CHAPTER - III

GRAMAYANA: POWER BLOCKS THAT RUINED A VILLAGE

INTRODUCTION

The rustic Indian society obtained in the beginning of 20th century was largely unaware of the developments taking place at the macro level. India was then a country in transition with the old system and new aspirations clashing with each other. The imperial dispensation allowed several princely states to co-exist but under its tight scrutiny. Under the British administration proper too there were royalties who accepted the dictum of the former but also retained respect amongst the people in the country. The bureaucracy had its arms stretched right through the villages, but the governance aspect largely was vested with the village officials named the Gowdas (Police Patils responsible for law and order in the village), the Kulkarnis (the Shyanubhogas-officials responsible for revenue related matters) and others who, the hapless villagers regarded as their omnipotent masters and dispensers of justice. Corruption was rampant at all levels the ultimate burden of which fell on the weak shoulders of the poor farmers.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Rava Bahaddoora is the nom-de-plume through which Ramachandra Bheemarao Kulkarni is better known to the Kannada literary world. Born on 24th September 1911 at Hirepadasalagi in Bagalkot district, the young Kulkarni had to move from place to place to have his formal education
which culminated with his graduation at Dharwad. He took up journalism as a career which honed and channelized his literary skills also. He wrote for two decades non-stop, surprisingly not receiving any attention or acclaim until he published the novel Gramayana.

Gramayana took many a critic, literateur and reader by surprise as it was believed that journalism, bound by its column-count, could hardly promote a writer of significance. Belying this impression, Gramayana went on to receive high critical acclaim and now is regarded as the one among the best of novels ever produced in Kannada.

Rava Bahaddoora hailed from a rural background. His well-versedness with the village life has been his driving force which prompted him to write Gramayana. His intention was to depict the rustic Indian society in its true to life form through a novel which he has done successfully in Gramayana. The society depicted in the novel does not pertain to Padalli alone but, with little variations, is applicable to every village in India. Tormented the Indian villages are, with their inherent conflicts and contradictions in the form of class and caste divisions, life thereat remains stagnant. As a village-born and also a farmer, Rava Bahaddoora has seen the village life from close quarters which experience has come in handy in producing this much acclaimed novel. He did not see his position as a writer any different as that of a farmer:

‘As a farmer, I undertake cultivational activities and feel happy when I see the saplings grow. I don’t think my role is any different in the field of literature also.’
Rava Bahaddoora continued with his literary pursuit for a few more decades producing 6 novels, a travelogue and countless articles to various newspapers, periodicals and journals. None of them received the type of acclaim and fame Gramayana received.

GRAMAYANA

The title ‘Gramayana’ appears strange and meaningless when read for the first time. But going by the canvases of the novel, its contents and contradictions which propel the village Padalli to its ultimate tragedy, the title appears apt and imaginative. The word Gramayana which was unheard of earlier, came to be coined by chance by A.V. Shastri, an acquaintance of Rava Bahaddoora. Shastri understood the story of the novel as a ‘saga’ of a village the contradictions inherent thereat made an ironic comparison with high ideals of Ramayana. The Ramayana of the Grama became Gramayana. In the words of Rava Bahaddoora, the title Gramayana sounded like a ‘miniature lyric’.

The explanatory note just below the title Gramayana reads as under:

‘This is the actual depiction of the life of a village that existed 60 years before.’

It represented the story of Padalli, an imaginary village believed to have existed since a long time on the banks of river Krishna. Local mythology suggested that the village was originally ruled by a demon named Andhakasura. Sage Parashurama is said to have slayed the demon and set up an Agrahara for Brahmans thereat. The place was later called as Parashurama Kshetra to commemorate the event. Gradually the name underwent several changes such as Rama Kshetra, Ramana Halli, Ramapadalli and lastly
known as Padalli. This legend remains uncorroborated with any historical evidence to suggest the events narrated herebefore did take place, leading us to conclude that the village named Padalli is an imaginary one.

Although no such village existed, the geographical features indicated in the novel suggest that the village Padalli closely resembles Hire-Padasalagi which is presently in the Jamakhandi taluk of Bagalkot district.

The author narrates an interesting background which prompted him to write Gramayana. Troubled by the reality that the story line of all major literary works revolved around the theme of love, the author chose to think differently as he thought that there were plenty of issues other than love which deserved the attention of a writer. His stalwart friends saw in it a path-breaking approach and urged him to write such a novel to prove his point. A challenge well taken, Rava Bahaddura proved his point by writing the novel Gramayana, the central theme of which was not love, but decadent public life of a village named Padalli.

The novel does not have a hero or a heroine, the protagonist undoubtedly being the life itself. In selecting a story line as this and giving it an adept treatment, it appeared as though the author had created an epic with public life as its soul and the search for the meaningful philosophy as its objective. As Keertinath Kurtakoti, a noted critic, observes:

‘The public life is its arena of action. About 40-45 characters traverse through the novel but the details of their personal life – not even of one individual- are not known. The novel depicts the life at a village that (is said to have) existed 60 years before. In effect the construct of this novel resembles to that of an epic.’
The life at Padalli parades through with all its twists, turns, successes for some and failures to many, as if bound to the path of disaster. The disaster is predictable, thanks to the moral decadence set in the body fabric of the village. The disaster appears as the most logical and inevitable thing to happen, its course hastened by the epidemics and deluge. It has a silver lining however for every disaster carries through its womb the seeds of resurrection. Like the proverbial wheel, life moves on with its course.

The characters in the novel are the products of the society which was by and large feudal. They perform their roles in deference to the systemic norms that existed during the time frame. They are comparable with the prototypes found in any Indian village that existed during that part of the time.

**STORY**

As seen earlier, Gramayana depicts the story of a village named Padalli situated on the banks of the river Krishna. The society was feudal in character having a Jahgirdar, a Gowda and a Kulkarni as important power centres. It also has a veerashaiva matha - with a corrupt pontiff heading it- and a temple, the priest of which is the conscious keeper of the village.

