narasimharaya Mudaliar for the merit of Saluva Narasimharaya. In AD 1456 he entered into an agreement with Stanattar of the Tirumala temple by which the village Allipuram belonging to Vaikuntavalanadu in the Chandragiri rajaya was granted as a *sarvamanyam* and *naivedyam* to be offered to the God every day.[6]

Endowments and Offerings

A history of the Tirumala temple is not like the history of other temples. Its main object is not to trace the material prosperity of the country and its peoples from age to age. The temple has been always considered a spiritually active centre to which those having faith resort generally at critical periods of their lives. Their visit and their offerings are more often for relief from troubles or for the achievement of their aims in life. After the death of Devaraya II in AD 1449, and when the rather young Mallikarjuna[7] was ruling. Saluva Narasimharaya's operation in the east for consolidating and expanding the empire and for curbing the Orissa king caused some apprehensions to Mallikarjuna who went over to Penugonda about 1456 with his ministers on the delicate mission of finding out what Saluva's activities and motives were. Saluva Narasimharaya began then in all likelihood to pray to his Guardian Deity to create a good impression in the mind of the Emperor. We find him making at this time a grant of Allipuram village as a *Sarvamanya* on 12-09-1456 for offering 12 Tiruponakam daily.[8] In AD 1465 Saluva Parvata Raja, a cousin of Saluva Narsimha, provided funds for the reclamation of certain waste lands. He erected a *mandapam* and shed water

at a place on the way up called Mulankal-murippan steps. In AD 1467 Saluva Narasimha's queen Srirangamamba provide for canal to bring water from Mamandur to Adityanapalli. Out of its income four daily food offerings were to be made to the God of Vengadam. In subsequent years a number of villages were granted by Saluva Narasimha both to the Govindarja temple at Tirupati and the Tirumala temple.

After the succession on Virupaksha, his territory extended up to Machilipatnam. For this he make a grant of five villages Vinjikuppam, Mallimalai, Serulakkur, Bhimapuram and Valaimankondon on 16th March 1468, for 30 daily food offerings. Saluva Narasimha took a vow in AD 1472 to grant Durgasamudram village to the Deity for the special purpose of constructing and repairing the temple buildings evidently in order that his own domains may as a boon stand unimpaired. But he fulfilled this vow only in AD 1482 after the death of his enemy Muhammad Shah III. Shortly after this, he became the virtual emperor and then he built a temple for Lakshmi Narasimhaswami at the foot of the Tirumala Hill. Now it is called as Alipiri. Gundipundi village was endowed specially for Alagappiranar Tirumanjanamn on 11-08-1484.[9] Beside the village granted by the Saluva Narasimharaya, there are numerous instances of endowment in the shape of excavating spring channels to improve the irrigation of the Tiruvidaiyattam village. The members of his family and Kandadi Ramanuja also have made such improvements. The additional income derived by means of such repairs was applied for such services as are detailed in the respective inscriptions. It was only where the donor did not have facilities to carry out such works himself that payment was made in cash, which was again used by the Sthanattar for improvements and repairs to irrigation works.

Food Offerings

In the matter of food offerings also this period showed a marked increase, without taking into account the offerings made during festivals of one sort or another, the food offerings between the year AD 1454 and 1494, where in 177 *Markalas* of rice daily in addition to 24 *Markalas* daily which obtained at the end of 1450.[10] Inspite of this *Mahanaivedayam* (Tirupavadi) of 200 Markalas offered on certain special occasions. The festivals and *veseshadivasam* days (Special Calendar days) on which food offerings were generally made to the *ustavamurthi* during this period are briefly summed up in an endowment by one of public works officers of the temple, Tiruvenkatacherukan Emperummanar for the spiritual merit of Immadi Narasimharay on 20th October 1504.[11]

Festivals

The greatness or importance of a temple is generally estimated by the grandeur of the festivals celebrated in it and by the character and culture of the congregation which they attract. A festival is also a grand annual fair where business and social transactions take place on a large scale. First and foremost a festival is expected to attract the most learned and religiously minded men of the country who will conduct discourses on religious and philosophical subjects. Saluva Narasimharaya constructed new temples and introduced new festivals in Tirumala and Tirupati Temples. Narasimharaya constructed a new temple for Sri Raghunatha in AD 1480, in Tirumala temple he constructed four *Mandapas* in all four corners of the Sampangipradakshinam in AD 1470, arranged for free feeding during the *Brahmotsavam* celebrated for Sri Venkateswara in the month of *Putatasai* and dug a tank in his name Narasimharaya Koneru at Tirumal.

He instituted the Anna Unjal Tirunal in 1473, Vasantostavam in 1468 and Pavitrostavam in 1464. During his region of about half a century, the festivals and food offerings increased in number. The food offerings between the years AD 1454 and 1494 were 177 *Markalas* in addition to 24 *Markalas* which obtained at the end of 1450. Narasimharaya also established Ramanujakutams[12] (free feeding houses) in Tirumala and Tirupati for the benefit of pilgrims.

In this connection, pilgrims increased in number. He was lucky in having as his co-workers in temple affairs, a great man of understanding and experience in Sri Kandadi Ramanuja Ayyangar. He seems to have had implicit faith in his honesty, capacity and application to work, also he was his spiritual teacher or guide. For the festivals which Saluva Narasimha instituted, the budget was drawn up by Sri Ayyangar. The celebration of the Kaisika Dwadasi is mentioned as early as in the year AD 1308. It became a regular festival only in AD 1494. It seems from an endowment made by Tiruninar–Ur-Vdaiyan and Govindar. These are an outstanding development in the administration of the temple, in which the Secular as well as the religious side seems to have heartily co-operated.[13]

Until Saluva Narsimharaya is rule, there was very little improvement in Tirupati Govindaraja's temple. Kandadi Ramanuja Ayyangar constructed a temple for Kulashekar Alvar in November 1468, for which the *Stanathar* endowed as *Sarvamanya* the lands in Ellamandyam, Kuraikkal.

Adhyayanotsavam

Adhayayanotsavam is the most important festival to the Sri Vaishnavas, although the portions of Alvar Divya Prabandhams

were being repeated on this occasion from about AD 1360. Tiruvadhayanam in the month of Margali as a festival celebrated in Tirumala occurs only in AD 1468 as an endowment by Saluva Narasimha Udaiyar. An endowment by Satakopadasar Narasimharaya Mudaliar in the year AD 1476 distinctly mentions that in the month of Chittirai the Emperumanar bears on 12 days of his festival the Tiruvadayanam. In both cases the donors share of the offered prasadams went to Ramanujakutam for distribution to Sri Vaishnayas by Kandadi Ramanuja Ayyangar. The Adhayayanotsavam festival repeated on two occasions in the year,that is in the month of December, as well as in April both being celebrated in front of Ramanuja in Tirumala. The *prasadam* is first to be offered to Tiruvengadamudian and then to Ramanuja.

Pavitrotsavam

Pavitrotsavam was another festival newly introduced during this period in an endowment by Kattari Saluva Mallayadeva Maharaya in AD 1464. This was a five day festival in the month of Avani. Funds for this festival were sought to be found out of new irrigation cannals and the devadana village Elambakam in Chandragiri-rajya.[14] The word Pavitram means purity. The *Pavitrostavam* is celebrated every year for maintaining at a high level spiritual atmosphere of the place of worship.

Float festival

This festival is mentioned for the first time in an inscription of the year AD 1468. It shows that it fell during Kodai Tirunal. Saluva Narasimha had constructed the *Nirali Mandapam* (Vasantha Mandapam) in the middle of the Swami Pushkarini sometimes before AD 1468 and instituted the float festival with which everyone is familiar. There is no doubt that during the hot weather,

it was considered expedient by all temples to take the processional murthi and the Nachiyars to a cool and airy spot like Nirali Mandapam, and to perform Tirumanjanam and make food offerings there. During the reign of Achutaraya, almost all his officers made endowments for this festival.

Dolotsavam or Anna Unjal Tirunal

It was introduced by Saluva Narasimha with the inspiration of Kandadi Ramanuja. An inscription of the year AD 1473 provides full particulars of an endowment by Saluva Narasimharaya. This endowment was more specifically for the celebration of new festival called *Dola-Mahotsavam* or *Anna Unjal Tirunal*. The month in which the festival was celebrated is not mentioned. Very large quantities of food offerings were made on the festive days. The total quantity consumed is summed up in the inscription as 153 *Markalas* of rice, 506 *Markalas* of brokengram, 30 Markalas of Blackgram, 30 Markalas of wheat, 100 *Nali* of Milk, 5 Nali of honey, 641 *Palams* of sandal paste etc. The cash in the form of *Dakshina* was 896 *Panams*.

Hunting festival (Padiyavetti)

Padiyavetti (hunting) festival first commenced in AD 1456 although one would expect it to have been a very old festival seeing that the god is on a thickly forested hill of which the orginal owner is belived to be Sri Varahaswami.

Vasantotsavam

An inscription of 1494 A.D. (5-6-1494) states that *Vasantotsavam* was celebrated for Sri Govindaraja in Tirupati for three days in Chittirai month commencing from the day of

asterism Chittirai. The festival in Tirumala is described in greater detail in an inscription of the 1547 A.D. (V. 93, 8-6-1547) which gives details of an endowment of three villages with an annual income of 200 *Rekhai Pon*. The festival commenced with the usual *Ankurarpanam* in *Visakha nakshatram* in the month of Masi. The *Sattumurai* fell on *Sravana Nakshatra* so that the festival lasted for 7 days.[15]

Alagappiranar Tirumanjanam

Another important event is called *Punugukkappu* which means smearing the entire body of Periya Perumal with scented civet oil which is specially prepared in the temple. The custom of smearing the face of Periya Perumal everyday at the time of the morning *Nityarchana* from the month of *Adi* to *Margali* (6 months) with specially prepared civet oil was an innovation made by Tirukalikanridasar Alagaperumanar of Tirupati in AD 1434.[16] This must have been done at the time of the daily *tirumanjanam* of the silver image of Manavala Perumal. This daily *tirumanjanam* of the Silver image is made more attractive to the devotees by the addition of perfumery to the sweet smelling herbs which from the earliest times added to the water used for Tiruvardhnam. This practice was inaugurated by Kandadi Ramanuja in AD 1465 and was financed by Saluva Narasimhadevaraya. Another most outstanding event during this period was the compilation of a work called by its author Venkatatturaivar [17] (alias Jiyar Ramanujayyan). The object of the author seems to have been to give a mythical origin of the Archavatara Tiruvengadamudaiyan on the Tirumal Hills which would appeal strongly to the religious sentiments of Hindus. After Saluva Narsimha died in AD 1482[18] his son Immadi Narasimha succeeded and ruled till the AD 1505. With him, the Saluva line came to an end.

Conclusion

During the time of the Saluva Narasimharaya several festivals came to be resuscitated in the temple like *Adhyanotsavam, Pavitrotsavam* and *Kodai Tirunal*. He was responsible for many important gifts and additional structures like *Annaunjal Mandapam* in Tirumala temple. He made remarkable arrangement for is *Ramanujakutams* (free feeding houses). Besides the village granted by Saluva Narasimharaya, there are numerous instances of endowment in the shape of excavating shipping channels to improve the irrigation of the Tiruvidaiyattam villages. The members of his family and Kandadai Ramanuja Ayyangar also have made such improvements. Thus, in a year 153 festive days came to be observed, on those 153 days the provision of food on the 153 festive days would naturally have been sufficient to feed 3,792 pilgrims in a day. On the ordinary days the temple food would have been ample for 1416 persons. Through this we understand a rough idea of the number of pilgrims who may have been daily visit the temple. Saluva Narasimharaya helped to develop the Tirumala temple into a great Hindu pilgrim centre in the world, and he became the model to the successive kings of Vijayanagara Empire including Sri Krishnadevaraya.

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CLOISTERED SPACES AND INVISIBLE POLITICS-HAREM IN MUGHAL INDIA

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Most of the source material that is available for the reconstruction of the history of medieval India written with in the Indo-Persian tradition and was composed in a court setting and therefore the patronage of the rulers is overarching as these histories primarily revolve around courts and the activities of the Kings. We do not get much information about the women and their activities. The few women who find mention in the records are women like Razia, Nurjehan, Rudramma Devi who performed male-oriented tasks and hence their roles cannot be generalized. We have no information on the domestic life of these and many other medieval women, their role in the making of new imperial structures, institutions and practices. It was in this realm that the women occupied and had a more visible presence than in other domains like diplomacy, hunting or military campaigns, but they are very few and owe mostly to peculiar historical circumstances than established procedures. For example, Razia's accession to the throne was due to the fact that her father Illtutmish did not find any of his sons capable and hence he decided to nominate his daughter Razia (Minhaj-Us-Siraj, 1953, 639). There were many precedents in the Turkish and Iranian traditions but the nobles were not sure as to how this new and revolutionary act would be accepted by the people and they objected to a women sovereign, as this was a novel measure in an unprecedented

historical circumstance (Pande, 1990, 55). However in any pre-modern society the distinction between domestic and public spaces was very little, though women did not have a visible presence in the public arena. In the present paper, we look at the Harem in Mughal India primarily basing our account on the *Humayunama* of Gulbadan Begum.

The feminist movement of the 1960's and the consequence developments of women's studies have drawn attention to the fact that, "though women like men have been actors and agents in history, their experiences and actions are not recorded". Traditional historiography has always focused only on areas of human activities in which the males are dominant, i.e. war, diplomacy, politics or commere, as worthy of studying and women's participation in agriculture, animal husbandry, family ritual, folk art are regarded as unimportant and outside the realms of history. Men's history has been presented as universally human. The framework, concepts and priorities of these universal histories reflect male interests, concerns and experiences (Mathews, 1985).

Traditional historiography has thus either ignored the positive role of women or portrayed it as insignificant. Vijaynagara period, entitled women, and this has a discussion of dress, jewellery, festivals and pastimes. While this may be important it in no ways does it do justice to the role of women. In any case the contributions of women to the past and in shaping its religion, politics and society have not been fully brought out. What Cynthia Enloe has done to International Relations theory by offering a gendered reading may be applicable in the case of the institutions and roles of women where she has shown that women's roles as housewives, maids, prostitutes etc forms the basis on which

society is built as all other roles are reproduced in relation to these and thus forms the basis for international relations. Thus, one set of institutions cannot be seen in isolation from the other.

The general principle of the patriarchal society is that men work in the public domain and women are to be restricted into the private domestic sphere. Since it is the public domain, which is considered important, women become more passive participants in the historical process or are depicted as domesticated whereas assertive women are slotted into the label of witches, possessed etc and the dividing line between a fallen women and a heroine is very light in some cases e.g. Joan of Arc, who are only now being rehabilitated in history. This is reflected in the lack of any substantial and substantive documentation about them. There is no doubt that a social science, which ignores the role of women, can be a social science which can only give a distorted picture of society as a whole. To many, women's history is not "intellectually interesting". A widespread impression is that it is held in low esteem and the field itself lacks legitimacy. Many feel that the study of woman must be the ultimate harbinger of scholarly chaos. Scholars suffering from lingering, "Victorianism" might well feel that women are too eternal or unworldly to have much to do with politics and economics (Johansson, 1976).

Historians who work in the field of women's history find it necessary to develop due to the "underlying conceptual framework", for their field primarily due to three interrelated reasons. First, a low evaluation of past work in the field closely related to skepticism about its legitimacy with in the discipline of historical study. Second its unique character of the group which the field seeks to study and third the existing tradition of theories

attempting to explain the historical experiences of women (Carroll, 1976).

The reluctance to accept work in women's history for its own sake is a reflection of the low esteem and stereotype image in which women are held. Women's history besides trying to set the balance right could also be for its own sake. One does not ask a Jew, a Black or a Dalit to justify their interest in their history.

Women as a category in history have always been distinct from men and their activities too reveal these differences. Sexual divisions have been one of the most basic distinctions within the society encouraging one group to view its interests differently from another, just as class, race, sex has been used to create a separate identity for men and women. By studying the history of men and assuming that this would cover the women also, we cannot find out the realities of women's lives during any given period. Gender, like any group, class or race has always been a very powerful factor in history. It is, therefore, necessary to view the development of women's history from the feminist perspective of women as a distinct sociological group which experiences both overt and coven controls through legal, political and social restrictions (Pande, 1999)

As history has been taken away from women, it is necessary to put them back into the picture and document their role and work, a task which may take many years of painstaking work. However, this is not enough, for it barely scratches the surface using scarce sources that were mostly composed in a patriarchal domain. The challenge is therefore to develop newer methodologies to bring these unseen actors to the forefront. The effort is not

just to tackle woman's history in the existing framework but to work for a better understanding of the past, to understand the evolution of an ideology, social relations and institutions that led to the subordination of women. This perspective has proved extremely fruitful, both in terms of theoretical insights as well as fit detailed empirical studies.

The starting point of women's history is that although men and women are different, what is historically significant is that, women constitute a social group as opposed to a biological group. Biological explanations are contradicted by the fact that the behavior prescribed for women and men vary enormously from one society to another. There are also large variations in gender roles from one time period to another in the same society. Social forces are crucial determinants of the opportunities and limitations available to individual women (Davidson. 1975).

In the past few decades, due to the contributions of feminist sociologists and anthropologists and people's historians, new paradigms have emerged. Women's studies approach to the study of women in different historical contexts have enabled us to have a better and fuller understanding of women, their status and relations with the rest of the society. Gerda Lerner was a pioneer in stating that, "Women have a history and women are in history". These words have gone a long way in thinking about gender. Instead of accepting feminine identity as natural and essential, historians and other social scientists treated them as being constructed. In the west there have been three general approaches to women's history. The earliest of these was additive history that is history written after a reexamination of the sources to discover the contributions and role of women. The second approach, gendered history, draws on feminist perspectives to rethink historiography and make gender differences a key to the

analysis of social relations. A third approach, contributory history, privileges female agency while recognizing how patriarchy impedes women's actions (Forbes, 1998, reprint, 2000, 2).

A big lacuna in most of the works related to women's studies in the historical background are that they are based in European context, and there are very few works which have attempted to look at women within the historical context in the ancient and medieval period of India. The problem is more so with the medieval period with its male biased elitist sources. In order to write a new history worthy of its name we will have to recognize that no single methodological and conceptual framework can fit the complexities of historical experiences of all women (Lerner, 1979). In order to construct a new women's history we have to relook at the existing material, chronicles, literature and archival information and to read between the lines and ask for each and every aspect, "what about the women".

Gulbadan Begum was the daughter of Babur and Hamida Begum and was born in 1523 in Afghanistan. She was the sister of Humayun, the future Emperor. As a child Gulbadan Begum accompanied Babur through the course of his conquests in India and hence she was witness to the early turmoils of Babur's reign and the unsettled conditions when all administration was carried out front the tents. She had spent considerable time traveling along with her husband Khizr Khvajesh Khan, even during the turmoils of Humayuns reign (Humayunama, 1994, 2). Gulbadan Begum was a close witness to the making of the Mughal monarchy seeing it through many vicissitudes- from the initial struggle of Babar to the establishment of the monarchy, to the turmoils of Humayun's reign and the splendour in Akbars reign. She was hence the best person to capture all this and when Akbar requested her to write the official history of Babar's reign she readily agreed and wrote

the *Humayunnama*. This work has been translated by the Colonial scholar Annette Beveridge. Her education was shaped by the ideology of the nineteenth century's unquestioned belief in science's objectivity and its ability to represent reality. To her the institutions, practices and belief systems of the west were rational and those of the non western world were presented as backward. She publicly opposed the Abert Bill of 1883, which sought to publicly empower the Indian civil servants with criminal jurisdiction over European subjects in country stations and this was very much in keeping with her views (Sinha, 1995, 58-59). Hence with her Victorian frames of knowledge the same is interposed in the text. Moreover, the historical context in Europe at that time was based on the Oriental depiction of the east and the stereotype of the Turkish harem with the royal seraglio formed the main sources of generalization. However we come across a refreshing note that is dissenting, a note by Lady Morley Wortley Montagu who accompanied her husband to Turkey in 1716 as an English ambassador and had personally visited the harem taking care to interact and observe many minute details. Here she gives the image of many wealthy women who controlled vast sums of money and more importantly also describes the bath. She portrays this as a place totally within the woman's domain and as a separate subculture. This is totally at a great distance from Beveridge and it is the latter's views that are reflected in the construction of knowledge of Europe.

Gulbadan Begum is *Humayunama* can be divided into two very clear divisions. She first talks about her father Babur, his wanderings in many parts of Afghanistan and Hindustan, his wars and victories, his movement towards India and the early years of the establishment of Mughal rule in India. She gives a lot of information about the domestic life of Babur, his marriages,

his children, his relationship with his kith and kin and his relationship with different women in the harem. The second part of the book concentrates of the life of Humayun, her brother. She talks about his succession to the throne, his losing the throne to Sher Shah, the birth of Akbar in the period when Humayun and his wife Hamida Banu Begum were shorn of their kingdom and were roaming as refugees. She gives us a lot of information of the various festivals being celebrated at court, Humayu's accession to the throne and the festivities associated with it and the wedding of her step brother Mirza Hindal.

In many of the writings the Harem, is portrayed only as a secluded, and sexualized domain and it regulated the sensual pleasures of the king and noblemen. These was an unchanging world and while the polity, administrative systems and production processes all underwent changes, the harem continued to stand like an icon of the medieval world and here the real women become very marginal. This is a view which is repeated in many works on medieval India. To Prof. Lal, the harem conjures up a vision of sequestered place ensconcing beautiful forms in mysterious magnificence. The younger girls were not exposed to the celebrations in the Mahal (palace) in which sex orgies dominated or the master bargained for beauty and love. Naturally every lady of consequence tried to win the master's undivided love and openly competed to gain ascedency in the harem. There were often tensions here, though not so deep in effect. These may be classed under the generic term jealousy. The harem was not meant for the old and the ailing. It was meant to be a bright place, an abode of the young and beautiful, an arbor of pleasure and a retreat of joy (Lal, 1988, 143, 152).Even the New Cambridge History of India reproduces the same image for it states that ideally the harem provided a respite, a retreat for the

nobleman and his close male relatives - a retreat of grace, beauty and order designed to refresh the males of the household (Richards, 1993, 62). Even Jahangir is described as a man who excessively indulged in wine and woman. He is said to have nearly 300 young and beautiful women attached to his bed, an incomprehensible figure in the modern age and this shows his over indulgence in sex and his over engagement with the harem (Nath, 1994, 15, 17). A departure can be seen the work of Tirmizi who lists out the edicts issued by the various queens from the Mughal harem (Tirmizi 1979). We thus have a clear dichotomy as painstakingly illustrated by Ruby Lal who compares the depiction of the harem in the *Humayunnama* and contrasts the same with the writers like KS Lal and even J F Richards to bring out great differences. (Lal, Ruby, 2004:598)

However, a careful reading of the sources gives us another picture of the harem which is by and large ignored. A reading of Gulbadan Begum memoirs gives us an indication of the various relations in the harem, the creation and maintenance of hierarchal relationships and the harem as a site of building alliances and reinforcing kinship solidarities. After the battle of Panipat, when Babur's close friend Khavajeh Kilan expressed his desire to go back to Kabul, Babur gave him permission and asked him to carry valuable presents to his relations and other people in Kabul. Gulbabdan Begum reconstructs Babar's conversations with Khvajeh Kilan and states that Babur stated that he will write a list and he should distribute the gifts according to these. "You will order a tent with a screen to be set up in the garden of audience Hall for each Begum and here the Begums are to make a prostration of thanks for the complete victory which has been brought about. Each Begum is to be given a dancing girl brought from the court of Ibrahim Lodi, whom Babur had defeated, along with a plate

full of jewels, rubies, pearls, cornelian, diamonds, emeralds, turquoise, topaz, two trays full of Asharfis. He further states, let the present jewels, *asharfis* and *Shahrukhis* be divided among my sisters and children and the harems and kinsmen and to the begums and nurses and foster brethren and ladies and to all who pray, (Beveridge, 1994, 95-96). In fact a closer reading of Gulbadan Begum's *Humayunama* shows us the hierarchies within the harem which consisted of the old and the young. There were sisters, kinsmen and their wives, head of the household, nurses and children who were all pan of the Harem.

During the medieval period, many senior women with wisdom, authority and status would help in arranging a matrimonial alliance and playing an important role in carrying forward the Timurid Mughal name. These women had performed their role in their youth and given sons to carry out the Mughal legacy. Now they did this through getting the younger women involved in the family of the kings. There is a very interesting incident narrated by Gul Badan Begum. Once after the war between Humayun and Kamran got over and Humayun returned to Bikaner and Kamran proccedcd to Kabul, Humayun's stepmother Hamida Begum organized an entertainment, in which all the ladies of the court were present. Among these was present Hamida Banu Begum the daughter of Mirza Hindal. When Humayun made enquiries and expressed a desire to marry Hamida Banu Begum, Mirza Hindal was very upset and is said to have stated to Humayun that he thought Humayun had come to attend the entertainment to do honour to him and not to look out for a bride. This displeased Humayun and he left the banquet. Hamida Begum now tried to patch up the situation and she is said to have scolded Mirza Hindal for speaking improperly to His Majesty whom he should consider as the representative of his late father. She gave

a nuptial banquet the next day and delivered the young lady to his Majesty and gave them her blessings and from here they both proceeded to Bhakkar (Tezkereh, 1971, 31). The same incident is also elaboratred by Gulbadan Begum and she shows how initially Hamida Begum refused to marry Humayun. On Humayuns insistence Hamida Begum was invited to Hamida Begum's quarter. To this Hamida Banu replied that if she was invited to pay her respects to the king she had already done so the previous day and there was no need for her to come again. On this Hamida Begum seems to have advised her that she has to marry some day and it would be better to marry a King who is there. To this Hamida Banu's response was that yes, she would marry some day but it would be some one whose collar her hand can touch and not one whose skirt it does not reach Gulbadan, (150-151). What is important in Gulbadan's rendering is not the facility (or literal veracity) of this exchange between Hamida Begum and hamideh Banu Begum, but the fact that she was willing to put such a conversation into her text. This says something about her understanding of the cultural practices of the time. One may thus see Gulbadan's account of Hamida Banu Begum's reluctance as a statement about continuous debate, and tension, in matters of appropriate behavior in the lives of people at the court. In one of the communications that Hamida Banu Begum is supposed to have sent to the emperor, she says: "To see kings once is lawful [jayiz ast]; a second time it is forbidden [na-mahram ast]. I shall not come." Humayun responds to the concern implicit in Hamida Banu Begum's refusal to visit him a second time: "If she is not a consort [na-mahram-and], we will make her a consort [mahram misazim]."(n33) Their marriage follows(Ruby Lal, 2004, 612) Though in the end Humayun and Hamida Banu are married this incident clearly shows that there were hierarchies in getting married and attention

was paid to genealogy and dynasty. The son continued to be very important and a woman had a special status if she was able to give birth to a son. Maham Begum was very keen to see a son born to Humayun. In the harem when two women Bega Begum and Maywa Jan were in the family way. Maham Begum got two sets of weapons ready and stated that she would give to one who bears sons. Bega begum gave birth to a daughter and it was discovered that Maywa Jan was a fraud because she did not have any issue till the eleventh month (Gulbadan, 112-113). Beveridge describes Maham Begum as a clever woman who both as a wife and widow made herself felt in her home Gulbadan (353-354). She was a woman of authority and as an elder person her advise would have carried a lot of weight and she must have been very concerned about Babur and Humayun producing sons.

Hence, we get enough information on the domestic lives of Mughal noble women. We see the tensions, the little joys and the other dimensions of a family as never seen before in any chronicle noted by the male writers of this period. This comes as a breath of fresh air in an environment where the majority of the sources talk about party politics and other factions. Women, especially from the elite sections, were a part and parcel of an imperial design and played a very crucial role in the making of this monarchy. Some points emerge here that need reflection, one being that the categories constructed by the west were selective and were faithfully reproduced by the secondary works and these have been internalized by historians of the present generation both in India and abroad. Coming out of this frame and using sources from the whole of the Muslim world, we see that a new agenda can be set for research in women's history. Secondly, the complaint that there are very few sources on Mughal historiography about women is not tenable. The harem was not a bounded place

but also a place that gave comparative freedom to women and also set the basis for developing a subculture that is found in many Islamic societies like Zanzibar, Yemen etc.

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RANI ATTIMABBE (CELEBRATED LADY OF CHIVALRY AND CHARITY IN KARNATAKA HISTORY (974–1027A.D.))

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Introduction

The legendary history of women in ancient India largely begins with Brahmi and Sundari, two daughters of the first Tirthankara Risabha. The ancient script of India being Brahmi. It is quite possible the name of Brahmi itself bears testimony to this legendary history in general and Jaina women in particular.[1] The Jaina Church consists of four classes of believers; the monks, the nuns, the male house-holders, and the female householders. The historical and inscriptional evidences, as well as tradition, show that women, either nuns or lay householders, had played a dominant role in the church through the ages.[2] In Karnataka, the Jaina women who rose to eminence were numerous. They were famous for their faith and good conduct. Royal women like Santale, the principal queen of (Hoysala) Visnuvardhana, had been much loved and respected.[3] Hundreds of nuns are mentioned in the inscriptions as having attained *Samadhi marana*. These are

referred to as *Kantis*. Some were preceptresss, called *Guravis*.[4] In Tamil Nadu, the nuns are known as *Kurattiyar*. There are inscriptional evidences to show that these preceptresses were influential in the society.[5] In the constellation of prominent Jaina women Attimabbe occupies a very special place in the history of Jaina Karnataka. She greatly and selflessly contributed to the Karnataka landscape in causing beautiful and numerous Jain temples. She also patronized great poets thus enriching Kannda literature.[6]

Prominent Jaina Martial Families

The inscriptional records corroborated by literary sources, bring out the history of the revived Western Chalukyas:

Taila II (A.D. 973-993), his son:
Satyasraya (A.D. 997-1006)
Taila III (A.D. 1156)

The same sources reveal that during this period, two brilliant Jaina martial families of Mallappa and Dallapa were very powerful and prominent. They were very important and crucial in the revived Chalukyan polity. Records show that forefathers of Mallapa and Dallappa had supported the Chalukyan rulers Taila II and lrivabedanga Satyasraya Ahavamalla to reestablish their power, and their campaign for a larger kingdom. Mallapa and Dallapa also served Taila II and his successor Irivabedanga Satyasraya Ahavamalla in various capacities as ministers and generals. Further, the family relations between the two was strengthened by a marriage alliance and created a stronger power base for re-emergent Chalukyan rule.

The Lakkundi inscription of Dharwar in Karnataka records the achievements of these two families without whose gallantry and grand design, the Chalukyas would have had a difficult time in regaining their lost power. It also illustrates the ascendency of the Jaina culture.[7] During the emergence of the Western Chalukyas, General Pampaih, father of Nagapiah, was a key supporter of Chalukya Taila II as has been illustrated in the Ron inscription of Dharwar, dated A.D. 943. It refers to one Pampaiah of Vajivamsa and Kaundiya gotra. He is stated to have rebelled against an official of the Rashtrakuta king Krisna III and died of a heroic death in the battle.[8] It is known that during the time of Pampaiah. Chalukya Taila II was consolidating his power base against the Rashtrakutas.[9] An undated inscription of the Rashtrakuta king Krisna III discovered in Ranebennur taluk of Dharwar district also refers to one Pampaiah administering Gottigali. And this Pampaih must have been the same person referred above.[10] Poet Ranna's assertions seem to confirm this fact on chronological terms.

Family of Mallapa

The poet Ranna refers to Nagapiah in his *Ajitapurana*. According to him, Punguur Nagapiah of Kammenadu province had two sons – Mallapa and his younger brother Punnamiah, who were the officers of Taila II. Ponna and Ranna, the classical Jaina poets of the 10th century, are said to have enjoyed the munificence of Mallapa and his brother Punnamiah and of Attimabbe respectively.[11] Further, it is noted that Nagapiah was a notable member of the community in the region of Kemmenadu. He was highly educated and his preceptor was Jinanchandra. His sons, Mallapa and Punnamiah also had Jinachandra as their preceptor.

Mallapa had built up his fortunes by the dint of his merits under Taila II.[12] According to the poet Ranna, Mallapa belonged to the Vajivamsa of Kaundiya *gotra*.[13] Reference to this lineage also occurs in the Lakkundi inscription. It is deduced from the fact that the literal meaning is 'horse,' 'fighter,' 'courage' that imply that the family was of martial background.[14] The Chalukyan records refer to the noble families who hailed from Vajikula and belonged to various *gotras* of both Jain and non-Jaina origin. Although not much is known about this *vamsa*, it is important to note that the famous Hulla, minister of Hoysala kings Narasimha I and Ballala II hailed from this Vajivamsa.[15]

The discovery of Lakkundi inscription inside the complex of Attimabbe *basadi* was made by late T.N. Srikantiah in 1945.[16] The record is dated 1078 A.D.[17] and the original record is largely effaced and broken. It throws light on the Brahma Jinalaya built by Attimabbe at Lakkundi and the destruction of the temple in the subsequent years. It is believed that this inscription was recomposed after two centuries.[18] The record is bilingual, elaborate and contains 88 stanzas, composed in beautiful Kannada and Vritta styles.[19] The later dated inscription was composed by one Bahubali. According to the composition, Bahubali was proficient both in Kannada and Sanskrit languages; his father was Siripala, who caused the renovation of Attimabbe's *basadi* some time in the 12th century.[20] The composer of the earlier inscription is believed to have been Ranna, the classic Kannada poet and the author of *Ajitanatha Purana*. It is important to note that the contents of this inscription corroborate, by and large, the contents of the *Ajitanatha Purana*.[21] Poet Ranna composed his work at the instance of Attimabbe and he was equally patronized by the Chalukya king Taila II and Irivabedanga Satyasraya.[22]

Nagapiah, father of Mallapa, was born at Punganuru, an important center in Kemmenadu, a province which covered the present border area of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka states. It was rich in natural splendour and opulence. Poet Ponna mentions that Nagapiah was in charge of the defence of Kemmenadu although no title of the position is clearly suggested.[23] and he was *vidyanidhi* (nucleai of higher learning). His preceptor was Jinachandra.

