St Aloysius College (Autonomous), Mangaluru, Karnataka

AL-SHODHANA

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Principal's Message

Institutions of higher education play a major role in shaping society. These institutions must create knowledge and engage the learners in the present context to show the path for future generations. Higher education institutions must help the students become aware of the inequalities of the present structures rather than helping students to fit into to the existing world order. The need of the hour is to develop the ability to question existing inequalities and hone critical thinking to foster the value systems strongly embedded in the culture. *Al-Shodhana,* a multi disciplinary refereed research journal of St Aloysius College (Autonomous), is an attempt in putting across the research articles to engage the readers in this direction.

Engaging in research to understand and find new pathways leads to newer ways of approaching the present realities of society. Constant reflection and praxis has to be a part of all institutions of higher learning. We need to constantly churn the minds to see the realities and provide alternative space in the education systems of today. When we engage in and deepen the search it leads us to profound and creative ways of approaching the realities, which in turn will open newer pathways for a better society where justice, liberty and equality prevails.

I congratulate the editorial team for bringing out this edition of *Al-Shodhana* and wish that these research articles help in engaging in a deeper search and understanding the realities in a better way.

Rev Dr Praveen Martis SJ
Principal

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Editor's Note

The present volume of Al-Shodhana combines both the January and July issues of 2017. This issue contains seven articles related to varied themes from humanities and social sciences.

Mohunta in his article **From Political to Religious: Virtual Transformation of the Human Subject in the Age of Media Technologies** argues that the media with its excessive emphasis on the visual has transformed the way we tend to see and perceive the world around us in the 21st century. In the process, human beings also lose their individual free will to think and act independently. It thus creates confusion in the mind about the nature of the real and the virtual, private and public, the self and the world. These unconscious subjects, ironically, are now seeking an identity and an approval not from religious, but from political authority. The article has tried to analyse the reasons for such a strange transformation of the subject.

Rego's article *Socio-Historical Fiction: The Works Of VJP Saldanha* deals with the Konkani writer of historical fiction,V.J.P. Saldanha, better known as 'Khadap' or 'rock' and some of his novels from the perspective of gender in its intersection with other social categories like religion. By reviewing prominent works of Khadap, she concludes that although the gender stereotypes are evidently there, the overarching identity of the entire community and its spiritual survival becomes the dominant trope in his fiction.

Lobo in his article *Return Migrants and Occupational Choice: An Empirical Investigation* makes an attempt to study the occupational choice of return migrants upon their return to their home town. Based on empirical data the author observes that return migrants in general gave more importance to economic gain while choosing their occupations abroad, while social status associated with the occupations was the main consideration in their occupational choice at home after return.

The article **Communal Electorate and the Christians of Kanara by** Fernandes, makes an attempt to record the response of the Christian community of Kanara to the introduction of communal electorate at the provincial level through The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. He brings out the contradictions within the community and concludes that in spite of different expressions the majority opinion prevailed.

Mendonca's paper "*Vovio" Konkani Folk Songs and Reflection of Konkani Christian Culture and History* is an attempt to showcase the Konkani Christian Culture through oral tradition and thus historically reconstructs society. She opines that in the absence of written records folk songs like, the 'vovios', perhaps serve as an important source to reconstruct the social and economic life of the Catholic community of the coastal districts of Karnataka.

In the article **Religious Identities Depicted in the European Writings of Vijayanagara Period with Special Reference to Coastal Karnataka,** Gatti tries to analyze the depiction of the religious identities in the European writings on coastal Karnataka during the Vijayanagara period. The author claims that the depiction of native religion in the mercantile phase of colonialism was quite different from the later imperial phase of colonialism.

Kamati in his article **Halmidi Inscription of Kakustha's Period: An Epigraphical Study** makes a study of Halmidi, the first Kannada inscription by applying Structural Historiography. He records his observations about the prevailing state of affairs of the then society.

I thank all the authors for providing such a variety of research articles on a broad range of topics. My thanks are due to the Principal, members of the editorial board and the editorial advisory board. I am grateful to Dr Sylvia Rego for her whole hearted support in editing this issue.

Norbert Lobo
Editor-in-Chief

FROM POLITICAL TO RELIGIOUS: VIRTUAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE HUMAN SUBJECT IN THE AGE OF MEDIA TECHNOLOGIES

- Ratan Tilak Mohunta

Abstract

The media with its excessive emphasis on the visual has transformed the way we tend to see and perceive the world around us in the 21st century. The visual image, with its power to seduce the human subject into acts of communication, can sometimes deceive him in ways he can hardly recognize as possible. The technology that produces and disseminates these images masks the very materiality of the processes responsible for its production. When the image in a movie, television screen, a computer monitor or a mobile phone assumes a meaning more powerful than the signifying power of language, the world of reality seems to fade and vanish in the immemorable tracts of history.
In just the same way as time reduces artifacts produced by real humans into antiques and ruins that become the subject matter of archeologists; the image reduces meaning to the level of split second perception; beyond the need of cognition. It draws and absorbs the human subject who gazes upon it into a world of political unconscious. The subject loses touch with his immediate social-political reality and begins to communicate with his own unconscious self through the medium of the image. In the process, he also loses his individual free will to think and act independently. It thus creates confusion in his mind about the nature of the real and the virtual, private and public, the self and the world. These unconscious subjects, ironically, are now seeking an identity and an approval not from religious but from political authority. The article will try to analyze the reasons for such a strange transformation of the subject.

Keywords: *Subjectivity, Interpellation, Public Sphere, Implosion, Postmodernism, False Consciousness.*

The image is everywhere and yet it is nowhere. Unlike the image in pictorial art that had a material side to it: the canvas on which it was painted; the cinematic or television image is fast changing and moving which makes its scrutiny and analysis rather difficult. Like the parole that floats infinitely once it's freed from

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langue, the moving image draws and withdraws from the subject it addresses quite easily, leaving her exhausted at times and sometimes baffled. The subject and the image then are bound in an uneasy relationship. The image floats freely after liberating itself from the interpellating eye of its maker, while the subject who apprehends it struggles to liberate himself from the interpellating force of the image. The photographic image hides the materiality of its own processes of production. Jacques Rancier argues that the image "never stops slipping its own activity into the very gap that separates the operations of art from the techniques of reproduction" (Ranciere 9). The multiplicity of images with no correlation either to its production process or to the objects reproduced, create a new aura and a spectacle that defies semiotic analysis. We live in what Guy Debord calls "The Society of the spectacle" where participants who join the "contemporary celebration of the image" (Ranciere 9) demand the appearance of the image for whatever it is: "the naked imitation of its alterity in place of its imitation, the wordless, senseless materiality of the visible instead of discourse." (9)

The visual image therefore reigns supreme in a world where language with its own immanence in the voice of the speaker wielded immense semiotic power in an earlier age. The telephone first created a revolution by sending human voice across miles. However, the radio was a breakthrough as it completely disembodied human voice and converted a few into speakers and many into passive listeners. The television and film technology came as a further development over the radio and for the first time in human history people began to see, hear and decipher innumerable images reproduced on a screen. In any given context, all individuals express themselves through speech; but when huge masses get converted into listeners and viewers, one begins to suspect the agency of the subject. Subjectivity, as we all understand, is constituted by the individual subject's relation to the social, economic and political sphere that surrounds him wherever he goes. Geographical Space in modernity was always a highly contested political space never free from ideological trappings. However, in a postmodern age, public spaces are no longer sites of ideological and political contestations; on the contrary, they are dull and sober places lacking the energy one would expect of a collective human subjectivity. This condition could be

symptomatic of the extreme alienation of the subject and the breakdown of inter subjectivity; it could also be at the same time, the result of splintered subjectivity. How does the image influence the subject? Can visual image constitute a subject? How are subjects constituted in the postmodern world? And what is the strength of their agency? Or has the image robbed the postmodern subject of his subjectivity? These questions demand urgent answers. This paper will try to address such questions in order to identify processes of subject formation in a postmodern context where one finds every terrain constantly shifting and slippery. It will also try to analyze the probable shift of human subjectivity from political to religious as global media networks slowly engulf our world and theirs'.

Wendy Holloway while discussing identity formation from a psychoanalytical perspective argues that identity and subjectivity are two different categories though they are interrelated. He quotes Cromby to suggest that "identities are ideal types of subject to whom we should pay lip service in order to avoid censure (Cromby qtd in Holloway 3). In contrast, "subjectivities are created by forces such as disciplinary practices of subjectification and power relationships"(3) that affect us deeply. Holloway quotes Venn also who refers to two different traditions, "Foucauldian and social group differences" that help in distinguishing between subjectivity and Identity. He argues that while subjectivity refers to an entity "constituted as a position with regard to real processes and mechanisms of constitution of subjects" generally it is to be understood as a self, "the product of an interiorization of attitudes, values, expectations, memories, dispositions, instantiated in inter-subjective relations and activities that, through historically specific self-reflective practices of recognition, constitute a particular named person, a singularity" *(Venn qtd in Holloway 3)*. Identity, on the other hand, refers to the relational aspects that qualify subjects in terms of "race, gender, class, nation, sexuality, work and occupation" *(Venn qtd in Holloway 4).* This distinction between subjectivity and identity is very useful to build the argument that all subjects are generally constituted by particular ideologies they carry; be it social, religious or political. Holloway's theory proposes that identities emerge

from their inter-subjective foundations in the same way as subjectivity is itself related to specific relations of power and domination.

This brings us to the question of how power relations operate in society. Power always functions through institutions which, in turn, are determined by ideological structure. To understand the relations between ideology and subjectivity one should fall back on Althusser who argues that *"all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as subjects"* (Althusser 130). He goes on to add that ideology "acts or functions in such a way that it 'recruits' subjects among the individuals or 'transforms' the individuals into subjects, by that very precise operation which I have called interpellation or hailing" (130). Considering the context of a society governed at least partially by visual culture of the media, it is possible to propose that postmodern subjects are in fact constituted by the ideologies that images carry as they appear and disappear on the TV or movie screen. While, all viewers need not be affected uniformly by the power of the image and the meanings it generates, nevertheless, every postmodern subject is in some way affected by the flood of images that are everywhere around him. When the image assumes a power that helps in transcending linguistic code (langue), it is no longer a medium that conveys a message; on the contrary, it becomes the absolute message with no reference beyond itself.

The self-referential image(the medium) in McLuhan's terms becomes the message. The danger of Marshall McLuhan's proposition lies in the possibility of the image robbing individuals of their ability to generate subjective meanings and incapacitating them from acting with free will. Critiquing the development of visual media culture in the west in the 60's McLuhan argued that the "fragmentary and mechanical technologies" invented by rational science was "imploding" the western world (Mc.Luhan 5). He averred that as the west approached "the final phase of the extensions of man" Media technology would ensure the "simulation of consciousness" so that "the creative process of knowing" would be "collectively and corporately extended to the whole of human society"(5). If the visual media is only the latest and probably the final extension of humans, all the action and human drama executed by willing subjects get

transformed into a visual spectacle. McLuhan's proposition that the medium is the message draws its strength from the idea that "when our central nervous system is technologically extended to whole of mankind and to incorporate the whole of mankind in us, we necessarily participate, in depth,…It is no longer possible to adopt the aloof and dissociated role of the literate Westerner"(6-7). Further, he goes on to add that the "electric implosion" the media image creates, "compels commitment and participation" on subjects "regardless of any point of view" (7). When a subject's point of view becomes immaterial to the construction of meanings, he becomes an immaterial subject, that is, a subject without subjectivity.

Before the advent of media technology the public sphere carried a genuine public character where individuals by participating in social events acted as agents of political change. The bourgeois public sphere underwent a further transformation when the secular state appropriated communal life and developed a new social under modernity. However, when the media appropriated the social and changed it into the cultural, the former collapsed completely leaving individual subjects clueless. In a thoroughly mediated world, Subjects know everything but are powerless to act. They are clueless about the space where they can actually realize their subjectivity. The image which boldly claims to be not just a representation of social reality but a new reality by itself challenges human subjects to act against its immaterialty. As Guy Debord rightly suggests in *The Society of the Spectacle* "the images detached from every aspect of life merge into a common stream in which the unity of life can no longer be recovered. Fragmented views of reality regroup themselves as a unity as a *separate pseudoworld* that can be only looked at" (Debord 6). Debord argues that the spectacular image appears "simultaneously as society itself and as part of society, and as a means of *unification*" (6). In his view, the spectacle, by being a part of society is "ostensibly the focal point of all vision and consciousness" (6). However, due to the fact that it is at the same time a separate sector, it is "in reality the domain of delusion and false consciousness"(6).

Debord's observation that the media is the domain of false consciousness is crucial to the central argument of this paper. It brings us back to Marx who, in *The German Ideology* argued that ideology belongs to the domain of false consciousness. Marx was critiquing Feuerbach's understanding of ideology and had metaphysics in mind when he wrote about ideology. Hence, one can conclude that the media by fostering a false consciousness becomes an ideal platform for eclectic performances that imitate the ritual practices of religion. Moreover, its audio-visual character being no different from the early medieval morality and miracle plays; it becomes a very effective mode of attracting the believer who is always willing to believe what he sees.

However, it is important at this stage of the argument to understand the nature of the political subject and his transformation in the age of spectacles. Politics and religion have definite historical links and they have coexisted sometimes in conflicting relations and sometimes in relations of cooption. Charles Tilly in his insightful article titled "Political Identities in changing Polities" analyses the controversial political acts of Henry VIII in England in the 16th Century. He shows how Henry's political maneuvers were cleverly orchestrated to free the English Church from Papal authority and install himself as its religious head. By 1536 Henry had begun "dispossession of the monasteries, publishing William Tindale's translation of the Bible, and putting down major rebellions against his religious innovation"(Tilly 605). In the next three years he issued six articles which defined "beliefs and practices greatly resembling those of the Catholic Church except in their substitution of the king for the pope"(606). Henry played a dangerous game with religion all for his personal political gains. His enforcers never "missed an opportunity to seize church revenues or raise money from church members"(606). After Henry's death in 1547, English believers "had to follow twists and turns through reigns of a rather more Protestant Edward VI, a quite Catholic Mary, and a warily Protestant Elizabeth I" (606). Tilly's reference to the turbulent English history of the 16th century is a brilliant illustration of the filial relations between religion and politics. He demonstrates how the sixteenth century "dragged ordinary English people through a maze of alternating religious and political identities" (606).

Baudrillard too, while discussing the issue of the death of the social suggests that the "political emerged during the renaissance from the religious and ecclesiastic spheres, to win renown with Machiavelli " (The Silent Majorities 45). He insists that politics initially had no such great design but to undermine the power of religion. Hence, "it was first only a pure game of signs, a pure strategy which was not burdened with any social or historical 'truth,' but on the contrary, played on the absence of truth (as did later the worldly strategy of the Jesuits on the absence of God)" (45).Baudrillard argues that politics, at this stage, was "not a system of representation – semiurgy and strategy, not ideology – its function was one of virtuosity, not of truth" (45). In that sense, politics, in both form and content, was nothing other than inverted religion. Since the 18th century however, particularly after the revolution "the political has taken a decisive turn. It took upon itself a social reference; the social became invested in the political" (46).At the same time, the political, according to Baudrillard, "entered into representation…the political scene became that of the evocation of the fundamental signified: the people, the will of the people, etc." (46). He proposes that for a long time a balance was maintained between the proper sphere of the political and the forces reflected in it: the social, the historical, the economic"(46). This balance corresponds to what he refers to as "the golden age of bourgeois representative systems" (46). However, successive developments in Marxist thought, Baudrillard avers, "inaugurated the end of the political" with "the absolute hegemony of the social and the economic" (46). Further, the political, under some compulsion became "the legislative, institutional, executive mirror of the social.

Baudrillard's argument suggests that at the high point of bourgeois revolutions the social appropriated the political to an extent of saturation where it "became the degree zero of the political" (46). This development resulted in what he calls the death of the social. Losing its specificity, its "historical quality and its ideality," the social "no longer has any name. Anonymous. THE MASS.THE MASSES" (47). The political act turned into an act of mere representation and later lost its power of representation when it no longer carried a social referent. "The only referent which still functions is that of the silent majority"(47).

Baudrillard clarifies that the masses or the silent majority is "an imaginary referent" but that does not mean they don't exist; on the contrary, it means that "*their representation is no longer possible*"(48). In the age of mass media, the masses lose their power to speak and express themselves in a public sphere free from close circuit camera surveillance. Ironically, the only public sphere that exists in the age of communication technologies is the one created by those technologies that have effectively silenced the masses. Hence, Baudrillard suggests that "The masses are no longer a referent because they no longer belong to an order of representation" (48). They are only subjected to surveys and tested frequently to gather the right opinions. There can be no genuine plebiscite or referendum since media are the new referendum. The mediated referendum "has been substituted for the political referent" (48). The dissolution of the political in the social, the social in the masses, and finally the masses in the media leaves a vacuum that can be filled only by recovering the original political that emerged with its break with the religious. However that remains a distant possibility in the new millennium where religion with its enormous symbolic power seems to overwhelm politics.

The current issue therefore is the return of religion and myth in the age of space science and cyborg. It's interesting and also intriguing to learn how religion; a non-rational discourse when compared to science, is attempting a comeback through the same technology that science developed – the World Wide Web. Christopher Helland in a chapter titled "Popular Religion and the World Wide Web" suggests that with the expansion of the internet and the World Wide Web, "official religious organizations have flocked to cyberspace, attempting to establish their presence, control, and authority over a growing and developing sphere"(Helland 23).He proposes that individuals who often surf the net for popular or non-official religion have "have embraced this medium as a new environment where freedom of religious expression rules supreme" (23).Helland suggests that the internet accommodates those individuals and groups who "wish to 'be' religious outside the control of an organized religious institution" (23). This has resulted in a growing number of internet communities that practice religion online. He argues that the Vatican too saw the growing

power of the internet as an opportunity for evangelism and "as early as 1989, Pope John Paul II saw the potential" of computer telecommunication to "fulfill the Church's mission" (23). Since then, alongside official sites like www.vatican.va that continue to have a significant presence in cyberspace, "it is popular religion that populates the Internet with homegrown, unofficial, religious Web sites" (26). Helland states that a study done in 1996 by Barna research in California recommended that Church organizations quickly establish their presence in cyberspace or they would lose touch with many of their parishioners and risk losing the ability to advise them in an era of rapid technological growth" (26).

