UNITED KARNATAKA

OR

A CASE FOR KARNATAKA UNIFICATION



Edited by:

THE SECRETARIES,
Karnataka Unification Sabha,
and
K. Un. Sul-Committee, K. P. C. G.
DHARWAR

1928

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FOREWORD

But for the peculiar circumstances under which this booklet is being printed and published I would not have added this foreword. Though the plan for writing such a book was laid as long ago as 1926 the necessary heat for the production had not yet come. To-day, more than at any other time, India is thinking of its constitution and Karnātaka feels called upon to place before the people its case for unification at this juncture, when a resbuffling is likely. Through this booklet Karnātaka claims justice and expects justice.

Though a number of brains have thought about the problems in this book, and though quite a number have actually written this book out, it goes into the hands of the public as the thought of Karnātaka as a whole.

Thanks are bowever due to Messrs, R. S. Hukerikar M. A., D. P. Karmarkar, M. A., LL. B., Vamanrao Dharwarkar B. A., but for whose assiduous industry and enthusiastic co-operation this book would not have seen the light of day. Special thanks are due to Messrs. Dharwarkar and Shriniwas Potdar for preparing the maps and giving us the blocks. Mr. Y. B. Jathar of the Karnātaka Printing Works, and his able manager Mr M. K. Joshi must be mentioned as having helped me in making the book available to the public so soon and in so nice a garb.

An exhaustive bibliography has been given at the end of the book, and we have also drawn largely on the 'Karnātaka Handbook' published in 1924 at the time of the Belgaum Congress.

GADAG,

20th September 1928

The Publisher.

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INTRODUCTION

TO

United Karnataka

THE PURPOSE

This booklet goes into the world with the name 'United Karnātaka' or 'A Case for Karnātaka Unification'. It is a title sufficiently descriptive of the aim with which it is written. The main purpose of this humble attempt is to prove, that it is absolutely necessary to form British Karnātaka, if not the whole of it, into a separate administrative province immediately, and to attach to it politically all the states in the Kannada area so far as it is possible to do so, making due allowance for the present treaty-relations of such states with the Government of India.

We have sought to achieve this purpose, by expressing our belief in the principle of linguistic provinces and proving that that is the only rational basis for the redistribution of provinces in India, by showing that the present dismembered parts of Karnātaka have a common past, a common language, the heritage of a rich culture, and a common desire to unite, by stating the disadvantages that accrue on account of its present disintegration, by refuting every objection urged against unification of the different

parts of Karnātaka, and by showing with the help of statistics and arguments that it is within the domain of practical politics to make Karnātaka a self-supporting separate province immediately. The book-let has been written, for consolidating and concentrating the public opinion of Karnātaka on this point by voicing our common aspiration in clear terms, for enlisting the sympathies of sister-provinces by showing how Karnātanka and India stand to lose if Karnātaka is kept as it is, and for convincing all concerned by proving the case for Karnātaka Unification clearly and definitely.

A Constitution for India

But before we proceed to consider the question of the redistribution of provinces and the unification of Karnātaka, a word or two must be said about the future constitution of the whole of India, because Karnātaka aims more eagerly at cordial inter-provincial relations within the borders of India, and a dignified status for it outside in the comity of nations, than at the unification of its own parts. The question of a constitution for India is as old as the establishment of the British power here. The British government has, no doubt, made changes from time to time to suit its own conveniences, and till 1885 i. e., the date of the birth of the Indian National Congress, non-official India may be said to have been altogether dumb about constitutions.

It is only since then, that many other political and semi-political organisations have sprung up and are trying to shape the political destinies of this country. Fortunately for India, public opinion has grown so strong today, that though the British government has been almost callous to it so long, a time has come when it will have to respond, if it wants to avoid a perpetual conflict between the rulers and the ruled, and if it aims at establishing peace and prosperity in the land.

We have today before us quite a heap of constitutions or materials for a constitution for India, right from the Montague-Chelmsford Report to the recent publication of the Sub-Committee of the All Parties Conference. As if in refutation of the groundless charge advanced by some critics, that Indians have no constructive schemes to suggest as regards a constitution for India, quite a number of eminent political thinkers in India have published such constitutions. Some of them are in the form of bills, others are only draft constitutions, still others are mere suggestions on important constitutional points. Most of the drafts are well-thought out and are the out-come of deep thought, real foresight, and an intimate sympathy with the inner throbbings of Indian aspirations. All the constitutions make very interesting reading indeed. But what concerns us most here is only what these constitutions have to say as regards, (1) the status of India, (2) the system of government and inter-provincial relations, and (3) the redistribution of provinces.

Dominion Status: the minimum demand

It is quite sufficient for our limited purpose here to state that almost all constitutions written up to this time are heading towards what may be called 'full responsible government' or 'dominion status'. There is a party, a strong party too, in India that wants complete independence. But, for being able to work in union with other parties, it is willing to go along with others and co-operate with them in securing the dominion status. It would be instructive to quote here a sentence or two from a few able and well-known writers.

We may begin by quoting the words of the historic pronouncement of Mr. Montague in August 1917. He said that the policy of the British Government was, 'the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India.' The proclamation of 25-12-1919, by His Majesty King George V while speaking of the Act of 1919 said, that it pointed 'the way to full responsible government hereafter' and 'to the right of her (India's) people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests'. The Independent Labour Party of England passed in 1927 a resolution drafted by

Mr. Fenner Brockway. It says.' 'We recognise the right of India to self-determination.....and ask the representatives of the Indian parties in the Legislative Assembly to submit a constitution for adoption.' Mrs. Beasant's Commonwealth of India Bill, Mr. A. Rangswami Iyengar's 'A draft Swarajya Consistution for India'. Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar's 'Swarajya Constitution', the 'Swarajya constitution' by Mr. S. Sreeniwas Iyengar and another by Mr. Hosakappa Krishnarao, and similar attempts by Sir Shivaswami Iyer, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, and Sir Abdur Rahim all point to the same thing, namely Dominion Status, whether they name it 'Confederation of India'. 'Commonwealth of India' or something else. The Nehru Committee of the All Parties Conference in its report published on 15-8-1928 declares that, 'India shall have the same constitutional status, in the comity of nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and the Irish Free State, with a parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of India, and an executive responsible to that parliament and shall be styled and known as the Commonwealth of India.

Towards Federal Democracy

After having seen what political thinkers have to say about the status of India, let us see what they

opine as regards the system of government and the provinces. The Motague-Chelmsford Report on the constitutional reforms already foreshadowed a clearly federal type of government when it said. Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sister-hood of states self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interests, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over these congeries of states would preside a Central government increasingly representative of and responsible to the people, dealing with matters both internal and external of common interest to the whole of India, acting as an arbiter in inter-state relations and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire', As Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer says briefly, 'in this passage there is found the germ of all the leafage and fruitage of Indian politics, provincial autonomy, linguistic provinces, a strong central government, a federation of various political nnits-and the constitution of a commonwealth equal in status to the self-governing dominions'. Mr. Rangswami Iyengar postulates, 'full provincial autonomy with the maintenance of a strong national commonwealth government'. Mr S. Sreeniwas Iyengar says, 'that a federal democracy is the best

safeguard against the springing up of ambitious oligarchies commercial or militarist'. Mr. Hosakoppa Krishnarao says that, 'the provinces and states should be free and autonomous in the Confederation of India'. Sir Frederic Whyte clearly favours a federation of provinces. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer also is for the federal system. The recommendations of the Nehru Committee point to the same thing.

Redistribution on linguistic basis

Thus after the consideration of the status of India and the system of government to be adopted, we come to the redistribution of provinces and that on a linguistic basis.

The present provincial division in India is admitted on all hands to be haphazard, unsystematic, artificial, and inconvenient. It does not follow any geographical, racial, or linguistic principle, nor has it been proved to be administratively convenient or successful. Every one knows that the political geography of India today is the result of historical causes. A leading Anglo-Indian journal, the Times of India, in its leading article 4-7-27. admitted that 'the present provincial boundaries are largely mere accidents of history'. There is no organic principle and no magnetic common bond that can bind the varied people of many of the existing provinces. Most of the writers thesefore proposa

that there ought to be a redistribution of provinces and that mainly according to the linguistic basis. Let us see what some of them have to say.

There is no greater advocate of linguistic provinces than Mr. Lionel Curtis who wrote before the Reforms scheme of 1919. While speaking of the present provinces (in his Letter VIII entitled 'Map of India') says, 'They are for the most part the artificial creations of a paternal and highly centralised government which has its mainspring in England. They were designed as the satrapies of a vast oriental dependancy.....it is of vital importance to consider now what the proper provincial units are to be, out of which the whole of the national fabric can be built.... The internal peace of India, generations hence, will depend upon the wisdom and foresight with which the areas of provincial Self-Government are planned in the initial stages of the new depar-While speaking of Bihar and Orissa he says, 'the defect of the present areas is that they are too mechanical. The province of Bihar and Orissa, for instance, combines communities with an almost cynical disregard of the differences between The plan suggested will remedy these un-This particular province would natural unions. fall naturally into three provincial states-Bihar with its population of 240 lacs, and Orissa and Chotanagpur with 50 lacs a piece. But Orissa itself ought

to be increased by the inclusion of those people of the same language and race who inhabit the northern extremity of Madras and the C. Provinces.'

Next when writing about the principle of redistribution he says, 'where possible, historic areas like Sind should be taken. But units of language, race and religion are also important factors, and language is the most important of all. The greatest obstacle to a real extension of popular government in India is the practice of conducting public business in the English tongue.....The use of the vernaculars in politics is essential if India is to advance towards responsible government, at any but the slowest pace. The areas of provincial governments must be designed largely, with a view to making it possible for public business to be discussed in a language, which all the legislators can speak with ease, and which the largest number of electors can understand..... The hope of popular government lies in its vernaculars.'

While speaking of the application of the principle he further says, 'If this experience is held in mind, can we really look forward to a United States of India within the British Common-Wealth, under which Sind and the Kanarese-speaking people are tied and bound into the same self-governing unit as the Marathas? Are not the Marathas themselves entitled to a state such as will perpetuate the tradi-

tions of that famous community? Are the Tamil and Telgu peoples of Madras to be given no separate institutions of their own? Are the Oriyas to be left dispersed amongst three provinces, the larger section being left under the permanent domination of the people of Bihar? To base responsible government on such units is not only to ignore the experience of the other dominions, but to violate the principles for which we are fighting in this war. You cannot base responsible government on units evolved on principles which are the antithesis of that system. You cannot graft figs on thorns or grapes on thistles.'

Now let us see what the Mont-Ford report itself says as regards this matter. The famous Report on Constitutional Reforms in its para 246, says that, 'we are impressed with the artificial and often inconvenient character of existing administrative units. We have seen how historical reasons brought them about. We cannot doubt that the business of Government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogeneous; and when we bear in mind the prospect of the immense burdens of government in India being transfered to comparatively inexperienced hands, such considerations acquire additional weight. It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic or racial units of government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legis-

lation in the vernacular, they would contribute to draw into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English. We believe emphatically that redistribution of provincial areas cannot be imposed upon the people by official action and such a process ought in any case to follow, and neither to precede nor accompany, constitutional reform. But we are bound to indicate our clear opinion that wherever such distributions are neces. sary and can be effected by process of consent, the attempt to do so should be made; and therefore we desire that it should be recognised as one of the earliest duties incumbent upon all the reformed provincial governments to test provincial opinion upon schemes directed to this end. In Orissa and Behar at all events, it seems to us that the possibility of instituting sub-provinces need not be excluded from consideration at a very early date '

In accordance with the principles laid down in these reccommendations, authority was given to the Viceroy in the Government of India Act 1919, section 52 A, to form new provinces, if the people of a particular area so wished. The Congress at Nagpur in 1920, was wise enough in regrouping provinces on a linguistic basis. Coming to more recent times, most of the writers on Indian constition have realised the importance of linguistic areas

and it will be interesting to see what some of them say. Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar makes provision for redistribution in his constitution, chapter VIII. and says, that a commission should be appointed to constitute provinces, regard being had to adminis trative conveniences and to the local sentiment that provinces should be formed on a linguistic basis. Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar in the preamble to his constitution says, that provision must be made for the redistribution of the boundaries of existing provinces, and in chapter XI again says, that the Indian Parliament, as soon as may be, shall appoint a commission for the purpose of making proposals for reconstituting the provinces on the basis of languagegroupings. Mr. S. Sreenivas Iyengar, who is a strong exponent of the cause says in the introduction to his constitution, that 'a rearrangement of provinces.....is necessary as well in the interests of a decisive reduction of expenditure as in the interests of an accelerated democracy..... on the whole, the linguistic basis is the safest for the proper functioning of Indian democracies, and for the minimising of intercommunal friction. It is the natural solvent of religious and communal differences, and is amongst the most powerful of unifying agencies.' Under the heading 'New Provinces' he further lays down that provinces be constituted on the basis of language-grouping.

But more important and weighty than the opinions of individuals belonging to different political groups is the opinion of the Nehru Committee published on the 15th of August 1928. It is a document which must command respect from every thinker in India and in England. The All Parties Conference consisting of representatives from no less than 34 political and semi-political organisations appointed a Sub-Committee of nine persons viz, Pandit Motilal (Chairman), Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Ali Imam, Syt. Prdhan, Syt. Shuaib Qureshi, Syt. Subhash Chandra Bose, Syt. Madhavarao Aney, Syt. M. R. Jayakar (who resigned on account of ill-health), Syt. N. M. Joshi, and Sadar Mangal Singh, on May 19, 1928. After consultations with eminent Indian leaders such as, Dr Ansari, Pandit Malaviya, Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Dr. Kitchlew and others, and after about 25 sittings they have been able to put before the public this unanimous report,

Nehtu Committee and redistribution

While speaking alout the redistribution of provinces they say that, 'every one knows that the present distribution of provinces in India has no rational basis. It is merely due to accident and the circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India. As a whole, it has little to do with geographical or historical or economic or linguistic

reasons. Even from the purely administrative point of view, it is not a success. It is clear that there must be a redistribution of provinces...... What principles should govern this re-distribution? Partly geographical and partly economic and financial, but the main considerations must necessarily be . the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned. It is well-recognised that rapid progress in education as well as in general culture and in most departments of life depends on language. If a foreign language is the medium of in struction, business, and affairs, the life of the country must necessarily be stunted. No democracy can exist where a foreign language is used for these purposes If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area..... Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions, and of literature.....The National Congress recognised this linguistic principle 8 years ago and since then, so for as the Congress machinery is concerned, India has been divided into linguistic provinces.'

Again when thinking of giving practical effect to the linguistic principle they say, 'Another principle which must govern a redistribution of provinces is the wishes of the people concerned. We who talk of self-determination on a larger scale cannot in reason deny it to a smaller area, provided of course, this does not conflict with any other important principle or vital question......Thus we see that the two most important considerations in rearranging provinces are the linguistic principle and the wishes of the majority of the people. A third consideration, though not of the same importance, is administrative convenience, which would include the geographical position, the economic resources, and the financial stability of the area concerned.'

Nehru Committee and Karnataka

Then coming to Karnātaka, whose case they were kind enough to study in detail, they say, 'The case for the Karnātaka was placed before us by a representative of the Karnātaka Unification Sangh and the Karnātaka Provincial Congress Committee. It had been ably prepared with a wealth of information, historical, cultural, and statistical. All our questions were answered satisfactorily and in our opinion a strong prima facie case for unification and the formation of Karnātaka as a separate province was made.........Parts of the Karnātaka lie in Indian States, notably Mysore, and there are obvious practical difficulties in the way of uniting these with the rest. It might also not be convenient to unite the small islands of the Karnātaka on the other

side of Mysore territory as these would be cut off from the Karnātaka proper by Mysore. But even so a sufficiently large area remains..... Financially the position of the Karnātaka was very strong and even at present there was a considerable surplus in the British part of the Karnātaka. Finally they recommended that, 'parts of Karnātaka, except the small islands on the other side of the Mysore territory, should be separated from the provinces in which they are at present included and formed into a single separate province.'

Conditions for redistribution

Now, if we review all that we have written so long, we clearly see that a dominion status for India in the comity of nations, a federal system of government or a federal democracy as Syt. Sreenivas Ivengar suggestively calls it, and a redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis, are the marked and common features of them all. We are not called upon to express our opinion here as regards the first two features, but we fully agree with the last principle, namely that as regards linguistic provinces, and we shall deal with it alone and apply it to the province Karnātaka. However, before stating the case for Karnātaka unification, we must see what circumstances are necessary for a revision of the boundries of a province. Though most have agreed generally to a redistribution of provinces on linguistic lines, very few seem to have gone deeper and laid down clearly the conditions that ought to be present before any such redistribution is granted. Let us make an attempt to state some of the most necessary conditions.

We think that the very first condition is, that the people who demand such a revision of boundaries must have a distinct cultured language with a past and a future, together with a strong language or race-consciousness, which has not died inspite of adverse circumstances and which is sure to persist in the future. The next thing is that such a people should have real grievances under the present arrangements. The grievances are certainly likely to be keener if the people are scattered in more than one province. The grievances may be either in the form of lack of scope and opportunity for the people of the same language or race living under different adminstrations to come together for fostering their language and traditions, for developing their resources, for manifesting their special racecharacteristics, or in the form of a dominnance of the majority linguists in the province in which the former are in the minority. The grievance might he said to be specially keen when the minority is a helpless and a hopeless minority, and has absoutely no chances of showing itself at its best, either on account of its being treated unsympathetically by the

majority or when it is comparitively more backward than the majority or when the majority has certain strong prejudices against it. In short, if the present boundaries are a real handicap on the development of a certain linguistic group and if the redistribution is kikely to help them to come out with the best they have as an offering at the feet of Mother Ind, then there can be said to be a real grievance which ought to be removed both in the interest of the particular group and in the wider interests of the nation.

When a distinct literary language as aforesaid exists, when there is a strong linguistic or racial consciousness accompanying it, and when the people speaking that language have a real grievance, then the next thing necessary is a genuine demand for a redistribution on the linguistic basis. The demand should come from at least a two-thirds majority and the case is very strong if it is practically unanimous. Even when all these conditions are fulfilled there are what are called practical considerations and they are as important as any that we have so long treated.

The proposed unification or separation must be a practical proposition, that is the size and population of the proposed province should not be ridiculously small, the area should be contiguous as far as possible and above all the new province should be in a position to support itself and be willing to bear the burden of fresh taxation if necessary.

The Reason of it

We hope that every one would easily appreciate the reason of the conditions laid above, which must be ful-filled before the revision of any provincial boundary is taken in hand. If these conditions are not laid down there would be no end to languagegroupings in India, as according to scholars, there are no less than 252 languages in India. The language principle would, in the absence of the above conditions be as ridiculous as the communal principle itself. No people who speak dialects or sub-languages and no people who have no strong and irrepressible language-consciousness can or should really claim separation or unification. Unless there is such a consciousness there is no danger of such a group being permanently dissatisfied and disaffected which is like a chronic disease to a body politic. People speaking dialects and sub-languages, should in the interest of the nation, foster a love for their mother language and try to develop it rather than their own dialect. If a language-group is sufficiently big in a province and can develop without any handicap, it need not specially try for regrouping unless it has its fellow-linguists in the neighbouring provinces or unless it has some special grievance. And then there is no meaning in a few people belonging to a language-group asking for a separate province. The demand should be a formidable one. Then comes the

practical view of things. Unless an area and its population is capable of and willing to shoulder the responsibilities of a modern state, there is no meaning in a demand for a separate province. Above all the fresh province should not be in the plight of a son that demands separation from his father, but has to take up immediately the begging bowl for his very maintenance.

Does Karnataka fulfill conditions?

In view of the above observations let us examine the case of Karnataka. If we take the present-day Karnātaka, meaning thereby the whole tract occupied by Kannada speaking people (they number 10, 374, 204 in the whole of India), it is distributed mainly among five administrations, namely, the Bombay and Madras presidencies, the province of Coorg, the states of Mysore and Hyderabad (Dn). Then there are the smaller states of Kolhapur. Sangli, Miraj, and Aundh which claim very small portions of Karnātaka, while Jamkhindi, Mudhol, Ramdurg, Savanur, Jath, Akkalkot, Kurundwad, Sondur, Daflapur etc. lie wholly or mostly within its boundaries. Since we are considering the problem of the states here as subject to the treaty relations of those states with the government of India, let us only be satisfied with saying, that they should be attached to the future province of Karnataka so for as those relations allow them to be so attached. Let us examine more closely the position of British Karnātaka.

We see that British Karnātaka is divided among these administrations: the Bombay presidency has the + districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur and Karwar together with the taluka of Sholapur and about 50 villages of the district of Satara; the Madras presidency has the 3 districts of Mangalore, Bellary, and Nilgiris, the talukas of Madagsira (dist. Anantpur), Kollegal (dist. Coimbatore), Hosur and Krishnagiri (dist. Salem), and the small province of Coorg. Let us see if this British Karnātaka satisfies the conditions laid down by us for regrouping the provinces on language-basis.

It is impossible within the short space at our command in this Introduction to state in detail the claim of Karnātaka for a separate province. For that, we will have to refer the readers to the book itself. We shall have to be satisfied here with a brief summary of the case.

Karnataka needs and deserves unification

Let us take the conditions we have laid down one by one. None can deny that the Kannada language, which belongs to the Dravidian stock and is spoken by 10,374,204 (1921 census) people, which has a rich literature at least as old as the 9th century when king Nripatunga (814-870 a. D.) wrote his famous

Kavirajamarga on poetics, which can boast of a thousand poets whose varied works are today either available or mentioned, which today publishes 100 different journals, is a distinct language with a high pedigree and a great future. We can with equal emphasis say that Karnataka has a common past history going back at least to the 2nd century A. L. The oldest Kannada inscription is dated 199 A.D. (vide Mythic Society's Journal, May, 1928). The Gangas of Talkad (Mysore) ruled from the 3rd to the 11th century A. D. in Gangawadi. Then we have a long line of dynasties chief among whom may be mentioned, the Kadambas of Banavasi in N. Canara (250-550 A. D.), the Chalukyas of Badami in Bijapur (550-750 A. D.), the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed in Nizam's dominions (753-997 A. D.), the western Chalukyas of Kalyan in the Nizam's dominions (973-1190 A. D.) the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra in Mysore (1147-1310 A. D.), the famous Sangama, Tulu, and other dynasties of Vijavanagar in Bellary (1336-1565 A. D.), and the Odeyars of Mysore (1400-1928 a. D. with two breaks.) Among others may be recorded the Yadavas, the Keladi, Haleri, and Nilgiri Nayaks, and the Rattas. The whole epigraphical wealth of Karnātaka consisting of at least 10000 undeciphered inscriptions are yet to give us all details. But it is now clear that some of the most eniment of the

Karnātaka kings, like Satyashraya Pulkeshi, Vikramankadeva, Nripatiunga, Bittideva, Krishna, Krishna devaraya and others ruled over most of the country now known as Karnātaka and much more.

The culture of Karnātaka is also something of which any one would be justly proud. Of the three great architectonic builders of the Vedantic systems Madhwa was born in Udipi, Ramanuja prospered in Dorasamudra, and Shankara established his greatest portifical seat in Shringeri. Basava the reformer, Vidyaranya the Vedic scholar and saint-politician, the bhaktas Purandar and Kanaka, are all names to conjure with There is also an inspiring and ennobling literature, there is the architecture and sculpture of Belur, Halebaid, Vithalswami temple, of Shravanabelgola and Karkal and of Boligumaj. Then Karnātaka can boast of a distinct system of music known throughout India as the Karnātaki system.

Next we have to see if the Karnātaka people have a strong language or race-consciousness today. The history of the unification movement provides ample evidence of such a growing consciousness. The movement started earlier than 1880, apparently for the advance of Kanarese literature; but now it has developed into an All-Karnātaka agitation supported by every organisation and every journal in the province. The people have been more active since 1918 when they sent mamorials to Mr. Montague

demanding unification. 800 delegates attended the Nagpur Congress in 1920 when Karnātaka was given a separate Congress Circle. In 1921 they tried hard and reclaimed Bellary which had been claimed by the Andhras. In 1925, they fought hard against the inclusion of Bellary in the Andhra University jurisdiction. In 1928, they sent a representative to the Nehru Committee for demanding Unification. Thus the people of Karnātak have an irrepressible language-consciousness which is growing in volume and intensity everyday.