These two brothers – Mallapiah and Pampaiah have been extolled by poet Ponna: "their unusual military prowess is the embodiment of high spiritual and moral ethics." Mallapa especially has been compared with the Puranic personalities like Karna, Dadhichi, Sibi, Vrisena, Dharmaraya, Babhruvahana and others[24] for his valour, polity, loyalty and truth. Ponna composed his *Santipurana* at the request of these brothers and dedicated it to their preceptor Jinanchandra.

Pampaiah appears to have led the Chalukyan army in many wars that extended Chalukyan influence as far as River Narmada in the southwest and River Godavari in the southeast. He fought against Kumara Lodhara Samra, believed as the Ankakaras or Lenkas – the special army reserves of the Nolamba rulers. Pampaiah, who was also a general of Taila II. He died heroically on the bank of river Kaveri[25] in the battle against Rashtrakuta Govinda in A.D. 975. Taila II could resist forces of Govindarasa.[26] After declaring independence from the Rashtrakutas, Taila bestowed Pampaiah with the honorific title of dandanayaka – commander of the Chalukyan Army.

The Lakkundi inscriptions describe Mallapa as 'a bee at the lotus feet of the Jina'[27] Being a political genius, he was well versed in the science of warfare. In the equestain sciences such

as *ashwasastra* and *astrology*. Ranna adorns him with many titles: Viprakuladeepa. Abhimantunga. Ahitagajaghatisimha, Parahitacarya, Chalukyabharana.[28] Mallapiah also had such titles as *Ammana bhakta*, (devotee of the goddess).[29]

Family of Dallapa

The other grand Jaina martial family in Chalukya polity was that of Dhallapa. Dallapa's greatness rested on annihilating the Chalukyan enemies and winning wars for his king. He had quite actively participated in both the offensive and defensive wars on the Chalukya side, and it seems that he had shared sweet victories and the unpleasant defeats. An inscription from Sravanabelagola highlights an event in which Dallapa had suffered defeat at the hands of the Ganga ruler Narasimha II in the multi-conflict war which had engulfed the Rashtrakutas, the Gangas and Taila II.[30] Dallapa led the Chalukyan force aiming to displace Rashtrakuta supremacy. The Ganga king Marasimha II had entered the war on behalf of his nephew, Rashtrakuta Krisna III. Thus the inscription records that "Narasimha displayed prowess in destroying the pride of the mighty Dhallapa, who set himself in opposition to Vanajagamalla"[31] who is Krisna III, the last in the line of the Rashtrakuta rulers.

Dallapa has been praised highly by poet Ranna: '*sakala chakrvartiya sabha samvasa chatura*' (brilliant of the court) and '*Sachivottama*' (best of the premiers).[32] Lakkundi inscription corroborates such a praise of him as seen in Ajitapurana Dallapa is eulogized as Bujadanda of Ahavamalla (right hand of Taila).[33] The inscription also records that Dallapa was equal to the king in all respects and the only difference that existed was the title of kingship.[34] It also registers his victories over Vengi, Tigules, Konkana and Malwa.[35]

Family Relation of Mallapa and Dallapa

The tradition of marriage of the time was *svayamavara*, where the girl chose's the husband for herself, and often, it was dynastic in character among the martial class. On political grounds, marriage alliance as often consummated to cement interrelationship between families of might and majesties. Mallapa and Dallapa, whose familes had played a key role in the building up of Chalukya power in A.D. 973, had consummated marriage alliance; Nagadeva, eldest son of Dallapa, was married to Mallapa's two daughters – Attimabbe and younger sister Gundamabbe. Mallapa and his wife Abbakabbe had eight children, of which three daughters have been noted and not much is known about other siblings. By marriage, Attimabbe and Gundamabbe on the side of Mallapa family and Nagadeva on the side of Dallapa family formed a link between these two prominent Jaina martial families.

As already elucidated, the families of Nagadeva and Attimabbe had a key role in the ascendency of Chalukyan power and the rise of Taila II (973 – 997 A.D.) to establish authority over the whole of Rashtrakuta kingdom which was then known as Rattapadi Seven and a Half Lakh County.[36]

Nagadeva had followed the tradition of his forefathers in joining the Chalukya army of Taila II, Chivalry was carefully and assiduously nurtured by Nagadeva. His prowess is referred in the Lakkundi inscription; it states that 'while his father Dallapa frightened the kings of Vengi, Nagadeva captured Andhras in the battle. He chased Mallama from Karahata and thus pleased the king, and further more, he defeated the ruler of Gujarat.'[37] Ajitapurana corroborates the routing of the Mallama from Karahata, a place identified in Maharashtra state. Nagadeva as a Chalukyan general is also credited with the defeat of Pancaladeva, a Rashtrakuta

subordinate; scattered the cavalry and elephant forces in the battle.[38] Nagadeva, as an officer and General of Chalukya king, was thus busy in leading many wars against the Andhras, Gujarat, and Karahata in Maharashtra. In the meantime, Attimabbe and Gundamabbe were busily involved in socio-religious matters.

Attimabbe: A Jain Devotee and A Philanthrophist

Though it is known that Attimabbe lived in the 10th century, the exact date has not been fixed due to the non-availability of material and also due to the lack of interest shown by the scholars and historians. However, culling some of the points from the study, a broad attempt is made here to suggest a possible date for Attimabbe.

1. According to Ranna, Attimabbe's father Mallapa, was not married when *Santipurana* was composed (A.D.970)
2. It is known that her uncle Punnamiah was in the service in her time and he died in the battle field in A.D. 975.
3. This suggests that Attimabbe was born between A.D. 971-74.
    a. Ranna wrote *Ajitapuranna* in A.D.993 for Attimabbe.
    b. She climed Indragiri hill at Sravanabelagola to see Kukkuteswara Jina, implying that she could have attended the first *mahamastakabhiseka* of Gommatain A.D.981, a confirmed date.
    c She made 1000 copies of *Santipurana* of Ponna and distributed them on the eve of second *mahamastakabhiseka* at Sravanabelagola in A.D. 993.
    d. Attimabbe built Brahma Jinalaya in A.D. 1007; son Anniga had returned from the Gujarat war and

Irivabedanga at the instance of Attimabbe installed a golden *kalasa* on the *gopura* commemorating his victory over Gujrat.

e. The above information shows her importance in the Chalukyan kingdom and her influence on the king. This suggests that Attimabbe must have been just in the prime of her life, commanded respect, and physically participated in important duties in socio-religious matters. It could be inferred that Attimabbe could have lived another two decades longer.

Presuming this possibility, a probable date of A.D. 1027 can be suggested.

The news of the death of Nagadeva was devastating on both Attimabbe and Gundamabbe. The practice of sati as references show, although not advocated in Jainism, was in vogue specially in medieval north Karnataka. According to the poet Ranna, a widow had two alternatives either to observe *sati*, or to observe *Jina Vrata* – a vow to strive for a higher spiritual progress.[39]

Ajitapurana describes the instance vivdly after Nagadeva's death on the battle- field. It depicts the pathos and passions of the parting women, their psychological tumult and boldly surfaces the conflicts in their convictions. Attimabbe had a son and Gundambbe, who was issueless, obtained permission from her sister to become *sati* and urged Attimabbe to live on to take care of her son. Attimabbe agreed to the proposal and spent the rest of her life in penance and self-sacrifice. Gundambbe opted for *sati*, self-immolation with her husband. Further, it (I. 46-7) brings out the end of Gundambbe nearer to its historicity. "Sister, you have a son, the forehead jewel of the world. Remain

here and rear him up to adolescence. I shall follow Nagadeva." Begging thus, she clung to her husband's body, observed all the rites, and adorned the pyre with all the auspicious symbols and plunged into the pyre with unswerving courage. While the congregation acclaimed the noble act of Gundamabbe, she ended her mortal life to the great discomfort of the nymphs in heaven.

Attimabbe undertaking the *desavrata* vow, wherein *anuvria, gunavria* and *siksavria* were to be observed, focused her faculties on such activities that conformed to the precept of utilitarianism. She led a pious life dedicated to the advancement of Jain religion, its culture and literarature. She excercised great influence within the family; and no religious festival or event was complete without her participation. She was energetic in her spirit of service and sacrifice. She spent quality time in bringing up of her son Paduvala Taila –also known as Anniga, who appears to have inherited the gallant qualities of his father and grandfathers. The Lakkundi inscription extols Anniga as Lashmiputra (son of goddess of wealth), Nanni Narayana (of truthfulness) and Samyaktva Ratnakara, and he who governed over Belvala-desa[40] in Masavadi province. Belvala together with Puligala consisted of 600 towns and villages, and there lived many prominent Jaina personalities.[41]

Attimabbe: Patron of Poets

Being interested in literature, she closely followed the footsteps of her forefathers in patronizing poets and their literary works. Mallapa and Punamiah had caused the Kannada classic *Santipurana* (A.D. 970) by poet Ponna (circa A.D. 950), who, according to Dr. A.P. Chaugule, [42] had received the title *Ubhayakavi Chakravarti* from Rashtrakuta prince Krisna in A.D. 935, and after the fall of the Rashtrakutas, he was patronized by Mallapa, the Chalukya officer of Taila II (973-997). Ranna mentions that

Mallapa was not married at the time when *Santipurana* was written in A.D. 970.

Attimabbe requested Ranna (born A.D. 949), who was a classical poet of Kannada literature as Shakespeare was to English, to write *Ajitapurana* (A.D. 993.) and the work was released on the occasion of *mahamastakabhseka* of Gommatesvara at Sravanabelagola in the year A.D. 993. Abhinava Vidyananda in his work *Kavyasara* cites Attimabbe for poet Ranna's Danacintamani.

'Penance unto the last and part with wealth –
The acts of honour of the martial traits,
It's the characteristic of the Spiritual Path.'

Jainas memorialize these munificents by erecting monuments and recording gifts. In the same spirit, Attimabbe was an idealist surcharged with the cause of charity, she measured it with power, strength and sustained it with honour. Willingly, she espoused philanthrophic idealism. However, she craved that her excellence should be judged not by the total wealth disposed but by the sign as a trait. Giving away of the gold, precious stones, cloth, money and jewelry was just an act for her just as to possess righteous-character.

The Lakkundi inscription dated A.D. 1007 refers to the construction of *Brahma* Jinalaya by Attimabbe. While the name of the Jinalaya is not explicit, it states that 1000 mahajanas of Lakkundi named it as *Brahma Jinalaya* and accorded consent to Attimabbe to make a tax-free endowment of the village Surki, for the maintenance of the temple. Further, it tells about the

location of the *basadi* in the western part of the town and its geographical east facing direction. It also records the gift of Irivabedanga to Brahma Jinalaya at the suggestion of Attimabbe. The *basadi* along with the gift of Irivabedanga was given to the Jaina saint Acharya Arhanandi. The record refers to this temple as 'the gold out of 1500 *basadis*" caused by Attimabbe. Owing to Attimabbe, the ascendency of Jain religion; its culture, literature and architecture reached the zenith in Lakkundi. During this time, Attimabbe's son Anniga was ruling Masavadi-140. The Lakkundi inscription refers to a storied and well fortified house where Attimabbe resided.[43] Whether Anniga had Lakkundi as the capital of his administration cannot be affirmed presently owing to the non-availability of sources.

It appears from the Lakkundi inscription that Brahma Jinalaya was the most splendid among the *basadis* Attimabbe built. It was built in multi-kuta style on a platform, with an elaborate ground plan. It also had a huge *gopura* over which a golden kalasa was installed in A.D. 1007 by Irivabedanga Ahavamalla, the son and successor of Taila II in commemoration of his victory over Gujarat, at the request of Attimabbe.[44] The temple brought spirituality as many Jainacharyas underwent *sallekhana* as indicated by numerous nisidhis.

The *basadi* in due course of time suffered destruction repeatedly. Once it fell down to the ground and at another time, it was burnt.[45] One Nagi Setti of the record dated A.D. 1173[46] renovated the *basadi* in the later years and made a grant of a flower garden of a 300 flowers yield for the perpetual rites of *puspanjali puja*. Also, one Annigara Nagi, Setti made a money grant for the perpetual rites of *astavidharchane*.

Attimabbe: Her Marvels and Miracles

Attimabbe, on account of her chivalry and charity, appears to have been admired and adorned by people from all walks of life and it is reflected in Lakkundi inacription. Poet Ranna appreciating her chivalry and charity has thrown a challenge to all men growing moustaches to compete with Attimabbe mother of Taila in promoting and protecting chivalry and charity. Brahmasiva, a popular Jaina poet of 12th century extols Attimabbe as ghatantaki implying the qualities of yakshi padmavathi . As such her deeds and thoughtful practices appear to have given rise to many marvels and miracles associated with her life. Some of them are:

1. Her vow of fast until she could see Kukkutesvara Jina on the Indragiri at Sravanabelagola, a place about a few hundred miles away from Lakkundi. While climbing the hill, she got exhausted because of hot weather and tiredness owing to fasting. At this juncture, untimely showers arrived to alleviate her hardship and provide relief from strain.
2. A fire broke out and spread swiftly devastating the city (no meaning of the name) Attimabbe, a lady high spirituality and of pious trait, sprinkled holy water of the Jina and thus the fire was extinguished.
3. She vowed to fast, even unto death, until she could secure the Jina image of Karulapave on the bank of River Narmada. Her wish was fulfilled and the image became a precious possession of her life.
4. At the instance of the King and with Jina image over head, she walked forth fearlessy into the waters of River Godavari. The river ceased its flow for a while.

5. A rutting elephant became calm and raised its trunk in salutation when Attimabbe touched it affectionately.
6. A Jina image once fell into a river bed. Attimabbe announced her irrevocable fast until it was secured. It is said that the image reached her in a short while.
7. Attimabbe who was alone drowning in the river, was saved when the boat stated rotating.[47]

As these sensational events were actual and the best way to view them is from two aspects – abstract and concrete. The abstract view reflects high spiritual attainment inherent super qualities and righteousness in faith, knowledge and conduct. Observing fast even unto death to secure a Jina image that had fallen to the river and to secure another from a distant place on the river bank of Narmada reflected Attimabbe's inherent moral and spiritual energy. The concrete view of the marvels and miracles of attribute could be underlined by utilitarianism in spirit and action. The story of her marvels and miracles were later followed and extolled. An inscription from Sravanbelagola speaks of Gangaraja the Hoysala general. It records the extraordinary powers of this Gangaraja. The world exols the distinguished Jaina devotee Attimabbe, because the Godavari stopped flowing. Now the river Kaveri though swollen forward, its waters did not touch the General Gangaraja when he crossed the flooded river, obviously during his attack on Talkad.[48] In A.D. 1114 to remove the last vestiges of Chola power from Karnataka terriritory, Jaina poet Brahmasiva makes references in Samayaparikse of Attimabe crossing the River Godavari and pays tribute to her, extols her exemplary qualities her purity of mind though and action. He states that her miracles do not appear to have been exaggerated accounts, rather they are events rooted in reality and attested on different occasions.

Epilogue

The Lakkundi inscriptions compare Attimabe with many great legendary figures of the Purans and epics. Attimabe has been compared to Rukmini, Satyabhama Chelini, Rohini, Prabhvathi, Sulochana, Marudevi, Sushaine Sivadevi, Laksmane and Vijaya. Among these the last five are the names of the mothers of the Tirthankaras Adinatha, Sampbhava, Neminatha, Chandranatha and Ajitanatha respectively. This exegesis constitutes a poetric narration from the imaginary reflection of the poets and equally denote multifarious qualities of Attimabbe.

No woman in India's history has come close to Attimabbe in her acts of Philanthrophy, it's value and vastness. In this constellatin of history of Indian women and particularly in the history of Jaina Karnataka, she remains a star who championed the cause of Jainism, its culture, literature and architecture.

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TOWARDS A HISTORY OF REPRODUCTION: A STUDY IN AGRARIAN RELATIONS IN MEDIEVAL BHAGALPUR

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The best description of Indus agriculture is given by D.D Kosambi[1] and feudal character employed in cultivation by R.S. Sharma.[2] Irfan Habib[3] in his erudite paper, *The Social Distribution of Landed Property in Pre-British India* has made an observation of 'surplus property' produced on land and its distribution among its tillers or sharers of its soil. However, these has arisen a debate which calls for further attention to the classification of the concept of historical analysis and propounding of empirical research. We propose to outline in detail all the documentary evidences and circumstances under which distribution of landed property was made between the land holders and sharers (who till the Zamindars' lands with their own plough) with special reference to Bhagalpur, the land of Anga. An attempt would be made at the same time to focus on the ways it has been treated by other historians.

In most of the writings on the economic history of India, the common view has appeared that in India the village is a unit of self sufficient and common financial pool with well developed economic structure. In ancient India this identification has been propounded by the Vedas, Kautilya[4], Megasthenes and Arrian[5] in the medieval period by Amir Khusrou [6] and Abul Fazl[7] and in the modern period, the idea of self sufficient economy by

Charles Matcalfe,[8] Hennery Maine, Karl Marx[9] and in the early twentieth century by Mahatma Gandhi, and since then it has been supported by the distinguished scholars.

Fick argued that in ancient India land was mostly in the possession of the Brahmanas[10] due to their superior knowledge of ecological balance and other social obligations. However, Fick's argument is augmented that the Brahmanas did not have a hold on all the agricultural process and neither had they constituted an entire class of land owners. There are numerous scopes for this argument, when a major set of non-Brahmanas enjoyed landed property etc. Gautama Buddha recalled his childhood and says when the Sakya, my father, was ploughing; I sat in the cool shade of the rose-apple tree."[11] Ashoka is a champion of the superiority of justice 'over naked force' and 'gifts' to Brahmanas and to ascetics of all creeds. The *Jatakas* referred to the merchant classes, who possessed large tract of fields. Besides, the tribal oligarchs had their superior private right over the land.[12] We have plenty of references of such superiority attached to the lower class or Sudras; whose ancestors were extensively connected with hunting, fishing, and working on animal skins in ancient and medieval Bhagalpur.[13]

We are familiar with Bhagalpur with its ancient name of Anga of the Mahabharata Age to Akbar's empire of Mughal Sarkar of Munger. Huein Tsang's[14] travelling account (c. 645 AD) is describes 'Chan-Po' / 'Chen Po' (Champa) as a Kingdom of Anga. Champa the capital of Anga has been recognized for its fabulous wealth and commerce frequently visited by the merchants.

Huein Tsang reports that the "soil of Champa is level and fertile, it is regularly cultivated and productive."**[15]** Much more convincing is Sandhykar Nandin's[16] approach in treating the

emergence of the feudal lords as inter connected political, economic and social change. Drawing partly upon Majumdar's[17] work, he argues that the Palas' feudatory Mathandeva[18] of Anga opened a new vista for the sources of study of agrarian relations in Bhagalpur, which coincided the decline of the Palas: which paved the way to the disintegration of eastern Bihar and there grew up a number of feudatories that had assumed independence during the late 11th century to the early 12th century A.D. Among them the feudal lord Devarakshita[19] of the Chikkar dynasty of Pithi (Pirpainti), Sahura of Pirojpur-Barahat its headquarters at Pialapur. South of Pirpainti and the Rastrakuta Mathandeva of Anga (Bhagalpur) were prominent. On the Antichak (a village near Vikramashila monastery) inscription, we find the names of Rajadhiraj Kesar, Hamsa, and Sahura. Sahura was the most powerful feudal chief ruling at Chamma.[20] Narsingharjun was another feudal lord whom Sandhykar Nandi mentions as a lord of Kajangal or Kankjol,[21] a *mandal* identified with the Rajmahal region. In the mid-seventh century Kajangal seems to spring to historical life, whose feudatory was the dependency of the kingdom of Champa, Huein Tsang visited 'Kie-Chu-Hoh-Khi-Lo' (Kajangal) in 648 A.D. and reported its prosperity and wealth and that the "soil is level and loamy; it is regularly cultivated and produces abundant crops".[22] Here, we have the first induction of the famous Mal Pahariyas, who were identified with 'Malli', first brought to light by Megasthenes, whose name still survives in the vicinity of Rajmahal hills.[23]

Deeply set in the minds of historians of all hues is the association of medieval Bhagalpur with the feudal oligarchs. It is so deeply set indeed, that the eastern Bihar particularly from Lakhisarai to Rajmahal, which Alexander Cunningham termed as the territory of Champa, was the head fountain of the Knights

of Indian feudalism, as Kosambi points out in his alternative feudalism, of 'Feudalism from above and from below'.[24]

Feudalism is the important water shed in ancient Indian social system and the establishment of z*amindari* is said to mark the true beginning of agrarian activity in medieval economic annals. The principal achievement of a *zamindar* lay in a great systematization of rent collection exploitation and an immense accumulation of wealth which resulted in agrarian exploitation. In Mughal India, the term 'zamindar' is used in a wider sense, among them various castes and classes who were the possessors of lands. Abul Fazl's remarkable tabulation of *zamindar-clans* in different *paragnas* of the Mughal Empire shows, the Rajput forming the leading *zamindars*, particularly, from the Sutluj to the Son.[25]

The term *Choudhary, Mukaddam* and *Qanungo* are used synonymously for the single term *Zamindar* in the Mughal period. We can trace in the Sultanate sources the terms used '*ranka*' and '*raut*' as subordinate headman, i.e. choudhary and khut. A number of zamindaries had developed out of *choudharai* and *qanungoi* rights. In one of the early 17th century documents relating to Kharagur Raj in Sarkar Munger and Darbhanga Raj[26] in Sarkar Tirhut, Suba Bihar, we see that these two kingdoms really developed out of *choudharai* and *qanungoi* rights. Toral Mal better known as Roz Afzun[27] of Kharagpur Rajriasat having received the title of 'Raja', acquired large *zamindari* rights together with *choudharai, qanungoi* and *mukaddami* rights over nineteen *paragnas* towards the beginning of the 17th century (1615 A D) from Jahangir. Besides, various perquisites in the form of *nankar, nakdi, milkiyt, eltugma* were attached

to his zamindari. This was done since the Mughal dominions was in search of new choudharies and qanungoes for strengthening the Mughal authority, to bring more and more land under cultivation, collection of revenue demands and safe guarding the trade routes and caravans; passing over the *zamindari* of a *zamindar*. The English documents[28] of the early 19th century reveal that the rulers of the houses of Kharagpur, Bhojpur and Gidhaur (Jamui) established direct relationship with the small insignificant *Zamindars*, acquiring intermediary rights, where these houses exercised *zamindari* rights as intermediaries; they reduced the original *Zamindars* to the position of their tenant-farmers. A person who was given the primary rights of *choudharai* and *qanungoi*, if he would become powerful, try to acquire primary *Zamindari* rights over all the small or secondary *Zamindars,* which would result in the exploitation of the free peasants and at the same time it would cause rebellion. Many of the feudatories or secondary *Zamindars* refused to pay the revenues until force was not exercised against them. On many occasions the Secondary *Zamindars* or feudal barons led the revolts of the peasantry against the heavy exaction of the *Zamindars* and this was continued from Mumhammad Bin Tughlaq of the upper Doab to the whole of northern India till the 18th century and even after that in the 19th century, of which references may be cited to the tribal and other agrarian revolts. A full scale reference came from the revolt of Bhima and Divya, the Kaivartas chiefs of Bengal against Rampala, the Pala ruler. In one of the 18th century documents, a term 'vassal zamindar'[29] occurs, Rup Narayan Deo was such a vassal *Zamindar* of Raja Kadir Ali of Kharagpur. The secondary *Zamindar* Rup Narayan Deo, however, revolted against the primary *Zamindar*, the Raja of Kharagpur. Likewise, Laxmi Narayan Deo, the grandson of Rup Narayan, refused to pay the revenues until the British force was not excercised against him in favour of the Raja of Kharagpur.

The *Zamindari* is a system in which the major source of production was agriculture, and a substantial share of surplus produce was appropriated by a class which holds military power and social prestige. In the 17th and 18th century South Bhagalpur, this was termed as a Ghatwali Class, who received the plots of land from the paramount power as tenure holder, designated in the English documents as Ghatwali Tenure. This was a system upon which land tenure was based on feudal pattern; transferrable from one person to another, as we see in case of *lqta*[30] system of Turkish rule in North India.

In one of the early 18th century documents, preserved in the Bihar State Archives, Patna, we find the terms *ghatwal, malik, zamindar, raja, kisan, jotdar, raiyyat* and in the 19th century *kastakar*, relating to possessors of land as well as to the free tenant farmers. In Mughal terminology these terms applied for a single word: the '*zamindar*'. There is definite evidence from the 16th to the 18th centuries that the person who brought new land under cultivation were recognized as '*malik*'.[31] These terms have been practiced in the 17th and 18th century in Bhagalpur and also in the Colonial rule, and presently the terms are still survived among the rural populace of Bhagalpur and elsewhere too. The term '*malik*' is universal and in practice in the whole of Bhagalpur. In the medieval period, particularly, in the 17th and the early 18th century, the term *kisan* is used for multiple meanings of peasantry class. The word *raiyyat* is commonly used in Mughal documents for a zamindar or large peasant proprietors.[32] But this applies to different meanings.

In the late 19th and in the early 20th century, the immigrants to Bhagalpur from eastern U.P., who acquired landed property etc., were called a single term *malik* followed by the term, *raiyyat*. Such people are either free peasant cultivator or its tenant

cultivator. The 17th century documents frequently referred to the terms *malik, zamindar, jotdar, kastakar, raja, thakur, deo*, about the same person. The word *jotdar* is used in the same sense as we use the term *kisan*. The *jotdar* and *malik* may or may not do the cultivation himself and he employed a good number of tenant-farmers or labourers for carrying on the cultivation. The terms *Raja* and *Zamindar* were a hereditary title, bestowed by the Mughal Government.

The term '*ghatwali*' was applied to the tenure of land held by those, whose duty was to guard and watch the ghats or mountain passes and to prevent incursions of armed intruders. The origin and nature of the *ghatwali* tenures are explained very lucidly by the Privy Council in a case of Raja Lilanand Singh of Banaili Raj and the Govermnet of Bengal.[33] By *Ghatwali* System, land was granted to the individuals often to a high rank at a low rent or without rent on condition of performing police duty, and protection and preserving the peace in the neighboring *tappas* (a territorial division). The head or *Sardar* of each Ghatwali Police Station was required to employ a certain number of 'arches' and 'barkandazes' to apprehend criminals, protect travelers and to keep the *raiyyats* contented. It was also required that the *ghatwals* exert their best in cultivation, try to improve the population, protect the villages and watch the boundaries of the *zamindari.* The *Zamindars* of Bhagalpur had the sole right to appoint and dismiss a Ghatwal. Raja Qadir Ali, a *Zamindar* of Kharagpur dismissed Jhabban Singh, the *ghatwal* of Chandwa of Banka (now a district) from the office of a *ghatwal* and appointed Bhawani Singh in his place on account of *hustband jama* (higher jama). If a Zamindar did so, there would be a peasant's revolt, and this resulted into later exploitation. The rebellion occurred when the *Zamindars* refused to cancel debts, incurred because of heavy rain, droughts and bad harvest.[34]

A Hindi lexicon, compiled in Sambat 1719, (corresponding to 1662 A.D.) by Jagganath Das[35] of Sandalpur (Munger) shows that the *Zamindars* encouraged cultivation, improved irrigation facilities and settled tribal's such as *ghatwals*. The role of *Zamindars* in hilly tracts under study exhibits that they rendered their valuable services to maintain tranquility, and bringing forests and waste land under cultivation. The wood-cutters and plough men of Raja Bahroz Singh[36] of Kharagpur accompanying the troops of Mir Jumla against Prince Shah Shuja towards Rajmahal (Shuja was in Governor of Bengal and Orissa with their headquarters at Rajmahal, Sahibganj District, Santal Parganas, Jharkhand) in March, 1659 through the route of Jharkhand were entrusted with the task of clearing the forests and bringing the waste land under cultivation. These people received short *pattas*. The *Choudharies* were appointed and directed to keep 'raiyyats' happy and populate the region. Whosoever, cleared a forest and brought land under cultivation; such land was his *zamindari*.[37] The unceasing combats increased the powers of the Zamindars and it tended to restrict kingship to one family. This forced exile, exercised by the *Zamindars* undermined the tribal bonds or a class-based society.

The geographical arrangements of hilly and *jungli* tracts of south Bhagalpur and for that matter the region of Santal Parganas (Jharkhand), had produce resistance to the Regulation System of Akbar, and so to speak, it had not been extended to the areas held by semi sovereign *Zamindars* of Kharagpur Division and Santhal Paragnas Division, this is what in Moreland's word. 'Sarkar of Munger'.[38] This system of Akbar did not also extend to the Rajwara Division of Orissa and this was also the case with the territories of Kashmir, Khandesh, Berar, south of Allahabad, Malwa. Some parts of Ajmer, Gondwana and the mountain district of Kumaun. But it is a debatable point regarding what portions of these tracts were in fact left under the jurisdiction of the

chiefs and how far local conditions were defined and recognized inside the Regulation tracts? Here the Zamindars were obliged to clear the jungles make the trade route and ensure the safe and uninterrupted peace of the trading caravans The villages adjacent to the ways high and mountain passages were assigned to such *Zamindars* as inam and *madad-i-maash* to induce them to maintain tranquility. The estates such as Handwa Ghatwali (Nunihat, Dumka district), Mahespur Raj Ghatwali (Pakur Raj. Pakur district), Rohini estate (Deoghar district), kakwara estate (Banka district). Bharokhar estate of Rewati Raman Choudhary (Banka district) etc. were the best examples of the *ghatwali zamindari* during the 17`th, 18th and early 19th century Bhagalpur. The Kunda estate in Hazaribagh of Ram Singh (a personal servant of Aurangzeb) was a *Thanadari jagir*, granted in 1669, for the care and guarding the roads was the best example accounted in this context in the hilly areas, the tenants never cultivated the fields for more than two years, and then they deserted them and went to another waste spot. Large deductions were made for those who took in new land and a nominal rent (khil) accepted for the first year and a very poor rent (kum) for the second. This was done as an inducement to new settlers for continuing the present waste. The new land proved much more productive than the old and the peasants had rather to pay a higher tax. The rates of revenue collection varied from crop to crop.

The process of caste formation and social mobilization in agrarian relations first appeared in North India. The example may be made to the Khetauries in south-west Bhagalpur and the Kaivartas[39] in eastern Bhagalpur. The Khetauries rose into prominence as a neo--Rajput and some of them acquired landed

property since Akbar's time. Sasanka, the Raja of Khetauries, who ruled at a time over fifty-two principalities in South-West Bhagalpur as well as jungle Mahal of Kharagpur and Gidhaur was the most powerful, whom the Rajput chiefs of Balia (U.P) overthrown in 1503 A.D.[40] Other such communities who emerged as a feudatories after the downfall of the Gupta empire in north India were the Autochthons. about whom historical evidences recorded as Nishada or Baheliya and Dom in central Bihar and Chero in south Bihar, Kharwars in the Sone Damodar valley, Gond in Bengal, Bihar and Chhattisgarh regions and Bhumij and hill tribes in the Jungle Mahal of Bihar and Bengal The literary sources suggest that before the ascendancy established by the Chandel Rajput rulers of Gidhaur in Jamul to Lakhisarai in the 11th century: the very tracts had been ruled by the Nishada or Baheliya or Kirat of Dusadh[41] dynasty of Raja Harewa. The Dorris founded their Kingdoms at the Himalyan foothills in the 13th century.[42] The Bhars occupied large tracts extending from Bundelkhand to the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh and also in Bihar at Bhagalpur and Tirhut,[43] Gonds in central India, Bihar and Bengal[44] (15th-18th centuries), the Nagbansis in Chotanagpur,[45] The Cheros in Shahabad and Palamau[46] (12th-18th centuries) the Ahoms in upper Assam[47] (13th-19th, centuries) and the Paharias in the Rajmahal Hills. These chieftains or feudatories emerged as an aristocratic class, directly connected to the peasantry groups.

W.H Moreland[48] and Irfan Habibs[49] interpreted the terms *Khut, Balahar and Zamindar*. The term *Khut* signifies the rural aristocracy or headman, viz., *choudhary and mukaddam*. The perquisites to these officers were on equal footing. The Balahar was the low-born from rural populace, employed in agriculture and other drudgery works with a small plot of land for his subsistence. In the 17th and 18th century Bhagalpur, we find a

new term Barahil which signifies Balahar Barahil did not work as a manager. He brought the tenants to the managing office of the estate, when they were required. He also looked after the crops and the use of irrigation and reservoirs and also assisted the *Jeth-rayaat* or *mukaddam* in collection of rents. The term *Barahil* is presently used North-West Bhagalpur.

The Bhagalpur, the *terms mukaddam* and *Jeth-rayaat* were synonymous for the same person. In the north of the Ganga the term *mukaddam* and the South-West *Jeth-rayaat* were used. The *Jeth-rayaat* held almost precisely the same position as the Mandal did in the villages of Bengal. In theory a *Jeth-raiyyat* and *Patwari* counter balanced one another checking each other actions and ensuring that each did his job properly. They acted in collusion to oppress the tenants. The terms *Pasban*, *Salis, Budhwara* and *Kandi* have also been recorded in the 17th and 18th century Bhagalpur. On every two or three Paragnas, there was a post of Pasban. His duty was to watch the villages at night and to help the revenues collection agency during the day. The *Salis* was one of the officers of the house-hold affairs of zamindar. The duty of *Salis* was to determine the produce of per *bigha* land and assign the share payable to the landlord. A man who assigned him by playing the measuring rod or crop was called a *Jaribkhash*. He got a small percentage of grain as his remuneration. The duty of *Budhwara* was to watch the field and prevent cattle straying on them. He was paid a pittance by the *raiyyat's*, in terms of grain at harvest time. The *Kandi* was a managing Officer, when the *Zamindar* made a tour of the villages.