It is not the Church alone but every other religious organization; Islamic, Hindu or Buddhist is using internet communication to reach out to believers. Morten T. Højsgaard and Margit Warburg in the introduction to the book titled "Religion and Cyberspace," suggest that the internet set up in 1969 was primarily meant to serve "educational and military purposes" (Hojsgaard and Warburg 2) but by 1990's "the religious usage of the new medium also started escalating" (2). "By the end of the 1990s there were more than 1.7 million web pages covering religion" (2). By 2004, there were approximately 51 million pages on religion, 65 million web pages dealing with churches, and 83 million web pages containing the word God.

This obviously suggests a comeback of religion through the very logic it was opposed to during medieval times: Science. This is an irony of sorts because science by its unquestioned claim to objectivity never bothered so much about the subjective desires of humans for communal relationships. However, the comeback of religion heralds not an age of peace and harmony but an age of conflict between subjects who crave for communal identities. Especially since the destruction of the Twin towers of the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001, religion became the determining factor of global politics rather than politics determining the status of religion. Charles Tilly argues that post 9/11, the United States and Europe have been reliving some of the sixteenth-century's identity struggles" (Tilly 607). He suggests that the current time is riddled with dualities of identity of us and them. Moreover, the insistence of the state that it knows

better than its citizens, the "raising of revenue and restriction of liberties in the name of holy war, smiting of enemies and their unwitting or unwilling accomplices with massive military action, and public displays of support for all these measures have a surprisingly sixteenth century air about them" (607). However, unlike Brubaker and Cooper; two research students of social processes "who proposed that we 'expunge' identity from our analytic lexicon," Tilly argues that we can escape the search for inner selves by recognizing that "people regularly negotiate and deploy socially based answers to the questions 'who are you?' 'who are we?' and 'who are they?'" (608). According to him, these are identity questions and their answers are identities. "They are "always assertions, always contingent, always negotiable, but also always consequential" (608). Hence, they are always in the domain of "social arrangements" (608).

If the answers point towards religious identity in today's context then, one has to analyze the social arrangement that creates such identities. If we accept the idea that in the postmodern context simulation determines all human thought then, we should also accept the idea of Baudrillard that there is no social beyond the virtual social created by the media. The already fragmented social collapsed into the cultural in late capitalist societies when the market converted the political subject into a consumer subject. Under modernity, culture in all its representational forms carried symbolism substantially, as a result weakening the links between lived cultural practices and symbolic culture. Further, globalization with its homogenizing influence reduced all lived cultural practices into a single common experience of consumption. It delinked the symbolic from the pragmatic and submitted symbolic culture to the media which gladly appropriated it and converted it into a product of its imagination and ideology. It is common knowledge that the media exploit symbols best and "mediated and symbolic forms play a significant role in the construction of identity in the contemporary era" (Wood 258). Emphasizing the ubiquitous presence of the media in everyday life, Helen Wood states that we "receive information, access forms of pleasure and entertainment, communicate with proximate and distanced others, as well as increasingly produce as well as consume our own media forms" (258). She quotes John Thompson's 'Media are the air that we breathe' to emphasize this fact.

This hegemony of the media "raises questions tinged with nostalgia and regret about the disappearance of authenticity and 'real' human qualities of identity" (258) for some, but others see its "utopian potential for the human transcendence of physical limitations" (258). I would go with the first group to affirm that the media are creating mediated pseudo identities and feeding millions with false hopes of a mediated utopia. They appropriate the social, cultural (religious), economic and political to create new forms of virtual identities. Wood rightly argues that "the inhabitation of virtual on-line worlds frees up identity from material and physical constraints and offers new forms of identity construction and senses of community (profit)/escaping into virtual worlds detracts from face-to-face communication eroding truly human identity and social connection (loss). I would like to assert that the truly human identity, from a truly Marxist perspective is the socio – political identity, an identity that gives individuals the strength to speak in public and to build association. The loss of that identity is what one should mourn in postmodern times.

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SOCIO-HISTORICAL FICTION: THE WORKS OF VJP SALDANHA

- Sylvia Rego

Abstract

Every community has its own ways of understanding its history, culture and traditions that serve to bind people closer through acts of remembrance that go on to become myths. Memory in fact plays a key role in the Collective Unconscious of a group. This collective memory is often seen as part of history. After-the-fact justifications, embellishments, erasure of unpleasant moments in the social psyche, repetition and many other aspects are involved in this formation of identity of a people with a traumatic historical baggage. In this context, the Canara Christians have emerged from past experiences of violent rupture of communal life by resorting to different coping ways to understand their past. Writing historical novels by garnering information from families caught in the disruptive and brutal past of the Canara Christians is one such. The present paper deals with the Konkani writer of historical fiction, V.J.P. Saldanha, better known as Khadap or rock and some of his novels from the perspective of gender in its intersection with other social categories like religion.

Keywords: memory, Christianity, gender normativity, anxiety, sacrifice

V.J.P. Saldanha, better known as Khadap, is an artist par excellence in the genre of historical fiction having authored countless novels in this genre. As Manoharrai Sardesai says, Khadap portrays the eighteenth century Catholics as brave, hardworking and selfless and his novels exemplify the keen dramatic sense that the author possessed (Sardesai, 2000). Severine Silva has documented the history of the Canara Christians and their travails beginning with the Goan Inquisition and the exodus of members of the community, the captivity of Canara Christians by Tipu and their settlement after their return (Silva, 1957). A community that has a traumatic historical baggage as in the case of Canara

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Christians in Tipu's captivity would search for ways of purging the Collective Unconscious of the horrors perpetrated on them. The act of remembering then becomes flavoured with bouts of glorification of the self, demonising of the enemy, attributing supra-human qualities to the former and wishing away very human frailties, acts of recanting and bouts of fear experienced by the suffering community. Inflating the magnitutde of displacement and loss also ensues. Joanne Brown says that writing the historical novel is a peculiarly demanding and problematic genre wherein the author must negotiate the fine line between history and fiction, between readers' contemporary sensibilities and historical accuracy. The narratorial voice filters the past with present concerns (Brown, 1998). Khadap's attempts at depicting the Catholic community can be seen in the light of the anxieties, sense of pride and gratitude experienced towards those who survived the deportation to Srirangapatna. The personality of Tipu however, is drawn with sensitivity – as an essentially just man striving to ward off multiple threats posed by his adversaries.

In the socio-historical novel *Sovo Surngarun* Khadap gives a very evocative picture of the marriage ceremony of Canara Christians. In the following paragraphs an attempt to encapsulate the narrative in a nutshell has been made. Donna Louisa, an adopted child is depicted as a beautiful bride, which satisfies a typical social and literary expectation. The community's pride in its cultural practices is evident in the reference to *Roce, Porthapon,* wedding musical band, bride's attire, jewellery and flowers – *kirgi, pirduk* and *aboli-kale* – *oviyo, vedo,* invocation to Mini Jesus and the general banter and good cheer. There is an element of mystery injected right in the beginning by the suspense around the bride's real parents. The groom Stephen's ancestry is traced right back to 1570 in Goa. The wedding camaraderie is broken suddenly by the arrest of the groom and the bride by Sheikh Ayaz and the sepoys of Hyder Ali's army. When challenged by Stephan, Ayaz tells the guests that the former had committed treason by killing the prince of Bednore, Chennabasava Nayaka. One would then wonder where the soldiers of Queen Chennamma of Bednore are and why Hyder Ali would permit stalling of a Christian wedding thus. It is revealed much later on in the novel that Ayaz has been acting at the behest of another prince from Bednore who had been spurned by Louisa during the fair at Kaprigudda. The prince had

vowed to subdue her pride and marry her as per Gandharva traditions. Ayaz wished to head the Mangalore unit by ingratiating himself to Hyder Ali, who was supposedly trying to topple Rani Chennamma. The bride decides to go along with her husband though Stephan himself is very much against this idea. The father-in-law Gaspar Melchior's attempt to intervene is defeated by Ayaz. He laments to himself about the waning influence of the Portuguese in Canara and there is an anachronistic reference to the desertion by the clergy when Christians were taken as captives by Tipu. Gaspar Melchior also rues that the talented Christian community is rudderless and insecure sans a leader who could unify them politically. He wonders in anguish about whose subjects they were, given the confusing and turbulent situation that prevailed there politically. He wishes there were a Christian equivalent to icons like Shivaji and Krishnadevaraya. A militant Hindu identity that was unproblematically transposed onto the nation's identity through icons like Shivaji now provided the template for a beleaguered Christian community. Gaspar Melchior then whispers in the bride's ear the Portuguese word 'Casrado' - the castrated one who was sexually impotent –to reassure her that she was safe with her captive Sheik Ayaz. She is seen to indulge in a mild flirtation with Ayaz while on horseback. The jealous groom becomes livid with murderous rage and refuses the food Ayaz sends through Louisa when at Mulki. Ayaz tries to get him to confess to the act of killing the prince accidentally while out hunting. His sole intention is to get Stephen hanged for a crime he did not commit. Louisa convinces Stephen that she had only been trying to save him all along. But Ayaz manages to poison his mind again. He promises him several wives if he forsakes Louisa, who in any case was promised to a Bednore prince. Stephen is nauseated once again at the sight of his bride. While at Mulki station under the hospitality of the French captain Andre, Louisa manages to win the sympathy of Marie, Andre's wife. She gives Louisa a small, sharp goad to save her honour when in need. Meanwhile when ChennappaNayaka reveals his wish to marry Louisa, she pretends to be coy and when he turns away to humour her, stabs him to death with the implement given by Marie Andre. She then wears the dead man's attire, threatens his guards and goes on horseback to relate everything to the queen, who finds her heroic. A group of fifty eminent Christians as also a small Portuguese troop arrive at Mulki to save Louisa and Stephen and are disappointed to find neither. Gaspar refuses to take

her wedding chain or *pirduk* she had left with Marie. She had refused to wear it until Stephen apologised to her for doubting her character. Meanwhile Stephen realises he has been too harsh in judging his bride and escapes from Ayaz's men. All is well that ends well with the two being reunited once again, the *pirduk* brought back by Stephen and tied round the bride's neck. The air of mystery created around Louisa's origins is cleared at the end. It is disclosed that the orphan had been given to her foster parents by a priest after the death of her paternal uncle, the governor of Goa. She had inherited a great deal of wealth by the end of the novel.

The novel set against a historical backdrop with all the thrills and heroic elements that are intrinsic to such plots does not therefore reflect everyday concerns. It is also not representative of the lower classes. Except for the projection of the 'Turks' as wily and rapacious in the figure of Ayaz, not much interaction with other communities is seen in the novel. However as a discourse, there is ample evidence of the reflection of socio-cultural concerns like gender dynamics that are very contemporary. The narrative and descriptive techniques also follow certain set patterns as per the requirements of the genre, but are not always reflective of actual social practices. The heroine for instance, manifests traits of the *Veerangana* or warrior women seen in epics, poetry and novels in Hindu culture. She is ready to fight for her honour and the life of her husband. Valour, disguise, use of weapons and horse-riding skills are masculine traits that the author chooses to bestow on the heroine at the opportune moment. In the world of the novel dominated by macho figures, the author reverses gender roles when seen as necessary. Stephen comes across as passive, only fulminating against his lot, while Louisa the new bride cross-dresses, travels extensively without show of exhaustion, gets to kill a prince, liaisons with a queen and ends up a rich woman. A fantasy is lived out through her – one usually inaccessible to women of flesh and blood. However, apart from the *Veerangana*, the heroine also shares traits with protagonists of folk tales narrated by men. A.K. Ramanujan demonstrates how these heroines in oral tales need to prove their worth and go through several ordeals before they earn the right to a happy married life. Theirs is not the quest that male protagonists indulge in – a quest for wealth, fame and power (Dharwadkar, 2000). In this sense, Louisa too is already married at the

beginning, but has to prove her merit, go through a test of character and only then begin her marital life. She is condemned right in the beginning and has to exonerate herself by the end of the novel. No such conditions apply to the hero. It is his right to doubt her while it is her burden to continuously prove her innocence. The male preoccupation with a woman's chastity is manifested time and again in the novel. The hero Stephen is singularly obsessed with his bride's supposed infidelity and brazen flirtation with Ayaz. The male dread of her sexuality is seen even in the beginning where the heroine is seen as a *pisole*, or a butterfly, sexually fickle and inconstant. He even calls her a whore and a shrew (*Sood Kothru*) and resents her voluntary act of accompanying him after their marriage is disrupted by the sepoys. He falls back upon familiar arguments about a woman's sense of modesty and honour that would be sullied if she set out on this essentially male journey. The ineffectual efforts of the men to protect the womenfolk makes Louisa wonder about the so-called honour of women. She takes it upon herself to protect them as also her groom from violence by agreeing to go along with Stephen. Here, the author makes use of dominant feminine acts seen in the epics – the woman's existence being incomplete without the male partner. The women at the wedding, as expected remain frightened and mute while the groom and his father try to negotiate with Ayaz, making reference to male symbols of sexuality and valour like the moustache and the uncircumcised male body. The vigour and dynamism of Shivaji is evoked in the novel in contrast to the unmanly desertion of the laity by the clergy in times of crisis. A trans-historical nationalism is longed for in the urge for ethnic unification. The small group of Christian men who march out to save the duo is one such manifestation of the desire for masculine strength in religious affiliations.

The author is careful throughout the novel not to alienate his readers. The attacker Ayaz is clearly shown as incapable of harming the heroine – he is a *casrado* after all. Likewise though the hero is nauseated by her behaviour, the reader is quickly reassured that she was a saintly person whose sole intention is to save his life. She feels her life is not that important and she is prepared to die so that he might live. The Christian values of piety, sacrifice and self-effacement are very easily projected onto the heroine here. Even the temporary adoption of male values by Louisa is meant to safeguard her chastity from attack. Death is

preferable to violation of her chastity, hence the sharp tool given by Marie Andre. It is hardly surprising that the hero resorts to the use of a very Christian register of words when he likens her to the devil. But the novel vindicates the use of feminine wiles on those who treat her as an object for they are deployed for the purpose of saving her hero and her marriage. The ideological assumptions of a Christian understanding of gender remain unchallenged, which is not very surprising in the context. What is of interest is the tangential reference to the general disenchantment of the laity with the clergy which could be taken out of the context of the novel to apply to contemporary engagements.

The novel *Devache Kurpen* as also many others by Khadap has a very racy style and is action-packed. It elicits a very visual response from readers who are caught in its twists and turns of plot. The general fascination, dread and suspicion with respect to another community - Muslims that is prevalent in the collective Christian consciousness gets expressed in many of his narratives. However, what comes as a refreshing change from other accounts of the captivity of Christians by Tipu is the fictionalised effort to see the captivity as more political than religious in nature. He portrays Tipu as a committed patriot who was inclusive in his policies and was anxious to garner Christian support to counter British ascendancy. Several prominent Christians are shown as working in his army and in administrative posts and Tipu is picturised as protective, brotherly and sensitive in some of these narratives. It is some Hindus who are shown as inimical to Christian interests and who falsely betray them to the Sultan.

The novel is summerised as follows. The male protagonist as well as the antagonist here are two such Sardars-Simon Peter Prabhu from Omzoor and Anthony Shet from Falnir respectively. Masculine ideals are seen amply in the two – valour, thrill of battles, wrestling, horse riding and the like. They are rich landlords and have many boats and other business ventures. Both lay a wager to woo and marry the beautiful Agnes Cecelia, daughter of Raphael Michael Kamath as a political strategy to counter the efforts of those dissidents who were supporters of Rani Chennamma. Anthony is spurned by Agnes and her father and ever envious of Simon, cleverly gets him to try his luck with the 'heavenly girl'. Against the counsel of friends about treating a woman as an object to be betted

on, Simon vows to marry her in six months, impervious of the threat that he might lose everything. With a subordinate Kencha, he gives Tipu's men the slip and goes through trying times in pitch darkness at times with the fear of wild animals lurking around haunting him. Ragged and exhausted, travelling over hills and streams and through dense forests, he miraculously ends up half dead at the estate of Agnes, minus the loyal Kencha and disguised as a rebel Christian Gregory Tellis. The lovely Agnes nurses him to health even as the two fall in love. However, things are complicated because of the shameful bet and the arrival of another villain, the envious Dr Marian, her music teacher. He exposes Simon as Gregory Tellis who was betrothed to a girl called Juan Monica. Agnes then hands over 'GregoryTellis' to Tipu's men and Simon is in danger of being killed for treason. Anthony appears on the scene but refuses to acknowledge the fellow Sardar, wanting to see him out of the way. The former gets Agnes to agree to marry him if she values her paramour's life. After a lot of blood and gore, when Tipu suddenly appears, things sour for Anthony who escapes death narrowly and Sardar Simon is given all help by Tipu to clear the misunderstanding with Agnes. Meanwhile, Agnes in men's clothes and on horseback gives a letter to Simon rejecting him for the despicable act of laying a wager to marry her. She compares all men to animals who are out to take advantage of helpless women and for whom marriage is a business transaction. Simon feels disillusioned and believes women are fit only to be objects of consumption like alcohol and tobacco. Yet he decides to visit her in order to save her father who, along with other Christians is accused by Tipu of attempts to help his foes. Dr Marian promptly reaches Bantwal to arrest Raphael. He roughs up all the servants there, ties up her father and orders Agnes to marry him. She dares him to a duel of sword fighting just as Simon intervenes. Raphael is taken by Marian to Srirangapatnam. Agnes refuses to accept Simon's love. He promises to get her father released if she marries him. Further complications in the plot see Marian trying to waylay Simon and kill him, with Tipu reappearing again in time to help Simon. He agrees to release Raphael if he leaves Bantwal for some time and lives as an exile elsewhere. Simon goes to meet Agnes for the last time to release her from the promise to marry him since it goes against his notion of masculinity. Yet again he encounters Anthony there and a fight ensues again. Anthony falls over his own sword and dies. As father and daughter are reunited, Simon rides away from her life.

