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SOME ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE IN KARNĀTAKA

[A. D. 1000—1300]

By

Dr. S. GURURAJACHAR M.A., Ph.D.,

PRASĀRĀNGA
UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE
MYSORE
1974

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Respectfully dedicated
to
Dr. M. SESHADRI
my beloved teacher and benefactor.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

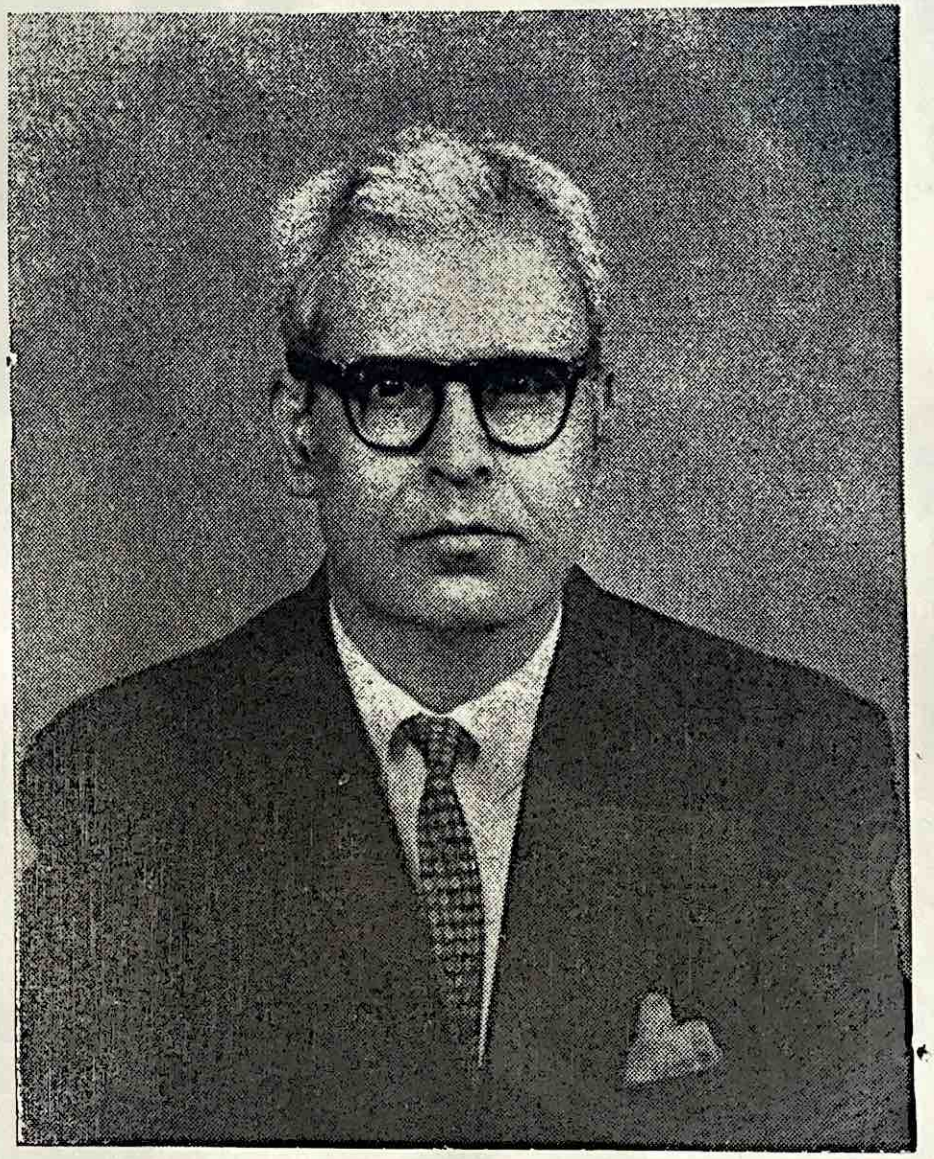
We are happy to present to the reading public Dr. S. Gururajachar's book 'Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karṇāṭaka'.

Dr. S. Gururajachar is one of our fine scholars and the present work is his doctoral thesis. We are grateful to the scholar for kindly permitting us to publish his thesis in the present form.

We are grateful to M/s Kapila Power Press for their neat printing.

Mysore
5–6–1974

PRABHU SHANKARA
Director



Dr. M. SESHADRI

(1914—1972)

FOREWORD

I am happy to introduce to the scholarly public Dr. S. Gururajachar's book on Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karṇāṭaka relating to the period 1000–1300 A.D. This is the doctoral dissertation of Dr. Gururajachar submitted by him to the Mysore University. The author has collected vast materials for his thesis, both literary and epigraphical. There are numerous inscriptions belonging to this period and Dr. Gururajachar has spared no pains in making judicious use of this rich source-material in presenting his work. He has dealt with various topics like land, agriculture, industries, trade and commerce, finance, educational system and the position of women in society. Various sub-topics like different types of land and systems of land-tenure, cultivation and crops, different industries, articles of trade and different trade-guilds with particular reference to the important merchant guild of Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe, various types of taxes, educational institutions and the role of women in society and administration—all these have been treated in a systematic and lucid manner. He has shown that Karṇāṭaka has made notable contribution in the field of social and economic development during the early medieval period. I congratulate the author for bringing out this pains-taking and useful work which fulfils a long-felt need in the regional studies of Indian History and Culture.

Mysore
9-4-1974.

G. S. GAI,
Chief Epigraphist

PREFACE

Much work has been done on the political history of Karṇāṭaka, but the socio-economic aspects of its history are yet to be studied in a scientific way. In some works,[1] written and published so far, dealing with the history of the various dynasties that ruled over Karṇāṭaka, discussions on the economic and social conditions of the respective periods no doubt do appear, but they are treated only in a sketchy manner.

There are, however, some works written mainly on the economic or cultural history.[2] A. Appadorai's *Economic Conditions in Southern India* (A.D. 1000–1500) [in 2 volumes, Madras, 1936], deserves special mention in this context. Since the publication of these works, quite numerous inscriptions of Karṇāṭaka have been collected and published, which throw interesting light on many aspects of its history.

Indeed, the period under study is notable for the abundance of inscriptions, published as well as unpublished, and literary works. It may be added here that numerous Kannaḍa epigraphs are found in the areas outside the present Karṇāṭaka particularly Mahārāṣṭra[3] and Āndhra Pradēśa.[4] This is an indication of the subse-

1 See G. Yazdani (Ed.), *The Early History of the Deccan* [Bombay, 1960]; William Coelho, *Hoysaḷa Vaṁśa* [Bombay, 1950], etc.

2 A. P. Karmarkar, *Cultural History of Karnatak* (*Ancient and Medieval*) [Dharwar, 1947].

3 Cf. *Inscriptions in North Karnatak and Kolhapur State*, Ed. by K. G. Kundangar (Kolhapur, 1939); *Inscriptions from Nanded District*, Ed. by S. H. Ritti and G. C. Shelke (Nanded, 1968).

4 *Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh* (Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, No. 3), Ed. by P. B. Desai, Hyderabad, 1961.

quent shrinking of the political boundaries of Karṇāṭaka. However, all such inscriptions pertaining to the period under study have been utilised in this work.

This work substantially represents my doctoral thesis, which fetched me the Ph.D. Degree of the Mysore University in 1972. My main intention in this work is to place before scholars and students of Indian History, a connected and critical account of some aspects of the economic and social life in Karṇāṭaka, which prevailed during the three centuries, *viz.*, A.D. 1000—1300.

This work has been prepared in the light of contemporary sources, both epigraphical and literary. Though I do not claim finality for the conclusions arrived at in this work, I humbly submit that the present work is the first monograph of its kind, which brings together the available evidence scattered over thousands of epigraphs and scores of literary works, within the scope of one volume. If scholars feel that this aim has been achieved to some extent, my labours would have been amply rewarded.

Many scholars have come to my aid in the preparation of this work. First of all, I must express my gratitude to my beloved *Guru*, the late lamented Dr. M. Seshadri, formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, Mysore University, and Director of Archaeology, Mysore. He had been of endless help at every stage, from the choice of the subject, which was the theme of my dissertation for the Ph.D. Degree under his able guidance, till the completion of the thesis. I regret to mention here that when this work is coming out of the press, my respected Professor is no more to bless me! I take the privilage of dedicating this work to his memory.

Dr. G. S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, kindly permitted me to make use of the valuable library of his office. He was also kind enough to go through the manuscript and to make many useful comments regarding the publication of this work. More than all, he has blessed me by writing a weighty foreword to this work. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to him.

I am grateful to the late lamented Dr. A. D. Pusalker, the renowned Indologist, as also to prof. O. Ramachandraiah, formerly Professor and Head of the Department of History, Andhra University, Waltair, for their constructive criticisms valuable suggestions and words of encouragement.

In the course of the preparation of this work, I have had discussions on some problems pertaining to the subject with the late Dr. P. B. Desai, formerly Head

of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and Director, Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University Dharwar, and also Vidyaratna R. S. Pancamukhi, Retired Director of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. I am grateful to both of them.

My esteemed friend, Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, has kindly gone through, line by line and word for word, the entire manuscript. He has also helped me in correcting the proofs, besides making useful suggestions in the printing of this work. I am very much beholden to him.

I gratefully acknowledge here the help I have received from Prof. K. Krishna Iyengar, Department of English, Mysore University, and Dr. M. Chidananda Murty, Reader in Kannada, Bangalore University, by way of invaluable suggestions and constructive criticisms.

My friend and colleague, Sri H. R. Raghunatha Bhat, has designed the jacket, besides helping me in preparing the index. Two other friends of mine, Sri M. D. Sampath of the Kannada Institute and Sri T. S. Suryanarayana, Research Scholar in our Department, have also helped me in preparing the index. I am much obliged to all the three.

I am thankful to my wife, Smt. S. G. Pushpa, for her inspiration which sustained me in my work; as also for her spirit of sacrifice without which this book might not have appeared at all.

I thank the University of Mysore and the University Grants Commission for awarding me a Research Fellowship and also a Travel Grant, thus enabling me to prepare this work.

I am thankful to the authorities of the Archaeological Survey of India, in particular to Chief Epigraphist, as also to the Director of Archaeology, Government of Karnataka, and to the Director, Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore, for kindly permitting me to illustrate in this work some photographs.

The Prasārāṅga of the Mysore University have come forward to publish this work, for which act I am much beholden to the University authorities. I thankfully acknowledge the keen interest evinced by Dr. Prabhushankara, Director, Prasārāṅga, in bringing out this book in its present form. Sriyuts.

R. L. Anantharamaiah, Deputy Director, and D. K. Eregowda, Editorial Assistent of the Prasārāṅga, have shown personal interest in the speedy publication of this work, and given me valuable suggestions in its final get up. I am thankful to them both.

My friend, Sri V. B. Satyan, proprietor of the Kapila Power Press, Nanjangud, has printed the book neatly in a short period. I am thankful to him.

Mysore
15–6–1974.

S. GURURAJACHAR.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abh.	Abhidhāna Vastu-kōśa of Nāgavarma (II).
Abhila.	Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi of Sōmēśvara.
Ad. Va.	Ādayyana Vacanagaḷu.
Al. Va.	Allamana Vacana Candrike.
APGAS	Andhra Pradesh Government Archæological Series.
ARIE	Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (A. Copper-plates; B. Stone inscriptions).
ARSIE	Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy.
AS	Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya [Tr. by R. Shama Sastry].
Ba. Ra.	Basavarājadēvara Ragaḷe of Harihara.
Ba. Va.	Basavaṇṇanavara Ṣaṭsthaḷada Vacanagaḷu.
BK	Appendix in the ARSIE relating to inscriptions from Bombay-Karnatak region.
BKI	Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions.
Ca. Va.	Cannabasavaṇṇanavara Vacanagaḷu.
Da. Pra.	Dāsimārya Praśasti.
Dharm.	Dharmāmṛtaṁ of Nayasēna.
DKD	Fleet, The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.
EC	Epigraphia Carnatica.
EHD	The Early History of the Deccan [Ed. by G. Yazdani].
EI	Epigraphia Indica.
Ency. Brit.	Encyclopaedia Britanica.
Gi. Ka.	Girijā Kalyāṇa of Harihara.
HAS	Hyderabad Archæological Series.
HDS	History of Dharmaśāstra [by P. V. Kane].
History	History of India [Ed. Elliot and Dowson].

HJMU	Half Yearly Journal of the Mysore University.
IA	Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
IEG	Indian Epigraphical Glossary [by D. C. Sircar].
INKKS	Inscriptions in North Karnataka and Kolhapur State [Ed. by K.G. Kundangar].
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
JIH	Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London.
JSI	Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs [by P. B. Desai].
KI	Karnatak Inscriptions.
KIAP	Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh.
KKC	Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite [by R. Narasimhachar].
KKSP	Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrike.
Mana.	Mānasōllāsa of Sōmēśvara.
Manu.	Manu-smṛti.
MAR	Annual Report of the Mysore Archæological Department.
Marco Polo	The Book of Sir Marco Polo [Ed. Yule, Sir Henry].
Ma. Va.	Uḍutaḍiya Mahādēviyakkanavara Sāhitya.
Mita.	The Mitākṣarā of Vijñānēśvara [Tr. by J. R. Gharpure].
Mys. Gaz.	Mysore Gazetteer.
Mys. Uni. Pubn.	Mysore University Publication.
PKR	Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province [Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar].
Pra. Kar.	Prabuddha Karṇāṭaka (Mysore).
QJMS	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore).
Sa. Pa.	Samaya Parīkṣe of Brahmaśiva.
Si. Ca.	Siddharāma Cāritra of Rāghavāṅka.
Si. Va.	Srī Siddharāmēśvara Vacanagaḷu.
SII	South Indian Inscriptions.
So. Sa.	Sōmēśvara Śataka.
Vik.	Vikramāṅkadēva-carita of Bilhaṇa
Vikra.	Vikramāṅkābhyudayam of Sōmēśvara.
Vyava.	Vyavahāraganitaṁ of Rājāditya.
Yāj.	Yājñavalkya-smṛti.

[*Note* : The following Abbreviations have been used in the INDEX].

The figures refer to pages, n. after a figure to footnotes. Other abbreviations are : *au.* — author, authoress; *ca.* — capital; *ch.* — chief; *ci.* — city; *co.* — country; *comp.* — composer; *de.* — deity; *do.* — ditto; *dy.* — dynasty; *edn.* — education, educational; *ep.* — epithet; *fa.* — family; *fe.* — female; *gen.* — general; *gov.* — governor; *inst.* — institution; *k.* — king; *lang.* — language; *lit.* — literature; l.m. — land measure, linear measure; l.t. — land type; *m.* — male; *min.* — minister; *mo.* — mountain; *n.* — name; *off.* — office, officer; *peo.* — people; *pl.* — place; *pr.* — prince, princess; *prec.* — preceptor; *q.* — queen; *ri.* — river; *reli.* — religion, religious; r.t. — revenue term; *s.a.* — same as; *te.* — temple; *t.d.* — territorial division; *tit.* — title; *tn.* — town; *vi.* — village; *Vij.* — Vijayanagar; *wk.* — work.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

ಆ, आ — ā	ಈ, ई — ī	ಊ, ऊ — ū
ಋ, ऋ — r̥	ಏ, ए — ē	ಓ, ओ — ō
ಙ, ङ — ṅ	ಚ, च — c	ಛ, छ — ch
ಞ, ञ — ñ	ಟ, ट — ṭ	ಠ, ठ — ṭh
ಡ, ड — ḍ	ಢ, ढ — ḍh	ಣ, ण — ṇ
ಶ, श — ś	ಷ, ष — ṣ	ಳ, ळ — l̤

Dravidian palatal alveolar r — r̥

Dravidian cerebral retroflex — l̤

anusvāra — ṁ

visarga — ḥ

[Proper names of modern scholars and authorities and well-known geographical names (e.g. Dharwar, Mysore, Hassan, Bangalore etc.) have been spelt without diacritical marks].

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CHAPTER—1

A SURVEY OF THE SOURCES

A. EPIGRAPHICAL SOURCES

India is very rich in epigraphical wealth and the vast inscriptional material has been the surest ground on which her ancient past could be reconstructed[1]. In Karṇāṭaka, particularly, epigraphs are found in large numbers, to the tune of several thousands, and the edifice of Karṇāṭaka history from about the 5th to the 16th century A. D. rests entirely on the inscriptions brought to light so far[2].

The chief credit of laying the foundations of intensive and extensive study of Karṇāṭaka inscriptions must necessarily go to the untiring efforts of the two eminent epigraphists, Dr. J. F. Fleet and B. L. Rice. Dr. Fleet started the systematic collection and publication of the numerous inscriptions in the northern Karṇāṭaka areas of the then Bombay Province. The results of his research in Karṇāṭaka epigraphy and history have been incorporated in his monumental work *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (*Bombay Gazetteer*, I. ii) which presents for the first time an authentic and critically edited history of Karṇāṭaka.

Rice conducted a village to village survey of the old Mysore State and published the numerous inscriptions thus collected in 12 Volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* series (1886–1904). These volumes contain very valuable historical material culled out from important inscriptions. Rice's "*Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*" (London, 1909) presents his epigraphical studies, giving in brief an account of the entire history of Mysore — from the Mauryan period (3rd century B. C.) to that of the Oḍeyars of Mysore.

Besides the 12 volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica* published by Rice, 4 more

such volumes (XIV-XVII) have been published recently by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Mysore. Added to these, the texts of many inscriptions have been published, with helpful notes and, in many cases, English translations, in the pages of the *Mysore Archaeological Reports* (1906–1956), *Epigraphia Indica* (1888 onwards) and the *South Indian Inscriptions Series* [Volumes IV , V, VII, VIII, IX (in 2 parts), XI (in 2 parts), XV and XX — the last three being entitled Bombay–Karnatak Inscriptions].

The Kannaḍa Research Institute (now a constituent of the Karnatak University), Dharwar, has brought out 5 volumes (1941–1969), entitled *Karnatak Inscriptions*, which contain a good number of inscriptions hailing from the old Bombay–Karnatak region. Furthermore, the old Hyderabad and the present Andhra Pradesh Governments have issued many monographs, which contain Kannaḍa epigraphs in a considerably large number.

These apart, numerous inscriptions, with texts and useful notes, have appeared in the pages of learned journals and periodicals, notably the Journals of some of the branches of the Royal Asiatic Society, *Indian Antiquary*, etc. The number of Karṇāṭaka inscriptions, published and unpublished, is roughly estimated at 30,000. Unfortunately, the texts of not even half of these have been published so far; and many of them have no, or only inadequate, editorial comments.

The period (A. D. 1000 — 1300) under study is relatively very well documented by the abundance of inscriptions, and is conspicuous by an inexplicable decline in the number of copper-plate inscriptions and a considerable increase in the number of stone inscriptions.

The languages in which the inscriptions are written are Kannaḍa, Sanskrit and Tamil; and the scripts employed are Kannaḍa, Nāgarī, Grantha and Tamil. Broadly speaking, the epigraphs of this period fall under two categories : (a) The copper-plate grants and a majority of stone inscriptions are "donative records" (*dāna-śāsana*), registering gifts of lands and lamps, taxes and tolls, etc., to persons and institutions; (b) many "memorial stones", generally inscribed and sculptured, set up to commemorate heroes, preceptors and so on — e. g. *'vīragals'*, *'nisidi-kals'*, etc.

Although the main purpose of these records is to register a gift, or to record an event, they often do furnish, directly or otherwise, information regarding the socio-economic life of the people—e.g. agriculture, land tenures, educational system, and so on.

Several hundreds of inscriptions, both published and unpublished, belonging to the period A.D. 1000–1300 and hailing from different parts of Karṇāṭaka, have been the main source of information in preparing this work. It may be mentioned here that during the period under study, unlike the earlier[3] one, spurious copper-plate grants are few and far between and, so far as stone inscriptions are concerned, one rarely comes across the 'rogue' inscription. However, such spurious documents have been carefully avoided and not used in this work.

It is true that these epigraphs were never intended to be historical records; but still, conclusions derived from inscriptional material are generally solid and "serve as a peg on which to hang scraps derivable from other sources."[4]

We may now review here a few epigraphs of this period with a view to show how as a source they help us to reconstruct the social and economic conditions that prevailed during the period under study :

PUBLISHED :

a) Copper-plate grants

The Beḍkīhāḷ Copper-plates of the time of Iṟivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya :

This document was first noticed in the *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province* (1947–52, p. 17). It has been later edited in *Karnatak Inscriptions*, IV, No. 55, by Sri A. M. Annigeri, in 1961. The text is composed throughout in Kannaḍa prose of the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. The date as given in the record, viz., Śaka 931, Sarbbari (l. 3), according to the editor, is a mistake for Śaka 922, corresponding to A.D. 1000. The record contains a long *praśasti* of the famous merchant-guild, the Five Hundred Svāmis of Ayyāvoḷe, which almost agrees with that of the same body occurring in many other records, e.g. Śikāripura 118 of 1054 A. D. [*EC*, VII]. The language of the *praśasti* is full of hyperboles and it is not easy to make a scientific study of the subject. However, there is an indication in it of the influence and affluence of these merchants, and of the articles they traded, the means of communication and transport, and such other factors.

What is more important to the point here, the document discloses two

significant facts: (i) the merchant-guilds—the Five Hundred Svāmis of Ayyāvoḷe and others—could try culprits and confer titles upon their brave warriors, e.g. "*pageya-beṅkoḷva*" i.e. 'chaser of enemies'; (ii) and they had their own seal with the emblem of Mahiṣāsura-mardini. The seal which is soldered to the ring of the plates [*KI*, IV, Plate VIII-B] bears the figure of Mahiṣāsura-mardini in bold relief, in the act of killing by a spear the demon Mahiṣāsura in human form. There can be little doubt that this seal belongs to the merchant-guilds who have in fact issued the grant. It could not have been Satyāśraya's, for we know that the Cāḷukya emblem (*lāñchana*) was Varāha, the divine boar. Furthermore, Vijñānēśvara points out that such guilds (*śrēṇi*) had some power to make laws relating to the conduct of their business, and some judicial powers too, however limited they might be [*Mita.*, II. 30, (tr.) p. 747; 192 (tr.) p. 1229].

The Nīlgunda Copper-plates of Vikramāditya VI :

This grant has been edited with useful notes by Dr. L. D. Barnett in *Epigraphia Indica*, XII, pp. 150 ff. The text in Sanskrit (87 lines) has been inscribed on 3 copper-plates, the script employed being Nāgarī. The document bears two Śaka dates, the details of which correspond to A. D. 1087 and 1123.

The plates register the grant of Nirugunda in Kōgali-500 (Nīlgunda, Bellary District) and two other adjacent hamlets (named) to a number of Brāhmaṇas of different *gōtras* by Vikramāditya VI in 1123 A. D., in confirmation of his previous grant made in the year 1087 A. D.

The record gives us the interesting information that in 1087 A. D. the emperor imported those learned Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Śāstras etc., from the Tamil country (Draviḍa-dēśa) and settled them in Nirugunda which was converted as an *agrahāra* (*agrahārī-kṛtya*). The evidence is a clear proof of the active interest evinced by rulers in promoting the cause of education and culture.

The Nēralige Copper-plates of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II :

This grant, inscribed on 5 copper-plates in old Kannaḍa characters, and composed both in Sanskrit and in Kannaḍa (189 lines in all), has been edited by Dr. R. Shama Sastri in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1923, No. 1 (pp. 31-34). Lines 1-71 and a part of 72 are in Sanskrit and furnish the Hoysaḷa genealogy upto Vīra-Ballāḷa II. Then follows the business part of it.

The record mentions two dates, the details of which correspond to A. D. 1188, the date of the actual gift, and A. D. 1194, the year in which the copper-plate charter was issued to that effect.

The main purpose of the grant is to record that the king founded the *agrahāra* of Nēralige (Hassan District) and bestowed the 202 *vṛttis* on learned Brāhmaṇas. What is more significant to the point here, the document (lines 130–39) enables us to understand that the revenue term *siddhāya* was not merely a land-tax, as is generally taken to be,[5] but was the aggregate revenue payable to the Government; and it could be re-assessed and the amount of revenue increased.

b) Stone inscriptions

We may as well take up for our consideration some stone inscriptions which have been published quite recently.

SII, XX, No. 47: This inscription on a slab standing in front of a temple at Lakṣmēśvara (Dharwar District) has been edited by Dr. G. S. Gai. It is dated Śaka 996, corresponding to A. D. 1074, and belongs to the reign of Bhuvanaikamalla, i. e. Sōmēśvara II, the son and successor of Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara I.

The purpose of the record is to register a gift of certain tax-incomes to the Permāḍi-basadi at Purigeṛe (modern Lakṣmēśvara) by *Mahāsāmanta* Jayakēśiyarasa. Interestingly enough, it gives us a list (lines 35–37) of taxes that were included under *kiṛudeṛe*—the revenue term often occurring in the epigraphs of the period, which literally means a petty or small tax. But the nature and significance of the taxes included under *kiṛudeṛe* in this record are by no means clear. House-tax (*manevaṇaṁ*), however, figures in the list.

KI, V, No. 102: This badly worn out record in Kannaḍa characters of the 12th century A. D., on a slab found in the Sōmēśvara temple at Malligavāḍ (Hubli Taluk, Dharwar District), has been edited by Dr. B. R. Gopal. The record begins with the usual invocation "*Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya*" and "*Namastuṅga*....." etc., and the fourth line mentions one Sōma-gauṇḍa of Baragiri, adorning the family of silk-weavers — *paṭṭagāṛakuḷabhūṣaṇa Baragiriya Sōmagauṇḍa* — and the rest of the record is worn out.

In fact, the inscriptions from the Dharwar and Belgaum Districts often refer to the guilds of weavers [cf. *BKI*, I. i, 97 (1062 A. D.); *EI*, XVIII, p. 196 (Vikramāditya VI's reign), etc.]. It may be recalled that Vijñānēśvara, while explaining the term *Śrēṇi*, i. e. guilds, mentions as an example the guild of weavers.

Koṇḍguḷi Inscription of Bhūlōkamalla

This lithic record, hailing from the village of Koṇḍguḷi (Bijapur District), has been edited with introductory notes by Dr. K. V. Ramesh in *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVII, No. 34. The text is in Kannaḍa prose and engraved in Nāgarī characters of the 12th century A. D. The record refers itself to the 7th year of the reign of Cāḷukya Bhūlōkamalla, i. e. Sōmēśvara III, the details of the date corresponding to 1132 A. D.

The purpose of the grant is to register 3 endowments of money (specified) made jointly by Kēsimaya-daṇḍanāyaka and Gaṇapati-daṇḍanāyaka, for the feeding of the teachers teaching different subjects and texts. The record is of particular interest as it mentions, among others, *piriya-granthas* and *kiṟiya-granthas* that were to be taught. The editor of the record, perhaps by oversight, has not explained as to what exactly the *piriya-granthas* stand for. They, however, seem to mean the two great epics – *mahākāvyas*. The *kiṟiya-granthas*, according to the editor, probably meant literary works like *kāvyas*, *nāṭakas*, etc.

The evidence of this record is also significant as it helps us to know the subjects taught to the childern at the primary stage of education (*bāla-śikṣe*) : *akṣara* (alphabets), *vyākaraṇa* (grammar in general), and the *Rūpāvatāra* (the well-known grammatical work by a Buddhist, Dharmakīrti, who must have flourished not later than the 10th century A. D.[6]—not the 11th century A. D. as suggested by the editor)—these three are particularly mentioned.

UNPUBLISHED EPIGRAPHS :

We may consider here some inscriptions which have been only noticed in the Annual Reports and whose texts have not yet been edited and published. They have been consulted from the transcripts available in the office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist.

An inscription on the pillar in a shrine behind the Gōpālasvāmi temple at Mudanūr (Shorapur Taluk, Gulbarga District) has been noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1960–61, No. B. 521. Lines 1–9 are much damaged, and lines 11–21 furnish the details of the date of the record and the grant that was made. It refers itself to the reign of the Cāḷukya ruler, Pratāpa-cakravarti Jagadēkamalla, i. e. Perma Jagadēkamalla II, and the details of the date correspond to A. D. 1146.

The record tells us, interestingly enough, that *Mahāpradhāna, Suṅkaverggaḍe* Gayādhara-daṇḍanāyaka granted the *hejjuṅka* and *vaḍḍarāvuḷa* tax-incomes on 18,000 *mattars* of land in Mudanīr, to the temple of Śrī Rāmēśvara of the place, for the various services of the god, temple repairs, etc.

Hejjuṅka and *Vaḍḍarāvuḷa* are generally taken to be commercial taxes, although their nature is not precisely known. But the evidence of the above inscription, which is unique in a way, makes us believe that these taxes were also levied on land.

An inscription on a slab in the temple of Gaḷagēśvara at Gaḷaganāth (Haveri Taluk, Dharwar District) has been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1933–34, BK. No. 43. It falls in the reign of Vikramāditya VI, and the details of the date correspond to A. D. 1079.

The record purports to register a gift of 30 *gadyāṇas* for the *maṇḍapa* of the god Gaḷagēśvara, made by Barmaṇayya, who is described, somewhat in a hyperbolic strain, as an expert in music (vocal and instrumental), dancing and other allied arts. The evidence is enough to indicate that, though fine arts like music and dance were cultivated specially by women in society, there were some men who had achieved mastery over such fine arts. This reminds us of the description of the musical attainments of Ravidēva, a noted general (*daṇḍanāyaka*) under Vikramāditya VI, occurring in the Yēvūr (Gulbarga District) record of 1077 A. D. [*EI*, XII, pp. 274 ff.].

We may as well refer to one more record whose evidence is of some significance to our study. The term *sūḷevaḷa* occurs in many inscriptions of the period [cf. *SII*, IX. i, 80 (1018 A. D.), *HAS*, 18, No. 13 (1178 A. D.), etc.], and some have taken it in the sense of "a band of dēvadāsīs" [*SII*, IX, i, 80–Introduction]. Dr. P. B. Desai, however, suggested that *sūḷevaḷa* was a music and dancing master maintaining professional women skilled in fine arts [*HAS*, 18, p. 35].

The inscription in question, *ARSIE* for 1933–34, BK. No. 67, found on a stone built into the ceiling of the front gate-way in the Paramēśvara temple at Koṇṇūr (Naragund Taluk, Dharwar District), helps us to explain the term *sūḷevaḷa* more satisfactorily.

This record refers itself to the reign of Bhuvanaikamalladēva, i. e. Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara II. Only 45 lines of the text are available ; the portion of the record, probably containing the date and details of the grant, is unfortunately built in.

Māḷaparāja, the grand-father of Māḷabhūpa, we are told, obtained certain offices from Iṟivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya, and continued to hold them during the reigns of Jayasiṁha II and Sōmēśvara I. Among the offices so obtained by him, *sūḷevaḷike* was one, which apparently related to the regulation etc., of the profession of dancing girls (especially in temples).

B. LITERARY SOURCES

While contributing little directly to our knowledge of political history, literary evidence does make an indirect contribution which can easily be underestimated. It enables the historian to picture the social and religious *milieu* in which the characters of history lived and moved.[7]

Literature affords valuable glimpses of the social and economic life of the people, though often in a more idealistic than realistic manner. Its evidence cannot be taken at its face value, and much is often left for inferences and surmises. Inscriptions often give us a skeleton, and literature helps us to clothe that skeleton with economic and sociological flesh and cultural adornment. Many a time, the evidence of litrature corroborates and supplements that of inscriptions admirably.

The period under study is relatively rich in literary evidence. Quite numerous works in Kannaḍa, particularly, were produced during this period, and it is not possible, nor is it necessary, to mention them all here. We may as well refer here to some comparatively more important works, in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa, which have been tapped for information.

(i) Sanskrit Works

Among the important Sanskrit works of the period (from our point of view), a few may be reviewed here, notably those of Bilhaṇa, Vijñānēśvara and Sōmēśvara III, which share the pride of first place.

Bilhaṇa's *Mahākāvya, Vikramāṅkadēvacarita*, has been edited with an introduction by G. Bühler (Bombay, 1875). It has been edited again by Sri Murari Lal Nagar (Benares, 1945). It contains, here and there, and almost always inextricably intermixed with fiction and poetic exaggeration, a few facts of historical importance. This work of a quasi-historical nature is composed in 18 cantos. Bühler has calculated that Bilhaṇa wrote this work about 1085 A. D.

The *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñānēśvara (A. D. 1070–1100) has been edited and published by Bapu Shastri Moghe, Bombay, 1882; and, again, published by the

Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1909; and later edited (with *Vīramitrōdaya*) by Narayana Shastri Khiste and published in the Chowkamba Sanskrit series, Benares, 1924–29.

Its English translations have appeared in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series, Allahabad: *Ācārādhyāya* by S. C. Vasu (1909–18); *Vyavahārādhyāya* by M. L. Sandal (1927). J. R. Gharpure has translated the entire text into English and published it in several parts in the Hindu Law Text Series, Bombay, 1936–42. This work by J. R. Gharpure has been of great help for our purpose, and all the citations from the *Mitākṣarā* found throughout our work are from the above work of Gharpure only. Besides, J. R. Gharpure's *A General Introduction with Special Reference to the Yājñavalkya-smṛti and the Mitākṣarā* (in the same series, Bombay, 1944) is a very useful work worth consulting.

In the *Dharmaśāstra* literature, the position of Vijñānēśvara's *Mitākṣarā* is analogous to that of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* in Grammar, Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* in Poetics.[8] It is by no means a mere commentary on the *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya, but a more or less independent treatise which discusses the rival views of almost all important *Smṛti* writers and reaches conclusions of its own on every topic. We need not go into greater details here to appreciate the position of Vijñānēśvara as a *Smṛti* commentator—such a discussion is beyond our scope, nor is it relevent to our subject.

We may only mention here that a critical study of the *Mitākṣarā* is of much value for our purpose and amply rewarding. Vijñānēśvara is easily the ablest and most authoritative writer of this period. While explaining and interpreting the *Smṛti* text, he often enlightens us on many aspects of contemporary life, which would have remained inexplicable to us but for the explanations in the *Mitākṣarā*.

Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi or *Mānasōllāsa* is an encyclopaedia which purports to have been composed by Bhūlokamalla, i. e. Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara III. The work entitled *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* has been partially edited by Dr. R. Shama Sastry and published in the Mysore University Oriental Library Publications—Sanskrit Series—Mysore, 1926. The published text, Part I, contains only the first 3 *Prakaraṇas*. Dr. R. Shama Sastry has also written an introduction to his edition (pp. iii–xxv) which is very useful.

The complete text of the work has been published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, with the title—*Mānasōllāsa* : Ed. by G. K. Shrigondekar, Vols. I, II

and III, respectively in 1925, 1939 and 1961. The first two volumes contain also very useful introductions by the editor.

The work comprises 100 chapters (*adhyāyas*) in all, grouped into 5 *Prakaraṇas* of 20 chapters each (and hence called '*Viṁśati*').

In brief, the first *Prakaraṇa* deals with the factors involved in the attainment of the kingdom by the king, the second with those making for stability after attainment, while the third describes the pleasures of royalty; the last two *Prakaraṇas* deal with various forms of amusements and recreations suitable for the monarch during his leisure hours.

Considering the encyclopaediac nature of the work, there can be little doubt that the work lays under contribution many older treatises on the technical subjects touched upon, such as mining, medicine, and the like. A careful study of the work is amply rewarding, and, in many cases, its evidence is corroborated by that of inscriptions and other literary works of the period.

Vikramāṅkābhyudayam, a quasi-historical *campū* in Sanskrit, is another work ascribed to Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara III, which has been recently edited by Murari Lal Nagar, and published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, 1966. Unfortunately, the work is not available in full. Of what must have been a work of ambitious proportions, only the whole of the first two *ullāsas* and a part of the third *ullāsa* have so far been traced and published.

However, the available portion of the work does no credit to the royal author as a historian, for he has given free expression to bias and prejudice in narrating the genealogical history of his family. In this particular regard, he may be said to have even outbeaten his father's court poet, Bilhaṇa.

Notwithstanding these defects, this work deserves to be exploited by historians, who get interesting information on many aspects of socio-economic life of the period. For example, the description of the historic city of Kalyāṇa, the Cāḷukya capital, with its fine and rich bazaar, temples and so on, deserves more than a passing notice.

(*ii*) *Kannaḍa works*

As stated above, Kannaḍa works produced during the period A. D. 1000-1300 are quite numerous. We may mention here only a few which are comparati-

vely more important works, throwing light on the social and economic life of the period, directly or indirectly.

Among the Kannaḍa classics written by the Jaina writers of the period, particular mention may be made of Ranna's *Gadāyuddhaṁ*, a poem of shorter compass in ten chapters (*āśvāsas*) [Ed. by A. M. Ramanujaingar, 3rd and revised edition, Mysore, 1925]. Ranna went from court to court all over Karṇāṭaka, and ultimately made his way to the imperial court of the Western Cāḷukya ruler, Āhavamalla Tailapa (973–997 A. D.) and of his son, Iṛivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya (997 –1007 A. D), where he became the poet laureate of the court, receiving the coveted title of *Kavi-Cakravarti*.

Ranna's another poem, *Ajitapurāṇa*, is known to have been completed in 993 A. D. But the exact date of the composition of the *Gadāyuddhaṁ*, Ranna's masterpiece, and one of the most famous poems in Old Kannaḍa literature, is not precisely known. The editor of the work thinks (Introduction, pp. xxiii ff.) that it was written in 982 A. D. But, as pointed out by scholars,[9] there are grounds for ascribing it to about 1006 or 1007 A. D.

As its very name indicates, the theme of the *Gadāyuddha* is the club-fight that took place between Bhīma and Duryodhana on the battle field of Kurukṣētra, at the close of the Mahābhārata war. Ranna has identified poetically his own royal patron, Satyāśraya, with Bhīma, the hero of the poem, and indicates contemporary historical events. The importance of this work for any reconstruction of the social life of the time is necessarily much higher than even that of Bilhaṇa's *Mahākāvya* in Sanskrit (noted above) though it is not so valuable for the political history.[10]

The next important writer was Nayasēna, who completed his *Dharmāmṛtaṁ* in Mulgund in the Śaka year 1034, i. e. A. D. 1112. The work has been edited and published by Dr. R. Shama Sastry in 2 parts: I (1924), II (1926), Mysore. This work, like the *Vaḍḍārādhane* (10th century A. D.), expounds the essential teachings of Jainism and its ethics in an easy and flowing style. It is divided into 14 chapters (*āśvāsas*), each expounding a particular doctrine of Jaina conduct followed by an illustrtaive story : one for each of the eight virtues (*guṇas*), and five *anuvratas*, the last being devoted to the lives of *Mahāpuruṣas* as illustrating the theory of the preceding chapters.

Nayasēna was a champion of the *dēśi* style. Indeed, he was among the earliest to raise his voice in protest against the introduction of an undue proportion

of Sanskrit words into Kannaḍa works, and to demand a proper standard of *Śuddha-Kannaḍa*, as he calls it.

Nayanasēna is a lively and delightful story-teller, and his method of piling simile upon simile (*mālōpamā*) is reminiscent of the stylistic craft of Bāṇa.[11]

Nayasēna's *Dharmāmṛtaṁ* is a mine of information, and it throws light on many aspects of contemporary life, both economic and social. It has not been exploited by historians to the extent it really deserves, in the reconstruction of the socio-economic life of Karṇāṭaka of the period. However, it has been one of the important Kannaḍa sources for preparing this wok.

We may as well mention one more Jaina poet, Brahmaśiva (A.D.1100–1130?), whose work, *Samaya-parīkṣe*, has been a useful source for our study. This work has been edited by Sri B. S. Kulakarni, and published by the Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar (1958). It consists of 15 chapters (*adhikāras*). Brahmaśiva was a champion of Jainism, and in his work he scoffs at other religions prevalent in his time. "He has a caustic tongue and his humour is cutting"[12]

Samaya-parīkṣe throws light on various aspects of contemparary life, though often, as is generally the case with all literary works, by way of simile and analogy.

Next to the Jainas, Vīrśaiva writers count as the largest factor contributing to the development of the Kannaḍa language and literature, particularly the prose literature; for they wrote almost all their religious works in Kannaḍa, and evinced a distinct preference for the prose medium.

During the latter half of the 12th century A. D., Basavēśvara (c. A. D. 1160) and his contemporaries brought into existance what is called the Vacana Literature written in simple prose easily understood by the common folk and well calculated to popularise the new creed.

Vacana writers are quite numerous and it is not possible or necessary to mention them all here. However, to mention only a few, Basavēśvara, Allama-Prabhu, Akka-Mahādēvi and Cannabasavaṇṇa were more important and popular writers in the context.

S. S. Basavanal has edited and published *Basavaṇṇanavara Saṭsthaḷada Vacanagaḷu* (Dharwar, 2nd Edn., 1954), with a useful introduction and glossary.

This work, re-edited with introduction, glossary, foot-notes and "Extra vacanas", by the same scholar has been published by the Literary Committee, L. E. Association, Dharwar, 1962.

The *vacanas* of Allama-Prabhu have been critically edited, with introduction and notes, by Dr. L. Basavaraju, the work being entitled *Allama Vacana Candrike* (Mysore, 1960). *Uḍutaḍiya Mahādēviyakkanavara Sāhitya* (Davanagere, 1960) has been edited by B. C. Javali and M. Virabhadrappa, with introduction, glossary, etc.

Cannabasavaṇṇanavara Vacanagaḷu has been edited by Dr. R. C. Hiremath and published by the Karnatak University, Dharwar (1965). A separate volume, containing the introductory portion and other relevent discussions connected with the text, has also been issued, which is worth consulting.

As a source of information, the rich and vast Vacana Literature is very valuable for the glimpses it gives of contemporary life and society, though by way of simile and analogy. For example, a *vacana* of Akkamahādēvi [67, p. 23] refers, by analogy, to the production of sugar by boiling down the juice extracted from the sugar cane pieces. Again the *vacanas* of Basava [31, p. 9], Allama [103, p. 25] and others allude to alluvial gold washing along the beds and banks of rivers, the evidence of which can be corroborated by that of inscriptions [cf. BKI, I. ii, 200 (1126 A. D.)]. A critical study of the *vacanas* is amply rewarding.

We may also mention here two other Vīraśaiva poets of repute, viz. Harihara (c. 1200 A. D.) and his close relation and disciple, Rāghavāṅka, whose works have been of some help for us.

Comparatively speaking, Harihara's *Ragaḷes* are more useful than his famous *Campū-kāvya, Girijākalyāṇa* [Ed. by S. G. Narasimhachar and M. A. Ramanuja Iyengar, 1905]. P. G. Halikatti edited and published in 5 parts (Bijapur, 1932–35) the *Ragaḷes* of Harihara, in the collection called *Hariharana Ragaḷegaḷu*. All the parts in one volume have been recently published by Samāja Pustakālaya, Dharwar, 1968.

Harihara's *Ragaḷes*, particularly those dealing with the lives of many Vīraśaiva saints, e.g. Basavēśvara, Allama-Prabhu, Akka Mahādēvi, to mention only a few, came to have a historical and biographical significance, as they dealt with more or less contemporary personages. It is from his *Basavarājadēvara Ragaḷe* [Ed. by T. S. Venkannayya, 3rd Edn., Mysore, 1951], for instance, that we get many of the facts about the life of Basavēśvara.

Further, of the numerous works of Rāghavāṅka, his *Hariścandra-kāvya* and *Siddharāma-cāritra* are the more popular and perhaps the most enduring. For our purpose, *Siddharāma-cāritra* [Ed. by T. S. Venkannayya and D. L. Narasimhachar, Shimoga, 1940], giving a biographical sketch of Siddharāma, a well-known Vīraśaiva saint, is more useful than his *Hariścandra-kāvya* [Ed. by N. Basavaradhya and S. Basappa, Mysore, 1955], dealing with the life story of Hariścandra of epic fame, composed in *Bhāminī-ṣaṭpadī*, an indigenous metre.

C. FOREIGN NOTICES :

There is relatively little foreign evidence coming to our aid in this period, unlike in the Vijayanagara days, but the little we have is interesting and valuable. Indeed, we have the valuable testimony of many Arab and non-Arab geographers and travellers, who refer to the flourishing export and import trade of Karṇāṭaka through important ports on the west coast, viz., Mangalore, Bhaṭkaḷa, Honnāvar, Saimūr, Ṭhāṇā, etc.[13]

Among the Arab geographers and travellers, mention may be made of Idrīsī (A.D. 1154), Yāqūt (A.D. 1179–1229), Abul Fidā (A.D. 1273–1331) and others. Cahu Ju-kua (c. 1225 A.D.), the Chinese traveller and writer, refers particularly to the port of Mangalore, in his work Chü-fan-chi on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Marco Polo (c. 1293 A.D.), the Venetian traveller and the "prince of mediaeval travellers," visited South India in 1292–93 A.D. on his way from China to Persia as escort to a princess of Kublai Khan's family, a bride for the ruler of Persia. Though Marco Polo's narration of his experiences in the East was received with great distrust for a long time in Europe, still, now as Yule observes "his veracity and justness of observation shine brighter under every recovery of lost or forgotten knowledge."

Indeed, the amount of information Marco Polo was able to collect as he was passing through some parts of South India is simply amazing. He gives us, for instance, interesting information on Ṭhāṇā, an important port-city on the west coast; he refers to its products and maritime trade.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 J. F. Fleet, Epigraphy (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, II) p. 1.

2 G. S. Gai, Karnatak Epigraphy (*Karnataka Darshana*, p. 60).

3 The spurious Gaṅga copper-plates and the controversy centring round this problem between B. L. Rice and Dr. Fleet are too well-known to the students of Epigraphy to need a special mention here. See (for details) R. S. Panchamukhi and N. L. Rao, *Karṇāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu*, pp. 112–15.

4 J. D. M. Derrett, *The Hoysaḷas*, p. 206.

5 The term *Siddhāya* has been taken to be the traditional land-tax, "always taken for granted, and not in need of any fresh regulation." see *EHD*, pp. 389–90.

6 Cf. K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 630.

7 K. A. N. Sastri, *Sources of Indian History*, p. 64.

8 *HDS*, I, p. 287.

9 Cf. Govind Pai, 'Mūru Upanyāsagaḷu' (in *Pra. Kar*, XX, pp. 40–54): T. N. Srikantaiya, "The Kannada Poet Ranna And His Gaddayudha" (in *Kannada Siudies*, 3, 1, pp. 59–66).

10 *EHD*, p. 317.

11 Cf. D. L. Narasimhachar, Old Kannada Literature—A Brief Survey (in *Karnataka Darshana*, p. 109).

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 109–110.

13 Cf. (a) Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vols. I and III, London, 1867, 1871; (b) K. A. N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, Madras, 1939; (c) Nainar, S.M.H., *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of South India*, Madras, 1942; (d) Yule, Sir Henry, *The Book of Sir Marco Polo* [3rd Edn. revised by Henry Cordier, 1929, London].

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CHAPTER—2

LAND : TYPES AND TENURES

1) LAND—ITS IMPORTANCE IN SOCIETY

India, from the very early period of her history, has been primarily an agricultural country with a rural economy. During the ancient and mediaeval times, particularly, land formed the stronghold of her people and was the very basis of the economy of the country, i.e., the economic life of the people largely depended upon land. The majority of the people, in the past as at present, lived in villages and earned their living directly from land, which was the major means of production and on which largely depended also the trade and the industry of the country. Karṇāṭaka of the period under study formed no exception to this general rule. Indeed, land played a very important role in the economic as well as the social life of our people in ways more than one.

It is worth noting in this connection that the society of the time strongly believed that by gifting[1] away one's property, movable or immovable, to gods and learned Brāhmaṇas, one could attain heaven[2] by virtue of the religious merit accruing out of such gifts. What is more, of all gifts, land was considered the best.[3] "There is no more happy provision for the next world", says a record,[4] "than a gift of land . . . . . Land contains jewels, corns, water and cowpens; therefore, by making a gift of land one becomes the giver of all (these)."

The great jurist and authority of the period, Vijñānēśvara, has interesting comments to make on this subject. He observes : the fruit of gifts of land is attainment of a place in heaven;[5] and whatever sin one commits, knowingly or otherwise, by gifting away land even to the extent of a 'cow's hide',[6] one is

purified. Again, "both he who accepts the land as a gift as also he who gives it, are performers of a holy deed and shall surely go to heaven".[7] Under the great influence of such injunctions of the Sacred Law, it is no wonder that land formed the one great commodity in the middle ages which was most desired as an article of gift.

Contemporary records for the most part clearly show that such a land-gift to gods and Brāhmaṇas, as also to educational and charitable institutions, was the order of the day. Dr. Burnell has accounted for the great popularity of land gifts, particularly by the kings: in the South Indian inscriptional literature, gifts take the place of sacrifice which, according to the epic poems, Indian kings used to perform to attain their objects.[8] Moreover, the person to whom a gift of land was made also welcomed land; for, the possession of land gave the donee "a status in society and enabled him to meet all wants of medieval household economy directly or indirectly."[9] Land was thus the chief source of economic wealth.

It may also be noted here that persons serving the State, as well as other institutions such as temples, etc., in various capacities, were generally paid by assignments of land or land-revenue, instead of money, in lieu of their salary or remuneration. Workers, too, welcomed land in lieu of their wages. It has been pointed out that "the abundance of land and the relative scarcity of money, coupled with the circumstance that the population was not generally mobile, made this form of payment for services suitable to the times".[10] It may be said that land served as a means of exchange, i.e., as a means of clearing some obligations. In the light of the above facts, the vital role played by land in the life of the people can hardly be over-estimated.

2) TYPES OF LAND—BASIS OF CLASSIFICATION

A close study of the contemporary sources, epigraphical as well as literary, shows that land was often distinguished under different types or classes such as cultivated land, waste land, pasture, forest tracts and so on. The land under cultivation was by far the most important of the land system. Vijñāneśvara[11] takes the term *kṣētra*[12] in the sense of land having a crop. The cultivated land may conveniently be distinguished under three main heads:

i) Wet land—Often referred to in the records as '*gadde*', '*gaḷde*'[13] or '*gadde-kaṭṭu*'[14] i.e. land suitable for growing paddy. In certain records it is

also called '*nīrnelam*' or *nīrmaṇṇu*'.[15] North Indian records of the period under review often refer to '*Sajalasthala*' which may be taken to mean wet land.

ii) Dry land—Usually referred to as '*beddalu*',[17] as also '*hola*',[18] i.e. land unsuitable for growing paddy. Other crops such as jowar, oilseeds, etc., were raised on it.

iii) Gardens—*tōṭa*',[19] where usually fruits, flowers[20] and vegetables were grown.

Waste land—cultivable land left uncultivated—is often mentioned in the records as being gifted away to donees.[21] An epigraph,[22] dated 1183 A.D., for instance, informs us that three '*mattars*'[23] of 'unploughed land' (*takkilu*) were granted to a temple for certain purposes (as specified therein). It is stated in a record[24] of 1162 A.D. that a certain Dāsirāja bought and granted to a temple two '*mattars*' within the waste land of the village called Kokkuligēri.

The pasture land was usually a portion of cultivable land, left uncultivated for the purpose of grazing the cattle. It has been pointed out that a part of cultivable land, that could not be utilised for some time due to lack of fertility and such other factors, was often left fallow (*khila*)[25] for a definite period; and such a practice in agricultural methods dates from a very early period, and is also recognised by Dēvaṇabhaṭṭa[26]—thus indicating that such a practice was in vogue in South India of this period. Such fallow lands, however, served often as temporary pasture for cattle.

It may also be noted in this connection that ancient Smṛti[27] and NIti[28] writers enjoin that a piece of land should be set apart as pasture land for the grazing of cattle. Vijñānēśvara's[29] comments are worth noting in this context. He observes: either by the choice of the inhabitants of the village, or by the king's will, pasture ground for cattle should be made, i.e., some good portion of the uncultivated land should be appropriated for the pasturage of kine and the like. Moreover, the preservation of the pasture for cattle has been regarded as one of the duties arising under customary law;[30] and those who set fire to pasture-ground (*vivītam*)[31]—as also to fields with ripened fruits and crops, etc.—should be covered with '*viraṇa*'[32] grass and burnt (as punishment for the crime).

It may, however, be noted that such pasture lands were also gifted to donees as revealed by certain grants on record. An inscription[33] of the time of Vikramāditya VI, the Western Cāḷukya emperor, tells us that one *daṇḍanāyaka*

Vāsudēva granted twelve '*nivartanas*'[34] of land for the grazing of cattle (*gōpracārasyārthē*). A Mysore record of about 1104 A.D.,[35] interestingly enough, refers to a certain tax on grazing—probably a tax levied on the grazing of cattle on public pasture land. Reference is also made, however, to the pasture belonging to private owners.[36]

Another type of land that is often referred to is the forest-tract. It may, however, be noted here that such forest lands had many economic uses for the people at large: they served, in many cases, as the sources of perennial supply of fuel, medicinal plants and herbs and such other objects of daily use;[37] and, in certain cases, as elephant-preserves,[38] where elephants used to be captured and their tusks of value collected.

The epigraphs of the period, however, show that, in some cases, such forest-tracts were deforested (*kāḍa-kaḍidu*)[40] and new village settlements were established in the area thus reclaimed. A record from Bēlūr,[41] dated 1183 A.D., tells us that one Ādigavuṇḍa, on the request of all the *Māhajanas* of the great *agrahāra* Koṇḍali, cut down the forest and established a new village settlement there. It would be worth noting in this connection that reclamation of such forest-tracts was often encouraged by the State by offering special concessions in taxes for a number of years,[42] apparently with a view to bring more of uncultivated land under the plough and thus to promote the cause of agriculture.

Besides the types of land mentioned above, the sources also refer to the classification of land according to quality, as, for example, land of good, middling and bad qualities. It is interesting to read in a record[43] of Vikramāditya VI that certain lands were gifted to a temple which may be described as of good (*uttama*), middling (*madhyama*) and bad (*adhama*) qualities.[44] Another record of 1194 A.D.[45] also speaks of a grant of good (*uttama-nivartana*) as well as bad (*kaniṣṭha-nivartana*) land. But, Dr. Kielhorn takes these two terms, '*uttama*' and '*kaniṣṭha*' (in the record) to mean largest and smallest respectively. It may be pointed out that the reference in this context is to the quality of land rather than to its dimensions; and the term '*uttama*' does not mean 'largest.'[46] Curiously enough, Kielhorn himself translates the term '*uttama*' in the very next line of the text as 'first-rate'.[47]

It may not be out of context here to speak a word about soils. Man is dependent on soil which is the most important natural resource as well as the very medium for the growth of all food and fodder crops, and which offers mechanical

support, water and essential plant-food elements for plant growth.[48] What is more interesting, great civilisations are said "to have had almost invariably good soils as one of the their chief natural resources. Furthermore, these civilisations have remained great only so long as they cared for their soils. The downfall of great nations utilising the Tigris, Euphrates and Nile Valleys coincided with a deterioration of soil and water-management and conservation practices".[49]

Significantly enough, the sources incidentally refer to the colour and quality of the soil.[50] Thus we find references to the land of black soil (*kare-bhūmi*),[51] red soil (*kisu-maṇṇu*)[52] and so on. Dr. Barnett thinks that the terms '*Karṇāṭa*' and '*Kannaḍa*' are derived from (*kare-bhūmi*, *kare-nela*) *kare-nāḍu*, i.e., land of black soil.[53] It may, however, be noted that the discussion centering round this question is as wide as it is indicisive.[54]

It has been stated that the soils that cover the State of Karnataka exhibit a marked diversity in different parts of the State, depending on the nature of the parent rock and climatic conditions prevailing in the area; and the following main types of soils are generally recognised from the agricultural point of view:[55] (1) Laterites and laṭeritic soil, (2) Red loams and red sandy loam, (3) Black soil, (4) Alluvial soil and (5) Saline and alkaline soil.

Mention may also be made of gravel land (*haraḷu-bhūmi*)[56] and sandy land (*maraḷu-bhūmi*)[57] as referred to by the epigraphs of the period. It is worth noting that Nayasēna,[58] a Jaina poet who flourished in Karṇāṭaka in the 12th century A.D., speaks of '*sauḷu-bhūmi*',[59] i.e., saline soil, as the most unfertile and unproductive soil and maintains that the black-soil land is superior in quality and productivity. It is interesting to learn from a record of A.D. 1079[60] that the land which could yield all sorts of food-grains was considered to be very good.

3. SYSTEMS OF LAND TENURE

i) Ownership of Land

It has been noted above that the economic life of the people depended largely on land, which was the primary source of wealth. The system of land ownership, naturally, had much to do with the development and progress of agriculture; for, the full utilisation of the first agent of production, viz., land, depended partly on the sense of security that the sense of ownership would give; in brief, the degree of effort applied may be said to have depended on whether the cultivator owned the land or was only a tenant. Moreover, on this factor also

depended the land-revenue and associated levies which had been the main stay of Indian Finance till recently.

It may further be pointed out that prestige was attached to ownership of land, since it gave the owner a status in society, and enabled him to meet all the wants of mediaeval household economy, directly or indirectly;[61] and every man, whatever his occupation, aimed at having a small plot of land he could call his own.[62]

Whether the ownership of soil belonged to the State or to a particular individual is, indeed, an old question and has been a matter of controversy among scholars. We may as well refer in this context to the divergent views of two learned scholars, Vincent Smith and K. P. Jayaswal, who may be taken as typical of the two schools: the former argues in favour of state ownership of the soil, while the latter advocates private ownership.

Smith maintains that the State was the sole owner of the soil. "The native law of India", he writes, "has ordinarily recognised agricultural land as being crown property".[63] But, K. P. Jayaswal, having brought an array of authorities from very old times on the issue, has shown that the view of Smith is untenable and has argued the case for the existence of private property in land. He observes: "The native law of India as laid down by its own lawyers of unquestioned and unquestionable authority is the other way. It may be the native law of any other land; it is certainly not the native law of India".[64]

Considering the importance of the problem, and the practical bearing it has even during the modern times, it may not be out of context here to discuss the point in some detail. We may note, in passing, the concept of property as defined and understood by our ancient law-givers and their commentators.

'Property' does not consist in mere enjoyment (*bhōga*); it consists in enjoyment plus ownership (*bhōga* + *mamatva*).[65] The Smṛti writers knew clearly the concept of ownership, both of movables and immovables, from very early times. Even in respect of terminology, the idea of ownership is clearly distinguished from that of restricted real rights. Ownership is thus indicated by the pronoun '*svam*', and the abstract term '*svatva*', '*svāmya*', '*svāmitva*' and so forth, while possession is usually indicated by the verb '*bhuj*' (to enjoy) and its derivatives.[66] Time and again, the insufficiency of mere possession (*bhōga*) has been emphasised; for, without a clear title (i.e. ownership), it becomes invalid.[67]

The remarks of Vijñānēśvara in this context are significant: ownership of a thing (*svatva*) cannot arise from mere possession (*bhōga*); for, "then it is likely that property which belongs to others may be enjoyed by trespass, etc."[68] Again, it should not be supposed that even what is obtained by robbery or like means would be property; for, "proprietary right in such instances is not recognised by the world and so it disagrees with the established practice".[69]

It has also been pointed out that the authors of the Sacred Law not only have a clear notion of the concept of ownership in general, but also refer to the essential qualities and attributes of private ownership of land; and such notions "evidently gathered force and strength from the fact that the institution of private property went back to the oldest times to which the history of the Indo-Aryans can be traced".[70]

Further, sale, gift and bequest have been regarded as the essential qualities of ownership.[71] As our learned commentator, Vijñānēśvara,[72] puts it, sale and other transactions are the basis of ownership; and sale, gift or a pledge made without ownership should be rescinded.[73] In other words, the power of alienation may be taken as the criterion of property in land:[74] land being saleable asserts the existence of property and the person who has the power to alienate it is the owner of the property. This is in keeping with the principle laid down by Vijñānēśvara: "Indeed, that which is not a person's property in a thing does not give effect to his transfer of it by sale or the like".[75]

It is significant to note that Vijñānēśvara, while commenting on the chapter "Inheritance and Partition" (*Dāyavibhāga*), prefaces it with a short discussion on the nature of ownership and the origin of proprietary right.[76] But, what is more significant, the discussion starts with the assumption that the ownership of property vested in the individual. For, at the very outset, we note: "The property of the father as also of the (paternal) grandfather becomes the property of his sons or grandsons respectively ..... etc.".[77] Again: "in property[78] such as land, etc., the ownership of father and the son is universally known and bearing this in mind a partition takes place".[79] Further, the jurist observes:[80] it is settled that the ownership in father's or grandfather's estate is by birth; and the father is subject to the control of his sons and the rest in regard to the immovable estate, whether acquired by himself or inherited from his father or some other predecessor ..... etc."

It is significant to note in this context that while the consent of sons is made an essential condition for the disposal of landed property, "nowhere do we find

mention of the consent of the king being made a condition precedent to the alienation of land".[81] The existence of private property in land is thus established. Many passages, as noted above, can be cited in support of this idea of private ownership of land; but the view of the law books is sufficiently clear on the subject.

We may now touch upon the inscriptional evidence which may be said to represent the practical aspect of the problem. Epigraphs of the period under study clearly show that alienation takes the form of sale, gift or mortgage,[82] which, as has been noted above, is vitally connected with ownership; and that the power of alienation was vested in the private individuals which fact invariably presupposes the private ownership of land. We learn, for instance, from an undated Hoysaḷa record[83] that one Sōmēgauḍa, a native of Mattigaṭṭa, borrowed some money from a certain Dīkṣita Nāgaṇṇa, after having pledged his lands. Such instances of alienation of land by individuals (by sale, gift, etc.,) can be multiplied, but the evidence cited above would suffice to make the point clear. What is more to the point, there is an indication in Vijñānēśvara, which would lead us to believe that the king had to purchase land owned by private individuals if he wanted to make a gift of the same. The passage runs:[84] "when, however, another man says—'True it is that this man first got it by gift and also was in possession, but the king gave this very field to me after purchasing from this very man, or that this man gave it to me having obtained by gift' . . . . . etc." Thus, the passage would clearly show that, according to the ideas of the time, the king, if he wanted to acquire land belonging to private individuals, had to pay for it.[85]

The inscriptions of the period also amply corroborate the view of the learned commentator. An epigraph[86] dated 1024 A.D. refers to an instance of 300 *kuḷis* of land being bought by the king, after duly paying the price. We learn from another record[87] that the emperor, Vikramāditya VI and his queen Mahādēvi, purchased lands from the *Mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* village Muttage, and granted the same to the donee (named). Such instances can be multiplied,[88] but those cited above are enough to make the point clear that kings and the like were expected to, and did, respect and safeguard the sanctity of private property in land.

It does not, however, mean that kings had no lands of their own. They had their own lands or estates, probably in each village in the districts under their rule. Royal estates or domains are referred to in some records,[89] though such records are few in number.[90] For instance, a record, of 1049 A.D.[91] mentions

'*Rājakīya-kṣētra*' among the boundaries of the land that was granted. Such lands and their produce were the exclusive property of the crown. Besides, it has been pointed out that waste lands awaiting cultivation, forest-tracts and unoccupied estates did belong to the State.[92]

Thus, the above discussion in the light of the contemporary sources, both inscriptional and literary, would lead us to the conclusion that there existed private ownership of land; and, throughout ages, a clear distinction was maintained between the king's own land and that of private individuals.[93]

ii) Joint Tenure

It has been noted above that there existed private ownership of land as testified by the sources. But there remains still the question whether ownership of land was individual or joint in character, i.e., whether the village consisted of a number of independent cultivators who owned their land severally, or if all the village lands were collectively owned by the village community in common. Our understanding of the economic life of the village community may be affected considerably by an answer to this question.

The contemporary South Indian evidence—as an answer to the question—confirms the existence of both types of villages, viz., the ryotwari and the joint.[94] It may be noted, however, that in ryotwari villages the group of holdings forms in no sense a proprietary unit; and the several portions of the village are taken up severally and enjoyed quite independently, there being no community of interest in land.[95]

It has been stated that in a joint village, in contrast, the ownership of land was held in common; and the village community formed, in effect, one proprietary unit in relation to the village lands.[96] Dr. Burnell has pointed out that the communal ownership of land was the oldest form of property in land in which the common land was cultivated by all the owners in common who divided the produce;[97] and, down to recent times, such joint villages did exist in South India where the village lands were owned in common by the village community.[98]

Epigraphs[99] of the period refer to such joint tenures of land. Whenever a village or a certain plot of land was granted to a group of individuals, the position was that each one of the donees had a claim for his own share in the grant. In other words, each donee received a share in the total produce or the income thereof; all the land was held and managed in common by the donees, who acted

together as share-holders, there being a proportionate distribution of the total produce or the income thereof. Clear instances of such joint tenures of land (*gaṇa-vṛtti*)[100] do occur, more particularly, in the case of the *Mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* villages. A Mysore record dated 1215 A.D.,[101] for instance, states that all the Brāhmaṇas of the immemorial *agrahāra*, Hiriya-Nallūr, at the time of the settlement of Tuyyalakeṛe and Baṭṭeyūr, made an agreement on stone as follows: "Of the 30 shares of wet land (*nīr-maṇṇu*) under the Heggaḍe tank in Tuyyalakeṛe, all the money-rent (*suvarṇāya*) and the grain-rent (*bhattāya*) belong to the Brāhmaṇas who hold those shares (the same as regards 30 shares in Baṭṭeyūr). The fixed rent that is received for the two villages will be divided equally between the holders of the 60 shares. Whatever concession the emperor or the officials of Nallūr may grant to the villages, the 60 Brāhmaṇas shall adhere to this settlement and maintain their gardens at the fixed rate as long as the sun and moon endure. The cows of the cultivators in Baṭṭeyūr and Tuyyalakeṛe cannot be grazed on the produce . . . . . etc."

It may, however, be noted in this connection that the power of disposing of lands that were held jointly was vested in the joint body. Several chiefs, we are told, who held the proprietary rights (*prabhutva*) of the village Sinnikhēḍa, sold certain plots of land to one *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Inderasa, having received from him 510 *Rāyajagadḷa-gadyāṇas*; and relinquished their coparcenary and collective rights over the land (*dāyigaśuddha gaṇaśuddhavāgi*).[102]

An epigraph dated 1091 A.D.[103] records that the 200 *Mahājanas* of the village, which was an *agrahāra* in Māsavāḍi Hundred and Forty, received from Mahādēvayya-Nāyaka, servant (*leṅka*) of Vikramāditya VI, 130 gold 'Lokki-gadyāṇas', and gave in exchange 200 *mattars* of land (for the purpose of gift). A record of 1162 A.D.[104] informs us that one *Perggaḍe* Dāsirāja purchased 6 *mattars* of land from the 1000 *Mahājanas* of the great *agrahāra* Pūli, and endowed the same for the renovation of the well called Nāgavāvi (said to be equal to Vārāṇasi), and for the maintenance of a 'Charity-Picotta' (*dharmētakke*). Such instances can, however, be multiplied.[105] Interestingly enough, a Yādava grant of 1187 A.D.,[106] from Bijapur district, tells us that a certain Rēci-bhaṭṭa, one of the 300 *Mahājanas* of Kalkeṛe, made a gift of land (having purchased it), with the consent of the *Mahājanas*.

It has been pointed out that under the system of collective ownership and joint cultivation, it is likely that there is little encouragement to individual industry, and, therefore, the cultivation is apt to be inefficient and the yield poor; and there

inevitably arises the necessity for the next step in agricultural improvement, viz., that of alloting to each shareholder in the village a certain portion to cultivate and to enjoy the fruits thereof.[107] In a few cases, however, lands that were being cultivated for a period by the co-sharers in separate shares, were subject to the process of periodical redistribution. A Hoysaḷa record[108] from Tipaṭūr, for instance, states that all the *Mahājanas* of Karuviḍi, agreeing among themselves, resolved to divide the estate equally among the families of the village (and they set up a stone in the Hoysaḷēśvara temple to that effect). Collecting into one all the wet, dry and garden lands, and all other parts of Haḷḷiyūr and Hiriyūr, they divided them into 125 shares and grouped them into parts. It was stipulated that, when once the division had been made by common agreement, there was to be no dispute about the equity of the divisions; and that each share-holder had to construct tanks and ponds and each village should have its own boundary; and whosoever transgressed these regulations came under the orders of Vīra Ballāḷa and Tōya Siṅgeya-daṇṇāyaka.[109] It may, however, be noted that the desire for redistribution must obviously have arisen from the desire for equality, as indicated by the instance cited above.

Further, the fact that such joint villages often had a tendency to make the division permanent, instead of dividing the cultivated lands periodically, according to the share of land held by each, becomes apparent in some records of the period.

Such a change is quite in the fitness of things and easily understandable. "Such a change is in the natural course of things", observes Appadorai, "and must precede every material improvement. If one part of the lands of a village had advantages over the other in some respects, the common tenure will be acceptable to the proprietors by giving to all in their turn the benefit of the favoured land, but when the advantages of the several lots of land are nearly equal, the occupants will in general wish to keep their own permanently because no man ever labours with the same spirit to improve what he is to share with another as what he is to retain exclusively for himself."[110]

An epigraph of the Hassan District,[111] for instance, tells us that the *Mahājanas* of the *agraḥāra*, Mallikārjunapura, considering that the former division was not equal, had the wet and the dry fields of the village surveyed by agents; and, agreeing among themselves on the principle that all were equal and should share alike, made a permanent settlement of the *vṛttis*. It is also stated that all those who had agreed to this settlement could not dispute the equality of the shares, if anything should befall from the act of God or from the inroad of

wild tribes. And, in whatever village any sale or gift took place, this settlement was not to be transgressed.

Again, some inscriptions from Kadur District[112] also speak of a similar instance when the *Mahājanas* of Kūṭanamaḍavu, assembling in the council hall, and agreeing among themselves, made a permanent division of the lands of their village. It was stipulated that the fixed proportion had to be observed for ever, and whosoever transgressed these rules incurred the wrath of the emperor VĪra Narasiṁha and of Sōvaladēvī, and was to be excommunicated from the Three Hundred and the Thirty-Two Thousand. In the following year, the Brāhmaṇa share-holders of certain other villages (named) also seem to have made similar agreemets.

It may be noted, however, that in such cases the element of joint ownership lay in the share in the common waste land which was to be at the absolute disposal of the village as a whole.

iii) Special Tenures—Land gifts for religious merit and public service

It has been noted above that the practice of making a gift of land for religious merit, as also of paying salaries and wages for various public services by assignment of land, was the order of the day. This practice gave rise to what may be called the 'special tenures' of land, viz., religious grants and service tenures. In the former case, however, lands were granted to donees with the belief that the very act of the gift would bring religious merit to donors. But, in the latter, lands were granted, with the requirement that certain material services were to be done by donees, or in appreciation of the service already rendered by them.

a) Religious Grants

It was strongly believed, as noted above, that by gifting one's property, one attains heaven (*dānāt svargamavāpnōti*) ; and that, of all the objects of gift, land was the best. Indeed, the gift of land to the learned and pious Brāhmaṇas, as also to the gods, was considered to be one of the 'great gifts '(*mahādānāni*).[113] Further it has been pointed out that the codifiers of the Smṛtis of the period incorporated in their works as many ancient texts as they could find to extol the merits of land gifts ; and the records of the period contain many quotations from such codes.[114] We may as well refer in this context to Hēmādri,[115] a popular author of our period. Such beneficial tenures may, however, be classified under

two broad heads, in accordance with the donees to whom land was gifted, namely, *Brahmadēya* and *Dēvadāna*.