Grievances of Karnataka

Now let us see if there are any real grievances from which the Kannada people are suffering. There is no doubt that they have such grievances. province which was homogeneous for more than a thousand years has been now split up. Its people are in the hopeless minority of 19 and 6 percent respectively, in the Bombay and Madras presidencies, and the Kanarese districts form tail-ends in both the administrations. They are furthest from the capital towns. Communications and education have been grievously neglected and but for missionary effort S. Canara would have been as backward in education as N. Canara and both as backward as other parts of Karnataka. For a High court and for a University Karnātakas have to run to Bombay and Madras where their language has but scant

respect. There is hardly one man to represent Kannada in the Senate of the Bombay University. No such things can be said of Coorg but it suffers, by being too small, from the predominance of European planters, and from a system of government which is antediluvian. Karnātaka has been clamouring for a port at Bhatkal in order to have an outlet to the sea for the development of her commerce, but the demand goes unheeded like many such demands of Karnātaka. Karnātaka contributes about 48 lacs of rupees in excess of what is spent on her and yet irrigation and agricultural improvement are at a discount here. The majority languages are encroaching on Kannada and during the last census-decade she has lost about 2 lacs. Thus the present divisions are a real handicap to the natural development of the language, the arts, and industries of the people of Karnataka.

There is also other evidence which clearly proves that Karnātaka feels the need for unification. Bombay and Madras Karnātakas are drawn to each other by language though they are divided by administrative interests. But inspite of all this, they are trying hard to come together by calling All-Karnatāka conferences. The present disintegration alone seems to stand in the way of progress. Since the Congress gave Karnātaka a separate circle in 1920, a number of All-Karnātaka conferences have been held. In May 1928, the 5th Political Conference,

the 4th Bhagini-mandal conference, the 3rd Karnātaka Unification Conference, the 2nd Hindi conference, the 1st Khadi Conference were held in Dharwar; in July, the 3rd Ayurveda Conference met in Mangalore; in August, the 3rd Karnātaka Seva Dal Conference, the 1st Merchants' conference, the 1st Journalists' conference, the 3rd Gorakshana Conference, were convened. In June, the 14th Sahitya Sammelana held its sessions in Gulburga. All these efforts point to the conclusion, that Karnātaka is alive to the dis-advantages of its dismemberment and is trying its best to organise its activities on the language-basis.

A unanimous demand

Karnātaka has long since hit upon the root-cause of all its ills and has been trying to remove it from the year 1917, when the Karnātaka Sabha was first started. The demand for Karnātaka unification has been unanimous. Every newspaper in Karnātaka-including those in the states stand for it and advocate it. The 6 All-Karnātaka political conferences, held since 1920, and the 3 Karnātaka Unification conferences since 1924, have passed unification resolutions unanimously. Besides these, the Veerashaiva Mahasabha held in Bangalore in December 1927, the Merchants conference held in August last in Bagalkot, have demanded unification. The Local Boards of all the Bombay Karnātaka districts, and of Mangalore, many Taluka Local Boards

as well as a number of municipalities have passed such resolutions and sent them to the Government. A general manifesto signed by 34 leaders of Karnātaka representing all districts, all castes, creeds, interests, and all political opinions, was issued in 1927 to the public, asking them to sign a declaration to the effect that they desired unification. A questionaire issued to about 200 gentlemen in Karnātaka brought in 125 replies, only one being against unification. Thus whatever the other differences, the unanimity of Hindus and Mussalmans, the Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins, the uon-co-operators and the loyalists of Karnātaka, in demanding unification is, it can be said, almost embarrassing.

A practical proposition

After these preliminaries, we come to the practical view of things. Though Karnātaka is an area linguistically very alive, and though it demands unification with one voice in order to remove its own grievances, is it a sufficiently big area, has it a sufficiently big population, is its territory contiguous, is it likely to be a convenient unit of administration, and above all, is it financially self-supporting? We can with confidence reply in the positive to all these questions. We demand to-day the unification of the 8 districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, Karwar, Mangalore, Bellary, Coorg, and Nilgiri and the five outlying talukas of Kollegal,

Hosur, Krishnagiri, Madagsira, and Sholapur. Their total area is 35,408 sq. miles and population is 63,57,762. With this area and population they can make a bid for independence, much more reasonably can they claim a separate province. We draw the attention of the readers here to Apps. A. B. and C. Except the district of Nilgiri and the four talukas Kollegal, Hosur, Krishnagiri and Madagsira, the whole territory is contiguous, (vide map); and even that district and those talukas can be approached through Kannada territory namely, Mysore.

Aspecial word must be put in as regards the contiguity of the portions of British Karnatak. No doubt, the talukas of Kollegal, Hosur, Krishnagiri, and Madagsira in Appendix A and the district of Nilgiri are not strictly contiguous to other parts. But really speaking it is a continuous Karnataka province. While passing either from South Canara or from the southern end of the Dharwar district or from Coorg to the above-named parts, we have to traverse parts of Mysore. But Mysore, except in administrative matters, is fully Karnātaka in language, history, culture, and sympathies. So including them in the future province of Karnātaka is at the worst, inconvenenient and a little more expensive than if they were contiguous. But even today small states like Sangali, Jamakhandi etc. are administering certain of their portions which

are far-flung and Bombay itself is administering Sind across the many intervening states. So we are willing and ready even at a great inconvenience and some cost to have our distant brothers in language and culture, within the fold of the Karnātaka Province.

There is no question about the other parts as they are actually contiguous and the greatest distance from one end to the other will not be more than 400 miles. So the future province of Karnātaka will be a compact body, and very convenient for administration in contrast with the leviathan-like huge longish block of the Bombay presidency stretching from Sind to Karwar.

The last but the most important point is about finances. Can Karnātaka support itself? By all means. Let us study Apps. D. E. and F. Even leaving aside the income of the outlying talukas, D gives us a clear surplus of Rs. 48 lacs per year. Now if we run a Government of our own, we may at the most require what Bombay at present requires, namely 33 lacs for the provincial establishment. Add to it a sum of 12 lacs to be spent on jails and justice and still 45 lacs would be the utmost required. Assam manages with 260 lacs per year. Karnātaka with 250 lacs can as well do it. And there are great possibilities of development for Karnātaka. A coast-line railway, a port at Bhatkal.

the use of Gersoppa and other falls for producing electricity, a better irrigation system are all sure to increase the revenues of Karnātaka in the immediate future.

So Karnātaka satisfies every condition almost in every detail, and if any people today need unification most, and deserve a separate province immediately, it is the Karnātaka people.

Objections answered

After answering some of the objections against redistribution on linguistic basis and after a final appeal to all for supporting the cause of Karnataka unification, we mean to close this small brochure.

There are fortunately none so senseless in India as to oppose redistribution altogether. Objections are however raised against redistribution on linguistic basis in general, and against Karnātaka unification in particular. Though most objections have been indirectly answered by the constructive side of our case for K. Unification, we shall examine briefly what our opponents have to say. We have come across only two main objections against a linguistic basis in redistributing provinces. The one is that language is not so binding a chord nor so permanent a characteristic. We have to say in reply that whether a language-bond is sufficiently strong or attractive depends upon the love that a particular

people cherish for their language. The history of Ireland and Italy, of Alsace-Lorraine and Bengal shows that the bond of language is as strong as that of adamant.

The other objection is, that it promotes too much provincialism. But provincialism is not an evil attendant only upon linguistic provinces. Provincialism and parochialism are evils which must be fought by sound nationalism.

The objections urged against Karnātaka unification may be summed up as: (i) Karnātaka has no distinct culture, no racial unity, and no cultural affinity among its people; (ii) it has no common history and was never a single province; (iii) Kannada is not the only language in Karnātaka; (iv) Karnātaka has no disadvantages now; (v) it is too small in area and in population; (vi) it is not contiguous; (vii) it has the problem of states; (viii) it has no good communications, no capital towns, no great personalities, no port; and (ix) it cannot be self-supporting. Though the list seems to be a pretty long one, many of the objections are self-condemned and have been already answered. The first two objections are the result of ignorance about the people and their history. One who goes through 'United Karnātaka' will feel the force of this remark. Nobody has denied the fact (iii). There are other languages, but Kannada is the most predominant and is 75 per cent on an average. As to (iv) the disadvantages have been already dealt with. (v) and (vi) These have been answered. (vii) It is no problem as what we demand immediately is the unification of British Karnātaka only. (viii) This is an example of an argument in a circle. It is exactly because we want to improve our communications, to build a port, to have better opportunities, and to show our best, that we are demanding a separate province. (ix) This has been refuted by Appendix D.

An Appeal

This is the case for Karnātaka unification. Let facts, figures, and arguments speak more than mere sentiments. The Congress has already given a separate circle in 1920. The Nehru Committee has upheld the cause though it has wrongly withheld the so-called 'islands'. Now we appeal in the name of Karnātaka and India, to the people of Karnātaka to consolidate their strength, to the people of other provinces to sympathise with our aspirations, to the leaders of all provinces and parties to make this cause their own and fight to the finish, and see that Karnātaka comes to its own and plays its legitimate part in serving Bharat Mata.

NOTE

Unanimity of Demand

The following is the list of public men in the Karnātaka who signed the manifesto referred to on page xxvii. They represent all castes, creeds, interests and all shades of political opinion.

- (1) Sjt. P. R. Chikodi, B. A., Belgaum M. T. C. Bom.
- (2) Rao Bahadur S. T. Kambli, B. A., LL B.,
 Dharwar M L. C. (Bom.) Ex-President
 (1924-26) K. Un. Sabha. Now (1926-29)
 Deputy President, Bombayt, L. C.
- (3) , V. N. Jog, LL. B., Dharwar, M. L. C., (Bom.)
- (4) " A. Rangnath Mudliar, B. A., Bellary, M. L. C. (Madras) Ex-minister (1926-28).
- (5) , D. V. Belvi, B. A., LL. B., Belgaum, M. L. A.
- (6) " C. C. Hulkoti, B. A., LL. B., Dharwar, President D. L. Board, and Dharwar Municipality.
- (7) , A. F. I. Pathan, Pleader, Ex-President, Dharwar Municipality.
- (8) , Rao Bahadur B. L. Patil, B. A., LL. B., Ex-President (1926) Dharwar Municipality.
- "S. V. Kowjalgi, B. A., LL. B., President,
 Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee.
- (10) , Karnad Sadashivarao, LL B., Mangalore.
- (11) " B. Bhimarao, B. A., B. L., Bellary.
- (12) " Sardar Mahabuh Allikhan, Hubli. Ex-M. L. A. (1923-26), M. L. C., Bombay.
- (13) ", Rao Saheb P. G. Halkatti, B. A. LL B.,
 President (1928) K. Unification Singha.
- (14) ... Rao Saheb Channabasappa Shirahatti, Hubli.

XXXIV

- Hardekar Manjappa, Kulapati, Veershaiva Vidyalaya, Almatti (Dist. Bijapur).
- (16) , Shankargouda Patil, B. A. LL. B., President (1926-28), D. L. Board, Bijapur.
- (17) .. Narayanrao Joshi, B. A. LL. B. Belgaum.
- (18) " Hanmantarao Savanur, L. M. & S., Belgaum.
- (19) A. P. Chougule B. A. LL B., Belgaum.
- (20) , Rao Bahadur Artal Rudragoda, I. S. O.
- (21) Rao Babadur S. N. Angadi, B. A. LL. B. Belgaum M. L. C. (Bom.), President (1927-28)D. L. B.
- (22) Sit. P. T. Kushalappa, M. L. C. (Coorg).
- (23) , C. N. Venkappayya, B. A. B. L. Mercara, M. L. C. (Uoorg).
- (24) , M. D. Karki, LL. B., Karwar, M.L.C. (Bom).
- (25) Rao Saheb B. M. Basarur, Land Lord, N. Canara.
 - (26) Sjt. S. M. Kalayanapurkar, LL. B., N. Canara.
 - (27) , Sangappa Desai, Rakkasagi, Bijapur, M. L. C. (Bom).
 - (28) , M. G. Gopi, President, D L. B., N. Canara.
 - (29) Dr. Y. G Nadgir, M. S. Syndie. (Bom. Uni).
 - (30) Sit. J. A. Saldhana, Mangalore, M. L. C. (Madras).
 - (31) , A. B. Shetti, Mangalore, M. L. C., (Machas).
 - (32 , K. R. Karnath, B. A. B. L., Mangalore, M. L.C. (Mad).
 - (33) " Dr. U. Ramrao, Udipi, Member of the Council of State.
 - (34) Gangadbarrao Deshpande, Land Lord, Rec. Com. Chairman, Belgaum Congress.



Gersappa (N. Cunuru)-Gersappa Falls-view

United Karnataka

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY

To those who already believe that the redistribution of Indian provinces on a linguistic basis is necessary in the larger provincial and national interests, this chapter is intended to serve as a geographical description of Karnataka, the British portions of which are immediately sought to be formed into a single province. It aims at proving. to others that Br. Karnataka has all the elements—so far as physical characteristics are concerned—necessary for the formation of an independent province. Even to a casual observer it is obvious that the disintegration of Karnataka has delayed its progress in almost every branch of activity. Such progress can only result from the combined offorts of a whole group of homogeneous people. Far more disasterous than any economic loss incurred by such disintegration is the break in the cultural tradition which it was Karnataka's privilege to create and foster in the past, and which, if united, Karnataka can even to-day revive and rejuvenate and thus contribute her humble mite to the cultural achievements of India.

Every one has a right to be proud of his own province. The Bengalee stands up for his dear Vangabhumi. The Maharashtrian thinks that there is no province like Maharashtra. So does the Kannadiga cherish love for his Karnataka Mata. And there are special reasons why the Kannadiga should so love his land. His is a fertile tract watered by the holy rivers of the Krishna, the Kaveri, the Tungabhdra and blessed with a temperate climate.

A glance at the map of India will show us that the little province of present-day Karnataka or .Kannada speaking tract lies in the centre of the Deccan and attetches between latitudes, 11° N & 19° N and longitudes 74° E & 78° E. (Vide map in the History of Karnataka by V. R. Katti). Its greatest length north to south is 500 miles and that from east to west is 250 miles. It covers an area of about \$5,000 sq. miles. The shape of Karnataka is like a curved cucumber. The Godavari otherwise called Vriddha Ganga and the Bhima rivers run along its northern border. The Marathi portions of Satara and Sholapur districts of the Bombay Presidency and the Osmanabad district of Nizam's 'dominions form the northern boundary. A little curved line starting from Kalyan (Nizam's domi-'nion) and running southwards touching at the iunction of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, then crossing the Madras territory on the east of Bellary

and running along the east of Mysore State up to the Kaveri, forms the eastern boundary. The Nilgirls form the southern boundary. The Arabian Sea itself is the western boundary. Thus the Kannada speaking tract lies to-day closely packed between the Godavari, the Nilgirls, the Arbian Sea, and the Eastern Ghats.

If we look at a linguistic map we shall find Karnataka surrounded by Maharashtra in the North, Andhra (Telgu) and Tamil Nadu in the east and the south and by Kerala (Malayalam) in the southwest.

Nature has divided Karnataka into three divisions. (1) The coastal plain, (2) The mountain region of the Western Ghats (3) The plain country. called Bailuseeme in Kannada. The coastal plain runs all along the western side with a varying width of 10 to 60 miles. Its height rises up to about 600 feet and the soil is sandy. The mountain region of the Western Ghats runs from north to south. The ghats are on an average 3000 feet above sea-level and run almost without a break keeping close to the sea. They form a steep brink of the Deccan plateau over-looking the Malabar Coast. There are some important peaks in the south, viz, Bababudangiri, (6214 ft.), Koduremukha, (6215 ft.) and Mullayngiri (5317 ft.) all in the Kadur district. The Nilgiri range which forms our southern boundary runs from east to west. Its average height is 6500 ft. The highest peak is Doddabetta which is 8642 ft. This region forms a beautiful plateau and has some sanitoriums and health-resorts like. Otacamund and Connoor. The Ghat region or Malnad is covered with a thick forest and presents beautiful scenery and is a valuable asset to the state-revenue. The plain commonly called Bailuseeme or Belval is the region occupying the greater portion of our province. The land gently slopes towards the east to a second lower brink called the Eastern Ghats. This region is quite unlike the coastal plain. It is not smooth and flat but is a table-land raised 1.000 to 3000 ft. and broken up into many river valleys. A few small hills may also be seen here and there all over the country.

Geologists tell us that this region of the tableland is one of the oldest parts of the earth's surface and was formed millions and millions of years ago, by the molten rock or lava due to a volcanic eruption. Nature however, began its work of denundation and the rivers wore down the soft rocks. The hard rocks which resisted this rubbing down process remained to form flat-topped hills and mountains. The lava disintegrates into a tenacious black soil which does not form into dust during the dry season but cracks into great blocks which retain moisture. This remarkable earth is known as the Black Cotton Soil and according to some scholars the name Kare-nadu or Karnataka owes its origin to it.

From a geological point of view the soils may be divided into two main classes, the red and the black. The red soils are primary soils, for they are the direct result of the decomposition of iron-bearing rocks. The black soils are secondary soils, that is, they are the result of primary decompositions changed by the accession of organic matter.

The black soil covers most of the plain and is best suited for the growth of cotton, indian millet or jawari, wheat and gram. The alluvial soil of the Krishna valley is of unusual richness. The red soil is found on the west on the border of the Sahyadris, and is mostly coarse and poor.

The climate of Karnataka is a temperate and salubrious one. However, it is not the same throughout the whole province, since the Arabian sea, the Western Ghats and the monsoon winds affect it differently in different places. The South-west monsoons blow from June to October and bring heaviest rainfall to the coastal plain of North and South Kanara, the average being 130 inches. The amount of rainfall decreases as we go up the Ghats and proceed to the east. On the top of the Ghats it amounts to about 80 inches. Further east it decreases to 35 inches on the border of the Ghats

and in the plain or Bailuseeme it is the least, i. e., 20 inches. The west coast and the Ghats get regularly the S. W. monsoon rains. The plain or Bailuseeme, however, gets the N. E. monsoon rains as well between October and February. The people of the plain depend mostly upon this rain for rabi crops (Hingari). The rain amounting to even a few inches at the proper season is sufficient to give them the yearly yield. Such is the fertility of the good soil.

The average temperature of Karnataka varies between 75 to 80 degrees F. This does not mean that it is the same in all places. The difference between the minimum of winter and the maximum of summer increases as we go from the west coast to the eastern plain. (Gazetteer of Bombay Karnataka, 1893, page 21).

The climate in the tract on the banks of the Krishna river is very healthy. The people there are strong and hardy. The dry climate puts vigour into the people.

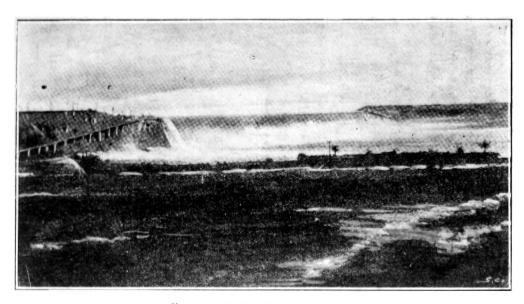
There are two water-sheds in Karnataka namely, the western ghats and the hills of Nandidurg in Mysore. A number of rivers which flow on the western side of Sahyadri are all small. But those which have their source above the ghats and flow down to the coast are big ones. The four rivers, the Kali, the Gangawati, or Bedati, Tadadi or Doni and

Bal or Sharawati or Gersoppa rise above the ghats, pass through the district of North Canara and join the Arabian sea. Boats ply in them from 10 to 15 miles further up their mouths during high tide. The Kali is 130 miles in length. Gangavati has a beautiful fall near Magod. Tadadi has also a fall near Unchhali called Lushington falls. In South Canara Netrvati is the biggest river. It rises near Kuduremukha peak in Mysore at a height of 6200 ft. and flows down to join the Arabian sea near Mangalore. Its length is only 60 miles. The big rivers which rise in the Sahyadris and flow towards the east are, the Krishpa, the Kaveri, the Bhima, and the Tungabhadra. The Krishna rises near Mahabaleshvar and epters Karnataka near Sangli and flows into the Bay of Bengal. It is the biggest river in Northern Karnataka and in the whole of Southern India. It receives during its course the Malaprabha near Kappadi Sangam, Ghataprabha near Kudal Sangam and the Bhima a little further down in Nizam's dominions and the Tungabhadra near Almapur (Nizam's dominions). The Don, a small river rising in the Jath State also passes through Bijapur and joins the Krishna.

Three other rivers viz. the North Pennar, the South Pennar and Palar rise in the high ground to the east of Mysore near Nandidurg. All of them enter the Bay of Bengal. The Kaveri or the

Dakshina Ganga rises in Bhagamandala, the Brahmagiri peak in Coorg among the Western Ghats, flows south-east across Mysore, leaves it when it breaks through the eastern ghats at Shivasamudram falls and joins the sea near Nagapatam. Several small streams join it in Mysore. In its course it forms three famous islands Srirangpatam near Mysore, Shivasamudram at the falls on the Mysore frontier, and Shringam near Trichinopoli. Coorg being a mountainous tract, the few rivers there tike Kumaridhara, Payasvini and Liakshmanatirtha are all small and swift.

Karnataka abounds in a number of waterfalls, some of them being world famous. (1) The Gersoppa falls :- In the North Canara district the waters of the river Sharavati shoot down in an unbroken fall of 830 feet in four streams. They are called by different names, the Great Fall, the Roarer, the Rocket, and the Dame Blanche. These have carved out below a deep hollow of 130 feet. (2) The Unchali Falls or Lushington Falls :- The river Tadadi has a beautiful fall of 400 feet near the village Unchali 12 miles from Siddapur in North Canara district. (3) The Lalgali Falls:- The river Kali does not shoot down precipitously like other rivers from a height of 300 feet but forms a series of cataracts each 10 to 20 feet high at Lalguli a village 8 miles from Yellapur in North Canara.



Kannammbadi - Dam (Mysore)

(4) The Magoda Falls: - The river Gangavati or Bedati flows down from a height of 800 feet and causes a number of cataracts like those at Lalguli but the heights of each is from 100 to 200 feet, hence is more awe-inspiring and more beautiful than the former. (5) The Gokak Falls: -Three miles to the west of Gokak rushing through a rugged and picturesque gorge between the ranges of sand-stone hills and dashing over a cliff about 175 feet high. the river Ghataprabha forms the falls of Gokak. This Falls is 15 feet higher than the celebrated Falls of Niagara in North America but its flow of current is one third of that of the latter. The current flow of Gersoppa is one third that of Gokak but its height is five times that of the tatter. (6) Shivasamudram Falls:- The river Kavery, near the frontier of Mysore State, forms in its course an island called Shivasamudram and flows in two freams. The western branch of the river has a heautiful fall of 300 feet. The Government of Mysore has harnessed the fall for developing electricity to be supplied to Kolar goldmines. (7) The last which may be mentioned is the Pykara Falls. the beauties of which every visitor to the Nilgiris must have tasted.

Karnataka is rich in mineral wealth. Gold, iron, and manganese are the most important of the products. Gold mines of Kolar in Mysore are world

famous, the produce being about three crores of rupees worth every year. Mining operations for gold were also carried on for sometime in Kappadgud near Gadag but were stopped owing to insufficient turn-out. The next important mineral is iron. It is available in the Sahyadri range to a very great extent. Iron was being smelted in native kilns from early times in Tegur, Kaladgi, and Badami in the Bombay Presidency and Magadi. Arsikeri and other places in Mysore. Owing to the dumping of sheap European produce in the market many of those kilns had to be stopped though they used to bring out in many cases better material than the foreign one. Only recently the Mysore Government has started the ironworks at Bhadravati in Shimoga district. It seems that it has a bright future. The want of coal near the iron mines has been made up by the charcoal manufactured from the wood in the thick forest hard by.

