THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH
IN INDIAN HISTORY:
CONTACT AND ADJUSTMENT
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CONTACT AND ADJUSTMENT

60960

Edited by
S. P. SEN
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INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

907.20954

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES
CALCUTTA 17
1976
First published in June 1976

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Published by Dr. S. P. Sen
Director, Institute of Historical Studies
35 Theatre Road, Calcutta 17 (India)

Price: Rs. 50.00 (India)
U.S. $15.00 or its equivalent in any other foreign currency

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Printed in India by Pradip Kumar Chatterjee
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PREFACE

The present volume is a collection of Papers read at the Ninth Annual Conference of the Institute held at S. V. University, Tirupati (A. P.), in October 1971. As the title indicates, it is an account of the contact and interaction between the North and the South in Indian history throughout the ages. It is the first attempt of its kind in Indian Historiography. The terms North and South may be interpreted in different senses for different purposes. From the geographical point of view the dividing line between the North and the South is the great Vindhyya Mountains. From the ethnological point of view the dividing line is to be shifted further south, separating the Aryan-settled region from the North to the Deccan and the Dravidian-settled region in the deep South covering the present four States of Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala. From the social and cultural point of view also the dividing line runs between the Aryan North and the Dravidian South. The Deccan thus fell in a region which might be included in North India in one sense and in South India in a different sense. For the purpose of the present volume we have taken the Vindhyya Mountains as a dividing line between the North and the South. We have treated the geographical division as more important from the point of view of Indian history than ethnological, linguistic, social and cultural factors.

There is a general impression among many that before the advent of the British, India had never seen political, social and cultural unity. Particularly between the North and the South there had always been a great divide. There were no doubt military clashes from time to time but by and large the two parts of India lived in isolation and developed on separate lines. This Historical myth is sought to be sustained by the Hindiwallas of North India and the protagonists of a separate Dravidisthan in the South. The present work has been undertaken to clear up the general misconceptions and to examine from the facts of history throughout the ages the constant and fruitful
interaction between the North and the South.

From the papers included in this volume it will be perfectly clear that the North and the South never lived in total isolation and developed on separate lines. For the purpose of a comprehensive study we have divided the subject into three periods—Ancient, Medieval and Modern. For each period we have included studies on the following different aspects of contact and adjustment between the North and the South:

(i) Religion and Culture
(ii) Language and Literature
(iii) Society and Economy
(iv) Political Relations and Administration

Thus the papers for each period taken together will give a clear and comprehensive picture of the contact and adjustment between the North and the South in every sphere of life.

No doubt, the original distinction was great between the Aryan North and the Dravidian South. But with the gradual expansion of Aryan influence and culture south of the Vindhyā Mountains, the original differences were narrowed down considerably. The Aryan religion spread to the South, but in the process it lost much of its old Aryan colour and assimilated very important elements from the Dravidian South. The Hindu religion that developed in course of time was not the same as the old North Indian Aryan religion but had absorbed many new elements from the South. Essentially it was a North Indian Aryan conquest but it had to accommodate the religion and culture of the South. From the time of Sankaracharya onward the South repaid its debt and spread the new version of religion in North India. Even as late as the advent of the British the authoritative pundits of Benares, a North Indian pilgrim centre, all belong to South India. In the sphere of language and literature also the South learned from the North but repaid its debt amply by spreading Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture in the North. Even today many of the great Sanskrit scholars of India belong to the South. In society and economy also forces of assimilation were at work between the North and the South. The South
gave up much of its peculiar features, but at the same time many of the Hindu laws and customs in several parts of North India were essentially of South Indian culture. In political relations the North was always the aggressor and tried to absorb the South, but on occasions the process was reversed and the South carried on expansion in the North. Thus from every point of view there was a constant give and take between the North and the South in the Ancient Period.

In the Medieval Period the conflict was not between the Aryan North and the Dravidian South but between the new Islamic regime in the North and the Hindu regime in the South. From the political and military point of view the sturdy north-Indian invaders attacked and conquered the South. But in the long run the northern domination could not be maintained either under the Sultanate or under the Mughal Empire. Even the Muslim Governors of South Indian States under the Sultanate and the Empire revolted against the North Indian domination. There was also the Hindu reaction to Muslim domination in the South. The climax was reached when the Marathas carried their sword in the 18th century up to Delhi and kept the Mughal Emperor as their pensioner. In the sphere of religion the Bhakti Movement was essentially a synthesis between Islam and Hinduism. In the sphere of language and literature also it is worth noting that the synthesis started much earlier in the South than in the North. Urdu literature developed earlier in the South while pure Persian was still the language of court and culture in north-India. In society and economy, as also in administration, there was a constant give and take between the North and the South though on more occasions than not the North was the giver and the South receiver. Thus in the Medieval Period also history bears testimony to the close contact and adjustment between the North and the South.

In the Modern Period it is significant to notice that foreign conquest started almost simultaneously in the South and the North, Madras and Bombay on one hand and Bengal and Oudh on the other. The expansion of the British power by the early
part of the 19th century forged a permanent link of unity between the North and the South. The development of lines of communications in the 19th century further strengthened this link. Another important factor in this direction was the spread of English education which brought closer a Madras journalist and a Calcutta barrister. The process of unification between the North and the South which was evident from ancient times was thus greatly reinforced in the Modern Period. The climax came in the growth of the nationalist movement towards the end of the 19th century when the South and the North started thinking alike.

It is worthwhile noticing here the separatist tendencies which appear in the South from the 20's or 30's of the present century, with the rise of the Justice Party and later the Dravida Kazhagam. It was essentially an anti-North and anti-Brahmin movement. It was based on the wrong fallacy that all the Brahmins of South India came from the North and therefore not Dravidian in stock. For a time this was a part of the Divide et Impera policy of the British to weaken the nationalist movement. But after independence the D.M.K. Party accepted Indian unity and gave up its separatist ideas. Under the new Indian Constitution the division between the North and the South is even more blurred and there is a growing feeling of national unity among the new generations.

The present volume is brought out at a time when fissiparous tendencies are at work threatening the disruption of national unity. This volume will prove, if History has any lesson to teach, that there has always been a give and take between the North and the South. It is a false myth to claim that the two regions of India lived in isolation, specially in pre-British times, and developed on their own separate lines. If a perusal of this volume strengthens the feeling of national integration, we shall deem our labour as amply rewarded.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Contributors of papers whose kind cooperation has rendered this publication possible. I am also thankful to Dr. Kalyan
Kumar Dasgupta (Calcutta University) and Dr. Amitabha Mukherjee (Jadavpur University) for their kind help in editing the papers. I also owe my thanks to Mrs. Minati Chattopadhyaya for her help in the preparation of the volume. My thanks are, finally, due to Shri Biram Mukherjea for seeing the volume through the press and to Shri Pradip Kumar Chatterjee of the Eton Press Private Limited for his personal attention in supervising the printing work.

Calcutta, 1 March 1976.  

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Ancient Period
A FEW POINTS OF CONTACT AND ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH IN THE FIELD OF RELIGION

PRANABANANDA JASH

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In the field of religion people of the North and the South appear to have realised the fundamental and characteristic differences and had from the beginning reconciled themselves to the idea of mutual adjustment. There were different forms of worship in these two sectors of Indian sub-continent, and the worshippers seem to have carried on their religious practices in a spirit of tolerance. With the materials at our disposal it is difficult to trace the exact beginning of the contact between the North and the South.

According to F. E. Pargiter,¹ "Aryan influence had penetrated into the Dekhan long before the Rig-Vedic canon was closed (a proposition which is generally and unmistakably asserted by Indian tradition), that monkey-worship existed in the Dekhan originally, and that the hymns grew up there. We see therein an instance of what is common in Hinduism, that local cults, though at first superseded by the Aryan religion, were not extirpated, but reasserted themselves and survived by incorporation into Hinduism. Monkey-worship among the Dravidians was at first overborne by the Brahmanic deities, but was ultimately assimilated by the Brahmans and is now to be found throughout India." Other scholars opined that "Aryan penetration through the double frontier of the Vindhyan Mountains and the Narmada is generally regarded as having taken place as early as the days of the Aitareya Brahmanà, about 800 B.C."² But this controversial theory does not bear any
testimony to the 'contact' of the North Indian missionaries with the South Indian people. The influence of the North Indian culture was in full swing in the period of Asoka who in his edicts recognised the South Indian Kings as his neighbours and referred to his plan for the propagation of the good life into the South with the help of the local rulers. The account of the *Mahavamsa* indicates Asoka's propagation of Buddhism among the Southerners. The mode of North Indian cultural penetration towards the trans-Vindhyan region is proved by the episode of the *Ramayana*. To quote F. E. Pargiter once more: "the religion of North India had penetrated into the Dekhan, because there is frequent mention of munis there whom the Rakshasas had maltreated, and Agastya, whom tradition places earlier than Rama, is called the conqueror of the South. The South was Agastya's region and his abode is said sometime to have been on the Malaya Hills."

Be it noted that in the intercourse of religious doctrines and practices both the parts of India, i.e., the South and the North, were equally receptive to each other. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri supports the same view when he says: "in the sphere of religion South India began by being heavily indebted to the people of the North; but in course of centuries it more than amply repaid the debt and made signal contributions to the theory and practices of religion and to philosophic thought in its various aspects."

The intercourse of religious ideas and thoughts between the South and the North was accelerated in the period that ranges from the seventh to the end of the thirteenth century. It acquired immense importance due to the iconoclastic tendencies of the early Muslim invaders that made North India a troubled land for the peaceful pursuit of Hinduism. There seems to have been a considerable influx of Brahmns towards the Deccan and the South, bringing with them certain characteristic elements of Hinduism as were then practised in Northern India. The general change that affected the South also affected the North as well. Secondly, we are fully acquainted with the fact that Saivism, though a cult of hoary
antiquity, became popular with all its sub-sects during this period because of the introduction of Tantrik method of worship with its ritualistic procedures of quasi-magical character that appealed to the common people. The Indian religious thoughts from this time on were increasingly coming under the influence of the Tantras. The eighth century was thus a period of revolutionary activities in religion and politics of ceaseless conflict of ideas and of philosophical debate in schools and sectarian dispute in temples.6

Reference may be made in this context to some North Indian Saiva teachers belonging to different sub-sects of the Saivas who migrated to the South and exercised a considerable influence on their thoughts and culture. The ordinary Saivas, who laid great emphasis on bhakti, followed the doctrine of the Puranas known as Siddhanta Marga according to the Siva Purana.7 A careful consideration of the kriya, yoga and charya proves that these Saivas were far more moderate in their religious beliefs and ritualistic practices than the Pasupatas and its extremist branches, the Kapalikas and the Kalamukhas who accepted the left-handed Tantric method of worship. The ordinary Saivas or the Siddhantins at the beginning spread over a large part of India, particularly in the Central region, in different groups. Of them the most popular and powerful one has been mentioned in various medieval inscriptions as the Mattamayura branch.8 From the tenth to the thirteenth centuries this sub-sector of the Saivas in North India gained momentum and extended far into the South.9

Mention may be made in this connection of the names of two Saiva teachers of this branch who exercised immense influence on the thought and culture of the people of the Deccan. Umapatideva, also known as Jnana-Sivadeva, being a native of Dakshina-Radha in Gauda-desa settled in the Chola country, and acquired great renown for his divine qualities.10 He was known there as Svamidevar. He was a contemporary of the Chola ruler Rajadhiraja II (A.D. 1168-79). In the third quarter of the twelfth century A.D., the Ceylonese army, under their generals Jayadratha, Lankapuri and others, attacked the feudatories of Rajadhira of whom one was Endirili-Sola-
Sambuvarayam. He prayed to Umapatideva for offering oblation and worship to the great god for their safety. The Saiva teachers worshipped Siva for a period of twenty-eight days, as a result of which, it is said, the Ceylonese army with its generals fled away from the Chola country. Endirili-Sola-Sambuvarayam, as a token of gratitude, granted the village of Arppakkam to Umapatideva.\textsuperscript{11}

Again, the reign of Ganapati, son of Mahadeva, is memorable in the history of Saiva religion of the Kakatiya period. The advent into the Andhra country of the Saiva teachers of the Golki-\textit{matha}\textsuperscript{12} brought about a change in the field of religious activities. The Malkapuram stone inscription of Rudrammadevi,\textsuperscript{13} the daughter and successor of Ganapatideva (A.D. 1199-1260), gives an interesting and detailed account of the Saiva teachers of the Golki-\textit{matha}. One of the acharyas, Visvesvara-Sambhu, who belonged to the line of Sadbhava-Sambhu, went to the Andhra country and erected a \textit{matha} after his name Visvesvara-Golki-\textit{matha}. As regards the genealogical data of Visvesvara-Sambhu, the Malkapuram inscription furnishes the following account. Golki-\textit{matha}, situated in the Dahalamandal\textit{a} between the Bhagirathi and the Narmada, was founded by Durvasas. Sadbhava-Sambhu, a remote successor of Durvasas, to the position of the high-priest of that \textit{matha}, received three lakhs of villages as a gift from the Kalachuri king Yuvaraja I (A.D. 925-50), and dedicated it to the \textit{matha} for its maintenance. In the line of Sadbhava-Sambhu flourished several teachers of whom one was Dharma-Sambhu. The latter’s ‘dharma-tanaya’ (spiritual son) was Visvesvara-Sambhu, the crest jewel of Purva-grama in the province of Radha of the Gauda country, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century. Visvesvara-Sambhu was a distinguished Vedic scholar. The Chola and Malava kings were his disciples. He was the \textit{diksha guru} (master who initiates) of the Kakatiya king Ganapati of Warangal, and of a king of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. Visvesvara lived in the court of Ganapati. Ganapati expressed his desire to grant the village of Mandara, situated in the Kandrevati, in the Velinada-Vishaya, on the south bank of the Krishnaveni river, to the Saiva teacher. His
daughter and successor Rudramma granted to the Saiva ascetic, Visvesvara-Sambhu, in the Saka year 1188 (A.D. 1261), the village of Mandaram together with the Lanka lands of the riverine country, in accordance with the desire of her father. The Saiva teacher amalgamated the two villages into one and named it Visvesvara-Golki-matha. He founded there a temple, a monastery, a college, a chaultry for distribution of food, a maternity home, and a hospital.14 The Malkapuram record15 also gives a detailed account of the humanitarian activities of the Saiva teachers. The monasteries attached to temples were seats of learning where the Vedas and other Sastras were taught. The philanthrophic deeds conducted by the ascetics of this school were, in fact, the means for propagating their religion and philosophy to the common people. The Kalamukhas and the Vira-Saivas of a much later period, of South India, also followed the same path for popularisation of their creeds. With the emergence of the Vira-Saivas, who were more liberal and progressive in outlook, these Saiva-mathas were gradually converted into the Vira-Saiva-mathas.

The evidence of the 'contact' and influence of the North Indian teachers to the South is further known from the account of the Siddhanta-Saravali of Trilochana-Sivacharya. It records a tradition that Rajendra Chola saw the best of the Saivas in Northern India when he came to take a bath in the Ganga and took them with him to settle in his own country in Kanchi and elsewhere in the Chola land.16

The Brihat-Gautamiya Tantra says that “those coming from the West are the best, those from the South are middling, those from Gauda and the Kamarupa are inferior to the preceding, and those from Kalinga are the worst.”17 It shows that there was a regular ‘contact’ among the gurus of different parts of the country during the period of our discussion.
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THE INFLUENCE OF SOUTH INDIAN SAINTS AND PHILOSOPHERS ON THE BHAKTI-CULT OF NORTHERN INDIA

DR. SHARDADEVI VEDALANKAR
(Bhagalpur University)

The cult of 'Bhakti' signifying a fervid emotional surrender to God finds its supreme literary expression in the Bhagavata-purana. This is, however, different from the calm and dignified devotion of Bhagavatas of Northern India in the earlier days (c. 2nd century B.C.-2nd century A.D.). In South India, however, the cult underwent certain changes, giving rise to a different type, glimpses of which are obtained from the early writings of the Vaishnava Alvars in the middle of the first millennium of the Christian era. As many as twelve Alvars are known from history and tradition, but it is difficult to determine their chronology. The 'Bhakti' of these Alvar saints is a gentle and simple devotion free from sectarian outlook.

The Alvar devotees, prominent among whom Sathkop, Madhukarkavi, Kulasekhara were Vishnuchit or Periyalvar and Andal (the real adopted daughter of Periyalvar), propagated Bhagavata Dharma in Tamil Province. They worshipped Narayana as their chief deity and composed hundreds of devotional songs which were collected and entitled 'Prabandham'. Among the aforesaid devotees Sathkop and Andal have been very famous for their devotional songs. Andal has been known as Mirabai (the famous devotee of Lord Krishna of Rajasthan) of South India. Songs collected in 'Prabandham' are being sung on the occasion of religious ceremonies and festivals. 'Prabandham' was edited by later Acharyas of the South.

In South India Kumarila and Prabhakara were noted for
their Vedic exegesis, Mimamsa, as two pioneer exponents. The founders of the three main systems of Vedanta—Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva—also hailed from the South. Yet another prominent philosophical system the Saiva-Sidhanta also found its exponents in the Tamil country. The earliest expositions of the Upanishads, the Brahma-Sutra and the Gita, that are now extant, were contributed by Sankaracharya (A.D. 788-820), who came of a South Indian Nambudiri family of Kaladi in north Travancore. Sankara was initiated into asceticism by Govinda Yogi and was a pupil of Gaudapada as his guru (spiritual teacher). He travelled all over India propagating his philosophy of Advaita or Monism, which traces all apparent multiplicity and difference to illusion (Maya). According to Sankara, the essence of reality must be its absoluteness; it must remain ever the same, unconditioned by time, space and casualty. The Atman ever remains the subject and cannot become the object. It is never affected by mental and physical changes, which are all extraneous. The Atman is falsely identified with the Anatman (non-self) and hence the bondage. Bondage is therefore not real. As soon as the true Atman is discovered the illusory bondage disappears. Sankaracharya in course of his extensive travelling founded Mathas in different parts of India, the best known being those at Sringeri, Dvaraka, Badrinath, Puri and Kanchi.

Ramanuja, undoubtedly the greatest of the Vaishnava Acharyas, expounded his philosophy of Visishtadvaita ('qualified Monism') and tried to refute Sankara's Advaitavad or the philosophy of 'Absolute Monism'. Born at Sriperumbuttur at a distance of twenty-one miles from Madras in A.D. 1037, Ramanuja was influenced by the saint Yadavaprakasa who had firm belief in the 'Advaita' philosophy. He left him soon because he was not impressed by the philosophy of Monism. On the contrary he confirmed his beliefs in the devotional songs of the Alvars. He is said to have once met Yamunacharya at Kanchi and expressed his firm belief in the Vaishnava cult. Later on he succeeded Yamunacharya as the head of the Matha at Srirangam which gave him an opportunity to establish the
school of his philosophy of Visishtadvaita and to obtain a position of authority in the sect. He became popular as a saint, a teacher and an organizer and his influence grew day by day. In his lectures and writings, he tried to refute the Mayavada (theory of illusion) of Sankara and establish that the Upanishads did not teach a strict monism. He expounded the philosophy of Visishtadvaita which reconciled devotion to a personal God with the Vedanta philosophy by affirming that the soul, though of the same substance as God, emitted from Him rather than created; the soul can obtain bliss not in absorption but in existence near Him. It is therefore a religion of harmony and hospitality and its idea of God as the soul of the world brings out the immanence of God in all beings, spiritual intimacy and the goodness of God. It thus avers that God of all religions is ultimately one, though the seers and philosophers may give expression to Him in different ways.

Ramanuja was followed by another great Vaishnava saint named Madhva. Born in A.D. 1197 near Udippi at a distance of sixty miles north from Mangalore, Madhva started his monastic life under the guidance of Achyutaparakasa, a monk of Vaishnava cult. Earlier Sankara had preached that Brahman is Nirguna and that Maya, as superimposed on Brahman, is the origin of the world. Madhva thought that this position was dualistic. According to him, so long as there is insistence on the visishta character of Brahman, oneness of the ground is not attained. Madhva showed that Brahman is that which is complete independent ground of all that is other than Brahman. Madhva's philosophy is expounded in his four Bhasyas on the (i) Brahma-Sutra, (ii) on the opening passages of the Rig-Veda, and (iii) on the Upanishad and on the Bhagvad-Gita. His works exhibit thorough unity of purpose. He states that Narayana is the Truth. This can be realised by contemplation of Truth which is the source of joy.

Another great saint philosopher was Nimbarka. According to Dr. Bhandarkar he was a Tailanga Brahmana who was born in A.D. 1262. He shifted his residence from South to North
at Vrindaban. His chief disciple was Jaydeva, author of Gita-govinda. He expounded the philosophy of Dvaita and was a staunch worshipper of Radha and Krishna. According to Nimbarka “Brahman is eternal, independent, omnipresent and omnipotent. He is the soul cause of the entire universe but is without cause.” Unlike Sankara, Nimbarka looks upon Brahman as a personal God and calls Him Krishna and Hari, who is accompanied by His consort Radha. Nimbarka thus effected a happy balance between the rigid intellectualism of Advaitism (Monism) and the effusive emotionalism of later dualistic schools. It is here that Nimbarka does the greatest service to mankind by pointing to a path which satisfies both intellect and feeling, head and heart, without over-emphasizing the one at the expense of the other.

A notable development of Vaishnavism based on the Bhagavata towards the close of the thirteenth century has been observed in the popular songs of Jnanesvara, popularly known as Jnanadeva, a pupil of Vishnusvami who expounded the philosophy of Suddhadvaita (pure non-Duality) which flowered through the preachings of Vallabhacharya. The saint Jnanesvara was the author of an extensive work ‘Jnanesvari’ in Marathi verse on Bhagvad-Gita. Though his tone is Advaitic, he also lays great stress on Yoga. He wrote many ‘Abhangs’ or hymns in Marathi which stirred the life of Maharashtras as those of the Alvars had stirred the Tamil country centuries before. The movement started by him flourished through the preachings of Namadeva and Tukaram. Jnanadeva founded Varkari-sect whose followers did not differentiate between lord Siva and Vishnu.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century flourished Ramana, son of Puspasadan Sharma who was a disciple of Raghavacarya. The latter was a staunch follower of Ramanuja who founded his cult, named “Sri Sampradaya”. Ramananda popularised the philosophy of Ramanuja in North India by extensive travelling. He discarded the feeling of untouchability. He preached his ideologies in local dialects instead of Sanskrit
Religion and Culture

language. Ramanuja had accepted Narayana as the guiding deity of his sect. He was also known as Vishnu but Ramananda accepted ‘Rama and Sita’ as his guiding deities and named his sect as “Ramayat Sampradaya”. He composed several poetic works in Sanskrit. *Sir Ramachananupaddhati* is a famous composition. Later on Ramananda’s Lord Rama has been accepted as “Nirguna Brahman” by the poets, viz., Kabir, Dadu, Raidas and others of Nirguna Sampradaya as the Divine force.

Vallabhacharya (A.D. 1473-1531), a Tailanga Brahmana of South India, spent most of his life in places like Banaras and Adel (about two miles from Allahabad) where he carried on his literary and religious activities. He interpreted sacred texts, such as the Upanishads, the Gita and the Brahma-Sutra which, according to him, were mis-represented by Sankara. Vallabha accepted that these basic philosophical texts do expose the doctrine of Advaita—pure and simple without any reference to what is called Maya by Sankara. Vallabha’s philosophical exposition has been known as Suddh-advaita. As the system again emphasised ‘Pushti’ (divine grace) as the most powerful means of enjoying the highest bliss, it has been popularly known as ‘Pushtimarga’. According to Vallabha the highest entity is Brahman which is Sat (Existence), Cit (Knowledge), Ananda (Bliss) and Rasa (Sentiment). He is Purna (perfect) and Purusottama (the best of beings) and is therefore personal in nature. He is omnipresent and eternal. For Lila (sport) He has created this Universe out of himself. The devotee of the Pushtimarga does everything out of his natural love and for the sake of Lord. The worship of the Lord is called Seva. Later Chaitanyakadeva (A.D. 1485-1533) of Bengal worshipped Krishna and His consort Radha with sentimental attachment, expounding the philosophy of Nimbarkacharya. The famous disciples of Vallabhacharya included his own son, Vithalnath, and a group of eight saint-poets styled ‘Ashtachap’, of whom the most notable was Surdas, others being Nandadas, Kumbhandas, Raskhan (a Muslim disciple of Vithalnath).

In the middle of seventeenth century Tulsidas expounded
his faith in Saguna Brahman and worshipped Rama as the incarnation of Vishnu and Hari.

Thus the Bhakti Cult of North India has been very much influenced by the saints and philosophers of South India which resulted in the formation of Nirguna and Saguna schools of Bhakti.
(II) LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

CONTACT AND ADJUSTMENT IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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Before dealing with the subject-matter, I desire to make some general remarks about the scope and subject-matter of this paper. The language I deal with is Kannada, one of the four major Dravidian languages. The period of my study is limited to the twelfth century, when the geographical limits of Karnataka were wider than what they are now. Some districts of the present-day Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh formed parts of the kingdom of the then Karnataka. Regarding 'contact and adjustment' in the present paper it has not been possible to say much about the influence of Kannada upon Sanskrit and/or Prakrit.

I

Kannada belongs to the family of Dravidian languages, her sisters being Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Tulu. These five languages are known under the collective designation of 'Panchadhravida'. Their parent language may be better designated as proto-Dravidian, which is generally believed to have entered India from outside several millennia ago. The term 'Dravidian' is used in different connotations: territorial, ethnological, linguistic, etc. Linguistically, it designates all the Dravidian languages and in a special sense Tamil also.

There are certain general characteristics of Dravidian languages like (1) the existence of a short and a long e and o; (2) phonetical change of vowels and consonants, for example, ai of Tamil becomes e in Kannada and a in Telugu, as in Talai
(Tamil), tale (Kannada) and tala (Telugu) and guttarals in Kannada changing to palatals in Tamil and Telugu as in kivi, sevi and chevi, key, sey and chey; (3) only singular and plural and no dual; and (4) nouns are divided into high caste and casteless or rational and irrational. These features distinguish the form of speech of the Dravidian languages from Sanskrit.

The influence of Sanskrit has extended not only to vocabulary but also to grammar, with regard to the cultivated Dravidian languages, although it has been stated in a general way that the accession of culture from a superior race to an inferior is sometimes dangerous to the purity of a language. Sanskrit has supplied Dravidian languages, in the way as Latin did to English, with words to felicitate the expression of abstract ideas relating to religion, philosophy and science. This is in a way explicable. But we often find that Sanskrit words have been unnecessarily introduced to add elegance and refinement to the speech.

The Brahui language of Baluchistan, which has freely absorbed vocabulary from Persian, Baluchi, Sindhi, etc., is regarded as proto-Dravidian. This is exemplified by the linguistic features it exhibits: short a, long e and o, ni for thou, aspirated letters and f; the principles followed in the formation of the plural as in Tamil and Kannada; its agreement with Kannada in the formation of the present and past tense. In other words, all these indicate that Brahui has maintained the original Dravidian features in spite of its segregation from other Dravidian languages.

Dr. Caldwell has laid down some principles to ascertain the Dravidian origin of a word found in Sanskrit lexicons. Accordingly when (i) the word is an isolated one in Sanskrit, without a root or derivatives but surrounded by collateral or derivative words in the Dravidian languages, (ii) there are other words in Sanskrit to convey the same idea while there is only the one in question in the Dravidian, (iii) the word found in every Dravidian dialect, though be rude, is not found in any of the Indo-European languages allied to Sanskrit, (iv) the signification of the word in the Dravidian languages is evidently radical or
physiological while in Sanskrit it is more metaphorical or only collateral—under these conditions one may conclude whether a word is Dravidian and not a Sanskrit derivative. On these conditions words like akka (elder sister), atta, atti (mother, elder sister, mother’s elder sister), kuti (house), kota (fort), palli (village), valli (creepers), heramba (buffalo from erumai), mukula (bud from mugil, mugul), kuntala (hair), kaka (crow from kage), talpa (float-teppa), kharju (itch-khajji) can be said to have been borrowed by Sanskrit from the Dravidian languages.

Further, in the Dravidian languages all nouns denoting inanimate substances and irrational beings are of the neuter gender. The governing word is invariably placed after the word governed in consequence of which the nominative always occupies the first place in the sentence and the one finite verb the last. They are also destitute of any common term for brother, sister, uncle, aunt, etc., and use, instead, a set of terms which combine the idea of relationship with that of age, such as anna (elder brother), tamma (younger brother), akka (elder sister), tange (younger sister), chikkappa (younger uncle), doddamma (elder aunt), etc.

With regard to phonology, the cerebral letters form an essential feature of Dravidian phonology and it is supposed that the Sanskrit cerebral letters are taken from the Dravidian tongues. Use of l in Sanskrit in place of r used in other Indo-European languages is yet another Dravidian influence. Similarly, the softening of hard consonants after vowels in Prakrits, double pronunciation of the palatals in Marathi as in Telugu, the change of ch to s and s to h in many of these languages have all been considered to be due to the Dravidian influence.

Ancient grammarians of the Dravidian languages have differentiated Sanskrit words from the Dravidian and have enunciated some rules under which the Sanskrit words undergo changes in the Dravidian languages. In the Tamil Tolkappiyam, all words found in Tamil have been divided into (i) iyarcol, ‘words employed in ordinary speech’, (ii) tiricol, ‘words employed only in literary works’, (iii) ticaiccol, ‘words
borrowed from languages spoken all around', and (iv) vatacol, 'the speech of the North or Sanskrit words'.

Basing on the statement made by Kesiraja in his Sabdamanidarpana the Rev. Fr. Kittel made the following divisions in Kannada language: (i) words that are peculiar to the country are desya or pure Kannada (achchagannada), (ii) words that have been borrowed from Sanskrit without any alteration (sama-sanskrita), (iii) words more or less corrupted from Sanskrit (apabhramsa or tadbhava), and (iv) words that exist in Kannada as well as in Sanskrit (tatsama and compounds with them) or are, as it were, Kannada and Sanskrit.

Telugu grammarians have similarly classified Telugu words into (i) tatsama, (ii) tadbhava, (iii) achchatenugu pure Telugu, (iv) desya, and (v) gramya, this last denoting the vocabulary of the illiterate. The tatsamas and tadbhavas have been later further classified by Chinnayasuri in his Balavyakaranamu into those borrowed direct from Sanskrit and those derived through Prakrit.

It has been remarked by some scholars that "the first word tat in the compounds tatsama and tadbhava is taken in Kannada grammars to denote Sanskrit, but in Telugu it is taken to denote Prakrit also. So we have four classes of words, Samskrita-sama, Samskrita-bhava, Prakrita-sama and Prakrita-bhava. And this classification is desirable since there are instances of words which it is easier to derive from Prakrit than from Sanskrit. Thus the Kannada word Kambam may be more easily derived from the Prakrit khambho than from the Sanskrit stambbah." There are, besides, the desya or indigenous and anyadesya foreign words.

It is not easy to estimate the contribution of Kannada to Sanskrit as this matter is bound up with the influence of Dravidian languages as a group on Sanskrit and the Aryan vernaculars. It may be mentioned in passing, that only the grammarians of Kannada have ventured to suggest that certain words in that language as well as in Sanskrit were common to both. In other words, such Kannada words, far from being derived from Sanskrit have been borrowed by Sanskrit. Many of the Dravidian loan-words to Sanskrit appear to be more the
contributions of Kannada, perhaps due to the fact that Karnataka came into contact with the Aryans earlier. Words borrowed by Sanskrit, after the period of Aryan immigration into the South, like meke (goat), ganda (hero), talpa or teppa (float) are not found in Tamil and could have been borrowed only from Kannada.

It has to be noted, however, that some scholars believe that the affinity between Sanskrit and Prakrit and other Dravidian languages can be seen also in the sound system-varnasamamnaya, the system in the Dravidian languages agreeing with that of Sanskrit and Prakrit, with the exception of Tamil which possesses only the first and the fifth consonants of each class as in Paisachi and Prakrit. Relies of short e and o, considered as desi, are stated to have survived in the Vedic literature also. It is also argued that the Dravidian r is not confined to desi alone, but noticed also in Sanskrit and Prakrit words and that the l sound is identical with d.

On these and several such grounds, Dr. Umarji tries to establish that the Dravidian languages, when studied deeply, reveal Indo-Aryan and even Indo-European affinities not only in vocabulary, but also in phonology, morphology and syntax. He says that the traditional story of the Vindhyaa mountain remaining in a bent position when Agastya came and continued to be in that position as commended by Agastya is “a metaphor which suggests that the contact between the North and the South of India was lost for some reason, for some time and Agastya re-established the contact.”

Having dealt with the affinities of the Dravidian languages with Sanskrit, let us now turn our attention to the contacts between Kannada and Sanskrit.

II

Kavirajamarga is the earliest extant literary work usually assigned to the ninth century. It is said to have been written in old Kannada (palagannada). It is a work on poetics and follows the Sanskrit Kavyadarsa of Dandi. In it mention is
made of a number of "previous masters of the Kannada muse and originators of Kannada criticism" (Puratana kavis and Puroacharyas). It refers to indigenous Kannada verse compositions like chattana and Bedande although even in these the influence of Sanskrit metrical patterns can be seen. It means that Kannada had a literature at least two or three centuries before this work—Kavirajamarga. Durvimta, the Ganga king ruling between c. A.D. 529-579, is described in the epigraphs as a scholar himself, besides being a patron of literature. He has been attributed the authorship of Sabdavatara and is said to have been a commentator of the Kiratarjuniya of Bharavi and and translator of Gunadhya's Vaddakatha. He is one of the predecessors referred to by the author of Kavirajamarga. Another work referred to is the Chudamani, a commentary in 96,000 Kannada verses, of the Jaina work Tattivarthamahasasra of Tambulacharya (c. A.D. 700). Obviously, Kannada literature had grown to a stature by A.D. 600 and perhaps even earlier. Traces of literary style can be seen in the earliest Kannada epigraph from Halmidi, of about the middle of the fifth century A.D. Thus we see that the history of Kannada literature extends over a vast period of about 1500 years, and right from that period the impact of Sanskrit upon Kannada has been significant.

In the early stages, only the great works of poets like Kalidasa and Bharavi could influence the Kannada literary style and the Kannada poets took pride in comparing themselves with Sanskrit poets of that stature. The instance of RaviKirti, the composer of the Aihole prasasti, could be cited where he says that his poetic fame was equal to that of Kalidasa and Bharavi.

It has to be noted, however, that the range of this influence was restricted only to matters of style and figures of speech, to metre and to the arrangement of thought. The author of Kavirajamarga and the later poets that followed him, while dealing with poetics have given helpful suggestions to poets and writers as to what extent and in what way Sanskrit words could be used in composing kavyas. In the first chapter of Kavirajamarga (verses 51-61) the lakshanika says that befitting Kannada
words may be judiciously mixed with *Sama Sanskrita* words; but compound words (*samasa*) should not be formed; to mix up Sanskrit indeclinables (*avyayas*) independently with Kannada words is not wholesome. Hence, in what is described as the first stage of this influence, ‘there was no blind imitation of Sanskrit words but a judicious adaption of the classical excellence of that language to suit the genius of Kannada.’ For the author of *Kavirajamarga* Sanskrit was an object of admiration and a model for emulation in his own native tongue in which he was naturally at home and in which alone he could claim perfection—which could never be his in Sanskrit however much he might struggle and study. 

The contribution of Jainas to Kannada literature has been voluminous and monumental. The Jaina pandits had made a deep study of both Sanskrit and Prakrit languages, besides being well-versed in several other languages as their titles like *Udbhaya-kavi, Chaturbhasha-Chakravati*, etc., indicate. It is with this background that the Jaina poets wrote also in Kannada. It must be noted that these works were more religious than secular.

It is difficult to say whether Kannada literature had grown up in pure Kannada tradition, before Sanskrit literature and its method had its impact upon Kannada. The extant literary works in old Kannada, more specially the *kavyas*, have all followed Sanskrit literary traditions. It has to be noted that by the time Kannada literature had its beginnings, say, in the sixth century A.D., Bhasa and Kalidasa, in Sanskrit, have had their days and it was the period of Bana and Magha who had arrested the imagination of scholars and people alike. Bana had developed a style full of subtlety and tautology, outrageous overloading of words with an array of epithets, the solitary verb being held over for pages and the use of utterly abnormal phraseology. On the other hand, Magha while lacking in consciousness, serenity and dignity, exhibits his power of twisting the language. Naturally, such Sanskrit poets now gave more prominence to the intellectual exercise of ransacking lexicons to use words that give strained meanings, constructions and word-order. It had its impact upon Kannada literature also
which was now in the process of colourful growth.

The tenth century witnessed a galaxy of great poets in Kannada, like Pampa, Ponna and Ranna. Many of them received royal patronage and obviously wrote to please their masters although that was a secondary element. The form they adopted—the champu—was a derivation, as it were, from Sanskrit. Even the subject-matter they chose was from the epics and it was to move the people to a devotional attitude, to propagate a new religious dogma. The Sanskrit epics were meant for the masses and were written by several bards, later to be collected and compiled by one or more individuals. Devotion—bhakti—was not considered as a literary sentiment at all and the devotional hymns—stotras—were so only by courtesy! The champu style was not the one that was in usage. But these were the ones that attracted writers of the classical Kannada. Dr. Krishnamurty says: "It looks as though they wanted to infuse into their works Kalidasa’s poetic finish and Bana’s flourish of prose, Bhartrihari’s lyricism and Bhavabhuti’s dramatic power, the epic grandeur of Vyasa and the religious as well as cosmographic elements of the Puranas—all at one stroke in the short span of a single work."

It is clear that these Kannada writers were proficient in Sanskrit. It is rather difficult to answer the question whether there existed indigenous style and form in Kannada literature and whether there was a purely Kannada literature at all. But the extant works suggest that the writers followed Sanskrit traditions. While some translated into Kannada works in Sanskrit and Prakrit, others made use of the material available in the epics and other literary works of those languages to compose new kavyas. But what is of interest to note is that the early poets of Kannada did not follow the style of Sanskrit works but perhaps adopted that style—the Sanskrit metres, etc.—to develop a style of their own and that was the champu style. This was a style not very much known in Sanskrit then; but one that was very much made use of in Kannada works of the period. Though it is described as a 'cumbersome mixture of prose and verse', poets of the stature of Pampa and Ranna "utilized the literary experiments of their predecessors to great
advantage and brought to select metrical pattern like the \textit{kanda} and the six major Kannada \textit{vrittas} known as \textit{Khyata Karnatakas} a finality once and for all.”

\textit{Kavirajamarga} refers to a kind of composition called \textit{gadyapadyasammisrita} which may be the same as the \textit{champu}. The earliest \textit{champu} works in Kannada, so far available, are Pampa’s \textit{Bharata} and \textit{Adipurana} of A.D. 941 and it has been suggested that this form of composition is the gift of Kannada poets to Sanskrit literature, and that the Jainas were the originators of this form.

As in the case of style, so in the case of subject-matter, the Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures have become the gift-giving trees. The \textit{Ramayana}, the \textit{Mahabharata}, and the \textit{Bhagavata}, the \textit{Puranas}, \textit{Agamas}, and \textit{Kavyas} have been the veritable mines for the Kannada writers to draw their subject-matter and inspiration from. These have been translated, suitably adapted, expanded or summarised, in Kannada to suit the tastes of the Kannadiga.

The impact of the \textit{Ramayana} on Kannada could be seen even in \textit{Kavirajamarga} (c. A.D. 850) where we find a few verses related to that story. There has been some difference of opinion in regard to the authorship of these verses. Some hold the view that they are extracts from an earlier Jaina \textit{Ramayana} while others opine that the verses were the compositions of the author of \textit{Kavirajamarga} himself. In \textit{Bhucanakaramabhyudaya} of Ponna (c. 950), a work which is still not available, the poet is said to have equated his patron, Krishna III of the Rashtrakuta family with the hero of the epic. Ranna’s \textit{Parasuramcharita}, also not available, is another work connected with the epic. We are not in a position to say whether these works adapted the Jaina or the Hindu version of the original story. Nagachandra’s \textit{Pamparamayana} (c. A.D. 1140) which is extant and critically edited, follows the Jaina tradition, of Vimalasuri \textit{Paumachariya} (c. 1st century A.D.) of the latter and \textit{Padmapurana} of Ravisena (A.D. 678) have had their impact on the work of Nagachandra. This Kannada \textit{Pampa-Ramayana} later became the main source for the other works related to that epic in Kannada.
So far as the *Mahabharata* is concerned, Pampa’s *Vikramarjunavijaya* or *Bharata* is recognised as the *adikavya* in Kannada literature. He has almost faithfully followed the epic, with necessary omissions and additions and on comparison it is found that the works of Kalidasa, Magha, Bharavi, Bhattanarayana and BHavabhuti have been well studied and their impact could be clearly seen in this work. Ranna has followed the thirteenth and fourteenth *Asvasas* of Pampa’s work in weaving the story of that most stimulating episode of Bharata, the fight between Bhima and Duryodhana, (the *Gadayuddha*). One could also see the influence of Bhasa’s *Urubhanga* narrating the same episode and Bhattanarayana’s *Venisamhara*. Barring these two, there are practically no works in Kannada connected with this epic till almost the fourteenth century.

As regards prose works, there is reference to *Gadyakatha* in *Kavirajamarga* itself and a beautiful sample can be seen in *Vaddaradhane* of the same period, viz., ninth century A.D., by Sivakotyacharya. This work is based upon a Prakrit commentary of *Bhagavati Aradvana*, of another Sivakotyacharya of circa second century A.D. “The work narrates the stories of nineteen Jaina ascetics who maintained their firmness of mind in the face of death rushing upon them through the agency of the denizens of hell or heaven, human beings or animals.” This would indicate that there might have been other works in prose in this or in the earlier period. That they were not and might not have been secular is a different matter. In fact, most of the extant works of this period are more religious in character than secular.

It has to be noted at this point that the Jainas were the pioneers of Kannada literature in this period. Jainism had a strong hold in Karnataka and if that faith had to be propagated among the masses of this region, it had to be done only through their language. While the Brahmanas, who were supposed to be the custodians of sacred literature like that of the epics and Puranas, seem to have ignored the value of translating those Sanskrit works into Kannada, the Jainas, who had some sort of a missionary zeal, approached the masses in their own languages. Hence we see that most of the early writers in
Kannada were Jainas. *Champu* was the most acceptable form in which these writers could give lucid expression to their thoughts.

