CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY AND LITERATURE

The aeon of history, chronicled or otherwise, has in it the basic human endeavour with all its vicissitudes moulding an event of significance. History records only such events that are significant in nature. If, for Aristotle, history has been the record of unchanging past,\(^1\) for Toynbee it is a journey through time and space. Haynes and moon related the micro and macro aspects when they said ‘what memory is to the individual, history is to the human race’. For Collingwood it was a science of *res gestae* as it attempted to answer questions about the human actions done in the past.\(^2\) Buckhardt defined it as a record of what one age finds worthy of note in another.\(^3\) These definitions indicate that history is a record of past events and human achievements. It is the story of human progress through the ages which is continuous, Instructive and fascinating. It is a study of the whole story of man from barbarism to modern civilization. In effect it is a dialogue between the past and present. History considers every action and every thought which man has held since his first appearance and records every significant advance or recession,\(^4\) and while doing so it describes the origin and growth of civilizations, the rise and spread of religions, political, economic and social movements and also deals with the career and achievements of great emperors, reformers and conquerors in a
chronological order-chronology is important sans which one can not fix history in time and space.

Does it mean that history is just a chronicled chronology of events? Or just because an event is not recorded will render it unauthentic? Time and again these questions appear relevant as just facts and figures do not give a total picture of an individual, society and/or a community.\(^5\) The driving force behind every event is the human intent or will working individually or collectively. Therefore, ‘History is just not a chronicle of details from a beaten track. It is a guide to the path that has been traversed…..history is the repository of sufferings and sorrows, joys and achievements of life’\(^6\) For Chidananda Murthy history is nothing but a description of how people lived, followed a religion, created the art, their life, problems faced and the values professed.\(^7\) In the process, history covers all branches of knowledge, the records, progress, achievements in every one of these branches.\(^8\)

Literature is a creative art form through which the genius of a writer finds expression. For Sartre it is the result of an attitude conscious or unconscious towards the world.\(^9\) If history is the repository of sufferings and sorrows, joys and achievements of life, literature is its embodiment. It recreates a real life situation in a literary form using metaphors, images, phrases all encompassed in an attractive language and style so as to appease the aesthetic expectations of a reader. In effect it crystalises the human element behind an event through characters and sequences that may look imaginary but the settings and situations broadly adhere to the general historical background.
‘History and literature are inter-dependent. History provides theme and content to literature and literatures provide several sources for the reconstruction of history. A work of literature cannot be produced without experience and a sense of history’.\textsuperscript{10} As Gurupada mariguddi observes:

‘A work of literature emerges from the womb of social life and stands firmly on life’s ground.’\textsuperscript{11} He further states that a good work of literature does not just deliver the literary contents but invites further studies in various other disciplines by providing a source for that purpose.\textsuperscript{12} And in the process the analysis of literary works do provide an opportunity to understand various facets of general life.\textsuperscript{13}

‘The basic ingredients for the creation of literature, the language and the sequence are shaped up by tradition and history. Therefore a piece of literature can not exist without them. It is impossible to be so’\textsuperscript{14}

Both these disciplines which now look distinct from each other have in fact been inter-related. In the Indian context, history, up to a particular stage was considered as a part of literature.\textsuperscript{15} Prior to its assumption as an independent discipline, In the guise of myths, legends and epics, history was a part of literature. Even after its separation, despite having its own theories and purpose both these disciplines are closely connected to each other.\textsuperscript{16} Therefore, they are not only inter-related but interdependent and complimentary to each other.\textsuperscript{17} A literary work encompasses invariably the historical perception of its author\textsuperscript{18} for literature cannot be created without history.\textsuperscript{19}
Similarly, a historian depends on several sources, which broadly fall in to two categories namely 1. literary and 2. archeological. Literary sources include epics, legends and religious texts. For him, contemporary literature is a very important source to write the history of a king or an empire.

But the focus of these two disciplines invariably is human life. While history looks a particular person or event in a time frame, literature sans the time frame may transcend the theme to an eternity.

The significant difference between these two disciplines being authenticity, for there is a general impression that history is authentic and the literature is not. History can substantiate the existence of an individual through various sources. A literateur too depends on them but his aim is to universalize the theme without the barrier of the time-frame. But, the events concerning the socio-political life do adhere to a time frame without which his work runs the risk of being treated as his figment of imagination. In a way literature mirrors the general life obtained during a given situation and time frame.

Historians are now evincing keen interest to use literary works as source material to understand history in a proper perspective. In his valedictory address to the 19th session of Karnataka History Congress held at Tumkur on 17th February 2008, prof. S. Shettar stressed on this aspect:

‘The study of history can not be complete without taking in to account the literature of a given time frame. The human facet of history can not be experienced by studying only the inscriptions, coins and other such sources.'
Prof. Shettar cited how Khushwant Singh’s novel ‘The train to Pakistan’ served as a document of human sufferings during the partition crisis, while the official records revealed a statistical account of deaths, injuries and displacements.

Another relevant example that may be quoted here is the vivid descriptions of the excesses of the feudal lords unleashed over their hapless tenants. Following passages give us a humanitarian account of the miserable existence of the serfs:

1  ‘Doctor, they are so proud, these nobles: but we common dogs are proud too, sometimes. They plunder us, outrage us, beat us, kill us, but we have a little pride left, sometimes.’ (Statement from a dying boy who dares the feudal lord for a duel for saving the modesty of his sister)\(^{133}\)

2  ‘That it is among the rights of these nobles to harness us common dogs to carts, and drive us……You know that it is among their rights to keep us in their grounds all night, quieting the frogs, in order that their noble sleep may not be disturbed’\(^{134}\)

3  ‘They have had their shameful rights, these nobles in the modesty and virtue of our sisters’\(^{135}\)

4  ‘We were so robbed by that man who stands there, as all we common dogs are by those superior beings- taxed by him without mercy, obliged to work for him without pay, obliged to grind our corn at his mill, obliged to feed scores of his tame birds on our wretched crops and forbidden for our lives to keep a single tame bird to our own, pillaged and plundered to that degree that when we chanced to have a bit of meat, we ate it in fear, with the door barred and the shutters
closed, that his people should not see it and take it from us- I say we were so robbed, and hunted, and were made so poor, that our father told us it was a dreadful thing to bring a child in to the world, and that we should most pray for, was that our women might be barren and our miserable race die out.136

What would otherwise be a mere statement about the oppression of serfs by the feudal lords in the parlance of history comes out alive and touching, when put in the form of literature. The humanitarian aspect of oppression and exploitation in a feudal mode has been well taken care of in the aforesaid passages quoted from the novel ‘A tale of two cities’ by Charles Dickens.

The authors selected herein for our study have, in unison, stressed that what they have written is based on their real life experiences and certainly their works were not a figment of their imagination (See interviews with authors and their close associates in annexure I of this work). In other words, to study Social History, literature is a very valuable source, which is authentic as any archival material.

FEUDALISM: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

Feudalism as a concept and tool of research investigation first emerged in European historiography. It has been applied by eminent scholars in modern Indian historiography. Among them mention may be made of D.D.Kosambi, R.S.Sharma, B.N.S.Yadava, T.V.Mahalingam, Harbans Mukhia, Irfan Habib, and Burten Stein. These eminent scholars
have looked into feudal relations in the rural society of different periods and places in Indian history from an angle of feudalism.

The concept of feudalism refers to a politico-military, socio-economic and to be specific an agrarian phenomenon that was prevalent in medieval Europe. Evidences suggest the existence of feudalism in periods as early as that of ancient Egypt and Roman civilizations. However, it received a greater phillip during the period between 900 A.D. to 1450 A.D. Feudalism emerged as an arrangement which would soon become the mainstay during the periods of anarchy resulted by the collapse of Roman empire. Europe lost its political unity and was divided into various splinter nations headed by weak kings who fought among themselves. Barbarian attacks ensued; common people were subjected to frequent attacks, plundering and destruction. Utter chaos, death and destruction became the order of the day, a sense of hopelessness prevailed and the general course of life came to a stand still.

In this situation of uncertainty, there arose powerful landlords who possessed muscle power and an armed constabulary. The common people, being the hapless victims of barbarian attacks, had to seek the protection of such landlords and in return the latter got common man’s lands. Finding it difficult to cultivate so much lands all by themselves, the land lords had to ask the peasants to live on those lands, cultivate them and give him a part of the produce every year, render all services agreed upon through a word of honour.

Feudalism therefore stands for an arrangement of land holding based upon military and other services. It was neither a system nor a scheme but
was a development out of necessity when great empires collapsed and infant nations remained weak. It gave rise to a new class of nobles who worked as intermediaries between the king and the peasants. The political organization and the administrative structure were based on land tenure. In such a society land was the source of power. The warriors formed part of the ruling class comprising the King, clergy and the warlords. They received lands from the king or the prince or the overlord and in turn had to render military service to the overlord or the king whenever the situation warranted. They were conferred with various awards, grants and remunerations depending on the efficacy of their service to their overlords. Their span of power would also encompass areas such as the collection of taxes, administration of land and labour, ensuring general law and order and even judicial functions. The ownership of land conferred as such, often became hereditary.

The authority structure in a feudal set up can be compared to a pyramid. As illustrated below, the king retained the topmost position in the pyramid even if he were to be weak and had just a titular existence. He owned larger areas of land but was dependent on overlords for military support. Second in the hierarchy came the powerful overlords who granted portions of their lands (fiefs) to lesser lords who came to be called as vassals.
King

I

Over Lords

I

Vassals(Lesser Lords)

I

Sub-Vassals ( Other Lords )

I

Peasants and serfs

These vassals in order of their importance were called dukes, counts, barons and knights. The lesser lords took upon the responsibility of overall supervision of agriculture, business, and general administration and provided protection through their army. At the pleasure of the overlords they also enjoyed certain legislative and judicial powers. They had to execute an oath of fealty to their overlords. Their major obligation was to provide military service to the overlord whenever called for and thus formed part of the feudal militia. Their other obligations were to pay ransom for their overlord and to bear a portion of expenditure during ceremonies such as the lord’s son becoming a knight or the lord’s daughter’s getting married. Their allegiance was secured through a commendation ceremony.

The course of administration under the intermediaries gave rise to a unique institution called the manorial system. A manor was a miniature world. Every feudal lord wanted to build his castle so that it could laugh a
‘seize to scorn’ for every castle was a fine fortress around which the whole village grew. Facilities such as bakeries, juicers, flourmills, warehouses, press, and smithy were provided to the peasants at a cost. Every manor was a unit of political jurisdiction and economic exploitation controlled by a single lord.

The lesser lords adopted the practice of sub-infeudation to the other lords who owed allegiance to their superiors and abided by their dictums.