Besides these ores more than a dozen other valuable minerals are also to be found. Mysore being an independent and progressive State has worked in finding out manganese, chrome ores, pyrites, mica, magnesite, asbestos etc. Manganese is also found near Alnavar (Dharwar district). Nitre is obtained in the Bijapur district. The mineral wealth includes valuable supplies of building stones,

clay, slate, granite, marble and lime stones. White sand stones are quarried near Badami. Bagalkot is well-known for lime stones, Kaladgi for slates and Talikot for paving slabs. Very fine quality of building stone is available in Mysore territory. The delicately carved temples at Halebid, Belur and other places bear eloquent witness to it.

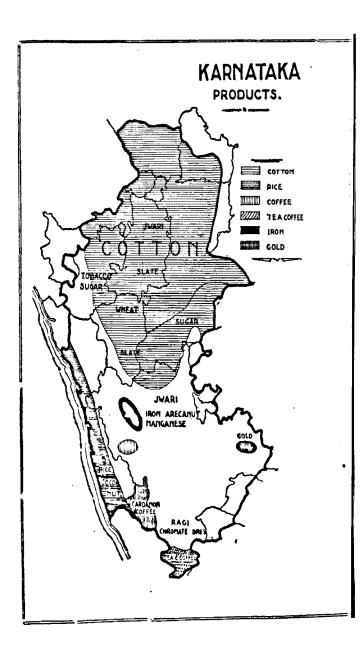
The Western Ghats, as has been already said, are covered with thick forests. They supply a variety of products useful for commerce and industry. Sandal wood is the most valuable commodity. Next in importance is teak. Bamboo is also one of the useful articles found there. Though it is generally used for building purposes, it is recently proved by experiments that it is very good for manufacturing paper pulp. Besides these, trees yielding barks, flowers and fruits suitable for preparing drugs. oils, dyes and resins are also found in large numbers. Need for scientific investigation and establishment of industrial concerns making free use of these forest-products is keenly felt.

The province possesses fine species of domestic animals. Amrit Mahal bulls are well known from pre-Mehomedan days. It is said that they were of much use in the sapid marches of Haidar and Tippu. These bulls are supplied to different parts of India for breeding purposes. Elephant-hnpting otherwise called Khedda operations of Mysore are well

known. Elephants are of much use in carrying giant logs in the forests.

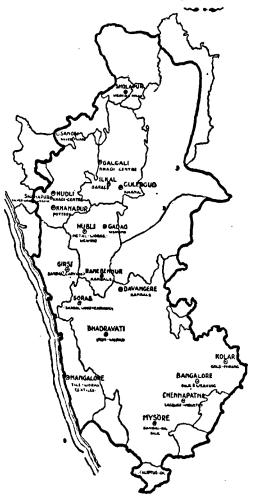
India is mostly an agricultural country and Karnataka is eminently so. The chief crops grown are, (i) food-grains, (ii) oil-seeds and fibres, (iii) sugar and other garden crops. Rice, jawari, wheat, pulses and ragi are the main crops among food grains. Of oil-seeds and fibres, groundnut, gingelly, safflower and cotton are the most important. Sugarcane, coffee, tea, tobacco form the chief items of the third class. The following are the chief articles grown in different parts; Dharwar cultivates wheat, rice, jawar, groundnut, cotton; Belgaum: sugar cane, tobacco and rice; Bijapur: jawari and oil seeds, Hospet: rice and sugar cane; Coorg: coffee, cardamum and cinchona, and Nilgiri: tea, eucalyptus and cinchona. Chief crops of Mysore are paddy and ragi: North and South Kanara are noted for cardamum, pepper, arecanut, rice and coconut.

Sandalwood is a special feature of Mysore. Valuable oil is extracted from it. It is also used for preparing beautiful carved articles. The art of sandalwood carving is a speciality of Mysore and North Kanara. The gudigars (workers in sandal wood) of Sagar and Shimoga are well-known. There are other indigenous industries in the country. Agarbattis or scented sticks are prepared in Mysore and Bijapur, Kambals or woolen blankets of Davangeri,



KARNATAKA

INDUSTRIES .



Sarees of Ilkal (Bijapur) and Khans (Bodice-cloth) of Guledgudda (Bijapur), printed Calico of Murgod are well-known all over Karnatak and Maharashtra.

Though cotton is the principal crop of Karnataka much of it is exported to foreign countries. There are however, a few spinning and weaving mills in Hubli, Mangalore and Mysore which use up a small quantity. The local hand-weavers use the foreign yarn. It is only recently that Khadi centres have been opened for using hand-spun yarn. The chief centres are, Hudli (Belgaum), Galgali and Kaladgi (Bijapur), Uppin-Betgeri (Dharwar) and Neeleshvar (Mangalore). The Charakha has been a boon to the unemployed especially in these famine days. Mysore has also taken up the work on a large scale and has opened a centre at Badanval.

The alluvial soil of Mangalore and Khanapur (Belgaum) is well suited for tiles and pottery works. The tile works of Mangalore are well-known all over Southern India. Good kaolin deposits useful for pottery works are to be found in Khanapur. Old pattern earthenware of Khanapur is well-known.

The country has a net-work of good roads. The Sahyadris offer a barrier for easy communication between the coast and the plain. However, since ages the Ghats have been crossed by passes at a number of places. Out of seven passes in the Belgaum district, Amboli is the best. In the North

Kanara district there are 17 passes of which Devimani and Arabail are good ones. In the South the Agambi pass connects Shimoga with South Kanara. As regards Railways there is a line connecting Belgaum in the North and Bangalore in the South. This line joins at Jalarpet the line running from Madras to Mangalore. This line passes the ghats through the Palghat gap in the south of the Nilgiris. Another line goes from Bangalore to Hotgi via Guntakal and Raichur. There are a few side branch lines also. Coorg has no railways. In Nilgiri, Oatacmund has been joined by a light railway branching off from the main line. With the advent of motor conveyance communications all over the country including the coast have been greatly facilitated. On the west coast steamers run weekly from Marmagao to Mangalore. There are a few harbours on the west coast. But at present except Bombay, Karwar is the best harbour on the coast. It has, however, lagged behind in importance with the creation of the railway terminus at Marmagao.

Kanara is well known from ancient times for foreign trade. It used to trade with Arabia, Greece, Rome and Turkey. It exported pepper. pearls, silk goods ivory &c. and imported foreign cotton cloth, glass, wines etc. With the entrance of the Portuguese on Indian shores the trade of Kanara increased enormously. Bhatkal, Karwar, Kumata and

Honavar were well-known ports. Kumta exported all the cotton produced in the Karnataka; hence the name Kumta cotton for all the cotton produced in Karnataka. In later years the port of Bombay attracted all the trade to itself. There has been local trade carried between one district and another including the coastal districts from early times. The passes in the ghats were an easy route to the sturdy Konkany. Our chief exports at present are, cotton, oil-seeds, mineral ores. the imports being similar to other parts of India, viz, foreign cloth, glass, hardware etc.

After the brief geographical survey of Karnataka let us now turn our attention to the shiftings of boundaries of Karnataka and see how we have arrived at our present boundaries and also enumerate the portions that form British Karnataka today.

Students of Indian history know it well enough that the name of the chief Aryan Prakrits are derived from the names of the land in which they were spoken originally, and that the extention of a language meant an expnasion of the original kingdom which it represented. Karnataka was originally Karnād which gave its name to the Dravidian language known as Kannada. There can be no manner of doubt that this language existed in a cultured form as early as the 3rd century B. C., but

we cannot demarcate the limits of the territory knit together by this language till about the reign of the great Chalukya Emperor Pulikeshi II-i. e. the beginning of the seventh century A. D. A reliable contemporary account of his conquests has made it possible to determine with precision the boundaries of Karnataka in his time. According to that account. Karnataka was bounded on the north by the Latas, Malavas, Gurjars; on the east, by the Pallavas of Kanchi, and the Cholas; the Pandyas and the Keralas on the south; and the Kadambas of Banavase, the Alupa in South Kanara district and the Mauryas in the Konkana (Ratuagiri district) on the West. These boundaries demarcate a Karnataka which consisted of the Dharwar, Bijapur Belgaum, Satara, Nasik, Khandesh districts in the Bombay Presidency; the Shimoga, and Chitaldroog districts in Mysore; the Bellary, and Anantpur districts in the Madras Presidency, and the Gulburga, Raichur, Medak divisions in the Nizam's dominions. As time went on the western districts. South and North Kanara, then known as parts of Banavase and Havve, the territory now represented by Goa and Ratnagiri and Kolaba districts and even distant Bombay were parts of Karnataka, At one time, the eastern limit was pushed as far as the lay of Bengal and the Godavari, Kistna districts formed parts of the Karnataka empire. But owing to a

dynastic division, the eastern territory was ruled by another branch of Karnataka royalty and conflicting interests separated this tract from Karnataka altogether, and the eastern boundary shifted from time to time but always including the above mentioned districts in the Nizam's territory. After the time of Palikeshi till to-day, the southern boundary has been the Kaveri and the Nilgiris. The northern boundaries alone have remained undefined. This much is definite that by Nripatunga's time (9th Century), Karnataka extended in the north to the banks of the Godavari. More we are unable to say definitely, though it appears probable that sometimes the Karnataka Empire far exceeded this Northern boundary and once included Ajanta and Deogiri (Daulatabad). On the south also, the Karnataka Empire at one time extended to the Cape. during the regime of the Vijayanagar rulers. natural and usual boundaries have generally been the Godavari, the Eastern Ghats, the Nilgiris, the Kaveri and the Arabian sea

The determination of the boundaries from the data afforded by political history are amply corroborated by independent sources, inscriptional and linguistic. Inscriptions pertaining to Karnataka history have been found in the Ratnagiri, Nasik, Satara districts; in the Gulburga, Raichur districts in the Nizam's dominions; in the Bellary, Anant-

pur, and other allied districts in the Madras Presidency. Even the latest linguistic statistics shew the minimum boundaries of ancient Karnataka as tallying roughly with the boundaries derived from other sources, :

Though the Karnataka empire was at its zenith at the time of Chalukya Vikrama of Kalyan (11th century A. D.) and almost the whole of South India from the Narmada downwards was under his sway and though under the Vijayanagr empire in the 16th century A. D, it extended over about the same area, the battle of Talikot in 1565 A. D. tattered the fabric of this province. The component parts passed under the rule of various chieftains after 1565 A. D. The future history consits of the sway of the Adilshhi dynasty of Bijapur for a time; the rise of the Mysore and other southern States, the rise and the fall of Mahratha kingdom and the expansion af British power.

Ali Adilshah of Bijapur added north Karnataka of the Southern Mahratta country as it is called

^{*} Kanarese speaking population according to census of 1931.

⁽Satara district 11,506; Sholapur district 52,721; Hyderabad (Deccan) city 2,105; Warsugal 7,452; Medak 21,083; Aurangabad 37,701; Gulburga and Raichur 14,49,468; Bellary 4,82,718; Anantpur 56,908; South Kanara; 2,21,000 (in roundnumbers)).

today including Kanara and the northern portions of Mysore to his kingdom. The Adilshahis ruled at Bijapur from 1489 to 1687 'A. D. but were distroyed by Aurangzeb in the latter year,

Of the petty chiefs who became independent after the fall of Vijayanagar empire the Gangas set up their kingdom in Coorg. Immadi Arasappa Naik began to rule at Swadi. The descendents of Sadashiva Naik, a Malwar Lingayat chief, began to rule at Ikkeri. Both the latter States, however, were ceded by Haidar in 1763. Abdul Ranfkhan began to rule at Savanur.

Hire Chamaraj became independent at Mysore (1571), which was usurped by Haidar in 1761 A. D. Haidar died in 1782. His son Tippu succeeded him and acquired the territory from the Tungabhadra down to Rameshwar. He often raided the Mahratha territory in the North and that of the English in the east. He being found too formidable, the English and the Nizam joined together and taid siege to Srirangapatam. Tippu died fighting in 1799. The English took up Kanara, the entire sea-coast and other districts so as to have an uninterrupted dominion from sea to sea. The Nizam was given some lands to the North which were subsequently retaken by the English in 1800, to support the subsidiary force. The rest of the kingdom was constituted into the new State of Mysore.

The Government of India, however, took the administration of that state directly into their own hands from 1831 to 1881 when in the latter year Maharaja Chamarajendra Wadiyar was installed on the throne. Since then, the State has continued under the same Royal family.

After the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire the Pallyagars of Haleri became the rulers of Coorg in the 16th century. They ruled independently from 1633-1834. In 1834 Coorg was added to the British territory and since then it is ruled by a separate Chief Commissioner.

In Northern Karnataka Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar were taken up by the English in 1s18 after the flight of Bajirao Peshwa. South and North Kanara were ceded in 1799 which formed part of Tippu's dominions. Some portions of the former three districts were added to the British territory after 1818.

When the Peshwa's dominions were ceded to the English, the Southern Mahratha country (or Northern Karnataka) went under the control of the Bellary Collector and formed part of the Madras Presidency. Kanara (both South and North) district was under the Collector of Mangalore Afterwards in 1830 the whole of the Southern Mahratha country was together formed, into the Dharwar Collectorate and added to the Bombay Presidency.

Then in 1838 Belgaum was formed into a separate district consisting of the 10 talukas, viz., Pachapur, Sampagaon, Bidi, Chikodi, Parasgad, Bagalkot, Badami, Hunagund, Indi and Muddebihal. A few years afterwards Indi and Muddebihal became parts of Sholapur district and in their stead Gokak and Athani were added to Belgaum district. In 1864 the Kaladgi (present Bijapur) district was formed with the following taluks:—Indi, Hippargi, Bijapur, Managoli, Muddebihal, Bagalkot, Badami, Hunagund. In 1884 the district place was transfered from Kaladgi to Bijapur.

The Kanara district was transferred to Bombay Presidency in 1862 and it afterwards came to be called North Canara.

At present British Karnataka is divided into four portions and is under three different administrations. North Karnataka consisting of the districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and North Kanara, are under British administration and form part of the Bombay Presidency. Mangalore (South Canara), Nilgiri and Bellary district, Kollegal of Coimbatur district, Hosur and Krishnagiri of Salem district, Madagsira of Anantpur district form part of the Madras Presidency. Coorg is a separate province in itself and is ruled by a separate Commissioner.

In the North, however, three districts, Bedar, Gulburga and Raichur form part of the Nizam's dominions. To the South is the Mysore State ruled by His Highness Shri Krishnaraj Wadeyar. There are also some portions within this territory ruled by small chiefs. The following States have their whole territory or parts of it in the Karnataka: Kolhapur, Sangli, Miraj, Jath, Kundgol, Jamkhandi, Mudhol, Akkalkot, Ramdurg, Savanur and Sondur.

Thus Belgaum, Karwar, Dharwar, and Bijapur districts together with the Sholapur taluka of the Bombay presidency, the districts of Mangalore, Bellary, Nilgiris and Coorg together with the talukas of Madagsira (Anantapur District) Hosur and Krishnagiri (Selem District), Kollegal (Coimbatore District) of the Madras presidency are to form what may be styled as the British Karnataka province.

Now if we review this chapter we can easily see how British Karnataka has all the essentials for forming a separate province and that there is absolately no bar in its geography for such a formation.

We have tried to describe above the geography and some physical characteristics of the whole of the Kannada speaking tracts including the states. But for political reasons and lest there arise insoluble problems on account of past treaties etc. the Karnataka unification movement has kept as its immediate objective the unification of only the British portions of Karnataka excluding the native states. When we say that there is no bar in British Karnataka

geography for the formation of a separate province, we mean that in area and population, in products and commence, in communications and coast-line, in commercial towns and ports Karnataka can stand shoulder to shoulder with other provinces.

The total area and population of British Karnataka is 35,408 sq. miles and 63,57,762 souls respectively. If we are to institute comparisons only in these two respects, we can say that Karnataka deserves to be an independent nation like Afganistan, Switzerland or Holland, or at least all but independent like Ireland or at the least an independent administrative province like Assam. to say that Karnataka is too small is irrelevent. Other points advanced are that it is not contiguous. But the objectors ought to know that no nation or province has been made to order and none exists which is situated in a geometrical circle or a square. It is the physical configurations, the homogenity of the people living together, their common history and common interests or political vicissitudes that decide the boundaries of nations or provinces. enough to say here in this connection that if the communications that have been hitherto neglected are established any central place like Hubli or Gadag would not be more than 300 miles, a run of 15 hours from the furthest corner of Karnataka. And what is the contiguity of the Bombay or Madras presidency to-day? Sind is not less than 48 hours journey from Bombay and the furthest corner of Madras presidency is not nearer than a run of at least 24 hours. The parts of British Karnataka are continuous and we have nowhere to pass through anothere administration except it be through Kannada States

Karnataka is self-contained in products. It grows rice, wheat, millet, bajra, pulses, sugarcane, groundnut, coconut, all kinds of vegetables, various kinds of fruit, cotton and wool. In the cotton trade, as a province it ranks highest in the Bombay Presidency excluding Sind producing as it does more than half the total produce of the presidency. It exports also timber, ground-nut, cotton seed, and wheat to a large extent. Industrially though yet undeveloped is has already spinning and weaving mills at Hubli, Gokak, Gadag and Sholapur. There are ginning factories all over. There are at least one lac of hand-looms and hand-spinning too is being revived. Though railway communications have been utterly neglected-it is recently that Railway authorities are realising that they ought to be developed-motor services have brought parts of Karnatak very much nearer than before. British Karnatak alone has to-day a coastline of at least 200 miles with possibilities 'of developing excellent harbours according to modern requirements at Bhatkal and

Karwar. Sir M. Vishweshvarayya's opinion and efforts in this connection have to be honoured and given weight. Malapi, Kumta and Honavar can rank as second rate ports. Hubli, Bagalkot, Gadag, Shirsi, Sholapur, Mangalore, Bailhongal are all good commercial towns even to-day and with the development of communications and establishment of ports they have a great commercial future before them. Dharwar and Mangalore may be mentioned as good educational centres also.

As to variety in climate and hill-stations, Karnataka has a number of places ranging from the coolest like the Nilgiris and Mercara to the hottest like Bijapur and Sholapur. Since a stretch of about 200 miles of the Sahyadris lies within Karnataka new hill-stations can be created and developed if necessary.

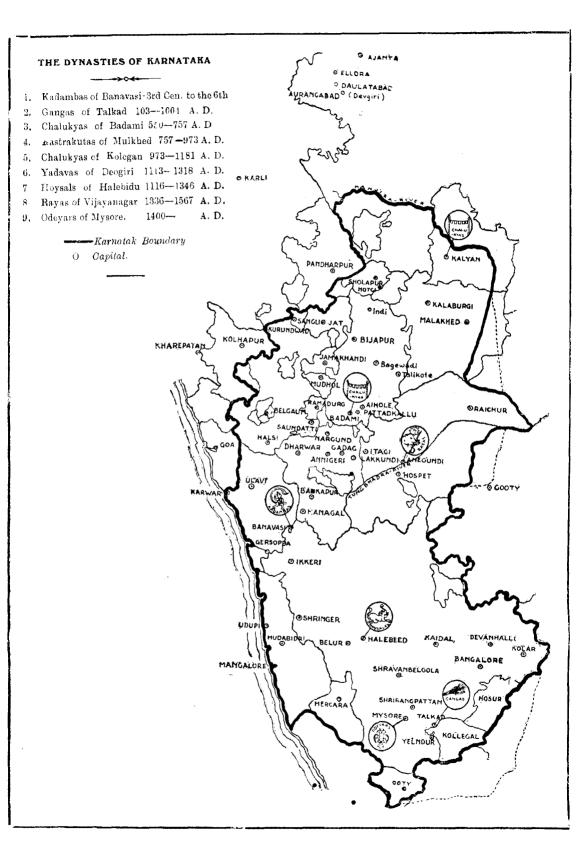
Irrigation, especially tank-irrigation can be developed enormously in Karnataka, and these parts were really once far richer in tanks. That would add to the fertility and produce of this provine.

Thus geographically Brtish Karnataka by itself deserves to be immediately formed into a separate province, so that it may develop its resources to the fullest extent and thus add to the greatness of India.

CHAPTER II

OUTLINES OF HISTORY

The geographical environment of Karnataka detailed in chapter I were bound to mould the activities of the people in rich and fruitful achievements. The rich soil watered by the Godavari, the Krishna and Kaveri, the climate which is capable of giving both health and strength, and the free seacoast which aftords the best facilities for trade and travel combined to make Karnātaka a much coveted land. At present, it has not been possible to trace the antiquity of the Kannada people to a period earlier than the 3rd century B. C. The mention of Karna taka in the Mahābhārata and the Brihatkathā, of Banavāsi in an inscription of As'oka and in the Ramayana makes it perfectly clear that as early as the 3rd century B. c. the Kannada people existed in an well-organised social condition. The occurrence of Kannada sentences in a Greek drama written on papyrus of the 2 century B. c. discovered at Inchus throws significant light on the antiquity of the Kannada language. The Kannada people represent a fusion of the Aryan and the Dravidian races and therefore have inherited the characteristics of both. They possessed the capacity for determined action



and organisation of the Aryan, and the aptitude for artistic beauty of the Dravidian. These early tendencies found their fulfilment in an empire which at one time encompassed the whole of South India and in literary and in artistic achievements which whould be the pride of a nation any day.

Though originally a part of the Dandakaranya, by the time of As'oka Karnātaka was inhabited and formed part of the great Buddhist Emperor's extensive dominions. Tradition, as recorded in early inscriptions, would have us believe, that Chandragupta the great Maurya Emperor with Bhadrabahu a great ascetic emigrated to Karnataka and chose S'ravana-Belgola as his abode of peace. The Satavahanas (3rd century B. c.-226 A. D.), were the next to rule over the Karnataka. But the earlist indegenous rulers in the land were the Kadambas of Banavāsi (250-550 a. D.) and the Gangas of Talakad (3rd century A. D.-11th century A. D) in Mysore. They were petty kingdoms, independent at first, but assimilated later on in the Empires of the major dynasties, the first of which was the Early Chalukya dynasty of Badami.

The rise of the Chalukyas (550 A.D.) marks the first beginnings of a strong single political power in the Karnātaka. The Chalukyas were Kshatriyas of the Mānavya Götra and devotees of Vishnu in his incarnation of the Boar. The founder of the

dynasty has left us no epigraphic records whereby we may definitely trace the exact beginnings of his. rule. He is generally assigned to the beginning of the 6th century. The beginning of this new power in Karnātaka synchronised with an upheaval of the Brahmanic cult in a renovated and rejuvenated form, not now the old cult of sacrifice and ritual exclusively, but marked by a definite turn towards philosophy which ultimately culminated in the efforts of the three Great Acharyas. And the repeated mention of the fact that Pulikes'i I performed the As'vamedha. Paundarika and other sacrifices is but an indication of the revival of the Sanatani Hindu religion and the decline of the later practices of the followers of Buddha. The constant allusion to this religious aspect in the descriptions of the early monarchs of this dynasty is an unfailing index of the fact that the rise of this new political power heralded not only a political but also a religious renaissance.

Till the time of Pulikes'i I. (550 A. L.) we do not know where the centre of political power in the south lay. We find him described as having founded the city of Bādāmi which he made his capital. He enlarged the dominion bequeathed to him. But it was in the time of his grandson (609-632 A.D.) that the kingdom was elevated to the status of an empire. The remarkable inscription at the Meguti temple in Aihole, (district Bijapur) a beautiful poem of 35 verses, recounts faithfully Pulikes'i II's successive efforts at the expansion of the Karnātaka empire. He conquered the Nalas and Mauryas in the Konkana, the Kadambas of Banavāsi, the Lātas, Malavas, Gurjaras and the Cholas. His horses drank the waters of the Narmada and the Kaveri. And some instriptions make a pointed reference to a fight between the armies of this great conqueror and the great kink Harsha of Kanoj in which the latter was worsted. Letters were exchanged between Pulikes'i and Khusru, the king of Persia. A painting in Ajanta- seems to represent the arrival of a Persian embassy at the court of this emperor. Karnātaka for the first time in history, assumed an international repute and was one of the two supreme powers in India till by defeating Harsha, Pulikes'i raised it to the states of the superme power in India for a span of time.