The term *Zamindar* here is used in an ordinary sense and not in the sense of his being a land holder or proprietor of soil; so often used in the settlement of the Regulation of 1773. The

word *Zamindar* is applied for autonomous chief and it described as a right superior to that of the peasants, who claimed to a share in the produce of soil. This share consists of a tax levied in terms of kind or cash on the tiller. The share, however, became customary and the terms derived to it was called '*malikana*' or '*bhag*'. The *Zamindar* levied no ransom tax for robberies within their jurisdiction. The robbers of Goa claimed themselves feudal title such as 'Rave' just like the terms 'Deo' 'Thakur' and 'Tikait' claimed by Rup Narayan Deo and his son Laxmi Narayan Deo, the Zamindar of Chandwa Pasia[50] (South of Bhagalpur in modern Banks district).

The *Zamindars* were virtually independent, except that they had to pay regular cash tribute and to maintain a fixed quota of armed forces. The feudatory contingents would be turned against a weak ruler and every little land-holder tried to style a Raja. However, the term Raja was a title bestowed upon by the Mughal emperor to any royal scion. The *Zamindars* were responsible for paying the taxes on behalf of various cultivators. The existence of the feudal class depended upon a vast machinery of peasantry groups, the variation of produce on the soil and the assessment of land. The assessment rate of south-east Bhagalpur could not have been prepared on the usual lines, nor any assessment scheduled there on the statistics of Abul Fazl.

Irfan Habib points out that the artisans had fixed associations with the villagers[51] and it was on a sound footing. However, their dependence was due to the involvement of their lordships in their daily affairs. The payments of village artisans, viz.: *surtradhara, lohara, kumbhkara, napita, rajaka, charmkara, bhata*, have been categorically mentioned to represent the *Jajmani* system.[52] These artisans represented a class of *Jajmani* complex who received grain for each crop at the threshing floors or on

the fields. The shares of each crop have been given by the cultivators to the deities, viz., *piran, fakiran, debotar and brahmotar* at the threshing floors or on the fields and the giving of '*posana*' or *bhartika* to the 'Pauni' (especially to the women of barber, washerman, potter, carpenter. and tanner), obviously in the form of cloth, cash a piece of land and female-calf may have been recommended in the same context.

A commentator[53] of the seventeenth century adds 36 castes in 17th century Bhagalpur of whom washer-man, barber, potter, tanner and *kahar* had to pay no ground tax. This seems to be requiring labour service in lieu of taxes. This also signifies 'visti' (forced labour) which later indicated unpaid feudal '*begara*'. The grant of land was another feature of the agrarian relation. When the land grants were made to *fakiran, pirotor, brahmotar, debotar, inami, jajmani, milkeyat, madad-i-maash* and for other charitable endowments viz., to theologians, construction of ponds, tanks, bridges, and also to the petty courtiers; retired official, widows of the soldiers and the like; and when the *Zamindars* like the Sultans of Delhi maintained workshops (where a bulk of menial groups were trained to be artisans to meet both ends), the mode of sovereign's revenues change and increased.

The small peasants, artisans, servile, etc., except the *Brahmanas* received plots of cultivable lands from landlords for doing cultivation and other social obligation, could not claim any legal right on them.[54] This system was widely prevalent in feudalistic society from the early medieval period to the present day Hindu social system. But whether and how far rules, local chiefs, lords and peasants of village were concerned with these practices are a matter of further investigation.

In medieval India, fields and farms were forcibly or willingly given to the peasants by the landlords. This practice, however, continued even in the first half of the 20th century in the eastern Bihar, particularly in Bhagalpur. In this process, the element of feudal coercion appears to some extent. In such a practice of leasing the lands, the lease could not claim any legal right. This tendency of Hindu law relating to '*Vyavahara*' has been given by Abul Fazl in the 17th century.[55] Later on, the contradiction between the legal and the customary rights appeared and, in course of time, tensions and conflicts arose as peasants' revolt, which required further consideration. The rise of growing power of Rastrakuta Mathadeva of Anga and feudal lord around Vikramshila near Pirpainti in the 12th century was significant in this context. The Kaivartas of Varendri in Bengal rose against Rampala of the Pala dynasty mainly because they were deprived of their plots of land given to them as service tenures.[56] In 17th century Bihar, it has first appeared on the political scenario of Kharagpur in Munger, when a Rajput prince Sangram Singh took up the arms against Akbar and Jahangir[57] with his Rajput and tribal compatriots. Such a case may be cited in the 18th century Chandwa Passai (Chandoi for Abul Fazl, Ain, II, now in Banka district, Bihar), where the Bhuniya feudal baron Rup Narayan Deo and in the late 18th century in Maheshpur/Sultanabad (Pakur district, Santal Pargnas, Jharkhand), where a valiant Rani Sarbeshwari, widow of Raja Gujan Singh, took up the arms against colonial oppression.

The *Zamindars* forced the peasants to cultivate their lands which was quite natural at a time when land was abundant and population was scarce. There were certain lands which were cultivated by the peasants at the pleasure of their proprietor-

Zamindar. In such a condition, the Zamindar was alert against the peasants' revolts and their security of occupancy on the land. We have evidence up to the early 20th century that the agents of the *Zamindars* were asked to force the peasants to cultivate the lands and to restrain them from leaving the plots and their respective village. From 17th century Gujarat, more specific evidence came of the peasants being treated as semi-serfs.[58] The example of the indigo-planters of Bhagalpur in the 18th, 19th and the early 20th century may be quoted in this regard. We have a record of a fullscale expedition being organized to settle a number of immigrants by the local feudal in the 19th and 20th century Bhagalpur. These immigrants were settled here from Benaras, Balia, Gorakhpur, Ghazipur districts of U.P. and Chapra, Siwan, Bhojpur and Aara-districts of Western Bihar. They settled and somehow acquired landed property etc., which created a new social division and tensions and this is subject to further consideration and investigation.

The basic line of division among the working class was the peasants and the landless. In some places, this line was set socially by the '*Jati*' system. The society that rose on the spoils of the later Mughals could not create any new social structure. When the British began to rule India, the *Zamindars* – new and old appeared to have been exercising their greater authority than the Mughals. The British were more powerful than their predecessors, and the change took place in the economic field which followed the drain of wealth to England. This led to a wide impact on the Industrial Revolution, which altered the whole nature of relationship between the Crown Government and the *Zamindars* as well as between the *Zamindars* and peasantry.

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WORSHIP OF JYESTHA: A SHUNNED CULT IN TAMILNADU

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Tamilnadu has been a land of religions of various kinds since its early age. Religion in this region has contributed much in its own way, in shaping the life and customs of the people. Religion also contributed much towards the development and nourishment of the culture and cultural activities of the Tamilians. Though Tamilnadu remains a multicultural land in the modern context, most of its subjects are adherents of the Hindu religion. Several cults come under the purview of Hinduism, starting from the Vedic period. Since it is a part of South India, there has been much similarity in the religious faiths and its mode of worship. Like all other parts of the country, in Tamilnadu also there still exists several cults of worship. Most of them are primitive and some of them have recently emerged through popular faith. In the same manner, many of the earlier cults shunned in due course of time, were later converted into new mode of popular worship, with new names. One such shunned cult, later converted into another cult of worship in this region, in the cult of Jyestha. In this work an extensive study was made both by fieldwork as well as with the help of secondary sources and published Journals.

The Cult of Jyestha

Jyestha worship was once a very popular cult in south India. However, it became an obsolete cult in practice. Generally Jyestha is considered to be the minor deity of misfortune and called as

Daridralakshmi. So people avoided worshipping Jyestha. Thus her importances got lost and the sculptures were left without worship. One of the twelve Tamil Vaishanavite saints called Tondaradippodi Alvar in his song describes the foolishness of the people who worshipped Jyestha, the goddess of lowly origin for happiness and prosperity, instead of getting supreme bliss easily by praying to Vishnu.[1] However, without knowing about the history of Jyestha, her images are kept now in some places under worship by the devotees in various names.

Jyestha was called by several names and has several stories. Some of her names popularly called by the people are Alakshmi, Daridralakshmi, Mudevi, Settai etc. Some of the Tamil nikandus (dictionaries) mentions Jyestha as Mugadi, Tanvai, Kaladi, Mudevi, the Crow Bannered, the ass-rider and her weapon is said to be the sweeping broom.[2] The following verses of classical Tamil works clearly describes the structure and characters of Jyestha. (Tamil verses given with transliteration in English)

In Sudamani Nigantu, a Tamil dictionary by Arumuga Navalar describes Jyestha as

"Settai Indiraikku Muthal Sirkedi Sirapillatha-
litiya vegaveni Nedungaga thuvasa muttral
Mûtiya kalathi Tanvai Mugadi Mudeviyame"[3]

In 'Sçnthan Divagaram' a Tamil Dictionary by Divagara Munivar mentions Jyestha's name as

"Settaiyin Peyar – Mugadi Tanvai, Kadathi Mudevi
Kakkai Kodiyal Kazhuthai Vahini Settai
Kedalanangu Settai Peyare"[4]

In a Tamil dictionary by Pingala Munivar called Pingala Nikandu[5] defines Jyestha's name as

"Mudeviyin Peyar – Kazhuthaiyurthi Kakkai Kodi-
Yal Mugadi Tanvai Kalathi Mudevi – (verse -187)
Mattru (m) Mudeviyin Peyar – Sirkedi Kettai Keda-
lanang ega veni Settaiyena Vilambuvar. – (verse -188)
Mudeviyurthi Padai Kodiyin Peyar – Vahanang
Kazhuthai Padai Tudaipang Kagangkodi Yenak
Kazharal Vendum" – (verse -189)

In the Nama Dipa Nikandu by Sivasubramania kavirayar[6], Jyestha is mentioned by its various names, its desired days and its character as

Agumara Manarambai yandarpenni daginiye
Sagini sanmini muhal mugadi - Kagamuyar
Settaikaga Vurthi davvai sirkedi yor sadaiyal
Kettai ivai Mudevik ke" – (verse -69)
Tittu visakanjulakan tel panaye mithiranal
Nattanudam vedi indra natkettai – settaiyum val
Laraiyun thetkadai kok kaniyandril vinmulap
Perasura nalendrum pesu – (verse -109)
Âyiyannai yavvai petra lammaiyai thallithallai
Thaiyammai moaimathath thavvaiyumam –pai sevili
Pin valartha thaimangai persettai thavvaiyanni
Munnai thathai yakkal muthal. – (verse -190)

From the above verses, we may know the structure of Jyestha, that she is two-armed, long nosed, sagging lips, long breasts, big belly, holds lotus in her right hand and her left hand resting on her left thigh, she had crow a banner and broom stick, along either side of her she accompanied by her children. The

one on her left is bull or donkey faced and on other side is a girl.

Shama Sastri in his edited work '*Bodhaya Grhyasutra*' describes about the Jyestha cult in an entire chapter. He mentions her various names as Jyestha, Kapila-patni, Kumbini, Jyaya, Hastimukha, Vghna Parsada and Nirrti.[7] He further describes her as 'having lions attached to her chariot and tigers following her'.[8]

The Shunned Cult

The cult of Jyestha lost its importance in due course of time and gradually it was shunned and left without worship. As time passed, its name and fame began to disappear and people themselves had no knowledge about Jyestha. But at present a new form of unidentified Bakthi has begun to spread among the people and thus some of the sculptures that are found here and there regained their importance but in a new name and new form of worship. In such a way, the cult of Jyestha also got converted into a new form and under a new name such as *Kali, Vakhrakali, Pitari, Ellaipitari, Selliamman* and so on.

In various parts of the Tamil regions, these Jyesthas are largely found at present with different names, instead of its original. People seriously started to worship these images by giving different names and by narrating new stories which are beyond our imagination. For example, a Jyestha sculpture is found at Bahur, in Puducherry. Bahur is an important historical site of the medieval period having a temple and inscriptions of Rastrakutas, Pallavas and Cholas. The Jyestha sculpture found in the Saptamatrika (Ellaipitari Amman) temple is now worshipped in the name of Vakhrakali. At Aranganur, which is located three kilometers to the north of Bahur, two images of Jyestha are

found in the steps of Kalingal of Bahur Lake where the surplus water is released. Probably these sculptures belong to the Pallava period. Local people call it Vangari and Singari with a story that they were the two who constructed the bund of the lake. A few kilometers north of it, in a suburb called Karikkalampakkam, and a Jyestha sculpture is left without care at the eastern bank of a pond. But recently it gained its importance. People worship this Jyestha as Kali and conducts annual festivals.

Similarly in almost all parts of Tamilnadu, hundreds of images of Jyestha are found in various places in different names. But they are uncared without any names and worship. One of the sanctum sanctorum pillars of Kanchi Kamakshi Amman temple, an image of Jyestha is found, but due to its lack of importance, the pillar is now covered with gold sheets. At Brahmapuriswarar temple in Perunagar, Jyestha is worshipped as the wife of Kalipurusha, the god of Kaliyuga.

T. A. Gopinatha Rao, identified a Jyestha sculpture at Tirupparankunram near Madurai, a famous sacred place dedicated to the worship of Subrahmanya or Muruga. The central image of the Subramanya temple itself is an image of Jyestha. People worship this Jyestha as Subramanya and the bull-faced figure right it as Nandikesvara, and the crow banner of Jyestha as the cock banner of Subramanya.[9] He further identified such Jyestha sculpture in Siva temple belonging to Chola period in Nangapuram village of Trichy district. It is worshipped with strange stories, in the name of Arinjigai, a Chola princess.[10] In the Manaparai Taluk of the Trichy district, a Jyestha has been worshipping as Mudevi, but not with much importance like other deities, that found a near Siva temple, located near the village pond between Tuvarankurichi and Pazhayaplayam road. It is only here, that people worship this sculpture as Mudevi.

At Porunthal Maruthakâli Amman temple, which is located 12 km to the south west of Palani hills in Dindigul district, this Jyestha Devi is worshipped as an Amman without any specified name and the bull-faced image as Anjaneya. But they have no any idea about the image to the left of Jyestha.[11]

In National Museum New Delhi, six images of Jyestha, taken from various parts of Tamilnadu belonging to Pallava and Chola periods are preserved.[12] Such images of Jyestha are also kept in the Madras museum and two images in the Tanjore Art Gallery. In Kumbakonam a big size image of Jyestha is found in which the three images are found in three separate stones.[13]A seven rectangle panels of Jyestha along with seven virgins called Saptakannis, Vinayaka and Sivalinga are found in stone slabs belonging to the Pallava period. There stone slabs are found under a tree in Velancheri near Tiruthani. These panels are left without any care and oblations. Similar panels with Jyestha sculptures are also found at Uthiramerur, Manimangalam, Thenneri and Maduranthagam. At Veeranatham of Solingapuram this Jyestha image is worshipped as Gramadevata[14]and at Perumalpattu near Veppampattu in Tiruthani taluk of Tiruvallur district, this Jyestha is worshipped as Selliamman. This image belongs to the 7-8th centuries A.D. [15]

Most of the Jyestha sculptures are largely found in Kanchipuram and Villupuram districts, where the Pallavas once dominated. At Anumathandalam village in Uthiramerur Taluk of Kanchipuram district, a Jyestha sculpture is found without any importance. It is located near the east of Seyyaru River with 34 cm height and 22 cm breadth. Another sculpture found near the roadside of Anumanthandam to Ilanagar road with 37 cm height and 22 cm breadth. Both sculptures are belongs to the Pallava period.[16] At Nedumaram village in Seyyur Taluk of

Kanchipuram district, is a Pallava period Jyestha sculpture was found with a lotus in her left hand. Its height is 75 cm and breadth is 50 cm. It is found near the entrance wall of the Siva temple and is without any importance.[17] At the Somanathîswara temple in Somamangalam of Sriperumpudur Taluk, there is one Jyestha sculpture of the Pallava times without any oblation along with other minor deities. The temple is now in a fully damaged condition.[18]

Like Kanchipuram, large numbers of Jyestha sculptures are also found in Villupuram district. In the middle of the Agaram Sithamûr village of Villupuram Taluk, a Jyestha sculpture of the later Pallava period is found without worship. It is 99 cm height and 72 cm breadth.[19] In the Aasur village of Villupuram taluk, a Jyestha sculpture is found near the fishing site of the lake and it is also left without worship. It belongs to the 7-9th centuries.[20] In the interior villages of the Tirukoilur Taluk of the Villupuram district, similar Jyestha sculptures are frequently found. The Jyestha sculpture found near Kalathumedu at Tirukoilur belongs to the 8th century A. D. Its height and breadth are 33 x 29 inches respectively.[21] At Timmachur of the same taluk, a Jyestha idol e s nd e worshi[and the bull seated on a lotus is found with 3 ¼ feet height and 2 ¾ feet breadth. At Perangiyur near Tiruvennainallur, one Jyestha sculpture is found near the Siva temple with 4 ½ feet height and 2 feet breadth.[22] Similarly another sculpture is also found in Tiruvennainallur village that belongs to the 7-9th centuries A.D.[23] A sculpture of Jyestha was found in a stone panel in which this deity is depicted as a mid-relief along with Tirumagal, the consort of Vishnu instead of having the bull faced son and other lady in his sculpture.[24]

The sculptures of Jyestha also found largely in Kallakurichi taluk of Villupuram district. At the north west side of the prakara

wall of the Somesvara temple at Somandarkudi, an 8-9th century Jyestha of the Pallava style and another sculpture of the later Chola Style is found in stone slabs without worship.[25] At Thacchur in Kallakurichi taluk, similar Jyestha sculpture of Pallava period is found at the damaged Siva temple that belongs to the Pallava period.[26] In Ulundurpet taluk of Villupuram district, a Jyestha sculpture is found on the road side, near the Siva temple of Tirumundeesvaram village.[27] In Dindivanam taluk, Anandamangalam village a Jyestha sculpture of 4 x 4 was feet found in the cultivable land.[28] Another sculpture of Jyestha found in the Kali temple located on the lake bund at Avianur village of Panruti taluk in Cuddalore district. It is found in a stone slab of 2 ¾ feet height and 2 ½ feet breadth.[29] People worship the Jyestha sculptures of Tirumundeesvaram, Anandamangalam and Avianur as Muthadevi.[30]

At Pilikkalpalayam village near Jedarpalayam of Namakkal district, a Jyestha sculpture is found without worship in a coconut groove near the centre of the village. It belongs to the Pallava period, probably to the 7-8th century A.D.[31] At Arapallisvarar Siva temple of Namakkal district, a Jyestha is found in a corner without any importance.[32] At Arikesarinallur in Ambasamudram taluk of Tirunelveli district, a Jyestha sculpture is found in a seated posture. According to its sculptural style it may belong to the early Pallava period.[33] In the same district, the Jyestha sculptures are also found in a rock-cut temple at Andicchipparai of Padinalamperi to the east of Gangaikondan (belonging to 8th century) and at Urkadu near Ambasamudram (probably belonging to 9-10th century). In Madurai district, a Jyestha sculpture of the 12th century was found on a pedestal near Sappanikoil (but due to communal clash it was removed from there). At the base of a hill of Kundrakudi a Jyestha sculpture of 11-12th century was found in front of the rock-cut Siva temple. A bas-relief sculpture

consisting of Jyestha with her companions found in a village called Chathurvedimangalam of Kottampatti in Sivaganga district.[34] All these sculptures of Jyestha are now without worship. In Pudukottai district, just opposite a newly constructed Siva temple at Neyveli village in Tirumayam Taluk, a Jyestha sculpture found with an inscription on its upper portion. The inscription states that this Sçttaikilathiyar (Jyestha) sculpture was offered by one Nimakuchan Chetty of Kodumbalur. From this inscription, the sculpture is dated as belonging the 11-12th century A.D.[35] But it is now not under worship. In the Iluppur Taluk of the same district, Jyestha has been worshipped as Saptakanni seen on the southern side of Siva temple located five kilometers from Kaladipatti at Vellanjar village.

In Senkalapuram village of Aravakurichi taluk in Karur district, there a 9-10th century Jyestha sculpture was found in a ruined Siva temple. But it is not under worship and kept in good condition without any damage. The temple is now under renovation.[36] A Jyestha sculpture belonging to the Pallava period was found in the Selliamman temple entrance at Tiruvalam village of Vellore district.[37] Similar sculpture is found without worship in a ruined temple near to the Angalaparameswari temple. It is located at the foothills of Marunthukottai, near Padnabapuramkottai in Kalkulam taluk of Kanyakumari district. It belongs to the 17-18th century A.D.[38]

Thus, from the above study it is clear that once, particularly during the Pallava period, the worship of Jyestha was at its zenith. But in due course of time, the practice of worshipping Jyestha disappeared due to various reasons. The cult of Jyestha became a shunned one, and the sculptures are kept away without any care, oblation or worship. Though, some it now emerges in a new form of worship with new names, its original name is not

popular among the masses. People also do not know much about the worship of Jyestha. People do not accept that the sculpture they are worshipping is Jyestha, Alakshmi, Mudevi, Daridralakshmi etc., (except one place as mentioned above in the Pazhayapalayam village in Trichy district as per the field study). In this study, only a few important places are mentioned. However, a broad survey or a field study should be made to know more about the existence of such Jyestha sculptures in Tamilnadu.

Sculptures of Jeystha

Fig:1, Jyestha- Karikkalampakkam

Fig:2, Jyestha - Aranganur Kalingal.

Appendix – I

List of Jyestha Sculptures found in Various parts of Tamilnadu

District	Taluk	Village	Location	Period	Local Name	Status	Ref:
Kanchi-puram	Kanchipuram	Kanchipuram	Kamatchi amman temple sanctorum pillar	Pallava	-	Not in worship	Visited
Kanchi-puram	Seyyur	Nedumaram	Near to Siva temple wall	Pallava	-	Not in worship	A:17, p.212
Kanchi-puram	Uthiramerur	Anuman-dandalam	East road of the Seyyaru river	Pallava	-	Not in worship	A:16, p.161
Kanchi-puram	Kanchipuram	Ilanagar (via)	On the road side to Ilanagar	Pallava	-	Not in worship	A:16, p.161
Kanchi-puram	Uthiramerur	Uthiramerur	Under tree	Pallava	Grama dēvata	Not in worship	A: 20, p.216-7

Kanchi-puram	Sriperumputhur	Soma-mangalam	Somanathīsvar temple	Pallava	-	Not in worship	A: 10 p.110
Kanchi-puram	Kanchipuram	Perunagar	Brahmaburīs-vara temple	-	Jyestha dēvi	Under worship	Visited
Vellore	Vellore	Tiruvalam	Sēlliamman temple entrance	Pallava	-	Not in worship	A:19, p.241
Vellore	Solingapuram	Veeranatham	Village temple	Pallava	Grama devata	Under worship	A:20, p.216
Tiru-vallur	Tiruvallur	Perumalpattu	Near Veppampattu	7-8th	Sēlliam man	Under worship	A:15, p.131
Tiru-vallur	Tiruthani	Velancheri	In Seven slabs under a tree	Pallava	-	Not in worship	A:20, p.216-7
Sengal-pattu	Madura-nthagam	Madura-nthagam	near village temple	Pallava	Grama devata	Under worship	A:20, p.216
Villu-puram	Villupuram	Agaram Sithamur	Centre of the village	8-9th	-	Not in worship	A:11, p.18
Villu-puram	Villupuram	Aasur	Fishing site in Lake	7-9th	-	Not in worship	A:12, p.159

Villu-puram	Villupuram	Aasur	Fishing site in Lake	7-9th	-	Not in worship	A:12, p.159
Villu-puram	Kallakurichi	Somandar-kudi	North west prakāra wall of Somīsvara temple	8-9th	-	Not in worship	A:11, pp.18-20
Villu-puram	Kallakurichi	Somandar-kudi	At the same place	Early Chola	-	Not in worship	A:11, p.18-20 & A:17, p.212
Villu-puram	Kallakurichi	Thacchur	In ruined Siva temple	Pallava	-	Not in worship	A:14, p.147
Villu-puram	Tirukkoilur	Tirukkoilur	Kalathumedu	8th	-	Not in worship	A:18, p.214
Villu-puram	Tirukkoilur	Tiruvennai-nallur	In the village	7-9th	-	Not in worship	A:12, p.159
Villu-puram	Tirukkoilur	Tiruvennai-nallur	At Perangiyur	-	-	Not in worship	A:19, p.234
Villu-puram	Tirukkoilur	Timmachur	-	-	-	Not in worship	A:19, p.234

Villu-puram	Ulundurpet	Tirumund-eesvaram	On the roadside opposite to Siva temple	-	Mūth-adēvi	Under worship	A: 19, p.237
Villu-puram	Dindivanam	Aranthа-mangalam	Cultivable land	-	Mūth-adevi	Under worship	A: 18, p.214
Villu-puram	-	Panamalai	Old Siva Temple	Pallava	Davvai	Not in worship	N.V, p.58
Pudu-cherry	Bahur	Bahur	Inside saptamatrika temple	-	Vakhrak āli	Under worship	Visited
Pudu-cherry	Bahur	Aranganur	Kalingal steps of Bahur lake	Pallava	vangāri Singāri	Not in worship	Visited
Pudu-cherry	Ariyankuppam	Karikkalam-pakkam	East of the roadside pond	-	Kāli	Under worship	Visited
Cudda-lore	Panruti	Aviyanur	Outside of Kali temple		Mūth-adevi	Under worship	A: 18, p.210
Tanjore	Kumbakonam	Tiruvizhi-mizhalai	Siva temple		Mūktha-devi	Not in worship	Visited

Ariyalur	-	Maligaimedu	Open Gallery		-	Not in worship	Visited
Pudukottai	Tirumayam	Neyveli (village)	New Siva temple outside	11-12th	-	Not in worship	A:17, p.94
Pudukottai	Iluppur	Vellanjar	South of Siva temple	-	Saptakanni	Under worship	Visited
Madurai	Tirupparankundaram	Tirupparankundaram	Subramanya temple	-	Subramanya	Under worship	Rao, P.391-3
Madurai	Madurai	Sappanikoil	On a pedestal near temple	12th	-	Not in worship	SIHC:29 p.465
Sivaganga	-	Kundrakudi	Front of Rock-cut siva temple	11-12th	-	Not in worship	SIHC:29 p.466
Sivaganga	-	Chathurvedimangalam	Stone slab	12th	-	Not in worship	SIHC:29 p.465
Dindigul	Palani	Porunthal	Maruthakali amman temple	11th	Anjaneya	Under worship	Visited
Tiruchy	-	Nangapuram	Siva temple	Chola	Arinjigai	Under worship	Rao, p.390-1

Tiruchy	Manapparai	Pazhaya-palayam	Siva temple near bank of a Pond	-	Mūdevi	Under worship	Visited
Nama-kkal	Jedarpalayam (via)	Pilikkal-palayam	Coconut groove	7-8th	-	Not in worship	A:15, p.179
Nama-kkal	Namakkal	Arapallisvarar	Siva temple	-	-	Not in worship	CAST p.322
Karur	Aravakurichi	Senkalapuram	Ruined Siva temple	9-10th	-	Not in worship	A:19, p.223
Tirunel-veli	Ambasamu-dram	Arikesari-nallur	Arikesarinatha temple outside	Early Pandya	-	Not in worship	A:17, p.173-4
Tirunel-veli	Ambasamu-dram	Urkadu	Under a pipal tree	9th	-	Not in worship	SIHC:29 p.463-6
Tirunel-veli	Gangaikondan	Andicchiparai	Siva temple	8th	-	Not in worship	SIHC:29 p.464-5
Kanya-kumari	Kalkulam	Marundu-kottai	Angallamman temple near	17-18th	-	Not in worship	A:12, p.156

Note: **A** = Avanam, Journal of the Tamilnadu Archeological Society, Tanjore; **Rao** = T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Mothilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, Vol. I, Part. II, 1997 (rep).; **CAST** = K. Rajan et.al., Catalogue of Archaeological Sites in Tamil Nadu, 2 Vols, Heritage Trust India, Tanjore, 2009; **NV**= Villianur N. Venkatesan; **SIHC**= South Indian History Congress Proceedings.

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27. R. Ramesh, *in Avanam*, Vol. 19, 2008, p.237; The name Muthadevi denotes that Jyestha or Mudevi is the elder (Mootha) sister of Lakshmi (the goddess of wealth and consort of Vishnu).
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RURAL WATER-RESOURCES AND IRRIGATED CROP-PRODUCTION IN THE KRISHNA-GODAVARI TRACT: AN EPIGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS FROM THE 9TH TO 10TH CENTURY CE

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Geographical Features

The Krishna-Godavari region is an important area in the peninsular India. The river Godavari, which originates from the Western Ghats, flows towards the east and after being joined by the Sabari, divides the West Godavari and Krishna districts. Then it crosses the Eastern Ghats and forms a series of broad plains dotted with low alluvial islands. Below Rajahmundry, the river divides itself into two main streams, the Gautami Godavari on the east and the Vasishta Godavari on the west, which reach the Bay of Bengal through alluvial delta. The river Krishna also originates from the Western Ghats and on reaching the chain of Eastern Ghats, flows through the south of the Krishna district directly to the sea. Here it also forms a wide alluvial delta[1]. The coastline of Andhra Pradesh is divided into three distinct regions. The north of the Godavari delta with rocky coast; the south of the Krishna delta with sandy coast; and wooded coast characterizing the deltas of Godavari and Krishna and inter-deltaic portion[2].

The three districts (East Godavari, West Godavari and Krishna) have some special features with respect to agriculture and irrigation. Spate and Lear month examined the pattern in the deltaic area by saying "Lateritic shelves along deltaic margins are also important building sites, poor in themselves but offering rough grazing scrubby woodland…., and providing space for dry crops, the flats below being entirely given over to paddy" [3].

Village Settlement: Past and Present

The coastal alluvial soil has attracted a large population also. V.K.Agnihotri has observed that almost 63% of the small villages and a majority (58%) of all the large villages in Andhra are located in the coastal area though the rural landscape is dominated here by small villages[4]. In ancient times, the villages should have been characterized by higher spacing and lower population size. But, the pattern of settlement was possibly the same. Wetlands along the Krishna-Godavari Rivers had linear settlement[5]. Though agriculture and irrigation had then not attained perfection like the modern age, the people achieved at least some expertise in the fields as known from the agricultural texts composed in that period. The inscriptions from a specific area also to some extent indicate the pattern of agrarian and irrigational activities in that area. The information mainly is from the particulars about the donated village or land (sometimes type of land) and their boundary-specifications, where the mention of water- bodies and crops supply us with the details. The paper attempts to form an idea about the rural water-resources and their utilization in producing crops in the area from the land-grants given in the Krishna-Godavari region from the 9th to the 10th century CE by the Eastern Chalukyan kings.

We know that land use is not uniform in every locality. The variation in the nature of crops grown and in the intensity of farming[6] defines the features of a territory. In this respect the Krishna-Godavari region also shows its own speciality. We notice that on some occasions, land was donated in places where farming activities were going on in full swing. A field in the village Mamgavedu[7] in Gudrahara visaya[8] was encircled by Kappureni-chenu, Cherukani-chenu, Chamana-boyu chenu and Rattodi-chenu. When the crop was not ripe for cutting, the usual expression is chenu[9] or, in other words it probably denotes the field under cultivation. The *brahmana* donee was awarded a field in the midst of one field owned by a *ratta* (rastrakuta or royal office-holder) and another possessed by a person of Boya community. From the evidence we can guess that the agricultural fields belonging to different owners of different castes could be adjacent to one another. And as the multi-caste villages usually take the form of hamlets,[10] the region might follow the same pattern.

Agricultural Products

Of all the agricultural products, rice was the principal food-grain in Andhra and the Krishna-Godavari area was no exception in this matter. In the inscriptions coming from this region the references of the *vrihi* (grains) is observed. Even a 10th century grant[11] given in the *Gudrahara visaya* refers to a plot in the village named Akulamannandu which suggests the cultivation of rice in the area[12]. Kodrava or kodo millet was also cultivated. When a plot was donated, the inscription mentioned the amount (weight) of the seeds fit for sowing in that field. We can explain the matter

by showing the 9th century grant issued in the Krishna region , where the plot has been described as land with the sowing capacity of 10 *kantikas* of paddy-seeds (*dasa kanthika vrihi vijavapa pramanam ksetram*)[13]. Again, a copper – plate inscription of 9th century CE. confirms a donation of land sowable with 12 *khandikas of kodrava grain (dvadasa khandika – kodrava vija- samsthanam ksetram*)[14]. These examples show another aspect of agriculture i.e., emphasis on the sowing of particular kind and amount of seeds in a particular field. On few occasions, land was measured not in terms of its actual measurement, but in terms of the amount of seeds. The unit *khandika* was equal to between 800 and 1000 seers and when expressed in land-measurement, nearly amounted to 64,000 square yards of dry and 10,000 square yards of wet land[15]. If we consult the treatise of *Kasyapa*[16], we will see that he advised the arrangement of a number of divisions or *vividha* (of the land) and supported the equalization of the placing of sprouts (*samikrtya ca ankuran*)[17]. Thus one could easily calculate the quantity of seeds capable of growing in a field.

Water-Bodies and their Role in Irrigation

As the fertility of soil differed from place to place and the regularity of rainfall was not uniform everywhere, the increasing population naturally had to depend on irrigated crop-production. The land-grant charters of the Krishna-Godavari region refer to the demarcating symbols of the donated territory. The symbols sometimes include some lakes, ponds or streams. These water-bodies situated against the rural backdrop naturally offered scope for irrigation.