Before Pampa there were two other Jaina poets of eminence—Asaga and Gunavarma I. Of these the former (c. A.D. 853) was well-versed in Sanskrit, Kannada and also Prakrit. Gunavarma’s (c. A.D. 900) *Harivamsa* deals with the story of Neminatha, the twenty-second Tirthankara and is based on one or two *Neminatha Puranas* in Sanskrit and Prakrit, of an earlier period. It is surmised that he might have adopted as model the *Harivamsa Purana* of Jinasenacharya of Punnatasangha. Pampa’s *Adipurana* is about the first Tirthankara. He has drawn profusely from Jinasena’s (of Senasangha) *Purva Purana* whose 10,000 verses have been paraphrased and condensed into about 1,600 poems by Pampa. Although there are beautiful Kannada verses here and there it is obvious that he was deeply impressed by the Sanskrit language of the original work and could not avoid using that language more effectively and purposefully. Ponna’s *Santipurana* has similarities in the narration of the story to that of Asaga’s same work in Sanskrit. He is also deeply influenced by Kalidasa’s *Raghuvamsa* and hundreds of verses of this latter have been translated by Ponna. Ranna’s *Ajitapurana* is modelled upon the *Uttarapurana* of Gunabhadracharya (c. A.D. 898-99) although the method adopted by him in narrating is often different, and better than that of the original. Chavundaraya’s *Trishashti-lakshana-mahapurana* (better known as *Chavundaraya-purana*) is the first *mahapurana* in Kannada literature. It is considered to be the prose version in Kannada, of the *Mahapurana* of Jinasena-Gunabhadracharya in Sanskrit poetry. But Chavundaraya has studied other works in Sanskrit and Prakrit, like Kavi Parameshthi’s *Mahapurana* (*Vagartha-sangraha*), *Varangacharite* of Jatasimhanandi, *Uttarapurana* of Gunabhadra, Vasunandi’s *Sravakachara*, etc.

Santinatha’s *Sukumara-charite* (c. 1068), Nayasena’s *Dharmamrita* (A.D. 1112), *Neminathapurana* of Karnaparya (c. A.D. 1160-70), Nagachandra’s *Mallinatha-purana* (c. A.D. 1130-40), *Ardhanemipurana* of Nemichandra (c. A.D. 1190),
Achanna's Vardhamanapurana (A.D. 1190-1222), Yasodhara Charitre and Anantanathapurana of Janna (A.D. 1209), Pushpadanta-purana of Gunavarma II (c. A.D. 1215), Parsva-pandita's Parsvanatha-purana (A.D. 1222) and Kamalabhava's Santisvara-purana are some of the prominent Jaina works in Kannada. All of them have had, however, their source of information and inspiration from Sanskrit or Prakrit works of either the contemporary or earlier periods.

From this point of view Kabbigara Kavya (c. A.D. 1235), of Andayya is noteworthy. So far as its language is concerned, this is the first work in pure Kannada, without mixing Sanskrit words. It was a challenge, as it were, in those days, to write such a work and hence this is regarded as a class by itself. There are, however, Sanskrit derivatives in this work the theme of which is a creation of the poet himself.

From this period onwards a silent but significant movement could be noticed against the use of Sanskrit in profusion and without any limit, and their effects upon the Kannada style also, as could be seen in the use of lengthy compound words, etc. More emphasis came to be laid slowly upon writing popular stories in lucid, pure Kannada. To a great extent this movement received impetus from the Virasaiva movement that engulfed Karnataka in the later part of the twelfth century and thereafter.

Virasaiva writers departed from the old traditions of expression and opened out fresh channels of free and simple literary composition. For the first time, hence, we see Kannada language flowering out to display its innate simplicity, chastity and beauty. The writers now approached the lay man, to propagate the new faith, through the medium of that commoner. They showed that complex religious ideas could be conveyed in simple language. They thus created a new form of literature—the Vachana, 'Saying' or Rhapsody-prose in character with poetic rhythm and literary charm. Thus began a renaissance in Kannada literature.

But vachanas were followed by two other literary forms, the Ragale and the Shatpadi. Ragale is said to be an indigenous metre akin to blank verse and it was used for the first time by
Harihara on a large scale in the composition of a full-fledged Kavya. In his days the poet and his metre, the Ragale, were looked upon as upstarts. Harihara also initiated the use of new themes, instead of those that were drawn either from the epics or the Jaina Puranas. This gave a more realistic approach to poetry. Likewise, Raghavanka made use of the Shatpadi metre for a full-fledged Kavya.

III

A brief survey has been made above to show the nature and extent of the influence of Sanskrit and Prakrit on Kannada literature. We may now briefly review the influence of Kannada on Sanskrit. It has already been stated that this is not as significant. Noteworthy is the patronage that the kings of Karnataka gave to Sanskrit poets in their courts. Kannada poets were well-versed in Sanskrit, as seen above and they were authors of several Sanskrit literary works. Durvinita, the Ganga king, was himself a scholar of repute and is stated to have written a commentary upon the Canto XV of Bharavi's Kiratarjuniya besides being the author of Sabdavatara and Vaddakatha. The last is believed to have been a Sanskrit translation of Brihatkatha. Similarly, Asaga and Gunavarman (c. A.D. 900) have made marked contributions to Sanskrit literature. The latter's Prakriyavatara in Sanskrit is regarded as a commentary upon Pujyapada's Jainendra Vyakarana.

Kannada works on prosody have left their impact upon Sanskrit literature. Although it is only the Sanskrit works from which Kannada drew inspiration in the early stages, later works on prosody of Nagavarma (Chhandombudhi) and others setting forth new principles and forms, paved the way for such forms to enter into Sanskrit literary works later. Several Varnavrittas, unknown to Sanskrit, are found in Kannada and have subsequently gained recognition in Sanskrit. Mattebhavikridita and the Kanda metres may be cited as instances in point.
REFERENCES

1. Some are inclined to substitute Malayalam and Tulu by Marathi and Gujarati. Dravidian is derived from the Sanskrit Dravida and this in itself is the derivative of Tamil-Dramila, which finds mention in the Mahakuta inscription of Mangalesa.
4. Dr. K. Krishnamurthy in Karnataka Darsana, p. 206.
5. See Karnataka Darsana, p. 208.
6. Ibid.
It has been rightly observed that South Indian Culture "becomes articulate and enters the field of authentic recorded history only after its contact with Indo-Aryan". This development did not take place without any conflict. In the beginning, the Indo-Aryan ideals were met with opposition in the far South or more properly speaking, in the Tamil country, though they received cordial reception in the Deccan. But finally the changes were effected "more by peaceful and steadily pervasive penetration than by military conquest... and many facets of the old pre-Aryan culture have been integrated with the Aryan, and the integration is often so complete as to render it next to impossible to separate the elements of the amalgamated culture".

There are reasons to believe that the Aryanisation of South India began in about 1000 B.C. The Deccan came under the influence of the North earlier than the Far South. The Aryanisation of the Deccan was complete during the rule of the Satavahanas, in which the Brahmana priests, the Buddhist missionaries and Mauryan officers took an active part. The Aryans, however, took more time to influence Tamil culture as in the case of Eastern India. Even in the Tamil country the mingling and synthesis of Dravidian and Aryan culture is met with in the Sangam Period. Indeed, punch-marked coins, which are found all over India bear witness to ancient contacts
between the North and the South. It will be the object of this paper to trace in some detail these fascinating developments in the structure of society and economy in South India.

II

The Aryanisation of South India had an important influence in the development of social laws and institutions. A large majority of people in South India adopted the Aryan way of life and thought. Those who continued to pursue their old way of life and practices remained outside the pale of Aryan influence and came to constitute what may be called the tribes.

An outstanding feature of Aryan and subsequent Hindu way of life is the varnadharma which implies that the Dharma is not the same for all men. It thus envisages a hierarchy of classes with different duties and a distinct way of life. This characteristic Aryan feature influenced the structure of the South Indian society to a great extent.

Deccan came under the influence of the Aryans even before the establishment of the Satavahana empire. The Satavahana rulers championed Brahmanic culture. This had a salutary effect on the stabilising influence of the Aryans. In addition to the four major castes, the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra, the pluralistic tendencies in the contemporary Indian society had its own influence on India in multiplying the castes on an occupational basis. We have reference to such occupational castes as Golikas (shepherds), Halika (cultivator), Sethi (merchant), Gadhika (druggist), Vadhaki (carpenter), Kolika (weaver), Tilapisaka (oil presser), Kamara (iron-worker) and so on.

Prior to the Aryanisation of South India some pattern of social divisions based on the regional distribution existed in the Tamil country. Purananuru refers to such castes as Tudiyan, Panan, Parayan, and Kadamban. These castes were based on occupations. But the introduction of Varnadharma tended to make the caste system more complex.

In the Sangam literature, however, the caste system appears
to be relatively simple, though as we know it became rigid and fixed later. Sangam works testify to the existence of four social divisions, viz., the Brahma, the Arasar (king), Vanigar (merchants), and Velalas (peasants). These divisions do not approximate to the four-fold divisions of the Aryan Society. For instance, the Velalas were socially and politically equal to the king. They had the right of intermarriage and the right of kingship also vested in the Velalas.8 Again, the Kshatriya caste is rarely mentioned as a distinct group. The Vaisya does not find a prominent place. The Chettis and traders, who are considered as constituting the Vaisya community, were for all practical purposes placed at par with the Sudras.9 In the Aryan society the first three classes, the Brahma, the Kshatriya and the Vaisya, were considered as dvijas or twice-born and they wore the sacred thread. In the Tamil country of South India only the Brahmanas wore the sacred thread, most of them were the natives of the land and those who came from the North were called Vadamar (Northerners).10 That elsewhere in South India, the penetration of Aryan influence was peaceful, thorough and complete, becomes evident from the records of the Satavahanas, the Kadambas, the Chalukyas and other dynasties.

The Brahmanas were held in high esteem. By their scholarship and learning and as impartial adjudicators, they were able to command respect from other classes. The latter accepted this position without opposition. The kings, nobles and merchants gifted lands to learned Brahmanas so that they might devote themselves exclusively to learning and teaching without the concern of the maintenance of their family.

The land-owning peasant commanded much respect in the society. His status was much superior to that of the artisans and peasants. Lower in the scales of the society stood the landless labourers. Their status was in no way different from that of the slaves.

The development of a sense of social freedom in North India made the law-givers to change Smriti regulations to re-define the duties of the castes. The new regulations permitted the first three classes to adopt occupations of castes
next to them in adverse circumstances. These regulations had their impact on South Indian society. The Brahmanas adopted the occupations of the Kshatriyas. The founders of the Satavahana, Vakataka, Kadamba and Pallava dynasties were Brahmanas. Some resorted to Vaisya occupations, viz., trade and agriculture. The Brahmanas of Ennayiram who took to trade were counted in one group along with the Valarjiya merchants of the South Bazaar. But they were forbidden to trade in salt, lac, meat, milk, honey, intoxicants, etc. While the Brahmanas were usually allowed to pursue agriculture, they were advised to be more human than others. When they resorted to occupations other than their own, they were liable to pay tax to the State to free themselves of the sin. A section of the Brahmanas followed the usual duties. But others accepted offices, civil and military, in the State. Their way of life was naturally different from the learned Brahmanas.

There were sub-castes among the Kshatriyas. The high caste Kshatriyas must have been the Rajanya of the Vedic period. In the Rastrakuta times they are called the Sat Kshatriyas (true Kshatriyas), mentioned by Arab writers as Sabkrufrias. The ordinary Kshatriyas occupied a lower position who performed usual rites, but neglected Vedic studies. In course of time the gulf between Sat Kshatriyas and ordinary Kshatriyas widened.

The Vaisyas did not also remain as a single community. They received new blood from the Kshatriyas. This must have undermined their position to some extent. They, like the ordinary Kshatriyas, neglected Vedic studies and were reduced to the status of the Sudras.

The remarkable feature of the South Indian society in the sixth to eighth centuries A.D. is the improvement in the position of the Sudra. The Bhakti Movement led by the Saiva and Vaishnava saints called respectively the Nayanars and the Alvars preached equality among men. It succeeded to an extent in narrowing down the gulf between the high and the low castes. The orthodoxy was forced to introduce necessary changes to move with time. Though the Sudra was not permitted to read the Vedas, he became eligible for Smarta
practices. Many of the taboos stood him in good stead. He was not to spend on sacrifices or ceremonies. He became rich by agriculture, trade and industry. He was enlisted in the army. Many of them had the good fortune in becoming military leaders and petty rulers.

The fifth caste, the panchamas or untouchables, appears to have been long excluded from the mainstream of life as is indicated by the Sangam literature. They suffered from the same disabilities as their counterparts in North India, the removal of which was one of the objects of the Bhakti Movement.

South Indian family, like the Aryans, was a joint one. It was patriarchal and patrilineal. Though the Satavahana rulers from Gautamiputra Satakarni onwards assumed metronymic prefix, the family system was patriarchal. The inscriptions of the Satavahanas refer to gifts made in common by all the members of the family, such as parents, wives, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, grandsons, granddaughters, etc. The members of the family are mentioned quite in keeping with their place in the family and precedence is given to father over mother, son over daughter, brother over sister.

III

Women occupied an important position in society. The patriarchal family system does not appear to have restricted their freedom in any way. Education was not denied to them. Sangam literature speaks of a large number of poetesses. Among them Auvaíyar and Nachchellaiyvar are most noteworthy. Perunkopendu, wife of Bhutappandyan, was an accomplished queen whose poem on ‘sati’ was included in the Purananuru. In general in the Pallava period a high ideal of womanhood existed and feminine virtues were appreciated. Women in higher classes then received good education in literature and fine arts. They continued to enjoy a high position in subsequent days as well. We hear of Vijayabhattarika, wife of Chandraditya, brother of the Chalukya Vikramaditya I (A.D. 1076-1128),
who was a poetess of no mean repute and won the praise of literary critics.

Women also took part in religious worship and charity. The Satavahana records from Karle and Kuda record the gifts made by Mahabhoji and Maharathinis, wives of Mahabhojas and Maharathis. The Nagarjunakonda inscriptions interestingly attribute the titles like Mahasenapati and Mahatalavari to the ladies as well. They also record dedication by pious women connected with the Ikshvakus family. 13 Not only queens and princesses but also ordinary women made donations of various kinds, evidently out of their own property, for pious purposes. 14 A Pandyan queen took the initiative in inviting the famous Saiva saint Jnanaśambandar to Madurai to counteract the influence of the Jainas on the king and subjects. Vijayabhattacharika, Princess Kumkumadevi, the younger sister of Vijayaditya and Vinayavati, the pious ladies connected with the Chalukya family, issued grants themselves or took the initiative in acts of piety and creation of endowments. Lokamahadevi, the Hahaya princess and queen of Vikramaditya II, built a temple at Pattadakal. A Pallava queen took the initiative in the construction of a temple. 15

Ladies of the royal household took an active part in the administration of the day. After the death of Satakarni I, Nayanika (Naganika) governed the kingdom as regent on behalf of her minor sons Vedasiri and Satisiri. 16 Queen Balasri also ruled the Satavahana kingdom as regent on behalf of her minor son. She even issued the Nasik Prasasti extolling the exploits of her son, Gautamiputra Satakarni. In the very early history of the Pandyas we hear of mythical queens like the daughter of Herakles called Pandaya or Tadatkarai Pirattiyar. 17 Some Pallava queens exercised a certain amount of influence in the matters of the state. Princess Kumkumadevi was present with her brother Vijayaditya in his camp at Kuhudinagar. "An undated inscription of Vijayaditya mentions Lokatinimmadi as administrator of Kuruttakunta. If she is identified with Lokamahadevi,...... then this reference might suggest active interference of the queen in the administration." 18 Princess Akkadevi, elder sister of Jayasimha II, carried on the adminis-
stration of a province and personally and actually engaged in fighting and sieges. Women were also appointed as ambassadors. We have a reference in the Sangam literature to Auvaiyar's embassy to Kanchi. Sangam works often speak of women bodyguards (beautiful, talented, courageous and alert). This shows that they underwent military training as well.

But the normal housewife was a retiring and dutiful woman who was a word for chastity and modesty. She spent time in looking after the comforts of her husband and feeding the guests and beggars.

Monogamy was the general practice though the kings and nobles followed polygamous practices. The practice of taking a second wife, if the first one proved barren, was in vogue.

The marriage was a sacrament and occupied an important place in the life of people. Prior to the introduction of the Aryan way of life, the form of marriage that existed seems to have been simple and natural. It was devoid of rituals. The coming together of man and woman constituted marriage. The advent of Aryanism to South India brought with it the eight systems of marriage. That the Tamil country of South India was familiar with the eight systems of marriage becomes evident from Tolkappiam. A graphic account of the ritualistic marriage is found in Silappadikaram. The system of wearing Tali or the sacred thread worn by the bride is a peculiarly non-Aryan (Tamil) practice and indigenous to Tamilaham, which was incorporated by the Brahmans into their ritualistic pattern.

Generally marriages were arranged by the parents of the couples. In North India marriage was forbidden with a common paternal ancestor within seven generations or a maternal ancestor within five. This rule was, however, not followed in the Deccan strictly and there are records of cousin-marriage even in ruling families. The dynastic marriages for political purposes are also met with. In such cases also normal rules for marriages were not strictly followed. In the beginning girls were married when they attained the age of twelve. But child marriages became quite common later on. Megasthenes says that "girls of the Pandya kingdom bore children at
the age of six” and “women when seven years of age are of marriageable age.” Widow marriages had gone out of vogue towards the end of our period.

The custom of Sati was known and was extolled as a high ideal. But it was not a popular institution. This practice was cherished practically by the warrior community. Recorded instances of a queen or a commoner following this practice are few and far between to deserve any serious consideration.

The lot of a widow was an unenviable one. She was to shun all pleasures, lead an austere life, live on one meal a day and sleep on bare ground. Her’s was a life of self-denial. Her head was cleanly shaven, a practice not known to the Aryans. Quoting a verse from Puranamuru, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri observes: “Women gave up eating betel leaves and bathing in cold water when their husbands fell in battle.”

Women appear to have held property in their own right. Her right to inherit the property of her husband was being gradually recognized.

As in Northern India the courtesans held a recognized place in the social life. They also figure in the Sangam literature. No indignity or reproach appears to have been attached to this institution. They were highly accomplished, being proficient in music and dance. Some accomplished courtesans were appointed as king’s body-guards and servants. They accompanied the king wherever he went and, even awaited him in the rear when he went into battle. They also served as the maids-in-waiting of the queens. This type of courtesans were highly respected. They even took part in charitable endowments. Vijayaditya’s beloved mistress, Vinapotigal, performed the hiranyagarbha at Mahakuta and presented the deity a pedestal set with rubies, with a silver umbrella over it. Chalabbe, another noted courtesan, endowed three pillars in the Vijayesvara temple. Matibhodhamma contributed to make two pillars. They were even honoured by villages for their public benefactions. There was also a practice of bestowing accomplished girls (devadasis) to the temples. The Chola ruler, Rajaraja I, is said to have bestowed on the Rajarajesvara
temple, now called the Brihadisvara temple, four hundred devadasis selected from all over his empire including Ceylon. Each of them was given a house and some other property. The favourite courtesans of the kings were recipients of special honours which included the right of travel in a palanquin, the right to use the wisk, the right to use a golden casket of betel leaves, etc. It was considered necessary that this class of persons should not be dissuaded from their ancestral profession. In fact, courtesans who neglected their professional practices were judicially punished. There was another type of courtesans who pursued their profession with an aura of sanctity. They mixed with men freely as they were not to observe the restraints which the matrons were expected to do. In any case, the institution had nothing in common in modern industrial cities.

IV

The people of South India were fully aware of the factors of production, such as land, labour, capital and organisation. Agriculture was the mainstay of Indian economy to which South India was no exception. Gifts of cows, lands and villages as recorded in the inscription speak of their importance in everyday life of the people. The fertility of the soil in relation to production and the application of manure to enrich the soil were not unknown. Villages were self-sufficient. Land was surveyed and classified. According to Chalukya records land was classified into black and red in addition to wet land, garden land and waste land. The pasture land was commonly owned by the villagers. The State took great interest in agriculture by bringing more land under the plough and providing irrigation facilities. The Uttaramerur inscriptions of Parantaka I throws welcome light on the work of local assemblies in this respect. The two committees of the Mahasabha, the Garden committee and the Tank committee attended to the needs of the farmers. Thus, as in North India, agriculture was the mainstay of both the Government and the people.
The industries were based mainly on agriculture. Among some of the major industries mention may be made of dairy farming, spinning, and weaving, ceramics, carpentry and metal work. The "artisans from Magadha, the blacksmiths from Avanti, the smiths (kammar) from the territory of the Maha-rattas, and the carpenters (tachehar) from Yavana worked in their simple factories in the leading cities of Tamilaham" along with Tamil workers. The South Indian artisans learnt the technique of manufacturing fine varieties of cotton fabrics with embroidery from their counterparts in North India. This becomes evident from the name 'Kalingam' and 'Kalafam' given to such manufacturers.16

Arts and crafts were organised in castes and guilds. Nasik and Junnar inscriptions refer to various classes of workers, such as Kularikas "(potters). Odayanrikas (makers of hydraulic engines), Dhanikas (corn dealers), Kolikas (weavers), Vasakaras (bamboo workers), Kasarakas (braziers), etc. These crafts were organised by their own guilds. The guilds had their own laws that were binding on their members. The regulations of the guilds had the force of law and the king was obliged to take cognisance of these rules in the administration of justice. By their honest dealings the guilds were able to win the confidence of the public. They not only served the interest of trade and crafts but also provided banking facilities. They accepted deposits both from its members and from the public and acted as trustees also. The Nasik epigraph mentions the two investments made with the guilds. According to the above record Usavadata made a permanent investment of 2000 kahapanas at 1% interest per month and another 1000 kahapanas with 3½% interest per month for supplying "to every one of the twenty monks twelve kahapanas as cloth money" and the rest to meet other sundry expenses.

The inland and the overseas trade was organised by the merchant guilds. Among the noted guilds Manigramam, Vanadesis and Ainnurruvar are worthy of mention. They extended their activity up to the Persian Gulf in the west and Indonesia and China in the east.

The brisk trade which South India had with the Graeco-
Roman world brought into the country the much needed gold which contributed largely to the economic prosperity of the country. The ports in the West and the East Coasts were bristling with commercial activity. The foreign merchants had their agencies in many of these port towns. This flourishing trade with the West also laid the foundations for international understanding. In the eleventh century both Rajaraja I and Rajendra sent enterprising trade missions to China.

Before the introduction of money economy the system of barter exchange prevailed. Money economy facilitated trade and commerce. Currency was rather sparingly used, though coins in small denominations were in circulation. Villagers met many of their needs by barter exchange. In addition to punch-marked coins, coins of other South Indian dynasties have been discovered. The Chalukyas of Badami and the Rastrakutas perhaps issued no State currency. The issues of these dynasties are known only from the inscriptions.

Bullock carts, pack of bullocks and pack of ponies constituted the chief means of transport. The traders used the roads laid for military purposes.

V

The various threads of contact between North and South India may now be woven into a single pattern. The slow penetration of Aryan thought and way of life into South India, though meeting with some initial opposition, steadied itself in course of time to convert that part of the country, south of the Vindhyas, to its own way of thinking. The existing social divisions in the South were merged, as it were, in the Chaturvarna system without sacrificing, at least initially, its freedom of movements within the division. She adjusted herself smoothly to the changes that took place in the social polity of the North due to the rigidity of the caste system and the resultant effects of the large-scale Indianisation of foreigners like the Yavanas, Sakas, Pallavas and Kushanas. The South, excluding Malabar, adopted the patriarchal and patrilineal family, the eight systems
of marriage, the Sati and other social institutions of the North without much ado.

In the sphere of economy, the same concepts governed the economic life both in the South and in the North. Agriculture was the mainstay of Indian economy. The cattle wealth was highly valued. The survey of land and its classification on the basis of the fertility of the soil for assessment are common to both the regions. The formation of corporations for purposes of economic activity was also a characteristic feature of South Indian economy. Arts and crafts were organised by their own guilds. In the sphere of industrial arts, there was a mobility of technical know-how from the North to the South. The domestic and cottage industries attained high excellence due to contacts with the North. We can discern the same influence in the South Indian currency. Thus all things point to the intimate and effective contact between the North and the South. The North-South differences which are coming to the surface in recent times were absent in the period of our study.

REFERENCES

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THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH IN INDIAN HISTORY: CONTACT AND ADJUSTMENT

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In India, as elsewhere in large countries, every viable region has developed an appropriate culture and two chief determinants of these regional cultures have been (a) race, and (b) language. Racial characteristics create and sustain cultural distinctions; and languages being media of ideas and germs of culture, the linkage between language and culture becomes obvious. Indian regions are to some extent racial and to a large extent linguistic. Lack of communication facilities in ancient India created regional cultures which have become second nature over many centuries so that even when technology and modern social theory have abolished regional boundaries the ancient mental barriers still continue. The largest and the most significant regional divisions in India are the North and the South. The North-South polarisation as an anthropological dictum holds good for India in a special way. The Indian north and south in ancient times were distinguished from each other by (i) language (i.e., the distinction between the Indo-Germanic group of languages in the North and the Dravidian languages in the South), (ii) race (by a predominance of the Caucasian-Mongoloid elements in the North and the Proto-Austroloid in the South), and (iii) achara (i.e., customs, traditions and beliefs based upon different value systems). Of these the difference between the Indo-Germanic and the Dravidian groups of languages is fundamental. The basic vocabulary of these languages indicated their different genius. The first is full of a large number of abstract terms suitable for metaphysics and the other indicative of a more material and commercial
civilization.

The racial distinction, however, is less clear though cognisable enough. India, properly called an anthropological museum, has witnessed racial confusion to a marked degree. Very few persons in the entire subcontinent can claim to be ethnically unmixed. But still dominance in both areas of particular physical features easily marks one region off from the other. The third, which is a product of the first two constitutes the crucial area of difference. The merger of the languages or at least the mutual flow of words and other expressions from one language to another is bound to be a limited phenomenon when the chief representatives of the linguistic groups enjoy a considerable linguistic and literary autonomy. Sanskrit and Tamil can be taken to be the two most ancient representatives of these two groups of languages. Each stands for a cultural milieu. The flow of expression from one to the other will only be towards the vacuous areas in each. Thus the southern languages borrowed philosophical jargon and sacrificial ritualistic terms or phrases from Sanskrit and lent names of local commercial products to Sanskrit. But as time advanced more than these verbal exchanges occurred and the intake in the South far exceeded that in the North. The reason is obvious but is usually differently mentioned. It is claimed that the relatively lower absorption of southern terminologies by Sanskrit is due to the linguistic perfection which that language had attained while the fact seems to be that this phenomenon of unequal exchange is due to the southern languages being living and growing. The absorption of Sanskrit—and Pali—based cultural ideas by the southern languages especially in the case of the epics, the religious texts like the Gita, mythological material contained in the Puranas, etc., freely entered the virgin soil of Dravidian literatures and generated their counterparts here, some of the adaptations of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata compare not unfavourably with the originals. Jaina, Buddhist and other religious literature made a profound impression especially on Tamil and Kannada resulting in a flood of Jaina literature in Kannada in mediaeval times and Jaina as well as Buddhist literatures like the Chintamani
and the *Manimekalai* in Tamil.

Contacts between the South and the North in the field of ideas have been consequential. The carriers of Brahmanical culture, who in very ancient times settled in the South, as ascetics pursuing strictly religious paths and performing religious acts when faced with local hostility sought and obtained the patronage of the rulers in the South. In spite of significant difference in philosophical attitudes and religious practices determining values in life, Brahmanical orthodoxy was supported by non-Aryan chieftains who provided Brahmadeyas, Chaturvedimangalams, Agraharams, etc., for the undisturbed pursuits of Brahminical practices. Strange as this may seem a sociological answer is obvious. An understanding (one is almost tempted to call it a conspiracy) between the prince and the priest for the achievement of mutual benefits even at the expense of the multitude constituting the rest of the society is a phenomenon common to ancient societies. Conflicts between princes and priests known to history are ultimately symptomatic of the failure of such understanding. In the case of the prince and the priest in India both phenomena have been reported. Contests between Parasurama and Rama, Drona and the king of Virata, Vasishta and Visvamitra are examples of conflicts and royal support of Brahmanical orthodoxy as widely happened in South India indicates areas of agreement. The spread of Brahmanical culture in the South, especially Tamilnadu, was not automatically accepted by all layers of society. There were two significant groups which either resisted or avoided this impact. The tribal groups known to hold particular totems as sacred and worshipping or appeasing village deities of a generally malignant nature, represented the first resisting layer. Up to now they have remained largely impervious to Brahmanical Hinduism. This attitude is one of ignorance. The incoming Brahmanical elements did not seriously try to convert them to their ways but kept them away by creating physical and mental social barriers and stigmatising the latter as permanently impure. The other layer was different, more positive and more fastidious in its reaction and resistant to the incoming culture. The native wisemen of Tamilaham known
as ‘Arivar’ in the Tolkappiyam were, in my opinion, the same as the ‘Siddhar’, whose esoteric, mystic, philosophical poems especially those of Tirumular are quite famous. They were medicine men, and ascetics, who claimed kinship with Agastya and Boga. Palani, the famous centre for Murugan worship, is closely associated with the ‘Siddhar’ and it is interesting to note that the deity in the Palani temple is also called ‘Siddha’ and the centre itself Siddhanvalvu. The siddhas were the leaders of an anti-caste, anti-hierarchy movement in Tamilnad and their ideas are best expressed in some verses in the Kural and the whole of the Kapilar ahal. The Tamil mystical poetry passing through Tirumular, Pattinattar and Ramalingar had its latest representative in Bharati, whose anti-caste and anti-hierarchy attitudes are no less the product of native mysticism than that of modern egalitarianism.

The pre-Aryan religion of the South had to face the growing popularity of the feasts and festivals of the reformed Brahmanical Bhakti religion. The contacts were peripheral and feeble adjustments were often make-believes, but practically positive adjustments were effected. The ‘Mari’-Kali-Parvati, Murugan-Karttikeya equations were fairly successful attempts at fusion though at points of origin the distinct personalities of these deities can be detected.

In the field of literature, since the earliest stratum of the Sangam literature itself, Sanskritic ideas and words were incorporated into the body of the Tamil compositions; but from the sixth century when the Pallavas became a powerful dynasty, Sanskrit scholars like Bharavi and Dandin came to be patronised at the royal court. The beginning of the Bhakti age made the Sangam attitude to religion somewhat insufficient for the growth of devotional literature. The Alvars and the Nayanmars created a body of devotional literature and were followed by the philosophers like Sankara who wrote invariably in Sanskrit. The North-South contact and adjustment under the banner of a single ethos is best represented by the division of southern Vaishnavism into the Thenkalai and the Vadakalai. The growing volume of Puranic literature in mediaeval India
not only revolutionised the Tamil literary expression by intro-
ducing the viruttam metre fit for epic narrative, but also by
denigrating secular literature as far as possible. It would be
necessary at this stage to remember that we get the view-
point only of the vocal section of the society and it represents
but a small part of the intellectuals in society as a whole. But
there is nothing else for us to go by except stray references to
social practices in epigraphy which cannot be pieced together
to create a credible or satisfactory social history of the Tamils.

A very important consequence of the early contacts
between the North and the South is the impact of the northern
varna system on the southern tribal totemic organization. The
hierarchical snob society, which the varna system stands for,
fused, indifferently perhaps, with the totems and the exogamous
gotras, endogamous castes, the notion of pollution, etc., came
to be welded into a social system which gives classical
Hinduism its special aspect. These were created everywhere
in India and similar results were seen, thus providing an
explanation for the modern caste.

The Brahmanical group was divided against itself in its
approach to regional definitions of orthodoxy and heresy. The
special prescription for the Dravidas in the Grihyasutras which
made their lives more circumscribed by the sacred law seemed
to have been made with a view to overcoming the more
natural tendency among the southerners to violate the Aryan
dharma.

Viewed from any standpoint, it is clear that the North
which contacted the South tried to adjust itself to the predi-
lection of the latter, but not with complete or even conspicuous
success. The Aryanisation of the South and particularly of
Tamilnad was not a one-way phenomenon but resulted in the
Dravidianisation of Brahmanism to a great extent as can be
seen from the Brahmanical devotion to the institution of the
temple.
ANCIENT KARNATAKA AND THE NORTH: CONTACT AND ADJUSTMENT WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CONDITIONS

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Ancient Karnataka was a favoured region of the Aryan and Dravidian fusion. It enjoyed the assimilation of the two great cultures. Karnataka may well be called an abridgement of India herself. Hence it is in the fitness of things that one should take stock of this contact and adjustment between ancient Karnataka and the North through the historical past. The present review confines itself to the historical condition from the early times to the end of the Hoysala rule in Karnataka, i.e., the pre-Vijayanagara period of Karnataka history. Here an attempt is made to point out the contacts that developed between ancient Karnataka and the North in political and administrative spheres of activities and the adjustment that followed.

Contacts of Karnataka with the North began as early as the fourth millennium B.C. The archaeological finds in the Indus Valley have led scholars to surmise that the gold that was found in the Indus Valley came from the Kolar Gold Fields in Karnataka. Here it may be suggested that the commercial relations that Karnataka had with the people of the Indus region might have contributed to the blood of the Indus population,
Strangely enough, the early recorded history of ancient Karnataka opens with its contact with the North and the adjustment that followed. It refers to the two great Mauryan emperors, viz., Chandragupta Maurya and his grandson Asoka, the Great, who came in contact with Karnataka. Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan empire, is said to have set foot on the Kannada soil not as an emperor but as a devoted Jaina. He performed sallekhana (fast unto death) at Sravana Belgola and breathed his last there. It is not clear whether Karnataka or parts of it formed part of the Mauryan empire in the days of Chandragupta, although Rice says, "that the north of Mysore may even at that period have been a part of the Mauryan empire is not beyond probability."

It is in the reign of Asoka that we have for the first time definite evidence regarding the political influence of the Mauryan empire over Karnataka. His rock edicts are found in Siddhapur, Brahmagiri, Jatinga Rameswar, Kopbal and Maski. The contents and tone of these royal decrees are generally ethical and non-political. Still, the form of address in some of them contains a reference to the Mahamatras (high officials) to whom greetings were sent by the Emperor and the high officials of Suvarnagiri. This is an indication of a kind of official relationship between the ancient Karnataka and the Mauryas.

The first empire carved in the Western Deccan that draws our attention is that of the Satavahanas who reigned from about 200 B.C. up to 300 A.D. They ruled over most of the Deccan extending from the rivers Narmada and Godavari up to Krishna and Tungabhadra and probably projecting into Mysore further south and the Kuntala region. Halaraja, Gautamiputra Satakarni and Pulumayi were some of the renowned monarchs. Of these Gautamiputra Satakarni was the most valiant, who defeated the Western Satrap, Nahapana, in A.D. 124 and extended his dominion over a vast territory including Gujarat, Malwa, Central India and Berar.

The following centuries in the history of Karnataka and its relations with the North witnessed many military expedi-
tions undertaken by the rulers of Karnataka which paved the way for the emergence of many ruling families of Karnataka origin in different parts of northern India. Further the establishment of political supremacy by the Karnataka rulers in different parts of the North also led to dynastic matrimonial alliances between the ruling families of Karnataka and the North. A few instances of such developments may be cited here. During the historical period several Kannadigas of the blood royal and other distinguished members settled outside Karnataka and carved out kingdoms in different regions of the North.

The earliest of such families that founded kingdoms in the North was that of the Eastern Gangas who ruled in Kalinga from the close of the fifth century A.D. The Eastern Gangas traced their descent from the Western Gangas of Mysore who claimed to belong to the Ikshvaku family. They had their capital at Kalinganagara, identified with Mukha-lingam in Ganjam district. The founder of this dynasty was Maharaja Indravarma, who is described as the 'Lord of Trika-linga'. The rulers of this family were also responsible for the founding of a new era, the Ganga Era, which came to be reckoned from about A.D. 496 and 498.3

Mangalesa, the Western Chalukya king, invaded Gujarat and fought against Siladitya I (A.D. 605-06), the Valabhi ruler.4 The Chalukya king had subdued the Kalachuri king Buddharaaja in Central Gujarat and he appears to have planned the conquest of the whole of Gujarat. When the Chalukya king Vikramaditya I was ruling at Badami, his younger brother Dharasraya Jayasimhavarma was in the Nausari area of Gujarat, around Baroda, ruling as the Viceroy there. He appears to have rendered great help to his elder brother in his fight against the Pallava king, Mahendravarma II. He is also credited with a victory over a ruler named Vajiada, identified with Siladitya III, the Maitraka king of Valabhi, in the land bound by the Mahi and the Narmada rivers. Dhara-sraya Jayasimha was ably supported in his rule by his son Sriyasraya Siladitya who had two younger brothers, Vinaya-
ditya Yuddhamalla Jayasraya Mangalarasa and Avanijanasraya Pulakesi. It was when Avanijanasraya Pulakesi was ruling in Nausari (c. 740 A.D.) that the Arabs invaded Gujarat. He successfully repulsed the formidable army of the Arabs and thus stopped their advance into the Deccan. Vikramaditya II, the Chalukya king at Badami, being pleased at this achievement conferred upon him the titles *Dakshinapathasavadharana* and *Anivartaka-nivartayitri*. Later this viceregal house was extirpated by the Rashtrakutas who set aside the Chalukya rule at Badami in Karnataka.

Dhruva, the Rashtrakuta ruler, had four sons and Indra was the last. Indra was made the Viceroy of Gujarat and Malava. There Indra and his successors ruled about a century, i.e., from c. A.D. 780 to A.D. 890. Indra assisted his father in his expedition against Malava. After Dhruva's death, when Govinda III, elder brother of Indra, marched against Nagabhata, the Pratihara, Indra once again stood by him. Indra had two sons, Karkka and Govinda. Like his father, Karkka also served the Rashtrakutas faithfully. When Amoghavarsha, a boy of tender age, succeeded to the throne, Karkka acted as his regent. In about A.D. 830 Karkka was succeeded by his son, Dhruva I. He was involved in many battles against Vallabha. The last known member of this family is Krishnaraja, son of Dantivarman, younger brother of Dhruva II. The records show that Krishnaraja played a prominent part in the wars between the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed and Gurjara-Pratiharas.

In the following period there developed prominent dynastic alliances between the ruling families of Karnataka and Gujarat. We learn from the Jaina works *Duyasraya* and *Prabhandhachintamani* that Mayamalladevi, the daughter of the Kadamba king Jayakesi of Goa (A.D. 1050-80), was given in marriage to King Karna of Gujarat (A.D. 1064-94), the son of Bhima. The Jaina chronicles called her Mayamalladevi. Here was Goa-Gujarat matrimonial relationship which had a far reaching effect on the history of these provinces. Mayamalladevi became the mother of the illustrious Siddharaya
Jayasimha, the most celebrated name in the history of Gujarat. Complications arose towards the end of king Siddharaja’s reign. Siddharaja had no son but he was averse to the succession of Kumarapala of the line of Tribhuvanapala, the great-grandson of Bhima I. Kumarapala had initial difficulties which he overcame. But towards the end of his memorable reign he was faced with the same question, which his predecessor Siddharaja had tried to solve in vain—that of a successor. Kumarapala had no son, and therefore, he was succeeded by his brother Mahipala’s son Ajayapala (A.D. 1174-77). Ajayapala’s mother was called Nayaki Devi, the daughter of Permardi. The name Permardi given by the Jaina Chronicles is evidently a contraction of the name Paramardi and the king bearing this title has been rightly identified with the Mahamandalesvara Permardi Sivachitta, the Goa prince, who had the name Permadideva to which he added the name Sivachitta.

Another example of dynastic connection between Karnataka and Gujarat is afforded in the history of the Vaghelas, who held sway from A.D. 1219 to A.D. 1304. Visaladeva of this dynasty ruled from A.D. 1243 to A.D. 1261. One of his records narrates that he was chosen as husband by the daughter of the king of Karnataka. This ruler of Karnataka has been identified with Somesvara or his son Narasimha III, both being well-known kings of the Hoysala family ruling from Dwarasamudra. If the prose work Gadyakarnamrita written by Sakala Vidaya-Chakravarti could be relied upon we have an interesting fact that the bride of Hoysala Somesvara came from the family of Nandideva of Gujarat. Nandideva and his brother Kshemaraja are said to have been the sons of king Vallabha of Gujarat.

Most prominent among the dynasties of Kannada origin that carved out kingdoms outside Karnataka was that of the Senas of Bengal. Virasena, the progenitor of the Sena family, is said to be a dakshinatya. That the Senas of Bengal originally belonged to Karnataka, is not only proved by the typical Kanarese name like Ballalasena, but also by explicit
statements in the Sena inscriptions that these rulers belonged to Dakshinatya and Karnata. Thus according to Deopara inscription, the glory of Samantasena, born in the family of Virasena, was sung about the bridge, i.e., Setubandha Ramesvara... He has also been described as a Karnata-Kshatriya and as a punisher of the enemies of Karnata Lakshmi. This apparently indicates that he came into the East in the train of the Western Chalukya army.

Another equally important dynasty that came to rule in Mithila was the one founded by Nanyadeva in about A.D. 1097. Mithila, the region referred to in the Puranic literature, which came to be known as Tirabhukti, comprised of the modern Tirhut and was bounded by the Gandak, the Kosi and the Ganga rivers. Nanyadeva is described in his literary works as Karnata-Kulabhushana. The Palas had under them several Karnata officers of whom he was probably one. Bengal was then passing through a phase of disintegration when the Kaivarta revolt undermined the power of the Palas. It was at this opportune moment that the Karnatas availed of the opportunity and established themselves as independent rulers.

The capital of the Karnata dynasty was Sriramapura, identified with Simraongarh on the border of Nepal, north of Champaran district. Nanyadeva laid the foundation of a well established kingdom in Mithila and introduced an efficient system of administration. The kingdom thus established existed for more than two centuries in north-eastern India. Tradition credits Nanyadeva with the conquest of Nepal. After his death, his dominions were shared by his two sons, Gangadeva and Malladeva, the latter of whom ruled in Nepal. It is interesting to note that the Malla rulers of Nepal claim descent from Nanyadeva. Gangadeva succeeded his father in c. A.D. 1147. Tradition asserts that he shifted his capital to Darbhanga.

Narasimhadeva succeeded Gangadeva in c. A.D. 1188. During his rule he appears to have quarrelled with his kinsmen in Nepal. At this time there began the Muslim penetration
through south Bihar. Bhaktiyar Khilji marched towards north. Bihar was barred by this Mithila ruler. However, the position of this Karnata king was becoming insecure as it was sandwiched between two powerful Muslim principalities of Oudh and Lakhnauti. To make the situation worse the Muslim Sultan of Bengal occasionally raided Mithila. In spite of all this Narasimha maintained with great difficulty his independent status. This position continued even during the rule of Ramasimhadeva (c. A.D. 1227-85). The last ruler of this family was Harisimha (A.D. 1285-1313). He lost his dominions and fled to Nepal and settled down at Bhatgaon. His descendants are said to have ruled these areas till the middle of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{10}

II

Empires came into existence since the time of the Satavahanas in the vast Kannada country. But these emperors did not wipe out the small kingdoms that existed in their time, although they were brought under their hegemony. The history of the Gangas, the Rashtrakutas, the Chalukyas, the Yadavas, and the Hoysalas may be noted as illustrating this position regarding political relations. Therefore, in the matter of political administration the contribution of Karnata may be said to be the gradual growth of an imperial state, strengthened by the allegiance of princes who were independent in their own sphere, and fostered by the goodwill and cooperation of the subjects under direct control. The empires of Asoka and Harsha were of similar type. The empire of Asoka was inspired by high ideals of Buddhistic conception and that of Harsha was the creation of personal valour.

It is clear that the system of government during all periods of Karnata was monarchical and the king or the emperor was the supreme head of the state. But that did not mean that the rule was autocratic. The sovereignty of the king, as in all Hindu kingdoms, was restricted in theory and practice
by laws and conventions as well as by social and religious obligations to the people. He was required to protect the good and punish the wicked. The Kshatriya ideals of saurya (valour), satya (veracity), dana (charity), and kshama (forgiveness) are repeatedly upheld in innumerable inscriptions found in Karnataka. Kings, vassals, generals, and even village officials are praised times without number for translating these ideals into practice. Thus it was in keeping with the Aryan culture that every effort was made to render monarchy benevolent and to make the administration efficient and popular. This can be clearly seen in Somadeva’s Yasastilaka and Somesvara’s Manasollasa.