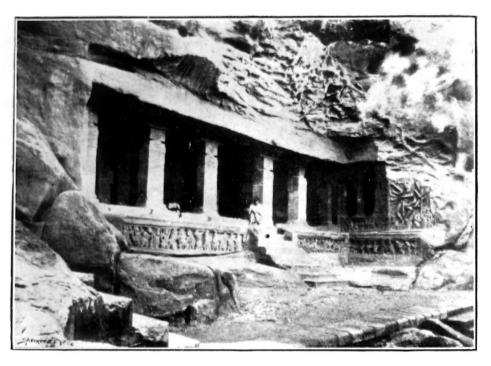
The impressions of Huien Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim who visited the Chalukya Empire in the middle of the 7th century are refreshing: 'The disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall of stature and of a stern vindictive character. To their benefactor they are grateful, to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted they will risk their life to avenge themselves' Of Satyās'raya Pulike'si he says, 'In conse-

quence of his possessing these men and elephants he treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kshatriya caste. His plans are widespread."

Pulikes'i's brother, Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, was the founder of a new dynasty in the far east in the Gāodvari and Krishnā districts of the Madras Presidency. It had a long succession of rulers and though the extent of their kingdom was never greater than a few districts, the kings of the line played a prominent part in the history of Southern India and the last king of this line assumed greater power as the king of the Cholas in the beginnings of the 12th century. The noble blood of the Chalukya race thus coursed through Royal veins for nearly 7 centuries. The capital town of this Eastern kingdom was Vengi which is now but a village.

There branched off about this period another line in Gujarāt. It was subservient to Pulikes'i and we do not hear much about it in the later period.

The Chalukyas never met with any serious opposition on the west; and in the North the Vindhyas formed a natural boundary to their empire. On the east they encountered a tough foe, the Pallavas of Kānchi. The devout and brave Pallava kings were foes worthy of the Chalukyas and the enmity at one time was so great that they were termed as the 'natural foes' of the Chalukyas and



Badami (Dt. Bijapur) :- Cave-view.

it is probable that during the concluding year of Pulikes'i's reign the Pallavas inflicted a severe set-back to the Chalukya power. From Kānchi to Bādāmi is a long way but the Pallava king came and sacked the Chalukya capital. Vikramāditya. Pulikēs'i's son, more than made up for this defeat by pursuing the foe to his own seat and captured the Pallava king in his own capital. But he did not allow any vandalism and a pillar inscription in one of the chief temples at Kanchi gracefully describes full well how Vikramaditya honoured the God by bestowing a donation on the management. His great-grandson Vikramāditya II (734 a. D.-750 A. D.) was also a terror to the Pallavas and it is a matter of pride to learn that one of his queens got erected a temple at Pattadkal (Bijapur District) in honour of her husband's triple conquests over the Pallavas. Kîrtivarman, the last king of the line, brave though he was, had to succumb to the superior power of a Rāshtrakūta prince and the early Chalukya dynasty ceased to rule in Karnātaka in the middle of the 8th century.

It might be observed that the Early Chalukya rulers laid the foundation of cultural tradition in Karnātaka. They encouraged tolerance among religious sects. Though Hindus themselves they also patronised Jainism and Buddhism. Their epigraphs are almost all in Sanskrit which fact is an indica-

tion of the veneration in which they held Aryan culture. Of the artistic remains of the time very little remains except the sculptural remains at Bādāmi and Ellorā. The paintings at Ajantā stand testimony to the great progress made in that art. The one signal achievement greater than any other, of this early dynasty was to consolidate the Karnataka people into an entity. After all, political solidarity counts much in the advancement of a nation's cultural traditions. And if we find Karnataka making richer contributions to Indian culture in the succeeding period it was because the nucleus of a common inspiration in political and social life was created by the first Chalukya dynasty. And the personality that this dynasty contributed to the already rich galaxy of . Indian emperors will make it live in the memory of men. For, history will have to count Pulikes'i II as one of the dozen most renowed empirebuilders of India from Chandragupta to Shivaji,

The next period of political life is filled up by the Rāsṭrakūṭa dynasty (754-974 A.D.) with Malkhed in the earlier and Kalyān in the later period as the capital. The earliest available book in Kannada literature was written by one of its renowned kings. Nripatunga Amoghavarsha. It is a work on Poetics-the 'Kavirājamārga' proving thereby that it was but a flower in the already existing rich garden of literary

works in Karnātaka. It mentions other poets as well. The work displays for the first time in the history of Karnātaka a passionate love for its language and country. It says:

"In all the Circle of the Earth,
No fairer land you will find
Than that where rich sweet Kannada
Voices the people's mind.

Twirt sacred rivers twain it lies, From famed Godāvari To where the pilgrim rests his eyes On holy Kāveri.

The people of that land are skilled, To speak in rhythmic tone; And quick to grasp a poet's thought So kindred to their own.

Not students only, but the folk Untutored in the schools, By instinct use and understand The strict poetic rules." *

Perhaps Nripatunga-Amoghavarsha (A. D. 815-877) was the greatest of the Rastrakūta rulers. His kingdom, says one inscription, was bounded by the three seas. At any rate the Rāstrakūta power surely assumed its greatest height under this monarch. But greater than any political triumphs that the Rāstrakūtas won, posterity will ever hold

^{*} Rice's translation : Vide Kanarese Literature.

them in grateful memory for the impetus they gave to the growth of Kannada literature. Their seat moved from Bādāmi to Malkhēd, now in the Nizam's dominions, probably to suit the ever-widening limits of their empire. Pampa and Ponna, two of the greatest Kannada poets, wrote under the benign shade of Rāstrakūta patronage.

The dynasty after a rule of more than two centuries (750-973 A. D.) succumbed to the growing power of a Chalukya prince, probably a descendent of the old line.

It was Taila (974 A. D.) who revived the old Chalukya line and he lived to see his new kingdom based on sure foundations. And of his descendents. Somēs'vara I (1044-76 A. D.) and Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A D) carved for themselves, by their bravery and political foresight, a permanent place in the history of Karnataka. The former was known as Ahavamalla and, true to his name, he spent the best part of his active life in warfare with his Chola adversaries. For 20 years he fought with them and saved his kingdom from peril. And when the last moment came he left off all thought of his life-long struggles and conquests and in a spirit of devotion and true philosophical renunciation asked his courtiers to carry him to the banks of the Tungabhadra, in whose watery and wavy laps he consecrated his much fatigued earthly remains.

His son Vikramaditya proved to be one of the two or three greatest kings in the history of the South. His empire was wide-spread and wellmanaged. He was brave and tactful, his subjects were happy and contented. His fifty years' (1076 to 1126 A. D.) reign was the golden period in the history of Karnataka which was never so politically great nor extensive as when Vikramaditya ruled it. There are literally thousands of inscriptions which belong to his time. And almost all of them are dated in his own era, the 'Chālukya Vikrama Varusha' which he promulgated to commemorate his coronation. Poets flocked to his court ofor patronage and Bilhana, the Kashmirian poet, came all the way from his earthly paradise and made Kalyana (Nizam's dominions) in Karnātaka his home. He has left us a Sanskrit biography of his patron which, on account of its literary merits, cannot be forgotten till the least vestiges of the Sanskrit language remain.

We might pause here for a moment and survey the internal arrangements of the political administration. The feudatory nobles of the period swore allegiance to the emperor but were otherwise independent so far as local administration was concerned. The Silāhāras ruled in Karād, Kolhapur and in Konkaņa. The Baṭṭas ruled in Savadatti (Belgaum District). Then there were the Kadamba families ruling at Hāngal (Dharwar District) and

at Halasigi (Belgaum District). The Guttas had their centre in Guttal (Dharwar District). The rest of the empire was divided into provinces, the chief of them being the Kundi (Belgaum) 3,000, the Halasigi (Belgaum) 12,000, the Banawase (Karwar) 12,000, the Nolambavādi (Bellary) 32,000, the Konkana (Kolhapur) 1.400, the Kollipske (Nizams Dominions) 7,000, the Gangavadi (South Mysore) 96,000, the Taddevādi (Bijapur) 1,000. The chief royal seats were Kalynaa, Kampili, Annigeri, and Bankapur. Every one of the major provinces was subdivided. The king had among other ambassadors the Kannada-Sandhi-vigrahin and the Lata-Sandhi-vigrahin. There was a Vis'ayadhikarin to manage the government of the major division. There were the Sunka-Veggades, customs officers. department of donations and charters was managed by the S'asanadhikari. The chief treasurer was the Suvarņa-Bhandagāra-Mukhyādhyaksha. The villages had their headman, Urgamunda, and in some cases deliberative assemblies. The queens had villages assigned to them as pin-money and the accounts were entered in their names. They did not otherwise exercise any influence over the administration. The Yuvarājas and the near relatives were put in charge of provinces. The king usually undertook all expeditions in person and in his absence some of his ministers carried on the administration. There appear to have been arrangements made about municipal administration in the time of the early Chalukyas. The king assumed a number of titles and the titles he conferred on his generals and officers were usually 'the Danda Nāyaka, the Mahādanda Nāyaka 'etc. Some of the feudatories had on their arrival the right of the Pancha-Mahā-s'abdas—the privileges of five musical instruments being blown in their honour, like the salute of guns in modern times.

The Karnātaka spirit was by this time in full awing. We find the inscriptions of the early Chalukyas recorded mainly in Sanskrit. But it appears that a greater love for the mother-tongue got a better hold on the minds of men by the beginning of the Rāstrakūta rule. Thereafter, we find almost all epigraphs in the Kannada language. Nor were they mere prosaic compositions. Perhaps some of the best Kannada poetry can be culled out of those inscriptions. Except Tamil there is no other language so rich in epigraphs. The use of the mother-tongue even in designations denotes a significant change in the angle of vision and indicates a great love for their own cultural inheritance.

To return to Vikramāditya's reign. We must refer to the renowned Vijnānēe'vara, the famous

Nadu-beggade, Sunka-beggade, Mane-veggade, Herisandhi-vigrabim.

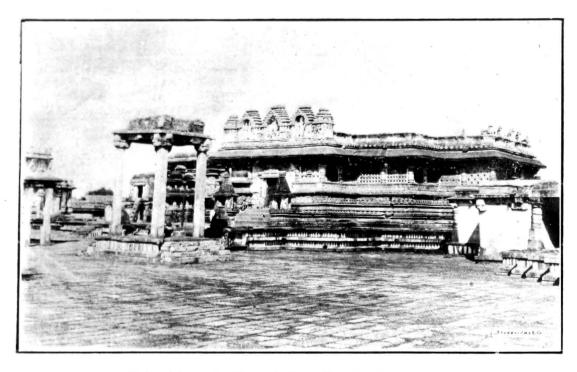
commentator on the Yājnavalkya Smriti. His work is a monument of Shastric learning and is even now the standard work in Hindu Law. He lived in the court of Vikramāditya.

Vikramāditya's reign is an unforgettable link in cultural tradition in Karnāṭaka. Vijnānes'var puts it in hyperbolic language, 'there never was a king like Vikramāditya, never a city like Kalyāṇa.'

Vikramāditya's successors were not as renowned as he and in about a hundred years after his death, the Yadavas in the north and the Hoysalas in the South weakened the Empire and ultimately divided it between themselves. Both the dynasties held extensive kingdoms, the Yadavas from the Narmada to the Krishnā and the Hoysālas from the Krishnā to the Kaveri. Both were contemporaneous, and ruled between the 11th and 14th centuries A. D. Both of them succumbed to the increasing power of a common foe-Islam. The Hoysalas patronised art and literature, and the Hoysales wara temple at Halebid with its superabundance of carving is considered the noblest architectural edifice in the world. In the beginnings of the 14th century, the Muslim flag waved a triumphant challenge to the people of Karnataka.

II

Every period of Karnataka history has a distinct characteristic of its own. The first period ending with the early Chalukya dynasty was a period of



Belur (Mysore)—Channakeshava Temple, (South view)

the revival of Sanātana Hinduism. The next was the blossoming period of Kannada literature. The third comprising the Yadava and Hoysala rules is marked by rich artistic productions and in the final part by a grim contact with a foreign iconoclastic culture-Islam. The times then demanded a person and a power that would withstand this Hindu cultural onslaught which brought in its train the destruction of Hinda temples. The Vira-Kampanaraya Charita describes vividly the surging passions of the Hindus suffering from Moslem aggression and their eagerness for the dawn of a new era, reviving the Hindu power and raising the Hindu mind from dust. The Yadavas and the Hoysalas had to bend to the Muslim onslaught. And a new power was to arise to stand as a bulwark for the protection of Hindu religion and culture. Karnātaka was equal to the occasion and gave a personality which comes but once in centuries, and that personality was Vidyāranya, the creator of the great Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar. This great sage and seer was not only an empire-builder but also one of the most learned and erudite philosophical scholars which India has produced. The life-work of Vidyāranya must be counted as one of the richest contributions of Karnatak to Indian culture and history. Even today his personality and the Empire which he created are held in reverence in all parts of India.

The creation and progress of this great Empire is a significant chapter in the history of India. But for it perhaps South India would have been moslemised. But for it the work of the great Marātha revival would not have been as easily fruitful as it eventually was. The empire stood as the one great object of pride to every Indian who had even the least faith in his religion and the least regard for his temples. It did its work splendidly for more than two hundred years when on one unfortunate evening in 1565, the army of the Empire was vanquished by a combination of Moslem powers in the South and Vijayanagara, the 'City of Victory' was reduced to dust.

The first king of this new empire was Haribara who began his reign in 1336 A, D. He was a capable monarch who fulfilled the inspiration he had received from his preceptor, Vidyāranya. His power and influence stood as a check to Islamic aggression. But the first great war between the Hindu and Muslim powers in Bukka's reign was fought with the forces of Sultan Mahamad one of the generals of Allauddin of Delhi. The war arose out of a jest and culminated on the grim battlefields of Adoni in which the Hindu power was worsted and Bukka had to flee. This war was succeeded by another with Mahamad's son Mahjid, which ended in a siege of Vijayanagara itself. Mahjid's army on

their way destroyed a Hindu temple which drove the Hindus mad. The war, however, ended in a collapse of the Hindu army and 70,000 women were captured by the Mahomedans.

Harihara II succeeded Bukka on the throne. Among other works of constructive merit he is known for a huge dam to the Tungabhadra river and the formation of an aqueduct fifteen miles long from the river into the city.

The reign of Deva Raya II (A. D. 1419-1440) is again marked by successive wars with his Muslim enemies. By this time the Vijayanagara Empire had struck terror in the heart of the Muslim aggressors, and it was growing gradually on sure foundations. Hindu traditions, religious and artistic, were in full swing and the populace felt comforted in the idea that now at least God was kind in giving them and their religion the required protection. The number of temples increased by the thousand, and festivals and ceremonies were celebrated in all pomp. Altogether the people lived a harmonious life in increasing material prosperity. Vijayanagara itself with its immense population, its huge parapets, its palaces and mints, and its rich bazars, with its recurring festivals, was at that time perhaps the first city in the whole world.* Little did one dream that within a hundred years, it would meet its doom at the hands of the enemies, from which it could never. alas! never recover!

^{*:} Vide description by Nunis and Paes : Sewell's The Forgotton Empire.

We must pass on to the next great figure in the history of Vijayanagara, Krishna Deva Rāya, (1509–1530) of the Tulu dynasty, a distinct contribution of South Kanara to Karnātaka history. He will be remembered as the greatest of the kings of Vijayanagara. 'He rose early, and developed all his muscles by the use of Indian clubs and the use of the sword; he was a fine rider and was blessed with a noble presence which favourably impressed all who came in contact with him. He commanded his immense armies in person, was able, brave, statesmanlike, and was withal a man of much gentleness and generosity of character. He was beloved by all and respected by all.'

The one great contest of Krishna Deva Rāya's reign began about 1520 with Adil Shaha, the king of Bijapur, one of the five kingdoms that rose from the ashes of the Bahmani kingdom. Krishna Deva Rāya was on the aggressive and started with a million men. A pitched battle was fought at Raichur and for years afterwards, "the 'moors' cherished a wholesome dread of Krishna Deva Rāya and his valiant troops and the Sultan, panic-stricken, never again during his enemy's lifetime ventured to attack the dominions of Vijayanagara." (Sewell).

This one victory at Raichur was able to retrieve all the Hindu losses in the past. However, it made the Mahomedan power work in alliance against their common foe. The constructive side of Kris'na Deva Rāya's reign is equally remarkable. The big gopuras of the Hampi temple, Kris'naswāmi temple, and the Hazār Rāmaswāmi temple were built during his reign. 'He constructed in 1521 the great dam and channel at Korragal and the Basavanna channel both of which are still in use and of great value to the country.' The construction of the temple of Vithala-swāmi on the river bank was also begun by him. The huge statue of Narasimha was also hewn out during his reign.

His reign will stand as a period of great pride to Karnātaka, nay to every Indian.

It is not possible in this brief sketch to note every detail and we shall pass on to Rāma Rāya, the last great Hindu representative to sacrifice his life for his people and religion. And the only remarkable event of his reign was the almost final scene in Hindu-Muslim royal struggles in the Karnāṭaka. Mr. Sewell says that Rāmarāya was arrogant to Islam! No charge could be more groundless. The Vijayanagara kings were consistently tolerant to their Muslim neighbours so long as that was possible. But when the aggression of Islam culminated in attempts at rooting out the power of Vijayanagara, was it unnatural that Rāma Rāya should resent the attempt?

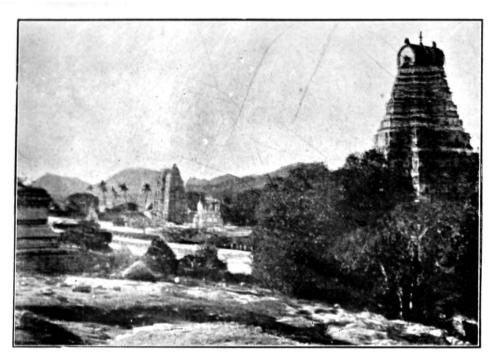
The five Mahomedan powers combined against

Rāmarāya. And the forces met on the fateful field of Tālikote which decided the fate of Karnātaka. Long before the battle Rāma Rāya had sought his mother's permission to meet his foes in battle and vanquish them, to stamp out once for all the enemies of his religion and of his forefathers. He had sought her blessings but those blessings proved to be of no avail. Rāma Rāya succumbed to a ruse and though to the end of the day the victory was his and the Empire's, he was caught all of a sudden in a snare and his army was routed.

What followed after the defeat cannot be adequately described * The victorious Mahomedan army marched to Vijayanagara, "The enemies had come to destroy and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood....Never perhaps, in the history of the world, has such havoc been wrought and wrought so suddenly on so splendid a city."*

Glory to Rāma Rāya, who died triumphantly on the field of Tālikōte for the honour of his country and his religion!

^{*} Sewell: The Forgotten Empire.



Hampi (Bellary District)—Hampi Virupax Temple, Bird's eye-view

III

The battle of Talikote * was the signal for the dismemberment of Karrātaka which was already subject to the dominion of more than one government. The first foreign attack had come from Malik Kafur, who in 1310 besieged and plundered Dwarasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala kingdom, The Yadavas of Devagiri had swallowed the bitter pill even earlier. But the first non-Karnātaka dynasty that came to stay was that of Allauddin Hasan Gangu Bahamani who established his power in the districts round Gulburga, in 1347 A. D. His dominions included the Bijapur district and were adjascent to the Vijavanagara empire on its northern frontier. There were frequent wars between the two powers as has been noted already. The Bahamani kingdom, after an existence of a little more than 140 years, fell a prey to the adventurous efforts of generals, who established separate principalities at Bijapur, Bidar, Ahmednagar, and at Govalakonda. The Portuguese appeared on the scene in 1498 A.D. Goa was captured in 1509 A. D. and it has remained with the Portuguese till to-day. The Adil-shahi kings of Bijapur gradually grew more powerful and held all land north of the Tungabhadra when they reached the zenith (1626 A. D). The northern part of Karnātaka could record no cultural progress under the ægis of the Bijapur kings. Nor was Southern Karnātaka in any way highly organised.

Popularly known as such, but actually fought near the villages Rakkasagi and Tangadgi near Tälikote in Bijapur district.

Even after the battle of Talikote Sadās'iva-Rāya, a member of the royal family of Vijayanagara attempted to regain the lost power and transferred his government to Penugonda. His successor S'riranga Raya beat back a Mahomedan invasion. The dynasty lingered on amidst growing difficulties till in 1639 the last prince S'riranga-rāya was defeated by the Sultan of Govala-konda and lost his kingdom after a vain attempt to regain Srirangapattana with the help of the Navaka of Keladi. We have today, in the Raja of Anegundi, a reminiscence of the Vijayanagara dynasty whose descendant he is. Of the other efforts made to retain independent rule in the Karnātaka, must be noted the struggles of the Keladi family whose founder was Sadas'iva Nāvaka. Venkatappa Nāyaka was a distinguished member of this family who enlarged the dominions on the west coast in the Shimoga, Mangalur and surrounding districts. Shiwappa Nāyaka later on expanded this kingdom by conquering Kodagu. But after that the family's power deteriorated till the kingdom formally became part of the dominions of Wodeyar Princes. Kodagu, which owed allegiance to the Gangas of Talakad (3rd century), to the Hoysalas, and the Vijayanagara emperors successively, was independent for a time under the Changalvas after the fall of the last empire, but was again assimilated in the kingdom of the Odeyars of Mysore. Lateron it was ruled by the members of what is known as the Haleri family renowned among whom were Chikkavirappa and Muddurāja, till in 1820, Rājā Veerarāja was deposed and imprisoned in Vellore in 1834 and the territory annexed to the British dominions. The Kodavas are a brave and fighting people and they struggled hard with all their might for their independence. Even today they are exempt from the Arms act and enjoy a special tenure called Jammā. In passing we might note also that the Nilgiris were ruled by brave Nāyakas from the hill-forts and owed allegiance to the Wodeyars of Mysore. The tract was annexed to the British dominions after the fall of Tipu.

The only important link now between the old and new traditions is the dynasty of the Odeyars. This royal family which has a long history reaching back to the close of the fourteenth century, came into prominence after the fall of Vijayanagara. Rāja Odeyar of this dynasty wrested Srirangapattaṇa from a representative of the Vijayanagara kingdom in 1578 A. D. and enlarged his empire. Kantheerava Narasa Odeyar was the next distinguished sovereign. He repulsed the aggressive advances of the Bijapur monarch and captured Kodagu and Madurā. Chikka-Devarāya (A. D. 1672-1704) was the contemporary of Shivāji and he es ablished diplomatic alliances even with the Moghul emperor, Meanwhile

northern Karnātaka was the scene of a conflict between Shivāji and the king of Bijapur. Aurangzeb who had destroyed the Mahomedan principalities of Govalakonda and Ahmednagara already, finally captured Bijapur in 1686 a. D. and made Sikandarshahā, the last king, a prisoner in Gwalior.

The beginning of the 18th century saw Karnātaka run over by the Marathas led by the Peshawas of Poona, and by Nizam Ulmulk of Hyderabad who, originally a subhedar of the Moghul empire, declared his independence in 1724 A. D. For more than 60 years northern Karnātaka was a part of the dominions of these rulers, and in the latter half of the century, even the Odeyar dynasty was threatened with extinction. Hyder Ali, an adventurous soldier who had risen to the first rank in the state, imprisoned Chamaraia the Odeyar sovereign and himself ruled in the helpless monarch's name. Brave and intrepid general that he was, he struck terror in the minds of his enemies, the Marāthās, the Nizam, and the English. At one time he commanded all territory between the Malaprabhā and the Kāveri. But he met with serious reverses at the hands of the Marathas, and died in 1782 A. D. His son, no less brave than he, fought relentlessly with his father's foes but was finally defeated and killed in 1799, at Erirangapattana. Krishna Rāya, a representative of the Odeyar

dynasty was reinstated on the throne, only to be deposed in 1831 on the plea that he was unfit to rule. After fifty years, during which time the Mysore state was governed by the British, Chāmarāja Odeyar, the adopted son of Krishna Rāja was again reinstated on the Mysore Gādi (1881 a. d.). The districts of northern Karnātaka, had been annexed to the British dominions long ago in 1818 a. d. after the fall of the last Peshwā, Bāji Rao II. The only territory governed by a Karnātaka king now is Mysore, and even the short period of the last fifty years has been fruitful in reviving and retaining the traditions of the past.

