

BANGALORE: THE EARLY CITY, AD 1537 – 1799

Yashaswini Sharma

Student ID 0535253

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of Master of Philosophy**

August 2012

Architectural History and Theory

Cardiff University

Acknowledgements

My heartfelt thanks to my family and friends who have supported me during the course of my research. Many thanks to Phil Jones and Katrina Lewis at the University for their support. Most of all, I would like to especially thank my supervisor for this research, Adam Hardy, for his support, patience, and guidance.

Thanks to the following organisations and their staff for extending help, research material, and permissions for this research.

Sources:

1. Archaeological Survey of India, Bangalore Circle.
2. Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore Circle.
3. Indian Council of Historical Research, Bangalore.
4. The British Library, London.
5. The Central Library, Bangalore.
6. The Mythic Society, Bangalore.
7. Survey of India, Bangalore.
8. Government of India Census Survey, 2000.
9. Bangalore Development Authority.
10. Town Planning Department, Government of Karnataka.
11. Institute of Town Planners, Karnataka Regional Chapter.
12. Karnataka State Archives.
13. Institute of World Culture, Bangalore for Karnataka Archives for social, cultural political and economic data.
14. The Bangalore Museum.
15. Cardiff University.

Interviews:

1. Sharada Byanna, a desendant of Kempē Gowda I.
2. Dr. G. S. Narasimhan, Superintending Archaeologist, ASI, Bangalore Circle.
3. Dr. S V P Halakatti, Retired Superintending Archaeologist, ASI, Dharwad Circle.
4. Dr. Patil, Retired Deputy Superintending Archaeologist, ASI, Bangalore Circle.
5. Prof. Rangaraju, ASI, Mysore.
6. Prof. S. Nagaraju, Bangalore.
7. Dr. S K Aruni, Director, ICHR, Bangalore.
8. Prof. Suryanath Kamath, Bangalore.
9. Artist Kamalesh, Bangalore.
10. Dr. Subbukrishna, Centre for Linguistics Research, Mysore.
11. A S Kodandapani, Town planner.
12. Local people in Bangalore.

Contents

Thesis Abstract	p. 5
Introduction	p. 7
Chapter 1	p. 19
Chapter 2	p. 64
Chapter 3	p. 141
Conclusion	p. 256
List of Illustrations	p. 258
Bibliography	p. 266

Abbreviations and Use of Diacriticals

Abbreviations Used:-

AD – Anno Domini

ASI – Archaeological Survey of India

Bn - Bangalore

EC – Epigraphia Carnatica

EITA – Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture

ICHR – Indian Council of Historical Research

r. – period of reign

Various dates have been given throughout in the Christian Era (AD), even though the inscriptions are set according to either Hindu or Islamic calendars according to particular relevance. The usage of diacriticals in spellings is largely based on the pronunciation both in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa languages reflecting the general practice in this region (South India). For example, the place name Bengalūru refers to the word's Kannaḍa pronunciation whereas terms associated with temple architecture such as *antarāḷa* refers to the word's pronunciation in the Sanskrit language.

The aim of this study is to reach an understanding of the development of the city of Bangalore, focusing on the architecture and settlement pattern of its earliest urban area, the Pēṭē and the oval Fort. It attempts to identify the nature of the cultures underlying the architecture of the city by tracing the development chronologically from its establishment in the 16th century to its fortification and expansion during the rule of Hyder Ali (r. 1761-1782 AD) and Tipu Sultan (r. 1782 – 1799 AD), explaining various functional aspects affecting the form of the city, notably the shift in the character of the Pēṭē from a largely mercantile settlement to a military one. The city can be described as a melting pot of cultures and resultant built forms, growing from a small town to a city in a short span of time. The analysis, set within a framework of urban design theory, is built upon original documentation based on archival documents, including maps and drawings, and on fieldwork involving sketches, a photographic survey, and discussions with relevant authorities.

A historical survey (Chapter 1) based largely on secondary sources provides the context for the discussion of urban and architectural developments. This traces the rapid changes in patronage and the manner in which it affected the city as well as establishment of new religious nodes. It also explains patronage of few important surviving buildings of the town that have been detailed in Chapter 3.

The early urban development of Bangalore, the Pēṭē, is treated in Chapter 2, which shows the importance of zones or ‘sub-Pēṭēs,’ apparently from as early as the 16th century, and certainly apparent in 18th-century maps. The names of these sub-Pēṭēs convey the nature of the trade and social class of their original inhabitants, and these zones accommodate corresponding religious establishments. A reconstruction drawing of the Pēṭē area in the 18th century is presented, aiming to improve upon previous attempts by Annaswamy and Hasan. The layout of the oval Fort of Bangalore is discussed along with a discussion of other forts in its vicinity. The festival of Karaga and its impact in the social landscape of the city is briefly discussed.

The final section (Chapter 3) focuses on the architecture of significant buildings from the period in question in and around the Pēṭē area. These are the surviving portions of Tipu’s Palace and the oval Fort, and a series of temples: Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy, Sōmēshwara, Ranganātha Swāmy, Dharma Rāya, Basava, and Gavi Gangādharaśwara. The first two have been documented in new measured drawings and photographs and rest in terms of photographic survey. A brief discussion of the first Islamic religious structure, the Sangeen Jama masjid of Bangalore is made, along with a presentation of the Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān dargah. Tipu’s Palace and the oval Fort have been documented through improved measured surveys and photographs. The design of the palace taking inspiration from Shivappa Nayaka’s palace at Shimoga, while deliberately attempting a fusion between earlier Hindu

methods of planning and Islamic art is discussed along with a brief description of the palaces of Śrirangapaṭṇa. This architectural dialogue in structures with different patronages is apparent in mixed motifs presented in murals on the walls of the oval Fort. The temples are provincial versions of imperial Vijayanagara style of architecture after the Vijayanagara Empire had actually ended with an emphasis on pillars, basic and composite. Columns are considered in Tipu's Palace to emphasize the importance of subtle introduction of a different artistry while retaining the structural aspects from earlier patronage.

The changing built form of the city from that of primarily Hindu to one that incorporates Islamic influences has been discussed through the documentation of the surviving structures, temples, Palace and oval Fort. That the principal axuality of the Pēṭē continues to influence the layout of the city is noteworthy.

Introduction

Bengalūru/ Bangalore, the capital city of Karnataka, one of the southern states of India, is best known globally for advancement in IT and for attracting large scale outsourcing jobs from all around the world. Today, it is spread over an area of 2190 sq km, and is situated at an altitude of 920 meters above sea-level which accounts for the comfortable climate the city enjoys (fig. 1). The origin of this city occurred as a market town with a circumference of 5 km, the Pettah/ Pēṭē,¹ established by Kempē Gowḍa I in 1537 AD. The founder of this city famously invited traders from across the country to settle in Bangalore and help make it a successful trading post. The location of the town-fort in a valley guarded by hill-fortresses meant increased secure environment to conduct business. New extensions to this town came in the form of an oval fort towards south of Pēṭē to accommodate military needs. After the victory of East Indian Company over Tipu Sultan in 1791 AD (Section 1.5), a cantonment was established by the former to the north of the Pēṭē even as the political power was transferred back to the Woḍeyars of Mysore who ruled over Bangalore until Hyder Ali usurped power from them. This then created two parts of the city, the first of which was the Pēṭē area along with the oval fort where the locals lived, and the second was the cantonment. As years passed, new layouts sprung around the Pēṭē area consuming villages and forest land. During the second rule of the Woḍeyars, which included the period of British Residency, the city witnessed the establishment of hospitals, railways, a scientific research institution, the Indian Institute of Science, schools and colleges. Post-independence, Bangalore was chosen to be the capital city of Karnataka State (earlier called the Princely State of Mysūru/ Mysore) over the royal city, Mysore where the Woḍeyars lived.

The aim of this study is to acquire an understanding of the nature of Bangalore city and its development, through a study of the architecture and settlement pattern of its earliest urban area, that of the Pēṭē and the oval Fort as well as a background study of its history. My curiosity for this research stems from the fact that I come from Bangalore city. It consists of a multi-cultural society and I assert that this diversity has roots in its formation. This is only too evident in the Pēṭē region. This area continues to be a commercial core favoured by locals for competitive rates. The northern boundary of the Pēṭē (fig. 2), now called Kempē Gowḍa Road/ District Office Road/ Tank Bund Road, is lined with mostly textile shops while the southern boundary (a state highway called Mysore Road/ SH 17) consists of building material dealers and the like. Internal streets (Chikka-Pēṭē main road and old Doḍḍa-Pēṭē main road, fig. 3) and N-S (north-south) axial streets such as Avenue road and Cotton- Pēṭē main road are busiest while small traders, hotels are spread through alley roads. Interspersed with these are residences where small plots are compensated by vertical development, and religious structures. Residential settlements around a particular temple

¹ Meaning of Pēṭē in Kannaḍa is town.

are often inhabited by people belonging to the particular community patronising the deity to whom it is dedicated.

The purpose of this research is an observational and interpretative historical study of the city of Bangalore, with the intention of identifying the nature of the culture that seeded the architecture of the city. The main focus of the research is chronologically from the 16th century to the fortification of the city under the rule of Tipu Sultan, documenting the change in the 'functional aspect' of the city propelling a change in the 'form'; for example the need for a military stand buffering the city of Mysore from invaders led to the enlargement of the military fort (oval Fort), effectively changing the 'mercantile' nature of the Pēṭē to one of 'defence.' The evolution of the city in response to the socio-cultural and economic changes deriving from varied kinds of people coming into and settling in the city will be a case in point. The city could be best described as a melting pot of various cultures and built-forms, growing from small town settlement to a highly urbanised city in a short span of time. Kevin Lynch in his book *The Image of the City* argues that city design is a "temporal art,"² and that "the city is a construction in space, but one of vast scale, a thing perceived only in the course of long spans of time."³ He asserts that "our perception of the city is not sustained, but rather partial, fragmentary, mixed with other concerns."⁴ At different points of time then, the city might be "perceived"⁵ differently. The city has not achieved a coherent architectural identity in the sense outlined by Lynch, its parts devoid of a clear pattern and paths that are not always obvious. Yet, the disappearance of a singular architectural character and a segregated method of organisation could be termed as a compliment to the vibrancy of the city. The reason for this may well lie in its history and the sea of changes that this entailed as is the case of most cities. In an effort to understand the circumstances and influences that may have altered the built environment in the city this research will be structured around the changes and developments, by examining particular buildings in chronological significance and weighing them against socio-cultural, political and economic changes that affected the manner in which the city was perceived or led to be perceived.

The method of documentation adopted in this research includes new as well as reconstructed drawings. The accounts of historical background, town-planning and architecture are based on archival drawings, maps, sketches, documents, and on a photographic survey. The chief institutional sources for this have been Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR), the Central Library of Bangalore, and Survey of India in India and the British Library in UK. The sources also include books and publications relating to the city and urban design. The study has involved travel to Shimoga and Śrirangapaṭṇa in Karnataka State in order to study the Shivappa Nāyaka and

² Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (USA: The MIT Press, 1960), pp. 1 – 3.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

the Daria Daulat palaces as references to Tipu Sultan's summer palace design, as well as to various older parts of Bangalore to document buildings.

Basis of the Research and its Relationship to Previous Studies

In order to understand the development of the city, I am trying to do an improved reconstruction drawing of the Pēṭē area. Map of Bangalore city from the Survey of India, archival maps and drawings from the British Library, artist impression sketches and drawings from books relating to the history of Bangalore by Fazlul Hasan⁶ and T V Annaswamy⁷ form the basis for this drawing. However, these drawings date from no earlier than the 18th century. At an earlier point one must rely on descriptions found in works of poetry, folklore and other written material from 16th and 17th century for an idea of the town. An improved drawing of the Pēṭē showing an example of the organization of various sub- Pēṭēs, as parts of the whole, and social structure, and another showing the development of North-South axial road within, is presented in this study. Shārada Byanna who asserts to be a descendant from Kempē Gowḍa I's own family clarified during interview that the family does not have any documentation in literary, artefact or other forms that can lead to an understanding of this town in the 16th century. The Gowḍas from this family, though trained in warfare, continued to be illiterate until the 20th century. Mrs. Byanna claims that she is the first woman in the family to acquire formal education. Among other sources are the inscriptions found in temples and other places relating to building works undertaken by the Gowḍas. There are references about typical types of houses in the city in the gazetteer edited by Prof. Suryanath Kamath.⁸ It was unclear how this conclusion was arrived at during my discussion with him. Most published material on the city of Bangalore is historical documentation. While Mathur and Da Cunha's study⁹ takes a deeper look at the terrain of the city, there has been no study conducted in architectural context. Few of the archival maps available with the British Library have been published in Mathur and Da Cunha's study of the terrain of Bangalore city, a book that was released last year. Whatever maps included here have been published in the context of history and as part of a research towards understanding general topography.

An examination of the reading material currently available on the city gives an understanding about historical events relating to the city but not a deeper understanding of either the layout of the plan or the diversity in the population. The Mysore gazetteer compiled by B L Rice is very useful in studying the city from a historical perspective. Born to a Christian missionary father, in 1837, who was the head of Bangalore Parish, Benjamin Lewis Rice served as the Director of Public Instruction in Mysore and Coorg, and later as the

⁶ M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries* (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970).

⁷ T. V. Annaswamy, *Bengaluru to Bangalore* (Bangalore: Vengadam Publications, 2003).

⁸ Prof. Suryanath U. Kamath, *Karnataka State Gazetteer: Bangalore rural district* (Bangalore: Government Press, 1989).

⁹ Anuradha Mathur and Dilip Da Cunha, *'Deccan Traverses - The Making of Bangalore's Terrain'*, First Edition (New Delhi, Rupa & Co, 2006).

Director of Archaeological Researches in the erstwhile State of Mysore. During his tenure as Director of Archaeological Researches, Rice compiled 9000 inscriptions across the State in a work running into twelve volumes called *Epigraphia Carnatica*.¹⁰ A digital copy of the work was published by the southern chapter of the Indian Council of Historical Research in 2005 in the form of scans on a CD-ROM.¹¹ This is being re-done in acrobat reader [.pdf] format and will be released shortly. Rice also produced a gazetteer of Mysore for the government, simply called *Mysore*, chiefly to aid the work of the Mysore government whose administration was taken over by the British from 1831 to 1881 in view of the alleged mismanagement of Mummaḍi Krishnarāja Wodeyar. *Mummaḍi* is a Kannada word meaning 'third.' The State was handed back to the Wodeyars based on the King's plea to the British Parliament which ruled in favour of the Mysore King. The gazetteer, first printed in 1876, was revised and published in 1897, is set in two parts. A reprint was made available to the public by the Karnataka Government in 2004. While the first part is devoted to the study of the geography, bio-diversity, history, socio-economic conditions, trade and administration of Mysore as a whole, the second part deals with these aspects by each district. Literature from this period of history is particularly liable to bias. In the travel records compiled by Francis Buchanan and published in three volumes called *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar* in 1807, much has been stated about the religious leanings of the Sultan and his vices have also been written about by Mark Wilks in his compilation of a history of Mysore called *Historical Sketches of the South of India* published in 1810. I'm inclined to believe that Buchanan being guided by an appointee of Dēwān Purṇaiah may not have acquired an unbiased view of Tipu's nature; after all, Tipu came to the aid of the *Muṭṭ*¹² [Hindu religious establishment] at Śringēri when the place was plundered by the Marāṭhas.