In Karnataka under the king, there was a body of councillors, and the administration of the empire was divided into various departments. Many of these imperial offices and departments were known to India at least from the time of Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan Empire. In Karnataka some of them might have grown out of the very necessity of administration as their peculiar names suggest, e.g., Hadapada. The qualifications of ministers under the rulers of Karnataka were generally the same as laid down in ancient Sanskrit works like the Arthasastra of Kautilya. But the additional qualification of military leadership which we find invariably in the ministers of Karnataka has not been mentioned anywhere in Sanskrit texts with proper emphasis. The Minister of Morality and Religion was the Purohita in ancient India, Dharmamahamatra under Asoka, Pandita in the days of Sukra, Dharmankusa under the Rashtrakutas and Rajaguru in the days of the Chalukyas and the Hoysalas.

The vast area of the kingdom in Karnataka was usually divided into convenient administrative divisions and mostly princes or other members of the royal house were appointed as Viceroyys to administer them. This kind of decentralisation was similar to the practice under the Mauryas and the Guptas. But a word or two may be said with regard to the peculiarity of the nomenclature of the numbers given to divisions and subdivisions in Karnataka. The numerical figures suffixed to
these territorial units are a singularly peculiar feature of the administration. Scholars have expressed different views with regard to the meaning of these numerical figures. The view that is commonly held is that they indicate the number of villages comprising the territorial division.

The association of the subjects with the administration of the kingdom was a very ancient convention in Karnataka. Village autonomy was the foundation on which the whole structure of the government stood. The village developed into self-contained unit with the Aygars forming the village Panchayat, looking after law and justice, the gauda the revenue collection, the senabave keeping the accounts, the talavara doing the police duty and the eighteen groups plying their hereditary trade in order to provide for all the agricultural and other needs of the village. This complete vision of village life as an entity by itself has been a very ancient and common feature in Karnataka as well as in the North.

It should be noted that Karnataka enjoyed village autonomy from very early times and that many of its features might have developed independently in the Kannada region in course of its cultural growth. A study of Tuluva tradition, as chiefly embodied in a work called Crampaddhati and in folk songs known as Padadan, has proved the independent nature of several features of village life in Karnataka.

Side by side with village autonomy it may be shown that institutions of some kind were functioning in Karnataka to ascertain the opinion of the people on the policy and procedure of administration. They might have been merely consultative bodies but a well-meaning king with his ministry could not set aside the collective opinion of such representative institutions. Non-official bodies possessing administrative power certainly existed in villages and probably in districts (vishayas) and provinces (rashtras) as well; their members were known as Gramamahattaras, Vishayamahattaras, and Rashtrama-hattaras respectively. Gramamahattara denoted a member of the non-official village council. Analogy would, therefore, show that Rashtrama-hattaras and Vishayamahattaras may have,
very probably, constituted a body of notables and elders in the province and district respectively. This reference is very valuable for understanding how even a clearly monarchical government was well intentioned enough to all, for the non-official bodies were chosen from among its subjects in all the units of administration.15

The people of Karnataka evinced civic consciousness in their municipal bodies and trade guilds. There are numerous inscriptions which speak volumes for the great consideration which the states in Karnataka showed to popular opinion. Further, they indicate that mostly the traders of the town interested themselves in the corporation since it affected their vital interests.17

As in the North, associations of merchants called Srenis (guilds) were a regular feature of city life in Karnataka since the Satavahana period. The guilds of ancient Karnataka were of two kinds, the merchant guilds and the craft guilds. These guilds largely regulated the economic life of the town and were the centres of activity thus performing social and religious functions as well.18

III

Political relations and dynastic matrimonial alliances perhaps paved the way for some of the distinguished men from the North to rise high in the services under the rulers of Karnataka. A few instances in this regard may be noted.

Gujarat gave able administrators to Karnataka. Thus for instance, there was a distinguished line of provincial officials beginning with Manalarator, who was styled “Lord of Valabhi, the best of towns”, and who belonged to the Sagaranwaya (the race of Sagara). He was a subordinate under the viceroy, the Western Ganga Prince Butuga, and was placed in A.D. 949-50 over a group of villages known as Atkuru-12 and Koteyur village. His family continued to serve in the Dharwar district from A.D. 949 till A.D. 1077.19

A more distinguished Gujarat administrator serving in Karna-
taka under the Chalukyas of Kalyana was Dandanayaka Anantapala concerning whom there are a number of inscriptions. He held the rank of a minister and played an important part in subjugating the coveted Vengi province. His services were of immense help to the Chalukya king, Vikramaditya VI.

Another well-known family hailing from Kathiawad which contributed to the promotion of the welfare of the people in Karnataka was that of the Vanes who belonged to Denagave in Vanakheda in Kathiawad. They figure in stone inscriptions discovered in the Mysore State and range from A.D. 1241 to 1249. They were placed as administrators over a part of the territory now comprising the Shimoga district. They were all noted for their charitable gifts, for furthering the cause of Saivism and feeding ascetics.

The Brahma-Kshatriyas who migrated from Gujarat to Karnataka contributed much to the administrative history of Karnataka. The first in the list of the eminent Brahma-Kshatriyas was the celebrated general and statesman Chamundaraya. He was the general under the Ganga ruler Rachamalla IV and was popularly known as Raya. In the numerous inscriptions about him as well as in Kannada literature he is said to have belonged to the Brahma-Kshatra race, and to have been the crest-jewel among Brahma-Kshatriyas (Brahma-Kshatra sikhramani). He was a distinguished general and a great patron of literature. And the grandest and the noblest monument to his credit was the construction of the huge monolithic statue of Gomata at Sravana Belgola in A.D. 1028.

Another Brahma-Kshatriya who added to the lustre of Karnataka was Udayaditya. About A.D. 1070 he was governing Gangavadi, Banavasi, and Santalige provinces under the Chalukya Emperor Somesvara II (A.D. 1068-76). Epigraphs which give us details of this viceroy relate that he was, among other things, of the Brahma-Kshatra heroic descent (Brahma Kshatra Viranvaya) and an obtainer of a boon from god Somesvara (Somesvara labdha vara prasada). There are
numerous records which testify to the important part played by this well-known Brahma-Kshatriya general of Somesvara II.\textsuperscript{35} Among the other able Brahma-Kshatriya administrators were the two brothers Chattadeva and Kuchadeva serving under the Yadava (also known as Seuna) king Mahadeva (A.D. 1260-71). The record dated A.D. 1268 which gives us these details relates that their father was Nimbaraja; that they were of the Kausika gotra and that they were well skilled in patience and in the policy of Brahma-Kshatras. Chatta's son was Chaunda who became a general.\textsuperscript{36}

Dandanayaka Govindarasa was a distinguished minister of the Chalukyas. We get an account of his family and the achievements of its members in a record dated A.D. 1126.\textsuperscript{37} Ganesvara Chamupa, the great-grandfather of Dandanayakas-Govindarasa hailed from a celebrated Brahmana family in Madhyadesa. His son was Padmanabha. Krishna Chamupa, the son of Padmanabha had rendered meritorious services to the Chalukyas. In the record referred to above, he is described as Kuntala-Vishaya-Vadhumandana (lord of the bride Kuntala region). It was Krishna Chamupa who married Padmaladevi, the sister of Dandanayaka Anantapala who has been referred to above, and to them were born Lakshma. Dandanayaka and Dandanayaka Govindarasa. General Govindarasa enjoyed great confidence of the Chalukya king, Vikramaditya VII.

IV

Thus it becomes evident from this survey that contacts between ancient Karnataka and the North were not one-sided and they led to a lot of give and take and, hence, there was much of Karnataka in the North and of the North in Karnataka.
REFERENCES

25. EC, VII, Ci, 182.
Medieval Period
BY 'MEDIAEVAL PERIOD' is meant here the period from the coming of the Muslims to India to the commencement of the British rule in this country. It is sometimes said that whatever happened in North India happened in the South also, but after a considerable interval. For example, the process of Aryanisation and the spread of Jainism and Buddhism took place first in the North, and only after centuries, in the South. This might have been true of the early period, if we exclude the problem of Dravidian civilisation. But it was certainly not true of the mediaeval period, when the South, viz., the country south of the Vindhyas, contributed to the enrichment of Indian culture as much as it had imbibed from the North earlier. The South preserved during this period Hindu religion and culture better than the North, because the South resisted the Muslim invasions and was free from them for longer intervals than many parts of the North. In fact, the foreign invasions were a short parenthesis in the history of the general development of religion and culture in South India with the exception of Gujarat and Maharashtra. Broadly speaking, whenever the South influenced the North it was in matters relating to Hindu religion, and the reverse process was seen with regard to Islamic culture.

Sankara was the first great Southerner to make an impact on the religious culture of India. Since his time (end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries A.D.) the four
mathas (monasteries) which he established in the four corners of the country have continued to discharge the functions entrusted to them by the founder. In many other places of India Sankara mathas have flourished without being so well known as the original four mathas. For example, in the fourteenth century, Madhava Vidyaranya established a branch of the Sringeri matha round about Sitamarhi in the Muzaffarpur district in North Bihar. He initiated one Sri Malayanandatirtha Saraswati into Srividya, and from his time a new guruparampara (chain of gurus or spiritual preceptors) started in this area. This we learn from a manuscript called Gadyavallari, unearthed in Sitamarhi by Rajendra Lal Mitra. Vidyaranya, the next great Advaita leader after Sankara, was in Banaras for some years. His ambition was to make that place his headquarters after the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire. But the same empire demanded his services in the reign of Bukka (1354-77 A.D.) and he had to come back to the South. But the Advaita sect continued to flourish in Banaras. In Chaitanya’s time one Prakasananda, an Advaitin, had many followers there. Chaitanya himself probably belonged to the same sect in his early career.

If Sankara and his school were successful in establishing a number of mathas in the North, the Kalamukhas, the Pasupathas and other Saivite sects coming from the North did the same in the South. The priests of the Kalamukha sect were learned in all the branches of learning prevalent at the time, and were great educationists and religious preachers. They were managers of the Siva temples in practically the whole of Karnataka from the eighth to the fourteenth century A.D. Kasivilasa Kriyasakti, the chief guru of the Kalamukhas, was the family preceptor of Harihara I and II. The Vijayanagar minister and governor, Madhavamanthri, the conqueror of Goa, calls Kriyasakti his guru. Like most Kalamukhas in Karnataka, he came from Kashmir. When he established an agrahara, he invited Brahmins from Kashmir to settle in it. After 1410, we do not hear of the Kalamukhas in Karnataka. In all probability, they were absorbed by the new or revived sect of the Viraśaivas. The Kalamukhas were influential in Andhra and Tamilnad also.
Along with them other Saiva sects came to the South from the North. One of the most famous was the community of Golakimath. The Malkapuram inscription of 1261 throws light on the line of Saiva teachers of this matha whose headquarters lay in the Dahala country, i.e., between the Ganga and the Narmada, the modern Madhya Pradesh. Golaki is a corruption of Golagi which is an abbreviation of Golagiri or round hill, the shape of the temple of matha which was the centre of this group. The gurus of this matha seemed to have been recruited from different parts of the country. For example, one of them, Vimala-Siva, was born in Kerala. His successor was Dharma Sambhu whose successor was Viswesvara Sambhu, of the Malkapuram grant, referred to above. He was a resident of Purvagrama in the province of Raraha or the Gauda country. He administered diksha (spiritual initiation) to the Kakatiya King Ganapati. His other royal disciples were the rulers of Malwa and the Chola country. In Mandaram, which is called Visveswara Golaki after him, he established an agrahara, a matha, a temple, a hospital and a college. In this village, he gave lands to thirty Brahmanas from his own village Purvagrama. From the same place, he brought accountants and managers of the temple and the village. He brought a musician from Kashmir for his temple. In the agrahara, lands were also given to sixty Brahmanas from Dravida. The head of this institution was always to be a preceptor of the Golaki line and an adept in the mysteries of the Saiva faith. Thus he established an all-India institution in Andhra which contained residents from Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Bengal and Dravida. Malkapuram and Mandaram were not the only centres of the Golaki matha in the South. Pushpagiri and Tripurantakam were two other centres in Andhra which wielded some influence in the middle of the thirteenth century. Tiruvarur in the Tanjore district was the seat of a Saiva matha, called Krishna Golakimatha. Kalladakurichi in the Tinnevelly district had also a Saiva matha under one Aghoradeva of Jnanamritacharya Santana of Golakimath according to a record of 1500 A.D. Thus up to the end of the fifteenth century the influence of the Kalamukha, the Pasupata and other Saiva sects
with teachers from Kashmir, Dahala, Bengal and other parts of North India was considerable in the religious, educational and cultural life of the South.

After Sankaracharya, the second acharya (religious teacher) of the South to make an impact on the North was Madhvacarya (1238-1318). About these acharyas and their work, K. M. Munshi has said: “These Acharyas were not merely philosopher-saints. They were ardent evangelists, with an inspired sense of their mission. They and their followers travelled from one place of pilgrimage to another, worshipped at holy places or well-known shrines..., established contacts, composed philosophic treatises, held discourses and made disciples, who wandered from countryside to countryside singing praises of the lord.”

Madhvacarya’s career followed this model. He went on his first tour of North India and returned to the South by way of Andhra. After some time, he undertook another trip to Badarikasrama. Reaching the Bhagirathi, the Acharya surprised the Muslim ruler of that region, by talking to him in his own language and proceeded northwards and reached Badarikasrama. He returned by way of Hastinavati, Kurukshetra, Kasi and Goa to Udipi. Ishwara Puri, the head of the Madhwa sect in Gaya, was the guru of Chaitanya, and it was his influence which changed the career of Chaitanya and made him a great religious leader.

We have just now referred to Madhvacarya’s meeting a Muslim Governor in the North. That brings us to the controversial subject of the extent of the influence of Islam on Hindu religion and culture. According to one school of thought, Hinduism and Islam, strictly bound by the tenets of their own scriptures, had no points of contact with each other. They were like the two banks of a river, ever separated by the stream that flows between them. Who was to build the connecting bridge? The orthodox Hindus as well as the Muslims were unfit for this task. It was left to the free spirits and lovers of humanity from both these groups, the Hindu Bhaktas and the Muhammadan Sufis, to devote their lives to the construction of this bridge. In other words, there was direct contact only
between these unorthodox groups.14

Some others are to opinion that the influences of Islam on Hinduism was indirect. Just as the presence of Christianity induced reformers like Rammohan Roy to start a reform movement to rid Hinduism of certain evils and introduce reforms firmly rooted in Hinduism, in the same way did the challenge of Islam give rise to religious reform movements based on Hindu traditions.15

A third viewpoint to which we subscribe accepts both the above views, and holds in addition that in the spheres of administration, social life, food, dress, fairs and festivals, games and sports, music, art and architecture, and above all in the evolution of a lingua franca the two communities were, to some extent, influenced. With these general ideas about the relations of the two communities, let us look at the influence exercised by the North and the South on each other.

The founder of the Hindu reform movement in North India was Ramananda. He studied the system of Ramanuja at Banaras. "He was the founder not in the sense that he started it, but in the sense that from his time onwards we can trace an uninterrupted flow of this stream of thought throughout the Indian middle Ages."16 A popular saying in the North is to this effect: "Bhakti arose first in the Dravida land; Ramananda brought it to the North; Kabir spread it to the seven continents." This saying is not far from the truth.17

Other Southern religious leaders who became popular in the North were Nimbranka and Vallabhacharya. Nimbranka is said to have been a Tailanga Brahman by birth, and to have lived (in a village called Nimba identified with Nimbapura) in the Bellary district. He appears to have lived some time after Ramanuja (twelfth century). His field of activity was entirely in Brindavana.18

Vallabhacharya (1473-1531) was another Tailanga Brahman whose influence in the North was, and is even to-day, considerable. He settled in Brindavana and became a great teacher of Bhakti.19 He made more than one extensive tour in India and came in contact with other Indian religious leaders. He won the title of acharya or teacher in the court of Krishna-
Another similar all-India figure who dominated the North as well as the South was Chaitanya. He was the first great intellectual and spiritual giant of Bengal. His influence on his followers from king to beggar, from Brahman to outcaste, was something unsurpassed. Even the Muslim administrators were moved by his personality. The account of his travels in South India in the Chaitanya-charitamrita which is based on the accounts narrated to its author Krishnadas Kaviraj by Chaitanya’s contemporaries gives us an invaluable picture of the South in the early sixteenth century depicted by a northern writer. Here are a few relevant details of this tour as given in his great work. He arrived at Tirupati-Tirumala where he beheld the four-armed idol. He also saw the image of Rama in this place. From Tirupati, he went to Kalahasti. The other centres of pilgrimage which he visited in the South were Kanchi, Srirangam, Setu, Ramesvaram and Kanyakumari. In Malabar, he got a manuscript of the book Brahma Samhita which is said to be unrivalled among the works of Siddhanta-sastra. It is said to be the very cream of the Vaishnava sacred writings. Very carefully did he get the book copied. On the borders of Karnatak and Maharashtra, he came across some Brahmans studying the Krishna-karnamrita of which book the Master joyfully made a copy. “The world has nothing like the Karnamrita which kindles pure devotion to Krishna. He who wishes to know the fullness of the beauty and sweetness of Krishna’s exploits must ceaselessly read the Krishna-karnamrita.” He carried with himself the Brahma Samhita and the Karnamrita like two precious jewels. The other places that he visited were Sringeri, Udiyi, Vijayanagara, Pandharapur, Panchavati, Nasik, Trimbak and some holy places on the Tapti and the Narmada.

After this account of Chaitanya’s South Indian tour, it is worthwhile discussing how much he was influenced by the South, and how much he influenced it. As regards the first, Dr. S. K. De thinks that the indications are strong that Chaitanya
formally belonged to the Dasanami order or the Sankara Sanyasins, even though the ultimate form which he gave to Vaishnava Bhakti had nothing to do with Sankara’s Advaita-vada. In his early career, Chaitanya, as we saw earlier, was influenced by Isvara Puri, who is said to have converted Chaitanya to Madhwa’s doctrines. Dr. De, however, thinks that Isvara Puri was also a sanyasi of the Sankara school. The greatest influence on Chaitanya was that of Sridharasvami, who acknowledged Sankara’s teaching as authoritative, but considered Bhakti as the best means of Advaita Mukti. Chaitanya carried forward the work of Sridharasvami.28

One important result of Chaitanya’s South Indian tour is likely to have been that emotional singing may have received a fresh stimulus from the Master’s personal example. It is probable also that he left behind some general influence in the Maratha country, which survived for nearly a century till the days of Tukaram who acknowledges his debt to the Chaitanyite teachers.29

From the indirect influence which Islam exercised on Hinduism and which affected the North and through it the South also, we come to the direct influence which Islamic North India had on the South. To illustrate this point I shall discuss the career of a famous saint of Gulbarga, Mir Muhammad Husaini, popularly known as Banda Nawaz (1321-1422), who belonged to the Chisti order of the Sufis. His father Yusuf Husaini, a disciple of the renowned saint Nizamuddin Aulia, was compelled along with others by Muhammad Tughlaq to shift his family from Delhi to Daulatabad. Banda Nawaz was only a child then. When he was eleven, his father died. Owing to family troubles, he had to return to Delhi, where he completed his education and acquired traditional and rationalistic knowledge. Then he was introduced to things mystical and spiritual by no less a person than the celebrated Chisti saint Khawaja Nasiruddin Chirag. This saint was so much impressed by his disciple’s austerities and devotion, that he voluntarily offered to initiate him in his order, and later nominated him as his successor. The personality, piety and learning of Banda Nawaz attracted a large number of people
from all classes and communities, including the Hindus. When Timur invaded Delhi, Banda Nawaz left that place, and after travelling in Gujarat and Saurashtra ultimately settled down in Gulbarga, the capital of the Bahmani Sultan Firoz. The Sultan sent him a farman, granting two villages, and offered alms, gardens, Inam lands and pensions for his sons, relations and devotees. But all these were refused with the reply that his pir or teacher would not have accepted them. The Sultan and many of his nobles annoyed the saint with requests to initiate them in spiritual exercises. But the latter replied that birth and lineage, rank, profession or even sex did not confer on one any special right for such initiation. Even a slave girl could become a saint. Sincerity and austerity in self-purification and persistent attention to God alone would lead to progress. No wonder that the shrine of this saint of Gulbarga is still an object of veneration all over the Deccan, and his urs (fair held in his memory) is attended by one and all irrespective of their community. Incidentally it may be mentioned that this saint is considered as the author of the earliest prose written in Hindustani.24

From the career of Banda Nawaz it is clear that in the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, when Devagiri or Daulatabad was made the capital of India, Northern Muslim culture penetrated to the South. This was the first time in the history of India when a South Indian city had the privilege of being selected as the capital of India. After a few years, the power of Muhammad Tughlaq disappeared, and a new dynasty was established by Hasan Gangu Bahmani in the Deccan. At first the new empire had Daulatabad in Maharashtra as its capital, but later the capital was shifted to Gulbarga in Karnataka. The nobles of the court were at first North Indians, and they adopted Persian as the official language. Later on, gradually, the local people, especially the Marathas, gained the upper hand, but they too learnt Persian. This was the beginning of the Persian influence on the Marathi language.25

In the seventeenth century, Aurangzeb made Aurangabad his capital in order to carry on his campaigns against the Marathas. Hence, for a second time, a Southern city became
the seat of a Northern Emperor. It was during this period that the Southern culture was affected by the North. "During this period, not only did the civilisation and literature of the Deccan undergo a revolution, but in all the countries south of the Nerbuda and in Gujarat, the victories of the Mughals disseminated the culture and civilisation of the North. Even a casual glance at the histories of the leading cities of the South is enough to support the view that they were colonies of northern India. Even to-day the influence is patent in Ahmedabad, Ahmednagar and Surat." Sir Jadunath Sarkar also reinforces the same point.

If the Sultans of Delhi and the Mughal Emperors of the North have helped the spread of Islamic culture in the Deccan, the people of the South have throughout steadily resisted this process. This is what Professor R. C. Majumdar says about the achievements of the Senas, a Karnata dynasty in Bengal. "The short period of the Sena dynasty constitutes an important land-mark in Bengal’s history; that Hindu society, religion and culture in Bengal even partially succeeded in surviving the onslaught of Islam is mainly due to the new vigour and life infused into them by the sturdy Hindu ruling family of Karnataka." The Karnata kings ruled over Mithila in an unbroken line of succession throughout the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. "The survival of the small state of Tirhut [Mithila], a tiny Hindu island in the Muslim ocean, must be regarded as an event of the highest importance from the point of view of mediaeval Hindu culture." ... "It gave refuge to a number of Pandits and students flying from the flames of foreign invasion that burnt up the neighbouring centres of learning." "Sanskrit learning flourished under the patronage of the Hindu rulers in Mithila, such as it did nowhere else in Northern India during the seven hundred years that followed the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. Mithila school was not only instrumental in preserving the old Sanskrit works, ... but also contributed a great deal that was new, specially in the branch of Nyaya." Identical work was done in the Vijayanagar empire. Its
services in protecting Hindu religion and culture are too well-known to need recapitulation. What needs to be remembered is that Vijayanagar saved Hindu culture not only by its own exertions but also by being an example to others, especially to Sivaji. It is the opinion of T.S. Shejwalkar that Sivaji wished to stand forth as a successor of the Vijayanagar emperors, and therefore selected as his imperial coin the gold hona in imitation of the Vijayanagar coinage, and did not copy the rupee of the Mughals though the latter was then becoming the current coin throughout India.50

It will not be out of place to refer here to the considerable influence exercised by the Hindu religious leaders from the South in the two very sacred cities of the North—Gaya and Banaras. “There is no denying the fact that the present religious role played by Gaya Kshetra is associated with the conquest of Sankaracharya over the Buddha’s religion. Sankara is also said to have converted the Buddhist monks into Hindu priesthood and popularised them throughout India as Gayawal.” The next South Indian who had a tremendous influence on Gaya was Madhwaacharya. The Gayawal or the priestly class in Gaya now belongs to the Madhwa Vaishnava sect. It is customary for one of the celebrated Acharyas of the Madhwa sect hailing from South India to reside at Gaya and act as a spiritual teacher of the Gayawal.51

Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar who had a great respect for the Madhwa guru Vyasaraya is said to have constructed the gateway that lies between the Vishnupada temple and the Surya temple in Gaya in his and his queen Tirumaladevi’s names in 1521.52 The Gaya inscription of Krishnadevaraya, dated 1522 A.D., which mentions him along with his queen Tirumaladevi was written by his court-poet Mukku Timmaya who calls it a Vijaya Sasana or a record of victory. This description and also the fact that the Manucharitram, written by another court-poet of Krishnadevaraya, Allasani Peddana, claims certain victories for his patron in the Gaya region have led some scholars to believe that Krishnadevaraya’s army actually invaded South Bihar. But it would be safer to hold with Professor D. C.
Sircar and K. H. V. Sharma that the Gaya record, though called a record of Victory, was merely a record of a victorious pilgrimage undertaken by the Emperor’s provy Mukku or Nandi Timmana. We have a similar record of Achyutaraya’s time in Gaya.\textsuperscript{32}

Finally, I come to the subject of the influence of the \textit{Dakshini} Pandits in Banaras. On this point Mm. Haraprasad Sastri observed, “Banaras is in Northern India, yet the Pandits of the South have the greatest influence there, and this influence they are not only exerting at the present moment but have exerted for centuries past. Banaras is the home of the Kanojia and other North Indian Brahmanas, but their influence in the city and its environs does not count for much. To trace the origin of this influence of the South at Banaras would really be the history of Sanskrit literature for the last four centuries in all provinces of India with the exception of Bengal and Eastern India which have a history of their own.”\textsuperscript{33}

The establishment of the supremacy of the \textit{Dakshini} Pandits in Banaras is the work of about half a dozen families from the Godavari region. Of these, the Gadhi family from Pratishthana or Paithan has been the foremost. It has produced a succession of brilliant scholars who have been looked upon by Pandits all over India as their leaders.

The first important member of this family to attain an all-India reputation was Rameswara Bhatta. From Pratisthavana, he went to Vijayanagar during the reign of Krishnadevaraya. The Raya had heard of the learning of Rameswara from one and all, and was anxious to present him with elephants, horses, etc. Rameswara did not, however, accept them as it was not sanctioned by the \textit{Sastras}. From Vijayanagar he went to Dwarka, and after staying there for four years, ultimately settled in Banaras. He had students from all parts of India.

His son Narayana Bhatta succeeded him. Narayana was patronised by the famous Todar Mall, who himself was well versed in Sanskrit learning. Once there was a severe drought in India, and at the request of the Great Mughal (viz., Akbar) Narayana is said to have brought down rain in twenty-four
hours. The Emperor, pleased with his wonderful powers, granted him permission to re-erect the temple of Visvesvvara at Banaras, destroyed about one hundred years before. The spacious and beautifully ornamented temple destroyed by Aurangzeb's Subadar about 1670 A.D. and converted into a mosque is now pointed out as the temple erected by Bhatta Narayana. It was he who introduced Southern ideals at Banaras in all matters relating to Hindu life and religion in preference to Northern ideals current in Kanauj, Mithila and Bengal. It was he who organised the colony of Southern Brahmans in Banaras. Pandits all over India looked upon him as their patron and he, too, spared neither money nor pains to help them.

This position was held after him by another Dakshini Brahman known as Vidyanidhi Kavindra. At that time the Hindus suffered great hardship owing to the exaction of a pilgrim tax from all votaries that came to Banaras and Prayag. Kavindra, as the acknowledged head of the Pandits of Banaras, was greatly moved by the hardship of his co-religionists. He journeyed to Agra with a large following, proceeded to the Diwan-i-Am, and there pleaded the cause of the Hindu pilgrims with such eloquence that all the noblemen of the court were struck with wonder. Shah Jahan and Dara Shikoh ultimately relented and abolished the tax.

After Bhatta Narayana and Kavindra, the Southern scholar who exerted his influence all over India was Gaga Bhatta. He came at a time when the Marathas were a fighting and rising nation. The political importance of the Marathas had its reflex on the colony of the Pandits of Maharashtra at Banaras. The Maratha people looked upon them as their law-givers, and the Pandits also felt a pride in their being of Maharashtra extraction. Gaga Bhatta was a great-grandson of Narayana Bhatta. He out-did all his predecessors by his writings on the Smritis. But he is not so much known for his erudite works as for the influence he exerted on society. It was he who restored the great Sivaji to the Kshatriya caste.

In 1791, the Banaras Sanskrit College was established by the British, and the Dakshini Brahmans were its principal
professors. Besides the Gandhi family to which Narayana Bhatta and Gaja Bhatta belonged, there were six other Dakshini families which swayed the Hindu society in Banaras. The works composed by the members of these families would fill a whole library. They show the direction in which the Hindu society moved and also incidentally give us much information about the political history of India from the Hindu sources which is not much available at the present day.

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5. E.C., V, Ch. 256.
7. 323 of 1905.
10. 359 and 362 of 1916.
11. 213 of 1924.
12. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar (eds.), The Struggle for Empire, Foreword, p. XXIV.
13. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., p. XI.
17. Ibid.
23. Ibid., p. 69.
25. Abdul Haq, “Influence of Persian on the Marathi Language” in
and clime have to devise the means by which they may be able to communicate with each other. An exception can be envisaged where a society is so much caste-ridden that there is no continuous communication between one caste and another. In such cases each caste carries on its own activities independently. But some linguistic give-and-take there is bound to be. Then again, in case of conquest, the conqueror considers it below his dignity to converse in the language of the conquered, and tries to impose his own language on the latter. While this process enriches the language of the conquered by the admixture of foreign words, it marks a dividing line between the internal structure of the two languages, and when time comes for an assertion of independence and the conqueror has to step down, the language he once attempted to impose on the region virtually disappears with the passage of time, while the mélange still remains.

II

This paper would be confined to the medieval period of Indian history, broadly spanning the thirteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries. In India effects of dynastic changes were generally confined to the elite only, and the worker, the craftsman, the tiller and the weaver not only carried on their professions, but also actually handed over the working of their crafts to the succeeding generation in spite of dynastic upheavals. Even then, India saw the influx of races and creeds which changed the general pattern of life of her people, sometimes gradually, at other times almost instantaneously. Such was the case with the Turkish invasion of the thirteenth century A.D. Delhi became the centre from which flowed their influence, good or bad, to different parts of the country. This influence was so scintillating that it completely hid from view the influence which southern societies had on the culture of the north.

Waves and waves of colonists came from the northwest and drove those who came in their way southward or left them
in inferior surroundings as unclean. It is rather remarkable that in the middle ages waves of linguistic patterns, mainly Sanskrit and Persian, are brought almost bodily from the north to the south, but there is no influence wrought by any of the south Indian languages, Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam, on the north, even when the political barrier disappears. This is only natural because in the earlier period there was an influx of the northern races into the south, and not vice versa. There are of course the Brahuis in the north-western region of the sub-continent who are regarded as remnants of the original Dravidian races in the north, but they are only an exception. The linguistic liaison which operated between the north and the south was furnished mainly by two classical languages, Sanskrit and Persian, two languages which attempted to acquire an all-India status in their developed forms, namely, proto-Urdu and proto-Hindi, and a third, Marathi, which marched for a time with Persian as the official language of a large part of the sub-continent. We shall deal with these languages one by one.

III

Although the golden age of the development of Sanskrit language and literature may be said to have ended about 1200 A.D., it continued to attract the attention of authors and scholars right through the middle ages. In this connection two points deserve our consideration. In the first place, the centre of Sanskrit scholarship continued to be in the north, mainly at Varanasi, and not in the south. Secondly, although works on purely secular subjects like tarkasastra (logic), grammar, nitisastra (polity), medicine, odes to rulers (with a flair of history), etc., were compiled now and then, the major part of medieval Sanskrit literature comprised religious works including commentaries on parts of the Vedas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Upanishads, etc. Those who wrote in Sanskrit or translated from that language into their own mother-tongues accepted the north as their spiritual home, and quite
a few of them either migrated to Varanasi or went there for further studies and returned only to spread in the south the knowledge they had acquired in that city. Such were Narayanbhatta [of Paithan who was patronised by Raja Todar Mal], Mahidhara [of Ahichhatra], Bhallaji Dikshita, Lakshamana Pandit, probably a Maharashtrian, Nagojibhatta, Bhaskar Agnihotri and many others. There were also some among the southern scholars who felt quite at home in the north and never returned.\(^3\)

Sanskrit had already established its sway over the south as far as the Pallava country, and it was the south which produced grammarians and commentators like Sayana, while the great system of Hindu Law, the Mitakshara, was also developed there. But, primarily, the middle ages were the period of commentaries and glosses of religious texts, and even works on other branches of knowledge, such as logic, grammar, astronomy and astrology had definite connections with religion. Perhaps the first important work in Sanskrit compiled in the south during our period was the \textit{Chaturvargachintamani} of Hemadri, a Yadava minister who made history by the invention of the Modi script.\(^4\) As its name shows, the \textit{Chaturvargachintamani} is divided into four parts, dealing with fasting, gifts, pilgrimages and salvation. Jnaneswara of Pandharpur, who died towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D., compiled what was the first Marathi commentary of the \textit{Gita}, while the great Kakatiya minister, Tikkana Somayaji translated the \textit{Mahabharata} into Telugu. In the same way Errapragada (1280-1350) translated the \textit{Ramayana} into Telugu,\(^5\) and Srinatha (1365-1440), a protege of the rulers of Rajahmundri translated the \textit{Naishada}, a Sanskrit work of Harsha into Telugu.

Madhvacharya of Udupi, perhaps the greatest protagonist of the \textit{Dvaita} system of philosophy, was one of the first south Indian Sanskritists to have travelled to north India and acquired a knowledge of Persian. He is a well-known commentator of the \textit{Bhagavad-Gita} and the \textit{Upanishads}.

Quite a number of south Indian rulers were either patrons of Sanskrit or authors of works in that language. Sayana him-
self was a minister of Sangama. Sayana’s Sanskrit works on
etics, medicine and grammar have a distinct secular character.
Krsna-deva-Pratapa, the great ruler of Vijayanagar, wrote in both
Sanskrit and Telugu, while his protege, Vyasa Tirtha was the
author of a number of works on Dvaita philosophy. His
successor, Achyuta Raya, patronised Rajanatha Dindima II,
while Tirumala was himself the author of a commentary on
Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda.

There is not much addition to historical literature in
Sanskrit in the south and what little there is, consists in works
adulating the accomplishments of the patrons of the writers.
Thus Rajanatha wrote Saluvalabhupati extolling the virtues of
Saluva Narasimha, while his namesake compiled a work praising
the virtues of Achyuta. This tradition was continued right
up to the rise of the Marathas and we have Shivabharata in
thirty-two cantos by Paramananda while Harikavi compiled
Sambhajicharitra in twelve cantos. Similar to its Muslim royal
patrons in the north like Zainul-Abidin of Kashmir and Hussain
Shah and Nasrat Shah of Bengal, Sanskrit had its Muslim
patrons in the south like Burhan Nizam Shah I of Ahmadnagar,
in whose reign Sabaji Prataprayag wrote the Parasuramanapratapa
which dealt with problems of Dharmasastra, and a treatise on
the tantric form of worship. It must have been with the full
consent of the Sultans of the Bahmani Succession States that
valuable works in Sanskrit were compiled at Bir, Paithan and
other places. The history of Sanskrit lexicography goes back
in fact to that prolific author, Madhvacharya to whom a small
dictionary is ascribed. In the fifteenth century Iruṇgak compi-
led a lexicon of homonyms, and in the next century Somesvara
wrote a dictionary of Vedic words. But the spurt in that direc-
tion came with Shivaji who ordered Raghunath Hanumante to
compile a dictionary of Sanskritic words which were to replace
the current Persian words. It is interesting to note that the
nomenclatures of the ministers, collectively to be called the
Ashtapradhanmandali, were changed as follows:
Peshwa—Mukhya Pradhan
Majmu’ahdar—Amatya
Shuranavis—Sachiva
sometimes difficult to bring all the facts in a line.

As most of them are court-chronicles, they suffer in having a distinct prejudice against those who did not see eye to eye with their patrons. And when they came to describe the history of the Deccani kingdoms *vis a vis* Delhi and Agra they managed to view them with a squint. They did not even recognize the monarchs of the Deccan as fully independent.

The chronicles penned in the Deccan were, however, free from these regional prejudices. One of the greatest—if not the greatest—medieval Indo-Persian chronicles, named variously as *Naurus Nama*, *Gulshan-i Ibrahimi* and *Tarikh-i Ferishta* does not confine itself to any particular region or century but includes the history of India, as the author viewed it, from pre-historic times to the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur when it was compiled. In spite of its exaggerations and *faux pas* it may be regarded as the most compendious chronicle that medieval India has produced. The remarkable thing is that while the *Tarikh* was completed at the Adil Shahi capital, the author viewed all history with the same interest, whether he was recording the history of Kashmir or that of Sindh or that of the Deccan. His work should, therefore, be considered a point of contact between the north and the south, so far as Indo-Persian historiography is concerned. The origin of the Bahmani kingdom is discussed in detail in Isamis *Futuh-i Salatin*, the first of a series of metrical histories, the fashion for which was revived in the time of Ibrahim Qutb Shah three centuries later. There is plenty of useful historical data in the *Riyazu'l Insha* which contains letters written by the celebrated wazir Mahmud Gawan to friends, relatives, statesmen, ministers and kings towards the end of the sixteenth century A.D. on the eve of the splitting up of the kingdom. When the Bahmani Kingdom broke up into five Sultanates, at least three of them, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Tilang had their own chroniclers, some of them patronised by the rulers. One of the earliest was Azizu'llah, Tabataba's *Burhan-i Ma'athir* which was compiled at the orders of Burhan Nizam Shah II. The book contains chronicles of the Bahamanis and of the Nizam Shahis, but incidentally it has useful allusions to the other Bahamani succession states as well,
and on the whole the material contained in it with regard to dates of events and even the names and parentage of the rulers is at times more correct than is the case with other chronicles including the work of Ferishta.

Another authoritative chronicle is *Tadhkiratu'l-Muluk* by Raś'ud-din Shirazi which is primarily a chronicle of the early Adil Shahi rulers but deals with the Sultans of Ahmadnagar, the Sultans of Gujarat, the Qutb Shahis and the Safawis with whom Bijapur had close relations, friendly or hostile.²⁰ Bijapur has quite a few other chronicles to its credit, such as the *Futuhat-i 'Adil Shahi*, the rather remarkable poem in Dakhni, *'Ali Nama* by Nusrati, and finally an epitome of historical literature on the Adil Shahis named *Basatinu's Salatin*, which is a late compilation (1221 A.H./1806 A.D.) but which is the only authoritative complete history of Bijapur right up to its occupation by the British.²¹

The reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah produced four extremely valuable versified histories of Tilang. Two of them, the *Nishat Nama Shahryari*, *Nasab Nama Qutb Shahi* are preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, the *Tawarikh Qutb Shahi* is in the India Office Library, while another, the *Tawarikh-i Qutb Shahi*, (wrongly called *Khamsa-i Qutb Shahi*), is in the rich Salar Jung Library at Hyderabad.²² There is some difference of opinion regarding the authorship of the *Nishat Nama Shahryari*, for Sprenger attributes it to Hiralal Khushdil, while the name of the other has been given as 'Fursi' on page nine of the manuscript. The author of the manuscript in the India Office Library chooses to remain anonymous.

All the four manuscripts bring the narrative down to the accession of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah, and are valuable in providing us with certain data not found in other chronicles.

A fine and detailed compendium of the history of the Qutb Shahi dynasty was compiled under the orders of Muhammad Qutb Shah and it brings the narrative down to July 1617.²³ It is an absolute must for the students of the history of Tilang, and is unique in that except for the pompous *Hadiqatu's-Salatin* it is perhaps the last detailed chronicle written in the Deccan. *Hadiqatu's Salatin* is by and large confined to the life of
‘Abdu’l-lah Qutb Shah up to January 1644,24 while the reign of that monarch lasted till April 1672, and Golkonda did not open its gates to the army of Aurangzeb till September 1687. For the remaining decades of the history of the Qutb Shah’s we have to rely mostly on Mughal histories and on the letters of ‘Abdu’l-lah to Dara, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, the kings of Bijapur and Iran as well as to the envoys at these courts, which are preserved in manuscript from in the Salar Jung Library, and in the letters of Aurangzeb himself. These letters are another point of contact between the north and the south.25

Persian was the language of the upper strata of administration and culture all over India, and it would be futile even to register the great names of the Persian poets and prose writers who adorned the north Indian canvas during the middle ages. What is germane to the thesis before us is that Persian was a common ground between the north and the south for many centuries, and this contact was further cemented by the continued influx of Persian-speaking immigrants through the north-western passes as well as through the ports of the peninsula bordering on the Arabian Sea. The malfuzat or Sayings of Sufi saints like Shaikh Mu‘inu’d-din Chisti of Ajmer, Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki, Baba Farid Ganj Shakar and others have their counterpart in the Persian works of Khwaja Banda Nawaz of Gulbarga and of Dara Shikoh who paid the highest penalty for his philosophic bent of mind.

Akbar’s reign saw the translation of several Sanskrit classics into Persian, perhaps the foremost being Faizi’s translation of the Mahabharata. In the Deccan we have a series of Kings beginning with the Bahmani sovereigns and including many Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi Sultans who were themselves poets in the Persian language. Such were Muhammad II, Taju’d-din Firoz, Jamshid Qutb Shah, Abdu’l-lah Qutb Shah, Ali Adil Shah ‘Shahi’ and the rulers who patronised Persian litterateurs in a way that has hardly been surpassed. We have names like Adhari, Zuhuri, Mir Mu‘in Astrabadi, Hakim Atashi, Mirka Mu‘in Sabzware, Muhammad ibn Khatun and many others who made the Deccan their homes. While Sanskrit was a language
which could be studied only in written works, Persian was a live link between the north and the south and was thus a common ground between the far-flung boundaries of the sub-continent.

V

Before we pass on to those great dialects which developed into Urdu and Hindi and tended to unify the north and the south, mention should be made of Marathi which was on the verge of enveloping practically the whole sub-continent towards the middle of the eighteenth century. The Marathas are an ancient race and in spite of frequent confrontations with southern as well as northern races they managed to survive as a cultural force right through the centuries. Even in the fourteenth century Marathi had a tendency to influence neighbouring languages and some Marathi folksongs have found their way into Telugu folk literature. But even great personalities like Jnanadeva and Eknath had only an audience limited to Maharashtra. It was Tukaram and Ramadas who were, though indirectly, responsible for an all-India influence of the language, for they were the gurus of Shivaji, the real founder of Maratha greatness. While Tukaram preached religion as the foundation of Maratha society. Ramadas built on their foundations the strength and vigour necessary to found a whole system of national greatness.

The Maratha state arose out of Shahji's almost insignificant jagirs to a vast empire enveloping Delhi in the year 1737, annexing Malwa on the way, defeating Ali Vardi Khan, the Subedar of Bengal, in 1742 and even threatening Calcutta. Had it not been for the great and decisive battle of Panipat the Marathas would possibly have changed the whole course of the history of modern India.