The *Brahmadēya* simply meant a gift of land made to an individual Brāhmaṇa, or to a group of Brāhmaṇas, with a view to support and to enable them to carry on their religious duties without any difficulty. The earliest references to such religious endowments, we are told, occur in the Brāhmaṇa works, and Pāli literature abounds in references to *Brahmadeyya*.[116] It is also referred to by Kauṭilya.[117] The *agrahāra* villages donated to groups of Brāhmaṇas, which are often mentioned in our records, are nothing but *Brahmadēyas*.[118] It has been referred to also as *Brāhmaṇa-vṛtti* in a record of our period.[119] It may, however, be noted in this connection that such *Brahmadēya* should not be confused with the lands in ordinary possession of Brāhmaṇas as private owners; for, the latter kind of land was, to some extent, like the land owned by the other castes, so far as the rights and obligations were concerned.[120]

Gifts of land were also made directly to the gods and the goddesses in order to see that the daily worship as well as seasonal festivals in the temples were regularly carried on; and as such were known as *Dēvadānas*. It has been stated[121] that literary references to such *Dēvadānas* do not go as far back as those to *Brahmadēyas*. It may also be recalled here that the temples, especially in the South, often involved the maintenance of a vast number of persons, with a staff of worshippers and attendants.[122]

Epigraphs[123] of the period often refer to such *Dēvadānas*. Certain individuals assembled in the temple of God Tiruvirāmīsuvara Uḍaiyār, we are told, and granted some lands as *Dēvadāna*, in addition to what had been formerly given by their ancestors, and made over the same to the managers of the temple, with an undertaking that they would make good the deficiency (if any) in the produce of the lands.[124]

We often meet with references also to gifts of land made for the maintenance of the *maṭhas*, and as such were called '*maṭhapura*',[125] lands.

It is worth noting in this context that where the lands were granted on such religions tenures, the donees were also expected to be of good behaviour. We read thus in a Bangalore record[126] of 1262 A.D.: "I, Kāmadēvar, will exact a fine from, and expel from his *vṛtti*, any man who either leaves Śivapuram for good, or slanders another, or commits adultery".

b) Service Tenures

It has been mentioned above that persons serving the State and in village-bodies, temples etc., in various capacities, were paid their salaries or remuneration by assignments of land, rather than in cash. Such a practice was probably due to the abundance of land and the relative scarcity of money in mediaeval times. Thus, we learn from a record[127] of 1209 A.D., from Hassan District, that many persons—the list includes goldsmiths (*akkasāle*), carpenters (*baḍagi*), metal-smith (*kammāra*), dhobis (*agasa*), potters (*kuṁbāra*) and so on—apparently rendering the essential services of the village, were all assigned lands. Interestingly enough, an astrologer was also a servant of the village. He was assigned land for his maintenance, and was expected to reside in the village and attend to his duties.[128]

It may be remembered here that the temple was an employer, providing means of livelihood for a considerably large number of persons. Indeed, the temple of Akkēśvara at Sūṇḍi (Dharwar District) had an establishment of a thousand persons, consisting of the staff and attendants, to be maintained by the temple.[129] Another temple in Kolar District maintained fifty-two families of servants, performing various duties in the temple.[130] The persons serving in the temples, such as worshippers, readers of *purāṇas*, dancing girls, accountants and so on were also assigned lands in lieu of their salaries or remuneration.[130]

References occur in the records to what is called *uṁbaḷi*, which meant lands granted by kings to their ministers and other servants, as also by the village bodies to the village servants, either as remuneration for their past services, or in lieu of a salary for their present duties. An *uṁbaḷi* was generally rent-free and hereditary.[132] A Hoysaḷa record[133] from Hassan District, dated 1209 A.D., for instance, records the grant of an *uṁbaḷi*, apparently by the king to his minister, as the latter had constructed a tank and set up a town. Another Hoysaḷa record[134] rom Mysore, dated 1125 A.D., states that the king Viṣṇumahīpati granted an *uṁbaḷi* to his minister. It is interesting to read in a Yādava record[135] (Shimoga District) of 1243 A.D. that one of the subordinates under the king Siṁhaṇa, named Ṭhakkura, stationed in the Taravūreḷḍugōl-ṭhāṇa, being unwilling to do his duty on the *uṁbaḷi* allowed, went against the king, but was defeated.

All the *Mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* of Amṛtakēśvarapura (Kadur District) granted, says a record[136] of c. 1291 A.D., two shares in Malleyanahaḷḷi as *gauḍike-uṁbaḷi* to one Honna-gauḍa Ballayya, apparently in lieu of his salary to look after the office of the *gauḍa* in the village.

Koḍage—also known by the other forms of the term like *kuḍaṅgai, koḍaṅge, koḍagi.* etc.—was a grant of land made for a specific purpose; in brief, it was a reward in appreciation of the services rendered by the done. Thus, we come across many *koḍages*, such as *keṟe-koḍage, rakta-koḍage, vīra-koḍage* and so on.

Keṟe-koḍagi was a grant of land made to a person for having constructed a tank. Construction of tanks and canals was regarded as an act of great religious merit and its importance for the promotion of agriculture was realised. And, therefore, such an act was always encouraged by way of land-gifts by the State as well as the persons in power. We read, for instance, in a record[138] of 1227 A.D. that all the *Mahājanas* of Eḷavare *alias* Kēśavapura (Hassan District) made a grant of land as a *keṟe-goḍagi*, to Ekkalaseṭṭi and his descendants, as the latter had constructed the tank called Ekkalasamudra.

Similarly, *nettaru-koḍage*, also referred to as *rakta-koḍagi*,[139] was apparently a grant of land made to the bereaved family of the person, who laid down his life for a certain cause. An epigraph[140] from Maḷavaḷḷi (Mysore District), dated 1297 A.D., states that a certain Kariya Māragavuḍa fought to death during the destruction of the village Hullavaṅgala; and his son, Cokka, was granted some land as *nettaru-koḍage*. Another record[141] (Shimoga District) of 1160 A.D. tells us that some land was granted as *rakta-koḍage* to the bereaved family of one Haḍavaḷa Boppaṇa, by Jagadēvarasa, chief of Sāntaḷige, for the service of the former in fighting to death against Tailapadēva of the later Kadambas. Reference is made in a record[142] of 1195 A.D. from Kadur District to *vīra-koḍagi*, which was a grant of land made to the family of the hero who fought bravely and gave up his life in an attempt to rescue the cows and women of his village at the hands of robbers. Such land-grants were also known as *kalnāḍu, bāḷgaḷcu*,[143] etc. Mention may, however, be made in this context of other *koḍages*, referred to by our records, such as *pūje-goḍagi, prīti-koḍagi*[145] *kaṭṭu-goḍage*[146] and so on.

Epigraphs of the period often refer to a tenure of land called *Bittuvaṭṭa*. This term has been variously interpreted by different authorities; according to B. L. Rice,[147] the term means "a permanent right of sowing", while B. A. Saletore[148] takes it to mean "a taxable land under a tank granted as a gift". In fact, it was a gift of land made for the maintenance of a tank. A Hoysḷa record[149] from Hassan District, dated 1180 A.D., shows that a plot of land was granted as a *bittuvaṭṭa* for the maintenance of a tank by the inhabitants of the village. "Every one will grant this *bittuvaṭṭa* for the tank. He who does not grant the *bittuvaṭṭa* and takes it away will fall into hell".

We may also note here, in passing, another term, often referred to by our sources, viz., *daśavanda*. It also appears in the other forms such as *daśavandha*,[150] *dasavanda*,[151] *daśavanna*,[152] etc. The word[153] has been taken in the sense of "land granted to a person for repairing or building a tank on condition of paying in money or kind one-tenth or some small share of the produce";[154] or, "land granted at one-tenth of the usual rates to a person in consideration of his constructing or repairing a tank".[155] This practice of *daśabandha*, we are told, was very popular with the tank-builders of the age of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, according to which method, "the construction of the tanks was entrusted to persons who had to execute the work and maintain the tank in good repair after its completion at their own expense. As a set-off they were granted tax-free one- tenth of the area of the land irrigated by the tanks constructed by them, as remuneration for their work."[156]

It may be worth noting here that the term *daśabandha* has been variously interpreted by different authorities. Kauṭilya,[157] for instance, takes it to mean "a share of one-tenth of the produce given by a land-lord to a cultivator or labourer", while Manu[158] uses it in the sense of a fine imposed on witnesses who do not appear in cases of loans of money. Vijñānēśvara's[159] comments are significant in this context. He observes: "He who, having agreed to give evidence as a witness, after having been affirmed, does not depose anything, should be made to pay, by the king, the entire debt (i.e.) together with interest, to the creditor; (and) with the addition of a tenth (*sadaśabandhakam*). The tenth part, moreover, becomes the king's property, for it has (already) been laid down[160] that 'a debtor should be made to (pay) by the king to himself ten percent of the amount recovered.'"

Let us now turn to the inscriptions to see what they would say on the point. An epigraph[161] from Lakṣmēśvara (Dharwar District), dated 1147 A.D., states that Mēcarasa, the General and minister of the Western Cāḷukya ruler Jagadēkamalla II, granted some land (specified) to Jñānasōma Paṇḍitādēva, on which he deducted a *daśavandha* at the rate of ten percent. The term in this context evidently means a remission of one-tenth of the revenue deriving from the land that was granted. We read in another record[162] (Lakkuṇḍi, Dharwar District) of 1118 A.D. that two persons, named Kētōja and Gaṅga, gifted the *dasavanda* income from the smithy (?) of the god Bharatēśvara (*dēvara kammāṭikeya dasavandava*) to the temple of the god. Again, a Hoysaḷa record from Mysore, dated 1178 A.D., refers to the gift of the *daśavanda* of the toll on a cart-load (*hērina suṅkada*

daśavandamumaṁ) to a temple for the perpetual-lamp (*nandādīvigegaṁ*) of the god.

Similarly, the term appears in another record[164] of c. 1125 A.D., which refers to various tolls and dues; and the term used in that context only means the one-tenth of the revenue that was granted (*katteyalu kōṇanalu ēna hēri bandaḍaṁ hejjuṅka bīravaṇi vaḍḍarāvuḷa sahitaṁ hattakkondu daśavandavāgi biṭṭaru*).

In the light of the above facts, it may not be right to take the term *daśavanda*[165] in the exclusive sense of a grant of land made for the construction and repair of a tank.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 It has been pointed out that treatises on gifts form an important branch of the later Sanskrit law and some of them are very extensive digests, e.g. Hēmādri's *Dānakhaṇḍa*—[A.C. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 94.]; also see [for the views of Manu and others on gifts (*dāna*)] P. V. Kane, *HDS* [*History of Dharmaśāstra*], II. ii, pp. 837 ff.

2 *Abhila.* [*Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇih* of Sōmēśvara], I, 59, p. 8.

3 *Ibid.*, I. 61, p. 8.

4 *IA*, XII, p. 23 (A Yādava grant of Śaka 991 or 1069 A.D.); also *EC*, VII, Sk. 185 (1158 A.D.): "*sarvēṣāmēva dānānāṁ bhūmi-dānaṁ paraṁ smṛtam*"; again, "*nāsti bhūmi-samō dānaṁ nāsti bhūmi-samō nidhih*," etc.

5 *Mita.* [*The Mitākṣarā*], I. 210, (Tr.) p. 440 (Translation by J. R. Gharpure).

6 *Ibid.*, p. 441—'a cow's hide' according to the commentator, was a land-measure.

7 *Ibid.*, II. 114, (Tr.) p. 993.

8 A.C. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, p. 94; also cf. *HDS*, II. ii, p. 837—Manu and others have pointed out that in the four *yugas* (ages), viz., *Kṛta*, *Trētā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali*, the principal aspects of religious life were respectively penance, metaphysical knowledge, sacrifices and gifts.

9 A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in South India*, I, p. 25.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

11 *Mita.*, I. 265, (Tr.) p. 533.

12 The term *kṣētra* meaning the arable land, was an old Vedic word pointing to the existence of individual fields, carefully measured off, and fit for cultivation. See B. N. Puri, *India in the Time of Patañjali*, p. 121.

13 *EC*, V, Cn. 145 (1079 A.D.).

14 *EI*, XIV, p. 277 (n. 4).

15 P. B. Desai, *KIAP* [*Kannada Inscriptions from Andhra Pradesh*], Gb. 3 (Nāgai)—The Kākatīya records also refer to wet lands as '*nīru-nēla*'. See G. Yazadani (ed.), *EHD* [*The Early History of the Deccan*], p. 682.

16 B. P. Majumdar, *The Socio-Economic History of North India*, p. 175.

17 *EC*, V, Cn. 145 (1079 A.D.).

18 *EI*, XIV, p. 277 (n. 3).

19 *EC*, V, Cn. 145.

20 BK, No. 109 of 1926–27, etc.

21 *EI*, XVIII, p. 213 (1162 A.D.).

22 *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 277.

23 It is a land-measure often come across in the Karṇāṭaka records.

24 *EI*, XVIII, p. 218.; also XXIX, pp. 203 ff.

25 *Abh.* [*Abhidhāna Vastukōśaṁ* of Nāgavarma], p. 26, V. 5 "*Khiḷam-aprahatam*"; North Indian records of the period also refer to such *khila*, or *aprahata* lands. See B. P. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

26 K. M. Gupta, *The Land System in South India*, p. 227.

27 *Manu*, VIII, 237; *Yāj.*, II, 166, etc.

28 *AS*, (Tr.) p. 48; *Abhila.*, I. 168, p. 54; also *Abh.*, p. 27, V. 7, etc.

29 *Mita.*, II, 116, (Tr.) pp. 1180–81.

30 *Ibid.*, II, 86, (Tr.), p. 1223.

31 *Ibid.*, II, 282, (Tr.) p. 1338.

32 *Ibid.*, (Tr.) p. 1338 (n. 3)—straw, a kind of grass at the root of which is found the fragrant '*khus*' or '*vala*'; see *Amarakōśa* 11.4.164—the Andropogan Muricatus.

33 *EI*, III, p. 306 (1087 A.D.).

34 A measure of land often referred to in the records.

35 *EC*, IV, Ch. 197.

36 *Mita.*, II, 271, (Tr.) p. 1324.

37 *AS* (Tr. p. 48.), for instance, enjoins that, in view of procuring all kinds of forest produce, one or several forests should be reserved.

38 *Ibid.*, (Tr.) p. 49.

39 *Abhila.*, I, 182, p. 55; also *EC*, VIII, Sa. 109 (1042 A.D.)—"*aḍaviya beḷasu piridu Kōḍānegaḷa*".

40 *EC*, V, Bl. 86 (1177 A.D.).

41 *Ibid.*, Bl. 137.

42 *Ibid.*, Bl. 175 (1186 A.D.).

43 *KIAP*, Ng. 45 (1104 A.D.).

44 A Mysore record of the 18th century A.D. also speaks of good, middling and bad land—See *EC*, III, Sr. 64.

45 *EI*, III, p. 216 [Kolhapur Inscription of Śilāhāra Bhōja].

46 V. S. Apte—*The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1963 edn.), p. 100—'*uttama*'—best, excellent, foremost etc.

47 *EI*, III, p. 215.

48 *Agriculture in India* (Asia Publishing House, 1963), I, p. 141.

49 Harry O. Buckman and Nyle C. Brady, *The Nature and Properties of Soils* (Eurasia Publishing House, New Delhi, 6th Edn., First Indian Reprint—1964), p. 1.

50 The main groups of soils that are commonly recognised in India may be noted as follows: 1) Red soils, 2) Laterite soils, 3) Black soils, 4) Alluvial soils, 5) Forest and hill soils, 6) Desert soils, 7) Saline and Alkaline soils and 8) Peety and marshy soils—See *Agriculture in India*, I, p. 148.

51 *EI*, XII, p. 145 (A.D. 1087 and 1123); also *Mita.*, II. 6, (Tr.) p. 653.

52 BK, No. 124 of 1932–33.

53 *EI*, XII, p. 145.

54 *KKC* [R. Narasimhachar, *Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite* (1961 edn.)], I, pp. 5–6; B.A. Saletore; *Karnataka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts*, p. 6, etc.

55 H. G. Gopala Rao, *An Introduction to Soils and Soil Fertility in Mysore State* (Bangalore, 1960), p. 7; also K. Gundappa, *Vyavasāyada Maṇṇugaḷu* (Kannaḍa), p. 3 (Mys. Uni. Pubn., 2nd edn., 1956).

56 *EI*, XVII, p. 120; B.K. 47 of 1936–37; *AR*, No. 443 of 1926 etc.

57 *EC*, V, Cn. 228 (1154 A.D.)

58 *Dharm.*, I, 7. 75., p. 315; also cf. *Ba. Va.*, 455, p. 115.

59 *EI*, XIV, p. 277 (n. 2) '*sauḷ*'—'muriate of lime' or 'brackishness'.

60 *INKKS* [Kundangar K. G., *Inscriptions in North Karnataka and Kolhapur State*], No. 3.

61 A Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 25.

62 K.A.N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 317; *The Cōḷas*, p. 567.

63 Vincent Smith, *Early History of India* (4th edn., 1924), pp. 137–8.

64 K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* (2nd edn., 1943), p. 349.

65 B. K. Sarkar, *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus*, p. 203.

66 U. N. Ghoshal, *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, p. 84.

67 *Ibid*, p. 85.

68 *Mita.*, II. 27, (Tr.) p. 733.

69 *Ibid.*, II. 114, (Tr.) p. 985.

70 U. N. Ghoshal, *The Agrarian System*, p. 89.

71 *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87.

72 *Mita.*, II. 22, (Tr.), p. 714.

73 *Ibid.*, II. 168, (Tr.) p. 1183—'Sale without ownership' is one of the titles of law, a case for a plaint, under the Judicial Trial (*Vyavahāra*)—See *Ibid.*, II. 5 (Tr.) p. 646.

74 Wilks, *History of Mysore*, I, pp. 68–9. According to Roman lawyers also the power of alienating land was the criterion of property in land.

75 *Mita.*, II. 114, (Tr.) p. 983.

76 *Ibid.*, II. 114, (Tr.) pp. 979–994.

77 *Ibid.*, (Tr.) pp. 979–80.

78 Property, in this context, is that acquired by grandfather. *Ibid.*, 121, (Tr.) p. 1019.

79 *Ibid.*

80 *Ibid.*, II. 114, (Tr.) pp. 991–92.

81 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 107. Also see *Ibid.*, Note A (pp. 326–31) wherein the author discusses the point in some detail.

82 *EC*, V, Bl. 182; *MAR.* (1924), No. 29, p. 38, etc.

83 *MAR.* (1924), No. 29, p. 38; see also, *Mita.*, II. 23, (Tr.) p. 718—reference is made here to a man's pledging or mortgaging his field with some one, borrowing some money and thus losing his ownership.

84 *Mita.*, II. 17, (Tr.) pp. 696. (The context is: when two men simultaneously go to the officer of justice, each as plaintiff, then the question would be on whom should the burden of proof lie? Just to illustrate the point by an instance, the jurist comments as noted above).

85 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 108.

86 *EC*, IX, Cp. 84.

87 *INKKS*, No. 3 (1110 A.D.).

88 *EC*, V, Mj. 18 (1095 A.D.); *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 262 (1075 A.D.), etc.

89 Epigraphs of the time often refer to '*Paṇya*' or '*Paṇṇeya*' lands, which have been taken to mean 'crown lands' or 'royal farm'. [See K.M. Gupta, *The Land System*, pp. 122–23]. This interpretation is not convincing as will be shown later.

90 BK, No. 71 of 1936–37; also *EI*, XIV, p. 277—A reference is made here to king's *kammata* (*arasara kammata*). *Kammata* means an estate cultivated by land owner with his own farming stock, but by the labour of others—*EI*, XV, p. 328 (n. 2).

91 *ARIE* for 1956–57, A. No. 24.

92 A. S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 202; *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 240.

93 In the light of the above discussion, the view of Dr. Derrett that the king was the sole owner of the soil appears to be untenable—see Derrett, *The Hoysaḷas*, pp. 233–35.

94 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 123–24.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

96 *Ibid.*

97 A. C. Burnell, *op. cit.*, p. 117 (n. 1).

98 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

99 *EC*, VI, Kd. 132 (1215 A.D.); *MAR.* (1924), No. 10 (1280 A.D.), etc.

100 *KI*, II, 40 (1261 A.D.).

101 *EC*, VI, Kd. 132.

102 *KI*, II, 16 (1112 A.D.).

103 *BKI*, I. ii, 136.

104 *KI*, I, 27.

105 *Ibid.*, II, 28 (1180 A.D.), 40 (1261 A.D.), etc.

106 BK, 52 of 1936–37.

107 A Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 129.

108 *EC*, XII, Tp. 83 (Hoysaḷa Vīra-Ballāḷa III's time).

109 This old rule of redistribution from time to time seems to have continued to this day in some of the villages of Tanjore—See K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 567.

110 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 131–32.

111 *EC*, V, Cn. 170 (1231 A.D.).

112 *EC*, VI, Tk. 53, 54 and 55 (1290, 1291 A.D.).

113 *Abhila.*, I. 59–61, p. 8 ; Hēmādri calls it *atidāna—Dānakhaṇḍa*, pp. 494–95.

114 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 156.

115 See, A. C. Burnell, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

116 K. M. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

117 *AS*, (Tr.) p. 45.

118 *BKI*, I, ii, 202 (Vikramāditya VI's time; *MAR.* (1923), 1 (1194 A.D.), etc.

119 *SII*, VIII, 363 (1142 A.D.).

120 K. M. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

121 *Ibid.*, p. 161.

122 See *EI*, XV, p. 85 (1058 A.D.); *EC*, X, Bp. 38 a (c. 1280 A.D.), etc.

123 *EC*, IV, Yd. 13 (c. 1136 A.D.); MAR. (1920), p. 34, para. 76 (1279 A.D.); para. 77 (1300 A.D.), etc.

124 MAR. (1918), p. 47, para 96 [c. 1221 A.D.].

125 *Ibid.*, 1910, p. 35, para. 85 (1302 A.D.).

126 *EC*, IX, Bn. 114 and 115.

127 *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 244.

128 *EC*, XII, Ck. 2 (1261 A,D.).

129 *EI*, XV, p. 85 (1058 A.D.).

130 *EC*, X, Bp. 38–a (c. 1280 A.D.).

131 *MAR.* (1915), p. 48, para. 72 (1085 A.D.); *KI*, II, 16 (1122 A.D.), etc.

132 Ullal Narasinga Rao, *Kisamwar Glossary*, p. 91 ; Kittel's Dictionary, p. 240.

133 *EC*, V, Ak. 40.

134 *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 28.

135 *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 217.

136 *Ibid.*, VI, Tk. 54.

137 *MAR.* (1911), p. 47, para. 104 (1224 A.D.).

138 *Ibid.*, 1928, No. 19, p. 39.

139 *EC*, V, Cn. 205 (c. 1200 A.D.).
140 *MAR.* (1920), p. 34, para. 76; also see (for a similar case), *Ibid.*, 1927, No. 12 (Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha's reign).
141 *Ibid.*, 1923, No. 112.
142 *EC*, VI, Cm. 157 and 158.
143 B. L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 171; *MAR.* (1931), No. 74 (1053 A.D.), etc.
144 *MAR.* (1910), p. 35, para. 84 (Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III's time.)
145 *EC*, XII, Ck. 2 (1261 A.D.).
146 *MAR.* (1920), p. 34, para. 77 (1237 A.D.).
147 *EC*, X, Intro. p. XX.
148 B. A. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p. 42.
149 *MAR.* (1940), No. 9. It has been stated that *biituvaṭṭa*, probably also called *bittukaṭṭe*, was "a portion of the produce derived from the lands irrigated by tanks, or wet land irrigated by a tank, granted to the person who built the tank or repaired it". Cf. D. C. Sircar *IEG* [*Indian Epigraphical Glossary*], pp. 60, 411-12.
150 *EI*, XVI, p. 48 (1147 A.D.).
151 *BKI*, I. ii, 193 (1118 A.D.).
152 *IA*, XXX, p. 107 (1108 A.D.).
153 *Ibid.*, p. 267 (n. 2)—*daśavanda Tbh.* of *daśabandha*.
154 *Ibid.*, p. 107 (n. 12).
155 *EC*, IV, Intro. p. 12; see also *EI*, XVI, p. 22 (n. 1)—It is a remission of one-tenth of the revenue under varying conditions, e.g. as compensation for some public work, such as digging and maintaining wells.
156 *EHD*, p. 680.
157 K. M. Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 222 (n. 3).
158 *Manu*, VIII, 107.
159 *Mita.*, II. 76 (Tr.), p. 865.
160 *Ibid.*, 42, (Tr.), p. 779.
161 *EI*, XVI, p. 52.
162 *BKI*, I. ii, 193.
163 *EC*, IV, Ng. 70.
164 P. B. Desai, *Studies in Epigraphy*, No. 37 (A record from Koppal).
165 D. C. Sircar [*IEG*, p. 412] takes *daśabandha* in the sense of a tax or cess levied to keep the sources of water supply, like the tank, etc., in good repair.

* * * *

CHAPTER—3

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture has been, through the centuries, the prime occupation in India and indeed, the very backbone of the country's economy ; and more especially so during the ancient and mediaeval times. As a matter of fact, the trade as well as the industries of the country, as also the larger part of the State's revenue, depended considerably on agriculture. The fact that the progress of agriculture means largely the progress of the nation, and that there could be no wealth superior to it, was well understood. Our Smṛti writers, as well as political thinkers like Kauṭilya,[1] have, therefore, advocated emphatically the uninterrupted pursuit of agriculture. Even at present, no less than seventy per cent of the people in the country earn their living directly from the land ;[3] and it has been the constant endeavour of all the States to increase and improve the agricultural production and its resources, by implementing the modern scientific methods and techniques.

Now to turn to our period proper : contemporary evidence makes it clear that the case was not different during the period under study from what we have noticed above. In brief, agriculture was well cared for and its vital role in the life of the people was realised.[4] It is significant to note that the cultivator, who, without cultivating the fields himself, depended upon the foodcrops grown by others, was never held in esteem by society.[5] The cultivators (*okkala-makkaḷu*),[6] as a community, were held in great regard and were looked upon as the givers of food to society as a whole. They are, indeed, often referred to in affectionate words and are admired.[7]

i) Principal Crops

Crops grown in a country determine to some extent the agricultural practice

of the people. Though we get some valuable information about many agricultural crops, both edible and non-edible, that were grown in the country, it is difficult to know the kinds of crops that were cultivated in particular areas, or the extent and intensity of their cultivation. The information on the topic has to be gathered from numerous records, that often refer only to the kinds of crops, that were sold in the market and subject to a certain tax. We may as well refer in this context to a few important literary works of the period, notably those of Sōmēśvara,[8] Nāgavarma[9] and Nayasēna. The following details may also be noted :

Rice was an important cereal cultivated in the wet lands (*gadde*) on a large scale, wherever there was fertile soil and plentiful supply of water. In fact, in South India during this period,[10] as also in the North,[11] many varieties of rice were cultivated apparently with success. Reference is made often to a fine variety of rice, fit to be consumed by kings and the like, known as *rājānna*, *rājaśāli*.

Sōmēśvara,[13] interestingly enough, refers to eight varieties of rice, distinguished by their colour, size, odour and the like : *rakta-śāli* (red rice), *mahā-śāli* (rice of big size,) *gandha-śāli*[14] (fragrant rice), *sūkṣma-śāli* (thin and fine variety), and so on.

It may be noted that rice was extensively cultivated in the regions of Koṅkaṇ[15] and the Kanara coast ; and the latter was exporting rice to Malabar and Ormuz during the Vijayanagara days.[16]

It may be added here that a Mysore record[17] of 1130 A. D. refers to a kind of rice called *kāḍakki*, which was evidently the wild rice grown in forest tracts or uncultivated lands, also known as *nīvāra*.[18] This crop depended entirely on nature and needed no human enterprise.

Mention may be made of some other cereals that are referred to by our sources,[19] such as wheat (*gōduve*), many kinds of millets like great millet (*jōḷa*) finger millet (*rāgi*) Indian millet (*kaṅgu*), common millet (*baragu*), as also the grain *sāve* (or *sāme—Skt. syāmaka*, Panicum colonum), etc.

Among the important pulses[20] that were cultivated during the period, we may mention red gram or pigeon pea (*togari*), Bengal gram (*kaḍale*), green-gram (*hesaru*), black-gram (*uddu*), horse-gram (*koḷḷu*), Indian bean (*avare*) and such others. Among the various oilseeds that were grown may be mentioned sesamum,[21] castor, gingelly, etc. Cotton[22] and hemp were the important fibres that were cultivated.

Many spices[23] were grown such as cumin (*jīrige*), corriander (*kottambari*) pepper (*meṇasu*), cardamum (*ēlakki*), turmeric (*arisina*), ginger (*śuṇṭhi*) and such others. Especially, pepper was cultivated on a large scale in Mangalore and Sandān as is testified to by the accounts of the Arab geographers[24] of the period.

Sugarcane[25] was a crop of commercial value which was cultivated wherever there was a plentiful supply of water and suitable soil for its growth. We often meet with fine descriptions of the sugarcane crop standing in the fields, both in the epigraphs and literary works of the period.[26] Reference is also made, by way of analogy, to animals like elephants, jackals and the like, which used to cause damage to the standing sugarcane crop.[27]

Among the various garden crops, mention may be made of the plantations of banana, betelnut etc., – grown especially in the coastal regions of Koṅkaṇ and Tuḷunāḍ[28] – that find frequent mention in the records.[29] Besides, many kinds and varieties of vegetables, fruits and flowers were grown in the gardens. A few of them may be mentioned here:

Vegetables[30] such as brinjal (*badane*), cucumber (*saute*), pumpkin gourd (*kumbaḷa*), bitter gourd (*hāgala*), sweet gourd (*hīre*) etc., fruits[31] like mango (*māvu*), orange (*kittaḷe*), jack (*halasu*), pomegranate (*dāḷimba*), etc.; and flowers[32] like jasmine (*jāji*) and mallik (*mallige*) of many varieties, champak (*sampige*), *pādarī* (a variety of sweet smelling flower) and so on. That the fruit and flower culture was highly advanced, and practised on scientific lines and methods, becomes evident from the details that Sōmēśvara gives on the subject, which is recorded below in connection with the process of cultivation.

Besides these principal crops noted above, mention may be made of a few important non-edible products of commercial value such as sandal, teak, bamboo and the like. It is worth noting in this context that Karṇāṭaka yielded large quantities of sandal, teak and ebony woods, that were being exported to Western Asia from very early times.[33]

ii) Land Reclamation and Extension of Cultivation

It has been mentioned above that agriculture was the prime occupation of the country and the main source of prosperity of the people. We have no means to assess exactly the extent of land under cultivation during this period. "The extent of land under cultivation in the middle ages", observes Appadorai,[34] "is a

topic on which, obviously statistics are hard to get". The evidence of mediaeval travellers[35] that visited South India and the Deccan, only makes us believe that vast tracts of land were under cultivation. But, such general and vague statements should not lead one to the conclusion that all available land had been brought under the plough – such is, indeed, not the case even at present.

Land reclamation was practised in South India from an early period, with a view to bring more and fresh land under the plough, and thus to promote the cause of agricultural production. We may as well remember in this context that popular tradition ascribes to the Pallava kings (*Kāḍu-veṭṭis*), or to Karikāla, the early Cōḷa ruler, the credit of having deforested large tracts of South India and made them fit for cultivation and human habitation.[36] Again, in the Āndhra country, we are told, the Kākatīya rulers, especially Pratāparudra, attempted to increase the extent of cultivable land by cutting down forests, and to bring large tracts of fresh territory under proper cultivation. Local tradition preserved in the *Kaifiyats* of several villages, in what is at present called the Rāyalasīmā, refers to the deforestation of much of this territory by command of Pratāparudra, and "to the foundation of new villages on land they reclaimed from woodland and wide jungle".[37] Such land reclamation and extension of cultivation had been the most important item in the official policy of agrarian development in North India, particularly from the 13th century A. D. onwards.[38]

It is important to note that such a process of reclamation, from the economic point of view, served mainly two purposes: on the one hand, it provided the means for the community to cope with the pressure of population in the form of new village settlements that were founded on the tracts reclaimed; and, on the other, larger areas of uncultivated land were brought under the plough, as a result of which the State's revenue also increased. Epigraphy of the period gives us unmistakable proof of the deliberate efforts made by the State as well as private agencies in this direction of the economic enterprise of great importance.

Land was thus reclaimed by cutting down forests for village, as also for the founding of new settlements and constructing tanks and temples. Quite often, the State itself undertook such an operation, apparently through its village and district officers, either on its own initiative, or at the request of the people. Thus a Hoysaḷa record[39] of 1232 A. D. states that several *Gavuḍas* (named) founded a village called Bankihaḷḷi and also built a tank and temple there. Again, a Bēlūr record[40] of 1183 A. D. speaks of one Ādi Gavuṇḍa, who, at the request of all the *Mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* Koṇḍali, cut down the forests with the help of his brothers and sons, founded a new village, and excavated two tanks there.

The efforts to settle on and cultivate the reclaimed lands on the part of the enterprising people were also duly encouraged by the State, by offering inducements by way of land-grants, often coupled with concessions in taxes for a specified period.[14] A record[42] from Bēlūr, for instance, tells us that the great minister (*Sarvādhikāri*), Vīra-daṇḍanāyaka, having cut down the forests, founded the village Vīraballāḷapura and constructed several tanks (named) there. And, what is more to the point here, to those who cut down the forests, he granted lands free of all taxes for a period of twelve years, and afterwards ten *salage* (a land measure) of rice-land rent-free. There is good reason to believe that a graduated scale of assessment was often adopted to encourage the cultivators, so that they could bring the uncultivated tracts under the plough.[43] A Mysore record[44] shows that, in one instance, the maximum rent was fixed only in the third year after reclamation.

Why such concessions were offered is of course not difficult to understand. Reclamation does not mean cultivation of land. Some two or three years will have to elapse before such reclaimed land could be brought under cultivation. Moreover, the establishment of new settlements in the forest clearings would be a hard task frought with many difficulties—the jungle had to be cleared, stumps had to be removed, water tanks and channels had to be dug and so on.[45] And the reward was, naturally, in proportion to the difficulties and efforts involved.

It is refreshing to note that even village-bodies, in some cases, came forward to encourage such reclamation work. Several villages, we are told, while making an agreement among themselves, resolved that there should not be any obstruction to clearing the forests and cultivating the reclaimed land.[46]

Sometimes, the cultivable area was simply extended by clearing the forest tracts, without establishing any new settlements. Thus an epigraph[47] from Soraba (Shimoga District) records that one Gaṇḍara-Dēva-seṭṭi formed new rice-fields, after having built a new tank and cut the forest under the tank.

iii) Process of Cultivation

The inscriptional evidence is of little help to us in describing with any precision the various processes of agricultural operations—from tillage to storage—and the different implements used for the purpose, etc. Fortunately, some literary works of the period throw interesting light on the subject, of course by way of analogy. But, the methods and techniques of cultivation have hardly undergone any

change through the centuries; in brief, there were not any striking differences from what we are familiar with to-day.

We have noted above that the arable land (*kṣētra*) was generally of three sorts—wet, dry and garden lands[48]—each being made up of different varieties of soil, varying in colour, fertility and such other factors. Rice and sugar-cane, generally, were the crops of wet cultivation, while many cereals like wheat, millets, etc., pulses and oil-seeds were cultivated as dry-land crops; and many kinds of vegetables, fruits and flowers were grown in the gardens.

We may now try to describe in brief the various processes of cultivation, as far as our evidence helps us :[49]

To start with, it was customary for the cultivators to have the right time of cultivation ascertained with the help of the astrologer; omens (*śakuna*),[50] good or bad, mattered much so far as their success in getting a good harvest was concerned. Before the actual sowing of the seeds, the fields were to be properly ploughed, of course with the plough drawn by oxen in pairs. The stumps were then weeded out.[51]

The value of manuring[52] the fields in order to enrich the soil fertility, and thus to increase the crop yield, was well understood. So the next stage was to apply manure (*gobbara*) to the fields, properly tilled and prepared. Then, the seeds were to be sown[53] in the proper manner, lest they should go waste. It is significant to note that Sōmēśvara[54] deals with the treatment of seeds, particularly those of fruit trees and flower plants, before they are actually sown: Ripe fruits without blemish were selected and dried in the sun. Having coated them with cowdung each day for five days, one had to perfume and fumigate them with the smoke caused by the burning of *Vidaṅga* (Erycibe Paniculata) and clarified butter. The seeds of all sorts of trees were thus treated before they were sown.

Again, another way of treatment consisted in soaking the seeds for ten nights in cow's milk; and when they were dried in shade and mixed with the ashes ef *Vyaghri* (Solanum Jacqini) and with the ashes of barley corns and wheat, they were given a coating of cowdung. This was a special treatment of the seeds of milky trees.

Further, we are also informed about the soil fit for the cultivation of fruit trees and flower plants. The form of soil fit for fruit trees and flower plants was what contained sweet water, and was free from pebbles. It must be

greasy and unexposed to frost. A luxurious growth of *tila* (Sesamum Indica), *māsha* (Phraseous Radiatus) and *mudga* (Puraseous Mango) is a sure indication that soil is fit for fruit cultivation.

Further, we are told how these trees should be planted: Trees or fruit trees were to be planted such that the space between any two trees measured 16, 11, 8 or 14 *hastas* (feet nearly), accordingly as the trees were of a great, middle or small size. The pit of the trees had to measure four feet deep and square.

Again, how were these pits to be treated? The treatment of pits, we are told, consisted in filling them with plenty of bones and cowdung or any other dung, and burning the same. Then the ashes had to be removed, and the pit had to be filled up with a layer of sand at the bottom, and over it a layer of the flesh and serum of goats with water had to be made. If seeds were then sown in such pits, they would produce very good trees. Instead of seeds, young trees with roots could as well be brought and planted therein.

The growing plants were then to be fed with water, supplied from channels, or from wells by means of a lift. The standing crops had to be protected from the marauding activities of robbers and wild animals. The fields were, therefore, to be hedged with fencing.[55] If animals like cows, sheep, goats etc., damaged the crops in the fields, owners of those animals were to be fined, as observed by Vijñānēśvara.[56] According to the same authority,[57] those that cut off the branches or the trunk, or those that up-rooted entirely the trees that throw down branches having sprouts, and happened to be the means of livelihood, were also to be fined. Again, those were also to be fined that caused destruction of fruits, or buds and blossoms of trees, by means of sprinkling asafoetida or other drugs.[58] What is more, those that set fire to a field of ripened crops were to be covered with *viraṇa* grass and burnt.[59]

Sōmēśvara[60] also has something interesting to say on the subject. He tells us that the trees, particularly those yielding fruits and flowers, should be protected from some of the natural enemies, such as snow, fire, insects,[61] birds and the like; and that the weeds and creepers growing about the pits should be uprooted and thrown away.

The cultivator protects his crops, so goes an analogy,[62] as does a mother her child and a king his subjects. Such ideas, as noted above, only go to reveal the trend of contemporary thought, and show how protection of the crops was considered vital to the interests of the society as a whole.

When a grain, e.g. rice, ripens, i.e. the milk (the juice or the vital fluid within the husk) solidifies and forms into thick grain (*pāldene*), it was cut (*koylu*). The sheaves were tied into bundles (*sūḍu*) and stored on the threshing floor (*kaḷa*—Skt. *khala*), where the corn was separated from the plants (*okkaṇa*); and, after having winnowed it (*tūru*),[64] so as to make it free from chaff, dust, etc., it was heaped (*rāśi*) in the farm yard. Later, the produce was carried to the granary and stored.[65] There is good reason to believe that the rotation of crops was also practised by the cultivators of the period, as is testified to by the *Mitākṣarā*.[66]

It may be added here that, so far as rice was concerned, the more common practice was to have two harvests in a year. A record[67] of 1014 A.D. from Bangalore District, for instance, refers to the white paddy of the spring season (*payyan*) and to the black variety of summer (*kōḍai*). In fact, the *pulleyabayal* referred to in a record[68] of 1048 A.D. was one of the three kinds of rice-lands in South Kanara,[69] described as the lower part of the valleys, which was watered by small streams, from whence canals were dug to convey the water to the fields; and which, by this irrigation, was able to give annually two crops.

Besides the *bailu* (*bayal or bayilu*) land, there were also two others of the kind, namely, the *majelu* and the *beṭṭa*: "The *majelu* land is higher than the *bailu*, and is provided with small reservoirs which ensure one crop, when the rains last only for two or three months. From some of these reservoirs the water is let out by a sluice. It is raised from others by means of the *yātam*, or by a basket suspended between ropes. The *beṭṭa* land is the highest part of the rice grounds, and is provided with neither streams nor reservoirs, so that the crop depends entirely on the rains."[70]

It is worth mentioning in this connection that there was in vogue among some hill-tribes, what is referred to in the records as *kumari* cultivation. The term *kumari* means, according to the late Rev. Kittel,[71] a piece of ground in a jungle on which the trees are cut down and burnt, whereafter it is cultivated for one or two years only. Reference is made in the records to some tax levied on this kind of cultivation. An inscription[72] from Kolar District, for instance, states that one cloth (*puḍavai*) was to be given to the Government, for every 1500 *kuḷis* of land on which *kumari* was carried on by hill-tribes (*vēḍar*).

It has been pointed out by Baden-Powell[73] that this kind of cultivation has continued to this day and it is described by him thus :—"The practice consists in selecting a hill-side where the execessive tropical rainfall will drain off sufficiently

to prevent flooding of the crop, and on which there is a sufficient depth of soil. A few plots were selected and all the vegetation carefully cut. The refuse is left on ground to dry. At the proper season, when the dry weather is at its height, and before the first rains begin and fit the ground for sowing, the whole mass will be set on fire; the ashes are dug into the ground and the seed is sown, usually being mixed with the ashes and the whole dug in together. The plough is not used. The great labour after that consists in weeding, and it is the only labour after the first few days of hard cutting, to clear the ground in the first instance, are over. Weeding is, in many places, a *sine qua non*, for the rich soil would soon send up a crop of jungle growth that would suppress the hill-rice or whatever it is that has been sown. A second crop may be taken the following year, possibly a third, but then a new piece is cut and the process is repeated."

We may refer in this context to two other problems closely connected with agriculture, i.e. live stock and agricultural labour. Livestock was, indeed, one of the important forms of economic wealth; it supplied animal power for cultivation purposes—i.e. tilling and irrigation—besides serving two other major purposes, viz., transport and industry. Some of them, particularly cows and buffaloes, supplied valuable food, especially milk and its products.

The fact that great merit attached to the gifting of cows is often stressed by our sources.[74] From times immemorial, cows and bulls have been held in great reverence by followers of the Hindu religion: and killing them has been considered a great[75] sin.

Significantly enough, Vijñānēśvara includes the tending of livestock within the scope of *vārtā*, (science of wealth): "*vārtā*, i.e. rules of agriculture, trade and the tending of livestock, which are the means of accession of wealth".[76] Again, he explains the term *vāṇijyaprabhṛtayaḥ* as commerce and the like, such as trade, agriculture, money lending, cow-keeping, etc.[77] Further, *mahōkṣa* was a sprinkler of seed, i.e. a bull specially reared for impregnation;[78] and *paśavyaṁ* was a place good for cattle, i.e. favourable for cattle-breeding.[79] It is important to note that a certain tax was levied on such breeding-bulls[80] as also on good cows,[81] bullocks and buffaloes[82]—thus indicating the value attached to livestock.

Morevoer, as has been noted above, great care was given to the maintenance of pasture for the grazing of cattle;[83] and some tax was levied on the pasture land.[84]

Livestock, like crops, needs protection. Contemporary evidence testifies to the fact that due attention was paid to the protection of livestock. Cattle-raids were quite frequent and are a familiar feature in our records.[85] It is refreshing to note that villagers never hesitated even to lay down their life in an attempt to rescue their cattle from the hands of robbers. Such acts of heroism were, indeed, always appreciated and gratefully acknowledged by the people by erecting stones in their memory (*vīragals*) and granting lands to the bereaved families.[86]

Moreover, it has been stated that the breeding-bulls, especially, were to be protected from wanton attack: one who maimed the virility, i.e. the procreative power, of the bull—as also of goat, etc.—was to be fined a hundred *paṇas*.[87] Interestingly enough, the breeding bull also enjoyed a special privilege: it was not to be punished, even if it trespassed into others' fields.[88]

It may, however, be added here that for purposes of agriculture—particularly tilling and irrigation—the more common practice almost everywhere was to use oxen in pairs.

A word about agricultural labour. It may be presumed that, so far as the peasant-cultivator or small tenant was concerned, much of the work was generally done by himself; it is quite likely that he did employ hired labour, occasionally. The same could not have been the case where the land-lords were institutions like temples and *maṭhas*, or the non-cultivating caste like the Brāhmaṇas, to whom lands were often gifted by pious donors; it is not likely that they actually ploughed the fields and reaped the corn—especially when they farmed their lands, instead of leasing them out to a tenant.

Moreover, there is positive evidence to show that hired labour was known during this period; and the evidence comes from Vijñānēśvara.[89]

In his introduction to the chapter on "Breach of contract of Service," the learned author observes: an attendant is of five kinds—a pupil, an apprentice, a hired servant, a man appointed to do a task and a slave. Of these, the first four are labourers or servants, doing 'pure' work; and the last, i.e. a slave, does 'impure' work. Again, hired servants are of three kinds: the highest class consisting of soldiers, the middle class of agricultural servants, while the porters belong to the lowest class.

Again, Vijñānēśvara[90] quotes Nārada to say: "Let the master, for whom the work is performed, pay wages to the servants hired (by him) according to their

agreement, at the beginning, at the middle, or at the end, as might have been settled between them". And, he himself adds, significantly, that even the servants must preserve to the best of their ability implements of husbandry, such as the hide and the rope of the plough, and the like; otherwise, there would not be any ploughing at all. Further, regarding the wages of such hired servants, he states:[91] "That master, i.e. a grocer, or an owner of cows, or an agriculturist, who even without clearly settling the wages, causes work to be done by a hired servant, whatever (profits) may be obtained from that work, i.e. from trade, or cattle, or agriculture, the tenth portion of that should be made over to be paid to the hired servant."

Attention may also be drawn to a term referred to in the records, namely, *kammata*[92] which has been taken to mean an estate cultivated by a land owner with his own farming stock, but by the labour of others. Here is again a clear reference to the hired agricultural labour.

Mention may also be made of slave labour in this context, which, besides hired labour, was also probably made use of for purposes of agriculture. There are good reasons to believe that slavery did exist during this period.[93] Inscriptions[94] refer to some tax levied on the slaves (*tottu*). In fact, a record[95] of 1430 A.D. from the Kolar District shows that slaves, like bullocks and horses, were sold in the weekly-fairs (*sante*). But, we are not sure whether such a practice existed during this period also. Some records[96] seem to refer to 'Bond-servants' (? *besavakkaḷu*), who were probably attached to the land. It fact, we learn from a record,[97] dated in the 13th year of Vikramāditya VI, that some land was granted to the donee along with the men-servants and women-servants.

It may be noted, in passing, that slavery was apparently not a very hard bondage. It has been stated that the slave of the middle ages, when he was connected with agriculture, was a territorial slave attached to the land. "These slaves were not ordinarily molested or moved, whoever might be the nominal owner; they were safe in their insignificance, and continued to till the ground their ancestors had tilled before them."[98]

iv) Irrigation

India has been, through the centuries, mainly an agricultural country. Needless to say that agriculture is dependant on the supply of water for the growth of crops. India is said to have more water than any other important country in the world;[99] yet water shortage is her main problem.

In a country like ours, unlike in England, where rainfall is often uncertain and insufficient, and its distribution uneven and unfavourable,[100] and, among other circumstances, the supply of water from rivers and streams being not always certain, the problem of water supply to the agricultural fields obviously becomes all the more acute and vitally important. In short, successful cultivation round the year will be possible only with the aid of irrigation supplied from rivers, storage tanks and wells.

It is refreshing to note that at present irrigation in India accounts for approximately one-fourth of the total land irrigated in the world.[101] Besides, vast storage of water in the form of dams is making rapid progress in construction.

'Irrigation'[102] simply means the artificial supply of water to land for the cultivation of crops; and the works required to give effect to such a supply of water by artificial means are 'irrigation works'. In short, the function of irrigation is to supplement the supply of water falling in the form of rain on the area to be cultivated, and to the extent required for the successful cultivation of crops. It is good to remember in this context that the use of irrigation as an aid to the growth of vegetation is quite an ancient art, whose place of origin may be traced in ancient Egypt.[103] India and China, among other nations, also had progressed in this early art.

Cultivators in India have been irrigating their fields for more than two thousand years. Irrigation works, like canals and wells, have been referred to by Pāṇini and his commentator, Patañjali.[104] Kauṭilya[105] has clearly stated that irrigational works *(sētubandha)* are the source of crops; and the results of a good shower of rain are ever attained in the case of crops below irrigational works.

History has shown that this was no mere theory, but was practically realised and achieved. Indeed, the story of one monumental irrigation work, Sudarśana Lake, actually covers about eight centuries. The great historic lake, at Girnar in Kāthiawār (Gujarat), was first constructed by Puṣyagupta, the governor (*rāṣṭrīya*) under Chandragupta Maurya. It was formed by artificially damming up some streams by great walls of masonry. Later, the reservoir was improved, and the sluices connecting it with the agricultural areas were opened out, by Tuṣaspha, the viceroy of Aśōka. The lake was equipped "with well-provided conduits, drains, and means to guard against foul matters."

Again, in about A.D. 150, repairs of an adamantine character were undertaken, we are told, by the Parthian official, Suviśākha, under *Mahākshatrapa*

Rudradāman. Then, however, Sudarśana had to be repaired, for the second time, during the reign of Skandagupta, the Gupta emperor. This irrigation work, indeed, has been taken to be a feat of engineering, and one of the most notable examples of irrigation in ancient India that has come down to us.[106]

It is equally interesting to learn from Kalhaṇa, the well-known Hindu historian of Kashmir, that a phenomenal economic revolution was brought about by the engineering feats of the illustrious Sūyyā, during the reign of Avantivarman. Sūyyā, we are told, constructed stone-embankments for about 30 miles, along the Vitastā and dammed in the waters of the Mahāpadma Lake. What is more, he also calculated the amount of water necessary for irrigation, by hygrometric examination of the different classes of soil; and, accordingly, arranged, on a permanent basis, for the size and distribution of water-courses for each village. His operations, significantly enough, ultimately changed the very topography of the country, and the previous dependence of the people on rainfall was thus rendered unnecessary through an achievement of the human brain.[107]

The civil engineers of the Tamil country conceived another idea of irrigation. Their plan was to control a river at the head of its delta. In fact, the principles of *anicut* are said to be distinctively original contributions of the Cōḷas to the economic development of mankind. Their scheme of dealing with delta-land has since been accepted everywhere. We may only refer here to the hundred-mile embankments on the Kāvērī, as also the main channels for irrigation, constructed by Karikāla Cōḷa; and to the large reservoir—sixteen miles long and provided with substantial sluices—built by Rājēndra Cōḷa at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Śōḷapuram.[108] So far as Karṇāṭaka is concerned, we have perhaps the earliest recorded instance of the formation of a tank at Tāḷagunda (Shimoga District), by the Kadamba ruler, Kākusthavaraman.[109]

We may now turn to the period under study to discuss the problem in some detail. A study of the sources would make it clear that the vital importance of making provision for the plentiful supply of water, whether for irrigation or for the use of towns and villages, was always recognised. We learn from Nāgavarma II[110] that, generally, the cultivated fields were distinguished under two categories, in accordance with the source of water suyply: (i) *dēvamāṭṛka*, i. e. the fields entirely depending on rainfall for water; and (ii) *nadīmāṭṛka*, i. e. the fields getting the supply of water from rivers (through canals and channels). In the latter category, we have a clear evidence of the fields under irrigation.

Works of irrigation comprise mainly canals, drawn off from rivers and streams, as also tanks and wells. Needless to say that the idea of acquiring religious merit was always a powerful urge to, and a driving force behind, all actions of public good. In fact, the construction of an irrigation work—a tank, for instance—was regarded as an act of piety[111] which would earn great religious merit.[112] Moreover, such an act would please even the gods[113] themselves.

That the construction of irrigation works was looked upon as of fundamental importance for the prosperity of the society as a whole is clear from the words of Vijñānēśvara.[114] He observes: The construction of a dam (*sētuḥ*) to a water-flow should not be stopped by the owner of the field, even though it destroys another's land; provided it causes little injury and is productive of much benefit to many. A well, moreover, as it occupies a small portion of land, causes little injury, and is beneficial on account of the abundance of water in it; and so its construction should never be stopped. The use of the word 'well', moreover, is indicative, by implication, of small well, a water-pond and the like.

We have here the essence of contemporary thought regarding the great value attached to the works of irrigation. Under the influence of such injunctions and ideals, it is no wonder that the State as well as individuals—men as well as women—came forward to take up this task of great religious merit.[115]

To take up first the river or canal irrigation. Reference is often made to a water embankment (*sētuḥ*),[116] i. e. a dam built across a flow of water. Vijñānēśvara[117] quotes Nārada to show the two-fold character of an embankment: "There are two sorts of dykes (or water-courses), one called *khēyaḥ* (i. e. that which may be dug into the ground), and another called *bandhyaḥ* (i. e. one which may be built up). It is called *kheya* when it lets (out) water to flow; and it is called *bandhya* when it stops water from flowing."

Many of the large and major rivers flowing through the land, such as the Kāvērī,[118] the Kapilā,[119] the Bhīmā,[120] the Varadā, [121] the Gōdāvarī,[122] the Kṛṣṇā,[123] the Tuṅgabhadrā[124] and so on, have been mentioned in the records. Canal irrigation was practised generally along the banks of the rivers. If the records are to be trusted, there was an embankment on the Varadā (*mahāsētu*);[125] and the water of the Kāvērī[126] was made to flow through sluices into the channels dug for the purpose.

The Munirābād stone inscription,[127] of the 13th year of Vikramāditya VI's reign, is of great significance in this context: one Āditya-bhaṭṭa [also called

Cauvēdi-bhaṭṭa], the father of Sōmanātha (the donor in the record), obtained the village of Pulige from Trailōkyamalla (Sōmēśvara I) for his own maintenance. He, we are told, then surveyed the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā[128] and founded a canal, with its sub-channels like " threads drawn out (after) cutting asunder the stalk of a lotus ", and presented the same to the people. And, " lo ! the mass of plantain trees growing there increased, satiated (with the supply of water) "—says the record. What is perhaps more important, the record[129] also refers to the lower level and higher level canals (*paḷḷa-vāykālu, uddiya-kālu*) among the boundaries of the gifted land.

We may as well cite another instance here which is of considerable significance and has left its memory in the buried remains. A Hoysaḷa record[130] of c. 1300 A. D., found near Haḷebīḍ, speaks of a channel drawn off from the Elaci (i.e. Yagaci) river. The remains of cutting made for the channel, which may be seen even now in some parts, bear testimony, according to expert opinion, to the engineering skill of those days. In the words of Captain Mackenzie :[131] In order to have a sufficient supply of water both for the capital and for the cultivation of the lands sorrounding it, "it is said that the waters of the Yagachee, the river which flows by Bailor (Bēlūr) were brought by a channel into the capital. The story is supported by the remains of a deep cutting near the 16th mile stone of the Hassan-Bailor road. The depth and size of the cutting as it now stands proves that this was no mean work and the whole scheme does credit to the engineering skill of those days. " A portion of the aqueduct by which the water was brought to the capital is to be seen in a garden outside the southern wall.

We have noted above that the *pulleya-bayal* rice lands, situated at the lower levels of the valleys, were watered by small streams whence canals were dug to convey the water to the fields that, by this means of irrigation, were able to yield two crops a year. Indeed, the small streams running down the hills were also turned to account for the purpose, apparently by making the water flow through the channels into the fields. In fact, a record[132] of 1132 A. D, clearly shows that certain fields were irrigated with the waters of a stream flowing down a hill (*giri-nirjharadiṁ*) and crops like rice and sugar-cane were cultivated therein. Such instances of canal irrigation can easily be multiplied.[133]

Excepting, perhaps, in the valleys and the deltas of the rivers, where the fields derived their water supply from the channels dug from those rivers, as noted above, the rest of the country depended largely on storage tanks, and on wells sunk deep into the earth. In fact, tank-irrigation finds the most frequent mention

in epigraphs relating to this subject. The main feature of the system was the existence of a net work of tanks or reservoirs in which the rain water was caught and stored for utilization in the cultivation of crops. Perhaps every village in the country may be said to have had one or more tanks, in accordance with the extent of its cultivable lands and the condition of the crops raised thereon.

The State as well as private agencies stepped in to construct tanks, sluices and wells. Thus we read in a record[134] of 1062 A. D. that Vinayāditya, the Hoysaḷa king, caused the construction of a sluice for the tank at Dōrasamudra. Another Hoysaḷa record[135] from Bēlūr, dated 1186 A. D., states that the great minister, Vīra-daṇḍanāyaka, for the prosperity of the kingdom of his lord, Vīra-Ballāḷadēva, planned and caused to be constructed in Vīraballāḷa-pura (which he had established after having deforested the region), four tanks, named Rudra-samudra, Gaṅgāsamudra, Acyutasamudra and Vīrasamudra.[136]

Temples as well as village-bodies also came forward to build such tanks.[137] A record[138] of 1226 A. D. refers to an agreement made by the *Mahājanas* of Lakṣmīnarasimhapura, permitting certain persons to construct tanks in the assigned places and to carry on cultivation and gardening.

Further, construction of tanks and wells was taken up by private individuals also. One Beḷkeyar-Eraga, we are told, built a big tank and a well at Siriguppe[139] in 1087 A. D. A certain Māca-gāvuṇḍa built in 1004 A. D. a tank as well as sluice at Rāmapura.[140] Even women[141] and ascetics[142] came forward to take up this task of constructing such irrigation works. Such private undertakings were often encouraged by offering land grants[144] and exemptions from taxes.[144] In case the private lands came in the way of such embankments and channels, they were relinquished, and other fields were taken in lieu thereof.[145]

All said and done, the fact remains that information regarding the method of constructing tanks is rather scanty—different methods must have been employed varying with the terrain and locality. The most important piece of work in the construction of a tank is the erection of an embankment strong enough to withstand the pressure of water impounded in it. Needless to say that this is a comparatively easy task and, naturally, involves less trouble and expenditure in the hilly tracts than in the plains. In fact, in a mountainous region, a group of hills can be easily joined together by means of a bund of stones piled one on another; but it is necessary in the plains to throw up earth banks all round the tank bed. In is really unfortunate that no details of the means adopted by the tank builders of the age in the accomplishment of their task are to be found in the

records of which we have knowledge. There is no record like the famous Porumāmiḷḷa tank inscription[146] of 1369 A. D. which, significantly enough, enumerates not only twelve essentials required to construct an excellent tank, but also six faults in this connection.[147] But, it is not unlikely that the science of Hydraulics (*jalaśāstra*) was studied during the period by professionals. However, an epigraph[148] of 1388 A. D. from the Kolar Dtstrict refers to one hydraulic engineer (*jala-sūtra*), Siṅgāya-bhaṭṭa, "the master of ten sciences", who was asked by the king, Bukkarāya, to bring the Henne river to Penugoṇḍe; and who, constructing a channel to the Siruvera tank, gave the channel the name "Pratāpa-Bukkarāya-maṇḍala" channel and had this *śāsana* inscribed.

Maintenance of irrigation works is as important as their construction, and often becomes a more difficult problem. In short, it amounts to works of conservation and preservation, such as preventing damages to irrigation works, repairing the already damaged ones; and, among other things, building tank-bunds, removing silt and such other works.

Any wanton attempt to damage irrigational works was considered a crime. It has been enjoined[149] that a wicked woman, who breaks water reservoirs, if not pregnant, should be plunged into water, after tying a stone round her neck so that she may not float.

Tanks often breached due to heavy rains, etc., and had to be duly repaired. A tank on the Pālār river, which breached more than once, was restored by the Hoysaḷa general,[150] Cōkimayya. A record from Mysore,[151] dated 1102 A.D., informs us that one Pōman Irāman (*alias* Virudarāyabhayankara-mārāyan) repaired the breach of a tank at Siṟiya Kalaśattapāḍi. It is also added in the record that the breach had continued for may years without anybody coming forward to repair it. Similarly, when the dam of a tank at Baisavaḷḷi[152] (Dharwar District) gave way, it was duly repaired and restored; and proper arrangements were made for its upkeep by way of an endowment of wet land.

Further, we are told, the sluice of the Arasīkere tank[153] was repaired by the *Mahāpradhāna-daṇṇāyaka* under the Hoysaḷa ruler, Vīranarasimha II. A record from Ḍambaḷ[154] (Dharwar District), dated 1184 A.D., refers to the grant of the income from a certain tax by the different guilds of the place, for repairing with stone and wood, the sluice of the local tank called Gōnasamudra. A Hoysaḷa record[155] from Mysore informs us that the king, Vīranarasimhadēva, got the Harahu channel repaired, and assigned to the *Mahājanas* of Toṇḍanūr-agrahāra sixty-four *gadyāṇas* to provide for the annual repairs of the channel. Besides, we

also find mention of other works to be done to keep tanks in good condition, e.g. constructing the tank-bunds, [156] increasing the surface area of tanks, etc.[157]

Moreover, it is necessary to remove from tanks and canals the silt—the non-floating material in the water—periodically or annually, in order that the maximum amount of water is impounded and the flow of water is not impeded. A record[158] from Arasikere, dated 1234 A.D., states that a certain person granted a cart for the tank—apparently to be used in the removal of silt—to the *Mahājanas* of Kallangere; and the latter made an endowment for the maintenance of the cart-driver. Similarly, a grant of land was made in 1237 A.D. for the maintenance of a cart-driver of Allālasamudra [159] in Belļūr (*keṛeya kelasakke hūḍuva bhaṇḍigaḷa āḷa jīvitakke*).

Needless to say that the financial help to meet the expenses incurred in maintaining such irrigational works came from various sources, as noted above—private charity, contributions of guilds and village-bodies, State's help[160] and so on.

It has been stated above that grants of land were often made for the maintenance of tanks and the like, that were called *'bittuvaṭṭa*. Besides, these irrigational works themselves yielded water-cess and other taxes that were earmarked for the maintenance of tanks and the like. We find in the records terms like *kaṭṭe* (dams), *kāluve* (canal), *keṛe* (tank),[161] *nīru-kūli* (water-rate),[162] *hoḷeya-suṅka*[163] (river-tax) etc., mentioned in the list of taxes.

A fact has to be stated about the supply and distribution of water, from irrigational works to the fields to be irrigated. Water from reservoirs or tanks yusuall flows by gravity through canals and channels to irrigate the fields. "Dams built across the rivers supplied the canals on both sides with water. From canals small channels supplied the fields with water. Small channels were often numbered as at Sōmanāthapur."[164]

But, in the case of well-irrigation, also called 'lift-irrigation' which is best suited for gardening—for the cultivation of vegetables, fruits and flowers of many kinds—water had to be lifted to the surface from wells or ponds by some mechanical device, powered by men or bullocks.

Mention is often made of the man-operated water-lifts, popularly called *ēta* [165] (piccotah) by means of which water could be lifted to a greater height than by any other man-operated water-lifts. Again, the water- lift powered by bullocks, called *kapile*[166] was also in practice. A Hassan record[167] of 1147 A.D., interestingly enough, refers to a water-lift powered by bullocks, called *ghaṭīyantra*, the

description of which clearly shows that the machine was quite similar to the Persian wheel. In short, the machine is worked by a pair of bullocks, moving in a circular path and pulling the beam attached to a toothed wheel, thus making the wheel revolve ; the latter engages a similar, but smaller, vertical wheel, which also revolves and, in turn, lifts up two parallel endless ropes or chains to which buckets are attached at short distances. As the wheels turn, the buckets, one by one, dip into the well. As the buckets, full of water, reach the surface, they tilt over and empty into a perpared channel leading to the fields, and the empty buckets descend, mouth downward, to become full again—the process thus goes on.

The right to water supply was jealously guarded. Water disputes were not unknown, though, in many cases, they were amicably settled by the villagers themselves.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 *Manu* (VIII. 243), for instance, prescribes the imposition of a fine on the cultivator who does not cultivate his fields at the proper time, nor guards the crop from being eaten by animals.

2 Kauṭilya, indeed, ordains the confiscation of lands from those who do not care to cultivate them—[See *AS*, (Tr.) p. 46], Again, he observes that the work of the villagers should never be disturbed ; for "helpless villagers are always dependent and bent upon their fields". [*Ibid.*, (Tr.) p. 47].

3 *Agriculture in India*, I, p. 5.

4 We may as well cite here a few lines from the literary works of the period which, by way of analogy, point to the great importance attached to agriculture and thus indicate the trend of contemporary thought–

i) Note the words of Siddharāma, a well-known VĪraśaiva Vacanakāra—"*Kṛṣiya māḍi uṇṇade hasivu hariva pari innentu ?*"—*Si. Va.* [*Śrī Siddharāmēśvara Vacanagaḷu.*], 512, p. 152.

ii) *Al. Va.* [*Allamana Vacana Candrike*], 403, p. 90 : —"*Bittada beḷeyada tuṁbida rāśiya kaṇḍalli, sukhiyāgi nindavarāro ? Ida hēḷalu bāradu, kēḷalu bāradu...* etc." ; also *Ibid.*, 65, p. 16 ;

iii) *So. Sa.* [*Sōmēśvara Śātaka*], 26, p. 17 : "*maḷeyē sarvajanāśrayaṁ... beḷeyē sarvara jīvanaṁ*", etc.

5 *Dharma.*, I, 8. 51, p. 365 ; also 7. 153, p. 335, etc.

6 *BKI*, I. ii, Nos. 138, 156, etc.

7 *EC*, VI, Kd. 28 (1153 A.D.) ; also *Ca. Va.* [*Cannabasavaṇṇanavara Vacanagaḷu*], 511, p. 235, etc.

8 *Abhila.*, especially sections dealing with the fruit and flower culture (Intron.), as also the dietary of the king (*annabhōgaḥ*).

9 *Abh.*, sections entitled "*Vṛkṣādi-vargaṁ*" and "*Dhānya-vargaṁ*".

10 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 182.

11 B. P. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

12 *APGAS*, No. 9—Ins. No. 19 ; *Ca. Va.*, 357, p. 156, etc.

13 *Abhila.*, III. 1526-29, pp. 344-45. Suśruta, the celebrated medical writer, knows of 39 varieties of rice—see Om Prakash, *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, pp. 262-63.

14 Also called '*sugandha-śāli*' in the records—*EC*, VIII, Sb. 262 (1075 A.D.) ; V Ak. 48 (1189 A.D.), etc.

15 *EHD*, p. 310.

16 T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, p. 45.

17 *EC*, IV, Kp. 78 (" *kāḍakki mūvattu koḷaga* ").

18 *Abhila.*, III. 1554, p. 47 ; *Mita.*, III. 46, (Tr.) p. 1504.

19 *Abh.*, vv. 16 and 17, p. 94 ; *EC*, V, Hn. 53 (1170 A.D.) ; VI, Kd. 36 (1203 A.D.) ; *Dharma.*, II, 11. 186, p. 103, etc.

20 *Abh.*, pp. 94–95, vv. 17 and 18 ; *Abhila.*, III. 1538–39, p. 346 etc.

21 *Abh.*, v. 18, p. 95 ; *MAR.* (1923), No. 1, p. 33, etc.

22 *EC* VI, Kd. 36 (1203 A.D.) ; IX, DB. 31 (1267 A.D.) ; *Mita.*, I. 186, 187, etc.

23 *EC*, XII, Ck. 21 (1160 A.D.) ; V, Hn. 144 (1209 A.D.) etc.; also *Abh.*, vv. 31–33, p. 38.

24 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of South India*, pp. 34, 61, 67, etc.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 34 (n.)—Ibn Baṭṭūṭa tells us that in Bārakūr (Fāknūr)—the ancient traditional capital of Tuḷuva—there were large quantities of sugarcane, which were " unexcelled in the rest of the country ". [Gibb's tr. p. 233] ; also *EC*, VIII, Sa. 109 (c. 1130 A.D.) ; *SII*, IX, i, 226 (1132 A.D.), *EC*, VIII, Sb. 183 (1145 A.D.), etc.

26 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 183 ; also *KKC*, I, p. 366—[lines quoted from the *Kusumāvaḷi* of Dēvakavi (c. 1200 A. D.)], etc.

27 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 175 (1156 A. D.) ; *Dharm.*, I, 2.71, p. 59 ; cf. *Ba. Va.*, 273, p. 69.

28 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 67, 70 etc.

29 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 183 (1145 A.D.) ; *SII*, IX. i, 267 (1160 A. D.) ; *EHD*, p. 310, etc.

30 *Abh.*, v. 31, p. 38 ; BK, 68 of 1938–39 ; *Ibid.*, 110 of 1929–30, etc.

31 *Abh.*, pp. 33–35 ; *Dharm.*, I, 1. 151, p. 38 ; *Abhila.*, Intron., pp. xix–xxi ; *EC*, VIII, Sb. 183, etc.

32 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 138, 183 etc ; *EI*, XIV, p. 271, etc. The poet Harihara has composed one of his *Ragaḷes* in praise of these beautiful and fragrant flowers. Cf. " *Puṣpada Ragaḷe.* " *Ha. Ra.* [*Hariharana Ragaḷegaḷu*, (ed.) P. G. Halakatti], Pt. 1, pp. 1–9.

33 *EHD*, p. 310. Seven Arab geographers—from Ibn Khurdādhbeh (844-48 A.D.) to Dimishqi (1325 A. D.)—refer to the Koṅkaṇ (Kamkam) region in their accounts; and four of them pointedly refer to the production of teak in that region. Ibn Rusta (903 A. D.) adds that teak was exported to other countries—[see S. Muhammed Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 43.] Again, we learn from Idrīsī (1154 A. D.) that there was much bamboo in the Ṭhāṇā and Saymūr regions. [*Ibid.*, pp. 70, 80, 191, etc.].

34 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 187.

35 *Ibid.*

36 K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 584.

37 *EHD*, p. 681.

38 W. H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 144.

39 *MAR.* (1941), No. 26, p. 177.

40 *EC*, V, Bl. 137; also see (for similar instances) *MAR.* (1926), No., p. 40; *EC*, IX, Bn. 133, etc.

41 Such a practice was quite in tune with the principle as laid down by Kauṭilya, who enjoins that, on the occasion of opening new settlements, remission of taxes should be made—See *AS*, (Tr.) p. 46.

42 *EC*, V, Bl. 175 (1186 A. D.).

43 *Ibid.*

44 *Ibid.*, III, Sr. 148 (10th century A D.).

45 See *EC*, V, Hn. 116 (1123 A. D.), for such an instance.

46 See, *HJMU*, Vol. II, p. 197.

47 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 317 (1071 A. D.).

48 It has been stated that *bedegaḷde*, refered to in our records—[see *EC*. IV, Hg. 16 (1021 A.D.); *SII*, IX. i, 112 (1053 A.D.), etc.,]—was dry-land on which paddy could be raised by making use of the rain water collected in the fields—see M. Chidananda Murty, *Kannaḍa Śāsanagaḷa Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana* (Mysore, 1966), p. 364.