The land-grant charters of the Eastern Chalukyas give some very important boundary-descriptions. In the 8th century CE. a land grant charter was issued by Visnuvardhana III where a field capable of being sown with 20 *khandikas* of paddy *(vrihivija)* was awarded in Ipur area[18] Cultivation of paddy required a constant supply of water and can be categorized as wet cultivation which is facilitated by canals, canal-fed reservoirs and aqueducts[19]. Now the field's western boundary was determined by the river Eliyeru which should have supplied water to the paddy-field and also to the field of Prabhakara and that of Kakandivada which formed its southern and western border respectively. Eliyeru or Eluru river flows past Pithapuram in the East Godavari district and reaches the Bay of Bengal. In the 8th century, the donated field or ksetra was located in the Plolanandu *visaya* which gave its name to the present-day Prolanandu near Pithapuram. So we can presume that the donation took place in the coastal area. In the coastal peninsular India, especially in Andhra Pradesh, the traditional dam-construction method " oddu" is followed. It is a masonry wall built across a stream or river to raise water to a certain height and then divert it to fields[20]. In the light of such information we can assume that Eliyeru might have been equipped with dams to water the fields. In the Katlaparru grant[21] of Vijayaditya III (848-892 CE.) the village of the same name was donated in the Vengi-sahasra *visaya*, i.e., in the East Godavari district. The village had on its east the boundary of Velivroli and on the north-east the *ksetram* of the same village; on the south the Virpparru village and on the south-west the Virpparu *grama ksetram*; and on the south-east the Elambara cheruvu. Cheruvus stands for the huge

earthen dam built across a stream in the arid and semi-arid zones of Andhra[22]. This particular *cheruvu* was situated on the junction-point of three villages (Katlaparru, Velivroli and Virpparu) and probably no single village solely enjoyed its water. In fact, a *cheruvu* being situated within the boundary of a village , or, in other words, *cheruvu* forming the boundary of a field is rarely seen. The mention of *Cheruvu* is more frequent in the Krishna district.

During the reign of Chalukya Bhima I **,** who ruled from 892-922 CE., the Bezvada copper – plate inscription was engraved[23]. It confirms the donation of the Kukiparru village in *Uttara-kanderuvadi visaya* [24] to *a brahmana*. The boundary-markers of the village were:-

i. the Potaryangari-cheruvu in the east
ii. the Paruvula gunta in the south-east
iii. the Chaki cheruvu on the south
iv. the Chintareni cheruvu on the west
v. the Juvvi-gunta on the north-west
vi. the Airiviya gunta on the north and north-east

Gunta is nothing but pond[25]. In the charter under discussion we can see that the whole village was confined by three *cheruvus* and three *guntas* and each of them had separate name. The village Kukiparru was probably established on the river-bank or shore for the word " parru" indicates the same. How these *cheruvus* and *guntas* operated can be only guessed. Probably, it was similar to system-tanks which sometimes were linked with cascades where water from an upper-tank flows into the lower tank. These tanks were in fact larger tail-end tanks to

which water is supplied after the sediments being trapped into the smaller upstream tanks, a typical indigenous technological arrangement of Andhra[26]. The tanks can irrigate "large tracts of agricultural command-areas spread over multiple villages"[27]. As these *cheruvus* and *guntas* were located on the border of the village it is likely that they belonged to multiple villages, or at least two villages. (I used the term 'belonged' in the sense of the area of the agricultural land allowed to be irrigated by them attached to the village/villages.)

In the Moga grant of Chalukya Bhima I[28] discovered in the Gudivada taluka of the Krishna district, we see the existence of *cheruvu, tataka* and *yeru* as the boundary-delimiting characters in a hilly region.. The boundaries of the village Moga were as follows:-

i. in the south-east, Muntha-ravula-gutta (hill with three pipal trees)
ii. in the south, Vembarru Narendresvara ksetram
iii. in the south-west, taila-ksetram
iv. in the west, Devudu-cheruvu
v. in the north-west, Chavanti paschimatatakam
vi. in the north, Peddapudi chariya (a hollow between hills in which stood the village of Pedda-pudi
vii. in the north-east, Rintha Mrakulu (soap-nut trees)
viii. in the east Puliyeru (a stream)

Now the two plots located side by side possibly depended upon the Devudu *cheruvu* and Chavanti Paschimatatakam for the provision of water. The two reservoirs might as well serve the village Pedda-Pudi though we have no concrete proof to confirm it. The

locality was established around a hilly area or high-level ground suitable for the construction of *cheruvus*, probably joined with mountain-cascades (hill-streams). We find taila- ksetram besides the village. The term *taila-ksetram* implies the newly cleared jungles used by the people living in the uplands for cultivation[29]. So, the area adjacent to the donated village was occupied by those who were habituated to shifting agriculture or jhuming known as *kumri* or *podu* in peninsular India[30]. In this context, we can mention about the Koya, Sabara and Chenchu settlements in the hilly area consisting of Nallamalai, Velikonda, Erramalai, Seshachalam and Palakonda ranges with thin forest-cover to the south of the river Krishna[31].

The Chevuru plates of the 10th century CE.[32] show another pattern of describing frontiers where the village named Umikili in the Gudrahara *visaya* is said to have Ervvoka-chenu-field on its north and south. Next the plates goes on to tell the confines of the two Ervvoka-chenus which is of course a unique evidence. The *chenu* to the south of the village had:-

i) a marshy pool (vranta) on the east
ii) the boundary of Dudrupaka on the south
iii) the royal demesne (Racha-chenu) and the plot of land belonging to the chandalas (chandalaksetram) on the west
iv) the brook (kodu) on the north

The chenu to the north of the village was edged by:-

i) the brook (kodu) in the east
ii) the Vanneru river in the south

iii) the brook (kodu) on the west
iv) the bathing place at the lake (or the drain from the lake)-kolani mulugu in the north

Two or three assumptions can be made from the record, though they cannot be considered as ultimate due to want of evidence. First, the village and its surroundings witnessed the farming operation at the time of the grant. Second, it was attractive to the crown and a portion of the land was preserved for royal enjoyment. Third, the two *kodus* or rivulets and the Vanneru river probably irrigated the fields and the village was situated in an area full of small streams and marshes. Moreover, the inscription features the distinctive identity of *chenu* and the terminological change of the word. Mention can be made of the village Akulamannandu in the *Gudrahara visaya* also which had one *pedda-kodu* (big rivulet) and another *kodu* within its boundary[33]. The Mangallu grant of Amma II also mentions the boundary-markers like Yilindigunta, Kurralabola pannasa, Munna nadi and pulagaldagunta which surrounded the village Mangallu(situated in the Nandigama taluka of the Krishna district) in the Natavadi district[34]. We cannot determine whether there was any connection between the *Munna nadi* and the two guntas. But that the place witnessed one pannasa grant [35] indicates that the area was being cultivated at the time of the grant.

Importance of the Region

The monarchy was enthusiastic about searching out the best land for agriculture and offering part of it either to the *brahmanas* or to royal officials. We can

mention the boundary-delineation-marks of the Masulipatnam plates of Ammaraja II Vijayaditya[36]. It records about the donation of some fields in the Pambarru village in the Gudrahara *visaya*. The boundary of the first field called Nomi-ksetram is as follows:-

i) on the east, the Inda[ni]-cheruvu
ii) on the south, the chenu (field) of Rattodi
iii) on the west, the margin of the chenu of Su[gu?]mmu
iv) on the north, the pannasa east of a field (chenu) of Velpu

The border of the second field called Putasa [pa]ri[ya?] ksetram is as follows:-

i) on the east, the pannasa of Damapiya
ii) on the south, a big road (pedda-trova)
iii) on the west, a river (yeru)
iv) on the north, the pannasa of Ganthasala (Ganthasala-yappavayyari-pannasa)

From the delineating signs, a number of conclusions can be reached. First, the cultivation process was in full swing at the time of the issuing of the charter for the word *chenu* indicates the same. Second, at least three fields here had already been gifted as *pannasa* which was obviously under cultivation also. One piece of land was given to an administrative personnel (*rattodi*). Third, the productivity was probably on increase due to the accessibility of Indani-cheruvu and the river. Fourth, the second field was touched by a *pedda-trova* or high road. It may be compared to *mahapatha* in the inscriptions. In the Kasyapiyakrsisukti,

the king has been instructed to demarcate the best land of his country by village-roads, city-roads and highways or mahamarga[37]. Fifth, the donated *ksetras* had separate names which is a striking factor and indicates that the territory had been settled in by people since a very early period. Lastly, the village Ganthasala, which was a corrupt form of Ghantasala, was a mart in the 2nd century CE. and was mentioned in the narrative of Ptolemy as Kontakossyla[38]. Situated 13 miles west of Masulipatnam, an ancient port having connections with south-east Asia, Ghantasala was an important place and not too far from the convergence-point of the river Krishna with the Bay of Bengal. An undated *Prakrt* inscription from Ghantasala refers to a *mahanavika*[39]. The area claimed special attention from the king as it was one of the best agricultural tract. This originally fertile zone with extra-attention in irrigation ultimately emerged as one of the best land in Krishna-Godavari zone and became the focus for land-transfer. At last its importance was increased with the addition of a highway. The importance of the tract has further been proven by the Chimbuluru grant [40] issued during the rule of Gunakanalla Vijayaditya III whose queen gave the village Chimbuluru in the Gudrahara *visaya* to a *brahmana* named Vedayya S*arman*. It is interesting to see that Vedayya S*arman* hailed from Nandiyala (Nandyala in Kurnool). Therefore, the agricultural prosperity of the Krishna-Godavari region encouraged the *brahmanas* to come here even from the remote part of the country.

Conclusion

In Conclusion, it may be said that in the Krishna-Godavari region, some features of irrigation management can be noticed. Almost all donated pieces of land or

village were delimited by single or multiple water-bodies. The landscape was dominated by *cheruvus* or *guntas*, sometimes in the vicinity of rivers in plain lands. We have no direct proof of the inter-connection of the water-bodies for the betterment of irrigational operation from epigraphy; yet the traditional method of linking up the same is still followed in Andhra villages. Lakes and ponds were probably enjoyed by more than one village if they were oriented at a junction or on border. But if they were situated within one village it was difficult for other villages to approach them unless the presence of channel came to their aid. As to the surroundings of the donated land, it can be said that in some cases, they were situated amidst some *chenus* or land already under cultivation. Sometimes, the identity of land was given by its sowing capacity. Apparently, it may seem peculiar, for the productive capacity could also have been mentioned. But, if considered from the view of the donating authority, it was prudent not to mention the amount of production though the donor was well-aware of the crop best produced in a particular area. And, the information on the sowing capacity could easily give an idea about the amount of the land. But why did the issuer mention the sowing capacity? Perhaps, the shape of the field was so irregular, that it was impossible to measure it. In other words, the linear measurement was difficult. But, was the administration uninformed about the actual produce? Possibly, not. Because, apart from the assigned land, the Krishna-Godavari area had other localities which gave the due revenue to the King . And in order to fix the amount of revenue, the revenue department had to keep a record about the yield of crop. Still, the volume of crop-output could not be forecasted. On the whole, the existence of royal land,

grant near the habitation-area of hilly population, the land assigned to *rattodi*, the prevalence of *pannasas* and *chenus* and the mention of a great road establish beyond doubt that the Krishna-Godavari region was a very active zone where agriculture and irrigation went hand in hand during the 9th to the 10th century CE.

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FOREST POLICY OF INDIA: BOMBAY PRESIDENCY (1800 – 1947)

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With growing consciousness about environment issues, the problem of deforestation has become a subject of discussion not only among policy makers but also among the people at large. It is necessary to analyse the forest policy of India in a historical perspective in order to improve strategies and guide future reform efforts. This paper is a reflection on the forest policy of India with special reference to Bombay Presidency in the colonial period.

The colonial policy on forests and forest dwellers during the early nineteenth century has not been explored extensively, and has not been placed under scrutiny. Most of the existing literature on the forests of India focuses on anthropological studies. Studies so far have mainly examined how the Forests Acts progressively curtailed the rights of forest dwellers. Detailed account exists on the impact of the legislations of 1865 and 1878 on the people of the Bombay Presidency. During the early nineteenth century, whether any importance was accorded for maintaining ecological balance and environmental protection or only a crass commercial forest policy was followed is of great importance. This paper endeavours to make a critical analysis of the forest policy of the British government in the colonial period with special emphasis on Bombay Presidency.

Colonial Forest Policy

Forests have played a vital role in the well being of the people. Their role in ecological balance, environmental stability, biodiversity conservation, food security and sustainable development has also been widely recognized. Before the establishment of British rule in India, the inhabitants of India relied upon forest resources as an essential element for their survival. With the advent of the British in India, the forests of India became vital necessity of the State. By 1800, the timber resources of the British Isles had been exhausted, owing to vast quantities of this timber being consumed in the King's and the private yards.[1] Therefore, Great Britain was eager to find new sources of raw materials to construct ships, especially war ships for their Royal Navy which maintained British hegemony over the seas.

On 10 November 1806, Captain Joseph Watson was appointed as the first Conservator of Forests in India to facilitate the extraction of teak, a timber noted for its superior shipbuilding qualities, in the southern regions of Malabar and Travancore.[2] The proclamation of 1807 by the British Government, which vested authority in the hands of the Conservator over the forests of Malabar and Travancore, established the Government's monopoly in teak. In course of time, this monopoly spread to the other species as their commercial value was recognized. Between 1820 and 1865, blackwood, ebony, anjili, eyne and sandalwood were added to the list of species reserved for extraction and use by the colonial government. In Bombay Presidency, teak spars were supplied from Thana and Kolaba while Kanara(Karnataka) and the Surat Dangs(Gujarat) supplied larger timber for ship building.[3]

There was considerable demand for large-sized timbers, especially teak for export, for Admiralty purposes, and to build and repair the ships in the dockyards of Bombay. The construction of ships, which commenced in the middle of the eighteenth century and the building of larger ships (war ships which required enormous quantity of timber) in the early nineteenth century by the British government, marked the beginning of the first phase of deforestation of western India. The statistical information on timber trade between the British East India Company and the timber contractors provide the data base of the quantum of timber consumed by the gunship and frigates at the Bombay dockyard. It also indicates the extent and the areas that were deforested in western India. See Table For instance, a warship of 74 guns required approximately 646 pieces of Calicut timber and 1,58,560 Guz Calicut planks. On an average, a tree provided 4 candies of timber, (the first sort timber provided 5 candies per tree, and the second sort 4 candies per tree,) approximately 161 trees were cut to provide 646 pieces of timber. Approximately, 825 trees were cut to obtain 1,58,560 Guz planks from Calicut. (one candy is equal to 48 guz, total number of candies were 3,300). Therefore, 986 trees were cut from Calicut alone to construct a war ship of 74 guns.[4]

Another factor which contributed to deforestation was the forest policy of the British government that encouraged agriculture at the expense of the forests in the first half of the nineteenth century. According to E.P. Stebbing, an early forest historian, "in many localities forests were an obstruction to agriculture and, therefore, a limiting factor to the prosperity of the country. The whole policy was to extend agriculture, and the watchword of the time was to destroy the forests with this end in view".[5] Before British domination, large portions of tracts of land on the hills of the western ghats were cleared of forests for agriculture by

village and local rulers. When the British gained control over these and other more remote areas, they encouraged clearing of all potentially arable land. The British government imported and settled labourers to clear large tracts of dense scrub and fine timber either by fire or axe.[6] In Poona district, the capital of Peshwa confederacy, one of the most pressing demands of the British was how to clear for tillage the large area under trees and brushwood.[7] Such a practice prevailed all over India. After the lands were cleared and all valuable timber was sold off, the British encouraged plantations, initially indigo, a dye for the cotton industry and later plantations of coffee, tea, spices and, of course, timber trees in the fragile forest region which caused considerable damage to the forest eco system. In the country side, commercial crops, especially cotton, began to replace the food crops when the American sources began to dry up after the American war of Independence and Civil wars.[8]

By the late 1830's, the deteriorating conditions of the forests and the difficulty in obtaining good timber for their navy drew the attention of the British government to the urgent need to conserve the forests. This led to the establishment of the Forest Department of Bombay Presidency in 1847 with Dr. Alexander Gibson as the Forest Conservator.[9] This also marked the beginning of forest conservancy in Bombay in the latter part of the 1830's.

The aim of the department was to provide and supply timber required by the British government for different purposes to meet the requirements of the people and to prepare a stock of standing timber for future needs.[10] Gibson prepared a comprehensive plan to conserve the forests of this presidency. He along with Clerghon (a trained botanist, surgeon and the pioneering conservator of the Madras Presidency in 1856) worked ceaselessly against shifting cultivation as it destroyed the ecological balance and eroded the

fertile soil resulting in the flooding of rivers and drying of hill spring.[11] By 1860, Gibson succeeded in putting a halt to the practice of shifting cultivation in the Bombay Presidency.

Gibson also initiated silvicultural techniques for artificial and natural regeneration of the teak trees. Weeding, thinning were silviculture practices for improving the quality of desired trees in forests for timber production. Gibson was quite successful in this endeavour of thinning which improved the quality and quantity of timber.[12] To enhance the green cover, he emulated Conolly's (the acting collector of Malabar) method in Malabar in raising young teak plantations.[13] Moreover, from the seeds supplied by Dr. Thompson from the Calcutta Botanical garden, Dr. Gibson in 1858 raised numerous plants which increased the variety of forest trees. Quite optimistic, he hoped the garden of Hewra would become a centre of Botanical gardens so important even to the indigenous people of India. He also contributed greatly to the growth of *Mahagony* trees at Hewra and at Dapuri. Dr. Wallich, the Director of the Botanical garden at Calcutta supplied seeds of Sag wood and the tanning *casalpinia* of South America – *Dovadivd* were developed into trees by Gibson.[14] But such monoculture plantations affected the biodiversity of the region.

The forest department, thus, tried to maximize the revenue potential of the forest resources by such experimental practices. However, such conservationist measures were ultimately used to cut forest trees for the Railways, which commenced in the middle of the nineteenth century in Bombay. Forests became more of a commercial commodity than a matter of rich biodiversity to be protected from various unwanted factors although it helped in the better regeneration of a few specific timbers such as teak. In July 1847, the Court of Directors sent a Dispatch to India seeking information on the subject of deforestation and climate

change.[15] The depletion, degradation and endangering natural regeneration of the forests became a cause of serious concern due to the acute timber crises since the late 1830's. It became imperative of the government to take urgent steps to conserve the forests. Gibson lobbied extensively in propogandising ideas about deforestation and tried to persuade the authorities on his own initiative for the need of conservation of forests. He began to relate deforestation with climatic change as famines increased in the late 1830's throughout India. Due to the concurrent famines in the nineteenth century, India's climate was generally considered incompatible with European constitutions. It is not surprising that by the mid 1830's, the European medical elite in India became very concerned about the rise in the frequency of serious diseases in the cities. The deterioration of this environment became a great concern which led to the introduction of sanitary reforms in the Bengal presidency. British interest in health and climate increased with the increasing famines in India, which was linked to deforestation.[16] In his fascinating account of 'Ecological Imperialism: The biological expansion of Europe 1400-1900, 1986, Alfred Crosby remarked: "The rule (not the law) is that although Europeans may conquer the tropics, they do not Europeanize the tropics, not even countryside with European temperatures'.[17] Therefore, acclimatization became a major issue for the British residents in India.

In the paper entitled 'A General sketch of the Province of Guzarat from Dessa to Damaun' by Gibson published in the *Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society*, 1838, a reputed journal widely read by officials in the medical service, he commented on the city of Ahmedabad in 1838 that "it were greatly to be wished, that the leveling, and removal of ruins in this, and other great towns**:** the planting belts of trees, in eligible situations on the leveled and vacant spots, formed a principal

part in the medical police of these towns".[17] To Gibson, such a measure of afforestation would save the population of any bad seasons and make it more suitable to live in such an environment.[18] Thus Gibson, as early as 1838, tried to develop linkages between deforestation and climatic change.

There were other British officials also who linked up deforestation to climatic change. The Collector of Poona and late Collector of Ratnagiri in Southern Konkan, Alexander Elphinstone stated 'It is common belief in the Konkan that with the removal of the wood the small streams have more or less dried up, also at the Nilgherries where I was for 18 months - a great change in the climate has taken place from the same cause. Increased cultivation had reduced the jungles so much so that the jungle produce like leaves and branches from burning on the fields was not to be obtained or required to be fetched from a greater distance at a great enhancement of labour to the Ryot. In Ratnagiri, the natives say that the land is less productive than it formerly was and that the rainy season is much more uncertain, and the fall of rain less than formerly". Under these circumstances, Elphinstone reported that the only remedy to such depredation was – the planting of trees on all the barren land not susceptible to cultivation often than once in eight years. He also suggested that heavy penalties should be imposed on the Khots who violated teak agreements. He further suggested that a Conservator of Forests should be appointed and empowered to take cognizance of the destruction of forests.[19] Thus botanists, foresters, doctors, government officials were convinced of the water storing function of forests. That forest coverage played a highly important role on the climate was now an accepted proposition. This compelled the propagator, Alexander Gibson of the *desiccation* theory to advocate for the rigid protection of forests.

Gibson also came across the inhabitants of the Konkan who believed that the land had diminished in fertility, the climate had become more dry and the seasons more uncertain. Much of the clearing of the land was attributed to the increase in population and consequent increase in demand for land to raise food. Hence, he strongly recommended the appointment of a Conservator and his establishment.[20]

After the formation of the forest department in 1847, one of the tasks undertaken by Dr. Gibson, was to carry out a systematic study of the ecological changes as a result of deforestation. His tours of the Presidency confirmed the drying of the springs in summer because of the clearance of forests especially in Thana and Ratnagiri district. Similarly the denuded hills in the Baglan *taluka* in Khandesh had diminished the water supply of the numerous streams which traversed this region. At his insistence, a forester was stationed in this region which then yielded a good cover of young teak and *sisoo* timber.[21]

He commented on the Singhur forest in Poona district as peculiar having a share both of the Ghat and the Deccan climate. He remarked, 'If the hills to the East in the same range which are now bare were, as appears to have once been the case, clothed with wood, there is no doubt but that the effect of such is diminishing the dryness of the Poona climate considerably so that… and the hills have by continued cultivation, been made quite bare'.[22]

Another environmental effect of deforestation with which Gibson was apparently concerned was the silting of rivers. E.P Stebbing stated that in one of his forest reports after being appointed the Conservator, Gibson listed the rivers and creeks of the Malabar coast that had silted up. This demonstrates

Gibson's primarily economic concern as such silting was affecting harbours and shipping. Gibson also wrote of the use of trees in the prevention of the erosion of roads on steep slopes.[23] His botanical knowledge as well as the topography of western India served a variety of purposes to the East India Company, which over time became increasingly desperate to find new sources of profit.

The forest conservancy in the Bombay Presidency was only partially successful inspite of the untiring, dedicated zeal of the Conservator, Dr. Gibson. Gibson's role was dubious: He had to conserve the forests and at the same time ensure regular supply of timber to the government and maximize the revenues of the state. The delicate balance between these two objectives had to be maintained. This, however, does not take away from the fact that the forest department took efforts to restrict the felling of young teak plants and, wherever possible, placed foresters to check deforestation. Gibson strongly felt that the failure of the government to regulate rather than administer the forests by them resulted in the massive destruction of forests in Bombay. He insisted on reforms and visualized the need of an appropriate department for its effective functioning. He was thus a forerunner to Dietrich Brandis, the first Inspector General of the Imperial Forest Department in 1865, who contributed greatly to the establishment of scientific forestry in India in 1878.[24]

However, these conservancy measures only resulted in infringing upon the traditional rights of the indigenous people. They were prevented from cutting trees, enjoyed by the ryots from time immemorial. Moreover, the prohibition of the felling of trees especially teak, and the preservation of the jungles in the spots near the rivers on the sea coast was to ensure easy availability of timber for them.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, then, British administrators and policy makers recognized the effects created by their land use policies. This concern was not precipitated by the environmental or social effects of deforestation, but by the growing threat to valuable raw materials necessary for the fulfillment of state goals, such as the expansion of the Railway network. The British were concerned primarily with maintaining supplies of teak, blackwood, Khair, Ain, Sal, Deodhar used as railway sleepers[25] Private contractors, both Indian and European were chiefly responsible for the destruction of the forests. The extensive railroad network throughout the subcontinent took a toll particularly of the rich forests of Thana, Bassein, Konkan, Calicut etc. and Deodar forests of the Kumaun and Garhwal Himalayas.[26] The Railways had dual impact on the forests of western India. It speeded up deforestation and also stimulated conservancy measures to the regeneration of the forests of the Bombay Presidency. But trees of commercial importance such as teak, and eucalyptus were given weightage.[27]

The first efforts to initiate a coherent policy for the use and management of Indian forest resources grew out of these concerns. In 1855, the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie circulated a memorandum on forest conservation suggesting that teak should be declared state property and its trade strictly regulated.[28] In 1862, Lord Canning, the Governor General declared colonial forest administration a failure, calling for the establishment of an agency that would manage Indian forests so as to insure continued availability of raw materials for sleepers.[29]

With these concerns in mind, the Government of India established the Imperial Forest Department. Dr. Dietrich Brandis, a German forester with more than a decade of experience in the teak forests in Burma, was appointed the first Inspector-

General of Forests. Until this point, forest lands had been under the exclusive control of revenue authorities, which employed no trained foresters and were primarily interested in extending cultivation. Brandis immediately emphasized the importance of controlling logging. He used the heavy demand for forest resources as a rationale to incorporate permanent management as part of a new National Forest Department system.

Forest legislations: Act of 1865 and 1878

Against this backdrop, in 1865, the Government of India enacted the first nationwide regulation of Indian forests with the passage of the Government Forests Act. However, this Act was enacted mainly to facilitate the acquisition of such forest areas so as to supply timber to the Railways.[30] The Act empowered the local governments to draft local rules for their respective provinces for the better management and preservation of the forests, and prescribe punishments for infringement of rules. The rules under this Act further dealt with the details of forest conservancy such as staff to be employed for administration of the forests, the procedure to be followed while creating "Reserved Forests" and "Unreserved Forests," their demarcation etc. Popular access to and use of forest resources which had been regulated largely by custom and tradition, were subject to national legislation for the first time.[31]

The Government Forests Act of 1865 soon became controversial in government circles. For officials critical of the Act, the major deficiency involved the extent of state control over forests granted by the Act. It provided for protection of forest areas only after they had been selected and declared government forests. From this perspective, effective control could only be insured if the state were given the power to protect forests in

anticipation of their demarcation as government forests. From the point of view of administrators, the 1865 Act was imperfect and unsound in principal. The administrators found the claims for forest right so overwhelming that real forest conservancy became practically impossible. These claims also led to a great deal of friction between the civil and Forest officers.[32] Therefore, this Act was finally replaced by the 1878 Act which was designed to correct these shortcomings. This Act established a system for classifying forest access and use. The legislation enabled the government to bring potentially valuable forests completely under the control and management of the Forest Department. The classification system designated three types of forests. Reserved forests were established in areas already owned by the Indian Government. They were intended to provide ecological stability and maintain the supplies of commercial timber which British strategic and developmental goals required. Reserved forests were established in areas with large compact stands of commercially valuable species that could sustain long term exploitation. Moreover, the primary objective of these forests was to nullify all previously existing rights and protect them from any infringement by the local populace.[33]

The second category, protected forests, which consisted of forests that would become reserved forests in the future, once they had been demarcated and covered by working plans. Control in these areas was established through provisions that reserved access to commercially valuable tree species and allowed imposition of restrictions on activities such as grazing. Finally, village forests were reserved forest areas in which full governing power had been assigned to village authorities by the state government.

Reservation of forests was implemented through an elaborate process of Forests Settlement. State – appointed Forest Settlement Officers published proclamations designating the areas to be reserved and requesting villagers to come forward to claim any rights to which they felt entitled. The Settlement Officer could grant such claims wholly or partially, or terminate them through compensation. The primary objective of the Settlement Officers was to "secure the best possible legal title" over forest areas the government sought to control.[34]

However, under the provisions of the 1878 Act, each family of 'rightholders' was allowed a specific quantum of timber and fuel, while the sale or barter of forest produce was strictly prohibited. This exclusion from forest management was, therefore, both physical-it denied or restricted access to forests and pasture as well as social- it allowed 'rightholders' only a marginal and inflexible claim on the produce of the forest. The principle of state monopoly also formed the cornerstone of the important forest policy statement of 1894.[35]

In Bombay, a big controversy arose over the question of grass and grazing after the passage of the 1878 Forest Act. Under the pressure of famine, the Forest Department undertook the work of cutting and bailing grass to be utilized as fodder for the cattle. The people did not buy the cut and stacked hay, stating that the cattle would not eat it. As a result, cutting and baling was stopped and a large amount of grass was allowed to remain and rot in the forests.[36]

In 1882, Brandis visited Bombay at the invitation of the Government of Bombay Presidency. One of the objects of his visit was to take a decision on the classification of the forest areas. He advocated the division of hill reserves into two classes

– one that was to be strictly protected against unauthorized felling, grazing and fires while the other, where grazing was to be permitted on payment, though burning of forests was to be prohibited. The effort of Brandis was to check the unhappy state of affairs in the Presidency. However, this did help to remove the dissatisfaction among the people over forest administration. Matters turned so unsatisfactory, that a public body called Thana Forest Association was formed which represented the people's grievances. Poona People's Association was another public body which was dominated by the Poona group, and was an active spokesman of people's grievances in Western Maharashtra. [37] The Poona organization in its memorial to the government in 1881, agreed that most severe regulations were necessary and appropriate in reserved forests but those regulations were required only there and only over the cutting of commercial timber and not the system of permits and fees on other land and for all other forest produce and grazing rights.[38]

However, despite these demands from the public, the Forest Department went ahead and put into effect most of the regulations and licensing requirements for forest produce. In 1882, the Forest Department extended the new reservation to cover even the uncultivated village wastelands. This intensified discontent in the district. Finally, the government in Calcutta announced the formation of a special commission - The Bombay Forest Enquiry Commission to enquire into the controversy in Thana and Kolaba districts. Its members were four British officials representing the Revenue and Forest Department and three Indians. The Chairman of the Commission was G.V. Vidal, Collector of Thana. The other members were Rao Sahib Ramachandra, Triambak Acharya, Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Laxman Nulkar, E.C. Ozanne, C.S., Lieutenant Colonel W. Peyton, Conservator of Forests, R.C. Wroughton, Deputy Conservator and Rao Bahadur Yeshwant Moreshwar

Kelkar. The Commission's exhaustive survey of opinion, official and non-official was completed in 1887.[39]

The Commission worked for two years and came out with systematic and far-reaching strategies. The Commission tried to combine the two distinct and diametrically opposite objectives – that is preserving the forests in the long run and meeting the immediate subsistence needs of the villagers. They called for rapid conversion of government lands into reserved forests. The commission recommended that the unoccupied village lands were to be utilized to meet the subsistence needs of people but only to as little an extent as possible. Instead, the subsistence need were to be met from private lands to the maximum extent.[40] The report of the commission was submitted to the government in 1887. However, it did not take any action for two years. A resolution was thereafter passed keeping the report in view. The government largely ignored the recommendations of the Commission, the discontentment among the people continued to increase and forest offences continued to increase.[41]

Land use policies after the 1878 Act also had an adverse impact on agricultural production. J.A.Voelcker, an expert was appointed by the British to evaluate Indian agricultural policy and practices and submitted his report in 1893. This report cautioned that Indian forest policy was having a detrimental impact on the rural social structure and should be modified in order to support agricultural production.[42]

These considerations spawned a modification of forest policy, issued as the Forest Policy Resolution, in 1894. The most significant change involved greater attention to local demand on forest lands, including clearing land for agricultural extension. In order to fulfill these objectives, the earlier forest classification

system was modified slightly. Forests under government management were divided into four categories: a) Protective Forests, reserved to maintain environmental stability, b) National Forests, reserved as areas providing a sustained supply of commercial timber, c) Minor Forests, including village forests and areas yielding only inferior timber, fuel wood and fodder and d) Pasture lands.[43] Despite these alterations and the apparent leniency afforded to local demands, Indian forestry policy remained primarily a mechanism for restricting popular access to forest resources.

Indian forestry policy was revised again in the twentieth century with the passage of the Indian Forest Act, 1927, where rights and duties of forestry officials were clarified, elaborating instances in which officials were empowered to arrest suspected offenders without a warrant. Yet the new act was an attempt to expand government control over Indian forests.[44]

The year 1935 saw an important change in the administration of Indian forests with the implementation of the Government of India Act, 1935. The Act provided for provincial legislatures and established a dual system of government that evolved into Indian federalism. It initiated the administrative pattern for forests. Under this Act, forests were included in the provincial list (item 22) and forestry administration came under the authority and control of provincial legislatures. The role of the Indian Government was restricted to the management of general forestry aspects, such as research and education.[45] Although the role of the colonial state may have been reduced legally, it continued to exert strong influence in practice.

However, one of the major landmarks in the history of the forestry in British India was World War II, during which forests

were exploited on an unprecedented scale. During this period, almost all sections of the Forest Research Institute were dedicated solely to the requirements of war. From the west coast tracts of Bombay, Madras, Coorg and Cochin the vast demand for railway sleepers and other timber was met not only from deciduous forests but also largely from evergreen rain forests by exploiting timber never before utilised. Timber production was about 2,42,000 tonnes in 1940-41.[46] During the war, felling and sawing was carried out into the remotest forests of the Himalayas and into the dense jungles of the Western Ghats. In Bombay, the yield prescriptions departed from the margin to the extent of 400 percent.[47] Such was the havoc played with India's forests during the war.