In this research, the area and environs have been studied with photographic and actual measured surveys. This includes the town, remaining portions of the oval fort and Tipu's palace, temples and dargahs as well as a photographic survey of the nearby cities of Mysore and Śrirangapaṭṇa. A closer look in terms of measured drawings of particular buildings and review of settlement around them has been done to understand the nature of settlement in the area. There are religious buildings in this area and in its environs that date back to 16th and 17th centuries and they are yet undocumented. The temple columns are mostly composite and either colonette or figural [yāḷi, horse, lion]. Adam Hardy, in his work *The Temple Architecture of India*, attributes this development in later Karnaṭa-Draviḍa temple tradition to a "growing need for large open halls for congregational gatherings"¹³ and thus, "a highly sculptural form of composite pier was developed."¹⁴ Though such columns in this context are derivatives of Vijayanagara tradition, there are few improvisations in the

¹⁰ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, twelve volumes (Bangalore: Mysore Government Press, 1898).

¹¹ http://www.ichrindia.org/regional_centers.html

¹² Pronounced muṭ-ah in Kannaḍa.

¹³ Adam Hardy, *The Temple Architecture of India* (West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 2007) p. 236.

¹⁴ Ibid.

number composition of the figural and an introduction of frieze sculpture on external walls in the temples of Bangalore, and hence are classified here as **Later/ Post-Vijayanagara**. I believe the presence of each of these temples in particular zones in the Pēṭē was of cultural relevance to the settlers in that zone. The ASI provides documentation of external boundaries of one of the temples and the oval fort. However, these are not detailed in nature.

In order to understand development of the city and contributory changes in architectural styles that follow, this research inquiry intended to focus around some questions. The first is about the manner in which Kempē Gowḍa I planned his city for trade. This brings into sharp focus the topographical advantages for the establishment of the town in this particular location. Whether the founder's method deliberately planned for settlement of people from different communities and if this reflected in varied kinds of architecture is a significant point to consider. Another point to examine is to find the city's indigenous architectural style by studying surviving structures from that period. From this point the rapid changes of patronage is examined with respect to the overall layout and public architecture of the city. The manner in which the cultural priorities of the local population and the various patronage gets linked, and if and how this influenced or triggered a change in built form is examined. This would give answer if a socio-cultural and architectural divide existed i.e., despite cultural linkages did the buildings assert an exclusive identity. The relevance of such a phenomenon would be significant in the context of urban design and architecture today's diverse populace in this city. Also, aspiration of the patrons giving the city itself a cultivated identity quite removed from its original landscape is discussed. Later events that transformed Bangalore into a capital city are inquired into in brief.

Bangalore was initially a traders' town, a market town, founded along trading routes to facilitate trade and give secure shelter to merchants intending commerce in order to generate more wealth for the broader area ruled by the feudatory ruler. The apparent centrality (fig. 4) of the location in the Indian peninsular augmented by trade routes (discussed later in this section) was perhaps an added factor along with the hill fortresses which offered defence cover. This mercantile nature is the basic character of the city and the reason perhaps why people from various cultures and regions have settled down from the 16th century, an occurrence that has continued rather like a tradition to this day. The city was never under a consistent particular royal patronage, the religions of patrons were differed as well. It was under the Nāḍaprabhus of Vijayanagara, the Bijapur rulers, Marāṭhas, Mughals, Mysore and the British commission in chronological succession.

A thorough understanding of these events necessitates a critical study of published material like works by Hasan and Annaswamy. These works are two publications relating to Bangalore that are most relevant to the scope of this research. Fazlul Hasan's *Bangalore Through the Centuries* is at once illuminating on the account of the city's history, its beginnings, and social, political and administrative changes from the 16th to the 20th century

AD. It is interesting that he has investigated contemporary works of the time to give a clearer version of events and lifestyle of the city. The late Governor of Mysore, Dharma Vira, sums the account given by the author in his foreword aptly:

It is interesting to know that Bangalore had been a pawn on the chess-board of Indian Intrigues. Kempē Gowḍa [I]¹⁵ built it. Bijapur Sultanate conquered it. The Moguls sold it. Chikkadevarāja Wodeyar purchased it. It was the personal jagagir of Shahji Bhonsley and Haider Ali, two great historical personalities, in different periods of history. It was a 'Spot of England in India' during the British [Colonial] days.¹⁶

Hasan carries out a systematic study of the city's history in order to capture its past. He takes the reader through the establishment of the fort (Pettah) of Bangalore to post-independence days.

T V Annaswamy strives to chronicle this city from 1st century A D until the investment of Bangalore by the East India Company in 1791 in his book *Bengalūru to Bangalore*.¹⁷ The major flaw in Annaswamy's book is that much text is reproduced in exact form from Benjamin Lewis Rice's earlier magnum opus *Epigraphia Carnatica*, which was published in twelve volumes with reference to twelve districts, and *Mysore Gazetteer*, published as two volumes. Based on Rice's work, Annaswamy details the earliest mention of the name 'Bengalūru' [the original Kannada for Bangalore, and now the official name] which appears in an inscription mentioning the Battle of Bengalūru dated to 900 AD, found on the floor of the maṇḍapa in front of the Kammatēśwara temple in the Nagēśwara Temple complex, Bēgūr, dating back to the rule of the Ganga kings. There is a mention that part of Bangalore district was called 'Tadigaivali' which means 'southern highway' from the Tamil country to Bangalore. This is significant since it defines the very 'commercial' nature of the city. Any trader would have to pass through it and Bangalore was right in the centre of peninsular India on this highway.¹⁸ It is little wonder that Kempē Gowḍa I decided to unify this hamlet of villages into a mercantile town.

The concept of understanding natural cities as a series of overlaps was first put forth by Christopher Alexander.¹⁹ He states that 'natural' cities are those which have come up over great many years as opposed to 'artificial' cities which are "deliberately created by designers and planners."²⁰ Bangalore is a natural city, in the sense outlined by Alexander, in its content and has grown with each period change and influence. The city is a case of overlapping layers of content and social landscape, this diversity makes it interesting.

¹⁵ Kempe Gowda I was the *Nadaprabhu* (Pālēgār(a)/Pollegar) of Yelahanka, 16th century AD, his allegiance was to the Vijayanagara Empire.

¹⁶ Hasan, p. vii.

¹⁷ T V Annaswamy, *Bengaluru to Bangalore* (Bangalore: Vengadam Publications, 2003).

¹⁸ Dilip da Cunha and Anuradha Mathur, *Deccan Traverses: The Making Of Bangalore's Terrain* (New Delhi: Rupa & Co., 2006). They refer Colonel Lambton's Network of Triangulation in Southern India, 1800.

¹⁹ Christopher Alexander, < http://www.chrisgagern.de/Media/A_City_is_not_a_tree.pdf > [accessed 30 December 2011] First published in two parts as 'A City is not a Tree', *Architectural Forum* 122.1, April 1965, pp. 58-62, and 122.2, May 1965, pp. 58-62.

²⁰ Ibid.

Alexander theorizes that natural cities are more like a semi-lattice formation of a set where elements overlap each other. These kinds of overlaps exist today in Bangalore, for example a person might never find his nature of work in the area he stays and will have to commute to other parts in the city. One would find interstitial spaces between commercial buildings, pavements taken over by peddlers and small-time commerce, by themselves functional units but resultant of elements aiding the commute, each contributing to make the city work in a unique way. And yet, if one were to assume that the initial layout of the Pētē was one of 'different colonies' for different 'trades' or 'communities', it would seem the resultant city today is contrary to this assumed idea of segregation.

Most settlements from early times have always centred on available natural resources like water, fertile land, and climate. What is surprising about this city is the fact that its water resource is not explicit; there is an underground river Vrishabhāvati, which originates right under its famous bull temple to the south, but it has turned into a waste disposal conduit for the city. And yet, its mercantile settlement was supported by an agrarian one. This is credited largely to the presence of natural lakes and later on to man-made tank bunds. The city comes across as a drama in progression, each part referring back to influences from the past, and the present. The idea of townscape as an 'unfolding drama' in built environment is put forth by Cullen²¹ in terms of three paradigms optics, place, and content. He perceives this drama in the sense of visual simulation induced by spatial arrangement, design manipulation of topography and visual lines creating what he calls a *serial vision*, what can only be understood as vision in a sequence of movement. The visual excitement is achieved through manipulation of sight lines and spatial arrangement, the element of surprise understood in both static and dynamic visual experiences in a planned city. A place in itself contains drama in the very nature of spaces and type of use, creating insides and outsides and giving character and linkages. This can lead to a city design in which spaces play off each other giving the place a distinguishing quality that sets it apart from other places.

Thesis Structure:

This thesis asserts that the chief underlying characteristic of Bangalore is one of commerce. This has been consistent despite the city's seemingly changing character. Also, a multi-cultural setting where zones were established after the commodity that was traded there was introduced by its founder; this setting has been retained through historical events. While this has promoted a mixed culture, it may also be the reason for incoherence in structure, and whether it is reaching an ironical climax now. It is organized into three chapters. The first chapter provides a historical background until 18th century which serves as a setting for the successive chapters. While the city's identity is reinforced by its name, the origin of same presents interesting facts of the area prior to the establishment of the town. Place name references are a useful starting point to identify these facts, before

²¹ Gordon Cullen, *The Concise Townscape* (The Architectural Press, 2010, 1971, 1961), pp. 9-11.

developing the story surrounding the establishment of the town. Subsequent changes in leadership and the changing political scenario are documented here. These changes sometimes lead to a different social and cultural order, as when the city became a *jāgir* of Hyder Ali.

The second chapter emphasizes town-planning of Bangalore/ Bengaluru including a reconstruction of the town dating back to the 16th century. In this chapter, I have placed particular importance on the establishment of ‘zones’ or sub-Pēṭēs in the town’s inception. Whether this was so in the 16th century has only been ascertained by word of mouth in interactions with people who say their families migrated here since then as well as by their names. That these zones existed is factually addressed only in archival maps dating to the 18th century. The names are of significance conveying both nature of trade and social class. Additionally, the sub-Pēṭēs accommodate corresponding religious establishments. For example, Tīgaḷara-Pēṭē is where Tīgaḷas have traditionally been living; the major occupation of this community was horticulture perhaps explaining the south location in the town making it nearer to agricultural fields in the southern aspect out of the town proper. Their deity is Dharma Rāya, another name of Yudhistira, the first of Pandavas from the Mahabharata epic: His temple is located in this zone and home to the tradition of ‘*karaga*’ festival, on which I will elaborate later in Section 2.3.

The architecture of the town is explained with analysis and documentation of particular buildings dating between 16th and 18th centuries in the third and last chapter. These buildings are temples, remaining portions of Tipu’s Palace and Oval Fort chiefly, while I present a broader visual of the rest in photographs. A few of the temples like the *Gavi-Gangādhārēshwara* located to the south of the Pēṭē shows influence from temples of the Chola dynasty (11th – 12th century AD) in Tamil Nadu, perhaps from the days when the area was part of *Vikrama Chola Maṇḍalam* (see Introduction to Chapter 1) while others like Dharma-Rāya and Ranganātha Swāmy located in the Pēṭē and Sōmēshwara located north of the Pēṭē were built by the founder of the city and some improved by his successors. Tipu’s Palace and Oval Fort present a different landscape as does the Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple, located beside the palace, particularly its figural columns. The palace, its design a derivation of Shivappa Nayaka’s palace, presents Islamic art particularly in its onion dome buttresses and intricately beautiful mural art work on the inner walls. It is a fine example of a deliberate attempt at fusion of earlier Hindu methods of planning and Islamic art. Though the city enjoyed a mixed culture from inception in town form, one can observe it imbibing from a different religion from this time; perhaps the first influence occurred during its investment by Mughals earlier. Through this chapter, the original architecture of Bangalore is established, with respect to public buildings, and changes and influences documented in detail. A single element, the column, is detailed in each of these public buildings in order to emphasize on their differences arising out of diverse patronage.