Ever since the fall of Vijayanagara, Karnātaka art and literature had mostly lost royal patronage, Karnātaka was parcelled out into parts and subjected to different powers who could not, from the very nature of things, foster Karnātaka culture. Thus it was a period of decay, complete decay, which changed the outward character of Karnātaka beyond all recognition. Mysore and Dharwar, Gulburga and Goa became utter strangers to each other, though in earlier periods they stood as the frontier posts of one Karnātaka empire and culture, which became a matter of the past. It was only due to the new Karnataka movement which tried to evoke reminiscences of a common heritage. and indicated the possibilities of a bright future for a people who once were great, that Karnātaka has now come to a stage when it believes not only in the possibility of being one and united again, but is also confident of justifying the past by a more glorious future.

The aspects of the Karnstaka movement which have raised this hope for the future will be sketched in another chapter. Before that, it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with Karnstaka's achievements in the domain of religion and literature, art and architecture; for that will go a long way in weighing the claim of Karnstaka for a separate and healthier existence, as an independent administrative unit.



Belur—Channakeshava Temple, Mahisasur Mardini in Koppa Channigaraya Temple

CHAPTER III CULTURAL FEATURES

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In the last two chapters we have acquainted the readers with the geographical features and historical traditions of the great sub-nation of Karnātaka. They both go to show clearly that there is everything in this tract to make it an autonomous province. The geography is such that it will do credit to any independent nation; much more easily therefore, it can justify the formation of this province into a separate administrative unit. The past history of Karnātaka teems with glorious events and bristles with names of warriors and statesmen that have from time to time shown what stuff Karnataka is made of and proves that it has lived like a great nation. But it may be said that it is not enough for a people that claim an autonomous province, merely to have a good geographical situation and only to have a brilliant past history. We might be asked as to what are the cultural features of Karnātaka. The object of the present chapter is to answer that query. It is needless to add that it would not be possible for us to go into the details within the brief space at our disposal, and we shall attempt only to draw a few outlines of the culture that Karnataka stands for.

Before taking up the subject of Karnātaka culture we would say a few words about culture in general. Culture is one of those too pervasive ideas and one of those too comprehensive terms that defy definiton and analysis. Still, before we proceed we must have some working description of it. Culture may be said to be the view and the attitude that an individual or a race takes of things, of life, and of God and the way that it expresses that view and that attitude in its various activities literary, social, political, religious, artistic etc. Practically speaking, every activity of a race together with the purpose and the philosophy reflected in it portrays to us the culture of that race. Let us survey briefly what view the Karnātaka people took of life and what attitude they adopted towards it and the way they expressed that attitude in life during the course of their long and brilliant career.

We are of opinion that the whole of Indian culture is, in its base and broad outlines, one, indivisible, and homogeneous, permeating the whole land through that great perfect language Sanskrit and that great system of synthetic religion, Hinduism. At the same time we can say that each linguistic province in India has contributed, in its own characteristic way, its quota to the stream of the common culture of India. Each province has its peculiarities and characteristics that mark it off with an indivi-

duality-an individuality which only proves that it is thoroughly Indian in essence. It is always from this point of view that provincial cultures ought to be studied, namely to see how each provincial people have contributed to and enriched the common Indian heritage and how thoroughly they fit in the composite of Indian culture. The isolated study of provincial history or culture, without trying to see how it is Indian and how it is related to other provincial cultures, is sure to degenerate into a parochial provincialism which is most likely to be an obstacle to the development of sound Indian Nationalism. At the same time the vague-study of Indian culture alone without the study of how each province has contributed to its development is likely to deteriorate into too diffuse and too academical an idea of our culture, which will neither be able to rouse an uplifting sense of patriotism in each of the provinces nor to spur them to high action.

While speaking about the culture of any people it is sufficient for our purpose if we choose but the important aspects of that culture. So while writing about Karnātaka culture, we are going to speak mainly about its religion, fine arts and literature. These are usually the aspects of life that express most pointedly the culture and inner nature of a nation or of a race.

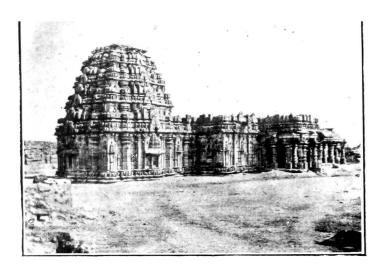
Karnataka culture like the whole of Indian culture

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can be characterised as being spiritually practical in its main aims and tendency. A panoramic view of the vast and varied activities of the Indian nation for the last two thousand years and of the purpose which inspired those activities impress us with the fact that the main endeavour of the greatest minds and noblest souls of the best sons of India has been the spiritualisation of life in all its richness and variety. Though today the spirituality of Karnātaka and for the matter of that, of the whole of India has degenerated into a vague and weak other-worldliness and its practicality into pettiness, we cannot take this to be either the characteristic or the permanent pose of our culture, when we have the brilliant achievements of millenniums in the past to refute such a hasty and false inference. Now we have to see how far this main tendency has expressed itself in Karnātaka in the different departments of life mentioned above.

II

Karnātaka is a land of religion and Philosophy, of religious fervour and at the same time of religious tolerance. Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishnvism, Shaivism, Shaktism seem to have influenced Karnātaka at different periods but no one sect seems to have replaced or ousted the other either by violence



Ittagi (Nizam's Dom.):— The temple of Mahadeva



Ittagi: - Corner slab of the central ceiling and the hall of Mahadeva temple.

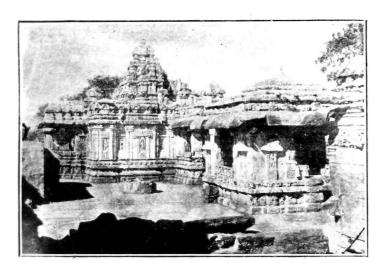
or by fraud. Even the totally alien faiths of Islam and Christainty have not been unwelcome, though the latter seem to have adopted ways and means of conversion quite averse and contrary to those of Hinduism.

There seems to be no doubt that Karnataka formed part of that great forest which was called the Dandakāranya in the Puranas. In that dim past, the people here must have professed some sort of Dravidian faith. The ancient Arvan Rishis introduced the great Vedic faith and spread it among the people. Buddhism had had its day here but as a faith it has left almost no traces in Karnataka though we have the edicts of Asoka at Maski (Nizam's dominious) and at Siddapur (Mysore state). But more significant and at once religious and artistic are the Buddhistic caves of Ajanta, Verul, Ter, Banavāsi (N. Canara), Kadirikarama (S. Canara). There is likely to be difference of opinion as to whether Ajanta and Verul ever formed part of Karnātaka; but it is sufficient to note here that the taluk in which Verul is situated today is called Kannada (Kanarese) and the caves themselves abound in Kannada inscriptions. were excavated during the reign of Krishna, the Rastrakuta king. A picture at Ajanta glorifies Chalukya Pulkeshi II, a Karnātaka prince. There is a fine painting in which a Persian ambassador

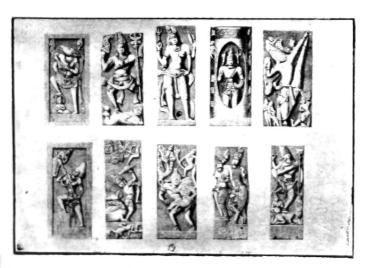
from Khushro is seen kneeling and giving presents to the Emperor.

Jainism however, made greater progress in Karnātaka and left its permanent stamp on our literature. It seems to have come to Karnātaka with Bhadrabāhu, the Jain Shrutakevalin, who settled at Shravana-belgola with a number of followers from Magadha in the 3rd century B. C. The Jainas seem to have been in fact the poincers in Kannada literature and they wrote and preached their faith in Kannada while the proud Brahman thought it a disqualification to write about religion in Kannada or any language but Sanskrit. The Jaina poets like Pampa, Janna, and others have given us the finest types of literary Kannada. They have laid this land under debt in one more department and that is in architecture and sculpture. Many of the Rashtrakāta and Hoysala kings were Jainas by faith. These facts show that the Jainas had their day in Karnātaka and prospered in peace in this land of religions. Even to-day Karnataka counts among its inhabitants thousands of Jainas.

But whatever the Jaina or the Bauddha or the Hindu did or wrote or built, it was with high intent and a spiritual motif. Spirituality, the sense that the spirit pervaded the universe and that they are at best instruments in His hands, filled every activity of theirs. This philosophy that was implicit in the



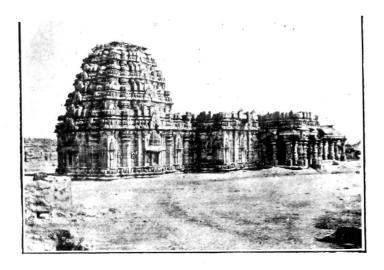
Pattadkal (Dt. Bijapur):-Virupax Temple



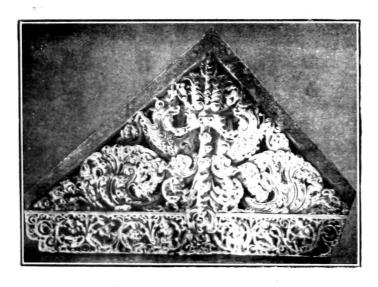
Pattadakal (Dt. Bijapur):- Sculptures from the Temple of Verupaxa

essentially religious people of this land, was expounded afterwards by the three great master-minds in Indian philosophy, each of whom was either born, nursed, or encouraged in Karnātaka. The great Shankarachārvā (7th century A. D.) who, coming after Kumarila and Gaudapāda relaid the firm foundations of Vaidic religion, was born in Kerala no doubt; but he chose Shringeri (Mysore state) in Karnātaka as the fittest place for establishing his greatest pontifical seat, clearly proving thereby that the people of Karnātaka were fit for the high trust and responsibility of maintaining and supporting such a Matha. This Matha still exists in all its glory and with a history of milleniums behind it. It was later adorned by such great figures of All-India fame as Sureshwarāchārva-Mandanamis'ra, Vidyāteertha, Vidyāranya, and others. Thus the seat of ancient Vaidic culture, established centuries ago by perhaps the greatest speculative genius in the world, and later occupied by such creative personalities like Vidyāranya, is in the midst of Karnātaka today. Then we have Rāmānujāchārya (11th century A. D.) who, though a Tamilian by birth flourished in Karnātaka, being backed up by Bittideva Hoysala of Dwarasamudra (Mysore state). When forlorn and persecuted by his own people, he fled to the Kannada country and had full scope to show to the world how great he really was. As to Madhwachārya, the great expounder of the Dwaits school of philosophy, and the inspirer of that school of devotion which was led by Purandar and followed by Vyāsrāya and Chaitanya and numerous other saints, he was an out and out Karnātaka, being born and bred up near Udipi (S. Canara), the seat of Gopāla Krishna. In addition to being the exponent of a virile school of activistic philosophy, he was the source of light to that cult of Bhakti in Karnātaka called the Dāsakūṭa, which has enriched Kannaḍa literature with the highest and purest expressions of emotion and devotion, comparable only to the flights of Kabir, Nanak; Chaitanya, Tukaram, Tiruvallar, and latterly of Rabindranath Tagore himself.

Basaveshvar, the reformer, and according to some the founder of Veerashaivism, deserves to be mentioned separately. In philosophy he preached Shakti-vishisttadwaita, relying on the Shivagamas. But his social philosophy was much more revolutionary and has influenced Karnātaka permanently. Though generations have passed since the movement for interdining and intermarriage have been launched in modern days, the citadel of caste has remained almost unshaken. But what with the spiritual power and saintly influence of great Basava, he brought about these reforms within a lifetime, formed the Veerashaivas into a great spiritual brotherhood in which all were equal and



Ittagi (Nizam's Dom.): — The temple of Mahadeva



Ittagi: - Corner slab of the central ceiling and
the hall of Mahadeva temple

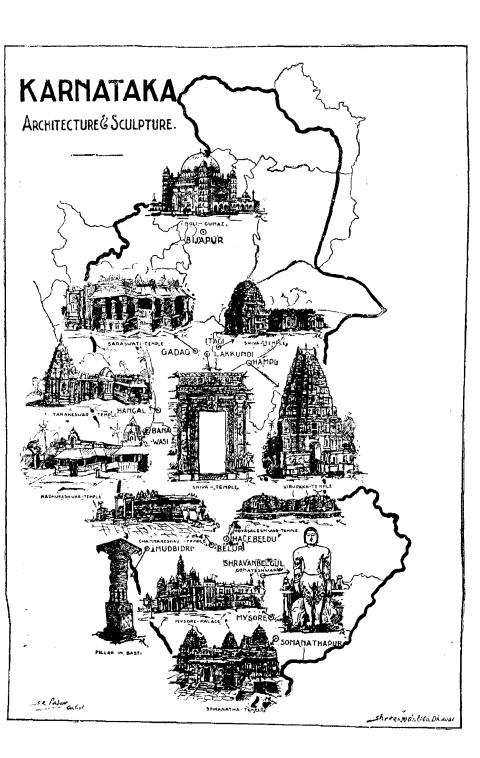
where even the pariah was welcome. His faith counts about 35 lacs of people among its followers and the main bulk of it is to be found in Karnataka. Though latterly caste-system in different forms has reasserted itself in Veerashaivism still Basava's personality must be judged by what he achieved rather than by what he failed to achieve. His faith and philosophy deserve a deeper study at the hands of the students of Indian sociology. Another peculiarity is that his teachings are in pure Kannada, and we can say he gave a mighty impetus to composition in Kanarese. The Vachana (sayings) literature that was inangurated by him and later developed by his followers, is a veritable mine of intuitionistic philosophy of the Upanishadic type. It directly wells up in a stream of pithy prose from the heart of the saint as a result of spiritual experience, and it can hardly find a parallel in any of the Indian vernaculars.

Islam too has its share of life in Karnātaka. It may be said to have begun its life here in the 14th century. There are a number of Mahomedan shrines here and there and indeed Karnātaka would be poorer architecturally but for the Mahomedan buildings of Bijapur and Gulburga. In spite of the provocations given by some of the aggressive Mahomedans in historical times, the tolerant Hindus seemed to have reconciled with them and we have

examples of Hindus and Mahomedans worshipping at common shrines such as Yamanur (Dharwar district) and the Baba Budan hills (Mysore state). There are instances of the Hindu and the Mahomedan receiving spiritual initiation from each other. Sharifsaheb for instance, who was a Mahomedan saint had one Govindachar as his guru.

The Christians have been also working their way in Karnātaka. The many missionary activities on the coasts of Canara began as early as the 16th century. Especially missionary educational activities are spread all over Karnātaka. They were the pioneers in Kanarese printing, in singing the glories of Kanarese literature and in publishing lexicons etc. In that respect Karnātaka must ever remember them.

Thus Karnātaka is a land of religion. The three great Vedantic philosophies of Dwaita, Adwaita, and Vishisthadwaita either took their brith or were nourished here no the soil of Karnātaka. It is this land where Basava carried on his great successful social experiment of levelling up society on a spiritual basis. All these faiths and philosophies have lived here side by side, thus proving that Karnātaka is not only creative and receptive but also highly tolerant and practical in religious and philosophical matters.



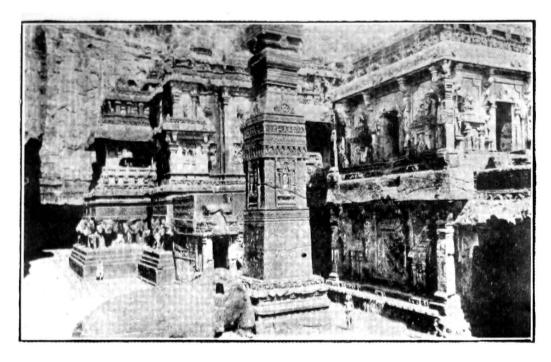
III

Now among the fine arts we include architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and dancing. As in religion and philosophy, Karnātaka has distinctly and substantially contributed to the culture of India in these respects also. Indian religion and philosophy would be really poorer if we take away the great Dwaita protagonist Madhwacharya, and Vidyaranya the author of Panchadashi, and their influences from off the history of India. So too the study of the fine arts of India would be miserably incomplete if we leave aside the Dravida and the Chalukyan style (Karnātaka style) of architecture, or the later Hoysala style as it is more appropriately called by Vincent A. Smith. If we keep out of mind for instance, the temples of Belur, Halebied, and Vijayavithal, the monoliths of Shravanabelgola, Karkal, and Vennur, the cave-temples of Verul, Karla, and Badami, the paintings at Ajanta, and Karnataki music, we shall be in the plight of those that neglect Florence and Germany while studying European fine arts.

James Fergusson has remarked that in Chalukyan architecture and sculpture the brain of the Aryan and the hand of the Dravidian have worked in harmonious cooperation. In more senses than one, Karnātaka can be said to be the meeting place of the Aryan and Dravidian streams of culture. It was in this land it seems, where both the races

arrived at a friendly compromise to exchange the gifts that nature had bestowed on each of them. Karnātaka is the first Dravidian country south of the Vindhyas with which we come in contact as we come down from the north, and it was but right that Karnātaka should have been such a place of respectful cultural exchange between the two great races.

Architecture and sculpture always go hand in hand in Karnätaka. Ancient civil architecture and sculpture which we could have studied in great palaces and splendid halls is unfortunately not spared to us. But we have temples and caves and carvings all over Karnataka that stand as witnesses to the skill of the artists and to the devotion of the builders. They are expressions in stone of the grand conceptions of our ancients. There we see the rich fancy and the creative imagination of the Aryo-Dravidian mind working in solid rock as if it were wax. That is why the Jaina caves are even to-day called in Kanarese mena (wax)-basti. There runs a tradition in Karnātaka that in the hands of the great architect Jakkanācharya, comparable only to the divine architect Vishwa-Karma, stone turned into wax and that he built temples in single nights! Here we do not wish to enter into the details and the technique of the different styles etc. Our purpose is only to show the vast development of these arts in Karna-



Verul (Nizam's Dom.) :- Temple of Kailasnath.

taka and let the reader study the details for himself.

As is well-known to the students of Indian architecture. Karnātaka is the home of the Karnātaka or the Chalukyan and Hoyasala styles of architecture and sculpture. Mr. Fergusson says that the Chalukyan style was evolved from the Dravidian and that the earliest temples of the tenth century were not always clearly marked off from the former style. He adds that it was by degrees that the Chalukyan style acquired its special characteristics. The same distinguished writer says that the area over which the Chalukyan and the Hoysala styles extended, included Mysore and all the Kanarese country in the west; eastward its southern line was the Tungabhadra and the Krishna; and in the north it perhaps extended to a line drawn from the south end of the Chilka lake towards Nagpur and thence westward and southwards to the coasts. Mr. B. L. Rice says that a line from the Godavari to the Mahanadi would be the northern boundary while a line from the source of the Kaveri to the mouth of the Krishna would be the southern boundary of the country where this style flourished.

The Chalukyan art prevailed in Karnātaka according to Mr. Fergusson from the 5th onwards

to the 13th century. A few of the earlist examples which are attributed to the early Chalukyas are the temples and caves of Aihole, Pattadkal, Badami, and Verul. There is a marked similarity between the structural monuments at Pattadkal and the cave excavations of Badami and Verul. The great Indian publicist St. Nihal Singh was surprised to see the Kannada script and language used in the Verul caves. He did not know that Kannada was the principle language of the people who lived in the tract under the Chalukyas. The Chalukyan art however, attained its fallest development and its highest degree of perfection during the period between 1000-1300 A. D. when the Hoysala Ballalas held supreme sway over the south. The great temples of Belur and Halebeid which are the admiration of every traveller, belong to that period. The marvellous intricacy of design combined with the fine artistic finish are nowhere surpassed and even scarcaly equalled anywhere in the world.

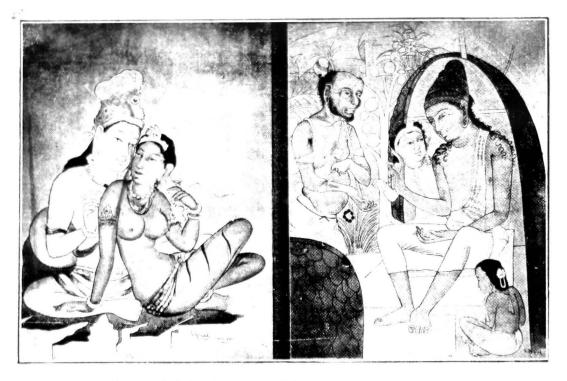
The Vijayanagara Empire is not less known for its glorious architectural monuments. The temple of Virupax, the great monolith of Narasingh, Hazari Rama's temple, and the greatest and most beautiful of them Vijaya Vithalas' temple arrest the attention of the student of Indian art. It is sufficient for our purpose to quote here some sentences in parise of some of the great temples which are typi-

cal of the art of Karnataka. Mr. Fergusson while speaking of the Chalukyan style of architecture says that, 'Dharwar district may be regarded as the cradle of that style.' When speaking of a temple in Itagi he writes that, 'no chased work in silver or gold could possibly be finer.' As regards Belar and Halebid temples he says. 'There are many temples in India which are unsurpassed for delicacy of detail by any in the world; but the temples at Belur and Halebeid surpass even them for freedom of handling and richness of fancy," About Halebid especially he says, 'It may be probably considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour (it was building for 90 years and is yet incomplete) to be found even in the patient east..... Every part exhibits joyous exhuberance of fancy scorning every mechanical restraint. Mr. Rea of the Archaeological department of Madras says about the temple of Vijayavithala that, 'it is the extreme limit of florid magnificience to which the style advanced.

Sculpture in Karnataka advanced to a very high stage of perfection and the fine images of gods and excellent carvings in stone are to be found almost throughout Karnataka. Nor are the monolithic images of the Jaina Teerthankaras and of Narasinha less worthy of note. The image of Gomates'war at Shravanabelgola (Mysore state) 57 feet high stands on a hill and may be said to be the biggest fine

statue in the whole of Asia. It is dated 983 A. D. There is another at Karkala (S. Canara) which is 42 feet high and dated 1421 A.D. There is still one more at Vennur (S. Canara) standing 37 feet high which is dated 1603 A.D. They are all images which represent in stone the pose of calm contemplation with the infant-smile of inner joy dancing on their lips. 'They are attempts at embodying ineffable joy of spiritual peace attained by human consciousness. Though so huge, they are faultless in symmetry, in proportion of limb, and the ease of pose. The finely-carved pillars in South Canara are another notable feature of the Jaina temples. Those at Mudbidri (S. Canara) are worth-noting. The temples in South Canara with the peculiar reverse slopes of the eaves are interesting from that point of view to a student of architecture; because such a style is to be found only in Nepal and Burma, in India. To add to these Hindu achievements. Karnātaka can boast of the grand Mahomedan structures of Bijapur and Gulburga. The seven-storied Boli-Gumaj with the 2nd biggest dome in the world, the Ebrahim Rojā with its fine carvings in plaster and cement, the Jumma-masjid with its imposing prayerhall can well match any such structures in the whole of India.

^{&#}x27;Though not of it still akin to it' is what can be said of Karnātaka epigraphy. Because there is



Ajanta-- (i) A prince and a Princess (ii) Begging Scene (Ainuta Paintings)

scarcely a temple or an old structure which has not somewhere about it an inscription speaking of the high deeds of some here or mentioning some gift. Unfortunately the full signicance of Karnātaka epigraphy has not yet been fully realised and a vast number of inscriptions lie neglected. Only Mysore has been active in this matter and in other parts of Karnātaka only about two thousand have been collected, while about 8000-10000 are yet to be collected and deciphered. The poet and the artist have been both busy working in stone in Karnātaka knowing full-well that all other stuff was Special mention must be made too perishable. here of what are called veera-gallu (hero-stones) and mahā-sati (chaste-lady) kallu which are to be found almost in every village, commemorating the heroism of those dead in battle and of the ladies that followed their husbands in death.