Nana, shiledar (supervisor of the jobs assigned by the Jahagirdar) of the house hold of Jahagirdars, is found dead which appeared very much like a murder, but the Daiva (committee of wise men who dispensed justice) suppress the fact against monetary consideration from the Jahagirdar. The booty thus received has to be shared by the members of the Daiva in the proportion agreed upon by the tradition. Gowda, who is the police patil, demands an additional share which he could use to appease the higher ups in
case an anonymous complaint is lodged at a later date. Irked by the lesser share he got in the deal, the Kulkarni of the village lodges an anonymous complaint resulting in the visit of the Fouzdar to conduct an enquiry on the murder case.

The death of Nana has a direct link to the tragedy that had struck Chimana, the beautiful daughter of Nana. Attracted by the looks as well as status of Bapusaheb, the brother of Putala- the widow of the late Jahagirdar - Chimana succumbs to the trap set by Bapusaheb and Padadaiah. In the matha, it was Padadaiah and not Bapusaheb who takes her virginity and also impregnates her. Incensed by these developments Nana dares Putala to convince Bapusaheb to marry Chimana or else he will be making public the secret affair between himself and Putala. Nana had died under mysterious circumstances poisoned by Putala and her maid servant.

Dada, the vociferous and tempered cousin of Chimana, wild with rage over his cousin’s state, forces ‘justice’ on Padadaiah by leaving Chimana in his matha.

The powers that be in the village get divided in to two blocks with Bapusaheb, Padadaiah and Kulkarni on one side and Shankarappa Gowda, Balacharya and Dada on the other. Both the blocks have their share of followers and adversaries. With acts and counter acts of sabotage and violence by these power blocks makes the village suffer. Attempts are made to frame Dada as the culprit in the murder investigations conducted by the fouzdar. Alarmed by this and also overcome by the guilt, Putala commits suicide by hanging herself. Cholera breaks out in the village wiping out a
tenth of the village population, with Shankarappa Gowda as its last victim before subsiding.

Bapu saheba, though not having the locus standi to remain in the ‘wade’ after Putala’s death tries to continue his rein at Padalli. However, he is driven out by the ryots as Laxmibai, the first wife of Jahagirdar Ranojirao, alienates the lands of wade in favour of her nephew, the Maharaja of Indupur. Kulkarni too loses his position to a new incumbent Shyamarao. Padadaiah conspires and brings in Lingappa, a born kuruba from the village Ajarani and in no way connected to the house hold of Gowdas of Padalli, as successor to Shankarappa Gowda.

The power blocks now are, Padadaiah, Lingappa on the one side and Parvatevva (widow of Shankarappa Gowda) and Balacharya on the other side. Charges and counter charges are hurled yet again followed by acts and counteracts of vengeance throwing the society into an anarchy in the process. Maharaja of Indupur visits Padalli and takes Dada with him. Soon after, the village comes under the attack of plague killing hundreds of people including Lingappa and Parvatevva. Balacharya is swept away in the river. People are evicted and soon Padalli is washed out in the floods of Krishna. The novel, however ends on a positive note with hopes of restoration and resuscitation appearing a possibility in near future.

Over 80 characters come and go, none however prove indispensible to the general course of life. The hero of the novel undoubtedly is life itself, which falters, disintegrates and resuscitates yet again for another sojourn. Surely, it is a saga, not only of the village Padalli but of a general social pattern obtained during the time frame.
With its apt handling, the novel is representative of North Karnataka way of life. Impressed by the novel, a section of readers were said to have ventured to locate the village Padalli and the characters that lived therein, in the real life. Amused by such efforts the author clarifies what he wrote was a novel and not history. ‘As the story line of every novel is based on events that take place in real life, I too have depended on it to that extent. As is the wont of every novelist, I have used the element of imagination also, not crossing the line of propriety however.’

**SETTING**

Enough indications are given in the first few pages of the novel as regards to the general social set-up obtained during the later half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The facts that by and large the society was feudal and 2. New concepts such as the sense of equality, freedom and nationalism were slowly emerging, fit in to the time frame suggested. The author’s description of the situation is elaborate:

‘There were expectations galore over the new aspirations that may be brought in by the new century, as 19th century-during which the society had based itself on the feudal mode and the imperialist forces- which thrived as the back bone to feudalism, was on its way out.

The advent of 20th century was an important transitory phase for our country because it brought in concepts like the freedom, equality and nationalism which were totally new. The old feudal set-up had not vanished; a new social order was yet to be formed. The caste system which has been in vogue since the vedic period had a company in the form of class-the latter being the product of the feudal order. The older values still prevailed. There
was a lurking fear that the termite infected base of the social system which thrived for thousands of years may crumble. A rough outline of the emerging new social order existed only in the dreams of an ideologue.’13

‘The common man was blissfully unaware of the developments that were taking place at the macro level. The village he lived in was his world beyond which he found nothing relevant for his existence. The feudal lords were still his omnipotent masters. The scientific inventions had not yet changed the quality of his existence. The concepts such as the rule of law and fundamental rights were still far beyond his comprehension. The village Gowdas and the Kulkarnis were his rulers. Poverty was his inheritance.’14

The author’s words provide a perfect picture of the situation obtained during the time frame.

As seen earlier the story unfolds, develops and culminates to its tragic end in an imaginary village named Padalli. Although the name is imaginary, the geographical entities depicted in the novel bear close resemblance to the village named Padasalagi and its adjoining areas in the Bagalkot district of north Karnataka. River Krishna flows through the area and is held in high reverence by all the villagers situated on its banks. However, Padalli bore the wrath of river Krishna, as floods regularly washed away the fertile soil from the lands making it imminent the village lands turned barren in near future.

Padalli is believed to be an agrahara originally donated to Brahmins by Parashurama, an incarnate of lord Vishnu.61 This belief reminds us of the conclusions of various studies which indicate that feudalism in India in general, to which Karnataka was no exception, began initially through land
grants to Brahmins. Somewhere down the line these agraharas appear to have vanished and became part of the grants extended to deserving warriors. One such warrior who ruled Padalli was believed to have had 89 villages under his control. All those villages, save Padalli, were later divested of his control on the charges that the warrior resorted to plunder them. Plundering and way-laying continued till the life time of Ranoji Rao, the last Maratha warrior who ruled Padalli. On his death, quarrel broke out between his two widows over the sharing of property. The documents of the property and valuables were taken away by Putala, the second wife of Ranoji Rao, which resulted in non-submission of them to the British authorities as demanded. The Jahagir was quashed, save 120 survey numbers which were denoted as the personal property of the Jahgirdars for which documents were available. The first wife Laxmi Bai could not continue for long in the Wade due to differences with the people who earlier paid allegiance to her. Presently, Putala Bai, the second wife of Ranoji Rao is in charge of the affairs of the Wade.