The novel is full of intrigues, fights and flights in the name of love for a woman. The Canara Christians are shown as lacking unity and their captivity by Tipu is shown as being hastened by false reports filed by other Kannadigas. The Portuguese flee from Mangalore and Tipu manages to ward off the threat posed by Venkatappa Nayaka and Rani Chennamma. The British are a menace thanks to the help of some Christians. While the novel depicts Tipu as compassionate, wise and strong, it also reveals certain anxieties and phobias in the collective consciousness of Canara Christians. The Muslims are seen as infidels into whose hands Christian women might fall prey. The former are seen as the 'other' who could treat 'our' women as playthings and this threat needs to be warded off at all costs. Whatever the internal bickering, masculinity would demand that Canara Christians try to save their womenfolk. Simon is also anxious to save as many Christians as possible from Tipu's wrath. Even the rival Anthony is ultimately seen as a fellow-Christian who should not be made over to Tipu. The dominant theme is the desire for unity among Christians. The fantasy and wishfulfillment of a demoralised community retrospectively trying to salvage the vestiges of dignity, unity and honour, especially of its women is thus worked out through the figure of the brave, noble and macho Sardar Simon Peter. He is ever anxious to protect the interests of Christians and is a chivalrous male, the bet on Agnes notwithstanding. Agnes exemplifies the vulnerable, yet spirited womanhood of the Canara Christians. She is constructed as chaste, loving and pious and ultimately unattainable – a stereotype seen ubiquitously in literature across the religious divide as seen in the work of Mary Ellman as also of Patricia Meyer Spacks (Spacks, 1973). The author's penchant for female protagonists who embody masculine values could again be a reflection of a wistful society looking back at a horrifying past and trying to reduce the pain and shame through figures like Agnes Cecily. She is taught to wield a sword, ride horses, acquire education – a male preserve - and go hunting. Cross-dressing recurs in his novels and is seen in this one too. This however is not the kind of resistance and subversion that Judith Butler had in mind while referring to drag performatives (Butler, 1990). Rather, here the hero(ine) is also a trophy to be acquired in a blatantly masculine world. Political affiliations and reconfigurations also convert her into an object to be possessed through marriage or conquest to tilt the balance in favour of Tipu's rule. There is also a resistance to this ideology in the novel. The

father of the heroine refuses to have her treated as a commodity to be traded, for she is not a soulless plaything. She herself is projected as noble, dignified and possesing a strong sense of self-worth, lamenting at times for being reduced to a helpless object of male desire. However, she is hardly transgressive of patriarchal Christian ideology. She has to be purity personified to the point of being child-like. She is also seen as motherly in the way she cares for Simon when he is helpless and is therefore seen to manifest divine attributes. This resonates perfectly with the Christian ideal of piety in motherhood seen for instence in the Sodality begun for Christian mothers at Milagres at the turn of the nineteenth century. The male dread and mistrust of women that lies underneath an overt expression of approval is evident in misogynist references to women as shrews to be distrusted, as traps for gullible men and therefore deserving to be treated as objects of consumption offering temporary pleasure only.This view is expressed about Agnes by none other than Simon in moments of doubt. The hero's intense love for Agnes and the extreme troubles to which he goes for her sake do not however result in a happy union of the two. The author deems it befitting to the dignity of the two in the way he thwarts this union that began in an ugly male wager.

The novel *Sardaranchi Sinol* is a sequel to the earlier one and covers the period of the captivity of Christians by Tipu, focussing on those families spared by the Sultan and those in hiding. The by now familiar figure of Sardar Simon Peter Prabhu is a dominant character here and is looked up to as the secret saviour of countless Christians accused of treason by Tipu's officers. The historical notion that Christians earned the ire of Tipu for plotting against him and aiding his enemies is qualified here. Except for a few, most other Christians are seen as innocent. Of the ones seen as traitors, some are shown as being framed by opportunistic and unscrupulous Hindu neighbours. Others are depicted as dauntless saviours working tirelessly to keep Christianity alive in perilous times. They are shown to be secretly helping Christians who are in distress and are under the radar of suspicion. Dominic Pinto (Dumga Peent) from Kavoor is one such hero subverting the authority of the Sultan's men in order to reach out to fellow-Christians in trouble. He is forbidden to remain in Canara but is always around working incognito. Veronica Coelho is another champion of the faith and

along with some other fearless women serves in the capacity of messenger. The novel shows Simon Prabhu rescuing her from the 'infidel' Muslim men on one such occasion when she was called upon to relay news of the elopement of a young girl Isabella with the treacherous Oberville Cardoza. The latter is presented as a dastardly man wily enough to escape the snare laid by Sardar Simon in the form of a search for any sailing vessel laden with gold and attempting to leave Mangalore. Cardoza happens to be an internal enemy who seeks every opportunity to betray Christians. Thus in the novel, it is not those Christians disloyal to the ruler that are written about. Rather, the notion of treachery is used here to indict men like Cardoza for jeopardising the already weakened and fragile state of Christianity in Canara. The martyrs are those who lay down their lives in the cause of their endangered religion. The brave-hearts are not the clergy who are compelled to leave the flock behind and flee to Goa, but men and women from the laity who waylay Tipu's boats and provide sustenance to Christians in hiding. Women like Veronica move about as Muslim women in hijab and give up their jewellery for the cause of suffering Christianity. Dumga Peent's men are ambushed in his absence and imprisoned as per Cardoza's machinations. The noble Simon then seeks ways to release them during their trial which he conducts as the trusted chieftain ostensibly working for Tipu. On the one hand he overtly condemns them to death for treachery while on the other, he appears incognito to free them from this fate. He then goes by boat to save Isabella from Cardoza. Sardar Simon attacks the avaricious and lecherous Cardoza fatally and sees that Isbella is taken back to safety, dressed as a man. Meanwhile Veronca, Monica, Jaculo Pai, Dumga Pint and others are reunited and the mystery of the brave-heart who had given them a signet of the holy cross while saving them, is solved with the appearance of Sardar Simon. He is pleased that lay women like Veronica have taken the lead to conduct prayer services and worship of the holy cross in the absence of the priests in order to keep the religious morale of a suffering community high. This is hardly surprising since women often were the custodians of culture, tradition and religious practices. Some Muslims are shown to sympathise with and be protective towards these Christians. Some others in Tipu's army are shown to be rapacious. They kill, loot and rape without compunction. A dying Christian man tells Tipu a few home-truths. Christianity, has always been known for its martyrs. Mobli Anthon Shenoy is seen as one

such. He rasps out that Tipu's men could only maim, rape, and kill the corporeal self of the Christian. This did not count for much. The soul would still be inviolate and would reach God. Tipu releases Christian women compelled to dance for him and asks for temperance and moderation in dealing with the Christians. Hassan Mohammad, who protected Christians, even asks to be baptised.

Here again, the theme of a community bereft of religious leadership and hounded for political reasons recurs. This lack is deftly filled by crafting the figure of the brave, skilful, intelligent and pious Sardar Simon. His masculinity and power makes up for the lack among other Christians. If he cannot be an equivalent of Krishnadevaraya or Shivaji, he comes close to them in infusing confidence, sense of purpose and hope in a community desperately in need of a larger-than-life hero. The inherent resilience of Christianity under duress is shown in the words of Veronica who reminds the others of the long history of the church as Mother. The superiority of Christianity even under extreme suffering is seen in a readiness to die for the faith as also in the wish for conversion seen in the other communities. Such wishfulfilment, depiction and longing is one coping mechanism that proves handy in literary works.

Among many other novels written by the illustrious Khadap, *PurvazPardeshanth* goes back in history to 1663 when owing to the Goan Inquisition, several Christians had fled to Mangalore to save themselves. The handsome Simon John Ferdinand, twenty years of age, and the forty year old Bulbaon Peregrine are two such men who have left their families behind and are worried to death about their safety. While the duo have been helped to entrench themselves as popular corporals in Mangalore Thana by Father Geronimo Rebeiro, the inquisition sword hangs perilously over their heads in the form of a letter written by the Goan Vicar General addressed to Dom Alvares, the Captain General in Mangalore, under a weakened Portuguese reign. The novel throws light on the need for Catholics in Mangalore to keep away from politics since that could alienate them from the natives, earn them the ire of local rulers –the Ikkeri Nayaks and the Queen of Ullal and retard their evangelising mission. Dom Alvares de Louis hopes that the winds of inquisition should never blow towards Mangalore where though weakened, the Portuguese were still a force. He however would deport those who had fled from Goa and come to Mangalore. The novel while charting

the fortunes of these fugitives also castigates the violence and bloodshed perpetrated by Christians in the name of religion wherein the 'heathens' who indulged in worship of idols and 'devils' at least did so in their ignorance.

In the above novels, the author's concern for a strong Christian identity, representing a potent masculinity is evident. The anxiety to see a unified community with a dynamic leader in the mould of Shivaji is also a pressing concern that, at the risk of over-reading might imply contemporary needs for charismatic male leaders who would represent and protect the community needs. Female characters too can be enlisted in this service and can even occasionally manifest overtly male attributes without however disrupting an ensconced patriarchal order where gender norms are spelt out for men and women.

Khadap's novels jostle with the traumatic past of a Catholic community facing upheavals and dislocations in the form of the Goan Inquisition, massive migration, deportation to Srirangapatna by Tipu and back as a beleaguered, demoralised and numerically diminished lot. One might wonder at the need for a literary saga of heroic figures long after normalcy has been restored and in a period of relative calm after the tumult of nationalist agitation. But the fact that his novels captured the imagination of the Konkani world is a pointer to the need for imagination, fantasy, wishful thinking, utopian hopes and literary tropes that could help negotiate the past, purge the present and offer hope for the future. The longings of a community in despair are eloquently articulated by Khadap. The idea of a rudderless community sorely in need of a spiritual, moral and political leadership is communicated effectively in his fiction. Time and again the lament of 'lack' – the absence of heroes of the stature of Shivaji and Krishnadevaraya in the Christian community – is expressed. This vacuum is sought to be filled by the creation of larger-than-life characters like Sardar Simon Prabhu. A regional as well as trans-national need is fictively satisfied such that an emasculated community regains its virility, masculinity and power through such figures. Martial valour is wedded to spiritual dynamism. The shame attached to the community with the rape of its women and their helpless status as the property of the sexually predatory Muslim enemy brings out the alterity of the 'other'. 'Our' women and concurrently the honour of the community is to be

salvaged by defending the womenfolk and forming martial groups to do so. Dumga Peent, Jaculo Pai and others become such heroes, ably supported by dauntless women like Veronica and Monica. The feminisation of the inner domain of culture and spirituality is seen in the active role performed by the women to keep Christian ways of life and prayer-service alive in the absence of a male clergy. One literary solution to the onslaught of the rapacious Muslim 'other' is by castrating him. The symbolic overtones of such an act for the dignity of the community are evident in the 'casrado', Ayaz Khan, who now cannot rape the beautiful Donna Louisa. An anxiety manifested in Khadap's works which is no to be missed is the fear of conversion to another faith – an act of 'epistemic violence', as Spivak sees it. This fear for the self is sublimated in literature by wishful thinking. Hassan Mohammad, a Muslim supporter of Christians hounded by Tipu's men, wishes to convert to Christianity. Two similar, proselytizing faiths are in conflictual mode and the superiority of one over the other is proved here not by forcible conversion, but by a voluntary change of heart. Christians are thus vindicated through these literary interventions in Khadap's novels. Yet another literary ploy is arming the woman. Cross-dressing, hose-riding, wielding a sword when needed – in short being a veritable *veerangana* – is what is scripted for many of Khadap's heroines. However, norms of femininity are still to be upheld – the heroine has to be chaste, modest, sacrificing and pious. The stereotype is very much in place, as shown elsewhere by Simone de Beauvoir, Judith, Fetterly, Germern Laure, Mulvey, Patrecia, Spacks, Kate Millet, Verona Woolf and other critics of gender normativity. The child-like and angelic heroine is above reproach and ever ready to serve. Cross-dressing is not subversive here. Again, when all else fails, the faithful Christian thoroughly battered by the enemy has a time-tested response to corporeal mutilation and brutal attack resulting in death. All charges of cowardice and weakness are deflected by taking recourse to a spiritual explanation of the same. Martyrdom now becomes a heroic choice in place of helpless emasculation. The masculine and violent physicality is downgraded to a gross level where the torture of the Christian body is cause for celebration in shoring up of heavenly rewards. The raped and bruised body of the faithful no longer matters, since the soul is invincible, inviolate, beyond categories of gender. Thus a brilliant closure is sought in the works of Khadap, steeped in a distinct Christian ethos where gender is harnessed to religious

liberation. While the gender stereotypes are evidently there, the overarching identity of the entire community and its spiritual survival becomes the dominant trope here.

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RETURN MIGRANTS AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE: AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

- Norbert Lobo

Abstract

This paper attempts to study the occupational choice of return migrants upon their return to their home town. Migration - internal or international - in general results in occupational mobility of the migrants. Migrants not only tend to move to higher occupational levels but also experience more upward mobility than non-migrants. The experience of individuals in the labour market, particularly duration of stay in the current occupation, gender, age, social ties and educational backgrounds are generally considered the important determinants of occupational change. Using field data, efforts have been made in this study to understand the changes in activity status, occupational status and also the relation between return migration and entrepreneurship. The study indicated that there was a clear shift in the occupations undertaken by the migrants before migration, while on migration and after return migration. The study clearly shows that return migrants given an opportunity would like to take up self -employment rather than wage employment. Further, return migrants in general gave more importance to economic gain while choosing occupations abroad, while social status of the occupations was the main consideration in their occupational choice at home after return.

Keywords: Return Migration, Occupational Mobility, Activity Status, Occupational Status, Entrepreneurship, Self –Employment

INTRODUCTION:

The oil boom of the 1970s and the unprecedented developmental projects undertaken by the Gulf countries of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) triggered a massive emigration of workers from Asian counties like India to the region. The 2014-15 Annual Report of the Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi reveals that during the last 40 years there

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has been large-scale migration of Indian nationals to the Gulf region seeking job opportunities.The Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA), the nodal ministry dealing with the Indian diaspora, estimates that approximately 6.8 million Indians live and work in the Gulf countries. A study by Khadria (2013) reveals that the emigrants from India initially primarily comprised of unskilled and semi-skilled labour. However in recent years it is steadily encompassing a small but growing number of skilled and professional migrants.

An essential characteristic feature of Gulf migration is that all migrants to the region go on temporary work contracts. Hence they are bound to return sooner or later to their place of origin. For aspirational and upper middle-class migrants, the Gulf serves as a stepping stone to further diasporisation, with Canada, England, New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America (USA) as typical destinations. *(Gardner, 2011).* The poor unskilled or semi-skilled migrant, on the other hand, often risks life-long and familial savings to merely migrate to the Gulf countries and return in the future.

An important question that then arises is – What activities would a return migrant choose to indulge in, after his return? This paper has attempted to study the occupational choices of return migrants to their respective home towns, by using field data. The primary focus of this study is to know the effect of temporary migration on occupational choice and the mobility of the return migrants before, during and after their migration. In addition, data has also been gathered to know the incidence of self-employment and entrepreneurship among the return migrants.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Return migration as a field of research study has emerged as a prominent field of analysis since the 1960s. Since then there have been a large number of studies undertaken all over the world. An analysis of these studies reveals that the literature on return migration focuses either on the determinants of return migration, problems of adjustment and re-integration of returnees, contribution to their home and country, or on the perception of home and society towards return migrants and occupational changes after return and mobility. Keeping in

mind the objectives of the study, the literature related to occupational change or choice of return migrants is undertaken here.

Arif and Irfan (1997) in their article '*Return Migration and Occupational Change: The Case of Pakistani Migrants Returned from the Middle East'*made an attempt to examine the factors affecting occupational composition of Pakistani workers upon their return from Middle East employment by using the 1986 ILO/ARTEP Survey of Return Migrant Households. The study showed that the economic resources gained from overseas employment gave migrants the strength to seek independent employment, and there was a clear move out of the production-service occupations into business and agricultural occupations. Further the study has shown that the mobility of workers towards the business sector was strongly related to their duration of stay in the Middle East. They also observed that the occupational structure of the general population remained almost unchanged in the 1970s and 1980s, and it was concluded that the employment trends exhibited by return migrants could largely be attributed to overseas migration.

Lidgard Jacqueline and Christopher Gilson (2002) in their study '*Return Migration of New Zealanders: Shuttle and Circular Migrants'* observed that return migration in New Zealand which took place mainly for social and emotional reasons like attachments was not influenced by occupational choices. **Chaudary and Hamdani (2002)** analysed the role of return migrants in the transfer of technology and their reemployment pattern. The study indicated that return migrants are a source of technology transfer and that return migrants preferred to establish their own businesses after returning home. **Hazan (2008)** based on the data from Latvia found that return migrants when compared to non- migrants are on an average more educated and less likely to work as unskilled manuals and that returnees command a substantial earning premium. **Piracha and Florin (2009)** in their paper *'Return Migration and Occupational Choice'* explored the impact of return migration on the Albanian economy and found that migration has an important impact on entrepreneurship. Their study showed that if the return migrants had not migrated, they would have been more likely to be own account workers and less likely to be entrepreneurs. Past migration experience, however,

has a positive effect on both own account work and entrepreneurship, with the latter effect being significantly stronger.**Borodak, Daniela and Matloob Piracha (2010) conducted** a study on return migrants and their occupational choice in Moldova. The study indicated that those who obtain less than the expected outcome or stayed illegally in the host country tend to go for wage employment on return to the home country. Further the study showed that the relatively better educated tend not be in formal employment, i.e., appear not to participate in the labour market whereas those with relatively lower skills or who obtained worse than expected outcome in the host country are more likely to be wage-employed in the home country on return.