49 We may cite here two literary sources of the period that help us to describe the process of cultivation, with special reference, though, to crops like rice and the garden produces:

a) Cf. *Dharma.*, II, 12.24, p. 116:

"*Keyyante, keyyuḷumeyante, [keyyoḷ] padaṁbaḍevante, bittaṇadante,*

sasiyante, poḍeyante, pāldeneyante, koylādante, sūḍinante, kaḷakkevarpante, okkaṇadante, rāśiyante"—(punctuation is mine).

b) Cf. *Al. Va.*, 812, p. 180:

"*Tanuva tōṭava māḍi, manava guddali māḍi, agedu kaḷedenayya bhrāntina bēroḍedu. Saṁsārada heṇṭeya bagidu, bittidenayya Brahmabījava. Akhaṇḍa maṇḍalaveṁba bhāvi, pavanave ṟātāḷa, suṣumna nāḷadindave udakava tiddi, basavagaḷaivaru hasageḍisiharendu samate sairaṇeyeṁba bēliyanikki, āvāgaḷū tōṭadoḷage jāgaraviddu, I sasiya salahide-kāṇā, Gōgēśvara.*"

50 B.A. Saletore, *Ancient Karṇāṭaka*, pp. 474–75; also *EKC*, I, p. 454.

51 Cf. *Dharma.*, I, 9.74, p. 430—*nelaṁ nirgranthamādoḍe bittuvaṁge rāgaṁ*".

52 Cf. *Dharma.*, II, 14.104, p. 232—"*gobbaradiṁ beḷasu percuvante*"; also I, 9.89, p. 433.

53 *Ibid.*, II, 11.42, p. 71—"*padanaritu bittida beḷasuṁ . . . . . etc.*"

54 *Abhila.*, Intron. p. xvii.

55 *Mita.*, II. 162, (Tr.) p. 1175; cf. *Dhram.*, I, 9.108 p. 439—"*Keige bēli śiśuviṁge pāl . . . . . etc.*"; see also *Ba. Va.*, 26, p. 8, etc.

56 *Mita.*, II. 159–161, (Tr.) pp. 1169–73.

57 *Ibid.*, 227, (Tr.) p. 1270.

58 *Ibid.*, 236, (Tr.) p. 1281.

59 *Ibid.*, 282, (Tr.) p. 1338.

60 *Abhila.*, Intron., p. xviii.

61 Cf. *Dharma.*, I, 2.155, p. 76—"*puḷu muṭṭida sasiyante nayamillade*"

62 *Dharma.*, I, 3.24, p. 100.

63 *Ibid.*, II, 14. 160, p. 249—"*beḷeda keyyaṁ kaṇḍu kaṇanaṁ māḍuvante*".

64 *Al. Va.*, No. 635, p. 138.

65 *Dharma.*, II, 14.4, p. 210; also 12. 24, p. 114.

66 *Mita.*, II. 6, (Tr.) p. 653.

67 *EC*, IX, Cp. 129 (Tamil).

68 *IA*, IV, p. 181 and (n.); also *EC*, VII, Sk. 20—C. Hayavadana Rao thinks that the *pulleya-bayal* referred to in the records, refers apparently to the well-known deer-park (*mṛgadāva*) at Sāranath, near Benares, where the Buddha preached the first sermon; and which is one of the four places to

which pious Buddhists have to make pilgrimages. This interpretation does not seem to be free from doubt—see *Mys. Gaz.*, II. i., p. 144.

69 B. S. Saletore, *Ancient Karṇāṭaka*, I, p. 471.

70 *Ibid.*

71 Kittel's Dictionary, p. 443.

72 *EC*, X, Mb. 49a (1072 A.D.); also *KI*, II, 14 (1123 A.D.)—"*suṅkamumaṁ ..... kumariyumaṁ māḍidaḍaṁ*".

73 Baden-Powell, *Manual of Land Revenue and Land Tenure of British India.*, pp. 213–14.

74 *Mita.*, I. 204–07, (Tr.) pp. 435–37; also *AR*, No. 450 of 1926; *EC*, IV, Gu. 93, etc.

75 *JBBRAS*, Vol. X, p. 203; also the imprecatory verses of may of our records.

76 *Mita.*, I. 311, (Tr.) p. 572.

77 *Ibid.*, I, 266, (Tr.) p. 533.

78 *Ibid.*, II. 163 (Tr.) p. 1176.

79 *Ibid.*, I. 321, (Tr.) p. 583.

80 *EC*, IV, Ng. 38 (1284 A.D.).

81 *Ibid.*, X, Mg. 107 (1057 A.D.).

82 *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 38.

83 *Mita.*, II. 166, (Tr.) pp. 1180–81; also *Abhila.*, I. 168, p. 54, etc.

84 *EC*, IV, Ch. 197 (1104 A.D.).

85 *Ibid.*, VIII, Sb. 314; V, Hn. 4, etc.

86 *Ibid.*; VI, Cm. 157 and 158, etc.

87 *Mita.*, II, 236, (Tr.) p. 1281.

88 *Ibid.*, II. 163, (Tr.) p. 1176 [cf. *Manu*, VIII, 242]; also *MAR.* (1927), p. 53 (c. 1040 A.D.).

89 *Mita.*, II. 182, (Tr.) pp. 1209–10.

90 *Ibid.*, 193, (Tr.) pp. 1230–31—[On "The non-payment of wages".]

91 *Ibid.*, 194, (Tr.) p. 1232.

92 *EI*, XV, p. 328 (n. 2); XIV, p. 277.

93 *Mita.*, II. 182; also *EC*, V, Bl. 219 (1140 A.D.); I, Cg. 59 (1297 A.D.), etc.

94 *EC*, XII, Kg. 1 (1157 A.D.), etc.

95 *Ibid.*, X, Bp. 72.

96 *KI*, II, 37 (1235 A.D.); *EC*, VIII, Sb. 253 (1141 A.D.); 255 (1158 A.D.); 221 (1231 A.D.),—*besavaga*—etc.

97 *HAS*, No. 5, p. 10 [Munirabad stone inscription].

98 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 257-58.

99 See *Agriculture in India*, I, p. 209.

100 *Ibid.*—Approximately, 75 per cent of the annual rainfall received over most of India comes within a period of four months or even less (June to September).

101 *Ibid.*

102 See W. M. Ellis, *Irrigation* (Madras, 1955), pp. 1-3.

103 The paintings and sculptures of ancient Egypt, we are told, show that the peasantry bailed up water at least 4,000 years ago—cf. *Ency. Brit.*, Vol. 12, p. 685—"Irrigation".

104 V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 204.

105 *AS*, (Tr.) p. 335.

106 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 87, 184 etc.; also, K. M. Panikkar, *A Survey of Indian History* (4th edn., 1964), p. 26.

107 See (for details) B. K. Sarkar, *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922), pp. 103-04.

108 S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 185-88; also K.A.N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas* (2nd edn.), pp. 234-35, 583 etc.

109 *EC*, VII, Sk. 176 (c. 450 A.D.); *EI*, VIII, pp. 24 ff.

110 *Abh.*, p. 26, v. 3.

111 *Mita.*, II. 118-19, (Tr.) p. 1014—The word *kṣēma* (in the compound *yōga-kṣēma*) is explained as an auspicious act which becomes the means of conservation of what has been obtained, such as the making of a tank, or a garden and the like.

112 *EI*, IV, p. 262 (1053 A. D.); also see *Ibid.*, XIV, pp. 94 ff, for lines quoted from Hēmādri's *Dānakhaṇḍa*. [A Kākatīya record (of Śaka 1153) shows that tank-building was looked upon as one of the seven meritorious acts (*sapta-saṁtānas*) that a man ought to perform during his life time, and which would establish the name of the doer permanently in the world—*EI*, III, pp. 88 ff.].

113 *Abhila.*, I. 74, p. 9.
114 *Mita.*, II. 126, (Tr.) p. 1165.
115 See *MAR.* (1929), No. 12, p. 73 ; (1920), p. 33, para. 74 ; (1908), p. 8, para. 35 ; (1909), p. 19. para. 77, etc.
116 *Mita*, II. 151, (Vr.) p. 1151 ; see also *Abh.*, p. 24, v. 17.
117 *Mita.*, II. 156, (Tr.) p. 1166.
118 *EC*, II, 73 (1118 A. D.) ; VIII, Sh. 4 (1122 A. D.), etc.
119 *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 56 (c. 1071 A. D.)
120 *IA*, *XIX*, p. 273 (1054 A. D.).
121 *EC*, VII, Sk. 117 (1118 A. D.).
122 *BKI*, I. i, 76 (undated Western Cāḷukya record).
123 Dr. Fleet has pointed out that the word *peldoṛe* or *perdoṛe* (great river), often referred to, stands for the Kṛṣṇā—see *EI*, VI, p. 259 ; also (for a lengthy discussion on the point) *Ibid.*, V, p. 169 (n. 6).
124 *HAS*, No. 5, p. 10 (of Vikramāditya VI's reign) ; also *EI*, XII, p. 272 (1077 A. D.)—Dr. Barnett thinks that the term *kiṛudoṛe* in the record means the Tuṅgabhadrā.
125 *EC*, VII, Sk. 117 (1118 A. D.).
126 *Ibid.*, IV, Yd. 25 (c. 1060 A. D.).
127 *HAS*, No. 6, p. 10.
128 It has been stated in a recent work that there is no epigraphical evidence to show that the waters of the Tuṅgabhadrā were made use of for purposes of irrigation, which is not correct. –See M. Chidananda Murty, *op.cit.*, p. 367.
129 *HAS*, No. 5, p. 11.
130 *MAR.* (1911,) p. 51, para. 110.
131 *Ibid.*
132 *SII*, IX. i, 226.
133 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 359 (1129 A. D.) ; *MAR.* (1916), p. 51, para. 84, etc.
134 *MAR.* (1929), No. 12, p. 73.
135 *EC*, V, Bl. 175.
136 It was customary to name the tanks after their builders, as also after the relations in whose honour they had been built. Here is a fine instance : the four tanks were named after his father, Rudra ; his mother, Gaṅgādēvi ; his brother, Acyuta ; and himself.
137 *BKI*, I. ii, 183 (1110 A.D.) ; *EC*, XII, Tp. 2 (1263 A.D.), etc.
138 *MAR.* (1931), No. 59, p. 168.
139 *BKI*, I. ii, 134.

140 *MAR.* (1908), p. 8, para. 35.

141 *Ibid.*, (1909), p. 19, para. 77 (c. 1120 A.D.) ; (1940), No. 8 (1180 A.D.), etc.

143 *EC*, XII, Si. 9 (1072).

144 *IA*, XIX, p. 164 (1040 A.D.) ; *BKI*, I. i, 74 (1041 A.D.),etc.

145 *EC*, IV, Ng. 49, 50 (1270 A.D.), etc.

146 *EI*, XIV, pp. 97 ff.

147 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-09 ; also see A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 208-09.

148 *EC*, X, Gd. 6.

149 *Mita.*, II. 278, (Tr.) p. 1333 ; [cf. *AS*, (Tr.) p. 257].

150 *EC*, X, Bp. 9 (1155 A.D.)

151 *MAR.* (1912), p. 39, para. 81.

152 *ARIE*, B. No, 49 of 1950-51 (1047 A.D.).

153 *MAR.* (1911), p. 47, para. 104 (c. 1223 A.D.).

154 BK, No. 68 of 1927-28.

155 *EC*, III, Sr. 154 (c. 1160 A.D.).

156 *BKI.* I, ii, No. 196 (1121 A.D.).

157 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 132 (1151 A.D.).

158 *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 116.

159 *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 39.

160 A Yādava record shows that the property of those dying without heirs was not claimed by the State ; instead, it was usually devoted to the financing of works of public utility, like the construction and upkeep of tanks for water storage—see *EC*, XI, Dg. 70 (1275 A.D.).

161 *EC*, IV, Ng. 39 (1237 A.D.).

162 *Ibid.*, Ch. 84 (1280 A.D.).

163 *Ibid.*, III, Sr. 154 (c. 1160 A.D.).

164 *HJMU*, Vol. II, p. 203.

165 *KI*, I, 27 (1167 A.D.) ; *Ibid.*, II, 20 (1131 A.D,), etc. cf *Ba. V.*, 125, p. 33 : "*Ēta talevāgidarēnu ? Gurubhaktanāgaballude ?*"

166 See *HJMU*, II, p. 204.

167 *EC*, V, Hn. 130. It was also called *araghaṭṭaghaṭīyantra* — see *Abh.*, p. 24, v. 17, D.C. Sircar [*IEG*, p. 115] thinks that the term *ghaṭī-yantra* means a clock.

168 *EC*, V, Hn. 34 (1080 A.D.) ; IV, Ng. 49 (1270 A.D.), etc.

CHAPTER—4

INDUSTRIES

The wealth of a country is largely derived from its industries and trade, industry owing its prosperity to trade and trade needing to be fed by industry. We have referred above to the vital role of agriculture in the socio-economic life of the people. We may as well discuss here the other important industries that flourished during the period under review.

It may, however, be noted that the evidence on the subject under study is comparatively meagre. We can only form inferential estimates of the various industries of the period ; for, little is found referred directly about these. Direct evidences on some of the important aspects of the problem, e.g. the method of production, the different manufacturing centres etc., are rather few, and partly or completely hidden from our view. All that we get often is of the nature of incidental references and allusions found in some of the epigraphs and literary works of the period, which may indicate the existence of some of the industries.

In short, contemporary records often mention various articles, i.e. manufactured goods, that formed the objects of gift, or were sold in the open market, and on which certain taxes were levied. In the *Mitākṣarā*, however, we meet with certain terms, defined and interpreted in various contexts, the evidence of which would enable us to know about some of the industries that must have flourished at that time. Light is thrown on the subject by literary works, notably those of Nayasēna and Sōmēśvara, not to speak of the rich Vacana Literature. Again, in some cases, evidence comes from the foreign travellers and geographers like Idrīsī, Marco Polo and others.

At the very outset, before taking up the various industries of the period for a detailed study, it is necessary to mention some of the general features of the subject under study. In brief, handicraft was the general rule in industry, and production was simple and inexpensive. The artisans and craftsmen engaged in different industries generally carried on their work in their own cottages. They got their raw materials mostly from the sources nearby, and the articles produced by them were sold in the market, or weekly fairs *(sante)*.

It may be added that the artisans had a knowledge of superior workmanship that was usually bequeathed from father to son through generations. Moreover, there is good reason to believe that some of them had a number of apprentices under them, who learnt the craft under the master's care and able guidance. The *Mitākṣarā*[1] clearly refers to apprentices who used to take to the study of the mechanical arts. It is quite likely that in such an atmosphere new experiments could have been undertaken.

It is important to note in this context that, from quite early times, the artisans and craftsmen—like merchant communities to be referred later—carried on their work under the control of their guilds or corporations (*śrēṇi*). Indeed, each craft or industry had its own guild. The *Mitākṣarā*[2] specifically mentions the guilds (*śrēṇayaḥ*) of weavers, shoe-makers, etc. Contemporary epigraphical records[3] add many more to the list, like the guilds of oil-pressers, metal-smiths, stone-cutters and so on. These guilds, especially in big towns and cities, apparently wielded considerable power and influence in society.

It may be added here that such guilds had some powers to make laws, relating to the conduct of their business ; and they had also some judicial powers,[4] however limited they might be. It has been enjoined by law-givers that it is the duty of the king to prevent the breach of conventions of such *śrēṇis*. "Moreover, let the king preserve their peculiar rules of conduct", observes Vijñānēśvara, "and also conserve their hereditary craft."[5]

It may not be possible here to discuss all the industries of the period in detail. Reference may be made only to some of the important industries—like those of weavers, oil-pressers, carpenters, metal-smiths and so on—as far as evidence makes clear.

Textiles

The textile industry has been one of the ancient and important industries

in India. From quite early times, many regions of the country have been noted for the production of different kinds and varieties of textile goods.

Sōmēśvara,[6] while describing the royal wardrobe (*vastra-bhōgaḥ*), gives us a list of fabrics after their places of origin, viz., those of Nāgapaṭṭaṇa, the Pāṇḍya country, Aṇilāvāṭa, Mūlasthāna, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Simhala-dvīpa, Mahācīna and so on.

There is evidence to believe that the textile industry was in a flourishing condition in Karṇāṭaka during the period under study. It must have been a popular and wide spread industry of the period; for, the *Mitākṣarā* specifically refers to the guilds of weavers, as has been noted above. In fact, the records[7] of the Dharwar and Belgaum Districts often refer to the guilds of weavers.

The industry was often encouraged by rulers and officials. Thus a record[8] of 1087 A. D., for instance, refers to the gift of a 'weaving-house' (*naiva-mane*) by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vīra-Noṇamba Jagadēkamalla.

Moreover, epigraphs of the period often refer to certain taxes and tolls that were levied on the yarn (*nūludeṟe*)[9] and looms (*maggadeṟe*),[10] as also on the woven cloth that went in for trade in bundles and bags.[11] Sometimes, cloth produced in looms was also exempted from such taxation,[12] apparently with a view to encourage the industry.

Sōmēśvara,[13] significantly enough, while describing the bazaar of Kalyāṇa (*Vipaṇisadana-varṇanam*), in his historical *campū*, *Vikramāṅkābhyudayam*, refers to the finest and most delicate fabrics available therein: they were so fine and delicate that they could hardly be seen by the naked eye, but could only be felt by touch. They were very costly, although very light by weight. They were so thin and transparent that, though covering the body, they clearly revealed what was intended to be covered.

This description of Sōmēśvara of the fine fabrics would remind us of the remarks of Marco Polo about the finest and most delicate buckrams produced in various parts of the Deccan: "These are the most delicate buckrams and of the highest price; in sooth they look like the tissue of spider's web. There can be no king or queen in the world but might be glad to wear them."[14]

We further learn from Marco Polo[15] that good buckram was exported in considerable quantities through the port of Ṭhāṇā. Moreover, Abul Fidā[16]

(1273–1331 A. D.) quotes Bīrūnī as saying that the fabrics of Ṭhāṇā were popularly known as *Tānshiyya* fabrics. It is important to note that, in the middle of the 14th century A. D., there were 5000 velvet weavers working in Ṭhāṇā.[17]

Cloth was woven from the yarn prepared out of different materials. They were generally distinguished under four categories, viz., cotton, silk, linen and wool.[18] Cotton was cultivated as an important commercial crop. The fertile black soil of Karṇāṭaka was highly suitable for its cultivation. Indeed, great quantities of cotton were exported through Ṭhāṇā, as observed by Marco polo.[19] Many kinds of cloth were apparently woven form the cotton yarn.[20]

The silk cloth (*kauśēya*)[21] was prepared from the yarn made out of the cacoon of the silk-worm (*paṭṭa-sūtra*). It was also called *aṁśuka*.[22] It is often mentioned by Nayasēna, Harihara and others,[23] as *paṭṭe*, *paṭṭāvaḷi* in their works. Harihara[24] seems to refer to many varieties of silk cloth, like *dēvāṅga*, *cini*, *mahācini*, etc. (*Bijjaḷana bhaṇḍārada cini mnhācini dēvāṅga . . . . . modalāda paṭṭāvaḷiya diṇḍugaḷaṁ tarisi* . . . . . etc.).

It is of particular interest to note that an epigraph[25] of the 12th century A. D. from Dharwar District, refers to one Sōmagauṇḍa of Baragiri, who was the ornament of the family of silk–weavers of the place (*Paṭṭagāṛakuḷabhūṣaṇa Baragiriya Sōmagauṇḍa* . . . . .).

A Gulbarga record of 1292 A. D.[26] refers to the gift of 960 silk garments (*paṭṭe*) to the god of a temple. Moreover, it has been pointed out that places like Bōḷūru and Kāvūru in South Kanara were noted since early times for the production of silk cloth; and the former still has some families of traditional weavers.[27]

One thing may deserve a passing mention in this context. Literary works of the period, notably those of Sōmēśvara, Nayasēna and Harihara,[28] often refer to silk fabrics called *cīna* and *mahācīna*. The question, then, may arise whether they were imported from China, or produced in the country itself.

It is more likely that they were imported from China. It is well-known that since early times, the Chinese silk (*Cīnāṁśuka*, *Cīna-paṭṭa*), wich has often been mentioned in the early Sanskrit works, was one of the most prized commodities; and a large volume of trade must have developed in that commodity.[29] As a matter of fact, " we still know very little about the Chinese exports to the Indian marts, except silk. "[30] It was also in great demand in Arabia, Parthia, and many other

smaller states in the Middle East and the Byzantine Empire. Indeed, silk was so very popular in the ancient world that Cosmas refers to China as the land of silk.[31]

It is important to note that Sōmēśvara,[32] while referring to various fabrics for the king's use, after their places of origin, clearly mentions those from China (*mahācīna-bhavāni*). Moreover, there is evidence to show that, during this period, there was commercial intercourse between Karṇāṭaka and China.[33] The Chinese ships, laden with very rich merchandise, we are told, first came to Calicut, and then " navigated the entire coast upto Cambay ", thus covering the entire Karṇāṭaka coast. Further, that the Chinese continued their vigorous trade with South India during the mediaeval times becomes evident from the statements of Idrīsī, Marco Polo, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and others.[34] In fact, till the early 15th century A.D., Mangalore and Honnāvar maintained trade contacts with China.[35] It is worth noting that an epigraph[36] from Mūḍabidure (South Kanara), dated 1429 A. D., refers to the sale and purchase of the Chinese fabrics (*cīnāṁbara vikrayakrayi-kariṁ*).

This may not, however, rule out the possibility that certain fine varieties of silk produced in the country itself were called by such names (as *cīna*, *mahācīna*), which originally stood for imported things.

The study of an ancient fabric made of hemp, found in close association with the punch-marked silver coins, in a village in the Gulbarga District,[37] has established beyond doubt that the textile industry had reached a high degree of development and perfection, at the time these coins were in vogue in this part of India.

Linen was manufactured out of the fibres of the hempen family. Nāga-varma (II)[38] refers to it as *dukūla*, while Sōmēśvara and Vijñānēśvara call it *kṣauma*. And Vijñānēśvara[40] explains it clearly as the cloth produced out of the threads of the hemp plant.

It has further been pointed out that linen seems to have been produced in the region of Bodial—perhaps Budēhāl in the Chitradurga District.[41]

Reference is made to the hair or wool of a goat (*lavaḥ*)[42] and to the cloth woven of it (*āvikam*).[43] Many kinds and varieties of woollen cloth were produced. *Kutapaḥ*[44] was a blanket prepared from the wool of a hilly ram or goat. Woollen blankets (*kaṁbaḷi*) are mentioned in some records[45] also. It has been pointed

out that places like Dāvaṇagere and Doḍḍaballāpura (Karnataka State), seem to have been noted for the production of such woollen blankets.[46] Many varieties were apparently known.[47] There is reason to believe that wool of a rough quality was usually used in preparing such blankets.[48]

Rōmabaddhaḥ[49] was the woollen cloth that was used as an upper garment. It is interesting to learn that some kind of cloth was prepared from the hair of cows also, which was known as *vālavāsā*.[50]

It is worth noting that silk, wool etc., were distinguished according to the quality of the yarn used, e. g. the yarn of rough, middling and fine quality.[51] There is reason to believe that the people used to place orders with the weavers for various fabrics of silk, wool, etc., supplying them the respective yarn.[52] It may be added here that the well-known Vīraśaiva saint and Vacanakāra, Dēvara Dāsimayya, was a weaver. One of his *vacanas*[53] describes how cloth was woven.

Dyes were used to colour cotton and silk fabrics. Reference is made to the dyer (*rajakaḥ*)[54] who used to produce various coloured cloth, such as blue ones, etc. A record[55] from the Bangalore District, dated 1288 A. D., seems to refer to some tax that was levied on this industry (*baṇṇa*).

In the process of dyeing, some herbal colours were employed, such as those of red flowers, safflowers (*kusuṁba*[56]—carthanus tinctorius), indigo and the like. Inscriptions[57] often refer to some tax levied on safflowers (*kusuṁbeya pūvin-āya*). Reference is found to the cloth dyed with indigo,[58] e.g. the woollen blankets, the silk cloth, the cloth used as bedspreads and the like.

References are often found for the process of embroidering and designing the cloth in the works of Vijñānēśvara, Sōmēśvara, Harihara and others. Embroidered clothes, on which the figures of a wheel and *svastika* were to be seen, have been referred to (*kārmikam*).[59] Sōmēśvara[60] refers, for instance, to the cloth with the figures of elephants, horses, chariots, *svastika* and the like. Again, Harihara[61] refers to cloth on which the figures of elephants (*gajāvaḷi*), lions (*siṁhāvaḷi*), deers (*mṛgāvaḷi*), swans (*haṁsāvaḷi*), creepers (*latāvaḷi*) etc., were found. Indeed, some pieces of cloth gave the impression of books, as letters were stamped thereon (*pustakair-iva sākṣaraiḥ*), as observed by Sōmēśvara. He[62] further refers to cloth with various floral and geometrical designs such as flower buds, straight and curved lines, circles, squares and the like.

We may refer to one more point in this context that deserves passing mention. There is ample evidence to show that the work of tailoring, i.e. stitching the cloth with the help of the hand-needle (*sūji*) and thread (*dāra*),[63] was not only well-known and practised, but had developed into a skilled art. As a matter of fact, references are often found in the works of Sōmēśvara, Harihara and others[64] to many kinds of stitched clothes, like coats, shirts, head-dresses, etc.

What is more, tailors, like many other craftsmen, had organised themselves into guilds of their own (*cippiga gottaḷi*).[65] A Bēlūr record[66] of 1139 A.D., interestingly enough, speaks of the corporation of tailors of the five cities (*pañcapaṭṭaṇa-kula-sahitar-appa cippiga-gottaḷigaḷu*), but the meaning of the line is by no means clear. It further states, however, that the tailors of Dōrasamudra were producers of ornamental dresses (*vastra-khaṇḍita-śṛṅgāra-citrōdbhavarum*), and skilled in the art of embellishing with many pieces of cloth (*anēka-vastra-khaṇḍita-śṛṅgāra-vidyā-pravīṇar-āgi*).[67]

We may as well refer in this connection to one of the Vīraśaiva Vacanakāras, whose profession (*kāyaka*) was the needle-work, and who is popularly known in Kannaḍa literature as Sūjikāyakada Rāmitande (c. 1160 A.D.).[68]

Production of Jaggery and Sugar

Production of jaggery and sugar has also been one of the important industries in India since very early times. We may do well here to refer to the article by J. C. Ray[69] on the Sugar Industry in Ancient India, which is really enlightening. A few important remarks by that learned writer on the subject under study may be noted.

It has been pointed out that though sugarcane (*ikṣu*) is mentioned in the Vēdas, there is no mention of any other saccharine substance other than honey; and the knowledge of converting saccharine juice into crystalline from, as in sugar (*śarkarā*),[70] came much later than the Vēdas.[71] However, India has been cultivating sugarcane and preparing jaggery (*guḍa*) for at least 3000 years. Once the juice was obtained, it was observed that it does not keep sweet; and, therefore, the solution was evaporated by heat; *guḍa* was thus the first product of the manufacture during the earliest times.[73]

Caraka[74] briefiy describes the five products that could be had when the sugarcane juice was evaporated, each varying in purity—*kṣudra-guḍa*, *guḍa*,

matsyaṇḍī, *khaṇḍa* and *śarkarā*; *śarkarā* was, however, the purest and best. This list includes, indeed, all the sugarcane products known in ancient India.

Further, Kauṭilya and Suśruta[75] enumerate the same five products in the same order; and the latter adds many new properties of such products to those given by Caraka. The art of clarifying the juice, and refining the impure products to produce sugar was known and practised at least about the time of Caraka and Suśruta. *Bhāvaprakāśa*,[76] a medical work of the 16th century A.D., describes the same five products, but also adds two more to the list—*puṣpa-sitā* and *sitōpalā*.

Coming back to the period under study, sugarcane was cultivated as one of the important crops of considerable commercial value. References are often found to the sugarcane plantations in the records as well as the literary works of the period, as has been noted in an earlier context. That the production of jaggery (*bella*) and sugar (*sakkare*) was widespread becomes evident from the references in the epigraphs to a certain tax that was levied (*āleḍeṛe*).[77]

It is curious to learn from the *Mitākṣarā*[78] that setting up machines (*himsra-yantra*) for crushing sugarcane, sesamum etc., would amount to an act of a secondary sin (*upapātaka*). Whatever be the cause for such injunctions, the fact remains that such machines, often referred to as *gāṇa*,[79] were set up to crush pieces of sugarcane and extract the juice from them, that was then boiled down to prepare jaggery and sugar. It is not known how the juice was clarified and refined to produce sugar.

Sugar looked like sand grains (*maḷalu*).[80] A *vacana* of Allama[81] seems to refer to sugar-candy also (*sakkareya-daṇḍa*). Many records[82] refer to jaggery that was sold in the market and on which a certain tax was levied.

Oil Production

Oil production was another important industry that was widespread during this period, and was, as a rule, subject to the levy of a certain tax (*gāṇada-suṅka*).[83] It is interesting to read in a record[84] of 1228 A.D. that one Tiruvarasa purchased the right of some tax on the oil-mills from the *Mahājanas* of Tariyakeṛe, and granted the same to provide for the perpetual lamp of the god Prasannakēśava.

Needless to say that oil was greatly needed for many purposes like preparing food and burning lamps in homes, temples and so on. Vijñānēśvara refers to oilman as *cakrī*,[85] *cākrikaḥ*,[86] i.e. wheelman. In the inscriptions, the oilmen are

more popularly known as *telligar* (Skt. *tailika*), the term denoting also their guild. Like other communities of a similar nature, these oilmen appear to carry their own distinct number—Fifty—along with the name of the community. Thus they are often referred to as the Fifty Families of *telligar* ;[87] or, in some cases, merely as the Fifty Families (*aivatt-okkalugaḷu*).[88] But a Bēlūr record[89] of 1173 A.D. refers to the oilmen as belonging to the Thousand Families. It is difficult to understand the purport of such numbers—as Fifty, or Thousand[20]—or to say what exactly they stand for. However, the number may serve as a useful index to the corporate nature of the community referred to.

These oilmen (*telligar*)[91] appear to have been a community of some standing and influence in society. In fact, they were easily one of the most important industrial communities of the period. They are praised at length as endowed with pleasing qualities. They assembled, we are told, and performed the installation of the image of the god Tellēśvara, and constructed a temple. They also granted to the god Tellēśvara some of their income[92] (specified).

A Kaḍūr record[93] of 1143 A.D. refers to the oilmen guild as *Telliganakhara*. The Ḍaṁbaḷ record[94] of 1098 A.D. states that the Fifty Families of oilmen granted oil for the perpetual lamp in the Bauddha-Vihāra, constructed by one Saṅgava-seṭṭi. The record is interesting also in this sense that the epithets referring to the oilmen, such as *budha-bāndhava, sākṣarika*, apparently speak of the literacy of the members of the community. These oil-pressers were also called *gāṇiga*,[95] the term *gāṇa* meaning an oil-mill.

The oil-mill was evidently of stone (*kallu-gāṇa*).[96] It is worth noting that a stone oil-mill set up by one Āsakka-gāvuṇḍa in 1145 A.D. still exists with the inscription[97] on it (*Āsakka-gāvuṇḍaṁ māḍisida kalla-gāṇaṁ intappudakke maṅgaḷamahāśrī*).

Further, such oil mills were of three different types, as may be gathered from the records :

1) *kai-gāṇa*,[98] that was worked by hand ;
2) *ettu-gāṇa*,[99] that was worked by oxen ; and
3) *meṭṭu-gāṇa*[100] or the tread oil-mill.

The oil-seeds, like sesamnm,[101] etc., were pressed in the oil-mill and oil was extracted. A record[102] from Bēlūr, dated 1280 A.D., mentions the oil extracted

from cocoanut (*teṅgen-eṇṇe*). There is reason to believe that some process of perfuming the oil was also known.[103]

Salt Manufacture

Contemporary sources refer to salt manufacturing as an industry. References are met with in a few records[104] to the gift of salt-pans, as also to a certain tax that was levied on the salt-makers. The salt that was sold in the market was subjected to taxation.[105] Vijñānēśvara[106] mentions many kinds of salt (*lavaṇāni*), such as the sea salt, the rock salt, the Sochal salt, the *biḍa* (?) salt, the *sōmaka* salt etc., although, curiously enough, he includes the manufacture and sale of salt under the lesser sins (*upapātaka*).[107]

It is interesting to note that Sōmēśvara,[108] while describing the houses (*dhāma-varṇanam*) in that historic city of Kalyāṇa, observes that those houses were resplendent with heaps of salt that were, as it were, the gifts dispatched by the sea (*samudra-prasthāpita-prābhṛtāyamāna-lavaṇapuñja-virājitaiḥ*). It is, however, difficult to ascertain whether there was large-scale salt manufacture during this period.

Wood Work

Wood work may be mentioned among other important handicrafts of the period. The carpenter (Kan. *baḍagi*—Skt. *vardhaki*), like the potter and others, was among the important servants of the village who, in return for his services rendered to the village community as a whole, received his remuneration "either in allotments of land from the corporate stock, or in fees consisting of a fixed proportion of the crop of every farmer in the village."[109] This practice, known as the *āya* system, continues to this day in the rural parts.

Inscriptions of the period show that the carpenter used to be given grants of land for his services. A Yādava record[110] of 1225 A.D., for instance, registers the grant of some land to the carpenter Campōja, in recognition of his service. A Hoysaḷa record[111] of 1210 A.D. states that the carpenters—as also the potters, the goldsmiths, etc.—were remunerated for their services by assignments of land in the village Tagaḍūru.

There was plenty of wood available in the country; and the cottage industry plied by the carpenter did not require much investment. The carpenter worked on wood and produced, among many things, agricultural accessories, doors and

beams, furnitures, carts, boats and the like. It stands to reason to suppose that there were semi-skilled carpenters who produced articles of daily necessity, that were just good enough to serve the purposes of the public, and that need not be of any artistic value. But, there must have been skilled craftsmen also, who could cater to the needs and tastes of the royalty and the nobility.

Mention may, however, be made here of some of the (wooden) furniture, such as stools, tripods, chairs, bedsteads and the like, which are often referred to both by the inscriptions and the literary works of the period.[112] A Śikāripura (Shimoga District) record[113] of 1159 A.D., for instance, relates that *Daṇḍādhipa* Kēśirāja built a town named Vīrakēśavapura, and gave that town, filled with commodious houses "having cots in each chamber" to a host of Brāhmaṇas. Sōmēśvara[114] refers to the (wooden) seats with four legs and with arms; and also cotton-padded, and decorated with ivory-carvings. He also mentions different woods out of which such seats were made, like those of the Mango, Jack, *Campaka, Madhūka, Audumbara*, etc. Especially, the seat made out of the *Sāladāru* wood, according to him, would be fine and strong. Mention may also be made of palanquins (*sukhāsana*)[115] that were made of wood.

We have evidence to show that wood was used in works of irrigation. A record[116] from Ḍambaḷ (Dharwar District), dated 1184 A.D., registers the grant of a certain tax, by the different merchant guilds of the place, for repairing, with wood as well as stone, the sluice of the local tank called Gōnasamudra.

Carts (*baṇḍi, bhaṇḍi*),[117] serving as means of conveyance and transport, were made of wood. References are found in some records[118] to a certain tax levied on carts. A Kaḍūr record[119] of 1291 A.D., for instance, refers to carts (*dhavaḷārada-bhaṇḍi*) on which some tax was levied.

Wood was employed also in constructing boats and ships. Reference is made in some records to the guild of boatmen, the Dōṇi One Thousand;[120] and to a certain tax levied on their boats (*dōṇi, teppa-suṅkaṁ*).[121] There is good reason to believe that ship-building was actually known to the Kannaḍigas from quite early times. Indeed, the Early Calukyas of Bādāmi are believed to have maintained a naval force of some strength; and Pulakéśin II is credited with the achievement of the successful attack on Purī, with hundreds of ships "that looked like arrays of rutting elephants".[122]

Again, it has been pointed out[123] that the Yādava empire had a long seaboard, and there is some evidence to show that it also maintained a small but

permanent navy, which was in fact brought into use when Purī (mod. Elephanta), the island capital of the Śilāhāras, was captured—"although the navy does not seem to have aimed at controlling the routes to the west or to the east."

If further proof is needed, we may note the positive evidence in the records, found at home as well as abroad, which amply testify to the maritime activities of the people of Karṇāṭaka. During the reign of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II, the great merchant-prince Kammaṭa Seṭṭi, says a record[124] of 1188 A.D. from Arasīkere, imported horses, elephants and pearls in ships by sea, and sold them to kings; his brother, Dāsi Seṭṭi (or Dāseya), transported goods from the east to the west and those that were suitable from the west to the east, products from the north to the south, and those of the south to the north.

It is worth noticing here that Karṇāṭaka had commercial contacts with South-East Asian countries, especially Java, as is clear from the reference made to the Karṇāṭaka merchants in the record[125] of Airlangga (1019–42 A.D.). And this evidence may be taken as an unmistakable proof that, in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., the adventurous Kannaḍigas must have only continued the earlier Calukyan traditions of maritime enterprise.[126]

It may also be noted, in passing, that we often meet with references to ships and sailors, by way of simile and analogy, in the records[127] and literary works[128] of the period. Moreover, Rājāditya,[129] in his well-known mathematical treatise, *Vyavahāraganitaṁ*, gives us two formulae to calculate the average tonnage of ships.

All the evidence noted above seems to point to a single fact: the people of Karṇāṭaka possessed knowledge of ship-building, and they did build ships; otherwise such maritime activities could not have been possible. As a matter of fact, the people of South Kanara (*Tuḷuva*) are said to have been a maritime people, who used to build ships and trade in them since early times.[130]

All said and done, we have to confess that we have not got a contemporary work like the *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhōja—the like of which cannot perhaps be found elsewhere in the entire range of Sanskrit literature—which gives us an admirable account of ship-building in ancient India;[131] and which acquaints us with all the necessary materials and characteristic qualities of types of boats.[132] The credit of first drawing the attention of the scholarly world to the shipping industry in ancient India must necessarily go to Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji.

It may be added here that there was plenty of bamboo (*bidiru*) available in the country, as has been noted in an earlier context. Many articles were produced out of bamboo, such as baskets, winnowing pans, umbrellas etc.[133] Reference is often made to the guild of such basket-makers (*gavares*),[134] as also to a certain tax that was levied on their craft (*mēdadeṛe*).[135]

Production of Earthen Ware

The potter's craft, like that of the carpenter, was another important industry that did not require a sizeable amount of investment. But, the earthen vessels and the like produced by the potter (Kan. *kuṁbāra*—Skt. *kuṁbhakāra*) were in great demand everywhere; more especially, in the rural parts and among the poorer classes—as is, indeed, the case even at present.

The potter, like the carpenter and others, was an important servant of the village, who played an important role in village economy, and received in lieu of remuneration for his services, land grants[136] or a fixed proportion of the crop[138] of every farmer of the village.

The potter prepared out of clay, and using his wheel (*kōvara-cakra*),[137] many earthen wares such as a hand-pot, a tray,[139] etc., that were burnt in kilns (*āvuge*).[140] Reference has been made in a few records[141] to a certain tax levied on the potters (*kuṁbāradeṛe*) as also on their kilns (*āvageyal maḍake yeraḍu*).

Sōmēśvara[142] points out that rice preparation may as well be made in the earthen vessels (*mṛjjātāyām sthālyām*).[143] Besides, mention may also be made of earthen toys and dolls that are often referred to.

Manufacture of Bangles and Beads:

Mention may be made of the industry of producing bangles and beads. A record[144] of 1261 A. D. mentions Sēnahaḷḷi, Kallakundarage and Niṭṭūru as centres of bangle-manufacturers (*baḷegāra-sthaḷa*). We may recall here that the celebrated Kannaḍa poet, Ranna, was born of a Vaiśya family of bangle-sellers. But he left his ancestral calling to his brothers, and was destined to rank among the greatest poets of Karṇāṭaka.

Needless to say that bangles have been an auspicious token for the Hindu women.[145] They formed an essential ornament (*tuḍige*)[146] for the women. Bangles and beads were evidently made of glass (*kācina tuḍige, kācina maṇigaḷ*),[147]

as referred to by Nayasēna. Bangles were also made of precious metals like gold[148] (which we shall mention later in connection with the metal works). The bangles that were sold in the market were subject to some tax.[149]

A Hoysaḷa record[160] of 1177 A.D. from Bēlūr relates that a certain *Baḷegāra* Māra-seṭṭi of Ayyāvaḷe, having come to the south on business, called on Poysaḷa-Dēva, obtained his favour and became a great chief. It is really astonishing to read in a record[151] of 1251 A. D. that one Malliseṭṭi, a bangle-seller, had amassed so much of wealth that he came forward to convert his village into a town.

Leather Work

The use of foot-wear in India is sufficiently old and we get references to it in the Sūtra literature as well as the *Mahābhārata*.[152] Contemporary evidence makes clear that foot-wear (Kan. *pāvuge—Skt. pādukā*) made of different materials like wood, leather, etc.,[153] was in use during this period. But reference may be made here to the leather-footwear only.

The tanning industry must have been quite widespread during this period, as Vijñānēśvara[154] refers to the guild of shoe-makers. The cobblers (Kan. *sammagāra*[155]—Skt. *carmakāra*) produced the leather shoes and sandals (*pāda-rakṣe*),[156] in different beautiful[167] colours.

Nayasēna observes that one's feet should be protected against thorns (*muḷḷu*),[158] etc., lest they pierce the feet and cause pain ; and, therefore, shoes and sandals are very essential to protect one's feet.[159] Indeed, Basavēśvara[160] makes fun of one who leaves his shoes, worth a *hāga*, at the door and goes into the temple, and stands before the Lord, thinking not of God, but of his valueless shoes, lest some one carries them away !

These leather shoes and sandals apart, mention may also be made here of some other articles of leather, e. g. leather-bag (*dṛti*)[161] for holding or carryiny water. Brahmaśiva[161] makes fun of those who consider themselves to be highlg religious and yet drink the water stored in leather-bags. There is reason to believe that some sort of cloth was made from hides (*carma*) of goats etc., as stated by Vijñānēśvara.[163] Moreover, a record[164] refers to the leather ropes that were subject to taxation. We learn from Marco Polo[165] that leather sheets were exported in large quantities from Ṭhāṇā.

Mining nnd Metal Works

Mining Industry

The mineral wealth of a country is a major factor in its economic life. Mining for metals like iron, gold etc., was a well understood and practised industry in India from quite eary times. Especially, gold is an essential commodity to back up the financial currency of the country and its value is all the more important under the increased industrial development today.

It may be noted that gold is one of the comparatively less abundant but widely distributed elements in the earth's crust, and compounds of gold are very few and not common. Gold washing and gold mining had been practised in India for at least 2000 years and more. Almost all the goldfields in India carry traces of ancient surface excavations as well as underground workings in the form of shaft connected by gallaries. Moreover, active recovery of gold is also indicated by the presence of stone crushers, pestles and mortars, by which the ore was crushed and ground before panning for gold.[166]

It has been pointed out that reference in the Old Testament goto indicate that gold was exported from the Deccan through West Indian ports to the Mediterranean countries; and Sir John Marshall is of the opinion that the ornaments in this metal discovered at Mohenjodāro were made of gold mined in the Deccan, as shown by chemical analysis of the metal employed.[167]

Gold mining operations in Karṇāṭaka may be traced back to very ancient period. Dr. Alchin, considering the evidence of the settlement clustering around the Māski and Huṭṭi fields (Raichur District), as also of the large number of huge crushing and rubbing stones found by Munn in the debris of Wandaḷḷi and Gauḍūr ash mounds, postulates the local extraction of gold on surface, on a small scale, during the neolithic period.[168] Moreover, ancient gold washing is evidenced in the Bellary District also, e.g. in the hills near Cigaṭēri (south of Bellary).[169]

Further, in Hungunda, Honnāvara, Honnāḷi, Puṁgāme etc. — the very names would indicate that gold was associated with them — traces of ancient gold works have been found.[170] Near the village of Hungund (Kolar District), for instance, there is an ancient mound called *Dimāladiṇṇe*, which is extensive and very ashy, thus indicating perhaps the site where gold was extracted in those olden days.

In Karnataka State, primary deposits of gold are found in veins or reefs of quartz in regions consisting of Dharwar Schists; and traces of such occurences have

been discovered in almost all the districts of the State.[171] It is significant to note that, according to an expert opinion,[172] the auriferous regions in the State seem to have been systematically explored by the ancient miners. Locating all the gold-bearing reefs, they had mined them to different depths, the greatest depth they reached being aboug 640 ft. in one of their works in the Huṭṭi region (Raichur District). What is more important, their exploration had been so thorough that " any outcropping quartz reefs in the schist regions, which have been left unworked by them, may undoubtedly be taken now as barren of gold, or at any rate not worthy of exploration."

Indeed, the early European prospectors were attracted to the Kolar Gold Fields by the existence of such ancient works. It is a matter of historical facy that during its development there have been " practically no discoveries of payable quartz outcrops of any importance, such outcrops having been removed centuries earlier by the ancient miners ".[173]

All said and done, it is not known exactly who these ancient miners were, when they did such extensive exploitation of mines, or what quantity of gold thet had taken out during the course of their mining operation.

Iron is said to be one of the commonest ores in the earth's crust. It has been pointed out that the Bellary region, about 5/6 of it, is covered with Archaean rock. The Dharwar rocks are rich in beds of haematite quartzite of intense hardness ; and the Sandhur hills are rich in unlimited beds of haematite. These are rich in iron, " perhaps the richest in all India ".[174]

During the Megalithic periods, particularly, numerous articles of iron were in use, as has been amply proved by the excavations at various sites, such as Brahmagiri, Māski, Jaḍigēnahaḷḷi, etc. It is not unlikely that the iron ore found in Karṇāṭaka might have been exploited for the purpose. It has also been suggested that an early iron-smelting factory in Karṇāṭaka existed in or near Kuḍitini (Bellary District).[175]

As for precious stones, we may as well refer to Punnāṭa in Karṇāṭaka, which has figured in the Greek and Roman accounts. According to Ptolemy, beryls were found therein. Indeed, that region had a prosperous trade in beryls with distant western countries like Rome, etc.[176]

Turning to the period under study, there is good reason to believe that mining was a well understood and widely practised industry of the period.

Contemporary inscriptions do not throw light on the subject, but only incidentally refer to some gold mines (*pongaṇi*),[177] as also to some taxes levied presumably on the mining of gold, iron etc.[178]

But, literary sources do shed some interesting light on the subject. The work of Sōmēśvara[179] is of special interest in this context, for it enables us to know about the mining industry as understood and perhaps practised during those days. In fact, the royal author clearly refers to what may be called the "science of mining" (*khani-śāstra*), and describes the various aspects of the subject in some detail.

He observes that the places where treasures (*nidhi*) are hiden under earth should be properly located by the experts (*tajñaiḥ*) in the field. He furher points out various tests and devices to detect and extract such hidden treasures. These hidden treasures, remarks J. D. B. Gribble,[180] "were in reality mines of gold or precious stones, the existence of which was kept a profound secret".

Further, Sōmēśvara advises the king to protect snch places where the deposits of gold (*suvarṇa*), silver (*rajata*) and precious stones (*ratna*) are found.[181] He also refers to officers in charge of such mines (*khanyadhikāriṇaḥ*),[182] which fact is borne out by the inscriptional evidence also. A Bēlūr record[183] of 1279 A. D., for instance, refers to a superintendent of mines (*ākara-maṇḍalika*).

It may be noted, however, that the proprietary right over all such mines vested with the State. Vijñānēśvara[184] observes that to have a position of authority (i. e. proprietary right) over all mines under the king's order, would amount to an act of a lesser sin (*upapātaka*).

Sōmēśvara, too, states, in the traditional way, that the king is the lord of all wealth; and more especially so of the treasures hidden under the earth (*bhūgatānām viśēṣēṇa*).[185] He elsewhere observes, however, like Manu and others,[186] that the king should levy taxes on mining operation;[187] in short, he is for farming out such mines to private agencies. It looks probable that at least som mines should have been worked out by private enterprise, and that the State received considerable revenue from this industry by way of taxes, as referred to above.

References are often found in the works of Brahmaśiva,[188] Mahādēviyakka[189] and others, by way of simile and analogy, to the extraction of reef gold. It has been pointed out that active mining for reef gold was going on in many of the gold

fields of South India, when the Vijayanagara rulers held sway, and during the regime of Tippu Sultan in Mysore.[190] It is quite likely that the same was probably the case during the period under study. As a matter of fact, right from Mysore up to the northern limits of Hyderabad, there runs, through the whole extent from north to south, a belt of gold bearing quartz, which had been extensively worked up during the early periods, as referred to above.

It may be added here that in the gold mines at Kolar and Huṭṭi, when the mining operations were recently renewed, there were found pieces of pottery, wooden logs, etc.[191] In the gold fields at Gadag (Dharwar District), too, there are indications of ancient works on reef gold all over the area.[192]

The process of gold extraction was, we are told,[193] that the miners selected the most likely looking pieces of the broken quartz, and, after washing them, reduced them to a fine powder with the help of a heavy stone roller. The powder was washed again and burnt; and, after the sulphur had been released, a small globule of quicksilver was introduced to take out the gold. The amalgamation of mercury and gold was then placed on a heated iron plate when mercury escaped in vapours, while gold remained in a pure state.

Further, gold is said to have been widely distributed in the soils covering the schist regions or derived from the schists, as also in the alluvial materials along water-courses and river-valleys which traverse the schists. Residual deposits are formed by the concentration of gold particles after the removal of the associated minerals; and the chemical inertness of the metal as well as its high density help such concentration. Gold would be found in such deposits, called 'placers', as nuggets and smaller particles, with fairly coarse sediments and gravels in streams. And, the residual gold generally tends to work downwards because of its high density, and stays in small holes, crevices or depressions, where it enjoys security from the currents of water.[194]

It may be noted here that in the north-western parts of Karnataka State, particularly in the Shimoga District, alluvial gold occurs as minute particles distributed along the beds and banks of the rivers Tuṅgā and Bhadrā, and their tributaries flowing through and draining the auriferous tracts.[195]

Moreover, alluvial gold washing in the Gadag area, by the local gold-washers (*jalagārs*), is said to have been in existence for generations; and many signs of washing for gold are said to be evident near most of the old works there.[196]

That such alluvial gold washing was well understood and practised during this period becomes evident from the references to them in the sources, both inscriptional and literary. It is important to note that a Gadad record[197] of 1126 A.D. refers to a certain tax, *jarigina-teṟe*, which seems to be a tax levied on the gold washing; and refers to an officer, *jalaginadhikāri*, who was to collect this particular tax.

Nayasēna, indeed, refers to the process of collecting gold particles, by washing the sand along the beds and banks of rivers (*jaraganoyyane-karci rāśiya maṇṇoḷoppuva ponnanaccariyenalnere kāṇbavōl*).[198] Similar references are found, by way of analogy and simile, in the works of Brahmaśiva,[199] Basava,[200] Allama[201] and others. It is not unlikely that many people should have taken to this industry as a profession.

Precious stones were mined; the mines of the precious stones were worked with profit. It has been stated that the Bellary[202] District yielded rich harvests in diamonds. Sōmēśvara[203] treats of many kinds and varieties of precious stones, like diamond, emerald, cat's eye, agate and the like; and describes their qualities as well as defects in some detail. He does not omit to treat of even the false or artificial gems (*kṛtrima-ratna*).

It is significant to note that the merchants of Baḷḷigāve, Bēlūru, Dōrasamudra etc., are described in the epigraphs as trading in many such precious stones.[204] Again, reference is often made in the records to a certain tax, levied on such precious stones that were sold in the market.[205] It has been suggested[206] that many such precious stones were probably found in Karṇāṭaka, as there was a brisk trade in them, as indicated earlier.

As for iron mining during this period, it has been pointed out that in many places like Gubbi, Cikkanāyakanahaḷḷi, Māgaḍi, Cannapaṭṇa etc. (Karnataka State), there was a flourishing iron mining industry; and the ore was obtained by washing the black sand brought down by torrents, or by digging into the ground like as is found near Chikkanāyakanahaḷḷi.[207] Epigraphs of the period often refer to a certain tax on iron (*karbunada-suṅka*),[208] which was apparently levied on this industry.

So far as copper mines are concerned, it has been stated by A. S. Altekar[209] that traces of extensive working of copper mines occurred in the districts of Bellary, Bijapur and Dharwar; and some of these mines are known to have been worked

up right up to the period of Hyder Ali. Indeed, the results of the explorations conducted by the Geological Survey of India clearly reveal not only the existence of copper deposits in various regions of the Karnataka State, but also evidences of ancient working for copper in many districts, e.g. Bellary, Mysore, Hassan, Chitradurg etc.[210]

But, in the absence of any positive contemporary evidence, we should refrain from making a definite statement on the point. The place names, e.g. Kisuguṇḍi[211] (modern Tāmraguṇḍi, Dharwar District), might be of some interest in this context. However, copper was an article of import during our period. The port of import was Ṭhāṇā, as observed by Marco Polo.[212]

Metal Work

The metal industries and the craft of jewellers may be said to have reached a high state of perfection during the period. Indeed, the articles of luxury as well as necessity, made out of different metals like gold, silver, copper, bronze etc., often find mention in the records and literary works of the period, whose production was marked not only by artistic skill, but also by a large variety. There were doubtless many craftsmen who had specialised in their chosen work. A Mysore record[213] of 1116 A.D., interestingly enough, refers to such expert craftsmen as *Viśvakarma*, who used to work on gold (*hēma-karma*) as well as other metals like iron, copper etc. (*lōha-karma*), as also many precious stones such as diamond, emerald and the like (*ratna-karma*).

Broadly speaking, metal work consisted in the making of (a) jewellery, (b) household articles and (c) weapons of war—such a classification, however, is by no means exhaustive.

(a) Jewellery

The art of jewellers may be said to have been one of the luxury trades which must have depended largely on the temples and the royal court, besides the aristocrats for encouragement. In short, the articles of jewellery that were produced had apparently only a limited market, and many of the poorer people could not have afforded the luxury of purchasing them.

Contemporary sources, however, refer to many kinds and varieties of gold ornaments, often inlaid with many precious stones like diamond, emerald, ruby etc. Thus references are found in the epigraphs to ornaments such as jewelled

ear-rings and necklaces,[214] golden band (*paṭṭa*), bracelet (*tōḷabandi*) ; as also to an ornament called *gaṇḍapeṇḍāra*.[215] Indeed, the Śirūr record[216] of Mārasiṅga Prabhu, dated 1049 A. D., gives us a list of the jewels that he presented to the temple of Viṣṇu of that place : bracelets (*kaṅkaṇa*), waist-band (*kaṭi-sūtra*) anklets (*nūpura*), ear-rings (*kuṇḍala*), armltes (*kēyūra*), crown (*makuṭa*), and three sets of necklaces with suitable pendents (*hārādi padakam trikam*).

Moreover, Sōmēśvara[217] gives us a long list of such gold ornaments, studded with fine and costly gems, like ear-rings, necklaces, medals, bracelets, bangles, rings, girdles and so on. The descriptions of these ornaments in such minute detail, as also their intricate designs, as given by the learned author, would amply testify to the high degree of skill and perpection attained by the jeweller in his craft. A large number of articles of jewellery was apparently required by the members of the royal courts. Precious ear-rings, collars and the like were worn by kings and the grandees of their courts, as also by important officers and the ladies of the harem—indeed, all those who used to be present at the king's durbar—as described by Sōmēśvara.[218] It is of interest to note that sometimes even harlots[219] used to display their wealth with such costly ornaments

A record[220] 1147 A.D. speaks of a certain merchant, Sōviseṭṭi by name, who used to supply in abundance all sorts of jewels to the Cāḷukya emperor, Jagadēkamalla, as also to his general, Barmmadēva. A Hoysaḷa record[221] of 1237 A. D. from Arasīkere seems to refer to two persons—Rēcaṇṇa and Rāyaṇṇa—as the senior inspectors of the jewel-treasury of the king (māṇikyabhaṇḍāri)

It may be added here that a *vacana* of Basava refers, by way of analogy, to the various stages in the process of producing a gold ornament, e.g. melting, purifying, beating, moulding and the like :

> *Karagisi enna manada kāḷikeya kaḷeyayyā ; ore baṇṇakke tandenna putavikki nōḍayyā ; kaḍihakke baḍihakke tandenna keḍeyāṇiya māḍi, nimma śaraṇara pādakke toḍigeya māḍi salahu, Kūḍalasaṅgamadēvā !* [222]

It is interesting to learn from Nayasēna[223] that, at that time as at present, wicked goldsmiths used to mix some quantity of copper (*kiss*), or silver (*beḷḷi*), with pure gold, and deceive the people.

These ornaments apart, mention may be made of other articles of gold and silver, used especially in the temples and the royal courts, such as golden horn or

trumphet, images, the jewelled lamps and mirrors, etc.[224] Plates of gold (*harivāṇa*)[225] were often presented to temples. A Bangalore record[226] of 1278 A. D. shows that a silver tray was presented to a temple. In many cases, temples used to be surmounted with golden spire (*kalaśa*).[227]

Sōmēśvara, while describing various seats for the king's use (*āsana-bhōgaḥ*), mentions the golden lion-throne (*siṁhāsana*).[228] Again, while enumerating the king's bedsteads, he refers to those inlaid with gold and precious gems, and provided with golden chains (*suvarṇa-śṛṅkhalā*).[229]

(b) Household Articles

Many household articles made of metals were in use, e.g. vessels, furniture and the like. Needless to say that vessels of precious metals like gold and silver were used especially in temples and royal courts. Mention may, however, be made here of vessels of copper and bronze that were generally used by the people.

A Śikāripur record[230] of 1159 A. D., for instance, states that *Daṇḍādhipa* Kēśirāja built the town, Vīrakēśavapura, and gave it filled with commodious houses having, among many other things, 'all manner of vessels', to a host of Brāhmaṇas.

An epigraph[231] of 1078 A. D. refers to the gift of copper vessels (*tāmrada-bhājanaṁ*) made by one Mamma to the temple of the Sun god at Mūlasthāna Indeed, Sōmēśvara[232] observes that rice preparations may be made in the copper vessles as well (*tāmrakṛtāyām sthālyām).* A record [233] of 1054 A.D. shows that a copper-smith (*kāṁsiga*), Nācōja, was granted some land.

Further, the vessles made of bronze (*kañcu)*, e.g. basins or cups (Kan. *baṭṭalu*—Skt. *vartula*), plates (*taḷige*), laddle or spoon *(saṭṭuga*) and the like, are often mentioned in the works of Naysēna, Basava and others.[234] Some tax was also levied on the trade in bronze vessles (*kañcina bhaṇḍava koṇḍalli koṭṭalli*).[235]

It may be added here that mirrors (*kannaḍi*) were generally made of bronze.[236] It has been pointed out that Indians did not know how to make looking-glasses, and only brass or bronze (well polished) served the purpose as mirrors. And even in the 17th century A. D., when *Vīramitrōdaya* (a commentary on the *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya) was composed by Mitramiśra, mirrors were of

bell-metal only.[237] Moreover, India began to import foreign European glasses only from 1550 A. D. onwards.[238]

Besides vessels and other articles of metal, mention may also be made of the metal furniture. In fact, metal seats (*lōhāsana*)[239] are mentioned in some records as well as by Sōmēśvara.

There is evidence to show that the casting of metallic images had considerably progressed. In fact, a group of bronzes[240]—representing Naṭarāja, Śiva, Pārvati, and two feminine deities—has been recently discovered in Kūḍalūr, a village about 4 miles from Caṅnapaṭṇa (Bangalore District). These bronzes, considered to be " some of the rare and valuable metallic sculptures discovered in the State ", have been assigned to the 11th century A. D. They may prove the mastery attained by the braziers of the period in the art of manufacturing alloys and casting them into elaborate and graceful forms. Again, the Yēvūr record[241] of 1110 A. D. refers to the guild of the braziers.

There is reason to believe that such metallic images were also sold[242] like other articles of trade. An inscription[243] of 1094 A. D. shows that a certain merchant (*vyavahāri*) brought an image of Lord Mahu-Māṇikya to Jākaladēvi, the queen of Vikramāditya VI, who bought that image. Metals were largely used in the minting of coins.

(c) Weapons of war

Generally, implements as well as weapons were made of iron or steel. The sources, however, refer to many weapons such as swords, daggers, spears, arrow-heads, battle-axes and the like.[244] A Mysore inscription[245] of the 11th century A. D. refers to a person (*ballasiya*) whose work seems to have been that of making swords. Nayasēna[246] refers, by way of analogy, to iron-smiths (*kammāra*)[247] who used to make the weapons, such as swords and the like (*khaḍgādi śastrāṅgaḷ*). But we are not sure whether such craftsmen were employed and pressed to service by the State.

It may be of some interest to note, in passing, some of the observations made by Sōmēśvara in this context. In the chapter on the " Pleasure of weapons " (*Śastra-vinōdaḥ*),[248] the author not only refers to various weapons such as swords, daggers, discs, maces and the like, but also describes their kinds and characteristics. He also gives certain hints in order to test such weapons.

Thus, according to the author, the length of a dagger is to be measured by *aṅguṣṭhaparvas*: the first *anguṣṭhaparva* is life, the second is wealth, and the third is death. In this manner, the whole length should be measured. And, what is more, the sword or dagger that ends with the third *parva* (of death) should be abandoned forthwith.

Further, we are told, the best dagger for the king should be four *vitastis* (the distance between the extended thumb and the little finger) in length. But a longer dagger, however, measures five *vitastis* in length.

Indeed, even a regular sword should be tested by the *aṅguṣṭhaparva* method, as described above. Three kinds of swords have been distinguished:

(i) a sword that is 50 fingers in length belongs to the first class;

(ii) that which is between 25 and 50 fingers in length is placed in the second class; and

(iii) the third class of sword measures only 25 fingers.

Moreover, the author describes different kinds of sword — e. g. *kacchē-laka, kaukṣēyaka ṣaḍhālaka*[249] etc., — and adds that swords can be differentiated also according to the shades of colour and their lustre.

A word about spears. They should have different lengths, of course according to various circumstances. Thus, when a person is on foot, the spear to be used should be of 7 arms length; if on horse back, it should be of 6 arms length and, if on elephant, it should measure 9 arms in length. In this way, only 3 kinds of spears would be required.

Reference is also made to the *gadā* or mace, which should be made of iron or tin and inlaid with gold and jewels.[250] Sōmēśvara observes that the king should, in the presence of all the invitees, show his skill and dexterity in the art of wielding all these weapons.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 *Mita.*, II. 182, (Tr.) pp. 1209–10.

2 *Ibd.*, 30, (Tr.) p. 747.

3 *EI*, XII, p. 333 (1110 A. D.); *EC*, V, Cn. 151 (c. 1200 A. D.), etc.

4 *Mita.*, II. 30, (Tr.) p. 747.

5 *Ibid.*, 192, (Tr.) p. 1229.

6 *Abhila.*, III. 1062–66, pp. 294–5.

7 *BKI*, I. i, 97 (1062 A. D.); *EI*, XIII, p. 196 (Vikramāditya VI's reign).

8 *EC*, XI, Cl. 21.

9 *EC*, IX, Cp. 66 (1288 A. D.).

10 *Ibid.*; *MAR.* (1910), p. 36, para. 86, etc.

11 *EC*, II, 327 (124); XI, Cl. 21; *JSI*, No. 5, etc.

12 *INKKS*, 21 (a).

13 *Vikra.*, p. 11, 11. 5–11.

14 Marco Polo, II, p. 391.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 365.

16 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 82, (n. 181) — [It has been pointed out that this information from Bīrūnī, as quoted by Abul Fidā, is not found in Dr. Sachau's edition of Bīrūnī].

17 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 452.

18 *Abh.*, vv. 18, 19, p. 78; *Abhila.*, III. 1067, p. 295.

19 Marco Polo, II, p. 395.

20 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 452.

21 *Mita.*, III. 38, (Tr.) p. 1490; I. 186, (Tr.) p. 404.

22 *Ibid.*, III. 273, (Tr.) p. 1860.

23 *Dharm.*, I, 9. 162, p. 451; *Ba. Ra.* (*Basavarājadēvara Ragaḷe*) p. 30, l. 121; p. 32. l. 171, etc.

24 *Ba. Ra.*, p. 49, ll. 11–13.

25 *KI*, V, 102, p. 305.

26 *APGAS No.* 9: Inscription No. 15.

27 B. A. Saletore, *Ancient Karṇāṭaka*, p. 485.

28 *Abhila.*, III. 1066, p. 295; *Dharm.*, I, 3.36; 5.52; 6.155, etc.; *Ba.Ra.*, p. 49, 11. 11–13, etc.

29 P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 58; K. M. Panikkar, *India and China* p. 17, etc.

30 Sachindra Kumar Maity, *Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta period*, p. 134.

31 *Ibid.*

32 *Abhila*, III. 1066, p. 275; also *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 522.

33 K. A. N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 23.

34 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 556.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 567.

36 *SII*, VII, No. 196.

37 *HAS*, No. 17 — Read: "Study of ancient fabric and its identification" by S. S. Ghosh.

38 *Abh.*, p 78, v. 18.

39. *Mita.*, I. 187, (Tr.) p. 405 (n.); *Abhila.*, III. 1067, p. 295.

40 *Mita.*, I. 187, (Tr.) 405. Hēmacandra also includes *dukūla* in the category of *kṣauma* — see B. P. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

41 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 453.

42 *Mita.*, II. 39, (Tr.) p. 769.

43 *Ibid.*, I. 186, (Tr.) p. 404.

44 *Ibid.*, II. 37, (Tr.) p. 1206; also *Abh.*, v. 19, p. 78, etc.

45 *EC*, IX, DB. 31 (1267 A. D.); *SII*, XX, No. 347 (13th century A. D.), ect.

46 *HJMU*, II, p. 215.

47 *Abh.*, p. 78, v. 19.

48 *Mita.*, II. 179, (Tr.) p. 1206.

49 *Ibid.*, 180, (Tr.) p. 1027.

50 *Ibid.*, III. 254, (Tr.) p. 1768.

51 *Ibid.*, II. 179, (Tr.) p. 1206

52 *Ibid.*, II. 179–80, (Tr.) pp. 1206–07.

53 *Da. Pra.* [*Dāsimārya Praśasti*], 148, p. 132; also *Dharm.*, II, 11.186, p. 104; 12.24, p. 114, etc.

54 *Mita.*, I. 164; (Tr.) p. 371 ; I. 187 (Tr.) p. 406; also *Abhila.*, III. 1068, p. 295, etc.

55 *EC*, IX, Cp. 66.

56 *Mita.*, I. 186, (Tr.) p. 405.

57 *EC*, V, Bl. 236; VII, Sk. 112 (both of 1139 A. D.).

58 *Mita.*, II. 293, (Tr.) pp. 1943-44.

59 *Ibid.*, II. 180, (Tr.) pp. 1207.

60 *Vikra.*, p. 11 — "*kari-turaga-padāti-ratha-svasttka-pāta-cinhitaiḥ, pusta-kairiva sākṣaraiḥ . . . .*" etc. [punctuations are mine].

61 *Ba. Ra.*, p. 49, 11. 12-13; *Gi. Ka.* [*Girijā Kalyāṇa*], 1.71, p. 15.

62 *Abhila.*, II. 1070-74, p. 295; also *Gi. Ka.*, 1.71, p. 15.

63 *Dharm.*, II, 14.104, p. 232—"*sūjiya baḷiya dāradante*"; *Ibid.*, I, 3.73, p. 110—"*sippiganante polivar*": also *Al. Va.*, 408. p. 92, etc.

64 *Abhila.*, II. 1080, 1280, etc.; *Ba. Ra.*, p. 27, 11. 59-60; *Abh.*, p. 78, v. 21; *Dharm.*, I, 3.73, p. 110, etc.

65 *EC*, V, Bl. 236 (Supplement); VII, Sk. 112 — (both of 1139 A.D.).

66 *EC*, V, Bl. 236 (Supplement).

67 *Ibid.*

68 *KKC*, I, p. 222.

69 *JBORS*, (1918) Vol. IV, Pt. IV, pp. 435-54.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 435—It has been pointed out that the word *śarkarā* denotes in the Vēdas "gritty particles"; and the same word was retained in later Sanskrit literature also for sugar, on account of its crystals being as small as sand grains. The word *sugar* is no other than the Arabic *sakar* and Hindi *sakkar*, an easy corruption of the Sanskrit *śarkarā*.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 436.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 437.

73 *Ibid.*

74 *Ibid.*, p. 439.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 440.

76 *Ibid.*

77 *EC*, X, Kl. 110 (c. 1280 A.D.); VI, Kd. 49 (1291 A.D.), etc.

78 *Mita.*, III. 234, (Tr.) p. 1704.

79 *Ma. Va.* [*Mahādēviyakkanavara Vacanagaḷu*], 67, p. 23—"*Sanda sanda-kaḍida kabbu, gāṇadali sikki bendu sakkareyāgi nondenendu saviya bittitte?*"; cf. *Dharm.*, I, 6. 175, p. 285—"*gāṇadoḷikkida kabbinante*". It has been pointed out by J. C. Ray [*op. cit.*, p. 438] that, in places like Benares and Rangapur Districts the sugar-cane juice is being extracted in oil-mills (*ghāni*) which "must have been a relic of the past when the cane used to be cut into small pieces and pressed as oil-seeds".

80 *Ba. Va.*, 67, p. 23 "*Hālatorege bellada kesaru sakkareya maḷalu*"; also cf. *Dharm.*, II, 10.43, p. 18—"*sakkareyanollade maḷalam melva*".

81 *Al. Va.*, 1219, p. 266.

82 *EC*, IX, DB. 31 (1267 A.D.); *JBBRAS*, X, No. VII (1229 A.D.), etc. It may be noted here that during our period Bengal and South India led in the manufacture of sugar. From Barbosa we learn that, during the 16th century A.D., these two regions of India competed with each other in supplying sugar to different parts of India, as also to Ceylon, Arabia and Persia—[see B. P. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-97.]. Bhaṭkaḷa (North Kanara), according to Barbosa, was a centre for the supply of powdered sugar to other countries. [A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, p. 531]. This could have been the case in our period, too, but we have no positive evidence to confirm it.

83 *EC*, V, Cn. 151 (c. 1200 A.D.); VIII, Sb. 137 (1272 A.D.), etc.

84 *MAR.* (1932), No. 47, p. 228.

85 *Mita.*, I. 141, (Tr.) p. 346.

86 *Ibid.*, 165, (Tr.) p. 372.

87 *EC*, V, Cn. 151 (c. 1200 A.D); *BKI*, I. 11, No. 144 (1098 A.D.), etc.

88 BK, 51 of 1928–29 (1207 A.D.); *EC*, VIII, Sb. 170 (1126 A.D.).

89 *EC*, V, Bl. 114.

90 In the Tamil and Andhra countries also, we find this community of oilmen referred to as 'The Thousand'. Particularly, the *Telikis* (oilmen) of Andhra had a notion that they originally consisted of thousand families; and thus the number "Thousand" became sacred to them—see Sundaram, K.—*Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra*, p. 42 and (n. 8).

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 37-42—In Medieval Andhra, the Teliki community was an important industrial community. The *Manuvaṁśa Purāṇa*, we are told,

exclusively deals with the history of this community of oilmen. Having attached themselves closely to the dynasty of Eastern Cāḷukyas of Veṅgi, and served in the kings' armies from the very beginning of their rule, they were recipients of great honours, privileges, etc.

92 *EI*, XX, A (1167 A.D.) and B (1187 A.D.), pp. 109 ff.

93 *EC*, VI, Kd. 99.

94 *BKI*, I. ii, 144.

95 *EC*, XII, Ck. 2 (1261 A.D.), etc.

96 *EC*, III, Nj. 150 (1145 A.D.); *IA*, XII, p. 97 (1188 A.D.), etc.

97 *EC*, III, Nj. 150; also cf. *Ba. Ra.*, p. 50, l.140—*kalla-jantra*.

98 *EC*, V, Hn. 54 (c. 1176 A.D.); VI, Kd. 36 (1203 A.D.), etc.

99 *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 172 (1163 A.D.); III, My. 9 (1196 A.D.), etc.