As per the details available in the novel, presently there are 3 power centres in the village:

1. Jahagirdar family which owned 1/3 of the village lands cultivated by farmers under the ‘Lavani’ system. The property was supervised by a shiledar.

2. The village Gowda owned another 1/3 of the lands measuring roughly 500 acres- 200 acres cultivated by the Gowda family and remaining by the farmers under ‘Kori’ system. The Gowda also functioned as the police patil. He was responsible for maintenance of law and order. He reported to Fouzdar, his immediate superior.
3. The other third of the land was vested with individual holders. Records of all lands were maintained by Shyanubhoga appointed by turns from the Kulkarni family. The Shyanubhoga reported to the Mamledar (Tahsildar) and the latter to the Pranta Saheba (Assistant Commissioner) and so on.

Apart from the three power centres cited above, two religious centres also exercised influence over the people.

1. The Hire Matha presently headed by Padadaiah
2. The Gopala Krishna temple the headpriest of which being Balacharya. Balacharya was also the Raja Purohit for the Maharaja of Indupur.

The society was divided on the basis of chaturvarna. Brahmins, although the minority, occupied the top most position. The Marathas came the second. Vysyas do not have a presence except one Babulal Marwadi the sole trader in Padalli. The Sudras, as a rule, formed the lowest strata.

Among the Sudras, Lingayats were the most powerful, followed by various other castes namely the Kuruba, Kammara, Talawara, Biradara, Uppara and many others.

There were of course, the untouchables who were outside the purview of Chaturvarna. They survived at the mercy of all others. The untouchables were further subdivided in to two major castes namely 1. The Holeyia and 2. The Madiga. The former remained loyal to the Jahgirdar family and the latter to the Gowda family.

The officialdom depicted in the novel is powerful. An impending visit from the Fouzdar or a Mamledar or collector creates panic among the
villagers. The system is corrupt, tyrannic and exploitative. Thanks to the feudalistic mind set, a visit by the Maharaja of Indupur is regarded as a historic event.

The land based relations in the village are complex. There are owner cultivators, tenant cultivators, share croppers, landless labourers and serfs. Land was considered divine. Bhoomitayi was held in high reverence. It was feared that any disrespect to Bhoomitayi will bring disaster to the village.

The village life, just as elsewhere, appeared routine but had simmerings of dissidence underneath. The haves use their physical, intellectual as well as their official might to suppress the meek and poor. Corruption was an accepted way of life. The ‘Daiva’ (committee of wise men in the village panchayat) uses every single opportunity to its benefit. Differences in sharing the ill-gotten money result in bitter rivalries. Society broke up in to various blocks which grouped and regrouped as per the demands of the situation. The silos belonging to Gowda, under instigation by the rival groups, get looted; the drought relief dole received by farmers is stolen at the behest of Padadaiah, Chimana is raped by Padadaiah and Kulkarni Sheshappa uses his official capacity to play havoc with the land holdings of the villagers. Epidemics ebb out whatever little humanity that was left in the individuals – even while suffering they try taking illegal possession of Gowda’s house, lands and crops. So volatile was the situation that private tragedies are forgotten at the prospect of participating in activities like looting and plundering. As the author suggests, ‘all public disputes had a personal problem as the base’57 The ordinary farmers, although illiterate and ignorant held their lands in high esteem. For them the land was not just a means to their subsistence, but their goddess who
protected them eternally. They were loyal to her and believed any disrespect to her would bring in a devastating curse. When Padadaiah’s henchmen dug up an already sown field, most of the farmers were shattered. Balacharya later laments that Padalli now is totally divested of its punya indicating the dark future ahead.

THE POWER BLOCKS

1. THE JAHAGIRDARS

The system of jagir, meaning the assignment of revenue villages in lieu of pay, existed since the period of Moghuls. Padalli was one of the 89 villages that were under the Jahagir of a Maratha warrior. Assisted by a criminal tribe named the ‘Hulibyati Halabas’ (meaning the Halabas of the tiger-hunt fame), the warrior is said to have resorted to plundering and waylaying activities in order to fill his coffers. Ill-famous he became for this misdemeanor, the powers that be divested him of 88 village leaving a sole village, Padalli, under their control. This too would have been forefieted once the queen took over the reign of the East India company, thanks however to the connections Ranoji Rao had with the British dispensation, Padalli remained his Jahgir.

After Ranoji’s death, quarrel breaks out between his two widows for the control of Jahgiri property. The succession never takes place as Putala, the younger of the widows, decamps with all documents of Jahgiri and ornaments and other valuables, leaving the elder, Laxmi Bai’ on the brink of losing the Jahgiri for want of documents. Fortunately for Laxmi Bai, a nephew of her late husband and presently the Maharaja of Indupur, produces a document showing that lands situated in 120 survey numbers were the
personal property of the late Jahgirdar. The Jahgir was cancelled but Jahgirdar’s property remained under their possession. Presently, that property and the wade is under the possession of Putala Bai who has entrusted its overall administration to her brother Bapusaheb. Bapusaheb, loathsome to work and a fun loving individual, never took interest in the cultivational activities of the wade. This resulted in his shiledar, Nana,-a loyal Maratha sardar-taking up these lands for cultivation also under ‘lavani’ system.

The novel suggests that the Jahgirdar’s family owned 1/3 of the total lands available at Padalli. Most of these lands was given to farmers for cultivation under the ‘lavani’ system, except 10 numbers retained for cultivation by Jahgirdar’s house hold.15

The wade, as the palace of their erstwhile ruler, has been an object of curiosity to the public of Padalli. It was a centre of attraction and people were emotionally attached to it.16

After Putala Bai committing suicide, Bapusaheb although without locus standi, persists to continue with active help from Padadaiah. Enraged by this Laxmi Bai, alienates the lands in favour of Maharaja of Indupur, enabling Shyamarao to take over the possession of the wade. Bapusaheb had to flee unceremoniously, ending the reign of Jahgirdars almost conclusively and paving way to the administration by the Maharaja of Indupur.17

2. THE GOWDA

The Gowda was the father figure to the villagers of Padalli. His house was the rallying point to the majority of villagers who sought his favour, assistance and advice. He owned a third of the village lands. As mentioned
in the novel the total possessions by the Gowda household was 500 acres. Of this 500 acres, 200 acres were retained for cultivation by the Gowda household. The remaining 300 acres was given for cultivation under the ‘Kori’ system.