In their research paper '*Occupational Mobility among Returned Migrants in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis*' ,**Cobo et al. (2010)** found evidence which suggested that the possibilities for occupational achievement were conditioned by economic conditions in sending communities.**Démurger & Hui Xu (2011)** in their study '*Return Migrants: The Rise of New Entrepreneurs in Rural China*' observed that return migrants are more likely to be self-employed than their rural counterparts. In the research article '*Return Migration and the Survival of Entrepreneurial Activities in Egypt*' **Francesca Marchetta (2012)** reviews various studies dealing with the relationship between migration and entrepreneurship, analysing the occupational choice of returnees and providing evidence of their high propensity to engage in entrepreneurial activities. Some of the studies reviewed by him are quoted herewith. *Dustmann and Kirchkamp (2002)* show that more than half of the migrants are economically active after return, and that most of them opt for an entrepreneurial activity. *Ilahi (1999)* shows that return migrants exhibit a high tendency for self over wage-employment in Pakistan, with accumulated foreign savings driving this choice. *Gubert and Nordman (2011)* show that almost 30 per cent of a sample of returnees to Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco become employers or independent workers, with their occupational choice depending on the employment status and level of integration experienced in the countries of destination. **Kilic et al. (2009)** find that returnees to Albania are, *ceteris paribus*, more likely than stayers to become entrepreneurs. **Wahba and Zenou (2009)** find that Egyptian returnees have a

higher propensity to set up an entrepreneurial activity, the loss of social capital due to the period spent abroad notwithstanding, thanks to the experiences and savings they accumulated abroad. The analysis by **Démurger and Xu (2011)** on the self-employment decision in rural China confirms that return migrants are more likely to be self-employed than non-migrants. **Marchetta** also concludes that the occupational choice of the returnee entrepreneurs is more stable over time, and this represents a necessary precondition for temporary migration experiences to produce a lasting employment generation effect in the country of origin.

Batista et.al (2014) in their paper '*Return Migration, Self-Selection and Entrepreneurship in Mozambique'* based on a field study observed that return migrants contribute to entrepreneurship in the origin country. They also argue that richer countries should keep their doors open to migration which may be regarded as a form of "efficient aid". The paper also reviews some of the recent case studies *Dustmann and Kirchkamp (2002),McCormick and Wahba (2001), Mesnard (2004), Mesnard and Ravallion (2006), Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo (2006), Yang (2008), Vadean and Piracha (2010) and Wahba and Zenou (2012)* related to the occupational choice of return migrants. These studies observe that return migration seems to promote entrepreneurship after an initial migrant reintegration period.

Mallakh and Wahba (2016) in their study '*Upward or Downward: Occupational Mobility and Return Migration using data for Egypt' suggested* that return migration increases the probability of upward occupational mobility, only for returnees who belong to the upper end of the educational distribution. Furthermore, the results suggest that the number of years since return in Egypt and migration duration do matter for returnees to witness occupational upgrading upon return in Egypt. **Fallah's (2016) study** highlights that **return** migration when forced increases the probability of unemployment not only for themselves but also for non- migrants of the region.

The available literature thus supports the view that temporary migration has a positive impact on the occupational choice of return migrants. It is generally

held that the foreign work experience enables the returned migrants to acquire human capital and financial assets that facilitate their re-entry at home, often yielding improved occupational circumstances. The present study makes an attempt to generate further micro level evidences to understand the occupational choice and mobility of returned migrants in a regional setting.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The study was undertaken in Mangaluru Taluk, Dakshina Kannada District, of Karnataka State.   A total of 150 respondents have been contacted among the return migrants residing in this area. The field data was collected by visiting the respondents at their place of residence during July – October 2015 with the help of *"tracers"*. The study was restricted to only those return migrants who were less than 60 years of age and were in the Gulf at least for one year before the return. Purposive sampling techniques were used to select the respondents giving due weightage to various socio-economic characteristics of the return migrants.

THE STUDY AREA

Mangaluru which until recently was known as Mangalore is one of the five taluks of the Dakshina Kannada district of the State of Karnataka on the western coast of India. The four other taluks of the district are Bantwal, Puttur, Sullia and Belthangady. Mangaluru is the administrative headquarters of the taluk. The total area is 923 square km accounting for 18.99 percent of the geographical area of the district. According to the 2011 census the total population of the taluk is 9,94,602 (47.6 percent of the district) with 490797 (49.4 percent) males and 503805 (50.6percent) females that accounts 47.6 percent of the total population of the district. The taluk has 26 towns / cities and 74 inhabited villages and a total of 2, 10,033 people (21.12percent) reside in the rural areas and the remaining 7, 84,569 people (78.88percent) live in the urban areas. The literacy rate is 91.67 percent as against the district average of 88.57percent and ranks first in the district. The literacy rate in 2011, was 95.31percent for males, and 88.15percent for females respectively. Literacy rate in the rural areas was 85.33percent and for urban areas it was 92.12percent during the same period. The taluk occupies 1st rank in Standard of Living, Education, HDI Ranking and

Food Security Index (FSI). According to the Dakshina Kannada District Human Development Report, Mangaluru taluk with CTDI (Composite Taluk Development Index) of 0.711 ranks first in the district.

In general, Coastal Karnataka and Mangaluru Taluk in particular has experienced significant migration to the Gulf countries since the 1970s following the oil boom. Since then, an increasing number of semi- and unskilled workers from South India including Mangaluru have worked in the gulf countries on temporary migration schemes in the oil industry and in services and construction. The study region has long since been characterised by a social structure bearing the impact of what can be termed as "migration culture". A field study by the author has revealed that more than 40 percent of the total households surveyed had at least one migrant in the gulf countries. (Lobo, 2004). The survey further revealed that around 6percent of the households surveyed had return migrants, of whom nearly 50percent were in Gulf Countries.

BRIEF PROFILE OF THE RETURN MIGRANTS

The data presented in table 1 indicates that over 57 percent of the respondents returned to their present place of residence during the last five years starting with 2010 32 percent of them returned between the years 2000 and 2010. Thus in total almost 89 percent of them returned during the last 15 years.

Table- 1 : Year of Return		
Year of Return	No of Respondents	%
Before 1990	2	1.3
1990-1995	4	2.7
1995-2000	10	6.7
2000-2005	23	15.3
2005-2010	25	16.7
2010-2015	86	57.3
Total	*150*	**100.0**

Table.2 : Age of the Respondents at Present		
Age Group	No of Respondents	%
20-25	13	8.7
25-30	31	20.7
30-35	26	17.3
35-40	27	18.0
40-45	15	10.0
45-50	24	16.0
50-55	9	6.0
55-60	5	3.3
Total	150	100.0

Further it is also evident that the majority of the return migrants were young and of employable age. 64.7 percent of them were less than 40 years of age and would be economically active at least for the next two to three decades. 26 percent were in the age group of 40 to 50 years and the remaining 9.3 percent were above 50 years of age but below 60 years of age. Analysis of data and also observations during the field study highlighted that the return migrants have been facing problems of reintegration, though when asked, this was not openly acknowledged.

REASONS FOR RETURN

Data presented in table 3 show that the reasons for returning home considerably varied. However it may be observed that in general, there were combinations of a few factors. First, though they wanted to stay abroad for longer duration, they had no choice as they were forced to leave either due to the expiry of contract

Table- 3 : Reasons for Return Migration		
Reasons	**No of Respondents**	**%**
Expiry of contract	24	16.0
Contract terminated by the employer	13	8.7
Children's Education	18	12.0
Conditions at home required my presence	41	27.3
Desire to do something of my own back in hometown	16	10.7
Difficult working conditions in Gulf	14	9.3
Not Happy with the kind of life in Gulf	9	6.0
Ill health	8	5.3
Any Other (*Pregnancy, Marriage*)	7	4.7
Total	*150*	**100.0**

or termination of contract by the employer or sponsor. 24.7 percent of the respondents returned due to these two reasons. Family related responsibilities and issues were the second type of factors that compelled 39.3percent of the respondents to return. These responsibilities include children's education, sudden death of parents or family members who used to look after household responsibilities particularly undertaking agricultural activities. 20.6 percent of the respondents returned due to problems in adapting abroad. These included factors like unhappiness with the kind of life in the Gulf, difficult working conditions and ill health. The desire to do something of their own back in the hometown had pushed around 11percent of the respondents to return. The other factors that were responsible for return were marriage and pregnancy and their aftermath.

CHANGES IN ACTIVITY STATUS

A comparative presentation of data on the activity status of the return migrant before migration, during migration and after return migration in table 4 clearly indicate the change in the economic activity of the respondents during these three points of time. As evident from the field data that the proportion of respondents who were either unemployed or non-participants in any economic activity was insignificant when they were aboard. But their proportion increased from 18 percent before migration to 24 percent post return. The reasons were varied and many return migrants expressed their inability to participate in any economic activity due to ill health or family related compulsions. Unemployment was a major push factor for respondents to emigrate while after return some of them remained unemployed voluntarily.

The proportion of self-employed respondents increased considerably after return compared to before emigration butt was insignificant during the period of their stay abroad. Only 6.7 percent of them were self-employed before migration and of them only 2 percent were employed on their own while they were abroad.

Table 4: Activity Status of the Migrant						
Activity Status	*Before Emigration*		*While on Emigration*		*After Return*	
	No of Respondents	%	No of Respondents	%	No of Respondents	%
Non Participation	27	18.0	5	3.3	36	24.0
Self-employed	10	6.7	3	2.0	73	48.7
Wage –Employed	91	60.7	142	94.7	41	27.3
Actively Involved in Household occupation	22	14.7	—-	—	—-	—-
Total	**150**	**100.0**	**150**	**100.0**	**150**	**100.0**

However almost half of them accounting for 48.7 percent were self-employed either as cultivators or floriculturists or had businesses. The migrants considered their occupational choices before migration as a low status activity and were not willing to go back to the same. It was also observed that many of these return migrants who traditionally were cultivating paddy – a food crop, now shifted to the cultivation of jasmine – a highly remunerative commercial crop that does not require much land and brings regular inflow of monetary income.

Wage employment was the most important activity status before migration and while abroad. As high as 94.7 percent of the migrants were engaged in wage employment activities during their stay abroad,whilst it was only 60.7 percent before migration. It was clearly evident that there was decline in the number of respondents opting for wage employment after return migration. Only 27.3 percent of the respondents mainly consisting of female return migrants engaged in wage employment. It was thus observed that there was a clear preference among the return migrants for self-employment of some kind. These self-employment activities were either in the farm sector or in the business sector and involved medial investments. This also brought out the fact that there was a tendency amongst the return migrants to move away from their original activity status to a generally respected activity status.

CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

In the present study the occupations of the migrants have been grouped into six categories.

(i)   *Professional / technical workers* : It include Doctors/Medical Assistants , Engineers , Lecturers / Teachers, Technologists , Supervisors , Officers , Nurses, Other Professionals like CAs , Lawyers etc. ,

(ii*)   Clerical workers that include:* Clerks / Stenographers, Storekeepers, DTP, Computer Operators, Other Clerical Workers, Accountant.

(iii)   *Service workers that include* both unskilled and semi-skilled workers like Cooks , Drivers , Tailors , Domestic Help Servants , Waiters , Barbers, Other Service Workers like Laundry , Cleaners, Security, etc.

(iv) *Skilled Workers that include*: Carpenters, Mechanics, Painters , Weavers , Construction workers, Electricians , Masons , Lift Operators, Pipe-fitters , Steel-workers , Plumbers, Welders , Business Workers ,Other Skilled Worker

(v*)* *Agriculture Workers* that includes: Farming, Fishing, Mining and Quarrying, Agricultural Workers, Plantation.

(vi) *Business Workers* that include: Traders, Manufacturer, Hotel / Canteen, Contractors, Petty Business, Marketing.

Table-5 : Occupational Status of the Respondents								
Occupational Category			Migrants' Occupation					
	Parents Occupation		*Before Migration*		*During Migration*		*After Return Migration*	
	No of Respondents	*%*	*No of Respondents*	*%*	*No of Respondents*	*%*	*No of Respondents*	*%*
Professional / technical workers	9	6.0	17	11.3	16	10.7	7	4.7
Clerical workers	2	1.3	9	6.0	14	9.3	5	3.3
Service workers	12	8.0	25	16.7	80	53.3	13	8.7
Skilled workers	13	8.7	26	17.3	39	26.0	16	10.7
Agriculture	107	71.3	39	26.0	01	0.7	35	23.3
Business	7	4.7	7	4.7	—-	—	38	25.3
Total	*150*	*100.0*	*123*	*100.0*	*150*	*100.0*	*36*	*24.0*

It was evident from the data that the migrants were picky when it came to the choice of occupation at home particularly after return migration. However during their employment abroad over half of them were engaged in the service sector either as unskilled or semi-skilled workers. More often than not, these jobs were accepted due the lack of choice, and even compulsion in some cases. There were also cases where the emigrants were not offered the jobs for which they were recruited and forced to do jobs much below their expectation and

qualification. It was observed that the emigrants were willing to take up any jobs provided the salary or income from the job was promising. However the same respondent felt that choice of occupations back home is influenced by its social standing. The proportion of respondents involved in service sector was 16.7 percent before migration, increased to 53.3 percent during migration, dropped down to 8.3 percent after return. Agriculture which accounted for 26 percent before migration was insignificant during migration and remained at 23.3 percent after return migration. But as pointed out earlier the nature of agricultural work changed drastically from paddy cultivation-a traditional family occupation to jasmine cultivation-a new commercial agricultural crop which can be undertaken in any kind of land with the availability of water facility. Business which was insignificant before migration has emerged as one of the main occupation choices with the involvement of 25.3 percent of the respondents. It is important to note that most of the businesses involved were not huge businesses with large investment. It was apparent during the field study that these businesses were created by the return migrants with the little savings that they had earned during their employment abroad. Many of these businesses were operated by a sole person, usually the respondent providing either personalised services or skilled expertise of repair or maintenance. Percentage of respondents engaged in professional employment has almost remained the same as most of them are highly qualified or trained in a particular trade. It is thus observed that among the return migrants under the present study there was a preference for non-parental and non –traditional occupations. Besides majority of them have performed various kinds of jobs before and after return. The process of deskilling was also evident in several cases. Occupational change and occupational choices were more situational rather than a matter of choice. The remuneration provided was the main factor that decided the nature of the job while abroad, but occupations after return where mainly influenced by social standing. Environmental familiarity or otherwise was also crucial in the choice of occupations by the return migrants. There were efforts on the part of return migrants to improve their occupational status after return so that they may enjoy higher social status. Many respondents openly admitted that the response of the community and

family was important in the choice of occupations after return. Thus it was observed that attainment of higher economic status was the main determinant of occupation choice in the Gulf countries where as higher social status primarily determines the occupation of choice of the return migrants.

RETURN MIGRANTS AND SELF EMPLOYMENT

Attempts were made to gather information about the return migrants who were self-employed. The data presented in table 4 indicated that a total of 73 respondents constituting 48.7 percent reported self-employment as their current activity status. Of them 38 were involved in business and the remaining 35 were self-employed in the agricultural sector. The analysis here is restricted to those return migrants who were engaged in some kind of business. The data presented in table 6 and Table 7 shows that the majority of them were males and except one return migrant none of them had any experience in this field before or during emigration. Only 5 return migrants constituting 13.2percent were females and all the rest were males. Female migrants were basically wage employed.

Table 6 : Nature of Business		
Type of Business	No of Respondents	%
Male	33	86.8
Female	5	13.2
Total	38 (25.3)	100.0

Table -7 : Activity Status				
Activity Status	Before Migration		While in Gulf	
	No of Respondents	%	No of Respondents	%
Wage Employment	37	97.4	38	100.0
Self-Employment	01	2.6	—	—
Total	*38*	**100.0**	38	**100.0**

NATURE OF BUSINESS

It was observed during the field study that of the majority of the business activities started by the return migrants, 81.6 percent of the business was small scale and the remaining 17.4 percent may be classified as medium scale in

Table-8 : Nature of Business		
Type of Business	No of Respondents	%
Small	31	81.6
Medium	7	18.4
Large	—	
Total	38 (25.3)	100.0

nature. Though the governments has changed ceiling level for classifying business enterprises as small , medium and large, 7 respondents reported that their business enterprises were regarded as medium scale enterprises. The data in table 9 points out that 29 percent were operating transport facility like taxi or auto service or operating school vans to transport school children. 18.3 percent were either running canteens or small restaurants.

Table-9 : Type of the Business		
Number	No of Respondents	%
Transport	11	29.0
Repair and servicing Shops	5	13.2
Retail shops	5	13.2
Restaurants / Canteens	7	18.3
Catering Services	4	10.5
Construction Contractor	3	7.9
Travel Agency	3	7.9
Total	**38**	**100.0**

13.2 percent had started either repair and servicing shops for electrical or electronic appliances an and equal proportion had started retail shops dealing with a variety of day to day items and grocery products. 10.5 percent had been operating catering firms. 7.9 percent were managing travel agencies and another 7.9 percent had taken up contracting of civil works.

Table 10 : Number of Workers in the Business		
Number of Workers	No of Respondents	%
Sole	15	39.5
2-5	18	47.4
6-9	3	7.9
10-13	1	2.6
14 +	1	2.6
Total	38	100.0

Further it is evident that 29 percent of the businesses were managed by themselves without any hired labour. 47.4 percent have employed two to five additional workers. The proportion of businesses employing six to nine workers was 7.9 percent. There were one firm each started by the return migrant employing either ten to thirteen workers or more than 14 workers. These were either managing catering or construction services.