100 *Ibid.*, V. Bl. 114 (1173 A.D.); Ak. 90 (1189 A.D.), etc.

101 Cf. *Dharm.*, I, 9.120, p. 442—"*eḷḷaṁ gāṇadoḷikki piḷiye baḷikkeṇṇeyakkuṁ*"; also *EC*, III, My. 9 (1196 A.D.)—*haraḷeya yaṇṇe*", etc.

102 *EC*, V, Bl. 155.

103 *Al. Va.*, 1084, p. 239—"*eḷḷiṅge parimaḷava kaṭṭidallade, eṇṇege parimaḷo vēdhisadu*"; also *Ba. Ra.*, p. 87, 11.117–18—*kaṁmeṇṇe* (scented-oil), etc.

104 *EI*, XV, p. 327; *MAR.* (1910), p. 36, para. 86, etc.

105 *EC*, V, Hn. 144; *ARIE*, 1961–62, No. 99, etc.

106 *Mita.*, III. 38, (Tr.) p. 1490.

107 *Ibid.*, 234–35, (Tr.) p. 1702.

108 *Vikra.*, p. 12, l.14.

109 Wilks, *Historical Sketches of Mysore*, I, pp. 73–74; also G. S. Dikshit, *Local Self-Government in Mediaeval Karṇāṭaka*, pp. 67–68, 107, etc.

110 *EI*, XXX, pp. 67–68.

111 *EC*, V, Cn. 244.

112 *EI*, XIX, A (1135 A.D.), pp. 30 ff.; *Mita.*, III. 293, (Tr.)p. 1944; *Dharm.*, I, 1.152, p. 31, etc.

113 *EC*, VII, Sk. 123.

114 *Abhila.*, III. 1187–98, pp. 308–09 (*āsana-bhōgaḥ*).

115 *EC*, IX, Bn. 142 (c. 1150 A.D.); *KI*, II, No. 38 (1235 A.D.); *Ca. Va.*, 281, p. 123, etc.

116 BK, No. 68 of 1927–28.

117 *EC*, XII, Pg. 43 (c. 1150 A.D.); *Da. Pra.*, 5, p. 121 (simile of a cart), etc.

118 *EC*, XI, Jl. 9 (1111 A.D.); IV, Hs. 137 (1162 A.D.), etc.

119 *Ibid.*, VI, Kd. 49.

120 *BKI*, I. ii, 158 (1109 A.D.) and 200 (1126 A.D.), etc.

121 *Ibid.*, 200; EC, V, Bl. 171 (c. 1160 A.D.); Bl. 171 b (1208 A.D.), etc.

122 *EHD*, pp. 213, 240; B.A. Saletore, *Karṇāṭaka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts*, p. 4, etc.

123 *EHD*, p. 562.

124 *EC*, V, Ak. 22.

125 K.A.N. Sastri, *History of Śrīvijaya*, p. 83; also B.A. Saletore, *Karṇāṭaka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts*, p. 64.

126 B. A. Saletore, *Karṇāṭaka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts*, p. 64.

127 *EC*, VI, Tk. 45 (1196 A.D.—Tx. 11. 8–9, p. 435), etc.

128 *Dharm.*, I, 9.68, p. 428: "*bhaitrakārariṁ dvīpagaḷaṁ, jōyisariṁ grahaṇamaṁ arivante*"; also *Al. Va.*, 353, p. 79, etc.

129 *Vyava.*, Sū. 94, 95, p. 94.

130 B. A. Saletore, *Ancient Karnataka*, pp. 485–88.

131 Radhakumud Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping*, Preface, p. ix.

132 B. P. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

133 *Mita.*, I. 182, (Tr.) p. 397; *Ba. Va.*, 221, p. 56, etc.

134 *EC*, VII, Sk. 118; *KI*, II, 38; *JBBRAS*, IX, p. 302, etc.

135 *EC*, IV, Hs. 137 (1162 A.D.), etc.

136 *EC*, V, Cn. 244 (1210 A.D.).

137 Wilks, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 73–74.

138 *EC*, VIII, Sa. 109 (1042 A.D.); also *Dharm.*, I, 9.23 p. 419, etc.

139 *Mita.*, III. 146, (Tr.) p. 1605.

140 *IA*, XIV, p. 15 (1123–24 A.D.).

141 *EC*, IV, Hs. 137 (1162 A.D.); *JBBRAS*, X, p. 249 (1219 A.D.).

142 *Abhila.*, III. 1832, p. 345.

143 Harihara, *Paṁpāśataka*, 98—(*maṇṇa boṁbegaḷ*)

144 KI, II, 40.

145 *So. Sa.*, 26 — "*baḷeyē sarva-vibhūṣaṇakke modalai*".

146 *Dharm.*, I, 9. 162, p. 451 ; II, 11. 186, p. 103, etc.

147 *Ibid.*, I, 8.84, p. 374 ; II, 12.24, p. 115, etc. ; also see M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

148 *Da. Pra.*, 1, p.128 — "*kaṭakava muridu kāñcanava nōḍaladēke ?*".

149 *EC*, XII, Ck. 21 (1160 A. D.).

150 *EC*, V, Bl. 86.

151 *MAR.* (1912), p. 44, para. 90 ; [also in *EC*, XIV, Ml. 142, p. 65].

152 B. P. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

153 *Mita.*, III. 293, (Tr.) p. 1944 ; *Abhila.*, III. 998–1000, p. 287, etc. Indeed, reference is also made to the foot-wear made of ivory, by both Sōmēśvara (*Abhila.*, III. 1000) and Nayasēna (*Dharm.*, I, 2. 120, p. 69).

154 *Mita.*, II. 30, (Tr.) p. 747.

155 *Ca. Va.*, 545, p. 253.

156 *EI*, XIX, pp. 30 ff ; (1142 A. D.), also *Ba. Va.*, 602, p. 157 ; *Ca. Va.*, 929, p. 437, etc. — *cammāvuge*.

157 *Abhila.*, III. 1000, p. 287.

158 *Dharm.*, I, 9. 108, p. 439.

159 *Ibid.*, II, 14. 134, p. 243.

160 *Ba. Va.*, 199, p. 50.

161 *Mita.*, III. 268, (Tr.) p. 1851.

162 *Sa. Pa.*, 14.96, p. 317 ; 14.152, p. 327, etc.

163 *Mita.*, I. 182, (Tr.) p. 397.

164 *MAR.* (1910), p. 36, para. 86 (undated Hoysaḷa record).

165 Marco Polo, II, p. 395.

166 See, *Gold Mining Industry in India*, p. 31 [Geological Society of India — Memoir 1, Bangalore, 1963].

167 *EHD*, p. 139 ; also V.R.R. Dikshitar, *Pre-Historic South India*, p. 114.

168 M. S. Nagaraja Rao, *The Stone Age Dwellers of Tekkalakōṭa*, pp. 75–76.

169 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

170 *MAR.* (1941), p. 58 ; also R. S. Panchamukhi, *Archaeology of Karṇāṭaka*, p. 82, etc.

171 *Gold Mining Industry in India*, p. 21.

172 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

173 *Ibia.*, p. 59.

174 V.R.R. Dikshitar, *Pre-Historic South India*, p. 96.

175 *Karnataka Darshana*, pp. 71–72.

176 B. A. Saletore, *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West*, pp. 261–62.

177 *SII*, IX. i, 249 (1147 A.D.); also see *Sa. Pa.*, 6.87, p. 130 — "*Palavu kaṇigaḷ* . . . . . etc."

178 *EC*, IV, Ch. 197 (1104 A. D.); VI, Kd. 49 (1291 A.D.), etc.

179 *Abhila.*, I. 337–64, pp. 73–76.

180 J. D. B. Gribble, *A History of the Deccan*, I, p. 61.

181 *Abhila.*, I. 336, p. 72.

182 *Ibid.*, III. 1278, p. 318.

183 *EC*, V, Bl. 166.

184 *Mita.*, III. 242, (Tr.) p. 1705.

185 *Abhila.*, I. 365, p. 76

186 See (for the discussion on the views of Manu, Viṣṇu and others) U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 111 — Kauṭilya observes that the mines, which yield such minerals that are made use of in preparing vessels (*bhāṇḍa*), as well as those mines which require large outlay to work out, may be leased out for a fixed number of the shares of the output, or for a fixed rent. But, such mines as can be worked out without much outlay should be directly exploited by the State — *AS*, (Tr.), p. 86.

187 *Abhila.*, I. 336, p. 73.

188 *Sa. Pa.*, 4.156, p. 86: "*kalloḷ–misuguva pon–puṭṭi* . . . . . etc."; 15.29, p. 336: "*kanakaṁ kalloḷagiṁ tegevaḍe tannaṁ tāṭa tāpana–kriye vēḷkuṁ*".

189 *Ma. Va.*, 207, p. 73: "*śileya mareya hēmadante*".

190 *Gold Mining Industry*, p. 31.

191 Read — "Cinnada Nāḍidu Maisūru", by B. V Govindarajalu, in *Pra. Kar.*, 31.3, 4 (1950), pp. 103–30 — The ancient miners used pots presumably to remove the water that used to collect there, and wooden logs to prevent the land-slides (which are not uncommon in such mining operations).

192 *Gold Mining Industry*, p. 108.

193 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 467.

194 *Gold Mining Industry*, p. 14.

195 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

196 *Ibid.*, p. 108.

197 *BKI*, I. ii, 200.

198 *Dharm*, I, 4.33, p. 152.

199 *Sa. Pa.*, 1.131, p. 24 — "*piriduṁ nidhikōḷittuṁ jaragaṁ karcuttamirpa maruḷaṁ pōlkuṁ*".

200 *Ba. Va.*, 31, p. 9.

201 *Al. Va.*, 103, p. 25.

202 *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 350.

203 *Abhila.*, I. 405–538, pp. 80–95.

204 *EC*, VII, Sk. 118 (1054 A. D.); V, Bl. 117 (1136 A. D.), etc.

205 *Ibid.*, V, Hn. 144 (1209 A. D.); VII, Sk. 95 (1215 A. D.), etc.

206 *HJMU*, II, p. 215.

207 *Ibid.*, pp. 214–15.

208 *EC*, VI, Kd. 49 (1291 A. D.); XII, Gb. 45 (1233 A. D.), etc.

209 *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 355.

210 I owe this information to the Director, Department of Mines and Geology, Bangalore (Government of Karnataka)

211 *BKI*, I. i, No. 92 (1054 A. D.).

212 Marco Polo, II, p. 395.

213 *EC*, IV, Kp. 68.

214 *EC*, II, No. 132 (1123 A.D.); V, Ak. 110 (c. 1142 A.D.), etc.

215 *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 112 (1220 A.D.); also B. L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 189; *Si. Ca.*, 6.19, p. 91, etc.

216 *BKI*, I. i, 85; also *KI*, V, 11 (1078 A.D.), etc.

217 *Abhila.*, III. 1102–86, pp. 298–308 (*bhūṣā-bhōgaḥ*).

218 *Ibid.*, 1216–1300, pp. 311–20 (*āsthāna-bhōgaḥ*); [*Ibid.*, 1825–27—elephants decorated with ornaments of gold and pearls].

219 *JBBRAS*, X, p. 251.

220 *INKKS*, 9 (a) [BK, 100 of 1929–30] ; also BK, 109 of 1929–30 (1142 A.D.).

221 *EC*, V, Ak. 123 ; also see II, 64 (1163 A.D.) ; 333 (c. 1206 A.D.), etc.

222 *Ba. Va.*, 251, p. 63.

223 *Dharma.*, I, 4.34, p. 152.

224 *EC*, VI, Mg. 33 (c. 1179 A.D.) ; II, No. 132 (1123 A.D.) ; VI, Tk. 45 (1196 A.D.), etc.

225 *Ibid*, X, CB 24 (1092 A.D.) ; *APGAS*, No. 9 : No. 15 (1278 A.D.) etc.

226 *EC*, IX, Cp. 65.

227 *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 244 (1210 A.D.) ; *IA*, LI, p. 12, etc.

228 *Abhila.*, III. 1202–03, p. 309.

229 *Ibid.*, 1871–72, p. 381.

230 *EC*, VII, Sk. 123.

231 *KI*, V, No. 11.

232 *Abhila.*, III. 1532, p. 345.

233 *ARIE*, 1959–60, B. No. 142.

234 *EC*, II, 132 (1123 A.D.) ; XIV, Tn. 270 (c. 1259 A.D.) ; *Dharm.*, I, 2.26, p. 51 ; *Ba. Va.*, 860, p. 226 ; *Sa. Pa.*, 11.69, p. 263 ; *Mita.*, I, 204, (Tr.) p. 435, etc.

235 *HAS*, No. 18 : Ins. No. 8 (1109 A.D.).

236 Cf. *Ba. Va.*, 860, p. 226 ; also *Sa. Pa.*, 43, p. 372, etc.

237 J. R. Gharpure, while translating the commentary of both the *Mitākṣarā* and *Vīramitrōdaya* on Yājñavalkya III. 141 (Tr. p. 1599), uses the word 'glass' for mirror (*darpaṇaṁ*), which is not correct in the light of the above evidence.

238 B. P. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–04.

239 *SII*, IX. i, 67 (10th century A.D.) ; *EC*, VIII, Nr. 35 (1077 A.D.) ; *Abhila.*, III. 1191–92, p. 309.

240 *MAR.* (1947–56), pp. 32–33 (plates VI-X). [Cf. *EC*, VII, Sk. 133 (1131 A.D.), which refers to 2 *seṭṭis* of Balipura who were " the chiefs of the workers in the 5 metals " (*pañcalōhādhipatigaḷuṁ*)].

241 *EI*, XII, p. 333 ; also *HAS* No. 18 : Ins. No. 8 (1109 A.D.)—*bōgāra mahānakharaṁgaḷu.*

242 Cf. *Ba. Va.*, 556, pp. 142–43: "*avasara bandare māruva daivavanentu sareyeṁbenayyā?*".

243 *JSI*, No. 1, p. 237.

244 *Dharm.*, I, 2.128, p. 70; *EC*, V, Hn. 65 (1143 A.D.)—*gēṇ*, (probably a dagger); VI, Kd. 35 (1136 A.D.)—*sīsaha* (*sīsaka*) i.e. a head-cover or helmet; III, Md. 121 (1235 A.D.), etc.

245 *MAR.* (1934), No. 38.

246 *Dharm.*, I, 7.47, p. 309.

247 Cf. *Si. Ca.*, p. 19, p. 108.

248 *Mana.*, IV. 1–96, pp. 155–171; also Intron. pp. 25–28.

249 *Ibid.*, IV. 66–72, pp. 160–61.

250 Cf. Ranna's *Gadāyuddhaṁ*, 8.1, p. 94.

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CHAPTER—5

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Trade is said to be the natural corollary of industry, and the medium of the distribution of industrial products. It may be taken as an index to the economic prosperity of a country.

A study of the sources clearly testifies to the vigorous trade that Karṇāṭaka continued to enjoy during the period under review. It also reveals the fact that the trade activities, foreign as well as inland, were largely controlled and dominated by various mercantile bodies or guilds that played an important role in the uplift of socio-economic life of the people as a whole.

It may, however, be noted in this context that, so far as the foreign—export and import—trade is concerned, the information has to be gathered chiefly from the foreign notices of the Arab and non-Arab geographers and travellers. Vijñānēśvara, however, enables us to understand some of the prevalent ideas, if not the actual practice, of the time regarding the conduct of foreign trade.

Articles of Trade

Contemporary evidence acquaints us with numerous vendible articles, both of necessity and luxury. It would, indeed, mean a very long list to enumerate them all. There were, to mention only a few, dealings in precious stones and gems, such as diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and the like; metals like gold, silver, copper etc., as also gold and jewelled ornaments, and metallic utensils and images; animals such as horses, elephants etc.; numerous food stuffs—cereals, spices, vegetables, fruits, etc.—; and a hundred other miscellaneous articles, such

as earthen ware, leather goods, textiles of many kinds, writing materials like palm-leaves and so on.[1]

The commercial activities of the period may conveniently be studied under two heads : (i) Foreign trade, and (ii) Inland trade.

(i) Foreign Trade: Exports and Imports

It is but a well established fact that Karṇāṭaka, from quite early periods, had maintained trade relations with many countries across the seas. Geographically, its seaboard opened to the west; and the coast line boasted of many good harbours, which are referred to by classical writers.[2] It was through these ports that close contacts were maintained for centuries with the western and eastern worlds.[3]

To turn to the period proper, we have the valuable testimony of many Arab geographers and travellers—like Idrīsī (A.D. 1154), Yāqūt (A.D. 1179-1229), Abul Fidā (A.D. 1273-1331) and others—as well as of Chau Ju-Kua (c. 1225 A.D.) and Marco Polo (c. 1293 A.D.), which amply testifies to the sea-borne trade through important western ports like Ṭhāṇā, Saimūr, Honnāvar, Bhaṭakaḷa, Mangalore, etc.[4]

Vijñānēśvara[5] refers to foreign trade and traders in different contexts. A Marine officer (*Tarikaḥ*),[6] who was to collect the toll levied at a ferry embankment is also referred to. A Mysore record[7] of 1178 A.D. refers to such an officer under Hoysaḷa-Ballāḷa II, by name Nāraṇa, who was in charge of the toll at a ferry embankment (*bahitrada verggaḍe*).

Moreover, there are many references to foreign trade in the epigraphs of the period also. A Śikāripur record[8] of 1054 A.D., for instance, states that the merchants used to travel by both land and water routes (*pāda-mārgga jala mārggadoḷu*), penetrating all the countries of the six continents (*ṣaṭ-khaṇḍa-maṇḍalagaḷam pokku*); and that they traded in precious stones and gems, horses and elephants of the finest breed, and so on. The record mentions, among many countries, Persia (*Pārasa*), with which apparently they had trade contacts.

The merchants of Beḷagoḷa[9] claimed that they were "skilled in conducting various trades with many sea-ports". Again, the jewel-merchants (*maṇigāras*) of Dōrasamudra, Bēlūru and Viṣṇusamudra were also actively engaged in sea-trade, as is evident from a Bēlūr inscription[10] of 1136 A.D. They travelled, "issuing

from the lotus face the seaports and cities", as far as the four oceans, and "celebrated countries of enemies and lands of friends"!

There is good reason to believe that the traders of Tēridāḷ[11] (Bijapur District) were also engaged in sea-trade: they carried on board of ships (*bahitra*) and by means of boats (*dōṇi*) many commodities of value and visited many seaports (*jaḷa-sthaḷa-yātre*) for purposes of trade.

It is of particular interest to note that one merchant-prince, Kammaṭa Caṭṭi-seṭṭi by name, during the reign of Hoysaḷa Vīra-Ballāḷa II, is said to have imported by sea horses, elephants and pearls, and sold them to kings. His brother was Dāsi-seṭṭi, who transported goods from the east to west, and those that were suitable from the west to the east; and products from the north to the south, and those of the south to the north.[12]

Dr. B. A. Saletore[13] has pointed out that Karṇāṭaka's contacts with the islands of the Malay Archipelago may be dated from the 7th to the 17th century A.D. As a matter of fact, the positive evidence on the point is supplied by Javanese sources.

It is significant to note that the inscriptions[14] of the king Airlangga (A.D. 1019–42) of Java reveal the fact that to the ports controlled by the king, and situated at the mouth of the Brantas in the Bay of Surabaya, came merchants from Karṇāṭaka, besides those from Kalinga, Bengal, Ceylon, etc. Again, *Nāgara-Kṛtāgama*[15] (A.D. 1365), a famous historical poem of Java, specifically refers to the intimate trade relations between Karṇāṭaka and Java.

There is evidence to believe that ships from China, Malaya and other countries of the East also frequented the ports of Karṇāṭaka during this period. Towards the close of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century A.D., we are told, there used to come many ships, big and small, laden with rich merchandise, from China, Malacca and Formosa. They first came to Calicut and then navigated the entire coast upto Cambay—thus covering the whole of the Karṇāṭaka coast line. And they were so numerous that they spread themselves over the whole country.[16] In fact, Mangalore and Honnāvar maintained contacts with China upto the 15th century A.D.[17]

We may further note that the copper-plate grant[18] of Raṭṭarāja, a *Māṇḍalika* under Western Cāḷukya Satyāśraya, refers to trading ships coming from *dvīpāntara*—"a term usually interpreted as foreign lands, but probably meaning Malaya as shown by the results of recent research."[19]

It may also be added here that trade relations were maintained with various provinces of India also. The Śikāripur record of 1054 A.D., referred to above, shows that the merchants used to visit for purposes of trade many regions like Cēra, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Magadha, Saurāṣṭra, etc. And, the merchants of other regions also kept themselves actively engaged in the trade activities in Karṇāṭaka. Thus a record[20] from Kurugōḍ (Bellary District), dated 1177 A D., shows that, besides the indigenous 'Kannaḍa' merchants, those of the Lāḷa, Cōḷa, Maleyāḷa and Teluṅga regions were all carrying on their trade activities at that place. Indeed, such instances can be multiplied easily.[21]

We may now try to mention some of the important articles that figured in export and import trade during the period under review.

(a) Exports

Many were the agricultural products that were exported. Among various spices, special mention may be made of pepper, a staple article in great demand in the West as well as East during the Middle Ages. It was, indeed, the monopoly of South India, particularly the Western coast.

We learn from Yāqūt[22] (1179–1229 A.D.) that Mangalore (*Manjarūr*) and Bārakūr (*Fāknūr*) were the chief cities of Malībār from where pepper was exported. Dimishqi[23] (A.D. 1325) refers to the large quantity of pepper that was available at Mangalore. The fact that the port of Mangalore used to sell enormous quantities of pepper as well as ginger in the 14th century A.D. is testified to by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[24] (1333–45 A.D.).

During the Vijayanagara[25] days, according to Barbosa, Mangalore, Goa and Bhaṭakaḷa used to export rice to many countries across the sea. Again, Bhaṭakaḷa was a noted centre for the export of powdered sugar. It also exported cocoanuts—the 'Indian nuts' as known to the Arab and other mediaeval writers—to countries like Ormuz and Aden. This may have been the case during this period, too; but contemporary evidence is lacking to confirm it.

Among other articles of export, mention may be made of those that served some medicinal purposes, such as aloes, *tabāshīr*, and the like. Both Yāqūt[26] and Quzwīnī[27] tell us that the 'Saimūri aloes' had been named after the city of Saimūr (Śirūr, near Bārakūr, South Kanara).[28] But the former makes it clear that aloes did not actually grow there,[29] and they were only imported from without: "Generally, aloes came from islands situated beyond the equator."[30]

It would thus become apparent that aloes were actually imported from the Far Eastern islands into Saimūr from where they were re-exported[31] to other countries.

We are further told by Idrīsī[32] that the port of Ṭhāṇā used to export *tabāshīr* "to all the countries" in the East and West. It was gathered from the roots of *quanna* which grew on the mountains and plains there.

Among many dye-stuffs that were exported, particular mention may be made of henna, which is said to have been a speciality of Saimūr. The dye of henna was obtained from the leaves which were dried, sifted and reduced to powder.[33]

Incense and perfumes formed another important article of export. We learn, again from Idrīsī,[34] that the mountains at Saimūr produced many aromatic plants, which were 'exported to all the countries'. Frankincense was available in plenty—not the white variety, but brown—at Ṭhāṇā, as observed by Marco Polo.[35] But we are not told by him that it was also exported, as stated by Dr. A. S. Altekar.[36]

We are further told by Marco Polo[37] that Ṭhāṇā used to export leather of various excellent kinds, as also good buckram and cotton.

As for metals, it may be noted that South India as a whole needed more import, rather than it could export. But an exception was iron. During the Vijayanagara days, as observed by Barbosa, ships from Ormuz were seen taking cargoes of iron at the port of Bhaṭakaḷa.[38] But we do not know whether this was the case during this period also.

(b) Imports

Aloes were imported from "islands situated beyond the equator" into the port of Saimūr, as referred to above. Among various incense and perfumes imported, special mention may be made of camphor (*karpūra*). Indeed, the use of camphor both as an incense and as an ingredient in betel chewing (*tāmbūla*)[39] was well known. We are informed that it was of two varieties, viz., Malayan and Chinese. The former, found mainly in Borneo and Sumatra, was much more valuable than the latter, "its price being estimated at a hundred times that of the Chinese".[40]

It may be noted that there were two varieties of frankincense, the white and the brown. The latter, as noted above, was found in plenty at Ṭhāṇā, as observed

by Marco Polo. But the white variety is said to have been imported to Ṭhāṇā from the south-east coast of Arabia, particularly from the cities of Esher and Dufar, as testified to by Marco Polo.[41]

Metals formed another important article of import across the seas during the period. We are told by Marco Polo[42] that the merchants of Ṭhāṇā imported by ship various articles such as gold, silver, copper and other things in demand. It has been pointed out that, as Sumatra has long been famous for gold, and since it was credited by Marco Polo himself with abundance of treasure, the imported gold probably came from that island.[43]

As for textiles, we have the valuable testimony of Marco Polo,[44] who tells us that ships from the East brought cloths of silk. Moreover, as some of the great cities of China—Si-ngan fu, Ho-kin bu Pao-ying-Hien, Nang-king, Chin-kiang fu and Suchau (to give them their modern names)—are specifically stated to be famous for these products by Marco Polo[45] himself, the silk must have been imported from those cities. What is more to the point, these stuffs no doubt are to be identified with the fabrics of Great China (*Mahācīna-bhava*), mentioned by Sōmēśvara among the varieties of the king's wardrobe, as has been noted earlier.

We have also noted in an earlier context that the Chinese silk (*cīna*, *mahācīna*) has been referred to by the poets Nayasēna, Harihara and others also; and the ships from China frequented the ports of Karṇāṭaka during this period.

Sōmēśvara's reference in the same context to the textiles of Ceylonese origin (*Siṁhala-dvīpaja*)[46] would indicate that some fine varieties were imported from that island also. Similarly, mention is made by him of the textiles from different provinces of India also, such as those of Multan, Punjab, Bengal, etc.[47] It is not unlikely that some fine stuffs should have been imported from those regions also. An epigraph[48] of A.D. 1204, for instance, refers to some tax that was levied on cloths coming from without.

Among other imports—in the main intended to meet the needs of the State—were animals like elephants, horses etc., which were required in very large numbers under the military system that prevailed during those days. Needless to say that in the warfare of the Middle Ages elephants played an important part. The might of the king was often calculated according to the number of elephants which he happened to possess.[49] Sōmēśvara, indeed, mentions the different forests which were the haunts of elephants, and minutely describes the varieties of the species; and also formulates various means to catch and train them, and make

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them fit for war.[50] The elephants, though naturally timid in disposition, can easily destory men in war, if properly trained. In fact, the last lesson received by the elephant, as referred by Sōmēśvara, was how to destory men (*vadhyāvadhyēṣu karmasu*).[51]

Elephants no doubt could be obtained within the country, but apparently they were not sufficient to meet the demand; and hence their import by sea. The epigraph of 1188 A. D. from Arasīkere, referred to above, shows that the great merchant-prince, Kammaṭa Caṭṭi-seṭṭi, used to import (among other things) elaphants by sea, and sell them to kings. During the Middle Ages, we are told, Ceylon and Pegu were the chief sources of supply of elephants.[52]

Elephants of Bengal (Gauḷa)[53] find mention in some epigraphs of the period, which may have been imported. Reference is often made to some kind of tax levied on this trade in elephants.[54] Indeed, the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvaḷepura are said to have traded in magnificent elephants.[55] It may be noted that the height of the elephants was one of the standards according to which their prices were fixed, as observed by Idrīsī.[56]

Horses formed another important article of import. It has been stated that, in the history of commerce of the Middle Ages, the import trade in horses played quite a prominent part.[57] It has also been described as the most costly and wasteful of India's imports during this period.[58]

We are further told that the Arab and Persian merchants had been driving a profitable trade in horse from early periods; but the trade seems to have attained phenomenal proportions in the 12th and 13th centuries[59] A. D. Moreover, the Indian authorities of this period, e. g. Sōmēśvara and others, like their predecessors, agree in assigning the first rank in their classified list of horses to the foreign breeds, especially those of Arabia and Persia, and the lowest rank to the indigenous breeds.[60]

The cavalry (*aśva-balam*), according to Sōmēśvara,[61] which was equipped with well-trained horses of the Sindh, Kāmbōja and Yavana countries, was considered the best. It is interesting tho note that the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana has been described in some epigraphs as "skilled in training Kāmbōja horses"[62] and as "shaking the earth with the tramp of his troops of Kāmbōja horses".[63]

Further, the horses of the Turuṣka countries (*Turuṣka-turagam*),[64] apparently meaning those of the Mahommedan countries, are often mentioned in the

inscriptions. The countries which were noted for the export trade in horses were Arabia, Persia and Turkey, as noted above. The particular ports which exported horses appear to have been Dufar, KIs, Lahsa, Bahrein, Ormuz, Kirahāt, Jasam, Mecca and Aden, during the Middle Ages; and Bhaṭakaḷa, Goa and Cannanore were the ports where they were disembarked.[65]

We may also note here that the ArasIkere record of 1188 A. D., noted above, tells us that Kammaṭa Caṭṭi-seṭṭi used to import horses by sea and sell them to kings. Again, a Śikāripur record[66] of 1054 A. D. states that the merchants were dealing in "horses of the finest breeds". But we are unable to know whether these merchants had direct dealings with Arabia and other countries, or got their supplies through the Arab traders, who had already settled in places along the west coast, particularly at Goa.[67] This trade in horses was, however, subject to a certain tax.[68] A Belgaum record[69] of 1204 A.D., for instance, refers to a tax on each horse coming from the north, and on those of the Maleyāḷas, etc.

It may be added, however, that such effective demand for horses arose from two main causes: the requirements of the army, and the lack of proper facilities for tending horses, which necessitated the constant renewal of the supply, almost every year. And, the necessity for this extravagant demand for the horses from the West has been traced by the foreign observers, chiefly to the Indians' ignorance of the art of properly tending and managing the animals.

We have the valuable testimony on the subject of two foreign writers,[70] Marco Polo (c. 1293 A. D.) and Wassāf (1300–28 A. D.).

Marco Polo,[71] while lamenting the waste of a great part of the wealth of the country in purchasing horses, gives three reasons for the same. The first is that no horses were bred in this country. The second is that the Indians had no farriers; and the foreign merchants prevented any farrier from going to that country for fear of losing their highly profitable trade. The third and the last reason is, the Indians, in their ignorance of the proper treatment of horeses, fed them with boiled rice and meat and various other cooked food.

Marco Polo[72] tells us, while referring to Ṭhāṇā, that horses in large numbers were shipped from abroad to India; and no ship ever came "thither without horses, in addition to other cargo". He also observes that the king (of Ṭhāṇā) even encouraged piracy, with a desire to possess horses: "with the king's connivance many corsairs launch from this port (i. e. Thāṇā) to plunder merchants. These corsairs have a covenant with the king that he shall get all the

horses they capture, and all other plunder shall remain with them. . . . . The practice is naughty and unworthy of a king". Truely, this could be doubtless a blot on the character of any king!

From Wassāf[73] we learn that the Indians were so ignorant of training horses that, within a short time, the most strong, swift, fresh and active horses became weak, slow, useless and stupid. In short, they (horses) all became "wretched and good for nothing". There was, therefore, "a constant necessity of getting new horses annually . . . . . etc."

Reference is also made to camels[74] in the army, e. g. of the Western Cāḷukyas, and others. It has been suggested that this feature was probably introduced by the Yādavas of Dēvagiri; and that camels for the army were imported from northern India.[75]

Precious gems and stones formed another important article of import. Kammaṭa Caṭṭi-seṭṭi, referred to above, is said to have imported pearls by sea, and sold them to kings.

The poet Harihara[76] refers to the pearls of Tāmraparṇi, while Sōmēśvara[77] observes that those from the Ceylon, Persia, and Barbara countries were the best. The latter writer also tells us that emerald[78] was obtained in Turuṣka and Ceylon, whereas sapphire[79] could be found in Ceylon. The Śikāripur record of 1054 A.D., referred to above, shows that the merchants were dealing in many such gems. It may not be, therefore, unreasonable to think that these items were imported from those countries mentioned above.

ii. Inland Trade

Although there was such a flourishing foreign trade as noted above, the fact remains that the people of Karṇāṭaka were by far a land people, carrying on inland trade. There were many big bazaars with numerous shops in all important towns and cities, where all sorts of articles of both necessity and luxury were sold and bought.

There were, for instance, clothier's shops, jeweller's shops, goldsmith's booths, perfumery shops, paddy shops, cotton shops, and the like;[80] and on shops a certain tax was levied. Reference is often made, for instance, to a 'shop-tax' (*aṅgaḍideṟe*)[81] in the inscriptions.

We often come across poetic descriptions of bazaars in inscriptions as well as literary works of this period. We may as well note, for instance, the description of the bazaar (*vipaṇi-mārga*) of Tēridā|[82] (Bijapur District) in an epigraph of A. D. 1125: With heaps of jewels (*maṇigaṇaṁgaḷa rāsigaḷiṁ*), many kinds of garments of novel designs (*navīna-maṇḍana-bahuvastradiṁ*), grains in huge quantities (*bahudhānya*), etc., the bazaar of Tēridā|a looked as if it vied with the wealth of Kubēra (Dhanada). Even Brahma (Aja) finds it difficult to describe that Tēridā|a with its rich bazaar and merchants!

Sōmēśvara, in his historical *caṁpū*, *Vikramāṅkābhyudayam*,[83] gives us a fine (though a little exaggerated) description of the bazaar (*vipaṇisadana-varṇanam*) of that historic city of Kalyāṇa. In brief, the bazaar with its numerous streets looked like continuous flow of the Gaṅgā (*Gaṅgāpravāhairiva bahumārgaiḥ*). On both sides of the street occurred storied buildings built in the same manner (*ubhayatōpi ēka-paripāṭī parighaṭita dvi-bhūmika saudha-paṅktibhiḥ*).

In that bazaar were found very rare and costly precious stones and gems such as diamonds, pearls, corals and the like; the finest and valuable fabrics of silk, wool and cotton; and also varieties of fruits, many kinds of perfumes and many other similar articles. Indeed, with all such fine and valuable articles, the bazaar of Kalyāṇa looked like the palace of Indra (*Vāsava-bhavanairiva*)!

In some cases, interestingly enough, shops were also named, then as at present, presumably after some gods, or some prominent persons of the roya families, or after some important towns and cities. Here is an instance on record:[84] the shops at Dōrasamudra were named *Gummalēśvarad-aṅgaḍi*, *Bommaladēviyar-aṅgaḍi*, *Kētaladēviyar-aṅgaḍi*, *Belahūr-aṅgaḍi*, and so forth.

It is significant to note that there were officers in charge of shops, apparently having control over the market-prices and such other factors of commercial transactions. Sōmēśvara mentions, among many officials, those in charge of 'market-rate' (*arghādhikāriṇaḥ*)[85] —reminding us of the "Superintendent of Commerce" of the *Arthaśāstra*.[86] Again, a Mangalore record[87] of 1204 A. D. refers to *aṅgaḍiya-adhikāri*, an officer in charge of shops.

Into the flourishing inland trade entered numerous articles, such as, to mention only a few, horses and elephants, precious stones and gems, fine and costly textiles, metals and articles, spices and perfumes, a large number of food-stuffs, and a hundred other similar wares.[88] Indeed, the range of such articles

sold and bought may serve at once as a proof of the brisk internal trade that flourished during the period.

Besides such regular bazaars, that were the standing marts open at all times for the sale of goods, in all important towns and cities, there were also weekly fairs or *santes*, where articles of internal trade were sold and bought. Needless to say that a fair is the coming together of a large number of buyers and sellers, at a definite place and on a definite day. In short, fairs were centres of business, and played an important role in fostering internal trade.

It may be noted, however, that such fairs were visited not only by local vendors, but also by itinerant merchants who came for the purpose of doing business. And, snch a trade would be concerned with goods on hand. Merchants possibly took part in collecting goods for export, or in distributing imports to the villages and towns. Thus, during the Middle Ages, fairs developed as an important form of " inter-local trade organisation ".[89]

Such fairs were often established by the rulers or the local chieftains, apparently with a view to encourage internal trade. A Dāvaṇagere[90] record of 1218 A. D., for instance, tells us that Abhinava Kētaladēvi, the queen of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II ordered the *Gauḍas* and *Seṭṭis* (named) of Kundavāḍa to establish a Wednesday fair (*Budhavārada-santhe*) at that place, and it was accepted by them all as a great favour.

Besides, it was also a source of revenue for the State, for tax was levied on the articles sold and bought. A specific reference is found in the records to taxes on fairs (*santhey-āya*).[91]

A fair was, indeed, an instrument of periodic trade, which was usually held once in a week, on a specified day—e. g. on Sundays,[92] Tuesdays,[93] Wednesdays,[94] Fridays[95] and so on.

The State often came forward to encourage such fairs by affording protection, and offering concessions by way of exemptions from the payment of specified taxes. An epigraph[96] of c. 1274 A. D. from Hassan District purports to warn the officials concerned that the Hoysaḷa king Narasiṁha III would dismiss them, if they exacted tolls, gifts, ornaments, cloths or commission on sales, etc., in the Tuesday fair of Hebbāḷe in Koṅgunāḍ.

There is another important economic aspect of these fairs which is worth noticing in this context. A village in which a fair came to be held was destined to become a town; and such towns often got charters, e.g. Dharmavoḷal, Sūḍi, Puligere, etc. Thus, "a fair, and sometimes a charter, distinguished a town from a village."[97]

We may as well cite an instance or two on record to this effect: During the reign of Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha III (A.D. 1254-91), the headmen (*prabhus*) of Mōgūr (Mūgūr, T. Narasipur Taluk) and all the *Gauḍas* of the place, agreed among themselves to establish a *santhe* there, and convert their village into a town. They also issued a charter (*śāsana*) to the new town.[98]

Again, during the reign of Hoysaḷa VIra-Ballāḷa III, Ciṭṭari-Balaseṭṭi and Masaṇaseṭṭi are said to have converted the villages of Muguḷuna-haḷḷi into a '*Nānādēśi-paṭṭaṇa*' (trade emporium), by establishing a fair in it. They were also given a charter by the minister Sōmarasa.[99]

Some of the places have even the prefix of *santeya*, e.g. Santeya-Bāgavāḍi,[100] evidently to denote their importance as a centre of fairs. There is good reason to believe that a fair was always filled with noise, as is clear from an analogy found in a *vacana* of Akkamahādēvi: [101]

"*Santeyoḷagondu maneya māḍi, śabdakke nācidoḍentayya?*" [Having an abode in the midst of the crowded fair, what avails it if the noise is bemoaned?!]

Reference is often made to many noted commercial centres, that were mostly important towns; and, a few of them, however, were capital cities like Kalyāṇa, Bēlūr, Dōrasamudra, etc. Thus, the epigraphs refer, to mention only a few, to the important trading centres, such as Tāridāḷ, Tiḷivaḷḷi, Kuppaṭūr, Tumbuḷa, Gobbūr, Maddūr, Ālampūr, Huyilgōḷ, Kandagāl and the like.[102]

It is important to note that some of these places are specifically referred to in the epigraphs as *baṇañjuvaṭṭaṇas*, i.e. mercantile towns. Thus, Tēridāḷ[103] (Bijapur District) is described as not only a *baṇañju-vaṭṭaṇa*, but also a *naḍaveya-mane* (? some sort of 'transit camp' for merchants). Again, Sāteyana-haḷḷi and Kōṇavaṭṭi[104] (both in the Dharwar District) are called *baṇañju-vaṭṭaṇas*, while Hūligoḷa[105] (Dharwar District) is referred to as "the foremost trading centre of the South" (*teṅkaṇa baḷañjad-ādi-paṭṭaṇa*). And Kandagāle[106] (Bijapur District) is described as the *maḷigeya-mane* (? warehouse town of merchants) of Kannaḍa Four Thousand.

It may be added here, however, that such *baṇanju-vaṭṭaṇas* formed a category of towns by themselves, and the merchant-guilds alone counted in the administration of such towns. As a matter of fact, Navilgunda, Hulgūr, Tēridāḷ, Kuruṁbeṭ etc., all belonged to this category.[107] It may be of particular interest to note in this context that the Kalacūri inscriptions of Central India refer to *Vaṇiṅ-nagaras*, i.e. towns which had predominantly a mercantile population—a parallel to the *baṇañju-vaṭṭaṇas* of the Karṇāṭaka inscriptions.[108]

Merchants and Merchant-Guilds

Any account of commercial activities of the people of Karṇāṭaka would remain incomplete without mentioning some of the prominent merchant families, both of local origin and foreign, who were largely responsible for augmenting the material wealth of Karṇāṭaka.

We may note, in passing, a few prominent names among the indigenous merchants referred to in the records. Kullahaṇa Rāhuta[109] and *Paṭṭaṇasvāmi* Nokkayya-seṭṭi[110] are only two names among many, who are praised at length in the epigraphs. An Arasīkere record[111] of 1188 A.D., describes the lineage of two great merchants, Kammaṭada Caṭṭi Seṭṭi and his younger brother Dāsi Seṭṭi, in some detail. It has been already noted above how the former used to import by sea horses, elephants and pearls, and the latter transported goods to various parts of the country in all the four directions. In fact, such merchants were mainly responsible for increasing the volume of both inland and foreign trade of Karṇāṭaka.

There were merchants who were friends of rulers,[112] and who worked for the increased prosperity of the State (*rājyābhyudaya*).[113] Indeed, merchants were even regarded as the very pillars of towns and cities (*pura-mūlastaṁbhaṁ*).[114] We hear of one rich merchant, Sōvi-seṭṭi by name, who carried on trade in jewels, and had dealings with the Western Cāḷukya ruler Jagadēkamalla II and his officer Brahmadēva-daṇḍādhīśa.[115]

Some of the merchants were so wealthy that they have been compared, quite hyperbolically, to Kubēra (the god of wealth) in the inscriptions. And, many such rich and influential merchants are often referred to in the records as *rāja-śrēṣṭhigaḷ*, royal merchants or merchant-princes, whose office denotes the dignified designation of a member of the commercial organisation.[117] A Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa record[118] of 1177 A.D., for instance, speaks of two merchants, oysaḷa-seṭṭi and Nēmi-seṭṭi, who were the royal merchants (*rāja-śrēṣṭhigaḷ*) in the court of the Hoysaḷa ruler, Viṣṇuvardhana.

Such local merchants apart, there were others who came originally from different provinces of India, but had domiciled themselves in Karṇāṭaka for purposes of trade, or at least had trade contacts with it. A Bellary record[119] of 1177 A.D. states that merchants of the Kēraḷa, Lāḷa, Cōḷa and Teluṅga countries were actively engaged in trade at that place.

We may now mention some prominent names among the merchant families hailing from Kēraḷa. Dāmōdara-seṭṭi, who is praised at length in two Arasīkere records[120] of the 13th century A.D., had originally hailed from Kēraḷa, but had long domiciled himself in Karṇāṭaka. He was the son of Gōvinda and Auceru Naṅge. He was the trusted merchant-prince of the Hoysaḷa ruler Narasiṁha II (A.D. 1220–38). We are also told that he was an expert in the examination of goods and animals. He caused the construction of many temples, and installed the idols of gods in them, and gifted many lands to the temples.

Another famous name among such Kēraḷa[121] merchants is that of Kuñje-seṭṭi, who originally hailed from Kēraḷa. He is said to have received the badge of a 'good warrior' (*subhaṭa-paṭṭaṁ*) for a particular feat of daring during Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II's attack on Uccaṅgi. His son-in-law was Arasiri Koṇḍanaṁbi, who had two younger brothers, Dāmōdara and Kuñjanaṁbi. Kuñjanaṁbi was famous not only as an expert in testing all varieties of gems, but also as a diplomat "whose international interests ensured his impartiality". He is credited with having brought about an alliance between "the Hoysaḷa emperor in the South" (Ballāḷa II) and 'Ballaha (=*Vallabha*) in the North' (Kalacuri Saṅkama).[122] He was also reputed to have supplied at once the wants of the Māḷava, Kaḷiṅga, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kings. There was, indeed, no *seṭṭi* equal to him throughout the Hoysaḷa kingdom. His son-in-law was Bhaṇḍinaṁbi, called so because he made gifts from a cart-load (*bhaṇḍi*) of money.

Epigraphs from Bellary District refer to many Kēraḷa merchants: A *Maleyāḷa-Vaḍḍa-vyavahāri*, Komara Mūrkha,[123] who endowed in 1108 A.D. 5 *gadyāṇas* for a perpetual lamp in a temple at Bāgaḷi; a *Mahāmaleyāḷa-vaḍḍa-vyavahāri*, Ponmūrkha-seṭṭi,[124] who gifted 14 *gadyāṇas* to a temple at the same place in 1113 A.D.; and a *Śrīmān-Nānādēśi-Maleyāḷa-vaḍḍa-vyavahāri*, Naṁbiganṇi-seṭṭi,[125] who made an endowment at Duggati in 1126 A.D., and so on.

Further, there were merchants hailing from the Tamil (*Tiguḷa*) country, who had settled here for purposes of trade. Mention may be made of one Periyāḷuva-seṭṭi[126] of Akkūru, a *Brahmadēya* in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu, a sub-division

of the Cōḷa country, who built a temple and gifted some lands to it at Heñjēru. A short record of only two lines,[127] in characters of the 12th century A.D., from Hāngal (Dharwar District), purports to mark the boundary of the street (*kēri*) of Rāmēśvaradēva, (set up by?) Nandanapiḷḷe, where Tamil merchants (*Tiguḷa bevahāri*) had settled.

An epigraph[128] from Soraba (Shimoga District), dated 1077 A.D., refers to one Bīya Baḷegāra-seṭṭi of Teluṁga-vaṁśa (evidently hailing from the Telugu country), who was a worshipper of god Śiva, and who granted some land to the Five Hundred *Vīra-Baṇañjigas*, in the presence of the *prabhus* and *prajes* of the *agrahāra* Jagaḷe.

We may also note here the name of Ādayya,[129] one of the well-known Vīraśaiva *Vacanakāras*, who originally hailed from Saurāṣṭra. He was born in a rich merchant family of Saurāṣṭra, as the son of Ghōradatta and Puṇyavatī. His parents desired that he should stick to their ancestral calling; and accordingly, Ādayya came to Puligeṟe, where he settled himself and carried on trade. He probably dealt in precious metals like gold, silver, etc.[130]

Merchants Guilds

The spirit of co-operation is but a social instinct in man, which has been manifest in human society in some form or the other, from quite an early period of history. In ancient India, particularly, corporate activity seems to have been manifest in a marked degree first in the economic field; and as such, it has been an important factor in Indian society certainly from the later, if not early, Vēdic period.[131]

The corporation of merchants and craftsmen is denoted by the Sanskrit term *śrēṇi*, which organisation corresponds to that of 'guilds' in Mediaeval Europe, and may be freely rendered by that term.[132] Since very early times, as has been noted earlier, the Indian artisans and traders were working under the control of their own respective guilds. Indeed, such industrial and mercantile guilds have played an important part in the economic life of ancient India, as they did in that of any other Ancient or Mediaeval civilization.[133]

In south India of the period under study, there was a network of such guild organisations, both of craftsmen and merchants; the former were devoted to production, and the latter to distribution.[134]

Śrēṇi[135] has been explained by Vijñānēśvara as the corporation of persons who subsist on the same kind of labour whether belonging to the same caste or to different castes, e.g. dealers in cattle, betel, etc. It may thus become clear that caste was not a barrier to the admission of members to any particular guild. Moreover, the law relating to guilds and other associated groups has been treated in the *Mitākṣarā*,[136] as in other commentaries and digests of the period,[137] under a distinctive title of law called "Transgression of a Compact".

It may be noted, in passing, that in Ancient as well as Mediaeval India, as in Mediaeval Europe, merchants were intimately connected with city life.[138] In Karṇāṭaka, during the period under study, the case was not different; in short, in the common type of towns, it was mostly the merchants who formed a dominant group.[139] Indeed, the dominance of merchants in towns is illustrated by the term *nagara*,[140] which meant not only the town and its assembly, but also the merchants and the merchant-guild. In fact, some of the towns like Tērdāḷ, Hulgūr, etc., have been specifically called *baṇañju-vaṭṭaṇas* or mercantile towns, as has been noted earlier.

Now to turn to the merchant guilds. Merchants, who style themselves as the protectors of the *Vīra-Baṇanju dharma* (the law of the noble merchants, or the heroic creed of the traders) in the epigraphs, were organised into a number of autonomous guilds, with traditions, insignia and *praśasti* of their own. This class of merchants was, however, not peculiar to the geographical limits of Karṇāṭaka, but was to be found practically all over South India—the Deccan, Karṇāṭaka, Āndhra and Tamilnāḍ.

Thus the inscriptions of the period often refer to many trade-guilds, such as the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvaḷe, *Nānādēśis*, *Seṭṭis*, *Seṭṭiguttas*, *Mummuridaṇḍas*, *Gavares*, *Gātrigas* and so on.[141] At the present stage of our knowledge, it is not easy to make out the exact significance of each of these terms, and the distinctions among them.

Some attempt has, however, been made to explain some of these terms. Thus the terms *Nānādēśis*, and *Ubhaya-Nānādēśis* may be explained in the context of the trading activities of the merchant communities with different lands. A Bellary record[142] of 1177 A.D., for instance, refers to *Nānādēśi* merchants, i.e. those of the Lāḍa, Chōḷa, Malayāḷa, Teluṅga and Kannaḍa regions, who met in an assembly and made certain gifts to a temple. The term *Ubhaya-Nānādēśis*, according to Dr. P. B. Desai,[143] seems to denote the two-fold classes of the

mercantile association, carrying on their activities inside as well as outside the country. A Ḍambaḷ (Dharwar District) record[144] of A.D. 1095-96 gives a fairly long *praśasti of* these *Ubhaya-Nānādēśis*, and records endowments to a *Bauddha-vihāra* and to a temple of Tārādēvī, in the presence of the sixteen *seṭṭis* of Dharmavoḷal and the *mahā-nagara*.

The word *seṭṭi*, of course, is the *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit *śrēṣṭhi*, meaning a merchant. But the word *kōmaṭi*, which is often found in the Telugu records,[145] is conspicuously absent in the Kannaḍa records of the period. Indeed, the Ḍambaḷ record of 1095-96 A.D., speaks of 16 *seṭṭis* who were sons "of the white water-lilies of the caste of *Vaiśyas*." They were ennobled by the greatness of the umbrellas, the *cauris*, and the charters that they had acquired through the favour of the Westrn Cāḷukya ruler, Jagadēkamalladēva (i.e. Jayasiṁha III).

An epigraph[146] of 1173 A.D. from Belgaum District, however, refers to the *seṭṭis* of so many places, such as those of Piriya-Gobbūrū, Kuṇibageṛe, Sēḍiṁba, Polavase, Puligeṛe, Lokkiguṇḍi, Hānuṅgalla-nāḍu, Māruḍige, etc.

The exact meaning of the term *seṭṭigutta* (Sanskrit *śrēṣṭhi-gupta*)[147] is not known. The Belgaum record of 1173 A.D., simply mentions the *Seṭṭiguttas* of the four towns (*nālku pattaṇada Seṭṭiguttarum*), though it does not refer to the towns by name. But a record[148] of 1206 A.D. from Dharwar clearly refers to the *Seṭṭiguttas* of the four towns, viz., Dāravāḍa, Narēndrapura, Taḍakōḍu and Ammeyabhāvi in Halasige 12,000. Again, another record[149] of 1186 A.D. from Belgaum District refers to the *Seṭṭiguttas* of the eight towns in the Two-Six-Hundred districts, as also to those of the 3,400 towns.

Then, again, the term *Mummuridaṇḍa* is difficult to explain. The word *mummuri*, according to Kēśirāja,[150] means heated sand (*kāsida maḷal*). Attempts, however, have been made to interpret the word in different ways. Dr. B. A. Saletore[151] is of the opinion that the guilds, if they belonged exclusively to the commercial classes, were called *Mummuridaṇḍas*, or if composed of other citizens, merely *nagara* guilds.

The *Mummuridaṇḍas*, according to some, probably represented the advance guard of the trading caravan, or those that have borne the staff with three bands, probably as their weapon. Dr. L. D. Barnett[153] takes the word *Mummuridaṇḍam*, occurring in the Miraj inscription contiaining the *praśasti* of the *Vīra-Baṇañjus*, as 'all the bearers of *mummuri*-staffs'.

We may do well to recall here that some of the guilds in ancient India, their proper activities apart, also possessed military resources of no mean worth; and they played no insignificant role in the internal policy of the country—a fact which reminds us of the Italian guilds of the Middle Ages.[154]

It has also been stated that the merchant guilds in South India of this period maintaind their own mercenary armies,[155] doubtless to protect their merchandise in transit or at their ware houses, the leaders of which resembled the *condottieri* of the Mediaeval Italian City States. And, they were designated *Mummuridaṇḍas*, *Manaivīrar*, *Erivīrar*,[156] etc. The epigraphs[157] of the Telugu area are also said to bear this out. All said and done, we do not know the precise meaning of the term.

The *praśasti* of these *Mummuridaṇḍas*, which resembles that of the *Vīra-Baṇañjus*, is to be found in two epigraphs[158] hailing from Kurugōḍu (Bellary District), which give us a picturesque description of the *Mummuridaṇḍas*, who are praised for their valour and other virtues. They were, we read, *Baṇañjigas* and claimed to have come from the line of the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Āryāpura (Aihoḷe). They had their headquarters at first in Dvārāvatīpura, and subsequently at Kurugōḍu, which was like a second Dvārāvatīpura to them. They were "the brave of the brave, protectors of the submissive, cruel to the wicked, good to the good and conquerors of powerful enemies.....etc." They were, indeed, the very pillars of support of that town (*tat-pura-mūlastaṁbhaṁ tām-enisirddaralte-mummuridaṇḍaṁ*).

Overshadowing all other guilds of the time by its organisation, influence and authority, was the most celebrated organisation, better known as the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe, which occupies a prominent place in the inscriptions of the period. This guild finds mention in the epigraphs under various names, all keeping the number 'Five Hundred', but slightly differing from one another in certain details.

This famous merchant guild, for instance, was well-known in Tamilnāḍ as *Ainnūṟṟuvar*, or more elaborately as *Nānādēśa-Tisaiyāyirattu-Ainnūṟṟuvar*. This long name is susceptible, according to Prof. Sastri,[159] of two interpretations: (i) The Five Hundred of the thousand directions in all countries; or (ii) the One Thousand and Five Hundred from all countries and directions. But, as the guild is often described as *Nānādēśis* or *Ainnuṟṟuvar*, the first interpretation may be taken to be the correct one.

Dr. Fleet[160]—who is followed by others[161] without question—thinks that the earliest reference to the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe is to be found in the old Kannaḍa record, in the charcters of the 8th or 9th century A.D., on the front face of the east wall of the Lāḍ-Khān temple at Aihoḷe, in Bijapur District.

But, a careful study of the above record would clearly show that there is nothing in it to warrant such a conclusion. In fact, the record only tells us that one Beṇṇamma Sōmayāji made certain gifts of money (specified) to the Five Hundred, who constituted the excellent body of *cāturvidya-samudaya* of the fine capital of Āryāpura. The text of the record leaves no doubt that the five hundred donees (referred to in the record) could have been in all probability only Brāhmaṇas,[162] and not merchants of a guild. It is, therefore, difficult to agree with Dr. Fleet that the above record furnishes the earliest reference to the famous merchant-guild, The Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe. Indeed, it has been pointed[163] out that there is epigraphical evidence to show that even earlier there were merchant guilds.

Two Tamil records[164] at Munasandai (Pudukkōṭṭai area) of the 9th century A. D. refer to the guild of the Five Hundred. And, the latest reference to this guild is said to be in A. D. 1680.[165]

As for its geographical distribution, we find the records relating to this guild of the Five Hundred in such northerly places like Kolhapur, Bijapur, Miraj, etc., in the Deccan, as well as in the far off Coimbatore and Tinnevelly areas in the South.[166] It may be noted that the majority of them, however, comes from the Mysore Districts—Shimoga, Chitradurga, Bangalore, Hassan, etc.—as also from the adjoining districts of Karnul, Bellary and Anantapur, so that possibly these were the main centres of activities of the guild.[167]

A word about the *praśasti* of the *Vīra-Baṇañjus*, characteristically referred to as the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe in the records. Their elaborate *praśasti*, indeed, is found in different variations in each locality. But, in the main, it conforms to the usual pattern, as in the *praśastis* of other communities : it praises the personal virtues of the members of the guild, and traces their mythical origin ; and attaches a particular number to their guild, i. e. 'Five Hundred' in this instance, and connects them with Ayyāvaḷe (Aihoḷe, in Bijapur District).

The full form of their *praśasti* is found in many epigraphs,[168] hailling from different parts of Karṇāṭaka, which furnish important and interesting details of the

myths relating to the origin and organisation of their guild, the articles of merchandise in which they traded, and the means of transport employed by them, and such other things.

We may briefly note here some of the salient and interesting details of their *praśasti* :

The Five Hundred *Svāmis* were the supreme lords of Ayyāvoḷe, which was like Ahicchatra (*Ahicchatram-enisuv-Ayyāvoḷe pura-paramēśvaram-app-ainūrvvar-svāmigaḷuṁ*). They were famous throughout the world, we read, for their five hundred *vīra-śāsanas*, and adorned with many good qualities such as truth, purity, good conduct and the like (*Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta-pañcaśata-vīra-śāsana-labdh-ānēka-guṇālaṁkṛta-satya-śaucācāra-cārucāritra-naya-vinaya-vijñāna* ..... etc.). They were the protectors of the *Vīra-Baṇañju-dharma* (*Vīra-Baṇañjñu-dharma-pratipāḷaka*). They were great heroes and had their chests embraced by Lakṣmī of unfailing enterprise ; and they were famed in the world for their bravery (*anūna-sāhasa-Lakṣmyāliṅgita-vakṣasihaḷa-bhuvana-parākramōnnataruṁ*).

They were born in the lineage of Baladēva, Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍaḷi and Mūlabhadra (*Baladēva-Vāsudēva-Khaṇḍaḷi-Mūlabhadra-vaṁśōdbhavaruṁ*), and recipients of the gracious boon of the goddess Bhagavatīdēvī [in some cases, Padmāvatīdēvī] [*Bhagavatī* (*Padmāvatī*)-*dēvī-labdha-varaprasādaruṁ*]. Their banner was *guḍḍa-dhvaja*[169] (*guḍḍa-dhvaja-virājamāna*) ; and their *śāstra* was *guḍḍa-śāstra* (*traiḷōkya-maṁ sādhisuva guḍḍa-śāstrad-avayava-lakṣaṇaṁgaḷanaridu*). But, unfortunately, we have no information to enlighten us as to what exactly their *Vīra-Baṇañju-dharma*, 500 *vīra-śāsanas*, *guḍḍa-dhvaja* and *guḍḍa-śāstra* were.

We are further told that they comprised many sub-divisions, such as *Seṭṭis*, *Seṭṭiguttas*, *Gavares*, *Gātrigas* and the like. They were born to wanderers over many countries (*nānādēśa-bhramāntakar-avargge-puṭṭiyuṁ*). They visited, in the course of their trade, many countries, viz., the Cēra, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Maleya, Magadha, Pārasa, Kāmbhōja and the like. They penetrated, by both land and water routes, into the regions of the six continents (*pādamārga-jalamārgadoḷu-ṣaṭkhaṇḍa-maṇḍalagaḷaṁ-pokku*).

They traded in 'quality' elephants (*bhadra-hasti*), well-bred horses (*jātyaśva*), precious stones and gems of all sorts, many kinds of spices, perfumes and drugs—in short, they carried on extensive dealings in articles which mostly entered foreign trade. They sold them wholesale or hawked them about on their

shoulders. They carried their merchandise on the backs of asses (*gārdabha*) and buffaloes (*mahiṣa*).

So far the content of their *praśasti*. It may be added here that the language of the *praśasti* is so full of hyperboles that it would be difficult to give a scientific account of the character and constitution of the guild. Indeed, Dr. L. D. Barnett, while editing the two records[170] from Kolhapur and Miraj, containing the *praśasti* of the *Vīra-Baṇañjus*, remarks that these merchants are found "blowing their own trumpets with the note of fantastic and ludicrous exaggeration which they occasionally affected."

It may, however, be noted that, such myths and legends apart, there are also "facts of undoubted historical importance"[171] in their *praśasti*. Attention may be drawn to a point or two in this regard, which may be worth noting.

They claimed, for instance, that they were the residents of Ayyāvoḷe, Calluṅki and many other chief *grāmas, nagaras, khēḍas, drōṇāmukhas, puras*, etc., as also of countries like Lāṭa, Gauḷa, Karṇāṭa[172], etc. Quite in agreement with this description, the *Vīra-Baṇañjus* are to be found mentioned in the epigraphs, practically from all parts of Sout India, as noted above.

Further, their claim to have penetrated into the six continents . . . . . etc., may be read in the light of the fact that the Tamil inscriptions, referring to the Five Hundred, are to be found in the countries on the other side of the Bay of Bengal[173]—at Takua Pa in Siam (Thailand), at Laboe Toewa (Labu Tuwa) in Sumatra, at Pagan in Burma, and in Ceylon. It is significant to note that they "left colonies of their men in charge of fortified marts protected by troops in Siam, Burma, Sumatra and Ceylon".[174]

Their long drawn *praśasti* may at best serve as an indication of their influence and affluence. It may still show—though it smacks here and there of the impossible and the ridiculous—the high ideals that guided the members of the community.

The list of articles which was the substance of their trade, as noted above, would obviously indicate an advanced state of commercial progress and economic prosperity. It has been noted above that these merchant-guilds had maintained a regular force to protect the merchants, as well as their merchandise in transist or at warehouses.

The Beḍkīhāḷ[175] plates of (the reign of) Iṛivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya, significantly enough, throw interesting light on some other important aspects of the *Vīra-Baṇañjus*. They reveal the fact that these guilds often encouraged their warriors by conferring honorary titles (*biruda*) upon them, as also by offering certain specified remissions of taxes, etc., in their favour.

The above plates disclose the fact that one Rāvaṇa had taken an oath to kill Sammanaka (who had murdered Maḷanaga-seṭṭi), in the presence of the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe; and he duly fulfilled his oath by killing in all 13 persons including the murderer Sammanaka—7 men, 4 children and 2 infants! And, what requires to be mentioned in this context is that the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe and others conferred upon Rāvaṇa (in appreciation of his bravery) the title *pageya-beṅkoḷva*, i.e. "the chaser of the enemies"; he was also exempted from the payment of tax, if he brought any articles from outside.

These plates are also important from another point: they seem to show that the *Vīra-Baṇañjus* had their own seal, i. e., the seal of Mahiṣāsura-mardini. Indeed, the seal, which is soldered to the ring of the plates, bears the figure of Mahiṣāsura-mardini in bold relief, in the act of killing by a spear the demon Mahiṣāsura in human form.[176] There can be little doubt that this seal belonged to the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe, who had in fact issued the grant. It could not have been Satyāśraya's; for, it is well-known that the emblem of the Cāḷukyas was the Boar (*Varāha*).

There is one more point relating to the *Vīra-Baṇañjus* that deserves a passing notice in this context, viz., their religion. There seems to be some confusion about it; and there is no agreement among scholars on this point.

R. S. Panchamukhi[177] is of the opinion that the merchants belonging to "central chamber of commerce," which had its seat at Ayyāvoḷe, had received inspiration from the goddess BhagavatIdēvī, and descended from Baladēva, Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍaḷi and Mūlabhadra; and these deities are Jain. This shows, according to him, that the commerce of the Deccan and South India was captured by the Jainas in the early period.

Again, referring to the parent body of the *Vīra-Baṇañjus*, Dr. P. B. Desai[178] observes that allegiance to the faith of Lord Jina seems to have been a part of the creed of the corporation of the *Vīra-Baṇañjus*. This can be gleaned, according to him, from the epithet "embellished by the banner of the *guḍḍas*" (*guḍḍa-dhvaja-*

virājamāna), commonly occurring in their *praśasti*. The Jaina leanings of this body of merchants, we are told, are clearly disclosed by the word *guḍḍa* here, which is a peculiar Jaina expression signifying "a lay follower or disciple of the Jaina faith". The ordinary sense of the word, meaning 'a mountain', does not fit in this context.[179]

But, it may be pointed out that the word *guḍḍa* is not a peculiar Jaina expression, but is in fact a Dravidian word.[180] And, it is often used by non-Jaina writers as well, iike Rāghavāṅka.[181]

Perhaps more confirmatory evidence on the point, according to Dr. P. B. Desai,[182] is the oft-repeated phrase, figuring prominently in their *praśasti*, viz., *Baladēva-Vāsudēva-Khaṇḍaḷi-Mūlabhadra-vaṁśōdbhavaruṁ*, which shows that the corporation of these *Vīra-Baṇañjus*, characteristically designated as the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe "originated and developed in decidedly Jaina environments with the active support of enterprising businessmen of Jaina persuasion."

Dr. Fleet[183] observes, curiously enough, that, among the various epithets of the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe, the *Vīra-Baṇañju-dharma-partipāḷa*, i.e. "protectors of the *Vīra-Baṇañju* religion", leads to the inference that they were a Śaiva guild. One may really wonder as to what exactly is there in this epithet to suggest the Śaiva character of the guild!

It may be noted in this connection that a close study of the epigraphs reveals the fact that the members of the merchantguilds belonged not to any one particular religion, but to all the three major religions of India—Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. A Śikāripur record[184] of 1054 A.D. indeed, makes it clear that the religion or sect of the *Vīra-Baṇañjus* was the sect of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara (*Brahma-Viṣṇu-Mahēśvarara-varamataṁ*), from the beginning of Kṛta, Trētā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas. This may indicate that the merchants were by and large Hindus originally. Some of them, however, might have embraced Jainism, and even Buddhism, in course of time, as may be inferred from the records[185] at Ḍambaḷ in Dharwar District.

Further, they were recipients of the gracious boon not only of the goddess Padmāvatīdēvī[186] (a *Yakṣī* of the Jaina sect), but also of Kāḷikādēvī.[187] They were the sons (*makkaḷ*) of Bhagavatīdēvī and Paramēśvarī of Ayyāvoḷe.[188] If the *Mummuridaṇḍas* of the Belgaum records[189] are said to be Jainas (*Padmāvatī-*

dēvī-labdha-varaprasādarum), those of the Bellary records[190] were decidedly Śaivas (*Hara-pāda-bhṛṅgarum*).

All said and done, there is no agreed opinion among scholars about the exact meaning and significance of the expression—the Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe—and it has been interpreted variously by different authorities. According to some,[191] the expression stood for the body of traders that consisted of 500 members in the central executive; in short, this body represented what in modern parlance could be called the Central Chamber of Commerce, which had its seat at Ayyāvoḷe.

This designation, according to Dr. P. B. Desai,[192] is symbolic and seems to have been derived from the original strength of its members. In other words, 500 members were the original founders of this trade organisation, which played an important part in South Indian commerce during the Mediaeval times. A reference to these Five Hundred, observes Dr. Desai, is contained in the epithet "who were graced with many privileges obtained by virtue of the regulations of the five hundred heroic founders" (*pañca-śata-vīra-śāsana-labdhānēka-guṇa-gaṇālaṁkṛta* . . . . . etc.).

Again, according to another view,[193] the Five Hundred of Ayyāvoḷe stood for the five hundred *Mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* of Ayyāvoḷe, as indicated by some epigraphs found in that place itself. We have noted above that the old Kannaḍa record[194] of the 8th or 9th century A.D., found at Aihoḷe, refers to the Five Hundred, who constituted the great body of *cāturvidya-samudaya* of the excellent, capital of Āryāpura.

It may, however, be suggested here that the oft-repeated epithet, *pañcaśata-vīraśāsana-labdha* . . . . . etc., seems to indicate that the expression Five Hundred *Svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe may denote the members of a commercial guild, who had obtained 500 charters—which were tantamount to trade licences or permits, if we may so put it—from the rulers of the various kingdoms in which they carried on their trade.

Whatever be the case, the number Five Hundred seems to have been rather conventional; for, inscriptions refer to the Five Hundred Merchants (*baṇajar-ainūrvar*),[185] *Gavare* Five Hundred (*Gavaregaḷ-ainūrvar*),[196] as also merely Five Hundred (*ainūrvar*).[197] It may be added here that many places, such as Arasīkere[198] (Hassan District), Niṭṭūr[199] (Tumkur District) and the like, have been described

as 'Southern Ayyāvoḷe'—a fact indicating the importance of Ayyāvoḷe in the merchant-world during the Mediaeval period. It has been pointed out that inscriptions speak of 18 Ayyāvoḷe cities north of the Kāvērī, and another 18 south of it.[201]

It may be added here that there were also other guilds, which appear to have been called after the commodities which they traded. Thus we hear of the guilds of garland-makers (*Mālegāra-gottaḷi*),[202] betel-leaf sellers called the *Tambuliga 1000*,[203] and the like. Reference is also found to guilds like *Eleya-Bojaṅga-504*,[204] *Ugura-300*[205] etc., whose exact meaning is not known. Again, there were 500 dealers in vegetables,[206] and 501 dealers in fruits.[207]

Means of Communication and Transport :

Needless to say that facilities for easy transport, external as well as internal, form an important factor that affords an impetus to trade. If good ports encourage foreign trade and navigation, good and safe roads, as also navigable rivers and canals, do encourage the growth of inland trade. The flourishing condition of the trade and commerce that Karṇāṭaka continued to enjoy during this period, as noted above, would presuppose the existence of all such facilities of good communication and transport.

Indeed, the *Vīra-Baṇañjus* claimed, as alluded to above, to have entered all the countries of the six continents through both land and water routes. It has been further noted above that many of the ports on the West Coast, through which Karṇāṭaka continued to drive her flourishing foreign trade for centuries, have been referred to by both the Arab and non-Arab geographers and travellers. Moreover, the merchants of Beḷgoḷa, Bēlūr and Tēridāḷ, to mention only a few, claimed to have carried on sea-trade with many sea ports, transporting their valuable articles of merchandise by ship, as has been referred to above.

A few words may be spoken here about some of the important ports of the period under review, in the light of the observations made by some contemporary foreign writers.

The famous port of Mangalore (*Manjarūr*) is referred to by Abul Fidā[208] and Dimishqi.[209] The former tells us that it was the biggest town in Manībār, while the latter refers to the availability of pepper there in large quantities. This port is also referred to by Chau Ju-kua,[210] the well-known Chinese writer of the 13th century A. D.

Bārkūr (*Fāknūr*), according to Yāqūt,[211] was one of the two famous cities in Malībār, from where pepper was exported (the other being Mangalore). Again, Dimishqi[212] tells us that it was the chief of the cities in Manībār, also called the country of pepper. It was, as observed by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[213] in the first half of the 14th century A. D., a large town on an inlet. That Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also refers to the large quantity of sugarcane "unexcelled in the rest of the country" found therein is a different matter.

Saymūr (Śirūr, near Bārkūr), we learn from Idrisī,[214] was a large well-built town. The mountains of that place produced many aromatic plants which were "exported to all the countries". We are, again, told by Yāqūt[215] that this coastal city had given its name to the *Saymūri aloes*, although it did not grow there, but was only imported from 'islands situated beyond the equator'. The account of Quzwīnī[216] is practically the same.

Honnāvar (*Hannūr*) is referred to by both Abul Fidā[217] and Dimishqi.[218] Again, we are told by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa[219] that Honnāvar (*Hanaur*) was situated in a large gulf navigable by large ships; and the city was a mile and a half away from the sea. It was prosperous through trade and commerce.