The Indian forest policy underwent change during the post-war period. The policy statement was issued in 1944 by Sir Herbert Howard, Inspector General of Indian Forests. India was increasingly wracked by anti-colonial agitation throughout the first decades of the twentieth century. In this atmosphere, forest laws which imposed restriction on the right of the people's access to forests, became a symbol to spearhead resistance efforts of Indian nationalists. In the Central Provinces, for example, Mahatma Gandhi selected forest laws as a target of his 1930's civil disobedience campaign. Nationalists criticized colonial forest policy for neglecting village and minor forests and demanded a holistic land use policy that would incorporate rural popular needs. In contrast, imperial forestry policy continued to emphasize restriction of user rights and the management of timber producing reserved and protected forests.[48]

Inspector General Howard attempted to consider these divergent concerns while formulating the forest policy in the post war period. He emphasized that preservation of physical and

climatic conditions were a top priority, and a minimum amount of forests should be maintained to insure the country's well-being. If these conditions were fulfilled, then agriculture should take precedence over forestry in land use decision, popular rural need should take precedence over revenue considerations; after these requirements were satisfied, forest should be used to realize the maximum amount of revenue possible. Howard stressed that these guidelines should produce the "greatest good to the greatest number" of people and "sustained yield".[49]

Conclusion

The major developmental projects of the British Government in Bombay, especially the war ships which consumed enormous quantities of timber, and commenced in the beginning of the nineteenth century adversely impacted the forest resources of western India. It marked the beginning of the first phase of the deforestation of western India. The land use policy of the British in the first half of the nineteenth century which emphasized agricultural expansion also resulted in deforestation and let to a severe timber crisis in the 1830's. The pressure of the timber needs worked to the advantage of the development of conservation policies which resulted in the policy of natural resource management. This marked the first phase of forest conservancy in the Bombay Presidency in the latter part of the 1830's. The second phase of deforestation commenced with the establishment and expansion of the Railways in the middle of the nineteenth century in Bombay. In the following decades, the immediate impact on the forests was the consumption of wood for millions of sleepers and fire wood as fuel, which were obtained from the forests of western India. It resulted in a timber famine by the late 1850's. The building of Railways in the Bombay Presidency had a dual impact on the forests of western India. It speeded up deforestation

and also stimulated conservancy measures to the regeneration of the forests of the Bombay Presidency. But trees of commercial importance such as teak, and eucalyptus were given weightage. It also led to the formulation of the Acts of 1865 and 1878 which increased government control over the forests and deprived the Indians of their livelihood.

The concentration of the British on a limited number of species and the development of teak plantations very certainly modified the floristic composition of the forests and threatened biodiversity. The policies followed by the British government failed to protect the environment and paved the way for the destruction of the environment. Thus, the legacy of colonial forestry in the Bombay Presidency was that, in the nineteenth century, the colonial state extracted large quantities of timber both from private and government forests of western India thus resulting in deforestation.

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JOHN DICKINSON (1815-1876): A FORGOTTEN FRIEND OF INDIA AND THE INDIA REFORM SOCIETY

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John Dickinson, a genuine friend of India, was an English businessman and writer on Indian affairs. He was the only son of a wealthy paper manufacturer who owned 'John Dickinson Stationery Ltd', and had family connections with India. The original paper mill was established at Apstely in the United Kingdom. The prosperity of the business in the mid-nineteenth century led to its expansion in India and branch offices were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.[1] His brother General Thomas Dickinson served in the army in India. Educated at Eton, John Dickinson wrote many pamphlets on Indian administration, railways, famine and other matters[2] He vociferously protested against abuses and negligence in the Indian administration such as the policy of destroying local self- government and the virtual exclusion of Indians from jobs in the administration. He was instrumental in the foundation of the India Reform Society in England for furthering the cause of India.[3] It is surprising that modern historiography has paid scant attention to Dickinson who rendered sincere services to India.[4] This paper is an attempt to remedy this defect.

Dickinson believed that the English at home were ignorant about the actual situation in India.[5] For the diffusion of knowledge of Indian affairs and for educating the English public and Parliament,

it was necessary to have a group of devoted workers in England. Without British allies he felt that the need for Indian reforms could not be adequately impressed on the Parliament. He, therefore, published a pamphlet entitled Government of India under a Bureaucracy (1852), which constitutes one of the most devastating attacks on British imperialism.[6] A cheap edition of the same was published in 1853, as one of a series of 'Indian Reform Tracts', and had a very large circulation both in England and India.[7] In this book he described the kind of legal system introduced by the British and the result it produced: 'We the English', he regretted 'ignorantly assumed that the ancient long-civilized people of India were a race of barbarians who had never known what justice was until we came among them, and that the best thing we could do for them was to upset all their institutions as fast as we could, and among others their judicial system'.[8]

On 12 March 1853, while the question of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter was being hotly debated, friends of India, such as Major Evans Bell,[9] John Bright,[10] Danby Seymour,[11] Richard Cobden[12], John Bruce Norton[13] and others led by Dickinson, held a meeting at Charles Street, St.James's Square, London, 'with a view to bringing public opinion to bear on the Imperial Parliament in the case of India, so as to obtain due attention to the complaints and claims of the inhabitants of the vast empire'.[14] The meeting, which was presided over by Danby Seymour, resolved to establish an India Reform Society, with John Dickinson as its secretary and its headquarters at 12 Haymarket, London.[15] The affairs of the Society were to be conducted by a Committee which included prominent representatives of the press, Parliament, and Anglo-India, some of whom had been associated with the earlier British India Society. The chief object of the India Reform Society was to secure a full and impartial inquiry into Indian affairs. Soon after its formation, it

opened communications with the associations in India, which endorsed its demand for a full investigation into Indian affairs. In May 1853, chiefly due to the advice of the India Reform Society, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, submitted separate petitions to Parliament, demanding that a Parliamentary commission should be sent out to India to conduct a full and complete inquiry into Indian affairs. When the Madras Native Association submitted a petition to the Parliament complaining against the practice of torture by Government officials to extract revenue, H.D. Seymour, the then chairman of the India Reform Society, personally visited Madras in late 1853 to study the problem at first hand. His remarks led the government to appoint a Commission of inquiry called the 'Torture Commission'. The findings of the Commission vindicated the petition of the Madras Native Association.[16] The Society worked in close co-operation with the British Indian Association, the most influential organization of Calcutta founded in 1851, which maintained regular correspondence and supplied information on Indian affairs. In a public meeting in the Town Hall in Calcutta held on 29 July 1853, it was decided to raise subscriptions in aid of the London India Reform Society through the British Indian Association and thus a sum of 750 pounds was remitted.[17]

When Lord Dalhousie's policy of Doctrine of Lapse and aggressive annexation created much commotion in England, Dickinson joined those few who opposed this policy.[18] He was neither a journalist nor a politician but had keen commonsense and political insight. Dalhousie's policy of annexation had alarmed not only the Princes of the native States but also the people of these states. His annexation, in particular, of Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur, Avadh, and Tanjore in pursuance of the Doctrine of Lapse was condemned as unjust and unfair.[19] The closing years of his reign had witnessed unrest and the outbreak of the Santal

and Mopala rebellion. Dickinson made a sound and logical exposition of Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse as regards succession, and of the dangers into which British were being dragged by his false doctrine. He gave a warning that the discontent bound to be created by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse may blaze into a conflagration and burn the Empire. 'There may be some conspiracy', he wrote prophetically, of which they may not have even a suspicion, 'until the Native Regiments open their fire on our barracks.' In his small but insightful book Dickinson argued that if the grievances of the Colonies found loud and eloquent utterances in England, why had the grievances of India no voice? He reminded that the duties of England were to raise the natives and watch their progress, both moral and material, just as a mother watches her child. It is interesting to note that in his article written to the New York's Daily Tribune on Indian finance and bureaucracy, Karl Marx had extensively quoted from Dickinson's pamphlet on Indian bureaucracy.[20]

Dickinson was the honorary secretary of the Indian Reform Society for nine years, and for seven years its chairman. Though the administration of India had been transformed to the hands of the Crown, it was still difficult to direct the attention of the British towards the problems of India.

The English people too, were also very slow, and very careless about everything that does not immediately affect them. They could be excited to any effort for India except under the pressure of some great calamity and when that calamity was removed they fell back into their usual state of apathy…Parliament cares about India little more than the Cabinet and thus the interests of your vast population are left to the tender mercies of an exclusive service whose main object of adoration is patronage. I almost despair of anything being done here.[21]

The India Reform Society did valuable work in bringing up Indian questions in the Parliament, and to the attention of the press and the English public and demanded justice. Dickinson pleaded for greater employment of Indians in the civil administration of the country and the granting of self-government on the Colonial model. He made a demand for the cultivation of cotton in India along with other members of the India Reform Society. Many of its adherents felt that only a singularly unhelpful government could have remained blind to the advisability of encouraging cotton cultivation in India which would replace America's slave-produced raw material.

Dickinson's severe indictment of the British Government provoked the bureaucracy as well as the Serampore Christian Missionaries who subjected him to calumny and obloquy. One of the Serampore journalists accused him of forgetting his nationality, and called him a traitor. The *Hindoo Patriot*, a remarkable newspaper from Calcutta, not only served his detractors a rebuke but also paid a rich tribute to Dickinson as follows:

"It was he who collected the liberal member of Parliament in that Indian Congress to carry on political warfare in the interests of the down-trodden children of this country. It was he who supplied Bright and Cobden with valuable information regarding various perplexing questions of India politics, from which these gladiators of Parliamentary debate wrought the stunning speeches that have from time to time exercised beneficent sway over the destinies of India. It was he whose unremitting labours brought a pressure on the counsels of the Indian cabinet, that have now resulted in the adoption of many of these reforms and the abolition of many abuses which justified the establishment of Society.[22]"

Though the India Reform Society had begun to disintegrate almost immediately after the passing of the Charter Act of 1853, it was kept going for many years chiefly through the efforts of John Dickinson, whom Cobden described as 'a single-minded devotee who labours like a galley-slave from the purest impulse of benevolence'.[23] In 1861 John Bright resigned as chairman of the Society and was succeeded by Dickinson. By 1865 chiefly due to the lack of funds and waning interest in Indian affairs, the Society virtually ceased to exist.

It is true that the India Reform Society failed to affect the legislation regarding the future of India. But it did enliven the debate over the Indian question both in and outside Parliament. It provided information, reliable and trust-worthy, to many members of the House of Commons. It could not have found an abler or more courageous spokesman than Bright who made a deep impression on the House of Commons.[24] The Society restrained the clamour for revenge that arose in England after 1857. Thanks to the Society a salutary change was introduced in the composition of the Court of Directors. The number of members was reduced to eighteen, of which six were to be nominated by His Majesty's Government from amongst those persons who should have resided in India for at least ten years. It worked as a propaganda agency for meetings and pamphlets to stimulate interest in the vast millions of India. Dickinson became a correspondent with many people all over India. The Society provided a platform in London with whom political associations from India could connect. It served as the forerunner of the latter associations such as the London India Society and the East India Association, and the much- better organized British Committee of the Indian National Congress.[25] It played a part in awakening the British public and Parliament and created public interest in Indian affairs to a certain extent. It showed that concerted agitation and action had won

the sympathy of the Liberals, more than was considered possible. A perusal of Dadabhai Naoroji's writings on British colonialism reveals that it was only after 1867 that he became totally absorbed in the study of colonial exploitation, particularly poverty, and the drain of wealth from India. Having lived in London for long, his connections with Dickinson and Evans Bell might have led Naoroji to study more seriously the economic problems of India, in particular, poverty. Evans Bell claimed that hardly any Indian nobleman or gentleman who has risen to distinction in any capacity or whose name has become known in England within the last twenty years had failed to figure in the correspondence of Dickinson. According to R.P, Masani, it was from his experience of working in England that Dadabhai Naoroji drew lessons on the importance of carrying on an agitation in England.[26] However, no trace of Naoroji's correspondence with Dickinson have been found, probably they are lost or destroyed.

Dickinson spent time and money for the cause of India. He began to promote the Indian cause at a time when the English public were least interested in Indian affairs. He never sought fame, glory or popularity. He was true to the principles he upheld, to the cause he espoused, to the people of India whose claim he supported, and whose civil and political rights he advocated. The many pamphlets he wrote on Indian affairs are notable for their accuracy of facts, their judgment and dispassionate interest. He trod a path where no one dared to tread and his labours for Indian reform deserve public respect and gratitude. His numerous pamphlets need to be studied in detail. That the London India Society, established by W.C. Bannerjee in 1865 included his name in the list of the honorary members testify to his long and merited service to India.

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MERCANTILE ACTIVITIES OF SOUTH ODISHAN PORTS WITH SOUTH ASIA (1858-1936 A.D.)

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The maritime intercourse between overseas world and South Odisha of India may go back to well into the prehistoric period. The merchants and navigators and different categories of people from various parts used to appear at different intervals of time in the ports of South Odisha. The English in India mainly carried on trade in two ways, namely external trade or overseas trade and internal trade. External trade activities carried on with South Asian Countries, like Ceylon and other Asian countries. The principal ports of South Odisha viz., Gopalpur, Ganjam, Baruva, Bavanpadu, Calingapatnam had good trading relations with the above mentioned South Asian countries. European-ships used to come and stay here with varieties of goods. Thus, the ocean played an important role in the life style of the people who dwelt on its shores. The unique geographical position of Odisha, as the meeting ground of the North and the South, and its location near the ocean provided an excellent opportunity to its inhabitants for transoceanic commerce.[1] The region had a distinct identity of its own as 'Kalinga' which once covered not only coastal Odisha but also the adjoining tracts of West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. In the wider sense, ancient Kalinga comprised of the major part of eastern India from the Ganga to the Godavari.[2] In the past, people of South Odisha had a distinct personality of their own. They were known for their daring ventures and

dynamic spirit. The adventurous sea-men of this area inspite of various hazards reached distant lands across the sea. South Odisha, famous for its long coastline, could earn name and fame in making cultural and commercial contacts with the countries across the seas. Being situated on the shores of the Bay of Bengal and having enjoyed all the privileges to develop her maritime activities, these South Odishan ports had their reputation as a sea-faring country. The *Brahmandapuran* mentions that the South Odishan ports were full of hundreds of boats and mercantile-ships and they were travelling to Java, Malaya, Ganga Sagar, U.K., Italy, Germany, France and China.[3] The emergence of European traders and their subsequent settlements on the Odishan coasts including South Odisha in the 19th Century are important events in the mercantile history of Odisha.[4]

The first settlement of European traders took place in the year 1514 A.D. when the Portuguese merchants were permitted by the then King Prataprudra Dev to trade in Odisha.[5] Their first settlement grew up at Pipli. But the fact remains that it was through them, that the Oriya speaking traders or merchants discovered their links with the markets of Europe. The Dutch began to trade at Pipili in 1625 A.D. But owing to excessive Portuguese influence, they could not thrive in that place. Subsequently, they shifted their settlements to Balasore in 1633 A.D. Balasore became the most important port of Odisha in the 17th Century. Although the English were in a dominant position at Balasore, yet all the European companies including the French and the Danes had their establishments at Balasore.[5a]

With the coming of the European merchants and the establishment of European factories during the 19th Century A.D. South Odisha's mercantile activities with many countries of Asia and Europe took a different dimension. The European factors

viz., the English, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes and the French controlled the whole of Odisha's overseas trade by establishing contacts with the Odishan merchants and producers of different articles of investment. Among all the European factors, the English had a better share in the overseas trade of South Odisha with South Asian countries and with Europe.

The English East India company got its first foothold in South Odisha on 12th November 1766 A.D. South Odisha, as a part of Madras Presidency, remained under the British from 1766 A.D. to 1936 A.D. The British always preferred to establish their trade centres either near the river mouth or a bay site for swift move during any trouble.[6] They set up many factories in different parts of South Odisha. However along with Gopalpur port of Ganjam and the ports of Madras[7], a good number of ports big and a small existed in South Odisha. Of all the ports Gopalpur port was the chief port and which provided flourishing trade to the British. The location of these ports were favourable for the sea-borne trade. Geographically it was a bridge between two the halves of the north and the south. Once Ganjam ports of South Odisha acted as the gateway to the South-east Asian countries.[8] It possessed a vast coastline alongwith a better climatic advantage to her credit. With the arrival of the European companies and merchants of South Asian[9] countries the foreign investment generated some kind of development in the mechanics of trade. It also led to the growth of urban centres. New industrial areas developed and port towns sprang up.[10]

South Odisha had rich potential for overseas trade. The abundant forest wealth, the agricultural products from the fertile soil and horn and ivory works were the backbone of the overseas trade. An enormous amount of natural resources, a network of large and navigable rivers, dense forests in the interior abounding

in strong timber which could be readily utilized for the construction of ships, boats etc. helped the people of this region to acquire the natural skill and enterprise for which they were justly famous in the past. The seaman-ship and navigation flourished in this region probably before anywhere else on the east coast. A good number of ports and the points of anchorage had dotted its coast starting from Chilika in the north to the Mahendra mountain in the south.[12] The maritime importance of the ports, the facility for reconstruction and repairing of the ships and the availability of export commodities encouraged the European companies to establish their factories in different port towns of South Odisha.[13] The British had numbers of ports namely Gopalpur, Ganjam, Sonnapur, Baruva, Pundi, Bavanapadu, Calingapatnam and Chilika.

Mercantile Activities at Gopalpur Port

Gopalpur acted as the chief port of Ganjam district under the British Raj. It stands on raising ground and its white houses which extend from a distance of about twelve miles seaward. Gopalpur is an open roadstead with no shelter. "Landing and Shipping Operations" are possible throughout the year except occasionally when the surf is too high. Mansorkota hill is an isolated rockey hill 177 feet high situated about 2½ miles North Gopalpur. For this it is called Mansurkota.[14] It remained under the French authority from 1753 A.D. till 1759 A.D. In 1766 A.D. it came under the British authority. The French had built the second fort in Ganjam with which Mansurkota had maintained close rapport and contact. Similarly, it remained under the Ganjam Fort during the British regime from 1766 A.D. onwards as a functional Port establishing trade and commerce with Burma and other South East Asian countries till the end of the British rule in 1947 A.D. Mansurkota was renamed as Gopalpur under the British Raj.[15]

Gopalpur was the chief port of the Ganjam district, which lay at 19°31' North latitude and 85°0' East longitude. It was situated at a distance of nine miles by road from Berhampur. This port was nothing more than an open road stead similar to the other ports on the eastern coast of the Madras Presidency. It was a calling port for the steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company. Merchandise and other goods were landed on the beach close to the godowns owned by F.J.V. Minchin.[16] The custom house was not far away from this place. There was a port officer exercising power to collect sea customs, and to maintain law and order. He exercised magisterial powers as well as the power of justice of the peace for cases occurring on the ships as well as in and around the port areas.[17] A light house was maintained from where light was exhibited at night time from its flag staff, which was visible upto a distance of thirteen miles.

Overseas Trade Link between Gopalpur Port with South Asian Countries

The port of Gopalpur had good commercial contact with various other countries. There was the movement of ships between the port of Gopalpur and the ports of the United Kingdom, Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Germany Freeports, France, Italy, United States of America, Belgium and Burma.

The principal articles imported from the different foreign countries to the port of Gopalpur during the years 1872-1873 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, wire, coast iron, pipes, tubes, paints and colours, writing paper, envelopes, perfumery, bacon, harms, stone, marble, toys, etc.[18]

The following Table[19] exhibits the quantities and values of the principal articles exported free of duty from the port of Gopalpur to various foreign countries in the official year 1876-77 A.D.

Principal Articles	Countries to which exported	Quantity	Values in rupees
Cabinet ware and furniture	United Kingdom	1143 pieces	1,000
Myrabolams	United Kingdom	18,037cwt	60,151
Myrabolams	France	220 cwt	1,050
Pulse, grain, black grams	Ceylon	144 cwt	392
Pulse	Mauritius	291 cwt	697
Raw Hides and skins	United Kingdom	3,862cwt	1,088
Horns	United Kingdom	1,243cwt	20,144
Ghee, Dalda	Ceylon	56 lbs	22
Turmeric	United Kingdom	5,04,058lbs	25,126
Wax, candles	StraitsSettlements	27 cwt	1,800
Hemp	France	198 cwt	2,755
Hemp	Italy	7,144cwt	85,725
Wool	United Kindgom	300 lbs	200

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 to 1906-1907 A.D. has been shown in the following table.[20]

To foreign countries		From Gopalpur Port (value in rupees)
To France		
Merchandise	Country	301
	Foreign	108
	Total	409

To foreign countries		From Gopalpur Port (value in rupees)
To Italy		
Merchandise	Country	1,07,670
	Foreign	1,000
	Total	1,08,670
To United Kingdom		
Merchandise	Country	65,802
	Foreign	1,825
	Total	67,627
To Ceylon		
Merchandise	Country	10,95,388
	Foreign	18,000
	Total	11,93,388

The following table exhibtis[21] the quantities and value of the principal articles imported from various foreign countries of South Asia to the port of Gopalpur in the official year 1881-82 A.D.

Imported articles from Foreign Ports to Gopalpur Port	Quantity	Values in rupees
Living Animals, Birds	36 Nos.	120
Chemical Products	3,442 cwt.	9,040
Coal	43 tons	506
Cotton, twist, yarn	1,50,100 lbs	76,701
Fruits & Vegetables	1,000 cwts	456
Wheat	50 cwts	150
Gunny bags	1,94,900	53,799
Salted fish	9 lbs	71
Manufactured cigars	10 lbs	10
Arms & Ammunition	—	348
Coloured, printed or dyed cotton goods	39,956 yds.	8,382
Drugs and medicines	—	1,060
Liquors, beer, port	1,631 galls	4,480
Spirits – Brandy	163 galls	2,118
Woolen piece goods	2,646 yards	3,467
Coffee	2 cwt	93
Handkerchiefs & shawls	1,200 nos.	300
Gun powder	223 lbs	224

This table shows the volume of merchandise imported to and exported from the port of Gopalpur in each official year 1921-22 A.D. 1938-39 A.D.[22]

Gopalpur Port	Merchandize imported	Merchandise exported
Official Years	Values in rupees	Values in rupees
1921-22	69,126	14,785
1922-23	690	1,08,469
1923-24	21,983	8,41,114
1924-25	16,926	1,63,743
1925-26	35,391	1,05,513
1928-29	86,005	56,139
1929-30	54,875	38,711
1930-31	2,25,565	46,594
1931-32	1,35,486	9,280
1932-33	3,36,434	96,133
1934-35	7,25,634	41,367
1935-36	8,05,717	3,83,042
1936-37	4,94,287	3,62,680
1937-38	4,31,629	2,35,770
1938-39	2,53,037	1,60,770

Calingapatam Port

The Calingapatam port was another principal port of the Ganjam district during the British period. This port stood on the south bank of the Vamsadhara river. It was famous both as a port and as a capital for some time to the Kalinga rulers.[23] The sandy point forming the south bank of the river was along latitude 18°19' north, and longitude 84°7'39" east. A light house, 64 feet high stood at one point, and the town was between the south bank of the river and this long low sandy point. A reef of rocks extended from the shore half a mile seaward. The passing vessels

were not advised to approach nearer than 8 fathoms. The best anchorage was in 6h to 7 fathoms. Calingapatam was the only port which had only shelter and which was not a perfectly open road-stead. Comunication between the shore and ships was rarely interrupted, and the berthing was far more uncertain than at Gopalpur. During the monsoon, a large number of native vessels were lying up in the river Vamsadhara.[24] The maximum depth of water over the bar was 14 feet 6 inches, and 220 yards away the depth was 12 feet. In 1882 A.D. it was a fortnightly port of call for the coasting steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company. Calingapatam Port was connected by a good metalled road with Chicacole[25], from which it was 16 miles away. It was the residence of a few European merchants. When Ganjam was under the Madras Presidency, the Calingapatam port was in the district of Ganjam. But presently it is in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh.

The name 'Calingapatam' itself explains that it was the city of Kalingans. The archaeological excavations conducted here suggest that it was a fortified city[26] since the 3rd century B.C. Being located at the river mouth of Vamsadhara, Calingapatam acted as an international port[27] from the earliest times. Pliny mentions[28] Calingapatam as one of the famous ports on the east coast.

Rice, gingelly and jaggery were the chief products that were exported from Calingapatam[29]. During the famine of 1908-09 A.D. the district of Ganjam could draw supplies of food grains from Bengal, Burma, and the great deltas further south, through the Calingapatam port[30], but owing to the difficulties of landing, communications by sea were liable to be interrupted, especially during the south-west monsoon. Myrabolams which was produced in plenty in the northern parts of the Madras Presidency were

exported to foreign countries through the port of Calingapatam.[31] Myrabolams, gingelly seeds were brought by rail from Jeypore, Salur, Parvatipuram and Vizianagaram and then carted of Bimlipatam. The British India Steam Navigation Company and the Clean Line Steamers called at this port took these forest products to various other countries.[32]

Foreign Trade at the Port of Calingapatam

The port of Calingapatam played an important role in the foreign trade during the British period. A good quantity and value of merchandise were exported to foreign countries from the port of Calingapatam. The chief countries to which goods were exported from this port were the United Kingdom, Ceylon, Germany Free Ports, etc. The principal items of export were grains, pulse, dyeing and tanning materials, jute, seeds, sesamum (til or gingelly), myrabolams etc. Grains and pulses, myrabolams, jute, etc. were exported to the United Kingdom. Sesamum (til or gingelly) ws exported to France, and myrabolams and dyeing and tanning materials to Germany Free Ports.[33] It is to be noted that in the official year of 1876-77. 4 cwt. of manures (animal bones) worth Rs.60/- and 24 cwt. of other kinds of manures worth Rs.523/- were exported to various foreign countries from the port of Calingapatam.[34]

The principal items imported from foreign countries to the port of Calingapatam were liquors, ale, beer, champaigne, iron angle, bolt and rod, iron sheets and plates, lead, rags and other materials for making paper etc.

The following table[35] shows the total quantities and value of principal articles exported to foreign countries free of duty from the port of Calingapatam in each official year from 1872-73 A.D. to 1876-77 A.D.

Name of the articles	Countries to which exported	Quantity	Values in rupees
Manufactured piece goods, grey (unbleached)	Ceylon	1,600 yds	620
Myrabolams (Grain & Pulse)	United Kingdom	6.314cwt	17,248
Gram	Ceylon	490cwt	1,331
Rape seeds	United Kingdom	13,653cwt	65,268
Teel or gingelly seeds	France	29,426cwt	1,68,989
Teel or Gingelly seeds	Mauritius	11,039cwt	60,312
Other sorts of seeds	United Kingdom	7,001cwt	28,686
Other saccharine produces	United Kingdom	21,675cwt	89,076

There were certain articles like dyeing and colouring materials, indigo, rice not in the husk which were subjected to duty when exported from the port of Calingapatam.

The following table[36] exhibits the quantities and value of principal articles which were subjected to duty when exported to foreign countries from the Calingapatam port in each official year from 1872-73 A.D. to 1876-77 A.D.

Name of the articles	Countries to which exported	Quantity	Values in rupees
Dyeing, colouring materials – Indio	United Kingdom	109 cwt.	34,510
Rice not in the husk	Ceylon	497 cwt.	2,240
Total			36,750

The following table[37] shows the principal articles exported to foreign countries from the port of Calingapatam 'Free of Duty' in the official year 1881-82 A.D.

Port	Name of the articles and countries to which exported	Quantity	Values in rupees
Calingapatam	Myrabolams to United Kingdom	988 cwt	2,760
	Rape seeds to United Kingdom	19,756cwt	97,749
	Teel or gingelly seeds to France	64,408cwt	4,39,483
	Various sorts of seeds to United Kingdom	12,283cwt	50,328
	Sugar, unrefined to United Kinggdom	13,611cwt	65,065

The principal articles imported from foreign countries to the port of Calingapatam in each official year, from 1872-73 A.D. to 1876-77 A.D. has been shown in the following table[38] alongwith their quantities and value.

Principal articles imported	Quantity	Values in rupees
Liquors, Ale, beer Spirits, port	58 galls	216
Rum and other sorts	5 galls	13
Wines, liquor, champaigne	96 galls	578
Sherry	1 gal.	8
Iron Angle, bolt and rod	4 cwt.	68
Lead and other sorts	—	02
Gingelly	—	01
Other sorts of provisions	—	01

The following table[39] shows the value of the total merchandize exported to foreign countries from the port of Calingapatam in each official year from 1902-03 A.D. to 1906-07 A.D.

Foreign countries to which merchandise exported from the port of Calingapatam	Values in rupees
France: Merchandise (Country)	39,960
United Kingdom: Merchandise (Country)	1,70,703
Ceylon: Merchandise (Country)	2,015
Grand Total Export of Merchandise	2,12,678

It has been observed that the rate of import to the port of Calingapatam was very low, while the rate of export from this port was considerably high in each official year from 1903-04 A.D. to 1907-08 A.D. The following table[40] gives a clear picture about the rate of import and export trade at the Calingapatam port.

Year (A.D.)	Name of the articles	Total merchandise imported from foreign countries to Calingapatam Port (Value in Rupees)	Total merchandise imported from foreign countries to Calingapatam Port (Value in Rupees)
1903-04	Merchandise Country Foreign	 793 —	 2,67,257 700
1904-05	Merchandise Country	 132	 5,89,956
1905-06	Merchandise Country	 —	 4,99,597
1906-07	Merchandise Country	 551	 2,12,678
1907-08	Merchandise Country	 01	 3,52,890

The following table[41] exhibits the value of the total exports of merchandise exclusive of Government Stores and Treasure, to foreign countries from the port of Calingapatam in each official year from 1903-04 A.D. to 1907-08 A.D.

Name of the articles and countries to which exported	Values in rupees
United Kingdom : Merchandise (Country)	1,44,282
Germany Free Ports: Merchandise (Country)	45,840
France : Merchandise (Country)	1,62,768
Grand Total of Exports	3,52,890

In the year 1908-08 A.D. good quantities and value of principal articles were exported from the Calingapatam port to various foreign countries, which has been illustrated in the following table.[42]

Name of the articles and countries to which exported	Quantity	Values in rupees
Myrabolams to United Kingdom	30,362 cwt	98,811
Myrabolams to Germany Free Ports	4,993 cwt	13,640
Jute to United Kingdom	4,341 cwt	34,916
Teel or Gingelly seeds to France	17,324 cwt	1,62,768

The following table[43] shows the value of total exports of merchandise exclusive of Government stores and treasure from the port of Calingapatam to various foreign countries in each official year from 1907-08 A.D to 1911-12 A.D.

Name of the port from which exported	Countries to which exported	Name of the articles	Values in rupees
Calingapatam	United Kingdom	Merchandise (Country)	8,348
	Germany	Merchandise (Country)	28,104
	Belgium	Merchandise (Country)	12,796
	France	Merchandise (Country)	68,320

In the year 1911-12 A.D., 141 cwt. of dyeing and tanning materials worth Rs.768/- were exported to Germany from the Calingapatam Port. Similarly, 1,000 cwt. of rape seeds worth Rs.6830/- were exported to United Kingdom, and 2000 cwt. of Til or Gingelly seeds worth Rs.17,758/- were exported to France from this Port. It is clear that of all the ports of South Odisha, Gopalpur and Calingapatam played a unique role in mercantile activities.

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ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

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The political, economic, educational and social condition of India during the colonial period was very much shaped by the British policies. These conditions led to the growth of Indian nationalism and emergence of political parties which were at first moderate in their approach. This British impact can be studied by relating politics to the structure of the society and economic problems Indians faced as a result of British rule. The Peculiar character and history of the various aspects of the movements are due to the character of the national movement in the struggle toward adaptation and adjustment and towards expression of the results in new forms and categories.[1]

Political Condition

When the East India Company was established, it was established to trade with India. But the situation in India was such that the East India Company started interfering and offered help to the Indian rulers to fight their wars against their local enemies. The real contestants for power in India during the eighteenth century were the British, the French, the Marathas, Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. The East India Company gradually extended their territory under its control by taking sides in the Indian rulers dispute. They extracted heavy payments for the help they rendered.

Did the British come to trade or to rule? The British historians and statesmen gave currency to the view that the establishment of the British Empire was the result of many unforeseen factors. This was definitely not true as it had been very much on their minds since the sixteenth century. This is clearly revealed in a letter written by the Governor of Bombay, Gerald Aungier, who wrote to the Director of the Company, "The time now requires you to manage your general commerce with sword in your hands".

Further by 1687, the Directors advised the Governor of Madras to establish a policy of civil and military power and create and secure large revenues to maintain an English Dominion.[2]

Thus it was with planned execution that India was conquered by the British. In all cases, the British Governors General were not really forced by the situation in India to pursue an aggressive policy. This task was rendered easy because of the rampant disunity in India.

With the steady growth of the East India Company as a political power in India, there was a change in the attitude of the Home authorities. They did not want to see the establishment of an imperium within an imperio and they were keen to take interest in the affairs of the Company. The Company gathered rich harvest and drained India of its wealth. Many of the East India Company officials returned to England with funds amassed from the Company's treasures by misusing power and private trading. With this money they bought seats in the British Parliament to the chagrin of qualified English candidates who demanded that Parliament should look into the activities of the Company.[3]

The British had power and wealth but felt no responsibility for governance. The merchants of the East India Company were

more interested in dividends and treasures and not in the protection and welfare of the people. They were mostly corrupt. In 1772, they ended the Dual government and administered Bengal through its own members. Thus the defects in the administration by a commercial Company surfaced.

The Company's high dividends and riches linked many in England. Merchants were prevented to trade with the East by the Company's monopoly. The manufacturers and free traders in Britain wanted a share in the Indian trade. They decided to work against the Company's monopoly of trade. They criticised the Company's officials. The aristocrats treated them with contempt. The parliamentarians also raised hue and cry against the Company. The free traders too criticised them.[4]

Thus the need for reorganizing the relations between the British Parliament and the Company was felt. The Parliament took necessary steps when the Company approached them for a loan of £1000.000 Therefore since 1773, several Charter Acts had been passed to regulate the affairs of the Company in order to ensure that the interests of the English upper classes were secure. The Company retained its monopoly of Eastern trade and the right of appointing its officials. The Directors of the Company worked out details of the administration.

The Regulating Act was passed in 1773. This Act put a check on the activities of the East India Company. As the date for renewal of the Charter Act drew near, the Parliament evinced slight interest, whereas they had paid scanty attention to the Company's administration in India, the British Government gained control over the company's administration and its economic policies were determined by the needs of the British Administration. The Act subordinated the Bombay and Madras Presidesicies to

Bengal on question of war, diplomacy and revenues. A new phase of Indian conquest began as India was to serve the interests to all sections of the British ruling class. It however retained its entire Chinese trade monopoly and the Directors retained their rights of approaching and dismissing officials in India.