The tillers or workers were at the base of the feudal pyramid. They were mainly serfs and were bound to the land even if the land changed hands. They were bound by the oath of fealty and obligation of service. Theirs was a hard and short life. They had to pay rent, tax in kind, and render free service to the lords. Engels describes their plight as under:

‘At the bottom of all classes save the last one, was the huge exploited mass of the nation viz. the peasants. It was the peasant who bore the burden of all other strata of the society viz. the princes, officialdom, nobility, clergy and the middle class.’

The economic aspect of the feudalism was rooted in the institution of serfdom. Marx calls the system as an association against a subject producing class in his candid observation quoted hereunder:

‘The historical system of land ownership and the armed bodies of retainers associated with it gave the nobility power over the serfs. This feudal structure was just as much as the communal property of antiquity, an association against a subject producing class, but the form of association and the relation to the direct producers were different because of the different conditions of production.’
Thus, feudalism represents an economic institution fitted in to an exploitative and suppressive politico military structure with arrangements between the lord and the vassal that created its own ramifications socially. It created a huge mass of toilers in the form of tillers but their toiling, save a minimal subsistence, benefitted the rulers immensely. The economy, if it may be called so, represented a closed agrarian arrangement and was self-sufficient. The commodities were produced for the local use of the peasants and their lords and not for the market. There was little division of labour and the trade and commerce were at their minimal.

DEFINITIONS

In the historical studies on feudalism we see two major schools namely

1. The judicial-constitutional school or the political-judicial school and

2. The Marxist school. The first approach is championed by scholars like Stubbs, Polloxo, Maitland, Henry Maine and G.B. Adams. It emphasized the politico-military aspect of feudalism and the contractual relationship between the lord and the vassal with its implications of limited government and rights of resistance. This school held the main sway till the 1920s.

The second school is associated with the name of Karl Marx. Marx gave an empirical-economic and class-conflict interpretation of feudalism. This interpretation exposes the weaknesses of politico-judicial school and
approaches feudalism from an angle of economic history and sociology. Marx’s observations are hereunder:

‘The last centuries of the declining Roman empire and its conquest by the barbarians destroyed a number of productive forces: agriculture had declined, industry had decayed for lack of market, trade died out or had been violently interrupted and the rural and urban population had diminished. These conditions and the mode of organization of the conquest determined by them gave rise, under the influence of Teutonic military constitution, to feudal property.’

In the beginning, the Marxian approach was applied to the European model but as the studies advanced there was surprising variations in different times and places and sometimes within the country or time frame itself. This enhanced vision introduced an element of comparison between the European model and other societies throughout the world, which showed that there were similarities, uniformities, resemblances and variations in the institution of feudalism. Contributions of scholars like Max Weber, March Bloch, Strayer, and Kroeber highlight the fact that several types of feudal tendencies are visible in almost all the civilizations.

This quest for the variations and similarities between the European model and models elsewhere has broadened the vision of understanding the concept of feudalism and has yielded roughly 4 general definitions enumerated below.

1. Max Weber’s work ‘The theory of social and economic organizations’ elaborately deals with the concept of feudalism and considers as type of patriarchal authority having the following characteristics:
a) The authority of the chief is based on the supposition that the vassals will voluntarily remain faithful to the oaths of fealty.

b) The political corporate group is completely replaced by a system of relations of purely personal loyalty between the lord and the vassals and between the vassals and sub-vassals.

c) Only in the case of felony does the lord have a right to deprive his vassal of his fief.

d) There is a hierarchy of the fief, but it is not a hierarchy of authority in the bureaucratic sense.

e) The elements in the population which do not have fiefs with some sense of political authority are subjects, i.e. patrimonial dependents.

f) Power over the individual budgetary units, (domains, slaves, serfs) the fiscal rights of the political group to the receipt of taxes and contribution and prowess of jurisdiction and compulsion of military service are objects of feudal grants.

The above view lends a sociological angle to the institution of feudalism.  

2. Another important sociological definition is given by March Bloch who in his work ‘Feudal Society’ elucidates feudalism as,

‘A subject peasantry; wide spread use of service tenement (i.e. Fief) instead of salary; supremacy of a class of specialized warriors; ties of obedience and protection which binds man to man; fragmentation of authority; and in the midst of all this survival of other forms of association, family and State.’
3. For Joseph Strayer the idea of feudalism was ‘a high level abstraction, invented by the scholars of 18th century Europe to describe a general category of society and government which grew out of the Romano-German synthesis and it developed to a great deal in the middle ages’.\textsuperscript{31} This definition has a political slant. When he states that feudalism is primarily a method of government, not an economic and social system, though it obviously modified and is modified by the social and economic environment. It is a method of government in which the essential relation is not that between ruler and subject, nor state and citizen but between lord and vassal. This means that the performance of political functions depends on personal agreements between a limited numbers of individuals and that political authority is treated as a private possession.\textsuperscript{32}

4. Taking a parallax view, Alfred Kroeber opines that feudalism is a cultural phenomenon:

‘In the main the uniformities will turn out to be cultural; as indeed feudalism or any other institution is culture.’\textsuperscript{33}

To sum up, the essential features of a feudal set up may be enumerated as below:

1. Absence of a strong central government
2. Closed (self sufficient) economy with minimal trade and money transactions
3. A rural and agrarian phenomenon
4. Political organization and administration structure was based on land tenure. Land was the source of power.
5. The administration provided for creation of powerful intermediaries between the king and the peasants.

6. Powers of the overlords were absolute.

7. The all-pervasive powers of landlords lead to exploitation. The surplus (after subsistence) was taken away by the powerful. The poor were subjected to economic, political, social and cultural oppression. Even the personal lives of serfs were controlled by their lords.

8. The institution of serfdom existed.¹²⁹

**INDIAN FEUDALISM**

Feudalism evidently proved an attractive phenomenon and caught the attention of numerous scholars all over the world resulting in significant contributions to this body of knowledge. However, the historiography of Indian feudalism was not all that extensive up to 1950s. The publication of ‘Classic feudal society’ by March bloch in 1961 appears to have influenced and inspired many scholars in India and abroad to evince considerable interest on the concept Indian feudalism and agrarian systems of ancient and medieval India. B.N. Dutta, a Marxist historian is now believed to be the first Indian historian to apply the concept of Indian feudalism for his interpretation of class struggle in ancient India as part of the growth of Indian feudalism.³⁴ S. A. Dange, an active communist, goes further back to the vedic period and tried to prove that slave society emerged in the later vedic period.³⁵ These two scholars tried to prove that historical developments in India were not peculiar to India alone but are of somewhat universal application. They may have lacked the desired academic training and were handicapped by the limited availability of source materials and as
such their conclusions do not stand academic scrutiny, but were the first historians who recognized Indian society as a changing one.

Significant contributions to the study of Indian feudalism have been made by two eminent scholars namely D.D.Kosambi and R.S.Sharma. Kosambi in his work ‘An introduction to the study of Indian history’ brings in to focus two distinct types of feudalism 1. feudalism from above and 2. Feudalism from below. The process of feudalism from above refers to the transfer of fiscal and administrative rights over the lands by the king to his subordinates in which the latter came in direct relation with the peasantry. The system here resembles a ladder where a person belonging to the lower rung automatically becomes a subordinate with the one on the upper rung, the king occupying the upper most step. In this system the subordinate pays the fealty agreed upon, but has a free reign in his area of operation. This system is believed to have reached an advanced stage of development during the period between 450 A.D. till the end of Guptas. Feudalism from below refers to ‘a class of land owners developed within the village between the state and peasantry, gradually came to wield armed power on the local population.’ Additionally, there were Brahmin intermediaries who controlled the land that belonged to temples and monasteries. Kosambi mentions of the ‘upper class Kshatriya courtiers with their auxiliary Brahmin whose artificial language and mannered literature separated from the common herd that produced food and luxuries for them.’

According to Kosambi, whether the feudalism was from above or below, be it the Brahmins or Kshatriyas, the intermediaries grew in importance both in terms of power and position. With the increased
importance they oppressed the peasants by imposing higher land rents, taxes and forced labour.

R.S. Sharma does not concur with Kosambi’s two-stage theory of feudalism. Sharma, who may be rightfully credited for having espoused the concept of Indian feudalism, applied it for the first time in Indian agrarian studies. He is firm in his view that unlike in Europe, feudalism in India began with land grants offered to Brahmins, temples and monasteries for which epigraphic evidences are available from 1st century B.C. The tendency grew further when villages together with their fields and inhabitants and fiscal, administrative and judicial rights with exemption from interference of royal officials were offered to the religious beneficiaries. Later, the privileges thus conferred to Brahmins and religious institutions, were extended to the warrior class. The system came to be more prevalent subsequently resulting in the emergence of self-sufficient and local economies marked by 1. lack of commerce, 2. Decline of urban life and 3. paucity of coins. The agraharas, according to R.S.sharma, were comparable to with the manor in the European feudalism. He believed that there was forced labour and serfdom aka the last rung of the feudal pyramid of the west Europe model. Furthermore, in the Indian model the donees enjoyed judicial and administrative authority in their jurisdiction. R.S.sharma’s conviction to the usage of the term Indian feudalism becomes clear with the following features:

‘The granting of both virgin and cultivated land, the transfer of peasants, the extension of forced labour, the restriction on movements of peasants, artisans and merchants, the paucity of coins, the retrogression of trade, the abandonment of physical and criminal administration to the
religious beneficieries, the beginnings of remuneration in revenues to officials and the growth of the obligations to samanthas…”

Another historian, B.N.S. Yadava has drawn evidences from astrological works such as Brihad Jataka, Yavana Jataka and Vriddha Jataka and has concluded that there was feudalism in political and economic institutions of early India. There were exploitative relations of domination and subordination and Indian peasants were subjected to non-economic coercion by the land lords. He says:

‘In the Indian context the framework of this relationship may be found to have included within its considerable space of variations in the level of peasant subsection, conditioned inter-alia by local circumstances the highest level being represented, though only to a state approaching serfdom involving the obligation to render labour service and to stick to locality. Then again the relatives of dependents here were, on the whole, meditated through the caste division of the society. The feudal mode of production was not so strong in India as in medieval Europe. In the Indian context it is found to have been interlocked and to have co-existed with the non-feudal elements. The sources noticed above throw some further light on how as primary producers, the artisans and craftsmen also began to be brought in to the orbit of the relations of dependence.’