IV,

The art of painting which calls forth into play far finer powers of man for its manifestation requires far greater care for its preservation than architecture or sculpture. The material used too is more perishable and more delicate. Thus though Kannada literature from Pampa's Adipurana to Tirumalārya's Chikka Devarājavijaya abounds with references to the art of painting (Abhinava Pampa mentions Cheeraghatti as a painter) and though there is a class

of traditional painters, the jinagars in almost every village of Karnātaka, unfortunately it is very difficult to find any works of very ancient date except of course, the paintings at Ajanta. Karnataka whose borders in the time of Nripatunga (814 A. D. to 870 A D.) extended from the Kaveri to the Godavari had no small hand in the making of the beauties of Ajanta. Pulikes'i II, the Chalukyā prince of Bādāmi, is the principle figure in one of the finest pictures in Ajanta. Though there are distinct evidences of painting in the caves at Badami, no clear picture is today available. The Mahomedan rule in Karnataka brought its own Moghul influences in portrait-painting etc. The Mysore palace has today a very interresting album of court-celebrities of the time of Krishnarāja Odeyar, who was himself a lover of art. There is today in Karnātaka a revival of the art of painting, and the names of K. Venkatappa of Mysore, Jeerage, and Minachagi may be mentioned as fine promises of the future. In fact, K. Venkatappa who is an ideal devotee of art, has been already described by Rothenstein as a master-artist with an individuality of his own.

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The music of Karnātaka has a very long tradition which even goes far back to the pre-historic period. The Deccan was at one time covered with a thick forest called the Dandaka, inhabited by the original

Dravidians in certain habitable places. The Rāmāyana refers to music in the courts of the three kingdoms: that of the thoughtful Aryans of the Solar Dynasty of the north (Ayodhya), that of the cultured and the brave race of Dravidians of the Deccan (Xishkindha), and that of the savage demons of the far south beyond the peninsula (Lanka). Lava and Kusha were taught to sing the Rāmāyana and they are described as having sung it in the court of their father. When Rama and Laxmana entered the court of Sugriva, they heard the music, played in the harem of Sugriva, to the accompaniment of the various musical instruments, such as the Vina, Mridanga, Adambar, Flute, etc. Ravana is said to have pleased Siva by his vocal and instrumental music and he is mentioned by many Sanskrit writers as having been a master of music.

The Mahabharata, mentions Arjuna in the disguise of Brahannalā who was engaged by the Karnātaka king of Virāta (modern Hangal), as a teacher of music to his princesses, among whom was Uttarā, his daughter.

From the above facts, it is evident that there had been an independent culture of music among the Dravidians of the Deccan. This, in course of time, incorporated into itself the simple and grave melody which may be said to be the features of Aryan music. This is the most important point in the history of music.

Of Dravidian culture, no classical work is available, except a few evidences, which are found in the earliest Tamil literature. The nomenclature in these treatises is quite different from that of Sanskrit treatises but the type of theory, mentioned, is the same as is found in the Nātya Shāstra of Bharata Muni.

As Tamil theory cerresponds to that of the Natva Shāstra with only a difference of language and terminology it is clear that both the Arvan and Dravidian arts must have fused into one common art long before the time of Bharata. No trace is available at present as to how and when this fusion was effected as many other arts and sciences today are the result of the fusion of Aryan and Dravidian cultures. Later writers cast their theory in a simple form and left altogether the complicated system mentioned in the Natya Shastra. So the music as developed in the comparitively peaceful conditions of the Deccan, under the patronage and encouragement of Karnātaka kings partook both of the Dravi dian love of elaboration and the Arvan fondness for simplicity and dignity of manner. During this period we might say there was only one style of music in India and this was assiduously cultivated in Karnataka which thus set the fashion in music to the whole of India, just as the religious reformers of Karnātaka had led the whole of India by religious

inspiration. With the advent of the Persian art in India, there was a cleavage and Northern India developed its own system, now known as the Hindustani system, while Southern India more or less kept its system in tact. It may be noted that Damodara Pandita of Sangit Durpana, Somanatha of Ragvibodha, Ahobala of Parijata and many of note came from Karnātaka.

This Kawali style or Hindustani music was a hybrid growth of several cultures and therefore a certain want of system came to be its regular feature. This fact was noticed by the later Mahomedan rulers who were able to appreciate both Persian and Indian styles as years went by, and they felt that there should be some authoritative work written to put the existing music on a scientific basis. Pundarika Vithala is witness to the fact and he has given in his work an exact picture of the situation.

The verse 'Santyasmin Bahudhā' in the introduction of his work Sadrāga-chandrodaya testifies to the fact that there was no authoritative work in Sanskrit for the Northern system. This fact was noticed by King Burhankhan (1590-1599) and ordered Pundalika Vithala who called himself a Karnātika, to write a book welding the old and new systems into one systematic whole with citations of accredited authorities for the principles and their

application to practice. Another piece of evidence of the same type is found in Rāgamanjari which the same author wrote (see verses aganitaganka and shuskangiohan) when he was in the service of two great Rajput noblemen in the court of Akbar, namely Mādhavasinh and Mānasinha.

Bhavabhatta wrote three volumes on music entitled Anupa Sangita Ratnākara, Anupa Sangita Vilāsa, and Anupankusha. He was attached to the court of Anupasinha son of Karnasinha. His father Janardan Bhatta, alluded to before, was a court musician of Shahajahan (1628-1666). Bhāva Bhatta used the southern terminology and reduced the northern system to order.

The above facts go to prove that Karnātaka music has comparitively maintained its purity. It has already harmoniously fused together the peculiarities of Dravidian and Aryan civilization. High class Hindustani as sung by great artists and Ustāds does not very much differ in manner and style from Karnātaka system. It is the lighter side of Hindustani music which seems to present such a contrast to the spirit of Karnātaka music. If any one wants to hear Indian music in its classical purity, as it existed before its admixture with the Mahomedan element, he must go to the Karnātaka system. It has produced numerous Pandits who were honoured even in foreign courts.



Halebeedu (Side-wall Mysore)—Hoyasaleshwar Temple,

Gajasur Mardini and other figures

As Karnataka was far away from foreign influences and as peace prevailed in the Deccan, and as music was patronised by many Rajas, musical theory was worked out in a systematic way and popularised throughout the Deccan. In so doing, the principles laid down by classical Sanskrit writers were observed and respected. It was on account of this reason that even northern scholars adopted the standardised Karnataka method for constructing their system.

The most important writers on music, of the historic period are Sharngadeva, Kalinath, Ramamatya, Somanath, Venkatamakhi and Tulaja Rajendra. Of these Sharngadeva is the most ancient. The rest may be regarded as authorities on the current pratice of the Karnātaka system.

This sciene is remarkable for the enormous amount of literature produced by many great writers. The first, the greatest, and the most important work was written somewhere between 1227 A. D. and 1240 A. D. This is Sangita Ratnakar by Nisshanaka Sharangadeva. He was employed in the courts of a Yadava king named Singhana who ruled between the dates shown above in Deogiri (modern Daulatabad), the then capital of the Karnātaka Kingdom. His grand father was a native of Kashmir who came to the Deccan to seek patronage for his learning prior to Sharngadeva in A. D. 1187. Sharngadega

was occupying the post of his grand-father in the Raja's court when he wrote the Ratnakar. He is the greatest authority on music whom all succeeding writers have tried to follow.

His essential principles were adopted from Bharata but by his masterly intelligence he developed a coherent system of theory which, once for all, laid securely the basis of natural laws on which the art of music must rest. This theory is, in essential outlines, almost as we find it to-day. This fact shows that he appreciated the beauty of the system of music that prevailed in the Deccan and that had evidently a long tradition behind it. He does not make any mention of the northern style of music. After him there came many authors who have left a rich literature on music, and most of them seem to belong to the Deccan. Among the musicians of Karnataka who went to the north are Gopal Nayak from Daulatabad (Deogiri), and Pundalika Vithala, who were entertained as court musicians by Alla Uddin Khilji and Bruhankhan Akbar maintained in his court a respectively. great many southern musicians. Janardana Bhatta was one of the court musicians of Shaha-Jahan. His son was Bhava Bhatta who wrote some books on music. Today, wherever Karnātaka music is loved and practised it has worked a huge revolution in refining the tastes of millions of common folk. There is hardly a person in the south who is not delighted to hear a composition of Tyagaraja, of Purandardas, and who cannot follow it quite easily. It is a land where there is an extensive spread of the taste for music and where good music is not a rare commodity.

The movement of Bhakti initiated by Madhva singers in the beginning of the 15th century produced great composers. Of these Purandardas (1500-1550) was the most illustrious. His kirtanas and gitas form the first exercises in the systematic learning of the South Indian system. By the labours of this saint and singer this art became as Dr. Coomarswami has described, "an integral quality inhering in all activities, entertained by all in their environment, and produced by all in proportion to the vitality of their activity."

If it is true that Purandardas systematized the music of his day, his system might possibly have come down to us as the 'Hanuman Mata'. He it was who popularized the teachings of Madhwacharya who is belived to be an avatar of Hanuman. No work written on Hanuman Mata is, however, at present available.

Karnātaka music reached its zenith at the time of the Vijayanagara kings. The great commentator Chatur Kalinath who wrote his Kalanidhi on Sangit Ratnakara, Ramamatya the author of Swaramalakalanidhi were in the court of Vijayanagar. Vyasaraya Swami the guru of Purandar, was a tutor to the king of Anegundi.

All these Pandits went to the sonth for safety when Vijayanagar fell in the hands of the Mahomedans and continued their work amongst the Telagu people. Then came out savants like Venkatamakhi the author of Chaturdandi Prakashika, the most valuable authority on Karnataka Music. Tulaja Rajendra, the king of Tanjaore wrote Sangit Saramritoddhara. The compositions of Tyagaraja have materially enriched the Karnātaka music Many other composers such as Sadashivarao, Sham Shastri, Subrahmanya Dixit have ably represented the tradition of the Karnataka system in our own days.

In instrumental music as well Karnātaka has great names. Those who have heard Vainik Shikhamani Sheshanna playing on his veena can say what a Karnātaka musician can achieve. The art of dancing too is very familiar and living in Karnātaka and we have numerous references to it in our literature.

VI

Now when we come to the literary achievments of Karnātaka we are no less astonished at the amount, the richness, and the variety of literature produced here. The Kannada language belongs to the Dravidina stock and has a great literature. So far as its age is concerned, we can safely say that it is the

oldest vernacular literature in India excepting Tamil. Scholars mention Kodagu, Tulu, Kurmba, Golari, Kurukha, Gondi, Tuda, Kota, Badaga etc. as dialects of Kanarese, some of which are themselves rich in folklore and folk-songs. Like all other scripts the beautiful round Kannada script is derived from the Brahmi Lipi.

The most ancient examples of Kannada language are found in a Greek drama of the second century B. C., which was found written on a papyrus, discovered at Oxyrinchus in Egypt. The oldest Kannada inscription about Guttawadi grama found in Nanjangud is dated 191 A. D. according to the Mythic Society's Journal, Bangalore dated May The next oldest inscriptions are dated 266, 357 and 466 A. D. The oldest book extant is the masterly work on poetics called the 'Kaviraja-Marga' written by the great Rashtrakuta king Nripatunga-Amoghavarsha who ruled at Malkhed from 814-870 A. D. Being a book on poetics, it treats of figures of speech, of grammar, of styles etc. and naturally mentions a number of poets and gives quotations. This clearly proves that by the middle of the 9th century, Kanarese literature had developed to a high stage of culture, when a book on poetics could be written in verse with numerous quotations from various poets.

A casual glance at the two volumes of the lives

of Kanarese poets published by Praktana Vimarsha Vichakshana R. Narasimhachar, is sure to give us a good idea about the number of Kannada poets and the variety of works they have written up to 1700 a. D. His third volume is yet in the press which will bring the list up-to-date. The first volume treats of 280 poets from the 5th century up to the end of 1400 a. D. 40 of them are composers of inscriptions. 95 of them are Jains, 90 are Veerashaivas, 45 Brahmins, and 50 belong to other castes. It is remarkable that six of them are poetesses of note. From 1400 to 1700 A. D. we have 360 poets and poetesses. We see here that these are the names of poets which could be rescued from the irregular fragments of history and inscription. We can only imagine how many more are lost to us. Mr. R. Narasimhachar has given also a list of books ascribed to each of the authors and when we look at it, we see the variety of subiects treated.

We may better quote from the introduction to the 2nd edition of the 1st volume of Karnātaka Kavicharite' of Mr. R. Narasimhachar. He says, "Kannada literature is of vast extent and range. Bhattākalanka, the great Kannada grammarian (1604 a. L.) in his introduction to the Shabdānushāsana remarks that in Kannada are written numerous works on Shabdāgama, Yuktāgama and

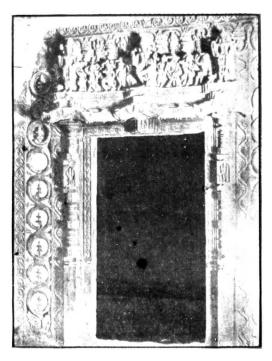
Paramāgama, as well as numberless works on poetry, drama, rhetoric, and fine arts. A survey of Kannada literature brings to view not only Kavyas, works on poetics, prosody and grammar, and lexicons, but also works bearing on biography, local history, philosophy, a respectable number on medicine, veterinary science, mathematics, astrology and other sciences and arts. Besides, there are innumerable inscriptions written in Kannada in excellent kavya style."

But the quality of literature always matters more than either its age or extent. And in this matter Kanarese literature need not yield to any other vernacular. The themes it has taken are mostly religious or puranic, but there are not a few which are purely historical. The Pampa Bharata in its dignity of style and gravity of manner is truly epic in grandeur. In description, in expressing the emotions, and in arousing sentiments the Kannada poet can equal poets of any other land. Bheemakavi, the author of Channabasava Purana was a poet who began a new style. Kumaravyasa and Lakshmeesha have at places improved upon the original Mahābhārata by introducing subtle changes and fine descriptions. The Ramayana, the Bhagwat, the Mahabhārata, are all rendered into excellent Kanarese poetry which is sure to repay study even after the original Sanskrit works have been studied. The flowing fancy, the rich imagination and the utter disregard of mechanical restraints in achieving artistic success, which are a characteristic of Karnātak sculpture and architecture, are more vividly seen in Kanarese poetry.

In addition to the various Sanskrit metres the Kannada poet uses the Kanda and the many kinds of Shatpadi in a masterly manner. The Dasakuta poets have written the best devotional poetry which is capable of being sung musically and we can see even today a professional Dasa carrying the message of Purandar or Kanaka from door to door with a one-stringed instrument. Nijaguna Shivayogi and the many sharanas (devotees) have poured their devout heart in pure Kannada. The rythmic epigramatic prose of the Vachanas is unparalleled in its pithiness, terseness, and the depth of meaning it carries It is like a mine where every rift is loaded with rich spiritual ore. And who have worked in enriching this literature to such an extent? There are kings like Nripatunga, Dandanayakas and ministers for peace and war like Keshiraja. Almost every court had its court-poets and composers. Nor was this all done unsystematically. Kanarese can boast of very methodical grammars such as the Kavyavalokana, Shabdamanidarpana, Shahdanushasana and so on written either in Sanskrit sutra-style with Kannada commentary or in Kannada verses.



Kuravatti (M_{HSOTe}):—Bracket figure in the temple of Mallikarjuna



Belgaum: - Doorway of Antichamber of a Hindu Temple

The line of good writers is kept up and among living authors may be mentioned Galagnath, D. V. Gundappa, Rao Saheb Halkatti, Bendre, Panji Mangeshrao, Masti Venkateshayangar, Honnapurmath, Kamat, Vasudevayya, K. S. Betgeri, Shrikantia, Kristarao Mudweeda, Manjappa Hardekar, N. K. Huilgol, Chidambarayya, and Venkatrao Alur.

Thus Karnātaka literature is but the fitting expression in language of a great race which lived an intensely religious life, which evolved great philosophies, which dared and built empires, which fought bravely, which moulded solid rock to their imagination and which thought deeply, felt nobly, and acted heroically.

This account of Karnātaka culture would be incomplete if we forget to mention the great forts of Raichur, Srirangapattana and many others. In the same way, fine chased work in silver and gold, very delicate carving in sandal and ivory, especially in Shimoga and North-Canara, wood-painting in Gokak and Channapattna are worthy of mention.

Such is the rich culture that Karnātak inherits and in demanding a united Karnātaka it only wishes to find scope again for a revival of such a cultural out-burst, the fruits of which she most humbly wishes to lay at the feet of Bharata-Mata.

CHAPTER IV THE UNIFICATION MOVEMENT

I

It will be seen from the foregoing chapters that the Karnataka people, Karnataka culture, and the Kannada language bear a distinct mark of their own from the third century onwards, if not earlier, and have maintained their characteristics in spite of varying fortunes. We read in the chapter on History that the boundaries of Karnataka extended far in the north to the Godavari and in the south to the Kaveri, during the time of the illustrious king Nripatunga. Since then, with a few changes here and there, Karnātaka held sway till 1565 A. D. over a very large portion of southern India beyond what is today known as the Karnātaka province. In the 16th century during the reign of Rāma Rāya, the Vijayanagara empire touched Ahmednagar in the north and Ceylon in the south. In the face of these facts, it is ridiculous to say that Karnātaka was never under the rule of one administration as some allege. It was after that fatal battle of Talikote or Rakkasagi-Tangadgi in 1565 that United Karnātaka was split up into so many parts. Tipu was the last hero who once again attempted to reunite this unfortunate province in the 18th century and failed.

After Tipu's fall Karnātaka was divided amongst the English, the Nizam, and the Peshwas. When the English became the suzerain power in India they naturally became the masters of the territory of the Peshwas. They also secured some Kannada and other districts known as the Ceded districts in the Madras presidency from the Nizam. When the Mysore state was restored to the rightful heirs the Odeyars, the English became the masters of the remaining portions of Karnātaka, now styled as British Karnātaka. But without the least thought of doing good to Karnātaka as a province and merely to suit their own political ends, they kept the various parts of Karnataka under three separate administrations, with the result that these parts became strangers to each other, and each part stood far away from the beneficial influences of the capital towns. Consequently, we see today the pitiful plight of this province. Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Karwar districts with portions of Sholapur and Satara districts form the tail-end of the Bombay presidency; Bellary, Mangalore, Nilgiri districts and parts of Coimbatore, Anantpur, and Salem districts are tacked on to the Madras presidency, . and Coorg is seen struggling hard with the semblance of a provincial government, and among the states Mysore claims almost half of Karnataka and Hyderabad three districts. A long list of

disadvantages can be drawn consequent on this disintegration of Karnātaka. It we take Karnātaka people to consist of 100, 43 of them are in Mysore, 25 in Bombay, 18 in Madras, and 14 in the Nizam's dominions. Therefore, except in Mysore, one can very well imagine what the plight of Karnātaka people might be in other parts. In Bombay and Madras presidencies they are 19 and 6 per cent respectively, and 17 per cent in the Nizam's dominions. Every-where the territory they occupy is a tail-end. The Bombay Council has only 8 representatives from Karnātaka in 111 and the Madras Council only 5 in 123. The Bombay University has hardly one representative each on its senate and its syndicate and the Madras University has hardly any. Men from Karnātaka being away from the capital have very little scope to show their ability. Except Mangalore, which is progressive in education on account of missionary effort, other parts of British Karnātaka are the latest to receive the attention of governments in education. The parts of Karnātaka which would have been very easily linked up by railway communications remain yet unconnected. Though there are great possibilities of developing irrigation, the rich soil of Karnātaka has to look up to the clouds for rains. The majority languages naturally press in and the Kannada language suffers and has declined by nearly two lacs within the last

census decade. Morever, the different administrations in the different parts of Karnataka create different interests and thus keep them away from active, mutual communication. Her arts, industries, and education are neglected in very way; her rich literature is on the verge of being altogether forgotten and a Kannadiga has come to be despised in his own place. The lot of the Kannadiga is thus not an enviable one.

Thus a nation which was solid for centuries and acted as one man in achieveing notable success in almost all the departments of life now lies shattered and helpless and unable to act but in a sickly manner.

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This threefold influence of the majorities the Tamils, the Andhras and the Marāthas, with the blighting curse of foreign domination was responsible for the loss of the self-consciousness of Karnātaka. But fortunately for her, she was not to lose her consciousness for long. The awakening came in the form of a double attempt: by the Christian missionaries and some European scholars on the one hand, and by the local patriots of Karnātaka on the other. Amongst the former we have to mention with gratitude such distinguished scholars as Rev. F. Zieglar, Rev. F. Kittel, Mr. B. L. Rice, and Dr. Fleet. They rediscovered the treasure of Kannada literature and Karnātaka history and sang

its glories. The missionaries that worked in Mangalore were the pioneers in Kanarese printing. We owe to them the monumental volumes of the Epigraphia Karnatica and the most exhaustive lexicons of Kanarese-English and vice versa. Dr. Fleet raised the first protest against the agression of Marathi when he questioned the very name of the Southern Mahatha country in his book, 'The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency.' He named this part as North Karnātaka. The efforts of these men in the eighties of the last century opened the eyes of the educated people of this province more and more to the never-to-be-forgotten legacy left by our fore-fathers and they too bagan to search for it.

The efforts of the missionaries in the field of education are very important. When the government of the province had failed to realise the sitution and had been opening Marathi schools in the heart of North Karnātaka, these shrewd missionaries opened Kanarese schools even in the border districts. Their plain object was to appeal to the people through their mother-tongue. But incidently, the history of these missionary societies and their jurisdictions enable us today to determine without bias, the boundaries of linguistic Karnātaka and that should really silence the Kanarese-Marathi and Kanarese-Telgu controversies.

Next we may turn to a batch of Karnātaka workers in the field. Most of them were in government service. They began to struggle their utmost to raise the Kannada language to the status it deserved. In North Karnataka they saw the anomaly of teaching Marathi to purely Kanarese boys and brought this serious injustice to the notice of the government. Government recognised the mistake and adopted Kanarese as the only authorised language in the offices. But owing to the responsible officers in the educational department being non-kannadigas this enthusiastic band of workers had to perform a rather up-hill task. Here we recall with great respect the names of Channabasappa, Savadi Annarao, Venkata Rango Katti, Turmari Gangadhar Madivaleshwar, Mulbagal and others. They not only created a Kanarese atmosphere in the schools but wrote a number of text books in simple and chaste Kannada. Their books are read even today with much interest. Divan Bahadur S. K. Rodda C. I. E. the last survivor of this veteran band, is still living in his green oldage and is fighting for the cause. Mr. R. H. Deshpande, although a little junior. has written a number of Kannada books, Mr. Deshpande drew his inspiration from the late Mr. Shamarao Vithal who was then practising in the High Court of Bombay, and worked hard for the establishment of K. V. V. Sangha in Dharwar,

which is a land-mark in the awakening of this province. It has a special significance in as much as the late Maharaja of Mysore was the patron of the institution and the Mysore darbar even today grants an amount for its working, thus recognising that the Mysore state and the other parts of Karnātaka are really one linguistically and culturally.

The next important step that may be mentioned was a Conference of Kanarese authors which was held at Dharwar in 1907 with the object of advancing Kanarese literature. But it did not turn out much work. After these infantile attempts, we come to the year 1915 when the first Karnātak Sahitya Sammelana was held in Bangalore under the distinguished presidentship of that renowned Kannada scholar, Mr. R. Narasinhacher.

This was a truly representative gathering. It was here in the capital of the great Karnātaka dynasty, that the representatives of the distant parts of Karnātaka met for the first time, after more than three hundred years, to deliberate upon the ways and means of the cultural unification of Karnātaka. The meeting of people once again, who had been kept apart for so many years under different administrations, was a sight to see!