Table- 11: Amount of Money Invested in the Business		
Amount Invested	No of Respondents	%
Less than Rs 5 lakhs	27	71.1
Less than Rs 10 lakhs	6	15.8
More than Rs 10 lakhs but less than Rs 25 lakhs	4	10.5
More than Rs 25 lakhs but less than Rs 1 core	2	5.3
Total	*38*	**100.0**

Most of the business enterprises had invested less than Rs 5 lakhs. The smallest investment was around Rs 50,000 and the highest investment was around 75 lakhs over the period. The data in table 12 further reveal that all of them have used their savings from abroad to start these business enterprises.

Table-12: Source of Finance		
Source of Finance	No of Respondents	%
Savings from abroad	38	100.00
Loans from banks	8	21.1
Loans from friends / Relatives	4	10.5
Partnership	2	2.6
Total* does not add up to 38 / 100 % as there are more than one source utilized		

21.1 percent of them had also borrowed loans from banks, 10.5 percent obtained loans from friends or relatives. Only two of them said they had raised funds through partnership.

CONCLUSION

The present study, making use of the data from a field study attempted to study the economic and occupational status of the return migrants and their occupational choice. In addition it has tried to compare the pre-migration, on- migration and return migration occupational status of the return migrant and thereby sought to generate reliable data on this neglected area of return migration.

A comparison between pre-migration and post as well return migration phase of migrant workers indicates considerable variations in the activity and occupation choices. It was understood both by the data and field observation that return migrants want to do something different from their traditional occupations. Owing to the fact that the emigration to the Gulf is temporary in nature, return migration is an inevitable process. It was also observed that many of the return migrants were young and of an employable age and most of them returned during the past fifteen years preceding the time of survey.

The study indicated that there was a clear shift in the occupations performed by the migrants before migration, while on migration and after return migration. Further, it was observed that in many cases the migrants experienced downward occupational mobility while they were in the Gulf countries. However, after return migration there was a clear and conscious choice of occupation facilitating upward occupational movement. Between parents' and respondents' occupations, the respondent migrants opted for high social standing occupations. In terms of activity status also, return migrants chose self – employment in larger number over wage employment. The study clearly shows that return migrants given an opportunity would like to take up self –employment rather than wage employment. Besides, return migrants in general gave more importance to economic gain while choosing occupations abroad, while social status of the occupations was the main consideration in their occupational choice at home after return. A good number of return migrants from the Gulf countries are young and actively looking for gainful employment. It is imperative that the Government design and implement welfare programmes for such migrants, and try and facilitate admissions for their children to quality schools and colleges, preferably through a single window facility. Efforts should be made to provide financial support for return migrants to start self – employed economic activities by establishing suitable financial schemes. There is also a need for providing information to the return migrants on economic opportunities and about the government policies and programs.

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COMMUNAL ELECTORATE AND THE CHRISTIANS OF KANARA

- Denis Fernandes

Abstract

The Montague Chelmsford Reforms introduced communal electorate at the provincial level and a good number of religious as well as regional minority communities got the opportunity to enter into the Provincial Legislative Council. The Christian community was one such community which could send its representative to the council. However, in the later years a few community members had second thoughts on communal electorate. Keeping in view the national interest, the Christian leaders of the region felt that the communal electorate must be abolished and in its place reservation of seats for Christians were to be introduced. Therefore, they decided to support the proposal of Simon Commission on reserving the seats for Christians in the Provincial Legislative Council. Among the Protestant Christians a large number were in support of this opinion, whereas among the Catholics the division was clear. A few Mangalorean Christians supported the proposal of Simon Commission, but the majority of them who came from other parts of Madras Presidency were not in a mood to give up the facility of Communal Electorate and thus the Conference of the Catholics held in Mangalore during this period supported the latter view.

Keywords: Colonialism, Kanara Christians, Communal Electorate, Madras Presidency

The anti-colonial movements in India began to yield results in the beginning of the 20th century. Due to pressure as well as agitation against it all over India, the colonial rule slowly opened up to share the political power with the natives. Initially it created native representation in local bodies and thus the locals could participate in debates on governance. When it opened up the Regional Legislative Councils to the Indians, a carefully crafted divide and rule policy was brought to force in the form of communal electorate. A good number of religious as well as regional minority communities got the opportunity to enter the Legislative Councils. Christians of Kanara were among them.

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Christianity entered Kanara only at end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century. During this period a good number of Catholics of Goa migrated to Kanara.[1]The Protestant Christianity had its origin since 1834. In that year three Basel Missionaries landed in Mangalore and initiated the evangelisation work. But they did not succeed much. At the end of the 19th century there were hardly 8000 Christians in the Basel Mission Congregation[2] whereas the Catholic population was more than five times that of Protestants at that time. Kanara came under the British colonial rule in the beginning of the 19th century. The local bodies such as Municipal councils were opened up to natives by the colonial rulers in the beginning of the 20th century. In Kanara the municipal elections were held and a good number of Christians also participated in the political activities.

The need of Christians to be a part of the political activity of the country was very much stressed by the Christian print media during the colonial period. It played an important role in creating political awareness among the community members.[3] The Christian print media, particularly the Protestant periodicals, cautioned the community that the current mood in the country was democratic, and Christians should be prepared for it, both in Church administration and nation-building.[4] It pointed out that the native Christians under the control of foreign missionaries lost their national identity and they were in an uncomfortable position where the feeling was that they neither belonged to the foreign land nor to the Indian soil. This attitude would make them alien in their own country and be unwittingly subservient to the British Empire. Therefore, it was important to be part of the nation and join the mainstream of national movement without giving up the Christian ideals and ways.[5] The Journals predicted that the country would achieve *Swaraj* in the near future and there was a need to be aware of the changing political mood of the country to find a place in the new environment of self-rule. Otherwise they would have to face problems in the new set-up. Therefore there was need for the establishment of political and social organisations for the union and progress of the community.[6] To inspire the community members these journals published the life stories of great Indian leaders who sacrificed their lives for the public cause such as Ranade, Gokhale, D E Wacha, Swami Kannu Pillai etc. They were portrayed as the guiding spirit for every Indian who

looked forward to doing social service.[7] The media also claimed that its aim was not only to create awareness among the Christian population but also to foster nationalism among them.[8] When Chittaranjan Das died in 1925 many articles and comments appeared in praise of his service to the nation. A telegram of condolence was dispatched to Mrs. C R Das by the *South Kanara Catholic Association* to show the solidarity of the community with the family.

During the early phase of the 20th century the reforms of the colonial government provided new opportunities in political advancement in India. When a separate electorate based on caste and religion was introduced at provincial level through the Montague Chelmsford Reforms, the minority communities such as Christians at the start overwhelmingly accepted it because they thought that it was the best way to secure their interests in the Provincial Legislative Council. Accordingly those minority communities felt that it was a privilege given to them to represent their views and opinions in the legislature. Otherwise, they feared that they might have marginal place in Hindu-dominated India. Therefore participation in a separate electorate was their way of 'contending with marginality'.[9] Christians of the region expressed that in a country like India, where interests are communal, representation to be adequate must also be communal. It has been offered "due to the inherent social inequalities and religious differences as well as the unequal distribution of political power and offices among the different communities."[10] Until these differences are removed the outlook of the people cannot but be communal, and therefore, the system of representation must also be communal.

Initially when five seats were allotted to the Christian community of Madras Presidency in the legislative council, there was a feeling of unhappiness. They found that there was a disproportionate allotment of seats when compared to the Muslim community. Therefore, a few appeals were made to raise the quota based on the population strength. The Christian media also created public opinion on this issue. However, in the later years when the elected representatives actually began their work both inside and outside the legislature, the opinion on communal electorate slowly began to change among the members of the community. It boosted new forms of identity politics. The representatives acted

as the sole brokers for respective group interests and they paid least attention to the members of the other communities who did not vote for them. People have realised that the system of purely communal representation has shut off the Christian community from the rest of the body politic, so that the community would be considered as having nothing in common with the general public. Moreover, the members elected by the general public feel no responsibility towards Christians.[11]   They realised that there were loopholes in the system: It was true that the councillors elected through the communal electorate had an opportunity to raise the issues and represent the communal aspect for discussion in the assemblies, but when it finally came up for voting, the communal representatives were hopelessly outnumbered. "It is therefore, necessary that some other method should be discovered in order that the Christians may be enabled to make their voice felt more strongly in the local Council." [12]

Soon the opinions began to flow in the local Christian journals that the communal representation was injurious to the growth of national solidarity. There were also opinions among the people and more particularly among the Christians that the system of communal electorate may be replaced with that of reservation of seats in the general electorate. Others felt that such plans might not succeed because the Christian community was small in number, and the elected candidate instead of representing the minority, community would really have to concentrate on others there by defeating the very purpose of reservation.

When the Simon Commission report was published there were discussions on the subject matter of communal electorate in the Kanara Christian community circle. The letters written to editors of Christian periodicals will give us the insights on the community feeling on this issue. The Commission recommended for Indian Christians reservation of seats in joint electorates, with their right to compete for seats like others in the general electorates for provincial legislatures. The same was recommended for the depressed classes but not for Muslims. Mr J A Saldanha, a Catholic and the then MLC of Madras Legislative council who represented Kanara, argued that it was a welcome move for Christians. He believed that the community would treat it as really beneficial to them and

accept it as a compliment to the advanced culture and political good sense of Indian Christians. On the other hand communal electorate would not enable any influence with the majority. Mr Saldanha had pointed out that in more than 13 districts of Madras Presidency there are more than 50000 Christians for whom 6 seats have been reserved[13]. However, there were less buyers for his argument among the Catholics of Madras Presidency, even though, the Protestants welcomed this move. In the Madras Presidency, the general mood among the Protestants was to reject the idea of a separate electorate. The Protestant leaders K.T Paul, V.S. Azariah, V Chakkarai and Jesudasan were of the view that communal electorate would amount to an admission of inferiority and ultimately undermine the interests of the nation.[14] The Catholics on the other hand were divided in their opinion on communal electorate. Quite a good number of Kanara Catholics including those who had migrated to Mumbai were in favour of abolition of Communal electorate but the Catholics who belonged to the rest of the Madras Presidency were in favour of it. The 18 member Catholic deputation led by Arpudaswami Udayar and sitting MLC to meet Simon Commission that was sitting at Madras to urge for separate electorate as before and complete autonomy for the province.[15]

By 1930s Catholics of Kanara felt that politically India was passing through a most critical period. In this context every section of the people met together and formulated its political objects and set forth its political fears. The Catholics from all over India also felt that they must take stock of the situation, not only to contribute their mite to the political counsils but also to raise safeguards as were necessary for their future wellbeing in the land of their birth. The Catholic Association of South Kanara took the lead to organise a Conference of Catholics in Mangalore. There were reasons behind this: It was believed that major Constitutional changes were going to be introduced in India from the proposed Round Table Conference in London and the subsequent Parliamentary Legislation. The Catholic Association of South Kanara felt that Christians, especially Catholics should not miss this opportunity of bringing to the attention of the authorities the need of safeguarding the interests of the Catholic Church and community in the new constitution. Therefore it mooted the idea of organising the Conference.[16]

At this juncture several letters poured into the office of the *Konkni Dirvem* centred on communal electorate and the Round table Conference to be held in the near future. A few people made a request to hold a joint conference of all Christian communities under the auspices of Indian Christian Association which was working for the general political and social welfare of Indian Christians in general.[17] There were letters of caution stating that with regard to communal electorate care had to be taken that the Christian community would not forget its duty towards national concerns. "Exclusiveness is to be avoided as being highly detrimental".[18] There were other voices in favour of the communal electorate: "We understand that the Conference will demand communal representation while the Simon Commission has recommended reservation of seats. There are not a few Catholics who would welcome the abolition of communal representation is at present a regrettable necessity, we should look forward to the time when it will be superfluous, and that therefore we should also strive for a place in the general electorate as well. A mere reservation of seats is at present likely to defeat its own purpose."

The Conference was held on August 15-17, 1930 at Catholic Club, Mangalore. The initiative of organising the Conference was taken by the Catholic Association of South Kanara. It was represented by around 50 Catholics from Karachi, Lahore, Calcutta, Hyderabad and the Catholics from the locality. It was presided over by A.T Paneerselvam, the President of Tanjore District Board.[19] . The object of the Conference was to make a united and effective representation to the Round Table Conferences, bringing to their attention such matters affecting the Catholics. The scope of the Conference was to safeguard the rights of the Catholics with regard to exercise of religion, ownership of Church property, personal law (marriage, succession, inheritance) education and representation in the legislative Councils, other public bodies, Government departments etc. Apart from religious issues such as Catholic marriages, education and the church concerns, it also discussed the issues on round Table Conference, the Christian representation in the legislative council and in government jobs. The Conference also aimed at creating an All India Catholic Conference.

There were objections to holding such a conference in a small town like Mangalore. The Council of Kanara Catholic Association of Bombay had raised certain objections stating that Mangalore was not suitable for holding the Conference. The Bombay Council suggested such Conferences should be held in Presidency towns or in Bangalore. It also cautioned the formation of an All India permanent Organisation of Catholics stating that the decision should not be taken up expeditiously before eliciting the opinion of prominent Catholics of India. It also suggested that the Conference being of a political nature, ordinaries be only consulted and that they be requested to furnish a list of the Catholic ladies and gentlemen. The work of the Conference solely needed to be a lay action. However, the Council assured their cordial support in organising this Conference.[20]

It was decided by the organisers that the delegates of the Conference shall be one representative from each Diocese (Class I) in British India, Burma and Indian states nominated by the Bishop of the Diocese, one representative for every 100 members of each Catholic Association in British India (Class II), Burma and Indian states chosen by each Association, prominent Catholics not exceeding five, from their respective dioceses and areas or communities that shall be invited (Class III) to the Conference. The delegate fee was Rs 5/- per diocese irrespective of the number of delegates it represented. However, the delegates under class III had to pay a fee of Rs 2 each. Visitors to the Conference were allowed by paying Rs 1/ per ticket. But they had neither the privilege of taking part in the deliberations not the voting rights.[21]

The President of the conference, A T Paneerselvam reiterated that the Conference was not political in character. He also stated that the Catholics, through this conference were not asking for any additional privileges but only their legitimate dues, enjoyed by other communities like the Hindus and the Muslims in the matter of religious and personal law. In the same Conference there was another move by the members. Mr A. N. Arokiasamy of Tuticorin moved an amendment substituting 'Catholic' for 'Indian Christian'. Even though, it lost its support from the majority, it created some awareness among the people that they are no

more dependent on foreign missionaries. He made a strong plea for special electorates for the Madras Presidency and expressed dissatisfaction with the recommendations of the Simon Commission on this point. He also pointed out the need of an all India Catholic Council to watch the interests of the Catholics in India.[22] The conference also passed a resolution to welcome the Round Table Conference and to make representation to it as regards safeguarding the rights of the Catholics and to request the Viceroy to include among the delegates invited to the Conference at least one Catholic to represent the interest of the minority Catholic community. It was also decided to authorise the President of the Conference to wire to the Viceroy and Premier. The Protestant community would not be able to speak for the Catholics in the RTC.[23]

The Conference initiated debates at various levels over the question of communal electorate. On the second day of the Conference the President of the Conference moved the resolution for the necessity of separate electorate for Indian Christians. However, there were other opinions in the Conference. Mr J P Rego and Mr J A Saldanha of Mangalore suggested that the Conference should support the recommendations of Simon Commission to adopt the system of reserved seats in a general election for Indian Christians[24]. Even the representatives from Bombay supported this move for reserved seats for Christians. But a good number of Catholics who had come to the conference from Tamil region opposed this idea. Therefore finally it was concluded that they would condemn the issue on reservation suggested by Simon Commission and passed a resolution urging for the continuation of communal electorate as it was before. Thus the issue of communal electorate brought forward the difference between Protestants and Catholics and also within the Catholic community. The protestant leaders at the Presidency level denounced the Communal electorate whereas the Protestants of South Kanara felt that since they were small in number when compared to the Catholics of the region, they were not represented properly in the legislative council. They met at Balmatta to discuss the issue and sent a telegram to the personal secretary of the Governor stating that Catholics were in majority in the West Coast of the Madras Presidency and the Protestants would not get a chance to be elected in the Communal Electorate. Therefore, they urged the Governor

to nominate one member from this community to the Legislative Council to represent their view[25]. The conference also brought to the surface the difference between the Catholics of Kanara and the Catholics of other parts of Madras presidency on the question of Communal Electorate. While the former were arguing in favour of the reservation keeping in view national interests the latter argued against it.

In the beginning of the 20th century the Christian community was growing more conscious of the political developments that were taking place in the country. It made use of the opportunities provided during colonial rule to the fullest extent. However, being a minority community it was fully aware of its limitations and therefore it made all attempts to uphold national interests more than self-interest. In this mood of hope and apprehension the community not only introspected but also explored the ways to be in the mainstream of politics, so as to avoid being irrelevant in the new situation. But like any other community, there were different expressions in the Christian community and finally the majority opinion prevailed.

NOTES

[1]Pius Fidelis Pinto, (1999*):**History of Christians in Coastal Karnataka (1500-1763 A.D.),*** Mangalore, pp151-152.

[2]KraisthaSabhaPatra*,* (June 1884):No. 12, Vol. 16, Mangalore, p 188.

[3]*KonkniDirvem* was the Fortnightly Journal published in Konkani and in English languages which mainly addressed the Catholics of Kanara related to political developments of the region. The popular concepts of the period like self-sufficiency and self-reliance entered into the Christian life in Mangalore too. An expression to such thoughts were given in a monthly journal, *Satyavratha* started in 1925 by a Protestant layman, S E Aiman.

[4]Satyavratha*,*(July 1926): Vol.1, Issue 10, Mangalore, pp. 5-6.

[5]Satyavratha, (January 1927): Vol.2, Issue 4, , Mangalore, p. 12.

[6]KonkniDirven ,(March 16, 1925): English Supplement, Mangalore, p i

[7] When an article on Gokhale first appeared in 1923, there were a few opposed it for glorification of non catholic leaders in a Catholic Journal. Instead, the suggestion came

to highlight the stories of some Catholic Saints to inspire the younger generation of the community. However, many supported the publication of such articles arguing that religious issues and patriotism are two separate issues and these things cannot be mixed up. Moreover, the argument was that the stories of national leaders would inspire the Catholics of the region towards patriotism. For further details see *KonkniDirven,* November 16 to December 16, 1923.