Apart from being an affluent land owner and a father figure to the villagers, Gowda also held the post of police patil making him responsible for the village law and order. His immediate superior was the fouzdar to whom Gowda sent reports on the happenings at the village. All major incidents concerning the general order of the society, be it a riot, a mishap, murder or accident were reported. His immediate superior would peruse the reports sent in and at his discretion would decide whether to visit the village to assess or to inspect and initiate redressal or remedial process. A ‘panchanama’ was conducted on an unnatural death and if found necessary Gowda had to send the body for post-mortem. Gowda also maintained the register of births and deaths occurring in the village. He also headed the village ‘daiva’, an informal committee to dispense justice. The committee itself was an informal one but its decisions were binding on everyone.

As the head of the Daiva, Gowda could underplay serious situations by suppression or misrepresentation as in the case of Nana’s murder or exaggerate like seeing a murderous hand behind Putala’s suicide. He initiated the investigative process or suppressed a murder against monetary consideration. The consideration money was shared by the members of Daiva with Gowda getting half of it, the Kulkarni the quarter and the rest shared equally by all other members. Suppression of a murder fetched him an additional consideration. The suppression itself was carried out by a
suitable entry in the register of deaths mentioning therein a fictitious reason for death.

Having been the father figure for generations, Gowda had empathy to the sufferings of the people and strived to redress many a grievance through suitable remedial measures such as distribution of grain to the needy and overseeing relief operations during epidemics and calamities. As traditional heads of the village, they imbibed a sense of responsibility over the general welfare of the society. That sense of responsibility and love towards the village and its people was embedded in their blood.\textsuperscript{20} Equally reciprocative was the sense of loyalty people had towards the Gowda household, they refused even under tremendous pressure from the latter’s adversaries to switch their allegiance. Even his official subordinate, Waleekara Malla, remained loyal to him throughout the novel.\textsuperscript{21}

Shankarappa Gowda was also known as the ‘supply bahaddur’ (master of supplies) in the officialdom.\textsuperscript{22} His superiors were content with him on this account. The supplies involved quality food articles, fowl, milch animal and even women when demanded. He also kept his decorum whenever he went to see a higher official.\textsuperscript{23} However, when insulted, the same gowda would turn out to be a ferocious rebel. Ex: When the Fouzdar orders his arrest, shankarappa Gowda with the assistance of Dada rebels against him.\textsuperscript{24}

The novel records the existence of 4 police patils. They are Shankarappa Gowda of Padalli, Yashwantrao patil of Ajarani, The Gowda of Havanur and Lingappa, the illegal successor to Shankarappa Gowda’s hegemony. Of these four, Shankarappa Gowda dies of cholera, Lingappa is
burnt to death and no mention is made of the other two after the tragedy that befell on Padalli.

3. THE KULKARNI

Kulkarni means the village accountant. Like the Gowda, Kulkarni was also a government servant. He kept the records of land holdings, their ownership and succession. He was responsible for the collection of revenue and reported to mamaledar (Tahsildar). The succession register (varasa) was his main forte through which he could change the destinies of the general public. He happened to be the one among the two or three literates in the village, a strength through which he could play havoc with the lives of the villagers. Though not a land owner like Gowda, Kulkarni wielded power through his pen as well as his office. These low ranking officials resorted to tampering the records such as Khata, Khirdi, succession register, and other revenue records in order to derive benefit for themselves or for individual or group they favoured. There are several instances of abuse of power and embezzlement of funds by Kulkarnis or Shyanubhogas. While going through archives, one comes across many such instances where these officials are caught and proceeded against departmentally. The case of one Shankarappa Shyanubhog of Haluvalli, who was suspended from service and also jailed and his property impounded against the dues payable to the government is an example for this.\textsuperscript{63} The Kulkarni is compared to the proverbial crocodile which when in its habitat, could even torment an elephant. He is also compared to a snake dwelling in an ant hill. Groupism in the village was his favourite play ground for without rifts he could not use his wily tactics and therefore felt his existence threatened.\textsuperscript{25}
The author gives an interesting description of Kulkarni Sheshappa: ‘Sheshappa was the one who would rather enjoy a popcorn by burning a maize heap than eating sweets by arranging a marriage.’ He would prefer regular fights in the village so that people would throng courts and offices which will ensure him a steady flow of income.

Throughout the novel Sheshappa displays the unique blend of shrewd, selfish and cunning disposition. He could be tricky, treacherous and destructive for both monetary gain and to keep his importance in the village affairs. In the novel he is shown to be the one, who keeps shifting between the power blocks. With his conspiracies and machinations, he keeps people anxious, scared and guessing of his next moves. Yet he is pragmatic in his own way when he advices Dada:

‘Look here brother, you do not have the experience of this world. Do not ever think that those who are your enemies will remain so throughout. Similarly, those who are your friends today will not remain so forever. The enmity and friendship are the products of the circumstances. How to benefit from them is the moot point.’

Sheshappa thought of his own benefit, whatever be the circumstances. He is irked when he thought he did not receive his due share. His share was exactly half of what Gowda received. In hushing up of Nana’s murder case where Gowda got a separate purse for appeasing the higher ups in case of an anonymous complaint, Kulkarni kicks up a row for not receiving his ‘due’ share and ultimately arranges to send an anonymous complaint to the Fauzdar.
For Sheshappa, his office was his domain and his position most important. It is through his official capacity, he played havoc with the destinies of many a farmer by making false entries in the register of successions. He even tries to usurp the lands belonging to the Deshpande family by not quoting a legal adoption. He cunningly inserts the name of Dada as Nana’s successor despite the deceased having a daughter.

Sheshappa takes pleasure in involving himself in the village power politics but keeps on switching camps so that his benefit is not hampered. He gangs up with Padadaiah and Bapusaheb against Gowda and Balacharya. He helps an outsider, Lingappa, to get an illegal succession to the estate of late Shankarappa Gowda but later on helps Parvatevva, the widow of Shankarappa Gowda to prefer an appeal with the proper authority for its annulment. When Padadaiah demands 5% share of the income generated in the distribution in the ‘taccavi’ loans, Sheshappa deserts him and joins Balacharya.