By the Charter Act of 1813, the Company lost its trade monopoly in India. India was thrown open to all British subjects. However, they still retained the Chinese trade and trade in tea. The government and revenues were still to be handled by the Company and it could appoint officials. By the Charter Act of 1833, the Company's monopoly of trade with China also ended. They could not trade with China. The debts of the Company was transferred to the Government. Government was also to pay its share holders $10^{1}/2\%$ dividend of their capital from the Indian Revenues. The Government of India was run by the Company under control of the Board of Control which included two cabinet members.

On working out the Charter Act of 1833, it was realised that the day to day administration could not be run from a distance 6,000 mile. Therefore the supreme authority in India was vested in the hands of the Governor General - in – Council. Since 1797 for the first time. Earlier, the Act of 1797 recognized the power of the Governor general - in - Council to legislate for the diwani provinces as a whole. The Governor General had the right of overruling his Council. He came under the direct control of the British government. Indians were not associated in the three seats of power namely the Court of Directors of the Company, the Board of Control representing the British government or the Governor General. Thus the British had designed a new system of administration to suit their own purpose.[5]

Economic Condition

Economic change did not precede political development. It followed the political change in the Indian situation. The change that was brought about by the State was limited. It did not extend beyond the rule of law, legislative authority and education. It helped in the process of professional diversification and the emergence of new middle classes, various types of elites such as political organizational, intellectual, moral and religious. There was slow growth of science and technology. The development of the country's economy was poor and uneven. Society remained unmodernised. All these were the results of British economic policies. It only catered to the needs of British economy.

India played a very definite role in the success of the British Industrial Revolution. After Plassey the Bengal Plunder began to arrive in London. India's gold and silver which created surplus capital was used in industries and to the advantage of new bigger landlords. This in turn, resulted in large scale import of British manufactured goods and ultimate decline of indigenoes industry and trade.[6]

Indian wealth was collected and invested in English industries in England in many ways. The wealth was accumulated by:

1 Tributes and gratuities obtained from Indian rulers and potentates in the name of, and for the East India Company.
2 Taxes raised from the Indian people.
3 The profits from internal trade carried on by the servants of the East India Company in their own interest.
4 Bribes and gratuities obtained from the India's rulers.[7] Some of the emoluments were taken openly and some surreptiously. Part of the money thus raised went to England in the form

of' goods purchased from India and the rest in cash. India also paid for England's wars, and expansion of trade profits always went to England.[8]

In the meanwhile India was transformed from a feudal economy to a capitalistic economy through trade, industry and finance. This capitalistic economic development was determined by the needs and interests of British capitalism. India thus became an economic colony of Britain.

The British conquest weakened the traditional society and introduced bourgeouis elements into it. Every step was linked with the extension of old land relations, artisan and handicraft industries and the creation of new land relations and modern industries. It was linked with the decay of old classes and the rise new classes. Thus instead of the old village commune appeared the peasant proprietors or Zaminders who were private land owners. Instead of the artisan and handicraftsmen, came the industrial and transport workers, the class of agricultural labourers, the class of tenants, the class of new type merchants connected with trade in products of modern Indian and foreign industries. Thus change took place both in economy and society, to benefit the administrator.[9]

Although the impact of the British economic policies united India into a single economic unit, the transformation was to the detriment of Indian economic interest. Hence between the years 1813 - 1858 when free trade and capitalistic exploitation was the order of the day, India was converted into a source market for raw cotton for Manchester and her handicraft industry was destroyed. The charter Act of 1813 subjected her primary producers to the vagaries of international economic forces. The Company represented commercial capitalism and succumbed to

the force of industrial capitalism which was represented by Lancashire and Sheffield. In this way, the agrarian economy was geared to the industrial economy of Britian.[10]

There was a steady growth of export of capital to England. In its wake, came the establishment of British controlled banks, export and import houses and managing agencies. India soon found that she had lost her wealth by drain.[10] Side by side deindustralisation also took place. This was due to the establishment of foreign rules, competition from highly developed form of industries and the disappearance of powerful Indian States.

At first the East India Company wanted to produce things cheaply and sell them profitably. Heavy duties were levied on Indian goods in England. This necessitated the lowering of the cost of production. Therefore the Company monopolised the services of weavers and artisans and forced them to produce articles at low stipulated prices. They prevented them from selling these goods to Indians or foreigners and imposed customs duties and adopted transit measure which prevented Indians from carrying on internal trade.

Moreover. industrial classes in England had succeeded in getting the Parliament to end the Company's monopoly of trade and to open India for free their trade to all merchants of England. These merchants brought Indian raw materials to England thus fulfilling the requirements of British trade.

To counteract the impact of heavy duties on imported goods in England, the merchants of the East India Company employed hard measures against the artisans. Indian Shipping, paper industry, damascening and in laying industries, all underwent the same treatment.[12] As industrialisation grew in England, their manufactured

products were dumped in India. The production of Indian goods declined till it reached a low level.

Agricultural Transformation

The British political aggrandisement led to a revolution in the land system also. It created two forms of land ownership - the Permanent Revenue Settlement and the Ryotwari Settlement. This creation of property in land dislocated the rural society. This brought in a new class of speculators and moneylenders who came to be recognized as land owners.

The British tried to create an aristocratic landed society in the hope that such a society would be loyal to the British and contribute to the basis for economic growth in rural areas. The British had built on their hypothesis that social and economic institution had secured favourable results in Britain and so would yield good results in India.[13] All these systems were primarily alien to India. In England, the central figure in agriculture was the landlord and the British officials erred in thinking that the Zamindar was the prototype of the British landlord.

Lord Cornwalis created the first group of landlords in India through the Permanent Revenue Settlement. They were created out of the tax farmers in the provinces. The settlement converted these revenue collectors into landlords. They had to make a fixed payment. The Permanent Revenue Settlement was introduced in Bengal and Bihar. In UP the British had reduced the earlier proprietors of land to the position of tenants at will. This resulted in serious troubles.

The British rule also introduced the ryotwari system. Thomas Munro introduced it in 1820 in Madras Presidency. It later

extended to the Bombay Presidency, Berar and Assam. It made settlement with individual cultivators and rent was collected by assessment of the land and not by produce. The village was deprived of its agricultural, economic and judicial functions. Peasants had to produce mainly for the market. This led to commercialization of agriculture.[14] With the rise of modern industries in England, the necessity for Indian raw materials grew. Thus the British developed interest in the growth of cotton, hemp, jute, tea and indigo and agriculture became centrally controlled. This had a bad impact on the material condition of the people. The individual had been also given the right to dispose of his land. This cut across the joint family system and fragmentation of land took place in case of adversity. Fragmentation of land also took place when landholders sublet their land. Too much pressure on agriculture led to the ruination of the people. Moreover they had to pay land revenues.

The ryotwari system may have been an attempt of the British Government to establish on egalitarian peasant society. The British thought that private property would encourage private enterprise. But this was really not the case. There was hardly any growth or mobility.

The government did not pay much attention to agricultural farm. The only exception to this was the Canal irrigation projects in Punjab, Western U.P. and Madras. Not so much was invested in irrigation programmes of eastern India. The British-made canals did not cater to India needs but only to the need for commercial exploitation of crops that benefitted them. The destruction of indigenous canal system found its culmination in a series of famines. The British policies did not result in modernization. It centralised agricultural development.[15]

Development of Transport and Communications

The British realised that bullock carts, camels and packhorses were not enough if their manufactures were to be sold in India on a large scale. So, they introduced steamship, built roads, linked major cities and ports by railways and roadways to tap resources in India and helped to facilitate the export of raw materials. Top priority was given to their development and to the establishment of posts and telegraphs systems. In so doing, the needs of the Indian industries, their market, sources of raw materials were neglected. Railway rates were fixed to favour imports and exports which discriminated against Indian products. Railways and other innovations provided for British interests administratively commercially and militarily. They did not develop these innovations to serve the Indian people and commerce. Therefore they were not introduced in the interior of India and remote villages.[16]

Education

As far as education was concerned, the western conquest exposed the weakness in our society. Thoughtful Indians tried to weed them out. They thought western education alone could provide the answer for regeneration. They were impressed with western science and doctrines of reason and humanism. The new social groups that arose namely capitalists and in particular the middle class demanded western education.

The type of education that was imparted to the Indians before the advent of the British was religious instruction at the Patasalas and Madrasahs and schools run by many guilds. After the British arrived, these schools continued. The Company however

had evinced no interest. But in 1781 Warren Hastings established a Madrasah at Calcutta to teach Muslim Law and Johnathan Duncan in 1791 established a Sanskrit College at Varanasi for the study of Hindu Law. The motive behind these actions was to provide a supply of Indians to help in the administration of law. They therefore wanted the continuation of oriental education.

The missionaries soon pressurised the Company to promote modern education. The East India Company did not approve of missionary education as it would jeopardise their position in India by finding loopholes in their commercial transactions. They did not want to lose their newly gotten power. They could not tolerate converted Christian demand for equal treatment. They wanted Oriental Learning to continue. Thus Lord Amherst founded the Sanskrit College at Calcutta. All that was taught in the Sanskrit College was Indian Literature.[17] The missionaries however won due to the efforts of Wilberforce.

By the Act of 1813, a sutra of one lakh of rupees was set aside for promoting the knowledge of modern sciences. It was to be paid from Indian revenues. But even the petty amount was not made available by the Company Authorities.

Soon Indians evinced great interest in western learning. In 1817. the Hindus of Calcutta founded the Hindu College. The Company also opened a college to teach traditional subjects. Raja Rammohan Roy wanted English to be taught. There was soon a slow but perceptible demand for English education.[18]

In 1854, in Madras, the society for propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts started 186 schools.[19] With regard to female education, the Indian preferred to send their children where the least vigilance and strictness in superintendence was observed.

Ladies societies had been formed to encourage spread of female education.[20]

The aim of Rajaram Moham Roy in securing English education is revealed in a letter of 1823 to Lord Amherst. This letter was a moderate protest against the Government's plan to set up a Sanskrit School under the control of Hindu Pandits. He looked upon modern education as a major instrument to spread modern Science. He wanted the Indians to keep abreast of the times.

In the meanwhile changes took place in Britain which helped change the Company's attitude. The Court of Directors were inspired by James Mill's and Benthamite principle of utility which looked for greatest good for the greatest number of people. It was this principle which became the corner stone of educational policy but in practice this was not followed.[21] James Mill urged the Company that the Company's officials follow this policy in India. But he died in 1826. Mill had condemned Oriental learning in his Despatch of 1824.[22] English schools were established thereafter and Indians had evinced interest in English education long before Macaulay's Resolution of 1835. The resolution of Macaulay was opposed by James Prinsep who wanted vernacular languages to be taught.[23] Ultimately, Bentinck had to bow down to their demand and vernacular languages had to be included.[24] Bentinck's policy initially did not get the support from the authorities, but eventually, he was able to secure their support. The Government of India decided to devote the limited resources to the teaching of western Sciences and literature. English was the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. It opened a few English schools and colleges instead of a large number of elementary schools. This policy was criticised as it neglected the masses.

To make for this lapse, they took recourse to the so-called "filtration" theory. Since the funds allocated could only educate a handful of Indians, they decided to spend them in educating a few of them from the upper and middle classes, who were expected to assume the responsibilities of educating the masses and spreading modern ideas.

The British wanted to produce a set of educated Indian's who would be docile. But the educated Indians started to demand their rights.[25] Indians read the works of Locke, Hume Thomas Paine and others. College students established academic associations. They were influenced by Derozio in Calcutta. Similar groups had been established in Bombay and Madras. Thus the particular value in the process of higher educational work was the scientific research into the social, religions. historical and archeological and aesthetic interest.[26] Modern education created a certain amount of uniformity in community of outlook and interests.

By the Educational Despatch of 1844, universities were established in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Dalhousic encouraged vernacular education. By Wood's Despatch 1854 grants in aid were started and practical skills were given top priority. Religious neutrality was to be observed and female education was given further impetus. The Woods Despatch also helped the spread of vernacular language and brought to the fore leaders like Tilak, Agarkar and Phadke. They held different views from the western educated youths like Ranade, Gokhale. Pherozeshah Mehta and Wacha who held Moderate views.

Western education thus conferred on Indians a common lingua franca which made it possible to communicate and plan a common programme of action.

The Indians, realising how decadent they were, decided to weed out these elements from their religion and society. Thus the Brahmo Samaj, Paramhans Mandali, Prarthana Samaj, Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission and Theosophical Society had been established. They opposed caste system, sati, child marriage, and supported widow remarriage and spread of modern education. They undertook social welfare services. Ramakrishna Mission undertook to take up projects involving social welfare. Almost all these association's influence was confined to urban educated groups and it did have a decisive influence on the cultural, social, and political life in India. Brahmo Samaj and Ramakrishna Mission had outreaches in nearby villages of Bengal.

Muslims too partook in the Western education. Movements for reform were late in emerging among them. Their upper class avoided the British and Western educational systems. It was after the 1857 phenomenon that a beginning was made in this direction.

Thus, the claims of the Government and the Company that they took interest in spreading Western education in India was baseless. The limited effort they took was as a result of other reasons and not philanthropic motives. The credit should go to the progressive thoughtful Indians, Christian missionaries and liberal minded English. All along the Government was anxious to economize in the cost of administration through cheap supply of educated Indians to man the subordinate posts in the administration of British concerns. For this purpose emphasis was laid on English education. They also hoped that educated Indians would help expand the market for British manufactures in India. They hoped that the people would reconcile to British rule to strengthen the foundation of their authority in India.[27] It created a gulf between the educated and the masses. The costly nature of higher education made it a monopoly of the richer class and urban groups.

Scientific and technical education was neglected. There was a neglect of female education. The root of this problem was financial. Yet, with all these problems modem education led to propagation of modern ideas like liberalism and moderation.

Social Condition

As far as the social condition was concerned, the emergence of new social classes was the result of social, economic and cultural changes that took place. What existed in India before 1761 was a narrow sectarian patriotism. This manifested itself in a great deal of parochial loyalties such as attachment to the place of birth, interest in local affairs and attachment to ancestral religion and manners. The educated class broke with tradition and adapted themselves to European ideas such as freedom, liberty and common citizenship about which they read through the study of European history, press reports and visits to Europe. They constituted a new class in India. They imparted a sense of union. They shared their experiences among English educated groups. They discussed common economic cultural and political questions. This feeling of oneness slowly developed and it loosened slowly the ties of provicialism and Caste exclusiveness. But this was a very slow process. This change took place in most sectors of Indian society.[28]

The social system can be examined from the angle of rural sector. The British tried to create an aristocratic landed society in the hope that such a society would be loyal to them and contribute the basis for economic growth.

Thus, Permanent Revenue settlement has been introduced in Bengal. In the social context it was a very complex organization,

dealing with property rights and industrial relations in the land. Some of the territorial magnates thus created were zamindars, who had been conferred with more rights, some of them being lineage heads. They were revenue collectors. Some were civil servants and men of business who accumulated wealth at the time of the downfall of the Mughal Empire. All of them had something in common. They did not have the ability of acting in the capacity of improving lands. So they leased out portions of their lands. Within a short time there were many intermediaries between the zamindars and the tenants. As a result of the working of the Permanent Revenue settlement, agriculture was still considered attractive. Urban capital and enterprise therefore were attracted towards rural lands.

The semi feudal character still existed among upper and middle class. They did not approve of commercial and entrepreneurial activities. They preferred to secure rents from lands as maintenance. They also sought employment in liberal professions introduced by the British. Within a short time, the income of the landed gently declined. Professions also could not accommodate the sons of poverty - stricken who became frustrated. These were the root causes for the rise of nationalistic activities.[29] Further, the Permanent Revenue Settlement was not uniformly implemented in India.

The Ryotwari system was introduced in Bombay and Madras. In this condition also people showed their discontent against higher classes and the British who taxed and deprived them of their lands. They migrated to neighbouring areas when conditions were worse. Thus they became turbulent.

The British brought changes in urban society. The changes were more complex as the basis of these changes lay in qualitative

changes in the way by which wealth was generated. There was a change in the relationship of exchange between urban and rural society. Now a stage was laid for new class to develop, take all interest and play important roles in the politics of the day. They worked for reform of administration and spread of education, and these men were instrumental in the development of nationalistic tendencies among people in India.

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THE GROVE- A HERITAGE BUNGALOW

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Chennai has a number of heritage bungalows. The *Grove* is one of the better known historic residences of the city. It was built in 1885-86 and named The *Grove* in view of the large number of trees on the grounds. C.R. Pattabhirama Aiyar's son Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was the best-known occupant of the bungalow. Sir C.P. was an eminent lawyer of the Madras Presidency. In 1936, he became the Dewan of the Princely State of Travancore.[1]

The architectural features of this bungalow are an amalgamation of the ancient, medieval and modern styles. This bungalow consists of a two storey building. The southern entrance was the main one with a large portico decorated with pillars and high ceilings and a verandah. The portico gives a beautiful appearance to the bungalow. The front of the portico is decorated with white colored circular shaped pillars. These pillars resemble in style those found at the Madurai Thirumalai Nayak palace. This type of architecture is fusion of the Vijayanagara style and the colonial style of architecture. Next to the main entrance is an ante-chamber leading to the main hall of this bungalow. The main hall is generally called as the *Kalyanakoodam*. This *Kalyanakoodam* is the centre of attraction in this bungalow.

The *Kalyanakoodam* is the cynosure of all eyes. The special feature of this hall is that has well polished huge pillars. To

ensure proper light and ventilation, windows have been provided on all sides at the level of the first floor. Marriages and important meetings were conducted in this hall. The queen's durbar hall of Nayak palace is surrounded by many windows. That type of model is reflected in this bungalow. The women's quarters or *zenana* were meant for solitude rather than protection. The architectural style of these watch towers shows that these were used by the ladies for viewing proceedings occurring inside the hall. The centre of the hall portion is of considerable height. This portion is supported with strong iron beams. These iron beams were imported from Dorman Long & co Ltd, based in Middleborough, North East England which was a major steel industry founded in 1875.[2] All the four sides of the iron beams are fitted with strong iron nails. These iron beams are supported with four pillars of equal length. These four pillars are circular in shape. These four pillars are made of Burma teak wood. Over these four pillars there is a small space which is decorated with a row of a few cylindrical pillars. The South and east sides are decorated with four pillars each, thus making a total of eight pillars. This hall is provided with attractive lighting made of glass with floral designs. The top of this portion is an open area. The borders of the parapet walls on the terrace are similar to fort walls. This *kalyanakoodam* is surrounded by many rooms which are utilized for multiple purposes**.**

On the south side of the *kalyanakoodam* there is a room which leads to the courtyard. The courtyard is generally called as a *Mutram* or *Nadumitham.* The *mitham* is open to the sky. It is surrounded by huge wooden pillars. The courtyard pit level is very low. The bottom of the pillars is supported with a circular stone base. The idea of the stone base is to provide protection from rainwater in the rainy season. The floor of this *mitham* is made up of red-oxide. All the interior spaces are covered by

the roof which is designed to slope towards the central courtyard of four sides. It rests on the teak wood beams located along the edges of the open courtyard. There is a hole at one corner of the *mitham* for collecting rain water which drains into the sheet a well outside through a stone culvert. On the east side, the courtyard is blocked with a wooden railing. The outside of the roof is covered with Mangalore tiles. Some of the gaps in the tiles are fixed with plain rectangular glass to let in light. This tiled roof structure is similar to the ones found in the traditional Kerala houses (*Nallukattu).*

To the south of the *kalyanakoodam* there is a wooden staircase which leads to the upper floor and has a small wicket gate. This wooden stair case is decorated with a strong teak hand rail on both sides, with wooden balls on each corner and end. Wood has always been a prominent construction material for many reasons. However, they have incorporated several western influences also which are used in construction method. The upper floor is one of the best examples of the traditional wooden architecture of this bungalow.

The upper floor has two big halls. The ceilings of these two halls are made of wood planks. The edge of the ceiling is decorated with latticed wood cutting works. The inside of the ceiling is cut with four square shaped box types. The outer side of the square shape is fixed with white coloured plain glass. These are square boxes used for lighting purposes. Apart from these halls there are a few other rooms on the upper floor. All the rooms are covered with Madras terrace. Two rooms are hexagonal in shape. Another small room has a ceiling which was imported from Belgium. This ceiling is decorated with floral designs. In this room we find three windows; all of them are decorated with glass with floral designs and they, too, were imported from

Belgium. They are also covered with the latticed style of iron grills. This room has a Mangalore tiled roof on the top of the Belgium false ceiling. It is known that during Sir C.P Ramaswamy's days this small room was used as a library. Now the entire upper floor is used as the C.P.R. Institute of Indological Research and Library. The Library houses nearly 20,000 books. It includes a rare collection of books donated by Sir C.P. The collection has books on the following subjects: History, Culture, Literature, Law, Art and Architecture, paintings, sculpture, music and dance.

At the front of the south west corner of the bungalow is a turret with a spiral staircase which leads to the ground floor. The staircase is the secret way of the bungalow. The staircase is made of cement and *chunnam*. The turret wall is fixed with five small arch windows with small glass doors. These windows follow the Gothic pattern. The acme of the dome is decorated with a pinnacle. The turret roof resembles an umbrella. The turret provides an artistic flourish to this already splendid building and stands as a proud reminder of our rich heritage.

The floor of this bungalow is decorated with different types of tiles. Some rooms are provided with black and white square shaped tiles made of while marble and black cuddapah stone, resembling a chess board. Some floors are decorated with colorful tiles and marble. The room's windows are very big; the space above these windows are decorated with an arch. These arches are decorated with white coloured Belgium glasses for good lighting purposes. The windows are covered with an iron grill for security purposes. The inside of the windows is decorated with big glass doors and the outer side of the windows are decorated with French wooden shutter doors. The locking system of the glass doors are of the hook type with simple iron nails for convenient use.

This bungalow has been constructed with very big windows and small windows also. The rooms' doorway is rectangular in shape, decorated in the shape of a semi-circular arch. This style resembles the *chaitya* arch. Apart from those semi-circular arch windows, some windows are constructed with a segmental arch. These segmental arch windows are very large compared to the semi circular windows. The windows let in plenty of fresh air into this bungalow. The windows, doors and entrance doors are decorated with French type shutter doors.[3]

The bungalow walls are mainly of brick masonry. The wall surfaces are finished with *chunnam*. The description of *chunnam* has been given by an English lady who published an account of her journey to India. She visited Madras in June 1765. But what gives the greatest elegance to the house is the material peculiar to the Coromandel Coast. It is a cement or plaster called chunnam made of shells of a very large species of oyster found on this coast. These shells when burnt, pounded and mixed with water, form the strongest cement; if it is to be used as a plaster, it is mixed with the white yoke of egg, milk and some other ingredients.[4] When dried it is as hard, and very nearly as beautiful as marble. These walls are an essential component of a building. The primary function of a wall is to enclose or divide the space of the bungalow to make it more functional and useful. Walls provide privacy, afford security and give protection from heat, cold, sun, and rain, and support to the floors and roofs.[5]

The special feature of this bungalow is a high Madras terrace ceiling. The high ceiling causes the warm air to go up easily. The roof is the upper most part of the bungalow. It is a covering the building on the top for protecting the building from rain, sun and wind and also from their adverse effects.[6] In the 18th century, with the advent of colonial trade and the growth of cities, the

flat roofed Madras terraces were made with lime plaster and small bricks.[7] The Madras terrace roof consisted of a layer of lime concrete over a layer of brick-on- edge laid in lime mortar, supported over beams. The terrace of the first quality of 15x7.5x2.5 cm in size and were laid on edge in diagonal rows with lime mortar of 1:1 ½ proportions, closely packed and spanning over the beams. The brick work were so laid as to have slight camber not exceeding 5cm in between the joints, to enhance the self-supporting arch action. The spacing of the beams shall not be more than 45 cm. The brick work then was cured by frequent sprinkling of water for a period of 10 days. After setting of the brick work, a layer of lime concrete was laid.

After the lime concrete had been laid, it was allowed to consolidate initially with wooden rammers of 2 kg weight, and the consolidation further was done with hand beaters so that the concrete become hardened. The top surface of the roof is treated with the solution of Bael fruit, molasses and lime water or solution of *kadukai*, molasses and lime water sprinkled over the surface for strengthening the roof and making it water proof. The bearing was continued until the beater made no impression on the concert, and it readily rebounded from the surface when struck on it. After compaction, the surface was wetted with a solution of Bael fruit, molasses or lime and smoothened with a trowel to have a thin water proof layer.[8] The inside of the Madras terrace resembles a railway track.

The top floor of the bungalow is an open terrace. This open terrace was constructed with an ornamental balcony. The bungalow appears to be in good condition, both in style of architecture and construction. It is now used as the C.P.Ramaswami Aiyar Foundation. This bungalow incorporates some of the best features of the European style of architecture of the 19th century with

the traditional Tamil Nadu style, thus resulting in a unique amalgam which reflects the spirit of the age in which it was built. It is the best example of a heritage building, and is one of the outstanding buildings in Chennai city, giving credence to Chennai's claim to some of the country's stately buildings.

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EUROPEAN WOMEN'S POLITICAL ENDEAVOUR

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One of the biggest mass movements of modern history is the story of the Indian freedom movement. During the early part of Indian history women kept away from politics barring a few who made a mark in war diplomacy and administration. During the British period, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi emerged as a great heroine during the First War of Independence of 1857 and her bravery and courage have immortalized her name. Other prominent women who participated in the 1857 revolt were Rani Tacebai, Begum Hazrat Mahal, Lalitha Bakshi Jhalkari, Sunder, Kashibai, Munder, Motibai, Rani of Ramgarh and the Rani of Tulsipur. They were gallant fighters for freedom. Their exemplary courage, integrity, self-respect, combined with the spirit of sacrifice, dedication and devotion to the motherland make them the champions of freedom. The 20th century Indian women surpassed them all by jumping quickly into politics in large numbers and securing political rights equal to those of men. Not only the Indian women, European women also entered into the Indian political field.[1]

Among the European women who entered into the arena of Indian politics, Annie Besant come to the forefront. Annie Besant came to India on 16th November 1893.[2] She landed at Tuticorin and lectured in twelve towns in South India. She attended the annual convention of the the heosophical Society

at Adyar in Madras. To quote Dr. Besant the three objects of her joining the Theosophical Society are; "To found a Universal brotherhood without distinction of race or creed; to forward the study of Aryan literature and Philosophy; to investigate the hidden mysteries of nature and the physical power in man.[3] In 1907, on Dr. Besant's election as President of the Theosophical Society, she made Adyar, Madras, her permanent home.[4] The entry of Mrs. Annie Besant into Indian politics in 1914 galvanized new and increased national consciousness in both men and women. In October 1913, she spoke at a great public meeting in Madras recommending that there should be a Standing Committee of the House of Commons for Indian affairs, which would go into the question of how India might attain freedom.[5] When she was in England in 1914, she tried to form an Indian Party in the Parliament but the efforts ended in failure. However, her propaganda in England in favour of granting self-government to India prepared the ground towards the formation of "Home Rule League" in London.[6] Annie Besant took up to the work for the Indian people to self-knowledge, self-respect and self government.[7]

On her return to India, she founded a weekly newspaper "Commonweal" in 1914 for her political work. It focuses the attention of the public on their problems.[8] In June 1914, she purchased the "Madras Standard" for her political work and renamed it "New India", which, thereafter, became her chosen organ for her revolutionary propaganda for India's freedom. Margaret Cousins was the sub-editor of "New India". She called this freedom "Home Rule" for India.[9] Mrs. Besant was the registered printer and publisher of the daily English Newspaper "New India" and registered printer of a weekly journal called the "Commonweal". She was also the registered keeper of the press at which these papers were printed.[10] The motto of the newspaper was "for God, Crown and Country".[11]

The Home Rule League was inaugurated at Madras on 3rd September 1916 in the Gokhale Hall with its headquarters at Adyar.[12] The draft organization for the Home Rule League in its details was discussed and passed unanimously. Mrs. Besant in her closing speech stressed the need for such a Home Rule League at that time and the tasks ahead of its members. By these mottos the movement worked for its ideals. The representatives who came from different parts of the country conveyed the messages of the people of their regions to the organizers.[13] Annie Besant was the President, George Arundale was the organizing secretary, C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer was the General Secretary and B.P. Wadia was the treasurer.[14] The launching of an All India Home Rule League was the most significant phenomenon in her career. Theosophists were the backbone of the Home Rule League but many non-theosophists also supported it.[15] The manifesto of the Home Rule League was published in "New India" on the 25th September and sent to all Indian papers.[16] The manifesto contains the growing poverty of the masses, the decay of industries and the increasing burden of debt. The tone of Mrs. Besant's publications affords every justification for anticipating that such arguments were supplemented by denunciations of the treatment of Indian soldiers and Indian officers, by attacks on the policy of government in regard to the volunteers and the administration of the Arms Act, and by persistent attempts to play upon racial feelings.[17] Mrs. Besant's "New India" became the most popular paper in Madras having a circulation of 10,500 which was higher than any other paper in Madras.[18]

Annie Besant was the member of Indian National Congress in 1914.[19] To get the support of the Indian National Congress for the proposed Home Rule League, Annie went to Bombay in December 1915 where the Congress was to hold its annual

session. While in Bombay, she met the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabai Nauroji, who spoke encouragingly about the proposed Home Rule League.[20] She explained her plan for the establishment of the Home Rule League. In 1916 this work was intensified. People eagerly read "New India" for news of the progress of the movement and read Dr. Besant's editorials in the paper. Mrs. Besant's brain was always working and her spirit was restless. The Indian Home Rule League was announced with a fanfare of trumpets in her own paper.[21] So they organized a Home Rule League and established branches of the league in every town and village and all patriotic citizens were preaching Home Rule and worked for its attainment under the guidance of the British, and to reach the goal in eight to ten years. The Home Rule Movement helped the attainment of swaraj.[22]

The objects of the Home Rule League were to secure self-government for India through law-abiding and constitutional activities.[23] Home Rule means the rule of the people and for the benefit of the people. It made popular education free and compulsory for every child. Home Rule treated everyone equally before law and Indians would manage their affairs themselves, except matters connected with foreign countries or international questions. The police would be the servants not the masters of the people and they would have sufficient salaries to avoid their taking bribes from the poor. Under Home Rule a citizen army should be constituted to preserve order inside the country as well as to protect its frontiers. India should be a free country conducting a free administration.[24]

Membership was open to all men and women over 18 years of age, who accepted the objects.[25] The branches of the Home Rule League were opened all over India at Kumbakonam, Madanapalli, Madurai, Calicut, Ahmedabad, Banaras, Bombay

and Kanpur.[26] In September 1915, Mrs. Besant called for a vigorous Home Rule Agitation. She asked the Indian leaders in every town and villages to take up the cry of Home Rule for India and she organized meetings to explain the message to the masses and make them demand liberty. She asked the Indian newspapers to keep on writing, till the demand for freedom permeated Indian society as a whole and the demand was clearly echoed.[27]

India demanded Home Rule for two reasons, one essential and vital, the other less important but weighty. First, freedom is the birth right of every nation, secondly, her most important interests were made subservient to the interests of the British Empire without her consent and her resources were not utilized for her greatest needs.[28] The Madras Presidency became the centre of Home Rule Agitation in India and thrust into the forefront of all India politics.[29] The Home Rule Movement in Madras struggled for its objects of Swadeshi, Boycott of Foreign Goods, Temperance, National Education, Labour Welfare and Home Rule (responsible government) which were similar in essence to those preached by the Indian National Congress since 1885. Under the inspiring leadership of its leaders like Mrs. Besant, Mr. George Arundale, B.P. Wadia and Sri. Subramania Iyer, it captured the minds of many intellectuals, both young and old and spread its ideals through the numerous branches of Theosophical Societies. Mrs. Besant herself came to Madurai in 1915 and delivered a number of speeches about Home Rule. The Madurai Theosophical lodge was one of the important centers for Home Rule agitation.[30]

Student participation in the Home Rule Movement marked a turning point in the history of the national movement in South India. The Home Rule organizers sought the support of the

students in order to popularize the movement. Annie Besant felt that imparting political propaganda in the minds of the students would help them to inculcate patriotism, more courage and sincerity that enabled them to serve the country after completing their studies.[31] Home Rule classes were organized to inculcate patriotism among the students. At Madras, special Home Rule classes had been arranged twice in a week in the hall of the Young Men's Indian Association. Attacking the backwardness of the England educational system in India, Annie Besant declared that the English government discouraged higher education. They concluded that Home Rule was the only solution to the alarming deadlock in the educational system.[32]

To create awareness among the people they distributed pamphlets in vernacular languages. On 11th September 1916 when P. Sivaswamy Iyer, the Vice-Chancellor of Madras University and the supporter of British rule gave a talk at Presidency College, the students interrupted him and abused him. During the meeting at Pachiappa's College, Madras, the students snatched away the cap of the CID (Criminal Investigation Department) Sub-Inspector. In St. Joseph College, Trichirapalli and the Government College at Coimbatore, there appeared wall posters with the words "Kill the English" and "Worship Mrs. Besant".[33] The impact of the Home Rule agitation on the Madras students was tremendous. On 24th July 1916, the students occupied a compartment reserved for Europeans at the Egmore Station. Three days later anti-reservation agitation led to a clash between the students and Europeans at the Fort Station, Madras.[34]

As the Home Rule League movement became very popular and grew in strength, the government was alarmed. The students were becoming the backbone of the movement in Madras. The government of Madras passed orders to prevent them from

entering into politics. The government wanted to bring the students back to the schools and colleges. In 1917, an order was passed by the government to restrict the student's participation in political affairs.[35] Several repressive measures already in operation were tightened under control. Any violator of law was prosecuted. Action was taken against agitators under the Defence of India Act of 1915. The propaganda of the Home Rule League was curtailed under the Indian Press Act of 1910.[36]

At Madras Annie Besant was ordered to furnish a security of Rs. 2000 for having published seditious articles in New India (28th May 1916).[37] The amount was paid. The government forfeited the amount and demanded a new security of Rs. 10,000. Again she paid this amount.[38] Annie Besant filed a petition in the High Court of Madras. An order was passed by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, dated 22nd May 1916, requiring her to deposit a security of Rs. 2000 and another order of government declaring her security deposit forfeited. After the decision of the court, Sir C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, *vakil* for Mrs. Besant served a notice of civil suit on the Chief Presidency Magistrate, for the recovery of the deposit money 2000.[39]

There was loud protest all over India against the unjust demand of the Madras government. M.M. Malavia, T.B. Sapru, C.Y. Chintamani and M.A. Jinnah were among the personalities who joined the chorus of protest.[40] Public meetings were held in Madras to protest against the demand of security from "New India" and S. Subramanya Iyer presided over it.[41] Many associations outside the presidency joined the outcry. New India Defence funds were organized. Besant sought legal remedy in the Madras High Court but lost the case. But the publicity that the case received strengthened the Home Rule agitation, not only in Madras, but in other parts of India, particularly in Bombay and Bengal.[42]

On 16th June 1917, Mrs. Besant along with Arundale and Wadia were arrested at Ooty. As a result of their Home Rule agitation Mrs. Cousins was inspired to organize a protest meeting in Madanapallee.[43] In 1917 women's interest in the movement for Home Rule were deeply stirred and stimulated by the internment of Mrs. Besant; Women's Indian Association branches took active part in obtaining her release.[44] In recognition of her services and sacrifice the Congress elected Annie Besant as the President of the 32nd Session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta in 1917.[45]

As the President of the Indian National Congress, she got an opportunity for planning out a system of national education in India. It was a graded scheme suiting each type of unit to be educated. Regional Universities were established with research facilities in the indigenous knowledge of ancient literature, science, art and crafts. Village education was to be developed countrywide. The Home Rule Movement disappeared from the Indian scene soon after the declaration of the Montague Chelmsford reforms in 1917.[46] However Besant's popularity declined after the advent of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi on the national scene. Annie Besant was very active in endeavouring to bring different political parties and leaders together for framing an agreed scheme of Swaraj and creating public opinion towards that end through the press and platforms.[47] Mrs. Besant sowed the seeds of Self-Government in the heart of every Indian. She preached the meaning of Swarajya and Self-Government[48] in every village and house. The Swarajya scheme was ultimately drafted under the guidance of Pandit Motilal Nehru. Mrs. Cousins has clearly stated that the Women's Indian Association was always in favour of Swadeshi and Swaraj.[49]

Annie Besant protested against the Simon Commission and agitated in favour of the Nehru report. It inspired Indian women to join politics and participate in the national movement. As a result, many Indian women participated in the national movement. Sarojini Naidu was a great political leader and a staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity. She organized demonstrations against the Rowlatt Act and protested against the Government of India Act of 1919. Rukmini Lakhsmipathy, Kamala Chattopadhyay, and Rukmani Amrit Kaur participated in the Indian National Movement and did remarkable work in this field. Women formed many organizations to work collectively for the national movement.[50] Through the efforts of Annie Besant, Madame Bhikaji Cama and Sarojini Naidu, women were organized under women's organization which was launched for political activity.