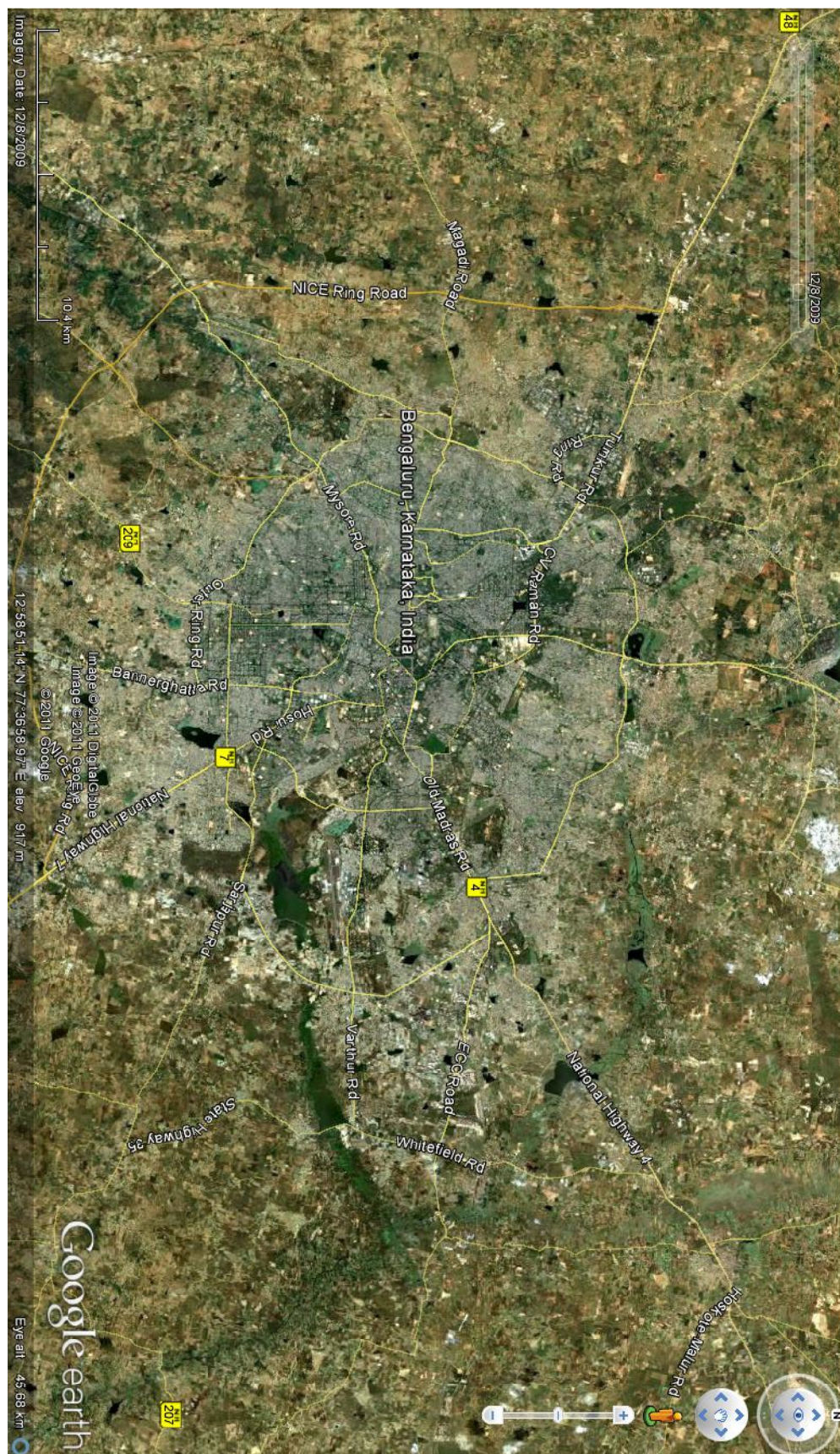


Fig. 1 Topographical View of Bangalore city, present environs



Fig. 2 Northern boundary of Bangalore Pētē



Fig. 3 Internal streets, Bangalore Pētē

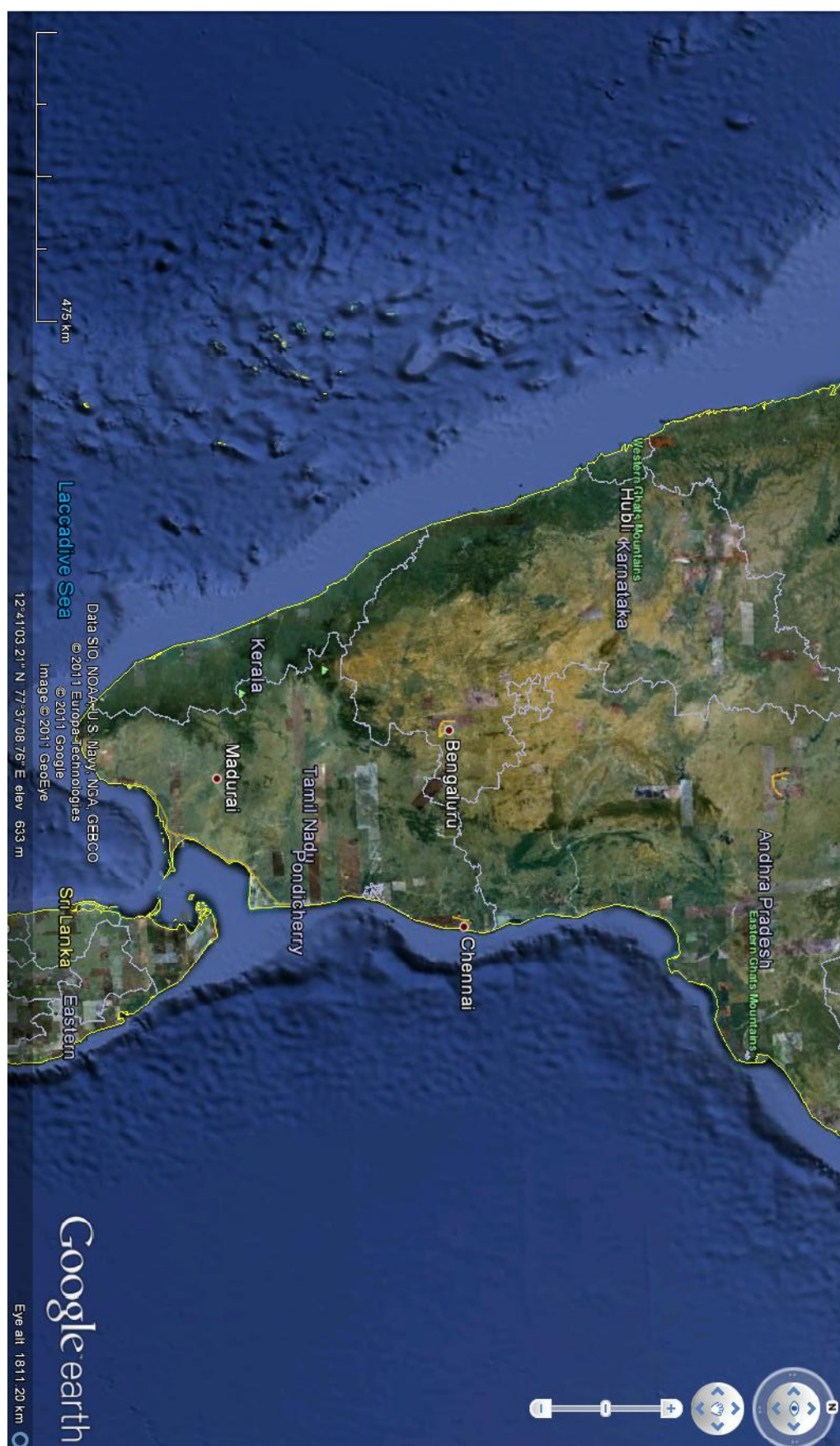


Fig. 4 Location of Bangalore city in peninsular India



Fig. 5 Mrs. Shārada Byanna, descendant of Kempē Gowḍa I

Chapter 1

History

List of topics

Introduction to Chapter 1	p. 20
1.1 Paḷēgārs of Yelahanka	p. 28
1.2 Bijapur and Marāṭhas	p. 41
1.3 The Mughals	p. 44
1.4 The Wodeyars	p. 45
1.5 Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan	p. 51
1.6 The Mysore Wars	p. 57
Conclusion to Chapter 1	p. 62

Introduction to Chapter 1

History until 1537 AD

Bangalore, recognized as a major centre for trade and commerce, traces this characteristic to its inception. As a result of being home to varied cultures, Bangalore is home to influences of different architectural styles. Earliest mention of the place-name, relevance and relative location can be worked from B. L. Rice's gazetteer, *Mysore*.²² He presents a series of maps from 750 AD to 14th century AD in reference to environs of the Princely State of Mysore as in 1876 AD. A geological map of 19th century AD printed in Rice's Mysore gazetteer depicts the centrality of the city and its link to transportation network across peninsular India (fig. 1.1).

The first of these maps is a drawing of the area under the rule of the Gangas. Sri Purusha of the Gangas resided at *Mānyapura* around 776 AD (fig. 1.2), Rice identifies this to be a village by name *Mannē* in Nelamangala taluk of present Bangalore/ Bengalūru city.²³ Annaswamy, elaborating on the origin of the place name based on Rice's work, asserts that the mention of the place-name 'Bengalūru' (Kannada for Bangalore, and now the official name for the city) appears in an inscription mentioning the Battle of Bengalūru dated to about 920 AD, found on the floor of the mandapa in front of the Kammatēśwara temple in the Nāgēshwara temple complex (fig. 1.4), Bēgūr, dating back to the reign of the Ganga king Rājamalla Satyavakka II (870 – 907 AD).²⁴ This inscription refers to the death of a servant of Nagattara, a feudatory chief of the Gangas, in the battle of Bengalūru. Portions of present city limits were ruled by Nolamba Pallavas in the interim period until the conquest of the area and surroundings by Rajendra, son of the Chola King Rāja Rāja. Sōmēshwara Temple in Gangavāra, a village in Dēvanahalli taluk (now part of the city), credited to the Nolamba Pallavas, is documented by Annaswamy to support this theory. Annaswamy refers to Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*²⁵ for the comparison of fluted pillars with a lion at the base (fig. 1.5) to those at Mamallapura/ Mahabalipuram (and Kanchi), stating it is in Pallava style. Rice, however, noted it for its 'unusual design' (fig. 1.5), and apart from noting the resemblance to those at Mahabalipuram does not elaborate on the subject.

Rajendra, son of Rāja Rāja of the Cholas conquered the Mysore state around 1004 AD ending the rule of the Gangas over this region and introduced Tamil as the court language

²² Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, two volumes (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 314.

²³ Benjamin Lewis Rice, <http://openlibrary.org/books/OL7050357M/Epigraphia_carnatica> [accessed 25 January 2012]. First published in twelve volumes as *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore: Mysore Government Press, 1898), Vol. IV, Part II, p. 8.

²⁴ T. V. Annaswamy, *Bengaluru to Bangalore* (Bangalore: Vengadam Publications, 2003), pp. 20 – 27.

²⁵ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore: Mysore Government Press, 1898), Vol. IX, pp. 27-28.

replacing Kannada,²⁶ as Rice puts it “the original language,”²⁷ on the basis of the fact that the oldest inscriptions in the region are in Kannada. The province *Vikrama Chola Maṇḍalam* encompassed north-west portion of Bangalore district (fig. 1.3) following re-naming of districts by the Cholas. Territory under Cholas was divided into several *Maṇḍalam(s)*, highest level of administration.²⁸ Each *Maṇḍala* was divided into number of *Valanāḍus* named after the title of the King. This was further divided into *Nāḍu(s)* comprising of towns and villages, named after the primary village. The towns were called *Pura(s)*, villages and hamlets *Agrahāra(s)*/ *Chaturvedi Maṅgalam(s)* if they had royal patronage, villages *Kottam(s)* or *Grāma(s)*, latter comprised non-Brahminical villages.²⁹

Based on epigraphical evidence, the Cholas are credited with construction of numerous temples and tanks, renovation of existing temples in and around Bangalore.³⁰ Part of Bangalore district was called ‘*Tadigaivali*’³¹ during Chola rule; this was also the name of the southern highway from the Tamil country to Bangalore. Here, the name assumes significance since it defines the very ‘commercial’ nature of the city. The city is bang in the centre of the peninsular region along the highway. Any trader would have to pass through it and Bangalore was right in the centre of the peninsular on this highway (fig. 1.1).³² It is little wonder that Kempē Gowḍa decided to unify this hamlet of villages into a trading oriented town and make it his capital.

The Hoysaḷas, a Mysorean dynasty, ruled over Mysore region from 11th to 14th century (fig. 1.3). The dynasty was founded by *Saḷa* and the story is related by Rice that he struck (*hoy/* old form *poy*) a tiger which terrified villagers interrupting their annual festival at the Vasantika temple in Sasakapura on instructions from the temple priest.³³ This prompted the *yati/* temple priest to instruct the villagers them to pay him a tribute. *Saḷa*’s name now becomes Hoysaḷa³⁴ and their emblem (fig. 1.9) is aptly that of *Saḷa* striking the tiger.³⁵ This tribute was handed over by Hoysaḷa to the *yati* in the first year, and subsequently used in the second to raise a force. In the fifth year, Hoysaḷa rebuilds Dēvarapuri (Dorasamudra/ Haḷēbid) on a directive that he would find the required wealth among the ruins. Mostly famous for their ornate temples, particularly ones at Bēlūr and Haḷēbid, they are credited

²⁶ Benjamin Lewis Rice, < <http://www.archive.org/details/epigraphiacarnat10myso> > [accessed 30 January 2012]. First published in twelve volumes as *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore: Mysore Government Press, 1898), Vol. X, p. 11.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁸ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 314. Annaswamy, p. 34.

³⁰ Annaswamy, pp. 47 – 51.

³¹ This belonged to a better classification of roads called *peruvali* as opposed to *vādis* (Annaswamy, p. 37).

³² Anuradha Mathur and Dilip da Cunha, *Deccan Traverses* - Reference – Colonel Lambton’s network of triangulation in Southern India.

³³ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, pp. 335 -336.

³⁴ In another narrative, he strikes the tiger when interrupted in his prayers to Goddess Vasantika (Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, pp. 335-342).

³⁵ I am however inclined to believe by examination of the mane of the animal in their emblems that the animal depicted is a lion and not a tiger (fig. 1.9).

with building new tanks like the Dharmāmbudhi, de-silting and restoring old tanks, and also introducing the weaving industry in Bangalore.³⁶ The hierarchy of Hoysaḷa administration was as follows with the Maharāja as head of the country, followed by the Yuvarāja (also called Maha Maṇḍalika) under whom the Maṇḍalikas (generals) functioned; they governed a 'Maṇḍala' each. Nāḍa Prabhus functioned under a Maṇḍalika, and governed 'Nāḍus' (part of a Maṇḍala). Kempē Gowḍa I (the founder of Bangalore/ Bengaluru) was referred to as Yelahanka 'Nāḍa' Prabhu. His ancestor Bairē Dēva is mentioned as the then Nāḍa Prabhu in inscription Bn 24 EC IX dated 1342 AD.³⁷ Under the Nāḍa Prabhus functioned the Goundas (Gowḍas), they governed villages.

To Hoysaḷa's great –great-grandson Vira Ballala II (Vishnuvardhana's grandson) is attributed a story giving Bangalore the name *Bengaḷūru* (see Section 1.1). Bangalore is mentioned as 'Vengalūr' in the inscription Bn 68 EC IX dated 1247 AD³⁸ during the reign of the Hoysaḷa king Somēshwara, recorded at the base of the Sōmēshwara temple at Tavarekere. During the Hoysaḷa reign, there seem to have been land endowments granted to temples and renovation/ construction of tanks.³⁹ It has also been proposed by Rice, based on a story, that Hoysaḷas were greatly enriched by gold-mining, which might have been a "royal monopoly."⁴⁰ About ten tanks, called *Kerē(s)* in Kannada, mentioned in inscriptions relating to the city of Bangalore/ Bengaḷūru and surroundings are credited to the Hoysaḷas as are several regions including Yelahanka Nadu. Of these, the most significant to this study is the Dharmāmbudhi.⁴¹ This tank was situated to the north of the Pettah, has been converted into the city bus terminus named after Kempē Gowḍa I.

³⁶ Annaswamy, pp. 62-63.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 59.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Dr. S. K. Aruni, Director of Indian Council of Historical Research, in discussion with author, asserted that this attention to agriculture was the primary strength of the Hoysalas, leading to a consolidation of human resource and expansion of kingdom.

⁴⁰ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 339.

⁴¹ Annaswamy, p. 63.