He assists Dada getting a bail on an assault case but when his position is threatened resorts to forgery to retain the same. He sincerely believed that raising money illegally was his conferred right. He never forgets even the minutest point concerning his office in the entire of his 15 years tenure. When the whole village was suffering and hundred died in cholera, Kulkarni thought it as an opportune moment to play havoc in the succession register and remains adamant even when questioned by the Mamaledar.

Sheshappa also took proper care of the ‘supply’ aspect whenever the Mamaledar or the Assistant Collector visited the village. But the burden of the expenditure is shifted to some one affluent in the village.
For all his misdemeanours, Sheshappa is suspended in the end and also is arrested on the charges of forgery. Balacharya uses all his religious clout on the Maharaja of Indupur, so that the latter, with his influence with the Assistant collector, saw to it that Sheshappa is released.

Another Kulkarni, Shyamarao, succeeds Sheshappa as per the roaster. Though as intelligent as Sheshappa, Shyamarao did not possess the latter’s greed and cunning. Shyamarao is shown as a sane and sober individual. He owed allegiance to Maharaja of Indupur, before taking over as Kulkarni of Padalli.

4. THE BUREAUCRACY

As seen earlier, both Gowda and Kulkarni reported to their superiors, the Fouzdar and Mamaledar respectively. The Fouzdar, equivalent to the present day Inspector of police has his duties cut out ie. the maintenance of law and order in the areas under his jurisdiction. Fauzdar Fakruddin Saheb is depicted as a ‘terror to the accused’, but a corrupt official whose visit to the village created panic among the residents. The author compares his visits to the village as ‘attacks of Ghazni Mohammed’ Corrupt to the core, Fakruddin expected a perfect reception through quality supplies of butter, fowl, alcohol and women. Armed with his constabulary, Fakruddin is cruel and despotic, more interested in making money rather than maintenance of law and order.

The Mamaledar (Presently known as the Tahsildar) is an official responsible for collection of revenues. His visit unsettles the situation at Padalli. Kulkarni becomes alert and takes precautions to see that the supply aspect is well taken care of with good quality ghee, cashew and dry grapes.
Krishnarao, the Mamaledar, expects that his visit to padalli should also serve his religious chores like the ‘Teertha Shraddha’ in the holy occasion of ‘Kanyagata’-an auspicious month as per the Hindu lunar calendar. The author ridicules his religious fervor in hilarious terms as under:

1. His was a belief that came naturally with his profession. If god existed then the collector too existed. If he disbelieves the existence of god today, he may have to disregard the existence of Collector tomorrow.  

2. How can the sins of Mamaledar remain when the floods are so strong in the river which can sweep the Mamaledar himself away?  

Krishnarao’s duties involved a general enquiry on the revenue related issues, verification of succession related issues and as a magistrate to conduct his court and award punishment on minor offences. Keen on supply aspect, Krishna Rao paid the services back by settling 5 cases as per the desire of the village leaders. The succession register was his main source of ‘income ’ which could not only wipe off the huge expenditure on Shraddha but benefit him financially. He is proud, temperamental and partisan in the dispensation of justice.

Jamabandi was the most accepted practice of survey and revenue settlements, wherein the revenue officials camped at the relative villages, dealt with various issues concerning the survey, revenue variations, and disputes regarding succession and also judicial issues. Higher the rank of the visiting official larger was the team accompanying him and therefore the ‘camp’ also became larger. The ‘supply’ aspect during a Jamabandi was an opportunity to the local officials who tried to win the favours of higher ranked officials. Several governmental regulations were in vogue to ensure
that the element of corruption was kept at the minimum 64 but it nevertheless continued to exist. It appears that there were several objections for the continuance of Jamabandi due to the element of corruption and extortion but officials continued to favour it. Ex: K. Chandy, revenue commissioner to the government of Mysore, advocated for the continuance of Jamabandi system ‘as government were the owners of the land, so long as the present system of survey continues, an annual or bienneial jamabandi would be necessary both in the interest of the government and the ryots.65

The Pranta Saheba, the present day Assistant Collector, was an Englishman named Gibson. He is known as a strict and rule oriented officer, who personally investigated the cases which aroused his suspicion. Not yet used to the country and its customs, Gibson failed to understand pertinent points concerning the social system as such. For example, he failed to understand the caste aspect in case of Shankarappa Gowda’s succession to Lingappa. Lingappa was a born Kuruba as per the birth records where as Shankarappa was a Lingayath. This ignorance prompts him award the succession in favour of Lingappa. Further, he is troubled by the sight of people paying obeisance to the child pontiff of Hirematha and orders that Padadaiah be restored to his original position in the Matha. These two decisions set a process of demoralization among the people of Padalli.38

The Fouzdar was assisted by his constables, the Mamaledar by his clerk and the Pranta Saheba by a Sirastedar named Jakkappa. The post of Sirastedar is still seen in the present day bureaucracy also.

There was rampant corruption in the system which was a known fact. The Fauzdar fleeces one hundred rupees (a big sum those days) from the
poor Sangappa for a simple lie the latter had told about the former’s buffaloe. The mamaledar does not hesitate to jail Dada expecting Parvatevva will bribe him adequately. The discussions between Gopala Rao and Sheshappa\textsuperscript{39} reveal that the officials do not feel an iota of remorse in demanding bribes. At the Taluka centres the situation was even worse. Gibson, the Pranta Saheb was an exception to this.

5. THE RELIGION

There are two religious institutions of significance in the novel. They are 1. Hire Matha headed by its pontiff Padadaiah and 2. The Gopala Krishna temple with which Balacharya had a close association.