‘Further, the form of economy characterized by the contraction of trade, weak function of monetary exchange and the emergence of more or less self-sufficient local agrarian units controlled by petty rulers and landlords played matrix in the rise and development of feudal relations from about the middle of the first century onwards.’
Yadava says that Indian feudalism, in a sense, resembled the European feudalism:

‘This political structure was characterized by the parcelisation of political authority which tended to develop downwards up to the level of village lords, resulting in the virtual amalgamation of economic exploitation with political authority, the emergence of sizeable section of landed intermediaries as a result of religious and secular land grants or forcible possession and the growth of a superior kind of relationship, dependence or subordination involving allegiance to the overlord, running through the ranks of a more or less hierarchically organized ruling landed aristocracy.’

Irfan Habib, who has dealt elaborately on the agrarian system of Moghul India c.1556-1707, speaks of zamindari system, the zamindar being the controller and holder of zamin, who was an intermediary, a headman and a tax gatherer, rather than the tax payer (p-212 and 213 of his work ‘Agrarian system of Moghul India (1556-1707)’ London 1963). Jagirdars were the members of the families of nobility (p-201 op.cit). He highlights that the arrangements made by the ordinary assignee for the management of their Jagirs could hardly have followed a uniform pattern (p-326 op.cit) and states that ‘normal activity of consumption of the peasant in our period is usually tantamount to outlining the lowest level of subsistence’ (p-103 op.cit)

T.V.Mahalingam, who discussed the origin and development of feudalism in south India with particular reference to Tamil country, finds broad similarities between amaranayakas of vijayanagar and the feudal system/organization in contemporary Europe. He, however, is careful in
adding that the similarities are limited to only few aspects for in south India
the feudal principle had not developed to the extent it had developed in
Europe.

For Mahalingam, feudalism was a complete organization of society
through land tenure. In such a system from the king down to the lowest land
owner all were bound together by the obligations of service and defence.
The lord had to protect his vassal and the vassal had to serve the lord. This
service and defence agreements were based on and regulated by the extent of
land held by the lord and the vassals. The political aspect of the system
referred to the vassal administering his fief and enjoying certain privileges in
return to which he was bound to serve his lord. The economic aspect
referred to vassal’s position and power being derived from the extent of land
he held.

R.N. Nandi, who has made use of several archeological sources and
epigraphia Carnatica has made significant contributions to the study of
feudalism and feudal relations obtained in south India with special reference
to Karnataka. Studying the inscriptions of Mysore, Hassan, Shimoga,
Bangalore, Kolar, Chitradurga, Tumkur and other districts of erstwhile
princely Mysore state and of south India, excavation reports, Prof. Nandi
traces that Brahmana free holdings in Karnataka date back to 2\textsuperscript{nd} century
A.D. (pages 64-65 of his work ‘State formation, agrarian growth and social
change in feudal south India c.A.D. 600-1200’ published by Manohar
publishers and distributors, New Delhi, 2000). He further depicts the
gradations, the ranks and powers as the King, a territorial feudatories under
him, locality officers who administeres the villages on behalf of territorial
chiefs, country based ordinary soldiers- named ballala, ankakara- who were
granted plots of lands and the vassals namely Gaudas and Heggades obtained during the chosen time-frame. Also indicated in the work are serfs namely Basavaliga and other bonded servants (p-46 op.cit). He confirms that ‘the feudal phase in early India’s social development is a historical reality. But the social, political or economic institutions, which characterized a feudal system may not have surfaced in every part of the country. This necessitates a shift in emphasis from a simplistic pan Indian model to intensive regional studies’ (Inside cover note to the aforesaid work).

K.S.Shivanna has made a detailed study of land revenue administration as well as the agrarian economy and social structure and different groups of landed population in Karnataka particularly the landed peasantry, various kinds of landed intermediaries and the warrior classes in his work entitled ‘Agrarian system of Karnataka ‘(1336-1761). His other work ‘A critique of Hoysala polity’ discusses the types of royal grants to Brahmins, Mahajanas and temples. To him, the alienation of political rights by the state in favour of local elites called mahajanas or sthaniks was directly related to feudalism. The latter enjoyed administrative and revenue along with land ownership and thus acquired the character of feudal elements.47

Various questions have been asked on the feasibility of applying the concept of feudalism to Indian agrarian relations. Prominent among them are Daniel Thorner, Harbans Mukhia, Irfan Habib and Burtein Stein. Questioning the efficacy of the lines of argument undertaken by Kovalevsky in the book ‘communal land holding: causes, course and results of disintegration’ and J.Tod in ‘Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan’ Daniel thorn emphatically states that there was no feudalism in India.48 Harbans
Mukhia refutes R.S.sharma’s coinage of the term Indian feudalism with an emphatic statement that ‘unlike capitalism feudalism is not a universal phenomenon.’ He maintained that ‘feudalism was throughout its history a non-universal, specific form of socio-economic organization specific to time and region where specific methods and organization of production obtained’. He adds that ‘feudalism like other social formations before or after was transitional’. R.S. Sharma counters the statement of Harbans Mukhia as ‘mere alteration in the structure does not take away the existence of feudalism.’ For Burton Stein ‘feudal mode is inadequate in understanding the Indian agrarian relations’ and would rather call the phenomenon as ‘free peasant production instead of feudalism. At the same time he rejects the Marxist concept of Asiatic mode of production * as evidences suggested that there was private ownership of land.

Irfan Habib also criticizes the usage of the term feudalism and has suggested a neutral term Indian medieval economy. He too joins hands with Burtein Stein in rejecting the usage of term Asiatic mode of production* for explaining the Indian agrarian relations.

Criticisms and refutations apart, the present study retains the usage of the term Indian feudalism, as no other term appeared appropriate at the present. Irrespective of the term used, the reality remained unchanged. The peasantry under the system was dependent and subjected to oppression.

*State farming under despotic dispensation
True, there were economic factors behind the oppressive machinery but scholars have overlooked an important social feature like the caste system which is peculiar to India. Chaturvarna divided the society on the basis of descent by birth. It is indeed a unique feature, which catches one’s attention. Prof. M.N. Srinivas, noted social scientist, defines caste as a ‘hereditary, endogamous, usually localized group, having traditional association with an occupation and a particular position in the local heirarchy of castes. Relations between castes are governed among other things, by the concepts of pollution and purity, and generally maximum commensality occurs within a caste.. A caste is usually segmented in to several sub-castes and each sub-caste is endogamous.  

While studying the phenomenon of Indian feudalism one observes that apart from being peculiar, it had wide ramifications as far as the efficacy of the phenomenon was concerned. Unlike the European model the basis for feudalism in India was the land grants made out by the rulers to Brahmins and other religious heads. Land grants to warriors came later, which more or less followed the set pattern. It is said that feudalism strengthened the caste system and the caste system in turn made Indian feudalism weak and ultimately the peasants and the poor accounted for unchangeable peasantry.

R.N. Nandi observes in his work ‘State formation, agrarian growth and social change in feudal south India c.A.D. 600-1200 that ‘In the Indian context, the chief maker of an unchanging social order is the Hindu caste organization.’ (p-23)
Another important factor not to be overlooked while discussing the Indian social, economic and agrarian relations is the untouchability. Substantial portions of the society were kept out of the purview of chaturvarna, rendering them suffer from utmost suppression. ‘These castes had no place in the ancient four fold varna system and were referred to by the particular castes and ethnic groups (chandala etc.) who were named as being outside the varna. So these castes were previously referred to as untouchables, depressed classes, outcastes or exterior castes’ (Usha Rao in ‘Deprived castes in India’, published by Chugh publications, Allahabad 1981, p-30). Not only they were subjected to perform menial jobs at a meager salary but to horrendous social subjugation as well. Noted social activist and thinker K.V.Subbanna highlights the paradoxical situation wherein ‘ the vaidika or Brahmin community which went all the way to keep their purety, to achieve the pinnacle of cleanliness, created a horrendous caste altogether to clean and carry their excreta on its head.’\(^{53A}\) Besides a large reserve of agricultural labour was supplied by the so called menial castes.\(^{53B}\)

Despite exploitation, oppression and suppression peasant revolts in India are negligibly numbered. Violent struggles for the possession and control over the means of production are rarely heard of. This is an important deviation from the European model, which witnessed conflicts between peasants and feudal lords. Reasons for this could be that the idea of large scale farming which motivated the European lords to usurp peasants’ lands and also enlist forced labour from the latter had never been thought of in the Indian context as the feudal lords in India were content with ensuring a regular flow of income and never bothered about agricultural production,
investment and expansion. The rarity of rebellion in India could also be attributed to the presence of caste system wherein the rights, duties and privileges of an individual were internalized in to his personality and a violation was frowned upon socially. The Indian social structure, more so the rural, was characterized by caste-oriented feudalism. Therefore, the poverty in India can not be explained by simple economic attributes but to other factors such as caste, untouchability, customs, joint family, lack of capital, resistance to scientific farming, the money lenders and above all her enormous population. But referring to Karnataka proper, the last century has witnessed a good number of agrarian resistances important among them being 1. Kagodu raitara satyagraha (1950-51) 2. Ankola Satyagraha, 3 Raitara-koolikarara chaluvali of Haliyal in Karwar district during 1979, 4. Peasant movement of Bantwal during the year 1979-80 and 5. Malaprabha basin peasant uprisings during 1980 (p-21 of ‘Agrarian unrest in Karnataka’ by Murahari.D.Naik, published by reliance publishing house, New Delhi 1989). Coming to the present scenario, owing to the belied expectations and failed aspirations of the rural populace, the unrest in the rural-agrarian sector is becoming marked and dangerous. The post- independent rural scenario, as described by A.R. Desai, is becoming a vast cauldron of boiling lava of tensions, antagonisms and conflicts. Desai further records as under:

‘The situation threatens to get explosive due to growing inequality as successive governments have not been resolute enough to prevent the acceleration, pauperization and proletarianisation process of the poorer tenants who are deprived of their tenurial security, operate on shrinking pieces of land which transforms them increasingly in to marginal farmers, backdoor tenants and bonded slaves’
FEUDAL RELATIONS

In the general parlance the term relations refers to the way a person or a thing is related to each other. Effectively, the term relation also refers to the connection or effect of a connection, correspondence, contrast or feeling prevailing between persons or things especially when qualified in some way. There are various relations such as personal, interpersonal, familial, societal, inter-state, inter-national and so on. By feudal relations we mean the entire hub of relations between men and their masters in a feudal setup. These relations may be personal, familial, social, political, economic cultural and administrative but the most notable point here is that they relate to each other in the way they are subjected by the powers that be and very little scope is available for those relations to develop independently. In the words of Marx ‘In the social production men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will’ The complex web of these relations - interactive, co-operative or co-ersive- do cause the changes in history from time to time. To quote Marx ‘Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; They do not make it by circumstances chosen by themselves but under given circumstances encountered and inherited from the past’

Feudal relations in Indian society in general and Karnataka in particular arose out of various factors. Among them mention may be made of caste system, religious ideas, state formation, state policy as well as the general outlook of the people. The study of inscriptions of Karnataka in the pre-modern period clearly indicate a basic aspect of feudal relations in the land. That basic aspect is that those who owned the land did not till it and those who tilled the land did not own it. Besides, a large variety of landed
intermediaries arose between small peasants to the monarchy. Serfdom, tenancy, and exploitation were general trends in the agrarian system of pre-modern Karnataka and they continued to exist even after the implementation of land reforms.