The idea of holding such a Conference originated in the fruitful brains of that far-sighted Kannada statesman, Sir, M. Vishveshvarayya. Since its inception the Sahitya Sammelana holds its sessions annually in different parts of Karnātaka. The Sahitya Parishat edits a high-class journal and has published a number of standard works. It is a great force in unifying the Kannada language. The local peculiarities in language are fast disappearing. Thus the Parishat has given a great impetus to the spread of Kanarese literature. If the efforts of the Parishat to create common text-books in schools throughout Karnātaka become successful, we shall have made a distinct headway in the unification movement.

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But the attempts of all these pioneers were mostly restricted to the field of literature. Though alive to the many other disabilities, they had not hit upon a sovereign remedy for all the ills. It was reserved for men like Mr. Alur, Mr. Kadapa, Mr. Setlur Mr. Mudaveeda, and Mr. D. V. Gundappa to visualise the remedy and work it out. They saw that disintegration of Karnātaka lay at the root of all the troubles and Mr. Kadapa rightly said, though with a slight exaggeration, that unification for Karnataka was on a par with swarsi for India. This growing consciousness in the people took a pronounced and propagandistic turn in the year 1917 and the Karnataka Sabha was started in Dharwar, with the definite object of the Unification of Karnātaka. Mr. Venkatarao Alur, now editor of

'Jayakarnataka,' Mr. Honnapurmath editor 'Chandrodava'. Mr. Kristarao Mudveeda editor Karnātakavritta, and the late Mr. Raghavendrarao Kadapa were the leaders of the new movement and they sponsered this Sabha. They held meetings in various places and created public opinion in favour of unification. Mr. Kadapa was the first to visit even the remotest corners of Karnātaka with this object. The result was that memorials were sent from different districts to the then Secretary of State Mr. Montague, who was touring in India. The Andhras and the Ooriyas had sent similar memorials. The authors of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms admitted the truth contained in the memorials and incorporated the principle of redistribution of provinces on language or race basis (vide Mont-Ford Report, para 246).

In the year 1918 Mr. B. N. Sharma moved in the Central Legislative Council a resolution recommending the linguistic basis for the distribution of provinces. The government accepted the principle and the resolution was, therefore, withdrawn. Having achieved its object with the government, the Karnātaka Sabha turned its attention to the Indian National Congress with a request to constitute, the Kannada tract in the Bombay and the Madras presidencies with Coorg into a separate Congress circle. Again Mr. Kadapa toured the

whole of Karnātaka and led 800 delegates to the Nagpur sessions. The demand received due consideration from that popular body, and in its memorable sessions at Nagpur in 1920, with Mahatma Gandhi as its guiding spirit, it accepted the principle and immediately divided the country into 21 linguistic Congress circles. Since then, Karnātaka which was a part of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, has been functioning separately as the Karnātaka Provincial Congress Committee with its head quarters at Gadag.

It is certainly very creditable to the leaders of this movement that they did not stop short with making representations to others, but were all along doing what constructive work they could, to march onwards to their destined goal. In May 1920, even before the Congress granted a separate circle and the Montague-Chelmsford Report was published, they held the first Karnātaka Conference at Dharwar under the presidentship of Sir V. P. Madhavarao. The Conference was attended by representative men from every part of the province and on invitation, some distinguished leaders from other provinces also were present. This conference passed without a single dissentient voice, the resolution demanding the formation of a separate Karnātaka Province. From every point of view-the large number of delegates that attended, the

weighty speeches delivered, and the unanimity of opinion on every important resolution—this first conference of the Kanarese speaking people was declared a huge success even by the outsiders.

To relate the political, educational, and literary activities of Karnataka as a whole, since the formation of a separate Congress circle, is beside our object, The part played by the sons of Karnataka in the great national movement of 1921 might still be green in the minds of the readers. A number of private and public educational institutions have come into existence. Despite long distances and bad communications the annual All-Karnātaka conferences, both political and non-political, are bringing into closer contact people of different parts and even of the states in Karnātrka. It is only seven years since the Congress gave Karnātaka a separate province; still within that brief period this province has been able to organise public opinion and carry on an awakening in the people, in almost all the branches of human activity. Only in May last, the 5th Political conference, the 4th Bhagini-mandala conference, the 3rd Karnātaka Unification conference, the 2nd Hindi conference, and the 1st Khadi Conference, In June, Gulburga held the 14th were held. Sahitya Sammelana. Still more recently in August 1928 at Bagalkot, we had the 3rd Karnataka Seva-Dal conference, the 1st Karnātaka Merchants' conference and the 1st Journalists' conference. In May was held the 3rd Ayurveda conference in Mangalore, However, since there is no administrative unity and the government responds but little to the popular will, the people are handicapped in doing what they actually want to do. But there is clear evidence that the volume of public opinion is swelling and Karnātaka feels that it must be united and be a separate province. The number of Kannad periodicals is now one hundred. New books on different subjects are appearing rapidly. The separate Congress circle has thus been the harbinger of this dawn of awakening for Karnataka. The belief of the people, that a politically united Karnātaka can revive the ancient prosperity of the province, has been strengthened by all these recent activities.

The years 1921-1924 were the years of non-cooperation and the Karnātaka leaders had little time to devote to the unification movement as such. But real solid work was done during those days in so far as the scattered parts of Karnatāka worked as one man, felt and suffered as one man, and active intercourse increased. Political and other conferences were held in Mangalore, and Gokarna (N. Canara) which had been thought inaccessible so long to N. Karnātaka. The efforts of all Karnātaka for cooperating in national work may be said to have culminated in the grand success and the ideal

arrangements of the Congress Sessions at Belgaum in 1924, in which people from Mangalore and Mysore, from N. Canara and Kodagu took equal part with men from Dharwar and Belgaum, Bellary and Bijapur and Gulburga and worked under the able leader Spt. Gangadharrao Deshpande.

Mr. Kadapa who was ever alive to the cause of unification, seized the opportunity of the Congress and convened the 1st Karnataka Unification Conference under the presidentship of Rao Bahadur Kambli, M. L. c. to revive the Unification Sabha to work for the sole object of achieving unification. Since then, the Unification Sabha has been carrying on steady work in cooperation with the Sub-Committee of the K. P. C. C. appointed for the purpose. The Sabha held two conferences, one in Bellary in 1926 when Mr. Panditappa Chikodi M. L. C. presided and one in Dharwar in 1928 when Rao Saheb Halkatti presided.

In 1925 the Sabha had ample work to do in trying to see that Bellary a Kanarese district, was excluded from the operation of the Andhra University bill. But that could not be, inspite of a hard fight by Mr. Kadapa others. A deputation waited on the Select Committee of the Madras L. Council but failed in its attempt. Again a weighty deputation consisting of Dr. C. B. Ramrao, Bangalore, Messrs. D. V. Belvi and M. R. Sakhare, Belgaum, Messrs

B. Bhimarao, K. Gururajrao, I. Vasupallappa, Bellary, and Mr. R. G. Kadapa, Dharwar, waited on the Council itself, interviewed the Ministers and the Governor who did feel the reason and the justice of the demand to exclude Bellary. But after all majorities had their way and Bellary was included in the jurisdiction of the Andhra University whose main aim is higher education in Telgu. When all was said and done, Karnātaka had nothing left to do but to pass protest resolutions in almost every big town throughout Karnātaka and in all conferences.

The next step was to organise public opinion still more systematically. That was done in 1926 by issuing a questioniare with 12 questions to about 200 thinking people in Karnātaka, 125 of whom responded saying that Karnātaka must have a separate province, only one gentleman dissenting. Every journal in Karnātaka, without exception, supports unification. It may be incidentally stated here that a questionaire as regards an All-Karnātaka University had also been issued and the consensus of opinion was that the Mysore University itself should be transformed into an All-Karnātaka University. This work is now carried on by a separate committee with Messrs. Alur and Basavanal as secretaries. In May 1926, Bellary organised a number of All-Karnātaka conferences chief among them being the 4th Political, the 2nd Unification, the 1st University and the 2nd Seva Dal conferences. Then the Sabha and the K. P. C. C. Sub-committee thought of collecting signatures in British Karnātaka alone on a declaration that unification is a brith-right of the Karnātaka people and that it ought to be conceded. An earnest appeal to the public to sign it was issued over the weighty signatures of 34 leaders of all castes. communities and creeds. There are Brahmins, non-Brahmins, Mahomedans, Jains, Christains, non-co-operators, swarajists, moderates and even government servants, Council and Assembly members and members of the Congress, showing the unanmity of the demand for unification. Volunteers of the Karnātaka Seva Dal have collected 36,000 signatures within a very brief period, specially in the border districts of Bellary and Belgaum.

The Sabha and the K. P. C. C. Sub-Committee have been also active in getting resolutions passed, in starting its branches, in organising meetings and passing resolutions, in getting Municipalities and Local Boards to pass resolutions favouring unification. From the replies that the Bombay Government has given to a question by Mr. Karki, it is clear that the Municipalities of Bijapur, Haveri, Hallyal, Kumpta and the District Local Boards of Belgaum, Bijapur, Karwar, Dharwar have passed such resolutions. The Mangalore Municipality and

others also have passed similar resolutions. Another important function that the Sabha arranged throughout Karnātaka on the 8th of August 1927 was the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of Shri Shrikrishnaraja Odeyar of Mysore which was observed everywhere with great eclat. The Sabha then addressed a letter to Karnātaka M. L. C.s (of Bombay) and some eminent gentlemen to see the Governor of Bombay when he was here and speak to him about unification. They did so and received sympathetic replies from him.

The workers in the movement have been ever alive to the importance of visiting the outlying and the so called distant parts of Karnātaka which are distant only on account of bad communications. In 1926, Messrs. S. V. Kowjalgi, President, X. P. C. C. and Vice-president K. U. Sabha, M.R. Kembhavi Hon. Secretary E. P. C. C., B. B. Diwakar, S. V. Khanolkar and Dr. Hardikar attended and addressed the most popular assembly of Coorg namely the Zemindars' Conference presided over by Mr. Manjeri Ramaiyyar. A resolution favouring unification of Coorg (Kodagu) with Karnataka was passed in the conference. Next year when Sit. S. Sreenivas Iyangar presided, Mr. Diwakar attended the conference and again a Unification resolution was passed. In 1928 too. Coorg has passed the same resolution at the conference with Mr. Satyamurti in the chair. In 1927

Messrs. Diwakar and Baburao Patwardhan had been to the Nilgiris and Kollegal where Karnātaka awakening has been but recent. Mr. Mangalwedhe rivisited Nilgiris in 1928 and with the help of Dr. U. Ramarao he has been able to do much.

In 1928, when the All-Parties conference first met in Delhi in February to consider the drafting of a constitution for India, a printed representation to grant unification to Karnātaka was distributed among the members by Mr. Hoskoppa Krishnarao. In May 1928, was organised the 3rd Karnātaka Unification Conference with Rao Saheb Halkatti as the president. A committee consisting of the president, Mr. Panditappa Chikodi and Mr. R. R. Diwakar was appointed by the Sabha to represent the case for unification to the Sub-committee of the All Parties conference at Allahabad. The Karnataka Provincial conference which alse met in May appointed Messrs, D. V. Belvi, M. L. A. V. N. Jog M. L. C., S. V. Kowjalgi and R. R. Diwakar to join the committee appointed by the Sabha. Mr. Diwakar went to Allahabad on behalf of these committees on 23-6-28 and the Nehru committee has made very strong recommendations as regards Karnātaka unification. After remarking that the present distribution of provinces has no rational basis, and that it is not a success even from the purely administrative point of view, they say that the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned should he consulted and redistribution taken in hand. They say that it is most desirable to re-group provinces on a linguistic basis. They appreciated, what the congress has done 8 years ago by creating linguistic congress circles. Coming to the case of Karnātaka they say that, 'the case for the Karnātaka was placed before us by a representative of the Karnātaka Unification Sangha and the Karnātaka Provincial Congress Committee. It had been ably prepared with a wealth of information, historical, cultural, and statistical. All our questions were answered satisfactorily and in our opinion a strong prima facie case for unification and the formation of Karnataka as a separate province was made. Financially the proposition of the Karnātaka was very strong and even at present there was a considerable surplus in the British part of the Karnataka. Parts of Karnātaka, except the small islands on the other side of the Mysore territroy, should be separated from the provinces in which they are at present included and formed into a single separate province.

It is not only the Unification Sabhathat is active in this matter but the Vidyavardhak Sangha, the Sahitya Sammelan and other bodies also have passed unification resolutions. The Veerashaiva Mahasabha held in Bangalore in December 1927 with Rao Bahadur Kambli as president said that Karnātaka has no future without unification. The Karnātaka Merchants' Conference at Bagalkot as recently as August 1928 passed a unification resolution.

Parallel efforts for redistribution of provices have been made notably by Orissa and Andhra. Even the Montague-Chelmsford report proposed that the question of the redistribution of Orissa should be taken up immediately. Accordingly a resolution was moved in the Legislative Assembly and in response to it a committee of enquiry was appointed which found that, 'a genuine long standing and deep seated desire' was evident among the Orivas. No definite action has however yet been taken by the government. Sir Sankaran Nair brought a resolution in the Council of State in 1926 for the seperation of Tamil Nadu: in February 1927 Mr. Ramadas Pantulu moved the same body to adopt a resolution for the separation of Andhra. But both the resolutions were lost, the Government opposing them on various grounds. The main objections of the Government as advanced by Mr. Crerar in the one case and by Mr. Evans in the other were that the question had not yet come before the local council, that there was no unanimity among the people concerned, that there was no strong demand, that there would be greater expenditure, and that if at all there was a strong case the statutory commission would consider it.

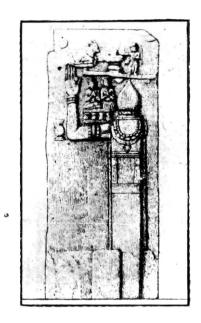
Dr U. Ramrao brought a resolution in the Council of State in February 1926 for appointing a Committee to consider the ways and means for unifying the scattered parts of Karnātaka. But that resolution too failed. Thus though Karnātaka has been able to convince the Congress and the Sub-Committee of the All Parties Conference, and though the Government too has accepted the principle of redistribution on linguistic basis as evidenced by the Mont-ford Report, para 246, and Section 52 A of the Government of India act 1919, it passes ones under standing why the Government is not taking any action at all. When a resolution is brought in the Council of State one of the replies by the government is that it has not been brought in the local council. But how can Karnātaka hope to get support either in the Bombay or the Madras Legislative Councils when Karnātaka members are in the minority of 8 to 111 and 5 to 123? Still optimistic as they are and counting as they do on the sense of justice of the members, almost every Karnātaka member has tabled a resolution for Karnātaka Unification. To a question by Rao Bahadur Kambli in 1927 in the Bombay Council, the government replied that it was not aware of any movement for Unification while it had asked the commissioner S. D. by a Circular No. L. C. 1861-B. dated 12th July 1926 if the Unification movement had popular support To another question by Mr. M. D. Karki in the same council in 1927, Government replied that it was aware of such a movement but did not intend doing anything in the matter! To a question in July 1928 by Mr. Karki the Government has replied that the District Local Boards of the four Kanarese districts in Bombay, the Taluka Boards of Khanapur, Karajgi, Hangal, the Municipalities of Bijapur, Haveri, Hallyal, and Kumta have passed resolutions urging unification. The indefatigable Dr. U. Ramarao has again given notice of a unification resolution in the Council of State. In view of all these things we hope that the Government would not deny the knowledge of so popular a movement in Karnātaka and would extend in future its sympathies to it when it has already once accepted the principle.

All the same, we can say to-day that under the able eadership of Sit. S. V. Kowjalgi, the president of the K. P. C. C. and Rao Saheb Halkatti, the president of Karnātaka Unification Sabha and by the efforts of men like Dr. U. Ramarao, Rao Bahadur Kambli, Mr. Belvi, Gangadharrao Deshpande and others, the Unification movement has come to a stage when it is within sight of success, especially when the All Parties Conference has distinctly reccommended unification.

Let us now pass on to the next chapter in which we shall state clearly the actual detailed demand for unification.



Hangal (Dist. Lharwar :-- Veeragal



Belagame (Mysore): - Mahasatikal

CHAPTER V

THE DEMAND

With her rich black soil, salubrious climate, such perennial rivers like Krishna and Tungabhadra, with her vast mineral wealth, and with first class harbours like Karwar and Bhatakal both on the east and west. Karnātaka when united will stand equal to any Indian province, nay certainly much better than many independent nations in Europe. Her history is such that any citizen can well be proud of She was once ruled by renowned kings and she was for many years the mistress of the Southern Peninsula including the island of Ceylon. She gave birth to such religious personalities like Shankaracharya, Madhawacharya, Ramanujacharya and Shri Basava the founder of the Lingayata religion which had for its chief aim the uplift of the depressed classes. Her architectural and sculptural wealth even today stands unsurpassed in this big Indian Continent, Her developed language and varied literature can stand comparison with those of any other province in India. In short her geography, history, her culture as exhibited in art and literature, all these strongly support her demand for an independent province.

Now what is her demand? She wants that her children should not be kept divided under so many

different administrations where like orphans they have to look up to others for a crumb of bread. In the Bombay Presidency the Karnataka districts stand far in the south, while in Hyderabad they occupy the west-end. Bellary, Coimbatore and Mangalore are border districts in the Madras Presidency. Coorg by being kept a separate territory has become a safe ground for foreign planters. The Kannada portions in the so called Southern Maratha States are far away from their capitals and they rarely feel the paternal care bestowed upon them by their chiefs. It is for this reason that she never feels the warmth of the various public activities that take place every day in the capital towns like Bombay, Madras and Hyderabad. The enlightened sons of the soil have realised the disadvantages of such a split in their province. When they introspect over their present situation and compare this province with sister provinces like Maharashtra and Bengal, they ask "what is it that has kept us so backward in the race of public activities in India?". The voice of reason whispers, 'it is your disunited condition.' The great European war, the Bengal partition movement and the activities of the neighbourly province of Andhra have awakened in the people of the Karnātaka this consciousness that if all her rich historical and cultural wealth is to be of any avail in the service of India, Karnātaka must

stand united. When the war-like Kannadigas of Coorg, the patient toilers of Mangalore and Karwar and the keen politicians of the North Karnātaka will combine, they will not only revive the ancient glory of their province but they will be a very strong force in the struggle for freedom in which the Indian Nation is involved today.

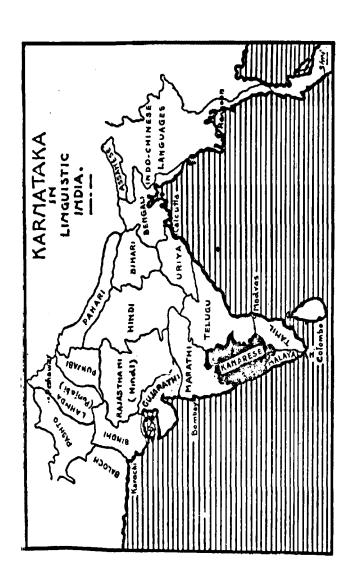
Therefore it is that the Kannadigas ask the sister provinces to support their demand for unification and ask the government of the country to reconstitute Karnātaka so that all men speaking the same Kannada language and imbibing the same ancient culture may come together and develop their powers to their utmost capacity. This demand as it is just and natural is also patriotic and in the interest of All-India. The people of Karnataka do not envy the onward march of their neighbours, the Marathas and the Telugus, but they desire that their province should not be a drag on the future Free India and that Karnātaka should be a shining jewel along with other provinces in the crown of India. The Kannadigas claim whatever is their own and they are ready to concede the same to others.

The map of Political Karnataka shows the territory where the masses speak the Kannada language. If we start from the south, the frontier line touches Coimbtore, Salem, Anantpore, Bellary and enters northwardinto the Nizam's dominions. The district

of Bidar and part of Osmanabad are completely within the frontier line. Then the line turns to north-east where it forms the border of the Sholapur district. Then it comes down-wards forming the boundary line of the so-called Southern Maratha States—which are really the North Karnātaka states as a glance at the map will show. Then the line turns southwards and taking North Kanara, South Kanara, and Coorg within its folds joins the starting point.

We have fixed the boundaries of the Karnataka province by reference to past history and current census reports and by actual consultation with the people concerned. Our specific demand therefore is this :- Belgaum, Dharwar, North Kanara, and Bijapur districts in the Bombay presidency, South Kanara, Bellary, and Nilgiri districts. Hosur and Krishnagiri talukas in the Salem district, Kollegal taluka in Coimbtore and Madaksira taluka in the Anantpore districts, all in the Madras Presidency, together with Coorg be constituted into a separate administrative unit to be known as Karnātaka. The area of this new province would be 35,408 sqr, miles, and the population 63,57,762. The income would be Rs. 2.57.91.383 and the expenditure Rs. 2.09.70.367. (Vide appendices A and D.).

There is absolutely no difference of opinion as regards the districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, North Kanara, and South Kanara. As regards



Bellary since the decision given by the A. I. C. C. in 1922 the district has been included in the Karnataka. In spite of a few sporadic efforts on the part of Andhras the District Congress Committee with its head quarters at Bellary has been functioning smoothly under the Karnātaka Provincial Congress Committee. As for Coorg, today it stands as a separate province but its official language is Kannada. No doubt the Kodavas (inhabitants of Coorg) speak the Kodava dialect but Kannada is their literary and educational medium. The leading newspapers of the province, the Lokapavana and Kodagu are in pure Kannada. The Zamindars and ryots in the province have been declaring for the last three years in their annual Conferences that they are Kannadigas and would be very glad to form a part of the future Karnātaka province. So there is no question about Coorg.

Nilgiri is another district in the Madras Presidency where Kananda is spoken by the majority. Last year a representative of the K. P. C. C. visited Nilgiri and Kollegal talukas of Coimbatore and he found that though the vernacular of the people is Kannada, being under the influence of the Tamilians, they are compelled to learn Tamil. The government which is no respecter of the vernaculars of the country cares very little for mother tongues and Kannadigas are forced to learn Tamil against their will.

But in spite of the outside influences the merchant class have still retained Kannada in their business correspondence. When the Mysore government completes the projected Railway lines, these three talukas and the Nilgiri district will have a direct connection with every part of Karnataka. Therefore they ought to form a part of the future united Karnataka province. Madaksira is a taluka in the Anantpore district. Its population is 85595 and they all speak Kannada. The people there are willing to come under the proposed province. This much as regards the Madras presidency.

Now coming to the northeast we have the Sholapur district which was once a purely Kannada district. We do not desire to enter into the historical controversy whether the Badavas of Pandharpur (Sholapur district) are Kannada or Marathi-they are proved beyond doubt to be Kannadigas- the fact remains that the taluka of Sholapur is entirely Kannada. It is erroneous to determine the character of the taluka from the cosmopolitan population of the town itself. The population of this commericial centre is drawn from distant places and hence composed of men speaking various languages. But the preponderating majority of the Lingayats in the town itself and the vast purely Kannada speaking population in the rural area leave no doubt and urge us to pronounce this taluka as a Karnātaka taluka.

This is all the portion we claim to include in the proposed Karnātaka province. To put the demand quite clearly and unequivocally we want the abovementioned portions of the Bombay and Madras presidencies and Coorg to form a separate administrative province with a Gavernor-in-Council, a Legislative Council, a High-court, and a University, not to mention numerous other things that follow the constitution of a separate province. This is the demand of Karnātaka and it is but merest justice to grant the Karnātaka people this much.

But before we conclude this chapter we must say a word with regards the states that fall within this territory in respect of their obligation to this province. In the first place we have the state of Mysore with its enlightened ruler who by his genuine love for Kannada language and culture has become the pride of Kannadigas. Then we have the states of Sondur in the Bellary district and Savanur in the Dharwar district. The one is ruled by a Maratha chief and the other by a Mohomedan Nawab. These states being in the heart of Karnataka have indetified themselves with the people. But the so-called Southern Maratha States have not yet fulfilled their obligations to their subjects and some of them have not yet opened Kannada schools in villages where the preponderating majority of population is Kannada. The court language in all these

states is still Marathi. There is absolutely no encouragement to the Kannada literature. observer who passes through these states can see the most unnatural sight of people whose mother tongue is Kannada being unable to read and write even the ABC of that language. The natural result is that these people who are not masters of their mother tongue are 'jacks' of all languages. We hope that these states will take a leaf from the history of such an advanced state as Baroda where though the Raja is a Maratha out and out, he has adopted Gujarathi as his court language which is the language of his subjects. If these states, which draw their revenue from purely Kannada people, will but do the primary duty of giving free scope to the language of the people, they will have helped the advancement of this province.