The Hirematha, although represented by the Lingayath sect had almost all castes of the village under its influence. Intended originally to promote religion and to inculcate the spirit of divinity among the public, the Matha had a history of having been headed by pious and spiritualist pontiffs like Shivayogi Swamy. However, the present head Padadaiah was not only a debaucher but a scheming individual who took pleasure in involving himself in nefarious and destructive activities. The rape committed by him on innocent Chimana becomes a precursor to all tragedies that follow, culminating in the ultimate destruction that befalls on Padalli. Instead of being a religious centre, the Matha becomes a den for the opium and arrack addicts, a haven for criminals and a centre to hatch conspiracies against the opponents. Padadaiah’s famous miracle was to deeply inhale and with hold the opium smoke for 4-5 minutes and letting loose a cloud of thick smoke all around thereafter.\textsuperscript{40}
Padadaiah had his henchmen in servitude, obviously for the pleasures the Matha provided. Even those who did not agree with the pontiff could be co-erced to toe his line. Not that Padadaiah was directly benefitted by any of these misdemeanours, the resultant satisfaction—however vicarious—being his mission. He had following even in the highest levels of bureaucracy which, if used, could help Padadaiah to have his opponents arrested and jailed. At times he plays dual role to fulfill his mission:

‘That Bapusaheb is a mad fellow. This Padadaiah wants him to dance to his tunes. He says that he won’t allow any harm happening to Bapusaheb. But sends an anonymous letter and gets Fauzdar to the village for inspection. It is he who advised Bapusaheb to pay a bribe of two thousand rupees to the Fauzdar in order to get away in the case of Putala Bai’s suicide. And he accuses all of us for having taken bribe for hushing up Nana’s murder case. Now he advocates to record a false panchanama to hush up Putala’s case. There is no correlation between his words and deeds. How long should we tolerate this jugglery of his? Why at all should we tolerate?’

(An anguished Gowda giving his feelings a vent in front of his close associates).

Padadaiah is instrumental in having the grain in the silos of Gowda robbed, stealing the drought relief money the farmers received from the government, instigating people to rob-off the standing crops in Gowda’s fields, encourages Lingappa to take forcible possession of Gowda’s house, arranges to dig-up the already sown fields and countless such instances. He may be compared to the eye of a storm that devastates Padalli. When things
became too hot to manage he flees the scene so as to return at a later when things are settled.

Hire Matha is occupied by a child pontiff for a brief period. The boy is evicted once Padadaiah re-enters the scene.

Exactly opposite to the destructive genius of Padadaiah, there is Balacharya who is picturised as a devout and pious individual. He is the Raja Purohit to the maharaja of Indupur. His belief in the eternal aspect of Karma in an individual’s life is depicted as under:

‘Just as a path is made by repeated treading, we make our lives by indulging in Karma. The desire is something like a debt; debt means a duty to be performed. It is unethical to shy away from that duty. An act performed with desire is akin to marrying and having a wife. That debt has to be repaid.’

In his younger days Balacharya was no different from others. He too had taken active interest in the power politics of the village, partaken bribe on many an occasion, and had the influential in the village dance to his tunes during the good old days. But the rigours of life had mellowed him changing his approach towards life - particularly so after his son’s death.

Balacharya, despite his limitations such as not knowing Kannada script and not being adept in legal matters to name a few, sincerely tries to undo the injustices on the people by the powers that be. He had eternal faith in the scriptures, particularly Gita. A believer in ‘Niskama Karma’ (performing a duty without expecting a return), Balacharya renders yeoman’s service in fighting cholera through his herbal medicine and overcomes caste and religious restrictions in hiding Dada in the pooja room.
of his house. He had no hesitation in handing over Chimana’s child to a holeya.

Balacharya dies in a state of delirium, brought by the death of his wife and countless others in plague. The havoc unleashed by river Krishna on Padalli and subsequent hopes for resuscitation of life in near future, makes one feel nostalgic of his personality.

LAND HOLDINGS

As seen earlier, the village lands were distributed broadly in three power blocks. A third of the village land covering 120 survey numbers belonged to the Jahgirdars most of which was cultivated under the ‘lavani’ system save lands covering 10 survey numbers which were looked after by shiledar Nana on behalf of the Jahgirdars. There is a mention in the novel that servants had a free hand as regards to the cultivational activities of Jahgirdar’s lands. The news that even the lands under those 10 numbers are being given on rent to farmers for cultivation is unwelcome to the holeyas who worked for the Jahgirdar house hold. For others it was a welcome move so that they instead of being the servants will now be called as farmers.

Laxmi Bai’s decision to alienate the lands in favour of nephew, the Maharaja of Indupur, was an inevitable act if Bapusaheb is to be got rid of. Later, the Maharaja of Indupur waives off all the earlier dues and gives even the lands under the control of wade, for cultivation to tenants.

Shankarappa Gowda had in all 500 acres of land of which 200 acres were retained for cultivation by the Gowda house hold and the remaining 300 acres through tenants on crop sharing basis. The tenants remained loyal
Lingappa lays claim to 1/3 of lands belonging to Shankarappa Gowda by virtue of his succession to Gowda’s position. Small and marginal farmers held the remaining third of the village lands. However big, small and marginal the farmers were, every one depended on the mercy of rain god. As Irfan Habib puts it, ‘Individual peasant farming can never be egalitarian.’

The Hire Matha had 4 acres of land donated by the Gowda family for promoting religious activities.

Land was held in high reverence as Bhoomitayi. No farmer can ever think of robbing off the standing crops of another farmer let alone dig up an already sown land.

Owner cultivation and share cropping are the two patterns observed. Share cropping is named as ‘lavani’ or ‘kori’ systems. The exact share in the produce is not mentioned. However, as in vogue elsewhere, the share can be presumed 50:50. For the poor tenants, their masters were their demi-gods. They owed allegiance to their masters not under duress but by tradition.

The landless were reduced to serfs. They served the lords for wages in kind and lived at bare subsistence. Worst was the plight of holeyas and madigas who were not even allowed to work as agricultural labourers.

THE CASTE FACTOR
The society depicted in the novel is caste-ridden. The author’s foreword describes it aptly as under:

‘This is the picture of a society which is ridden by several castes and is comparable to a broken mirror…… I have no intension whatsoever to enlist the merits and demerits of those castes. To depict a man separate from his caste element is an ideal well cherished, but knowing well that such a picture will not be realistic, I have desisted from doing so.’

The caste hierarchy in the novel is typical of Indian society. Brahmin stood at the top as is the wont with Chaturvarna system. Balacharya, his brothers, nephews and relatives, Kulkarni Sheshappa, the old priest Hanumanthachari and such others occupied the top position. Conducting religious rites, in the temple, on the river banks and elsewhere was their domain. Also, the office of Kulkarni is meant for them by turns. They have a strong presence in the officialdom as well in positions such as the mamedadar, his clerk, the orderly and in the legal profession.