Sindābūr (Sadāśivgaḍ, near Kārwār), we learn from Idrīsī,[220] was situated on the great gulf, where ships cast anchor. It was a commercial town, with fine buildings and rich bazaars.

Goa (*Gōpakapaṭṭaṇa*), it is pointed[221] out, was one of the most important emporiums on the west coast during this period; and the Arab traders had settled there, who most likely traded in horses which they imported from Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan.

Ṭhāṇā (*Tāna*), as observed by Idrīsī,[222] was a big town upon a great gulf, where "vessels anchor and from whence they set sail". *Tabāshīr*, gathered from the roots of *quanna* therein, was exported to "all countries in the east and west". Again, Dimishqi[223] tells us that it was a port full of merchants and merchandise.

Further, we have the valuable testimony of Marco Polo:[224] Ṭhāṇā was a great kingdom, he observes, on the west coast, "not only in size, but also in worth". There was much traffic there, and many ships and merchants frequented the place; for, there was a great export trade in leather of various excellent kinds, as also in good buckram and cotton. And, the merchants in their ships

also imported various articles, such as gold, silver and copper, and many other things in demand.

All said and done, the fact remains that the people of Karṇāṭaka were by far a land people, having inland trade; and, therefore, the problem of transport within the country must have been naturally more important than that of sea-transport.

It may not be possible, however, to give a detailed account of the condition of transport in internal trade. We may briefly note a few points about it in the light of contemporary evidence.

Roads (*baṭṭe, dāri*) are frequently mentnioned in numerous epigraphs from different parts of the country, while describing the boundaries of the gifted lands, which apparently served ordinary as well as commercial purposes. References may be found to two classes of roads in the records: some were merely tracks or cart-tracks (*bhaṇḍi-dāri*),[225] as distinct from the better class of roads, viz., the 'great road' (*heddāri, hiriya-heddāri, hebbaṭṭe*).[226] The latter class in fact refers to the trunk roads leading from one large division or district of the country to another.

Thus, mention is made in the records[227] to the great road of Halasige 12,000 (*Halasige-hannircchāsirada-hebbaṭṭe*)—a trunk road leading from Halsi (Belgaum District) to Tēridāḷ (Bijapur District). Again, mention is made of a great road leading to Dōrasamudra (*Dōrasamudrakke-hōda-heddāri*).[228]

It is significant to note that there existed a trunk road, which ran from Tanjore (the Cōḷa capital) to Kalyāṇi (the Cāḷukya capital), as evidenced by a Cōḷa record[229] hailing from the Tanjore Dirstrict.

Reference is often made to what may be called 'royal roads' [*rāja-patha, rāja-vīthi* (*bīdi*)][230] by some epigraphs. A Śirūr (Bijapur District)[231] record of 1049 A.D., for instance, refers to the 'royal road' of Bāgaḍage as a boundary of the gifted land (specified) [*Bāgaḍage-rājapathōttarataḥ*].

In fact, there was a network of such trunk roads connecting the important provincial as well as trade centres of Karṇāṭaka. The Bārakanūr ghat road, it has been pointed[232] out, is often mentioned as the western boundry of the Hoysaḷa kingdom. The northern road starting from Honnāvar followed up the course of the Śarāvatī, and from near the falls went north to Candragutti, Banavāsi, Hānuṅgal, and Baṅkāpur. From Baṅkāpur, it went to Harihara, where the

branch road from Gutti, Belgaum and Tāḷguṇḍa joined it. From there, through Uccaṅgidurga, the road must have proceeded to Heñjēru, Niḍugal and Penukoṇḍa. The southern road from Mangalore, passing through Mūḍagere taluk and Aṅgaḍi, reached Bēlūr, and Dōrasamudra. From there, it went towards the east through Nāranahaḷḷi, Arasīkere, Cikkanāyakanahaḷḷi, and reached Kōlār. From there, through the mountain passes such as Cūḍavāḍikoppa, Naṅgili and Vijayādityamaṅgala, the road reached Kāñchi and the east coast. From there, it must have reached Pondichery also. One road branched off from Hāranahaḷḷi and reached Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa, and probably it continued south to Toṇḍanūr, Sōmanathapur, Talakāḍu, and, through Daṇāyakanakōṭṭai, must have reached Dhārāpuram. Moreover, most of those places were important from the strategic point of view also

There is good reason to believe that to maintain these roads, big and small, in good repair was probably part of the duty of the State, of course through the officials concerned. For, Sōmēśvara[233] refers to officers in charge of roads (*mārgādhikāriṇaḥ*); and rulers are praised in the records for building roads.[234] Moreover, the military necessities of the times must have forced the rulers to connect their capitals with other parts of their dominions, and to keep roads in good conditions and constant repairs, for the easy and quick movement of troops to fight their constant wars.

A Tipṭūr record[235] of 1263 A. D. shows that roads, cart-tracks and lanes, were often regarded as common property when a number of villages made an agreement among themselves with regard to water-supply, etc.; and that no particular village should obstruct others from making use of them.

Articles of trade were carried over long distances, and through land routes, by carts drawn by bullocks and buffaloes,[236] as also by pack-animals like bullocks, buffaloes and asses.[237] It has even been pointed out that elephants were also used by wealthy merchants for the purpose of carrying goods from place to place.[238] Articles, light and small, were also carried by men on their heads and shoulders, and sold.

It is important to note that the tolls levied on such articles of trade were proportional to the volume of goods carried by different animals, as also by carts and men.[239]

Besides, there is good reason to believe that some of the rivers also served as means of communication in internal trade, especially by means of fords across

the rivers.[240] A Kaḍūr[341] record of 1140 A. D., for instance, refers to such a ford across the river (*kaḍahu*). And, reference is often found, by way of analogy, to the people crossing rivers and streams with the help of boats (*dōṇi, harigōlu*), in the works of Nayasēna, Basava, Allama and others.[242] Articles of trade were also transported in boats, as is clear from the records from Tēridāḷ (Bijapur District).[243]

Moreover, epigraphs refer to a certain tax levied on such boats also (*dōṇi, teppa-suṅka*).[244] Reference is also made to an officer who was in charge of the tax levied at a ferry embankment,[245] as has been noted above.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 *EC*, VII, Sk. 118 (1054 A.D.); *EI*, XIII, pp. 21–22 (1204 A.D.), etc. *Mita.*, III. 265, (Tr.) p. 1834, curiously enough, includes a large number of articles under 'non-vendibles', e.g. sesamum, flowers, fruits, roots, cooked-food, acids, jewels and so on; and enjoins some *prāyascitta* for the sale of such articles.

2 R. C. Majumdar, *The Classicial Accounts of India*, pp. 305, 312, 376, 381; *EHD*, pp. 58–59.

3 B. A. Saletore, *Karṇāṭaka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts*, pp. 10, 25.

4 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* (pp. 28 ff.); K.A.N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*,pp. 139, 143; Marco Polo, II, p. 395, etc.

5 *Mita.*, II. 252–54, (Tr.) pp. 1294–96.

6 *Ibid.*, 263, (Tr.) p. 1308.

7 *EC*, IV, Ng. 70.

8 *EC*, VIII, Sk. 118.

9 *Ibid.*, II, 335 (1195 A.D.); 333 (1206 A.D.), etc.

10 *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 117.

11 *IA*, XIV, p. 19 (1182–83 A.D.); *KI*, V, 98 (1181 A.D.), etc.

12 *EC*, V, Ak. 22 (1188 A.D.).

13 B.A. Saletore, *Karṇāṭaka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts*, pp. 59–60.

14 R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonisation in South-East Asia*, p. 53.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 54.

16 K.A.N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 23.

17 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 566.

18 *EI*, III, p. 297 ff. (1008 A.D.).

19 *EHD*, p. 433.

20 *SII*, IX.i, 297.

21 *KI*, I, 25 (1186 A.D.); *EI*, XIII, p. 21 (1204 A.D.), etc.

22 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

24 M. Hussain, *The Rohla of Ibn Battuta*, p. 185.

25 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 528-31.

26 S. Muhammad Husyan Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

27 Elliot, *History*, I, p. 97.

28 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–72; also R. C. Majumdar (ed.) *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 517, 521, etc.

29 A. Appadorai [*op. cit.*, p. 543] states that aloe-wood was to some extent produced within the country (i.e. South India), as is evident from the name "Saimūri aloes". But, this is untenable in the light of the clear statement of Yāqūt as noted above.

30 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

31 We are told that the merchants from the west coast were engaged not only in the export of articles produced locally, but also in the re-export of commodities which were imported from Ceylon and other countries in the East—A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 487.

32 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Elliot, *History*, I, p. 89.

33 Elliot, *History*, I, p. 85.

34 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Elliot, *History*, I, p. 85.

35 Marco Polo, II, p. 395.

36 A. S. Altekar, The *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 354.

37 Marco Polo, II, p. 395. [Abul Fidā quotes a passage from Bīrūnī to say that Ṭhāṇā was associated with the name *Tānshi*, and from it the *Tānshiyya* fabrics. But this passage is not to be found in Dr. Sachau's edition of Bīrūnī—S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 82, (n. 181)].

38 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 536; T. V. Mahalingam, *Economic Life*, p. 116.

39 *Abhila.*, III. 1014–15, p. 289 (*tāmbūla-bhōgaḥ*)—Sōmēśvara refers to the use of camphor, white as alum (*sphaṭikōpamam*) and bright as the moon-light (*candrakānta-samaprabham*)—as an ingredient in betel-chewing.

40 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 544.

41 Marco Polo, II, pp. 442, 445; *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 522.

42 Marco Polo, II, p. 395.

43 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 522.

44 Marco Polo, II, p. 390.

45 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 522.

46 *Abhila.*, III. 1063, p. 294.

47 *Ibid.*, 1062–66, pp. 294–95.

48 *EI*, XIII, p. 26.

49 *Abhila.*, I. 677, p. 110.

50 *Ibid.*, 172–335, pp. 55–72.

51 *Ibid.*, 334, p. 72.

52 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 550.

53 *EC*, VII, Sk. 96 (1179 A.D.); *IA*, V, p. 48 (1181 A.D.), etc.

54 *KI*, V, 33 (1176 A.D.); *EC*, V, Hn. 144 (1209 A.D.), etc.

55 *EC*, VII, Sk. 118 (1054 A.D.).

56 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, II, p. 551.

57 *Ibid.*

58 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 523.

59 *Ibid.*

60 *Ibid.*; *Mana.*, IV. 669–74, pp. 211–12, etc.

61 *Abhila.*, I. 576–77, p. 99.

62 *EC*, III, Sr. 49 (c. 1120 A.D.)—"*Kāṁbōja-vāji-sañcaraṇanuṁ*".

63 *Ibid.*, VI, Kd. 149 (1205 A.D.).

64 *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 96 (1179 A.D.); *IA*, V, p. 48 (1181 A.D.), etc.

65 A. Appodorai, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 556–57.

66 *EC*, VII, Sk. 118.

67 G. M. Moraes, The *Kadambakula*, p. 283.

68 *KI*, I, No. 25 (1186 A.D.); *EC*, XVII, Kl. 328 (1293 A.D.), etc.

69 *EI*, XIII, p. 21.

70 Although the statements of these writers have particular reference to particular regions, e.g. the Pāṇḍya kingdom and the like, the case was not altogether different in other parts of the country; it may be taken as typical of India in general. And, Karṇāṭaka formed no exception to this.

71 Marco Polo, II, pp. 340, 345, 450.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 395.

73 Elliot, *History*, III, pp. 33–34.

74 *EHD*, p. 371 ; G. M. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 279, etc.

75 William Coelho, *The Hoysaḷa Vaṁśa*, p. 254 ; G. M. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

76 *Ba. Ra.*, p. 85, l. 68.

77 *Abhila.*, I. 441–43, p. 84.

78 *Ibid.*, 509, p. 91 ; 522, p. 93.

79 *Ibid.*, 494, p. 90.

80 *EI*, XIII, p. 26 (1204 A.D.) ; *JBBRAS*, X, pp. 259, 282–83, etc.

81 *EC*, IV, Ng. 38 (1284 A.D.).

82 *KI*, V, 21.

83 *Vikra.*, pp. 11–12.

84 *EC*, VI, Tk. 45 (1196 A.D.).

85 *Abhila.*, III. 1257, p. 316.

86 *AS*, (Tr.) pp. 104 ff.

87 *SII*, VII, 185.

88 *KI*, V, 33 (1176 A.D.) ; *EC*, V, Hn. 144 (1203 A.D.), etc.

89 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, I, p. 417.

90 *EC*, XI, Dg. 105,

91 *EI*, XV, p. 98 (1075 A.D.) ; *KI*, V, 46 (1288 A.D), etc.

92 *EI*, XV, p. 98.

93 *EC*, V, Ag. 21 (? 1274 A.D.) ; *MAR.* (1936), 47 (1278 A.D.), etc.

94 *EC*, XI, Dg. 105 (1218 A.D.).

95 *EI*, XIX, p. 38 (1142 A.D.).

96 *EC*, V, Ag. 21.

97 G. S. Dikshit, *Local Self Government in Mediaeval Karṇāṭaka*, p. 140.

98 *MAR.* (1912), p. 45, para. 91.

99 *EC*, IX, Cp. 73 (1318 A. D.).

100 *IA*, VII, p. 304 (1204 A. D.).

101 *Ma. Va.*, 55. p. 19.

102 *KI*, II, 8 (1072 A. D.) ; *SII*, XV, 106 (1166 A. D.) ; *KI*, V, 98 (1181 A. D.) ; *KIAP*, 104 (1182 A. D.) ; *SII*, XV, 164 (1220 A. D.), etc.

103 *KI*, V, 98 (1181 A. D.) ; *IA*, XIV, p. 19 (1182-83 A. D.), etc.

104 *KI*, IV, 1 (1204 A. D.).

105 *SII*, XV, 106 (1166 A. D.).

106 *Ibid.*, 164 (1220 A. D.).

107 G. S. Dikshit, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

108 *Ibid.*, (n. 6).

109 *EC*, V, Hn. 149 (1113 A. D.).

110 *Ibid.*, VIII, Nr. 57 (c. 1077 A. D.).

111 *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 22.

112 *EC*, VII, Sh. 99 (1127 A. D.).

113 *Ibid.*, VIII; Nr. 57 (c. 1077 A. D.).

114 *SII*, IX. i, 297 (1177 A. D.).

115 *Ibid.*, XV, 24 (1142 A. D.); 35 (1147 A. D.).

116 *EC*, V, Ak. 22 (1188 A. D.); *MAR.* (1928), 10 (c. 1189 A. D.); 79 (1149 A. D.), etc.

117 *JSI*, p. 357.

118 *MAR.* (1909), p. 51 ; also *EC*, II, 137—The term *rājaśrēṣṭhi* is a common epithet of *Seṭṭis* figuring in the stories narrated by Nayasēna. Cf. *Dharm.*, I, 1.90, p. 19 ; 2.159, p. 77, etc.

119 *SII*, IX.i, 297.

120 *EC*, V, Ak. 82 (1234 A. D.); XV, Ak. 217 (1232 A. D.).

121 *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 108 (1255 A. D.).

122 Derrett, J. D. M., *The Hoysaḷas*, pp. 85, 225.

123 *SII*, IX.i, 177.

124 *Ibid.*, 189,

125 *Ibid.*, 215.

126 *Ibid.*, 268 (1162 A.D.).

127 *KI*, V, 105.

128 *MAR.* (1938), 103.

129 *Ada. Va.*, Intron., pp. iii-iv.

130 *Ibid.*, Nos. 224-96, pp. 167-68.

131 R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p, 16.

132 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

133 A. L. Basham, *TheWonder That was India*, p. 217.

134 *JIH*, XXV (1947), p. 269.

135 *Mita.*, II. 30, (Tr.) p. 747; 192, (Tr.) p. 1228—[In our Kannaḍa records, we find words like *sēṇi*, *kottaḷi* etc., meaning a guild-cf, *KI*, V, 17 (1118 A. D.); *SII*, XV, 129 (1176 A. D.), etc.].

136 *Mita.*, II, 185-92, (Tr) pp. 1221-29.

137 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 524.

138 G. S. Dikshit, *Local Self-Government*, p. 160.

139 *Ibid.*

140 *Ibid.*

141 *EC*, VII, Sk. 118 (1054 A. D.); *KI*, I, 25 (1186 A. D.), etc.

142 *SII*, IX.1, 297.

143 *JSI*, pp. 275-76.

144 *IA*, X, p. 185 ff.

145 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, p. 380

146 *KI*, V, 64.

147 *Gupta* is even today a surname among *Vaiśyas*.

148 *Ibid.*, 66.

149 *Ibid.*, I, 25.

150 *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, p, 283; also Kittel, p. 1273.

151 B. A. Saletore, *Karṇāṭaka's Trans-Oceanic Contacts*, p. 26.

152 M. S. Sarma's *History of Reddy Kingdoms*, p. 396—quoted by K. Sundaram, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

153 *EI*, XIX, pp. 37-39 (A.D. 1142 and 1144).

154 R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life*, p. 31.

155 K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 547—The *Nānādēśis* were served by regiments of foot-soldiers and swords-men—; also *KI*, IV, 55 (1000 A.D.), etc.

156 *JIH*, XXV, p. 277.

157 K. Sundaram, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

158 *SII*, IX.i, 296 (1176 A. D.); 297 (1177 A. D.).

159 K. A. N. Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, p. 595.

160 *IA*, VIII, p. 287; VI, p. 138 (n.).

161 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, p. 391; *JIH*, XXV, p. 276, etc.

162 Cf. *KI*, IV, pp. 122–23.

163 M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

164 *The Cōḷas*, p. 596; *JIH*, XXV, p. 296.

165 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

166 *JIH*, XXV, p. 277; A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

167 A. Appadorai, *op. cit*, p. 391.

168 Shimoga District: *EC*, VII, Sk. 118 (1054 A.D.); Bellary District: *SII* IX.i, No. 118 (1057 A.D.); Gulburga District: *JSI*, No. 11 (1171 A.D.). Kolhapur area: *EI*, XIX, p. 30 ff. (1135 A.D.), etc.

169 *SII*, IX.i, 297 (1117 A.D.)—Here, the banner of the *Mummuridaṇḍas* is said to have been *Cakra-dhvaja*, granted by Cakradhara, i.e. Lord Kṛṣṇa [*Cakradhara-datta-cakradhvaja-virājitarum*].
And, from an Andhra record of 1269 A.D., we learn that the banner of the *Vīra-Baṇañjus* was *Garuḍa-dhvaja*—See K. Sundaram, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

170 *EI*, XIX, p. 30 ff.

171 *EHD*, p. 433.

172 *EC*, VII, Sk. 119 (1181 A.D.)

173 *The Cōḷas*, pp. 596–97; *The Struggle for Empire* p. 526; *JIH*, XXV, p. 276, etc.

174 *JIH*, XXV, p. 278

175 *KI*, IV, 55 (? A.D. 1000); also *PKR*, 1947–52, p. 17.

176 *KI*, IV, Plate VIII–B.

177 *KI*, I, p. 40.

178 *JSI*, pp. 122–23.

179 *Ibid.*

180 Burrow and Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymologial Dictionary*, p. 115.

181 *Si. Ca.*, 1.8, p. 3; 1.53, p. 16; 4.19, p. 62; 8.62, p. 138, etc.

182 *JSI*, pp. 122–23.

183 *IA*, VIII, p. 287.

184 *EC*, VII, Sk. 118; also *IA*, X, p. 185 (1095–96 A.D.), etc.

185 *BKI*, I. i, 94 (1059 A.D.); *IA*, X, p. 185.

186 *JSI*, p. 122; also *EI*, XIII, pp. 15 ff.

187 *EC*, VII, Sk. 133 (1131 A.D.).

188 *Ibid.*, X, Kl. 170 (c. 1180 A.D.).

189 *EI*, XIII, pp. 15 ff.; *JSI*, p. 122.

190 *SII*, IX. i, 296 (1176 A.D.); 297 (1177 A.D.).

191 *KI*, I, p. 40.

192 *JSI*, p. 318. [Also see *SII*, IX i, 297 (1177 A.D.)—*Śrīmad-Āryā-nāma-pura-mukhyabhūtar-enipa-ainūrvvarim* . . . . . etc.

193 *KI*, IV, pp. 122–23.

194 *IA*, VIII, p. 287; also *KI*, IV, pp. 122–23.

195 *SII*, IX.i, 141 (1079 A.D.).

196 *Ibid.*, 165 (1099 A.D.).

197 *IA*, VI, p. 138 (1096 A.D.).

198 *EC*, V, Ak. 77 (1220 A.D.).

199 *Ibid.*, XII, Gu. 11 (1226 A.D.).

200 *KI*, IV, p. 123.

201 *JIH*, XXV, p. 277.

202 *SII*, XV, 112 (1169 A.D.).

203 *BKI*, I.ii, 148 (1099 A.D.); *EC*, VIII, Sb. 276 (1215 A.D.), etc.

204 *KI*, V, 23 (1129 A.D.); 32 (1215 A.D.), etc.

205 *EI*, XIII, p. 15 (1107 A.D.); *KI*, V, 32 (1215 A.D.), etc.

206 *JBBRAS*, X, p. 283.

207 *EI*, XIII, p. 15 (1107 A.D.).

208 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

209 *Ibid.*

210 K.A.N. Sastsi, *Foreign Notices*, pp. 139, 143.

211 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

212 *Ibid.*

213 *Ibid.*, (n.)

214 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

215 *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 184.

216 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

217 *Ibid.*, pp. 37–39.

218 *Ibid.*

219 Gibb's Trn., p. 230; K.A.N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, p. 233.

220 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

221 G. M. Moreas, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

222 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

223 *Ibid.*

224 Marco Polo, II, p. 395.

225 *KI*, V, 68 (1215 A D.); *EC*, VI, Tp. 2 (1263 A.D.), etc.

226 *BKI*, I.i, 69 (c. 1033 A.D.); *EC*, II, 327 (1181 A.D.), etc.

227 *IA*, XIV, p. 19 (1123–24 A.D.); *KI*, V, 21 (1125 A.D.), etc.

228 *EC*, V, Bl. 175 (1186 A.D.).

229 *The Cōḷas*, pp. 594–95.

230 *KI*, V, 53 (1120–21 A.D.); *JBBRAS*, X, p. 226 (1205 A.D.), etc.

231 *BKI*, I.i, 85.

232 B. S. Krishnaswamy Iengar, *History of Mediaeval Karṇāṭaka with Sources* (Unpublished Thesis, Mysore University); J.D.M. Derret, *The Hoysaḷas*, pp. 6, 20, 34, 97, 102, 145–46, etc.

233 *Abhila.*, III, 1267, p. 316.

234 *EC*, II, 143 (1131 A.D.).

235 *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 2.

236 *EC*, V, Bl. 117 (1136 A.D.); *Dharm.*, I, 8.91, p. 375, etc.

237 *EC*, VII, Sk. 118 (1054); V, Bl. 117 (1136 A.D.); *JSI*, 5 (1138 A.D.), etc.

238 Dinkar Desai, *The Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras*, p. 391.

239 *EC*, V, Bl. 117 (1136 A.D.), etc.

240 J.D.M. Derratt, *The Hoysaḷas*, p. 20.

241 *EC*, VI, Cm. 122.

242 *Dharm.*, I, 1.67; 6.209; 7.136, etc.; *Ba. Va.*, 127, p. 33; *Al. Va.*, 360, p. 80, etc.

243 *IA*, XIV, p. 19 (1182–83 A.D.); *KI*, V, 98 (1181 A.D.), etc.

244 *BKI*, I. ii, 200 (1126 A.D.); *EC*, V, Bl. 171 (c. 1160 A.D.); Bl. 171 b (1208 A.D.), etc.

245 *EC*, IV, Ng. 70 (1178 A.D.); *Mita.*, II. 263, (Tr.) p. 1308, etc.

CHAPTER—6

FINANCE : SOURCES OF REVENUE

Some General Considerations

The well-being of a stable and prosperous government depends on sound finances ; and finance, indeed, is the very life-breath of the State. The importance of this proposition was well realised in Ancient and Mediaeval India. A prosperous treasury (*kōśa*) has been included among the seven constituents (*saptāṅga*) of the State.

Kauṭilya observes : "All undertakings depend upon finance. Hence foremost attention shall be paid to the treasury".[1] Sōmēśvara,[2] again, opines that a ruler with a rich treasury would gain all happiness, while the one without it will perish.

Even among the seven constituents (*saptāṅga*) of the State, according to Kauṭilya, again, finance and army were marked out as the most important ; and of these two, the palm was given to the former.[3] Finance was counted so important that it was, along with the army, to be under the direct control of the king himself, as observed by Kauṭilya.[4] Significantly enough, the same is the observation made by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, the celebrated Vijayanagara emperor, in his well-known Telugu work *Āmuktamālyada*.[5]

Turning now to the period under study, the varied material for a study of the revenue resources of the government is found scattered in hundreds of epigraphs. But, a scientific study of the subject becomes particularly difficult, as

many of the terms used in these records are rather obscure and obsolete. Moreover, the evidence available on the subject is not sufficient for a comprehensive study. We get, as it is, only cross-sections at particular point ; the detailed course of events must remain unknown in the absence of definite information from the inscriptions. What we do get, however, does not leave us altogether without guidance in framing some pluasible answers to some of the questions that would obviously arise in the discussion of the subject.

As a matter of fact, our knowledge of the nature of the taxes and levies, both provincial and local, in the few instances where they are mentioned, is derived not from any direct description of the system of taxation, but only incidentally from a study of charters relating to gifts (*dāna*), exemptions (*parihāra*), and so on. Moreover, in the same inscription, we often get a list of taxes and other obligations due to government, alongside contributions of a local or social nature, for specific local or communal purposes. Indeed, the outstanding feature which has bewildered students of history, and still bewilders us in the study of these documents, is the 'formidable' list of taxes.[6]

There is another important point to be borne in mind while discussing a subject like this : this is an attempt to study the fiscal system of the ancient period from a modern point of view ; in short, the ancient ideas are presented in the light of modern economics.

Such being the case, any attempt to determine the incidence of the system of taxation, or to compare it with those of other countries and times, may not be fruitful for the present. An attempt is made here just to draw an outline of the system—the aim, however, being to present the 'broad' principles of the system, as seen in the light of available evidence—rather than to explain the details, which are by on means free from obscurity.

Classification of Revenue Heads

A clear classification of the various sources of revenue of the Government is both important and indispensable for a correct understanding of the revenue system, as also for an estimate of the burden of taxation borne by the various classes in society. Such a classification would be important from the academic, as well as the administrative standpoint ; it is sometimes implicit in the inscriptions themselves. The sources of revenue may be classified under the following heads :

A. Taxation

1) Land Taxes
2) Property Taxes
3) Profession Taxes
4) Commercial Taxes
5) Taxes on Industries
6) Social and Communal Taxes
7) Miscellaneous Taxes

B. Contributions and Fines

1) Contributions
2) Judicial Fines

Besides, the State derived income from many other sources also, e. g. crown lands and forest tracts, mines and mints, treasure troves and the like, to mention only a few.[7]

Some Revenue Terms

In the numerous epigraphs of the period, there appear certain revenue terms the meaning and significance of which are not always clear. It may be desirable, however, to attempt an explanation of a few of them here, in the light of contemporary evidence. A study of such technical terms found in inscriptions has hardly begun as yet ; and, therefore, the explanations and suggestions put forward here are to be deemed tentative.

The term *āya* means income. The income of the Government fell into various categories, the most notable among them being *siddhāya*, *pannāya*, *daṇḍāya* and the like.

The term *siddhāya* (*siddha*+*āya*) has been taken to be "the name applied to the traditional land tax, always taken for granted, and not in need of any fresh regulation or prescription."[9] This explanation does not seem to be convincing.

It would be wrong to take this term exclusively in the sense of traditional land tax ; for we have evidence to show that *siddhāya* stood for some tax levied

even on houses and shops as well. Thus an epigraph[10] of 1139 A.D. refers to the *sidhdāya* that was levied on some houses. In another record[11] of 1077 A.D., we read that the merchant-guilds (*nagara*) were to pay *siddhāya* for each shop (annually at a rate specified). So, it was not 'probably agricultural income', as has been stated by Dr. D. C. Sircar.[12]

An epigraph[13] of A. D. 1194 from Hassan District, however, shows that the *siddhāya* of the *agrahāra* village of Nēralige included not only the land tax proper, but also the tax on arecanuts (*aḍike-suṇka*) and all other revenues (*sarvāya*) of the Government ; it stood for all the aggregate revenue payable to the Government.

It may thus be said that *siddhāya* was a fixed, or previously settled (*siddha*), revenue (*āya*) of the Government, generally deemed to be of a permanent nature (*nitya karvaha siddhāyavanu*)[14] ; it was levied on lands, houses, shops etc., and collected usually once a year (*prativarṣa kaṭṭuṁbaṇa siddhāyavanu*).[15] It was collected in cash or kind (*siddhāya-voḷagāda suvarnāya bhattāyagaḷinda*).[16]

Another point to be noted here is that, in some cases, *siddhāya* could also be re-assessed, and the amount of revenue increased. Here is an instance on record :

The Nēralige grant[17] (Hassan District) of Hoysaḷa VīraBallāḷa II, dated 1194 A. D., shows that the *siddhāya* derived from that *agrahāra* village was formerly 400 *gadyāṇas*, which was collected in kind—the grains being *khāṇa* (?), paddy (*nellu*), sesamum (*eḷḷu*) and jowar (*jōḷa*). But later (at the time of this grant), with the addition of the tax on arecanuts (*aḍikeya-suṇka*) and all other revenue rent, fixed and derived collectively (*sarvvāya . . . . . piṇḍādāna kaṭṭugut-tageyāgi*), it amounted to 1,000 *gadyāṇas* to be collected in cash (*suvarṇāya gadyāṇa sāyiravaṁ tiruvaru*).

An epigraph[18] of 1138 A. D. from Dharwar mentions *pūrva-siddhāya*, which apparently meant the *siddhāya* of earlier times, and may indicate that it was also subject to change, if need be. An inscription[19] from Coorg, dated 1176 A. D., mentions *Gaṅga-siddhāya*, which was apparently the *siddhāya* as settled during the days of the Gaṅgas. It has been pointed out that the revenue system under the Hoysḷas was very complicated, for it had been inherited first from the Gaṅgas, and many of the items themselves were old when the Gaṅgas began to rule.[20]

The precise meaning of the *prati-siddhāya*[21] is not clear. Dr. D. C. Sircar,[22] however, thinks that it was same as the *siddhāya*.

Pannāya has been taken in the sense of "income from merchandise including octroi duties, levied at rates specified from time to time, and collected either in kind or its equivalent in money as the case may be".[23] A careful study of the records in which this term occurs would show that the above explanation is not correct. There is difference of opinion among the epigraphists themselves with regerd to the derivation and significance of this term.

In the Śirūr (Dharwar District) record[24] of Jayasiṁha II, dated 1040 A. D., the terms *pannasu* and *pannasiga* do occur. Dr. L. D. Barnett (the editor of the record) thinks that *pannasu* seems to denote an estate under some particular conditions (by no means clear now); and *pannasiga* seems to denote a tenant of it.[25]

Further, we are told that the term *pannasu* is derived from the (Skt.) *pañcāśāt*[26] (=fifty), and appears also in other forms like *pannasa*, *pannāsa* *pannāya* in the epigraphs. Dr. D. C. Sircar[27] thinks that those who received this kind of grant were allowed to enjoy fifty per cent of the income deriving from the granted estate.

Again, according to others,[28] the two Skt. terms, *pañcāśat* (=fifty) and *pañcaviṁśati* (=twenty-five), figuring in some inscriptions of Ancient Karṇāṭaka, later on changed into *pannāsa* and *pannavisa* respectively, and generally stood for an estate granted.

If this interpretation is correct, then *pannāya* may mean the revenue derived from one's estate that was granted. A Ḍambaḷ (Dharwar District) record[29] of 1184 A.D., for instance, refers to the grant of pannāya tax on all the gardens (except *sarvanamasya*) for the repairs, etc., of the Gōnasamudra.

Moreover, in an expression like *pannāyada-suṅkadoḷage*,[30] it may be that *suṅka* is used in the loose sense of general income (as is often the case). Again, the expression *accu-pannāya*[31] is difficult to explain. If *accu* (used as a prefix here) means a coin—as it does in the phrase *accina-ṭaṅkasāle*[32]—then the term may mean that part of the *pannāya* income which was collected not in kind, but in cash. However, what the exact force of the term *accu* (in the above expression) is, it is not certain.

The term *daṇḍāya*[33] (*daṇḍa*+*āya*), appearing often in the epigraphs, apparently meant the income derived from fines (*daṇḍa*), levied in courts or in other ways as punishments for various offences. But the term has been interpreted by R. S. Panchamukhi as a military-tax.

The term *suṅka* (Skt. *śulka*) has been taken to mean "a contribution of some kind levied on goods, particularly those in transit."[35] This interpretation of the word does not seem to be convincing. Indeed, *suṅka* appears to have a much broader sense than is generally supposed. It is, however, often used in the general sense of a tax, e.g. *gāṇada-suṅka* (tax on oil-mills), *tippe-suṅka* (tax on manure-pits), *karbuna-suṅka* (tax on iron) and the like.

Inscriptions, however, mention several levies—varieties of *suṅka*—among the most prominent being *vaḍḍarāvuḷa*, *perjjuṅka* or *hejjuṅka* (heavy or higher *snṅka*), *bilkoḍe* and the like. The exact meaning of these terms is not clear. But, judging from the context in which these frequently appear in the inscriptions,[36] they—*vaḍḍarāvuḷa*, *perjjuṅka*, and the two *bilkoḍe* (*eraḍuṁ-bilkoḍe*)[37]—seem to have been customs, levied especially on arecanuts and betel leaves. It may be added here that "betel leaves and areca-nuts were articles of universal use and appear to have given employment to considerable number of growers and traders,"[38] and they are the articles of trade most frequently referred to in the epigraphs. Interestingly enough, an epigraph[39] of 1146 A.D. from Gulbarga refers to *herjjuṅka* and *vaḍḍarāvuḷa* taxes on 18,000 *mattars* of land in Mudanūr.

It has been suggested[40] that of the three kinds of *suṅka*, often figuring in the epigraphs of the period, viz., *manneya-suṅka*, *perjjuṅka*, and *vaḍḍarāvuḷa-snṅka*, the first went to the immediate local authority who had the *manneya* (headship) of the place; the second to his immediate superior who was intermediate between the emperor and him, while the third and the last went to the suzerain king or emperor, and, therefore, formed part of the central revenue system. This explanation can at best only be hypothetical, until we get more confirmatory evidence on the point.

But, there seems to be little doubt that each of these *suṅkas* was collected and administered by district agencies. This becomes clear from an inscription[41] of 1037 A.D. from Hoṭṭūr (Dharwar District), where the tax-collectors (*suṅkadavaru*) of each class are separately mentioned, and are said to have met and acted together for a common purpose. An epigraph[42] of 1127 A.D. refers to a high minister of

state, Bhogabhaṭṭayya, who was in charge of the *vaḍḍarāvuḷa-suṅka* of the whole country, and had under him a number of officers in charge of the revenue administration.

Further, *kiṟukuḷa* and *kiṟudeṟe* do often appear in the inscriptions of the period. Both the terms, taken in the literal sense of the word, seem to mean small or petty taxes. But, what exactly was the difference between the two, if any, is not clear.

Particularly, the term *kiṟukuḷa* is interesting in a sense. It has been used by contemporary writers, like Nayasēna, Akkamahādēvi and others,[43] in the sense of very small, petty, person or thing. But, in later Kannaḍa, the word has come to mean harassment.

A record[44] of 1277 A.D. (Bangalore District) seems to say that *kiṟukuḷa* included taxes such as *maggadeṟe* (loom-tax), *manneya kabalavadeṟe* (?), *hulukūli* (? cess on grazing grounds), etc. Revenue from this source, however, is referred to by words *kiṟukuḷāya*,[45] *kiṟukuḷādāya*.[46]

Again, the nature of *kiṟudeṟe* is not clear. An epigraph[47] of 1074 A.D. from Dharwar, however, seems to mention various taxes that were included under *kiṟudeṟe* (*alli manneya nibandhada kiṟudeṟegaḷavāvuvendaḍe*): *mane-vaṇaṁ* (house-tax), *piriyara-vaṇaṁ* (?), *dhanabaḷaṁ* (? wealth-tax), *kāḷagolcu* (?), *mēṇṭigaṇḍuga* (? tax on ploughshares), and *aṅgaḍiya tiṅgaḷina bēḷeyondu* (apparently some kind of tax on shops).

Another revenue term, appearing in a number of records[48] of the period, is *khāṇa*, which has been taken in the sense of ' fodder or grass'.[49] It is said to have been commutation of duty to provide fodder for the king's draught animals, such as horses and the like.[50] The phrase *khāṇa-nibandi*[51] (*-nibandha*) may refer to some fixation or settlement of such a ' fodder charge ' that was to be collected. It has been stated that each estate was assessed to provide so much *khāṇa*, and a conventional, fixed price was used to calculate the money commutation.[52]

Another revenue term that frequently occurs in the epigraphs is *sēse*,[53] which is subject to many interpretations. This was, according to Dr. L. D. Barnett,[54] some kind of offering to kings, similar to the throwing of rice over the heads of brides and bridegrooms. It may be noted, however, that Nayasēna[55] seems to use this word in the above sense only, when he writes e.g.: *paṭṭamaṁ kaṭṭi sāyendu sēseyanikkuvante*" [i.e. like throwing *sēse* (? rice with saffron) over the head of a prince and saying 'die', after having actually coronated him !]

Kittel[56] quotes a proverb to convey, in effect, the same meaning: "*maduvege tanda akki sēsege tīri hōyitu*" [the rice brought for the marriage was all used up for *sēse*]. But, Kittel takes the word *sēse* as the *tadbhava* of *śēṣe*, and gives its meaning as "raw rice over which incantations have been pronounced and which is thrown on the heads of the birde and bridegroom during the marriage ceremony and other joyous rites"; also as "the remains of flowers, raw rice and other offerings made to an idol or used in a *śubhakārya*, and afterwards distributed as a blessing among the worshippers and attendants".

But, it may be noted that the Skt. term *śēṣe* is used adverbially in the sense of "at last, finally; in other cases"; it is *śēṣā* that is taken in the sense of "the remains of flowers or other offerings made to an idol and distributed among the worshippers as a holy relique."[57]

Some have tried to derive *sēse* from the Skt. *śēṣa*, which seems to be incorrect;[58] for, the Tbh. of *śēṣa* is *sēsa*, not *sēse*, as Kittel[59] has pointed out. All said and done, the fact remains that the nature of *sēse* is not precisely known as yet. It seems to have been some kind of contribution collected occasionally, perhaps in the form of grains like rice and such other things.

A Gāvarvāḍ (Dharwar District) inscription[60] of the reign of Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara II, purports to say that those, who would take away (on the gifted land) even a half *vīsa* of rice as *sēse* for kings, were *caṇḍālas*!

Inscriptions do mention *sēse* for kings and emperors (*rājana-sēse*, *cakravartiya-sēse*),[61] as also for horses and elephants (*kudureya-sēse*, *āneya-sēse*),[62] and for (?) camps (*kaṭaka-sēse*).[63]

Aruvaṇa is another revenue term of frequent occurence in the inscriptions, whose nature is not clear. It is usually translated as 'quit-rent', i.e. the rent payable to the government at a concession rate, but not at the normal rate as in other cases. Bhōj grant of Kārtavīrya IV,[64] dated 1208 A.D., shows that *ārruvaṇa* was to be collected from the *mānya* estates, as was customary in the country (*mānyēṣu dēśa-marryād-ānvitam*).

It is stated in an epigraph[65] of 1005 A.D., for instance, that an *aruvaṇa* of 5 *gadyāṇas* was to be levied on 6 *mattars* of land gifted by Sōbhanarasa to Rēvabbe Goravi of the temple of Mūlasthāna in Sirivūr (*āru-mattaru keyigaṁ-aruvaṇaṁ-aidu-gadyāṇamaṁ teruvaru*).

In another instance, however, 24 *mattars* of land were gifted away to the feeding-house (*satra*) of 12 *Brāhmaṇas*; and, according to its ancient rule, 12 *paṇas* had to be paid as *aruvaṇa* on the gifted land (*idara pūrva-maryyāde aruvaṇaṁ panneraḍu paṇaṁ*).[66]

The Gāvarvāḍ inscription of Sōmēśvara II (mentioned above) shows that an *aruvaṇa* of 62 pieces of gold was to include various items of revenue, such as king's benevolences, festival expenses and the like. It is also added in the record that those, who took anything extra (to what is specified), were *caṇḍālas*! In another instance, interestingly enough, an *aruvaṇa* of 3 *gadyāṇas* was equally due from a cultivated land (*kaigaṁ*), house (*manegaṁ*) and a garden land (*tōṭakkaṁ*).

Dr. G. S. Gai[68] doubts whether the term *aruvaṇa* meant '6 *paṇas* (?)'. Dr. D. C. Sircar[69] thinks that it was "the tax of six *paṇas* levied on *mānya* lands". But, such explanations of the term are hardly convincing, in the light of the inscriptional evidence cited above.

It is not unlikely that the term perhaps meant 'one-sixth' of the normal tax that was levied on land, house, etc. Or, could it have been the half (ara, are) of the usual tax (or even less than that) payable to the State? A Coorg inscription[70] of about 1176 A.D. mentions *ara-teṛe* (? half-tax). But, we are not sure whether this term has the same sense as *aruvaṇa*.

Another revenue term of frequent occurence is *kāṇike*, which may be taken to mean contribution of some kind. A Coorg epigraph[71] of A D. 1176 mentions *kāṇike-gadyāṇa*, meaning apparently some contribution collected in cash. Another[72] of about 1300 A.D. from the same area refers to *daṇḍina-kāṇike*, which seems to have been some contribution collected for the maintenance of the army (*daṇḍu*). Again, we hear *daruśana-kāṇike*,[73] and the like (*muntāda kāṇikegaḷuṁ*) in an inscription of 1277 A.D. from Bangalore District. The term *darśana*[74] is generally taken to mean some contribution collected on a visit (? of a king or of an emperor) though its nature is not clear.

SOURCES OF REVENUE

A. Taxation

Of all the sources of revenue mentioned above, major part of the Government's revenue was derived from taxation. We may now consider each kind of tax, referred to above, in some detail in the light of contemporary evidence.

1) Land Taxes

In almost every country and at all times, the revenue from land had been an important source of income to the State. In an agricultural country like India, until quite recently, it had been the mainstay of Indian Finance, yielding a large part of the revenue. In other words, land being the mainstay of national economy, the chief source of income was obviously the productivity of the soil; and, consequently, the land-taxes formed the bulk of wealth to the royal treasury.

In South India, particularly, throughout the Ancient and Mediaeval periods of history, "the main source of revenue that went to fill the coffers of the government was the land-tax".[75]

We have noted in an earlier context that there existed during the period under review private lands, side by side with royal domain or crown-lands. The income from land, therefore, was derived from these two distinct sources: as income from crown-lands, and from taxation of non-crown or private lands. We are concerned here, however, with the income from the latter source, which was a land-tax.

Land Survey and Assessment

In revenue matters, the measurement of, and assessment on, land were naturally of the first importance. Even under the early dynasties like the Sātakarṇis and the Kadambas, one may hardly doubt that lands were measured for such purposes, though it is difficult to form any clear idea about the method of assessment adopted by them.

Some of the Aśoka as well as Sātakarṇi inscriptions[76] refer to an official called the *rajjuka* (lit. holder of a rope), suggestive of his duties, namely, measurement and survey of lands. Further, the inscriptions[77] of the Kadambas often mention certain linear measures like *mattar*, *kamma* and *nivartana*, which were evidently the units of land measurement.

During the period under review, however, as in modern times, lands must have been measured and the soil of each survey number classified according to the quality of the various grades, and the details of the fields and crops grown thereon kept by the officials.

Such a view, indeed, is strengthened by contemporary evidence itself. We may, however, note here one or two important pieces of evidence on the subject. Sōmēśvara[78] observes, significantly enough, that the land-tax should be levied, with due consideration to the quality of the soil and the crops raised thereon (*phala-kṣētrānurūpēṇa*).

Moreover, it has been noted earlier that lands were often distinguished according to their quality, as fine or superior (*uttama*), or bad or inferior (*kaniṣṭha*). It has been further noted above that, in some cases, even villages were classified according to soil, e.g. as of first (*uttama*), middling (*madhyama*) and lowest (*adhama*) quality.[79] Besides, numerous epigraphs, recording the land grants, often clearly define the boundaries of the gifted land. Again, lands were generally distinguished under various categories like cultivated and uncultivated lands, wet and dry lands, gardens and forest-tracts and so on, as has been already noted above. Thus, there appears to be little doubt that there was a systematic survey of land.

Further, we can cite some clear instances on record when lands were measured in order to settle the shares, and also assessment on them. Thus in 1231 A.D., for instance, all the Brāhmaṇas of the *agrahāra* of Mallikārjunapura,[80] (Hassan District) considering that the former division was not equal, had all the wet and dry lands of the villages (round about) measured by agents; and, agreeing among themselves that all are equal and should share alike, made a permanent settlement of all the 158 shares. It was also stipulated that the settlement was not to be transgressed.

Again, we read in a Kaḍūr inscription[81] of 1247 A.D. that all the Brāhmaṇas of Nallūr, having all the land measured (*bhūmiyan-aḷavalli*), made the following order: "No one of the 12 groups of 5 each (for 24 years) may reduce the fixed rate. Whoever does otherwise is guilty of destroying the *agrahāra* and the temple".

In another instance,[82] we learn that lands were surveyed and boundaries marked by government officials, obviously for purposes of assessment. Some fee was also charged for such boundary-marking.[83]

It is significant to note that an epigraph[84] of about A.D. 1000 from Maṇḍya mentions the 'cultivated field No. 15', near the waste ground in the *agrahāra* of Mardūr—thus showing that the surveyed lands were also numbered.

The instrument used to measure lands was generally a pole or rod (gaḷe or *ghaḷe*, *kōlu*). Inscriptions[85] do refer often to numerous such poles or rods, of widely varying length, e.g. those of 14, 27, 33, 35 and 78 spans in length, to mention only a few. Such differences were probably due to local variations: different measuring poles were used in different parts of the country. This must naturally have caused much confusion and inconvenience in the process of assessment; and, therefore, some attempts seem to have been made to establish tcertain standards. Thus we hear of some 'royal standards' (*rāj-māna-daṇḍa*) in the records.[86] Similar steps were taken, in some cases, by the corporate bodies in owns and cities also.[87] But such attempts at standardisation apparently did not meet with much success, and local variations, however, continued to prevail throughout the period.

Without entering into greater details of the land survey and measurement, it may be safely maintained that the survey of land was apparently as much for the purpose of the collection of land-tax, as for furnishing a record.

We may do well to recall here that in the Tamil region during this period, under the great Cōḷas, the revenue administration had attained a state of perfection.[88] Due care was bestowed on the recording of land rights and revenue dues, and all the land was carefully surveyed and classified into tax-bearing and non-taxable lands.[89] It seems likely that similar steps were taken by the rulers of Karṇāṭaka also, as indicated by the evidence cited above.

With regard to making assessment on land, different methods appear to have been followed. One of the important methods of assessment seems to have been the sowing capacity of a unit of land. Inscriptions of the period often refer to terms like *koḷaga*, *khaṇḍuga*, etc., with reference to cultivated lands: and they mean that so many *koḷagas* or *khaṇḍugas* of seeds were required to be sown for raising crops on a piece of land.[90]

Moreover, while fixing the rates of assessment on land, certain factors seem to have been duly considered, e.g. the fertility of soil, the kind of crop grown on it, etc., as is evidenced by the observations of Sōmēśvara, as noted above. But, the rates of assessment on the cultivated land must have varied with time and place. Smṛtis, indeed, lay down no uniform rate of taxation; the percentage they recommend varies from eight to thirty-three.[91] This variation was partly due to the quality of land, and partly due to the varying practices of the different States, or to the different rates charged by one and the same government at different times, to meet its varying needs.

Again, writers on the subject are not agreed on the exact rates that prevailed during considerable periods in the history of South India. "While some are inclined to believe that the tax must have been somewhere about one-sixth of the produce from land, many others feel that the share demanded by the State could not have been below one-third of the yield."[93]

Sōmēśvara,[94] like Manu,[95] observes that the king should take as the tax on land a sixth, or eighth, or a twelfth part of the crops, with due regard to the quality of the land under cultivation and the crops raised thereon.

Inscriptional evidence throws some light on this problem. An epigraph[96] of 1046 A.D., from Dāvaṇagere, for instance, shows that one-sixth of the produce of the land was collected as land-tax. This was, however, the customary share of the king since early times, according to Hindu law-givers.

But, a quarter of a century later,[97] we learn that the government's share was one-fifth of the produce of forest-tracts and of lands on which dry crops were raised, and one-third of the produce of lands below a tank where paddy was grown. Besides, a cloth (*puḍavai*) was to be given for every 1500 *kuḷis* of land on which *kumari* cultivation was carried on by hill-tribes. Again, another record[98] of 1067 A.D. from Kolar District shows that one-fifth of the produce of dry lands was to be paid as land-tax. All said and done, we do not know whether the share of the government (mentioned above) refers to gross or net produce.[99] But, the poet Brahmaśiva's[100] observation (in one of the verses in his work) seems to refer to the government's share that was collected from the gross produce from the threshing floor itself (*kaḷadoḷ-tūrida bhattamanaḷeyade nindandu danujan-ā-dhānya-manāgaḷe koḷvareṁbar* . . . . . etc.).

The exact meaning of the terms *kuruvanige* and *kottasige*, appearing in an epigraph[101] of 1260 A. D. is not clear ; but, according to the editor of the recood, they perhaps stood for land revenues assessed on produce.

It may be noted, however, that land revenue in the above cases was levied, as in ancient India generally, according to the produce of the land, and hence was collected in kind. Moreover, it was not a fixed proportion of what was actually grown on the land. Indeed, this form of revenue collection had many advantages. As it was a share of the produce, the calculation of the government's share was easy and simple, and irrespective of the productivity or the value of the land. Both the State and the cultivator knew that one was to get, and the other to give,

a certain part of the produce. When the crop was limited, the State took a limited quantity ; and the remission was automatic and in proportion to the misery of the cultivator.

All the same, this system had its defects, too, specially from the point of view of the public revenue. Needless to say that agriculture depends on fickle Nature. Revenue, being thus dependent upon an unknown factor, was itself uncertain. It was only after the harvest that the State could know what its revenue from this source would be.

Land-tax was, however, collected in cash also. It was often paid in the form of gold (*suvarnāya*),[102] or in coins such as *gadyāṇas*, *paṇas*, etc.[103] But the incidence of taxation on land is difficult to ascertain, as the acreage under cultivation is not exactly known. An epigraph[104] of 1253 A.D. from Bangalore, for instance, shows that land-tax on 70 plots or shares was 140 gadyāṇas, i.e. 2 gadyāṇas on each share ; for shares would be almost always equally divided.

It may be of interest to read in a Śikāripur inscription[105] of 1032 A.D. that a tax was levied on the areca garden at the rate of one areca-nut a year for each tree. In another instance,[106] it was stipulated that, on their planting the pits and making an araca garden, they should pay the tax (at the rate specified) as soon as the trees came to bear fruits.

The government seems to have bestowed great care and attention to the question of land administration, and adopted certain definite methods of improving the land revenue, e.g. by way of affording good irrigational facilities and the like, as has been noted earlier.

We have also referred above to the fact that the State often encouraged the reclamation of waste lands and forest-tracts, and the establishment of new villages—thus bringing more fields under the plough—apparently with a view to get higher revenue.

There is good reason to believe that the principle of graded assessment[107] was actually followed as one of the measures of improving land revenue. Thus, for instance, an inscription[108] of 1186 A.D. from Bēlūr shows that to those who cut down trees in forest lands and reclaimed them, lands were granted free of all taxes for a period of 12 years ; and afterwards 10 *salage* of rice-land tax-free. Another record[109] from Mysore, of the 10th century A.D., however, shows that the

fixed assessment on a particular plot of land was made only at the beginning of the third year. What is more, another inscription[110] of 1271 A.D. from Mysore shows that land-tax was collected in two or three instalments, which obviously made it convenient to the tax-payers. This may be said to have satisfied one of the canons of taxation, viz., the canon of convenience, as we know it at present.

It may be noted, however, that, land-tax proper apart, there were also certain additional charges or demands on land made by the government. The most important of this group was the water-cess, or what may be called the irrigation revenue, apparently calculated to cover the expenses incurred in supplying water for agricultural purposes. Inscriptions often mention taxes like *kaṭṭe*, *kāluve*, *keṛe*,[111] *nīru-kūli*[112] *hoḷeya-suṅka*[113] etc., which were obviously collected by the government for the purpose of maintaining irrigation works.

It may be noted in this context that a charter,[114] belonging to the reign of the celebrated Western Cāḷukya ruler, Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076–1126), purports to lay down certain regulations for the collection of water-cess on the quantities of water supplied from a certain tank, for irrigating the fields. But, unfortunately, the text is far from being clear.

A Mysore inscription[115] of about 1080 A.D. states that one Karikanna fell fighting for water at the pool, and was buried. Then the tax was divided so that the water-supply might be equal to both the parties, Maridēva and Marana.

The irrigation-cess apart, there were also other demands on land collected by the government in order to meet the expenses incurred by it in maintaining a staff of local officials in charge of local affairs, and religious institutions like temples and *maṭhas*.[116] When these various taxes earmarked for specific purposes were collected along with the land-tax proper, the total demand from land may have been heavy. All the same, the land-tax as such probably formed the substantial part of the taxes collected on land.

(2) Property Taxes

In Ancient and Mediaeval India, as in many modern countries, all property, both movable and immovable, was subject to a certain tax. It may be noted that, while in the modern period, the annual income or the rental value of the property happens to be the basis for assessment, in ancient and mediaeval times,

the whole property, irrespective of the income from it, was taken into consideration for fixing the tax.

Among properties were included houses and house-sites, shops, livestock such as cows, bulls, sheep etc., carts and the like. The rate of taxes, however, appears to have varied from place to place and time to time.

Reference is often found in epigraphs to the house-tax (*manevaṇaṁ, manedeṟe*),[117] as also to the tax on house-sites (*maneya-nivēsaṇaṁ, maneya-nelasaṇaṁ*).[118] Even here, as in the case of land-tax, a graded scale of assessment was sometimes adopted. Thus an epigraph[119] of 1110 A.D., for instance, purports to describe certain municipal regulations pertaining to the capital town of Kōḷūr, formulated by the Western Cāḷukya ruler, prince Tailapadēva (son of Vikramāditya VI), with the consent of the principal residents of the place and others: when a new house was built, we are told, no tax was to be paid in the first year (*hosamaneya kaṭṭida barisa mānya*); in the second year half (? of the normal tax) [*eraḍaneya barisakarddha*]; and in the third year, however, the normal tax (as was levied on other old houses) was to be paid in three parts or instalments (*mūraneya barisakke haḷeya maneya teṟeyaṁ tribhāgadiṁ teruvaru*).

An inscription[120] of 1206 A.D. from Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa informs us that the merchants of the place were to pay once for all 8 *haṇas* as house-tax, on which one *haṇa* can be realised (as interest). A Muḷabāgal (Kolar District) inscription[121] of 1072 A.D., however, shows that the houses of the school-teacher, temple manager, and the village watchman were exempted from the payment of this tax. In another instance,[122] the houses of 12 ryots were exempted from the payment of the tax (*manedeṟe mānya*).

Further, reference is often made to a certain tax on shops (*aṅgaḍi, aṅgaḍideṟe*).[123] An epigraph[124] of 1204 A.D., for instance, refers to the clothier's shop, jeweller's shop, perfumer's shop, cotton-shop etc., each of which was taxed (as specified).

Inscriptions[125] often refer to some tax levied on livestock also, e.g. that on bullocks (*ettu*), buffaloes (*emme, koṇa*), asses (*katte*), goats (*āḍu*), sheep (*kuri*), and the like. Indeed, reference is also made to some tax on good bulls (*nallettu*), good cows (*nallāvu*) and good buffaloes (*nallemme*),[126] though its significance is not precisely known. Could it have been some tax on professional breeders' stocks?

Mention may also be made here of a certain tax levied on carts (*bhaṇḍi-deṟe*).[127] Reference is found to some tax called *dāya*, *dāya-dharmadateṟe*,[128] which seems to have been a tax on inheritance and partition of property.

(3) Profession Taxes

Taxes were levied on different professions, and perhaps there was practically no profession worth the name that was left untaxed. Thus, to mention only a few, taxes were levied on washermen (*asagadeṟe*), masons (*oḍḍadeṟe*), barbers (*nāvidadeṟe*), shepherds (? *sādadeṟe*), prostitutes (*sūḷedeṟe*), and so on.[129]

Reference is also made, interestingly enough, to a certain tax levied on the instruments used by such professionals in their respective professions, e.g. on the looking-glasses of prostitutes (*sūḷeyaralliya kannaḍivaṇa*).[130]

The tax varied from profession to profession. Moreover, as it was essentially a tax on income, it was generally collected in cash, though collection in kind was not unknown.[131]

(4) Commercial Taxes

A large share of the State's revenue was derived from duties levied on trade and commercial transactions. Taxes on the articles of trade may be levied in more than one form : as customs duties levied on imported or exported commodities ; and as octrois and tolls levied at the entrance to a town or part of a country, and while the articles pass through the land.

It may be noted that in the inscriptions we find the general term *suṅka*, which stands for customs duties as well as octrois and tolls, in different contexts. The customs duties or *suṅka*, according to B. L. Rice,[132] are spoken of as the *perjjuṅka* or *hejjuṅka*, those on wholesale articles in bulk ; and the *kiṟukula*, those on the miscellaneous petty retail articles. But, as has been noted above, such interpretations of the terms *perjjuṅka* and *kiṟukula* are not free from doubt.

Needless to say that to impose customs duties, it is necessary that there should be foreign trade in the country. Indeed, it has been noted already that there was a flourishing foreign—export and import—trade enjoyed by Karṇāṭaka during the period under study. Considerable amount of revenue, therefore, must

have been derived from the customs duties levied on the imported as well as exported articles.

The terms *volavāɣu* and *horavāɣu*, appearing in a Mysore epigraph[133] of 1172 A.D., have been taken by B. L. Rice to mean import and export duties. Again, an epigraph[134] of 1291 A.D. from Shimoga mentions revenue terms like *voḷa-suṅka* and *hora-suṅka*, which appear to stand for import and export duties.

Sōmēśvara,[135] like Manu,[136] observes that fifty per cent duty should be charged on animals and gold, while on the articles like scents, medicines, flowers, fruits, vegetables, earthen pots, leather goods and so on, over sixteen per cent duty should be levied. There is ample epigraphical evidence to show that most of these articles were subject to a certain duty. As a matter of fact, inscriptions[137] do furnish a long list of such articles of trade that were subject to such duties; and among them were, to mention only a few, animals like horses, elephants, cattle, sheep etc., many kinds of food grains, cloth, vegetables and fruits, precious metals and gems, earthen as well as metal ware, leather goods and so on.

An epigraph[138] of 1072 A.D. from Dharwar refers to the grant of the duties, *perjjuṅka* and the two (?) *bilkoḍe*, on two lakhs of areca-nuts for the tank called Piriyakere. Again, a Śikāripur[139] inscription of 1103 A.D. refers to the duties, *perjjuṅka*, *vaḍḍa-rāvuḷa* and the 'two *bilkoḍe*', levied on two lakhs of areca-nuts in whatever place they may be taken for sale.

Such duties were collected both in kind and cash. Rules in the Smṛti works, as also the observation of Sōmēśvara (as noted above), do suggest that the payment of such taxes was usually in kind (*bhāgaḥ*). Moreover, we often come across epigraphs[140] stating the actual quantity of oil, ghee, betel leaves, areca-nuts and the like, that was collected as dues in different places. However, that cash payment was also in practice becomes evident from instances on record.[141]

It may be added here that such duties often varied according to the quantity of the articles in question. Thus, for instance,[142] a tax of 50 areca-nuts was levied on a cart-load of areca-nut, while a tax of 25 areca-nuts had to be paid for a head-load of areca-nut. Again, in another instance,[143] a tax of 200 areca-nuts was levied on a cart-load of areca-nut, while a tax of only 50 nuts had to be paid for a bag containing areca-nuts.

Similarly, duties on betel-leaves were charged thus:[144] one *vīsa* on each load of a beast, half a *vīsa* on each head-load; and 100 leaves on each bamboo-

load, but only 50 leaves on each head-load.

Indeed, duties had to be paid on every article of sale or daily consumption[145]—perhaps there was hardly any commodity that could escape this taxation. As an epigraph[146] of 1173 A.D. from Belgaum puts it: whatever the article carried on the backs of bullocks, asses and he-buffaloes, it was all subject to taxation (*ettu-katte-kōṇaneṁbivaṟalāva bhaṇḍama hēṟidaḍe . . . . . suṅkamaṁ*).

Such duties apart, there was also a tax levied on the sale of commodities, which was in the nature of sales-tax. Indeed, a certain tax was levied both on buying and selling (*koṇḍalli koṭṭalli*).[147] On the sale of all articles sold by measures (*alate*), weights (*tūka*), counting (*eṇike*) or *viḷasapaḍi* (?), the sellers had to pay some tax (specified).[148] Needless to say that articles sold were quite numerous, such as animals like horses and elephants, precious gems, finer varieties of textiles and so on; the sale of all these commodities was subject to taxation.[149]

Besides, there appears to have been some tax levied on traders engaged in particular trades, e.g. that on bangale-sellers (*baḷagāra-suṅka*),[150] and betel-leaf sellers (? *eleya-bhojaṅgara mēle*)[151] and so on, which were apparently trade-taxes. A record[152] of 1106 A.D. from the Bellary District refers to *balañjīya-teṟe*, i.e. tax on merchants.

We may as well note here the remarks of Vijñānēśvara,[153] who observes (while discussing "Trading by Partnership") that for fixing the price of a commodity, the king should take a twentieth part of the price as a tax. This would make us believe that the prices of commodities were probably fixed by the State. Significantly enough, Sōmēśvara[154] refers to officers in charge of 'market-rate' (*arghādhikāriṇaḥ*). And, a Mangalore record[155] of 1204 A.D. mentions an officer in charge of shops, *aṅgaḍiya-adhikāri*—apparently an official having control over the commercial transations, as has been noted earlier.

(5) Taxes on Industries

Another important source of income to the State was from the taxes payable by industrial establishments. While discussing above the various industries of the period under review, we have had an occasion to refer incidentally to the taxes, i.e. excise duties, that were levied on such industries.

Indeed, many were the industries that were subject to taxation. We find, for instance, reference to the taxes on the weaving industry (*maggdeṟe*),[156] oil production (*gāṇadeṟe*),[157] production of sugar and jaggery (*āledeṟe*), manufacture of salt (*lavaṇa, lavaṇāya*),[159] mining of iron (*karbuna-suṅka*)[160] and such other industries. Reference is often found in the epigraphs to a tax called *hogedeṟe* (? smoke-tax); but it is not exactly known as to which industry this tax refers.

Besides, some tax was levied on petty artisans such as smiths, carpenters and the like (*pañca-kāruka, kārudeṟe*).[162] In an epigraph of the 13th century A.D., this tax is called *kāruka-sēve*[163] (artisan's service). In another record of 1213 A.D. from Dharwar,[164] it is clearly stated that artisans—as also the Śūdras—would do unpaid labour, evidently in lieu of the taxes they had to pay. It is not unlikely that such artisans were expected to work for one or two days a month for the State, as enjoined by the Smṛti writers.[165]

(6) Social and Communal Taxes

Mention may be made here of certain taxes, which were in the nature of social or communal taxes. Certain taxes were levied on marriages (*maduveyādaḍe koṇḍalli hāga koṭṭalli hāga*).[166] It is of interest to note that taxes were collected from both the bride's party (*maduvaḷigeyavaralli*) and the bridegroom's party (*maduvaṇiganalli*). In another instance, we read that a *cauvala* (?) was collected from both the parties, when marriages were celebrated in the family of local merchants; if marriages were celebrated outside the locality (*bērūra maduveya sthaḷake kaḷihidalli*) one *hāga* was collected from both.[168]

Besides, there were also petty taxes levied on the pendals [*handara-vaṇa* (*haṇa*)],[169] on the ornamental seats (for seating the bride and the bridegroom) (*haseya-vaṇa*),[170] on ornamental gold decorations [worn on the foreheads of the betrothed] (*bāsigadeṟe*),[171] etc. But it is not certain whether all these taxes were collected on the occasion of the marriage,[172] or on different occasions.

To this category we may add some more, e.g. those on the attainment of puberty (*meyineradalli*), initiation of a child (*ōdaliṭṭalli*), settling in a new house (*bēragaṭṭuvalli*) and the like.[173]

It is curious to learn that there was some tax on children (*bāla-paṇa*)[174] also. An epigraph[175] of 1205 A.D. from Hassan District would have us doubt if this was probably a tax on the children of the untouchables (*holeyara bāla-paṇavanettu-*

valli——holeyara balāpaṇavanu . . . . .). But we are, unfortuuately, not in a position to ascertain whether this was a tax on the children of a particular community, or a general tax on all children, irrespective of caste or community. We need not, however, enter into the ethics of such a tax here, which was apparently in the nature of a poll-tax. We may only recall here that such a tax is an old one in India, and was in vogue during the Mauryan rule.[176]

Reference is found to a certain tax that was collected from certain classes of people, which was clearly in the nature of a poll-tax. Mention may be made, for instance, of a tax that seems to have been levied on the Jaina ascetics (*Āśuvi-makkaḷ*), referred to in an epigraph[177] of 1072 A.D. from Kolar District: they had to pay one *kāśu* each. Moreover, the revenue term *maṇḍe-gadyāṇa* (?), appearing in a Mysore record[178] of 1280 A.D., seems to refer to such a poll-tax, which may be defined as a capitation or head-tax levied on individuals. Nayasēna[179] seems to allude, in one of his stories, to such a poll-tax.

(7) Miscellaneous Taxes

Under this head may be considered some taxes which, though important, cannot be dealt with separately, mainly because of the meagre information available about them in the sources; and also for this reason that may of the terms are difficult to explain satisfactorily.

a) Labour Tax: Biṭṭi[180] (Skt. viṣṭi)

This tax, in the form of forced or unpaid labour, was very common in Ancient India.[181] And, it has been referred to by Manu and other Smṛti writers,[182] who enjoin that artisans, Śūdras and the like, should work for the State free for one or two days in the month.

Quite in keeping with the Smṛti injunctions, it appears, an epigraph[183] of 1213 A.D. from Dharwar shows that artisans and the Śūdras were required to work free (*Śūdraruṁ kārukaruṁ biṭṭi-besaṁ māḍuvaru*) in lieu of a tax.

An inscription[184] of 1089 A.D. from Kolar shows that a Brāhmaṇa was granted right of exacting unpaid labour, such as beating the husk from paddy and such other services. According to R. K. Mookerjea,[185] forced labour in South India seems to have been employed for the construction of irrigational works: and "even the central government sometimes exploited compulsory labour for its own

purpose. The great temple of Tanjore, for instance, was built largely by forced labour". It is not unlikely that even in Karṇāṭaka forced labour should have been exploited in the construction of numerous irrigational works and temples, although positive evidence is lacking on the point.

b) Profits Tax : Lābhāya[186]

This was apparently a tax on the merchant's profits in his business. Merchants of Beḷagoḷa,[187] for instance, were to pay one per cent of their profits earned locally or from foreigners.

c) Income Tax

The tax on income is no modern invention, and was known to Ancient India as referred to by Kauṭily and others.[188] There can be little doubt that income-tax was collected during this period too. An imprecation runs (at the end of an inscription of 1288 A. D. from Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa)[189] thus : If any one (among the merchants) denies or conceals his income, his race shall be childless ; he shall be a traitor to the god, king and to the creed. "This cannot", remarks the editor of the record, "but be of some interest to the Income-Tax Department".

Here are some of the taxes, often referred to in epigraphs, but whose nature or significance is by no means clear, given in the Kannaḍa alphabetical order :

1) *aḍekaluvaṇa* (?)[190]
2) *aḍegarcu* (?)[191]
3) *āḷivasatāya* (?) [192]—probably some military tax (?)
4) *uduvavaludeṛe* (?)[193]
5) *ūruṭṭige*[194] (?)—probably some tax collected for public works.
6) *okkaludeṛe*[195]—it was some tax on agriculture or family (*okkalu*).
7) *osage* (?)[196]—*osage* means a feast. This may have been some tax collected on feasts and festive occasions.
8) *kaṇḍike-vaṇa* (?)[197]—*kaṇḍike*, however, means a roll of thread on a small stick, which is put into the weaver's shuttle.
9) *kandi* (?)[198]
10) *kavaṇāya* (?)[199]
11) *kavarte* (?)[200]
12) *kaḷḷavaḷike* (?)[201]
13) *kaḷuku* (?)[202]
14) *kuṇike* (?)[203]

15) *kūṭaka* (?)[204]—probably some tax on plougshare.
16) *koṭṭigedeṟe*[205]—tax on cow-sheds.
17) *koḍati-vaṇa* (?)[206]—tax on smiths and smithies.
18) *koḍavīsa*(?)[207]
19) *koḍevaṇa*[208] (?)—propbably some tax on umbrellas (?)
20) *koḷḷi* (?)[209]
21) *jaḍedeṟe*[210]—tax on top-knots (?)
22) *jallam* (?)[211]
23) *jāḍasāli* (?)[212]
24) *ḍoṅki* (?)[213]
25) *taḷa* (?),[214] *taḷa-sārige*[215]—probably some road-cess (?)
26) *tippe-suṅka*[216]—tax on manure-pits (?)
27) *teppa-suṅka*[217]—apparently some tax on rafts and boats.
28) *toḍaru-gadyāṇa*[218]—tax on ornaments (?)
29) *taude* (?)[219]
30) *dēvideṟe* (?)[220]—some tax collected at the time of the queen's visit (?)
31) *parikhāya*[221]
32) *paripu* (?)
33) *pāraṇe* (?)[222] —These two come under *kiṟukuḷa*
34) *pogavoge* (?)[223]
35) *baṇṇige*,[224] *baṇṇigedeṟe*[225] (?)—An epigraph[226] of 1192 A. D. (Bijapur District) would have us doubt whether it was some tax levied on gardens (*dēvara tōṇṭada baṇṇigedeṟe*). However, its exact meaning is not known.
36) *baḷaṁbeya-teṟe*[227]—(?) tax on hayricks (*baṇabe*).
37) *birdu* (?)[228].
38) *bīya* (?)[229]—tax collected on the celebration of festivals (?).
39) *bīravaṇa* (?)[230]—one may dobut whether it is another form of *vīra-paṇa*.[231] But, curiously enough, it seems to have been some cess on the betel leaves, as may be gathered from the context in which the word appears, in two epigraphs[232] from the Dharwar District, both dated A. D. 1144.
40) *bennirke* (?)[233]
41) *beḷḷāya-suṅka* (?)[234]
42) *manakare* (?)[235]
43) *manneyadeṟe*[236]—apparently some tax collected for a chieftain, or ruler of a group of villages (*manneya*).
44) *maraviṭṭi* (?)[237]

45) *maḷabiya*,[238] *maḷabraya* (?)[239]—could it be a tax collected for keeping the town or village clean (?). An epigraph[240] of 1260 A. D. refers to some tax called *grāma-breya*.

46) *mūle-suṅka* (?)[241]

47) *mēgaḷvaṇa* (?)[242]

48) *maulika*[243]—Dr. D. C. Sircar[244] takes it as "the principal or main tax, or the perquisites of hereditary officer". It may be remembered here that the term *maula* appears in the *Arthaśāstra*[245] of Kauṭilya in the sense of "hereditary troops".