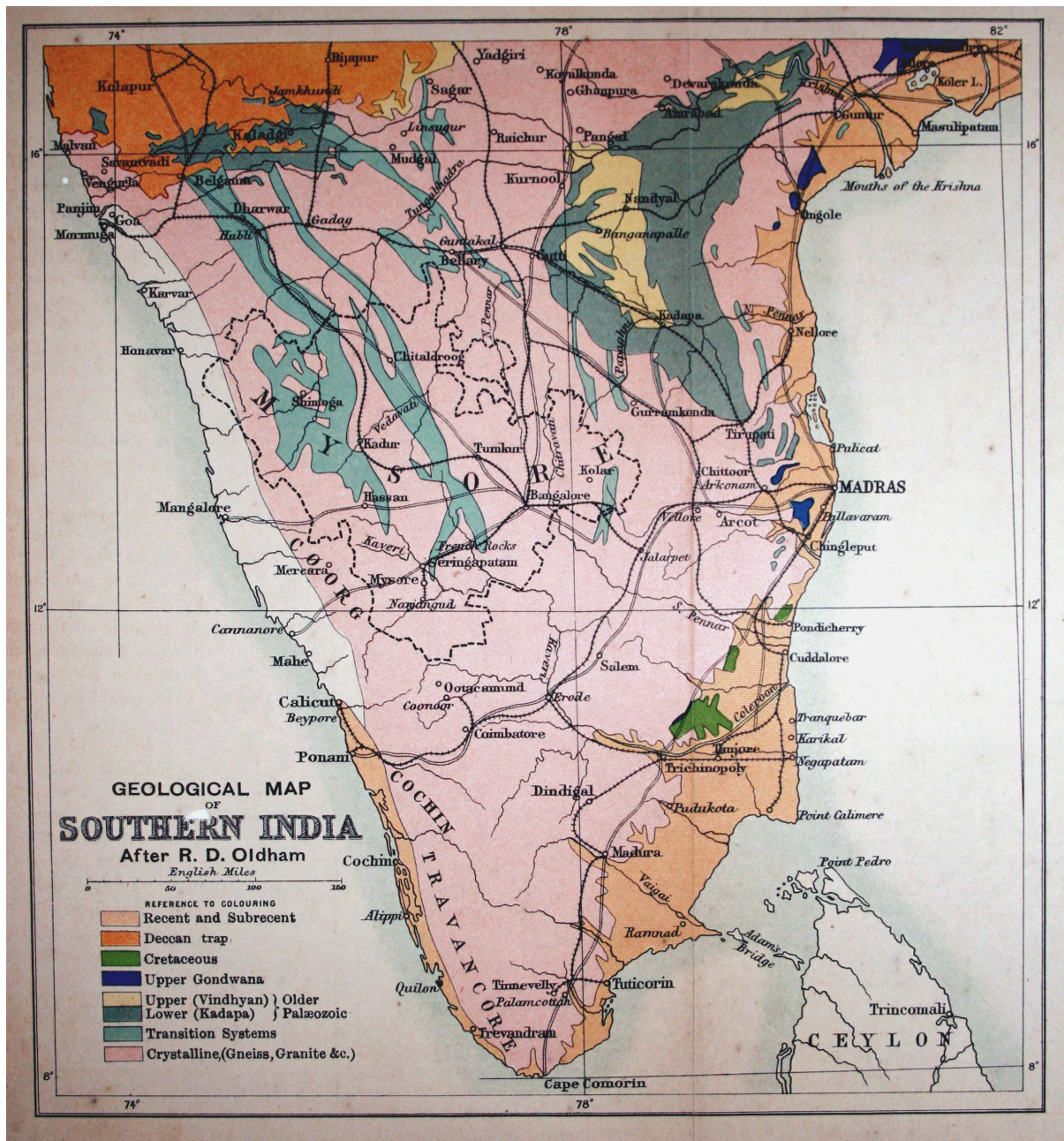


Fig. 1.1 Plan of Southern India showing Bangalore from Rice, Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I

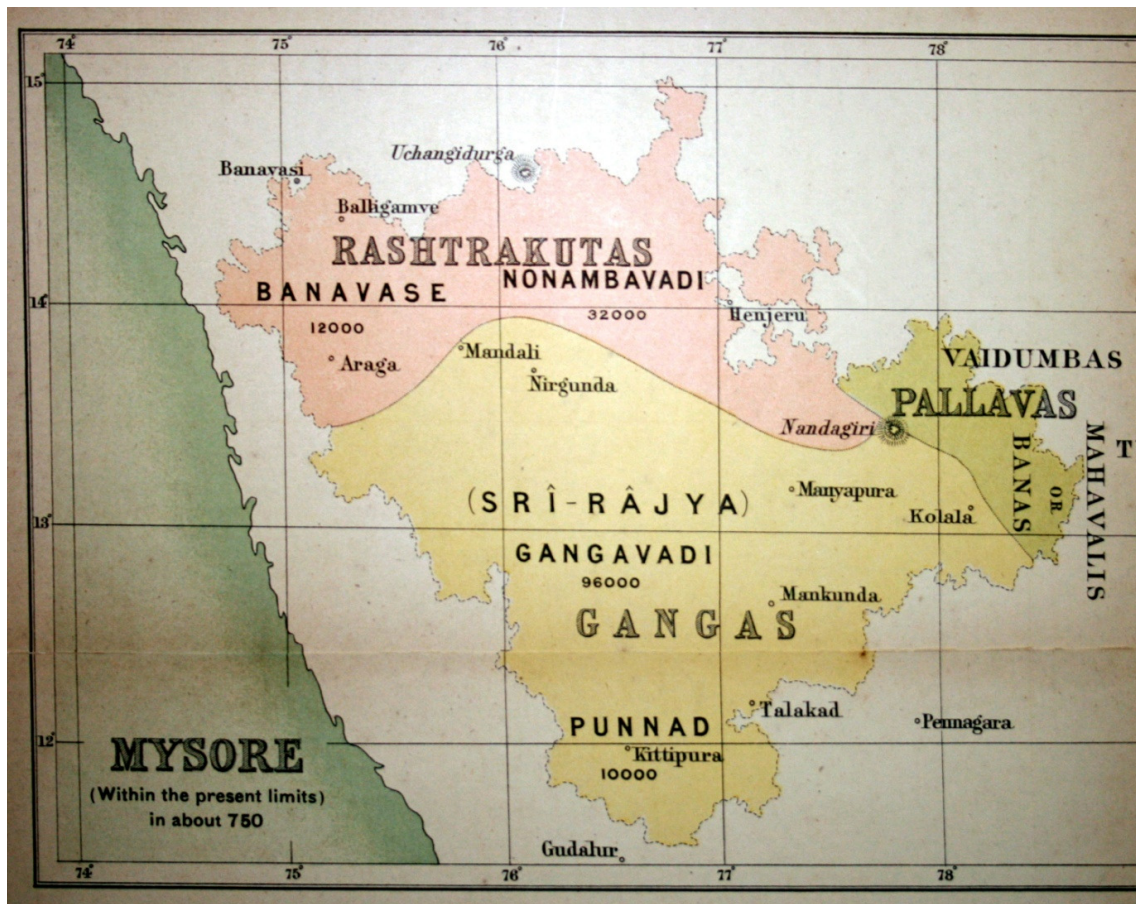


Fig. 1.2 Plan of Mysore 750 AD, enhanced using Photoshop, from Rice, Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I

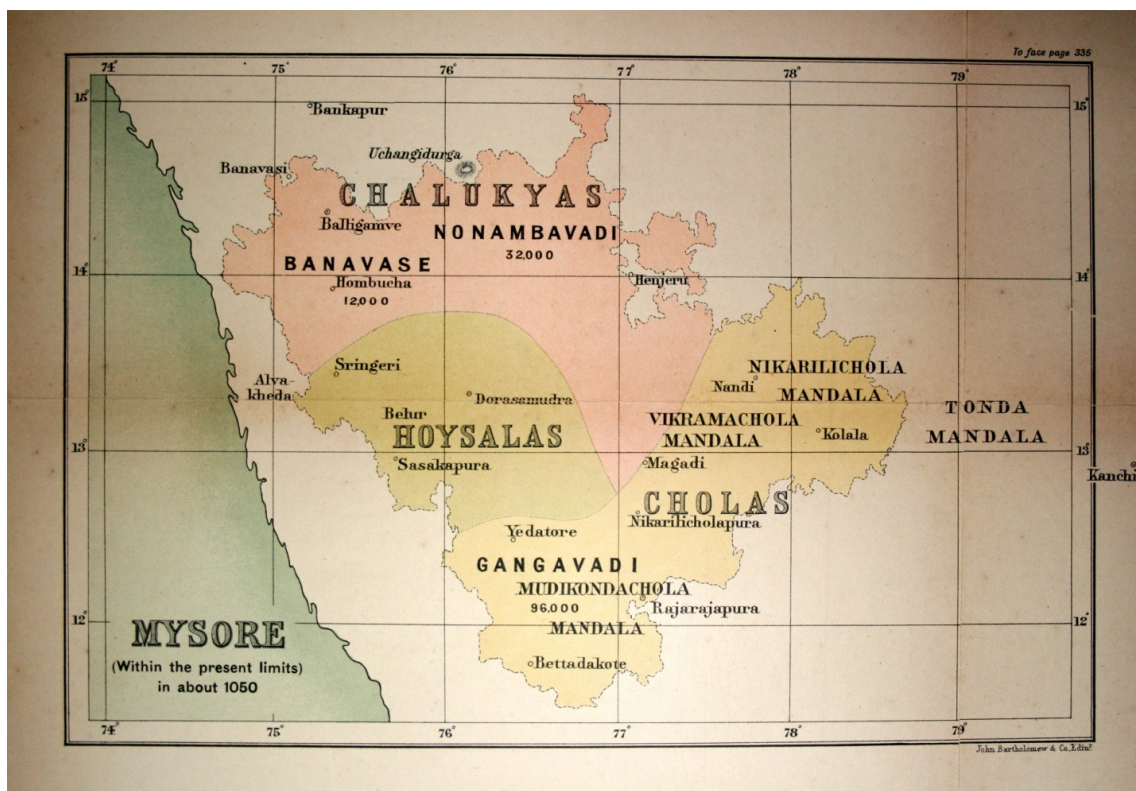


Fig. 1.3 Plan of Mysore 1050 AD, from Rice, Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I



Fig. 1.4 Nagarēshwara Temple, Bēgūr, Wikipedia Image

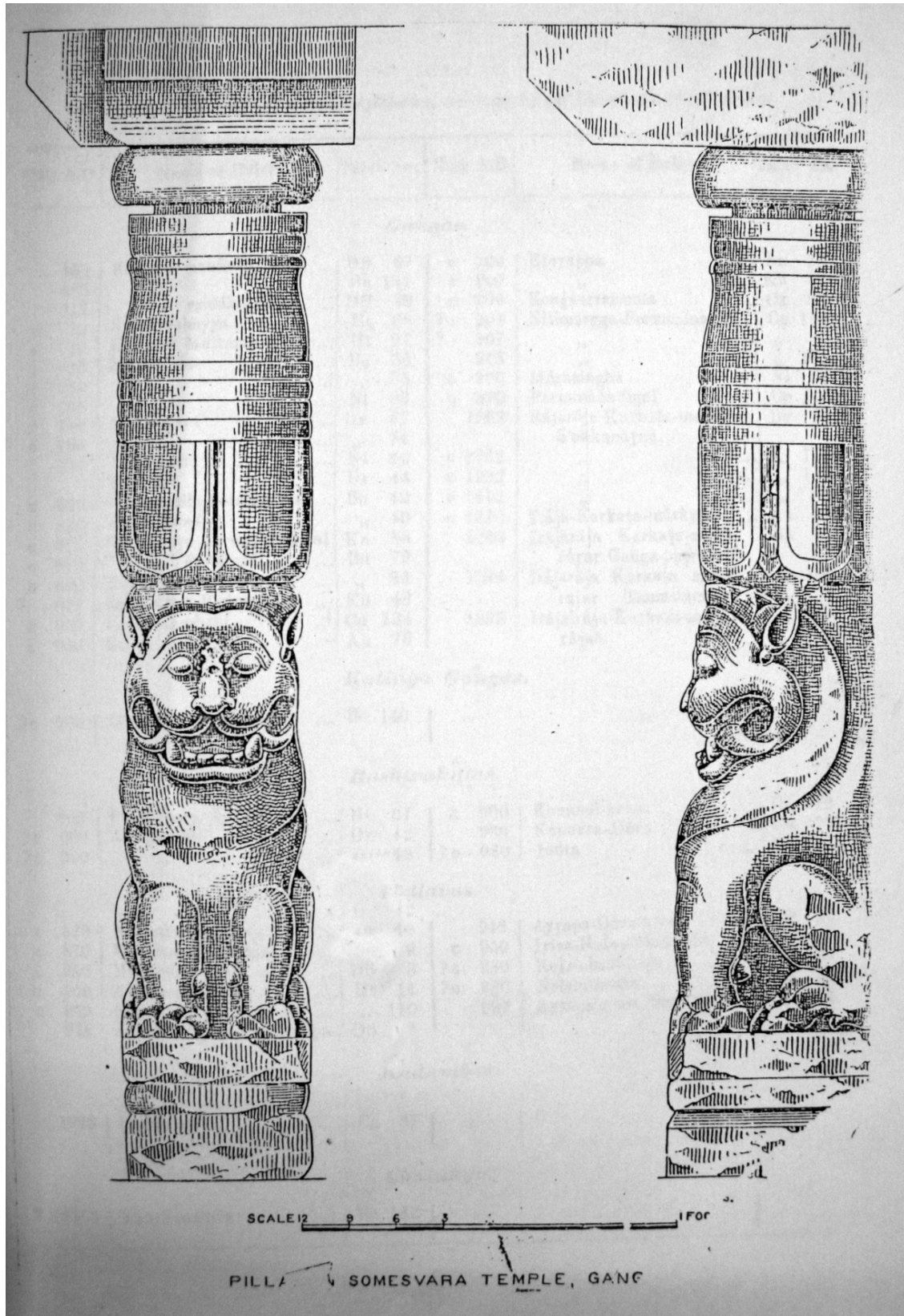


Fig. 1.5 Pillar in Sōmēshwara Temple at Gangavāra, from Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* Vol. IX



Fig. 1.9 Hoysala emblem at Chennakēshava temple, Bēlūr

1.1 Pālēgārs of Yelahanka

1537 to 1637 AD

The *Pālēgār(a)s* were local rulers who were feudatories of the Vijayanagara Empire and can be traced to the *Morasu Vokkaliga*, a sect of Telugu origin, which has now integrated into the larger Vokkaliga community. The Vokkaligas are a farming community and the *Morasu Vokkaligas* were worshippers of *Bairē Dēva*, and the word *morasu* means nomadic travellers. Rice relates that Rana Bairē Gowḍa who fled with a party of seven farming families including his own from the village of Alur, near Kanjeevaram/ Kanchi to protect his daughter from an unseemly marriage is said to have been directed in a dream to settle where they encamped.⁴² Accordingly, they founded the city of Avati, which is a derivative of the word ‘*āhuti*’ meaning sacrifice. This is situated to the north of Dēvanahalli, where the Bangalore International Airport is presently located. One of the seven farmers was Jaya Gowḍa who established himself at Yelahanka in 1418 AD (as *Yelahanka Nāḍa Prabhu*) as a feudatory of the Vijayanagara kings. His great-grandson is Kempē Gowḍa I, the founder of the town of Bangalore. Rice notes that he was favoured by two kings of Vijayanagara, Krishna (Dēva) Rāya and Achyuta Rāya.⁴³ By permission of the latter, Kempē Gowḍa I established his new capital (fig. 1.1.1) at this site which was three miles south of the old town of Bangalore and seems to have borrowed the place-name from the earlier settlement. Figure 1.1.1 is a reconstruction of the layout of the town in this period, showing principal axial roads, based on an archival drawing by Home from 1791 AD. (This drawing is discussed later in Chapter 2.) Later, this old town was called *Haḷe* (meaning old) *Bengalūru*. Rice identifies the site to near Kōdigēhalli (fig. 1.1.2) situated north-west to Hebbal Lake and notes that Bangalore district was called (or part of) Shivanasamudram country for a long time.⁴⁴ Hasan proposes that the founder of the new Town Kempē Gowḍa I probably went with the nostalgic fascination of people who lived from earlier times in borrowing the name.⁴⁵

Niranjana, Historian, relates in a Junior Encyclopaedia of seven volumes that Kempē Gowḍa I raised a mud fort and founded a township within it upon witnessing the strange sight of a hare chasing his dog.⁴⁶ This was the year 1537 AD.⁴⁷ Convinced that the place was a ‘heroic land’ or ‘*ganḍu bhūmi*’, he chose the site to be his new capital of Bengaluru. The name Bengalūru appears in an inscription⁴⁸ of the 9th century AD in the Mysore Archaeological Report, 1914-15, discovered at Bēgūr village (fig. 1.1.3), situated at about 9 miles south-east

⁴² Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, two volumes (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp 20 – 22.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries* (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970) p. 1

⁴⁶ K.S. Niranjana (ed.), *Jnana Gangotri - Bharatada Kathe* (Bangalore: [Karnataka Co-operative Publishing House Limited, 1976](#)), Vol. 7.