Kshatriya varna is represented by the Marathas. Jahgirdars- originally warriors are now divested of their Jahgiri and survive by cultivational activities through tenants. Some of the Marathas, Laxmana for example, have just enough to survive. The Marathas are physically strong and hardworking. Shiledar Nana single-handedly supervised the wade’s agricultural activities. Dada, a daring youth who is also wrestler, stands for truth and fights against injustice. In contrast, Bapusaheb- the Jahgirdar- displays a loathsome behavior. Yeshwant Rao, the Gowda of Ajarani and a Maratha by birth is a saner individual. The wives of Ranoji Rao, Laxmi Bai and Putala Bai, in their bickerings, lose the ‘Inam’ (Jahgir) and only with
the help of a nephew of Ranoji Rao, who is now the Maharaja of Indupur, are able to retain lands under 120 survey numbers. After the death of Putala Bai, Laxmi Bai transfers all her lands in favour of her late husband’s nephew, the Maharaja of Indupur. The Maharaja of Indupur has 78 villages under his control. His visit to Padalli becomes a historical event.

Save one marwadi, Balaram, the vysya community has practically no existence in the village indicating minimal trade activities and money transactions.

Among the sudras, it is the Lingayaths who dominated the village society. Gowda has large land holdings, and wielded power as a police patil. Padadaiah, the pontiff, is wily and a dangerous individual with intents of destruction.

There are several castes such as Kuruba, Talawara, Uppara, Badigera, Pinjara, Ambiga, Biradara, the names of them indicating mainly their profession. There is a mention of Katabas, a criminal tribe and Hulibyati Halabas who accompanied and assisted the Jahgirdars in their hunting activities. There is mention of a sole Jaina in the novel- Jainara Jinnappa-and a few muslims.

Nowhere in the novel the author has tried to attribute good or bad traits on the basis of castes. Some of the characters belonging to the same caste are poles apart in their behavior, style, intent and deeds. Balacharya and Sheshappa among Brahmins, Shankarappa and Padadaiah among Lingayaths and Dada and Bapusaheb among the Marathas bear testimony to this
UNCHABILITY

The untouchables in the novel are depicted in two categories namely, the Holeyas and Madigas. Holeyas largely owed allegiance to the Jahgirdar household and Madigas to the Gowda household. Landless, downtrodden and untouchable, they lead sub-human existence. Regular meals were hard to come by, they starved for longer periods. Pangs of hunger leads them to eat rotten grain resulting in the death of many of them.52 Their women are subjected to religious prostitution. They are asked to serve the visiting officials whatever be the state of their health and disposition.53

Holeyas preferred to work with the Jahgirdars as they had relative freedom there. They were not allowed to work in the fields of others, as farmers thought they are incapable of turning out good work. But the situation was different in Jahgirdar’s lands where they felt almost like owners.54 Naturally, they were apprehensive of losing their livelihood when the new incumbent to Jahgirdar’s property planned to distribute the lands on tenancy even the lands kept for wade’s own cultivation.55

Such was the dislike of the people towards the individuals of these two communities, people using foul language were compared to a holeya or a madiga.

EXPLOITATION

Severe exploitation of the poor, landless and serfs is observed in the novel. Firstly, they became mere pawns in the hands of power blocks and are forced, however illegal or immoral the deed was to obey their feudal masters. While the affluent had huge stocks of grain, the poor barely make do with their subsistence. During droughts, the poor consume rotten grain
and pay the price through their lives. Taccavi loans received by the government are stolen at Padappa’s behest. Sangappa is fined heavily by the Fouzdar for having told a petty lie about the death of a buffaloe.56

The women, mainly from dalit communities are subjected to sexual exploitation. Malli, panicky at the state of her bother’s health is not spared by the Fouzdar. Chimana falls prey to Padadaiah just as Danavva had earlier. Bapusaheb, otherwise an useless individual, is described as an expert woman-hunter. Kulakarni Sheshappa demands and takes his share from Jainara Jinnappa for having assisted in the legal process.

CONCLUSION

Rava Bahaddoora hailed from a village, had seen the village life from close quarters and being a farmer himself knew the nuances of a farmer’s life by experience. A visit to Hirepadasalagi proved useful to ascertain the veracity of the locations like the Chavadi (office to administer the village affairs), Agase (Main entrance to the village, Hirematha (a monastery), the Gopalakrishna temple, and such others which still exist. Remnants of the wade (camouflaged as that of Jahagirdars’ in the novel) can be seen to date. The residence of erstwhile Gowdas (also called as wade in the novel) still exude the grandeur of an important power centre, and the localities resemble the details provided in the novel. A good number of people, aged above 70-75 years vouch for the veracity of the story line and fondly remember one Dada Mutya (Dada, the old man), who resembled the valiant Dada of the novel. Some of them could also recall the epidemics like Plague and Cholera. The Gowdas, the Kulkarnis, the Halabas, Katabas, Holeyas, Madigas and such other communities mentioned in the novel have their
replicas in the village. A priest proudly claimed that he is the descendent (4th generation) of the Character Balacharya of the novel. Yet another individual proudly claimed that he is the direct descendent of the family of Jainara Jinnappa depicted in the novel.

Understandably, the novelist may have changed the names of the characters, deliberately highlighted or down-played the incidents, altered the sequences as well as story line to suit to his literary requirements. He humbly states in his preface to Gramayana (first edition) that what he wrote was a novel, not history but also indicating therein that every novel is based on the incidents in real life and to that extent he too has depended on it. This proves that the novel is not just a fiction but an intelligent compendium of real life incidents seen by the author from close quarters.
FOOT NOTES AND REFERENCES