**SOURCES**

The sources used hitherto for the interpretation of feudal relations emerging out of India’s as well as Karnataka’s past were inscriptions, coins and documents of various kinds. However, literary works have not been much explored. Going by the fact that History and Literature are closely related and are complementary to each other, the research gap is not only perceivable but needed to be bridged forthwith by undertaking studies based on literary sources. As Gurupada Mariguddi suggests ‘Literary works of socially responsible and sensitive writers do provide as much help as inscriptions, coins and documents to understand history.’

The present study concentrates on using literary works of eminent writers of modern Kannada literature. Considering the enormity of the source material the study of the entire gamut of modern Kannada literature in all its genres is avoided for such an approach would have made the study unwieldy and burdensome and may result in the multiplicity of repetitive ideas. Hence, the works of some eminent writers in Kannada in the genre of novel have been selected for the present study. The selection of authors and their works have been in such a way that they represent different literary movements in Kannada literature. The plots of these works also represent different geographical locations such as the coast, Malenadu, northern and southern planes of Karnataka.
In this study, a work of literature is taken as a ‘document’ the contents of which are analysed thoroughly in order to elicit information on the subject chosen. The information so elicited is closely viewed and related to the subject matter of this study and inferences drawn accordingly.

As the study involves a concept of history as depicted in the genre of novel of modern Kannada literature, it is inter-disciplinary in nature.

**RURAL KARNATAKA**

Of the 593732 inhabited villages India accounts for, Karnataka’s share is 27481 and just as in the case of general average obtained at the national level nearly 70% of the population of Karnataka is rural. To be specific, as per 2001 census, Karnataka has a rural population of 34.89 millions as against a total of 52.85 millions. The population is unevenly spread and the number of households in a village vary from one geographical location to another. For example, in Malenadu a handful of households –say, 3 or 4- come to be called a village but in the planes the number may vary from 20-30 to 700-800 or even a thousand or more. A population of less than 5000 is the cut-off point to consider an area as rural in India. More than half of the village have a population of 500 or less.

Karnataka forming part of the western region of the Deccan plateau, has 4 distinct regions namely 1.The coastal region 2. The Malenadu (The hilly terrain of Sahyadri range- Western ghats) 3.Northern and 4.Southern maidans. Prior to November 1, 1956, Kannada speaking areas were scattered under as many as 22 administrations. Fazal Ali commission, formed in 1955 recommended for unification of Kannada speaking areas as a
result of which the following areas were merged in order to bring in an unified Kannada state in to existence:

1. The princely state of Mysore
2. Dharwar, Uttara Kannada, Belgaum and Bijapur districts from Bombay province.
3. Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur from the Nizam administration
4. South canara district from Madras and
5. Kodagu (Coorg) – An independent schedule ‘C’ state

Bellary had earlier been merged with the state of Mysore.

The unified state was later re-christened as Karnataka by the then chief minister D.Devaraja Urs in the year 1973.

Karnataka presently has 30 districts, 10 added to the original 20 during the last decade. Kannada is the main language spoken and also the language of administration. Besides Kannada, other languages spoken are Urdu, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Tulu, Konkani and Kodava. The main religions practiced are Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and Jainism.

Having an average rain fall of around 1200 mm per year, Karnataka boasts of a comfortable climate with seasonal variations.

As seen earlier, the total population of Karnataka is 52.85 millions of which the rural population is 34.89 millions. Of this 34.89 millions, men account for 17.65 millions and women 17.24 millions. The literacy rate among men is 76.10% and the same among women is 56.90% making an overall average of 66.60% for the state.
The Karnataka rural scenario is characterized by the presence of cultivable lands, stocks of grain, grass and manure, beasts of burden, animal husbandry activities, clustered habitats with separate localities caste-wise, an out of the village dwelling for the scheduled castes, presence of a landed gentry, subject peasantry-land owning (small and marginal holders) and landless, artisans and others involved in village industries. Most notable feature is that the society is divided on the basis of caste. The standing of an individual in the society was directly related to his position in the caste hierarchy. Untouchability existed and the people belonging to scheduled castes resided outside the village. The rich and land owning community had their say in decision making in issues concerning the village and were judgemental as regards to the general code of conduct.

The main occupation of Karnataka, just as the case at the national level is agriculture. For the total cultivable area of 10419404 hectares, number of holdings accounted for were 5776000 of which barring holdings of 4 hectares and above were 765000 and the remaining belonged to small and marginal farmers.\(^{63}\) 29.20\% of the total population of Karnataka were agriculturists, 3.27\% involved in animal husbandry, 4.10\% involved in cottage industries and a whooping 26.50\% agricultural labourers.\(^{64}\) The percentage of agricultural labourers is very high and is increasing from census to census.\(^{65}\) Henry Maine’s observations that India is gradually loosing its special characteristics\(^{66}\) have been found realistic as the percentage of agricultural labourers in an agrarian society like India rose to 26.50 in the 21st century from a modest 13 at end of 19th century.\(^{67}\) It also is a fact that in places where landless agricultural labourers are high in number they are mostly from scheduled communities.\(^{68}\) These communities
are unorganized and not capable of fighting for their rights as the labour community in the industrial sector. The reasons attributable are:

1. Suppression from land owning communities

2. Over-dependence on the rich.

3. Discriminatory justice

4. Corrupt bureaucracy and

5. Caste and untouchability factors.

With a large number of agricultural labourers, the Indian agricultural scenario looked bleak and unproductive. Disproportionate ownership over the land created an unhealthy situation where the tiller did not own the land and the owner did not till it. The balance of power during the imperial dispensation clearly tilted in favour of landlords, the rich and elite. During the post-independence scenario, these classes assimilated themselves into the democratic dispensation by gaining access to the corridors of power - political, administrative and bureaucratic- to keep their interests well protected.

Independence came as a great watershed in the history of rural society and a series of measures initiated by the government to transform the rural economy through improvement of agricultural techniques, irrigation, improved seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, roads, extension of rural credit, assistance to small and cottage industries and others. These moves have been beneficial to the land owning communities but the small, marginal, landless and bonded slaves have been left in the lurch. There is no significant shift of people from agricultural to non-agricultural sector and over-crowding
continues in agriculture. The agricultural workers constituted 58.99% of the total work force of which 40.26% are agricultural labourers.

Several legislations were brought in to implement the land reforms in order to make agricultural sector more productive. Notable achievement was made in the seventies when Karnataka was under the Chief Ministership of D. Devaraja Urs. The main actions initiated were:

1. Acquisition of holdings above 10 acres of irrigated land by paying suitable compensation. The land thus acquired was re-distributed among the landless.

2. Abolition of tenancy

3. Non-agriculturist owning cultivable lands made not permissible

4. 1.5 million tenants and 2.0 million agricultural labourers were given ownership

5. Ban on acquiring property belonging to SCs and STs.


7. Debt relief measures

As N. Murari Ballal puts it:

‘In the entire of India it was Devaraj Urs who implemented land reforms most effectively. Be it Garibi Hatao campaign, implementation of 20 point programme, integrated rural development programme or any such
progressive socio-economic programmes, he saw to it that they reached the beneficiaries effectively.’\textsuperscript{71}

However, as perceived elsewhere in this dissertation, feudal tendencies and practices are still observable in the countryside. Highlighting the fact that ‘India inherited an antiquated feudal agrarian structure which stagnated the growth of agriculture resulting in non-interest and fragmentation’. Y.V.Krishnarao goes on to add that ‘structurally, zamindari system accounted for 57\%, Mahalwari 5\% and Ryatwari 38\% of the total cultivable land. The zamindari system extracted as much as it wanted. Substantial portion of land of ryots went in to the hands of money lenders and mahajans. Thus big land lordism, mostly absentee, became the order of the day (Chapter 1, page 1 of his work ‘Agrarian scenario 1947-1997’ published by Navakarnataka, Bangalore 1999). If this were to be the situation obtained at the time of independence, legislations to effect the land reforms have been only moderately successful to bring about a change in the agrarian scenario for the vested interests resorted to under-the-carpet techniques to have their interests unharmed.

**PERSPECTIVE**

The dictionary meaning of the term perspective refers to 1. A. An act of drawing solid objects on a two-dimensional surface so as to give the right impressions of relative positions, size etc. B. A picture drawn in this way. 2. The apparent relation between visible objects as to position, distance etc. 3. A mental view of the relative importance of things.(keep the right perspective) 4. A geographical or imagery prospect. ‘In’ or ‘out of’ perspective means 1. ‘drawn or viewed according to (or not according to) the
rules of perspective. 2. correctly (or incorrectly) regarded in terms of relative importance. The method of perspective is said to have been formulated by the 15th century writer and architect Battista Alberti. In this system the picture surface is imagined as an open window through which a painted world is seen. In a perspectival construction two parallel lines representing visual rays of the viewer’s eye appear to be converging at a distance, the exact point of convergence known as vanishing point. The meaning given in 3 above is applicable to our study. The parallel lines here are the concept of history and modern Kannada literature. Feudalism is a concept of history dealt with in the genre of novel in the modern Kannada literature. Although they appear as two different entities, there is a point of convergence when the literateur juxtaposes the social realities with the concepts and institutions of history in his works.

MODERN KANNADA LITERATURE

The term ‘modern’ used here is quite different from the term ‘modernism’ which indicates the literary trend in English obtained during the latter part of 18th and early 19th centuries. It is also different from the modern (Navya) literature movement in Kannada- of which a detailed account is given later in this section- beginning from 1945. The term ‘modern’ here simply means a new one. New indeed, it heralded a new era in Kannada literature, which till then adhered to strict metrical norms, mythological themes and religious-fatalistic outlook. The form was traditional in nature and preaching morality was its purpose.

For various reasons, the post 1700 Kannada literature appeared poor and underdeveloped. Unlike the pre 1700 works, it had no penetration in to
the psyche of common man. It is from this vacuum, a modern literature with man – not god - as its central object of interest had to emerge.\textsuperscript{75} Understood that man was not omnipotent as god was, the focus was on his worldliness and commitment to life.\textsuperscript{76} It dealt with the web of his relations, emotions, desires, dreams irrespective of his status in society – the foremost concern being his life on earth.\textsuperscript{77} Naturally, such literature had to come out of the confines of rhymes, rhythms, metre and morality, characterizing itself with new phraseology, language, and mode of expression with experimentation being its forte.