⁴⁷ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, p. 21.

⁴⁸ Hasan, p. 1

of Bangalore (see Introduction to Chapter 1). Rice also records the popular tale of Vira Ballala II, a Hoysala King, naming the place 'benda kāḷa ūru, which translates to 'village of boiled beans', after receiving the same from an old woman at this place while he was on his way home, alone and hungry from a disappointing hunt and Hasan asserts that the compound word Bendakālūru became Bengalūru which was corrupted to Bangalore in archival records.⁴⁹

Hasan recounts the founding of Bangalore amidst a thick jungle presented here in brief. Kempē Gowḍa I had the jungle cut down to accommodate his dream town with a strong fortress, well-laid streets with shops, *choultries* (public halls for functions), temples etc.⁵⁰ From the Doḍḍa-Pēṭē Square, legends say that he had four pairs of milk-white bullocks harnessed to four decorated ploughs furrow the ground in four different directions up to limits already assigned. They became the new town's four main streets. These are the still existing Doḍḍa-Pēṭē and Chikka-Pēṭē streets which run E-W from Halasūr Gate to Sondēkoppa Gate and N-S from Yelahanka Gate to Ānēkal Gate (fig. 1.1.1). The old town had an elliptical mud-fort surrounding it with eight main gates. The Pēṭēs/ localities were earmarked for people of different avocations, by their name they not only indicated professions carried on in individual localities but also the goods that were sold and were surrounded by a strong mud fort. With the establishment of his town, Kempē Gowḍa I shifted his capital from Yelahanka to Bengaluru/ Bangalore. He invited skilled artisans to the town and patronised them, boosting commerce. The town planning and settlement pattern of early pattern will be discussed later on in Section 2.1 in greater detail.

Achyuta Rāya, pleased with his achievements granted him the neighbouring villages of Bēgūr, Jigaṇi, Vartūr, Kengēri, Bānavāra and Kumbalgōdu besides other hamlets together yielding 30,000 *varahas or pagodas* (gold coins, currency of the period). The places now under his command were *hale*/old Bengaluru, Vartūr, Yelahanka, Bēgūr, Halasūr, Kengēri, Talaghattapura, Jigaṇi, Kumbalgōdu, Kanalli, Bānavāra and Hēsaraḡhaṭṭa (fig. 1.1.4). Figure 1.1.4, a map by Rice published in the *Mysore Gazetteer*, shows the extent of Kempē Gowḍa I's territory. Figure 1.1.5 shows the watch towers marking the extent of expansion of Bangalore; these were constructed by the founder's son.

Revenue from twelve *hoblis*, Kannada term for a group or cluster of villages, granted by Achyuta Rāya to Kempē Gowḍa I was about 30,000 *pagodas* (currency in form of gold coins). Rice asserts that this revenue was utilized for construction of temples, of which the principal ones in present Bangalore are the Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple (see Sections 1.4 and 3.1), Gavi Gangādharaśwara temple at Gavipura (see Introduction to Chapter 1), Basava temple in Basavanagudi (fig. 1.1.6).⁵¹ However, a clarification comes to light from Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Volume IX (Bangalore District), in which is mentioned inscription B.N. 118, found

⁴⁹ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II p. 43.

Hasan, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁰ Hasan, pp. 1 -15.

⁵¹ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II p. 21.

at Kottanūr, Kengēri Hobli, which clearly credits Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar with the construction of Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy Temple in the Fort area. This was further enriched by endowment from his son Kanṭṭeerava Narasa Rāja Woḍeyar II. Hasan presents this information in his book along with the text of the inscription which is in Kannada.⁵² I have presented facts relating to the Gavi Gangādhārēshwara Temple in the Section, Introduction to Chapter 1. The Basava Temple however needs to be explored.

Kempē Gowḍa I incurred the displeasure of the succeeding Vijayanagara Emperor Sadashiva Rāya when he established his own *tanka-shāley*/mint and issued coins in the name of his deity, *Bairē Dēva*. He was summoned to Vijayanagara, and upon arrival, he was discharged of his kingdom and detained at Anēgunḍi for about five years. During this time, his territories were brought under the ruler of Channapaṭṭaṇa Pālēgār(a) Jagadēva Rāya, who caused his arrest in the first place. During his confinement, Hasan asserts that Kempē Gowḍa I was influenced by the architecture of Vijayanagara, and that he embraced *Shaivism* while giving up his family deity, *Bairē Dēva*.⁵³ Gavi Gangādhārēshwara Temple is a manifestation of this faith and a construction that Kempē Gowḍa I patronized in fulfilment of a vow he took to the effect that he secured freedom from imprisonment. Upon his release, which was accentuated by political threat to Vijayanagara, the five Bahmani Sultans, keeping aside their differences, had resolved to present a unified force to attack Vijayanagara Empire. This forced the Vijayanagara Emperor to negotiate Kempē Gowḍa I's release since his services were much needed for military purpose; a large sum was paid to the former for the purpose. Kempē Gowḍa I ruled for another five years over his twelve *hoblis* which were restored to him.

Bangalore, being his capital, gained importance as he annexed Shiva-Ganga territory and further expanded his territory since this was closer to ancient trade routes to Ramēshwaram and Lanka. Carvings in his resemblance can be found in the Sōmēshwara temple of Halasūr(u)/ Ulsoor (more on this in Section 3.1). There is a bronze statue, an image of Kempē Gowḍa I at the Shiva-Ganga temple located on the Shiva-Ganga Hill (fig. 1.1.6, fig. 1.1.7). Hasan points out that the Kannada inscription beneath the statue reads 'Kempē Gowḍa, son of Kempanacharya Gowḍa of Bengalūru, who is always making obeisance to the feet of Lord Gangādhārēshwara' and is dated 1608 AD.⁵⁴ Hasan believes this to relate to the patronage of Kempē Gowḍa II, the son of the founder of Bangalore, and asserts that the son got a statue of his father executed in bronze, and asserts that in the manner of styling, it matches the statues of Krishna Dēva Rāya and his consorts at the Tirumala temple executed in Vijayanagara style. Krishna Dēva Rāya was Achyuta Rāya's predecessor as the Emperor of Vijayanagara Kingdom, a celebrated king in South India who had a prosperous reign. Rice attributes construction of numerous tanks as well as the construction of Sōmēshwara

⁵² Hasan, Appendix VI, p. 70.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 16.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p.17.

temple in Halasūr to Kempē Gowḍa II (the founder's son) (the architecture of this temple is discussed later on in chapter 3.1).

Kempē Gowḍa II, also known as Māgaḍi Kempē Gowḍa, inherited the town of Bangalore from his father. He erected the now famous boundary towers of Bangalore (fig. 1.1.5 shows the location of the towers on Google Earth image of the area), and a number of tanks augmenting water supply. He subdued *pāḷēgārs* who questioned the Vijayanagara hegemony and conquered Māgaḍi and Sāvanadurga hill fortresses and garrisoned it. He renovated the Halasūr Sōmēshwara, built Ranganātha and Shiva-Ganga temples, and constructed tanks like the Sampangi, Kempāpura Agrahāra, and Karanjee Kerē for water supply to the town. The temples and tanks around Bangalore Pēṭē that have been credited to Kempē Gowḍa I and II are the Sōmēshwara temple in Halasūr(u), the Gavi Gangādhārēshwara temple in Gavipuram, (notwithstanding the theory advanced by Annaswamy), the Basava temple in Basavanagudi, the Dharmāmbudhi Tank, which was filled up and converted into the city bus station and the still existing Kempāmbudhi Tank, named after the family goddess, Kempamma.

Kempē Gowḍa II extended his territory by conquering Sāvanadurga and Māgaḍi where he built a fort and a large temple to Sōmēshwara about 2 miles to the west (fig. 1.1.8 and fig. 1.1.9). 'Kempārāyana Jayastuti',⁵⁵ a short Kannada work in poetry is a contemporary work chronicling Kempē Gowḍa II.⁵⁶ A genealogy of Yelahanka *Nāḍa Prabhus* along with the events is presented here.

Genealogy of Yelahanka Nāḍa Prabhus⁵⁷

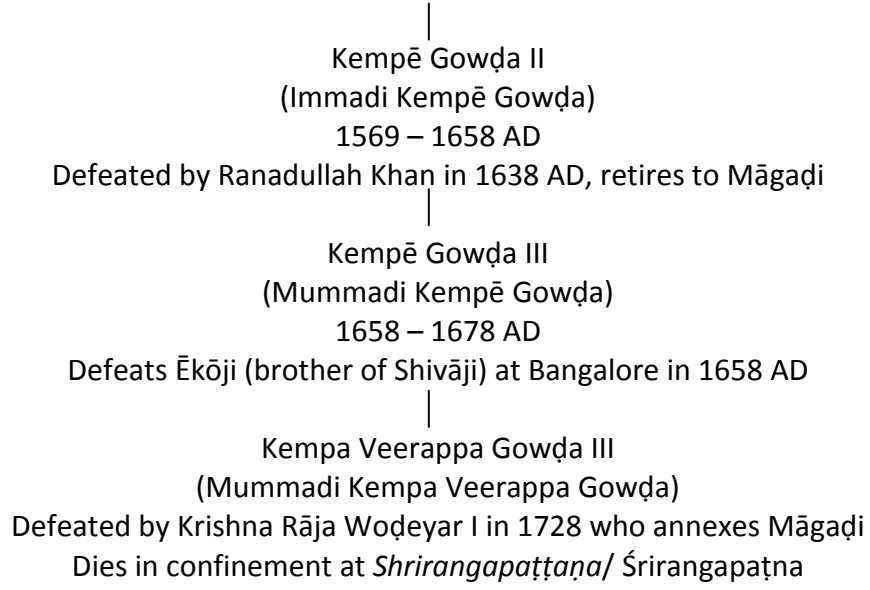
Jaya Gowḍa
1418 – 1433 AD
Establishes himself at Yelahanka
|
Giḍḍē Gowḍa
1433 – 1443 AD
|
Kempa Nanjē Gowḍa
1443 – 1513 AD
|
Kempē Gowḍa I
(Hiriya Kempē Gowḍa)
1513 – 1569 AD
Founded Bangalore city

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp 225-226.

(ORI, Mysore, K.B. 281. Edited and published by Karlamangala Srikantaiah in 1961 under the title, 'Kempēgowdana Jaya Prashasti.' Pp. 28-31 of this work is reproduced in Kannada as Appendix II of the book.)

⁵⁶ P V Krishnamurthy, *Kempēgowdana Jaya Prashasti: Ondu Charitrika parisheelaney*, courtesy ICHR Library, Bangalore

⁵⁷ A. Satyanarayana, *History of the Wodeyars of Mysore 1610- 1748* (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1996)



After the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire, the town fell into the hands of the Bijapur Rulers following the latter's advance into the south.

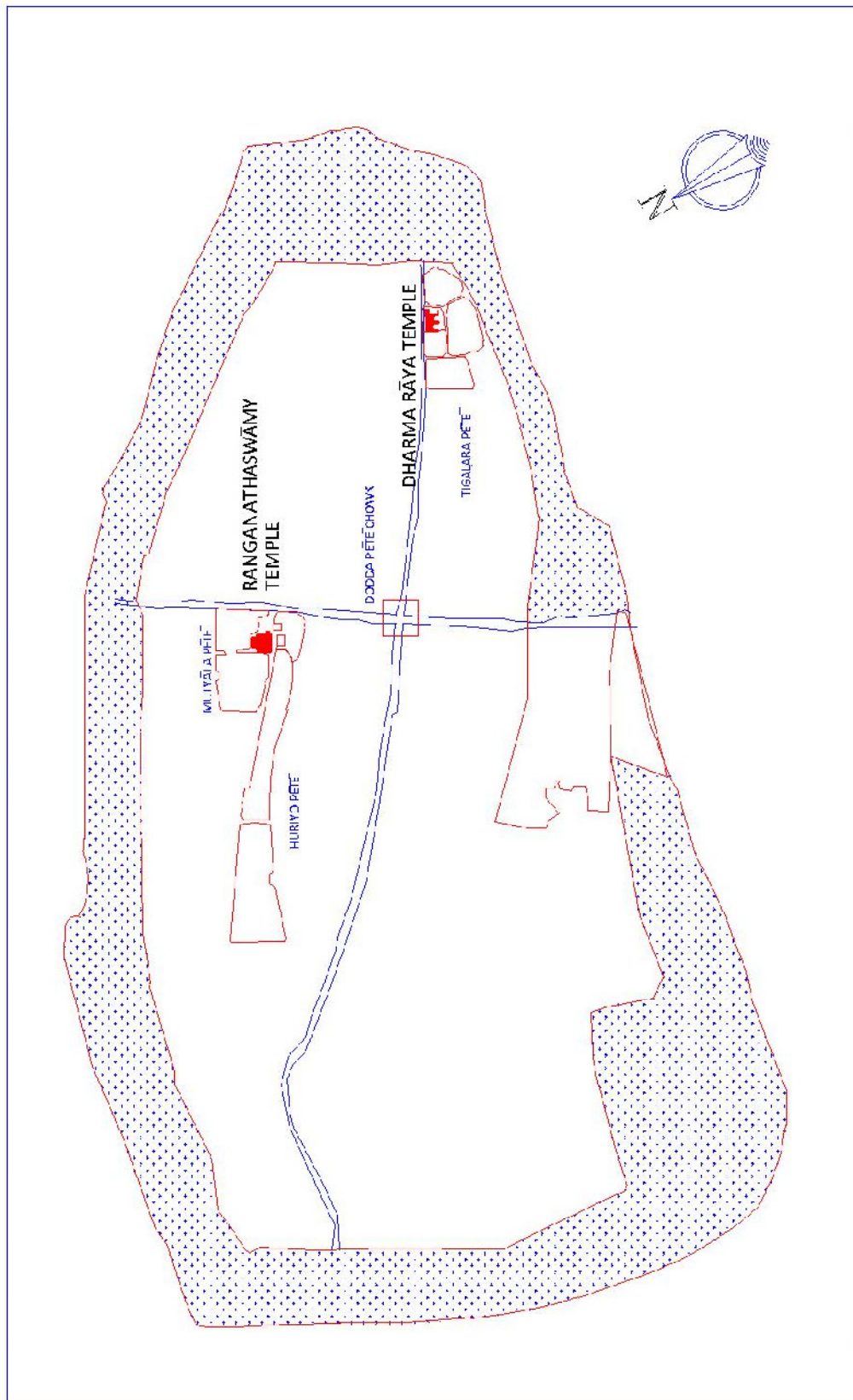


Fig. 1.1.1 Plan showing Bangalore Pētē with main streets only as in 16th century AD