49) *vaṇṭhadeṟe* (?)[246]

50) *vaṭṭaparikhāya* (?)[247]

51) *sāda*,[248] *sādda*[249] (?)

52) *surandu* (?)[250]

53) *sollaṁ* (?)[251]

54) *haḍavaḷeya* (?)[252]—*haḍavaḷa* = *paḍevaḷa*=commander of a force.

55) *hadika* (?)[253]—A Hassan record[254] of 1200 A. D. mentions *kōṭeya-hadike*, i. e. some 'fort-tax'.

56) *hadiyaḷāya* (?)[255]

57) *hārikāya-suṅka* (?)[256]

58) *hālāvu*[257]—(?) some tax on milch-cows.

59) *hodake*,[258] *hodike*[259] (?)—seems to have been some tribute which the king had the right to expect on occasions.

60) *holedeṟe*[260]—(?) outcaste-tax.

61) *hosatilu-vaṇa*[261]—(lit.) a threshold-tax ; probably a tax on the construction of new houses (? hosat-il).

The above list (by no means exhaustive) shows the variety of taxes levied and collected during the period. It may be noted that "the regulation of the total burden laid on any class or group was a matter carried out in a rough and ready manner, in the light of a general sense of fairness and equity."[262] Moreover, most of the minor levies were not general taxes paid by all, but only sectional dues ; if this fact is not firmly grasped, the large number of taxes mentioned above "may give rise to a false impression regarding the general burden of imposts".[263]

All said and done, as to the question whether taxation was heavy and oppressive, the answer might be in affirmation—it was heavy, perhaps heavier than the people could bear ! In the history of South India, the taxation system was at times found, in actual practice, to have been oppressive during certain periods of the Cōḷa and Vijayanagar rule, due largely to the different methods adopted by

the tax collecting agencies.[264] The condition does not seem to have been quite different in Karṇāṭaka of the period under study. Many were the agencies and institutions to whom the taxes were often assigned. As a matter of fact, on land were levied (apart from the land-tax proper) levies such as *siddhāya, sēse, kāṇike* and the like. Besides, a cultivator had also to pay taxes on his house, cows, manure-pit and so on. Further, when he wanted to sell the produce of his land at the market or at weekly fairs, he had to pay dues and tolls. It may be borne in mind that these were in the nature of 'direct taxes'.

It is important to note that, apart from the well-established and old taxes (*pūrvāya*),[265] there was the fear of new taxes also (*apūrvāya*),[266] which the people had to pay as and when they were levied by the government (*aramane-yindalū apūrvāya muntāgi ēnu bandaḍam* ;[267] *munde puṭṭuva apūrvāyamellavaṁ*,[268] etc).

It may, however, be argued that the government returned to the people at large a big share of what it took from them by way of taxation, in the form of grants to temples, educational institutions and the like ; also by constructing irrigational works, and undertaking such other works of public utility.

Clear instances are on record to show that people could organise themselves and successfully oppose the levy of any unjust taxes and the heavy exactions of the government. Thus, for instance, an epigraph[269] of 1072 A. D. from Kolar District shows that the people met in an assembly and resolved that the taxation on cows and she-buffaloes was not sanctioned by the usage of the district since immemorial times and should not, therefore, be paid. They further specified the rates at which they were ready to pay land-tax, and also the length of the measuring rod to be used for measuring lands.

In another instance,[270] a representation was made against the levying of taxes on a *sarvamānya* village. In about 1139 A. D., a person fought to death, being harassed to pay an unjust tax by an official.[271]

These records would show how people often tried to declare and protect their rights against undue encroachments ; and, if need be, openly protested when they felt oppressed unjustly. But, such instances are few and far between ; and it cannot be held that such a condition was either continuous or universal.

It may also be added here that evasion of taxes was not unknown during this period, as is perhaps the case in all countries and at all times. Literary

works of the period, particularly those of Dāsimayya.[272] Nayasēna,[273] Basavaṇṇa[274] and others, often refer, by way of simile and analogy, to those who tried to evade the payment of taxes, and were in constant fear of tax-collectors. Vijñānēśvara[275] observes that a trader, who conceals the real quantity of a commodity, with the object of defrauding the customs officers, or skulks from the tolling officers, should be fined eight times the amount of the value of the commodity.

B. Contributions and Fines

Doubtless the bulk of the State's revenue was derived from taxation, as mentioned above. But, there were other sources of the State's income, among which mention may be made here of occasional contributions and judicial fines.

1) Contributions (*kāṇike*)

Reference is found in the inscriptions to various occasions, when people had to make certain contributions to the State. Thus, for example, when a prince was born (*putrōtsavadalli*),[276] people were required to make some contributions. This is referred to in some inscriptions as *kumāra-gadyāṇa*,[277] *kumāragāṇike*.[278] Similarly, the coronation of a king was another such occasion. An epigraph (of the time of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III)[279] purports to say that the donee (to whom a village was granted with all the eight-fold rights) should not be disturbed even on such occasions as the king's coronation and the birth of a prince. Further, it appears that some contribution had also to be made when inspecting officers and others visited the village or town on duty, which are referred to as *darśana*,[280] *daruśana-kāṇike*.[281]

To this group may be added others such as *nāḍaheggaḍe-kāṇike*, *daṇḍina-kāṇike* and the like. Besides, mention is also made of *sēse* for king (*rājana-sēse*) as well as emperor (*cakravartiya-sēse*).[282] But it is not known what exactly was the nature of such contributions, or the occasion on which they were made.

These apart, fodder had also to be supplied to the horses, elephants etc., of the king (*aramaneyinda āneyasēse kudureya-sēse yendu . . . .*).[283] This is also referred to as *khāṇa* in some records.[284]

Besides such contributions, the government derived income from other sources which were in the nature of some fees or offerings given by people, e.g. *harike*, *kaṭṭale*, *āṇe*, *ghōṣaṇe*, *haraṇe*, *mudrā-paṇa* and the like.[285]

2) Judicial Fines

Judicial fines also added considerably to the State revenues. The income from this source, i.e. the income derived by way of inflicting punishments for the wrongs and crimes committed, is often referred to in the inscriptions[286] as *daṇḍāya*, *danḍadāya* etc. Indeed, inscriptions[287] do often refer to many such wrongs and crimes, e. g. *tappu* (? faults), *tavuḍi* (?decrease), *kaḷavu* (theft), *hādara*[288] (adultery), *vaḍeda-tale* (injury inflicted to the head), *vokkabharaṇa* (?) and so on. An inscription[289] of 1138 A. D., for instance, refers to some money income derived from such legal proceedures (*nyāya-vicāradi banda mudraṇa eraḍu*).

Vijñānēśvara discusses at some length what is called 'eight-fold fines'[290]; and to enumerate them all here would mean a long list. In brief, however, we may mention some cases, e. g. a dispute between the creditor and the debtor,[291] the case of false witnesses'[292] and the like—in all such cases, judicial fines were payable.

It is interesting to find in some epigraphs the amount of fines specified for different offences. Thus, for instance, we read in a record[293] of 1056 A. D. that, according to ancient custom, for transgression of orders, a fine of 52 black *drammas* was levied ; and for one who seizes (?) 12 *drammas* ; for one who draws the dagger, 100 *drammas* ; and for one who stabs 95 *drammas*. This custom, it is stipulated in the record, was to be maintained without fail.

In another epigraph[294] of about 1131 A. D., we read that a certain person (named) paid a fine of 50 *gadyāṇas* as fine for killing his son. That, by the act of the town, the father's shoulder was also trampled, is quite a different matter related therein.

The income from such fines was often gifted, like other sources of income, for works of public utility, such as digging a tank and the like. A record[295] of 1041 A. D., for instance, refers to the gift of incomes from fines for building a tank called Raṭṭasamudra (*Raṭṭasamudravan-agaḷisalendu . . . . . puṭṭida daṇḍāya-mella keṛege*).

There is one more point which deserves a passing notice in this context. The right of the king to take by escheat the property of those dying without recog-

nised heirs (*aputrika-dhana*)[296] seems to have been asserted, and was often assigned in the same way as the land-revenue, or other sources of revenue.[297] It is significant to note that Vijñānēśvara[298] discusses this problem of heirless property at great length, quoting many authorities and answering so many objections connected with the issue—a fact indicating the importance attached to this problem in those days.

He who has no son, observes the learned commentator, of any sort among the 12 descriptions (explained in an earlier context)[299] is *aputraḥ*. In the case of wealth which is without heirs—starting from one's wife and down to the fellow-student—provided it belonged to Kṣatriyas and others, but not to Brāhmaṇas, the king may take it. But, never shall a king take the wealth of a Brāhmaṇa, lest he should become tainted with sin . . . . . etc.

So far Vijñānēśvara.[300] It has been pointed out[301] that in inheritance cases the law was mixed: towards Coorg, for instance, the inheritance of widows-daughters and sons, and daughters of female slaves, without limitation on the estate taken, was recognised without question;[302] and, in the central Hoysaḷa-nāḍ, not all castes allowed widows to inherit, though the modern 'widow's limited estate, appears to have been unknown. In the east, brothers, even if separated from the joint family of the propositus, took precedence in inheritance over widows, daughters and parents. Moreover, in merchant castes, women seem to have been excluded from inheritance; and the only problem was to prevent the property of sonless (including grandson-less) men from falling into the king's hands as *bona vacantia*.

Indeed, the merchants of Baḷḷigāve[303] (Shimoga District) decided in 1054 A.D. that the property of the sonless (*aputrika-dhana*) among them should go to God. Probably, their decision was sanctioned by the king also.

Naturally, the king's taking away the heirless property was never welcome. It is interesting to read in an epigraph[304] of 1113 A.D. that Tailapadēva (son of Vikramāditya VI), at the request of the principal residents of the place (specified), made certain regulations against 'social evils' pertaining to that town; and—what is more important to the point here—one such regulation was that, thereafter, the property of the sonless should not be taken away, apparently by the king (*aputrika-dhanamaṁ koḷḷadantāgiyuṁ*)

There is epigraphical[305] evidence to show that often such heirless property was utilised for charitable purposes. Even the property of the Brāhmaṇas dying without heirs—it could not be claimed by the State as per the Sacred Law[306]—was usually devoted to the financing of works of public utility, like the construction and upkeep of artificial lakes for water storage[307] and the like

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 *AS*, (Tr.) p. 65.

2 *Abhila.*, I. 544, p. 95: *"kōśavān sukhamāpnōti kōśahīnastu sīdati"*.

3 See M. H. Gopal, *Mauryan Public Finance*, p. 20.

4 *Ibid.*

5 T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 148.

6 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, p. 672.

7 T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, p. 149.

8 Cf. D. C. Sircar, *IEG*, p. 41—The term *āya*, literally means income. In the records, it appears as a general and fiscal term, denoting 'revenue', 'tax'.

9 *EHD*, pp. 389–90. Dr. Sircar (*IEG*, p. 310) takes the term *siddha* to mean "income from land under cultivation". [Read: "Siddhāya mattu Aruvaṇa," an article by the present author in *Sādhane* (A Kannada quarterly of the Bangalore University) 1.2 (1972), pp. 200–205].

10 *EC*, VII, Sk. 112.

11 *ARIE*, 1961–62, B. No. 84.

12 *IEG*, p. 311.

13 *MAR.* (1923), No. 1.

14 *EC*, III, TN. 98 (1300 A.D.).

15 *Ibid.*, V, Bl.140 (1200 A.D.).

16 *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 38 (1284 A.D.).

17 *MAR.* (1923), No. 1 (p. 33, ll. 130–39).

18 *KI*, V, 24.

19 *EC*, I, Cg. 33.

20 J.D.M. Derrett, *The Hoysaḷas*, pp. 194–195.

21 *IA*, XIX, p. 64 (1040 A.D.).

22 *IEG*, p. 260.

23 *EHD*, p. 390.

24 *EI*, XV, pp. 335–36; also *IA*, X, p. 67—*pannāsu*.

25 *EI*, XV, p. 336 (n. 3).

26 G. S. Gai, *Historical Grammar of Old Kannaḍa*, p. 203.

27 *IEG*, p. 234.

28 *Pra. Kar.*, Vol. 51, part II, p. 92.

29 *SII*, XV, 57.

30 *SII*, XV, 5 (1106 A.D.), IX.i, 223 (1127 A.D.), etc.

31 *Ibid*., IX, i, 233; *BKI*, I.ii, 190 (1106 A.D.), etc.; *IEG*, p. 4—"department of taxation or coining".

32 *SII*, IX. i, 228 (1133 A.D.)

33 *BKI*, I. i, 74 (A.D. 1041); *SII*, IX.i, 172 (1106 A.D.), etc.

34 *KI*, I, 17 (1055 A.D.).

35 *EHD*, p. 389.

36 *KI*, II, 8 (1072 A.D.); *EC*, VII, Sk. 98 (1103 A.D.), etc. *IEG*, p. 128, *hejjuṅka=perjuṅka*—Skt. *mahāśulka* or *bṛhac-culka*.

37 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 299 (1074 A.D.); *EI*, XIX, p. 189 (1079 A.D.), etc.—The precise meaning of *bilkoḍe* is not known. But, the word *bil* means "to sell, to buy"—[Kittel's Dictionary, p. 1121]. Could the expression *eraḍuṁ bilkoḍe* mean some tax levied on both selling and buying commodities like areca-nuts, etc.?

38 *EHD*, p. 415.

39 *ARIE*, 1960–61, B. No. 521.

40 *EHD*, p. 390. See for these revenue terms an article "vaḍḍrāvuḷa mattu bilkoḍe" by Dr. K. V. Ramesh in *Sādhane* (1.3, 1972) pp. 189 ff. It has been suggested that the *vaḍḍarāvuḷa* is the *tadbhava* form of SKt. *vṛddharājakula*, and it, therefore, signifies taxes levied for the maintenance of senior members and officers of the royalty.

41 *EI*, XVI, p. 79.

42 *SII*, IX.i, 223.

43 *Dharm*., I, 2.234, p. 93: "*Ātaṁ dēvādhīśvaraṁ ītaṁ kiṟukuḷa manuṣyan* . . "; also *Ba. Va*., 559, p. 143; Ma. Va., 11, p. 4, etc.

44 *EC*, IX, Kn. 72. Cf. *IEG*, pp. 415–16: *kiṟukuḷa* (Tamil)—commercial tax or tolls on retail articles; tax on grains and pulses. Dr. Sircar [Ibid., p. 227] gives *pākadaṇḍa*, as an equivalent of the *kiṟu-kuḷa* of Kannaḍa, without explaining that word.

45 *ARIE*, 1960–61, B. No. 529 (Vikramāditya VI's reign).

46 *SII*, XX, 180 (1129 A.D.).

47 *SII*, XX, No. 47. [The term *kiṟudeṟe* has not been noticed in Dr. Sircar's *Glossary*].

48 *EC*, V, Hn. 139 (1200 A.D.); IX, Kn. 72 (1277 A.D.), etc.

49 Kittel's *Dictionary*, p. 512; J.D.M. Derrett, *op. cit*., p. 199.

50 J.D.M. Derrett, *op. cit.*, p. 199. Cf. *Dharm.*, I, 9.108, p. 439 : "*kudurege khāṇaṁ*".

51 *EC*, IX, Kn. 72 (1277 A.D.).

52 J.D.M. Derrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 199.

53 *EC*, IV, Ng. 39 (1271 A.D.) ; Ng. 38 (1284 A.D.), etc.

54 *EI*, XV, p. 346 (n. 2).

55 *Dharm.*, I, 9.149, p. 457 ; also II, 14.47, p. 219 ; 14.104, p. 232, etc.

56 Kittel's *Dictionary*, pp. 1465, 1593 ; also cf. *IEG*, p. 309.

57 V. S. Apte's *Dictionary*, p. 562.

58 *Pra. Kar.*, Vol. 51, II, p. 92.

59 Kittel's *Dictionary*, p. 1593.

60 *EI*, XV, pp. 341 ff. (A.D. 1071 and 1072).

61 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171 (1124 A.D.).

62 *EC*, IV, Ng. 38 and 39.

63 *Ibid.*

64 *IA*, XIX, p. 247.

65 *BKI*, I.i, 50 ; also see *Ibid.*, 52 (1007 A.D.), etc.

66 *EI*, XV, pp. 335–36 (1040 A.D.).

67 *BKI*, I.i, 70 (1045 A.D.). Cf. *Sādhane*, 1.2 (1972), pp. 203–205].

68 G. S. Gai, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

69 *IEG*, p. 29.

70 *EC*, I, Cg. 33.

71 *Ibid.*

72 *Ibid.*, Cg. 54.

73 *Ibid.*, IX, Kn. 72.

74 *KI*, I, 19 (1108 A.D.).

75 T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

76 B. L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 173.

77 T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–51.

78 *Abhila.*, I. 165, p. 54.

79 Such a classification of villages was quite in tune with the observations of both Kauṭilya and Śukra—see M. H. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 64 and n. 38.

80 *EC*, V, Cn. 170.

81 *Ibid.*, VI, Kd. 133.

82 *MAR.* (1910), p. 36, para. 86 (Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III's time).

83 *EC*, III, TN. 27 (1290 A.D.).

84 *Ibid.*, III, Md. 3 (In Grantha characters).

85 *Ibid.*, VII, Ci. 52 (1233 A.D.); *EI*, XX, p. 121 (1167 A.D.); *EC*, VI, Kd. 96 (1141 A.D.); *EI*, XII, p. 331 (1105 A.D.); *BKI*, I.i, No. 89 (1053 A.D.), etc.

86 *EI*, XIII, pp. 174–75 (1055 A.D.); *KI*, I, 17 (1055 A.D.), etc.

87 *EI*, XV, p. 347 (1072 A.D.); *EC*, X, Mb. 49a (1072 A.D.), etc.

88 C. Hayavadana Rao, *Mys. Gaz.*, II.ii, p. 960.

89 K.A.N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 195, *The Cōḷas*, p. 527.

90 T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.* p. 155.

91 A. S. Altekar, *State and Government*, p. 196.

92 *Ibid.*

93 T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

94 *Abhila.*, I. 165, p. 54.

95 *Manu*, VII. 130—Indeed, Manu could not have the same types of land in his view, when in the same breath he recommends that the land taxation should be either 8 or 12 or 16 per cent. This fact is clearly borne out by the observation of his celebrated commentator, Kullūka.

96 *EC*, XI, Dv. 75.

97 *Ibid.*, X, Mb. 49a (1072 A.D.).

98 *Ibid.*, Mb. 107.

99 Dr. A. S. Altekar [*op. cit.*, p. 197] thinks, on the authority of Śukra, that the share claimed by the State would be about 16 per cent of the gross produce, and 25 per cent of the net income.

100 *Sa. Pa.*, 12.47, p. 286.

101 *EI*, XXI, p. 12.

102 *EC*, V, Bl. 89 (1280 A.D.).

103 *Ibid.*, II, 326 (c. 1200 A.D.); IX, Bn. 6 (1253 A.D.), etc.

104 *Ibid.*, IX, Bn. 6.

105 *EC*, VII, Sk. 20a.

106 *Ibid.*, VI, Tk. 43 (c. 1210 A.D.).

107 Indeed, such a principle of graded assessment—charging only a nominal tax in the beginning, but gradually raising it to the normal rates in 4 or 5 years—was quite in tune with Kauṭilya and Śukra—see A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

108 *EC*, V, Bl. 175.

109 *Ibid.*, III, Sr. 148.

110 *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 39.

111 *Ibid.*

112 *Ibid.*, IV, Ch. 84 (1280 A.D.).

113 *Ibid.*, III, Sr. 154 (c. 1160 A.D.).

114 *KIAP*, Wg. 19.

115 *EC*, IV, Hs. 34.

116 A. Appadorai, *op. cit.*, pp. 680, 728; T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

117 *KI*, I, 17 (1055 A.D.); *EC*, IV, Ng. 39 (1271 A.D.); Ch. 84 (1280 A.D.); I, Cg. 54 (c. 1300 A.D.), etc.

118 *EC*, VII, Sk. 20 (1050 A.D.); *SII*, XV, 111 (1165 A.D.), etc.

119 *KIAP*, Mn. 39.

120 *EC*, II, 333 (128).

121 *Ibid.*, X, Mb. 49a.

122 *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 39 (1271 A.D.).

123 *EC*, XI, Cl. 21 (1087 A.D.); XII, Kg. 1 (1157 A.D.); IV, Ng. 38 (1284 A.D.), etc.

124 *EI*, XIII, p. 26.

125 *EC*, XII, Kg. 1 (1157 A.D.); *SII*, XX, 138 (1162 A.D.); 139 (1163 A.D.), etc.

126 *EC*, X, Mb. 49a (1072 A.D.); I, Cg. 33 (1178 A.D.); IV, Ng. 38 (1234 A.D.), etc.

127 *Ibid.*, XI, Jl. 9 (1111 A.D.); IV, Hs. 137 (1162 A.D.), etc.

128 *BKI*, I.ii, 186 (1103 A.D.); *EC*, VII, Hl 46 (1149 A.D.), etc.

129 *EC*, XI, Dg. 133 (1071 A.D.); X, Mb. 49a (1072 A. D.); IV, Hs. 137 (1162 A. D.); X, Kl. 55 (1285 (A.D.), etc.

130 *SII*, IX.i, 113 (1054 A.D.)]; *EC*, VII, Sk. 295 (1074 A.D.).

131 *JBBRAS*, X, p. 249 (1219 A.D.).

132 B. L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 175.

133 *EC*, IV, Hs. 137.

134 *Ibid.*, VII, Sh. 78.

135 *Abhila.*, I. 164-67, p. 54.

136 *Manu*, VII, 130-32.

137 *EC*, XI, Cl. 21 (1087 A. D.); XII, Pg. 43 (c. 1150 A. D.); Kg. 1 (1157 A.D.); *SII*, XV, 211 (1196 A.D.), etc.

138 *KI*, II, No. 8.

139 *EC*, VII, Sk. 98.

140 *Ibid.*, XII, Ck. 11 (1172 A.D.); XI, Dg. 105 (1218 A.D.), etc.

141 *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 77 (1165 A.D.); Dg. 129 (1236 A.D.), etc.

142 *EC*, XII, Ck. 21 (1160 A.D.).

143 *Ibid.*, II, 349 (1159 A.D.).

144 *JBBRAS*, X, No. VI (1219 A.D.).

145 *EC*, VII, Sk. 100 (1123 A.D.); Sk. 236 (1174 A.D.), etc.

146 *KI*, V, 64.

147 *SII*, IX.i, 297 (1177 A.D.); XV, 165 (1220 A.D.), etc.

148 *KI*, V, 64 (1173 A.D.).

149 *Ibid.*, 21 (1125 A.D.); *APGAS*, No. 9: Ins. Nos. 13-14 (1288-89 A.D.), etc.

150 *KI*, V, 9 (1072 A.D.).

151 *Ibid.*, 32 (1215 A.D.).

152 *SII*, IX.i, 172.

153 *Mita.*, II. 261, (Tr.) p. 1306.

154 *Abhila.*, III. 1265, p. 316.

155 *SII*, VII, 185.

156 *EC*, IX, Cp. 66 (1288 A.D.); *MAR.* (1942), 26, p. 127 (c. 1270 A.D.), etc.

157 *EC*, XII, Pg. 43 (c. 1150 A.D.); IV, Hs. 137 (1162 A.D.); VII, Hl. 46 (1189 A.D.), etc.

158 *EC*, X, Kl. 110 (c. 1280 A.D.); IV, Kd. 49 (1291 A.D.), etc.

159 *EC*, IX, Cp. 66; *MAR.* (1910), p. 36, para. 86, etc.

160 *Ibid.*

161 EC, IX, Cp. 66; *MAR.* (1942), 26, p. 127, etc.

162 *EC*, IX, Cp. 66; *MAR.* (1910), p. 36, para. 86, etc.

163 *MAR.* (1940), 5, p. 118.

164 *SII*, XV, No. 159.

165 A. S. Altekar, *State and Government*, pp. 204–05.

166 *SII*, XV, 211 (1196 A.D.).

167 *Ibid.*, 112 (1169 A.D.); *EC*, V, Ak. 48 (1189 A.D.); VII, SK. 112 (1139 A. D.), etc.

168 *HAS*, 18: Ins. No. 17 (1215 A.D.).

169 *EC*, VII, Sk. 295 (1074 A.D.); I, Cg. 33 (1176 A.D.); VII, Hl. 46 (1189 A.D.), etc.

170 *KI*, V, 32 (1215 A.D.); I, 30 (1222 A.D.), etc.

171 *MAR.* (1910), p. 36, para. 86.

172 *EC*, V, Ag. 6 (? 1229 A.D.)—"*maduveyoḷagāda-yēnuḷḷa-suṅkavanu*"—probably on account of their unpopularity in the Vijayanagara period, they were abolished by Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya—T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

173 *HAS*, No. 18: Ins. No. 17.

174 *EC*, V, Hn. 94 (1237 A.D.); *MAR.* (1910), p. 36, para. 86, etc. *EC*, III, TN. 63 (1748 A.D.) refers to *bāladeṛige*. According to some, *bālavaṇa* may mean a certain tax levied on bullocks and the like—cf. M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

175 *EC*, V, Cn. 181.

176 M. H. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

177 *EC*, X, Mb. 49a.

178 *Ibid.*, IV, Ch. 84.

179 *Dharm.*, I, 2.20, p. 50.

180 *EC*, IV, Ng. 39 (1271 A.D.); VI, Tk. 55 (? 1291 A.D.); I, Cg. 54 (1300 A.D.), etc.

181 It was common during the Mauryan rule. In his famous edict at Girnār, Rudradāman claims proudly that the Sudarśana lake was rebuilt "without oppressing the inhabitants of the town and country by taxes, forced labour, and acts of affection".—see M. H. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–06.

182 A. S. Altekar, *State and Government*, p. 206.

183 *SII*, XV, No. 159.

184 *EC*, X, Kl. 149a.

185 B. K. Mookerjea, *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 146–47.

186 *KI*, V, 21 (1125 A.D.) ; I, 30 (1222 A. D.), etc.

187 *EC*, II, No. 336 (1288 A. D.).

188 M. H. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–02.

189 *EC*, II, 336.

190 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171 (1124 A.D.).

191 *EC*, VIII, Nr. 36 (1077 A. D.).

192 *BKI*, I. i, 75 (1042 A.D.).

193 *EC*, IV, Hs. 137 (1162 A. D.).

194 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171 (1124 A.D.).

195 *SII*, XX, 196 (1124 A. D.).

196 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171 (1124 A.D.).

197 *EC*, VI, Tk. 20 (1185 A.D.).

198 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171.

199 *SII*, IX. i, 172 (1106 A.D.).

200 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171.

201 *EI*, XXVIII, p. 33 (1082 A.D.).

202 *EC*, VI, Tk. 20.

203 *SII*, XX, 180 (1192 A.D.).

204 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171.

205 *KI*, V, 19 (1121 A.D.) ; *EC*, V, Hn. 139 (1200 A. D.).

206 *Ibid.*; also Derrett. *op. cit.*, p. 199.

207 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 388 (1089 A. D.) ; VII, Sk. 242 (1163 A. D.), etc.

208 *EI*, XXVII, p. 179 (1115 A.D.); *IA*, X, p. 255 (n.) by Fleet.

209 *EI*, XXVII, p. 71 (1114 A.D.).

210 *EC*, V, Hn. 139 (1200 A. D.).

211 *EI*, XXVIII, p. 33 (1082 A. D.).

212 *EC*, XII Kg. 1 (1157 A. D.).

213 *BKI*, I. ii, 158 (1109 A. D.).

214 *SII*, IX.i, 172 (1106 A. D.).

215 *KI*, V, 31 (1207 A.D.); 67 (1216 A. D.); *EI*, XXI, p. 12 (1260 A. D.). [Cf. *IEG*, p. 332—'*tala*' = surface of the ground]. Terms like '*baṭṭe-śuṅka*' [*KI*, I, 30 (1222 A. D.)] and *baṭṭeya-bādhe* [*EI*, XXI, p. 12 (1260 A.D.)] also seem to refer to some kind of road-cess.

216 *EC*, IV, Ng. 103 (c. 1120 A. D.), etc.

217 *EC*, V, Bl. 171 (c. 1160 A. D.); Bl. 171 b (1208 A. D.).

218 *Ibid.*, Hn. 131 (1200 A.D.).

219 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171 (1124 A. D.).

220 *EC*, VIII, Nr. 36 (1077 A. D.).

221 *ARIE*, 1961–62, No. 62.

222 *BKI*, I.i, 78 (1045 A. D.).

223 *Ibid.*, 75 (1042 A. D.).

224 *Ibid.*, 158 (1109 A. D.).

225 *SII*, XV, 32 (1147 A.D.); XX, 180 (1192 A. D.), etc.

226 *Ibid.*, XV, 152.

227 *SII*, IX.i, 172 (1106 A. D.).

228 *EC*, VIII, Nr. 36 (1077 A. D.).

229 *Ibid.*

230 *EC*, VII, Sk. 242 (1163 A. D.); Hl. 46 (1189 A. D.), etc.

231 M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, p. 401; *IEG*, p. 60.

232 *SII*, XV, 25 and 26.

233 *KI*, II, 10 (1080 A. D.), p. 33.

234 *EC*, VI, Tk. 20 (1185 A. D.).

235 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171 (1124 A. D.).

236 *BKI*, I.i, 75 (1042 A.D.); cf *IEG*, pp. 197-98

237 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171.

238 *EC*, II, 335 (130)—1195 A. D.

239 *Ibid.*, 333 (1206 A. D.) ; III, TN. 98 (1300 A. D.), etc.

240 *EI*, XXI, p. 12.

241 *SII*, XX, 196 (1124 A.D.).

242 *BKI*, I.ii, 163 (1113 A. D.)

243 *SII*, XX, 201 (1243 A. D.).

244 *IEG*, p. 202.

245 *AS*, (Tr.) p. 156.

246 *EC*, VI, Kd. 12a (1233 A.D.).

247 *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. 91 (1107 A. D.).

248 *SII*, XX, 201 (1243 A. D.).

249 *Ibid.*, IX.i, 172 (1106 A. D.).

250 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171 (1124 A. D.).

251 *EC*, VI, Tk. 55 (? 1291 A. D.).

252 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171 (1124 A. D.).

253 *EC*, III, TN. 98 (1300 A. D.).

254 *Ibid.*, V, Hn. 139.

255 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171.

256 *SII*, IX.i, 296 (1176 A. D.).

257 *EC*, VII, Tl. 192 (1103 A. D.).

258 *MAR.* (1913), p. 40, para. 85.

259 *EC*, III, TN. 98 (1300 A. D.).

260 *SII*, IX.i, 172 (1106 A. D.).

261 *Ibid.*, XV, 108 (1167 A. D.).

262 *EHD*, p. 411.

263 *Ibid.*

264 T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit*, p. 187.

265 *EC*, VI, Tk. 55 (? 1291 A. D.).

266 *Ibid.*

267 *Ibid.*, III, TN. 98 (1300 A. D.).

268 *Ibid.*, V, Hn. 139 (1200 A. D.).

269 *EC*, X, 49–a.

270 *MAR.* (1912), p. 45, para. 92 (1288 A. D.).

271 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 73.

272 *Da. Pra.*, 18, p. 108.

273 *Dharm.*, I, 3.46, p. 104 ; 7.61, p, 312 ; II, 13.185, p. 204, etc.

274 *Ba. Va.*, 198, p. 50

275 *Mita.*, II. 262, (Tr.) p. 1307.

276 *HAS*, No. 18 : Ins. No. 17.

277 *EC*, VII, Nr. 36 (1077 A. D.).

278 *Ibid.*, V, Hn. 139 (1200 A. D.).

279 *MAR.* (1910), p. 36, para. 86.

280 *KI*, I, 19 (1108 A. D.) ; *EC*, VIII, Sb. 179 (1189), etc.

281 *EC*, IX, Kn. 72 (1277 A. D.).

282 *MAR.* (1932), p. 171 (1124 A. D.).

283 *EC*, V, Cn. 242 (1252 A. D.).

284 *Ibid.*, Hn. 139 (1200 A. D.) ; IX, Kn. 72 (1277 A. D.), etc.

285 *KI*, I, 30 (1222 A. D.) ; V, 42 (1239 A. D.) ; *EC*, III TN. 98 (1300 A.D.) ; VII, Sk. 133 (1131 A.D.), etc.

286 *KI*, I, 17 (1055 A. D.) ; *SII*, IX.i. 172 (1106 A. D.), etc.

287 *EC*, VI, Cm. 89 (1265 A. D.) ; Cm. 67 (1281 A. D.) ; IX, Kn. 41 (1300 A. D.), etc.

288 Cf. *Ba. Va*, 111, p. 28 : "*hādarakke hōdare . . . . . arasu, Kūḍalasaṅgamadēva, daṇḍava koṇḍa*" ; also see, *Dharm.*, I, 9.68, p. 429, etc.

289 *EC*, V, Cn. 124.

290 *Mita.*, II. 82, (Tr.) p. 884.

291 *Ibid.*, 42, (Tr.) pp. 779–80.

292 *Ibid.*, 81, (Tr.) p. 880; also see Ibid., 11 (Tr.) p. 687 ; 18, (Tr.) p. 698 : 26 (Tr.) p. 729, etc.

293 *HAS*, VII, p. 7.

294 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 80.

295 *BKI*, I.i, 74 ; also see *Ibid.*, ii, 127 (1082 A. D.), etc.

296 Cf. *IEG*, p. 26—*aputra-dhana*, same as *aputrikā-dhana*, means "confiscation of the property of one dying without leaving a son or an heir".

297 *KIAP*, Mn. 39 (1110 A. D.) ; *EC*, IX, Dv. 28 (1283 A. D.), etc. Cf. *Ba. Va.*, 40, p. 11—"*oḍalanuri kombudu* ; *oḍaveyanarasu komba*".

298 *Mita.*, II. 135-36, (Tr.) pp. 1065-1103.

299 Ibid., 128-32, (Tr.) pp. 1045 ff.

300 Dr. Altekar [*The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, pp. 340-41] has pointed out that the epigraphical evidence also shows that the theory of succession advocated by the *Mitāaṣarā* school was substantially based on the acutal practice as it was prevalent in the Deccan.

301 J. D. M. Derrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-85.

302 *EC*, I, Cg. 52 (c. 1290 A. D.) ; Cg. 59 (?) (1297 A. D.), etc.

303 *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 118.

304 *KIAP*, Mn. 40.

305 *EC*, X, Bp. 34 (1269 A. D.) ; Mb. 42 g (c. 1270 A. D.), etc.

306 *EHD*, p. 565.

307 *EC*, XI, Dg. 70 (1275 A. D.).

CHAPTER—7

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Some general considerations

The educational system prevalent in a country shows the standard of culture of its people. It is interesting to observe here that education has been viewed by different people from different angles. The Greeks, for instance, used education for developing civic virtues,[1] while the Romans used it for inculcating the qualities of loyalty and obedience.[2] The Arabs valued knowledge on account of its practical bearing on the affairs of life, and not from any scientific interest.[3]

Again, the importance of education for social order and progress has been emphasised by the Chinese people from the beginnings of their history.[4] It may be recallad here that, in the 6th century B.C., Confucius led a reform in education. Its aim, however, was not religious or spiritual, as in India, but moral and political—"to turn out a prince who would rule justly, and a people who live righteously and obey laws".[5]

Since very early times, Hindu society has been alive to the vital importance of education, and has shown high reverence to learning. Indeed, the cultural institutions of ancient India have been transmitted to posterity by a sound system of education, and "here we get an explanation why, while other ancient communities are long dead, India and her heritage have survived".[6]

Needless to say that ancient Indian or Hindu civilisation has been moulded and shaped in the course of its history more by religious than by political, or

economic, influences. Religion, as the ancient Hindus understood it, practically dominated every sphere of their national life ; and the sphere of education forms no exception.[7] In other words, ancient Indian education was predominantly religious.

In India, through the ages, learning had been prized and preserved not for its own sake, but for the sake, and as a part, of religion.[8] The ultimate aim of life was *mukti* or emancipation ; and education was sought as the means of this salvation or self-realisation (*ātma-jñāna*). In short, education should aid in this self-fulfilment (one's expansion into the Absolute), and not in the acquisition of mere objective knowledge. It is more concerned "with the subject than the object, with the inner than the outer world".[9]

Further, that knowledge, which enables one to realise the complete identity of the self (*ātman*) with the supreme Absolute (*paramātman*), was considered as *Parā Vidyā* ;[10] and all other subjects were looked down upon as *Aparā Vidyā*[11] (inferior or delusive knowledge). That the object of education, even during the mediaeval times, continued to be the same (as noted above) becomes clear from the observations of the digest-writers like Lakṣmīdhara, and commentators like Vijñānēśvara and Aparārka.[12]

It has been pointed out that, as early as the *Rgvēdic* period, speech and literature were regarded as divine, and men were exhorted to cultivate them both ; and, in the later *Vēdic* period, still higher reverence was shown to learning.[13] In later Sanskrit literature, passages in glorification of education and learning are quite numerous and too well known to be repeated here.[14] In short, perhaps nowhere else in the world has greater importance been attached to education than in India.

Of all gifts, the gift of education was considered to be the best.[15] Vijñānēśvara[16] observes that, by reason of its capacity for knowledge, Brahma contains all Dharmas (*sarva-dharmamayam Brahma*). Its gift, therefore, is greater than all other gifts (*sarva-dānēbhyōpi-adhikam*). So, one giving it (*taddadat*) through the medium of instruction, etc., attains the world of Brahma (*Brahmalōkam-avāpnōti*), where he resides till the dissolution of the elements. Moreover, he continues, "in the gift of the Brahma is a gift which merely brings about the proprietary interest of another, since the divesting of one's own proprietary interest is impossible".

It may further be noted that the vital principle of ancient Indian education was that of individual and intimate relationship between pupils and their teachers as members of the same family, living in a common home—hence students were called *antēvāsi*—the home of the teacher functioning as the school (*gurukula*) in those days.[17] Such a principle, naturally, did not favour the growth of large educational institutions which, ignoring the vital differences between individuals, teach them by 'classes', and aim at mass-production in education,[18] as we find them at present.

Students belonged not to any institution, but to their teachers. In fact, we are told, the world renowned Takṣaśilā did not possess any college or university in the modern sense of the term. It was simply a centre of education. It had many eminent teachers to whom students flocked in hundreds for higher education, from all parts of northern India.[19]

Buddhist *Saṅghas* or monasteries became big institutions from the time of Aśōka onwards, and they gradually developed into educational centres at first for the monks and nuns, but later on for the lay population as well. Hindu educational institutions, so far known, are all said to be later than the time of Nālandā University.[20] It has been pointed out that we do not find so far any regular Hindu educational institutions till about the beginning of the 9th century A. D.[21] This view seems to be supported by the inscriptions of Karṇāṭaka also.[22] It is probable, as stated by Dr. A. S. Altekar,[23] that the idea of starting organised public institutions for education may have suggested to the Hindus by the transformation of Buddhist monasteries into colleges and universities.[24]

The elaborate scheme of education (particularly higher education) prescribed in the *Smṛtis* for the three upper classes, after their investiture with the sacred thread (*upanayana*), is found repeated in the commentaries and digests of the period, with supplementary explanations.[25]

It may be noted here that two kinds of celibate students have been distinguished: (i) the temporary celibate student, contemplating a family life after expiration of the period of his training, called *upakurvāṇa*; and (ii) the perpetual celibate called *naiṣṭhika bramhacārin*, who would elect to live with his teacher life-long, without any desire for the householder's life or married state.

An *upakurvāṇa* student, vijñānēśvara[26] explains, is one who honours his teacher by a gift on the completion of his studies, before entering the next stage of

the householder (*gṛhasthāśrama*). But, a *naiṣṭhika brahmacārin*, i. e. one who regulates himself as a student till the time of his evolution or death (*niṣṭhā*), should live all his life near his *ācārya*, and should not be independent even after the acquisition of the *Vēdas*. In the theacher's absence, he should live near his son ; in his absence, near his wife ; in her absence, even near the fire (*Vaiśvāara* Fire, according to the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*).[27]

In this way (as mentioned above), observes Vijñānēśvara, using the body, and with senses subdued (*vijitēndriyaḥ*), he attains the region of Brahma (*Brahmalōkam-avāpnōti*), i. e. he secures immortality. And, he is not at any time born here again (*na punarjāyatē iha*).

It is probably for these, as R. K. Mookerji[8] points out, that such long periods of sudentship as 24, or 36, or 48 years are meant, while those who would be householders have to confine their studentship normally to a period of 12 years, and naturally to satisfy themselves with the mastery of only a portion of the prescribed studies.

It has been pointed[29] out that Āpastamba does not approve life-long studentship, because it would interfere with the duties belonging to a householder's life. Again, studentship for such long terms is included in the list of practices forbidden in the *Kali* Age in the *Smṛti-candrikā* (after a quotation from the *Ādi Purāṇa*) and *Smṛtyarthasāra*, although the former work elsewhere quotes from the older texts the directions about the duties of the life-long student (*naiṣṭhika brahmacārin*).[30]

It has further been pointed out that this ideal of *naiṣṭhika brahmacarya*, which, unknown in the *Vedic* age, seems to have come into vogue in *Upaniṣadic* times, is peculiar to India, and has contributed largely to the striking achievements of ancient India in the fields of learning and philosophy.[31] Hindu religion promises such 'perpetual celibates' the highest salvation. Yuan Chwang's description of, and tributes to, such *naiṣṭhika brahmacārins* show how pious their life was, how intense their love of learning and how high the honour that society showed to them.[32]

A few epigraphs of the period, interestingly enough, refer to some temples and *maṭhas* as *naiṣṭhika-sthāna*, i. e. a seat of perpetual celibates (such temples and *maṭhas* were also centres of education and learning). An epigraph[33] of 1055

A. D. from Dharwar, for instance, shows that the village of Paḷḷavura was turned into a *naiṣṭhika-sthāna* (*naiṣṭhika-sthānaṁ māḍi*), and gifted to the temple of Kadaṁbēśvaradēva into the hands of Sōmēśvara Paṇḍitadēva.

Again, we read in a record[34] of 1077 A. D. from Yēvūr (Gulbarga District) that, whether they were *ācāryas* of the establishment or ascetics (students), it was not open to any except those who observed perpetual celibacy to abide in the monastery (*naiṣṭhika-brahmacārigaḷg-allade maṭhadoḷ-iral-salladu*). The villagers, the burghers and the king, in concert, it is stipulated in the record, shall expel those who do not observe celibacy. If, being unwilling to go forth, they show contumacy, they are like dogs, asses and *caṇḍālas* ;

Another record[35] of 1143 A. D. from Śikāripur refers to such a *naiṣṭhika maṭha* : "This is a *naiṣṭhika maṭha*. If the master of this *maṭha* is without *brahmacarya*, he shall be expelled from the *maṭha* . . . . . etc."

Among the duties of the celibate student (*brahmacārin*), as laid down in the *Smṛtis* and their commentaries as well as digests, daily begging for food occupies an important place. Indeed, one of the standing duties of the *brahmacārin* was to go out begging for alms. The celibate student, as Vijñānēśvara[36] points out, should carry on begging for maintaining his own-self (*ātmavṛttaye*), and not for others (strangers), with the exception of the preceptor, his wife and sons (he quotes Gautama to this effect). He may beg from the three upper classes and, only in times of distress, from all the four classes.

It is further pointed[37] out that, after having collected the alms (*bhikṣā*), and offering it to the *Guru*,[38] with his permission, he may, properly worshipping that food and without disparaging it, eat it. Moreover, things obtained by begging (*bhaikṣam*) are always pure.[39]

All said and done, that begging was not universal in the student population in ancient India becomes apparent from certain passages in the sacred texts themselves—the *Brāhmaṇa*, *Sūtra* and *Smṛti* literature—which prescribe various penances for failure to beg at least once in a week.[40] Vijñānēśvara,[41] again, prescribes some *prāyaścitta* for a celibate student who gives up alms-begging for seven days, provided he is not ill.

It is, therefore, not probable that the students of the period maintained themselves by the alms begged by them : for (we shall presently refer) arrange-

ments were often made for free boarding of students, out of endowments received for the purpose. All the same, it cannot be maintained that all the students could get such facilities ; and the possiblity of some poorer students begging their food cannot be ruled out. References are found to students begging alms in some literary works, like *Vaḍḍārādhane*[42], *Dharmāmṛtaṁ*,[43] etc. Indeed, such a practice is not unknown even at the present time.

We may do well to remember in this context that begging was enjoined mainly as a measure of moral discipline for its educative values, and to make the student poor and humble in spirit ;[44] and to teach him humility and to make him realise that "it was due to the sympathy and help of society that he was learning the heritage of his race."[45] Moreover, the rule that every one ought to beg during one's studentship removed the distinction between the poor and the rich and brought education within the means of all.[46]

The above rule was also intended to make society realise its responsibility about the education of the rising generation.[47] For, to turn back from one's door a celibate student begging his food has been pronounced by Hindu thinkers to be the greatest crime against humanity.[48]

Among other duties of a celibate student, it has been enjoined that he should not eat the 'non-eatables' e. g. meat, honey, garlic and the like, excep when he is ill. For failure to observe this rule, some *prāyaścitta* has been prescribed.[49] He should also avoid, as the *Smṛticandrikā* says, unguents for the body and collyrium for the eyes, except when he is required to use them during his illness by the physician.[50]

As regards relations between the teacher and the taught, it may be noted that the duty to teach was imperative ; and no student could be turned out merely because he was too poor to pay any fee. Profit or no profit, knowledge ought to be imparted to the deserving.

It is well known that Kāḷidāsa deprecates a teacher who regards his learning as a mere means of livelihood.[51] If *Smṛtis* hold that a person who stipulates[52] for fees is too impure to be invited for a *śrāddha*, the *Saura Purāṇa* goes a step further and declares that, if instructions are imparted for fixed fees, both the teacher and the taught will go to hell ![53]

The Mediaeval commentaries and digests explain the circumstances permit-

ting the teachers' receipt of money from their pupils.[54] Indeed, learning from a paid teacher and teaching for a fee are both admitted to be secondary sins (*upapātakas*) ;[55] and some *prāyaścitta* has been prescribed for both.[56] But, as Vijñānēśvara observes elsewhere, this ban, however, does not apply to a student who pays fees without prior agreement.

It thus becomes clear that what is actually forbidden by the Hindu thinkers is not the mere receiving of any fee or honorarium, but the teaching by stipulation for payment of fees, while teaching (as a duty) is prescribed in the *Smṛtis* as a means of livelihood.[57]

It may further be noted that the teacher failing to correct an inattentive pupil by reprimand may, according to the *Smṛti-candrīkā*, beat him.[58] As Vijñānēśvara and Aparārka explain, beating a pupil should be resorted to only for correction. And, the beating should be done with rope or a split bamboo, and not with the hand ; and it should be applied to the lower part of the body, but not to the head.[59] Theteacher's using the rod is alluded to by Nayasēna, Basava and others as well.[60]

There is one more point that deserves a passing notice in this context, viz., the importance of the teacher in the educational system of those days. Perhaps nowhere else in the world has greater importance been attached to the teacher than in India. No person on earth deserves greater reverence than the teacher. The teacher, indeed, is one's spiritual father, as the *Smṛtis*[61] often point out.

Education, as noted already, was not regarded as an end in itself, but only as a means to an end, viz., the attainment of knowledge of the Absolute (*brahma varcasa*) ; and greater emphasis was laid on the study of the sacred texts. The importance of such a study was repeatedly insisted upon, for which the technical name *svādhyāya* was applied.[62] Moreover, the futility of mere self-study was always recognised. Indeed, the *Upaniṣadic* passages represented the teacher as indispensable.[63]

The great importance attached to the teacher in *Vēdic* education is not difficult to understand. Since the earliest times, *Vēdic* learning has been transmitted orally from one generation to another ; and great importance was being attached to the proper accent and pronunciation in *Vēdic* recitation, which could be properly learnt only from the lips of a qualified teacher.[64]

The teacher's importance,[65] therefore, could hardly be exaggerated. Further, in the age of the *Upanisads* reverence for the *Guru* became still more intensified ; for spiritual salvation depended almost entirely upon his proper guidance. "This deification of the philosophical *Guru*", as A. S. Altekar points out, "was not without its reaction in favour of the ordinary teacher." The high reverence which was primarily intended for the *Vēdic* teacher, was extended in course of time to his humbler confrere, who initiated the young pupil in the mysteries of the 3 R's, or taugkt him the technique of a profession.[66]

It was the function of the teacher, as pointed out by Āpastamba, to lead the scholar from the darkness of ignorance to the light of knowledge ; the lamp of learning, observes Aparārka (quoting a verse to the effect, while commenting on *Yājñavalkya*, I. 212), is concealed under a cover, the teacher removes it and lets out the light.[67] So, the teacher could hardly be over-venerated by his students.

A study of Kannaḍa literature of the period shows the importance enjoyed by the *Guru*[68] in Karṇāṭaka. It was the usual practice of the Kannaḍa poets first to mention the names of their preceptors (in their works) and the generations of their preceptors (*guruparaṁparā*).

Some Typical Educational Centres and Institutions

For several centuries, as mentioned above, organised public institutions for education did not exist in ancient India, and education was left entirely to individual teachers. The beginnings of collectivism or of organisation in education may no doubt be traced to the earliest *Vēdic* times. There were, for instance, several *Vēdic Śākhās* and *Caraṇas*, but these, as A. S. Altekar[69] points out, did not develop into schools. There existed, again, *Pariṣads*, like the *Pāñcāla Pariṣad*, "which produced some of India's highest philosophy".[70] But these *Pariṣads*, observes A. S. Altekar,[71] in their corporate capacity do not seem to have taken any steps to organise public educational institutions.

Then came Jainism and Buddhism with their emphasis upon the system of organised brotherhood, accommodated in the rock-cut halls, *vihāras* and monasteries. Later, the Brahmanical system followed suit with similar institutions, like *maṭhas* and regular colleges,[72] as we know them to-day. It has been pointed out, as noted above, that Hindu educational institutions, so far known, are later than the time of the Nālandā university, and seem to have come into existance by about the beginning of the 9th century A. D.[73]

Turning to the period under study, we shall give an account of these latter-day institutions on the basis of their most important and typical examples. Indeed, the records of these are stated to be more in the South, and, particularly, in the inscriptions from the 10th century A. D. onwards.[74]

As for important and typical educational centres of the period, we may classify them under three heads, viz., (i) *agrahāras* and *brahmapurīs*, (ii) *ghaṭikā-sthānas*, and (iii) temples and *maṭhas*.

(i) Agrahāras and Brahmapurīs

We shall first take up *agrahāras* for our consideration. *Agrahāras*[75] were the settlements of Brāhmaṇa colonies in villages exclusively assigned to them for their maintenance, with a view to enable them to discharge their scriptural duties. It was well recognised that learning should be a life-long pursuit ; and, accordingly, institutions of a wider scope, serving as centres of advanced study under savants devoting themselves completely to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, were established by public benefactions.

Such 'endowments of higher learning and research' sought to establish entire learned settlements, or cultured colonies, made up of households of pious and scholarly Brāhmaṇas in select areas. Thus, an *agrahāra* came to be a wider institution, so to say, with its own power of government and means of maintenance granted by generous donors founding them.

It may be noted, in passing, that such a practice of making a gift of lands or villages to the learned and pious Brāhmaṇas probably goes back to an early period. It is worth noticing in this context that Kauṭilya,[76] while referring to the 'Formation of villages' by Government Superintendents, observes that those who are learned in the *Vēdas*—as also those who perform sacrifices (*ṛtvik*) and who are spiritual guides—shall be granted *Brahmadēya* lands yielding sufficient produce, and exempted from taxes and fines (*adaṇḍa-karāṇi*). The word *agrahāra* occurs frequently in the *Mahābhārata*.[77]

Further, a copper-plate[78] grant of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman II (c. 420–50 A. D.), the son and successor of Caṇḍavarman, refers to 157 Brāhmaṇas of different *gōtras*, who were resident at the *agrahāra* of Kuruvaka-Śrīvara.

Furthermore, the Hebbaṭa grant[79] of Viṣṇuvarman (c. 490 A. D.), an Early Kadamba ruler of Kṛṣṇavarman's line, shows that the king made an *agrahāra* of

the village Herbbaṭa, in the Sāṭṭipalli-Jāripāṭa division of the Mahiṣa-viṣaya,[80] and offered it, with *dakṣiṇā* and libations of water, and in accordance with the *brahmadēya-nyāya* to a *Yajurvēdīya* Brāhmaṇa of the *Badira* family and the *Gautama-gōtra*.

We may cite one more such instance here. Bādāmi[81] (Bijapur District), we are told, was an important educational and spiritual centre in the 7th century A. D., with hundreds of Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the traditional 14 *vidyās*. We are further told that the city of Vātāpti (modern Bādāmi) was under the direct control of the body called the *mahācāturvidya-samudaya*, consisting of 200 members. The place had a distinct honour of being a centre of the traditional 14 *vidyās* (*caturdaśa-vidyā-sthāna*), and a seat of the *mahācāturvidya-samudaya*.

As has been stated above, an inscription[82] of the 8th or 9th century A. D. found at Aihoḷe, speaks of a *mahācāturvidya-samudaya* of that place, comprising of 500 members. It has been pointed out that apparently these councils of *Vēdic* scholars were in course of time designated as the *Mahājanas* of *agrahāra* villages who, throughout the Mediaeval period of Karṇāṭaka history, exercised administrative control over the villages in all matters concerning the conservation of rural resources.[83]

It may be added here that in such *agrahāra* villages lived other people as well, belonging to different castes and communities, and following various professions, but the proprietary rights over those villages doubtless rested with the Brāhmaṇa donees only.

Dr. D. C. Sircar[84] thinks, on the basis of the *Vācaspatya*, that *agrahāras* were generally granted to Brāhmaṇas, when they returned from the *gurukula* after finishing their studies, in order to enable them to settle themselves as *gṛhasthas*. But the epigraphical evidence does not support this view.

Agrahāras, in some cases, as in the Tamil country, were also known as *Caturvēdimaṅgalam*. Thus inscriptions refer, for instance, to Viṣṇuvardhana-Caturvēdimaṅgalam,[85] Narasiṁha-caturvēdimaṅgalam[86] and the like. It was also probably called *śrōtiya-grāma*.[87]

Without going into details as regards the constitution and administrative functions of the *Mahājanas*[88] in such *agrahāras*—such a discussion would be

unnecessary in this particular context—we may do well to confine ourselves here with their educational activities only.

It may be recalled here that teaching was made one of the religious duties of the Brāhmaṇas, who, for centuries, went on discharging their obligations without stipulating any fee.[89] Indeed, study (*adhyayana*) and teaching (*adhyāpana*) are among the tradional six-fold scriptural duties which every true Brāhmaṇa ought to perform.

In fact, the Brāhmṇa donees of the *agrahāras* are often described in the epigraphs as being zealous in discharging their six-fold scriptural duties (*yajana yājana adhyayana adhyāpana dāna pratigraha ṣaṭ-karma ṇirutaruṁ*).[90] In short, most of these *agrahāras* were expected to be centres of higher education and learning, and there can be little doubt that the Brāhmaṇa donees fulfilled this unwritten but nevertheless obligatory condition of *agrahāra* grants.

We may as well cite here an instance or two on record, which may be taken as typical of such *agrahāras*. The *agrahāra* of Kuppaṭūr (Shimoga District), we learn from the epigraphs,[91] was the very birth place, as it were, of all the sciences (*sakaḷa-vidyege tānene janma-bhūtaḷaṁ*). And, the Brāhmaṇas of that place are said to have taken pleasure in offering a knowledge of the sciences to all who asked for it : in short, they took pleasure in instructing others in various branches of learning.

Further, the *agrahāra* of Sarvajñapura (modern Arasīkere, Hassan District) is graphically described by a record[92] of 1234 A. D. found in that place, which speaks of its literary and pedagogic activities : In some of its streets, the Brāhmaṇas were reading the *Vēdas, Śāstras* and 6 systems of *Tarka* : groups of Brāhmaṇas were either reading the *Vēdas*, or engaged in listening to the exposition of some higher sciences, or carrying on ceaseless discussions in logic ; or joyously reciting the *Purāṇas*, or settling the meaning of *Smṛtis*, drama or poetry. All the Brāhmṇas of Sarvajñapura were devoted to study, teachig, and listening to the dictates of religion and morality.

It may be recalled here that the Smṛti law contemplates the students of upper classes as receiving their higher education at the dwellings of Brāhmaṇa teachers.[93] And, these *agrahāras* evidently provided ample opportunity for such teaching. Indeed, the inscriptions[94] often give us a picture of such *agrahāras* that,

with teachers and students always engaged In their pursuit of knowledge, were resounding with the chantings of the *Vēdic* hymns and other sacred texts.

The *agrahāras* were by and large prominent centres of higher education and learning, and both religious and secular education was imparted to the students therein. The various epithets of the *Mahājanas*, frequently referred to in the records, leave no doubt the impression that they were erudite scholars not merely in the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas*, but in other subjects as well, such as *Kāvya Nāṭaka, Itihāsa, Gaṇita*, and the like.

The 1000 *Mahājanas* ol Pūli[95] (Belgaum District), for instance, are described as quite at home in many subjects like *Vyākaraṇa, Arthaśāstra, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Varṇakavitva, Vēdānta. Pāramārthika, Laukika*, etc., besides being great *Vēdic* scholars. Indeed, in all these arts and sciences, they excelled even that creator (Brahman) in fame ! (*samasta kaḷeyoḷu vāgīśaninda yaśōdhikarāda . . . .*)

Again, the *Mahājanas* of Kuppaṭūr[96] (Shimoga District) were having mastery over both the texts and explanations of all the 4 *Vēdas* (*Rg-Yajus-Sāma-Atharvaṇa-Vēdārtha-tatvajñaruṁ*), and were great scholars in *Nāṭaka* drama), *Itihāsa* (history), *Mīmāṁsā, Vātsyāyana* (*Kāma-śāstra*), *Bharata* (*Nāṭya-śāstra*), *Gaṇita* (mathematics) and the like.

Such instances can be easily multiplied,[97] but the evidence cited above would suffice to make the point clear that the *Mahājanas* of such *agrahāras* were selected for their learning, and their functions were mainly intellectual and religious. Indeed, every Brāhmaṇa teacher could be an institution by himself.

The Nīlgunda copper-plates[98] of Vikramāditya VI show that the emperor in 1087 A. D., imported several learned Brāhmaṇas of different *gōtras*, who were well-versed in the *Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Śāstras*, etc., from the Tamil country (*Draviḍa-dēśa*), and, having converted Nirugunda in Kōgaḷi-500 into an *agrahāra* (*agrahārī-kṛtya*), settled them there making provisions for their support.

Again, the Nēralige (Hassan District) grant[99] of Hoysaḷa Vīra-Ballāḷa II tells us that the king formed an *agrahāra* called Nēralige, and bestowed the 202 *vṛttis* (into which the village was divided) on learned Brāhmṇas, whose activities

were the result of their mastery over the 14 branches of learning—the 4 *Vēdas*, 6 *Vēdāṅgas*, Logic (*Tarka*), *Dharma-śāstras*, *Purāṇas* and *Mīmāṁsā*.

Even the names of some of the *Mahājanas* of an *agrahāra*[100] are often indicative of their scholarship in various fields of learning, e.g. Narasiṁha-Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya, Sāmavēdi-Mallibhaṭṭa, Kavitilaka-Viṭhṭheyya, Sarva-śāstrada-Ādityabhaṭṭa Caṅgadēva-karmita, Bhāskara-Ghaḷisa, Bhāgavata-Śrīraṅgabhaṭṭa and the like.

It may be added here that some *agrahāras* are styled as 'immemorial *agrahāras*' (*anādi-agrahāra*), e.g. Sthānakundūr[101] (Shimoga District), Koḍaganūr[102] (Chitaldurg District), Iṭṭige[103] (Dharwar District) and the like. There were others, which are referred to as an endowment made by the epic king Janamējaya (*Śrīmad-Janamējaya dattiya mahāgrahāṛaṁ*), e. g. Māḷadāḷūr[104] (Dharwar District), Iṅgaḷēśvar[105] (Bijapur District), etc. Lokkiguṇḍi[106] (Lakkuṇḍi, Dharwar District) has been called an endowment of the Lord Śrī-Rāma (*Śrī-Rāmara datti mahāgrahāraṁ*).

The instances cited above may be taken to indicate the antiquity of those *agrahāras*. Or else, it may be that the names of the original donors were actually forgotten by posterity.

We often come across many endowments made by the State as well as private individuals with a view to promote and facilitate the casue of education in such *agrahāras*. Kēśava Daṇḍanāyaka,[107] for instance, in 1158 A. D., granted land for teaching the three *Vēdas* (*Ṛg, Yaju and Sāma*), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Prābhākara* (a school of *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*), *Vēdānta* (philosophy) and the like, in the *agrahāra* of Tāḷagunda (Shimoga District). He also made endowments for the 48 students (*chātra*) studying those subjects, i. e. for their clothing, weekly oil-bath (*abhyañjana*) etc., as also for those teachers who teach Kannaḍa and who impart the primary education (*bāla-śikṣe*).

We learn from a record[108] of 1084–85 A. D. that one Jñānaśakti made a grant of 5 *mattars* of land into the hands of the 420 *Mahājanas* of the glorious *agrahāra* of Paḷdalu (Hadali, Dharwar District), for the purpose of imparting education. Indeed, such instances of both the State and private endowments[109] can be easily multiplied.

Further, we often hear of endowments like *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*[110] *and akkariga-vṛtti*; the former was apparently an endowment for the benefit of higher education, while the latter was for the sake of primary education.[111]

Thus the cause of education in such *agrahāras* was promoted partly by the State and partly by private endowments. Tha State, indeed, indirectly financed education, since it was the State—the king and, with his consent, his subordinates —that used to alienate the villages, or the revenues thereof, to the Brāhmaṇa donees who, being thus freed from the anxiety of maintenance, could devote all their time and energies to the cause of education.

It has been stated[112] that a *brahmapurī* was a settlement of learned Brāhmaṇas in parts of towns and cities, and that it differed from the *agrahāras*; for, while the latter was a corporate body and formed a unit by itself, the *brahmapurī* does not seem to have possessed these characteristics. The *brahmapurīs*, we are further told, were not so numerous as the *agrahāras*, presumably because of the scarcity of large cities in those days.

A careful study of the epigraphs which refer to such *brahmapurīs* would show that such was not always the case. Indeed, some inscriptions would have us believe that both *brahmapurī* and *agrahāra* were practically one and the same. In short, the *brahmapurī* just denoted a settlement of learned Brāhmaṇas in a a selected area. We may cite here an instance or two to illustrate the point.

An epigraph[113] of 1028 A. D. from Muḷgund (Dharwar District) speaks of one Nāgasvāmi, styled as *Brāhmaṇasarva-dharmādhikāri* and the chief of the *brahmapurī* (*brahmapuri-mukhyaṁ*), who made gifts of gold, land and house-site for certain charities (specified), before he started on his pilgrimage to fulfil certain *vratas* at Gayā, Vāraṇāsi, etc. And, what is more important to the point here, the endowment was entrusted to the 1000 *Mahājanas* of that *brahmapurī* who were required to protect and maintain the grant (*Brahmapuriya Mahājanamuṁ-sāsirvaruṁ parirakṣisuvar*.....). It may be remembered here that Muḷugunda was one of the famous *agrahāras* of the period, with its One Thousand-strong *Mahājanas* administering it. The *agrahāra* itself is referred to in the above record as *brahmapurī*. Again, the great *agrahāra* of Puli (Belgaum District) has been called the *brahmapnrī*[114] of the Cāḷukya emperor (*Śrīmat-Cāḷukya Cakravarti Brahmapuri-sthānaṁ*).

A Śikāripura (Shimoga District)[115] record of 1159 A.D. gives us an account of the founding of a *brahmapurī*. Kēśirāja Daṇḍādhipa, we are told, built a temple to the god Kēśava in a selected area, in front of which he built also a new town, which he named Vīrakēśavapura. And this town, also called *brahmapurī* in the record, with spacious and comfortable houses, the chambers of which he filled with many

articles of furniture like cot, etc., and with all kinds of vessels, he gave as a gift to a band of learned Brāhmaṇas. He also gave them each a *vṛtti* (of land) to provide for their livelihood.

The Brāhmaṇa donees are described in the record as discharging the traditional six-fold duties, and as well-versed in the six systems of logic (*ṣaṭ-tarka*), in Mīmāṁsā,, and in such other subjects. They were proficient in the *Purāṇas Smṛtis, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Bhāṣya* (?), *Mañjarī* (?), etc. Thus, it becomes clear from the above instance that the whole town with its Brāhmaṇa settlement is referred to as the *brahmapurī*.

A Soraba (Shimoga District) record[116] of 1165 A.D. shows that there were 3 *brahmapurīs* in Balipura. An epigraph[117] of 1192 A. D. from Kaḍlevāḍ (Bijapur District) refers to some grant made for the maintenance of 8 *brahmapurīs* in the Tardavāḍi-1000 Kaṁpaṇa.

It is of interest to learn from a record[118] of 1104 A. D. from Kanakūr (Dharwar District) that the *agrahāra* of Kanakāpura, in Kundūr-500, was granted for the burning of incense (*dhūpakkaṁ*) in the temple of Sōmanāthadēva of the Saurāṣṭra-viṣaya, by *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Koṅkaṇādhipati*, Jayakēśin II (Kadaṁba) at the time of his marriage, under the direction of his father-in-law, Vikramāditya VI. The *agrahāra* henceforth became the 'God's *brahmapurī* (*dēvara brahmapuriyāgi naḍavuttaviralu*. . . . .). Indeed, this is a rare instance when an *agrahāra* was again granted for some other purpose.

A grant[119] of the village of Cikka-kāvuṭagi for the benifit of the temple of Piśācamōcana Kūḍala Śrī Svayaṁbhu Saṅgamēśvaradēva of Hiḷḷi, celebrated as the southern Vāraṇāsi, was made over to the Brāhmaṇas of a *dēvara brahmapurī*, along with certain taxes (specified) in about 1223 A. D.

All the evidence cited above makes a point evident : so far as the educational activities were concerned, there was practically nothing special about the *brahmapurīs*, and they were almost like any other *agrahāra* in that respect.

(ii) Ghaṭikāsthānas

Ghaṭikā-sthāna, also called *ghaṭikā*, was another important centre of higher education, which is frequently referred to in the epigraphs. We have perhaps the earliest reference to the *ghaṭikā* in the historic Tāḷgunda (Shimoga District) Pillar inscription[120] of Kākusthavarman, the Kadamba ruler. It tells us that the

Brāhmaṇa Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, entered the *ghaṭikās* of Kāñcī with the object of studying the sacred lore. The record is dated c. 450 A.D. Further, the Cikulla grant[121] of Indravarman (c. 625–55 A.D.), the son and successor of Vikramēndravarman I (Viṣṇukuṇḍin king), informs us that the king did found some *ghaṭikās*.

Inscriptions of the period refer to many places as *ghaṭikā-sthānas*. An epigraph[122] of 1067 A. D. from Hoṭṭūr (Dharwar District) shows that Poṭṭiyūr was considered as a *ghaṭikā-sthāna* (*ā-nāḍoḷ-akhiḷa ghaṭikā-sthānavidenisittu Poṭṭiyūr*).

Another record[123] of 1127 A. D. tells us that the *agrahāra* of Hūvinabāge was a *mahā-ghaṭikāsthāna*. The temple of Noṇaṁbēśvara[124] at Heñjara-paṭṭaṇa has been called the great *ghaṭikāsthāna* of that city. Again, Kaḍalevāḍa[125] (Bijapur District) has been called the 'world-renowned *ghaṭikāsthāna*' (*lōka-vikhyāta-vāgirda ghaṭikāsthānaṁ*).

A Śikāripura (Shimoga District) record[126] of c. 1182 A. D. states that, in Kuntaḷa, there were many *ghaṭikāsthānas* which were the "supports of *dharma* and mines of enjoyment" (*dharmakke-nermamuṁ bhōgak-āgaramum-āda ghaṭikāsthāna muṁ*). Indeed, a reference is often found in the inscriptions to '64 *ghaṭikāsthānas*' (*aṟuvatta-nālku ghaṭikāsthānamuṁ*)[127] that are said to have participated in the 'great assembly' (*mahānāḍ-āgirdu*), along with many corporate bodies such as merchant-guilds and the like, though its significance is by no means clear.

It is of interest to note in this context that scholars do not seem to be agreed about the meaning and significance of the *ghaṭikāsthāna*, and have interpreted it variously. K. B. Pathak[128] takes the word in the sense of 'Religious Centre', and he is followed by Rice[129] while translating the Tāḷgunda Pillar inscription, mentioned above. But Rice[130] observes elsewhere that the word seems to indicate the "chief place of assembly for Brāhmans".

According to some, like Dr. Kielhorn[131] and D. C. Sircar,[132] the *ghaṭikā* was the same as the *brahmapurī*. D. C. Sircar thinks that the *ghaṭikā* means establishments for holy and learned men "probably founded in most cases by kings".[133]

It may further be noted here that, while interpreting the Tāḷgunda Pillar inscription, Prof. R. Sathianathaier[134] writes that the *ghaṭikā* does not seem to be a college or any place of higher learning, but the Brāhmanical Quarters of Kāñcī which Mayūra-śarman entered for *gurukulavāsa*; and that it was for making arrangements for it that his old *guru*, VIraśarma, had accompanied him thither.

But, referring to the same inscription, U. N. Ghoshal[135] observes that the *ghaṭikā* in this context "probably means a permanent educational establishment founded by a king or a great noble".

Prof. S. V. Venkateswara[136] points out that the *ghaṭikā* was an institution of the highest learning, where both the teachers and the taught met and discussed, and where " by the clash and contact of cultured scholars the highest knowledge could be obtained in religious literature (*pravacanam nikhilam*)." He further points out that the standard of learning was so high that even those scholars "who had completed their study had to approach this institution in all humility and gather crumbs of knowledge".

Indeed, an inscription[137] of 1058 A.D. from Nāgāi (Gulbarga District) throws interesting light on the point, and shows beyond all doubt that the *ghaṭikā* was a reputed centre of higher learning.

This long record, composed in Kannaḍa verse and prose, speaks of Madhusūdana (also called Madhuva) who was the Karṇāṭaka minister for Peace and War (*Karṇāṭaka-Sandhi-vigrahi*); and who, besides the 3 temples which he built, founded the institution called the *ghaṭikāsthāna* (*ghaṭikāsthānamenipa sālege*), in the *Mahāgrahāra* of *Nāgavāvi* (with its 400-strong *Mahājanas*), a new *Brahmalōka* (*abhinava Brahmalōkaṁ*) as it were, brought into existence and endowed on the same occasion by Madhuva. The said institution was given a sumptuous endowment of lands by Madhuva.

This institution, meant for 200 students of the *Vēdas* and 50 of the *Śāstras*, was manned by 3 teachers of the *Śāstras*, 3 teachers of the *Vēdas*, 3 expounders of the *Śāstras* i.e. one each of the *Bhāṭṭa-darśana*, *Nyāsa* and *Prābhākara*, and, lastly, 6 librarians (*Sarasvatī-bhṇḍārigar*), 265 in all,[138] who were granted lands by the founder-donor Madhuva. The donees were also to be fed and clothed out of the proceeds of the endowments. Moreover, the salaries of the teachers (expositors) of the 3 *Śāstras*, mentioned above, as also of the librarians and the time-keeper (? *ghaṭikā-prahāri*), were also provided by separate allotments of land (specified). This record is of particular interest, as it happens to be one of the rare evidence showing that there was a big library maintained at the institution, with a staff of 6 librarians.