With these few remarks about the states that are within the boundaries of Karnātaka, we close this chapter. The readers, we believe, will now admit that our demand is just and reasonable. Though historical Karnātaka extended from the Narbada to Kaveri we do not claim this territory now. We know that in course of time on account of various influences people sometimes change their language and religion. We do not undertake the impossible task of reclaiming all these. What we now want is that people who speak Kannada and live in the

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Kannada atmosphere should be brought together under one administration to the advantage of both these people and the Indian Nation. In this demand we hope we are justified in claiming the sympathy and help of all the sister provinces.

CHAPTER VI

A PRACTICAL PROPOSITION

After giving a full geographical, historical and cultural description of Karnātaka, we have given a brief account of the unification movement and clearly stated the present demand of Karnātaka. Now it is our duty to prove that this demand is neither a demand for the impossible nor for the unpracticable. It is a simple straight demand and one which is really within the domain of practical politics. In order to prove that it is a practicable demand it is necessary to show that British Karnātaka when formed into a separate province will be a convenient administrative unit, that it will be financially self-supporting, and that it can be easily so formed and given better oppartunities for dovelopment.

Contiguity of space, homogenity of population, uniformity of language are the chief elements that make for the convenience of administration. All these elements exist in an eniment degree in the future British Karnātaka province. No doubt the districts of South Canara seems to be a long way off from North Karnataka but that is a difficulty which is there only on account of neglected communications. A coastal railway and sea-service would be in a

position to wipe out what little inconveniences there are today as regards communications. The whole of the population of British Karnātaka is homogeneous in culture and is bound by common history and common traditions. Kannada language is spoken by 80 percent of the population of these portions of Karnātaka. Thus in matters of administration, education, development and progress the people of British Karnātaka are in a position to act as one man and what is more important, they are today willing and eager to do so as their demand for unification clearly shows.

The next question is about finance. However good a scheme might be, unless it is self-supporting it is almost of no value, as it is impracticable. This aspect of Karnātaka is fortunately very strong. If we look at appendix D, E, & F, we see that even to-day British Karnātaka, though as yet undeveloped. can spare about Rs. 50 lacs for running the provincial administration. Now so big an administrative province as Bombay with about 2 crores of population spends not more than Rs. 50 lacs on its provincial administration. It is obvious that British Karnātaka with a smaller are a can certainly manage and manage quite well with Rs. 50 lacs for its provincial government.

Is there then any practical difficulty in the way of the formation of the British Karnātaka province?

No, not at all. Nor is any there constitutional objection to such a re-formation of provinces. On the other hand, the Government of India Act, Section 52 A. clearly lays down the procedure for such a redistribution of provinces. What is necessary is really the will of the people of the particular area and their financial ability to run the government of a separate province. Sufficient unanimity of opinion and the self-supporting nature of the future province of Karnātaka have been proved to exist. What is necessary is to appoint a small committee just to go into the details and settle the boundaries and make British Karnātaka a single province. So it is eminently a practical proposition.

We have thus laid before our sister provinces and before our Karnātaka brothers the whole case for Karnātaka unification. We have spared no pains in elaborating even the details. We have voiced the legitimate, unamimous, and clear demand of a whole people who have once played a great and glorious part in the history of India. They claim today that they be given facilities to serve India in the same glorious way, that they did then. Today they lie paralysed being divided and disintegrated most artificially and unnaturally. They plead for justice in asking for being allowed to live as of old as one unit and they expect justice at the hands of every Indian in the interest of Karnātaka and Mother India.

APPENDIX A Area and population of the future Karnataka

(As per Census reports of 1921.)

8 DISTRICTS

Name of District.	Area in aq miles.		o. of Villages.	Total population.
1. Belgaum	4611	7	1062	952,996
2. Bijapur	5707	8	1120	796,876
3. Dharwar	4606	17	1260	1,036,924
4. North Kanara	3946	7	1257	401,727
5. South Kanara	4021	7	798	1,247,368
6. Bellary	5713	10	911	862,370
7. Coorg (Kodagu)	1582	2	347	163,838
8. Nilgiris	982	3	54	126,519
8. Districts.	31168	61	6839	5,588,618
5 (OUTLYIN	TAL	BASU	
1. Madageira	443	1	57	85,595
Dist. Anantpur				
2. Hosur	. 1217	1	437	186,430
Dist. Salem				
3. Krishnagiri	. 656	2	183	167,302
Dist. Salem				
	1076	1	84	95,356
Dist. Coimbator	*			
5. Sholapur .	848	1	150	234,461
Dist. Solapur				
5. Talukas.	4210	6	911	769,144
Grand Total	35408	67	7750	6,357,762

APPENDX B
Area, Population, and Finances of Karnataka compared

A comparitive table of the proposed Karnataka province and some other provinces and states in India which are already separate administrative units or claim to be separate.

No.	Name of existing or would-be provinces and states		Ares in Eq. miles	Papulation	Income Rs.	Expenditure Rs.	Remarks.
1	Karnataka (for detals s App A.)	66	35,408	63,57,762	257,99,383	209,19,367	Income does not include that of the outlying Talukas and expendi- ture does not include that or provincial government.
2	Assam	•••	52,959	75,98,861	259,12,000 (1925-26)	237,28,000 (1925-26)	This is sirenly a separate province
8	Bindh		47,066	32,78,493	***	!	Olaims to be a separate province and the Nebru Committee has
4	N. W. Frontier	•••	16,466	22,47,696			decided in its favour, A separate minor province though with a Chief Commissioner.
5	Orissa	•••	89,000	15,25,0000		!	Claims to be a separate province,
ť	Mysore State	•••	29,444	59,76,660	355,91,000 (1928-29)	365,48,000 (1928-29)	Most efficient administration-
7	Coorg (minor province)	•••	1,582	1,65.833	12,92,000	13,51,000	Cuder chief Commissioner,

Note:—This table refutes a number of objections against Karnataka Unification. Assam which is only a little bigger than Karnataka is already a Governor's province with a Council. Mysore, though a State, is one of the best-governed and though smaller than the future Karnataka province in area and population, has developed its income from two coroes in 1915 to 3.5 coroes in 1928. A government which allowed Coorg to be a province cannot argue against the smallness of the area of any province.

APPENDIX C
Are aand population, of Karnataka compared (contd).

A comparitive table of the proposed Karnataka province and some dominions and independent countries which are about the same size or population as Karnataka.

No.	Name of province		Area	Population
1	karnataka (For details dee. App. A)		35,408	63,57,762
2	Nepal		54,000	56,00,000
3	Afganistan	•••	245,000	63,80,500
4	Denmark	***	17,144	32,89.195
5	Ireland	•••	32,586	43,90,219
6	Belgium		11,744	76,84,272
7	Australia		29,74,581	54,36,794

Note:—This table shows that Karnataka may not only claim to be a separate province but even claim independence

APPENDIX D

The Income and expenditure of the 8 districts of Karnataka

(As per Government replies to questions in legislative councils and from Administrative Reports.)

	INCOME			-	EXPENDITURE	
Name of districts.	Revenue from Central Head.	Revenue from Pro, head	Total revenue from central and tro, heads,	Expenditure on Central heads.	Expenditure on Provincial heads	Total Expenditure on Central and Prov. heads
1. Belgaum 2. Bijapur 3. Dharwar 4. North Kanara 5. South Kanara 6. Bellary 7. Coorg 8. Nilgiris	140,000 150,000 220 000 40,000 159,827 197,120 Not available 285 889	3,910,000 2,700,000 4,980,000 1,740,000 4,990,341 8,848,693 1,197,507	4,050,000 2,850,000 5,200,000 1,780,000 5,150,168 4,045,819 1,292,000 1,423,396	Not available 74,125 91,500 Not available 236,218	Not available 2,939,351 3,169,538	8,600,000 2,090,000 3,960,000 1,810,000 3,013,476 3,261,038 1,351,000 1,884,853
		TOTAL	2 5,791, 3 83		TOTAL	20,970,367

Deducting the total expenditure of Rs. 20,970,367 from the total revenues of Rs. 25,791,383 we have a clear balance of Rs. 4,821,116 available for running the Provincial Government with a very liberal expenditure on it.

APPENDIX E

Expenditure of the Bombay Presidency on Provincial administration.

Revised Estimate 1927-28.

No.	Item.		Expenditure.
1	Governer, Executive Counc	illors	
	and Ministers		11,92,000
2	Lagislative Bodies	•••	2,00.000
3	Secretariat, Head Quarter	8	•
-	Establishment		19,02.000
4	Miscellaneous	•	33,000
	1	Ī	33,27,000

Note: — This table excludes two more civil departments namely, jails and justice. Even if we suppose that as big a sum is required for running the administration of Karnataka and an additional 12 lacs for justice and jails the total comes to 45,27,000 whereas appendix D shows a surplus of Rs. 4,821,116 and therefore Karnataka is self-supporting financially and can run the most costly of administrations even today.

APPENDIX F

Revenue and Expenditure of Assam (Roughly equal to Karnataka) on General Administration

Revenue		Expenditure.			
Revised Estimate. 1926-1927.	Actuals. 1925-26,	Bevised Estimate. 1926-17.	Actuals 1925-26.		
258,04,000.	259,12,000.	259,87,00 0	237,28,000.		

Karnataka with its income of Rs. 25,791,585 can be as selfassupporting as Assam.

APPENDIX G

CHRONOLOGY OF THE UNIFICATION MOVEMENT

1907	Conference	of	Kannada	authors	ir
	Dharwar.				

- 1915 The first Karnātaka Sahitya Sammelan in Bangalore.
- 1917 The starting of the Karnātaka Sabha in Dharwar for unifying Karnātaka.
- 1918 Memorandum urging Karnātaka Unification submitted by different Karnātaka districts to Mr. Montague, the then Secretary of State.
- 1918 The Montague Chelmsford Report admits the advisability of redistributing provinces on linguistic or racial basis, in para 246.
- 1920 The All-Karnātaka Provincial Conference
 May at Dharwar demanded unification, with
 Sir. V. P. Madhavarao as president.
- 1920 800 delegates attended the Nagpur Ses-Dec. sions of the Congress and asked for a separate Congress circle.
- 1920 A separate Congress circle given to Karnā-Dec. taka including the inlying native states.

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- The Karnātaka Provincial Congress Committee accordingly formed a circle with the four districts of Belgaum, Dharwar, Karwar, and Bijapur, the town of Bellary and its six talukas, the district of Mangalore, the whole of Coorg, the states of Mysore, Sondur, Savanur, Jath, Jamkhandi, Ramdurg, Mudhol, Akkalkot, Kurundwad; the districts of Raichur, Gulburga, Bedar, and Kopbal from the Nizam's dominions, Shahapur and Shirhatti of the Sangli state, Gunadal of Aundh state, Gudgeri of Miraj state, and Kanarese parts of Kolhapur.
 - 1921 Reclaiming Bellary which was being claimed by the Andhras.
 - 1921 The Kelkar-Award giving Bellary to Karnātaka.
 - 1922 The 1st Karnātaka Provincial Conference after a separate Congress Circle was given, held in Mangalore with Mrs. Naidu as president.
 - 1923 The 2nd Karnātaka Provincial Conference in Bijapur with Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar as president.
 - 1924 The 3rd Karnataka Provincial Conference in Gokarna (North Canara) with Shri

CHRONOLOGY OF THE UNIFICATION MOVEMENT

- Shankaracharya of Sharada Peeth as president.
- 1924 The publication of 'Karnātaka Handbook' by the K. P. C. C.
- 1924 The 39th Indian National Congress was Dec. held at Belgaum with Mahatma Gandhi as president.
- 1924 The 1st Karnātaka Unification Conference Dec. and the starting of the Karnātaka Unification 'Sabha with Rao Bahadur Kambli M, L. C, as its first president.
- 1925 Leading two deputations to Madras to
 & persuade the Madras Legislative Council
 1926 not to include Bellary in the Andhra
 University jurisdiction.
- 1926 Protest meetings all over Karnātaka against inclusion of Bellary in the Andhra University.
- 1926 Questionaire sent all over Karnātaka to consolidate opinion as regards K. Unification.
- 1926 Dr. Udipi Ramarao brings a resolution in
 Feb. the Council of State for appointing a
 Committee to bring about Unification.

APPENDIX H

Extracts, Resolutions, etc.

Bearing on Linguistic Redistribution

of Provinces.

 Mr. Lionel Curtis in his 'Dyarchy' in letter VIII entitled 'the Map of India' writes about the present provinces and their redistribution as follows:-

'They are for the most part the artificial creations of a paternal and highly centralised government which has its mainspring in England. They were designed as the satrapies of a vast oriental dependency.....it is of vital importance to consider now what the proper provincial units are to be, out of which the whole of the national fabric can be built..... where possible, historic areas like Sind should be taken. But units of language, race, and religion are also important factors, and language is the most important of all. The greatest obstacle to a real extension of popular government in India is the practice of conducting public business in the English tongue.....The use of the vernaculars in politics is essential if India is to advance towards responsible government, at any but the slowest pace. The areas of provincial governments must be designed largely, with a view to making it possible for public business to be discussed in a language,

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which all the legislators can speak with ease, and which the largest number of electors can understand.....The hope of popular government lies in its vernaculars.

- 2. Para 2 of the memorandum submitted by various bodies and districts in Karnātaka to Mr. Montague in 1918 while he was here, runs to the following effect:— We sincerely pray that the provinces in India should be redistributed on the linguistic basis and the Kanarese parts of the Bombay and Madras presidencies together with Coorg should form a separate administrative unit. We respectfully submit that the present provinces are not the natural divisions of India.
- 3. Para 2 of the statement submitted to the A. I. C. C. in 1918 by the delegates from Karnātaka runs as follows:— 'Our earnest desire is to secure the reorganisation of Congress Circles in India on a language basis and the constitution of Kannada districts in the Bombay and Madras presidencies and Coorg into a separate Congress Circle. We beg to state that the existing provincial Congress Circles do not represent natural divisions of the people.'
- 4. The Mont-ford Report on the Constitutional Reforms while speaking about the revision of the political geography of India says in para 246, page 159 that, 'We are impressed with the artificial and often inconvenient character of existing administrative

EXTRACTS, RESOLUTIONS, ETC.

units. We have seen how historical reasons brought them about. We cannot doubt that the business of Government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogeneous; and when we bear in mind the prospect of the immense burdens of government in India being transferred to comparatively inexperienced hands, such considerations acquire additional weight. It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic or racial units of government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in the vernacular they would contribute to draw into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English. We believe emphatically that redistribution of provincial areas cannot be imposed upon the people by official action; and that such a process ought in any case to follow, and neither to precede nor accompany, constitutional reform. But we are bound to indicate our clear opinion that wherever such distributions are necessary and can be effected by process of consent the attempt to do so should be made; and therefore we desire that it should be recognised as one of the earliest duties incumbent upon all the reformed provincial Governments to test provincial opinion upon schemes directed to this end. Orissa and Behar at all events it seems to us that the possibility of instituting sub-provinces need not be excluded from consideration at a very early date-

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- 5. Extract from the presidential address of Sir V. P. Madhavarao at the All-Karnātaka Conference at Dharwar, May 1920:-To ignore entirly the past of a people, especially when it is one of which any country could be proud, is neither wise nor practical. Therefore when Bengal started its powerful agitation against the partition of Bengal, the attempt of the few leaders in Bombay to treat it as a provincial question in which the Congress was not directly interested, was frustrated by the readiness with which people in all provinces treated the grievance as that of India in general. Experience shows that provinces like Bengal and Maharastra which were the first and foremost in nursing their provincial patriotism through the cultivation of their own language and literature stand in the vanguard of national movement and other provinces which neglected their vernaculars have been obliged to follow them at a distance...... If Karnātaka is to play the part assigned to it in the political reforms and partake of her full share of Indian National life, leaders must bestir themselves without loss of time. Let pan-Karnātaka be the war-cry of their movement."
- 6. The Government of India Act, 1919, makes provision for the Constitution of new provinces etcin Section 52. A. as follows:—The Governor General in Council may after obtaining an expression

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of opinion from the Local Government and the Local Legislature affected, by notification, with the sanction of His Majesty previously signified by the Secretary of State in Council, constitute a new Governor's province or place part of a governor's province under the administration of a deputy-governor to be appointed by the Governor-General and may in any such case apply, with such modifications as appear necessary or desirable, all or any of the provisions of this Act relating to governor's provinces, or provinces under a lieutenant-governor or Chief Commissioner to any such new province or part of a province.

COMMENTARY

"The (Joint Select) Committee have two observations to make on the working of this section. On the one hand, they do not think that any change in the boundaries of a province should be made without the due consideration of the views of the legislative council of the province. On the other hand they are of opinion that any clear request made by a majority of the members of a legislative council representing a distinctive racial or linguistic territorial unit for its constitution under this Clause as a sub-province or a separate province should be taken as a prima-facie case on the strength of which a commission of inquiry might be appointed by the Secretary of State, and that it should not be a bar

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to the appointment of such a commission of inquiry that the majority of the legislative council of the province in question is opposed to the request of the minority representing such a distinctive territorial unit.".....J. S. C. R.

- 7. Resolution passed in the All Karnataka Provincial Conference held at Dharwar in May 1920, runs thus:—This conference is strongly of opinion that India should be divided into provinces on the linguistic basis and accordingly requests the Government that the Kanarese portions of territories in the Bombay and Madras presidencies and Coorg may be united and made into a separate Karnātaka province.
- 8. Article VI of the constitution-passed in the Indian National Congress at Nagpur in Dec. 1920 lays down that for the purpose of forming Provincial Congress Committees, India including the Indian States, shall be divided into the following provinces on a linguistic basis:—
 - (1) Tamil Nadu with head quarters at Madras.
 - (2) Andhra with head-quarters at Madras.
 - (3) Karnataka with head-quarters at Belgaum or Dharwar, and so on.
- 9. Dr. Udipi Ramarao's resolution in the Council of State tabled in Feb. 1926 ran as follows:—

Extracts, Resolutions, etc.

That, in view of the immediate need for the formation of a separate Kannada Province, both on the ground of administrative efficiency and cultural and economic advancement of the Canarese-speaking people, who are now scattered about the various provinces of India, this Council recommends to H. E. the Governor-General in Council that a committee of officials and non-officials be forthwith appointed to enquire into the question and suggest ways and means for the formation of a separate Kannada Province.

- 10. Messrs, Jog, Kambli, Chikodi, Desai and other Karnātaka M. L. Cs. of Bombay, Dr. Nagangouda Karnātaka M. L. C. of Madras, have tabled similar resolutions for unification in their respective legislatures.
- 11. The Dharwar District Local Board in its general meeting held on the 29th of August 1926 passed a resolution (no. 765) which runs as follows:-Unanimously resolved that this Board is of opinion that whereas the distribution of the British Karnātaka province over three administrative units viz: Bombay Madras, and Coorg has acted adversely to her interest and has kept her backward in all matters and whereas the Board is convinced that all-sided development of Karnātaka is impossible without the formation of an independent administrative province, the Kannada portions of Bombay and Madras provinces and Coorg be formed into a separate

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administrative unit and the Board is further of opinion that an independent University be established at Dharwar for Karnātaka. *

- 12. The manifesto signed by 34 representative leaders has the following among other sentences:—We of Karnātaka are all one in language, country, and culture. Our history and traditions are the same. But today we lie dismembered;......so it is the duty of every Kannadiga to sign the demand for unification and help the cause of Karnātaka.
- 13. The demand signed by 30000 persons contains the following among other statements:—
 "Hence it is necessary for the districts and parts of districts belonging to British Karnātaka to be formed into a single separate province. It is the birthright of the Karnātaka people to be so united."
- 14. The Times of India (4-7-27) in its leader writes as follows about provincial redistribution:—. But any scheme for the development of more or less autonomous provinces must eventually depend for its success on the hearty growth of provincial patriotismsuch patriotism must in many parts of the country from the outset exert itself by demanding boundary revisions for the purpose of making the provincial populations more homogeneous...... the present provincial boundaries are largely mere accidents of history.......the need for their revision

^{*} N. B. Similar resolutions have been passed at various times by the Local Boards of all Karnataka districts.

EXTRACTS, RESOLUTINOS, ETC.

is emphatically recognised by the Montford Report, the Parliamentary Joint Committee Report, and the Government of India Act.

- 15. The A. I. C. C. meeting which met in Bombay on the 15th, 16th and 17th, of May, 1927 passed a resolution which says, "The Committee is also of opinion that such readjustment of provinces be immediately taken in hand and that any province which demands such reconstitution on linguistic basis be dealt with accordingly....... The Committee is further of opinion that a beginning may be made by constituting Andhra, Sind, and Karnātaka into separate provinces."
- 16. The All-Parties Conference which met in Delhi in Feb. 1928 laid down that there should be redistribution of provinces on the linguistic basis provided the people of the area concerned so wished and the area was self-supporting.
- 17. The Nehru Committee Report, Aug. 1928, in its chapter IV on 'The Redistribution of Provinces' says:—Every one knows that the present distribution of provinces in India has no rational basis. It is clear that there must be a redistribution of provinces. If a foregin language is the medium of instruction, business, and affairs, the life of the country must necessarily be stunted. No democracy can exist with a foreign language. If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the

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medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on a linguistic basis. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions, and of literature. The National Congress recognised this linguistic principal 8 years ago and since then, so far as the Congress machinery is concerned, India has been divided into linguistic provinces. The case for the Karnataka was placed before us by a representative of the Karnātaka Unification Sangh and the Karnā taka Provincial Congress Committee. It had been ably prepared with a wealth of information, historical, cultural, and statistical. All our questions were answered satisfactorily and in our opinion a strong prima facie case for unification and the formation of Karnātaka as a separate province was made. Financially the position of the Karnātaka was very strong and even at present there was a considerable surplus in the British part of the Karnātaka. Parts of Karnātaka, except the small islands on the other side of the Mysore territory, should be separated from the provinces in which they are at present included and formed into a single separate province.

18. The All Parties Conference at Lucknow passed the following resolution on the 31st of August:—This conference having taken into consideration recommendations contained in the Nehru Report

EXTRACTS, RESOLUTIONS, ETC.

about the redistribution and status of provinces, accords its approval to them as an integral part of the agreed constitution and recommends that the commission provided for in clause 72 of the Draft Constitution shall in conformity with the principles of the said reccommendations and with the assistance of such committee or committees as it may consider desirable to appoint,

- (a) take all necessary steps to constitute Karnataka and Andhra into separate provinces;
- (b) take steps to amalgamate the Oriya speaking tracts into a separate province if the people of that area are able to or prepared to bear the financial burden incidental to such separation;
- (c) report on the cases of Kerala, C. P. Hindustani and any other linguistic areas which may desire to be constituted into separate provinces;
- (d) re-settle the boundaries of Assam and Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and C. P. Hindustanee, Karnātaka and Kerala in accordance with the principles recommended by the Committee.

Note:—Every Karnataka Provincial Conference, every Karnataka Unification Conference, and even such conferences as the Veera Shaiva Maha Sabha held at Bengalore in Dec. 1927 and the Karnataka Merchants Conference at Bagalkot, August 1928, have passed persistently resolutions almost identical with that passed in the All Karnataka Provincial Conference in Dharwar in May 1920, The Coorg Zamindars Conference has passed the same kind of resolution successively in 1926, 1927, & 1928 Hence all those have not been given here for want of space.

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ERRATA

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PRINTED BY M. K. JOSHI AT THE
KARNATAKA PRINTING WORKS, DHARWAR
and

PUBLISHED BY M. R. KEMBHAVI, SECRETARY
K. P. C. C. AT THE CONGRESS OFFICE,
GADAG