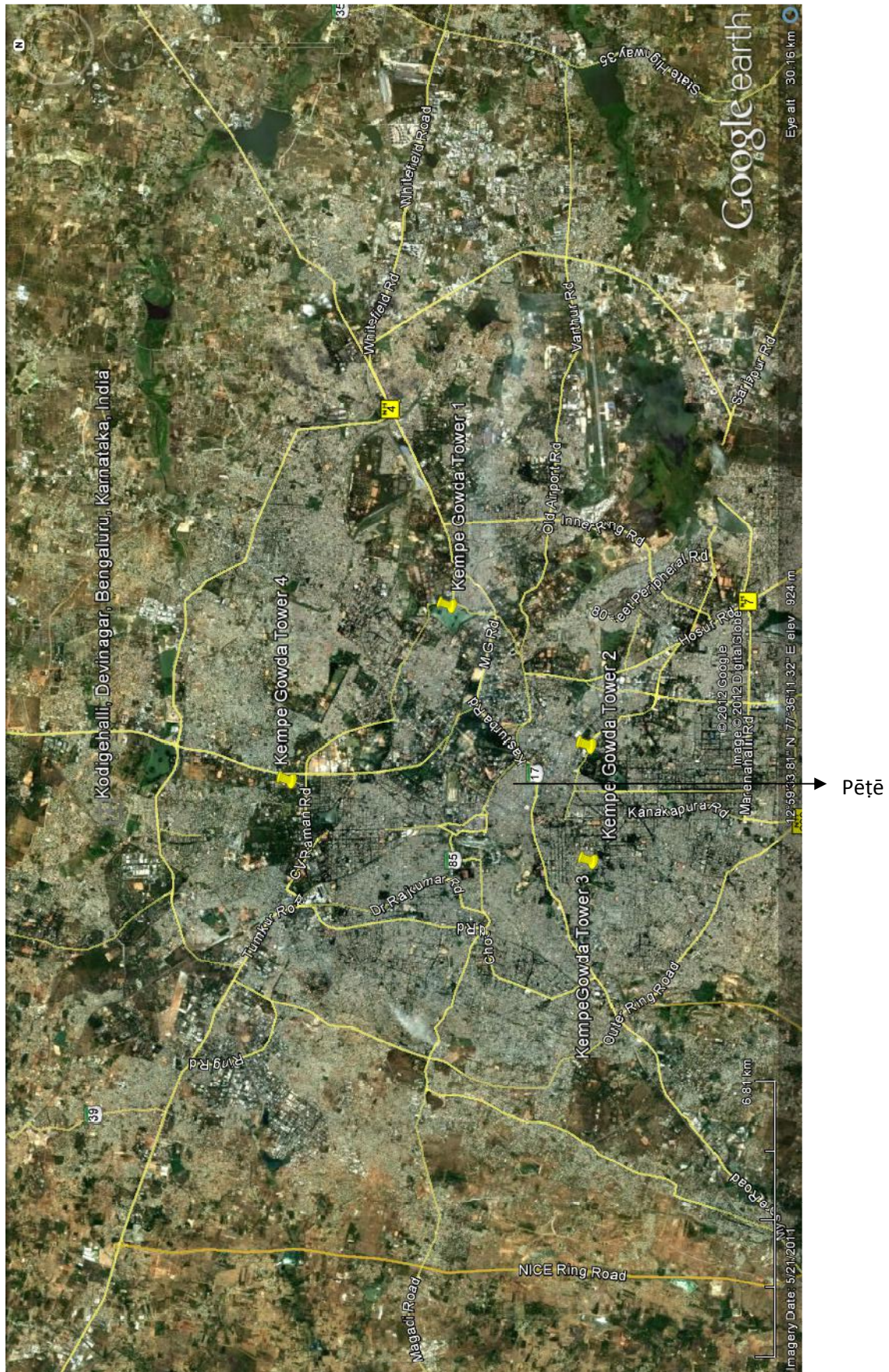


Fig. 1.1.2 Image showing location of Kodigēhalli with respect to Pêṭe of Bangalore

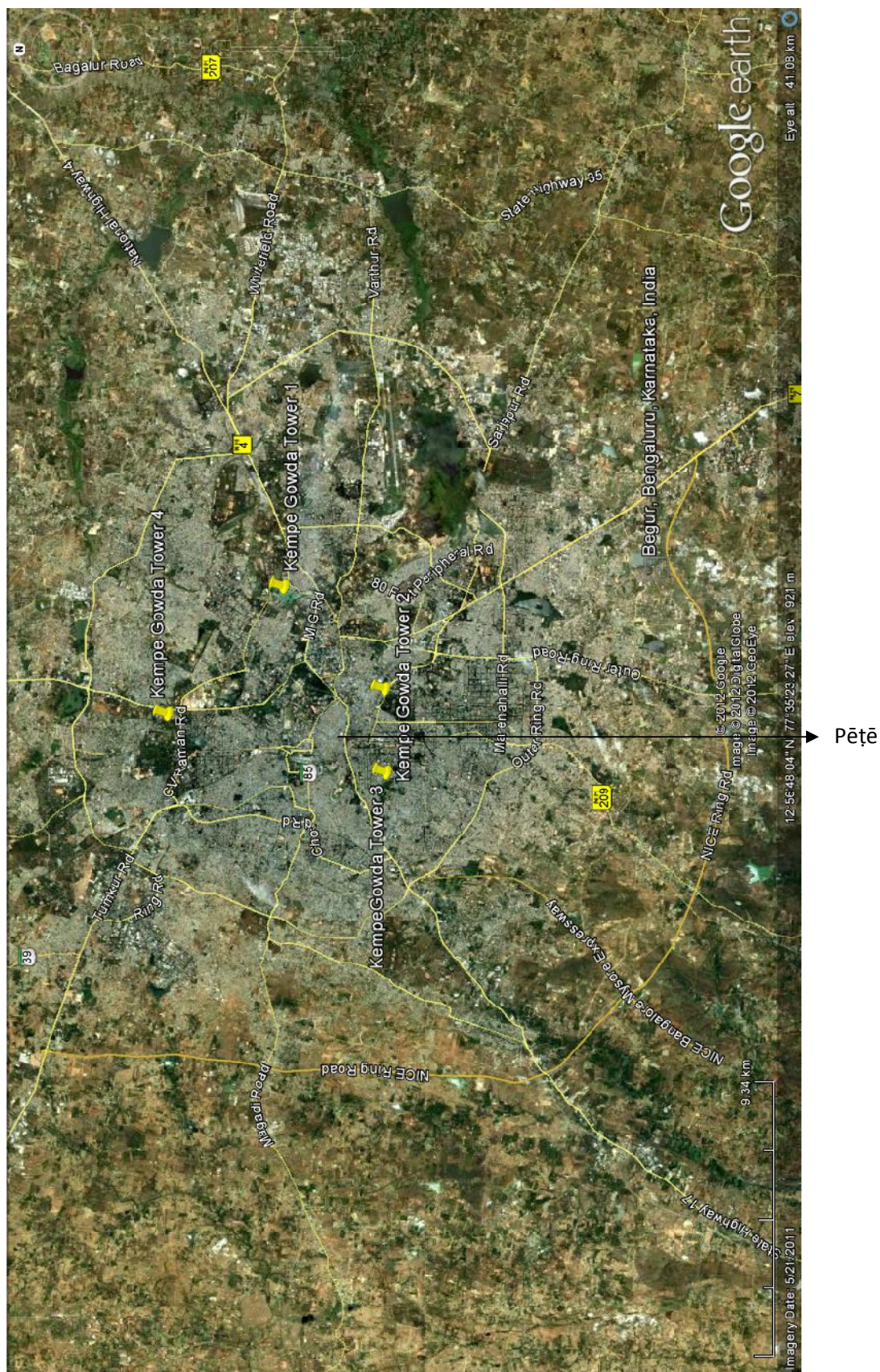


Fig. 1.1.3 Plan showing relative position of Bēgūr to Pētē



Fig. 1.1.4 Plan of Mysore showing Bangalore in 1625 AD, from Rice, Mysore, Vol. I