[8]KonkniDirven ,(December 2, 1923): Mangalore, pp 267-268.

[9] Chandra Mallampalli, (2004):***Christians and Public Life in Colonial South India, 1863-1937,*** Routledge Curzon, p. 134. He uses this term of contending with Marginality as the main theme of his discussion in the book.

[10]KonkniDirven ,(August 16, 1928): English Supplement, Mangalore, p i.

[11]KonkniDirven ,(August 16, 1928): English Supplement, Mangalore, p i.

[12]KonkniDirven ,(February 16, 1923): English Supplement, Mangalore, p iii.

[13]KonkniDirven , (August 16, 1930): English Supplement, Mangalore, supplemnt

[14] For further details see Chandra Mallampalli, pp. 108-132

[15]KonkniDirven ,(March 16, 1929): English Supplement, Mangalore, p iv.

[16]KonkniDirven ,(June16, 1930): English Supplement, Mangalore, ppi- iii.

[17]KonkniDirven ,(August 2, 1930): English Supplement, Mangalore, p i.

[18]KonkniDirven ,(October 2, 1928): English Supplement, Mangalore, p iii.

[19]KonkniDirven ,(August 16, 1930): Mangalore, p183.

[20]KonkniDirven ,(July 16, 1930): English Supplement, Mangalore, p iii.

[21]KonkniDirven ,(July 16, 1930): English Supplement, Mangalore, ppi-ii.

[22]KonkniDirven ,(Sept. 25, 1930):English Supplement, Mangalore, p iii.

[23] K.T. Paul, the Indian Protestant leader had already been invited to attend the Round Table Conference. In the Mangalore Confernece, A.T. Pannirselvam was selected to represent Indian Catholics at the Round Table Conference. For further details see, *KonkniDirven,* (Sept 1930):Vol 19, No 2, No17, 2, p.iii.

[24]*KonkniDirven*,(July 16, 1930):English Supplement, Mangalore, p iv

[25]*KonkniDirven,* (December17, 1926):Mangalore, p. 422.

"VOVIO" KONKANI FOLK SONGS AND REFLECTION OF KONKANI CHRISTIAN CULTURE AND HISTORY

- Mona J Mendonca

Abstract

The Christian migration to South Kanara took place between 16-18th century with the coming of the Goan Christians. In this process of migration they brought with them not just a new religion but also a new set of traditions and culture which was totally alien to the native people of this region. Gradually, there was a mixture of two cultures and traditions which led in the rise of a new socio-cultural influence that could be seen even today among the local Manglorean Catholics. In this context we see how religious and social ceremonies got a new makeover. This paper highlights one such ritual of the local Manglorean Catholics named 'roce' which is performed on the before the wedding in the house of the bride\groom. Roce- is a ritual of hot water bath taken after anointing of oil and application of pure coconut milk on the bride\groom.

This signifies the last bath taking in their bachelorhood \spinsterhood. On this occasion the family members begining with elderly women sing a songs in a sequential manner known as "Vovio", This is sung to express the sentiments towards the bride\groom and seeking god's blessings on them. These songs are passed on from one generation to the other and sung even today among the people of Christian community of Dakshina Kannada and Udupi District. This oral tradition underwent changes in the course of time, few 'Vovios' totally vanished and few got modified. Today many 'Vovios' have been preserved in written form. But one cannot deny the fact that these songs had a great impact as per as Konkani culture is concerned. It also enables us to reconstruct the social, cultural and religious routine of the early Christian setters of the District. Therefore this paper is an attempt to showcase Konkani Christian Culture through oral tradition which historically has reconstructed the society.

Keywords: *Vovio, Christian migration, cultural influences, folklore, oral traditions, purification, marriage ceremony, women, transformation, modernity*

It was only after 1500 AD Christanity emerged as a significant faith in the history of South Kanara. Catholic Christians migrated from Goa because of political, economic, cultural and other reasons between 1500AD and 1763 AD[1]. But legends have tried to back the traces of Christanity in the district to the second

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century. But, due to the lack of evidence this arguement could not be proved right historically. Since then we see the spread of this faith all through the district including Udupi. These newly migrated and converted Goan Catholics were basically Konkani speaking[2] Christians. These Konkani Catholics from Goa had an impressive ethnic background as they claim to belong to the uppermost caste within the community. They kept up the same caste like divisions that they had in Goa, before their conversion and after their migration into Kanara region.[3]

The Goans have always had a wealth of folk literature in the language of the people which is Konkani and this tradition which the Christians carried to the Kanara consists of folklore(vovio-verse),[4] dance (gumto, mando), folk tales, drama and festivals which are practiced even today among the Catholic communities. So in the process of migration they brought with them not just a new faith but also retained their culture and traditions, totally alien to the local natives. Then onwards we see the influence and blending of two cultures in almost all the spheres of the religious, cultural and social life of the Konkani Christians of South Kanara. It is true that they have always tried to maintain their identity through their language, food habits, dressing sense etc. but one cannot deny the fact that still the rituals and social ceremonies do carry with them the flavour of the native culture.

THE TERM 'VOVIOS'

Composing songs are the unique characteristics of any ethinic community and in this context the Konkani Catholics of this region are no exception. They compose and sing the songs during different ceremonies and rituals, viz church services, weddings, cradling ceremony etc... The church hymns are generally passed on through the written text but the folk songs are largely in oral form and one such oral song is called "**vovio**". The term is derived from the Konkani verbal root 'ovi', or "vovli" which means 'the invited'. The Gowda Saraswath Brahmins of Goa refer to this word as "Hovi" or "Ovi"[5] but, Konkani scholars refer to this word in diverse ways. Some are of the opinion that it could mean "Oi" (hear). According to the Portuguese- English dictionary "ouvio" means "heard". But to understand the word in a broader sense one has to understand the context in which this word

was used as far as the Konkani folk tradition is concerned. On the eve of the wedding , an important ceremony is performed which is called 'roce'[6] and the whole ritual of roce begins and ends with these oral songs called 'vovio', and it is very interesting to note that these songs are sung usually by an elderly woman of the family and later other women folk join her. No doubt this is the oral treasure that is still preserved by the women of Mangalorean Christian Community apart from "verse" the second form of Konkani folksong. The few which are preserved and remembered are recited on this 'roce' day and at Mangalorean Catholic weddings. The verses sung today have been composed a few centuries ago, and parts of them may be even older. 'Vovios'[7] are essentially a wedding song consisting of three and a half lines sung during all the ceremonies connected with the marriage. It is well remembered that in olden times the 'voviyos' were expressed with sentiments[8] and gave vent to the feelings of the people about the marriage partners and their families – primarily, invoking the blessings of God on them. These 'vovios' are thus basically songs of advice,[9] praise, feminine charm, sarcasm etc. These songs could be divided into two parts. The first verse that begins with the elements of nature and the day to day activities centered around the economic and social life of the people and the second verse carries a message or a piece of advice to the bride/groom and that could be one reason why the second verse is emphassed and a pattern is followed to repeat the second verse twice. The common features of these' vovios' are mainly three. One, it ends with a rhyming word, two, second verse is sung twice and three, after the end of the second verse the word 'ovey' is uttered and each time a new 'vovio' is sung this pattern is followed.

Example*:" Kani galeym tel, kopoli kadlo kuris, vaikuntiso jezu kreest horetha besavm deevm (ovey) kuris vaikuntiso jezu kreest horeta besavm deevm" (Put the oil into ears, on the head they take the sign of cross. May the Lord of Heaven Bless her/him for evermore/ ever)*

Five days before the wedding the celebration begins in the bride/grooms house where the arrangements are made by the family members with the co-operation of the neighbours. All through the event we see that oral songs are sung by the

women in the family would be while cooking, working, on the day of 'roce' (day of purification) etc. But today as the five day celebration is cut down to two days we hardly see these 'vovios' being sung on occasions other than the 'roce' ceremony. In olden days we find more than 200 'vovios' were sung during the marriage and other ceremonies. Today, we hardly find any ceremony all through coastal Karnataka where these many number of songs are sung. The influence of western culture, seen more among the catholics then on others could be on of the reasons for the fading away of the rich tradition which includes not only the cultural mannerisms but also the oral tradition. But in the course of time many songs have vanished and few have been altered. So, it went on losing its original form and in this context the 'vovios' lost its religious nature and transformed a trend seting dimension of humorous nature. With the Catholic migration to Mumbai, Gulf and other parts of Europe during 1970s 'vovios' too had a kind of transformation. Many English, Hindi as well as the native 'Tulu' words crept into the songs. For instance, *Padri mees sangtha lobhak podim miri, egarjentli'* **siri'** *amchim hokal bai*[10] *(the priest is offering the mass, but in church ever twinkling our bride darling).* It is very difficult to identify the period from when these vovios were being composed and sung, but from various references we get to know that during the 12th century 'vovios' were being sung by the women of coastal Karnataka. "Mansollasa" of Someshwara 3rd is the first such work that refers to 'vovios' and notes that '*the wifes of coastal Karnataka sing a song called 'ovi'*. But later we hardly find sources that speak about this oral tradition. In 1916 in the Konkani monthly "Dirvem"[11] an article was published on 'vovios' and since then in many Konkani literary texts we see the references to these oral folksongs.

ROCE CEREMONY

It is a ritual hot water bath taken after anointing bride/groom with the oil and applying of pure coconut milk. This signifies the last bath that the bride or the groom will be taking in their bachelorhood/spinsterhood. With the ceremony of 'roce' the wedding celebration really begins. Both bride and bridegroom have to undergo this ceremony in their respective homes. This ceremony also signifies the mother's love towards her son or daughter. The guests who come for the

'roce' are warmly welcomed by the hosts "Yezman"(the house holder) and "Yezmani"(his wife) at the main entrance of the 'matov' (Pendal prepared out of palm leaf) saying 'paan-pod udak ailem' ('receive this plate of areca-nut, betel leaves, etc. and a pot of water'). The guests acknowledge the welcome and reply: 'Dev Borem Korum, yezmanya' (May God bless you). Among the guests, those who are in the habit of eating 'paan-pod' (betel leaves and areca nut) take the plate in their hands and chew paan-pod. If the 'roce' is held in the evening, it implies that there will be 'aprosa jevann' or meal after the ceremony. As the wedding celebration was now reduced from - say 10 days to three days and now to one day, the main wedding dinner would take place at the groom's residence. Therefore, the bride's side avails the opportunity of the evening 'roce' so that they can invite their relatives, neighbours and loved ones for the' roce' ceremony meals. It is interesting to note that on the eve of the 'roce' the Hindu neighbours come together to lend a helping hand in house hold chores, showing soliderity and cooperation between the two communities. The 'yezmani', usually the father of the bride, announces the commencement of the 'roce'. Soon after the yezmani announces that' roce' is to be performed at such and such a time, the bridegroom with his best man (dhedo), and other companions called 'mhal dhede' usually his own younger brothers, and in case he has no brothers, his younger male cousins, sit on a bench in the center of the 'matov' facing the house or house altar. For the 'roce' ceremony, usually the groom (at his residence) can be seen moving outside in the' matov', but the bride usually remains inside her house and will be asked to come out and be seated for the 'roce' ceremony only when it actually begins. She will be wearing a skirt and blouse (called 'Khirgi bhaju') and so will be the bride's maids, usually a couple of young girls. The groom (voreth or novro) will be wearing a loincloth called 'pudvem' or a half pant or a 'lungi' and the upper torso may or may not be covered with a half sleeved singlet. The same dress code goes for his 'dhedes' too. The 'yezmani' enters the 'matov' with a bowl filled with coconut milk[12] called 'apros roce' in her right hand and a small container with coconut oil and a small spoon in the other hand. She places the coconut milk bowl on the floor in front of the groom and stands with the oil container in the hand. Few more

aunts of the groom (or sisters) also carry coconut milk bowls (one each) and place them in front of the 'dhedes'[13] seated on either side of the groom. After this, the' roce' ceremony begins.

SEQUENCE OF VOVIOS

The tradition of 'Vovio' is an intergal part of different ceremonies of Mangalorean Catholic weddings are accompanied by songs sung by women. The procedure is that one of the women, usually an elderly women who knows the 'vovios' in a sequential manner, leads it while the rest of the women sing 'vove' and then repeat the last verse. In this way, the younger ladies learn the 'vovio' and when confident, take the lead and thereby continue and carry on the tradition**.**

Step One

Firstly, the 'yezmani'(mother of the bride/groom) dabs her thumb in the oil and makes a sign of the cross on the forehead of the bride/groom and begins the ceremony by invoking God's blessings on the bride/groom. While the anointing is carried out, women whose husbands are still alive (also known as 'sobagin/ sumangali') stand around and sing. The 'vovio' sung during the anointing is usually started by the yejmani.

- *Aprose kadn dovrila banka (2).Poilo maan tuka sorgicha deva bapa. (the pure coconut milk is placed on the table, but first honour goes to you God almighty)*

- *Besavn magovn hokal Baslya banka (Horeth basla)(2)Dist lavn sarga jezu mayecher. (seeking blessings the bride/groom is seated, may the son of Mary bestow His glance on her/him).*

Step two

The mother then, dips the spoon in the oil and drops oil in each of his ears (the groom will have to tilt his head each side for this) and then puts 5 drops of coconut oil[14] on his head and rubs oil into his hair. Once this ritual is completed, she hands the oil container to one of her maids and then comes in front of the groom and by cupping her hands, scoops roce from the bowl and pours on the

grooms head, rubs, then pours 'roce' on his face, hands and even legs and rubs it gently. This process she will continue with the rest of the 'dhedes' seated along with the groom.

- *Kanik ghale tel,Kapali kadlo khuris Vaikunticho[15] Jesu krist horethak besavn dith(Hoklek besavn dith)) Deva bapa,devaputa,Dev sprith santha (2). (Put the oil into ears, on the head there sign of cross. The Lord of heavens Bless her for evermore/ ever)*

- *Deva bapa,devaputa,Dev spirith santha[16] (2) Kurpecha disa yezman rose laitha. (Father, Son and Holy Spirit ,on this day of joy and grace host applies the roce to our loving bride/groom)*

Step Three

The next honour to apply the' roce' to the groom is for the grandmother, god mother, sisters, aunts, relatives (daiji) and neighbours. The uncles (both paternal and maternal) join in followed by all those who are present who wish to apply' roce'.

- *Kasaycha vatlenth Bhangaracho kes (2)Mogacho rose tuja baplya cho (bhoincho, Mavlacho).*

(In the plate of love your golden hair, milk of love now from your father)

Step Four

Soon after the completion of the 'roce' ceremony, the groom/bride is taken by hand and led to the bathing place by the uncle and in this context both vovios as well as 'verse' are sung.

"Haadh Kumbara bhan, aaz natha naahn horeth amkwarponi" (Oh potter bring the clay pot, the groom here takes his last bath of bachelorhood).

" Vovio mullim voli hoklek nanovnk vora, hera jevnak basaa raath mathyan zatha "(All you who sang along here take her for the shower, rest all have the dinner before night is far gone).

While the groom is taking bath, preparation for the serving of the 'roce' dinner is made and drinks are served at this time. Once the groom and his companions have returned, a short prayer is said for the groom, his family, and for the deceased members of the family etc., and then the dinner is served. The dinner, if traditional, will be rice, 'Kuvallo' (Ash pumpkin) with mutton or Kuvallo with dried baby shrimp called 'galmbo' and a variety of dry vegetable dishes like 'tendlim'(Ivy gourd) with cashew nuts, 'chonno sukho' (gram) or Khelen sukhen(raw plantain) and the sweet, 'vorn'(pudding) will be served after the dinner.

VOVIOS AND ITS CONTEXT

The whole 'roce 'ceremony as mentioned above begins and ends with the singing of 'vovios'. These 'vovios' have dual role to play, firstly, in the absence of modern mediums of entertainment, they served as the means of entertaining the guests, secondly, they carried on the important function of providing series of guidelines to the bride/groom as they stepped into marital life where they have to encounter new challenges and trials. These songs apart from their religious elements also refer to the social, cultural and economic life of the Managlorean Catholic community. For instance 'vovios' describing the beauty and charm of the bride/groom,[17] food habits, dressing style, the means of livelihood, the system of dowry, early marriage, life of widows, position of women in male dominated society, music, dance etc.

THE EARLY CATHOLIC MIGRATION

The early 1970s marked period of Christian migration to the West. As the income from agriculture failed to meet the needs of the joint family system male members in a family seeking job opportunity emigrated to the Gulf and other corners of the world. At times they were unable to attend the ceremonies back home. In this context the following 'vovios' were sung to express the absence and at the same time make acknowledge the kind of sacrifices the male members had to make to take up the responsibility of their family. It was in this

context that the purely religious character of 'vovios' got slightly shifted from more social or rather took on a humours form. Gradually this set a trend and today these sorts of songs are sung in Manglorean Catholic' roce' ceremonies.

*"Amiem borailem kaghat pawleyem belgaumanth, urlo **pargavanth**[18] vokley bhau tuzom"(Letter of our dear bride reached somehow to Belgaum, but abroad remained your brother).*

THE MODE OF TRANSPORT

Over the centuries people of the coastal region have used multiple modes of transportation varying from Palanquin to motor cars. Vovios also mention these elements.

*"Resperak veth Hokal solonozo mondtha payani, maulya rayani **falki** [19]dhadli"(the bride should not take the trouble of walking on the day of her nuptials,a palanquin is sent to her to ride)*

*"Ambo khavn ambyachi udaili paar, falya yetha **car** hokley resperak" (the core of the ripe mango is thrown after the pulp is consumed, tomorrow bride wait for the car to escort you to the nuptials)*

THE PREVALENCE OF DOWRY SYSTEM

The dowry called 'doth' was an important consideration and it amounted to anything between two and four' varahas', a modest sum in those days. The dowry had to be ceremoniously handed over on a plate with betel leaf and coconut at least 15 days before the wedding and out of this amount the bridegroom had to make a silver chain, 'moni 'which he had to tie around the neck of the bride.