The latter part of the 19th and first few decades of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century witnessed a radical change in the political, social, and cultural scenario, thanks to incidents of such historic significance namely the Sepoy mutiny, Crown’s rule for India, advent of English education, budding nationalism, freedom struggle the democratic fervor and social reforms of far reaching consequences such as abolition of sati and child marriage, promotion of widow-remarriage, decrying the castism and untouchability.\textsuperscript{78}

English education opened new portals to the knowledge bank world over exposing Indians to a new philosophy of life-hitherto unknown, imbibing the latter with new sense of reasoning.\textsuperscript{79} Enchanting millions of Indians with its rich heritage, western literature brought tremendous changes in their approach, outlook, perspective and creativity.\textsuperscript{80} Kannada was no exception in this pursuit.

The modern literature in Kannada began in 1921, with the publication of ‘English Geethegalu’- an anthology of poems translated from English to Kannada- by prof. B.M. Shrikanthaiah, an eminent literateur and scholar par
excellence. It revolutionised the literary scene with hundreds of literary giants emerging to take Kannada literature to newer heights, creating hitherto unknown genres such as lyric, ode, sonnet, elegy, essay, short story, novel, epic tragedy et.al. With this new Phillip received, the literary creativity went on to create different literary movements from time to time. Kannada literature is now a much acclaimed art form having won 7 of the prestigious Jnanapeetha awards and over 53 central Sahitya academy awards making it a most respectable ground for literary creativity.

VARIOUS MOVEMENTS IN KANNADA LITERATURE

There are 5 prominent movements in Kannada literature. They are:

1. The Navodaya (The new dawn)
2. The Pragathisheela (The progressive)
3. The Navya (The modern)
4. The Bandaya (the rebellious) and
5. The Dalitha (the down trodden)

THE NAVODAYA MOVEMENT

The term Navodaya, meaning the new dawn, is the Kannada equivalent to the romantic literature English produced during the period 1798 to 1832. The time factor in Kannada may be bracketed as between 1921 to 1945. Its advent was with the publication of ‘English Geethegalu’ by Prof. B.M. Shrikanthaiah in 1921. It revolutionized the Kannada literary world as hundreds, enchanted by its beauty, undertook writing with the same fervor. Romanticism being its main forte, the Navodaya School espoused two
important aspects upheld by the western romanticism. They are, 1. This life is worth living and 2. the inherent spiritualism observable in it. For a Navodaya poet or writer the life is meaningful. He does not evince interest in being a cynic or a pessimist- the latter finding fault with his life eternally. On the other hand he finds this life interesting and appreciates it for for what it is and is content to make a good living out of the available circumstances. For him nature is bountiful and beautiful. He adores it which in turn makes him inimical to its ups and downs, the silver lining being that his faith in life is never shaken and he would survive hundreds of ordeals with whatever demur and debate to fight it out till the very end. By being spiritual he subjugates himself to that omnipotent power which governed the universe.

As the sensibilities change, so does the language. The writers of this school developed a language which was attractive and apt to depict a given situation.

The Navodaya School has many prominent writers who rose to fame namely K.V. Puttappa, D.R. Bendre, D.V. Gundappa, Shivarama Karantha, P.T. Narasimhachar, K.S. Narasimha Swamy and others.

THE PRAGATHISHEELA MOVEMENT

Pragathisheela means progressive. Progressive it was in its approach, which rejected outrightly the literature, which eulogized the beauty in nature, the concept of inherent spirituality and contentment in life. The main theme of the movement was the rebellion against all social evils. Taking a stance against all kinds of exploitation and disapproving the social inequalities, the movement empathized with the plight of the poor. For philosophy, it leaned heavily on the Marxist-Leninist approach towards
capital, materialism and class struggle.\textsuperscript{87} Inspired by the world literary giants such as Maxim gorky, Emily Zola, Bernard shaw, Ibson, Ezra Pound, Waltair, Maykovaski and many others, the origin of this movement may be traced to the anti-fascist conference held at London in 1935 followed by the world writers conference, and various sessions and chapters of all India progressive writers associations. The Karnataka chapter of AIPWA, held under the chairmanship of A.N. Krishna Rao clearly indicated the purpose of the movement. Following theme statements indicate the vehemence of the purpose undertaken by the progressive writers:

1. Enough with the literature of those titled bigwigs and wearers of silken turbans who professed extreme servitude to the royalty.\textsuperscript{87}

2. The hypocrisy in general social life, the deceits that take place in the temples, monasteries and divine homes are to be exposed and the dirt – immersed society is to be cleansed.\textsuperscript{88}

In his presidential speech of the 6\textsuperscript{th} Kannada sahitya sammelana held at Dharwar on the 27\textsuperscript{th} October 1946 A.N. Krishna Rao hits out at the state of Kannada literature at that point of time:

‘Enough efforts have not been made to impress that literature is an important tool for the psychological development of the people. The writer refuses to come out of his golden tower; the common man in his fight for livelihood is unable to pay attention to literature. A writer who remains hidden in the aura of his literature paying no heed to the cries that rent the outside world can not achieve anything good for himself or for the entire country’ (Translated by me. The exact quotation is given in the foot note).\textsuperscript{89}
Continuing with his rhetoric, Krishna Rao calls the writers to rebel against all kinds of cruelty, oppression and injustice. For him literature was not a tool for self-indulgence but the ‘Gayathri’ for upliftment of the self as well as the country and advocated that 'The evil forces should shiver at the sight of his sword of revolution. Only then the life and the literature of a literateur becomes meaningful.' He refuted the allegation that progressive writers were atheists, communists and reveled in obscurity and said that literature should not try to cover up the reality and should act as a weapon for social revolution. for the root of all good art lie with an ordinary life and not with an exalted one.

Rhetoric apart, the Pragathisheela proved not very different from Navodya in the longer run. Although it looked abundant, it failed to create quality literature that stood the test of the time. The pragathisheela writers did not make use of many genres but confined to short stories and novel and a handful of works on criticism. But for the names of A.N.Krishna Rao, T.R. Subba Rao, Niranjana, Basavaraja kattimani and few others most of the writers moved over to Navya school leaving the Pragathisheel movement a short-lived one. Prof. L.S.Shesha-giri Rao enlists the causes for its debacle:

1. It oversimplified the experience factor.
2. The desired distance between an art work and its creator was not maintained
3. The theme, aspirations and attitudes alone do not determine the value of an artwork. The progressives indulged in the former and did not take sufficient care towards the quality.
4. The outburst of emotion and the rhetoric proved to be the bane of progressive literature.
Criticism apart, the progressives caused an expansion in the readership, brought in awareness on various social problems and created an atmosphere in which a writer could pursue and project the problems fearlessly. However, owing to weaknesses inherent in its system, the movement itself proved short-lived.

**NAVYA (MODERN)**

Navya is equivalent to modernism the English literature witnessed during later part of 18th century and early decades of 19th century. It’s advent in Kannada literature was in 1950. Vinayaka Krishna Gokaka was its front runner taken over later by M. Gopala Krishna Adiga and Ramachandra Sharma. In the European context the post-industrial revolution era had created a sense of cynicism, loneliness and alienation resulting in pain, anguish, frustration typifying the nature of literature created by Sartre, Becket, Camus, Kafka, Eliot, Lawrence, Salinger and others. In the context of Karnataka, the new found independence and the resultant gamble for power, position, Supremacy, and money proved an antithesis to the nationalist, humanist and spiritualist fervor witnessed during the Navodaya period and the social commitment witnessed during the Pragathisheela movement. Ramanujam, lankesh, Shantinath Desai, U. R. Anantha Murthy, Yashwanth Chittala, Thirumalesh, Chandrashekhara Kambara, Chandrashekhara Patil, chandrakanth Kusnoor, and others wrote beautiful pieces of literature but the content lied heavily on the borrowed concepts of existisntialism, absurdity, the angst, nihilism and so on. The purpose of Navya in Gokak’s words is to picture the ‘incompleteness’ in human personae which causes people fight with each other excitedly leading the whole world to a disaster. Therefore, literature should not confine itself to
abstract phemenae such as the beauty and truth but strive to bring out the human nature in its entirety’. 97

Although Gokak is claimed to be the front-runner of Navya, his works were not very different from the Navodaya mould. 98 However, the works of others quoted above bear the imprint of existentialism and absurdity. L.S.Sheshagiri Rao enlists the major characteristics of Navya as under:

1. Instead of being communicative, Navya literature indulged in abstract self-search.

2. It does not assign importance to rhetoric

3. It is non-committal to any one philosophy, ideology or approach.

4. It deals with human experience in its entirety and complexity and employs fantasy, illusory and dreamlike situations in hitherto unknown images, metaphors, symbols and lingo. 99

Expectedly, it created and maintained a gap between the author and the average reader. 100 Irony as a literary tool may well become likeable but just that is not enough to build a healthy outlook. If Navodaya catered to the middle class, navya catered only to the city-bred intelligentia who knew Freud, Jung, Darwin, Kafka, Camus, Becket and such others. 101 In the words of L. S. Sheshagiri Rao,

‘Whatever be the theories of Freud, it is clear that this literature has neglected the noble aspects in the human nature as manifested in personalities such as Buddha, Jesus, Gandhi, Teresa, Vivekananda, Socrates and others and has highlighted the element of sex instead.’ 102 Scholars see the situation as unfortunate that the Navya literature chose to indulge in
individualistic thoughts and pursuits when the general situation in the country demanded an ideological commitment to nation building.\textsuperscript{103}

Criticisms apart, Navya movement survived for 2 decades and brought in a hitherto unknown dimension to Kannada literature.

\textbf{THE BANDAYA (THE REBELLION)}

Bandaya literally means rebellion. Rebellion it was against the firmly established but outdated, prestigious yet regressive, attractive but irrelevant value system that adjudged the work of art till the seventies. The traditional fervor was so strong that it not only rejected novelty- both in theme and expression- but consigned any such art work to eternal oblivion. Barring few attempts which romanticized the idea of rebellion during the Pragathisheela period, the elements of dissension and protest against social evils was unheard of in Kannada literature till the seventies. The stage, therefore, was set for creation of a forum, which served as a base to a new movement in Kannada literature, questioning the traditional norms and creating a sense of rebellion to become the mainstay thereafter.