Women's Organisations

In the latter part of the 19th century several women's organizations were started by European women to fight for native women's rights. The three major women's organization, which thus trace their origin to the decade between 1917-1927, were (i) Women's Indian Association (ii) National Council of Women India Association (NCWI) and (iii) the All India Women's Conference (AIWC).[51]

The first all India organisation which came into existence in 1926 was the National Council of Women in India (NCWI). Its aim was to secure women's rights through social work. The NCWI worked under the patronage of the British government. In every district, generally, the collector's wife functioned as the head of the committee.[52]

Women's Indian Association

The Women's Indian Association was started by European women such as Mrs. Annie Besant and Dorathy Jinarajadasa at Adyar, Madras on the 8th May 1917 for the purpose of advancing the interests and furthering the progress of women in India by banding them into groups for self-development, the continuation of education, the promotion of public opinion for social reform and the definite service of others.[53] Women's Indian Association membership was open to both Indians and Europeans. With the formation of Women's Indian Association, Annie Besant became the first President and Mrs. Dorathy Jinarajadasa, Margaret Cousins, Mrs. Malathi Patwardhan, Mrs. Ammu Swaminathan, Mrs. Dadabhoy and Mrs. Ambhujammal as Honorary Secretaries and this was the main source of inspiration for women of Tamilnadu to clamour for their franchise.[54]

The main political aim of the Women's Indian Association was to get their suffrage in the local administration, Central and State legislature and get into it.[55] The objects of the Women's Indian Association were (i) to present to women their responsibility as daughters of India. (ii) To help them realise that the future of India lies largely in their hands for as wives and mothers they have the task of training, guiding and forming the character of the rulers of India.[56] (iii) To band women into groups for the purpose of self-development and education and for the definite service of others. (iv) To secure for every boy and girl the right of education through schemes of compulsory primary education, including the teaching of religion (v) to secure the abolition of child marriage and to raise the age of consent for married girls to 16, (vi) To secure for women the vote of municipal and legislative councils on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men and (vii) To secure for women the right to be elected as members of all municipal and legislative councils.[57]

The Indian women's movement was the chief force behind the struggle for political representation. The formation of the Women's Indian Association played a key role in the struggle for women's franchise. The first campaign for women's franchise was started in the year 1917. Mahatma Gandhi came to the forefront of the national movement and became its indisputable leader. Three women of outstanding talent and personality, made a deep impression on the mind of the Indian women and gave impetus to them to participate in the freedom struggle. They were Annie Besant, Margaret Cousins and Sarojini Naidu.[58]

Mrs. Margaret Cousins, wife of the Irish Theosophist and poet, James H. Cousins came to India under the inspiration of Mrs. Annie Besant.[59] Mrs. Margaret Cousins took a leading part in the women's franchise movement and also Mrs. C. Jinarajadasa, the then secretary of the Women's Indian Association. Both these ladies were theosophists and accompanied Annie Besant from their native country to India. Mrs. Margaret Cousins and her husband adopted this land as their own and had been rendering service to the Indian people in all walks of life.

Activities of the Women's Indian Association:

It was due to the demand of this association that women are granted municipal and legislative franchise. It was also responsible for the primary and compulsary education for girls being introduced in the Madras City.[60] The Women's Indian Association sent its representatives to take part in the Round Table Conference. This association was the first women association in India to present a memorandum to the Round Table Conference on women's franchise and their constitutional rights.[61]

When the Child Marriage Restraint Act was passed in the Central Legislature in 1929, the Women's Indian Association has strenuously worked for its enforcement by the appointment of the Sarada Committee, and the Sarada Bill was pased in October 1929 and was finally evolved into the Sarada Act in April 1930. The Women's Indian Association was more forthcoming and convened a meeting to congratulate Sahib Harbilal Sarada, the brain behind the bill. Sarada's Bill, where in the Age of Consent committee had recommended 15 as the minimum age of marriage and 21 as the age of consent, was ultimately passed with a compromise; whereas the minimum age of marriage for female was at 14, that for males was fixed at 18 and the age of consent was not even mentioned.[62]

The Government of India circulated the bill to get public opinion for and against the Bill. Accordingly the Government of Madras circulated the Bill to Pundits, Officials, Social service organisations and so on. The Collector of Madras, Trichinopoly and certain other districts who advocated the Bill stated that the orthodox Hindu communitywould object the legislation. There was proved much controversy and opposition from the orthodox sections of the Hindu society.[63] In the Madras Presidency Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddy moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council. This Bill was adopted unanimously by the Madras Legislative Council on 31st August 1929.[64]

The Women's Indian Association's contribution towards the working of the acts for the supression of immoral traffic in women and children act, abolition of the Devadasi system in Hindu temples in the Madras Presidency gained great appreciation. The Women's Indian Association was strongly in favour of Dr. Muthulakshmi's resolution and bill to prohibit the continuity of the Devadasi system and to give succour to the economic victims.[65]

The reforms of the Hindu law towards Hindu women gave equal share in the property of the husband. The Hindu marriage reforms gave equal rights to both men and women. Adoption and succession bills had been passed in the Parliament, which included the law recently passed for the prevention of dowry. The Women's Indian Association has been mainly responsible for the passing of these Acts.[66] The Women's Indian Association was the initiator of the first All Asian Women's Conference. The association maintained its international links with other International Women's Organisations.

All India Women's Conference: (AIWC)

The All India Women's Conference owes its origin to a circular letter from Mrs. Margaret Cousins, in the year 1926, as Secretary of Women's Indian Association, Adyar, Madras. She addressed an appeal to women all over the country to form local committees and hold a constituent conference in each of the provinces and districts and Indian States, for the purpose of declaring their views on problems of education. Her appeal met with a wide and enthusiastic response, and constituent conferences were held in 22 places during the months of September to December 1926, as a result of which the All India Women's Conference was founded.[67]

In its memorandum, the All India Women's Conference made a demand for universal adult suffrage, mixed general electorates and no reservations, and co-option or nomination of women.[68] Muthulakshmi Reddi guided the policies and programmes of the All India Women's Conference. It was a non-party and a non-partisan organisation.[69]

The All India Women's Conference first met at Poona in January from 5th to 8th 1927, followed by more than six months of serious work on the part of Margaret Cousins and other women belonging to the Women's Indian Association. Margaret Cousins was elected its first honorary organising secretary. Maharani Chimanbai Saheb Gaekwad of Baroda was the first President of the All India Women's Conference.[70]

The All India Women's Conference emerged as the most important organisation and became a national institution embracing even global problems in its purview. It did extremely useful work in the field of education, especially its emphasis was on making women fit to play their role in the family as well as in society. Its campaign against early marriage, polygamy, purdah, dowry, widow-remarriage and the property right for women prepared the ground for the enactment of suitable legislations. It demanded franchise for all women, married or unmarried, and asserted that departments like health, education and labour should be invariably given to women legislators.[71]

The problem of franchise for women was the first issue addresed by the Women's Indian Association. Margaret Cousins undertook the task of organising and publicity voicing women's opinion on suffrage. The association concentrated its activities in formulating social legislation for women, organising public meetings to raise women's consciousness about problems related to women's education, child marriage, widowhood, polygamy and so on. Political equality was granted to women under the Indian Constitution, guaranteed through the instrument of adult franchise and Article 15, which prohibits discrimination on grounds of sex.[72]

The struggle for the vote for women was broadly classified into two phases; the first from 1917 to 1928, when female

enfranchisement and eligibility for female representation in legislatures was sought; the second until 1937, when attempts were made to broaden both terms of enfranchisement and representation in legislative bodies.[73]

The notable contribution made by the European women in India was to the women's franchise movement. In this struggle, Mrs. Margaret Cousins played a vital role. Mrs. Margaret Cousins took a leading part in this movement as also Mrs. Jinarajadasa the then secretary of the Women's Indian Association. Both these ladies were theosophists and accompanied Dr. Annie Besant from their native country to India.[74]

Adult franchise for women was granted only as late as 1928 in England, and as such the British were not in a hurry to enfranchise to Indian women.[75] The Indian Women's Association meeting was held all over India and arranged to send a women's deputation to England.[76] When the Montague – Chelmsford reforms were contemplated, there was considerable difference of opinion not only among the British but among the Indians themselves about the advisability of enfranchising women. Mr.E.S.Montague, the then Secretary of State of India, came to India in 1917 to study conditions in the country for framing a new constitution based on limited franchise.[77] But the two Councils Act of 1892 and 1909 made no mention of female franchise.[78]

In 1917, the All India Women's Deputation of fourteen women leaders drew from all over the country, who were the members of the Women's Indian Association waited upon Mr. Montague who was the then Secretary of State for India and who visited India.[79] A women's deputation demanded women's political rights and their role in the coming constitution of India and presented a memorandum to E.S. Montague in Madras.

Sarojini Naidu was the leader and Mrs. Margaret Cousins was the secretary of this deputation. Other women leaders like Annie Besant, Malathi Patwardhan, Rani Lakshmibhai Rajwadenee, Dr. Naguthai Moropant Joshi were also included in this deputation. The memorandum demanded also the enfranchisement of Indian women.[80]

The women came from different parts of India and their memorandum contained demands for better and increased facilities for education and improved health, maternity services and the franchise rights as would be extended to men. The memorandum itself marked a distinct milestone in the history of women's movement. It demanded the abolition of disqualification of sex in the administrative sphere as well as in local government and legislative franchise rules.[81]

The deputation received a patient hearing and a courteous reply but the women of India were considerably surprised to find that the Montague – Chelmsford scheme, when published had no provision for enfranchisement. In 1919 the Southborough franchise committee visited India for further study of the franchise. This committee was headed by Lord Southborough.[82]

Mrs. Besant, leader of Indian suffragettes presented a memorandum to Lord Southborough regarding demanding women's right to vote. Indian politicians also demanded women's franchise for every woman.[83]

After making a thorough study the committee reported that women should be totally excluded from the franchise. The committee also pointed out that, women suffrage would be out of harmony with the conservative feeling of the country and it would include grave difficulties in the actual recording of votes.[84]

But the committee appreciated those who supported the demand and recommended that this matter should be reconsidered in the next revision. The members of the Women's Indian Association and women's delegation who had worked vigorously for female franchise were very much disappointed with the outcome.

Again Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mrs. Annie Besant and Miss. Herabai gave evidence in favour of their demand to the joint committee of both the House of Parliament in 1919. They supported franchise for women.[85]

Dr. Sankaran Nair, the only Indian member of the Southborough Committee asked the Bombay committee to send a delegate. The Bombay committee selected Herabai Tata as a delegate and her daughter Milton Tata went to England.[86] When the Joint Select Committee was in discussion, Annie Besant warned the committee for ignoring the women's demand. Sarojini Naidu represented All Indian women and said that enfranchised women would make a powerful force for progress. She pointed out that when the word "franchise" was heard the idea came to certain women of the women's university, and to start with, they were greatly helped by a European women who had great knowledge of the suffrage movement, to send a deputation to the Secretary of State and to Lord Chelmsford.[87] Most of the British believed that Indian women were uneducated and living in seclusion. Leaders like Tilak, V.J. Patel, V.P. Madhava Rao, Jinnah, Yakub Hassan supported the demand of the women while giving evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill in 1919.[88] Hence the Montague – Chelmsford Reform Act of 1919 entrusted the work of giving women the right to vote to the legislatures of the respective provinces.[89] Madras enfranchised its women in 1921, Bombay followed close to Madras, Bengal in 1925, Punjab in 1926, Central

Province in 1927, Bihar in 1929 and all Indian States and Provinces had enfranchised their women. Madras was the first province to put up women candidates for the legislative councils.[90]

After women got voting rights, they began to fight for the removal of the ban on women members in the legislatures. Several women's organisations like the Women's Indian Association, Bharat Maha Mandal, Madras Branch of Brahma Samaj, Tamil Ladies Association and others, conducted a meeting at the Senate house of Madras. Members of the different organisations expressed their views against the disqualifications of women on entering the legislature. Due to the efforts of Mrs. Margaret Cousins, Herabai Tata and others, the Government of India amended the bill, which gave the right to women to sit in the Provincial Legislatures in April 1926. Earlier the Government of Madras gave the power to nominate women members for the municipalities and local bodies in 1922.[91]

The local legislatures were also empowered to extend the franchise to women. In Madras Presidency, M. Krishnan Nayar, member of Justice Party in the Madras Legislative Council introduced a resolution for the removal of sex disqualifications on 1st April 1921. It was resolved to do away with sex disqualifications on women for franchise. This resolution was passed in the Madras Legislative Council with forty seven votes in favour of it.[92]

In response to this resolution the Government of Madras made the regulation called the the Madras Electoral Sex Disqualification Removal Regulation. It stated that no women should be disqualified by her sex for registration on the electoral roll of any constituency of the Legislative Council of Madras.[93] Subsequently, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy was the first women to

be nominated as member of the Madras Legislative Council in 1927. And later she became a Deputy President of the Council also.[94]

In 1931, the British Government appointed a franchise committee under Lord Lothian. In 1932, the Lothian Franchise Committee visited India to collect opinions. When giving evidence to the franchise committee a Muslim member of this committee, Mohammud Yakub affirmed that women's seats should be reserved on a communal basis. The committee met a small percentage of Indian women and accepted the joint memorandum, which was given by the All India Women's Organisations. This committee also rejected adult franchise.[95] In August 1932, the Communal Award was announced. In this award the British Government openly applied communal principles to women's franchise and representation, 2.5% of the seats were reserved for women in the Provincial Legislatures. In September 1932 the Poona Pact was issued and it granted reserved seats to the depressed classes within the Hindu Constituency. The women's organisations opposed communal electorates and they thought that the only way to solve all these problems was adult suffrage.[96]

The Women's Indian Association strongly opposed the proposal for the formation of separate or communal electorates for either men or women and the reservation of seats for communities and interests in the provincial councils and assemblies as these expedients would neither promote unity among the several communities, castes, creeds and races in India nor tend to the sponteneous growth of rationalism among the masses.[97] The All India Women's Conference, Women's Indian Association and the National Council of Women in India prepared a memorandum after a long discussion. It demanded adult suffrage and objected to the separate electorates and reservation of seats. The British women like Eleaner Ruthbone

advised the Indian women to take back the demand for universal franchise and to accept reserved seats.

When the Government of India Act of 1935 was in its last stage of preparation the Linlithgow committee asked for witnesses from Indian women's organisations. Muthulakshmi Reddy of the Women's Indian Association, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur of All India Women's Conference and Begum Hamid Ali of National Council of Women in India were nominated as the spokes-women before the committee. Many memorandums were presented and all these insisted on the importance of increasing the number of enfranchised women. Finally, this act raised the number of women voters to about five million.[98]

The Government of India Act of 1935 provided for the reservation of 41 seats for women in Provincial Legislatures. It gave votes to women with property and educational qualifications, and wives of men of military service etc., In the 1937 election, eight women were elected from several constituencies.

In the Madras Provincial Assembly eight seats were reserved for women.[99] The number of women voters, women's representatives in assemblies and Parliament had increased after independence. Indian women got the franchise very early when compared to certain countries of the world. The Constituent Assembly set up in the year 1946 and a body elected by the existing legislatures had, among its members Sarojini Naidu, Durgabai Renuka Roy and Hansa Metha, among others to frame the constitution of independent India.

After India became independent, Indian women began to come out boldly and occupy high positions. Sarojini Naidu was made the first woman Governor of Uttar Pradesh. Vijialakshmi

Pandit was sent to England as the Indian High Commissioner and later she was elected as president of the United Nations. Jawaharlal Nehru inducted Lakshmi Menon into the External Affairs Ministry. He made Smt. Durga Bai join the Constitution making body and later in the Planning Commission and she contributed significantly to these two bodies by her dynamism, initiative and intelligence.[100]

The Indian Constitution guarantees political equality through the institution of adult franchise. The Women of India took effective steps for attaining franchise. Men also joined in this campaign. The women's organisations like the All India Women's Conference, Women's Indian Association and the National Council of Women in India played a dominant role in this struggle. Though they met much opposition both from the British and Indians, they achieved their goal.

The Indian Constitution of 1950, adopted Universal Suffrage for the entire Indian people. Under the Constitution of 1950, General Elections were conducted throughout India. In the Tamilnadu Legislative Assembly, only one woman was elected in the first general election.[101] When enthusiasm for political freedom gained momentum, it was realised that freedom for women was an integral part of national freedom. Indian women had suceeded in the suffrage movement only because Indian men were liberal enough to recognise their work. Their participation in politics paved the way for their complete emancipation from traditional bondage.[102]

As a result of the women's movement started in India and strengthened by European women, women could secure equality of status with men as embodied in the Constitution of free India. The women's movement in India rightly struck a new path and

opened a new vision. It aroused new hopes and aspirations of service in the wider arena of global life. Thus the seeds sown by European women to liberate the native women in their socio-economic and political matters paved the way for Indian women's development during the first half of the 20th century.

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ECONOMIC POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT OF PRINCELY MYSORE: AN APRAISAL OF DEWAN MIRZA ISMAIL'S ROLE

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Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore between 1926 and 1941, was one of the most powerful and farsighted of the Mysore Dewans. The economic policy followed in this period, admired all over India, saw the establishment of State industries along with encouragement of private enterprise which aimed at promoting indigenous industrialization and economic nationalism. Mirza favoured the revival of his predecessor Sir M.Vishweshwarayya's economic policy and, in conjunction with that policy, it can be seen as a persistent struggle towards the political and economic autonomy of Mysore. The liberal policy of Albion Banerji's Dewanship between 1918 and 1926 could not be sustained in the 1930's due to continued economic depression and financial problems. On the other hand, Vishweshwarayya's developmental strategy was unacceptable at the time because of the huge expenditures involved, but his idea that one should follow the lead of progressive countries of the west to develop Mysore was favoured by Mirza. His views can, therefore be seen as a temporized, practical aproach to development that incorporated the basic values of Vishweshwarayya.[1]

The depression of the 1930s lasted for a long duration and its effect on trade and finance was severe. The Government of

Mysore soon learnt that to escape or overcome future crises, overall self-reliance and self-sufficiency was the key. The contemporary 'Swadeshi movement' of Gandhiji apealed to Sri Mirza: He therefore suggested: "I ask you to look at this question of Swadeshi as one of mutual benefit to all concerned. If a rich man buys an Indian picture to adorn his house, the artist buys a suit of Mysore clothes and the cloth maker a bale of Mysore cotton, the farmer, tools from the cooperative society and the society a stock of the Mysore soap for its customers, the profit of the soap factory will increase, the Government would be able to reduce taxes and the circle of mutual benefit will go merrily on to the great advantage of the country as a whole".[2]

Government should, according to Dewan Mirza, take active interest in the problems of trade and industry. But Mirza's emphasis of planned economy came under criticism from the Representative Assembly as moving towards "state socialism". In reply to this charge, Mirza stated the importance of the role of the state in industrial development in no uncertain terms "In the peculiar circumstances prevailing in the country, state socialism - and a generous measure is not only desirable, but is also necessary if the pace of industrialization in the country has to be accelerated:

Dewan Mirza Ismail was very anxious to make the Krishnarajasagar Dam an advantageous project, but several obstacles stood in the way of achieving it. There was the agreement of 1892 and several subsequently, with the Government of Madras that imposed severe strictures on the Mysore Government to building irrigation dams on the Cauvery, including obtaining the former's permission upon every construction activity undertaken in the basin. The first phase of the project was completed in 1922 and completely finished by 1931 to meet the high cost of

dam construction, Alfred Chalterton, Director of the department of Industries and Commerce, favoured introduction of cane cultivation which was done subsequently on a large scale in the Mandya region.

Mandya was soon transformed into a big commercial centre and the sugar industry grew so rapidly that the surrounding areas began to source white sugar from Mandya The Irwin canal and electric power were responsible for the success of the sugar industry in Mandya, the former being a major contribution of Mirza.[3]

In 1927, the Government of Mysore apointed an expert committee under the chairmanship of Sir Brajendranath Seal, to advise on financial assistance to industries. The committee suggested that the government may lend you to 25 percent of net assets in the case of joint stock companies and up to 50 percent in other cases. It also stipulated that with receipt of government grants, one or more government nominees of the management board should be considered and noted that "a fair proportion" of the personnel of the establishment should be Mysorean, along with the condition that the capital should also be from Mysore.[4] There was a proposal for the creation of an Industrial Bank to take over the functions of the Government in the field of industrialization.

The industrial policy of the government, based on the proposal of the above committee did not easily influence the private capitalists. In many of the industrial undertakings, the government was part owner. One example of this was the Mysore Sugar Company which started as a joint stock company in 1933 with a share capital of rupees 20 lakhs of which rupees 12 lakhs was contributed by the government.

An important project of Vishweshwarayya suported by Dewan Mirza was the Iron works at Bhadravati. The iron produced at the works had no market due to the high prices which was the result to high production costs. To solve the problem, a pipe mill was constructed in 1936 which consumed one-third of the blast furnace output of pig iron. Despite the non-profitability of the iron works, Mirza continued to suport the project: on the opening of the new pipe foundry in 1930, he declared, "There can be no question of closing down the works as has been sometimes suggested. That would be an economic crime".[5]

Dewan Mirza was against the starting of any concern which only manufactured intermediate goods and relied on the outside market. This view held good during the depression of 1930 when the iron market as well as the market for wood distillation collapsed. A small stee1 plant at Bhadravati to serve the needs of Mysore started with the main purpose of iron consumption. The Bhadravati complex was further expanded in the late 1 930s by the addition of a cement factory and a paper mill, the former was intended to use the blast furnace product slag. The manufacture of power was also possible due to the protectionist policies of the Government of Mysore in the 1930s. The Mysore Paper Mills was started in 1930 as a joint stock company in which the Government had a dominant interest. A small ammonium suphate plant was established in 1937 at Belagola. The production of steel, cement, chemicals and paper reached a peak around 1940 but war did not help the expansion of these products, as also there was a difficulty in obtaining raw materials.

The 1930s saw the establishment of a large number of small industries with government assistance, the Department of Industry and Commerce including those of porcelain insulators, electrical

transformers, workshop machinery, lac products, paints, bakelite articles, power alcohol from molasses, electric lamps, cured tobacco, vegetable ghee cured coffee and several others. The productive capacity of Mysore was exploited to the maximum extent after the break-out of the war and many native industries expanded, reducing dependency on imported raw materials.

The Hindustan Aircrafts located in Bangalore started operations in July 1941, the first central government plant in the city, though originally started as a private firm controlled by Bombay capital. The company was nationalized in 1942. In the same year, Mirza Ismail resigned as Dewan of Mysore due to differences with the Congress. But the immediate cause that precipitated this decision was that Mirza preferred a car factory over an aircraft factory and was disapointed at the government's capitulation to opening an aircraft factory.

There were important changes in the general political situation of Mysore by 1940. In the late thirties, Dewan Mirza Ismail had to face strong oposition from the Mysore Congress which had begun to assert itself by mass mobilizations and demonstrations.[6] Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV, who was a strong suporter of the Dewan died in 1940 resulting in an increase in the problems and obstacles faced by Mirza as Dewan.

The first proposal for an automobile factory in India was discussed by Vishweshwarayya in 1936. The main financier for this factory was the well known shiping magnate from Bombay, Walchand Hirachand. In November 1940, Dewan Mirza received a proposition from Hirachand according to which the capital required for the motor car factory was rupees 25 lakhs, of this the state should underwrite shares to the value of rupees 150 lakhs besides guaranteeing interest at three and half percent on

subscribed capital for ten years.[7] It seemed to the enthusiasts of the scheme that the Maharaja was in favour of it and took it for granted that the project was practically cleared. As the Government of India was strongly against the proposal, the Maharaja would not suport the car project. When the scheme was rejected, Sir Mirza Ismail resigned as Dewan of Mysore. Hettne in his 'The political Economy of Indirect Rule' rightly sees in the cadre project to which Mirza committed himself with the same fallacy which Vishweshwarayya so suffered from, namely, to identify the policy of westernized development with progress. Hettne also rightly observed that if economic and political emancipation from the strictness of dependency and under-development is not followed by intellectual emancipation, no genuine progress in possible.

Dewan Mirza Ismail in his resignation letter to Todhunter, private secretary to the Maharaja of Mysore expressed his frustrations in remarkably strong words:" ... I do not think His Highness realizes the fact that he is ranging himself against the whole state in coming to such a decision ….I hope I shall not be misunderstood if I utter a word of warning. The people of Mysore will not easily forget or forgive those responsible for deliberately missing such a splendid oportunity of establishing an industry of such far-reaching importance in the state."[8]

Dewan Mirza Ismail's attitude towards the economic set-up of Mysore has been rightly referred to as "Mixed Economy Aproach" by Hettne. Mirza was very careful always to cooperate with private enterprise. The state was not intended to play the role of enterprising pioneer but private entrepreneurs were to be suported and encouraged by the Government. Mirza's aproach to the Mysore model of development was a synthesis of the positions of previous Dewans. Vishweshwarayya was an outright

statist whereas Banerji was a liberal. His economic policy was almost identical to the Congress programme.[9] The Congress did not actually attack his economic policy but its struggle was for greater political power. Mirza's aproach to economic development was more realistic with the exception of the car project to which he committed himself strongly to the point of resigning over its failure to fructify.

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CULTURE AND CREATIVITY: IDOL MANUFACTURING IN WESTERN INDIA

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The Ganesh festival in Western India is a ritualistic, ten day long yearly festivity of idol worship celebrated at the level of individual households and also as a community event.[1] While for the public spaces larger than life idols are moulded small decorative ones suited to the different pockets are created for the households. The celebrations associated with the worship of the Lord go on for ten days. On the eleventh day, the idol is taken in a procession accompanied by dancing, singing, and fanfare through the streets to be immersed in a river or the sea thus symbolizing a ritual see off of the Lord in this journey towards his abode. For those associated with the production of the Ganesh idols, it is time to get back to work so as to cater to the needs of devotees for the following year.

This study of a creative industry that caters to a festival is based on empirical data collected by this researcher over 2009-10. Participant observation of the artists working on the sculpting and painting of the idols as well as formal and informal interviews with some of the owners of the workshops and the idol makers and decorators has been the source material for this work. This work is important since very few attempts have been made to assess the place of cultural industries on a national level, perhaps because academics and policy makers alike have traditionally

focused on manufacturing and services, often viewing cultural production as derivative entertainment or an area of social welfare.[2]

The Ganesh idol making industry represents a creative industry with definite characteristics but without any inherently woven relations of production and consumption that are part of everyday life like other creative industries as suggested by Bourdieu,[3] Lash & Urry,[4] Harvey 1992[5] and Zukin 1991.[6] This paper attempts to define and measure this cultural industry in the state of Maharashtra, on the West Coast of India with a view to understanding how a festival and associated events have led to the flourishing of this creative industry. While a large range of goods and services can be considered products of cultural industries, this study is limited to the imaginative production of Ganesh idols, which is a small scale industry in the state, though not contributing to the economy. Even as the author is aware of several other such creative industries whose contribution to employment and trade represents huge figures, this study is limited to discussing an industry that has flourished owing to its attachment to the celebration of a festival. The study traces briefly, the history of the festival celebration as also the importance of the idol of the Lord in the merriment. The paper makes specific reference as to why the idol manufacturing units have prospered at Penn, a coastal town in the state of Maharashtra in western India. The paper details the location of the workshops in Penn, the makeup of the work-force, the cultural mind-set of the artistes, their dedication towards the art, their earnings, as well as the competition and collaboration factors. These details are important because as culture becomes codified, commodities become more anesthetized and culturally laden.[7] The Ganesh idol industry is engaged in the production and consumption of goods and services whose value is primarily aesthetic. This study further examines the process of idol making, the government regulations as well as the clientele.

It also describes the seasonal employment structure of the Indian rural economy and availability of a particular type of clay as factors that have promoted the industry. Whether or not this industry impacts trade and makes for the invisible earnings or contributes to employment (Casey, Dunlop, and Selwood 1996)[8] from the all-India point of view, is beyond the scope of this study. The paper also attempts to suggest measures for the development of the Ganesh idol manufacturing industry as a source of tourism promotion in western India.

Tracing the Historical Background of the Ganesh Festival

The cult of Ganesh worship was started by Chatrapati Shivaji, the Maratha ruler, to promote culture and nationalism in western India. The celebration flourished in coastal Maharashtra, of which Mumbai is the capital and reached its peak during the reign of the Peshwa rulers in the late 17thC. The festival was revived by Lokamanya Tilak, in 1893, to spread the message of the freedom struggle and to defy the British who had banned public assemblies.[9] This idealistic and romantic conception of nationalism through such a festivity did inspire and unite the subjugated people of India. It successfully helped to forge national unity across regional, religious and caste barriers.[10] Today, the celebration involves the entire city and state; individual households, housing societies commercial and social organizations. Crowds throng this carnival not merely to worship the deity but also to enjoy the decorations, adornment and festivities.[11]

The Idol Manufacturing Industry at Penn

The Ganesh festival is reduced to insignificance without the idol of Lord Ganesh. The sculpting of the idol for the festival involves combining culture with creativity which is best done at Penn. The Ganesh idol manufacturing industries discussed in this

paper are located at Penn, in the Raigad district of Maharashtra, one of the most industrialized districts in the country. Penn is about 120 kms from Mumbai city with a population of approximately thirty thousand. Many of the industries that thrive in Raigad district are cultural industries including those manufacturing wooden toys, chess pieces rolling pins and decorative statues.[12] There are also industries producing hand made paper as well as food items. While all the other industries work only seasonally, it is only the industries making the Ganesh idols that work all through the year. In the initial years, the workshops manufactured idols of other Gods and Goddesses as well, but soon, the idol of Lord Ganesh took precedence in every household and factory and Penn is today the Ganesh Capital of India.

Idols which have the label of 'Made in Penn' are sought after and command a higher price than those made in the city of Mumbai or elsewhere. Today, Penn has over five hundred units manufacturing the idols and an annual turnover of about six crores of rupees. Multiple lanes in Penn are lined with Ganesh idol manufacturing workshops and passers-by have access to view how the idols are crafted, sculpted, designed and painted. This cottage industry is a source of employment to many.

Interestingly, idol manufacturing at Penn started as an accident. It was the poor and needy of this town who started crafting small idols which they bartered to the local landlords in exchange for food, or as rent.