While the Marathas had to recede from the ideal of political supremacy which they had set before themselves, their language was greatly enriched by the contact it had with the language of the elite in northern India, namely Persian. While
marching northwards with the mental vigour the language had acquired at the hands of the Maratha saints and the political revolution which had been wrought by personalities like those of Shivaji and Baji Rao I, it sought to enrich itself by drawing within its fold a great deal of the official, administrative and even common vocabulary from the Persian language. Not only Persian technical administrative terms but also words of common parlance, and even Persian constructions, were embodied into Marathi which thus became, at least for a time, the connecting linguistic link between the different parts of India. Arabic and Persian terms relating to land-tenure became part and parcel of the Marathi language, though sometimes with altered meaning. Such were watan and watandar, Mucasal or Mukhasa (from ‘qata’a’ to cut or deduct), muqaddam, Karkun, rayat (Arabic = tiller), taraf, majlis, kasba. Then we have the saranjamdar, the mirasi tenure (Ar. mirath = heredity). Names ending in ‘nis’ (= navis) are all Persian-based, such as waknis (waqai ‘navis), Farnavis (fardnavis), Chitnis (Chittinavis), hajarnis (hazirinavis); Potdar (fotedar—purse-bearer). Then havaldar was originally hawaladhar; the word “mulkgiri” changed its connotation but not its form. These and scores of other Persian and Perso-Arabic words and even constructions have found their way into Marathi vocabulary.

A further step was taken by the juxtaposition of Persian and Marathi words and even the dovetailing of Marathi verbs into Persian nouns, adjectives and verbs, such as kharchne, badalne, ajmavne, etc. These few instances (there are scores more) show how Marathi was adapting itself to its new role of an all-India language, when it was jerked back by Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali and Lord Lake to become a local language again; but its sway still extended from the borders of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh to those of the Kannada country.

VI

It is a remarkable phenomenon that while the rift between Hindi and Urdu is so patent today, barely a century ago there
was not much to differentiate between the two, and in fact their names had not acquired an individuality which later charac-
terised them. Just as Gujarati was developed in Gujarat, Bengali in Bengal, Sindhi in Sindh and the languages of the south in their particular regions, so we have Khari Boli and Haryani round about Delhi, Braj Bhasha about Mathura and Agra, Awadhi in Awadh, Maithili and Rajasthani in the regions of that name, Dakhni in the south and other languages proper to their regions with distinct intonation, case-endings and vocab-
ulary. The name Hindi came to be the name of the language which was different from Persian, but generally written in the modified Persian characters. It was as early as the reign of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1518) that certain letters not found in the Persian alphabet were added to suit the pronunciation of local sound, such as the hard .GetKey and getKey, the  r while aspirated sounds began to be represented by the addition of h to the consonant meant to be aspirated.

With the addition of these new symbols to the Indo-Persian script the barrier between the two rising languages became even more indistinct. Both Urdu and Hindi were nurtured in practically the same region, Urdu in the region of Khari Boli and Haryani, and Hindi in the area of Brajbhasha. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji says: “The Khari Boli form of Hindi, which has been accepted by the Indian Constitution as the Official Language of India, is one of the youngest of the Indian languages, for it did not come into literary use on any appreciable scale before A.D. 1500 and its affected literary enjoyment only started after 1850.” He goes on to say that in the strictly scientific sense Hindi literature means primarily the literature in Brajbhasha, the language of Braj.

The origin of Khari Boli was the nucleus of proto-Urdu, although the language was not called exclusively by that name till the middle of the nineteenth century. It began its composition in the thirteenth century when Qutbu’d-din Aibak set up his throne at Delhi and the need was felt for a composite language which should be the medium of conversation among the people of Delhi, speaking different languages, such as the people from Braj, the people of Haryana and the Perso-Turkish
colonists from across the Himalayas. The structure of the new medium remained the same but the language was enriched by the absorption of Persian and Arabic words, especially of a technical nature.

In the south the same process was afoot, although the word "Urdu" for the composite language did not take its root till the middle of the nineteenth century. It was called "Dakhni" or "Hindawi" less as a generic name than by way of contrast with Persian. The Deccan produced not merely saints who composed poems and prose works in Dakhni like Hazrat Banda Nawaz and Miranji Shamsul-Ushshaq but also laymen like Ibn-i Nishati and royal litterateurs like Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah, Abdu'l-lah Qutb Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah II. When Aurangzeb eliminated the last two Bahmani succession states, Bijapur in 1685 and Golconda in 1687, he brought with him a fresh wave of this composite language and thus provided another point of contact between the north and the south.

It is interesting to note that while the Bhakti movement, with its devotion to one God either in the person of Sri Rama or Sri Krishna, was the centre from which various forms of proto-Hindi emanated, this was not a bar for Muslim poets and authors from making it a vehicle of their thought, and the poems of Malak Muhammad Ja'isi, Abdu'r-Rahim Khan Khan-i Khanan, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, Mubarak Ali Bilgrami and others are regarded as classical.

One of the earliest poems composed in proto-Hindi was Chand Bardai's Prithvi Raj Raso compiled in the twelfth century. The proto-Hindi forms passed through the sayings of bhaktas like Ramananda, Surdas, Tulsidas and others. Two outstanding names in the dialects of proto-Hindi are those of the weaver, Kabir and Guru Nanak who, like the Muslims, believed in an incorporeal God.

The dividing line between Urdu and Hindi became thicker and thicker as time went on because of the religious atmosphere of Hindi as opposed to the comparatively secular atmosphere of Urdu. Urdu was ready to cull the necessary words and ideas from other sources, while Hindi was wedded to religious and
near-religious ideas. Even the script which the latter adopted was called Devanagari with an accent on the first syllable. Towards the end of the medieval period purism in Hindi grew apace and *tadbhava* words tended to give place to *tatsama* Sanskrit words in their original form leading to the widening of the gulf between Urdu and Hindi. It is interesting to note that while Urdu replaced the foreign Persian as the language of administration and culture, it was replaced in turn by the foreign English, and now attempts are being made to replace English by Hindi, a position which is hardly acceptable to the Dravidian South.

REFERENCES

1. Unequalled temples, mosques, tombs and secular buildings which are spread throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent are cases in point. These were erected by masons and craftsmen even while there were never-ending wars for gaining political power.
2. This process was accelerated by the gradual Mughal conquest of central and south India, starting with Babar and Humayun and completed by Aurangzeb, though it made the old Emperor shift his capital from the north to Aurangabad.
3. Among those who migrated to the north but never returned were Jagannath of the Godavari region, Vishvanath Ranade of Ratnagiri district, Nilakantha Chakradhara and others.
5. Tikkana Somayaji (1220-1300) was the minister and poet-laureate of the Telugu Chola King Manuma Siddha II of Nellore. He completed the Telugu translation of the *Mahabharata* begun two centuries earlier by Nannya. See Yazdani, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, II, 696, etc.
6. For Sangama, supposed father of Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the Kingdom of Vijaynagar, see *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, I, 23 ff.
7. Krishnadevaraya ruled from 1509 to 1529 A.D.
8. For Rajanatha Dindima’s description of Saluva Narasimha’s Government see *Further Sources*, I, 126.
9. For the patronage accorded to Sanskrit by the Muslim Kings of Kashmir and Bengal, see Sherwani, *Cultural Trends in Medieval India*, 70. Zainu’l-Abidin, King of Kashmir, 1420-1470.
12. See the List of exhibits, *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Trivandrum, 1942, pp. 17-18, items 142, 143, 144.

13. See T. N. Devare, *A Short History of Persian Literature at the Bahmani, the Adil Shahi and the Qutb Shahi Courts*, Ch. VII, where the author traces the influence of the Persian language on Dakhni and Marathi.

14. The Emperor ordered Muhammad Kazim to compile the chronicle of the reign but he was allowed to continue only for ten years. It was only after the Emperor’s death that Bahadur Shah I allowed Muhammad Saqi Mu tamad Khan to complete the records of the reign.


21. The only known copy of the *Futuhat-i Adil Shahi*, which was compiled by Fuzumi Astrabadi, is in the British Museum; but it is fortunate that Dr. P. M. Joshi has a photostat copy in his collection. *Ali Nama* was edited by A. M. Siddiqui and published at Hyderabad in 1959. Muhammad Ibrahim Zubairi’s *Basatinu’s-Salatin* was printed at Hyderabad in 1892-93.


23. *Tarikh Muhammad Qutb Shah*—Quite a number of manuscripts of this important history are available, of which the Asafiyah Ms., *Tarikh Farsi*, 401 is one of the best.


26. The Third Battle of Panipat was fought on 7 January 1761. It was a death-knell for the imperialistic ambitions of the Peshwas while it opened out a new vista for the British.
27. For the influence of Perso-Arabic vocabulary on Marathi administrative terms see Gune, *The Judicial System of the Marathas*, Poona, 1953, especially Chapters IV and VIII.

28. For a general discussion of this influence, see note 13 above.

29. Chatterji, Section on Hindi in the *History and Culture of the Indian People*, VI, p. 499.

30. As has been noted above the word “Urdu” was not exclusively applied to this synthetic language till the middle of the nineteenth century, and even Syed Ahmad Khan and Ghalib sometimes use the word “Hindi” for this language. In the same way, as Suniti Kumar Chatterji says, modern Hindi did not take even a primary shape till about 1850. But the embryo of these languages was there in the form of local patois, and for the sake of convenience the terms, “proto-Urdu” and “proto-Hindi” have been used for denoting these embryonic forms.

31. Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1627) made “Hindawi” the language of record in his dominions; but it was not “Hindi” as we understand it to-day, but a language different from Persian, current in official quarters and written in Indo-Persian script.

32. Wajhi, 1600-1640; Ghawwasi, 1639; Ibn Nishati, 1655; Muhammad-Quil Qutb Shah ruled, 1580-1612; Abdul-lah Qutb Shah ruled, 1626-1672; Ibrahim Adil Shah II ruled, 1580-1627.

33. Malak Muhammad Ja'isi, 1540; Abdul-Rahim Khan Khan-i Khanan, 1555-1627; Mubarak Ali Bilgrami (1583).
(III) SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

NORTH-SOUTH CONTACT AND ADJUSTMENT IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

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Long ago V. A. Smith rightly regretted that Indian History was treated from a northern angle. Again, long, long before Montesquieu, Buckle, Laski, Sachs and others, Ibn Khaldun, the fourteenth-century historian, had stressed the importance of the social environment in studying History. It is therefore incumbent on our part to redress the balance of the old state of affairs. The study of the North-South contact and adjustment in medieval Indian society and economy will not only be timely and fruitful but will also open a new vista of research.

The present paper roughly covers the period from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century A.D. It is, however, difficult to treat society and economy in isolation from political and military developments. For the sake of convenience, and on account of the limitations of space imposed, we propose to discuss the subject under the following broad headings:

(i) Socio-economic factors in the southward push of the northern powers (the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire);
(ii) Socio-economic effects of the southward expansion;
(iii) Socio-economic factors in the Maratha imperialism in the North;
(iv) Socio-economic effects thereof;
(v) The Social adjustment; and
(vi) The Economic adjustment.
I. Socio-economic Factors in the Southward Push of the Northern Powers

Certain general factors accounted for the North-South contact during the period under review. First, the geographical factor. The physical division between the North and the South has never hindered inter-communication,—political, social, commercial and cultural. Surprisingly, the contact has taken, to a large extent, the form of challenge and counter-challenge. As in the past, an imperial move from the North caused a sharp reaction in the South during this period as well. Thus the early Turkish and the Mughal imperial waves caused respectively the Bahmani, Vijaynagar and Maratha reactions. The three vertical sections (Konkan, Ghats and plateau or Desh) and the three horizontal ones (Dang, Mawal and Malnad) of Maharashtra influenced strategy and determined the character of the people. Numerous forts of the region (drug on the coast; gad on the hills; and kot on the level plain) determined the North-South relations. The Deccan plateau is broken like the sierras of Spain, and a northern power cannot conquer the land by a single cavalry dash as in the Indo-Gangetic plains.\(^2\)

Second, the economic factor. Centuries-old, accumulated but untouched wealth of the Deccan, testified to by travellers and historians like Marco Polo, Shihabuddin Abul Abbas Ahmad, Wassaf, Barani, Ferishta, Abdur Razaaq\(^3\) and others, stimulated the lust of some Sultans of Delhi for gold. To Alauddin the Deccan was ‘the milk-cow’ for maintaining his army to save the Sultanate from internal disturbances and Mongol invasions. His initial object here was plunder, not conquest. One campaign whetted the appetite for another. Deogiri, Warangal, Dwarasamudra and Ma’bar came by turns as a matter of course. The loot, as testified to by Barani, Amir Khusrau and Ferishta, was almost unprecedented and unbelievable.\(^4\) Empire-building came later with Muhammad bin Tughluq. Thanks to the recuperative capacity of the land, the wealth of the Deccan, drained away by the Khaljis and the Tughluqs, was sufficient even three hundred years later to excite the cupidity of the Mughal emperors from Akbar to Aurangzeb.\(^4^a\) So the story
was repeated under the Mughals, but with some additional objectives.

Third, the commercial factor. Peninsular India possesses a very important geo-physical and geo-political position. This triangular projection of the Asian continent into the Indian Ocean, flanked by the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, had far-flung commercial activities from time immemorial. It had good natural harbours and seaports on both coasts, frequented by foreign traders from Asia, Africa and Europe. Its conqueror would be able to control its vast commercial net. The Konkan became a bone of contention between the Muslims, the Marathas and the Europeans. Surat, the richest port of the Mughal Empire and the gateway of pilgrim traffic to Mecca, had the richest merchants of the world and was twice plundered by Shivaji. Goa was the commercial outlet of both Vijaynagar and Bijapur kingdoms which depended for horses from Arabia and Persia on the Portuguese, with other centres at Bassein, Daman, Salsette etc. Realising the baneful consequences of the Portuguese domination, political and economic,—as illustrated by their activities on the Arabian Sea, interference with Indian shipping, their naval pre-eminence, based on cartazes and control of pilgrim traffic,—Akbar desired to drive them out, “to undertake the destruction of the Feringhi infidels...stumbling blocks to the pilgrims and traders.” But the absence of a navy made the plan unworkable. His successors did not pursue this objective.

Last but not the least, the social factor. If the geographical, economic and commercial factors were inviting to the northern aggressor, the social scene in the Deccan helped him. The social rift or socio-religious schism in the Deccan has not been as prominently emphasized as its political weakness arising out of inter-state rivalry and intra-state intrigues. At the time of Alaeddin’s invasion Deogiri was in the throes not only of a political dispute but also of a sectarian rancour, comparable to the Brahman-Buddhist rift in the eighth-century Sind before the Arab conquest and the twelfth-century Pala Bengal before the Turkish conquest. Besides the split between the Sanatani (orthodox) group led by Hemadri and the reforming Mahanubhav cult, founded by the heretical Chakradhar and sponsored
by the ruler, Ramadeva, there was also the anti-Brahman Lingayat or Vira-Shaiva vs. Jaina schism. All this was extremely favourable to the Khalji invader. The exemption of the Mahanubhav monks, dressed like Muslim faqirs, from the jaziya led the orthodox group to suspect their secret complicity with the invader. Again, the moral and psychological effect of the teaching of the sects, emphasizing escapism and inaction, proved to be devitalising, as defence became a trivial matter.\(^8\)

Similarly during the Mughal period the Deccan Sultanates were weakened (a) by the existence of two parties, one pro-Mughal, and the other trying to maintain independence,\(^9\) and (b) by a perpetual strife between the Deccani and the foreign Muslims. Again, if the religious intolerance of the Portuguese\(^10\) excited the wrath of Akbar, religious intolerance was a factor which led Shahjahan and Aurangzeb to think of crushing the two Shia Sultanates of the Deccan. It is not, however, generally known that Persia wanted to make a political use of its position as a centre of Shiaism against the Mughals, and to Aurangzeb, the crime of Bijapur and Golkonda was not merely religion but their extra-territorial loyalty based on religion.\(^11\)

The rise of the Maratha Swarajya and the relations between Aurangzeb and the Marathas had socio-religious and economic aspects besides political.\(^12\) While as viceroy, Aurangzeb had wanted to use Shivaji against Bijapur by promising economic assistance (January, 1658), as emperor, he realised the true import of the emergence of the new power after 1659.\(^13\) Economically, Shivaji’s plundering raids into imperial territories must be stopped and Surat safeguarded. But religious considerations were not absent. He suspected that his loyal general Mirza Rajah Jai Singh had entered into a secret pan-Hindu entente with Shivaji,\(^14\) and described Shambhuji as ‘the infernal son of an infernal infidel’. Shivaji sent a ‘grand remonstrance’ to Aurangzeb, showing that the jaziya (1679) was not only unwise but also baneful.\(^15\)
II. Socio-economic Effects of Southward Expansion

The first phase of the contact of political Islam with the South under the Khaljis and the Tughluqs lasted for nearly 50 years (1296-1347). Then, after an interval of 250 years, the second phase started from 1591 and ended with the death of Aurangzeb (1707).

Alaeddin favoured spoliation, desecration, and tribute but not annexation. All except the Pandyas became his tributaries. Important places like Raichur and Mudgal were garrisoned. Rich seaports of Dabhol and Chaul were occupied. Muhammad Tughluq and the Mughals, however, believed in and worked for direct annexation.

Under Alaeddin and Muhammad Tughluq the Deccan gold paved the way to the Delhi throne. The vast Deogiri plunder enabled Alaeddin to make his bid for the Delhi throne and secure himself after his murderous usurpation. History was repeated by the parricide Muhammad Tughluq after his return from the Deccan. The unprecedented influx of the Deccan gold, comparable to that of the Spanish gold in Elizabethan England not only supported Alaeddin’s military dictatorship, but also cheapened money and inflated prices. Under the Mughals southward penetration involved something more than plunder and grabbing of the Deccan gold, viz., acknowledgment of supremacy, payment of tribute or even annexation.

The Khalji and Tughluq penetration resulted in the establishment of large Muslim colonies in the South, through migration, transplantation and conversion. But Delhi being far too distant, its domination was shortlived, and even the Muslims of the South proved recalcitrant. Population movements were also caused by wars, famines and pestilences (e.g., population movement in Gujarat caused by the famine of 1630-31; the flight of people from Jinji to Tanjore or Pondicherry (1690); migrations of people from western to eastern or northern Bengal and Calcutta, and settlement of some Maratha families in Bengal, during the Bargi invasions).

Sometimes new towns grew up and old towns decayed or were renamed or re-oriented. Under Muhammad Tughluq the
change of capital (1326-27) from Delhi which rivalled Baghdad and Cairo in those days ruined it, at least temporarily. Deogiri, renamed Daulatabad, remained a centre of Muslim power and pilgrimage rivaling Delhi, and its increasing Muslim population alarmed the Hindus. The desolation of Bijapur and the depopulation of Haidarabad followed Aurangzeb’s annexation (1686-87) of these two kingdoms.20

It is generally admitted that war must pay for war. The problem of logistics is so stupendous that this alone might cause the ruin of an army. Like Napoleon,21 Alauddin and Kafur made their armies feed on the enemy. Ramdev of Deogiri supplied food, fodder and provisions in the Warangal (1309) and Ma'bar (1311) campaigns while Prince Ulugh Khan obtained abundant spoils and fodder through the plunder of Warangal and Telengana (1321).22 The Maratha guerillas of Santaji and Dhanaji in Jinji (1692) dislocated Aurangzeb’s supply of grain and even the dakchauki. Zulfiqar’s Turani soldiers plundered the banjaras (or grain merchants) of Wandiwash. Common men used to get plentiful provisions in the Maratha camp at the foot of Jinji but could not bring them. At the Maratha siege of Dodderi (1695), owing to shortage of food and fodder, men ate up lean oxen, or committed suicide, while the cattle were said to have chewed each other’s tails as if these were of straw. If the Mughal merchants and shopkeepers sought qauls (safe conduct) from the Maratha government of Haidarabad, the Maratha traders below supplied food tied to rope to the Mughals at the top of the fort at fancy prices.23

Four hundred years of Delhi’s imperialistic expansion from Alauddin to Aurangzeb, though intermittent, caused the economic ruin of the South. Agriculture was ruined as a cumulative result of Alauddin’s policy of subjection of the Hindus and persecution of the chaudhuris, khuts and muqaddams, and the risings of the Hindus as well as the Muslims of the South against Muhammad Tughluq.24 During the Mughal period the story was repeated on account of the system of military jagirs in the Deccani Sultanates, the vexatious exactions of the feudal barons from the poor peasants, the system of revenue farming, seizure
of grain, enslavement or killing of people, lack of cultivators due to death or absconding, brigandage and the ruin of small deshpandes and deshmukhs. Before going north for the war of succession Aurangzeb, the then viceroy of the Deccan, prescribed capital punishment for those peasants, deshmukhs and patels of imperial territories who sided with Shivaji. The misery of the cultivator was aggravated by war, famine and pestilence. This economic misery produced an economic urge which contributed to the rise of Shivaji. He was not only the protector of religion (Co-Brahmana-pratipalaka) but also the saviour of peasants. Shivaji's economic reforms specially endeared him to his people. He wanted to sweep away the harassing middle class of revenue-farmers, the zamindars, deshmukhs and desais and to clip the wings of the hereditary mirasdars.

The contemporary social historian, Bhimsen, has drawn a lurid picture of the economic conditions in Maharashtra about the beginning of the eighteenth century, i.e., after more than twenty-five years of Aurangzeb's ceaseless Deccan wars. The assignments of the mansabdars were not yielding revenue, the oppressed peasants in imperial territories joined the Marathas, and jagirdars gave up raiyat-parwari (protection) and resorted to maximum extraction on account of agrarian instability. Aurangzeb's order of confiscation of horses and weapons in every village acted as a boomerang as the imperial peasants joined the Marathas with these. The zamindars paid the peshkash-i-padshahi not out of their own pockets but from the exactions made by their tyrannical agents. The Khalsa and jagir lands had two sets of blood-suckers—imperial jagirdars and Maratha na-sardaran (pseudo-chiefs), absolutely ruining the peasants by their separate but simultaneous extortion and plunder. The peasants abandoned cultivation, and even many imperial mansabdars, despairing of revenue, joined the Marathas.

Besides the regular fighters, 'the tail.' of the two armies—the Mughal non-combatants, labourers, servants, vagrants, grain-merchants, and mewras (messengers), etc., and the Maratha Berads and Pindaris, damaged the standing crops for which the peasants did not get due compensation (paimalli-i-zariat).
The long and ceaseless Deccan wars of Aurangzeb together with famine and pestilence, flood, drought or rains, produced catalytic effects. For more than twenty-five years there were marches and counter-marches of the vast Mughal army numbering 1,70,000 (and ten times that number of non-combatants) and of the Marathas and the Deccanis, besides the Maratha foraging cavaliers and disbanded soldiery of Bijapur and Golkonda. The consequent economic drain and desolation of "the country was appalling in its character and most far-reaching and durable in its effect". A graphic description has been left by all contemporary sources, official and non-official. Economic desolation was illustrated in different forms. The prolonged military operations and countless sieges caused deforestation as trees were cut down for constructing siege towers. By 1705 fields became "devoid of trees and bare of crops" and the country became "so entirely desolated and depopulated that neither fire nor light can be found in the course of a three or four days' journey". This injured agriculture. Cattle became extinct, as three lakhs of horses, oxen, camels and elephants died annually, besides those robbed or dying. Government had to arrange import of horses from Afghanistan, Persia and Arabia. Pastoral tribes were ruined. Depopulation followed, as one lakh soldiers died annually in the Mughal camp alone, besides many more lakhs due to plague, famine and epidemic. The bones of mounds of corpses (of men and beasts), decomposed by rains, looked like hills of snow. The labouring population suffered on account of violent capture, forced labour, starvation and epidemic. The well-cultivated peaceful and prosperous districts of Eastern Karnataka (under Bijapur, Golkonda, Telengana and Berar) became wilderness. 29

Trade and industry were adversely affected. Hungry and desperate peasantry took to highway robbery. Local raiding opened up new avenues of glory and riches to spirited villagers. Caravans could not move safely south of the Narmada without strong guards, and even royal mails and fruits for the emperor, government stores and goods of nobles were held up by the Marathas and, had to be sent through spies. Merchandise could not move freely. Village arts and crafts were ruined along with
the industrial classes. The Mughal-Maratha conflict in the
Karnataka, (1690-98) hit the weavers of the Madras coast hard,
and the English could not get investments of clothes. Such a
ruin of the local textile industry was anticipated by that astute
Frenchman, Francois Martin (1688).

War brought about certain inevitable administrative, financial
and military repercussions which were essentially sociological
in nature. In the first place, there was an administrative break-
down. Reckless promises of money grant and high command to
every enemy deserter, captain or surrendering qiladar could not
be redeemed. As the army was inflated to deal with the Maratha
menace, land became insufficient for distribution as jagirs. The
imperial diwan Inayetullah bewailed his inability to match "a
limited figure (of jagirs) with an unlimited one (of contingents
of officers)". Delivery of villages to the grantees was inordin-
ately delayed. Ruinous was the price which Aurangzeb had to
pay for buying forts. Even a minor hill fort cost Rs. 45,000/-
on an average. But such bribery was preferred to sieges costing
ten times more. The morale of the Mughal army was totally
broken. The soldiers longed for the emperor's death. A 'tent
generation' grew up, consisting of men and officers who spent
their lives in military camps only. The Rajputs, far away from
their homes, feared extinction of their race. A bribe of one
lakh was not considered too high a price for a transfer to Delhi.
Northern India, too, was denuded of its 'manhood, talent and
wealth', i.e., experienced men, officers and revenue. Lawless
elements could not be suppressed by the balance of the depleted
forces. Chronic poverty made the governors powerless. Rent-
collection declined. Instability in award of jagirs not only
prevented direct relation with peasants but also resulted in a
mad race for looting. A vicious circle thus operated not only in
the Deccan but also in Bundelkhand Malwa and parts of
Allahabad and Oudh. Government turned bankrupt and the
soldiers starving from arrears of pay mutinied. Bengal under
Murshid Quli was the sole 'milch-cow' and regular feeder of
the empire. Thus, by the beginning of the eighteenth century,
administration, culture and economic life, military strength
and social organisation,—all seemed to be hastening towards utter ruin and dissolution."\(^{31}\)

III. *Socio-economic Factors in the Northward Expansion of the Marathas*

Maratha imperialism in the North was a reply to Mughal imperialism in the South, and it was influenced by almost the same general factors as in the case of the southward push of the northern powers, viz., socio-economic, geographical, politico-religious, commercial and naval, though their exact nature was different. Socio-economically the transformation of the *Swarajya* into *Samrajya*, inspired by the throbbing spirit of the Marathas, was helped by the decay of the Mughal society. If the Deccani gold lured the northerners to the south, the southerners were impelled to go to the north for money. The Magna Carta of Maratha dominions (1719), granting *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* of the Deccan, transformed their status from marauders to imperial agents. But the mastery of the Deccan was not a practicable proposition in the face of an enemy like the Nizam. The best way would be not to waste the slender resources of Maharashtra in the barren plains of the Deccan, but to attack, plunder and annex the rich provinces of Malwa and Gujarat.\(^{32}\)

These two provinces had a great economic and strategic value. Under Maratha occupation or influence these would be a wedge between the Nizam and Delhi, and the first step towards imperialism. If Malwa had a key position in the security of the empire, Gujarat was a rich and fair province, famed for its handicrafts, trade, and vast wealth, with the seaports of Broach and Surat as the main gateways of the merchandise of a rich hinterland.\(^{33}\)

Peshwa Baji Rao's ideology of *Hindu Pad Padshahi* was formulated on the possibility of inheriting the Great Mughal's estate. His championship of Hindu *dharma* and policy of friendly co-operation with the Hindu powers of the north—Rajputs, Jats, Bundelas and Sikhs, made a powerful appeal to them and had a deep social significance. It was supported
specially by Jai Singh II. The older army of Shivaji having ceased to be the national arm of Maratha renaissance, the Peshwa fashioned a new army. Religious factors concerning Brahmendraswami influenced Maratha relations with the Siddis, the accredited Mughal admirals on the west coast. Shivaji ‘Rajah put the saddle on the ocean’, and wanted to occupy the sea-girt fortress of Janjira. This was one of the reasons which had induced him to go to Agra. The unfinished naval task of Shivaji was taken up by Kanhoji Angria, who became a terror not only to the Siddis but also to the Europeans, successively defeating the English, the Portuguese and the Dutch.

IV. Results of the Maratha Push to the North

A transformed Hindu Pad Padshahi made the Marathas the political heirs of the Mughals. Diametrically opposite views have been held regarding the wisdom of the bid for empire by contemporary statesmen as well as by modern historians. The issues are so vast and historical causation so complicated, that unanimity is perhaps impossible to achieve. Nevertheless, judging a policy by its effects, it has to be admitted that the Maratha imperialism in the North failed like the Mughal imperialism in the South. If the Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb, the Hindustan ulcer ruined the Marathas, at least for the time being.

In estimating the socio-economic consequences of this movement, one has to state that if Shivaji mobilised his people for positive national independence, economic rejuvenation and protection and preservation of dharma, and Baji Rao for Hindu Pad Padshahi, Balaji Baji Rao sought to establish an ephemeral Marathi Padshahi at the cost of the Gujaratis, the Rajputs and the Jats with a heterogenous mercenary force of Pathans, Pindaris, Arabs, Sindhis, Abyssinians, Europeans and others. That the Marathas were ill equipped for shouldering the consequential responsibilities is proved in finance. Financial bankruptcy involved in the Mughal imperialism in the South came to be paralleled by the financial exhaustion of the Marathas.
Baji Rao, the dashing soldier, was no wise financier. Plunder notwithstanding, he died heavily indebted. The Maratha public debt during 1740-60 was estimated at 1½ crores, and the interest on the loans was 12-18%. The ruthless exactions of the Bhaos, whose desperate demands for money from home remained unsatisfied, coupled with tearing of the silver ceiling of the Diwan-Khas at Delhi antagonised the people around. With military inferiority, bankrupt statesmanship, added to depleted finances, logistical pitfalls and mistaken tactics, the debacle at Panipat (1761) became a foregone conclusion. The tangible result of turning a deaf ear to the Pratinidhis’ cautions and sound policy of southward consolidation was that the enemies nearer home,—the Nizam, the Siddis and the Europeans, were allowed to go strong, while the will-o’-the wisps in the North proved elusive.

The army is a social weapon, and any change in it is, in the broadest sense, a social phenomenon. The national militia of Shivaji became denationalised with the influx of foreigners. Changed conditions perhaps made this military change inevitable. But the Marathas failed in welding the heterogenous mercenaries. The traditional guerrilla tactics had to be given up but the new foreign elements were not completely mastered. The earlier high moral principles and discipline of Shivaji were given up, and the presence of women in the camp became an accepted fashion under the Peshwas. The later Marathas went the way of all flesh like the later Mughals.

Nearly fifty years ago Sardesai thus estimated the socio-economic effects of Maratha imperialism in the North: “In the wake of military conquest Maratha life expanded in various directions.” He added that this interchange between the North and the South was ‘healthy and beneficial’. But this has been said from the standpoint of the Marathas, and it does not contain the whole truth. We may readily agree that (a) the Maratha language and vocabulary became enriched. There was a constant demand for manuscripts of old Sanskrit works, prose or poetry, Puranas, scriptures, etc. (b) There was also a great demand for ‘writers, bankers, accountants, artisans, builders,
painters, priests, bards, and servants of all kinds.' (c) Maratha settlements grew up in all important towns of Hindustan. Several towns ‘became essentially Maratha colonies deliberately transplanted’ in the North, e.g., Baroda, Nagpur, Indore, Dhar, Ujjain, Jhansi, etc. (d) Contact with the North enriched the life of the Marathas in the Deccan. Numerous objects of ordinary consumption, food, clothing and luxuries, ornaments, domestic furniture, war accoutrements, paintings, music, dancing, dancing girls, court etiquette, pomp and manners of the nobles of Hindustan were soon introduced in the courts of the Maratha chiefs and ‘greedily imitated’ in the Deccan.

But the effects of Maratha ascendancy on Northern India were somewhat different. In the first place, even Sardesai has admitted that the North was drained of its wealth at first by ‘frequent Maratha exactions of tributes and taxes’. He has, however, qualified it by saying that “the money remained within the country and ultimately benefited the rayats in one way or the other”, and that “later on when the Marathas established more or less permanent capitals in the north and west, these exactions became usual taxes.”6a It is, however, difficult to estimate how far the element of exploitation of the North was absent. It is to be admitted that the Maratha raids in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa produced a very ‘pernicious influence’ on agriculture, industry, currency and commerce of these areas. These sucked the province, made life and property insecure, compelled the people, weavers and peasants, to desert their homes, looms and felds, and dislocated the economic life, both in quantity and quality. But these effects were temporary and mainly confined to the western side of the Ganges.6 In the second place, the extent of the enrichment of Maratha life was not on a large scale and it must be balanced by the impoverishment of the economic life of the North. In the Maratha-dominated areas in Northern India the ‘Maratha tradition’ gradually supplanted the ‘Mughal tradition’, and contributed to the ‘drooping commercial state’ of Hindustan. The predatory activities of the Marathas as well as the plain simplicity or lower standard of the Maratha way of living, in striking contrast to
the luxurious manufactures and gorgeous living of the Mughals, both adversely affected the productive activities of the country with the result that the English E.I. Co. found their trading activities suffering (Progs. of Board of Trade, 3-5-1791). Sardesai's remarks about the introduction of Deccani administrative methods into the North, viz., revenue accounts, land measurements and 'various governmental functions' are not very explicit, and their application must have been limited in character.

V. The Social Adjustment

Society and culture had different characteristics in the North and the South. The Islamic conquest of India differed in results from that of many other lands. Elsewhere the countries became thoroughly Islamised. In Northern India, notwithstanding conversions, the majority of population continued to be Hindu, and traces of Hindu heritage lingered among the Indian Muslims. South India's contact with Islam preceded its political conquest, thanks to the peaceful penetration of the Muslim Arabs into the west coastal strip as traders and missionaries. The cordiality between them and the Deccanis under the Rashtrakutas, testified to by the ninth century Arab traveller, Sulaiman, died with the political aggression and religious fanaticism of the Delhi Sultans.

The revivalist and reformist religious movements produced different results in Northern and Southern India. While in the North the movements of Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and Mira were primarily social and non-political, the corresponding movement in the South generated significant political forces, leading first to the establishment of the Vijaynagar empire and then to the Maratha Swarajya of Shivaji. Southern India proved to be a better conservator of the Hindu heritage than Northern.

Indo-Muslim culture ran along different lines in Northern and Southern India, due to race, creed and language, besides history and geography. Roughly speaking, the Turks were the dominant ethnic element in the North, followed by the Persians
and the Indian-born Muslims (*Hindustanzai*). In the Deccan, however, the Abyssinians and the Persians rose to prominence in the state followed by the *Hindustanzais*. The Deccani Muslims, converted brainy and brave Maratha and Kanarese, left their impress on administration, war and diplomacy. Refugee Afghans flocked to the Deccan from the North. In Northern India Sunnism was the dominant creed with a sprinkling of Shiism. But in the South the situation was just the reverse, Shiism being the prevailing creed. In Northern India the language of culture was Persian; Urdu was despised and accepted for literary purposes only after 1720. But, in the South, the Muslims were numerically smaller than in the North. So the social isolation between the rulers and the ruled could not be kept up as in the North. Hindu influence pervaded the Muslim Sultanates long before Akbar’s liberal synthesis in the North. From the days of the Bahmani kingdom Hindus became prominent in government and war alike. The Deccani Urdu or *Rekhta*, an amalgam of local Hindu dialect and the court language, became the court and literary language as early as the sixteenth century.\(^5\)

The devastating imperialism of the Turks of Northern India under the Delhi Sultans and the Mughals produced unexpected boomerangs in the socio-political adjustments of the Southerners, first in the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom and the Vijaynagar empire, and then in the rise of the Maratha power. Inscriptional evidence speaks ‘protection of dharma’ to be the function of the Vijaynagar empire, while the contemporary Portuguese traveller Barbosa noted the religious freedom and justice prevalent there. Shivaji united the traditions of the Sisodias and the Yadavas and the Karnataka tradition of Vijaynagar. The depths to which the long slumbering society was stirred can be understood from the fact that the saints and teachers of Maharashtra came from all classes of society, including the so-called untouchables: Gora, a potter; Savanta, a gardener; Narahari, a goldsmith; Sena, a barber; Chokha, a mahar; Namdev, a tailor; Tukaram, a petty trader; women like Sakhubai and Janabai, maidservants; and Kanhopatra, a courtesan. All
wrote or sang in the vernaculars, fired with religious zeal: their abhangs or devotional songs are thrilling even today. Tukaram was the greatest of the popular saints of Maharashtra, and his appeal touched the people’s hearts. Namdev said: “The people having found the Yavanas unendurable, are singing the praises of God: for these are ever the means of our redemption.” Pandharpur was the spiritual capital of Maharashtra with its shrine of Vithoba, where bhajans and kirtans were sung. Coinciding with the Islamic penetration into the South, the religious movement became significant because it affirmed the spiritual equality of all castes. The moral and religious consequences thereof made a far-reaching and profound appeal to break the bondage of the soul, to break the caste and social barrier between the upper Brahman and the lower and middle classes, the Kunbis and the Mahars, and thereby effect a social integration. The resultant sentiment of social solidarity helped to meet the Islamic challenge. This emotional flood was used by Ramdas for constructive social purposes. By substituting the dynamic Maruti for the static Vithoba, and the sword for cymbals, and by organising an army of devotees and dotting the country with mathas (monasteries), he, more than any other Marathi saint, reminded the people not to submerge performance of Duty beneath Devotion. While other preachers were essentially pacific, Ramdas was in reality militant. “Places of pilgrimage have been desecrated: homes of the Brahmanas have been destroyed: the entire earth is agitated: Dharma is gone. Hence, the Marathas should be mobilised: Maharashtra Dharma should be propagated. The people should be rallied and filled with a singleness of purpose: Sparing no effort, we should crash upon the Mlechhas.” Shivaji made full use of this mighty socio-religious force. But Shivaji came into contact with Ramdas towards the end of his career, and perhaps Shivaji was the Uttamapurusha in Ramdas’s Dasabodh.

Apart from religious revival, two very significant aspects of the social adjustment were noticeable—one in the changed position of the traditional landed aristocracy in Maharashtra as a result of the political changes there since the Islamic penetration,
and the other in the military training of the people, the army being in the broadest sense a social instrument. Masters of their forts and enjoying administrative authority the deshmukhs, e.g., the Nimbalkars of Phaltan, the Jadavas of Sindkher, the Savants of Wari, the Ghorpades of Mudhol, the Shirkes of Mahabaleshwar and others, championed local autonomy as against attempts at centralisation, whether by the Muslim or by the Maratha rulers. Though unable to unite together against political Islam on account of their internal jealousies, they were deeply rooted in the local loyalties of the peasants who refused to accept the newly appointed revenue collectors. The Muslims had to adopt a policy of conciliation, by granting them a part of land revenue. So the deshmukhs remained a strong social factor in the land not only in the Bahmani kingdom but also in its succession states. Nevertheless, their position became weakened. Some old families went out, but new ones were created like the Mores of Jawli. The process continued under the Maratha rule as well. If Shivaji endeavoured to substitute the old deshmukhs by deshasth Brahmans, the Peshwas sought to replace the latter by their fellow-caste and hence loyal Chitpavan Brahmans. Both the Peshwas and the rulers of Satara set up new landed magnates who would have permanent vested interests in their rule, just as the dissolution of monasteries in Tudor England and the establishment of the Bank of England respectively ensured the permanence of the Reformation and of the Revolution Settlement and Whig rule.53

Secondly, the fall of the Yadava King before Alauddin did not mean the total surrender of the people. Their martial character, as testified to long before by Hiuen Tsang, was illustrated on several occasions during the Muslim invasions and conquests. Realising their military talents, some Sultans, especially of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, even enlisted them in their armies, and so unconsciously but inevitably nourished Maratha nationalism, as Gribble, M. G. Ranade and Beni Prasad have noted. Malik Ambar, with his mastery of guerrilla warfare, was as much a builder of Maratha nationality as Shivaji himself.54
Intermarriages constituted a common aspect of social adjustment. These took place sometimes between the conquerors and the conquered—between the Muslims and the Hindus, and also among the Muslims themselves. Unfortunately these were not always happy, some being definitely forced political matchmaking. Alauddin married Kamala Devi, queen of Gujarat. She was instrumental in marrying her daughter Devala by her Hindu husband, to Khizr, the son of her second husband, which supplied a theme to Amir Khusrau's *Dewal Rani*. Akbar endeavoured to set up a social link with the Deccani rulers by marrying his son Daniyal with a Bijapuri princess. It was an ill omen. The prince died (1604) soon after the arrival of the reluctant bride, escorted by historian Ferishtah to Paithan. In fact 'courting the Deccan bride' ultimately proved to be disastrous for the empire. The marriage of Sahar Banu (Padshah Bibi), sister of Sultan Sikandar, with Prince Azam, son of Aurangzeb, was very painful to the Bijapuris (1679) for it was her willing sacrifice for the welfare of the state. The romantic tragedy of the Brahman Peshwa Baji Rao's relation with the Muslim Mastani throws light on the extent of the social adjustment. The Brahman orthodoxy of Maharashtra took this to be an offensive challenge, and disallowed her accommodation in the Peshwa's palace and refused to perform the ceremonial rites for bringing up Shamsher Bahadur, Baji Rao's son, as a Brahman, though her dancing and singing were chief attractions in the annual Gajapati festival. She is said to have become a *Sati* on the Peshwa's death.\(^{55}\)

In the midst of these political and social changes, one feature of the social life of the people of the South remained fundamentally unaffected. The autonomous village communities constituted the bedrock of the social organisation in the land. Coming down from the days of yore they survived till the British period and have been acclaimed by administrators like Elphinstone, Metcalfe and Munro. The upper layers of the administration did not interfere much with the life of the peasants and the people in general, the majority of whom belonged to the *Kunbi* caste, with two subdivisions, the hereditary
peasants (thulwaheeks) and those without any prescriptive rights in the land (uprees).\footnote{16}

Notwithstanding many elements of strength in the social organisation of the Marathas, with an ingrained sense of adjustability with changing situations in their own homeland, it cannot be gainsaid that they remained unpopular in the North during the period under review. This unpopularity was a curious commentary on the extent of their capacity for social adjustment. Their marauding and plundering activities, irrespective of religion, alienated the Rajputs and the Jats, and made them hated and dreaded as ghani\(\text{m}\)i fauj (predatory, guerrilla) in Hindustan. In the eastern provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, contemporary writers have recorded numerous examples of their indiscriminate violation of women (including gang-rape), children and inhuman tortures on everybody, irrespective of age or sex or religion. The terror caused by the Bargi raiders came to be enshrined in the folk poetry of Bengal.\footnote{17}

VI. The Economic Adjustment

The physical or geographical separation between Hindustan and the Deccan was somehow modified in three important ways during our period. First, the military routes followed by the contending armies, second, the trade routes connecting the two, and third, the movements of the European missionaries and traders.

(a) The military routes had to be constructed by contending armies for campaigns to suit their needs, e.g., by Alauddin, Malik Kafur, Muhammad Tughluq, the Mughals, the Nizam and the Marathas. Akbar had a highway to the Deccan constructed through a gap in the Satpura mountain.