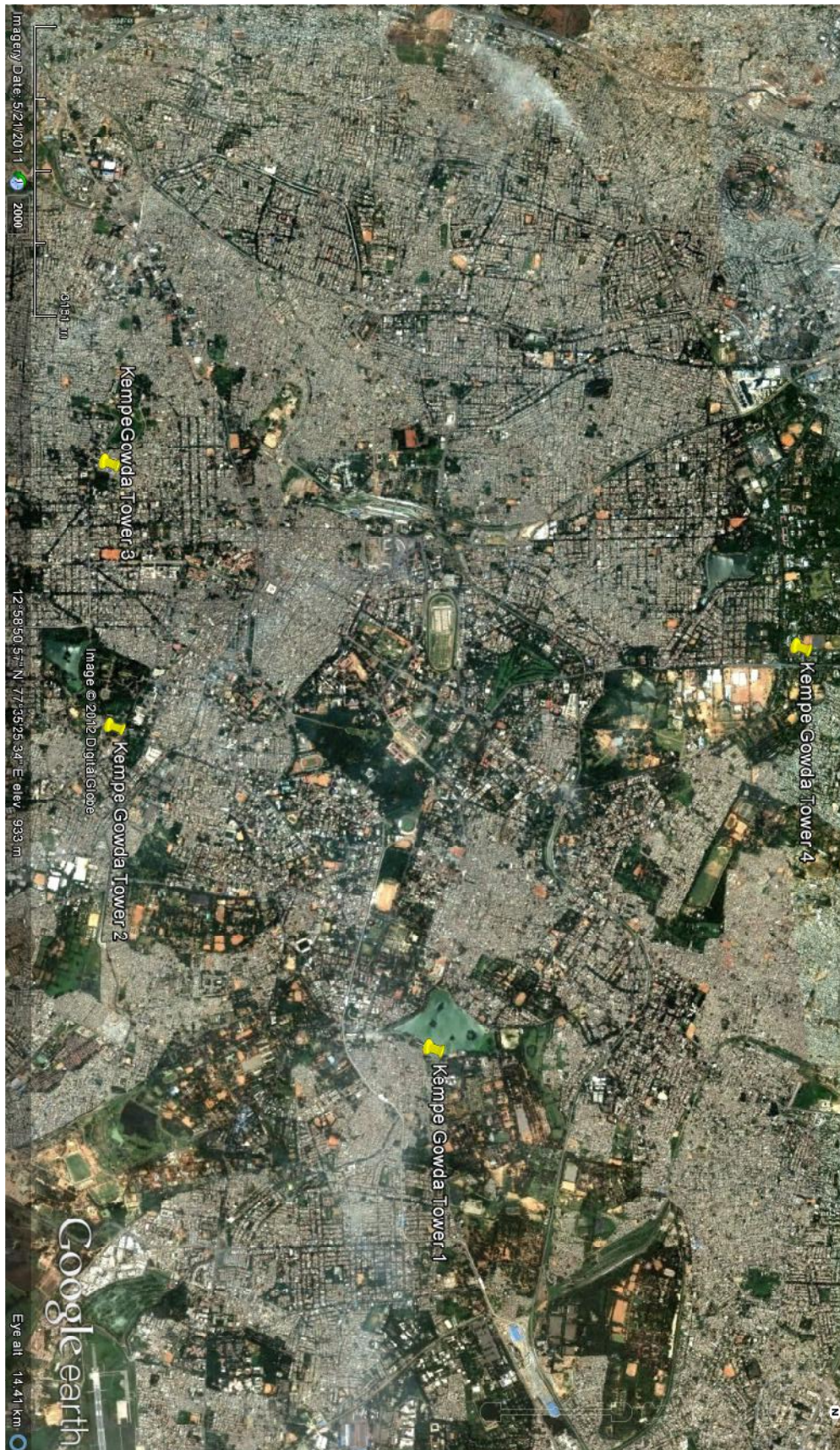


Fig. 1.1.5 Image showing the four boundary towers built by Kempē Gowḍa II



Fig. 1.1.6 View of Shiva-Ganga hill

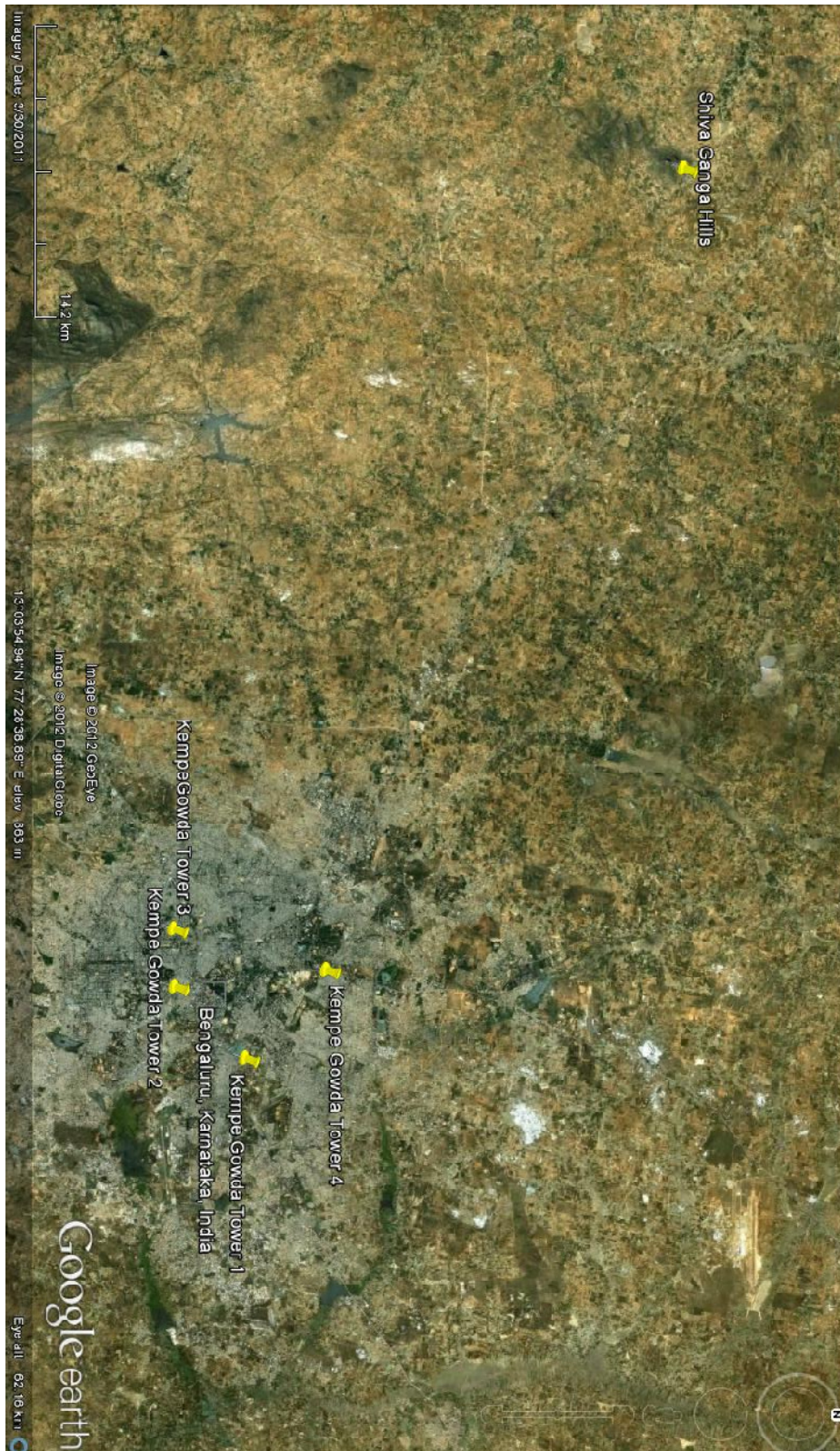


Fig. 1.1.7 Image showing location of Shiva-Ganga Hills in relation to Bangalore



Fig.1.1.8 View 1 of Māgaḍi fort



Fig. 1.1.9 View II of Māgaḍi fort

1.2 Bijapur and Marāṭhas

1638 to 1687 AD

In the 17th century much of Northern India was under the Mughal rule. The kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda had bartered peace with the Mughals in a costly affair to the former. Aurangzeb was much interested in conquering the Deccan but stopped short due to the timely intervention of his father, the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan. Restricted from northern conquests by Mughals, the Bahmani Sultans of Bijapur, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golconda turned their attention unitedly towards the southern Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara Empire, and captured it following the latter's defeat in the battle of *Tālikōṭa* (also called *Rakkasa -Thangaḍi* after the names of the villages where the armies clashed) in January 1565 AD. Without the Vijayanagara Empire to rein them in, some *Pālēgārs* declared independence and grew in dissension with one another in later years. A few of them appealed to the Bahmani Sultans for their help to rein in rulers like Kempē Gowḍa II who continued to be loyal to the Vijayanagara ruler. Kempē Gowḍa II had managed to defeat the *Pālēgārs* of *Chikkaballapura* and *Doḍḍaballapura*, *Dēvanahalli*, *Sira* and *Channapaṭṭana* who had declared independence, and had brought them under Vijayanagara rule. Bijapur, which was then under the rule of Mohammed Adil Shah (r. 1627 – 1656 AD), sent three expeditions to the south of his kingdom. The first was led by the General of Mohammed Adil Shah's army, Ranadullah Khan, with Shahji Bhonsley as second in command. During the second expedition, Kempē Gowḍa III was defeated by Ranadullah Khan, and Bangalore was conquered in 1638 AD.⁵⁸ Though Kempē Gowḍa III secured his freedom, he was forced to hand over Bangalore to the Bijapur Army and retire to Sāvanadurga with Māgaḍi as his capital.⁵⁹ The town was in turn gifted to Shahji Bhonsley, a Marāṭha who was second-in-command in the Bijapur army, by Ranadullah Khan in appreciation of his military services. Before accompanying the Bijapur General in his *Karnatak* expedition, Shahji had served as a *sardār* in the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmednagar, later on in Bijapur army for two years after which he returned to Ahmednagar and served in the Mughal army when the latter took over Ahmednagar where he turned a rebel and was pursued by the Mughals with units of Bijapur army. He was finally apprehended by Ranadullah Khan and inducted into the Bijapur army. He served the Bijapur Sultanate for 28 years.⁶⁰

An excerpt from page 80 of the *Shiva Bharat* is reproduced by Hasan in his book for a description of the town of Bangalore as it existed in 1637 AD, when it was taken by the Bijapur army, a century after it was founded.⁶¹ *Shiva Bharat* is a poetical chronicle written in 1670 by Paramanand in Sanskrit and speaks of Shivāji's achievement. Hasan refers to the 1927 edition, edited by Sadashiv Mahadev Diwekar:

⁵⁸ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, two volumes (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 22.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 22-25.

⁶⁰ M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries* (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970) pp. 28-29.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 28.

This town of “Bingrul” says the author of Shiva Bharat, with its massive fort gates and strong fort walls is an impressive place. Deep ditches, full of water drawn from big tanks, which are existing in its close proximity surround the fort walls. Within the town are fine buildings the most prominent amongst which is the palace. Atop the palace waft flags of different colours. On the walls of some of the houses are found paintings which are very good to look at. There are many commercial streets in this town with an array of shops displaying costly goods. At some of the squares of the town fountains have been built from which water springs giving a pleasing experience. There are plenty of peacocks and pigeons here. The temples of this place are lofty and finely built. On the pillars of these temples are carved fine images. After “Bingrul” was taken from “Kimpa Gounda” it was given as a gift to brave Shahji Raje by Ranadullah Khan. The Raje, thereafter, resided at this place with his family, retinue and troops.⁶²

Bangalore saw much of military activity under Shahji. During a later campaign of the Bijapur rulers, Shahji was arrested on 25th July, 1648 by the Bijapur command Mustafa Khan who suspected him of foul play and siding with Śri Ranga Rāya of Vijayanagara.⁶³ Shahji was later released within two months but he had to surrender the forts of Kondana, Bangalore and Kandarpi. However, according to Hasan who quotes from ‘*Jedhe Sakhavali*’, a Marathi chronicle, Bangalore was bestowed on Shahji as a personal *jāgir* in order to meet his expenses for another expedition to Karnatak. Shahji’s was now administrating over Bangalore, Hos(a)kōtē, Ballapur, Sidlaghatta and Kōlār provinces. He was appointed the Governor of Bangalore *Suba* and during this time he brought in a new revenue system based on that of the Bahmani kingdom, and patronized art, literature and culture.⁶⁴ Hasan refers to R. P. Patwardhan and H. G. Rawlinson’s *Source Book of Maratha History*⁶⁵ for this information, and informs that ‘Radha Madhava Vilasa’, a *champu*, a form of poetry, in Sanskrit was composed by Jayarama Pandye during this period. This was made public in 1922 through the efforts of V. K. Rajawade. In this, the poet narrates that he had to solve a great many riddles posed by Shahji in his ‘Gowri Vilasa’ hall in his palace before the king was convinced of his knowledge and artistry. Hasan states that the hall might be Kempē Gowḍa’s hall of audience and that this palace seems to have been in the area occupied by Ahmed Buildings opposite the ‘Anand Bhavan’ hotel in Chikka-Pēṭē.⁶⁶ Marāṭha Brahmins migrated here and held offices with names such as the Kulkarni, Dēshmukh, Dēshpānde etc., as also offices with Persian names Kunango, Shristedar, Darōga etc. He died at the age of 70 years when thrown off his horse in a battle in Malnāḍ in 1664 AD. His tomb was discovered near Hodigerē in Shimoga District, Karnataka State. The Bijapur kingdom was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1686 AD.

In the intervening period that stretches from the period of Shahji’s death and the Mughal conquest are a tale of two brothers and the ambitions of a clever king. The brothers are Shahji’s sons Shivāji (from his first wife Jija Bai) and Venkōji/ Venkāji/ Ēkōji (from his second

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid. (‘Mohammed Nama’ as quoted by Hasan).

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 32.

⁶⁵ R. P. Patwardhan and H. G. Rawlinson, *Source Book of Maratha History* (Kolkata: K. P. Baghchi and Company, 1978).

⁶⁶ Hasan, p. 33.

wife Tuka Bāi Mōhitē). By a twist of fate the personal *jāgir* of Shahji, Bangalore had passed onto his second son, Venkōji with Raghunarāyaṇ Hanumanthē acting as his guardian. His legitimacy was accepted by Bijapur. With the death of Shahji, Venkōji turned indulgent and decadent. This caused Hanumanthē to take refuge with Shivāji. Shivāji had established his Marāṭha kingdom in the north. Venkōji, after investing Tanjore, had shifted his capital from Bangalore to Tanjore and had entered into negotiations with the ruler of Mysore, Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar for the sale of Bangalore to the latter.⁶⁷ This was a practical arrangement for both rulers. Geographic location and distance made it impossible for Venkōji to look after the affairs of Bangalore. The Mysore ruler was keen to purchase it as that would secure a fortified buffer towards the north for his kingdom. However, this news when conveyed by Hanumanthē alarmed Shivāji who seems to have been attached to the city owing to the fact that he spent his childhood here until he was about 12 years old and also because it was his father's personal *jāgir* which meant it was his inheritance too.⁶⁸ Shivāji chose to take an expedition to the south. After defeating Bahaddur Khan, Mughal subedar in the Deccan, he tried to negotiate for his inheritance with Venkōji. When the latter was unrelenting, Shivāji took Bangalore along with other areas in a military action. This was later bestowed upon Venkōji's wife Deepa Bai by Shivāji as part of a treaty. Hasan presents recordings of Shivāji by a Jesuit missionary Father Martin, *Source Book of Marāṭha History* by H G Rawlinson, *Foreign Biographers* and *Siva Chhatrapati*⁶⁹ by Surendra Nath Sen for a detailed account of this period.⁷⁰ At this point Bangalore yielded revenue of 2, 00,000 barai along with Hoskōṭē and Sidlaghaṭṭa. This was to be Deepa Bai's *chōli-bangdi* i.e., her pocket money.

This account of Marāṭha history in the pages of Bangalore, albeit subservient to the Bijapur Sultanate, assumes significance in order to understand the aggressive escapades of Marāṭhas to retake Bangalore from Mysore Kingdom. They were finally repelled by Hyder Ali of Mysore.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 38.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Surendra Nath Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati* (Kolkata: University of Calcutta, 1920).

⁷⁰ Hasan, pp. 36-46.

1.3 The Mughals

1687 to 1690 AD

After the death of Shivāji in 1680 AD, Venkōji accepted the suzerainty of Mohammed Adil Shah of Bijapur once more. He assisted the Bijapur ruler against Aurangzeb (r. 1658 – 1707 AD), the Mughal ruler, in 1686 AD. Hindu religious establishments such as the Kādu Malleshwara temple enjoyed royal patronage during his rule. Based on a 1669 AD inscription, Annaswamy credits Venkōji with bestowing a grant of Mādara Ningannahalli as *mānya* (honour) for the God Mallikarjuna (Shiva) of Mallapura.⁷¹ This is the present Kādu Malleshwara temple located in Malleshwaram, Bangalore. Khasim Khan, one of the Mughal ruler's able generals, marched onto Bangalore during the siege of Golconda by the Mughal army and invested it from Venkōji's garrison in 1687 AD. During this period, Venkōji was again in negotiation with the Mysore Ruler for the sale of Bangalore. The Mughal army was stationed here for three years. The Mughal army shifted its base from Bangalore to Sira in 1690 AD under Khasim Khan's leadership. At this time, Bangalore was sold to Chikka Dēva Rāja Wodeyar of Mysore for a sum of 3,00,000 Rupees.

⁷¹ T. V. Annaswamy, *Bengaluru to Bangalore* (Bangalore: Vengadam Publications, 2003) p. 147.

1.4 The Woḍeyars

1690 to 1759 AD

Bangalore's tryst with the Woḍeyars begins with the coming of Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar (r. 1673 AD – 1704 AD). The negotiation for its purchase, initiated at first with Venkōji, was renewed with the Mughals who now occupied the town. Mark Wilks asserts that the Mughal occupation of Bangalore lasted for four days only and that it was 'delivered' to Chikka Dēva Rāja in July, 1687 AD.⁷² This is repeated by Rice⁷³ verbatim without quotes. We might suppose that this was allowed as a policy by the British Residency since both were its own publications. However, that the Mughal occupation of Bangalore lasted for four days only is factually incorrect. Hasan traces the movements of Rāja Rām, second son of Shivāji, through *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, Aurangzeb's court chronicle (Aurangzeb was also addressed as Alamgir; r. 1658 AD – 1707 AD), for precise year of the purchase. Rāja Rām, Regent to Marāṭha throne, fled from Raighar to Gingee disguised as pilgrims avoiding the Mughal army on foot accompanied by a few faithful from the Marāṭha army. This party reached Bangalore in 1690 AD while Khasim Khan was still in charge. This comes to light since based on the fact that the locals who observed that the party was showing subservience to Rāja Rām doubted them to be pilgrims and informed the *Muslim* Commandant. Rāja Rām, escaped again thanks to the Commander of Marāṭha army accompanying them, Khando Ballal Chitnis, who understood Kannada and advised him to depart early and in two groups while a third group along with Chitnis remained in Bangalore and asserted their 'innocence.' The ploy worked and Rāja Rām was saved. The whole event though throws light on the extent of Mughal occupancy of Bangalore.

Khasim Khan was appointed Governor of the Mughal Province in the Karnatak by Aurangzeb in April 1690 AD, with Sira as its capital. Hence, he shifted to Sira while selling Bangalore to an eager Chikka Dēva Rāja with whom he had developed friendly relations. The Mughals saw this as a way to check the Marāṭhas by forming an alliance with the Mysore ruler. Upon the death of Khasim Khan in 1696 AD, who committed suicide following defeat at the hands of Marāṭhas, Chikka Dēva Rāja took upon himself the task of strengthening ties with the Mughal ruler Aurangzeb and sent ambassadors to the imperial court at Ahmednagar. Aurangzeb is said to have gifted an ivory throne besides several insignia to the Mysore king along with the title "*Jug Deo Raj*"⁷⁴ which translates into 'sovereign of the world.' These

⁷² Col. Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore*, first published in 1810, Reprint, 2 vols (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989) Vol. I, pp. 110-111.

⁷³ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, 2 vols (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 25.

For example the sentences – "But the negotiation having been long protracted had become a matter of notoriety, and attracted the attention of Harji (Harjee by Wilks) Raja, the Mahratta commander-in-chief at S'enji (Gingee), and of Aurangzeb(Aurungzebe), who had just raised the siege of Golkonda ... These powers, entertaining a high opinion of the importance of Bangalore, sent each a detachment from their (those) distant and opposite stations to anticipate the Raja of Mysore (Mysoor)."

⁷⁴ M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries* (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970) p. 67.

insignia were taken in a procession through the town and displaced at the Sri Ranga temple in Śrirangapaṭṇa. M. Hammick while editing Wilks' *History of Mysore* in 1930 AD acknowledges that this throne might have been sent by Aurangzeb and that the original structure was made out of fig wood overlaid with ivory. He mentions in relation "the local legend that this throne was found buried at Penukonda by the founders of Vijayanagara, and subsequently handed over to the Mysore Rājas."⁷⁵ The English upon their victory over Tipu Sultan found it in Śrirangapaṭṇa and restored it to the Woḍeyars. The throne was then plated with gold and silver, and gems, and adorned with figures from Hindu mythology. It is now called '*ratna simhasana*' (throne of gems), and continues to be used by Srikantadatta Narasimharāja Woḍeyar, present scion of the Woḍeyar dynasty, in the Mysore palace during the *Dasara* (festival of nine days, also called *Navarātri*, usually celebrated in the month of October) State festival (fig. 1.4.1).