The threat of stagnation that hovered around the literature is effectively brought to ponder by Baraguru Ramachandrappa as under:

‘One has to know that the peril of getting stagnant is very real if an individual or an institute does not fall in line with the course of history’.\textsuperscript{104}

As to the purpose, Baraguru is quite candid: ‘to create a forum with a clear ideological stance, for the element of protest which is now becoming the foremost concerns of Kannada literature.’\textsuperscript{105} for he perceives that the social scenario obtained during the time necessitated a rebellious
Democracy was a façade, freedom superfluous and elusive, and the society overall reeked of inequalities. Castism, untouchability, gender bias, class discrimination were rampant and exploitation was the order of the day. The thoughts put forward by Baraguru which later on became the main stay of Bandaya movement are as under:

1. The present situation is a challenge to all progressive minded people. There is a challenge and our reply to this challenge should be the solidarity and cultural unity of all those who believe in leftist ideology.

2. To record firmly a pro-exploited stance in the echelons of culture should be our main purpose.

3. Our main purpose is to organize a fight against castism, untouchability, class and gender discriminations. We support all pro-people stances. To organize a cultural fight against such social evils is our forte. A literature created with this fervor is an important document of our struggle.\(^{106}\)

Having stated thus, Baraguru does not dismiss tradition altogether. For him any new system emerges from the womb of the old. He is also aware that culture is not a stagnant phenomenon but is open to change.\(^{107}\) His opposition is to the aggrandizement of regressive values and a literature, which is highly individualistic and unnecessarily experimental. Bandaya, for him should not become a forum for such ‘unliterary’ pursuits.\(^{108}\) Also, he does not consider Bandaya as a new movement for right from Pampa to Vacanakaras, Dasas, and Sarvajna have imbibed the revolutioninary fervor in their works. Rebellion for him was therefore a continuous process.
For Baraguru, the creative freedom of a writer is inseparable from his social responsibility. Therefore, Bandaya literature is committed to the leftist as well as pro-dalit ideology. It has an attractive theme statement too.

‘Let the verse be the sword; a true friend who feels for others pain’ meaning that literature not only assumes the powers of a sword but also acts as a true friend who empathises with pain and anguish of others.

Prof. K.V. Narayana noted writer, critic and thinker opine that the rise of the Bandaya movement was a direct result of certain policy measures instituted by the then state government. He says the movement in itself was largely social and its literary face is only incidental.

Prof. K.S. Bhagawan differs with the aforesaid view of Prof. K.V. Narayana as he opines that any social movement is like a well dug when the water is needed. It, therefore, will have a strong bearing on various art forms and literature is no exception to that. He observes that the contribution of Bandaya to Kannada literature is substantial.

Another noted thinker G. Rajashekhara admits that the movement has failed to deliver the desired goal as barring few authors and few works others were not really up to the mark.

Rahmat Tarikere, noted critic, appreciates the movement as an artistic success as it provided a forum for expression to countless sub-sections of the society who were forced to be mute hitherto. However he wonders whether the movement is still in ‘experimentation’ stage as contributions that are comparable with the best in Kannada literature are only a few.
B. Hanibal too strikes a dissenting note stating that ‘the verse neither became a sword nor a close friend. The motto having been stated in the beginning of the movement did not only remain unmaterialised but became intolerable by just being a utopian concept.’

Commendations and criticism apart the bandaya movement provided a distinct direction to an otherwise complacent and beaten track approach Kannada literature held till seventies. Initially it came out as a protest against the hollow and individualistic expressions of Navya writers, later gave an ideology-driven approach to it. It encompasses three distinct sections namely; 1. The dalith 2. women and 3. Muslim-The sensibilities of these categories hitherto remained un-expressed in the literary form.

The Bandaya movement is espoused by such eminent writers namely Baraguru Ramachandrappa, Kallengoda Nagawara, Siddalingaiah, Chandrashekhara Patil, Chennanna waleekara, Ramjan Darga, Rahmat tarkere, Phakir Mohammed Katpadi, Boluvaru Mohammed Kunhi, Sara Abubaker, and others.

**THE DALITHA (THE DOWNTRODDEN)**

Ambedkar called them as a depressed community. Gandhiji named them as Harijans. Government of India decided to list them in a schedule in the census of 1931 and so they are subsequently called as the scheduled castes. (Table 2. ‘Deprived castes in India’ by N.J. Usha Rao, Chugh publications, Allahabad 1981). The term SC is mainly a judicial category coined for administrative convenience to refer the communities which suffered social, economic debilities (p-331. Op.cit). They are now referred to as dalits meaning an individual or a community, mostly of untouchables,
subjected to rigorous socio-economic repression for the last 1500 to 2000 years. The untouchability itself is unique to India. Falling outside the purview of Chaturvarna they were condemned to perform most despicable of menial jobs and survived on the pittance- worse, the leftovers or the flesh of dead animals- provided by their social superiors. As elucidated by Revati Ballav Tripathy in his work ‘Dalits: A sub-human society’ (Ashish publishing house, New Delhi 1994.) ‘The Harijans or dalits live in sub-human social existence, abject poverty, economic exploitation, a sub-culture of submission and political powerlessness. They have withstood the psycho-economic pressure of social conformity for centuries. They have degraded nature of working relations with the higher castes and they are involved in degraded works like scavenging and sweeping. They are considered to be visited by a curse and are treated as untouchables. Their shadow when fell on people polluted them.’ (p-207)

The pain, the anguish, insults and injustices suffered by Dalits remained unknown or was not considered important to ponder until the beginning of 20th century, thanks as much to ignorance and illiteracy of the community as well as the disregard of their upper caste masters. The post independence period has brought a magical change in the scenario. With a long lasting fight by Ambedkar for social justice, several government measures, most important of which being the policy of reservation, and the increasing awareness created across the country and the world of the dignity of human existence, dalits have now begun to talk,write and fight for their rights. The socio-political movements brought in by the ‘virasam ‘in Andhra, Dalit panthers in Maha- rashtra, and the Dalita Sangharsha Samiti in
Karnataka to name a few, have given dalits a sense of not only solidarity but security as well.

Dalit literature in Karnataka is the cultural off-shoot of the larger socio-political movement founded to ensure social justice to the down trodden. The origin of such a literature in Kannada is traced to the publication of ‘Dyavanooru’ by Devanoora Mahadeva. Dyavanooru was a collection of short stories published in the year 1973. In the year 1975 came a collection of poems named ‘Hole Madigara Hadu’ by Siddhalingaiah. As the movement gained momentum, hordes of writers emerged heralding a new era in the context of Kannada literature. The language, style, form and content were hitherto unknown and unheard of and the effect was electrifying.

The dalit writers understandably are anguished over the social discrimination they were subjected to and have shown a sense of rebellion towards the societal norms. With the new found education they developed a sense of reasoning and an understanding that enabled to compare their miserable existence with the comforts of the upper castes. Parrallels are inevitably drawn with their African counterparts who were discriminated on the basis of colour. They mulled over visible differences, if any, in physical traits between themselves and their Indian masters and were enraged to find none.

Devaiah Harave sums up in no uncertain terms the priorities and objectives of dalit literature.

‘In dalit literature it is the human being and his sufferings that occupy the central place. His pain, events of bondage, castism and the resultant
problems, the barriers between human beings and the history behind them all get expressed successfully through the language as well as the folklore. This is not akin to the act of showcasing poverty for the sake of fun and pleasure. The purpose of creating such a literature is to picturise the pain and anguish and put it before their brethren to create an awareness for his future guidance is one thing; at the same time making the upper class people to understand the injustice heaped on dalits and atone them by developing a kind of sympathy and fear about the exploited people is the other thing.\textsuperscript{118}

Apart from highlighting the plight and misery of their people and coming to question the value system that benefitted the upper class and condemned the lower, the dalits have intensionally advocated the process of demythification and desecration.\textsuperscript{119} The concept of \textit{pavithrya nasha}, espoused by the Bandaya as well dalit writers has its justification because the norms expressed hitherto were not only irrational but inhuman also.\textsuperscript{120} While destroying the set norms, they were also obligated to build a new value system.\textsuperscript{121}

Devanoora Mahadeva, front runner of dalit literature and a social activist, highlights in his inaugural address for the workshop on ‘dalit consciousness’ (held at Mysore on 23-08-2008) that ‘The consciousness of India is in an unconscious state. Paradoxical is the situation where society, in India in general and Karnataka in particular, is rather insulated in the religious and orthodoxical norms. This apathy is based on the collective amnesia where the wounded does not realize that he is wounded and the wounnder does not realize that he is wounding someone or some community.’
Today, with 3 decades gone by, dalit literature has stood its firm ground with hundreds of writers contributing to the literature and also to the movement. Noted among them are, Devanoora Mahadeva, Siddalingaiah, Govindaiah, L.Hanumanthaiah, K.B.Siddaiah, Mogalli Ganesh, Mullura Nagaraja, Aravinda Malagatti, M.N.Javaraiah and others.

The seventies and eighties of the last century witnessed a number of political and social upheavals which in seriatim are as under:

1. Huge public outcry against Basavalingappa, a cabinet minister in Devaraj Urs’ cabinet, for terming Kannada literature as ‘boosa’ (animal fodder)
2. Alarmed, writers and artists form a separate confederation for sudra and dalita writers.
3. Jati vinaasha sammelana of Mysore gave further phillip to the movement to promote writers from Sudra and dalita background.
4. The report of Havanur commission welcomed by the backward communities but opposed by the upper castes.
5. Imposition of emergency unifies the democratic forces.
6. Series of social justice measures initiated by Devaraja Urs. Notable among them are i.implementation of land reforms ii.debt relief, iii.restoration of dalits lands, and iv.ablition of carrying night soil on head by dalits.

The events above gave necessary impetus to the process of unification of the down trodden helping to form a ‘dalit identity’ which would later become the mainstay in the literature created by them.
AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS SELECTED FOR THIS STUDY

The subject chosen deals with a concept of History (feudal relation) dealt in the modern Kannada literature. The modern Kannada literature as seen earlier is an expansive arena and to trace the concept of feudalism in all its genres will surely be proved unwieldy. It not only overburdens the energy of a scholar and if pursued nevertheless, would lead to multiplicity of repetitive ideas and forms. Keeping this in mind, the study of the entire gamut of modern Kannada literature is avoided. Therefore this study confines to the study of modern Kannada novel.