(b) There were not many trade routes between the North and the South. We may take the two nodal points: Agra and Surat. Agra was connected with places like Lahore, Kabul, Kandahar and so on to West Asia and the Levant, while Surat was connected with other places in the Deccan, like Bijapur,
Goa, Cochin, Golkonda and the East Coast. Hence such roads broke the isolation of the Deccan and the remote Far South.

(i) The eastern route from Surat to Agra was through Khandesh and Malwa. It ran *via* Burhanpur, Handia, Gwalior, and Dholpur. At Agra it was connected with the route to Delhi, Lahore and Kabul. According to Peter Mundy’s calculation, the distance between Surat and Agra was about 551 miles.

(ii) The western route from Surat to Agra ran through Gujarat and Rajputana *via* Broach, Baroda, Ahmadabad, Bogra, Ajmer, Fatehpur Sikri, Agra and thence to Delhi. From Ahmedabad a road went west to Thatta in Sind.

(iii) The Surat-Bengal route.

(iv) Golkonda, the chief emporium of South Indian goods, was connected on the one hand with the coast to coast road from Goa to Masulipatam and with Surat and Burhanpur on the other, and thus it became linked with the northern routes.

These trade routes carried soldiers and non-combatant men, pilgrims and goods, and so forged an economic and cultural link between the North and the South.

(c) Apart from the Indian users of these roads, there were many non-Indian merchants, missionaries and agents as well.

The principal articles of trade between the North and the South were cotton cloth, indigo, sugar and saltpetre. Cotton cloths of Northern India were sometimes taken uncoloured to Agra and Ahmadabad for dying and then sent to the Gujarat ports for export to foreign countries. Agra-Biana indigo, then best in India, was sent to Surat for export, though Ahmedabad-Sarkhej also produced indigo. Bengal sent indigo to Masulipatam and sugar and saltpetre to Surat. The pepper of Malabar went to Northern India as well as to countries outside India.58

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3. Yule, Ser Marco Polo, II, 323, 357; Masalik ul Absar, E & D, iii, 583; Wassaf, E & D, iii, 40, 41; Barani, TFS, E & D, iii, 150, 203, 204; Ferishtah, 120 (Briggs); Razzaq, Mat'aus Sadaín, E & D, IV, 106-107.


4a. Ball’s Tavernier I, 166; MU, III, 531; Waris 102b, 103a; Adab i Alamgiri 45a, 46a; My. Mir Jumla, 74, 92.


6. For Konkan, Bomb. Gaz., vols. X, XI; Sharma, Founding of Maratha Freedom, 144; Nadkarni, Rise and Fall of Maratha Empire, 187.

7. For Surat, Thevenot, v. 81; Sarkar, Shivaji, 92-100, 170-74; Aurangzib, V, 426; Balkrishna, Shivaji, 163; ch. XI (Econ. Consequences of Shivaji’s raids), Eng. Fact. in India, 1665-67, pp. 19, 173; Fryer, III, 161-63.


7. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar; Akbaranmah, Beveridge, III, 757; Smith, Akbar (1919), 263-65.


9. H. K. Sherwani significantly writes: “While the Delhi aristocracy and its early representatives in the south were mostly of Central Asian Turkic stock or of Afghan heritage, the newcomers of the South came mostly from the coast round the Persian Gulf or from further North, as far as the strip of territory on the south of the Caspian Sea, being mostly Syeds from Najaf, Karbala and Medina, and Persians from Sistan, Khurasan or Gilan”, Life of Mahmud Gawan, 61-71; The Bahmanis of the Deccan (1953), p. 113.

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11. Mirza Muhammad Tahir Wahid (d. 1708-09), minister of Sher Abbas II, Ruqaat i Shah Abbas Sani, Sarkar Ms. (Nat. Lib.) 16-23, 89-100, 131-33; Malcolm, History of Persia, I, 502; Bartold in Musulman Culture, tr. by Suhrawardy. My article on “Correspondence between


13. Sarkar, Shivoji, ch. IV.


15. Sarkar, Aurangzib, IV, 12. Remonstance: “To show bigotry for any man’s creed and practices”, he pleaded, “is equivalent to altering the words of the Holy Book: to draw new lines on a picture is to find fault with the painter”, op. cit., vol. iii, Appendix VI, p. 289.


17. See TFS, in E. & D, iii. 149 (Secrecy), 150-5 (Warning of Ahmad Chap: ‘Money & Strife, Strife & Money; Ala’s trickery: murder of guileless sultan), 161 (distribution of treasure); Lal, op. cit., ch. XVII.


18. CHI, IV, 143, 168-69, 207-10, 269-72; Sarkar, Aurangzib, IV, 2-3; chs. XLV, XLVI.

19. Smith, Oxford History of India, 284 (extermination and conversions); Badshahnamah, E & D, vii, 24; Moreland, Akbar to Aurangzeb, ch. vii; Sarkar, Aurangzib, V, 58, based on Kaep, 278, Martin, iii, 153; K. K. Dutta, Aliwardi (2nd edn.), 93.

20. Warangal became Sultanpur, TFS, E. & D, iii, 238-39; Tughlaqabad became capital under the Tughlaqs, ibid., 234. Ibn Batutah, Nuska i Dilkusha, 203; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, tr. 310; Sarkar, Aurangzib, IV, 392.


22. TFS, E. & D, iii, 201-02.


24. Lal, op., cit., ch. XV; TFS, E & D, iii.

25. The repressive attitude of Bijapur towards the Hindus even in the days of Muhammad Adil Shah is referred to in the Basatin us salatin. Duff, History of the Marathas, I, 67; Sarkar, Aurangzib, IV, 151-52, Shivoji, 23; Lahori I, 316-17, 416-17; also Fryer I, 310 (ag. Marathas).

This emerges most clearly from the letters Aurangzeb wrote as Viceroy of the Dakhin. The jama was considerably inflated, being over four times higher than the actual revenue (Adab-i ‘Alamgiri, f.
40b; Ruq‘at-i ‘Alamgiri, pp. 121-22); and the mansabdars found it most difficult to maintain their contingents from the income of their assignments (Adab-i ‘Alamgiri, ff. 38a-b (117b-118a; Ruq‘at-i ‘Alamgiri, pp. 116-117 & passim). See Habib, Ag. Sys. of Mughal India, 348.

Adab f. 175; Hibib, op. cit.

Nuskha i Dilkusha, ii, 139b-140a, 157b; Sarkar, Aurangzib, V, 193.

25a. Cf. the pregnant observation of Grant Duff: “The Mughal invasions for the purposes of reducing the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda had a great influence on the rise of the Marathas.” (History of Marathas, I, 78).

26. Rawlinson, Shivaji, 95. Freyer’s comments on Shivaji’s system are highly unfavourable but as Dr. S. N. Sen has shown, these have to be taken with a considerable reservation.

Jervis (Statistical Survey of the Konkan, 93) observes: “In the midst of all this confusion, warfare and general disloyalty, the state of the revenue and population is said to have prospered.”


29. Storia, IV, 252, 96, 116, 252; Akbarat (29-8-1694); Sarkar, Aurangzib, V, 360-62, 391-93, 136-37, 191-92; Maa’sir i Alamgiri, 318, 414, 429, 292; Khafi Kh. ii, 472-73; Dilkusha, ii, 114a, 133b, 135b, 136b, 146a: Surat Letter 6-10-1694; Karwar to Bombay, Nov.-Dec. 1696; For Madras, Madras Diary, Martin’s Memoires in Sarkar; Duff writes: “The march of the Mughals was everywhere marked by flames and desolations”. 97-98.


31. He soon ran through his current revenue and the new tax (jaziya) imposed on the Hindus in 1679 and vigorously enforced by specially selected “pious” collectors (K.K. ii, 278, 378). Then he ordered the accumulated treasures of his ancestors, from Akbar downwards to be taken out of the vaults of Agra and Delhi forts and sent to him in the Deccan (KK, 411; Storia, ii, 255).

Thus, the last reserve of the empire was exhausted, and public bankruptcy became inevitable. The salaries of the soldiers and civil officers alike fell into arrears for three years. The men starving from lack of pay and the exhaustion of their credit with the local grocers, some created scenes in the Emperor’s Court, sometimes abused and hustled their general’s business manager—some, driven to desperation, beat to death the paymaster of their contingent. Aurangzib, V, 33.

Ibid., 18-14; Ibid., 367-78; Hamid ud din’s Akham No. 57, Ibid., Khafi Khan ii, 411-12, 379, 503; Sarkar, op. cit., 369-74, 13-14, 192-93, 197-98; Nuskha i Dilkusha, ii, 139a-141a; Sarkar, IV, 192-93, 451; Manucci, IV, 100; Anecdotes of Aurangzeb, Sec. 11 Akham, Sec. 46,
M.U.I, 457; Akhbarat, 31 May, 1695.

32. E. & D, vii, 467; Scott, History of the Deccan, Pt. IV, 152; Sardesai, New History of the Marathas, ii; Irvine, Later Mughals, I; Dighe, Baji Rao and the Maratha Expansion, 95; Yusuf Hussain Khan, Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jah I.


34. Duff (Cambray) I, 438; Sardesai, New History, II, chs. 3-7; CHI, IV, 397; Dighe, Peshwa Baji Rao and Maratha Expansion, chs. IX, X and XI; H. N. Sinha, Rise of the Peshwas.

35. Sen, Military System of the Marathas, chs. 1, 3; Dighe, p. 3.

36. Sardesai, New History; Sarkar, Shicaji, 254-56.

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41. Sinha, op. cit.; Sardesai, op. cit., II.


43. Sarkar, Fall of Mughal Empire, II, chs. 19, 20, 21, pp. 266, 271-75, 282-84, 298 ff; Sen, Mil. Syst., 147.


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(IV) POLITICAL RELATIONS AND ADMINISTRATION

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH IN INDIAN HISTORY: CONTACT AND ADJUSTMENT

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I

The Vindhyas that divide India into two separate halves—the North and the South—do not constitute an impassable barrier. Nature seems to have designed the two seemingly separate parts as forming together one unit. Since times immemorial, culture, commerce and politics have transcended the physical barriers, and the two parts of India have hardly ever remained in isolation from each other for any length of time. In the remote past the Aryan and the Dravidian religions and cultures so acted and reacted on each other as to fuse completely into one religion and culture for the whole country. There is abundant evidence of political contact between the two parts of India since our recorded history, and in the schemes of powerful Hindu monarchs who aspired to the title of Chakravartin both the regions figured as component parts of one empire.¹

II

Following the example of ancient Hindu kings some of the prominent Muslim sultans of the Sultanate period (1206-1526 A.D.) and all the great Mughul emperors from Akbar to Aurangzeb, made determined attempts to conquer South India, so as to bring it under their sway, and exploit its fabulous wealth and resources. Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316) was the first medieval
ruler to penetrate into South India and plunder Deogir, the capital of the Yadava Kingdom in the Deccan. Early in 1296 when he was a mere governor of a small province (Manikpur and Kara, the territory now known as Allahabad), he invaded Deogir (modern Daulatabad). There were at that time in South India four powerful and flourishing kingdoms. These were: (1) the extensive Yadava Kingdom with its capital at Deogir, comprising the whole of the western Deccan; (2) the Kakatiya Kingdom of Telengana with its capital at Warangal, comprising the eastern half of the Deccan, and lying to the south-east of the Yadava Kingdom; (3) the Hoysala Kingdom of Dvarasamudra (modern Halebid), lying in the Peninsula to the south of the Yadava Kingdom and Telengana and acting as a buffer State between the Kakatiya Kingdom in the North and the Pandya Kingdom in the South; and (4) the Pandya Kingdom in the extreme South with its capital at Madura, embracing the Tamil country and known to Muslim writers of the age as the Kingdom of Mabar. The relations among these four monarchies were such that when Ala-ud-din appeared before Deogir early in 1296 they had no common interest or incentive to adopt a concerted policy against the invader.²

III

Starting from Kara at the head of 8,000 well-equipped horse on February 26, 1296 (19th Rabi II, 695 A.H.)³ and surmounting all kinds of physical obstacles on the several hundred mile-long journey through a difficult and unknown country, Ala-ud-din, by forced marches, arrived near Deogir, plundered the lower city, known later as Katakah, and besieged the fort. The Khaljī adventurer had probably at the time no idea of the feasibility of an easy conquest of any part of South India, and all he coveted was its fabulous wealth, the stories of which he had heard at Bhilsa (Vidisha) in 1292. Nevertheless his first expedition to Deogir early in 1296 did not end in a mere plundering raid.⁴ He besieged the fort, fought a battle with Singhana Deva, son of the reigning sovereign Ramachandra Deva of Deo-
gir, and besides extorting a very large war indemnity in cash and kind compelled the Yadava King to cede to him the revenue of Ellichpur, a northern province of his Kingdom. The cession furnished Ala-ud-din besides a large annual revenue with a pretext, in case the promised revenue did not come forth in time, to repeat his invasion whenever he was free to undertake it. He was back in Kara on June 2, 1296 (28th of Rajjab, 695 A.D.).

A pretext came within ten years, as taking advantage of Ala-ud-din’s pre-occupations in the North, Ramachandra Deva had for a few years stopped sending the annual tribute (revenue of Ellichpur). Moreover, he had given shelter to Raja Karan Baghela of Gujarat. Therefore, sometime in 1308 A.D. when Ala-ud-din had some leisure from his north Indian conquests and had been able to provide security from the Mongol invasions, he despatched a powerful force under his favourite general Malik Kafur to call the Yadava ruler to account and realise from him three years’ arrears of the tribute. Ramachandra Deva was defeated and compelled to deliver his treasure and some of his elephants, besides paying off the tribute. He was taken to Delhi along with his family to pay homage to Ala-ud-din in person. He was well-received and honoured with the title of Rai-Rayan. His Kingdom was restored to him and the district of Navasari was added to it. He was presented with a gift of one hundred thousand gold tankas in cash, and allowed to return to Deogir at the end of 1308. This was the second stage in the political relations between Deogir and Delhi. Ramachandra Deva now became a vassal of Ala-ud-din Khalji. The sultan, however, did not undertake the responsibility of directly administering the Yadava kingdom through his Muslim officers.

Ala-ud-din’s next target was the Kakatiya kingdom of Telangana which was reputed to be richer even than Deogir. On October 31, 1309 (25th Jamadi I, 709 A.H.), he directed Malik Kafur to proceed to Warangal to impose on its ruler Pratapa Rudra Deva a heavy annual tribute, and to bring to Delhi the accumulated treasures preserved in the vaults of his capital.
The fort of Warangal was fortified by a double line of defence, the inner wall of which was of stone with a wide moat around, and the outer one of earth which too was surrounded by an extensive and deep ditch. Kafur made a close investment of the fort on 18th January, 1310. After about a month's exertion Kafur's troops were able to effect a breach in the outer wall, and then began the siege of the stone fort. After some fighting Pratapa Rudra Deva agreed to make peace and surrender his treasure and also pay an annual tribute. Telengana thus became the second state of the Deccan to become tributary to Delhi. The treasure thus captured was carried to Delhi on a thousand camels, and included, besides a large amount of gold, silver and precious stones, the famous Koh-i-noor which later passed into the possession of the Tomar rulers of Gwalior. Kafur returned to Delhi on June 23, 1310 (24th Muharram, 710 A.H.).

Malik Kafur's success against Deogir and Telengana whetted his ambition and that of his master, and on November 20, 1310 (24th Jamadi II, 710 A.H.) Ala-ud-din despatched him on an expedition to the two remaining South Indian kingdoms. As in the Telengana expedition, Kafur was helped on his journey from Deogir onward by the Yadava monarch, and he reached the fort of Dvarasamudra on February 25, 1311. The Hoysala king Vira Ballala III, who was away in the far south to fish in the troubled waters of a civil war in the Tamil country, hastily returned to his capital on hearing that Kafur was well on the way to it. After a slight fighting Vira Ballala submitted, yielded his enormous treasure, and promised an annual tribute. The Hoysala kingdom thus became tributary to the Delhi Sultanate.

On March 10, 1311, Kafur marched against Madura, the capital of the Pandya kingdom in the far South which was in the throes of a civil war. Its ruler Sundara Pandya who had slain his father Maravarman Kulasekhara was defeated and driven out by his step-brother Vira Pandya, and repaired to Delhi to appeal to Ala-ud-din Khalji to help in his restoration.
Kafur, therefore, found the situation favourable, and compelled the Hoysala king Vira Ballala III to show him the route to Madura. Vira Pandya fled from his capital and was chased by Kafur from place to place. But he could not be traced and the Khalji general devastated many flourishing towns and rich temples, and robbed them of their enormous wealth. His patience was exhausted after some time, and after appointing a Muslim governor at Madura, he went back to Delhi. The Pandya king thus evaded the acceptance of vassalage of the Khalji conqueror, but not his people who came under the rule of a Delhi governor. Laden with enormous spoils, Kafur returned to Delhi on October 18, 1311 A.D.\[^1\]

In 1313 Kafur was again sent to the South to punish the hostile Singhana Deva (who had succeeded his father Ramachandra to the throne of Deogir in 1312-13) and to take charge of the tribute from Pratapa Rudra Deva of Telengana. Singhana fought bravely but was killed. Kafur reduced to submission some of the lesser chiefs in the neighbourhood, captured Gulbarga, and annexed the country between the Krishna and the Tungbhadra. He stayed at Deogir for over a year to organise its administration and collect some years' tribute from Telengana and the Hoysala kingdom for Delhi. He was recalled to Delhi sometime in 1315 on account of Ala-ud-din's serious illness.\[^2\]

The net results of Ala-ud-din's Deccan policy were to drain South India of its enormous wealth and to reduce the Yadava kingdom of Deogir, the Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal and the Hoysala kingdom of Dvarasamudra (Dwarawatipur) to submission and to the status of vassalage to Delhi. The administration of Deogir was temporarily placed in the hands of Muslim officers from Delhi. Although almost the whole of the Pandya kingdom was ravaged and drained of its wealth, its ruler could not be apprehended or made a vassal. A Muslim governor was, however, appointed at Madura to administer a part of the Tamil country which thus came under the suzerainty of Delhi.
Soon after Ala-ud-din Khalji's death in January, 1316, the South Indian kingdoms shook off the yoke of Delhi, and, therefore, Qutb-ud-din Mubarak, as soon as he had set his affairs in order, marched to Deogir in 1318 to reconquer it, and exact tribute from the remaining Kingdoms. Harapala Deva, son-in-law of Ramachandra Deva who was ruling over the Yadava kingdom fled to the hills. But he was pursued and defeated by Khusrau Khan, and flayed alive by the orders of the sultan. His head was hung on the gates of Deogir. Qutb-ud-din built a mosque at Deogir; and established garrisons at different places. He appointed governors at Gulbarga, Sagar (on a tributary of the Krishna), and Dvarasamudra. After leaving Malik Yalakahi as governor of Deogir, he returned to Delhi.22

As Yalakahi rose in rebellion soon after, the sultan despatched an army to bring him a prisoner. Yalakahi was vain, arrogant and unpopular. His troops deserted him to join the imperial army and carried him a prisoner to Delhi. Yalakahi's ears and nose were cut off by the sultan's orders, and Malik Ain-ul-mulk Multani was appointed governor of Deogir.23

Khusrau Khan, who was left to conduct expeditions in the South ravaged and plundered Telengana and a good part of the Tamil country. He returned to Delhi with enormous wealth.24

V

During the confusion caused by the fall of the Khalji dynasty the South Indian kingdoms, except Deogir which was under a Muslim governor, repudiated their allegiance to Delhi, and therefore Jauna Khan, son of the new Sultan, entitled Ulugh Khan (future Muhammad bin Tughluq) marched to Warangal to reconquer it. After some resistance Pratapa Rudra Deva offered to submit and pay tribute. But Ulugh Khan wanted absolute conquest of Telengana, and therefore Pratapa Rudra Deva tried to cut off the lines of communication between
Warangal and Delhi. Rumour spread that Chiyasuddin was dead. Ulugh Khan, therefore, lifted the siege and retreated to Deogir, and thence to Delhi. But he soon returned to Warangal with a more powerful army, and defeated and captured Pratapa Rudra Deva along with his whole family. He rechristened Warangal as Sultanpur, divided Telengana into several administrative units, and placing each unit under a Muslim officer, returned to Delhi.

Telengana thus became the second South Indian state to come under the direct rule of the Delhi Government.  

VI

Yaklakhi’s rebellion in 1319 introduced a new phase in the history of Delhi’s relations with South India. His was the first rebellion of a Muslim governor in the Deccan against the sultan of Delhi and his example was followed by his co-religionists, because Delhi was far off and the temptation to revolt and found an independent kingdom were almost irresistible. Baha-ud-din Gurshasp, governor of Sagar (10 miles north of Shorapur in Telengana), rebelled in 1326-27. It was a serious and widespread rebellion and Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, therefore, proceeded to Deogir, sending a contingent of his army ahead to crush Gurshasp. The rebel was brought to Deogir and flayed alive. The sultan next decided to make Deogir his capital and rechristened it as Daulatabad. He improved the fortress and the city, and directed his courtiers and officers to build houses for them in the new capital. He captured the fortress of Kondhana (Singh-garh), reduced practically the whole of the peninsula, and appointed Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Ahsan as governor of the Tamil country (Ma’bar). Ahsan rebelled in 1334 A.D. and assumed the title of Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah, Sultan of Madura. His descendants continued to rule as independent Sultans of Madura till 1377-78 A.D., when Ala-ud-din Sikandar Shah, the last ruler of the dynasty, was overthrown and killed by Bukka I of the newly established Hindu kingdom of Vijaynagar. People of Tamil Nadu sometimes vainly boast
that they never acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi during the medieval age. The Tamil land was for a few years a province of Muhammad bin Tughluq’s empire when Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Ahsan was governor of Mabar with his capital at Madura before he rebelled against Delhi in 1334 A.D.

Muhammad bin Tughluq’s hands were so full with rebellions all over the country that he could take no effective steps to disturb the nascent Muslim kingdom of Madura. He started from Delhi on January 5, 1335 (9th Jamadi I, 734 A.H.), to crush the rebellion of Jalal-ud-din Ahsan Shah, but on reaching Telengana he fell ill, and owing to a famine and pestilence, he gave up the Madura expedition and retreated to Daulatabad. After appointing Qutlugh Khan to the government of Daulatabad, Malik Qabul to that of Telengana, and Nusrat Khan to the province of Bihar, the sultan returned to Delhi in July, 1337.\(^9\) This was the beginning of the end, and the Moorish traveller Ibn Bututa noted that Muhammad bin Tughluq’s reign was almost over.\(^29\) Harthar Nayak, governor of Anegondi (Kampila) on behalf of the Tughluq sultan, took advantage of the confusion, declared his independence, and in 1336 founded the city of Vijayanagar on the Tungabhadra. It became the capital of his newly established kingdom which stretched from Nellore in the south-east to Dharwar and Badami in North Karnatak. This took place when Muhammad bin Tughluq was yet on his way back to Delhi from his abandoned Madura expedition. There were now a series of widespread rebellions in different parts of the empire, and Muslim officers in the Deccan called “centurions” rebelled under their leader Ismail Mukh against the tyranny of the Tughluq rule and declared their independence in August, 1347. The result was the establishment of the famous Bahmani Kingdom under Hasan Gangu, who ascended the throne at Daulatabad and assumed the title of Ala-ud-din Bahman Shah on October 12, 1347. His capital was soon transferred to Gulbarga. Thus, practically the whole of South India was lost to the Tughluqs.\(^21\)
For nearly two hundred and thirty years (1347-1576) the country south of the Narmada remained free from the encroachment of the North. When Akbar turned his serious attention to South India in the last quarter of the sixteenth century there were in that region five independent kingdoms—Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkunda, Berar and Bidar—into which the Bahmani Kingdom had split up in 1527. Immediately to their north lay the kingdom of Khandesh, established in 1382, and to the south of these five kingdoms was situated the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. These five kingdoms were perpetually at war with Vijayanagar, and in January, 1565, they combined to attack and destroy Vijayanagar in a bloody war. The balance of power in the Deccan was disturbed when in 1574 Ahmadnagar conquered and annexed the state of Berar that lay on the eastern border of Khandesh, and Muhammad II of Khandesh who proceeded to interfere was defeated and driven back by Ahmadnagar. In 1577 Akbar whose policy was one of the conquest of the entire subcontinent and who was consequently watching the situation south of the Narmada, reduced Khandesh to vassalage, and turned his attention to Ahmadnagar that lay south of Khandesh. After many unsuccessful diplomatic attempts, made from 1585 onward, at persuading the Nizam Shahi sultan to acknowledge his suzerainty, Akbar sent a powerful force towards the end of 1593 to conquer Ahmadnagar. Prince Murad besieged the fort on December 18, 1595. The fort was ably defended by Chand Bibi, sister of Burhan-ul-mulk and a widow of Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur, whose courage and bravery extorted the admiration of her Mughal foes. The siege dragged on, and Chand Bibi was obliged to agree to cede Berar and send suitable presents to Akbar (20th March, 1596).

Neither of the parties was, however, sincere, and the terms of the agreement remained unimplemented. The result was the recrudescence of hostilities. The situation was complicated on account of dissensions in both the camps and the intervention of Bijapur and Golkunda on the side of Ahmadnagar for regional considerations. Khandesh too was suspected to be inclined to
favour the cause of Ahmadnagar. Prince Murad found himself unable to conquer Ahmadnagar and enforce the imperial demands, and consequently Akbar ordered his recall and sent the historian Abul Fazl to the Deccan to set things right. Meanwhile, Murad, disappointed and worn out, died on May 2, 1599, and the emperor appointed Prince Daniyal to take charge of the Deccan expedition. Steps were taken to rehabilitate the dispirited and half-starved troops. Ahmadnagar was again besieged and captured by storm on August 19, 1600. The young king Bahadur Nizam Shah was sent a prisoner to spend his days in the fort of Gwalior as a pensioner of the Mughal Government.26

During the confusion and tension consequent on the war between Ahmadnagar and the imperialists Miran Bahadur of Khandesh, whose father Raja Ali Khan had a little while before died fighting on the side of the Mughals, revolted against Akbar and the emperor had to proceed to the Deccan to solve the difficult problem by his presence. He ordered the investment of the impregnable fortress of Asirgarh into which Miran Bahadur had taken shelter and gathered together a huge army and other means of resistance. The siege lasted many months and the fort fell on January 17, 1601, on account of a foul epidemic which took a daily toll of several hundreds of lives and completely demoralised the besieged. The latter urged Miran Bahadur to surrender and save them from useless destruction. Miran Bahadur waited on Akbar, and was sent a captive to the fortress of Gwalior. The Portuguese missionary Jerome Xavier who was hostile to Akbar maliciously imputed the fall of Asirgarh to treachery.26

Akbar constituted the three conquered provinces of the Deccan, namely, the greater part of Ahmadnagar, and the whole of Berar and Khandesh into a viceroyalty and placed them under the charge of Prince Daniyal. He left Burhanpur for Agra on April 21, 1601.27

It is worth noting that Akbar’s conquering arms met with the toughest resistance in the Deccan, as in Gujarat and Bengal, the people of which were inspired by regional patriotism and looked upon the Mughals as intruders. It is equally significant that Akbar’s Deccan policy was inherited by his successors who
down to the end of Aurangzeb's reign looked upon it as their pious duty to conquer the whole of the Indian peninsula.

VIII

Jahangir on his accession tried to conquer that part of Ahmadnagar which lay south of its lost capital and was in the hands of the loyal Nizam Shahi officials headed by the Abyssinian general Malik Ambar. Ambar set up at Khirki Murtaza Nizam Shah II as the ruler of the independent Ahmadnagar, and recovered the fort of Ahmadnagar from the Mughals. Jahangir failed to take effective measures to re-capture the fort, and in 1616 sent Khurram to retrieve the situation. It was then that the lost territory including the fort of Ahmadnagar was recovered, and Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur was compelled to pay tribute. But Malik Ambar again formed a confederacy with Bijapur and Golkunda, besieged the Mughal governor in Ahmadnagar and raided the country as far as Mandu, the capital of Malwa. Shah Jahan was therefore once again sent to the Deccan (1620). He proceeded as far as Khirki, the headquarters of the Nizam Shahis, and compelled Malik Ambar to restore all the occupied Mughal territory, cede a further tract of the country 28 miles in area, and pay a tribute of fifty lakhs of rupees from Murtaza Nizam Shah II and the rulers of Bijapur and Golkunda. Thus apart from the nominal allegiance offered by Bijapur and Golkunda, the situation in the Deccan at the end of Jahangir's reign (1627) remained practically the same as it was at Akbar's death in 1605.

IX

Shah Jahan had to direct his attention to the Deccan quite early in his reign on account of the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi, governor of the Mughal Deccan, in the last days of Jahangir's reign. He had failed to recover Balaghat, and was, therefore, recalled to court. But he fled to the Deccan where he
defeated a Mughal army with the assistance of a contingent of Nizamshahi troops. Shah Jahan was consequently obliged to proceed to the Deccan in December, 1629. The emperor planned a comprehensive campaign against the rebel who was defeated and driven out to Northern India, and killed at Sihonda in the Banda district of Uttar Pradesh. The Mughals were now able to capture the fortress of Kandhar on the eastern edge of Balaghat, clear Berar and reduce Nasik and Sangamner. Asaf Khan was sent to besiege Bijapur, but as he failed to reduce that kingdom to submission, he was replaced by Mahabat Khan. Mahabat captured Daulatabad in 1633, and the boy-king Husain Nizam Shah was sent a prisoner to the fortress of Gwalior.

But the Ahmadnagar dynasty did not come to an end. Shahji, father of the future famous hero Shivaji, set up a scion of that family as king at Parenda with the help of some loyal Nizamshahi partisans. Mahabat failed to capture Parenda and retired to Burhanpur where he died in October, 1634. Shah Jahan, who was a staunch Sunni and had introduced the anti-Shia policy against Bijapur and Golkunda, was once again obliged to proceed to the Deccan. He forced Bijapur to acknowledge Mughal suzerainty and pay an annual tribute of twenty lakhs of rupees (May, 1636). At the same time the sultan of Golkunda was compelled to renounce his allegiance to the Shah of Persia, and accept the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor. He bound himself to pay a tribute of six lakhs of rupees annually to the Mughal emperor. The imperialists captured the fortress of Junnar from Shahji and compelled him to deliver the boy whom he had enthroned as the king of Ahmadnagar. Shah Jahan was thus by 1636 able to solve the Deccan problem for the time being.

But the Mughal policy was one of the conquest of the entire South Indian peninsula and its annexation to the empire, and therefore when Aurangzeb was appointed governor of the Deccan for the second time in 1652 he re-opened the campaign against Bijapur and Golkunda. In 1656 he forced Golkunda to pay an indemnity of fifteen lakhs of rupees and accept the position of a vassal to the empire. Then he turned to Bijapur and
imposed on that kingdom a harsher treaty by which the Adil Shah had to agree to pay an indemnity of one and a half crores and to cede the forts of Bidar, Kalyani, and Parená and those in the Konkan and Vangi (August 1657). But the sultan repudiated the treaty as soon as Aurangzeb left for participating in the war of succession for the throne of his father. Aurangzeb had also tried to suppress Shivaji who was rapidly rising to importance, and when he made peace with Bijapur, Shivaji also made peace with the Mughals. Thus Shah Jahan's reign was marked by a considerable advance of Mughal influence in the South.\textsuperscript{30}

\[X\]

Having triumphed against his brothers, Aurangzeb resumed his ancestral policy of conquering the whole of South India. His first objectives were to punish Bijapur and uproot the fast-rising power of Shivaji, in both of which he gained little success. Shivaji, who was persuaded to pay a visit to Agra (1666), escaped from the prison, and Aurangzeb had to recognise him as an independent ruler. In 1681 the emperor had to march to the Deccan to chase his rebel son Akbar out of India. He conquered Bijapur in 1686 and Golkunda in 1687. In February, 1689, he succeeded in capturing Shambhují, who had succeeded his father Shivaji in April, 1680, and had him tortured to death in March, 1689. But the Marathas were not crushed. Aurangzeb's policy of ruthlessness and bigotry compelled them to organise themselves into a nation, and to take up the offensive against the empire. Soon after that emperor's death (3rd March, 1707) they began raiding the adjacent Mughal provinces of Gujarat, Khandesh and Malwa.\textsuperscript{31}

The tables were now turned against the North, and under Peshwa Baji Rao I (1720-1740) a well-formulated policy of invading the outlying Mughal provinces in the North was pursued with vigour. Then the Marathas, who in the seventeenth century were despised as inferior soldiers, made themselves
virtual masters of Malwa, Bundelkhand (1728), and Gujarat (1731). The Peshwa himself raided Delhi in 1737 which caused a panic in the imperial city, and the emperor and his nobles began to make preparations to flee to places of safety. Under Baji Rao’s successor the Maratha sphere of influence extended, across Rajasthan and Central India, to the northern frontiers of the Punjab, and they realised chauth from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (1751). The Maratha expansion received its first setback at Panipat in 1761. But, within ten years of this reverse they returned to the North, and their aggression continued till the establishment of the British paramountcy in the country in the time of Lord Hastings (1813-23).

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31. J. N. Sarkar, Aurangzeb, Vols. 4-5; Shivaji and His Times, passim.
KHALJI ANNEXATION OF DEVAGIRI — A STUDY IN THE POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH

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An attempt has been made in this brief paper to study the circumstances leading to, and the impact of the Khalji annexation of the Yadava kingdom of Devagiri.

The Yadava kingdom had come into prominence at a time when the Turkish raids had already begun in the Northern India. The victory of Sultan Shihabud-Din over Prithviraj in the second battle of Tarain (Taraori) had almost broken the toughest line of resistance which the mighty Chauhan chief could offer, and within a short period the whole of Northern India, which included the mighty kingdoms of the Chauhans, the Chalukyas, the Paramaras, the Chandellas, etc., extending from the Himalayas to Malwa and from Gujarat to Bengal were annexed. The first line of resistance having been broken and the prominent Rajput kingdoms of Northern India having been annexed to the Delhi Sultanate, the ground was set for a future imperial rule by subjugating the Southern kingdoms.

It is generally believed that the Yadavas of Devagiri, in keeping with their ancient heritage and tradition, offered a "stubborn resistance to the aggressive designs of Alaud-Din Khalji."¹

A critical analysis of the circumstances leading to the dislodgement of the Yadavas from Devagiri by Alaud-Din Khalji² would, however, reveal that Ramachandra, the contemporary Yadava ruler during the period of Sultan Alaud-Din Khalji, may share the responsibility not only for the loss of his own kingdom but also for the subjugation of almost the whole
of Southern India by the Khalji Sultan and his lieutenants.

Ramachandra, it appears, took no lesson from history and repeated that uncompromising attitude which had been adopted by the Chauhan chief Prithviraja about a century earlier. The Yadava chief was as much responsible for the fall of South India under the Khaljis, as Prithviraja had been for failing to offer a united front to the ever-growing Muslim danger from the North-West.

The first expedition of Alaud-Din to Devagiri was in disguise, and under the pretext of a raid to Malwa. The expedition, in spite of being a 'quasi-private' affair and 'carried out with swiftness', formed the prelude to the future expeditions of Malik Kafur to the Deccan. The Yadava Ramachandra, apart from taking the offensive against the Paramaras of Malwa, the Chalukyas of Gujarat, the Hoyasalas of Dwarasamudra, and some other princes, is also reported in the Purushottamapuri plates to have driven out the Muslims from Varanasi and built a golden temple there. All this must have contributed to the 'undisputed supremacy' of Ramachandra over all the Deccan kingdoms, and his territories now extended from Malwa to Mysore and from the western coast to Vidarbha.

At the same time, during the course of less than a century the Muslim supremacy had been established over the whole of Northern India from the Punjab to Bengal and from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas.

It is needless to enter here into the controversy as to whether the glittering gold of Devagiri or family troubles had prompted Alaud-Din to invade Devagiri.

The first attack on Devagiri was made in 694 A.H., with tact and swiftness. Soon after the subjugation of Malwa Alaud-Din proceeded towards Devagiri and launched the offensive at a time when the Yadava army was engaged in a distant expedition. The appropriate time to invade was ascertained earlier by sending spies to Devagiri. Malik Alaul-Mulk was left as deputy at Kara with instructions to despatch periodical news bulletins to the Sultan at Delhi to guard against any
possible anxiety or suspicion.\textsuperscript{15}

Similarly, in order to remove any suspicion in the Deccan kingdoms, he gave out during his brief halt at Ellichpur, (in Berar) that he, being a discontented noble of Delhi, was in search of a job at Rajmahendri in Southern Telengana.\textsuperscript{16}

According to Barani, Ramachandra, on hearing of the advance of the enemy troops, collected his forces and commanded one of his feudatory chiefs to block the advance of the enemy at Ghati Lajura.\textsuperscript{17}

Whether the ruling Yadava Chief was present in the capital or not, he does not seem to have fully sensed the fast-approaching danger. Some later Muslim chroniclers like Nizamud-Din and Firishta mention that on hearing of the entry of Alauddin into Devagiri, the Yadava chief collected a large force of rais and ranas and opposed the Muslims.\textsuperscript{18}

Due to the conflicting nature of the accounts left by the Muslim historians, it is very difficult to assess the true nature of events following the advance of the Turkish forces. However, it is certain that the initial victory of Alauddin made a direct entry into and attack on Devagiri possible. All the contemporary Muslim chroniclers are silent about the subsequent events leading to the fall of Devagiri.

If Firishta is to be believed, the Yadava chief retired into the fortress and continued to offer resistance. However, due to the failure of provisions, he was compelled to sue for peace.\textsuperscript{19}

It is equally interesting to note that with the exception of Firishta, no Muslim chronicler has pointed out anything about the siege of Devagiri, the resistance offered by the Yadava chief and the latter's ultimate surrender.\textsuperscript{20}

It, however, seems that the Yadava chief, although aware of the impending danger, made no serious effort to safeguard his capital. The Muslim invaders, on the other hand, used all their tactics\textsuperscript{21} and force which demoralized the Yadava ruler to the extent of surrendering and offering fifty maunds of gold and a large quantity of pearls and jewels.\textsuperscript{22}

The humiliating surrender of the Yadava Chief under circumstances within or beyond his control was, however, not
appreciated by the crown prince Sankaradeva who, according to conflicting Muslim versions, resumed hostilities with Alaud-Din. According to Isami, the Yadava Chief succeeded in dissuading his son from putting up a resistance against Alaud-Din’s forces. Firishta, however, points out that Sankaradeva did not pay any heed to his father’s persuasion and offered resistance to the enemy. He was defeated and put to flight. As a result of this Ramachandra had to pay a heavy penalty in the shape of an extravagant indemnity along with the cession of the province of Ellichpur.

All these events, apart from showing the cowardly attitude of the ruling Yadava Chief (which has been described by some as his “helplessness”), also prove beyond doubt the extent of the boldness and good fortune of Alaud-Din in his maiden adventure in the South.

The wealth and riches he drew to the capital not only paved his way to the acquisition of the throne of Delhi, but also shut the mouths of his subjects and prevented them from uttering a word about Alaud-Din’s treacherous assassination of his uncle, Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji.

The maiden adventure of Alaud-Din in the South had, however, more serious implications for the medieval history of India. The tremendous success which Alaud-Din met in his expedition at the close of the thirteenth century opened the gates of South India and paved the way for further Muslim explorations in the South.

That Alaud-Din could never forget his Deccan adventure is borne out from the fact that soon after Alaud-Din was free from the Mongol peril and his embroilment in Gujarat, he again selected the South as his target.

The second invasion, according to Barani, was directed against the Yadava ruler because he had not sent the tribute for several years and had become seditious. The expedition sent under the command of Malik Kafur met with as much success as the first.

Meanwhile, the situation in the South warranted a fresh attack on the Deccan states. The ravage and plunder let loose
by the Turkish forces had led to further deterioration of the political set-up of the foremost Deccan state. The situation which led to the weakness and utter helplessness of the Yadava ruler was further exploited by the neighbouring chiefs. Prataparudra, the Kakatiya chief of Warangal, was the first to fish in the troubled waters. As soon as the news of Ramachandra’s defeat reached Warangal, he invaded and annexed the Yadava territories of Anantpur and Raichur. Similarly the Hoysala chief Ballala III invaded and annexed some parts of the Yadava kingdom.

The road to the South now being clear, Alaud-Din selected Warangal as his next target. The Kakatiya ruler, Prataparudra was, however, prepared to meet any eventuality and the Muslim forces for the first time during their Deccan campaign were forced to retreat (1303 A.D.).

The Kakatya triumph probably infused some rebellious thoughts in the Yadava Ramachandradeva’s mind as is revealed in Barani’s narrative. But, if Isami is to be believed, Ramachandradeva sent a secret messenger to Delhi to inform Alaud-Din that a rebellion headed by his son Sankara had broken out at Devagiri against the Sultan, that he was himself held a prisoner in the palace by Bhillama (Sangama) and his supporters, and that the Sultan should send a competent person with an army to restore the imperial authority.

Isami’s statement, apart from showing the Yadava chief’s continued loyalty to Alaud-Din and the rebellious conduct of his son, also explains the motive of Alaud-Din’s attack on Devagiri. Sankara’s rebellion was enough reason to provoke the imperial wrath on that kingdom.

Meanwhile another incident highly aggravated the situation. Consequent upon the defeat of Raja Karna, the ruler of Gujarat, at the hands of Ulugh Khan, the Raja fled with his two daughters and sought asylum in the neighbouring Yadava kingdom. The Raja’s wife Kamala Devi, however, fell into the hands of the invaders and was immediately despatched to the Sultan’s harem. At the request of Kamala Devi the Sultan sent Malik Ahmad to pursue Rai Karan and bring back her daughter Dewal Rani. Taking advantage of the situation, the rebel
Yadava Sankara had offered protection to Rai Karna with the condition that Dewal Rani would be married to him. Karan who had earlier rejected this marriage proposal now had no other alternative but to agree to it. The conduct of Sankaradeva infuriated the Sultan and induced him to send a punitive expedition against Devagiri to rescue the Yadava chief, to recover Dewal Rani and also to punish the seditious Sankaradeva.

Malik Kafur, at the head of three thousand cavalry, was despatched to Devagiri in 1307. Sankaradeva and his brother Bhillama, on hearing of the approach of the imperial forces, took up a strong position on the top of a hill close to Devagiri. Amir Khusraw, the contemporary chronicler, states that Sankaradeva and his lieutenants could not withstand the Muslim attack, and in the battle fought in the vicinity of Devagiri on March 24, 1397, Sankaradeva fled with half of his army, whereas the other half was cut to pieces. Ramachandra was taken captive and sent to Delhi. In the words of the same chronicler he was detained at Delhi for six months and afterwards released with all honour, and a red canopy was also bestowed upon him.

It is difficult to explain the strange attitude of Ramachandra towards his son during this struggle. Isami points out that Ramachandra had previously established a matrimonial alliance with Alaud-Din by giving his daughter in marriage to him, and that he had probably vowed at that time to behave like a father towards the Sultan. This, however, does not offer a satisfactory explanation for Ramachandra's unfilial conduct towards his own son.