THE CONDITION OF THE WIDOW

Regarding widow marriage, the high caste Christians in South Kanara had the same reservations as their Hindu caste- fellows. The widow remained so all her life, wearing a black saree, no ornaments and generally remaining indoors for the

rest of her life. So we see how many of the Hindu customs and beliefs survived among the Christians even though they had embraced Christanity. And 'vovios' too refer to the system of dowry in this context.

THE EXISTENCE OF CASTE SYSTEM AMONG THE CATHOLICS

The Mangalorean Catholics retained the same caste system as their ancestors in Goa. They were mainly divided into four castes namely, Bamonns(Brahamins), charodis, sudrirs and gaudis. The biggest group were the Bomonns, who were converts from the priestly Brahmin castes.   Marriage between members of the various castes was not permitted, and such matches were strictly discouraged by the elders. A 'Bomonn' boy would marry only a 'Bomonn' girl and a 'Charodi' girl would marry only a 'Charodi' boy.[20]

1) *Kirangali mudhi ussali thi bidhi,* **kulyegaar** *sodhi amchi yezmani (Of great worth the ring, lost it in feasting hostess searching today in full swing a groom from an upper community)*

THE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS FOLLOWED BY THE PEOPLE

Apart from agriculture the Catholics of Kanara cultivated jasmine flower. Jasmine is considered the' queen of flowers'. The cultivation of jasmine in Mangalore and Udupi is said to have begun about 100 years ago. Many catholic families took up jasmine cultivation as an additional source of livelihood.

"Sakaliem kadlem **fhula** *sanjeer bavolem alma pavolim hyavi rocalagim"(The flowers of morning fade in the evening, even the ancestors reached in 'roce' singing)*

"Sakaliem kadlem **dhudh**[21] *Sanjeer zalem dhai, sakkad asath ter vokley bapai kaim"(Fresh milk of sunrise but turns curd at sunset, all guests here are set bride, but where is your dear father whom we expect)*

VOVIOS AND STATUS OF WOMEN

Having said that the Konkani folk tradition is a rich treasure carried on from one generation to the other through the women folk, it does not mean that women

at all times had the liberty to come to the forefront to exhibit her various talents and skills where there was a platform. Though they took the leadership in singing these songs but their condition was not as good as it looked. It is very interesting to note that even though 'vovios' are sung by women, they are hardly women -centered, majority of these songs exaggerate and confirm the high position of man. Some 'vovios' aim to prove that a woman at every point of life has to be in a subordinate position and compromise with the vicissitude of life. The condition of Catholic widows in particular was similar to that of any other upper caste Hindu widow. In the traditional ideological frame a widow practically remains outsider', though structurally and to some extent functionally, she is incorporated as 'insider' in both the affinial and natal homes. Widows are many a time forced to adopt a life of renunciation. Not only are they debarred from participating in the various auspicious ceremonies held in their own family, and in those of their kinsmen and neighbours, but even their sight on such occasions is considered inauspicious. The main purpose behind this would be basically to prohibit their interaction with the public.[22] Thus in coastal Karnataka too this system was much prevalent and Catholic women in particular were victims of such practices. The widow was not allowed to take part in the' roce' ceremony of her daughter/son and was refered to in songs as 'rand' (widow). She was compelled to secretly peep the whole ceremony through the window in order to see and feel less fortunate at being in this situation.[23] Those widows who had taken the courage to marry for the second time were at times openly abused, thus making them suffer emotionally through these 'vovios'. She was often asked to shut her mouth by the other women when she took her turn to sing the song and was also refered as a doubtful character of easy virtue. It is clear that these songs not only functioned as the guide lines to bride/groom all the time but were also a medium to insult[24] and mock at those women who had refused to follow the norms of the society. It was only among the rich landed class family

that Catholic women enjoyed a comfortable position. A songs mention "*how a father raised the daughter like to a son',* but we hardly come across such instances. Apart from this, we also see the custom of early marriage among the Catholics of south Kanara. At the age of fifteen girls were given in marriage. The duties and responsibilities of a girl as a married woman were also laid down in these 'vovios'.

"*Hyah kazaranth kithyak zalm nesth, bhou zala kesth hokley bapaik tuja*" (For the joyful wedding struggles never minding, your dad dear working to see you smiling) so a girl was instructed never to forget the sacrifices made by her parents to give her a happy life.

A newly married girl had to be always obedient to her inlaws, she was warned not to speak a word of untruth in the presence of her father inlaw. She had to maintain modestly in front of her young brothers in-laws. She had to maintain confidentiality. Even when her mother in-law murmered, she had to treat her with respect and dignity.[25]

CONCLUSION

In the absence of the written records perhaps, the 'vovios' serve as the important source to reconstruct the social and economic life of the Catholic community of the district. The rich Konkani folk songs were earlier seen treasure tove of religious elements but hardly any attempts were made to look at them from the historical point of view. As far as the status of women is concerned 'vovios' prove to be the only early oral evidence to showcase the position of women in male dominated society. It is true that due to the impact of westernization these folk songs are getting transformed, but one cannot deny the fact that they do carry with them the rich treasure of history that is authentic and objective in its character.

FOOT NOTES AND REFERENCES:

[1] "Poli Canara 200", Dakshina Kannada District, Mangalore, 2000. p- 269

[2] Prabhu, Alan Machado," Sarasvati's Children: A History of the Mangalorean Christians", Bangalore, 2002.

[3] Vinay Rajath D," Relegated Identities", Mangala Publication, Mangaluru, 2016 ,p- 129

[4] "Mangaluru Darshana",Vol-3,Ed:Dr.Vivek Rai, 2016, Mangalaluru.

[5] Dr. Jyothsna Kamat," Suragyasar-A collection of Konkani wedding songs", Basti Prakashana, Bantwal, 2005. (The 'ovi' a free style expression with rhyme and rhythm on various aspects of life and popular in the Konkani region caught the fancy of Saraswats in the 12th century)

[6] ' roce'- is a juice extracted from coconut kernel in a liquid form. It is also known as coconut milk. This ceremony is a symbol of purity or in konkani 'Shuddhatechem Pratik', where the family ask the Holy Spirit to cleanse all the evils and situations of ill women of the bride\grooms bachelor life and respectfully pray to bless them in abundance and keep them ready in purity to receive their matrimony sacrament.

[7] The Mangalorean Christian community from the past sang sing 'folk song' during the wedding ceremony. (vovio-verse) which basically tells about the wedding ritual. In Vovios one could find the deep rooted culture,religious aspects.

[8] " *bapoi na munhokley naka koronk chintha,fulaam sarko maan tuka bhav detha"'* (bride never feel the absence of your deceased father as your brothers assure to give you the honour and respect)

[9] *"Visarnaka mog tujya avaeso" (*Do you not forget the love of your mother*)*

" Lagim mavado monon sadha vasanaka, shleym sheeth jevnk horetha rayanaka" (groom remember not to visit your father in laws house too often as it may bring you disgrace)

[10] ' Siri' - Siri paddana or Epic of Siri is an epic poem in Tulu language which is essentially a biography of a legendary Bunt princess Siri Alvedi who is also worshipped as a demi

goddess across Tulu Nadu. These 'paddanas' are mainly sung during agricultural processes such as plucking the seedlings or on the occasion of 'Buta' worship . And as the catholics of the Kanara too had agriculture as their main occupation they also got well versed in singing of these paddanas .

[11]" Dirvem", Konkani News Paper, , Mangalore, 1916.

[12] V.A D'silva, "Amchem Adlim Kazaram", Divo Prakashan , Mumbai,2002, p-8.(Coconut has its significance in world's oldest Sanskrit language. It's called as ' Shreefal" or God's fruit. In Hindu religion coconut occupies a prime place for their every religious ceremonies, poojas; coconut plays an important role and its presence is considered as very auspicious. Before we converted to Christianity, we were the followers of Hindu religion. Hence we must have continued of the old tradition)

[13] The unmarried cousins sit around the bride\groom.

[14] It could be for two reasons, firstly , the Hindu concept of' kalpawruksha', it gives a pure milky white bright juice and a pure oil, secondly a symbol of a long standing married life like this tree

[15] 'Vaikunt' basically a kannada word to mean heaven .Fr.Thomas Stephans in this book "rista Purana" makes a note that when Konkani literature was being written for the first time only few could understand it, therefore to help the readers native words were being used.

[16]The entire 'roce' ceremony is conducted and dedicated to the Holy Trinity/ Mother Mary/ Jesus Christ and the departed souls.

[17] *"dhova vorni dhovi, Sandra orni tambdi,eka neketra sangdi amchi vocal bai"(her beauty like a star, whiter than snow, brighter than a moonlight) " Sandremachi sawli amchi hokal bai"(she is the shadow of moonlight) " yezmani bayepoiley tuje fhol, golobanchey ful amchim hokal bai"(*maiden your daughter is equal to a rose plant)

[18]' Pargavn': abroad (During the 1970s coastal communication increased between Bombay and Mangalore, after introduction of ships by the London based trade firm Shepherd. These ships facilitated the entry of the Mangalorean Catholics to Bombay and then onwards to the rest of the countries)

¹⁹ 'Falki': Palanquin. (In 19ᵗʰ century bullockcarts ,horses, elephants, palanquin were the popular means of road transport. It was only after 1914 that bus services and private owned vehicles were introduced)

²⁰ Each caste was identified as 'Kuli'. The 'Bomonn' would always observe certain restrictions with his ways of dealing with a charodi. For instance, in the matters of inter marriage and inter dining.

²¹ 'Dudh': milk (After migration the only possible occupation of the Mangalorean Catholic was agriculture, since they were skilled farmers cattle rearing was the part of their occupation)

²² Majumbar, Bandana,"Widows, Renunciation and Social-Self", Manak Publication, New Delhi , 2009.

²³ The woman who is in her menstruation was neither supposed to be present in the place where the coconut milk was extracted or apply the coconut milk to her children.

²⁴   In a family where the father had abandened his wife and children this 'vovio' was sung *"sakali kadlem dudh sanjer zaley dhai, sakkad lok asa hokley bapai kai" (*bride ,all guests have arrived but where is your father)

²⁵ *"sakkad kaam kern magir tikkey bose, mai mavankadey visarn kulara yevn vos"*(seek permission from your inlaws before you set out to visit your mother's house)

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THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES DEPICTED IN THE EUROPEAN WRITINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA PERIOD WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO COASTAL KARNATAKA

-Satish Gatti

Abstract

The article tries to analyse the depiction of the religious identities in the European writings on coastal Karnataka during the Vijayanagara period. The European travelogues and chronicles have been critically viewed while secondary sources are used for additional information on the subject. This paper how attempts to discuss how Hindus, Muslims and Christians were visualized in the European writings and missionaries early efforts of conversion are also discussed. It is argued that the depiction of native religion in the mercantile phase of colonialism was quite different from the later imperial phase of colonialism.

Keywords: Religion, Beliefs, Conversion

INTRODUCTION

The beliefs of the people, the native division on religious lines and the possibility of conversion were the main issues which attracted the attention of the Europeans. They depicted the native religion through a Christian mindset and everything related to the native religious beliefs was considered as pagan. Yet some of the practices were found to be similar to those of Europe. Some of the native pagan beliefs appeared to them similar to Christian beliefs, though in a primitive form. Oaten E.P opines that the fifteenth and the sixteenth century Euroepans visited India quite unprepared because of the limited knowledge they had in Europe about India.[1]

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Thus the European writings of this period was not similar to the writings of the imperial phase. It is not to argue that the European writings prior to the seventeenth century were an act of innocence or that all these records were simple and straightforward. As representing mercantile interest they do provide information to the European mercantile community. The establishment of settlements, imposition of cartaz, and collection of tribute from the native states, is evidence for the establishment of the authority of the Portuguese over the colony. The concept of Estado da India also reflects their idea about empire building in India. The recent work on Portuguese Orientalism shows how the Portuguese effectively made use of the knowledge for their control over Goa.[2] But their empire building process was limited to certain regions, particularly the coastal areas. Thus, in the mercantile phase of the colonialism it was not the 'dominant and subordination' but the 'compare and contrast' method followed by the European visitors in their writings. They also offer vivid descriptions of the native religion and its followers.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES

Hindus as Pagans

The Hindus, Buddhists and Jains were identified by Europeans as pagans or gentiles (gentios). The Portuguese writers followed the method of 'analogy and contrast' to depict the beliefs of the gentiles.[3] As an analogy Vasco da Gama and others believed that the native Indians were Christians. Their beliefs were compared with in Christianity. The Portuguese authors attempted to identify the key places of pilgrimage in India and compared them with Rome, Compostela, or Jerusalem.[4] Albuquerque opines that the Hindus have knowledge of the Trinity and of Our Lady, whereby it appears that in ancient times they were Christians.[5] Subrahmanyam considers the analogy which was depicted by the Portuguese writers about the gentiles belief had the 'risk of imposing an artificial homogeneity' with them 'by attributing to them a single theology, a single set of holy books, and a single set of common practices such as pilgrimages'.[6]

The importance of the Brahmans in the `Pagan' religion was very early recognized by the Europeans. Their writings offer a rich portrayal of them. The European

travelogues often compare Brahmans with the friars of Europe and consider those literate section of the society.[77]

Conti considers that the Brahmins of Ceylon are wise and admirable while the Brahmins of India were seen as religious manipulators.[8] Pires in Canara recognizes the existence of different orders among the Brahmans and considers that some of them were chaste and some of them were not.[9] Even among the Brahmans, apart from priests, other professions like officials, merchants and cultivators were included.[10] The missionary writings present Brahmans as perverse, manipulators and were considered that their idols and temples generated terror. On a positive note, they were regarded as having the ability of 'natural reason.' Referring to Francis Xavier, Xavier A.B states that, through the discussions with the Brahmans, Francis Xavier discovered books written in a language similar to Latin containing a secret doctrine resembling Christian beliefs.[11]The missionaries were too critical of the beliefs of the Hindus. In general, missionaries thought that the natives were ignorant about their own sects and did not know what they believed and that their conscience was ruined because of their perverse lives.[12]

Pagan beliefs

The European travelogues depict the temple as an abode of idols in a comparative framework. In comparison to Europe, the native mode of worship is presented with similarities and differences. The different belief systems of the region, like the Puaranic Gods, demons, worship of natural objects are observed by the travellers. It was only at the end of the sixteenth century that the missionaries tried to learn the native religious scriptures. Therefore, generally the European writings prior to the sixteenth century do not provide indepth information about the native religious doctrines.

For the Europeans, the temple becomes the center of attraction and it was popularly termed as pagoda. The Europeans used the term Pagoda to represent the Indian temples, idols and the coins of South India.[13] Conti states that the natives worship 'idols' which are made of stone, metal and ivory. These idols were placed in richly painted temples as in Europe but the prayer and sacrifices

of the natives are completely different.[14] Thus, for Conti, the temples were 'similar' but the worship of the idol was 'different' from the Europeans. Rubies opines that the use of the term 'idol' instead of 'God' in the travelogues signals the implicit criticism of this particular religious practice.[15]

For Varthema. the images and pictures of devils with terrible eyes found in the temple of Calicut become fearful objects. Varthema portrays the Saithana seated on a seat of fire surrounded by several souls. The prayer performed by the priest is also described by Varhtema. According to him, prior to the worship the priest washes, and then anoints the idol with perfume and performs cock sacrifice.[16] Paes explains that the ritual character of the festivals and the reverence with which they are pursued is reminiscent of Europe. He considers the native procedure of worship as different from the European and states that the native priests feed the idol daily as if they were living beings and mentions the dance of women before the idol.[17] Casto in his religious description tries to find out similarities with the native worship. He says that the Brahmans of Cambay, 'believe in the Holy Trinity- Father, Son and the Holy Ghost and many other things of our sacred law'[18] For Barros, the 'trinity' of the Brahmins was very different from the Christian Trinity.[19] Pires in Malabar finds similarities in the Christian belief in Trinity and the local beliefs.[20] Niketin, while performing the native prayer identifies similarity with the Russian prayer.[21]

A wide variety of worship by the natives is noted in the European writings. Worship of the Cow, use of its urine for certain rituals, the Sea worship, pilgrimage, hook swinging ceremony, nature worship and devil worship are reported by European travelogues in detail. They also reported that the conflict between the Portuguese and the native chieftains and the merchants of Canara also resulted in the destruction of temples.[22]

Muslims

In 1175 the Muslim traveller Idnan Masudi visited Mangalore and he states that nearly four thousand Muslims resided in the city.[23] The European writings present the Muslims of Canara as competitors to Europeans in the trading activity. The evolution of the identity of Muslims was not static or unified in the

writings of the Europeans. But while referring to Vijayanagara, the Muslims were understood as 'enemies' without acknowledging the inner differences within the community. The Muslims of Canara include Sunni, Shias and Navayats. There is also another division the foreign and the native Muslims.