A record[139] of 1181 A.D. from Tēridāl (Bijapur District) shows that the *ācāryas* of the *ghaṭikāsthānas* of the temples of Agastyēśvara, Kaṇagilēśvara, and Mahālakṣmī of Kolhāpura, and of Mahāliṅgadēva of Gōkāge, as also the

ēḷkōṭis and *gaṇas*, assembled in *mahāmaṇḍali*, declared that the Goṅka-Jinālaya, which was attached to the Rūpanārāyaṇa-basadi (of Kollāpura) was a part of the temple of Mūlasthāna Kalidēva of Tēridāḷa.

It has been pointed out[140] that those who distinguished themselves in scholarly disputations and discussions—*śāstrārtha* or *vākyārtha* as is well-known to this day—were called *Ghaṭikā-sāhasa*. In the Hallegere plates[141] of the Westren Gaṅga king, Śivamāra I, *Ghaṭikāsāhasa* is found as an epithet of one of the Brāhmaṇa donees, namely, Mādhava-śarma (*Ghaṭikāsāhasāya Mādhava-śarmaṇē*).[142]

A Śikāripura record[143] of 1207 A.D., interestingly enough, mentions the names of several Brāhmaṇa donees that are worth noticing in this context, e.g. Ghaṭikāvādi-Viṣṇudēva, Kāṇva-Ghaḷisāsa (Skt. *Ghaṭikāsāhasa*—Kan. *Ghaḷisāsa*), Rāma-Ghaḷisāsa, Harihara-Ghaḷisāsa, and so on.

We also get the form *Ghaisāsa* in the epigraphs. An inscription[144] of 1093 A.D., for instance, refers to one Vāsudēva-Ghaisāsa of the *agrahāra* of Kukkanūr (Raichur District). Reference is also found to the form *Ghaisa*. The poet Harihara mentions, in his *Basavarājadēvara*[145] *Ragaḷe*, the names of Vāsudēva-Ghaisa and Kēśava-Ghaisa.

(iii) Maṭhas and Temples

The *maṭhas* and temples served as important centres of education during those days. The *maṭhas*, particularly, have been, in some respects, the counterparts of the monasteries of Mediaeval Europe.[146]

The founding of a "monastery or a college for teachers and pupils" (*maṭhapratiṣṭhā*), according to P. V. Kane,[147] does not appear to have been a very ancient practice in India. Though the word *maṭha* is referred to in the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, it does not seem to have any technical sense there.[148] In the lexicon of Amara, however, a *maṭha* is defined as "a place where pupils (and others) reside" (*maṭhah-chā:rādinilayaḥ*).

In short, the *maṭha* was, in earlier times, simply a hostel or hall for students;[149] but, later, it came to mean a residential college of students, and it is in this sense that we find the word used in the mediaeval inscriptions.[150]

It may be noted, in passing, that "we can hardly trace the idea that led to the original formation of such *maṭhas*. It was in all probability entirely religious.[151] Some explanations, however, have been offered in this connection by scholars.

MM. P. V. Kane[152] has pointed out that *sanyāsins* or [ascetics were required by the *śāstras* not to possess any properties (except such articles of personal use as clothes, sandals, religious books etc.), and not to stay long in any one place. And, therefore, people built shelters for them, in order to accommodate them when they visited their town or village. Probably, these shelters were originally known by the name of *maṭha*, which, in its narrow sense, meant a place where an ascetic resided; and, in its wider sense, it meant an institution where a teacher presided and instructed several disciples in religious and analogous tenets, practices and dogmas.

Prof. S. V. Venkateswara[153] has pointed out that, for centuries, the great men of the Tamil country were poets, whose compositions were saturated with devotional elements, which were moulded into Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, on the overthrow of the then dominant Jainism. There was, he further points out, a gradual alliance of literature and religion, and the eminent litterateurs ended their lives as recluses, renouncing all worldly pursuits and giving themselves up to contemplation of God and conversion of their fellow-men. As they got more and more followers, some sort of organization became necessary. "Thus came into being monasteries of these recluses, which were also great seminaries of learning. The formation of such *maṭhas* was a great factor in the education of India".

Whatever be the circumstance in which the *maṭhas* originally came into existence, the fact remains that, in the course of time, it became a great centre of education and imparted both religious and secular instruction.

It has been pointed[154] out that, in the Tamil country, the earliest *maṭhas* of which we have clear record in epigraphy, are those associated with Jñāna-Sambandha (7th century A.D.), which in the next few centuries had branches in numerous tracts of the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries.

It may further be noted that the foundation of such *maṭhas* received a great fillip after the times of the celebrated *Advaitic* teacher, the great Śaṅkarācārya, whom tradition credits with having established, for the propagation of his system

of *Vēdānta*, 4 *maṭhas*—at Śṛṅgēri, Purī (*Govardhana-maṭha*), Dvārakā (*Śāradā-maṭha*), and Badari (*Jyotir-maṭha*).[155] Later, other *ācāryas*, like the great Rāmānuja and Madhva, established their own *maṭhas*; and the number of *maṭhas* to-day is legion.

It may be noted here that though a temple and a *maṭha* were both established for the same religious motive or sentiment, they served different purposes. A temple, indeed, was built primarily for the purpose of prayer and worship. It also often served as the venue for religious instruction, for the recitation of the Epics, *Purāṇas* and the like. But, these latter may be said to have been only secondary purposes. In the case of the *maṭhas*, they were principally intended for the instruction of pupils or the laity by some great teacher in the tenets of a sect, or in the doctrines of some philosophy, or in some branch of learning, such as Grammar, *Mīmāṁsā*, Astrology and the like.[156]

The *maṭhas* and temples, through the centuries, have been supplementary to each other, "both ministering to the religious and spiritual wants of the people".[157]

It may be added here that the *Agnipurāṇa* enjoins that, in a temple of Śiva, Viṣṇu or the Sun, if any one reads a book, he may thereby acquire the merit of the imparting of all knowledge.[158] The *Dānacandrikā* quotes a passage from the *Skandapurāṇa* to the effect that a *maṭha* provided with cots, seats and platforms, and thatched with grass, should be donated to Brāhmaṇas or ascetics at some auspecious time; by so doing, a man secures all his desires and, if he has no worldly desires, he secures release[159] (from *saṁsāra*).

Turning to the period under study, it may be noted that, in a *maṭha*, students lived and received instruction, both religious and secular. And, "all *maṭhas* were attached to some temple, or had some temples attached to them".[160]

There existed, during the period, many temples where arrangements were made for the instruction of pupils. In some of them, instruction of an elementary character might have been imparted, but a few of them really imparted instruction of an advanced type.

A record[161] of 1029 A.D. from Dēvūr (Bijapur District), for instance, records some grant (specified) by Suggaladēvī to a temple of the place (Dēvapura), for the maintenance of, among other things, the students, i.e. for their food (*aśana*), clothing (*ācchādana*) and medicines (*pathyauṣadha*).

Again, in 1158 A.D., according to a Śikāripura record,[162] Kēśava-daṇṇāyaka made a grant of land to the temple of Praṇavēśvara at Tāḷgunda for its maintenance, i.e. to provide for the various expenses of the temple. Among the various servants of the temple that were to get their salaries, also figure 6 teachers, one each for teaching (1) *Ṛgvēda*, (2) *Yajurvēda-padapāṭha*, (3) *Sāmavēda*, (4) *Kalpa*, (5) Grammar (*Śabda-śāstra*) including *Rūpāvatāra* and *Nyāsa*, and (6) *Prābhākara* and *Vēdānta*. There were 2 other teachers, (1) to teach Kannaḍa, and (2) to impart primary education (*bāla-sikṣeya-śāstradavaru*), who were also provided for by separate grants. Such instances can be easily multiplied.[163]

We may as well refer here to an important temple college at Sālōṭgi (Bijapur District), which was a famous centre of learning during the 10th, 11th and probably the 12th centuries A.D. Indeed, the institution, as pointed out by A. S. Altekar,[164] must have flourished for a fairly long time, for it has transformed the original name of the village Pāviṭṭage into Sālōṭagi, which is a combination of the words *śālā* and *pāviṭṭage*.

The Sālōṭgi Pillar inscriptions[165] throw interesting light on the educational institution of the place. The inscription A, dated 945 A.D., and composed in Sanskrit verses, tells us that Nārāyaṇa, the Minister of Peace and War (*Sandhi-vigrahī*) under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor, Kṛiṣṇa III, founded a temple for Trayīpuruṣa, the hall(*śālā*) of which accommodated a college of students who hailed from different provinces (*atra vidyārthinaḥ saṁti nānā-janapadōdbhavāḥ*). The college had as many as 27 dwelling places for its students.

An endowment of 12 *nivartanas* (= probably 60 acres ?) of land was necessary to defray merely the lighting charges (*dīpārthaṁ*) of the institution. A teacher, i.e. an expositor (*vyākhyātus-c-aiva*),[166] of the college (*śālā*) was granted an endowment of 50 *nivartanas* of land and a dwelling, both being exempted from taxation (*mānyam*). Another magnificent endowment of 500 *nivartanas* paid for the expenses of boarding the students.

Further, the inhabitants of the village evinced such keen interest in supporting this institution that they came forward to contribute to the funds of the college (*śālā-vidyārthi-saṁghāya*) 5, 2½ and 1¼ coins on the occasions of marriages (*vivāhē*), thread ceremonies (*upanayanē*), and tonsures (*cūḍākarmaṇi*) respectively. They also agreed to invite as many teachers and students of the college as possible (*yathā-śakti*) to dinner (*Brāhmaṇa-bhōjanē*) that may be given on every festive occasion.

All said and done, it is really unfortunate that the record does not speak a word about some of the important aspects of the problem, e.g. the number of students[167] and teachers of the college, the subjects taught,[168] and the like.

We learn from the inscription B,[169] composed in Kannaḍa verses, that when, probably in the next century,[170] the college (*śālā*) had crumbled, it was rebuilt by one Kañciga, who appears to be a local feudatory. The record describes, quite poetically, that, when the group of pillars was set up, Kañciga himself placed one or two pillars there, as if he placed *aṟa* (Dharma) in the form of a pillar. And, so goes another simile, it looked as if he placed a pillar recording his own fame (*kīrti-stambha*)!

The inscription C,[171] probably of the 11th or 12th century A.D. according to Dr. Fleet, shows that the institution was granted plots of land by one Gōvuṇarasa, who is styled as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, 'the lord of the excellent city of Kopaṇapura', etc.

But, in no temple perhaps could higher education have been obtained in such fullness, or in so many subjects, as was possible in a *maṭha*.[172] Inscriptions[173] often show that, in many of the *maṭhas*, instruction of an advanced type in the traditional 14 or 18 *vidyās* was offered to students.

It may be gathered from the epigraphs[174] at Baḷḷigāve or Balipura (Shimoga District) that there flourished 5 *maṭhas*; *Pañca-maṭha* (dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Jina and Buddha respectively),[175] *Hiriya-maṭha*, *Bhēruṇḍēśvara-maṭha*, *Pañcaliṅga-maṭha* and *Tripurāntaka-maṭha*.

Of these 5 *maṭhas*, the *Pañcalinga-maṭha* was apparently the earliest. Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiah[176] thinks that this *maṭha* may have come into existence about 1000 A.D. And, it belonged to the Śaiva ascetics, well-known as the *Kāḷāmukhas*. It is referred to in an inscription[177] of 1036–37 A.D. as a place or college (*sthāna*) of the *Kāḷāmukhas*.

It is not known definitely when and from which place the *Kāḷāmukhas* came to Karṇāṭaka and settled here. According to some,[178] they originally hailed from Kashmir; but this has been questioned by other scholars.[179] It has been pointed out by Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiah[180] that the earliest mention in Mysore of these *Kāḷāmukhas* is in the Nandi plates (807 A.D.) of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Gōvinda III.

Without going into details of the problem—such a discussion is not relevant in this particular context—we may note here that the *Kāḷamūkhas*, especially in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., were in a flourishing condition in Karṇāṭaka, and held the headships of many *maṭhas* and temples here. Baḷḷigāve and Kuppaṭūr (both in the Shimoga District), for instance, were among the most influential centres of the *Kāḷāmukhas*.[181]

Most of these *Kāḷāmukha* ascetics were erudite scholars in various branches of learning, and great educationists (*śiṣya-cātaka-varṣākāla-mukhar*).[182]

Turning to *Pañcaliṅga-maṭha*, an epigraph[183] of 1036–37 A.D. describes, for instance, the first pontiff of the *maṭha*, Lakuḷīśvara-Paṇḍitadēva (also called Vādi-Rudraguṇa), as the uprooter of the doctrines of the *Bauddhas*, *Mīmāṁsakas*, *Lōkāyatas*, *Sāṅkhyas*, *Digaṁbaras* and *Advaitins*; and as the sole support of *Naiyāyikas*, 'fluent and fond of explaining things', etc.

But, of all the *maṭhas* at Baḷḷigāve, the *Kēdārēśvara-maṭha*, better known as *Kōḍiya-maṭha*, was a great centre of learning and presided over by the *Kāḷāmukhas*. It must have come into being sometime between A.D. 1054 and 1094.[184] The first mention of this *maṭha* is in a Śikāripura record[185] of 1094 A.D., which refers to the third pontiff, Sōmēśvara-Paṇḍita, the first being Kēdāraśakti-munipati (evidently the founder of the *maṭha*), and the second, Śrīkaṇṭhapati.

Sōmēśvara-Paṇḍita was mainly responsible for the fame and prosperity of this *maṭha*. He was, we are told, proficient in *siddhānta*, *tarka*, *vyākaraṇa*, *kāvya*, *nāṭaka*, *Bharataśāstra*, and other sciences connected with *sāhitya*; and also in *Jaina*, *Bauddha*, *Lōkāyata* and *Lakuḷa Siddhāntas*. He is, indeed, called an 'ocean of learning' (*vidyābdhi*); and his lectures flowed easily in surging waves like the flow of the *Gaṅgā*![186]

The fourth pontiff, Vidyābharaṇa[187] (the brother of Sōmēśvara-Paṇḍita), entrusted temporal affairs to his senior disciple Gautama,[188] and gave himself up to a life of seclusion.

Gautama's disciple was Vāmaśakti (II), by far the most eminent in the line of this *maṭha*. It was because of him, according to an epigraph[189] of 1156 A. D., that the name of the *maṭha* became world-renowned. Some inscriptions[190] refer to him as *Rāja-guru* (royal-preceptor). He was a versatile scholar. It has been

pointed[191] out that his pontificate lasted for not less than 46 years, during which time he brought his *maṭha* to the zenith of its renown. It enjoyed royal patronage of the Kaḷacuri rulers, Bijjaṇa and Saṅkama, and of Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷa II. Compared with him, "his successors must have been non-entities"; nay, after 1211 A.D., the very name of the *maṭha* disappears.[192]

So far we have referred to the illustrious teachers of this celebrated institution. Now, a word about the educational activities of the *maṭha*. A Śikāripura inscription[193] of 1162 A.D., for instance, shows that *Kōḍiya-maṭha* was the place where the following subjects were taught: the 4 *Vēdas* 6 *Vēdāṅgas*, 6 systems of philosophy (*ṣaḍ darśana*), and also the philosophy of the Buddhists and others; the *Siddhānta* of Lakuḷa and the *Yōga-śāstra* of Patañjali; the 18 *Purāṇas*, *Dharma-śāstras*, *Kāvyas*, *Nāṭakas*, and so forth. In short, the subjects taught in that institution were, in substance, the same as the traditional 14 or 18 *vidyās* with *kalās* added to them.[194]

We have, however, no information on the number of the students and teachers of the *Kōḍiya-maṭha*. It may be said to the credit of this great institution that, besides being a renowned centre of learning, it also ministered to the wants of all sorts of people from various places : it gave shelter to the oppressed, and food and madicine to the proor and sick.[195]

It thus becomes clear from the instances cited above that no narrow view of culture was taken in these institutions, and the scheme of studies comprised all the departments of learning considered to be valuable at that time.

Of the many temples in the city of Balipura, it may be gathered from the epigraphs that instruction was provided to pupils in the temples of Siddhēśvara, Narasiṁha, etc. An inscription[196] of 1083 A.D., for instance, tells us that the Cāḷukya ruler Jayasiṁha made a gift of lands to the temple of Siddhēśvara for (among other purposes) providing food and clothing for the students studying there.

Again, the temples of Kriyāśakti, which stood near the Pergaṭṭa tank in Baḷḷigāve, was granted a village and some lands;[197] and, we are told,[198] there were 12 expounders attached to that temple for instructing pupils. In A.D. 1093–94, the merchnat-guilds at Baḷḷigāve made a grant of certain taxes (specified) for providing (among other things) food for the students.[199]

Though there were many more temples and *maṭhas*—some belonging to the *Kāḷāmukhas* and some others to the *Śaivas* in general—referred to in the inscriptions of Baḷḷigāve, the instances cited above may suffice to show what a great centre of learning Baḷḷigāve was during the period in question. Indeed, it has been aptly called "A Twelfth Century University in Mysore".[200]

Our account of the educational centres will not be complete without making a passing reference to Jaina and Buddhist centres of learning, which flourished during this period. Needless to say that the Jaina *basadis* (Skt. *vasati*) and Buddhist *vihāras* go back to quite early periods, and are probably earlier than the Hindu *maṭhas*.

It is important to note that of the 5 original *maṭhas* (*Pañcamaṭha Mūlasthāna*) that flourished at Balipura, Jaina and Bauddha *maṭhas* prominently figure in the records.[201]

It is really unfortunate that the inscriptions do not enlighten us about the educational activities is these Jaina and Bauddha centres; in short, they do not furnish specific details as regards the number of students and teachers, the subjects aught, and the like.

Yet, as Baḷḷigāve was famous centre of learning, it is likely that the Jaina and the Bauddha *maṭhas* too, like the Hindu *maṭhas* mentioned above, imparted education to students, at least in their respective doctrines. In fact, an inscription[202] of 1165 A.D. from Soraba (Shimoga district), specifically tells us that the 5 *maṭhas* at Balipura "were practising the rites of their own respective creeds".

We learn from an inscription[203] of c. 1182 A. D. from Śikāripura that a Jaina teacher, Municandra, "published commentaries, made the science of grammar his own, adopted the rules of logic (?), explained poems and dramas".

In the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., the Jains as well as the Buddhists were fairly active in Karṇāṭaka. The Cāḷukya ruler, Sōmēśvara II, granted in 1068 A.D., some lands and 2 *basadis* to the Mallikāmoda Śāntinātha Jinālaya[204] (at Baḷḷigāve). Again, in 1077 A.D., Vikramāditya VI granted a village to the Cāḷukya-Gaṅga-Permmāḍi Jinālaya[205] (at the same place).

As for Buddhist institutions,[206] reference is found in an epigraph[207] of 1065 A.D. from Śikāripura, to the construction of the *Jayanti Prabha-Buddha-Vihāra*,

by the *Mahāpradhāna* Rūpabhaṭṭayya, and also to grant of land made by him to the Tārā-Bhagavatī, Lōkēśvara-dēva, Bauddha-dēva, etc., which he himself had built. Again, in 1067 A.D., one Nāgiyakka, built a temple for the goddess Tārā-Bhagavatī at Baḷḷigāve, and granted some land to the Buddhist teacher, (Jayanti-?) Prabha Bauddha Baḷāra.[208]

Primary and Higher Education

(i) Primary Education

Contemporary epigraphs do not enlighten us as regards the arrangements for, and the methods of, primary education in the ordinary village or town during this period. Nor does the *Smṛtis*[209] help us in the matter. Inscriptions[210] occasionally refer to the terms, like *akṣara-śikṣā and bāla-śikṣā*, but they seldom give specific details for a better understanding of the subject.

It is important to remember in this context that the theory that universal education (i. e. compulsory education of the masses) as a duty of the State is but a modern one. The knowledge of the 3 R's was not regarded as a necessary part of the equipment of every citizen, in Ancient and Mediaeval India.[211] Moreover, the distinction between primary and higher education of those days was not so clear cut, as we find it at the present time.[212]

According to some writers, like Prof. Nilakanta Sastri,[213] the village school-master was among the regular village-officials, who held assignments of land in the villages on condition that he fulfilled specified duties. The village school-master, according to U. N. Ghoshal,[214] seems to have been plying his occupation amid humble surroundings, and receiving his modest pay from the contributions of the villagers.

A. S. Altekar[215] has tried to show that the village school-teacher does not figure among the grain-sharing servants of the community (and especially of the Deccan)—a fact which shows that the country at large did not regard the primary teacher as essential for the ordinary villagers. He further points out that the village teacher as a grain-sharing servant[216] of the community was known only in a few districts of Madras Presidency (Tamilnad).

In the Karṇāṭaka of the period under review, provision for primary education seems to have been made in almost every village ;[217] and the practice of

supplying free land for the school-teacher, referred to in some inscriptions[218] as *akkariga-vṛtti*, seems to have been a widespread, if not universal, element of rural economy of the times.

Children usually began their education in their 5th year.[219] The *vidyārambha*[220] (also called *akṣarasvīkaraṇa*) ceremony, the earliest *saṁskāra* in the student's life, was performed (as the very name would suggest) at the commencement of primary education.

Kauṭilya[221] observes that the *vidyārambha* rite for a prince, who was duly tonsured (*vṛtta-caulakarmā*), meant that he was to learn writing (*lipi*) and numbers (*saṁkhyā*).

According to Dēvaṇabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Smṛti-candrikā*,[222] the pupil's first introduction to education was made by his performance of the *vidyārambha* ceremony, at which he was to commence the learning of the alphabets for the first time. And, this ceremony was to be performed when the child attained its 5th year (*prāptē tu pañcamē varṣē*). The young pupil saluted first the deities like Hari, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, and also *Vidyā* of his family and the *Sūtrakāras* of that particular *Vidyā*, and the *Vidyā* of the pupil's choice.

The ceremony of *vidyārambha* followed that of tonsure (*cūḍākaraṇa*), and was followed by the thread-ceremony (*upanayana*). The *Smṛti-candrikā*[223] quotes an unnamed *Smṛti* which recommends that the curriculum should consist of a primer (*mātrikānyāsa*) and arithmetic. We have no means to ascertain which primer was followed in the Karṇāṭaka of the period under study.

The formal and regular introduction to education, however, was made by the ceremony of *upanayana*, which has been ordained by the *Smṛtis*[224] for all the three upper classes, though under different rules. Without going into the greater details of the rituals connected with this ceremony, it may be noted that the *Smṛti* writers are not agreed on the age and time of *upanayana*, which differ from caste to caste.[225]

Further, it appears that the ages are fixed in accordance with the different capacities and aptitudes for learning in the pupils, and that the studies of their choice determined the periods required for their completion.[226] Moreover, the *Smṛti* injunctions[227] point to the supreme efficacy of *upanayana* as a purifying influence,

a factor of moral and spiritual uplift. They also show to what extent education was valued by Hindu society, and how it was sought by law to make education universal and compulsory among all the 3 castes.

The royal author, Sōmēśvara,[228] observes that after the performance of *upanayana*, a prince should be taught the *Vēdas* as well as the science of weapons (*Vēdam-adhyāpayēt putraṁ astra-vidyāṁ-ca-śikṣayēt*). A Bēlūr record[229] of 1136 A. D., interestingly enough, tells us that Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana performed the thread-ceremony of Biṭṭiyaṇṇa who, within 7 or 8 years after that ceremony, became an expert (*pariṇata*) in the sciences (*śāstra*) and in the use of weapons (*śastra*).

At the time of *upanayana*, gifts were usually made to the *Guru*. A record[230] of 1110 A. D., for instance, informs us that, on the occasion of the thread-ceremony of Vikramāditya V (also styled as Cāḷukya Satyāśraya), the whole village of Murttage (Mutgi, Bijapur District) was gifted to his teacher (*parama-guru*), Viṣṇuᵘbhaṭṭa.

Some inscriptions do help us to know about the subjects taught to children at the primary stage of education. An inscription[231] of 1012 A. D. form Kōṭavumacgi (Dharwar District) shows that 25 *mattars* of land and a house were granted as *akkariga-vṛtti*, for the purpose of education of an elementary character to be imparted by Nāgadēśiga who was an expert teacher of mathematics (*gaṇitaṁ*), astrology (*jōisaṁ*), prosody (*chandaṁ*), rhetoric (*alaṁkāraṁ*), besides reading and writing (*bareyaluṁ bājisaluṁ balla śabda-saṁskārav-uḷḷāta*).

It is stipulated in the record that the teacher Nāgadēśiga should teach his pupils, feeding them once a day, and supplying each of them with one piece of cloth a year (nityasthitiy–ondu poḷtal–āhāramuṁ variṣakk–ondu kappaḍavuvan–ikki ōdisi).

It may be noted that the knowledge of the 3 R's and the elementary principles of grammar, phonology and metrics, was considered to be essential, without which advanced studies in *Vēdic* and classical Sanskrit education was impossible in those days.[232]

Again, the Koṇḍguḷi (Bijapur District) inscription[233] of 1132 A. D. (of the Westren Cāḷukya ruler of Kalyāṇa, Sōmēśvara III) is of some significance in this context, as it clearly refers to the subjects taught to children at the primary

stage of education. The record registers three endowments of money made jointly by Kēsimaya-daṇḍanāyaka and Gaṇapati-daṇḍanāyaka, for the purpose of feeding the teachers teaching various subjects. The third endowment (amount specified), particularly, was meant for feeding the teacher who imparted education to children (*bāla-śikṣeyaṁ mārpa upādhyāyarge*), teaching them alphabets (*akṣara*), grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) and *Rūpāvatāra* (a Sanskrit grammatical work intended specially for youngsters). Inscriptions[234] often refer to such *bāla-śikṣe*.

Dr. A. S. Altekar[235] has pointed out that, during the period c. 800-1200 A. D., vernaculars had considerably developed and must have begun to form an important part of primary education. A record[236] of 1158 A. D. from Śikāripura (Shimoga District) registers a grant of land (specified) made for the purpose of teaching Kannaḍa alphabets (*Kannaḍakṣara-sikṣe*) ; and mentions a Kannaḍa teacher also (*Kannaḍad-upādhyāya*). Though the record does not tell us specially about the subjects taught by that Kannaḍa teacher, it is probable that he taught Kannaḍa alphabets to children.

Further, another record[237] of 1290 A. D. from Mysore District refers to a grant of money (6 *gadyāṇas*) made for the maintenance of a teacher who had to teach the boys Nāgarī, Kannaḍa and Grantha scripts (*Nāgara-Kannaḍa-Tiguḷārya-manōdisuva bālaśikṣeya upādhyāyara jīvitakke*). It is significant to note in this connection that epigraphs of this period are found written in these 3 scripts mentioned above.

Reference is often found in the inscriptions to four scripts that were in vogue during this period. An epigraph[238] of 1079 A. D. from Hassan District shows that the document was composed by the *Sandhi-vigrahi*, Nakuḷārya, who is praised as being able to write in 4 different scripts (*caturbhāṣa-likhitthaka Vidyā-dharaṁ Sandhi-vigrahi Śrīmanu Nakuḷāryaṁ baredaṁ*).

Now, which were these 4 scripts ? An epigraph[239] of 1057 A. D. from Hirēhaḍagali (Bellary District) helps us to answer this question. Dēmarasa, the composer of this record, is praised as an expert in the four scripts, viz., *Tilu* (? probably Telugu), *Tivuḷa*[240] (Tamil), *Kannaḍa* and *Nāgara*. Inscriptions[241] supply us many examples of persons who were able to write in four (and more) languages and scripts.

(ii) Higher Education

As for higher studies, there was provision made, by way of endowments, in numerous *agrahāras*, *maṭhas* and such other centres of learning, for the imparting

of instructions in various subjects, such as the *Vēdas*, *Vēdāṅgas*, *Ṣaḍ-darśanas*, *Tarka* and so forth, as has been noticed earlier.

Without repeating, therefore, the same details here, it may be added that endowments of land, money etc., called *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*[242] in the records, were often made in order to help the teachers maintain themselves, and thus promote the cause of higher learning.

Inscriptional evidence to this effect may be cited here. The Kōṭavumacgi (Dharwar District) record[243] of 1012 A. D. refers to a *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*, amounting to 50 *mattars* of land and a house, made for the expounding of *Nyāsa* and *Prābhākara Mīmāṁsā* (*Nyāsaṁ Prābhākaravuvaṁ vakkhāṇisi guṇaśāsanadin-uṁba bhaṭṭa-vṛiti mattar-aivattu maney-ondu*).

Again in 1111 A. D., one Nāgaviṣṇumayya[244] (of *Haiṅga-kula*) granted gold and land (specified) as *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*, for expounding *Tarka* (logic) in the *vakkhāṇa-śāle* (i. e. *vyākhyāna-śālā*), which he himself had caused to be built for that purpose at Rōṇa (Dharwar District).

Further, significantly enough, inscriptions often refer to endowments of land, etc., for the maintenance of students also, who were engaged in the pursuit of higher studies. The Kōṭavumacgi record of 1012 A. D., mentioned above, registers a grant of 25 *mattars* of land for the maintenance of the students studying *Nyāsa* and *Prābhākara* [*cchaṭṭargge mattar-irppattaidu* (Skt. *chātra*—Kan. *caṭṭa*=student)].

If grants made for the maintenance of professors were called *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*, those granted for students' maintenance were known as *caṭṭa-vṛtti* (Skt. *chātra-vṛtti*), as referred to in a record[245] of 1121 A. D.

Needless to say that suffixes like *bhaṭṭa*, *bhaṭṭōpādhyāya* etc., had much significance in those days and were indicative of high learning and reputation, as, for instance, *mahōpādhyāya* (great teacher) of Bengal inscriptions.[246] Bhaṭṭa denoted Brāhmaṇas, as S. V. Venkateswara[247] points out, "whose duty was to teach as well as to learn"[248]

A record[249] of 1229 A. D. from Belgaum relates an interesting instance showing the great estimation attached in those days to the appellation of '*bhaṭṭa*'. Rudra-bhaṭṭa, born in a well-known family of scholars (belonging to the *Candra-*

vaṁśa and the *Atri-gōtra*), and himself a great poet (*su-kavi*), is said to have pledged the letter *bha* of his name as security for a loan of 1000 pieces of gold ; and he received from people the appellation of 'Rudraṭa' only, as a substitute for his full name, until the day when he redeemed the pledge! [*ā sukavi Rudrabhaṭṭanin-ā Sōmakul-ākhyav-enisuva Atrikulaṁ Sāmasiga-kulav-enisidud-aṁt-ā-satkuladoḷage puṭṭit-amaḷa-caritraṁ ॥ adaṟoḷ nijanāmākṣarav-iḍe sāsira-poṁge koṭṭadaṁ biḍip-anitu-dinam paḍe daṁ Rudraṭan-embī paḍemātaṁ Rudrabhaṭṭan-urvī-janadim ॥*].

Subjects of Study

The long list of subjects taught and studied in ancient times embraced various branches of sacred and secular learning, extending from the 4 *Vēdas*, the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas* down to snake-charming and the arts of singing, dancing, and preparing unguents.[250] Ultimately, however, it came to be recognised that the sum-total of human knowledge was comprised in the traditional 14 or 18 *vidyās*.

The *14 vidyās* were[251] : 4 *Vēdas*, 6 *Vēdāṅgas*, together with *Mīmāṁsā* (principles of *Vēdic* Exegesis), *Nyāya* (logic and dialectics), *Purāṇas* and *Dharma-śāstras* (law). These 14 together with the 4 *Upavēdas—Āyur-vēda, Dhanur-vēda, Gāndharva-vēda* and *Sthāpatyōpa-vēda*—formed the *aṣṭādaśa-vidyāḥ* or 18 sciences.[252]

It has been noticed earlier that the *agrahāras* of Vātāpi (Bādāmi, Bijapur District) was famous as a seat of the 14 *vidyās* or sciences, *caturdaśa-vidyā-sthāna*. Again, the learned Brāhmaṇa donees of the Nēralige (Hassan District) grant[253] are described as great scholars, whose conduct in life was governed by the 14 branches of learning.

The *Vēdas* were the core subject taught in these schools of learning. Vijñānēśvara's[254] observations are worth noting in this context : He is of the opinion that, for the twice-born, the *Vēdas* are the only source of absolution; all knowledge, sacrifice, all forms of penance, and all good works are centered in the *Vēdas*.

Again, the pertinent observation of Vijñānēśvara[255] can be stated as follows: As fire consumes and burns down the fuel, so also the *Vēdas* absolve persons (who study them) of all mistakes, by removing all evils in them.

We have noted above that the Brāhmaṇas of the *agrahāras* and *brahmapurīs*, for instance, are often described in the records[256] as erudite scholars in all the four *Vēdas*, six *Vēdāṅgas*, etc.

The study of the *Vēdas*, as pointed out by Vijñānēśvara,[257] has the following five parts :

1) receiving the instructions in the *Vēdas*;[258]
2) contemplation;
3) then repeated study;
4) the *japa*, and
5) the imparting of it (*Vēdic* instruction) to the pupils.

The poet Harihara, in one of his *Ragaḷes*[259]—*Sāmavēdigaḷa Mahātme*—gives us a fine picture of a teacher and his pupils, who, for the study of the *Vēda*, went to a forest, away from the madding crowd of the village and town, early in the morning, sat under a peepul tree, and carried out their studies till noon.

Learning the *Vēdas* does not mean merely learning them by rote, or simply memorising them, but knowing them with their proper meaning. Indeed, a mere memorizer of the *Vēdas* (who is not able to interpret them) has been stigmatized by Yāska[260] as a pillar (*sthāṇu*) and a bearer of burden (*bhārahāra*). In the 11th century A. D., we are told by Albērūnī,[261] very few persons could understand the meaning of the *Vēdic* hymns. The correctness of the observation of Albērūnī can be shown from the writings of Halāyudha, Ādityadarśana and others.[262]

If we are to trust the records, the Brāhmaṇas of the *agrahāra* of Kuppaṭūr[263] (Shimoga District) possessed a sound knowledge of the meanings of all the four *Vēdas* (*Ṛg-Yajus-Sām-Ātharvaṇa Vēdārtha tattvajñarum̐*). The meaning of the *Vēdas* (*vēdārtha*), as Vijñānēśvara[264] points out, should be understood "by listening to the science of exegetics, grammar, etc." A Śikāripura record[265] of 1207 A. D., for instance, mentions the name of one Vēdārthada-Yōgīśvara-bhaṭṭa who figures as one of the donees in the record. He was evidently a *Vēdic* scholar who could interpret and explain the *Vēdic* texts.

It may be remembered here that, in the later *Vēdic* period, proper technical methods, aimed at preserving the precise traditional arrangements of *Vēdic* hymns, were evolved. They are renowned as *Pada-pāṭha*, *Krama-pāṭha*, *Jaṭā-pāṭha* and *Ghana-pāṭha*.[266]

Reference[267] is often found to such methods of *Vēdic* studies. A Śikāripura (Shimoga District) record[268] of 1057 A. D. is of interest in this context. It describes the learned Brāhmaṇas of the kingdom of Banavāsi as great *Vēdic*

scholars, who used to recite the *Vēdas* free from errors, such as *grasta* (swallowing letters while pronouncing), *nirasta* (omitting letters) and the like. They were well-versed, we are further told, in accentuation, syllabification, *Pada*, *Krama*, and *Saṁhitā*, in accordance with rules dealing with them.

Further, a Gadag (Dharwar District) record,[269] of 1098 A.D., speaks of a scholar-statesman, the *Mahāpradhāna*, *Dharmādhikāri* etc., of Vikramāditya VI, called Sōmēśvara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya. He was a great *Vēdic* scholar, and even the most erudite scholars came to consult him before reaching a decision on the *Pada* and *Krama* (words and word-order) of the *Ṛgvēdic* text.

We also find the word *Kramita* (Skt. *Kramavit*) as a suffix with the names of Brāhmaṇa scholars figuring as the donees in the grants,[270] e. g. Caṅgadēva-kramita, Viṣṇu-kramita, Dēvaṇa-kramita, etc. Evidently, they must have been proficient in the *Krama-pāṭha* of the *Vēdic* texts.

The epigraphs of the period often record a number of grants made to schools and scholars of the different *Vēdas* that were taught in them (schools). We often hear of *khaṇḍikas*[271] of *Ṛgvēda*, *Yajurvēda*, and so forth that were endowed with rich grants of land, money, etc.

The term *khaṇḍika* is usually taken in the sense of a class or school. Thus e. g. *Ṛgvēda-khaṇḍika* is taken to mean "a school for teaching *Ṛgvēda*".[272] It may be noted here that the term *khaṇḍika* appears in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* [IV, 2.45]; and it is explained by Sir Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*[273] as "one who learns section by section of a work".

It may be of interest to note here that Khaṇḍika[274] Audbhāri (descendant of Udbhāra) is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as a teacher of Kēśin, and in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* as having been defeated by a Kēśin as a sacrificer. Again, a Khaṇḍika[275] appears in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* as an enemy of Kēśin.

Among the other subjects of study, frequently referred to, mention may be made of a few, such as *Ṣaḍaṅgas* (the well-known 6 schools of disciplines like *Śikṣā*, *Vyākaraṇa* and so forth), *Ṣaḍ-darśanas* (the 6 systems of Hindu philosophy —*Sāṁkhya*, *Yōga* and the like), 18 *Purāṇas*, *Dharmaśāstras*(law), *Mahākāvyas* (?) (probably the two great epics, viz., the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*), *Nāṭaka* (drama) and many others.

The Koṇḍguḷi (Bijapur District) record[276] of 1132 A.D. is significant in this context, as it refers to 3 endowments of money (specified) made for the teaching of the following subjects : (i) *Sūtasaṁhitā* (*Sūtrasaṁhitā* in the record is obviously a mistake, according to the editor of the record), a well-known religious text forming a part of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*; and the *priya-granthas* (not explained by the editor—probably standing for the two great Epics);

(ii) *Saṁhite* (that may stand for the *Vēdic Saṁhitas* in general), the *kiṟiya-granthas* (? literary works like *kāvyas* and *nāṭakas*, according to the editor), and the *Yājñavalki*, probably the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti;* and

(iii) *akṣara* (the alphabets), *vyākaraṇa*(grammar) and the *Rūpāvatāra*, the well-known grammatical work (intended for youngsters) by Dharmakīrti, a Buddhist monk (? 10th century A.D.).

It may be added here that the epigraphs of the period often praise the achievements of scholars in different branches of learning. Thus, according to a record[277] of 1094 A.D., the learned men of Poṁbuḷca (Dharwar District) pursued the study of the *Vēda, Vēdāṅgas, Vēdānta, Purāṇa, Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā, Āgama* and such other subjects. Again, the 50 Brāhmaṇas of the *agrahāra* of Bāḷguli (Bellary District) are described in a record[278] of 1160 A.D. as ever ready to hold disputations with rival scholars of other places, in subjects such as *Vyākaraṇa, Āgama, Smṛti, Purāṇa, Bharata* (? Nāṭya-śāstra), *Ṣaṭ-tarka* (? six types of logical disputation) and so forth.

Inscriptions often describe certain individual scholars of repute, who were well-versed in many branches of learning. We have already referred above to that scholar-statesman, Sōmēśvara-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya, whose scholarship in both sacred and secular learning has been praised at length. We may notice here some more such cases.

An inscription[279] of 1060 A.D. from Sūḍi (Dharwar District) celebrates the renowned Śaiva teacher and scholar, Sōmēśvara-Paṇḍitadēva, in two long Kannaḍa verses: he was great, indeed, in every respect—in his penance, conduct and learning. His learning included a mastery of *Vaiśēṣika, Nyāya, Sāṁkhya, Śabda-jñāna* (grammar), *Mīmāṁsā*, etc. Many princes came to do him homage.

A record[280] of 1024 A.D. from Maroḷ(Bijapur District) describes the learning of the Jaina teacher, Anantavīryamuni, as comprised of all *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar),

Nighaṇṭu (lexicon) *Gaṇita* (mathematics), *Vātsyāyana* (erotics), *Jyōtiṣa* (astrology), *Śakuna* (augury), Chandas (prosody), *Manu* (law), *Gāndharva* (music and dance), *Aḷaṁkāra* (rhetoric), *Mahākāvya-Nāṭaka* (poetry and drama), *Ādhyātmika* (philosophy), *Arthaśāstra* (science of polity), *Siddhānta* and *Purāṇas*—indeed, a formidable list giving an indication of the wide variety of subjects "in which an industrious polyhistor of the times could spread himself".[281]

Special endowments were often created by pious donors for the study of particular subjects. Inscriptions[282] from the Dharwar District, for instance, refer to such endowments for the study of the *Prābhākara Mīmāṁsā*, *Tarka*, and *Kaumāra Vyākaraṇa*, respectively at Lakkuṇḍi, Rōṇa and Puligere. A record[283] from Kurugōḍu (Bellary District) refers to an endowment for the expounding of *Vaiśēṣika*, while those[284] from the Bijapur and Gulbarga Districts register special grants for the study of *Purāṇas*.

It may be added here that there is recurring emphasis on the study of grammar[285] in the inscriptions of the period. Indeed, several systems of the 'science of words', in which the Sanskrit language attained perfection unknown to any other tongue in former times,[286] appear to have been assiduously cultivated in those days.

A Śikāripura (Shimoga District) record[287] of 1010 A.D. simply mentions *pañca-vyākaraṇa*, without naming any. A record[288] from Muḷgunda (Dharwar District), dated 1053 A.D., refers to two Jaina grammarians, Narēndrasēna and Nayasēna, who were both proficient in many systems; and the names particularly mentioned are the *Cāndra*, *Kātantra*, *Jainēndra*, *Śabdānuśāsana* of Śākaṭāyana, *Pāṇinīya*, *Aindra* and *Kaumāra*.

Education of Princes

A word about the education of princes. It has been pointed[289] out that the rise into importance of *Arthaśāstra* made for the concentration of attention upon the education of the prince, who was regarded as the key-stone of the political arch; and that the *Smṛtis* and the *Arthaśāstra* prescribed for him a comprehensive course of intellectual training combined with moral discipline.

Further, the *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya merely repeats the ancient prescription that the king should be well-versed in philosophy (*ānvīkṣikī*), the *Vēdas* (*trayī*), politics (*daṇḍanīti*) and economics (*vārtā*); and, unfortunately, "neither Vijñānēś-

vara nor Aparārka has touched on contemporary facts in commenting on this statement".[290]

Although the works of Sōmēśvara[291] do not contain detailed information on the point, yet they give us an interesting glimpse into the methods and principles of princely education in vogue during that period. The royal author observes that the princes should be instructed in the *Vēdas* (*Vēdam-adhyāpayēt-putraṁ*), as well as in the military science (*astra-vidyāṁ ca śikṣayēt*). When the princes have completed their training, and have become skilled in riding horses and elephants, and in managing chariots, the king shall test them one after another. The test applies also to their skill in various branches of literature—the *Vēdas*, logic, grammar, poetry, *Nīti*, etc —as also in the fine arts like music, etc. (*svara-śāstrē kalāsvapi*), and in wielding the bow and other weapons ;[292] and in exhibiting their strength as well as steadiness of body and mind.

Indeed, in such a well-organised society, and in a society where so much depended on the personal capacity of the monarch, the proper education of the future rulers of the land would have naturally received all the care it merited. The high standards of princes' training are best illustrated by the scholar-kings of this period, like Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara III, the Śilāhāra ruler Aparārka [as also Ballāḷasēna of Bengal, and, above all, the illustrious Bhōja of Mālwā].[293]

Technical Education

As for what we should now call technical or vocational training in various arts and crafts, e.g. indurtrial arts (weaving, mining, metal work, etc.), commerce, medicine and so forth, specific details are sadly lacking in the sources of our period. The commentaries and digests of this period are silent about the scheme of technical education of apprentices in trades and crafts.[294]

Needless to say that training in the technical arts was mostly hereditary and domestic : the father brought up his children in his calling, and learning went side by side with doing. It may be recalled here that, since early times, the 'apprentice system' of education was the usual method of training in industrial arts.

The inscription[295] on the statue of a *Yakṣiṇī* (belonging to the Mauryan age), who his being worshipped as Manasā Dēvī at Jhing near Mathurā, records that the statue was carved by Nāka, an apprentice (*antēvāsi*) of the sculptor Kuṇika.

The same system of apprenticeship apparently continued during the period under study as well; for, the *Mitākṣarā*[296] clearly defines an apprentice (*antēvāsi*) as "one who wishes to study the mechanical arts". It may be observed in this connection that the actual performance of the work by the pupil combined with observation of the master's methods were obviously the most common ways of learning such technical arts; and there was little if any teaching of a purely theoritical character with the aid of books such as we now find.[297]

Vijñānēśvara[298] observes that an apprentice must remain in the house of the master, during the stipulated period (as may have been fixed under an agreement)—e.g. a period of 4 years for learning medicine (*Āyurvēda*), or any other art (*śilpa*)—receiving his food from the teacher and giving him the proceeds of the art. He further enjoins that, even when the apprentice has acquired the desired lore, even before the expiration of 4 years, he should continue to stay with his teacher (in the manner stated above) till the agreed period ends.

It is significant to note that, during the earlier periods, medical courses extended over 7 or 8 years;[299] but, as observed by Vijñānēśvara, the course was then limited to 4 years only. Vijñānēśvara[300] elsewhere refers to some directions of the science of medicine (*Āyurvēda*), e.g. "giving medicines and suitable food for a patient, medical treatment and similar other means".

Epigraphs of the period mention the names of many physicians who were experts in the field. A Dāvaṇagere (Chitradurg District) record[301] of 1054 A.D., for instance, refers to a physician, Vijaya Paṇḍita by name, as "*Kaliyuga Dhanvantari*". One Bibbaṇṇa[302] is said to have been born in a family of physicians. Another physician, Jaiyū,[303] is said to have been an expert in *Gajavaidya* and such other branches of medicine. Again, a Mysore record[304] of 1181 A.D. praises two persons, Acyuta-Vīrēndra-Śikyapa and his son (not named), as *Vara-Vaidya* (expert physician) and Bhiṣagrāja (prince among physicians).

It may be added here that Kīrtivarma,[305] identified as Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya (c. 1060–80 A.D.), one of the two brothers of Vikramāditya VI, is the author of *Gōvaidya*, a treatise on veterinary science. Sōmēśvara[306] deals, in some detail, with the treatment of diseases not only of men, but also of animals such as horses, elephants and the like.

We may speak a word about architecture and sculpture (as a subject of technical education). As a rule, apprentice system was the usual method of

training. Indeed, the erection of a temple or a palace must have been the occasion as much for the discovery of fresh talents as for the application of known abilities.

Judging from the monuments that have survived—e.g. the numerous later Cāḷukya temples, as also the world-renowned temples at Bēlūr, Haḷebīḍ, Sōmanāthapur and such other places, considered to be master-pieces of the Hoysaḷa art—it may safely be maintained that at no time was there a dearth of artisans who were also great artists. In fact, they bear a clear testimony to the excellence of the craftsman's training at its highest levels.

An epigraph[307] of A.D. 1172 from Bijapur District, interestingly enough, refers to one Saṅgōja, son of *ācārya* Sōvirāśi-Paṇḍitadēva, as an expert architect (*prāsāda-māṭa-kūṭa pravīṇan-appa sūtradhāri*). One Acalaprakāśā,[308] an *Advaitic* teacher, is said to have been well-versed in architecture (*vāstuvinoḷu*), besides being a scholar in the *Vēdas*, astronomy, music, etc.

It may be recalled here that some of the Cāḷukyan and Hoysaḷa temples do contain inscriptions mentioning the names of the architects and sculptors who had been commissioned by the kings of these respective dynasties to erect and embelish them. At Bēlūr,[309] for example, king Viṣṇuvardhana (Hoysaḷa) is said to have gathered a band of ace sculptors to construct the famous Kēśava temple, which was thrown open to worship in 1117 A.D. Perhaps, Dāsōja was by far the most eminent among them. His son Chāvaṇa, who also worked at the same temple, even excelled his father. After completing his assignment at Bēlūr, we are told, Dāsōja went to Haḷebīḍ to participate in the construction and decoration of the Hoysaḷēśvara temple at that place, as evidenced by the presence of an autographed wall-sculpture of a female figure.

It is worth mentioning here that the inscribed figure of Kēśava from the Metropolitan Museum of New York[310] is also the work of this Dāsōja. It has been pointed out that the Kēśava figure probably originally belonged to a Viṣṇu temple (now deserted) at Kikkēri, about 40 miles from Mysore City on the road to Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa. The inscription in 12th century Kannaḍa script tells us that Dāsōja of Baḷḷigāme (Belagāmi, Shimoga District), who belonged to the guild of *Sarasvati-gaṇa*, made the figure of Kēśava.

Further, the beautiful figure of Brahma from the Fine Arts Museum at Philadelphia[311] also contains a Kannaḍa inscription on its pedestal, which may, palaeographically, belong to the latter half of the 12th century A. D. The Brahma figure belongs to Kuruvatti, the famous centre of later Cāḷukyan Art in the

Bellary District. The inscription on the pedestal tells us that Cāvuṇōja [the son of Gulugōja, architect (*sūtradhāri*) of Trailōkyamallēśvaradēva], worshipper of the feet of Śrīvādidēva, belonging to *Sarasvati-gaṇa*, and a disciple of the learned, made the idol of Brahma.

As for the study of the fine arts like music, dance etc., they were cultivated mostly by the members of royal families, both men and women. It may be remembered here that the evidence of the *Smṛti* literature[312] shows that, outside the circle of Brāhmanical studies, there existed the secular arts and sciences, such as music,[313] dancing, acting etc.—which were the branches of the so-called *Arthaśāstra*, a *Upavēda* of the *Atharvavēda*—which were normally to be studied by the women of all castes and by the Śūdras ; they were not, however, unworthy of study by the men of the 3 twice-born castes, provided they first completed their normal course of sacred studies.

The education of women in these arts will be discussed in the next chapter. Among men, they seem to have been cultivated to a great extent by the members of the blood royal. We have referred above to the observation of Sōmēśvara that the princes should be trained in music and other arts (*svara-śāstrē kalāsvapi*).

Inscriptions[314] often refer to princes as well-versed in these arts. Hoysaḷa Vīra-Ballāḷa II has been described, for instance, as a Bharata in the arts of music, dance, etc., (*saṅgīta-prasaṁga-bhaṅgi-saṅgata-catura-Bharatanuṁ*).[315]

That princes used to take to the study of these arts is also attested to by Nayasēna,[316] Harihara[317] and others. Cāḷuka Sōmēśvara III may be regarded as an authority on music. He devotes, in his well-known work *Mānasōllāsa*, not less than 2500 verses to music and musical instruments, and touches on new phases of music, specially *prabandhas*.[318]

It may be added here that this period produced the most comprehensive treatise on music, *Saṅgīta-ratnākara*[319] (ocean of music), 'a classic in music', considered to be next only to the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata. The author of this work, Śārṅgadēva,[320] was the son of Soḍḍhala, and was 'Auditor-General' of the Yādava king Siṁghaṇa (c. 1210–47 A. D.) of Dēvagiri. The work, we are told, "not only embraces the views of all ancient writers on the subject, but also contributes original definition and discussion."[321]

Members of the royal blood apart, the epigraphs of the period, significantly enough, have preserved the account of some individuals who were quite at home in these fine arts. The Yēvūr (Gulbarga District) record[322] of 1077

23 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

24 Even in Europe, we are told, the universities of the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries were merely centres of learning; they were not founded by the King or Pope, but had grown up of themselves from the schools attached to monasteries and cathedrals into famous institutions, attracting students from distant places. The getting of a charter from the King or Pope came to be regarded as of primary importance, as a *sine qua non*, only later on, i.e. in the 13th and 14th centuries A.D.—Read, "A Twelfth Century University in Mysore"—by A. Venkatasubbaiah, *QJMS*, VII, pp. 157–58.

25 *Mita.*, I. 10–50; *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 508.

26 *Mita.*, I. 49–50, (Tr.) p. 140 and (n. 1), p. 141; also I. 221, (Tr.) p. 455.

27 See *KI*, I, p. 20 (n. 1) for the verse quoted from the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*.

28 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

29 *Ibid.*—In ancient China, we are told, celibacy was considered to be a sin as it interrupted the duties of filial piety—see P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 186.

30 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 508.

31 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–15.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 114–15 and 304.

33 *KI*, I, p. 23.

34 *EI*, XII, p. 284. For a similar instance, see BK, 27 of 1934–35 dated 1048 A.D. (Dharwar District)—(tx. 1. 14): "*idu naiṣṭhika-sthāna brahmacarya-villadavaraṁ Kētarasanuṁ Dēhataruṁ pādamūḷa parivāraṁiḷdu* (tx. 1. 15) *kaḷeyaloḍeyarī dharmavaṁ . . . , . .* ". [The text is unpublished].

35 *EC*, VII, Sk. 276.

36 *Mita.*, I. 29, (Tr.) pp. 110–11.

37 *Ibid.*, 31, (Tr.) pp. 122–23.

38 'Offering', as Vijñānēśvara himself explains elsewhere, means 'reporting'. See *ibid.* III. 265, (Tr) p. 1835—"just as one while following the rules of a celibate student reports the alms begged by him to the preceptor by way of avoiding (any possibility of) an insult to him . . . . . etc.".

39 *Ibid.*, I. 187, (Tr) p. 406.

40 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit*, p. 85; R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

41 *Mita.*, III, 281–82, (Tr) pp. 1881–82.

42 M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

43 *Dharm.*, II, 13.47, p. 172; 13.89, p. 182, etc.

44 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–85.

45 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

46 Failure to understand and appreciate this principle has obviously misled some to draw wrong inferences and conclusions. See S. V. Jevoor, *History of Education in Karnataka* (upto 1800 A.D.), pp. 87–88—the author writes that in ancient days students and teachers depended much on the food got by daily begging, that since the beginning of the *Vīraśaiva* revival, the dignity of labour was held up with great respect: Basava and his followers preached that 'vocation itself is *Kailās*'. Therefore, he concludes, the *Liṅgāyat* students in a *maṭha* or temple did some work to earn their livelihood. "So we can say that Wardha Scheme was there in embryo in *Liṅgāyat* education". This is unsupported by evidence of any kind.

47 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 312–13.

49 *Mita.*, I. 32, (Tr) p. 124; III. 282–83, (Tr) pp. 1883–84, etc.

50 *The Struggle for Empire.*, p. 509.

51 *Mālavikāgnimitra*, I. 17.

52 *Mita.*, I. 223, (Tr.) p. 458.

53 A. S. Altekar. *op. cit.*, p. 66.

54 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 509.

55 *Mita.*, III. 235.

56 *Ibid.*, 265, (Tr.) p. 1837.

57 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 66; *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 509.

58 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 509.

59 *Ibid.*; *Mita.*, I. 155.

60 *Dharm.*, I, 2.83, p. 62; *Ba. Va.*, 388, p. 97—*ōju-kaṭṭige.*

61 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

62 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 89—[The familiar statement—"*gurūpadēśō balavān*"—declares that one who is taught by a teacher is strengthened thereby].

64 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

65 In ancient China, we are told, the gentleman was "neither the priest nor the soldier, neither the manual worker nor the black-coated official, but the teacher". Confucius was the first person in China who made teaching his profession, and set the tradition of the wandering scholars—see S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

66 *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50

67 *Ibid.*, p. 48

68 *Ca. Va.*, 685, p. 329; 1451, p. 647, etc.

69 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

70 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 367

71 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp, 245–46.

72 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

73 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 246.

74 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

75 The original form of this word, according to Prof. D. L. Narasimhachar, should be *agrāhāra* (*agra*+*āhāra*)—[see M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, p. 209]—In inscriptions, the word is sometimes spelt *agrāhāra*, as pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar—cf. *IEG*, p. 11.

76 *AS*, (Tr) p. 45.

77 *HDS*, II. ii, p. 869.

78 D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of theSātavāhanas*, p. 93.

79 *MAR.* (1925), p. 98.

80 *Mahiṣa-viṣaya* is evidently the source from which the present Mysore (*Mahiṣūr*) has derived its name. See D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

81 *KI*, I, Intron. pp. xix-xx

82 *IA*, VIII, p. 287.

83 *KI*, I, p. xx.

84 D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

85 *EC*, XVII, Mr. 145 (I129 A. D.).

86 *Ibid.*, III, Md. 29 (1131 A. D.).

87 *Ibid.*, Nj. 164 (1092 A. D.).

88 I have discussed this problem in some detail in my paper entitled—"Karṇāṭakada Mahājanaru"—in *Pra.Kar.*, 184.47.2 (1965), pp. 23–27.

89 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

90 *SII*, V, 849 (1044 A.D.); *BKI*, I. ii. 133 (1087 A.D.), etc.

91 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 249, 262, 276, etc.

92 *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 82.

93 Vijñānēśvara observes [*Mita.*, I.3, (Tr.) p. 10] that the traditional 14 *vidyās* should be studied by the members of the first three classes (*traivarṇikāḥ*), but that a Brāhmaṇa alone should teach, and none else (he quotes Manu and Śaṅkha in this context).

94 *BKI*, I. i, 118 (1057 A. D.); ii, 147 (1099 A. D.), etc.

95 *SII*, V, 849 (1044 A. D.); 848 (1097 A. D.), etc.

96 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 276 (1215 A.D.).

97 *MAR.* (1923), No. 1 (1194–95 A.D.); *KI*, V, 42 (1239 A.D.), etc.

98 *EI*, XII, p. 154; also *EHD*, p. 367.

99 *MAR.* (1923), No. 1 (1194–95 A.D.).

100 *EC*, VII, Sk. 117 (1118 A.D.).

101 *EC*, VII, Sk. 177 (1029 A.D.).

102 *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 149 (1113 A.D.).

103 *EI*, XIII, p. 60 (1178 A.D.).

104 *BKI*, I. ii, 173 (1124 A.D.).

105 *SII*, XV, 129 (1176 A.D.).

106 *BKI*, I. ii, 202 (Vikramāditya VI's reign); *SII*, XV, 103 (1162 A.D.), etc.

107 *EC*, VII, Sk. 185.

108 *IA*, XIII, p. 94.

109 *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 274 (1021 A.D.); *BKI*, I. ii, 159 (1111 A.D.); *EI*, XVI, p. 31 (1010 A.D.); p. 72 (A.D. 1074–75), etc.

110 Prof. S. V. Venkateswara [*op. cit.*, p. 242] thinks that *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti* was one of the educational centres, which is not correct.

111 *EI*, XX, p. 67 (1012 A.D.); *SII*, V, 848 (1097 A.D.); *EC*, IV, Ng. 39 (1271 A.D.), etc.

112 G. M. Moraes, *The Kadambakula*, p. 299; *QJMS*, VII, p. 167; M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, p. 216, etc.

113 *BKI* I. i, 64.

114 *SII*, V, 849 (1044 A.D.).

115 *EC*, VII, Sk. 123.

116 *Ibid.* VIII, Sb. 277.

117 *SII*, XX, 180.

118 *BKI*, I. ii, 154.

119 *KI*, II, 34.

120 *EC*, VII, Sk. 176.

121 D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas* p. 137,

122 *EI*, XVI, p. 85.

123 *INKKS*, p. 16.

124 *EC*, XII, Si. 23 (1167 A.D.).

125 *SII*, XX, 154 (1172 A.D.).

126 *EC*, VII, Sk. 197.

127 *IA*, XIV, p. 19 (1182–83); *KI*, V, 98 (1181 A.D.); also see *EC*, VII, Sk. 94 (1094 A.D.); X, *Kl.* 170 (c. 1180 A.D.), etc.—Here, the translation of Rice seems to be incorrect.

128 *IA*, XIV, p. 24; also *EC*, VII, p. 8 (n. 2); *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 210.

129 *EC*, VII, Intron. p. 8; p. 113 (Tr).

130 *Mysore and Coorg*, pp. 77, 210.

131 *EC*, VII, p. 8. (quoted by Rice).

132 *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 137.

133 *Ibid.*—Here, D. C. Sircar seems to follow Dr. Kielhorn, whose interpretation has been questioned by Prof. S. V. Venkateswara [*op. cit.*, p. 243 (n. 3)].

134 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Classical Age*, p. 21.

135 *Ibid.*, p. 579.

136 S. V. Venkateswara, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–44—A passage in the *Kalapataru* (a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣyam*) of Amalānanda Yati (c. 1250 A.D.) seems to show that *ghaṭikā-(ghaṇṭikā-) sthāna* was a public place of established learning, whose verdict in controversial issues seems to have been almost final.—See N. S. Anantakrishna Sastry (ed.), *Śrī Shānkara Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣyam*, with *Bhāmatī*, *Kalpataru* and *Parimala* [Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1917], p. 885, l. 2.

137 *HAS*, No. 8, Inscription B (also in *KIAP*, Gb. 2).

138 In the text of the record, the total figure is given as 257, which is wrong. But, the editor of the record has given it as 267 in the translation of the passage, which is also not correct. Prof. Sastri gives [*EHD*, p. 429] the figure as 257 only—200 students of the *Vēdas*, 50 of the *Śāstras*, 3 teachers of the *Vēdas*, 3 teachers of the *Sāstras* and 1 librarian—which is evidently wrong in the light of the clear text. The correct figure should be 265 only.

139 *KI*, V, 98.

140 S. V. Venkateswara, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

141 *EC*, III, Md. 113 (713 A.D.).

142 Rice has read the text as *Ghaṭikā-sahasrāya* which is clearly a misreading. Indeed, the text is very clear.

143 *EC*, VII, Sk. 235.

144 *SII*, IX. i, 162.

145 *Ba. Ra*,, p. 67.

146 B. P. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

147 *HDS*, II. ii, p. 906.

148 *Ibid.*

149 S. V. Venkateswara, *op.cit.*, p. 261.

150 *QJMS*, VII, p. 170.

151 S. V. Venkateswara, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

152 *HDS*, II. ii, p. 907.

153 *Op. cit*, p. 250.

154 *Ibid.*

155 *HDS*, II. ii, p. 907.

156 *Ibid.*

157 *Ibid.*, p. 909.

158 *Ibid.*

159 *Ibid.*

160 *QJMS*, VII, p. 170; *The Kadambakula*, p. 295; also *BKI*, I.i, 67 (1032 A.D.); 85 (1049 A.D.); 116 (1075 A.D.); *KI*, II, 25 (1169 A.D.), etc.

161 *SII*, XX, 23,

162 *EC*, VII, Sk. 185.

163 *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 39 (1167 A.D.); VI, Kd. 51 (1169 A.D.); V, Bl. 101 (13th century A.D.), etc.

164 *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 403.

165 *EI*, IV, pp. 60 ff. (Inscriptions A, B and C).

166 Some scholars have translated this word, not known on what grounds, as 'the Principal of the College'—see *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 403; R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

167 R. K. Mookerji (*op. cit.*, p. 368) writes that there were 200 students at least—it is nothing more than a guess—when the record itself is silent on the point.

168 A. S. Altekar [*Education*, p. 284] thinks that it was probably a *Vēdic* college, while R. K. Mookerji [*op. cit.*, p. 368] calls it a 'Sanskrit college'. But, the record itself does not even hint at an answer to the question.

169 *EI*, IV, pp. 63 ff.

170 *Ibid.*, p. 59—This record bears no date. But, according to Dr. Fleet, it, too, belongs to the 10th century A.D. Indeed, the incident of re-building the college, as narrated in the record itself, would indicate that it probably belonged to the next century, if not later sill. [Also see *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 404].

171 *EI*, IV, pp. 65 ff.

172 *QJMS*, VII, p. 171.

173 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

174 *EC*, VII, Sk. 118 (1054 A.D.), 119 (1181 A. D.), etc.

175 *QJMS*, VII, p. 175; also *EC*, VII, Sk. 136 (1068 A.D.); Sk. 100 (1129 A.D.), etc.

176 *Ibid.*, p. 189.

177 *EC*, VII, Sk. 126.

178 S. V. Venkateswara, *op. cit.*, p. 263; Kapatarala Krishna Rao, *Karṇāṭaka Lākuḷa Śaivara Itihāsa* (Kannaḍa), p. 107, etc.

179 See (for a detailed discussion of the problem), M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, pp. 128–31; 136–38.

180 *QJMS*, VII, p. 177.

181 *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 177, etc.

182 *EC*, VII, Sk. 99 (1113 A. D.).

183 *Ibid.*, Sk. 126.

184 S. V. Venkateswara, *op. cit.*, p. 263; M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–21, etc.

185 *EC*, VII, Sk. 94.

186 *Ibid.*, Sk. 98 (1103 A.D.); cf. a record from the Bellary District, dated 1141 A.D. [*SII*, IX. i, 235], which speaks of a *Kāḷāmukha* teacher in the same strain, whose lectures in Sanskrit flowed easily in surging waves of rhetorical brilliance.

187 *EC*, VII, Sk. 100 (1129 A. D.).

188 The same record first mentions Vāmaśakti (I) as the senior disciple who succeeded Vidyābharaṇa; but refers to Gautama, in a later context, as the senior disciple to whom his teacher, Vidyābharaṇa, entrusted the administration of the *maṭha* and himself retired, lest it should come in the way of his studies and other religious practices. Such an action was probably dictated by the circumstance that, by that time (of this inscription), Vāmaśakti (I) was either away elsewhere, or dead—see *QJMS*, VII, p. 186; M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, pp. 221–22.

189 *EC*, VII, Sk. 104.

190 *Ibid.*, Sk. 92 (1168 A.D.); SK. 105 (1192 A.D.), etc.

191 *QJMS*, VII, p. 183.

192 *Ibid.*

193 *EC*, VII, Sk. 102.

194 *QJMS*, VII, p. 183.

195 *EC*, VIII, Sk. 102 (1162 A. D.).

196 *Ibid.*, 153.

197 *Ibid.*, Sk. 130 (1072 A.D.); Sk. 131 (1103 A.D.), etc.

198 *Ibid.*, Sk. 132 (1072 A.D.).

199 *Ibid.*, Sk. 94.

200 *QJMS*, VII, pp. 157 ff.

201 *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 193; *EC*, VII, Sk. 136 (1068 A.D.), etc.

202 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 277.

203 *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 197; see (for a similar instance) *BKI*, I.i, 61 (1024 A.D.), etc.

204 *EC*, VII, Sk. 136.

205 *Ibid.*, Sk. 124.

206 See *IA*, X, p. 185 (1095–96 A. D.); XIV, p. 15 (1123–24 A. D.), etc.

207 *EC*, VII, Sk. 171.

208 *Ibid.*, Sk. 169.

209 Secondary and higher education, as pointed out by A. S. Altekar [*Education*, p. 201], loom largely before the minds of the *Smṛti* writers, and primary education is forgotten altogether.

210 *EC*, VII, Sk. 185 (1158 A. D.); IV, Ng. 39 (1271 A.D.), etc.

211 A. S. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 398.

212 A. S. Altekar, *Education*, pp. 212–13.

213 *A History of South India*, p. 309.

214 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 508.

215 *Education*, pp. 215–16; *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, pp. 398–99.

216 In this system, called *āya*-system, in many rural parts of Karṇāṭaka to this day, the school-teacher does not figure in the list of *āyagārs*.

217 *EHD*, p. 428.

218 *EI*, XX, p. 67 (1012 A.D.); *EC*, IV, Ng. 39 (1271 A.D.)—"*bāla-sikṣeyo dharma*"—etc.

219 Cf. *Dharm.*, I, 8.107, p. 379—"*baḷikkaṁ aidu varuṣadandu Jainōpādhyāyara samīpadoḷ ōdigiḍuvudaṁ akṣara gaṇita* ..... etc."

220 *Abhila.*, III, 1344, p. 325; [*Aparārka, Smṛti—candrikā* etc., quoted by A. S. Altekar (*Education*, pp. 1–5)].

221 A. S. Altekar, *Education*, pp. 4, 204–05; R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

222 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

223 B. P. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

224 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 174 [It has been pointed out (*Ibid.*) that Baudhāyana, alone among law-givers, admits the *Śūdra, Rathakāra*, to the ceremony of *upanayana*—he follows here *Vēdic* tradition].

225 *Ibid.*; also *Mita.*, I. 14, (Tr.), p. 44; *Abhila.*, III. 1341, p. 325, etc.

226 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

227 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

228 *Abhila.*, III. 1344, p. 325; also *Vikra.*, pp. 53–54.

229 *EC*, V, Bl. 17.

230 *EI*, XV, p. 27 ff.

231 *EI*, XX, p. 67 ff.

232 A. S. Altekar, *Education*, pp. 204, 207, etc.

233 *EI*, XXXVII, No. 34, pp. 189 ff.

234 *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 49 (1112 A.D.); *BKI*, I. ii, 173 (1124 A.D.), etc.

235 *Education*, p. 214.

236 *EC*, VII, Sk. 185.

237 *Ibid.*, III, TN. 27.

238 *Ibid.*, V, Ag. 99.

239 *SII*, IX. i. 118.

240 *EC*, VI, Mg. 22 (1129 A. D.) refers to it as *Drāviḷa*.

241 *EI*, XII, p. 274 (1077 A.D.); *MAR.* (1911), p. 48, para. 104 (c. 1234 A.D.), etc.

242 *SII*, V, 848 (1097 A.D.): *EI*, XII, p. 41 (1112 A.D.); *EC*, IV, Ng. 39 (1271 A.D.), etc.

243 *EI*, XX, p. 67. Our epigraphs do not furnish any detail as regards the qualifications of a *bhaṭṭa* (teacher or professor), conditions of a *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*, and such other aspects. But, an inscription of 999 A.D. from Chingleput District (Tamilnad) throws welcome light on this point. In short, the *bhaṭṭa* (to be granted a *bhaṭṭa-vṛtti*) must be born of a *Sāmavēdin*, and must be learned in another *Vēda* besides his own—he should thus be able to teach 2 *Vēdas*. Furthermore, he should be able to teach Pāṇini's *Aṣṭā-dhyāī*, and also *Alaṁkāra-śāstra* and to expond *MĪmāṁsā* elaborately in all its 20 chapters. What is more, he should not be a native of that village, and settle down there. He must take in 4 students, given them one meal a day, and, by teaching them these subjects (mentioned above), turn them out fully qualified in due course—[See for details S. K. Iyengar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, II, pp. 825 ff; also K. A. N. Sastri, *Studies in Cōḷa History* and *Administration*, pp 116-17 for a similar description

found in a record of c. 1050 A.D.]—This could have been the case in Karṇāṭaka also, but the positive evidence on the point is sadly lacking.

244 *BKI*, I. ii, 159.

245 *Ibid.*, 171. [*SII*, IX. i. 74 (981 A,D.) refers to endowments like *bhaṭṭageyi* and *caṭṭageyi* which were grants of land to professors and students respectively].

246 S. V. Venkateswara, *op. cit.*, pp. 258–59.

247 *Ibid.*, p. 258.

248 A true teacher must also be a seeker : he must strive unwearingly in study and teach others without fragging. In modern language, "teaching and research" are the two aims Confucius set before us—See S. Radhakrishnan *India and China*, p. 47.

249 *JBBRAS*, X, pp. 260 ff.

250 *The Classical Age*, p. 581.

251 *QJMS*, VII, p. 160; *Mita.*, I. 3 (Tr.) p. 9.

252 *QJMS*, VII, 160; B. P. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 146–47.

253 *MAR.* (1923), No. 1 (1194–95 A.D.).

254 *Mita.*, I. 40, (Tr.) p. 135; also see *ibid.*, 47 and 48, (Tr.), p. 139—describe "fruits of *Vēdic* studies".

255 *Ibid.*, III. 311, (Tr.) p. 1981.