2. Rava Bahaddoora in ‘Nanna maatu’ (author’s note) to Gramayana p-xviii
3. ‘সদৃশ ভাক্তি যেমন নৃসিংহের নিঃসরণনিম্ন। নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি হস্তে সরসরণনিম্ন। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম’ Rava Bahaddoora quoted in ‘Kannada sahitya kosha’ Ed. Rajappa Dalavayi pub.by Avisam 1998 p-120
4. Ibid
5. Rava Bahaddoora in ‘Nanna maatu’ (author’s note) to Gramayana p-xix
6. Title page, Gramayana
7. Gramayana p-2
8. K.D.Kurtakoti, preface to Gramayana p-viii
9. Rava Bahaddoora in ‘Nanna maatu’ (author’s note) to Gramayana p-xvii
10. K.D. Kurtakoti, preface to Gramayana p-viii
12. ‘করণ মৃত্যুর উচ্চস্বরে; কলমে লালে মমসঙ্গী। শৃণুত্তরে কলমে নিঃসরণনিম্ন, নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। সরসরণনিম্ন নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না। Rava Bahaddoora in ‘Nanna maatu’(author’s word) to Gramayana.
13. ‘নতুন শুভ্রামৃতী কেন কলমে নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না নিঃসরণকীর্তি। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম। নবজীণের নিঃসরণনিম্ন নৃসিংহের মৃত্যু না। অলোচ্য ক্ষুদ্রতে সন্ত তুমি তথ্যম।
15. Gramayana p-276
16. Gramayana p-6
17. Gramayana p-211
18. Gramayana p-27
19. Gramayana p-115
20. 'ಸ್ವತ್ತು ಇತರ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಮಾತ್ರದು ಅಸಹ್ಯ ಅನೇಕದ ಸಮಾಧಿ. ಸಮತ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯ ಭಾಗದ ಅನೇಕು ನೇರವಾಗಿ ಕೆಲಸ. ಸಮ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಮಾತ್ರದ ಅನೇಕು ಮಾತ್ರದಗಿ ಲೋಕದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯ ಮೂಲದ ಅನೇಕು ನೇರವಾಗಿ ಕೆಲಸ.' Gramayana p-1
21. Gramayana p-145
22. Gramayana p-83
23. 'ಸ್ವತ್ತು ಇತರ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಮಾತ್ರದು ಅಸಹ್ಯ ಅನೇಕದ ಸಮಾಧಿ. ಸಮತ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯ ಭಾಗದ ಅನೇಕು ನೇರವಾಗಿ ಕೆಲಸ. ಸಮ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಮಾತ್ರದ ಅನೇಕು ಮಾತ್ರದಗಿ ಲೋಕದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯ ಮೂಲದ ಅನೇಕು ನೇರವಾಗಿ ಕೆಲಸ.' Gramayana p-80
24. Gramayana p-125
25. 'ಸ್ವತ್ತು ಇತರ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಮಾತ್ರದು ಅಸಹ್ಯ ಅನೇಕದ ಸಮಾಧಿ. ಸಮತ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯ ಭಾಗದ ಅನೇಕು ನೇರವಾಗಿ ಕೆಲಸ. ಸಮ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಮಾತ್ರದ ಅನೇಕು ಮಾತ್ರದಗಿ ಲೋಕದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯ ಮೂಲದ ಅನೇಕು ನೇರವಾಗಿ ಕೆಲಸ.' Gramayana p-66
26. Gramayana p-67
27. 'ಸ್ವತ್ತು ಇತರ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಮಾತ್ರದು ಅಸಹ್ಯ ಅನೇಕದ ಸಮಾಧಿ. ಸಮತ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯ ಭಾಗದ ಅನೇಕು ನೇರವಾಗಿ ಕೆಲಸ.' Ibid
28. 'ಸ್ವತ್ತು ಇತರ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಮಾತ್ರದು ಅಸಹ್ಯ ಅನೇಕದ ಸಮಾಧಿ. ಸಮತ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯ ಭಾಗದ ಅನೇಕು ನೇರವಾಗಿ ಕೆಲಸ. ಸಮ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಮಾತ್ರದ ಅನೇಕು ಮಾತ್ರದಗಿ ಲೋಕದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯ ಮೂಲದ ಅನೇಕು ನೇರವಾಗಿ ಕೆಲಸ.' Gramayana p-190
29. Gramayana p-189
30. Gramayana p-195
31. Gramayana p-231
32. Gramayana p-83
33. Ibid
34. Gramayana p-238
35. Gramayana p-239
36. Gramayana p-230
37. Gramayana p-243
38. Gramayana p-300
39. ‘मांस भजन अँग नंज भजनमय।’ Gramayana p-243
40. Gramayana p-102
41. Gramayana p-109
42. ‘यद्रम एतिंगुं अंग अंगुं अंगुं अंगुं अंगुं अंगुं...’ Gramayana p-119
43. ‘उष्ण अंगाणु मांस अंगाणु मांस अंगाणु मांस अंगाणु मांस अंगाणु मांस...’ Gramayana p-69
44. Gramayana p-26
45. Gramayana p-66
46. Gramayana p-302
47. Gramayana p-217
48. Gramayana p-315
49. Gramayana p-145
50. Gramayana p-146
51. Author’s foreword to Gramayana p-xviii
52. Gramayana p-107
53. Gramayana p-106
54. Gramayana p-315
55. Gramayana p-398
56. Gramayana p-84
57. ‘ঋষি তথ্যাঙ্ক সংগ্রহে মহাবলক মহামু রূপধূপ সংহিতায়মাণঃ’ Gramayana p-64
58. ‘কেন্দ্র নির্মাণ, কেন্দ্র প্রদত্ত, কেন্দ্র প্রদত্ত কেন্দ্র প্রদত্ত মানুষের মানুষের মানুষের মানুষের মানুষের’ Gramayana p-364
59. Gramayana p-379
60. Gramayana p-30
61. ‘The Agraharas or a village consisting of Brahmana land lords were known as Mahajanas existed in medieval Karnataka’ K.S.Shivanna in his work ‘The agrarian systems of Karnataka’ Prasaranga, University of Mysore 1983 p-129
62. Irfan Habib in ‘The agrarian system of Mughal India 1556-1707’ Oxford University press, New Delhi 1999, p-135
63. Karnataka State Archives record no.193 of 1910. Many such cases also are on record vide KSA record no.s 211 of 1910, 34 of 1911 and so on.
64. Karnataka State Archives G.O. no.s 11805-53 LR 623-12-41 dt. 15-06-1916 Supplies to touring officials
65. Karnataka State Archives record no. 1074/GL/22-23 dt. 21-03-1923
66. Irfan Habib in ‘The agrarian system of Mughal India 1556-1707, Oxford University press, New Delhi, p-135