It was desired to have a proper perspective of the subject matter to select an author from each of the five distinct schools mentioned above. Also desirable it was to have an author from each of the geographical locations Karnataka was divided in to so that the subject receives a broader perspective for each area is different and the institutions developing thereat were unique to that area. For example, the coast had its unique feature of ‘Bhootarahane’ which except some parts of malenadu is hardly found in any of the other areas of Karnataka. So is the practice of bringing in immigrant labour from the coast to malenadu. Among the north Karnataka areas again there are two distinct entities called the Bombay and Hyderabad Karnatakas. Feudalism and feudal practices in effect are very evident in the Hyderabad Karnataka area. The bayalu seeme had its share of zamindars, tenants and bonded labour. Above all the lingo was different for each area for one language ie. Kannada was spoken differently in these areas with fair share of dialects and languages of adjacent states. However, feudalism as a practice, in general has had its similarities and irrespective of the geographical area exploitation was evident everywhere.
The study is broad based geographically, with authors selected from each of the areas described earlier. Works of a woman writer is also included in order to give a sense of completeness in approach. Caste-wise, two of the authors belonged to Brahmin community, one from vokkaliga, two from backward castes and one dalit. However, as far as the selection of authors from different schools was concerned the selection could not be made representative, as some of the schools have not dealt with the theme of feudalism in a proper perspective. For example, Navya literature was highly individualistic in nature where the theme and concerns of an author centered around the principles of existentialism expounded by Sartre and Camus. With its themes revolving around existentialism and absurdity, the school could not produce works that befit our study. The novels ‘Mussanjeya Katha Prasanga’ (by P.Lankesh), ‘Avasthe’ (by U.R.Anantha Murthy) and ‘Singarevva mattu aramani’ (by Chadrashekhara Kambara) have been the most acclaimed works of Navya but do not deal with feudalism adequately for inclusion in this study. Same was the situation with novels like ‘Thayi Saheba’ (by Ram.Sha.), ‘Halla bantu halla’ (by Shrinivasa Vaidya). Similarly, the Pragathisheela began with high aspirations but without matching quality in its creations. Works of A.N.Krishna Rao, T.R.Subba Rao, did not deal with our subject matter directly. Niranjana’s ‘Chirasmarane’ deals with the subject matter but the scene was outside Karnataka – Kayyaur in Kerala- thereby not fitting the framework of rural Karnataka. Basavaraja Kattimani’s works mainly dealt with urban and semi-urban labour movements, corrupt religious and government institutions. Chaduranga’s novels (Hejjala and Vaishakha) dealt with rural life but author’s approach was not feudal relations’ specific. Keeping this in view, the selection of authors from different schools had to be broad based. Some
of the works of Shivarama Karantha, who is otherwise known as a Navodaya writer, namely,’Chomana Dudi’, ‘Kudiyara Koosu’, ‘Devadootharu’, ‘Maimanagala Suliyalli’, ‘Sarasammana Samadhi’ could be categorized as Pragathisheela in their approach. Similarly, ‘Gramayana’ by Rava Bahaddura was novel in its theme, not adhering to the morality mode and not being judgemental qualified to be called as Navya as it was one of those works which was indicative of the shape and content of a modern novel. Even otherwise ‘Gramayana’ qualified for an automatic selection as it deals with theme of feudalism proper during the time frame of later half of 19th and the first few decades of 20th centuries. In many ways it proved to be authentic as the institutions of Jahagiri, Inami and the posts attached to it, the kulkarni, gowda, waaleekara and others, the bickering between the power centres, and the oppression of the poor and even the epidemics like cholera and plague were all historical realities. It is not only realistic but a successful work of art.

Starting with the rape of of an innocent girl named Chimana by Padadaiah, the pontiff of Dodda Matha, the incident turns out to be the central point which sparks of the conflict between village power centres and soon everyone gets involved—willingly or otherwise- in pushing the conflict to its disastrous end. Gramayana may well be called as a document without which this study would not have been complete.

‘Despite having depicted the general life of rural Karnataka with awesome concentration, the author has maintained his distance from his work of art’
Selection from other schools was comparatively an easy exercise as the authors selected have carved a niche for themselves in their respective schools. K.V.Puttappa has been regarded as a colossal figure in the Navodaya school with as many as 83 works covering all genres of modern Kannada literature namely the poetry, prose, epic, essays, drama, short stories, novel and others. His two novels namely 1.Kanooru Heggadithi and 2. Malegalalli Madumagalu today stand out as fine pieces of literature in Kannada. Though these two novels are published at different periods of time (Kanooru Heggadithi in 1933 and Malegalalli madumagalu in 1967) the theme in them is essentially one. Both these novels depict a society which was weak and controlled by few landlords economically and a handful of priests spiritually with definite indications of change approaching.

Published in the year 1933 and set in a remote, impoverished and decadent village, the novel ‘Chomana Dudi’ by K.Shivarama Karantha deals with the plight of an untouchable. Bonded, socially and economically, the obvious situations observable in a feudal society - the impoverishment and hunger are well depicted in the novel. But ‘Chomana Dudi’ has another dimension altogether ie. how the aspirations of an untouchable to become a farmer are denied by a tradition bound society. As P.Lankesh puts it:

‘The central problem in Chomana dudi is not hunger; it’s of insult and humiliation. A man’s life does not become tragic just by hunger; but by insults brought about by the poverty. There could be people as poor as Choma in the Brahmin community. But their life does not become tragic just because of the poverty.’
Baraguru Ramachandrappa has been considered as a doyen who spearheaded the Bandaya movement in Kannada literature. Through his works namely ‘Ukkina Kote’, ‘Surya’, ‘ondu oorina kate’ and others, Baraguru has emerged as a prominent writer and thinker in the contemporary political and socio-cultural scenario. Espousing the necessity of a ‘cultural fight’ against social evils, Baraguru, expects the social concern of a writer has to have a place in his works. The novel ‘Ukkina Kote’ deals with the life in a remote, decadent and impoverished village under the clutches of a powerful feudal lord.

Geetha Nagabhushana also belongs to Bandaya School. It was desired to consider the works of a woman writer, to incorporate the views and expressions of a woman concerning the subject. Having been a writer of significance, Geetha’s works highlight the exploitation of women in the rural-feudal set up. In ‘Hasi mamsa mattu haddugalu’ an orphaned girl bearing the brunt of the cruel society turns insane in the end. However in ‘Dange’, the exploited woman rebels. While succumbing to the oppression is an ordinary occurrence, rebellion is a rare phenomenon. Both these works are included in this study as the two dimensions mentioned above are expected to give a sense of completeness to theme.

Devanoora Mahadeva has assumed the status of a cult figure as far as the dalit literature and the dalit socio-political movements were concerned. Although his works are few, precisely 3, namely

1. Dyavanooru, collection of short stories.
2. Odalala, a novelette and
3. Kusuma Baale, a short novel, each of his works has received high critical acclaim. Kusuma Baale is considered a purana (legend), which transposes the dalit life vis-à-vis their caste superiors, voices a parallax but unsubstantiated view on the
origin of untouchability. Unlike Chomana Dudi, Kusuma Baale is a work on dalit life by a dalit writer himself and therefore is interesting.

The novels selected for our study are not representative works of the respective authors. Nor the selection automatically categorises them as the best available in the respective schools or of the respective authors. Also, the selection of works does not strictly follow the chronology of the years of publication. However, the time frame binding the story lines of these novels is in a sequence. This time frame may broadly be categorized in to two parts: 1. Pre-independence and 2. post-independence. The time frame in K.V.Puttappa’s novels date back to the last half 19th century to the first few decades of 20th century. Rava Bahaddura’s novel deals with the first few decades of 20th century. Chomana Dudi published in the year 1933 speaks of the plight of dalits in the thirties. Baraguru speaks of the post independence nexus between the landlords, officialdom and religion against the oppressed class. Geetha’s works are of comparatively recent period. Devanooru’s Kusuma Baale deals with the dalit movement of seventies but takes the dateline back to the time immemorial.

To sum up, the authors and their works selected for our study are as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF THE NOVEL</th>
<th>AUTHOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kanooru Heggadithi</td>
<td>K.V.Puttappa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEAR PUBLISHED</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malegalalli Madumagal</td>
<td>K.V.Puttappa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The study of works of Basavaraja Kattimani and chennanna Waleekara, as originally intended in the proposal, had to be dropped, as Kattimani’s works did not strictly conform to the subject matter. Further, having selected Geetha Nagabhushana, the works of Channanna Waleekara would have been repetitive in setting, sequences, narration and language as they hail from the same region. Inclusion of the novel of Devanoora Mahadeva, whose name did not figure in the proposal, was felt necessary in view of the special relevance it had to the context of this study and also in view of his involvement in the socio-political movement of dalits.

The original title for this study was ‘FEUDAL RELATIONS IN THE RURAL SOCIETY OF MODERN KARNATAKA-A PERCEPTION FROM MODERN KANNADA LITERATURE’. This, as per the direction of the BOE, was later changed to ‘FEUDAL RELATION IN RURAL KARNATAKA: A PERSPECTIVE FROM MODERN KANNADA
LITERATURE’ As the approach of this study is now changed from a PERCEPTION to PERSPECTIVE it necessitated certain qualitative changes in the body of this dissertation resulting in deletion or addition of author/s.

The suggestion of the doctoral committee, headed by the dean of academic studies, University of Mysore, to reduce the number of novels in order to have a better control over the topic is found very valuable. The exercise of taking in to consideration of all the works of all the selected authors would have made the task enormous and burdensome and the result and the inferences would have been seen multiplicity of ideas and repetitive themes. In the Pre-submission colloquium held on 01-09-2008 the Doctoral committee suggested inclusion of certain facts and figures regarding the study which has been complied with in Sub – Chapter 'Rural Karnataka'. Archival material wherever accessed has been quoted in relative chapters.

The chapter divisions in this study are divided authorwise, preceded by a brief introduction, the life and works of the author, the work selected for this study, the story line and setting of the novels selected and to the subject in proper- the feudal relations as depicted in the novel.

METHODODOLOGY

The primary method employed in the study is the analytical method. As the study encompasses a concept of history and looks for its depiction in the modern Kannada literature, the concerned literary works are the main source of information. Literary works selected for the study are considered as documents, which record the socio-cultural facets of a society in the historical perspective. Each work is studied carefully, attributes of the subject matter are enlisted, the veracity is tested, and conclusions are drawn.
The views, criticisms and observations of other authors, critics and the readership are also considered wherever feasible. Adoption of Historical analytical method has been found useful in the context of this study as just recorded facts themselves can not be called History but the proper analysis of it can be. It is believed that every author will leave in his works definite clues as to the geographical area and social situation he hailed from. Therefore, the field work for visiting the geographical area of the author and assessing the social situation thereat are undertaken. During the field work, interviews have been conducted with people representing various cross sections of the society. Interviews with the authors or their close associates are undertaken in order to bring out the author’s own ideas on the subject matter. (Selected interviews are published as part of this dissertation in the appendices) Archives and government offices are visited for examining the archival material and documents that may help in this study.
FOOT NOTES AND REFERENCES


2. Ibid

3. Ibid

4. Swain’s definition


6. Publisher’s note to Saki’s ‘Making history’ vol. 1 Pub. By Belli Chukki 1998

7. ‘...’ Chidananda Murthy quoted by Ashok Kumar Ranjere in his work ‘Sahitya mattu itihasada sambandhagalu’ –from pravesha (ntroduction).