256 *SII*, V, 848 (1097 A.D.); *KI*, V, 42 (1239 A.D.), etc.

257 *Mita.*, III. 311, (Tr.) p. 1981.

258 The students, according to Vijñānēśvara [*Ibid.*, II. 182, (Tr.) p. 1210], is one who is desirous of studying the *Vēdas*.

259 *Ha. Ra.*, Pt. 5, p. 22.

260 A. S. Altekar, *Education*, p. 123 (and n. 1).

261 *Ibid.*, p. 133.

262 B. P.Majumdar, *op, cit.*, p. 150.

263 *EC*, VIII, Sb. 276 (1215 A.D.).

264 *Mita.*, I. 99, (Tr.) p. 275.

265 *EC*, VII, Sk. 235.

266 A. S. Altekar, *Education* pp. 122–23; R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 213–14.

267 In the *Vaḍḍārādhane*, we get a description of the *Vēdic* recitation in the *Pada, Krama*, and other methods—See M. Chidananda Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

268 *MAR.* (1928), No. 73.

269 *EI*, XV, pp. 352 ff.

270 *EC*, VII, Sk. 117 (1118 A.D.), *KI*, IV, 54 (1245 A.D.), etc.

271 *EC*, VII, Sk. 185 (1158 A.D.); *KI*, IV, 54 (1245 A.D.); *EC*, IV, Ng. 39 (1271 A.D.), etc.

272 *IEG*, pp. 156, 368, etc.

273 p. 336 [New Edition, 1899, Oxford].

274 A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, I, p. 213.

275 Ibid.

276 *EI*, XXXVII, No. 34.

277 *BKI*, I, i, 84.

278 *SII*, IX. i, 261.

279 *EI*, XV, pp. 88–89 (vv. 10–11).

280 *BKI*, I. i, 61.

281 *EHD*, pp. 429–30.

282 *EI*, XV, p. 352 ff. (1098 A.D.); *BKI*, I. ii, 159 (1111 A.D.); *SII*, XX, 83 (1123 A.D.).

283 *EI*, XIV, p. 277 (1181 A.D.).

284 *SII*, XV, 12 (1128 A.D.), *ARIE*, 527 of 1961–62 (1173 A.D.).

285 From I-tsing we learn that grammar formed the major part of the course of studies in India in the 7th century A.D. (*The Classical Age*, p. 583). Again, in the 11th century A.D., Albērūnī tells us that grammar held its position as the most popular subject of study (A. S. Altekar, *Education* p. 138).

286 Cf. T. Burrow, The Sanskrit Languge, p. 47: "The importance of the grammarians in the history of Sanskrit is unequalled anywhere in the world. Also the accuracy of their linguistic analysis is uncqualled until comparatively modern times".

287 *EC*, VII, Sk. 74.

288 *EI*, XVI, p. 55.

289 *The Classical Age*, p. 583.

290 *EHD*, p. 384.

291 *Abhila.*, II. 1344–62, pp. 325–27; *Vikra.*, pp. 53–54 (Reference to the education of prince Vikramāṅka). In the *Vikramāṅkadēva-carita* of Bilhaṇa, Sōmēśvara I is seen once casually telling his queen that he is learned in the *Vēdas*, *Āgamas* and *Itihāsas*, and that his mind is filled with reverence to his teachers (*Vik.*, ii, 39). And, in the description of Vikramāditya's education, Bilhaṇa tells us that the prince mastered all scripts (*sarvāsu lipiṣu*), and developed into a poet and orator (*Vik.*, iii, 15–19).

292 Cf. *Dharm.*, I, 8.107, p. 379; II, 13.44, p. 172; *Ha. Ra.*, Pt. 5, p. 42; *EC*, V, Cn. 269 (1276 A.D.); VI, Kd. 156 (1190 A.D.), 157 (1191 A.D.), etc.

293 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 510.

294 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 509.

295 A. S. Altekar *Education*, pp. 172–73; R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

296 *Mita.*, II. 182, (Tr.) p. 1210.

297 *EHD*, p. 428.

298 *Mita.*, II. 184, (Tr.) p. 1218.

299 A. S. Altekar, *Education*, p. 199.

300 *Mita.*, III. 284, (Tr.) p. 1888.

301 *EC*, XI, Dg. 74.

302 *BKI*, I. ii, 122 (1072 A.D.).

303 *EC*, V, Ak. 17 (1139 A.D.).

304 *Ibid.*, IV, Ch. 158.

305 *KKC*, I, pp. 126–28; *Ibid.*, Appendix II, p. 36; also see *KSPP*, 28.1, pp. 14–18.

306 *Abhila.*, I. 137–298 (*rōga-cikitsā*), pp. 16–33; II. 139–45 (*rājārhā-vaidyāḥ*), p. 51; II. 582–622 (*aśvarōga-cikitsā*), pp. 99–104; II. 632–76 (*gajarōga-cikitsā*), pp. 105–09, etc.

307 *SII*, XX, 154.

308 *MAR.* (1940), No. 1 (12th or 13th century A.D.).

309 I have gathered the above information from a learned article by Dr. M. Seshadri, entitled "Mediaeval Inscribed Images from Mysore in the

Museums of the United States"—in the *Arts Journal of Mysore University* (Vol. No. XXIII, pp. 93 ff.)

310 *Ibid.* (plates 1 and 2).

311 *Ibid.* (plates 3, 4 and 5).

312 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

313 It is of interest to note that Indian musical partics (orchestra) had found their way to ancient Funan and China. The T'ang annals of China givee description of the Indian orchestra. In 581 A.D., we are told, on the occasion of an 'Imperial banquet', musical parties from India went to China; and, from there they went to Japan also—See P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 166–67.

314 *EC*, V, Mj. 18 (1095 A.D); *JBBRAS*, X, p. 201, etc.

315 *EC*, VI, Kd. 156 (1190 A.D.), 157 (1191 A.D.), etc.

316 *Dharm.*, I, 8. 107, p. 379 (*gāṁdharva, citrakarma*, etc.

317 *Ha. Ra.*, Pt. 5, p. 42–(*saṅgīta*).

318 *The Struggle for Empiae*, p. 329.

319 Cf. *Saṅgītaratnākara of Śārṅgadēva*,Trn. by C. Kunhan Raja, Vol. I, Preface pp. vii–viii. The author tells us that he composed his work with a desire to remove the three-fold misery of all the people (St. No. 13); also for the sake of eternal *Dharma*, fame and beatitude, for *saṅgīta* brings all these (St. No. 14).

320 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 329.

321 *Ibid.*

322 *EI*, XII, pp. 274 ff.

323 *BK*, No. 43 of 1933–34 (text unpublished).

324 Cf. *Ba. Va.*, 207, p. 52 : "*Battīsa rāgava hāḍayya : uradalottibārisu, Kūḍala –Saṅgamadēva*".

325 *EI*, XIII, pp. 170 ff.

CHAPTER—8

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

Introduction

The position and status enjoyed by women in a civilisation may be taken to indicate the spirit of that civilisation, and also its excellences as well as limitations. The position of a woman in society can be judged by the way in which the birth of a girl is received.

In ancient times and in all patriarchal societies, it may be recalled, the birth of a girl was generally an unwelcome event : almost everywhere, a son was valued more than a daughter.[1]

The reason for this is simple and easy to understand : The son was a permanent economic asset of the family, who did not migrate, like the daughter, to another family after the marriage, and he perpetuated the name of his father's family. As a youth, he was of great help to his family, when it had to attack, or to defend itself against, an enemy, while the woman was found to be a handicap rather than a help, in actual fighting. For these and similar reasons, the primitive man hardly ever welcomed the birth of a daughter.[2] Nay, he sometimes even took resort to some unfortunate practices of abandoning her after her birth, or even killing her[3] !

Similarly, the daughter was not as welcome as the son in ancient India; it was so even in the Indo-Iranian age, and continued to be so during the *Vēdic* period as well.[4] We find in the *Ṛg-vēda* prayers for the birth of a son, though we do not come across any reference deprecating the birth of a daughter, as we find in the *Atharva-vēda* (IV, 11).[5] So, it can be presumed that, during the *Ṛg-vēdic*

age, though the position of a girl was not very low, she was not regarded as equal to a boy.

The *Atharva-vēda*, [III, 23; VI, 11] contains charms and rituals to ensure the birth of a son in preference to that of a daughter. Although the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* [IV, 4. 18] recommends to a householder a certain ritual for ensuring the birth of a 'scholarly daughter', the fact remains that this ritual did not become as popular as *Puṁsavana*, prescribed for procuring the birth of a son. It is important to note, however, that the birth of a girl was not a source of consternation to the family during the *Vēdic* and *Upaniṣadic* ages.[6]

The reason for the importance enjoyed by a son during those days is easy to understand. In brief, he had the prerogative of offering food to the spirits of the dead fathers, without which they would have to suffer in the next world. A son, therefore, was looked upon as a property bequeathed to ensure the welfare in the next world. "The imperative necessity of a son who could offer the oblations dominated the whole sphere of thought and diverted the minds of men mainly to the welfare in the next world. The angle of vision changed. The aim and purpose of offerings at the great sacrifices came to be concentrated for the birth of a son."[7]

Consequently, woman came to be considered as having no purpose in life except that of being the mother of sons; and daughters came to be looked upon as a misfortune![8] But, the feeling of dejection and dissatisfaction at the birth of a daughter did not lead to the evil custom of female infanticide in ancient India.[9] In the *Dharmaśāstra* literature, the position of women became worse and worse as time went on (except as to rights of property).[10]

It may be added here that the prevailing view that the daughter is less desirable than son, though popular, was not accepted by all social thinkers of ancient India. There were some who advanced arguments to counteract the harm that was done by the prevailing tendency to depreciate the birth of a daughter. Varāhamihira[11] (6th century A.D.) in his *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*, for instance, makes a spirited defence of women and eulogises them highly. Owing to the obvious circumstances, as pointed out by Dr. Altekar,[12] they did not carry the day.

Turning now to the period under review, it may be observed that the situation did not very much change. Contemporary evidence[13] makes it clear that parents were anxious to have sons rather than daughters. We often come across references in the records[14] of the period to the effect that a good son is "the lamp of his family" (*su-putraḥ kula-dīpakaḥ*); as the moon is the lamp of night, the sun the lamp of day, and *Dharma* the lamp of the three

worlds. One seldom comes across a reference in the records to parents who were really desirous to have daughters.

The problem under review may conveniently be studied under the following heads : (1) Women and Education; (2) Women and Religion, and (iii) Women and Administration.

(1) Women and Education

The *Vēdic* age may be described as the golden age in the history of the Hindu women in more spheres than one. And, the field of education is most noteworthy in this respect.

Women, like men, were admitted to full religious rites, and consequently to complete educational facilities. In short, they were not disqualified for *upanayana* and *Vēdic* studies.[15]

There were doubtless many women who seem to have attained fair eminence in the realm of scholarship and literature. Some of them, like Ghōṣā, Lōpāmudrā and others, enjoy the unique distinction of being included among the authors (*mantradṛcs*) of the *Ṛgvēdic Saṁhitā*.

Women sages were called *ṛṣikās* and *brahmavādinīs*. Dr. R. K.Mookerji[16] has pointed out that the *Ṛgvēda* knows of as many as 19 *ṛiṣikās*, like Rōmaśā, Lōpāmudrā, Viśvavārā and so on, and the *Sāmavēda* adds four more to the list.

The available evidence shows that, even during the later *Vēdic* (*Brāhmaṇa* and *Upaniṣadic*) period, education was not denied to women, and they are found to share in the intellectual interests of the day.[17] Some passages in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad* (iii, 4 I; iv, 5, I) show that Maitrēyī, one of the two wives of Yājñavalkya, takes no unimportant part in the disputations on philosophical topics. Indeed, the intellectual disputation between Yājñavalkya and Gārgī Vācakanvī, a lady-philosopher of the age, is well-known. "The keen reasoning and subtle cross-examination of Yājñavalkya by Gārgī show that she was a dialectician and philosopher of a high order."[18]

The *Vēdic* tradition as regards education of women was continued during the period of *Sūtra* literature also. *Gōbhila Gṛhya Sūtra*,[19] for instance, states that the wife should be educated to be able to take part in sacrifices. A passage in the *Hārīta Dharma Sūtra*[20] shows that women students were divided into two classes, viz., (1) *brahmavādinīs*, and (2) *sadyōdvāhās* (*sadyō-vadhūs*). The former

were, like the *naiṣṭhika brahmacārins* among men, life-long students of theology and philosophy; the latter used to prosecute their studies till their marriage at the age of 15 or 16.

It is worth noting here that admission of women to the Buddhist order gave a great impetus to the cause of female education, especially among the ladies in commercial and aristocratic families.[21] It may be recalled, however, that it was only with considerable reluctance and misgivings that the Buddha consented to admit women as his disciples on their renouncing the world and householder's state.[22]

Furthermore, the rules laid down for regulating the life of the women disciples clearly betray at every step the mental and moral inferiority attributed to the fair sex, and they keep the nuns in a condition of complete subordination of the monks.[23]

But still, the Order of Nuns opened up avenues of culture and social service to the women of Buddhist India, for which some of them became very distinguished. Buddhism produced numerous women within its own fold, who played a prominent part as leaders of thought in that religious reformation.[24]

Reference is found in both the Buddhist and Jaina texts[25] to women of the *brahmavādinī* class, who remained unmarried to carry on their studies. Among the authoresses of the *Thērīgāthā*, 32 were unmarried women and 18 married ones.

Further, Pāṇini[26] refers to women-students of *Vēdic Śākhās*. Both Kātyāyana and Patañjali refer to women-teachers, who were called *upādhyāyā* or *upādhyāyī*, as distinguished from *upādhyāyinīs*, i. e. wives of teachers.[27] So does the *Amarakōśa*.[28] The necessity of coining a special word shows that women teachers were in large number.

The extent of education among women from the *Vēdic* to the *Sūtra* period (down to c. 300 B. C.,) is difficult to determine. However, girls in the cultured and well-to-do families seem to have been given a fair amount of education during that period.[29]

It has been pointed out[30] that, after c. 300 B.C., the cause of women's education suffered a good deal on account of various reasons, namely, child (or early) marriage, discontinuance of *upanayana* to girls and such other factors. In brief, the lowering of the marriageable age (to 9 or 10 by about the 8th or 9th

century A.D.) rendered any education worth the name next to impossible. And, the cancellation of *upanayana* to girls—first reduced to mere formality and then dropped altogether—put an end to their *Vēdic* education. Indeed, this was the signal for the gradual "spiritual disfranchisement" of women. Consequently, they became, like the Śūdras, unfit for reciting (nay, even hearing) *Vēdic* prayers.

It may well be doubted whether, in ordinary families, women[31] received any education worth the name. We, however, learn from Rājaśēkhara[32] (9th century A. D.) that higher education of women was confined to royal, official and well-to-do families, and also to the class of dancing-girls (*gaṇikāḥ*).

Turning to the period under study, the *Smṛti* commentaries and digests[33] of the period repeat the old rules relating to the religious and social inferiority of women. Vijñānēśvara,[34] for instance, observes that, in the case of women, marriage stands in the place of *upanayana*; and that the women, like the Śūdras, are illiterate and have no capacity for *japa*, etc.

Further, as regards Hārīta's classification of women into two classes, viz., *brahmavādinīs* and *sadyōvadhūs* (as noted above), the *Smṛti-candrikā*[35] points out that it belongs to a different time-cycle (*kalpa*). After this it appears, according to Dr. U. N. Ghoshal,[36] that the reference to female teachers (*upādhyāyā*, *ācāryā*) found in the contemporary lexicons, "is no more than a historical anachronism". Moreover, the commentaries and digests of this period repeat the old *Smṛti* rules, making it compulsory for the guardians of a girl to give her away in marriage before the attainment of puberty.[37]

Contemporary epigraphs and literary works do not help us much to know the extent of literacy among the women of Karṇāṭaka during the period under study. We, however, get references here and there to some women, who seem to have been learned.

A Hombaḷ (Dharwar District) record[38] of 1049 A. D., for instance, refers to one Māṇikyāmbike as *vidvajjananute* (i. e. praised by scholars). It is likely that she was admired for her learning; but the record does not specifically refer to that effect.

In the *Sukumāra-carite*[39] of Śāntinātha (1068 A.D.), one Nāgaśrī is described as a great scholar in many branches of learning. The same story had been already narrated by the author of the *Vaḍḍārādhane* (9th century A. D.).[40] Nāgaśrī, who was illiterate, became all of a sudden great scholar by the blessings of a

Jaina teacher, Sūryamitra-Bhaṭāra. She seems to be a mythological rather than a historical character.

Perhaps, Kanti[41] is another such character. According to a tradition, she was a Jaina poetess at the court of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa I, and had literary contests with Nāgacandra or Abhinava Pampa. The historicity of this tradition is not beyond question.[42] Again, in some stories narrated by Nayasēna,[43] reference is made to some women as scholars (*paṇḍitā, jāṇe, sakala-śāstra-praviṇe*, etc.).

It may be recalled here that, during the latter half of the 12th century A.D., the rise of the Vīrasaśiva movement, inspired and organised by the great Basava and his followers, was destined to make its mark in religion, social life and literature. As a result of that movement, women were given an equal status with men in society.[44] Its impact was felt more especially in the field of learning and literature.

Among the numerous writers who brought into existence the extensive *Vacana* literature—written in simple prose easily understood by the common folk and well calculated to popularise the new creed—there were many women writers, with Akka (Sister) Mahādēvi at their head, who were all contemporaries of Basava (c. 1160 A.D.). We know the names of 16 women writers[45] of the period, e.g. Mahādēvi, Bijjaḷadēvi, Nīlamma, (wife of Basava), Liṅgamma, Kāḷavve and others.

Akka-Mahādēvi was by far the greatest of them all. She was a writer of forceful and passionate prose. Her sayings, which have become practically aphorisms, have been compared in quality to those of Confucius[46]. Legend[47] has it that she was the daughter of Vimala and Sumati of Uḍutaḍi in Mysore, and king Kausika, a Jaina, wanted to marry her; and that she refused, as he would not believe in her faith. She decided to renounce this world and became an ardent follower of Basavēśvara. Her *vacanas* have the touch of great poetry and are incredibly picturesque.

Contemporay epigraphs make it clear that, generally, higher education of women was confined to the royal courts, and also to the families of high officials and the rich, and special attention was paid to the cultivation of fine arts like music and dancing, apparently with a view to develop the aesthetic sense of girls.

It may be remembered in this context that the cultivation of fine arts like music, dancing and painting was encouraged in the case of girls since very early

times. In fact, musical recitation of the *Sāma* hymns was originally the special functin of ladies.[48] Again, among the arts which ladies in cultured families were expected to cultivate, Vātsyāyana[49] assigns the most prominent place to music (both vocal and instrumental) and dancing.

We may as well cite here some instances from inscriptions to illustrate the point:

Proceeding first to the imperial court at Kalyāṇa, mention may be made of the accomplishments of the queens of Vikramāditya VI. Kētaladēvi[50] seems to have been noted for her learning and musical attainments. She is referred to as well-versed in all arts (*sakla-kaḷādharī*), and as, indeed, a new *Sarasvatī* (*abhinava-Sarasvatī*). The expression "*anēka-dēsa-bhā. . . . . saṅgīta-vidyādharī*" may indicate that she was an expert in singing songs composed in many languages of the country.

Candaladēvi[51] [or Candralēkhā], the chief queen of the emperor, has been described as a very *Sarasvatī*, the Goddess of Learning [*abhinava-Sarasvatī* (*-Śāradā*)]; also as a very *Vidyādharī* in the art of dancing [*nṛtya-vidyādharī*]. These expressions, according to Dr. P.B. Desai, were not merely formal, and she appears to have been highly educated and accomplished in music and dancing. A record[52] of 1098 A.D. from Gulbarga District shows that Rakkasayya, the donor of the grant, assigns the merit of his gift in favour of this distinguished lady [*Candaladēviyara dharmavāgi*], apparently to place on record his sense of respect for her. She made in 1096 A.D. some endowments[53] for the cause of *Ṛgvēda-khaṇḍikā* and *Śāstra-khaṇḍikā*—a fact highlighting her keen interest in the promotion of education and learning.

Rebbaladēvi (Rebbaṇabbe), the wife of General Ravidēva, is praised at length in a record [54] of 1090 A.D. alike for her lerning, beauty, and mastery of the fine arts. She delighted to play on the *vīṇā*, and is referred to as *Pratibhā Sarasvatī*', i. e. a very *Sarasvatī* in intellect (or genius).

Turning to the subordinate courts of the Hosaḷas, Kaḷacuris and others, Śāntalā, the queen-consort of Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana, is a great name in this respect. She is described in many records[55] as perfectly trained in the arts of music (both vocal and instrumental) and dancing[56] – a master, indeed, of *Bharatāgama*..

It is worth noting that queens and wives of governors often displayed

their accomplishments in such fine arts in public, without incurring thereby any social opprobrium "an instance of feminine independence most unusual in those times".[57] An instance ro two may be cited to that effect.

Sāvaladēvi,[58] the queen of Kaḷacurya Rāya-Murāri-Sōvidēva (A.D. 1167-77 was not only skilled in these fine arts, but also used to display her accomplishments in public. She is said to have performed to an audience of connoisseurs gathered from her own country and from abroad, and to have greatly pleased both her audience and her royal husband. Music was evidently an inherited gift in her family, since we are told that her brother, Bhairava, was an expert in conducting orchestra and playing on the *Brahmavīṇā*, while her sister, Vācaladēvi, was equally proficient in the arts of music (*gīta*) and dance (*nṛtya*).

Again, Bācaladēvi,[59] the wife of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Gaṅgapermāḍi, displayed her talents in dancing, and won the title of *Pātra-jagadaḷe* from her husband. She was equally good in music: If any person were to challenge her in the art, that person's pride would have been surely humiliated—says the record.

Such instances [60] of accomplished women can be multiplied easily. All said and done, such hyperbolic statements in the inscriptions on the qualities and accomplishments of queens and other aristocratic ladies cannot be accepted at their face value. However, the evidence is enough to show that "there was in existance a well-understood course of education and training in the fine arts for the gentler sex, and that this was regularly followed by some in each generation."[61]

COURTESANS

Beside the ladies of high society, there was the by no means inconsiderable world of the courtesans—who were 'par excellence' the custodians of the arts of music and dancing – that deserves a passing reference in this context.

Prostitution has existed from the dawn of history in all countries. Courtesans in ancient India had a peculiar position. Though despised in one sense—as persons who had sacrificed what was regarded specially honourable in a woman —they were respected for there achievements in fine arts, which had ceased to be cultivated by other sections of society.[62]

The prostitutes (*vēśyā*, *gaṇikā*), as typically represented in the literature of ancient India, were wealthy, beautiful and accomplished, "enjoying a position of fame and honour comparable to that of the Aspasias and Phrynes of classical Greece."[63] A *vēśyā*, according to the *Kāmāsūtra*,[64] is most accomplished and

proficient in the traditional[64] *kalās*. Indeed, "they represented a crying social need and satisfied a real aesthetic purpose".[65]

In the Karṇāṭaka of the period under study, the courtesans doubtless enjoyed much wider latitude in society than other women.[66] Vijñānēśvara's[67] observations are interesting in this context:

He has discussed the problem of prostitutes (*vēśyā*) in some detail, quoting many authorities on the subject and answering many objections raised by earlier writers in that connection. In brief, prostitutes, being sprung from certain *apsarās* (heavenly nymphs) called *pañcacūḍās*, constitute a separate (i.e. a fifth) caste. Such of them, we are told, as are not kept specially by a man (*avaruddhā*), do not incur any sin nor punishment at the hands of the king, if they have intercourse with men of the same or superior caste; and men approaching them do not incur any penalty. However, they incur sin (which is an unseen result), since the *Smṛtis* ordain that men should be devoted to their wives, and prescribe the *Prājāpatya* penance for him who approaches a *vēśyā*.

This view of Vijñānēśvara seems to reflect the trend of contemporary thought regarding the institution of prostitution. Epigraphs of the period show that some men never hesitated to call themselves *vēśyā-bhujaṅga*,[68] *viṭa-cakravarti*[69] [*bhujaṅga=viṭa=a* paramour] — there is, indeed, a sense of pride in such expressions.

It may be added here that courtesans must have been in a considerable number in society, as they were subject to a tax (*sūḷedeṟe*).[70] Reference is found to a tax on their looking-glasses also (*sūḷeyaralliya kannaḍi-vaṇa*).[71]

There is another point worth mentioning here, viz., the association of courtesans or dancing-girls with temples, which is well-known as the institution of *dēvadāsī* (the slave-girls of the god). Such association of dancing girls with temples was not peculiar to India, but was fairly common in different parts of the ancient world, e.g. Egypt, Greece, Syria, Arabia, etc.[72]

The institution of dancing-girls attached to temples, according to Dr. A.S. Altekar,[73] had come into vogue in India by about the 3rd century A.D., for, he points out, it is unknown to *Jātaka* literature, Greek writers and Kauṭilya, and is referred to by Kālidāsa in his well-known work, *Mēghadūtam* (I, 35).

This view does not seem to be correct. In fact, we have evidence to show that the institution dates from a much earlier period. Some of the hymns of the second *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgvēda* are ascribed "to Paruchchapa, the son of Devadasi. Children were generally named after the title and name of the father. But this exception of the rule indicates the existence of Devadasi system—women dedicated to the service of gods, a system which can be traced to the Indo-European period."[74]

Further, a Prākṛt inscription,[75] written not long after the days of Aśoka, found in a cave at Rāmgarh (in the Vindhya hills, some 160 miles south of Banāras), refers to Sutanukā, a *dēvadāsI*, who loved Dēvadinna, a painter. The fact, however, has to be admitted that there are no other clear references in early sources, until we come to comaratively later periods.[76]

Several *Purāṇas*[77] (c. 6th century A.D.) recommend that arrangements should be made to enlist the services of singing-girls to provide vocal and instrumental music at the time of divine services. In fact, Yuan Chwang[78] (7th century A.D.) saw numerous singing-girls in the temple of at Multan. Kalhaṇa[79] attests to the existence of the custom in Kashmir from about the 7th century A.D. The famous temple of Sōmanāth in Gujarat maintained 500 dancing-girls.[80] The great Rājarāja Cōḷa[81] (A.D. 985–1014) provided a temple at Tanjore with not less than 400 dancing-girls for the temple services. It may be added that the practice was vehemently opposed by all the champions of social purity, like Brāhmaṇas and ascetics, but the royal support eventually succeeded in making it general and popular.[82]

Inscriptions[83] of the period unde rreview often register some grants for the *aṅga-bhōga* (bodily enjoyment of the gods, e.g. sacred bath, applying of sandal etc., burning insence and so forth) as well as *raṅga-bhōga* (theatrical enjoyment, i.e. offering music and dance services to the gods) in temples. A Śirūr (Bijapur District) record[84] of 1049 A.D. contains provision for (among other things) *gītanṛtyōpahāra*, i.e. the offering of music and dance to the deity, involving regular performances daily before the deity. Significantly enough, theatres [*nāṭaka-(nāṭya-)-śālā*][85] were often built in the precincts of temples for the same purpose.

The earliest reference[86] to temple dancing-girls in Karṇāṭaka is found in a record of 778–79 A.D., in the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal (Bijapur District): it refers to courtesan of the temple (*dēgulada sūḷe*). It may be added here that the reference to the word *dēvadāsi* is no where found in the sources of the period;

instead, the words *sūḷe, pātra* are referred to. Sōmēśvara,[87] however, refers to *dāsikā*, i.e. slave-girl (? of the god), among the items of gifts to temples. Such courtesans (*sūḷe, pātra*)[88] as were attached to temples were given grants of land, money, house etc., for maintenance. In some cases,[89] interestingly enough, they were exempted from paying certain taxes, e.g. house-tax (*manevaṇa*), mirror-tax (*kannaḍi-vaṇa*), etc.

Mahādēva Camūpati,[90] a trusted general of Vikramāditya VI, caused the temple of Mahādēva to be built at Iṭṭige (Dharwar District) in 1112 A.D., in memory of his late mother, with quarters for the most beautiful courtesans (*sūḷe*) of the temple attached to it. Prof. A. L. Basham rightly remarks:[91] " In his eyes, and in those of his contemporaries, there was no incongruity in such a memorial".

Again, Anantamayya,[92] another noted general of Vikramāditya VI, made a grant (specified) in 1112 A.D. for the maintenance of the quarters of dancing-girls (*sūḷēgēri*) constructed by him, that were attached to the temple of Sōmēśvaradēva at Purigere (mod. Lakṣmēśvar, Dharwar District). It thus becomes clear that the temple-courtesans often lived in the quarters built in the vicinity of temples.[93]

The significance of the expression *kaṁbhada sūḷeyar*, referred to in some records,[94] is not clear. It may refer to the courtesans (*sūḷeyar*), who were required to stand at specified pillars (*kaṁbha*) while offering various divine services to the gods. Again, some records,[95] refer to those at the right-side pillar (*balada deseya kaṁbhada sūḷe*) as well as the left-side one (*eḍada deseya kaṁbhada sūḷe*). According to some,[96] this is a reference to the well-known Right- Hand and Left-Hand castes of South India. This view seems to be hypothetical, as confirmatory evidence is lacking on the point.

An epigraph[97] of 1019 A.D. from Dharwar District mentions 4 courtesans of a temple by name—Sūḷe Hammakka, Holeyobbe, Rājāṁbe and Kādaṁbe—and adds that they should not go anywhere else (*intī nālvar suḷeyaruṁ elli(gaṁ) pōgalāgadu*), i.e. they must stay in that temple only and perform their specified duties. It is interesting to read in a Mangalore record[98] of 1204 A.D. that, if the dancing-girls of a temple (specified) did not turn up to perform their duties as usual, they were to be fined 5-1/2 (?) coins (*kūtāḍuva bākenaṅgeyaru tāvu endu baha mariyādeyalu bāradiddaḍe ayiduvare daṇḍa*).

There is one more point worth mentioning in this connection : reference is found in some records[99] to *sūḷevaḷa*, who was also given some grants for

maintenance. Some have taken the word in the sense of "a band of dēvadāsIs".[100] In fact, the term stood for a functionary in charge of the music and dancing services held regularly in temples—this reminds us of a "Superintendent of Prostitutes" (*gaṇikādhyakṣa*) of the *Arthaśāstra*. "He was a music and dancing master maintaining professional women skilled in fine arts."[101]

An inscription[102] of the Dharwar District, belonging to the reign of Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara II, tells us that Māḷaparāja, the grand father of Māḷabhūpa, obtained certain offices from Iṛivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya, and continued to hold them during the reigns of Jayasiṁha II and Sōmēśvara I. What is more significant to the point here, among the offices so obtained by him, one related to the regulation, etc., of the profession of dancing girls in temples (*sūḷeva[ike*).

(ii) Women and Religion

The religious privileges enjoyed by women throw valuable light on their position in society. It has been seen above that, during the *Vēdic* age, the social position of women was much better (except as to rights of property) than what it became in later times. Women's participation in *Vēdic* sacrifices and other religious acts was not formal, but a real one.[103]

As centuries rolled on, women's position in society became worse and worse, as evidenced by the *Dharmaśāstra* Literature. In short, the *Smṛti* schoot was inclined to curtail the earlier religious rights and privileges of women, and il bracketed women with Śūdras and other backward classes in society, mainly becaues *upanayana* was not performed in their case—those who had not undergone this *Vēdic Saṁskāra* were, naturally, held to be incompetent to study the *Vēdas* and perform *Vēdic* sacrifices.[104]

Jainism and Buddhism, both being ascetic religions, did not devote much attention to the duties and ideals of lay women. Yet, the permission given by them to women to join the church offered a new and respectable career to women. It may be recalled here that the *Digambara* Jainas held that women can never get salvation, except by first being born as man. But the Buddhists, on the other hand, declared that womanhood was no bar to salvation, and the *Śvētāmbara* Jainas concurred with the view.[105]

It has been pointed out[106] that the *Vēdic karma-mārga* gradually went into background and its place was taken by the new *Bhakti-Purāṇic* religion that rose

into prominence at c. 500 A.D., whose leaders had a catholic outlook and threw open their doors to all, irrespective of sex and caste. This was, indeed, a welcome development for women: it filled the vaccum that had been created by their "religious disfranchisement"; and they became its *de facto* custodians.

Thus, "those very women whom religion had once regarded as out castes" observes Dr. Altekar,[107] "eventually enabled it to tide over most difficult times. They were the most faithful custodians of its sprit and traditions".

Turning now to the period under study, contemporary evidence leaves the impression that women were not looked down upon, nor humiliated, in society. They took active interest in the religious and other spheres of life. Particularly, Jainism, which had prospered for centuries on the soil of Karṇāṭaka, counted hundreds of men and women from all ranks of society among its zealous supporters. Again, the *Vīraśaiva* movement, led by Basava and his followers in the latter half of the 12th century A. D., came forward to give women an equal status with en in the religious and social planes.[108]

Epigraphs[109] mention the names of some women, e. g. Rāvabbe-Goravi, Gaṅgikabbe and others, who were leading the life of a nun. Akka Mahādēvi, it may be recalled, having severed the worldly bondage, led the life of an ascetic and composed quite a number of *vacanas*. There were many other women who contributed their own shares to the propagation of the *Vīraśaiva* faith, by composing numerous *vacanas*, as noted earlier.

Besides the Jaina nuns called *Kantis*,[110] who used to end their life by the rite of *sallēkhana* or *sanyasana* (—*samādhi*),[111] there were many lay women-followers of the faith, who built temples, made gifts to them, and also ended their life by the rite of *sallēkhana*.[112]

There are other instances on record which speak volumes for the religious catholicity of the age. Cāgaladēvi, [113] though a devout Jaina herself, caused a (*Śaiva*) temple of Cāgalēśvara to be built in 1062 A.D. at Baḷḷigāve (Shimoga District), and made many gifts (*kanyā-dāna*, etc) to severel Brāhmaṇas.

Akkādēvi,[114] the celebrated Western Cāḷukya princess, is often described as patronising all religions equally. She caused the construction of the temple of Traipuruṣa in 1022 A.D. at the *agrahāra* of Pērūr (Bijapur District). Again, Śāntalā,[115] the queen of Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana, is described in the records as "the cause of the elevation of the four *samayas* (*catussamaya samuddharakaraṇa-*

kāraṇe)—i. e. she patronised equally all the four religions, viz., Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism and Buddhism.

It is well-known that queen Śāntalā was a Jaina herself and Jainism was nearest and dearest to her heart. She is described as *Jina-samaya samudita-prākāre*, i. e. a rampart to the Jaina faith. She caused the construction of a Viṣṇu temple at Bēlūr, which goes by the name of the Kappe Cennigarāya temple. She also caused the Savatigandhavāraṇa-Jinālaya to be built at Śravaṇa-Beḷagoḷa and made an endowment for its maintenance. In 1131 A.D. Śāntalā ended her life by observing the rite of *sanyasana* at Śivagaṅgā, though it is not known under what circumstances she resolved to do so. It has been rightly said that Śantālā "is a flower of Karṇāṭaka culture."[116]

It may be added here that some women[117] have caused the construction of tanks—an act of great religious merit, as has been noted earlier.

(iii) Women and Administration

Political thinkers of ancient India were not unanimous on whether to permit women to rule the State or not. One school saw no objection in allowing them to ascend the throne, while the other held that they should not be made rulers; because, on account of their natural limitations, they cannot become efficient administrators.[118] Yet, many queens and queen-regents are known to ancient Indian history.[119]

Epigraphs[120] of the period under study often refer to not only ladies of royal families, but also wives of feudatories and even ordinary women, as taking active part in political affairs. We may mention only a few prominent names here :

The name of Akkādēvi[121] stands very high among the women administrators of Karṇāṭaka. She was the paternal aunt of Cāḷukya Sōmēśvara I, and is known to have ruled over many divisions of the Cāḷukya dominions—Banavāsi 12000, Kisukāḍu 70, Bāgaḍage 70, Toṛagale 60, Māsiyavāḍi 140 and other districts—for nearly half of a century. One of her epithets, *raṇabhairavī*, may indicate her active part in the battle fields also. She must have been a personage of considerable reputation and importance in the Cāḷukya empire.

Dr. Derrett[122] has pointed out that the Hoysaḷa queens not only exercised administrative authority, each with her own ministers and stewards

under her, but also conducted on occasions military campaigns "of not too exacting nature". Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa II, we are further told, was an expert in the art of utilising the natural and unquestioning zeal of his queens for the good of the kingdom. But, on the other hand, Ballāḷa III's failure to make them a feature of his administrative hierarchy was a contributive cause of his down fall.[123]

We may mention here the name of Ballamāhādēvi (1275–92 A. D.),[124] a Tuḷuva queen, who betook all the sovereign titles used by the Āḷupa kings—*Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Parabalasādhaka* and so forth—and ruled from her principal palace at Bārahakanyāpura (mod. Bārakūr, South Kanara), with her own ministers and other officials under her.

This reminds us of the Kākatīya qneen, Rudrāmbā,[125] who, bearing the masculine name of Rudradēvamahārāja, ruled for more than thirty years (1262–96 A.D.), and whose conspicuous success won the admiration of the contemporary Venetian traveller, Marco Polo.

In the light of such evidence of political influence of women in Karṇāṭaka, it is significant to note that "the advent of the Sena dynasty of Kannaḍa origin into Bengal brought with it a significant change in the formula of the royal land-grants so as to include the qneen in the list of the king's informants".[126]

Before concluding this topic, it may be added that there are instances[127] on record when women have shown their bravery in actual fighting. Reference is also found to some women who were placed in charge of the administration of temples and their funds.[128]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 A.S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, p. 3.*

2 *Ibid.*

3 The details of such practices may be gathered from standard works on Sociology, e.g. Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage.* Also see E. O. James, *Marriage Customs Through the Ages* [New York, 1965].

4 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

5 Shakuntala Rao Shastri, *Women in the Vedic Age*, p. 2.

6 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

7 Shankuntala Rao Shastri, op. cit., p. 74.

8 *Ibid.*

9 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

10 *HDS*, II. i, pp. 576–77.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 579.

12 A.S. Altekar, o*p. cit.*, pp. 4–6.

13 *EC*, VII, Sk. 287 (1012 A.D.); *BKI*, I.i, 64 (1028 A.D.); *EI*, XII, p. 27 (1077 A.D.), etc.

14 *EC*, VI, Cm. 94 (c. 1060 A.D.); IV Ng. 57 (1181 A.D.), etc.

15 A.S. Altekar, *Education*, p. 220.

16 *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 51.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 105

18 A.S. Altekar, *Education* p. 226.

19 R.K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

20 *Ibid.*; A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women*, p. 10.

21 A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women*, p. 12.

22 R. K. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 463

23 *Ibid.*

24 *Ibid.*

25 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial, Unity*, p.p. 563; also A. S. Altekar *The Position of Women*, p. 12-13.

26 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 563.

27 *Ibid.*

28 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Classical Age*, p. 563.

29 A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women.*, pp. 14–15; *Education*, pp. 228–29.

30 A.S. Altekar, *The Position of Women*, pp. 16–17; 53 ff; R.C. *Education*, pp. 234–35; R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Unity*,p. 564, etc.

[Atiśāyana was the leader of the movement advocating the cancellation of the religious and educational privileges of women, the views of which school became popular by about the 3rd century B. C. Some writers, like Bādarāyaṇa and Jaimini, no doubt opposed the new school vehemently, but their advocacy proved eventually of no avail — see A. S. Altekar, *Education*, p. 229].

31 Asahāya (8th century A.D.), commenting on the *Nārada-Smṛti* [XIII. 30] justifies the theory of the dependence of women, on the ground that their intellect, unlike that of men, is not developed, on account of their not having the benefit of proper education—see A.S. Altekar, *Education*, p. 239

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 237–38.

33 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 482.

34 *Mita.*, I. 15, (Tr.) p. 47; III. 301, (Tr.) p. 1963.

35 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 482

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 482–83.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 483.

38 *BKI*, I. i, 84.

39 *KKC*, I, p. 103.

40 M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

41 *KKC*, I, pp. 122–25.

42 M. Chidananda Murty, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

43 *Dharm.*, I, 4. 191, p. 180; II 10. 169, p. 36, etc.

44 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 368.

45 *KKC*, I, pp. 188 ff.

46 *QJMS*, 45, p. 12.

47 *KKC*, I, p. 188; *Karṇāṭaka Darśana*, p. 119.

48 A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women*, p. 20.

49 *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21; also *The Classical Age*, p. 563. (and n. 2; for historical references).

50 *SII*, IX. i, 159 (c. 1090 A.D.).

51 *JSI*, 2 (1098 A.D.); *KIAP* 87 (1107 A.D.) etc.

52 *JSI*, 2.

53 *BKI*, I. ii, 142.

54 *SII*, Ix. i, 158.

55 *EC*, V, Bl. 58 (1117 A.D.); 71 (1117 A.D.), 16 (c. 1120 A.D.); II, 132 (1123 A.D.); 143 (1131 A.D.); V, Hn. 89 1135 A.D.), etc.

56 Some of the best carvings in the temples of Bēlūr and Haḷebīḍ are generally taken as portraying the dances of queen Śāntalā—See Faubion Bowers, *The Dance in India* (New York, 1953), pp. 17–18; also see Illustrations at the end of the present work.

57 *EHD*, p. 422.

58 *JBBRAS*, XVIII, p. 275 (1174 A.D.); *EHD*, pp. 422-23, 465; also see *Collected Works of Bhandarkar*, II, pp. 343 ff.

59 *EC*, VII, Sh. 97 (1113 A.D.).

60 *EC*, V, Mj. 18 (1095A.D.); II, 128 (1121 A.D.) *EI*, XIII, p. 301 (1125 A. D.); *SII*, IX.i, 273 (1179 A.D.), etc.

61 *EHD*, p. 423.

62 A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women*, p. 181.

63 A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, p. 183.

64 *HDS*, II. i, p. 639.

65 S. V. Venkateswara, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

66 *EHD*, p. 423.

67 *Mita.*, II. 290, (Tr.) pp. 1351–55; also *HDS*, II. i, p. 638.

68 *EC*, VI, Mg. 22 (1129 A,D.).

69 *SII*, IX. i, 118 (1057 A.D.). [Skt. *bhujaṅga*—Kan. *bhōjaṅga*, *bhojaga*—cf. *Dharm.* I, 4. 77, p. 162; *Ba. Va.* 101, p. 27, etc.]

70 *EC*, XI, Dg. 133 (1071 A.D.).

71 *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 295 (1074 A.D.).

72 *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, XII, p. 533; also A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women*, pp. 184–85.

73 *The Position of Women*, p. 182.

74 Shakuntala Rao Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

75 A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India* p. 185.

76 *Ibid.*

77 A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women*, pp. 182–83.

78 *The Classical Age*, p. 568.

79 *The Position of Women*, p. 183

80 *Ibid.*

81 *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, pp. 234–35.

82 *The Position of Women*, p. 184.

83 *EC*, XI, Dg. 74 (c. 1054 A.D.), Dg. 11 (1066 A.D.); *SII*, IX. i, 172 (1106 A.D.), etc.

84 *BKI*, I. i, 85.

85 *Ibid.*, 78 (1045 A.D.); *BK*, No. 9 of 1944–45 (12th century A.D.), etc.

86 A. S. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 295.

87 *Abhila.*, I.61, p. 8—"*gṛham-grāmas-tathā bhūmir-dāsik-ādyā-vibhūṣaṇam*" [*dāsī-kanyā* is another reading]; also see *Vikra.*, pp. 10–11 for a description of the temple dancing-girls.

88 *SII*, IX. i. 80 (1018 A.D.); *Ibid.*, XX, 35 (1055 A.D.), etc.

89 *Ibid.* IX. i, 80 (1054 A.D.); XX, 35 (1055 A.D.), etc.

90 *EI*, XIII, p. 41.

91 *The Wonder That Was India*, p. 185.

92 *SII*, XX, 74; also see *KIAP*, Nb. 2 (1056 A. D.)—"*dēvarōlagada suḷegēri-yalli. . . . . .*"

93 Cf. *EI*, XV, p. 87 (1058 A.D.).

94 *SII*, IX.i, 112 (1053 A.D.); *HAS*, VIII, 34 (1086 A.D.), etc.

95 *EI*, XV, p. 82, etc.

96 *Ibid.*; B.A. Saletore, *Social and Political Life*, II. p. 68, etc.

97 *BK*, No. 124 of 1932–33 [*text unpublished*].

98 *SII*, VII, 185.

99 *SII*, IX.i, 80 (1018 A.D.); 101 (1045 A.D.); *HAS*, 18, Ins. No. 13 (1178 A.D.), etc.

100 *SII*, IX.i, 80 (Introduction).

101 *HAS*, 18, p. 35 (Introduction by P. B. Desai).

102 *BK*, 67 of 1933–34 (date lost)—[*unpublished text*].

103 A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women*, pp. 198–99.

104 *HDS*, II.i, pp. 561–62; 576–77, etc.

105 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 208–09.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 206.

107 *Ibid.*, p. 207.

108 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 368.

109 *BKI*, I. i, 50 (1005 A.D.); *EI*, XVI, p. 82 (1066 A.D.), etc.

110 *MAR.* (1942), No. 74 (1013 A.D.).

111 Religious suicide, though strongly opposed by the Buddhists, is known to both Hindu and Jaina ascetics. *Sallēkhana* (also called *sanyasana* or samādhi) is a peculiar practice of the Jainas, who hold that this act leads one to *mōkṣa*, (i. e. liberation from the miseries of earthly existence)—[Cf. *Dharm.*, II. 14.102, p. 230. For details see *Sources of Indian Tradition*, pp. 68–69; *EC*, II, Intron. pp. 69–70; p. 83 (n. 4), etc.].

112 *BKI*, I, i, 52 (1007 A.D.); *EC*, II, 137 (1117 A.D.); 118 (1120 A.D.); 129 (1120 A.D.), etc.

113 *EC*, VIII, Nr. 47.

114 *IA*, XVIII, p. 2 73.

115 *EC*, V, Bl. 17 (c. 1120 A.D.); II, 132 (1123 A.D.);; 143 (1131 A.D.).

116 *QJMS*, 38, p. 43.

117 *MAR.* (1909), p. 19, para. 77 (1120 A.D.) 1940, No. 8 (c. 1180 A.D.), etc.

118 A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women*, pp. 185–86.

119 *Ibid.*, pp. 186–87; *The Classical Age*, pp. 180–181; P. N. K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, pp. 135 ff., etc.

120 *BKI*, I. i, 61 (1024 A.D.); *IA*, XIX, p. 272 (1053 A. D.); *BKI*, I. i, 117 (1076 A.D.); *EC*, VI, Kd. 21 (1089 A.D.) *KI*, V, 33 (1176 A.D.), etc.

121 *IA*, XVIII, p. 273 (1022 A.D.); *EI*, XVII, p, 123 (1047 A.D.); *BKI*, I. i, 86 (1050 A.D.), etc; also *DKD*, pp. 435, 440, etc.

122 *The Hoysaḷas*, p. 187.

123 *Ibid.*, pp. 178–179.

124 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 484; see (for the details of her reign) K. V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*, pp. 125–27 (Dharwar, 1970).

125 *The Struggle for Empire* p. 484; *EHD*, pp. 620 ff.

126 *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 484.

127 *BKI*, I. ii, 188 (1106 A.D.); *EC*, I, 75 (c. 1264 A.D.), etc.

128 *EC*, V, Ak. 108 (1255 A. D.); *MAR.* (1913), pp. 39–40 (1282 A. D.), etc.

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PLATE—I

Khārepāṭaṇ Plates of Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja



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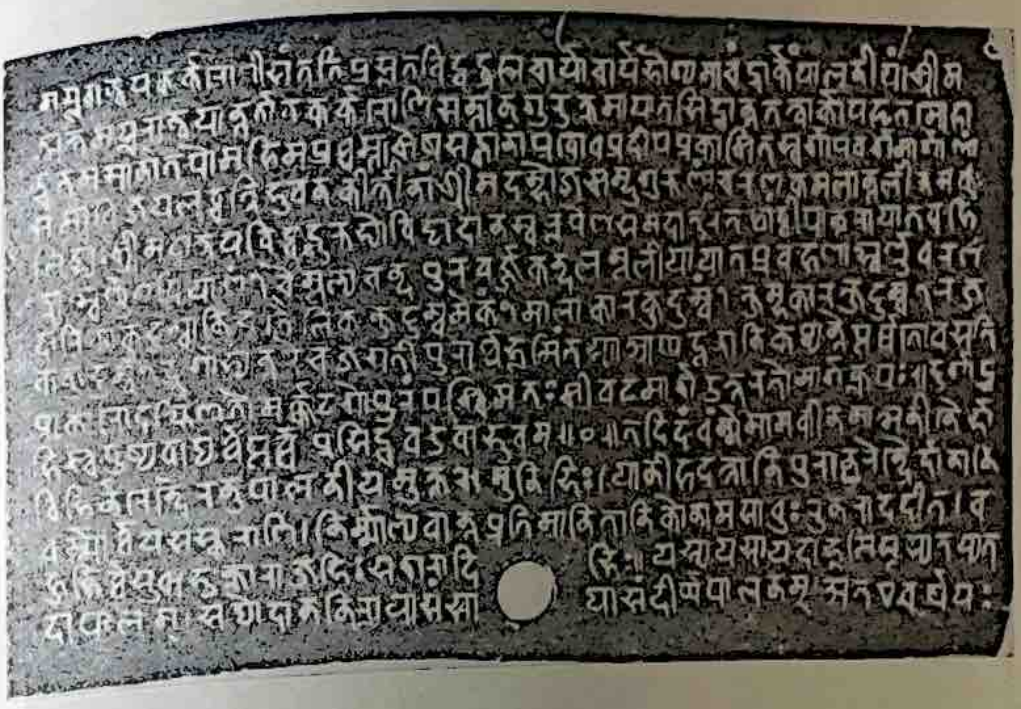
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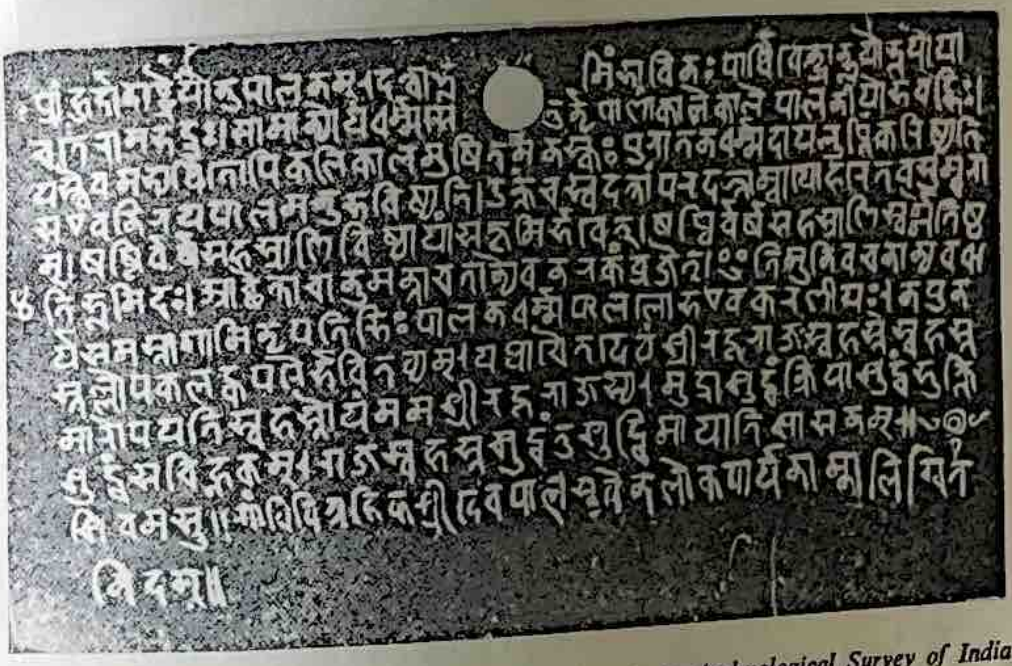
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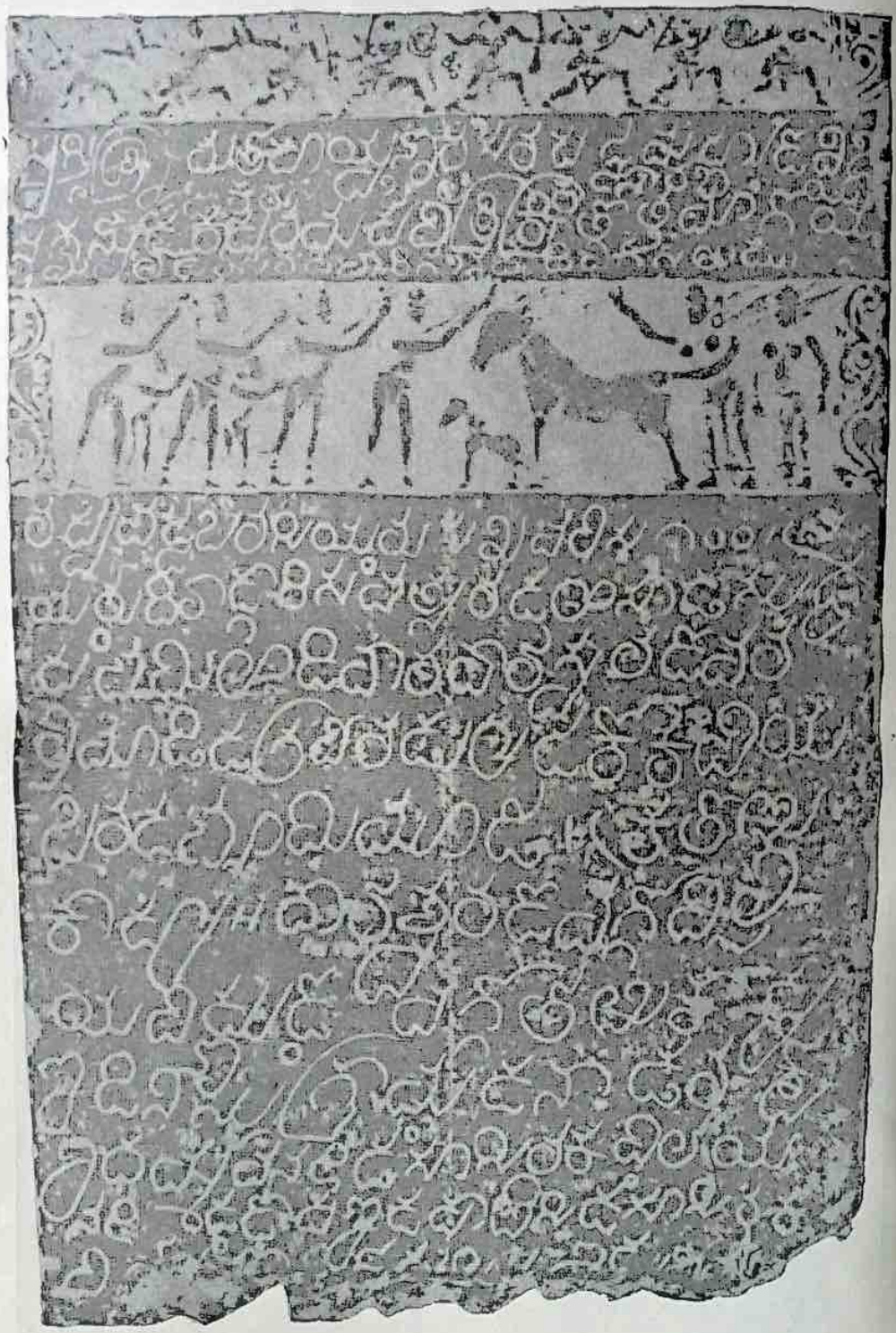
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PLATE—II

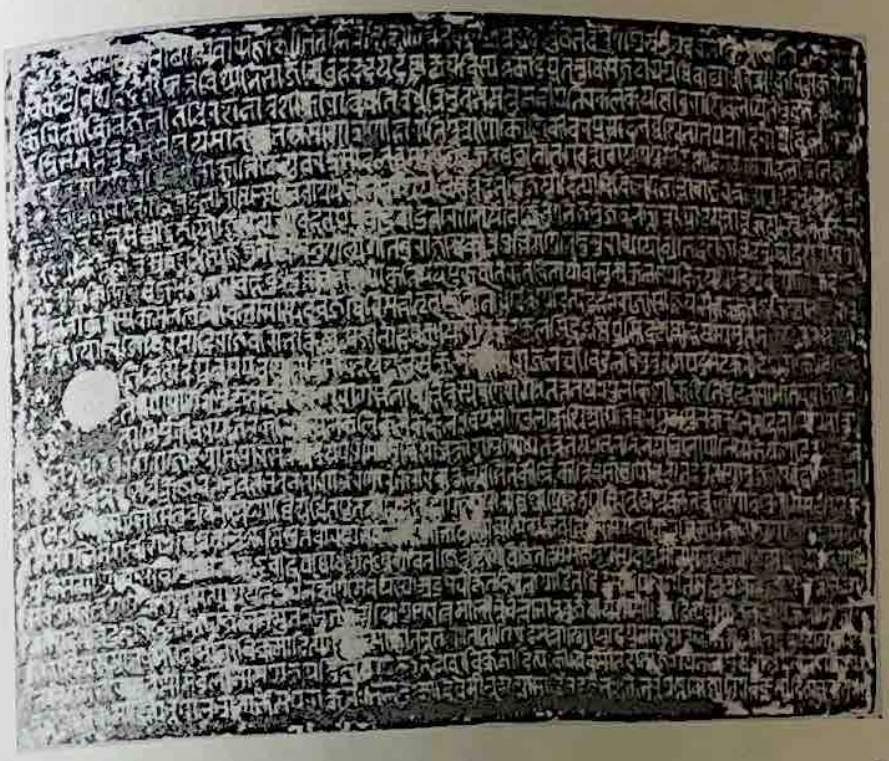
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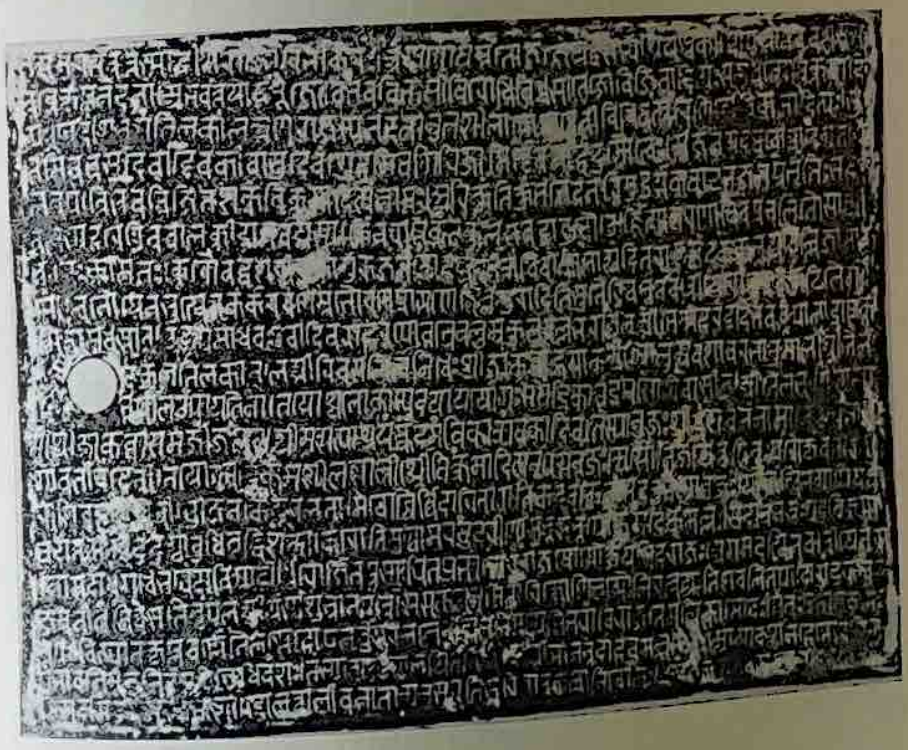
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PLATE—III

Nīlgunda Plates of Vikramāditya VI



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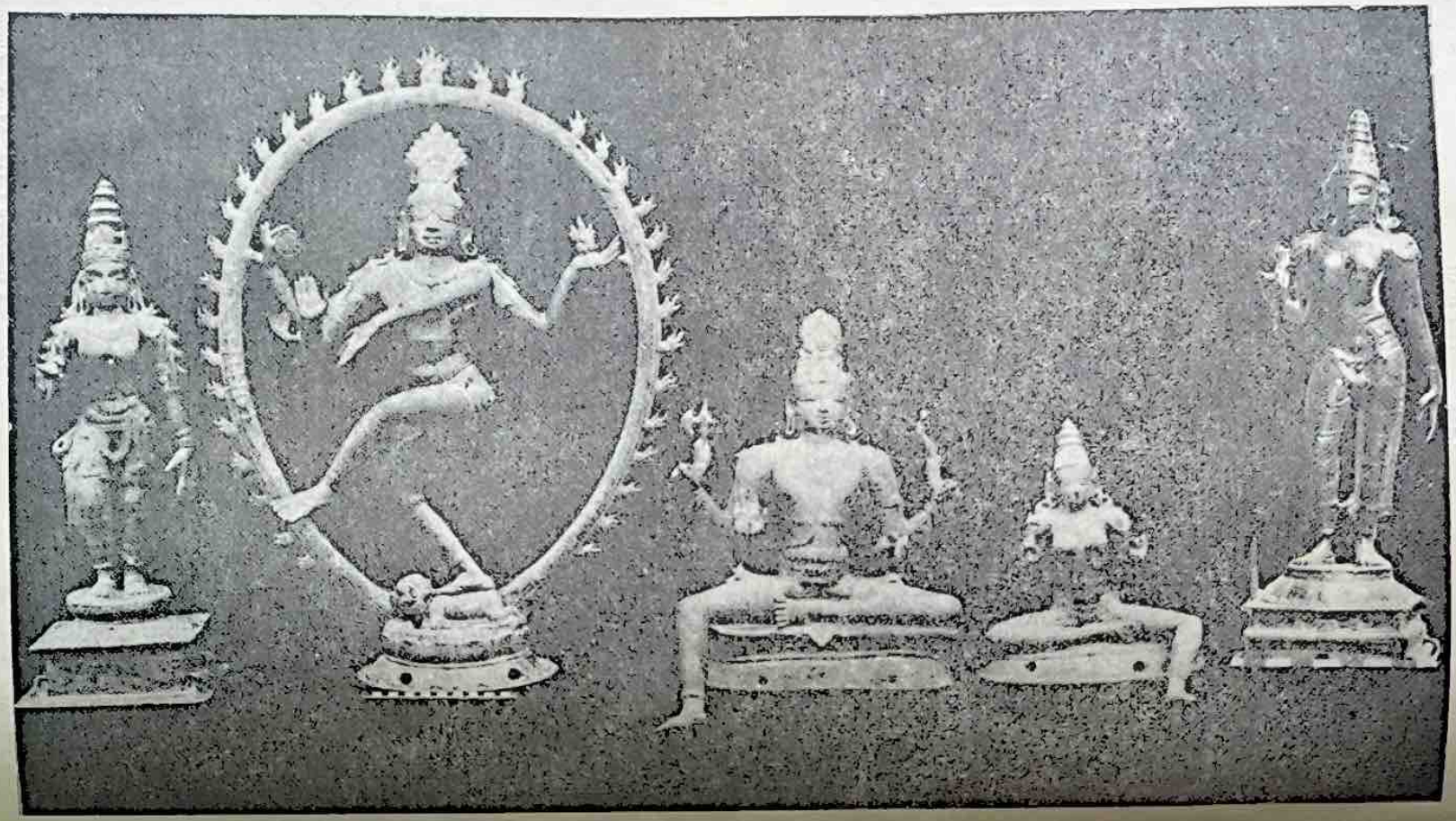
Vīrgal, Tambūr



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PLATE—V

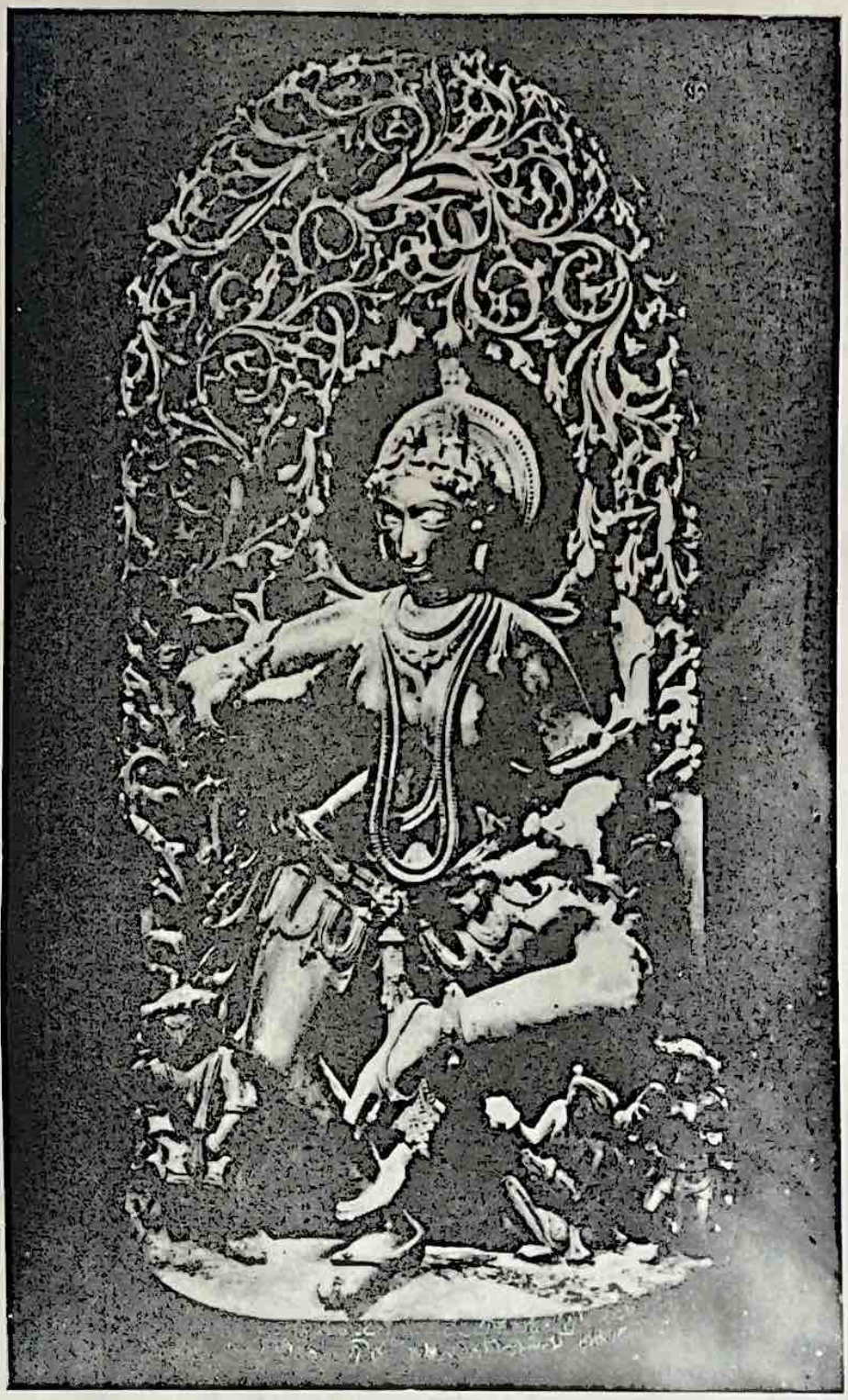
Bronzes from Kūḍalūr



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PLATE—VI

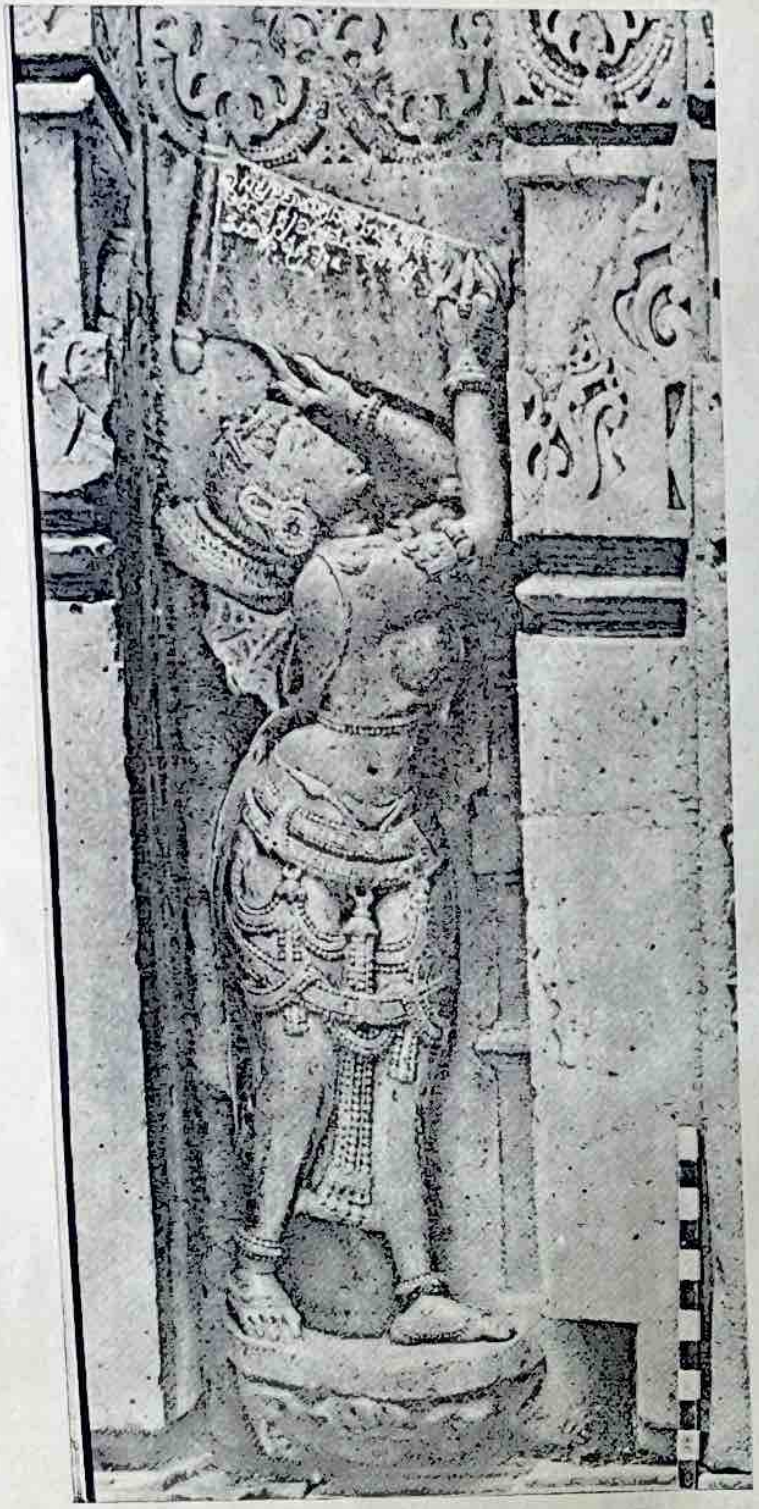
Madanikā (Śāntalā ?), Bēlūr



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PLATE—VII

Lady writing an Epigraph, Jalasangvi



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PLATE—VIII

Gaṅgarāja's Inscription, Śravaṇa Belagola.



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PLATE—IX

Mānastambha, Pillar Inscription, Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa

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