During his six months' stay at the imperial court Ramachandra seems to have been completely won over by the Sultan. This proved beneficial to both the parties. Ramachandra regained his kingdom as a tributary chief, and thanks to his assistance, all the subsequent invasions of Malik Kafur to the South met with the same success as the first one. Both in 1309 and 1311 A.D. when Alaud-Din attempted to establish his supremacy over Warangal and Dwarasamudra, the Muslim army under Malik Kafur was entertained and offered
all possible help and facilities by Ramachandra on their way to these kingdoms.43

Hereditary enmity between the Yadavas and the Hoysalas alone44 cannot explain fully Ramachandra's eagerness, so long as he was alive (1311 A.D.),45 to spare no efforts to please his Muslim master.46 During his lifetime, the Muslim armies visited Devagiri as many as four times. On the first two occasions Devagiri was the main target whereas on the remaining two Devagiri acted as a fuelling station.47

Alaud-Din's strategy thus met with a complete success, so far as the Deccan affairs were concerned. The failure of the Yadava ruler to offer a stubborn fight to the Muslim forces to save the honour of the greatest Hindu dynasty of the Deccan, and for that matter, the whole of South India, paved the way for the complete Muslim victory in the South. The success of Alaud-Din in his first expedition might have been due to the fact that Ramachandra was taken completely by surprise, but there was sufficient time for the Yadava chief to muster his strength during the subsequent Khalji raids.

The only answer as to why Ramachandra tried all the time to dissuade his son from taking the offensive against the Muslim forces, is that he hoped to save thereby his life and kingdom. He saved both of them but at a heavy price. Had the Yadava Chief vision enough to see the danger ahead, and had he adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the other Southern powers or had he united with them to resist the invader from the North, the fate of this important Deccan kingdom, nay the whole of South India, might have been entirely different.

REFERENCES

2. Ibid., p. vii.

5. The Thana grant of Ramachandra of Saka Samvat 1194, records that the Yadava king acted as a "blast of the day of doom in extinguishing the lamps of the Malavas". *Mysore Archaeological Survey Report*, 1929, p. 143.

6. The Thana plates describe Ramachandra as "a lion shattering the elephants of the Gujarás". *Epigraphia Indica*, xiii, p. 205.


11. Barani points out that Ala ud-Din was fed up with the opposition of his mother-in-law and the disobedience of his wife as a result of which he gave out that he would go to some distant province, Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 222.


16. Ferishta, *op. cit.*, pp. 304-05. There are, however, various versions of the first expedition of Ala ud-Din to Devagiri. According to Isami, when Kanha informed Ramadeva about the approach of the Turks, he did not believe him and instead of sending troops to his help, he ridiculed him and sent him away. (Isami, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-30). According to Barani, when the news of Ala ud-Din’s progress reached the Raja, he was far away from the capital in a distant part of his dominions. (Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 222). Nizam ud-Din, however, states that when Ala ud-Din reached Devagiri, Ramahendra was in the city, but that his wife and eldest son were at worship in a temple at some distance. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 145.


18. Nizamud-Din, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 145; Ferishta, *op. cit.*, p. 304, Isami narrates interesting details about the tough and heroic resistance offered by two women who fought with the force of Kanha at Lachura (Lajura), twelve miles from the capital city. Both the women were ultimately overpowered by the Turkish army and were taken prisoners. Isami, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-225.


20. Barani simply states that on the first day Ala ud-Din took thirty elephants and several thousand horses and that Ramachandra came to Ala ud-Din and made submission. (Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 223). According to Wassaf, the prudent Raja in order to save his life, gave his daughter to the Sultan and made over to him his treasures and jewels. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, p. 401.

21. According to Ferishta, Ala ud-Din gave out that the force with which he actually fought was only the advance-guard of an army of 20,000 horse following closely. Ferishta, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

28. Ibid.
30. Barani has stated that Ramachandradeva had rebelled and for several years had not sent his tribute (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 200). Barani is supported by many later chroniclers with the exception of Isami.
32. Khusrau, Dewal Rani Khizr Khan, pp. 80-82.
33. Ibid., pp. 83-86.
34. Dewal Rani, however, was traced out by Alap Khan while she was being escorted to Devagiri and sent to the capital and married to Khizr Khan, son of Alaud-Din. For details read Amir Khusrau, Dewal Rani Khizr Khan.
35. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 77.
37. Ferishta adds that Alaud-Din treated Ramachandra with great kindness and conferred upon him many favours during his six months’ stay at Delhi for he believed that Ramachandra had remained faithful to him notwithstanding his son’s rebellion. Alaud-Din, Ferishta further states, restored Ramachandra’s kingdom to him, giving him in addition the district of Nausari in Gujarat as a personal jagir. He also presented to Ramachandra two lakhs of gold tankas to defray the expenses for his homeward journey, and finally bestowed upon him the title of ‘Ray-i-Rayan’ and permitted him to return to Devagiri. Ferishta, op. cit., p. 369. An inscription dt. v.s. 1359 found in Nausari records the reign of the Yadava Ramachandra there (E.I. xxxv, pp. 50-54).
38. Isami, op. cit., p. 274
39. N. Vankataramanayya, Early Muslim Expansion in South India (Madras, 1942), p. 27.
41. For details of the Warangal expedition see Barani, op. cit., pp. 327-330.
42. For details if the Dwarasamudra expedition see Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, pp. 201-202, and Barani, op. cit., pp. 333-334.
43. According to Barani, when the Muslim forces reached Devagiri (1309-10), Ramachandra did his best to exhibit his loyalty to Alauddin. He provided all sorts of facilities to Malik Naib and his forces. All the shops of Devagiri were kept open for the convenience of the soldiers. Ramachandra personally guided Kafur’s forces towards Telengana. Barani, op. cit., pp. 328-329. Again in 1311, when Malik Kafur’s army reached Devagiri, Ramachandra, according to the contemporary chronicler Khusrau, provided all the


45. Khusrau, *op. cit.*, p. 133; Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 333. Nizamud-Din and Ferihshta mention that Ramachandra was not alive in A.H. 710 (1311 A.D.) when Malik Kafur reached Devagiri on his way to Dwarasamudra. The last known date of Ramachandra, according to the Purushottamapuri plates is Sept. 1310 A.D. See *E.I.*, Vol. XXV, p. 201.


Modern Period
(I) RELIGION AND CULTURE

NINETEENTH CENTURY RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

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The nineteenth-century British India consisted of different peoples inhabiting different regions, which had been brought together at different times for different reasons. Bengal came under Western influence at an early period of British conquest; Madras and Bombay lagged behind. The Madras Presidency consisted of twenty-two districts, covering an area of almost 1,20,000 square miles with a population of just under thirty million. Madras was geographically isolated from the headquarters of the East India Company in Bengal, and later from that of the Government of India at Calcutta (and afterwards, Delhi). The people of the Madras Presidency had little contact with the rest of India. There were many points of difference between the North and the South. Most North Indians spoke one of several Indo-Aryan languages; most of the people of the Madras Presidency spoke one of the five Dravidian languages, the most important of which were, of course, Tamil and Telugu. The nineteenth-century Madras witnessed a very slow economic development under British rule. The transport system remained as under-developed as the economy it was designed to serve; the railways of the South had fallen far behind those in the other two Presidencies. Of India’s 10,144 miles of railways in 1882, only 1,515 ran through Madras, and of nearly fifteen million tons of freight carried annually by the railways in India, only 1,600,000 tons moved across the Southern Presidency. While Calcutta and Bombay were developing into modern cities, “Madras presented, to a resident in 1871, an entirely rural appearance, with extensive and largely un-
developed areas."\(^3\) But Madras possessed a level of literacy higher than that possessed by any other province of India with the exception of Burma.\(^4\) Despite the above-mentioned factors, Madras was not immune to the effects of the religious movements of Northern India. An attempt has been made in this paper to examine how the nineteenth-century religious movements of the North evoked a favourable response in the Madras Presidency.

The beginning of the nineteenth century was marked by the absence of an all-india perspective. The horizon of the people of the Madras Presidency, like that of the peoples of the other parts of India, was limited by the frontiers of their province. One single factor which brought about a great transformation in the nineteenth-century India was the introduction of the English education. It helped to break the provincial barriers to a great extent.

The rationalising effect of the English education was felt in the religious and social ideas of the people of this country. The English-educated Hindus began to conduct a serious enquiry into the basis of their religion and society. Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833), the father of Modern India, was the embodiment of this spirit. He raised the banner of revolt against the medieval tyranny of dogmas, opposed idolatry, denounced sati, polygamy, and the abuses of the caste system, and advocated re-marriage of the Hindu widows. His rationalistic views and principles were criticised by the Hindu pandits of Madras.\(^5\) Rammohan's ideas were far ahead of the times in India. The Brahma Samaj under Rammohan never became a powerful all-India movement. A new life was infused into the Brahma Samaj later by Devendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen.

Between 1850 and 1856 the young members of the Brahma Samaj made vigorous efforts "not only to broaden the basis of Brahmaism by advocating new social ideals but also to apply the dry light of reason to the fundamental articles of religious belief. They advocated female education, supported widow-
remarriage, cried down intemperance, denounced polygamy, tried to rationalise Brahma doctrines and sought to conduct affairs of the church on strictly constitutional principles." Keshab Chandra Sen who became the Acharya of the Brahma Samaj in 1862 was "the first to inaugurate an all-India movement of religious and social reforms." In 1864 he made a long tour extending as far as Madras and Bombay, and preached with great power and success wherever he went. As a result of his labours, a new society called the Veda Samaj was founded in Madras in the same year.

In the South Brahmaism found its active champion in Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919). "In the Northern Circars of the Madras Presidency, Pandit Veeresalingam had unfurled the banner of social progress and his silent, unobtrusive, and effective way of educating the masses by appeal to them in their own vernacular, combined with fearless action, steadily for about half a century, has transformed the Andhra Desha beyond recognition." He was born at Rajahmandry on April 16, 1848, in a poor Brahmin family of the Saivite sect. He passed his Matriculation Examination as a private candidate in the second attempt in 1870. In 1872 he became the Headmaster of the English school at Korangi. Two years later he was in charge of the Anglo-Vernacular school at Dhavalesvaram. He served this school for a period of two years and then resigned with the intention of keeping himself free for public work. He returned to Rajahmandry and accepted the post of the second Telugu Pandit in the local Government Arts College on the advice of his friends. He applied in 1897 for a long leave of two years without pay from his college. His intention was to enlarge his sphere of activities by moving to Madras.

For over half a century Veeresalingam dominated the public life of South India. "We do not know for certain exactly when he deviated from his conformism. Nor do we know how the seeds of revolt were first sown in him." As a boy, he was very orthodox, chanting his Gayatri thrice a day — morning, midday and evening. His revolt against orthodoxy occurred
in his 20th or 21st year. "We gather, however, from certain brief references in his Autobiography that doubts about many accepted beliefs and customs began to assail him when he stumbled on a volume of the collected speeches of Keshab Chandra Sen. His contact soon after with D. Laksminarasimhan, a school master newly transferred from Masulipatnam, gave him further insight into the teachings of Sen and he came to know of Rammohan, Devendranath and the other leaders of Brahmasim, the Upanishadic Monotheism, partly revived and partly interpreted by them. Inspired by the new faith, he and a handful of other young men were soon gathering behind closed doors for earnest discussions amongst themselves." Discussions soon led to action. Veeresalingam severed himself from traditional moorings and assumed the leadership of the South Indian Brahma Samaj and of the South Indian Social Reform Association. He constructed a decent building in Madras at his own expense and gifted it to the Samaj. He took up the cause of social reform with Herculean vigour. He started a girls' school at Dhavalesvaram in September, 1874. Seven years later, through his efforts, another institution for women's education was founded at Rajahmandry. A monthly journal, the Sati-Hita-bodhini, exclusively devoted to the service of women, was started by him.

Through the press, platform, and personal efforts Veeresalingam continued his crusade against the social evils of the day. "More than a dozen widow-marriages have been consummated through the efforts of Mr. Veeresalingam and the small band of faithful disciples who have gathered round him; and notwithstanding the opposition of the orthodox party and the indifference and apathy of the educated section of the community, this humble reformer has been able to achieve a great deal for South India. Mr. Veeresalingam, it will be interesting to know, is a Brahmo." For getting a wider basis for the desired reform, he celebrated some widow-marriages, either in person, or through friends, in such widely separated towns as Vijayanagram, and Bellary, Guntur and Bangalore. And for stabilising it he started, first at Madras, and later at Rajahmandry, a Widows' Home."
He went back to Rajahmandry at the beginning of 1905 and within a few months founded a new girls’ school, a new weekly paper, a new widows’ home, a rescue home and an orphanage. In 1907 Sivanath Sastri visited him. Veeresalingam and his wife went to Calcutta with Sivanath Sastri. In Calcutta the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, the Adi Brahma Samaj and the Nava Bidhan gave him a warm reception.

Brahmaism under Keshab Chandra Sen broke provincial frontiers, became a national force and provided a common programme for the newly educated middle class. In 1884 there were 173 Samajas with some 150 enrolled members and 8,000 adherents throughout the country. But “it gathered a few adherents in South India in the latter half of the 19th century and was at no time an influence of much power.”

Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1836-86) promoted reform on distinctly Hindu lines. Realising divinity in humanity, Ramakrishna laid emphasis on the service of mankind as a means to salvation. His celebrated pupil Vivekananda (1863-1902) gave concrete shape to Ramakrishna’s teachings by organising the Ramakrishna Mission, a potent agency for the regeneration of Hinduism and for social work in India and abroad. Vivekananda had more to do with South India than his Guru, and spent some time in the city of Madras on different occasions. In 1892 he toured the western coast of India, going as far as Trivandrum from where he returned to the North again and went to Madras.

“Madras has a place of honour in the story of the Swami’s doings. He was ‘discovered’ in Madras. Of course others had ‘discovered’ him before, but Madras effectively ‘discovered’ him and tangibly spurred him on to the launching of his mission.” During his study-tour of the motherland, he was welcomed at Madurai by the Raja of Rammnad, Bhaskara Sethupathi (1868-1903). He visited Rameswaram and left for Kanyakumari (Cape Comorin). The meditation at Cape Comorin ushered in a new phase in the life of Vivekananda. His idea of visiting America “undoubtedly received an impetus at Cape Comorin.”
The Madras friends and admirers headed by M.C. Alasinga Perumal (1865-1909) collected funds for his visit to the United States. Perumal was born of Sri Vaishnava Brahmin parents in 1865 in Chickmagalur in the Mysore State. He had his education first in the Madras Presidency College and then in the Madras Christian College where he was one of the dearest pupils of Dr. William Miller. In 1887 he joined the staff of Pachiappa’s School at Chidambaram as a science teacher. In three years’ time, he became the Headmaster of Pachiappa’s High School at Madras. When he heard the news that a great Parliament of Religions was meeting at Chicago in the United States in 1893, Alasinga Perumal felt “that it was a fine opportunity for sending a worthy representative of India to present Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions.” He met Vivekananda at the house of Manmathanath Bhattacharya, Assistant to the Accountant-General of Madras, discerned his spiritual and intellectual attainments, and began to persuade him with all sincerity and earnestness to go to Chicago. When Vivekananda finally decided to go to America, Alasinga Perumal began to raise funds. “A sum of nearly Rs. 3000/- was collected within three or four days. Alasinga went to Bombay and himself deposited the amount with Thomas Cook and Sons as passage fare for the Swami’s forthcoming voyage to the United States.” Vivekananda set sail for America from Bombay on May 31, 1893, in the P & O Steamer, Peninsular. Alasinga Perumal was at the port to see him off.

From the first meeting till the last, Alasinga Perumal remained the favourite disciple of Swami Vivekananda. The Brahmanavadin, an English periodical of high standard, through which the life and teachings of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa were propagated, was started by him in 1895. The Prabuddha Bharat, another journal in English, carrying simpler and less scholarly contributions meant to benefit youths and less educated persons, was started in 1896 through the efforts of Alasinga Perumal. Dr. Nanjuda Rao, B. R. R. Iyer, G. G. Narasimhacharya, and B. V. Kameswara Iyer, were actively involved in the publication of the Prabuddha Bharat. Its circulation increased within a short period. “At the very starting we had 1500
subscribers and every month the number has been steadily increasing and now it stands at about 4,500. Our journal thus happens to be the most widely circulated monthly in all India.\(^{22}\)

Vivekananda set foot on Colombo after his triumphant tour of the West on 15 January, 1897. The Raja of Ramnad gave him a magnificent reception at Pamban. After worshipping at Rameswaram, "the Swami passed through Ramnad, Paramakudi, Manamadurai and Madurai. Then passing through Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Mayavaram he reached Madras.... Decorations, triumphal arches, processions and rejoicings marked his arrival at and stay in Madras."\(^{23}\)

Vivekananda’s lectures and other activities were well received and appreciated by the educated men of Madras. He sent Swami Ramakrishnananda to convert their enthusiasm into something tangible and permanent. In 1897 Swami Ramakrishnananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission in Madras and remained in charge of it until his death in 1911. The Mission runs a matha (monastery), a students’ home, a college and many high schools in Madras.

Swami Vivekananda’s meditation on the Kanyakumari Rock still lives in the memory of the people of Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu played a leading role in the dedication celebrations of the Vivekananda Rock Memorial in 1970. The Tamil Nadu Government have made a significant contribution towards the project by undertaking to bear the cost of building jetty-platforms, one at the foot of the rock and the other on the shore. They have spent up till 1970 more than Rupees four lakhs for this undertaking.

The Arya Samaj of Dayananda Saraswati (1824-83) founded in 1875 has not been so influential in the South. The Arya Samaj branch was established in Madras in the year 1920 by Rishi Ram.\(^{24}\) The Arya Samajists run a girls’ school, a primary school, homoeopathic and Ayurvedic dispensaries and the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School in Madras.
These nineteenth-century religious and social reform movements did not succeed in introducing radical changes in many of the social institutions of the Hindus. The Brahma Samaj was an elitist movement and appealed only to the English-educated classes. The Shuddhi movement (movement of proselytization) of the Arya Samaj was somewhat successful in Madras, but it never became a powerful force in the Madras Presidency. Though the Ramakrishna Mission succeeded in winning a large number of people for reform, it was mostly the English-educated classes who appreciated Vivekananda’s lectures and championed his cause. There was a social and psychological distance between these reformers and the vast majority of the people who did not know English. It cannot, however, be denied that these movements widened the horizon of the Indian mind and facilitated a healthy dialogue among the English-educated classes of the different Indian provinces.

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2. Statistical abstract relating to British India for 1873/4 to 1882/3, quoted in Anil Seal, op. cit., p. 102.
5. In 1817 Rammohan Roy published the tract A Defence of Hindu Theism in reply to the attack of an advocate for idolatry at Madras. In 1819 a famous debate on idol-worship took place between Rammohan and Subrahmanya Sastri, a learned Brahmin of Madras.
11. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
15. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 11.
24. Information was given by P. C. Kalyanasundaram of the Arya Samaj Arya Samaj (Central), Madras: Annual Report for the period ending 31st March 1971.

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE NORTH ON SOUTH INDIAN LITERATURE

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The fundamental unity of India is a reality which does not need any special emphasis. Politically, geographically, economically, culturally and spiritually, India or Bharatavarsha has always been recognised as a unified concept. But this unity encloses a rich diversity. The eminent historian R. K. Mookherji writes:

"In spite of this fundamental unity of India, the vastness of its size and the variety of its physical features and social conditions had their own natural consequences on its history and political development. It has always been difficult to organise the whole of India as a unit.... More often, the history of India has resolved itself into a number of subsidiary, subordinate, and unconnected histories, without continuing as a common history for the whole of India. Instead of developing from one centre under a common direction, it has developed very often from different, and even mutually independent centres, losing its unity in the variety of separate and local histories of different peoples and regions, evolving along their own independent lines and offering but few points of contact or agreement and more of conflict between them."

To a great extent this is true of Indian literature as well. India's literary and cultural unity springs from the Sanskrit language. But Sanskrit, as a bond of unity, could not survive for long. There were many linguistic offsprings in the North like Prakrit, Hindi, Bhojpuri and Bengali. Sanskrit also came into contact with the Dravidian group of languages in the
South and made the necessary adjustments. Though we say that the essential linguistic unity of India is contributed by Sanskrit, the rich diversity of spoken and written literature in the different regions also remains a reality. However, there was not much acrimony, jealousy and suspicion between the different languages as was the case with different political groups. There was a purposive give-and-take that enriched both the giver and the receiver. The various literatures of the different linguistic groups together with the national adherence to Sanskrit garnered what is now known as the Arya Sampath. Speaking of these Aryan riches that is the result of Hindu civilisation, Subramania Bharati noted:

“Our Vedas, our Shastras, our people, our languages, our poetry, our sculpture, our music, our dance, our industries, our temple spires, our mandapams, our cottages—a common denomination for these is ‘Arya Sampath’. Kalidasa’s Sakuntalam, Tulsi Das’s Ramayana in Hindi, Kamban’s Ramavatharam, Silappadhikaram, Tirukkural, Andal’s Tirumozhi — these are known as sampath. The Temple at Tanjore, Tirumala Nayak’s Hall, Tyagaraja’s kritis, the cave temple at Ellora, Tajmahal in Agra, the flute music of Sarabha Shastri — this is Arya Sampath. Arya Sampath is Hindu civilisation. As long as this sampath is guarded, Bharat’s people would live. If we allow this sampath to rust, the Bharat race will be eaten away by white ants.”

It is thus that though we speak of a North and a South because of the geographical division effected by the Vindhya mountains, the Indian has always looked upon himself as a part of the whole. From times immemorial the different parts of India have been aware of each other. No regional literature has remained an island. In the olden days they were all influenced by Sanskrit literature. Take the story of Rama sung by the Adi-Kavi. Valmiki’s Ramayana has had its regional adaptations: Krittivasa for Bengali, Madhabkandali for Assamese, Tulsidas for Hindi, Ezhuttachan for Malayalam, Kamban for Tamil and so on. Oriya literature has more than
a dozen versions of the *Ramayana*. The influence of the poem is so deep that even to-day a South Indian with a Western education like the writer Raja Rao mixes up the *Ramayana* myth with the Gandhi legend to describe the reverie of a cow-herd in the short story `Narsiga’.

“`The Mahatma is released. Leave the fields and rejoice. The Mahatma, you know, is going to fly in the air to-day like Goddess Sita when she was going back from Lanka with her husband Rama.... Oh, uncle, you don’t know that the Mahatma is going in the air—like Rama and Sita going back to Ayodhya. Sita was taken out of prison and they flew back to Ayodhya. Master says, the Mahatma will fly like that, with four white steeds.... But you don’t know, the Mahatma is going in the air, with his wife Sita, and in a flower-chariot drawn by sixteen steeds, each one more beautiful than the other. And they will fly through the air and the heavens will let fall a rain of flowers. The Mahatma will have the Mother on his right, and our Master at his foot, and they will go across the clouds and the stars.‘”

All the other great Sanskrit works that were born in Northern India were used by the Southern linguistic groups who imbued in their consciousness the *Mahabharata*, the *Naishadham*, the *Bhagavata Puranam*, the *Kadambari* and dramas like the *Sakuntalam*, the *Mudrarakshasam* and the *Swapna Vasavadattam*. In fact, most of the literature in Tamil produced after the Sangam period was inspired by the North. The devotional poetry of Azhvars and Nayanmars, Kamban’s *Ramavatharam* and Villiputturar’s *Bharatham*, and prose epics like *Katha-Sarit-Sagaram* and *Udayana Kavyam* may be cited in this connection. Surprisingly enough, one is not aware of a corresponding reciprocation to the five great epics of Tamil Nadu or its mellifluous Sangam poetry. These were not made use of by the classical writers of the North who used the Sanskrit language or its dialects. Even in the later period little or nothing was done to introduce Southern literature to North India’s population which resulted in their remaining ignorant of the work done in
the southern part of their motherland. This negligence did not affect the South whose industrious intellectuals opened to their public the creative possibilities of North Indian literature. There were translations, adaptations, and even large-scale imitations that threw up occasionally a wonderful creative achievement. Vedanta Desika’s poem *Hamsa Sandesam* inspired by Kalidasa’s *Megha Dutam* is a good example. Vedanta Desika triumphantly countered Krishna Misra’s *Prabodha Chandrodhayam* with his *Sankalpa Suryodayam*. This tendency to enrich the Southern consciousness is greatly in evidence even in the modern period, though the South often complains of the general neglect it is subjected to by the North. Ka. Naa. Subramaniam refers to this problem in his article on ‘The South in the Indian Literary Tradition’:

“The South in any country, it can be demonstrated, feels generally neglected and tries to be aggressively different from the rest of the country. This might be because, as one sociologist half-humorously suggested, maps are hung upside North and the South is always literally, down. It might be also because (in the Northern part of the globe) the South is nearer the equator. There might be other reasons as well, but the phenomenon is common and we are familiar with it in Europe, in America and in Asia—in regions which have woken up to world ends.”

For South India, however, there was no question of feeling neglected because it could enjoy the security offered by the North from military clashes. The North was usually the first to be affected by the military invader. The Indian Renaissance began in Bengal which happened to be the first to be affected by the cultural invasion from the West. There was an avid study of the modes of literature and ideas of the West as also a reviewing of the glorious Indian past. The result was the coming of modernism to Bengali literature. Bengali prose was wielded with power and grace by Raja Rammohun Roy who made the language a plastic tool to spread his reformist ideals. Bengali poetry was re-born in the hands of Michael Madhusudan Datta who demonstrated that the age of the epic was not yet over. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya imported the novel
form into Bengali literature by writing the immortal Durgesa Nandini. Bengali lyricism became a star-spangled joy in the hands of Rabindranath Tagore. And drama, the elusive art-form, strode on the stage in its tragic glory when Dwijendra Lal Roy handled India’s historical past.

The Renaissance in Bengal coincided with the birth of the Indian national movement. Our first war of Indian independence was lost. But the nation had been roused, and it would not slumber again. Even as the different parts of India were shaking off their drowsiness, the entire people of India reacted to the electric message of the mantram—‘Bande Mataram’. That phrase came from the Ananda Math, the master-piece of Rishi Bankim. All eyes were now turned towards Bengal and the other places in North India where the Congress was growing in strength. With political awareness came literary influence and the South eagerly welcomed the best in the North Indian literary consciousness.

The influence of the North on South India’s literatures has been three-fold. All the four South Indian languages—the Dravidian group comprising Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil—have been inspired by some of the great personalities of North India. In the past there were kings like Ashoka and Prithviraj, and writers like Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti. They have often found their way into literary creations in the South. The modern period too has had such personalities, the chief of whom are Mahatma Gandhi in the political field and Rabindranath Tagore in the literary realm. Gandhi and Tagore together have inspired considerable chunks of creative writing in the South. Again, the modern period for India means the Independence Era from 1857 to 1947. This independence movement is dotted with certain unforgettable events. The 1857 War—the Sepoy Mutiny—that lit the flame of heroism in the Rani of Jhansi, Nana Saheb and Tantia Tope; the Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon that roused Professors like Aurobindo Ghose, scholars like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and journalists like Subramania Bharati to come out and fight the battle; the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre that made the British crown a symbol of odium in the
Indian's eyes; the Dandi march; the Quit India movement; the coming of Independence. It may be noted here that most of the major events were 'placed' in North India. But the South too felt the stab and suffered the bleeding wound. The South too sorrowed and throwing itself into the political battle supporting the North, challenged the enemy. As Subramania Bharati defiantly sang:

Having learnt that Unity
   Is the only way, we're ready now.
You may torture the patriot flesh.
   Our minds shall not falter.

Cut our flesh to pieces:
   Still, can you have your way?
The soul shan't die: nor shall devotion
   For Mother leave our patriot hearts.

Finally, the South also took the best from North Indian literature in certain cases. The South's inspiration for new art-forms was due to English education. At about the same time that Bankim Chandra Chatterjee started writing novels, Vedanayakam Pillai in Tamil Nadu began writing them. That was when Veeresalingam Panthulu also began his career as a novelist in Andhra. All the three were inspired by Scott, Smollett and Goldsmith in various degrees. It was so in drama too. But the South attempted greater variety only when it saw Bengal forging ahead. The South ever welcomed the Northern breeze. Hence it began to translate and assiduously cultivate writers like Romesh Chunder Dutt, Bankim Chandra and Prem Chand. This welcome trend has not yet abated. Therefore, to-day even a brief review can show that a portion of Southern literature has been directly or indirectly influenced by the land north of the Vindhyas.

The Kannada literature of the modern period can boast of some striking novels on historical personalities from the North. C. K. Venkataramiah's Raghunathana Sahasa is a heroic novel on some brave associates of Shivaji. M. V. Sreenivasa Murthy's Mastani is the love-story of Baji Rao and his Muslim mistress.
Mughal history provides the characters for Veerakesari Seetharama Sastry's *Phakirara Vidroha* and *Rani Roopmathi*. Among modern personalities from the North, politicians stand out. Rai's poem on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose re-creates the birth and growth of the Indian National Army. Konandur Lingappa has written a drama on the life of Subhas Chandra Bose. P. S. Bhatt's novel *Atmarpana* is on the heroism and sacrifice of Bhagat Singh. Hemant has an elegy on Vallabhbhai Patel. Mahatma Gandhi too caught the attention of the Kanarese writers. Many who were drawn to the independence struggle by the force of his personality began writing powerfully on nationalism. All the major writers — K. V. Puttappa, Bendre, Masti, D. V. Gundappa, Shivarama Karanth — may be said to have a 'touch of Gandhi' in them. The 'call' of Gandhi is heard by many famous characters in Kannada fiction — Rama in the *Marali Mannige*, Narahari in the *Samarasave Jivana*, and so on. Tagore was another North Indian who kindled the imagination of the Kanarese when he received the Nobel Prize. There was a veritable Niagara of pale imitations of Tagore's poetry. However, Tagore inspired Bendre deeply and the Kanarese poet ventured on the successful *Karulina Vachanagalu* written in Tagorean poetic prose. In a moving tribute to the poet-laureate Bendre writes:

An eastern star, you spanned the west.  
You were one with south and north in their quest.  
You sang and ripened with singing.  
You worked to raise man, O sky-high.  
You are the world's seeing-eye.  
The earth with your praise is ringing.  
Master! You gave us light  
And songs of deep delight.⁵

Tagore's life and works have been interpreted for the Kanarese public by H. M. Nayak and B. H. Sridhara. Ananda Kanda laid the foundations for children's poetry in Kannada when he wrote the *Muddana Matu* inspired by *The Crescent Moon*.

Another personality from the North, Sri Aurobindo has
drawn the attention of a considerable number of Kanarese writers. While M. Sridhara Murthy’s *Maharshi Aravindaru* is a straight biography, there are other writers who have wholly or partly interpreted Sri Aurobindo’s idea of the Supramental in their works. Traces of Aurobindo’s influence are noticeable in K. V. Puttappa’s *Ramayana*. Sri Aurobindo is definitely the literary guru for Bendre, Chenna, Gokak and Mugali. Bendre has translated many lyrics of Sri Aurobindo into Kannada and has been the cause of the Aurobindo strain in Kanarese poetry, for he is the founder of the Gnostic School. In Bendre’s own poetry Aurobindo’s faith in a greater dawn is underlined often.

I watch Thy doings and wait
To see that which may come to pass,
Thy witness to be.
Oh! Knowledge in essence!
That I may comprehend Thy name
I submit my very instruments
Of knowledge to Thee.

I do not insist on Thy doing it.
Do or undo as Thou willest
I leave it to Thee.
I am silent in my faith
That, whatever Thy deed,
Thou art my friend indeed!
Thou art the doer and Thine the deed!
Give me the power to bear and be.

Madhura Chenna, a devotee of Sri Aurobindo, has written philosophical poetry in the *Nanna Nalla*. The poem ‘Devata Prithvi’ is an ecstatic adoration of Divine Earth which is the Mother Supreme. V. K. Gokak’s poetry has close affiliations with Sri Aurobindo’s philosophy of life. Among his works the *Kalopasaka*, the *Samudra Geethagalu*, the *Navyakavithagalu* and the *Dhyava Prithvi* may be mentioned in this connection.

Some of the major events connected with the Independence Movement also had their impact on Kanarese literature. The Quit India Movement recurs in the novels of Inamdar and
Kattimani where Gandhi is a 'presence'. The Gandhian movement brought many brilliant students from their classes to the political arena. Necessarily the novelists who spent their youth in that atmosphere go back to it. More recently, the Chinese aggression and the Indo-Pakistan conflict have resulted in Sanadi’s *Himagiriya Mudiyalli* and Itagi’s *Sannadha Bharata* which are collections of poetry. Kanarese fiction on these subjects includes Seshanarayana’s *Silunayi*, a collection of short stories. Even the Bengal famine of 1943 inspired R. S. Mugali to write his powerful novel, the *Anna*. Kannada fiction took a leap forward when the Marathi novelist Hari Narayan Apte became popular through translations. Bengali novels were also translated into Kannada in the early twenties and gained an enthusiastic public. Rabindranath Tagore, Jarasandha, Damodara Mukhopadhyaya are some of the Bengali novelists translated into Kannada. The historical romance *Ananda Math* of Bankim Chandra perhaps turned Niranjan to write the *Kalyana Swami*. There are distant echoes of Bhavananda and his band of Sannyasins in the Kannada hero. Niranjan’s *Banasankari* boldly takes up the problem of the Hindu widow after Rabindranath Tagore’s *Chokher Bali*. N. Rangaswamy Iyengar uses Rajput history for his short story ‘Sati’ and the *Dhammapada* for ‘Maya’. Marathi had an even greater influence over Kannada because it was closer geographically. The Marathi atmosphere itself turns up in Kannada writing often. Thus Shantinatha Desai’s *Manjugadde* owes much to Bombay and the Marathi language.

"Desai has himself said that the basis of the novelty in his stories consists in his intimate knowledge of life in Bombay, study of English literature and psychology, acquaintance with modern Marathi literature, analysis of the complexities of his own mind, a keen awareness of his own thoughts and feelings, the desire to find out his path independently of others and the tendency to discover new values through his own experiences."

Shivarama Karanth uses the exodus of the youth of South India to Bombay in search of a livelihood in his *Marali Mannige*. The crowded living conditions, the gamble for a job, the endless
talk on films and communism by the educated unemployed youth who lived on cigars and empty stomachs serve as a warning to the South’s aspirations.

The Buddha theme is still popular in Kannada dramas as seen in Ramachandra Sharma’s Angulimala. At this time dramas like the Tapobala (G. C. Ghosh), the Krishna Kumari (Michael Madhushudan Datta) and the Shah Jahan (Dwijendra Lal Roy) were translated and the Kannada writers were eager to use historical themes. History is put to advantageous use in H. Tipperudraswamy’s Vidhipanjara. Siddhayya Puranik’s Bharatavira takes us to the times of Mihirakula’s assault on the northern borders of India. Girish Karnad has written the Tughlakha on the Moslem Sultan of Delhi. M. C. Rangnekar’s middle-class comedies in Marathi no doubt had something to do with the making of T. P. Kailasam, the famous Kannada playwright. Kailasam who wrote on India’s traditional past in English, presented some of his best social writings in Kannada. The Tollu-Gatti became a triumph of social drama on the stage.

Modern Telugu literature also presents a near-identical picture. An all-round push forward was given to it by the formation of the Vignana Chandrika Mandal in 1911. The moving spirit behind it was Komarrazu Lakshmana Rao who had seen the tremendous progress made by the Maharashtrians in all fields of literature. Biographies and novels were encouraged and published by the Mandal. Lakshmana Rao himself had mastered Hindi and Marathi. The historical literature in Marathi urged Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao to write the Jirna Karnata Samrajyamu, the Timmarasu, the Tikkanna, the Srinatha, the Sivoji and the Nayakuralu. Tallavajjhala Siva Sankara Sastri is another scholar fond of Bengali and Hindi who has translated some of the best novels in those languages as the Jivana Prabhatham, the Madhavikankanam, the Kanchanamala and the Kumkuma Bharani. Many scholars of the Telugu renaissance learnt one or more North Indian languages. Thus, Viraraghava Swami translated Bankim Chandra’s Kapala-
*kundala.* Pilaka Ganapathi Sastri’s knowledge of Hindi and Bengali literatures is visible in his poetry. Royaprolu Subba Rao is deeply influenced by Rabindranath Tagore, and has paid glowing tributes to the poet-laureate in his *Sadhu Sodhana.* The Telugu poet had spent his early days in the company of Tagore. Among other poets who have written on Tagore are P. Ramachandra Rao and Bh. Markhandeya Sarma.

The impact of the National Movement was strongly felt by the Andhras and they hurried to write glowingly on Mother India and her glorious progeny. Malakonda Reddi’s *Netaji,* Basavarazu Appa Rao’s *Gandhi,* Gadiyaram Venkata Sesha Sastri’s *Sita Bharatham,* Balijepalli Lakshmi Kantam’s *Swarajyarathan* and *Swarajyasamasya,* Durbhaka Rajasekhara Satavadhani’s *Ranaprathanasimha Charitha* belong to this group. P. Kanakamma has written a moving poem on Kasturba Gandhi. Tummalla Sitarama Murthy’s *Mahatma Katha* is a long narrative poem that has many genuine flashes. Madiraju Ranga Rao’s *Yuga Sanketham* projects the personality and philosophy of Sri Aurobindo.

Translations from Hindi and Bengali are a legion in Telugu, and these have inspired new writing in many ways. While Tagore’s poetry has been translated by B. Gopala Reddi with great success, Bankim Chandra was translated by O. Y. Dorasamyya and Sarat Chandra by C. Bhaskara Rao and Veluri Sivarama Sastri. Even the great twin-poets, Venkata Parvathee-svara Kavulu, translated many novels of Bankim Chandra and published them through the *Andhra Pracharini Granthamala.* They were also interested in Tagore’s works. The influence of the devotional music of Tagore is visible in Venkata Rao’s (one of the twin poets) *Ekanta Seva,* a lyric garland of mystical outpourings that is now very famous. The Tagorean blend of politics and domestic life found in the *Ghare Baire* (translated by K. Vaikuntha Rao into Telugu) can be seen in Vunnava Lakshmi Narayna’s novel, the *Mala Palli.* According to D. Anjaneyulu, T. Gopichand’s *Pandita Parameswara Sastri Veelunama* which won the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1963 derives its title obviously from Bankim Chandra’s *Krishna Kanter Will.*
Among poets influenced by the North are Royaprolu Subba Rao whose close contact with Tagore colours his poetic creations. D. Anjaneyulu hears echoes from Tagore and Buddhadeva Bose in Rahman’s free-verse experiment, Etchatiki Pothaaeerathri. Bhoi Bhemanna’s Prakrithi Manava Prakrithi that binds together man, nature and God is obviously inspired by the Gitanjali. He has also written a Tagorean drama called the Chitrakala Pradarsanam. Hindi poetry is assiduously studied by many Andhra intellectuals. For example, R. M. Challa who admires Hindi poetry has even indited some poems coloured by his Hindi studies. Premchand’s short stories have set the pattern for many Telugu stories that are published in weekly magazines.

In drama, however, the Telugu writers were decisively influenced by Bombay. Though K. Vaikuntha Rao gave in Telugu Bengali plays like the Grihapravesam and Copala Reddi translated many plays of Tagore including the Kacha-Devayani and the Chitrangada, the Telugu stage was activised by the Parsi theatrical companies which enacted dramas in Hindi and Marathi. At first the Andhra playwrights scoured the traditional and historical past for themes. Nori Narasimha Sastri’s Somanatha Vijayam shows Muhammad of Ghazni in a new light. Viswanatha Sathyanarayana wrote the successful Anarkali in 1923. Veluri Chandrasekharam indited the Kanchanamala in 1939. The historical theme of the infatuation of Tishyaraksha, a younger queen of Ashoka, for her step-son Kunala and the tragic end of the latter were dealt with great sensitivity by the dramatist. Perhaps V. Chandrasekharam’s close association with Sri Aurobindo was instrumental in his selecting this North Indian theme as Sri Aurobindo himself worked on his drama Vasavadatta and translated Kalidasa during his early years at Pondicherry. The Telugu play has received encomiums from Telugu critics. To quote Amarendra, “With great accuracy the dramatist builds up the Buddhist atmosphere which serves as a backdrop for this intensely human tragedy. The insight into the human heart, the masterly delineation of the conflict in Tishyaraksha’s mind and the sharp contrast between her consuming
passion and Kanchanamala’s sublime love reveal the playwright’s genius which elevates this familiar theme into a rare work of art. Emperor Asoka does not appear in the play but haunts it like an awe-inspiring shadow brooding over the events. In its technique and dramatic power Kanchanamala may be compared to Rabindranath Tagore’s Mukta Dhara.”

P. V. Rajamannar’s Naga Bamu is also inspired by Buddhism. The action takes place in the Ajanta caves where the Buddhist monks worked on their frescoes. The Andhra dramatists were particularly drawn to Rajput and Mughal history because of the popularity enjoyed by D. L. Roy’s Chandragupta, Mewar Patan, Shah Jahan and Durga Das. Even today these plays draw big audiences. Therefore Ichchapurapu Yajnana- yana wrote the Rasaputra Vijayam; K. Subba Rao wrote the Roshanara; and G. Venkata Subba Rao indited the Khiljirajya Pathanam.

The Marathi Social dramas led Gurzada Appa Rao to write the Kanya Sulkam and Kandukuri Veeresalingam Pantulu to put on boards his prahasanams or farces. In the course of the past four decades a rich literature has grown up in this branch of Telugu writing. Films from the North have also had a definite influence on the themes of Telugu film scripts and cinema lyrics. So far the Northern influence has been an enriching one. The Andhras have imbibed the best in form and ideas without losing their distinct individuality.

The Gandhian impact on Malayalam literature is very deep though Kerala is in the farthest South. Much of the creative fiction in Malayalam bears the stamp of his personality. Thus Edesseri Govindan Nair in his novel on peasant life, the Koottukrishi writes:

“For us Gandhi was born: for us he died; even this river bears the ashes of his holy body. We shall always walk in his footsteps, for we are the heirs of this great man, we are his people, his own people.”

N. V. Krishna Warier’s the Gandhijyum Gotseum contains elegiac lyrics. But the significant moment for the Gandhian
impact on Malayalam happen when Vallathol Narayana Menon came under the magic spell of the Mahatma. From thence Gandhi was his Guru. His 'Ente Gurunathan' is now a famous poem.

The country that the Gita bore
alone could bear a seer like him
who to *karma*’s precepts betakes;
the land that lies betwixt the arms
Of the Vindhyas and the Himavant
alone could rear a lion like him
which to ascetic peace doth take;
the land through which the Ganga flows
alone could raise this *kalpaka*
which yields for man eternal good.  

Gandhi’s personality made Vallathol an ardent nationalist and he poured out his adoration of Bharat in a series of patriotic songs.

With the yarn we spin
and the cloth we weave
a shroud is made for Injustice;
may this vine of eternal Liberty
raised by us duteously
shine forever on the flagstaff of Truth!  

His ‘Chakra Gatha’, ‘Khadi Vasanangal Kaikkolvin Evarum’ and ‘Toni Yatra’ re-iterate Gandhi’s plea to wear Khaddar, use *swadeshi* things and eradicate untouchability. In other poems he underlines the need for encouraging village republics.

K. P. K. Menon’s *Kazhincha Kalam* is an autobiography that shows how Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore influenced Kerala. If Gandhi ‘made’ Vallathol’s poetry, Tagore was the inspiring genius for many Malayalam poets and symbolic dramatists. Kumaran Asan, who with Vallathol Narayana Menon and Ulloor Parameswara Iyer forms the great trinity of Kerala’s literary renaissance spent his early youth in Calcutta.