15. Ashok Kumar Ranjere in ‘Sahitya mattu itihasada sambandhagalu’ pub.CVG publications B’lore 2002 p-59


17. Ibid p-2 and p-55

18. Ibid p-3

19. ‘अशोक कुमार रणजीत, कृष्णदेश मरुस्यांने लि तलम नवनृत्यांने लि तलम \nसाहित्यानां नर्मदाभाष्य’ Ashok Kumar Ranjere. Op.cit p-7


21. ‘अशोक कुमार रणजीत, कृष्णदेश मरुस्यांने लि तलम नवनृत्यांने लि तलम \nसाहित्यानां नर्मदाभाष्य’ Ashok Kumar Ranjere in ‘Sahitya mattu itihasada sambandhagalu’ CVG publications 2002 p-60

22. Croche quoted by Ashok Kumar Ranjere in the aforesaid work p-56 and p-62

23. Ibid p-55

24. Prof. P.V. Narayana in preface to ‘Sahitya mattu itihasada sambandhagalu’ by Ashok Kumar Ranjere.
25. Prof. S. Shettar in his valedictory address to the 19th session of Karnataka History congress held at Tumkur on 17-02-2008. Proceedings yet to be published.


27. Karl Marx: Selected writings in Sociology and social philosophy, New York 1964 p-118

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37. ‘कर्णेशतिश्रुति प्रेम: प्राचीन भारताची दर्शनेचा विशेषतः मुहूर्तकाळाचे महाकाव्य भारतीय साहित्याचे एक भव्य उदाहरण.’
   Ibid 2 above p-218

38. Ibid

39. ‘प्राचीन भारत की क्षत्रियवाद र सत्यत्त्ववाद परम निरोध तथा सत्य प्रमाणण में आयुष्य राजसिवा में कस्तुरी प्रसुति व उसके साथी राजसिक जीवन में प्रसुतिवाद.’ Ibid p-218

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42. Ibid
43. B.N.S. Yadava. Presidential address in the section of ancient India of the Indian History Congress session held at Bombay 1980
44. Ibid
45. Ibid p-16
46. Mahalingam T.V. in paper entitled ‘Genesis and nature of feudalism under the Pallavas of Kanchi, South Indian polity, Madras 1967 p-322
49. Harbans Mukhia in the paper entitled ‘Was there feudalism in Indian history?’ published in ‘The state in India 1000-1700 ed. Herman kulke, Oxford University press, Delhi 1955
50. Ibid p-87
51. Ibid
52. Burton Stein: Peasant state and society in medieval south India, New Delhi, 1980
52A. Inside cover note to R.N.Nandi
53. Irfan Habib: Economic history of Delhi Sultanate p-298
53A. ‘सावधान स्वयंत्र व्यस्तता का साथ है, जब तक इंद्र भीतर जीते हैं, तब तक सराहनीय है, जब तक हृदय चाहता है, तब तक उद्भव चाहता है।’ K.V.Subbanna in his article ‘shreshtateya vyasana’ in ‘matu taleyettuva bage’ ed. By Rahmat Tarikere, Prasaranga, Kannada University, Hampi, 2005 p-249
53B. Irfan Habib in ‘Agrarian system of Moghul India 1556-1707, Oxford University press, New Delhi, 1999 p-141
54. ‘हरिचाल। वर्णित: गुरुपादा मूर्ति जी (मुक्कुलकृष्ण भोमी) के द्वारा राजस्थान सरकार संस्थापन महाराजा भारतराज अग्रभव संविदार की नैन्द्रराज की रचना को प्रसारित की।’ Gurupada Mariguddi in ‘Kuvempu kadambabagala samskritika adhyayana’, Sahyadri prakashana 1989 p-8
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59. Ibid p-33
60. Ibid p-26
62. Ibid 1 above p-27
63. Ibid p-37
64. Ibid p-50
65. U.B.Ashok Kumar in ‘Krishi koolikarara baduku bavane’,Chetana book house. 2001 Table 13, p-51 and Table 9-a, page 2 Directorate of census operations , Karnataka
67. U.B.Ashok Kumar in ‘ Krishi koolikarara baduku bavane’ p-3
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69. Ibid p-254
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87. Quoted by L.S.sheshagiri Rao in Hosagannada sahitya charitre, pub.Ankita 1999 p-64
88. ‘कल्यण नमसे कर्नेल आर्मी अतरे, शरीरचिदंबरतः भवेश्चन्द्ररूपं सभीरक्षकं, अवस्था विशदतः विश्वसन्यासी नित्यं भवेश्चन्द्ररूपं।’ A.N. Krishnarao quoted by L.S.sheshagiri Rao Ibid p-64
89. ‘हरिदर्शन जन्ममें पशु पक्षी पक्षी कहाँ हरिवले शृंग धातु जीर्ण अरुण एकूण, सच्चे संस्कृत संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संस्कृत रंग के दर्शन संस्कृत संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संस्कृत रंग के दर्शन संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संस्कृत रंग के दर्शन संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने प्रत्येक संसार में संसार अपने.p-61.
90. Ibid
91. Ibid p-62
92. Ibid
93. Ibid
94. Ibid p-64
95. Ibid p-72


98. Ibid p-77
99. Ibid p-84
100. Ibid p-87
101. Ibid p-90
102. "ಭಗವಾನ್ ಮಹಿಮೆಯನ್ನು ಕೊಡು. ಅದೇರೆ ಸಂತೆಯ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ (ಮುಂದು, ಹತ್ತಿ, ಶ್ರೀಮಾತಿ, ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ) ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿದ್ದು ಕೊಡು. ಅದೇರೆ ಸಾಗಿಸುವುದು ಅನ್ನು ಹುಲ್ಲುಪೆ ಸಂತುರಗೆ ಮಂಜು ಮಂಜು ಮೂಳಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ."
Ibid p-90
103. Ibid
104. "ನಿವಾರ್ತವನ್ನು ರಹಸ್ಯ ಕೆಲಸ ಬಹುಂದು ಹುಲ್ಲುಪೆ ಸಂತುರಗೆ ಮೂಳಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ."
105. "ನಿವಾರ್ತವನ್ನು ರಹಸ್ಯ ಕೆಲಸ ಬಹುಂದು ಹುಲ್ಲುಪೆ ಸಂತುರಗೆ ಮೂಳಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ."
Ibid p-696
106. "ಪಾಂಚದ ಪತ್ರ ತಿನಕಟ್ಟೆ ಹೊಂದಿದ್ದು ಪ್ರಾಶನಗಳು ಮೂಲುವ ಮೂಲುವ ಸಂದರ್ಭ."
93

‘मौलिक कलाकृति, अध्ययन शोधकर्ता, विषय शोधकर्ता महाजन महाजन’
Baraguru Ramachandrappa Ibid p-697

107. ‘मौलिक कलाकृति, अध्ययन शोधकर्ता, विषय शोधकर्ता महाजन महाजन’
Baraguru Ramachandrappa Ibid p-698

108. ‘मौलिक कलाकृति, अध्ययन शोधकर्ता, विषय शोधकर्ता महाजन महाजन’
Ibid p-697

109. ‘मौलिक कलाकृति, अध्ययन शोधकर्ता, विषय शोधकर्ता महाजन महाजन’
Ibid p-705.

110. ‘मौलिक कलाकृति, अध्ययन शोधकर्ता, विषय शोधकर्ता महाजन महाजन’
Ibid p-695

111. ‘Bandaya sahitya; hattu varsha- prashnottara’ Shatamanada sahitya vimarshe Pub. By Karnataka sahitya academy 2001 p-995

112. Ibid p-996

113. Ibid p-997

114. Ibid p-999

115. Ibid p-1006

116. ‘मौलिक कलाकृति, अध्ययन शोधकर्ता, विषय शोधकर्ता महाजन महाजन’
Chinnaswamy Sosale in ‘Dalitara mele dourjanya’ pub. Kannada University, Hampi. 2006 p-6


118. ‘मौलिक कलाकृति, अध्ययन शोधकर्ता, विषय शोधकर्ता महाजन महाजन’
Ibid p-1006


120. Ibid

121. Ibid

122. ‘ಲೋವ ಒಗುಹುಂದು ಶಿವದೇವು ಪ್ರಭಾಶ್ರಿಕ. ಪ್ರಭಾಶ್ರಿಕ ಕೇ. ಸರಂಜಾಳು ಸರಂಜಾಳ ಕೇಶವ ಜಯವಿದಿಯಿಂದ ಕ್ರನ್ನಿಗೆ’ L.S. Sheshagiri Rao in Hosagannada Sahitya charitre, pub. Ankita, 1999 p-149

123. Ibid p-160


125. Ibid p-87

126. ‘ಶ್ರೀ ಸರಂಜಾಳು ಕರ್ಮಸ್ಥಾಪಿತದಾಯದ ನೃತ್ಯ ಭೂಮಿಕೆಗಳು--- ನಡುವೆ ಮೇಲೆ ಕರ್ಮಶಿಲ್ಪ"

ಕೃತಿಕರ್ಮಕಾರರು ಅವರು ಪ್ರತಿಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ನೇತೃತ್ವ ಅದು ಅಧೀನಸ್ಥರು ಇದು ನೆಲೆ ಪ್ರತಿಗೊಳ್ಳುವ ಉಪಯುಕ್ತ ಮೇಲೆ. ಕರ್ಮಶಿಲ್ಪ ಪ್ರತಿ ಕೇಂದ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಕರ್ಮಕಾರರು ಸಹಾಯಕರಾಗಿ ಮೇಲೆ ನೇತೃತ್ವ ಪಾಲಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.’ K.D.Kurtakoti in ‘Vimarsheya vinaya’ pub. Manohara grantha mala 1996 p-

128. R.S.Sharma in ‘Indian feudalism’ Mac 1976 p—

129. DK illustrated Oxford dictionary, pub. By Dorling Kindersley and Oxford University press 2003 p-611

130. Ibid p-611

131. Ibid p-610


133. Ibid p-291

134. Ibid p-290

135. Ibid

136. Karl Marx in his work ‘A contribution to the critique of political economy’ quoted by Saki in his work ‘Making History’ published by Belli Chukki prakashana, Bangalore, 1998 p-viii


138. ‘ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ, ಸಹಿತ್ಯ, ವಿಮರ್ಶೆ’ ಲಂಕೇಶ್ ಪ್ರಾಕಾಶನ 2008 p-5.

140. R.S.Sharma’s reply to Harbans Mukhia: ‘In my opinion, tribalism, the stone age, the iron age, the advent of food producing economy are all universal phenomenon. If a feudal society means a system in which priests and warriors live on the surplus produced by peasants, augmented by the activities of artisans, such a society existed in a good part of the whole world.’


142. Ibid p-22