The first Ganesh idol manufacturing industry in Penn was set up by Bhikaji Krishna Deodhar. In fact, he has been recognized as the pioneer of the Penn idol making industry which began at the turn of the 20th c.[13] The Deodhar family was involved, until then, in the traditional family business of *pagdi* or headgear

making.[14] Deodhar switched over to crafting and selling Ganesh idols which gave him dignity and an alternate occupation considering the fact that he had a huge family to fend for and persistent financial problems. In the initial days, it was word of mouth that brought clients to Deodhar's workshop. But business prospered in this cottage industry as worshippers of the Lord were attracted to the finely carved idols and the dedication of the Deodhar family. Today the fourth generation of the Deodhars' is involved in the business.[15] Another family doing brisk business in Penn is the Wadke family. Waman Manik Wadke was a silversmith whose business suffered after the Second World War and he decided to get into the business of Ganesh idol manufacturing. With his sons joining in, it soon became a family business. Eventually, he also involved his daughters-in-law who helped with the coloring of the idols.

This is, by and large, the story of most of the families in Penn who are in the business of idol manufacturing.

The manufacturing units of Ganesh idols which began as small workshops to cater to the needs of the family, have in course of time, taken the shape of cottage industries providing livelihood to many and fulfilling the artistic talents of others. The art of sculpting the Ganesh idol, in most of the workshops continues to be a family business. As the festival day approaches, there is always hectic activity in these workshops where every member of the family is involved, day and night, in the beautification of the idol. Orders have to be completed and the idol needs to be kept ready for delivery. Interestingly, the Penn idol industry has a subsidiary unit in the suburbs of Mumbai city. This little hamlet comes alive in the festival season; an industry within an industry.[16] Pennkarpada has been replicating Ganesh idols made in Penn for the last fifty years. Craftsmen from Penn who have

settled down in this suburb of Mumbai have their manufacturing units in Penn which work throughout the year. The sculpted idols are sent from the workshops at Penn to Pennkarpada, where the expert craftsmen give their finishing touches to the idols. Once the idols are painted and varnished, they are ready for sale.

Some of the Ganesh idol makers who are well-informed about the myths and legends associated with the celebration of the Ganesh festival explain that in the earlier days, the idol was made of clay on the day of the festival, accompanied by the chanting of sacred verses. Those days, the aesthetics of the idol was not as important as the rituals associated with the festival. Today, while a small, symbolic idol is made on an auspicious day after consulting the almanac[17] the actual work of sculpting begins several months earlier. Customers as well as sales persons visit the workshops and make bookings determining the size, and pose of the idol.

One reason for the springing up of so many Ganesh idol manufacturing units in the last few years can be attributed to the fact that this festival has become the most widely celebrated festival in the city of Mumbai.

The community celebration of the festival, which involves competitions of all sorts, for best sculpted/decorated idol, best decorated *pandal* (tent), most frequented idol, is one reason for the demand for a variety in sculpting. Ganesh idols as large as 25 to 30 feet are carved for Mumbai, which has witnessed a splurge in housing complexes and community celebrations of the post-globalization period.[18]

Artisans, who have been in the trade for long, make a reasonable amount of money, crafting and decorating the Ganesh idols.

It is not only the workshops molding and sculpting the Ganesh idol that thrive in Penn. There are other allied industries that flourish alongside as well. What lends beauty to the idol is the attractive combination of colours and hues. The colours used in the robe, scarves, and eyes of the idol, in particular lend aesthetic beauty to the idols. The quality of water colours, the use of eco-friendly colours as well as the appropriateness of mixing colours and the final effect are important concerns. While some artists take pride in calling themselves 'robe specialists' there are others who are designated as 'eye specialists'.[19]

The Ganesh idol making industry also provides employment to those involved in festoons including artificial and natural flower garlands, decorative lamps, jewelry and garments for the Lord as also to drummers and musicians, who accompany the idol during installation as well as immersion, and also transporters who have the job of delivering idols to the clients all over the country. It is a source of income to those in the packaging and shipping industry as well since the idols that are exported abroad are classified as fragile cargo and they need safe handling.

The idols of the Lord, tireless works of dedication, are not very expensive to buy and the price range facilitates every pocket. Needless to say, the price of the idols has risen over the years. Manufacturers attribute it to the rise in prices of raw materials including the dyes and colours as well as transportation and labour costs.

It is commendable to note the dedication of the artistes who are at their job with great devotion, shaping and producing idol after idol of their favorite Lord. The idols are all pot-bellied, and with a twisted trunk but each is different from the other in aesthetics, colour and appeal. Today, with family members becoming professionals and the standard of living rising, it is no longer money that prompts the artistes to continue in this profession. For the artisans at Penn, making the idols of Ganesh is a labour of love and work assumes a form of worship. Almost every house in Penn has a backyard where idol making and allied activities flourish and children grow up learning the art.

Here it also needs to be specially mentioned that religion, caste, race language and gender are not restrictive categories while sculpturing and decorating the idol.

The Magic of Shadu Clay and Seasonal Employment Structure of Indian Agriculture

What makes the manufacturing units click in Penn is the availability of a particular type of clay as well as the seasonal employment structure of agriculture in rural India.

The availability of the *shadu* clay in Penn is the reason for the popularity of the idols from Penn as against idols which are also manufactured in Mumbai or elsewhere that are made of plaster of Paris. S*hadu* clay is known to provide the idol with stability and volume. This makes it pliable for moulding and keeps it sufficiently sturdy to hold the shape.

According to legend, once the deity is immersed on the eleventh day, there should be no traces of the idol left behind. Idols made of plaster of Paris often float back to the shore

besides polluting the environment which goes against the rituals associated with the festival.[20] The challenge for the workshop owners is that *shadu* clay supplies are dwindling. A variety of clay similar to *shadu* is available in some other parts of western India which local artisans claim as good. However, it is not economical to transport the clay to Penn for moulding the idols of Ganesh. Transporting readymade idols of the Lord is again not an option that has been considered since the artisans of Penn are not appreciative of the idols crafted in the other States since Ganesh is the Lord of the State of Maharashtra. The artistes are today considering other possible ways of moulding idols of the Lord, including the eco-friendly varieties.

While most of the workers in the Ganesh idol manufacturing industry at Penn are engaged full time, there are others who work in this industry seasonally. This cottage industry fits into the structure of the rural economics of India where often, employment is of a seasonal nature. Potters, goldsmiths, silversmiths as well as those in the business of cooking and packaging of Indian snack items become part of the Ganesh idol work force. Business is hectic in the last quarter of July and August and at this time of year, in Penn; most of the households are involved in idol sculpting or painting. Professional craftsmen have no choice but to work overtime as the festival approaches, since last minute demands for idols are customary. The craftsmen who work seasonally are often relatives and friends of those in the profession.[21] They are specially invited from their villages to lend a much required hand during the festival period. Interestingly, there are some who have given up lucrative careers for idol manufacturing while others have been during inspired to sculpt idols during their post-retirement period.

The Process of Idol Making & Sale of Idols

Idol making is a skill that needs no formal education. Srikant Deodhar is of the view that those who join him as cleaners, in no time, are able to learn the skill and work their way up.[22] However, most of the reputed idol making families in Penn guard their secrets and techniques very jealously. This is because each of the manufacturing units has its own moulds and sculpting techniques which are its hallmarks. Craftsmanship and skills are obvious in the method of sculpting the eye, divinity of the eye, contours of the stomach as also the position and gestures of the hands of the Lord. Business and competition is based precisely on these finer details which are of great importance to any connoisseur of the Idol making. In fact, there are customers who can immediately point out which workshop the idol has been purchased from with just one glance at the idol.

Sketches of the idol are drawn and shown to the customers before commencing the job of sculpting. Idol sculpting involves using a rubber mould and setting a mixture of plaster of Paris and grass into the mould. Once the mixture dries, the rubber mould is peeled off and set to dry for a couple of days. The grass is fire blown and idol burnt at 180-260 degree centigrade for about ten minutes to rid the idol of the grass. To blow soot away from the surface of the idol, an air blower is used and something akin to sand-paper is utilized to give the idol a shine. Idols are sculpted in batches with clay over which a coat of plaster of Paris and dye are applied. This is then coated with white wash or distemper and dried to ensure that the paint is not sucked by the plaster of Paris. The idol is polished with a muslin cloth which makes it sparkle and then begins the task of painting the idol. The painted idols are then coated with a pearl finish and varnish. The idol of the Lord needs to have

a golden tinge for which golden powder is sprinkled wherever necessary. Then the idol is allowed to dry for a period of five to six hours. It requires six to seven artists to complete work on each idol and the process of getting a single idol ready is a process that requires about eight hours.

The Ganesh idol manufacturing industry is one that does not require too many formalities in terms of government licenses and permits due to its religious importance. A municipal permission and license for the contract laborers to work in the manufacturing unit are the only essentials. However, there are a few government restrictions; these include avoiding obscenity and keeping in mind the sentiments of the people when designing the idol, not using the hollow in the idol for malpractices like smuggling of drugs and transportation of taxable goods, not using copyright designs and payment of royalty for patented idols as well as adhering to safety regulations in the workshops.

While the artisans at Penn are concerned with the manufacture and decoration of the idol, the workshop owners are also concerned with the transportation of the idol to the various parts of the country and abroad. Most cottage industries manufacturing Ganesh idols are wholesale dealers and do not participate in the retail business. There is a huge demand within the country as well as abroad for the idols manufactured at Penn and idols are also exported to USA and UK where a significant Indian population has settled. Since they celebrate the festival as a community event, there is a demand for bigger idols, which are shipped from India and more often than not, the idols are from Penn.[23] Foreigners, too, are fascinated with the Ganesh idol and personally visit Penn to place orders for idols. They determine the pose they wish the Ganesh idol to be sculpted and the colours they wish the artisans to use. The cottage industry at Penn is able to meet the demand for idols despite

the fact that the number that they have to manufacture has increased over the years.

It is also interesting to note that most of the idol manufacturers have loyal customers who have been buying Ganesh idols from them for years. Whether it is the attraction of the biggest manufacturing unit or the oldest workshop or greatest variety, or best colours and design or the clay used for the idol or because the workshop and outlet selling the idol is close to a temple or a combination of factors that is responsible for the loyalty is uncertain. But the fact remains that most customers have been buying their idols, year after year, from the same manufacturing unit or shop and have no intention of changing this habit.[24]

The Future of this Creative Industry

The idol making industry will survive as long as the Lord continues to rule the hearts of the people in western India. There is, however, a serious concern in the last couple of years about the impact of the Ganesh festival on the environment on account of the immersion of idols made of plaster of Paris into lakes, rivers and the sea.[25]

Also, the Ganesh idol making workshops are registered units and the labourers are organised into workers unions. Losses caused by natural calamities like flooding cause huge losses to the sculptors. The bigger units find it difficult to recover their losses from insurance claims which are riddled with technicalities while the smaller workshops are not even covered by insurance companies.[26] The owners of the smaller units wish to seek government support in times of such adversities and hope that the banks would excuse their loans or extend the payback period.[27]

Promoting Tourism in Penn

Since most of the idols for the festival are manufactured at Penn, there are quite a few visitors to this little city. This has resulted in some development in recent times. A multiplex cinema and a retail chain, Spencer's Daily has opened up here. There is also a drama theatre and a shopping complex.

The Ganesh idol making industry in Penn, which sends idols of Lord Ganesh the world over, has the potential of being designed into a tourist locale. This creative industry which has developed as a result of the most important festival of the people in western India can surely be upgraded and made more tourists friendly. This would naturally bring in funds, which can be utilized to enrich the working environment of these workshops in Penn. What can begin as a tourist walk around the Ganesh sculpting manufacturing units and painting and decoration sections can conclude with a trip to the local bazaar followed by a Maharashtrian lunch, which could be the grand finale of the tour.

For this, it is essential that basic infrastructure including roads, water supply and drainage system be upgraded in the first place. What is also required is setting up tea-stalls and restaurants that serve clean and hygienic local food. Rest-rooms, banking facilities, a Ganesh museum with local guides and a Ganesh souvenir shop would add to the flourishing of tourism in Penn.

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the period of the waxing moon in the sixth month of the Hindu calendar.

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10. According to the historian, J.V.Naik, *"Tilak made the attainment of swaraj*, by mobilizing and channelizing all the extant forces into one patriotic current, the sole mission of his life. It was this fixity of purpose that made him subordinate everything else, including social reforms, to an all-powerful urge for 'Freedom First'. Tilak wanted to galvanize the national movement by involving the masses into it. And one way to take the movement to the grassroots level was to appeal to the people's religious instincts." See, Sarvajanik Ganeshotsav — Shatkachi Vatchal (a Marathi book) published in 1992 on the centenary of the celebrations of the festival

by the Keshavji Naik Chawl, Girgaum, Mumbai, which was the first place in Mumbai to organise the public celebrations of the festival in 1893.

11. The forum is also used to spread social messages and also depict major political, sporting and environmental events. Over the years, the Ganesh celebration has held a mirror to society, with its tableaux reflecting current social themes such as AIDS, population control, the Kargil War, political farces, major sports events, and even 9/11. Today, the most important theme is environment.
12. Kolaba District Gazetteer, The Gazetteer Department, 2001
13. Reddy-Madhavan, Meenakshi, *"Tradition: Ganesha idols. Craft sans obstacles. A town specializes in fashioning of Ganesha idol*s, www.outlook.com, Retrieved 2009-10-23.
14. *Pagdi* is the traditional medieval Maharashtrian headgear which more often than not was a family business.
15. Interview with Srikant Deodhar, President of the Penn Sri Ganesh Murtikar Ani Vyavasaya Mandal (Ganesh Idol Manufacturers' Association at Penn)
16. Times of India, Malad-Borivili edn, September 7, 2002.
17. The almanac provides details of auspicious days of the year.
18. Interestingly, for community celebrations the idol of Lord Ganesh is the central figure and idols of other deities are designed for the periphery depending on the theme selected by the organizers. The Ganesh festival is a time for cultural activities as well. Dance, singing as well as drama competitions in addition to community activities like blood donation camps, free health check-ups and the like are organised in the course of these eleven days. Event managers, orchestra artistes as well as accompanists to music and dance performers are in great demand too. This is also an important forum for budding artists to present their works of art to the public. See, Times of India, Malad-Borivili edn, September 7, 2002.
19. Vijay Mukunda Hajare who has been painting robes and scarves on idols for 40 years takes pride in the quality of water colours that he uses. This is his family business and he enjoys painting idols made of clay rather than those made

of plaster of Paris. D.M. Valankar is reputed as Penn's 'eye specialist'. He has been, over the last 25 years, painting eyes into the idols of the Lord with the reverence of a devotee. According to him, curling lashes and a fleck of white inside the pupils of the eyes of the Lord embodies the idol with human qualities like intelligence and compassion.

20. The Times of India, September 7, 2002.
21. The seasonal nature of Indian agriculture allows those in the farming profession to join their families in the idol making industry during the post-sowing period when any additional money is welcome.
22. Reddy-Madhavan, Meenakshi, op.cit.
23. The capital of Ganesh idol manufacturing in Maharashtra has been sending part of its idols outside the shores of India. Srikant Deodhar is well travelled and has been the world over conducting Ganesh idol making workshops on invitation. His lecture-demonstrations have huge audiences and he indulges his listeners with moulds to craft the idols. Shrikant, who has majored in sculpture from Mumbai's J.J.School of Art before returning to his family business in Penn, was invited recently to Zurich for a two-week workshop on making Ganesh idols. Srikant has made several trips to Europe after this and enjoys narrating his experiences.[1]
24. People book idols according to the size and material used. Manufacturers usually use a yellow tag to indicate that the idol has been sold. At the workshops, idols with yellow tags are a common sight even on the eve of the festival since every family and community gets home their idol only on an auspicious day; either the day of the festival or a couple of days earlier. See, The Times of India, Mumbai West edition, July 17, 2010.
25. The idols which are painted with chemical paints take a long time to dissolve and also release toxic wastes into the water bodies. There has been a call from governmental and non-governmental organizations to 'go green'. For this, the best remedy is the use of clay idols or idols made of other biodegradable materials like *paper-mache*. Yet another solution

is immersion of the idols in tanks of water instead of natural water-bodies.

26. ‘‘We are essentially a wholesale industry,’’ says Shrikant Deodhar, president of the local Sri Ganesh Murtikar Ani Vyavasaya Mandal, fourth generation in the trade and owner of Kalpana Kala Mandir “It is difficult for sculptors to recover it all from insurance claims, which are riddled with technicalities… Also, the smaller sculptors in the villages around Penn, who make fewer, but equally beautiful idols, are usually not covered by insurance or industry organizations”.
27. “We want the government to have banks excuse our loans or extend the payback period, or even or relax the technicalities of insurance relief” says sculptor Sunil Shinde from Penn.

BOOK REVIEW

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Monasteries, Shrines and Society, Buddhist and Brahmanical Religious Institutions in India in their Socio-Economic Context

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The work under review is a collection of essays dealing with the multiple roles of Indian religious institutions, Buddhist and Brahmanical. It is important to note that the earlier researches in this context are much focused upon the political dimensions of either the Buddhist monasteries or Brahmanical temples. The gradual decline of Buddhist monastic influence in India during early medieval period coincides with the rise in the temple-building activities in the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods. However, the inter-relationship between these two phenomena has not been well explored. Moreover, the importance of temples during this phase is explained through some of the important models of early Indian economy and society, such as the Feudal, Segmentary and Integrative. In these attempts significant attention is paid upon the political factors, viz. alliance with the political elites, and the degree of patronage received by the temples from such elites. Besides these, the earlier works are devoid of serious archaeological perspectives. The over-reliance on the literary data and the comparative neglect of archaeological study has been a major handicap in the way of the researches on the socio-economic roles of Indian religious institutions in our ancient past. It is here

that this work differs from and scores over the earlier ones on this subject moving away from the stereotypes in the perception of the nature, functions and evolution of both Brahmanical and Buddhist religious institutions since ancient period, and its attempts to bringforth some sanity in the huge imbalance between literary and archaeological sources.

This work consists of nine thought provoking articles, excluding the introduction, by eight different scholars including the two by the editor himself. The book is divided into two sections-Section-1 and Section-2 containing the papers dealing with the interaction of the Buddhist monasteries and stupas, and Brahmanical temples respectively with other societal institutions and processes.

The introduction to the work forms the first chapter of the book. In this part, Birendra Nath Prasad emphasizes on the need to observe the Buddhist and Brahmanical institutions as social phenomenon in dynamic interaction with other societal institutions. The inquiry into the relative functional roles of respective religious institutions enables us to understand the causes behind the survival and expansion of Brahmanism, and the decline of Buddhism. The author has presented a brief account of some of the functional dimensions of Indian monastic Buddhism as reflected in researches hitherto. He also deals with some of the models of early medieval Indian economy and society in order to trace the trajectory of the growth and expansion of temples. In this context, the Integrative model has been shown as being more systematic to consider the role of temples in affecting socio-economics and cultural integration of peripheral areas of the state to the core.

This also explains the process of relationship between royal patronage to temples and the process of consolidation of the local and regional states.

The opening essay of section-1 titled "Studies in the Socio-economic History of Indian monastic Buddhism in the past one hundred years, A Historiographical Survey" by Prasad has been reproduced from the article by the same author in the journal Buddhist Studies Review (London, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2008, pp. 54-89). This chapter, thus, considers the process of the interaction of Sangha with other societal institutions leading to its institutional evolution. The multiple functional roles of the monasteries can be observed in its active involvement in functioning as a place for retreats for the monks, and irrigation activities such as in wet rice agriculture, construction of irrigation devices, water harvesting etc. from the 3rd - 2nd centuries BCE onwards. The early medieval period, however, witnessed contradictory developments – origin of mahaviharas at Nalanda, Somapura, Vikramasila and Ratnagiri on one hand, and the decline of Buddhism in different parts of India. However, the causative factor for the decline were not confined to only external factors like Islamic invasions or Brahmanical hostility as expressed by earlier writings but we also need to consider the faults in the monastic linkages with society and economy as possible determinants. On the contrary, we find the re-appearance and flourishing of Buddhist monasteries in Central Asia even in the 13th century CE, survival of Buddhism in Sindh until the 15th century CE and its existence as a major faith in Bengal which was very much influenced by Islamization. Another notable fact is that in many cases the faiths were reorganized and regrouped soon after the onslaught of attacks. This can be seen in the survival of the Jaina temples

and monasteries in medieval Gujrat. Thus, the answer for the decline is to be found in the 'social failure' as expressed by the author. With regard to the state of Buddhism, the question that arises here is that why did the Buddhist monasteries, which were pioneer in the forging of linkages across communities for social integration in early historic period, fail to retain their status in the early medieval period? For answering this question, the Marxist writings have emphasized upon the failure of the monasteries on the agrarian and maritime trading frontiers. This approach views the transformation in the light of the Islam being the 'greatest trading religion of Asia' by the 11th century CE on one hand, and the Brahmanism replacing Buddhism in the agrarian spheres in India. However, these claims need to be re-examined due to the fact that the Buddhist monasteries during the same period controlled a significant part of the agrarian sector in Sri Lanka, Burma and China through their institutional management, and control over irrigation systems and new agrarian technologies. In this context, the author also counters the claims of the crisis within Indian Buddhism by citing the recent researches on early medieval Sindh, Gujarat, Tamilnadu, Orissa and Bengal where the Buddhist monasteries were very much involved with either agrarian sector or long-distance trade. He further suggests micro-level studies with regional perspectives for a better understanding of the functional aspects of the monasteries across the diverse landscapes. The macro studies on early medieval Indian Buddhism by scholars like K. L. Hazra, Sukumar Dutt and L. M. Joshi have missed to explain the transition, functional basis and chronological evolution of the Buddhist monastic institutions. Although Ronald Davidson has attempted to trace the genesis and success of esoteric Tantric Buddhism in the light of the feudal patronage, he fails to explain the causes for the disappearance

of Buddhism from the larger parts of India soon after this development. This led to the internalization of feudal values and ethos in the management of their landed estates, rituals and dogmas. For the answers to this we need to look into the possibility of fundamental fault lines in the esoteric Buddhist pattern of socialization and localization within a regional framework. The 'Islamic iconoclasm' does not bear the sole responsibility of its disappearance as East Bengal and the Swat valley were the regions dominated by the Tantric Buddhism in the early medieval period where the influence of medieval Islamization was remarkable.

The works on early medieval monasteries in Bihar too lacks this approach. The studies on Nalanda and Vikramasila have mainly considered either art and architecture or iconography. The analysis of the support-system of the monastery or its interaction with socio-economic processes or the immediate neighbourhood is missing from these. So, further attempt in this direction may help us to explain the factors for the decline of Buddhism at Nalanda and other areas. An attempt has been made in this volume to bring in micro-level studies with regional perspective to do away with the faults in the approaches cited above. For example, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th chapters of this work deal with Buddhism in a regional perspective with reference to Vidarbha, Samatata-Harikela and Orissa respectively.

In the light of the limitations in early studies on the subject as cited above, the author finally suggests that for the analysis of Buddhist monastic practices and its functional aspects, one should not merely depend on the textual references but also ought to concentrate on the archaeological data. The interaction between text and context can be achieved only through the corroboration

of different kinds of sources. This approach alone can provide insight into the functional relationship between the monasteries and its neighbourhood.

The second essay by Reshma Sawant is titled "Buddhism in a Regional Perspective — A Glance at Early Historic Vidarbha". In the light of her findings, the author observes the continuity and survival of the structures at the sites was due to its linkages with the common population. The author, thus, observes that Vidarbha played an important role in the spread of Buddhism in south, especially Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, which was the result of the Mauryan socio-economic and political influences.

The third piece, authored by Prasad himself, titled "Monarchs, Monasteries and Trade on an 'Agrarian Frontier' – Early Medieval Samatata – Harikela, Bangladesh, C. 400 CE – 1250 CE" aims at understanding the processes behind the decline of South Asian Buddhism within a regional framework through the sudy of Samatata – Harikela (Sylhet – Comilla – Noakhali – Chittagong sector) region of Bangladesh. He shifts away from the Marxist scheme of attributing the decline to an alleged Buddhist failure on agrarian frontiers and also to losing ground to Islam which emerged as the 'greatest trading religion of Asia' by 11th century CE. The author, however, feels that this may be true for Bengal in general but not for Samatata – Harikela (East Bengal) in particular. This is evident in the Buddhist monasteries in this part of Bengal having been active on agrarian and maritime frontiers. Prasad finds the medieval Islamization in Bengal, especially eastern Bengal, due to the cultural shift through mass conversion to Islam as the most significant causative factor. According to scholars like Richard M. Eton and Ralph Nicholas,

the 'frontier' character of the landscape and Islamic negotiations were responsible for this cultural shift.

The archaeological finds also suggest that southeastern Bengal was linked to the maritime network stretching from Africa and Europe in the west to China in the east. Contemporary Arab literature and growing Arab presence at the Chittagong coast from 8th – 9th centuries CE onwards also reflect this. In fact, Samatata monasteries benefited from this trade as a part of wealth from this maritime trade was diverted to the monasteries. However, the absence of a 'commercial middle class' meant no direct mercantile patronage to monasteries. As a result of this, Samatata monasteries had greater dependence on royal patronage. The next essay titled "Vajrayana Buddhism as a religion of the laity in Early Medieval Orissa (India)" is contributed by Umakant Mishra. Mishra begins with the problems in the existing historiography on Vajrayana Buddhism wherein this form of Buddhism has been shown to be degenerate having no resemblance with either Hinayana or Mahayana Buddhism. It has also been branded as being imitative of Brahmanical religions, particularly Tantricism, which led to its assimilation into dominant Brahmanism. It is argued that due to its confinement to the monasteries it lacked a social base. Therefore, once the royal patronage to the monasteries was withdrawn, Vajrayana reached its extinction. The author here counters all the above characterization mainly on the basis of archaeological excavations and explorations at various sites in Orissa and attempts to analyze the origin and development of the Buddhism in Orissa between 5th to 12th centuries CE.

The above evidence attest to the polyreligious landscape of early medieval Orissa (5th – 12th centuries CE) during which

on one hand Buddhism was characterized by innovations while on the other the Brahmanical religions were marked by building of temples, land grants made to Brahmins, popularization of tirthas and writing of sthalapuranas to popularize them. Thus, this period of Indian History is to be viewed in the light of dynamism in religion and society rather than confined to predominantly Puranic Hinduism landscape of early medieval Orissa.

The fifth paper (first in section – 2) titled "Temples in their wider context, A Study of Temples in Early Medieval Assam" is authored by Sudarshan Gupta. This study considers the analysis of temple architecture of Brahmaputra Valley of Assam from 6th century CE to 12th century CE in its wider social context in relation to settlement pattern, community interaction, rituals, issue of patronage etc. rather than mere description of the icons, sculptures, architectural remains, day–to-day religions activities in temples etc. as presented by earlier works.

His analysis of the location of the temples of Da-Parbatia in Tezpur on the bank of the river Brahmaputra and epigraphic evidence show that the site was frequented by various communities such as the fisherman, merchants, royal navy, royal personnel etc. Thus, Gupta opines that to consider a temple serving only as a 'religious structure' is an oversimplified version as temples were ideal locations for the purpose of advocating not only religious but economic, social, political and cultural ideas. These diverse activities led to diverse community interaction at these centres.

The next essay titled 'Saiva Temples in the Early Chola Period, Syncretism, Religious Trends and Tamil Forms of Worship,

c. 850 CE – 985 CE' is contributed by M. N. Rajesh. Citing the limitations in earlier approach of looking at the Chola period as a homogeneous phase by different scholars, this study, on the basis of transformations, treats the Chola history under three broad phases— early, middle and later periods. However, the focus here is on the early Chola period when temple emerged as a major institution. This period was characterized by the development of architecture as reflected by temple-building technology along with agrarian expansion and colonization of new areas. The temple as an institution served multi-dimensional functions by consolidating local communities and integrating them into Chola society and state. This was achieved through an ideology based on the concept of bhakti with its popularization and dominance in all spheres and politico-cultural regions of Tamil Nadu.

The agrarian society of the early Chola period was also characterized by plurality of castes and culture. This situation demanded the integration through reorganization of the society on the lines of the Brahmanical pattern. The bhakti movement aimed at bringing changes in the religious sphere with social reorganization while asserting the supremacy of the Vedas. Thus, the temple cult was the solution to it as it dismantled Brahmin exclusiveness in religion and provided it with a popular base.

The temple economy too played important role in social stratification within each occupational group with a ritual ranking. For example, the Pattasalins and Kaikkolas were the higher and lower ritual groups among the weavers. The former supplied clothes to the temple and the royalty whereas the Kaikkolas being lower in status were engaged in other types of work in temples

including the cultivation of temple lands. The hierarchy also existed among the Brahmins. The Smarta Brahmins were at the apex on account of being well – versed in the Vedas. They were followed by the Sivabrahmanas and others who were temple priests. The lower levels consisted of the Brahmins who worked as lighters of lamps and providers of water and flowers. The Vellalas were the largest community of non – Brahmins and were associated with agriculture. But the diversification of economic activities led to their stratification based on economic status and occupational importance such as traders (Nagarattaras), weavers (Kaikkulas), craftsmen (Kammalas) and others.

In nutshell, it can be observed that the Saiva religion gained popularity due to its mass appeal relating to all sections of society. Bhakti saints preached in the language of the masses and their message did not relate to intellectual dogma. Moreover, inclusion of popular practices like tree worship, snake worship, local festivals and rituals provided the movement with a popular base.

The seventh article titled "The Sacred Geography of Medieval Tamilakam, A Study of Distribution Pattern of Saiva and Vaisnava Temples" is by S. Jeevanandam. The scholar here has dealt with the evolution of distribution pattern of temples in medieval Tamilakam on the basis of his analysis of the devotional Tamil Bhakti literature. The distribution of temples, thus, shows unevenness in terms of their location. Moreover, their concentration in the fertile region of Tamilakam suggests the relation between the temples and the early agricultural development. The prosperity due to agricultural expansion resulted in large number of settlements with more sacred shrines. Their

distribution was also influenced by the political factor. The patronage by the kings and nobles increased the spread of the bhakti ideology and construction of temples. Pilgrimages led to interaction which helped in linking the temples in different regions. This further led to the diversification of trade and craft production. These developments altogether helped in the integration of the medieval Tamil society.

In her paper titled "The Temple and Temple Dancing Girls of Medieval Deccan", Rekha Pande explores the role of the institution of the temple dancing girls in the religious and cultural life of the feudal medieval Deccan. She observes that in the feudal set up of medieval Deccan, the temple became a link between the agrarian hinterland and the urban context and also between the king and the masses. This period witnessed interdependence between the kings and the religious institutions – the former for legitimization of their ritual status and the latter for protection of their land grant (brahmadeyas and devabhogas) tenures. Saivism and Vaisnavism through their saints propogating bhakti tried to consolidate the political base of the state. As a result of these, the temple became a centre of power that gradually transformed into a professional organization.

The temple girls were one of the links between God and the king. They served to establish the power of the king and legitimize it to the masses by being a part of the temple. So, by occupying spaces in the temple and court, they legitimized both spheres. It can summarily be observed that the institution in the garb of religion served the interest of king, various feudal lords and the temple priests.

The last article titled "Survival of the Lingaraja Temple – A study of Spatial Context, Linkage and Patronage" by Subash

Khamari throws light on the diversified role of temples in Orissa with the passage of time through a study of the Lingaraja temple. The Lingaraja temple was built in the 11th century CE. The architectural features reflect that after the main construction subsequent additions to the structure were made by later kings. Nevertheless, the evidence also suggests to a weak central or royal hold over the temple. It further attests that the survival of elaborate temples like the Lingaraja did not owe only to the royal patronage or else its end was obvious with the decline of the royal power. The multiple strategies of survival also included expanding its base through pilgrimage network.

The author, in the context of above mentioned facts, deals with the socio-economic and religious linkages developed by the temples.

Pilgrimage served as the most important mechanism for the survival of the temples. The sanctity attached to the temples by literary works attracted pilgrims. The celebration of festivals by the temples also promoted the participation of the pilgrims regardless of their caste and sex.

The survival of the Lingaraja temple was not merely due to royal support but due to support of a diverse community. The donations in the form of money, land, gold, animals etc. came from diverse groups of donors, ranging from kings to common people, for performance of various kinds of services. This enriched the resource base of the temple for sustaining the elaborate rituals. The gifts recorded on the walls of temple in various languages like Sanskrit, Oriya and Telugu indicate an expanding base for the deity Lingaraja.

Thus, the various processes involved in the survival of the Lingaraja temple through the centuries suggest that temple was not a static entity, but a multilayered polymorphic structure. The networks were operative at three levels—pan-Indian, regional and local based on architecture, sculpture, religion, hierarchy and pilgrimage. Effective linkages among these levels helped in the survival of any temple as seen in the case of the Lingaraja. Nevertheless, this was not the only pattern for survival of all the temples. The survival strategies differed from temple to temple with each temple inventing a distinct process of sharing and negotiation corresponding to the requirements of patrons, priests and laity. In other words, temples represented multiple identities and pluralism accommodating regional diversities. Nonetheless, they reflected a unified institution as a whole.

Prasad's attempt to weave different themes in the context of Buddhist and Brahmanical religious institutions in different parts of India is fascinating. The book can be taken as a valuable addition to the works available on the functional roles of Buddhist and Brahmanical religious institutions, especially in the context of the multiplicity in the patterns of interaction with societal processes. The work helps us to understand the process of their survival and expansion through the ages. The remarkable feature of the work is the prevalence of general explanatory paradigms in every essay. The examples from different regions show different patterns of survival and therefore some article in this work may seem to contradict each other, which justifies the issues considered and one looks forward to the forthcoming volumes generated by this study on the subject as the author has expressed in the book's introduction. The book will certainly be valuable to further researches on related aspects.

The work has been divided equally into sections related to Buddhist and Brahmanical institutions respectively, thus, avoiding any imbalance. The chapters run in a rhythm thriving on historical facts. A comprehensive bibliography is provided, along with an index, besides chapter-wise references labeled as Notes. Nevertheless, mapping the sites mentioned in different chapters could have added to this work. The incorrect name of Arjun Appadurai (pp. 9, 20) seems to be a printing error as the bibliography shows it right. Despite these limitations, the book seems to take us into an interesting and informative journey to Monastries, Shrines & Society and deserve to find a place in every library.

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