“His stay at Calcutta proved a particularly beneficent influence, for here he could come into close contact with the spiritual awakening brought about by Sri Ramakrishna
and Vivekananda and the literary tendencies initiated and developed by Bankim Chandra, Madhusoodhan Datta and Rabindranath Tagore.

These influences led him naturally, to nurturing dreams of enriching the cultural life of his own native land, and when the occasion offered itself, he translated them into action—as a social reformer working with the S. N. D. P. Yogam as a journalist, and as the apostle of a new school of poetry."

Tagorean mysticism allied to the Tagorean love of nature—partly melancholy, partly ecstatic—is evident in the *Vina Poovu*, the *Nalini* and the *Lila*. Tagore’s *Chandalika* inspired him to write the *Chandala Bhikshuni*, the story of Buddha’s disciple Ananda. But the stories are different. An untouchable girl failing to win the love of Ananda decides to become a Buddhist nun, but the king opposes an untouchable’s entry into the Buddhist Sangha. The King is convinced of his wrong stand when the Buddha himself teaches him the true nature of the social order. *Karuna* is about Upagupta and Vasavadatta culled from the Buddhist lore, a favourite of Tagore. Asan transcreated *The Light of Asia* as *Sri Buddha Charithram*. From Tagore came his love of flora and fauna. Among others influenced by Tagore, mention may be made of Kumara Pillai whose *Mohavum Mukthiyum* (Temptation and Redemption) is written after the *Chithra* and symbolic. The hero here is Rukmangadha who is at first victimised by sensual passion but finds redemption in the end. Among modern poets V. Unnikrishna Nair has translated and adapted many poems of Tagore. Lastly, there is G. Sankara Kurup. As he admits, “I know not another poet who widened the horizons of my imagination and influenced the ideals of my poetry as much as Tagore”.

The Tagorean worship of nature is found even in the title of Kurup. Some of his earliest poems had names like ‘Nakshatra Gitam’ and ‘Pankaja Gitam’. The later collections of poetry are entitled the *Surya Kanti*, the *Pujapushpam*, the *Chenkatirukkal*, the *Italukal* and the *Olappeeppi*. Who is not aware of Tagore’s fondness for the flute? It is appropriate that the collection that catapulted G. Sankara Kurup to all-India fame-
is titled the *Odakkuzhal*, The Flute.

Modern Malayalam novel owes a good deal to the North Indian writers in technique. Some of the more popular North Indian novelists in Kerala are Bonophul, Abbas, Bibhuti Bhushan Banerjee and Tagore. But Bankim Chandra, as elsewhere, leads the group. It was his novels that spurred C. V. Raman Pillai to write the *Marthanda Varma*, the *Dharma Raja* and the *Rama Raja Bahadur*, a trilogy on the history of Travancore.

A recent publication like the *Unarunna Utharendia* (The Awakening of North India) by N. V. Krishna Varier gives an account of North India’s cultural history. A modern poet like Pallathu Raman digs Rajput lore for themes found in his *Virangana*, *Pulikkottil* and *Veera Simhi*. Vallathol’s poem ‘Katteliyunte Kathu’ is about Shivaji, the ‘mountain rat’. Krishnan Nair’s *Karma Bhoomi* is a drama on the Indo-Pakistani conflict of 1965. Kerala, it may be noted, was closely involved in the struggle because the Malayalis form a sizeable portion of our armed forces. And when we note that Vallathol has translated from Prakrit HaLa’s *Gatha Sapta Sati*, it is a matter for gratification, because the intense interest one region of India takes in another only indicates the underlying unity of India.

Of the four languages taken up here as constituting the Southern group, Tamil stands apart. It has eagerly welcomed the North, but it has also shown deep resentment against Northern influence. The effect of Sanskrit on Tamil has not been as wide and deep as it has been on Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam. In this connection Ka. Naa. Subramaniam’s opinion is worth citing:

“He (Bishop Caldwell) claimed that Dravidian, meaning Tamil, was a race and a language capable of standing on its own legs—that is, independent of Aryan equated with Sanskrit. Ever since then the Dravidians have been aggressively asserting their independence and what was called a non-Brahmin movement took shape, assuming in course of time alarming forms. The Brahmins were considered non-Dravidian or Aryan; they were dubbed Sanskri-
tist in spite of their yeoman contribution made to Tamil. This movement led to the rule of the Justice Party in Madras when the British were in India and has led to the present emergence of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam as the present rulers of Tamil Nadu, though currently the DMK denies its own non-Brahmin leanings whenever necessary."

The Aryan-Dravidian question apart, there is definitely an anti-North feeling in the group of writers who belong to the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam. They swear by the ancient Tamil classics of the Sangam period and the twin epics, the Silappadhi-karam and the Manimekhalai; for the rest they shut themselves away from the healthy breeze of new ideas wafted by the literature of the North or the world literature. Even during the occasional references to the world outside what we are shown is not the world of to-day but the world as seen by the Tamils 3,000 years ago. For example, in his recent novel, the Romapuri Pandiyan, the ex-Chief Minister of Madras, Annadurai, has used the backdrop of ancient Rome. This self-created isolationism has warped the DMK imagination a great deal. It is reflected in their style as well. What was once hailed as a colourful novelty has now become boring cacophony. A great pity indeed!

Though this bitter reaction is confined to a minority, it cannot be easily ignored. For example, Vezhavendan in his Introduction to the Vezhavanthan Kavithaigal thinks of Homer, Milton and Gibbon to buttress his argument but none from modern India’s North. His poem ‘Vilangarundhaal’ takes an extreme anti-North position and looks forward to the day when the ‘trickeries’ of Hindi-wallahs, and the Delhi ‘tyranny’ that chooses only North Indians like M. C. Chagla and Vijayalakshmi Pandit for ambassadorial posts would come to an end. So moved is the poet that even the Gita is dismissed and the Kural elevated to the stature of being the only poem to lead the world! But even Vezhavendan cannot ignore one Northern personality—Rabindranath Tagore.

The literary group owing allegiance to DMK apart, the rest of Tamil Nadu has favourably, nay, enthusiastically respond-
ed to the North's influence. In fact, after the Sangam period, the South absorbed in all its writings something of the North's literary modes. The Azhvars, the Nayanmars, and epic poets like Villiputturar and Kamban are the chief examples. The coming of Swami Vivekananda to the South had its effect on many Tamil intellectuals, the most well-known of them being B. Rajam Iyer. Afterwards, Bankim Chandra and Sarat Chandra became popular in translation. Romesh Chunder Dutt's *Lake of Palms* and *Slave Girl of Agra* exercised influence as *Panamkulam* and *Madhavi Kankanam*. Premchand from Hindi, V. S. Khandekar from Marathi, and Tagore from Bengali are other writers whose modes are visible in a good deal of modern Tamil writing. Though Vaduvoor Doraiswamy Iyer and Arani Kuppuswamy Mudaliyar wrote novels after English fiction, it was Panditha Visalakshi Ammal who was the most popular in the early years of the century, for she had adapted many Bengali novels into Tamil. Sarat Chandra's domestic themes and Bankim Chandra's historical romances paved the way for much of modern Tamil fiction.

The writer who stands at the dawn of the modern Tamil Renaissance is a symbol of the North's influence on the South; he is the poet Subramania Bharati. He began his political career during the angry days when the Partition of Bengal inflamed India. In fact, the poet in him too was born at this time. His first patriotic poem was 'Vangame Vazhiya', a tribute to Bengal for boldly showing the way by its bravery, art and literature. Bharati had spent his impressionable years in Banaras, had learnt Hindi well and was fond of dressing like the people of the North. When he became an Assistant Editor of *Swadesamithran* in Madras he translated Gandhiji (politics), Jagadish Chandra Bose (science), Vivekananda (spirituality) and Rabindranath Tagore (literature) with equal felicity and became a very popular journalist in Tamil Nadu. The 1905 Partition of Bengal and the song 'Vande Mataram' transmuted the eager journalist into a fiery patriot-poet. For him, the two words 'Vande Mataram' was a *taraka manthra* and his poems ring with the words. He made two different translations for Bankim Chandra's poem 'Vande Mataram'. Both of
them are literal and musical and justly famous.

The political poet is uproariously visible in the ‘Gokahle Samiyar padal’ and the ‘Naam Enna Seivom’. In brilliant poems he has immortalised North Indian personalities like Chatrapati Shivaji, Guru Gobind, Dadabhai Naoroji, Lajpat Rai and Bal Gangadhar Tilak. His ‘Mahatma Gandhi Panchagam’ is superb. If such was Gandhi’s impact in 1920 upon the leading poet of Tamil Nadu, it is no wonder that Tamil people and their literature became strongly Gandhian in the subsequent decades.

You shunned the path of war and murder
    Realising the true worth
Of the dharmic way to freedom
    Shown by great teachers and devotees,
Realising the fruitfulness of India’s
    New Path of Satyagraha;
May the repressions be forgotten
    And a just life dawn on earth.

Another great North Indian personality that impinged upon Bharati’s personality was Rabindranath Tagore. Bharati’s translations of some of Tagore’s stories remain the best even today. Tagore’s winning the Nobel Prize made Bharati proud and happy. He also successfully imitated the half-humorous, half-serious style of Tagore when writing long articles on society, education and art. With remarkable foresight Bharati wrote half a century ago when little of Tagore was known in Tamil Nadu.

“Many Japanese pundits realise that Bharat is the teacher of the world. But till now there was no opportunity to prove it by one of our great men in person. Rabindranath Tagore, the Mahakavi of Bengal, has now removed that deficiency. He is immensely fit for this job. His poetry is already receiving the attention of the world. Indeed, he has already been included in the number of the world’s great poets. The few English translations of Gitanjali and other poems are but slender books. They are not heavy epics, nor big dramas. He has shown the world
only a few stray lyrics. And the world has been struck with wonder. If ten or twelve precious gems were sold, would not one collect lakhs of rupees? If ten pages of a divine work were revealed, would not the great poets of the world be taken up with them?"

*The Crescent Moon* led Bharati to write his poems for children. Tagore's prose-poetry challenged Bharati's creative muse. And he came out with a series of prose-poems, broadly divided as 'A Scene', 'Shanti', 'Wind', 'Ocean' and 'The World Picture'. Bharati's enthusiasm for Tagore made him choose Bengali names for many of his fictional characters. The events of one of his long short stories 'Swarna Kumari' take place in Bengal.

Bharati was also deeply influenced by Sri Aurobindo. Both of them met in Pondicherry as political exiles. It was Sri Aurobindo who led Bharati to the poetry of the Vedic seers that colours the thought-content of Bharati's prose-poetry. As Professor P. Mahadevan says:

"The impress of Sri Aurobindo upon Bharati may be studied in his Preface to the 'Gita, in his translations of the chapter of Patanjali's Yoga Sutra with comments of his own, and above all, in the pervasive influence of Shakti or Mother or Parashakti which has become the theme of a considerable body of his devotional poetry."

Bharati's translations of many Vedic riks into Tamil are based on "the new and marvellous theory of Vedic interpretation" by Sri Aurobindo. Contact with Sri Aurobindo's Yoga finalised the Shakti tattva of Subramania Bharati. The political Bharati who began his poetic career hymning the glories of India as the Mother became the spiritual Bharati who invoked the Supreme Creatrix to destroy illusion and ignorance as the Vedantins did at the dawn of Hindu civilisation. Like Sri Aurobindo, Bharati too rebutted the Maya theory and saw the possibilities of a life divine on earth within the mortal span.

Fools speak of Sivaloka  
And Vaikunta after death.  
Blow loud O conch  
That they speak false.
Blow O conch hailing
Those who enjoy knowledge-bliss
Placing faith in a heaven
On this earth; today.

While the life of Gandhi has been written by many in Tamil, and many poems indited on his personality, it is the general impact of Gandhi's advent mextrically tied up with our Independence struggle that has drawn Tamil writers. Thiru Vi. Ka's *Gandhi, My Master* leads the way. Poets like Desikavinayagam Pillai have written on the Gandhian movement. Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai is known as the poet of non-violence ever since he woke up the Tamils with "A war is on that hath no swords nor spills the martyr's blood". T. K. Pavalar has written dramas to spread Gandhian ideals like non-violence and eradication of untouchability. C. Rajagopalachari has been interpreting Gandhi to the Tamil accurately and movingly through articles and stories. Putumai-p-pithan's short stories are greatly influenced by Gandhi's view on untouchability. Kalki's *Alai Osai* is an epic novel on non-violence. K. Rajavelu has written on the 1942 Quit India Movement. Naa. Parthasarathy's *Atmavin Ragangal* is a novel about an idealist following in the footsteps of Gandhi during the Independence struggle. The *Mannil Thesi-yudhu Vanam* by N. Chidambaram Subramaniam discusses at length truth and non-violence within a fictional framework. The *Kallukkul Eoram* by R. S. Nallaperumal realistically portrays the change of heart in a terrorist youth who sees the futility of revenge and turns to the path of non-violence. The *Veeduveliyyum* by Vallikkannan in its attempts to juxtapose domestic life and India's freedom struggle reminds us of Tagore’s *Ghare Bauire*. The *Gandhi Vazhikkadhaigal*, edited by Makaram, has fifty stories on Gandhian ideals written during the last thirty years by various hands. It gives an idea of the pervasive influence of Gandhi's personality on the Tamil conscience.

Modern Tamil literature has been gifted with a major epic by Suddhananda Bharatiyar. True to its title, the *Bharata Shakti*, the poem absorbs many North Indian personalities, events and
ideas. Different cantos are assigned to retell the life and achievements of Shivaji, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Guru Govind, Pratap Singh, Buddha, Mahabira, Nanak and Sri Aurobindo. In fact, according to the author Sri Aurobindo is the genius behind the epic creation.

"The whole Bharata Shakti is my vision of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother who figure in it as Shuddha and Shakti. The Mahakavyam embalms the spirit of His integral yoga." Shuddhananda Bharatiyar knows North India by first hand experience and hence his descriptions are authentic. His poetry gathers wings of ecstasy in the Canto on the Granth Saheb of the Sikhs.

Increasingly other Indian literatures are trickling into Tamil with the translation of writers like Gangadhar Gadgil, Arvind Gokhale, Chandrakant Bhakshi and Amrita Pritam. Unfortunately this has sometimes led to literary piracy and many short-sighted Tamil writers hope to get away with it. To take an example, a recent short story by P.S.S. titled ‘Avan, Anni, Avadhuru’ (Kumudham, 18-9-71) has obviously come down from Rajinder Singh Bedi’s Ek Chaddar Maili Si. Such imitators should take the warning of Tanor Baybars, a young Turkish poet.

"Imitation of technique and imitation of the spirit.
If you are imitating a technique, then perhaps it’s a good thing, because after all, you learn a great deal from other people’s techniques. But to start imitating their spiritual entities would be a very harmful thing indeed."

The novels of Indira Parthasarathy (the Tanthira Bhoomi, for example) interpret Delhi’s official and social life in Tamil. Goa provides the background for Rajam Krishnan’s Valai-k-karam. Purasu Balakrishnan unveils the tear-laden page from Tod’s Annals, in his drama, the Krishna Kumari.

Modern Tamil poets (apart from Subramania Bharati and Shuddhananda Bharatiyar) are also increasingly aware of North India. To mention but a few, there is Bharati Dasan who has adapted Bilhaneeyam as Puratchikavi. Manipur forms the background for his dramatic poem, ‘Veera That’. Kavimani Desiga
Vinayagam Pillai has written *Anbin Vetri*, the life-story of Mira Bai and translated Ramprasad Sen’s poems as *Jnanopadesham*. He has written excellent lyrics on Ramakrishna, Saradamani, Vivekananda, Ramatirtha, Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, and Sarojini Naidu. In the poem on ‘Vazhkai Nilayamai’ he refers feelingly to the earthquakes at Bihar and Quetta. S. D. Sundaram, a patriot-poet, has written a rousing poem on the Chinese attack on India’s Northern borders. ‘Simhanadham Ketkudhu’ is cast as a marching song.

He makes our Himavant
A sky russet.
He the great destroyer
Come to our Peace Abode.
The lowliest has trod
Our sacred Ganga, Bramaputra.
No more patience: to victory
On the field of war!

Sundaram’s ‘Etcharikai’ is a long poem on patriots like Tilak, Netaji and Bhagat Singh.

Jnana Chelvan has written poems on Gandhi, Nehru and Lal Bahadur, but there is little evidence of a broadening consciousness. Sunda’s poetry stabs the Delhi scene with punches of satire, for example ‘Delhi Lizards, physical, political or bureaucratic?’

K. N. Sundaresan uses the Orissa landscape for his poem ‘Kandangal’. His ‘Neruvin Maraivinile’ is an admirable poem about the reactions of a family to the death of Nehru. Lyrics and short stories prompted periodically by the events in the North—the Partition horror, Chinese aggression, Bangla Desh Refugee influx—are too numerous to be mentioned here. Suffice it to say that the South of the Vindhyas is constantly aware of what happens in the North of the Vindhyas. This awareness tinged by admiration and sublimated by compassion has gone a long way towards maintaining the integrity of India. For, have we not grown with the ecstatic Tamil lyric of Subramania Bharati, ‘Mannum Imaya Malai Engal Malaye’?

The mighty Himavant is ours—
There is no equal anywhere on earth;
The generous Ganga is ours—
    Which other river can match her grace?
The sacred Upanishads are ours—
    What scriptures else to name with them?
This sunny golden land is ours—
    She’s peerless, let us praise her!

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(III) POLITICAL RELATIONS AND ADMINISTRATION

THE ALIGARH SCHOOL: ITS PLACE AND POSITION IN NORTH AND SOUTH INDIA

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The Muslim political, social and educational awakening in modern India is usually associated with the Aligarh school, started and led by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98). But it goes without saying that Sir Sayyid could not have worked in a vacuum. To understand the situation one has to start his study from the time the British had penetrated into Delhi.

There are evidences to show that in the pre-Mutiny days the Muslims of Delhi like the Muslims of those areas which had undergone the British influence, political or cultural, were showing a willingness towards new life. In Delhi, for example, there was the Delhi College which had on its rolls many Muslims, both teachers and students. Some people had also started reproducing in the vernacular the science and the learning of the West. In the field of religion also, as W. C. Smith says, "a slight trend towards Christianity was evident." The 'ulama who are now quite often accused for standing between the Muslims and the modern way of life, were, in fact, then friendly to the British and what they had brought to India. A serious study of the biographies, memoirs, diaries and fatawas of that period will convince anyone that the 'ulama, while opposing those moves which, according to them, could have led the Muslims to irreligion, drew a line of demarcation between religion and not-religion. Maintaining a balance between the two, they allowed the Muslims to learn the English language, have social intercourse with the Christians, and even put on Western dress, if necessary. But "this whole move came to an abrupt and complete end with the Mutiny, and the individuals
who had taken part in it were in considerable danger of doing likewise."3

The Mutiny, as a matter of fact, divided the Muslims and the British to such an extent that for some time no one dared to talk openly of bringing the two together. However, the situation did not remain so for very long. Here and there people began reviewing the situation, and reviving the old cordial ties between the governing English and the governed Muslims. In Calcutta, for example, a Muhammadan Literary Society was founded by a titled Muslim, Nawab Abdul-Latif. The Society, which was mainly composed of upper and upper-middle class Muslims and had also the support of some reputable 'ulama, was intended to discuss political, social and religious questions in the light of changed circumstances. The 'ulama of the Society took upon themselves to remove the 'misunderstanding' from the Muslim mind that the English were to destroy their religion. This was a difficult task indeed because the Muslim populace, especially in Bihar and Bengal, due to the deep-rooted influence of the so-called Wahabis, were, on religious grounds, hostile to the British and were always talking of jihad ("holy war") against them. Since the Muhammadan Literary Society had to combat with this tendency, the outstanding 'ulama of the Society stated publicly through their fatwa that conditions in India called for no holy war.4 The Society put much emphasis on English education and Western learning. According to its President, "If any language in India could lead to the advancement in life of the learner, it is the English.... The Mohammadan who has been educated in English...knows that the safety of life and property depends upon the stability of the British rule...."5

II

The situation at Delhi was, however, not the same as in Calcutta. Delhi had proved itself to be the cradle of 'rebellious' activities. The leaders as well as the rank and file of the Muslim community in and around Delhi were experiencing the conse-
quences of the Mutiny. Both the Muslims and the British were full of hatred and contempt for each other. It was necessary for some one to come forward and break the ice, and Sir Sayyid took the challenge.

Sir Sayyid started his programme of revitalizing the Muslim community in almost every sphere of life: social, political, and religious. It was, however, not very easy for him to convince the Muslims of his bonafides. The ‘ulama who had, after the Mutiny, broken away from the British, were now of the opinion that the Christian missionaries with the help of the British Government were going to destroy their religion.6 Fearing a drastic change in their mode of life the ‘ulama had taken refuge in religious education for which they started establishing religious seminaries (madrasas), financially and administratively independent of the Government.7

For Sir Sayyid this whole programme of religious revivalism was suicidal. He wanted the Muslims to see the realities of life and accept them gracefully. To achieve his end Sir Sayyid started his campaign, in phases, from different directions. First, he wanted to bring about a political rapprochement between the English and the Muslims. That was between the time of the Mutiny and his trip to England (1869). In this period he compiled in Persian the Causes of the Indian Mutiny,8 and also edited a series of booklets, displaying the loyal attitude of the Indian Muslims to the British,9 in order to convince the ruling people that the Muslims had little, or nothing, to do with the ‘disloyal’ act of Mutiny. On the other hand, he founded schools at places where he happened to work as a Government official. “He founded a translation society to supply for these schools, and for the Urdu-reading public generally, books on the Western Arts and Sciences that would be ‘useful’—and so on, so that the people might learn to leave their folly and to appreciate both the power and the benefits of British rule.”10

At the second stage Sir Sayyid took upon himself to advocate a reconciliation between the followers of Islam and those of Christianity by showing the basic similarity of the two religions. For this he published a sympathetic study of the Bible,11 and
also defended, in his other religious writings, social intercourse with the Christians.  

And then came his voyage to England from where, impressed by the Western culture and modern education, he wrote: "The natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners and uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man." About the same time he started an Urdu journal *Tahzibul-Akhlaq* ('Refinement of Morals') for spreading his ideas. It immediately attracted attention, and Sir Sayyid found a following of talented people who had ideas on social and political questions similar to his but were so far leaderless. Encouraged with success, Sir Sayyid started preaching his ideas of founding a Muslim college where Western culture and European learning were to be disseminated along with the religious values of Islam.

III

The Aligarh school, with Sir Sayyid as its head, was pro-British and was composed of those Muslims who had, well before of the Mutiny, anticipated that the drama in which the Mughals had been playing the leading role was soon to end. Sir Sayyid (1817-1898), Nazir Ahmad (1813-1912), Zakaullah (1832-1910), Muhsinul-Mulk (1837-1907), Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1914), the giants of the Aligarh school, had long before the Mutiny realized that sooner or later the British were going to replace the Mughals. None of them were less than twenty years of age when the Mutiny started: all of them were employed by the East India Company. Sir Sayyid was a *munsif*; Muhsinul-Mulk a clerk in the Revenue Department; Hali was working as a translator in the British-established Punjab Government Book Dept, Lahore; Nazir Ahmad was a Deputy-Inspector of Schools.

Curiously enough, none of the pioneers of the Aligarh school had the opportunity of receiving modern education, properly. Almost all of them were educated and trained under
the medieval Muslim educational system. Their acquaintance with Western ideas was based on secondary sources: either through Urdu translations of some Western works or through their English friends belonging to the British bureaucracy. Yet they were the only Muslim spokesmen of Western values. Consequently, often they could not maintain a balanced view when they tried to introspect their own heritage. Nazir Ahmad, the well-known Urdu prose-writer and an acclaimed novelist, was 'ashamed' of his own literary heritage. Likewise, Hali, another giant of Urdu literature, who was employed by the Punjab Translation Bureau only to 'polish' the Urdu language of others' translated material once declared: "Gradually and unconsciously traditional attachment to the Eastern and particularly the Persian literature gave way to love and respect for English literature in my heart."

With such a flimsy knowledge of complex and compounding problems of the East and the West, and also with its 'landed-aristocratic' background, the Aligarh school filled the vacuum and became the spokesman of the Muslim community of India. It was rather difficult for this group to anticipate any other means of uplifting the Muslims other than relying solely on the ruling class. Thus, their foremost desire was to be on the right side of the Government and secure more and better employment for the Muslims. The well-known Urdu satirist poet, Akbar Allahabadi (1846-1921), who was given by his contemporaries the title of Lisanul-'asr (the Voice of the Time), has painted the picture artistically:

"The Englishman is happy, he owns the aeroplane,
The Hindu's gratified that he controls all trade, 'Tis we who're empty drums, subsisting on God's grace, A heap of biscuit crumbs, the froth of lemonade."

The 'biscuit crumbs' or the 'froth of lemonade' was available only so long as the Government was pleased. Thus the pleasure of the Government became the axe upon which most of the time the wheel of the Aligarh school revolved. Under no circumstance could it take the risk of annoying the British. This attitude was quite clear in the Urdu-Hindi controversy. After the death of Sir Sayyid, the Government of
U.P., in response to the demand made by the Hindus of that area, announced: "No person shall be appointed, except in a purely English office, to any ministerial appointment henceforward unless he can read and write both the Nagri and Persian characters fluently." To show their unhappiness the Muslims of U.P. decided to hold a mammoth meeting to protest against the 'Hindi circular.' Associations were founded; funds were collected. Muhsinul-Mulk, who had succeeded Sir Sayyid as the Secretary of the M.A.O. College, was to lead the movement. But the moment the Lt. Governor, Sir Antony, showed his displeasure and "during his visit to Aligarh, made it clear to the trustees that Mohsinul Mulk would not be allowed to carry on as the Secretary of the M.A.O. College if he did not give up the pro-Urdu agitation, he had to retreat. This completely confounded the agitators; they naturally lost heart. Moreover, Mohsinul Mulk's resignation was soon followed by many other prominent withdrawals; and, within less than a year, the whole agitation fizzled out, most unceremoniously."

IV

Sir Sayyid considered himself one of the ashraf ('landed-aristocrats'), and worked for his class most faithfully. "This class," Wilfred Cantwell Smith says, "entirely depended on Great Britain and the West, shaking off the old and now decadent culture produced by a feudal society, found that the new culture appropriate to it was to be had almost ready-made from Europe. Hence it flocked to Sir Sayyid's College and the other centres of Western learning and supported and developed them; not only because it must, to get jobs and to exist at all, but with enthusiasm."

At this point it should be admitted that the class to which Sir Sayyid belonged was composed of both the Hindus and the Muslims. We find many upper-class Hindus mostly from U.P. endorsing Sir Sayyid's views. In fact those Hindus were so much opposed to the Congress that they wanted to persuade the Government to pass a law to punish those Indians who tried
to arouse the people against the British rule by delivering speeches in native languages. A resolution to this effect was tabled by Raja Shiva Prasad Bahadur, C.S.I., in a meeting of the taluqdar of Oudh which was held in Lucknow on 22 October, 1888. Sir Sayyid was present at the meeting and had already spoken in favour of an earlier resolution moved by another distinguished Hindu, Munshi Navalkishor, C.I.E., asking for hard work among the Hindus and the Muslims to counter the activities of the Congress. But so far as the resolution demanding a law against the 'Congress-minded' people was concerned, Sir Sayyid threatened to leave the Association if it was not willing to withdraw it. He said:

"I do not think that the [Hindu] Bengalis are ill-wishers of the Government, though their activities are objectionable. We do not have any personal enmity against those who have joined the Congress. Therefore, we should not try to involve them into criminal procedure. Our differences are on a matter of principle. We are of the opinion that their demands are harmful for the country and for the Muslims and the Rajputs in particular. If our assessment is correct, and I will assert that it is so, then it is for the Government to do what it deems to be advisable. Why should we beg it to enact a law?"

It is true that most of the time Sir Sayyid took a stand which made him look like a 'communalist', but in fact, he was not a communalist in the sense the term is used today. He was a 'loyalist',—loyal to his class and, for that reason, loyal to the British. For this "he opposed the Congress, and advised Muslims to stay out of it, because it was too disrespectful, not because it was too Hindu. He would have advised Hindus to stay out of it too, had he had reason to offer advice to them or to suppose that it would have been accepted."

V

For historical reasons, the Muslim leadership in Northern India had almost always collaborated, for its survival, with the
ruling class. After the Mutiny it had to make only some adjustments in order to retain its place in the eyes of its followers and the rulers. It did so, and soon came to be regarded as the 'All-India' Muslim leadership. But the superfluity of the title becomes radiant when we take into account the contemporary situation in Southern and Western India.

The economic and social fabrics of the Muslim society in Southern and Western India were, in fact, much different from those of the North Indian Muslim society. The North had been the seat of Muslim rule, and thus naturally the feudal Society was in its full bloom there. Excepting the Deccan, the southern and western parts of India did not, as a rule, depend on the ruling class. That made a striking difference in the outlook of the Muslims of the upper and lower parts of India. Since the Muslims in Bombay and Madras were less dependent for their livelihood on the British rulers, their life was comparatively less disturbed when the British took over from the Mughals. The elite there came mostly from the field of trade and professions. Moreover, they were educationally more advanced than the Muslims of the North. Quite naturally, the Muslims of the North and those of the South (including West) could hardly communicate with each other on economic-based political questions, convincingly. Thus the Muslim elite of South and West India did see no disadvantage, as the Muslims of the North saw, in joining the Congress. Badruddin Tayabjee, while delivering his Presidential address at the 3rd annual session of the Congress in 1887, was therefore, "at a loss to understand why Musalmans should not work shoulder to shoulder with their fellow countrymen...for the common benefit of all...this is the principle on which we in the Bombay Presidency have always acted."

It is a notable fact that in the pre-Gandhian era of the Congress (1885-1920) three Muslims reached the Congress presidency, but none of them belonged to North India. The first was Badruddin Tayabjee (3rd Congress, Madras, 1887) from Bombay; the second was Rahimatulla Muhammad Sayani (12th Congress, Calcutta, 1896) also from Bombay; and the third was Sa`yid Mohammad (28th Congress, Karachi, 1913),
from Madras. About Sayyid Mohammad we must remember that he “was the solitary person in the entire Congress history that had the triple distinction of being Chairman of the Reception Committee (1903), President (1913) and Secretary (1914-1917).”

It is also a fact that in spite of their stand that the Muslims should work jointly with the Hindus, none of them can be considered as having shown less interest in the upliftment of the Muslims. Tayabjee, for example, “devoted himself to educational and social work among the Muslims, his crowning achievement being the establishment of the Anjuman-e-Islam in Bombay. Through this organization, with its accessories of schools, hostels, a gymnasium and a club, he not only helped in popularising English education among the Muslims but also initiated many social reforms in the community. He was also a great champion of female education.... Tayabjee was largely responsible for establishing such modern social centres for the Muslims as the Islam Club and the Islam Gymnasium (now Gymkhana) in Bombay.”

Likewise Sayyid Mohammad was so esteemed a Muslim in the South that the Muslim leaders of North India who were taking a Muslim Deputation to Lord Minto in 1906, could not ignore him. The sponsors wanted him to join the deputation in presenting the address to the Viceroy, but he refused to be a party because the deputation did not agree to his suggestion that the clause for separate communal representation be deleted from the address. “Syed Mohammad, therefore, despite great pressure from Mohsinul Mulk and others, did not participate in that historic event, even though at that time he happened to be in Simla, having gone there to attend the Viceroy's Legislative Council of which for several years he was a member.”

Thus, the South was represented by Khan Bahadur Ahmad Mohiuddin Khan, a stipendiary of the Carnatic family. However, the composition of the delegation itself revealed how little influence did the Aligarh school exert beyond the Deccan plateau: 11 members from U.P.; 8 from the Punjab; 6 from Bengal (one being the Persian Consul-General); 4 from Bihar;
4 from Bombay (one being His Highness the Aga Khan); one each from C.P., Hyderabad, Madras and Sind.

VI

As against the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, Hyderabad was much more receptive to the Aligarh school. Hyderabad was still a replica of Muslim rule in India. The people at key positions there were mostly those who had first served, in one way or another, the British, faithfully. Many of them were those who belonged originally to the Muslim landed aristocracy of U.P. As a matter of fact, Hyderabad was the only place in Southern India where the Aligarh school had from the very beginning extended its influence. When Sir Sayyid had founded the United Indian Patriotic Association to check the influence of the Congress and had appealed to 'sympathetic Indian chiefs and rulers' to become Patrons of the Association, His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad had 'much pleasure' in asking his Prime Minister Sir Asman Jah to send a cheque to Sir Sayyid for Rs. 4,000/-. Sir Asman Jah added in his letter (dated September 29, 1888), "that the aims and objects of the Association have His Highness's fullest sympathy." Another Patron from the same place, His Excellency Nawab Sir Salar Jang, K.C.I.E., felt "highly gratified at being elected a patron of the Association. To him that was a 'timely step...taken to counteract the mischievous teachings of the body which has arrogated to itself the title of the Indian National Congress.' He was happy 'to find that numbers of Muhammedans of high culture and social position have refused to countenance the Congress from the first...."

There were many common features between the Aligarh school and the feudal chiefs of Hyderabad. Both were faithful to the British and afraid of political revolution which might bring a change in the status quo. No wonder, then, that the Aligarh school left a deep and lasting impression on the future politics of Hyderabad.
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THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH IN INDIAN HISTORY
DURING THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

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Indian nationalism and national movement may be said to have gained momentum and speed as a result of the contact between the Western society and the Indian. It was after 1498 that the West in the shape of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English came into contact with India. The first three emissaries of the Western civilisation failed to establish a united sovereign state in India, but the fourth, the British, succeeded in doing it. Within a century (from 1757 to 1857) the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from Ramesvaram to Kashmir came under a single imperial rule recognising the British Crown-in-Parliament as the sovereign authority. The Governors and Governors-General of the East India Company from Robert Clive to Lord Dalhousie may justly be regarded in Toynbee’s phrase, as a dominant alien minority who provided the broken-down Hindu world with a universal state showing the might and grandeur of the Western civilisation. In the words of Dr. Arnold Toynbee, “The British businessmen stepped into the shoes of Akbar (and Aurangzeb) when they became aware that the framework of law and order, without which no westerner could carry on his business there, was going to be restored by the French if the British did not forestall these rivals by doing the work themselves.” As a result, the Western civilisation and the Hindu society came into intimate contact through the British medium. It was the British Empire which gave unity, stability, law and order to the whole sub-continent long, long after the Mauryan Empire under Asoka.
The period from 1857 inaugurated an intimate contact between the West representing secularism, industrialism, democracy and nationalism, and the Hindu world standing for religious discrimination, parochialism, casteism and an agrarian way of life. The Hindus and the Muslims became the internal proletariat of the Indian society, so to say. They became the subjects of an alien imperialism which discharged the duties of collecting the revenues and maintaining peace and order. The Indians were living in their own country but feeling that they were out of it. Whenever two civilisations come into contact with each other, the dominant civilisation exploits the subordinate one, and this in turn provokes a reaction from the internal proletariat. The first reaction is a violent one, and in the majority of cases violence fails. Said Jesus Christ, "Those who take the sword will perish by the sword." When the internal proletariat learn by experience that violence will not help them, then they begin to react in a non-violent way and this non-violent approach is a spiritual and religious one, which is humane in character and results in success.

The above thesis of violent and non-violent reactions of a subject people to the rule of a dominant alien power is exemplified in the history of the freedom movement in India. The first reaction of the Indians to the alien domination was the mutiny of 1857. Though the revolt of 1857 was characterised as the first national revolt against foreign domination, yet it was not national in the true sense of the term. The revolt of 1857 was a failure since it was violent in its nature and did not happen simultaneously in North and South India. India, south of the river Krishna, and even the Deccan, played no part in the revolt of 1857. The North also remained a silent spectator when the feudal poliyagars of the South revolted in 1800-1801 against the authority of the East India Company. It may be a controversial point to regard both these violent reactions as national uprisings, because the terms nation and nationalism were popularised in India after the spread of Western political theories and the introduction of the Western educational
system. Therefore, I am not bold enough to characterise these revolts in the Northern and Southern parts of India against the alien rule as full-fledged national uprisings. But, they were certainly violent reactions, and the results of these revolts were a foregone conclusion. Indian feudalism could not win a victory over Western scientific and technological advance, supported by national and racial advantages.

The next reaction of the Indians was a non-violent one. In the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 there were no national antagonisms to begin with. It was a sincere and humane endeavour of some Western leaders, such as A. O. Hume and Sir William Wedderburn which, with the active cooperation of the patriotic Indian leaders, resulted in the foundation of the Indian National Congress. To begin with, the Congress appealed to the good sense, justice and constitutional tradition of the British Government and people. The early Congresses were the products of the Indian internal proletariat who were trained in the Western system of education and had imbibed the Western political and constitutional concepts. In other words, they represented the Indian intelligentsia.

In the history of the growth of Indian nationalism we can definitely demarcate three different stages:

1) 1885 to 1907; 2) 1907 to 1920; and 3) 1920 to 1948 (The Gandhian era).

The first stage was the period of the birth and growth of the Indian National Congress, and during this period the Congress drew its sustenance from the good-will and tolerance of the British Government both in India and Britain. It was regarded as a harmless, suppliant, prayerful and obedient assembly. During the next stage from 1907 to 1920 the Congress was dominated by two great Indian leaders, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Both of them were Maharashtrian Chitpavan Brahmans from the land of Shivaji and Baji Rao. G. K. Gokhale was the founder of the moderate wing in the Congress and B. G. Tilak was the supporter of extremism but not of the violent and anti-religious type. The
actual split between the two wings of the Indian National Congress occurred in the Surat Congress session of 1907.³

The third period begins with the return of M. K. Gandhi from South Africa and his active participation in the Indian national movement. It was during this period that the Congress became truly national and its complexion and composition was gradually changed from that of a Western-educated minority group into a mass organisation with Swaraj (complete independence) as its goal. In addition to this final objective, the Congress, under the leadership of the dynamic, saintly and divinely inspired Mahatma Gandhi, emphasised upon Hindu-Muslim unity, abolition of untouchability, production and wearing of khaddar (hand-spun cloth), boycott of foreign cloth and goods, prohibition of intoxicating drinks, development of a national language and a national system of education. All the above objectives were to be achieved not by violent means but by non-violent non-co-operation based upon truth and ahimsa. Gandhi called this unique and unparalleled form of agitation Satyagraha, based upon universal love which springs from the concept of the ‘fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man’.⁴

Now, we have to see how the North and the South came into contact with each other in this pan-Indian national struggle for freedom and liberty in the three stages of the origin and growth of the Indian National Congress. As for the first stage,—the foundation of the Congress in 1885, there were a few South Indians who took part in the early Congress sessions at Bombay, Ahmedabad, Surat and other places. In 1881 the Madras Mahajana Sabha had been founded, and the South Indians trained in that organisation took part in the first Congress session held at Bombay. Among the 72 delegates who attended the first session of the Congress, two names stand out prominently. They were Dr. S. Subramaniya Iyer and M. Vijayaraghavachari.⁵ Later Dr. S. Subramaniya Iyer became famous as the author of a patriotic letter written by him to President Wilson of America dated 24th June 1917, Madras.⁵

The second stage in the history of the Indian national
movement was dominated by stalwarts like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, Justice Ranade, Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar, Rabindranath Tagore, Narendranath Sen and a host of others. But the two great leaders who made the mark during this period were Gopal Krishna Gokhale and B. G. Tilak. What were the effects produced by the unselfish services rendered by these leaders on the thinking men in the South? There must have been a good number of persons who were influenced by the examples of those in the North.

The best example of the South Indian thinkers and seers was the famous Tamil poet Subramaniya Bharati. In his national songs Bharati begins with a dedication to Bharatamata, a politically and culturally unified and integrated motherland, in which the Tamils, the Andhras, the Punjabis, the Marathas, the Bengalis, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs and others are all regarded as the sons of the same mother. His description of the national flag is a masterpiece in Tamil poetic composition. He idealised a unified, integrated and independent India which will be an example to the whole world. His poem on Chhatrapati Shivaji, his lyrics on liberty, equality and fraternity, and his songs on women's equality with men and the abolition of untouchability are quite well-known both within India and abroad. There are several short poems in which Bharati lauds the great services rendered by G. K. Gokhale, B. G. Tilak, Dadabhai Naoroji and Lala Lajpat Rai.

But, the contact between the North and the South during the third stage of the national movement was much more intimate than in the previous two stages. This period, beginning with the accession of M. K. Gandhi to a supreme position in the Congress inaugurated a sustained and perennial stream of followers of the Gandhian way of struggle. Gandhi conducted the non-violent movement with a clear plan and programme, and it did not end in failure like the violent reactions of 1801 and 1857. The Mahatma was an example of a creative individual who attracted his followers from both the aristocratic and the proletarian sections of the Indian population. He held a magic wand and a personal magnetism which none else among his
contemporaries possessed. His appearance and words acted like electric shocks which none could escape. Truly, he was the Father of the Nation.

M. K. Gandhi raised himself from a human level to a superhuman one by leading a virtuous and saintly life. Anyone who has studied the famous Tamil didactic work *Tirukkural* and the stories connected with the life of its author (Tiruvalluvar) will come to the conclusion that Mahatma Gandhi was an incarnation of Tiruvalluvar. We do not know whether Tiruvalluvar led the ideal life which he describes in his work, but we do know that Gandhi lived and worked as Tiruvalluvar wrote and taught. It may be maintained that along with the Gita and the Bible, the *Tirukkural* of the Tamil country influenced the life and actions of Gandhi. His unshakable faith in God and firm emphasis on truth, *ahimsa* and morality in politics have their unmistakable parallels in the life-story of Tiruvalluvar.

The etherealisation of Gandhi by his creative genius may be seen in his formulation of the *satyagraha* programme in South Africa. In that struggle between racial tyranny and truth based on non-violence, the latter came out victorious. His method of resistance to evil derived its energy from truth which he identified with God. In this struggle between brute force and soul force in South Africa, Gandhiji came into close contact with several South Indians (Tamilians) who really understood his ideal and even sacrificed their lives for it. The most prominent among those who had firm faith in the teachings of the Mahatma in South Africa were Valliyammal, Nagappan, Narayanaswami, Tambi Naidu, B. K. Naidu, Rethinam Bhaktar and a host of other Tamilians. But it was Valliyammal of Tillaiyadi in the Mayuram *taluk* of the Tanjore district who had won the golden certificate from the Mahatma himself for her supreme and self-sacrifice in the *satyagraha* movement in South Africa.

The Gandhian era in the Indian National Congress may be said to have begun from 1915 after his return from South Africa. In one of his press-interviews dated 23 April, 1915, Gandhi declared that his aim was to train young Indians in the noble
ideals of *ahimsa*, abolition of untouchability and *swadeshi* on the model of the *satyagrahis* in South Africa.

For his initial experiment with truth and non-violence the part of India chosen by Gandhi was the South. When he arrived at Madras on 17 April, 1915, several South Indian leaders, such as S. Srinivasa Iyengar, B. N. Sarma, Diwan Bahadur Govinda-Raghava Iyer, Karunakara Menon, C. R. Tiruvenkatachari, G. A. Natesan, Yakub Hasan, Adikesavalu Naicker, V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer and others welcomed him, and they were the persons who followed Gandhi in his inauguration of the *satyagraha* movement against the Rowlatt Acts, the Punjab (Amritsar) massacres and the Khilafat movement.