Later, even among the native Muslims, distinction was made between the Malabar 'Mapilas' and the Canara Muslims. Subrahmanaya states that, at least in the beginning of the conflict with the Muslims, the Portuguese mainly attacked the foreign Arab Muslims rather than the natives.[24] Even afterwards the main reason for the attack over the ports of Canara was the support offered by the native chieftains or merchants to the Malabar Muslims.[25] The treaties of 1541 made with Vijayanagara and the queen of Bhatkal by the Portuguese include the clause that they should not admit the Muslim merchants to their ports.[26] According to Vasanta Madava the attack on Mangalore and Basrur by the Portuguese was intended to punish the Moorish merchants of the region who were in league with Zamorin and the Malabar Muslims.[27] In the larger context the traditional enmity between the Portuguese and the Muslims also depended upon the situation and opportunities for their mercantile activities. For example, after the fall of Vijayanagara an attempt was made to have an alliance with the Shai rulers of the Deccan. In 1567 even after the expulsion of the Muslims from Goa, some of the Muslims continued to live there and a Muslim named Said Muhammad was appointed as the official for collection of revenue from the Muslims.[28] Muslims were appointed to important administrative and military positions by the Vijayanagara rulers, and Banga and Chauta chieftains of South Canara.[29] For example, Queen Abbakkadevi I, the Chauta queen of Ullala, had employed six thousand moors in her military force in the year 1567[30] On the other hand it was also argued that the people under the Shai rulers were Muslims and similarly erroneously Vijayanagara was equated with Hindus.[31]

This argument is further continued by the Indian scholars. The suppression of the Muslim merchants of Canara by the Portuguese is considered as a moment of rejoicement for the king of Vijayanagara.[32] Thus Muslims were treated as a single entity without any inner differences, and considered as opponents of the Portuguese as well as of Vijayanagara.

Christians

Christianity entered India within a century of its establishment in the western coasts of Kerala. On the basis of St Bartholomew tradition it was argued that the Christians settlement was established in Barkur and Kalllianpura. It was also believed that the Syrian Christians settled in South Canara as an expansion from their settlement from Kerala. But lack of historical evidence poses a problem to argue it vehemently.[33] Vasanth Madhava opines that Portuguese documents and local traditions refer to the Christian settlement in different parts of coastal Karnataka prior to the sixteenth century. He further states that, the earliest authentic records of Christians activities in Canara begin with the advent of the Portuguese.[34] It was stated that the embassy of Frei Luis do Salvador to Vijayanagara was responsible for receiving permission from the emperor to preach and to construct churches.[35] In the 1520's, the Franciscans managed to establish a mission in Mangalore and they erected three churches in the region; Nossa Senhora do Rosario (Our lady of the Rosary) in Mangalore, Nossa Senhora das Merces (Our Lady of Mercy) in Ullal and Sao Francisco de Assis in the 'Farangipet'.[36] In 1534 Canara was known to the missionaries as 'the land of mission' and it was placed under the jurisdiction of the newly created bishopric of Goa.[37] It was argued that this evangelization was tolerated by the Vijayanagara rulers, mainly because the region was on the periphery of the empire and the converts belonged to the lower castes.[38] Vasantha Madhava endorses this opinion by stating that Krishnadevaraya's policy towards the Portuguese was responsible for the spread of Christianity in South Canara. [39] Rajath V argues that, prior to the sixteenth century there was no documentary evidence for the mass conversion of the local people in South Canara. According to him, the Christians arrived mainly through migrations from Goa through successive waves due to persecution from the Marathas, Famine and Inquisition of 1560. It is also suggested that the enterprising nature of the Christians was also responsible for them being invited by the Vijayanagara and Ikkeri rulers.[40]

Thus Roman Catholics from Goa migrated to Mangalore in three major waves, the first after 1560, the second after 1570, and the third in about 1683.[41]

The earliest attempts to convert the native rulers by the Christian missionaries is found in an anonymous letter of a traveler written in Venice to Ser Zuane di Santi dated Nov 10, 1511, kept in Biblooteca Magiabecchina at Florence which states that the King of Vijayanagara was very near to becoming a Christian.[42] The second expedition to India in 1500 with Pedro Alvares Cabral as its Captain-Major included the first missionaries; eight Franciscans, one of them Frei Luis do Salavador, visited Vijayanagara and tried to convert its ruler Krishnadevarya into Christianity and the missionaries of Goa also tried to convert the Mughal ruler Akbar but soon realized that they would fail in this mission.[43] Though Krishnadevaraya allowed or tolerated the Missionaries attempt to convert the natives[44], the difficulty of conversion is narrated by the missionaries in their letters. The missionary Aleessandro Valignano, considered interior conversion as the true conversion of the heart, which would inevitably lead to a complete cultural conversion which was impossible for Indians.[45] Even after attentively listening to the Christian message in the native language, the natives showed no interest in conversion.[46] Italian Jesuit Alessandro Leni in 1599 and at the turn of the century Robert de Nobili in Madurai Mission dressed like Indian ascetics, following the native methods of worship and tried to convert the local people.[47] Thus the missionaries became paganized (Nobili known as a Roman Brahman) in their appearance and method of worship. About the conversion of the women of the coastal region, Correa states that it was done according to the wishes of the women.[48] But his own description reveals that the women chose Christianity out of compulsion as they had no other choice.

CONCLUSION

Thus we have to bear in mind different political and historical situations while analyzing the European writings on India as a tool of conquest and control of the colony. It was only when thea uthority was established the administrative necessity and justification for their authority made the colonial power use the knowledge as a legitimization tool. In the process, from the end of the eighteenth century, the European writings of the earlier period reprocessed and presented their views in such a way that justifies and legitimises the colonial rule. In his

thesis Rahul Sapra has argued that the sixteenth and the seventeenth century British travellers should not be viewed as precursors to Orientalism since Britain at that time was not a colonial power and not all negative representations of India in the European travelogues were necessarily 'colonialist'.[49]It was applicable much more to the fifteenth and the sixteenth century European writings. Interestingly, during this period in the European writings, we find images like civilized, rich and humane among the natives similar to those of Europe, while the barbarous, poor and cruel were generally presented as different from Europe. But on some occasions the negative features were also considered as similar to those of Europe. Thus, prior to the seventeenth century the religious identities were not presented as binary opposites.

END NOTES

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HALMIDI INSCRIPTION OF KAKUSTHA'S PERIOD: AN EPIGRAPHICAL STUDY

- C.B.Kamati

Abstract

Halmidi is the first Kannada inscription. It belongs to the period of the Kadamba dynasty. It is in refined oriental Kannada with prosaic and poetic expressions befitting the context of the subject matter. The village situated in Beluru taluka of Hasana district is typically donative in nature. The inscription comprising thirty-three sentences illustrates the religious affinities, feudatorial affiliations, valorous leaders and dynasties, traditions and customs, moral and spiritual adherences, agricultural and revenue status, metallurgical knowledge and competencies, spatial characteristic features, more importantly prevailing state of affairs of the then society.

The author had the privilege of visiting the village in person during the 1990's. Based on personal observations, the author has streamlined the paper in meaningful research components by means of applying Structural Historiography:

Keywords: *Pottandi, Vasuki, Shista, Yajna, Oddu, Balgacchu, Kadambapa, Mrigenagendhrabhil, Namadheyan, Premalaya Suta, Abhilar, Batarikula, Alakadamba, Salvangadar, Salvanga, Brahmadeya Inscription, Pre malaya Sutange, Vijarsrum, Aaarakkella Bhatariya Khadgadha rambhas*

Halmidi (in reality Hanmidi) is a small village situated three kilometers away from Belur on the western elevation of the road from Belur to Halmidi. Nearby western door entrance of Halmidi village, the villagers found an inscription in 1930. They carried away the inscription from the village entrance and established it at the very vicinity of Veerabhadreshwara temple situated in the same village. This inscription is four feet in height, one foot in width and nine inch in thickness. "This was first publ ished by Dr.M.H.Krishna from Mysore Archaeological Department in 1936."[1] The inscription was published again in Prahuddha

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Karnataka with critical text orientation during 1939.[2] After that Prof.G.S.Gayi studied the inscription and presented fresh interpretations about it.[3] He disclosed the underlying meaning of the inscription in a almost exact historical and metaphorical sense. An almost entire genealogical history of Polakeshi II has been reconstructed on the basis of Aihole Prasasti inscription. At present the inscription has been preserved in Archaeological Museum, Bangalore, Government of Karnataka. It looks almost like a pillar. Its crowning portion appears like an arch with a wheel, seven inches in diameter. At the top of the arch, there is a depiction of 'fire'. It is understood from the horse shoe styled Samskrit hymn that the wheel is Sudarshana Chakra. Out of the fifteen remaining sentences, fourteen sentences have been inscribed on to the front face of the inscription just below the Sanskrit Shloka. The sentence that falls apart is inscribed on to the right hand side of the inscription moving from top to bottom in cursive fashion.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ANCIENT–MOST KANNADA INSCRIPTION

The inscription is in typical fifth century Brahmi script. Excepting the first sentence being in Sanskrit, the rest is in ancient prosaic Kannada language.On the whole, the inscription depitcts - (i) A gracious blend of classical Sanskrit with Kannada showing that the contact between the two languages must have commenced several centuries earlier and that a classical early Kannada style had already become established. Words like 'Petta jayan' (line 12) is formed in imitation of Sanskrit.(ii) Even this mixed language is consistently early Kannada with well developed grammatical forms. Obviously it must have had an earlier literary history."[4] Over all we observe a language influenced by Sanskrit, sentences conceived in Sanskrit and translated to Kannada. It has the reputation of being the oldest Kannada inscription deciphered so far. It is free from bias and propaganda. It was engraved during mid-fifth century under the auspices of the Kadamba king Kakutsa Varma.

DETAILS OF THE INSCRIPTION

The inscription begins with a hymn dedicated to Lord Vishnu.,"...the one who is embraced by the Goddess of Wealth, bender of *Sharghya* bow, unconquerable-one, a fire-doom to the demons, protector (Sudarshana) of the benign and accultured shall be victorious."[5]

The further part of the inscription begins with Namah, (Namaskar), progresses in Kannada language.While Kakushta Bhattora, the protector of the Kadamba rajya, Shrimad, a sacrifice, enemy of the Kulabhora was ruling, Mrigesh and Naga were Bhattahas or Wodeyas, ferocious like Mrigesha (lion) and Nagendra (vasuki or very dangerous snake) This Mrigesha and Naga being a moon to a blotless sky referred to as Bhatarivamsa, Pashupati (like Shiva) to Alupa Gana, brave in destroying enemies in hund reds of war like Yajnas of Dakshina Patha, in support of Pashupati acclaimed as Danapashupati, fought and emerged victorious against Kekeyas' and Pallavas, a loving son of all, handed over Palmalli and Molluvalli eternally to king Priyaputra Vija in the presence of warriors of Sendraka and Bana countries. Whosoever takes over those territories whether he belongs to Batarikula or Alakadamba he is the greatest destructor. These two and men of a worthy class and character are entitled to 1⁄6 of the revenue exempted karumtidi to Palmadi. The one who destroys it shall be charged with a greater sin. Let everyone be happy.

On the left portion of the inscription, probably after some time, the statement mentioned below is enclosed: On the edges of this revenue plot, (in the total income…?) one tenth of the plot (Pattondi) was given over to Bhattas' (Brahmanas).

SECULAR NATURE OF THE INSCRIPTION

Halmidi is the ancient-most inscription of Kannada. Though written in Kannada, if the composition of the words in the inscription are observed, it is quite clear that a man with competence in Sanskrit must have been the writer of this shloka. The first Sanskrit shloka substantiates the earlier sentence. Whether Brahmadeya inscriptions of Kadamba times (inscriptions recording donations offered to Brahmanas), or donative inscriptions to Bauddha-Jaina organizations – over all inscriptions recording philanthropic and religious donations recorded in Sanskrit language on copper plates was quite common. However, Halmidi inscription is entirely secular in nature. As it records the donation of Balgacchu village reverentially to a valorous man, there was a need to prepare the subject matter first in Kannada and then engrave the inscription on suitable stone.

PROFUSE SANSKRITIC INFLUENCE

The initial hiccups that could arise out of engraving inscriptions in regional languages were clearly visible in Halmidi inscription. While reading the inscription, we perceive the fact of the matter that the author of the inscription is eager to express the subject-matter at one stroke. Thus its interpretations have caused contrasting opinions and conflicts. Apart from that the author being proficient in Sanskrit has apparently utilized a large number of Sanskrit words. [Examples…Kadambapa(n), Mrigeshanagendh rabhil (r), Bhatarikulamalavyoma Taradinath (n), Namadheya (n), Premalaya Suta(nge), and so on] Significantly, while describing the prime officials, it is evident that the meaning embedded in their names has been metaphorically utilsed in the composition of sentences. (For example, Mrigesh Nagendra Abhilar, …Mrigesh Naga Ahvayar' Alupa Gana Pashupatiya… danapashu pastiyendu Pogale pottana Pashupati Namadheyan)

Prof.K.V.Ramesh has recently suggested through his refined version of readings certain changes in interpretations. Hence it is necessary to know those fresh interpretations. Earlier scholars generally read the 8th-9th sentences as"…Pashupati Nama dheya Nasarakkella Bhatariya Premalaya Sutange". Prof.K.V.Ramesh reads it differently as" Pashu patinamadheyana asarakkella Bhatariya Premalaya Sutange. Here 'arkkella' [(6)] refers to the name of the father of Veera Vija. This reading is more appropriate. But the proper nouns which end with kella are found in Kadamba and Chalukya inscriptions. For example, the name Kekeya Mahakella of Kekeya Dynasty is found in Kadamba RaviVarma's Honnavar Copper Plate inscription. In one of the inscriptions found at Udyavar in Udupi district pertaining to 8th century the name of Arakella has been mentioned. In this backdrop,'Sri Mrigesha Nagahvayara Pashu patinamadheyana Arakkellabhatariya Premalaya Sutange,...Vija Arasange' has been interpreted more appropriately as 'To Pashupatinamadheya and Arakkella Bhatari ya's loving son-Vija King, the men called Sri Mrigesha and Naga. It means 'Pashupati of Bhatarikula' and 'Aara kkella' are one and the same. Further the meaning of the sentence 'Irvaru Salvangadavar (Mrigesha and Naga) Vijarasarum Palm adige Kuru mtidivittar' is more appropriate. Though there is description about Aara kkella, his significance has been confined to the extent that he is the mere father of Vijarasa.

KADAMBAS AND KAKUSHTHA VARMA

As inscription itself reveals at the beginning, it belongs to Kakushtha, Kadamba King. He was famous as Kakushtha Varma (405AD-430AD). As he has been described as Kalbhorana Ari,he must have been the enemy of Kalabhrara king. As these Kala bhras have been frequently referred to in ancient Ganga and Pallava inscriptions, they must have been pestering the contemporary dynasties. It appears that Katsambis were irked by them.

Both Mrigesha and Naga have been referred to as officials of Nandidavile region. The Nanidavile region may be equated with Devalige.'Devalige Elvattu' was probably the northern part of Beluru taluka. Probably, this was Nandidavile region.

In this inscription another name Pashupati has been mentioned.He belongs to Bhatari Vamsa. He has been variously described as the leader of Alupa community, destroyer of enemies in Dakshina Patha wars, Dana Pashupati. He was probably Pashupati Kakustha of Bhatari Vamsa referred to in the Dvara bhanda of Pranave shwara temple situated at Talagunda of Shimogga district. As discussed above, the probability of his being Aaarakkella Bhatariya is much evident.

The episode ' Banas (A dynasty ruling upon of Kolar of Karnataka and the adjoin ing region Ananta pura District of Andhra Pradesh), Sendrakas (A feudal dynasty ruling upon West Shivamogga and a part of North Canara district) and Alupas fight against Kekeya and Pallava troops on behalf of the Kadambas' has been mentioned in the inscription.The subject matter of Kadambas and Pallavas being enemies has also been revealed in other Kadamba inscriptions too. In this war, Kadambas were victorious. Bhatarias son Vija Arasa who fought valorously (…or else Aarakk ella Bhatariya as per the readings of Prof.K.V.Ramesh) was handed over two villages as 'Balgacchu.'[7] The episode of Bhima after having killed Duryodhana, his arm being cleaned-up with 'Teertha Jala' and worshipped by SriKrishna and others' has been depicted in Ranna's Gadhayuddha. We observe the same has been transliterated as 'Khadgadharambhas.' Donations offered to war martyrs too have been explained as 'Balgacchu'.

REVENUE COLLECTION AND VILLAGE VICINITY

'Salbangadavar' is a remarkable word. Until this day, this word has only been utilsed in Halmidi inscription. Therefore, there is speculation about the meaning of the word `Salbangadavar.' According to an opinion, 'Salbanga' is a tadbhava or corrupt form of Sanskrit word 'shadbhaga'. 'Salbangadar' means 1/6 part of the revenue being collected by officials on behalf of the king. According to this inscription, Mrigesha and Naga were none other than 'salbangadaru.' Though the sentences are literary in composition, the meaning is not that accurate, hence habitually emotive. ' Kurumtidi' was a tax which appears to be a minor tax or a tax being paid by shepherds. The inscription states that this tax was exempted.

'Pattondi' is also a remarkable word. This is synonymous with Sanskrit words 'Dasha vanda' or 'Dasavanda.' Generally,1/10 tax in the form of food grain out of agricultural production (probably, remitted to the Kings treasury)was primarily conceived and subsequently appears to have assumed the meaning' One Tenth Part.'

'Halmidi' village referred to by this inscription is the present Halmidi. A five kilo metre distant village 'Moolivalli' is contemporary 'Moolivalli.'

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➢ 'Balgacchu' means (balam+kacchu) clean-up the sword

ILLUSTRATIONS

Halmidi Inscription, Belur Taluka, Hasana District , Karnataka

Text Matter of Halmidi Inscription
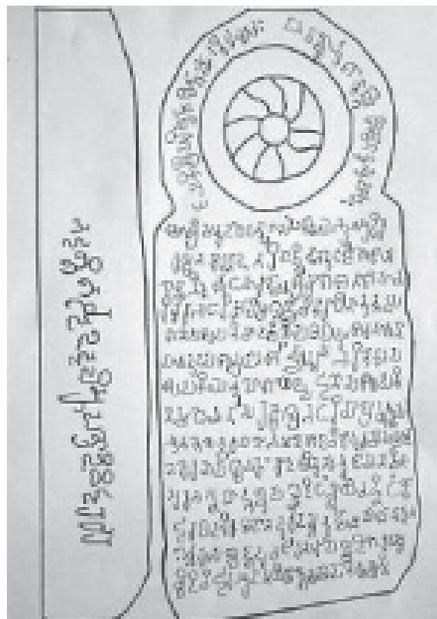
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