Madras city was the place where the Mahatma had a dream, and a divine voice showed him the way for organising the *satyagraha* movement against the Rowlatt Acts. When he came to Madras on 18 March, 1919, Gandhi was welcomed and encouraged by South Indian leaders like V. O. Chidambaram Pillai, S. Satyamurthi and S. Somasundara Bharati. It was during this visit to Madras that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi first came to be addressed as the Mahatma. In one of his speeches at Madras, the Mahatma said that he was always happy to be in Tamilnad and that he had a warm corner in his heart for the Tamilians. He was invited to Madras by Kasturi Ranga Iyengar of the *Hindu* who, in turn, was influenced by Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. Through the medium of Mahadev Desai, the Mahatma moved very closely with C. Rajagopalachari. Both of them conferred together and planned to experiment with the non-violent movement against the unjust and uncalled for Rowlatt Acts. While Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, Vijayaraghavachari and C. Rajagopalachari were still groping in the darkness whether to begin the *satyagraha* or not, Gandhi wrote about his dream as follows. "The idea came to me last night in a dream that we should call upon the country to observe a general 'Hartal'. Satyagraha is a process of self-purification and ours is a sacred fight, and it seems to me in the fitness of things that it should be commenced with an act of self-purification", C. Rajagopalachari completely agreed with Gandhi that the
dream was a call for action by divine grace and inspiration. A. Ramaswami, the author of Gandhi in Tamilnad, has come to the conclusion that Gandhi must have experienced this dream in the early hours of 23 March, 1919, and that he must have begun the satyagraha movement from that date in Tamilnad.13

A comprehensive programme was prepared at Madras and a Satyagraha Committee was formed under the guidance of the Mahatma. C. Vijayaraghavachari, M. C. Nanjunda Rao, S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, and T. Prakasam were chosen Vice-Presidents, and A. Rangaswami Iyengar, C. Rajagopalachari, P. Adinarayana Chetty and G. Harisarvottama Rao were appointed secretaries. The following programme of action was formulated:

(a) The Satyagrahis must, at first, purify themselves by abstaining from food for 24 hours.

(b) All markets must be closed, Government servants and others must not attend to their duties on the Satyagraha day.

(c) Meetings condemning the Rowlatt Acts must be organised throughout India and the Government requested to give up the proposal of passing the Rowlatt Acts.

At this juncture, while Gandhi was staying at Madras, an important contact took place between Gandhi and the great Tamil poet, Subramanya Bharati. Bharati entered the room where Gandhi was sitting and requested him to preside over a meeting which he was expected to address that evening. Since there was another engagement for him that evening, Gandhi regretted his inability, and requested Bharati (whose identity Gandhi did not know) to postpone the meeting till the following day. But, Bharati said that it was not possible, and got out of the room saying, “Mr. Gandhi, I bless you for your courage and foresight for organising this Satyagraha and I pray for your success”.14 Only after Bharati had left the room, did the Mahatma learn from C. Rajagopalachari that the person was none else than the poet Subramanya Bharati. From
Madras Gandhi visited Tanjore, Trichy, Madurai and other important places in the South, explained to the people the true significance of the satyagraha movement and requested them to have firm faith in ahimsa (non-violence) and abhaya (lack of fear). Those who were willing to follow him in his satyagraha were asked to think carefully and to take the pledge only if they could fully carry out his commands.

In addition to the agitation against the Rowlatt Acts, the unwarranted massacres at the Jallianwallah Bagh, the inhuman insults meted out to the Indians at Amritsar, and the Khilafat question provided further impulse for the intensification of the national movement throughout India. A special Congress session was held at Calcutta for five days from 4th to 9th September, 1920.25 The draft of the non-co-operation resolution was prepared by the Mahatma with the approval of Moulana Shaukat Ali. The following seven items of direct action in a non-violent way were approved by this special Congress session.

(1) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and the resignation of nominated posts in local bodies.
(2) Refusal to attend Government levees, durbars and other official functions held by Government officials or in their honour.
(3) Gradual withdrawal of children from Government schools and colleges in the various provinces.
(4) Gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of arbitration courts for the settlement of private disputes.
(5) Refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in war.
(6) Withdrawal by the candidates from election to the reformed provincial and central councils and refusal by the voters to take part in elections.
(7) Boycott of foreign goods.

Along with the above seven items of the non-co-operation programme, constructive activities, such as abolition of salt-tax, prohibition of intoxicating drinks, cultivating Hindu-Muslim
unity, encouraging hand-spinning and *khadi* production, abolition of untouchability, the encouragement of regional languages and the promotion of a national language formed the basis of the national movement.

What were the reactions of the South to the non-co-operation movement and the constructive programme for the attainment of independence? We can point out that in all the above challenges, the South, especially Tamilnad, took a lively interest and played an active role.

When Gandhi organised the Khilafat movement, his main aim was to weld the Hindus and Muslims into a single nation, and thus to disprove the thesis of the British rulers that these two communities could never live together. This objective was realized in the South, and in all the places where the Mahatma and Shaukat Ali visited, they were honoured and presented with heavy purses by both the Hindus and the Muslims. The problem of Hindu-Muslim differences was not a serious one in the South, and in the majority of cases, the Muslims and the Hindus, had lived and were living there peacefully. This peaceful life continues even to-day in spite of the formation of Pakistan and the creation of the Kashmir and the Bangladesh problems.

But, after the Moplah revolt at Malabar the attempt to unite the followers of these two religions there completely failed. This was due to the fact that the Moplahs of Malabar did not understand the true spirit of the Khilafat movement and the *satyagraha* of Mahatma Gandhi. They revolted, believing that the British rule had ceased and that they were free. They plundered the money-lenders and land-owners of that region who were chiefly Hindus. The Moplah revolt in Malabar only revealed the vast differences that existed between the Hindus and the Muslims and gave the first warning of the future troubles in the North where Hindu-Muslim differences became gradually more and more acute, leading to the vituperation of the country and the assassination of the Mahatma by an eccentric Hindu who imagined that the Mahatma was favouring the Muslims more than the Hindus.
The Mahatma regarded untouchability as the greatest blot on Hinduism and was determined to do away with this enormity. Since untouchability was a denial of human equality and an inhuman and barbarous practice without any support in our sacred or secular literature, he was up against it. He was quite earnest and even willing to sacrifice his own life for the sake of preserving the unity of Hinduism. His crusade against untouchability led to the throwing open of all the temples in South India including those at Tirupati, Kallahasti, Chidambaram, Madurai, Tiruvannamalai, Kanchi and other places to the Harijans (untouchables). In this noble effort South Indian leaders like C. Rajagopalachari, A. Vaidyanatha Iyer, C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, E. N. Ramaswami and a host of others helped the Mahatma to the best of their ability.

Mahatma Gandhi's march to Dandi for Salt Satyagraha had its counterpart in Tamilnad under the leadership of Sardar Vedaratnam Pillai of Vedaranyam and Sardar Adikesavalu Naicker of Madras. The abolition of the salt laws was the greatest benefit which the Mahatma conferred on the nation, since salt is a very necessary article and a tax on salt weighed heavily on the poor. At the present day, it is the only article which is within the reach of all consumers, whether rich or poor. Indulgence in intoxicating drinks, such as toddy and arrack was another social evil especially among the poor, which was sought to be eradicated by the Mahatma. But, prohibition seems to have failed, and if the Mahatma's spirit returns to the mundane world to-day, it would find the Indian villages quite different from what it was between 1950 and 1970.

The Father of the Nation firmly believed that real swaraj would come to India only when the ancient cottage industry of spinning and weaving would revive. According to him, unemployment and under-employment in the villages could be solved only by the charkha (spinning wheel). Dependence on foreign mill-made cloth, the ruin of Indian village industries, and the extreme pressure of population on land were the curses inflicted on India by the British imperialists. The Indians
could never rise ‘from the depth of poverty as long as they depended on food and cloth, imported from foreign countries. To become self-sufficient and to save the starving millions, Gandhi started the *khadi* movement. The South understood the real significance of wearing *khaddar*, and even to-day *khadi* has not disappeared from South India, whatever might be its fate in other parts of the country.

It was through the English medium that the real contact between the North and the South took place during the national movement. The Mahatma did not carry the masses with him when he asked them to learn Hindi instead of English and to regard it as the national language. The introduction of Hindi is regarded as an imposition in the South and the three-language formula is not accepted by the South Indians. This challenge of Hindi brought about the anti-Hindi agitation and the consequent misunderstandings between the North and the South. The South hailed the Quit India Movement of 1942, though there were leaders who were not completely convinced of its efficacy. The South cannot forget the supreme sacrifices of the North Indian leaders like the Mahatma, Motilal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad and Jawaharlal. The psychological cleavage between the North and the South must give way to an organic cultural unity of India.

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THE DECCAN IN GUJARAT: THREE CENTURIES OF CONFLICT AND ADJUSTMENT

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The Deccan in Gujarat appears to have passed through three distinct phases in course of three centuries, from the eighteenth to the twentieth. They are destructive, constructive and assimilative. In fact, the South in Gujarat is known through its immediate southernly neighbouring region, the Deccan. The term Dakshini Lok or 'the people from the South' is generally understood in Gujarat as implying the people of the Deccan. The words 'Maharashtrian', 'Marathi' and 'Ghati' (i.e., the people of the Ghats) have the same connotation in the people's mind. The Tamilians, the Telugus, the Kannadigas and the Malayalis wrongly pass by the name of 'Madrasis' or those from Madras.

The deeper South has, however, left two distinct marks on the face of Gujarat, commercial and religious. Both the Gujaratis and the Malabaris led a bold sea-faring life on the high seas, and challenged the Arab monopoly there; and even when contacts through land routes were threatened, those on the water continued without interruption, and were some times even considered safer. In the sixteenth century, slightly before Akbar established his sway over Gujarat in 1572 A.D., the Vallabh Sampradayya or sect had entered Gujarat through the efforts of Vitthalnathji, the son of Shrimad Vallabhacharya, a Telang Brahman from the South. Today this sect has the biggest following in Gujarat. It is an irony of history that in the 1870s the great religious reformer of Gujarat, Swami Dayanand, found the supporters of his Aryan Samaj not in Gujarat but elsewhere in the country, while 'outsiders' received a warm welcome here!
1. Destructive Phase

Coming back to the theme, it may be noted that the first contact of the Deccanis with Gujarat in the seventeenth century was not very pleasant. For his long drawn out life and death struggle with the Mughals and the Muslim powers of the South Shivaji needed the sinews of war. Naturally he turned his attention to the much sung fabulous wealth of Gujarat, and that too of Surat, the golden-faced city. He sacked it twice, once in 1664 and the second time in 1670. Narmad in his Surat ni Mukhtesar Hakikat tells us that the first loot gave him some three crores of rupees in cash in addition to gold, silver and other jewellery. After the second loot he left a word with the people that if they paid him Rupees twelve lakhs every year, they would be spared of harassment in future. Apart from this blackmail he had no definite policy of raising revenue here. That idea in the form of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi came with the later Marathas. These levies were also variable. While Shivaji looted only that much which he could easily carry off (so that only the rich became his victims), his followers’ rapacity did not even leave the farmers. Particularly after Aurangzeb’s death in 1707 A.D. the frequency of the plundering raids of the Marathas increased at an alarming rate. The raids of Dhanaji Jadhav, Balaji Vishwanath, Khanderao Dabhade, Kanhaji Kadam Bande and Pilaji Gaekwad ravaged the country to such an extent that the hated Muslim rulers’ bid to halt the Maratha raids was widely acclaimed and it even provided topics for the Gujarati poets. Poet Vishwanath Jani, possibly of Baroda, wrote Ganim no Pavado (Ganim meaning enemy, and in the poem Dakshini Ganim is referred to), describing the terror, privation, oppression and misery spread by the enemy from the Deccan, and finally invoking the blessing of Goddess Chandika for putting an end to this terrible situation. Poet Shamal wrote Rustam no Shaloko, glorifying the exploits of Rustamali Khan, the Nawab of Surat, against the treacherous Marathas. After 1724 A.D. the Maratha policy was to obtain ransom from the many flourishing cities of Gujarat without sacking them. Balaji Vishwanath was paid Rs. 210,000/- by the Mahajan of Ahmeda-
bad when he threatened to plunder that city. Such easy money which the Maratha Sardars needed badly to tilt the balance in their favour at the Poona Court, made the people's life in the towns of Gujarat depressing and irksome.

Till 1752 both the Peshwa and the Gaekwad tried to keep each other less secure in Gujarat so that their interests were not sacrificed. Both of them extorted money from the people, and as a contemporary writer aptly remarked, while there was one Gujarat, its deadly suckers were two (Gujarat Ek Ane Tene Chusnar Jam Jeva Be). The advantage of the dissensions between the two Maratha chiefs was cleverly taken by the English who had not lost heart before Shivaji in Surat and now interposed confidently between the two disputants. Gujarat could heave a sigh of relief only after 1818 A.D. because before that time no one could, in the words of Kavi Dalpatram move out of one's house in clean clothes for fear of being reported to the Maratha officers who would then rob the former of everything. A contemporary Gujarati poem, Sati Sadubai no Pavado, speaks of the indignities to which the women of Ahmedabad were subjected by false reports of the state informers there during the Peshwa's rule. (Incidentally, the literary form of Pavado or Povada, prevailing in Gujarat, is distinctly a result of Deccani influence).

After making Gujarat a favourite hunting ground for more than a century, the Marathas gradually began to feel the need to settle down. Once the four-cornered struggle for power between the Marathas (divided between the Poona Government and the Baroda Government), the Mughal Subedars (always in need of aid from Delhi), the Muslim Chiefs (who had to defend themselves against both the Mughal Subedars and the Marathas) and the English was resolved in favour of the Gaekwads aided by their English allies, the Marathas settled down to the more peaceful work of government. Their plundering forays over a long period had introduced in Gujarat a good number of Deccani freebooters. The Maratha Sardars had always recruited their armies from the Deccan, and the people of the Ghats were ever-ready to seize such opportunity because
their lot in their own home land was no better. After soldiers came priests and administrators in large numbers. The initial attempt to govern still smacked of the old habits of the Marathas. The Kamavisdar of a *paragana*, or the farmer of revenue, now began in a more systematic way his loot. There was no filling up of the gap on the breakdown of the old order. A Parsi historian Dosabhai Faramji cites a current saying among the people of Gujarat on the peculiarity of the Marathi Raj, *Pasa padel ti Dav, Raja Karil ti Nyav*, which meant that if the move proved successful, so far so good, and Royal dispensation of justice admitted no appeal. This was to suggest that there was nothing like a well thought out policy nor any code of law.

II. Constructive Phase

However, once the Gaekwad was not required to live up to the family motto *Jin Ghar, Jin Takht*, that is the saddle on a horse was both a home and a throne, in its literal sense, he tried to pacify the country under his rule. Baroda was a living monument of the Gaekwadi effort to find fortune in Gujarat. Damajirao II had secured it from the Mughal hands in 1734 A.D., though it became the Gaekwadi headquarters only in 1764 A.D. Since then, by virtue of its position as the capital of a powerful Maratha state for more than two hundred years, it has become one of the most important and progressive cities of Gujarat.

Damajirao II (1732-68), Sayajirao I (1768-78), and Fatesinghrao I (1778-89) occupied themselves with the pacification of the country with the English help. The English officers like Col. Alexander Walker, Major Ballantyne and Capt. Willoughby pacified Kathiawad, Mahikantha, the Mehwasi area and Rewakantha in 1807, 1821, 1823 and 1825 respectively. Fatesinghrao found greater opportunities and leisure to devote himself to this task. He instructed his Thahedar of Adalaj on 20th April 1778 to punish severely those people who were found guilty of kidnapping or indulging in illegal seizure, and warned the mischief-makers that the Sarkar would not tolerate such actions in
future. He afforded relief to the famine-affected people in 1780 and 1792 by tagavi loans and remissions of taxes. We see a Maratha officer in 1796 taking pains for repairing places of historical importance at Limbdi in Kathiawad. Later, Govindrao Gaekwad's generosity helped the restoration of a few temples in the state of Baroda. From early 1798 to 1800 the Gaekwad Sarkar helped in putting down the rapacity of recalcitrant chiefs like Aba Shelukar, the Peshwa's agent at Ahmedabad.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century presented the Deccan in Gujarat in a somewhat ambiguous role, as the conservators of tradition and at the same time as a great modernizing influence. Govindrao Gaekwad's (1794-1800) strong belief in astrology was responsible for grants made to one Poona astrologer Chinto Mahadev Gole who, it is reported, predicted with absolute correctness the Gaekwad's bright future when there was apparently no hope at all. Thus superstition still continued to influence politics. The Maratha zeal for promoting the orthodox Hindu religion was also visible in the prohibition of cow slaughter in their own Raj as well as in the tributary states of Cambay and Palanpur (1803), in the ceremonial installation of the idol in a temple at Sidhpur (1806), and in providing grants for the maintenance of the famous shrines at Dwarka (1806), Dakore (1807), Somnath, and Prabhas (1813). At the last-mentioned holy place arrangements were made to exempt the Hindus from the pilgrim tax (1816 A.D.). Assurances were also sought from the English Resident when their troops captured Beyt Shankhoddhar at Dwarka that nothing would be done which might offend the Hindu religious sentiment.

The elaborate celebration of the Ganapati festival came to Gujarat with the Deccanis. So did Hindu-Muslim riots on account of the close proximity of the festivals of Ganesh Chaturthi and Muharram. One such communal riot took place in Surat in 1760. It is reported that when a rich Maratha banker of Baroda of the Mairal family requested a devout Gujarati Vaishnav poet and singer Dayaram of Dabhoi to do the kirtan of Ganesh, he politely replied that he always began his katha-kirtan with an invocation for Ganapati's blessings but that the
kirtan could not be of any god other than Shri Krishna.

In 1801 the Sarkar had issued an order of an orthodox type, disallowing the untouchables to carry goods, like quilts, for the touchables. In October 1816, Keshav Mairal, the Kamavisdar of Patan pargana in north Gujarat, was ordered to see that an ex-communication order imposed on one Balkrishna Shastri, the State Preacher at Sidhpur, for employing an untouchable maid-servant in his household was lifted after the Shastri had performed the necessary penance, as prescribed by the leading Brahmins of Baroda. A year later, at the same place, on a request from a Hindu lady, who had been ex-communicated on account of the jealousy of a mahajan (money-lender), an order was issued to re-admit her within the caste fold. These latter instances bear witness to the liberal and progressive policies of the Gaekwad.

Several other orders from the Government of Baroda reveal their progressive attitude in social matters. On 9th June, 1802, all the Brahmins, local and outsiders, were asked to show compassion to a widow who had committed adultery and absolve her along with the man guilty for the sin. In August, 1809, a Brahman, Vasudeo Doundkar, who had wandered in distant lands as an anchorite and was put out of the caste for pollution was also ordered to be taken back in the community. In December, 1811, a local officer at Baroda was directed to take steps to remove the ban imposed on a Shrimali goldsmith for having married a widow. In 1813 the Sarkar lifted the prohibitive orders issued before on community dinners on account of the high prices of food grains then prevailing. The changing taste in luxuries could be discerned when in 1814, some 150 years ago, Fatesing Gaekwad asked for glassware, a pair of fine dogs of European breed, a sedan chair, a panelled palanquin and a carriage to be sent from Bombay.

A major judicial reform was carried out on 11th December, 1813, when a High Court on modern lines, presided over by one Yashwantrao Bapuji Godbole, was established in Baroda, and private dispensation of justice was prohibited. The proclamation in this regard was issued in three languages, namely, Marathi, Gujarati and Persian. But, curiously enough,
the High Court judges themselves believed in the oracular powers of a saint to whom they officially referred a case of stealing.

By 1825 A.D. the old practice of brigandage began to disappear. Mulukgiri campaigns became things of the past. There were no more family-battles among the Gaekwads. The only fights were with the Pendharis of Malwa and the Khosas (1819-25). The Kolis and the Bhils harassed the people of Kadi and Navsari, but there were no more sworn enemies to be opposed. The old and the new were in a melting pot, as it were. The peaceful activities of the people of this period indicate a settled and quiet life. Religious ceremonies were held for the propitiation of stars and angry deities. Sayajirao II exchanged gifts and presents with General Malcolm. Encouragement was given to the promotion of Maratha arts and crafts. The Bhandaris from Konkan were invited to plant coconut trees and betelnut palms (1820); three Maratha pugilists, too, were invited to Baroda (1821); a sculptor, Moru Shimpí, and his assistant, one Kagalkar, were asked to be sent to Baroda with their statuettes and models; a trumpeter and a perfumer of Poona, too, received Baroda patronage in 1822. A certain book in possession of one Pirkhan Bohiri and a hunting leopard of Hyderabad were also purchased.

There was a growing interest in pilgrimages and in import of foreign luxury goods. The descendants of a Marathi saint Eknath visited Baroda on Sayajirao’s invitation. On the other hand, the Gaekwad maintained a small zoo where he kept fighting elephants, partridges, quails, and leopards, and showed an equal interest in wrestlers and dancers.

The activities of the people kept pace with those of their rulers. The movements of private parties from Gujarat to the Deccan and vice versa between 1819 and 1825 registered a significant increase, as could be seen from the large number of passports issued during this period. People of the middle and lower classes learnt new ways of protest against unjust laws or forced labour. The masons of Patan protested in 1819 against
the re-imposition of the *Antol* tax after a long time. Similarly, the singing girls of Balisna protested in 1825 against a new levy, and the washermen of Baroda went on a general strike on 24th March, 1825, demanding to be left in peace and prosperity, without being molested.

At the same time the Deccanis brought with them to Gujarat their age-old communal disputes. Baroda witnessed a bitter dispute in July 1825 between the Prabhus and other Brahmans of Poona. When Vitthalrao Devaji, the Prabhu minister of the Gaekwad, wished that the Prabhus should adopt the customs and ceremonies of the Brahmans, trouble broke out. An influential section of the Poona Brahmans fiercely opposed this move, and passions ran high when the minister threatened to end his life. The firm measures taken by the Government, however, ultimately prevented a big flare-up.

The Maharaja and his officers showed a rather unusual interest in the Irish Famine Fund in February, 1828, and generously contributed Rs. 28,500/- towards it.

**III. Assimilative Phase**

From about the second quarter of the nineteenth century the process of assimilation began. In the midst of the vast Gujarati population around them the Marathas were like a drop in the ocean, and were naturally more influenced than influencing the general tenor of life. Various institutions and persons contributed to this process. The Maratha state of Baroda continued to represent the Deccan in Gujarat and created a more favourable impact in the changed context. Sayajirao II's interest in and desire to further the cause of athletics, sports, music and study of Sanskrit were evinced also by his successors, particularly by Sayajirao III. The Gaekwads from Fatesingrao onwards freely participated in the Holi festival, and patronised the Gujarati *Bhavai*, a combination of folk dance, drama and music, no less than the Marathi *Gondhalis*. Interest was evinced in manufacturing ice when one Hanmant Jasud was afforded facili-
ties to procure this new item initially found useful for medicinal purposes.

After the 1820s a general awakening was coming over the people of Gujarat. In 1824, by the orders of George William Anderson, the fort of Surat that stood in the middle of the city was demolished, and out of the rubble were built new roads. Significantly, from now on, Gujarat forged ahead on modern paths. In the fields of education and social reform new avenues of co-operation between the Deccan and Gujarat were opened. On the shelf of an educated Gujarati one could certainly hope to find the Marathi Bakhar, published by Hindi Nishal and Pustak Mandali in 1822. The first Gujarati books for the ten new English schools opened in Gujarat (at Ahmedabad, Broach, Surat, Kheda, Dholka and Nadiad) were translations of Marathi works, made by the Deccanis themselves. They did not know enough Gujarati, but thought themselves competent to write even Gujarati grammar on the ground that they knew Sanskrit and Marathi well. This again turned out to be a translation of a Marathi grammar. A mess was bound to be created, and this has been clearly pointed out by D. P. Derasari in his Sathi na Sahitya nu Digdarshan and by H. T. Parekh in his Arvachin Gujarat nu Rekha Darshan. In fact, the Marathis even today make grammatical mistakes when they speak Gujarati. The first two Gujarati grammars referred to above were written by Gangadhar Shastri Fadke around 1839. It is also to be noted that one of the earliest Gujarati translations of Kalidasa's Shakuntala by Dalpatram Khakhkhar was not from Sanskrit but from a Marathi version whose author was Parshuram Pant Godbole. The first prize-winning Gujarati essay on Kathiawad tatha Kachcha ni Ketlik Jatio man Balhatya was written by Dr. Bhaup Daji Lad in 1842. One of the early histories of India in the English language, written by Elphinstone, was translated into Gujarati by a Marathi, Viswanath Narayan Mandlik in 1862. A gentleman from Bombay, Bajirao Tatyajirao Ranjit, brought out an English-Gujarati dictionary in 1871, and this tradition has been kept up by other Marathi scholars, the latest among them being Pandurang Deshpande.
One of the founders of Durgaram Mehtaji's Manav Dharma Sabha, established on 22nd June, 1844, and of the Pustak Prasarak Mandal, founded two years earlier, was Dadobha Pandurang, the headmaster of the English school at Surat. The signatories to a public appeal for this venture included, among many Gujaratis, a few Deccanis like Balkrishna Laxman of the Surat Collectorate, Ladkoba Atmaram and Sundar Rao Moruba Prabhu. In fact, progressive ideas in Gujarat and Bombay went hand in hand, as can be seen from the two wings, Gujarati and Marathi, of the Jnan Prasarak Mandal of Bombay, established in 1849. After the 1850s a few Deccani gentlemen so much identified themselves with Gujarat, that they could be called Gujarati Marathis. One such person was Gopal Hari Deshmukh, the Lokhitvadi. During his official sojourn in Ahmedabad as a judge at the local court, he took a great interest in the Gujarati language and literature. He even wrote the Agamnigam Prakash in Gujarati and was made the honorary secretary of the Gujarati Vernacular Society. Another Deccani officer who served both the English and the Gaekwads with equal distinction from 1818 to the early 1850s was Naropant Laxman Mavlankar. He began as a talati on Rs. 7/- per month, and reached Rs. 700/- as a daftaradar when he retired. From Naropant to his great grandson Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar, the tradition of Gujarati Marathis has been well sustained. The present Mavlankars are more Gujarati than their forefathers. Ganesh Gopal Pandit, a high school teacher in the 1870s, and Kakasaheb Kalelkar and Mamasheb Fadke in the 1970s are superb examples of people who were drawn to Gujarat by the most magnetic personality of our age, Mahatma Gandhi. Pandurang Vasudev Valame, popularly known as Rang Avadhut Maharaj, who recently passed away commanded a vast following among both the communities, but perhaps more among the Gujaratis. Kavi Narmadas Shankar's circle of friends included many Deccanis, Dadasheb Khaparde being one of them. The great institution, known popularly as Karve University, is a glowing example of the contribution of Marathi talent and Gujarati money. But for the timely help of Sir Vitthaladas Thakarashi, this institution would not have played the useful role which it is doing today. Nevertheless, the biggest
co-operative enterprise between the two peoples was, despite early sad memories, the State of Baroda. From 1875 onwards, with Raja Sir T. Madhavrao as Dewan and Sayajirao III as Maharaja, the Government of Baroda tried to wipe out the dark patches left by the Maratha rapacity and treachery on the face of Gujarat, and the benevolent rule of this greatest of the Gaekwads nearly succeeded, in achieving this noble object.
(IV) HISTORIAN'S BIAS

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH: A STUDY OF HISTORIAN'S BIAS

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A study of historian’s bias is an intricate as well as controversial venture. To study the bias of a historian is more difficult than the study of the historian himself. But the study of bias in history is a fundamental proposition which a scholar can hardly neglect. This paper attempts an analysis of the bias in the historical writings of a few representative modern Indian historians. The historians selected for the present study are G. S. Sardesai, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Surendra Nath Sen and Sardar K. M. Panikkar.

The study of bias in history is a difficult task for a number of reasons. Any such study is likely to be controversial, as no two persons may fully agree on the point. One can argue that a study like this may reflect a particular angle of vision of the scholar himself. In other words, the study of bias may betray in its turn the bias of the scholar who does it. So the danger is there. Moreover, can there be any agreed answer to the question, —what does constitute a bias in a historian? Is it not debatable whether history can be written without any bias at all? G. O. Trevelyan in his essay on ‘Bias in History’ remarked: “The problem of bias is fundamental and all-pervading. No one can teach or write history for ten minutes without coming in contact with the question whether he is aware of it or not. Because history is not an exact science but an interpretation of human affairs, opinion and varieties of opinion intrude as inevitable factors.” We cannot get rid of the element of opinion—broad, all-embracing, philosophic, not a narrow kind that excludes half
or more reality.

If we accept Marc Bloch, then history is the ‘story of men-in-time’. A bias creeps in when that story is presented, divorced from its proper context. History, it may be conceded, cannot be an exercise in bare objectivity. Some element of subjectivity is bound to occur in any historical study; and this subjectivity leads to what may be called bias. It is needless to emphasise that if a historian starts with a pre-conceived theory, he is likely to overlook other points of view. One must, however, distinguish between the application of a pre-set theory and the application of a formula or even a model which may be necessary in researches in socio-economic history. Purposive historical writings cross the limits of bias and turn into what may be called propagandist literature with the name of ‘history’. The complexity of the problem of bias increases when it is studied in relation to what is called the ‘goal’ of history. There may be an inherent confusion relating to the ‘goal’ or objective of historical writing which may look like a bias. In his Preface to his work Histories of Romance and Teutonic Peoples (1824) Ranke wrote, “History has had assigned to it the task of judging the past, of instructing the present for the benefit of the ages to come.” There are many who do not subscribe to this concept of history playing the role of an instructor, so to say. To scholars like R. C. Majumdar “truth, nothing but truth and as far as possible the whole truth, should form the steel-frame of history, on which you may build a structure according to different plots, rhythms, plans or patterns in which you believe according to your philosophy of history.” It must be asserted that there is nothing like ‘absolute truth’ in history. It is the relative truth that is the object of history to unfold in a given period of time. No historian can claim that his is the last word on a particular problem. Moreover, is there any escape for any historian from the influence of the age and the society to which he belongs? An altogether different premise was put forward by David Hackett Fischer in his recently published work Historians’ Fallacies (1971). In his words, “If history is worth doing today, then it must not be understood in terms of historicity without utility, or of utility without historicity.
Instead, both qualities must be combined. In view of the changing concept of history from age to age, and from place to place, the study of bias cannot be safely related to the fundamentals or the theories of history. Bias in historians can be studied in terms of their prejudice, as reflected in historical writings.

Bias may be discerned right from the posing of a historical problem through the methodology to the drawing of conclusions. Primarily, this bias may be the result of a legacy. This was very much pronounced in the older generation of modern Indian historians. It is a well-known fact that modern Indian historiography grew out of the imperialist tradition of research in Indian history. For quite some time there was a marked bias against social and economic history. What Voltaire wrote about the Gauls was true in the case of Indian history. Indian history was mainly concerned with accounts of political developments, rise and fall of dynasties, the achievements of the Governors-General and so on. In a word, it was nothing but political, military and diplomatic history. In his presidential address to the Calcutta session of the Indian History Congress (1955) Sardar K. M. Panikkar rightly observed that Indian history was written mainly in terms of dynasties and kings of particular regions; and “consequently Indian history has acquired a reputation of being dull and uninteresting.” In almost all early writings on Indian history we find the official British mind at work and the civil service mind at the bottom. No better expression of this can be found anywhere than in H. T. Prinsep’s Preface to the Memoirs of Amir Khan. He wrote, “We conquer and take the country and make out our case before the world. Those we combat with are dumb or silent. Everything is presented as Couleur de Rose for European valour, European skill and energy, moderation and integrity and whatever other virtues the narrators might choose to claim for their compatriots ……very seldom is a lone voice heard on the other side, or if a small cry is raised, it speaks to our countrymen in England in an unknown tongue.” Though the early Indian historians did not have any conscious imperialist bias, they could not truly paint the Indian India, as they bogged down in the traditional
British approach to Indian history.

Faulty methodology may give rise to a kind of bias. A historian is not likely to sit on the judgement seat of Vikramaditya and pronounce a verdict on historical events. A historian should not overlook any material whatsoever. It is true that paucity of materials may create difficulties for the historian in a given period of time. As more and more original sources are brought to light with the march of time, the earlier historical writings may seem to contain a bias, when looked at from the angle of later researches. Any restricted connotation of ‘sources of history’ is itself a bias. There was a time when literary evidences were not regarded as a reliable source of history. The earlier generation of Indian historians placed more reliance on Government records and other official papers. Marc Bloch rightly contended that the sources of history are scattered around us, and that we must have only trained eyes to pick them up. The historian’s task is primarily to collate the various sources available, process them, and present them in an organised manner. When the scholar has observed and explained, his task is finished. He must be very careful that his evidences should speak for themselves. Marc Bloch rightly observed: “Because history has tended to make more and more frequent use of unintentional evidence, it can no longer confine itself to weighing the explicit assertions of the documents. It has been necessary to wring from them further confessions which they had never intended to give.” In other words, bias is likely to develop, if a critical method is not followed in historical research. Reason is the central point of history, and this is best high-lighted if a scientific method is followed. The scientific method does not necessarily mean the Marxian approach. It may be best explained in terms of a simple formula: to pose specific searching questions regarding historical problems, applying a critical method indicative of logical historical attitude, drawing conclusions which can withstand logical tests, not in the context of the past but of the present and even of the near future. If the method is not scientific, then the historian may reach faulty conclusions even with true factual premises.
Nearness to historical events or an emotional involvement in historical incidents and personages passes imperceptibly into historical writings. "A great many historical events can have been observed only in moments of violent emotional confusion or by witnesses whose attention, whether attracted too late in the event of surprise, or preoccupied by the need for immediate action, was incapable of sufficient concentration upon those features in which historians have reason to be most interested to-day." Emotional involvement in historical events or developments may render it impossible for a historian to study them without any prejudice. It will not be a simple case of subjectivity of approach and a projection of one's own personality. He will miss what Fischer calls "adductive reasoning" which is so necessary to elevate history to its proper pedestal.

The idea of relevance of historical research to contemporary society may produce in its turn a kind of bias in a historian. Should historical research cater to the needs of the contemporary society? This is a tricky question and an answer to this is closely related to the particular socio-political system of a country. The complexity of the problem increases when some historians feel a sense of identification with and obligation to the society in which they live. In that case, the divided loyalty of the historian to his society and to the demands of his discipline may be reflected in his writings. In such cases, the danger of getting involved in current politics is always there. The social purpose may be incidental to historical writings. But shaping history only with a view to serving a social cause may result in history degenerating into a useful propaganda. On the other hand, if people are regarded as tools of history, their aspirations and achievements must be reflected in historical writings. To strike a balance in this matter is extremely difficult. The position may be best summed up in Panikkar's words. "The school of thought", he wrote, "which looks upon history as a system of national apologetics has but little justification in its favour. Nor can the history of any country be regarded as a grand procession of great men or a majestic stream of progress broadening with every age, and from precedent to precedent.
But the history of a country has little value unless it deals with the conscious effort of a people to achieve a civilization, to reach better standards, to live a happier and nobler life."

In the light of what has hitherto been said we may examine the writings of a few modern Indian historians. Sardesai, Sarkar, Sen and Panikkar are representative historians by any standard; and it may be profitable to concentrate on their works. There can hardly be any doubt as to their contribution to Indian history; but each of them had some bias easily discernible in their writings. Their bias must not, however, be misinterpreted as a conscious distortion of history on their part.

Govinda Sakharam Sardesai was a painstaking and devoted scholar of Maratha history. Every student of Indian history knows that his *Riyasats* are monuments of his scholarship and dedication. He was emotionally involved in the achievements of the Marathas and their heritage. A definite pro-South or pro-Maratha attitude coloured almost all his historical writings. In the Preface to his *New History of the Marathas* (Vol. I) Sardesai writes: "Of all the diverse races inhabiting the Indian sub-continent, each gifted with a peculiar trait of its own, the Marathas alone can claim to have made a distinct contribution to the political fortunes of this land by daring to establish Indian self-rule throughout the country, although, measured by the length of time, their construction proved too short-lived." Sardesai actually started with a mission which produced a strong Maratha bias in him. He again wrote: "One word more of apology is needed from me. The Marathas have long been misjudged by their rivals and adversaries and painted in the blackest colours both during and after the period of their downfall, as if they had no single good point to their credit.... It is still a difficult task for a Maratha writer to paint his people's history on a canvas with colours that truly represent fact and avoid prejudices. In the following narrative, I aspire to produce a true apologia (Kaifiyat) of the Maratha people...." The strong bias of Sardesai, which may be consi-
dered as unfortunate, was patent in his following comment:
"The usual spiritual aspect of Hindu life, its soft and charitable character stands in severe contrast with the inhuman wicked practices of the Muslims.... One must recognise that Maratha rule, although too short, is not stained by such dark blots as have blackened the Mughal regime." It does not require any detailed analysis to prove that Sardesai was not correct, and that he suffered from an anti-Mughal bias. It may be contended that such kind of value-judgement tends to blur the historical vision. However, Sardesai's anti-Mughal bias should not be equated with any anti-North sentiment. His eagerness to glorify the Maratha achievements was also linked up with his defective methodology. His excessive reliance on Marathi materials and his almost inherent belief in their correctness had been at the bottom of his bias. One must, however, appreciate certain personal limitations of Sardesai while making any observation. But, it would indeed be unfortunate and unjust to dub him only as a Sankalankar (compiler).

If Sardesai was emotionally involved in the achievements of the Marathas Sir Jadunath was deeply involved in the history of the Mughals. It would not be preposterous to say that Mughal history was Sarkar's first love. The North-orientation in his works is a patent fact. Sarkar had seen the Marathas only through the Mughal prism. In his Fall of the Mughal Empire his bias turned against the Marathas, particularly the ruling Chitpavan Brahmans, whose view-point perhaps he could not understand. He does not share the grief of the Maratha historians in his analysis of the catastrophe of the third battle of Panipat. To him Panipat was a purely political and military issue, and not a stake for the emancipation of the Hindus. He even equated the Maratha state policy with that of the Mughals. He writes, "Thus Shivaji's power was exactly similar in origin and theory to the power of the Muslim states in India and elsewhere, and he only differed from them in the use of that power." Sarkar was so enamoured with the system of the Mughals that he did not hesitate to undervalue the administrative achievements of the Peshwas. Sir Jadunath could, how-
ever, boldly face the repercussions of his studies about whose soundness he was quite confident. He had his own logic, and did not want to budge an inch from his stand in spite of the warning given to him by his friend Sardesai. In his letter to Sarkar, 7th July, 1943, Sardesai pointed out, "Your angle of vision is not the same as mine", and admitted, "I started entirely from the point of view of the Marathas as an independent entity." Sardesai even made a personal request in his letter to Sarkar on 21.2.27: "When you print your new edition of Shivaji, please do change Shiva into Shivaji. The former is an insulting appellation." But it would be doing an injustice to Sarkar to assert that he had developed a hatred against the Marathas. He was not actually anti-Maratha in his attitude either. He had a great veneration for Shivaji whom he described as "the last constructive genius of the Hindu race." The Mughal bias notwithstanding, Sarkar's ideas regarding the method of scientific investigation of historical problems were not vitiated.

In a sense, the works of Surendra Nath Sen were complimentary to those of Jadunath Sarkar. Like Grant Duff he may also be said to have been the historian of the Marathas. It is worth noting that the swadeshi spirit in Sen inspired him to take up the study of the role of the Marathas in Indian history. He selected the post-Aurangzeb period of Maratha history which was then a virgin field. Unlike Sarkar, Sen approached the study of Maratha history with greater sympathy. He set aside the North-bias and made it almost his mission to place the achievements of the Marathas on the proper pedestal. He practically started with a mission to disprove the theories of the imperialist historians. To do justice to the theme he religiously studied Marathi. It would not be incorrect to say that he was the nationalist historian of the Marathas. His sentimental involvement notwithstanding, he refused to be emotional like Sardesai. The "gossiping Marathi Bakhars" could not swallow him fully. But his pro-Maratha bias was clearly betrayed when he refused to accept that the Marathas were a predatory power. In his eagerness to refute the charges
of the imperialist historians, Sen did not properly consider the other side of the Maratha picture. He cannot, however, be dubbed as a sectarian historian. He was, in fact, a sort of synthesis of Sarkar and Sardesai. It is often said that in his work Eighteen Fifty Seven Sen deviated from the scientific method and wrote what may be called an official history of the great movement. There is no denying the fact that the official guide line was very much there, and perhaps Sen succumbed to that bias.

With his enlightened Oxford background, Sardar K. M. Panikkar could rise above the North-South feeling in historical research. But he was conscious about the distinctive features of the histories of the respective regions, and did not fail to notice that "the history of South India has certain special characteristics which clearly differentiate it from the story of the rest of India." They are, in his opinion, "the continuity and stability of its social organisation and the unity of its culture." Even with his enlightened background and the absence of any regional attachment, Panikkar could not be completely immune from prejudices and predilections. It is rather surprising to note that he had developed what might be called a Hindu bias. In many of his writings this is pronounced. One may be at a loss to explain this bias in an otherwise forward-looking, progressive and realistic mind. It is difficult to believe that this was the result of a narrow, sectarian and reactionary outlook to life and religion. His was not actually a conscious, anti-Islamic or anti-Christian outlook, as thought by many. This dichotomy in Panikkar was symptomatic of the changing intellectual mode in India. However deplorable it might be, the Hindu bias led him to assert that "Indian history is, of necessity, predominantly the history of the Hindu people," and claimed. "What is distinctly Indian has so far been Hindu." The only plausible explanation of this bias of Panikkar may be that in spite of his Oxford education, the orthodox South Indian tradition perhaps lay dormant in the deep layers of his otherwise progressive mind. Panikkar had another peculiar bias in him. He often attempted to
rationalise his own experiences. A careful reader of The Indian Princes in Council or The Working of Dyarchy in India or India and China can easily discern it. It may be due to the fact that he was always true to his affiliations. One should not, however, imagine that the bias of Panikkar vitiated his method of scientific investigation in the field of historical research. His glorification of Hindu culture does not actually justify his characterisation as a revivalist historian. He can never be regarded as a champion of orthodoxy. Panikkar's histories are not deliberate distortions; their appeal is less to the understanding than to the higher emotions of man.

At the end it may be submitted that bias is an inescapable element in the historian's craft. It has to be accepted as an inevitable by-product of historiography. So long as the subjective element in history remains, bias would have to be acknowledged as a necessary evil. A logician may discern fallacies one after another and point out the illogical arguments in the writings of well-known historians. But the fundamental question which may be endlessly debated, is whether history can be approached by only a method of 'adductive reasoning'. Can a scientific approach to history evaporate the subjective element in history altogether? Is there anything called absolute history? If history is the 'story of men-in-time,' and if it is asserted that the history of a society has to be written from age to age, then history is nothing but a relative concept. Bias is actually the result of the projection of the historian's own views, ideology and even class character. Only in a given period of time historical writings can be assessed vis-a-vis the society; and the historian should remain on guard that his bias must not tendentiously blur the historical vision. Bias and history will remain tangled like a twin so long as history does not rise above the level of inexact science.
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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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