After purchasing Bangalore from the Mughals, Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar is said to have improved the place, built a massive fort and a shopping street, and also appointed capable officers for the administration of the fort.⁷⁶ An inscription of Kanṭṭeerava Narasa Rāja Woḍeyar II, Chikka Dēva Rāja's son, which clearly states that the latter built a temple within the fort and dedicated it to Lord Venkatēshwara, and that the son made a substantial endowment of entire revenue from various villages for its maintenance.⁷⁷ This is the temple (fig. 1.4.2, fig. 1.4.3) adjoining the remaining portions of the Tipu's Palace, also called *Kōṭē* (Fort) Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple (more in chapter 3.1).

Hasan recognizes the foresight of Chikka Dēva Rāja in turning Bangalore, along with hill fortresses of Sāvanadurga and Dēvarāyanadurga, into a 'first line of defence' against hostile armies from the North, particularly Marāṭhas. This strategy gave the king time to organize a strong defence and also kept Mysore and Śrirangapaṭṇa safer than before. Bangalore, which saw some military activity during Marāṭha and Mughal occupation now realized its potential as a defence citadel in addition to that of a mercantile Pēṭē. The subject and ownership of this fort is discussed in Section 3.2.

The Mughal administrative methods of public offices, the *Attara Cutcherries* came into existence in Bangalore under Chikka Dēva Rāja's rule as a direct result of the ruler's proximity to the Imperial court. Beside military strategy and victories, Chikka Dēva Rāja is also known as a great patron of Kannada literature. Not only did he patronize production of much literary works by learned men in his Court, he was himself the author of many works in Kannada and Sanskrit.⁷⁸ After Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar's death, Mysore was ruled by Narasa Rāja Woḍeyar II during 1704 – 1714 AD, Doḍḍa Krishna Rāja Woḍeyar during 1714 - 1732 AD, Chāma Rāja Woḍeyar VII during 1732 – 1734 AD, and Immaḍi Krishna Rāja

⁷⁵ Col. Mark Wilks, Vol.I, pp. 118-119. Reference is from a footnote added by Murray Hammick in his capacity as the Editor.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 70. Hasan refers to Vol. II of 'The Annals of the Mysore Royal Family' for substantiation.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 63.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 67-68.

Wodeyar during 1734 – 1766 AD. The Nawab of Arcot, Sādatullah Khan I (1710 – 1732 AD) raided Mysore in this period and was paid 1,00,00,000 rupees levy. Thereafter the Nawab and the Marāṭhas attacked Mysore successively taking away all money in the treasury and a considerable portion of Mysore territory. Mysore, which was constantly under siege by hostile forces, was rescued from harassment by Hyder Ali. Hyder was the *Faujdār* (Urdu word meaning Commander of garrison) of Didigul in the Mysore Army at the time. Hyder Ali Khan was bestowed the personal *jāgir* of Bangalore by the Rāja/ king of Mysore for putting an end to the Marāṭha menace in 1759 AD.



Fig. 1.4.1 Srikantadatta Wodeyar of Mysore seated on the Ratna Simhasana, Wikipedia image



Fig. 1.4.2 Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple, Front View

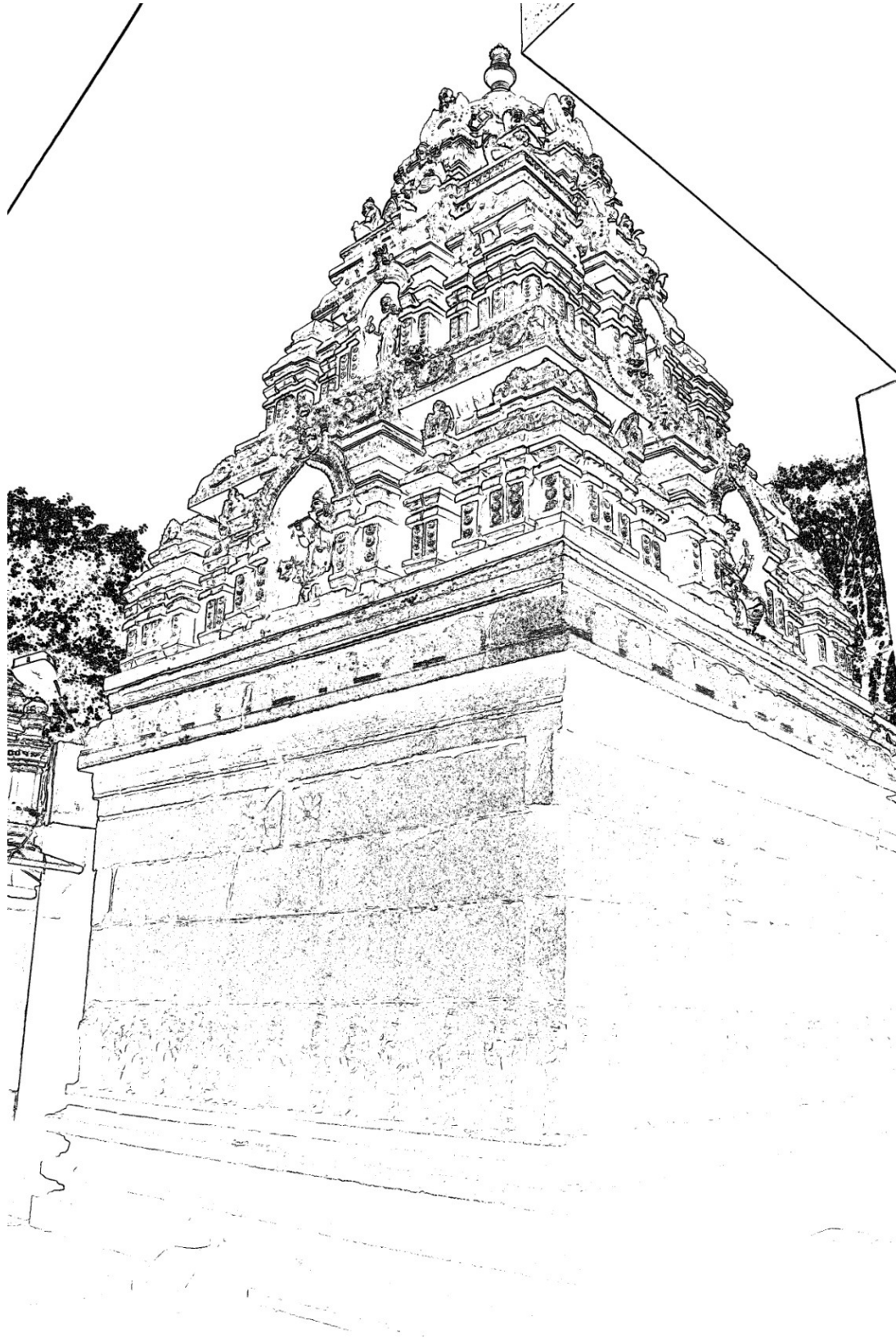


Fig. 1.4.3 Digitally rendered drawing by Author; source - photograph by self of the Vimāna of the Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple

1.5 Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan

1761 – 1799 AD

Hyder Ali was accorded great honour in the *Durbār* (royal court) of Immaḍi Krishna Rāja Woḍeyar. Not only was he granted the Fort of Bangalore and its environs as personal *jāgir*, meaning property; he was also conferred with the title '*Fatah Hyder Bahaddur*.' In repealing the attack of Marāṭhas led by Gopal Rao Patwardhan and Ananda Rao Raste on the instructions of Peshwa Balaji Rao, he had rid Mysore of enduring harassment by Marāṭhas as well as saved the wealth of the treasury. For until this victory, Mysore, under Doḍḍa Krishna Rāja Woḍeyar I's rule was forced to pay the Nawab of Arcot, Sādatullah Khan I a payment of 1,00,00,000 rupees as mentioned in Section 1.4. Two years after this, the Rāja was forced to pay off the Marāṭhas. This was followed by raids by Nāsir Jung, (r. as Subedar of Aurangabad 1745 – 1746 AD, as Nizam of Hyderabad 1748 – 1750 AD) in 1746 AD and later by Saḷa bat Jung (Nizam of Hyderabad 1751 – 1762 AD) in 1755 AD. Saḷa bat was accompanied by a French contingent led by General Bussy; he was paid 56,00,000 rupees. Peshwa Bālaji Rao (Peshwa to Maratha rulers Chhatrapati Shahu and Rajaram II between 1740 – 1761 AD) then led siege to Śrirangapaṭṇa demanding arrears of tribute of about 32,00,000 Rupees. With the treasury reduced to a meagre sum of 5,00,000 (5 lakhs) of rupees, the taluks of *Nāgamangala*, *Bellur*, *Bānavāra*, *Kadūr*, *Tumkūr*, *Chikkanāyakanahalli*, *Huliyūrdurga* and nine others were pledged to the Marāṭhas. When they returned for payment in 1759 AD, Hyder unleashed terror on the Marāṭha army for a period of three months with attacks by night until they were forced to retire.⁷⁹

During the first year of his reign in Bangalore, Hyder Ali was instrumental in getting the Oval Fort which was constructed in mud by Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar (fig. 1.5.1 and fig. 1.5.2), re-built entirely in stone around 1761 AD and enlarged. We can observe in fig. 1.5.1 the northern part of the Oval Fort and its connectivity to the Pēṭē, as well as get an understanding of the type of residential and other buildings of the Pēṭē itself elaborated later on in Chapter 2.1. Ibrahim Khan, Hyder Ali's uncle, who was the Khilledar of Bangalore, carried this out. He was Hyder Ali's uncle (his mother's brother), and the person who gave shelter to Hyder Ali's mother and her two sons upon her husband's death in 1729 AD. Hyder Ali was then seven years old. The north gate of the fort is called the Delhi gate by British historians and the south, the Mysore gate. These were strengthened with outer works and ramparts. Hyder Ali built a mausoleum for his uncle, close to the mosque built by the latter in Kumbāra-Pēṭē upon his death.⁸⁰

During his reign followed by his son, Bangalore witnessed much military activity. Hyder along with Karāchuri Nanjaiah, the Dalavoy of Mysore and the army went as assistance to Nāsir Jung, Subedar of Deccan for his expedition against the Nawab of Arcot. Nāsir Jung betrayed the Mysore Army. However, as a result of this expedition he visited Pondicherry,

⁷⁹ M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries* (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970) pp. 78-95.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

and was able to observe the organization and skills of the French army. This helped him re-organize the Mysore army and score much success against the English in the coming Mysore wars (further details in Section 1.6). Hyder used the service of French mercenary soldiers to train his army. He further established a foundry in the Bangalore Fort which manufactured brass cannon and other military equipment and built magazines and stores in for both grain and gunpowder.⁸¹ Tipu is credited with the invention of the ‘rocket’ which was manufactured in Tāramaṇḍala- Pēṭē as discussed in Section 1.3. This had a range of about 1000 yards. Hyder commenced the construction of the palace next to Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple in the fort that goes by the name of Tipu. The construction was completed by Tipu.

Hyder Ali soon became the de-facto ruler of Mysore in April 1766 AD when the ruling Immaḍi Krishna Rāja Woḍeyar died.⁸² He was succeeded by Nanja Rāja Woḍeyar who was 18 at the time. Nanja Rāja Woḍeyar was put under house arrest and their cash and valuables plundered. Hyder had him strangled in his bath when he was 23 years old since he had made communications to counter Hyder. His brother Beṭṭada Chāma Rāja Woḍeyar VII succeeded him in 1770 AD. He died in 1776 AD. Khāsa Chāma Rāja Woḍeyar VIII was selected to succeed him amongst children from different branches of the Woḍeyar family since no direct lineal male child existed; he ruled from 1776 – 1796 AD. However, Hyder and Tipu held administrative power of the Mysore Kingdom until 1799 AD. It has been written by foreign historians that Hyder and Tipu were very intolerant to the Hindu majority and committed great crimes against them including coercion to convert to Islam, dismantling of temples etc., Hasan takes the view that this might not be entirely correct. He asserts that though Hyder and Tipu usurped power from the Mysore Rāja, the former possessed a more secular outlook, though same cannot be said of Tipu.⁸³ Of Hyder, Hasan follows Rice in quoting Schwartz, a German missionary, Emissary of Sir Thomas Rumboldt, Governor of Madras: – “What religion people profess or whether they profess any at all that is perfectly indifferent to him. He has none himself and leaves everyone to his choice.”⁸⁴ However, when the Śringēri Shankara Mutt was attacked by Parasuram Bhau, the Maraṭha General, Tipu sent a substantial amount to sanctify and feed Brahmins, writing to the Guru of Śringēri Muṭṭ consoling him.⁸⁵ The Maraṭhas had pulled away the idol of Goddess Shārada (Saraswathi). The duo are said to have done benevolent deeds towards temple at Melkōte, Nanjangūd and Śrirangapaṭṇa. This gesture was perhaps done as a reassurance to the

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Col. Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore*, first published in 1810, Reprint, two volumes (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989) Vol. I, pp. 537, 704 – 705.

⁸³ Hasan, p. 93.

Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, 2 vols (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 397.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Hasan, p.72

majority Hindu populace. Also, Hyder commenced building his palace adjacent to the Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple in the Fort.

Hyder and Tipu share between them nearly four decades of rule over Mysore, most of which was spent in military exploits. Much of these exploits being beyond the scope of this study are not discussed here. The Third War of Mysore is discussed in the next chapter as it has a direct bearing on the affairs of Bangalore. The pretence of acting under the command of the Mysore Rāja continued with due appointment of successors, they were also seen on the throne during the Dasara festivities, an annual feature from the time of Rāja Woḍeyar. Hyder died in a military encampment on 7th December 1782 AD with his health deteriorating as he had been suffering from an abscess/ cancer on his back. His mausoleum (fig. 1.5.3) is in Śrirangapaṭṇa in the place of what was once Lāl Bāgh garden near his palace there. While the Daria Daulat (Bāgh) Palace, built on similar lines as the Tipu's Palace in Bangalore though a bit more elaborate in gilded art and ornamentation of wood work is still standing, the Lāl Bāgh palace is in ruins (fig. 1.5.4).

Tipu gave up the practice of appointing a successor to the Rāja and assumed all power, including using the throne of the Mysore Rāja when the incumbent Khāsa Chama Rāja Woḍeyar VII died of small pox in 1796 AD. He put the Woḍeyar family in house arrest in a small accommodation and stripped the palace of all wealth. His revision of system of governance and introduction of Persian names and language for State gave cause to much aversion amongst the people. However, he stuck to Chikka Dēva Rāja's revenue system, while claiming it under his name.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Rice, Vol. I, pp. 408-410.



Fig. 1.5.1 Photograph of Fort dated about 1855 AD by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 254/3(65)



Fig. 1.5.2 Photograph dated 1860 AD by Nicholas Bros showing Oval Fort Bastions and surrounding moat, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 394/(86)



Fig. 1.5.3 Hyder's mausoleum, Śrirangapaṭṇa where both Hyder and Tipu are buried



Fig. 1.5.4 Lāl Bāgh palace in Śrirangapaṭṇa, now in ruins

1.6 The Mysore Wars

Conflict between East India Company and Hyder Ali, and subsequently with Tipu Sultan

The Treaty of Paris also known alternately as Peace of Paris and Treaty of 1763 was signed on 10th February 1763 between Great Britain, France, Spain, concluding hostilities between them over possessions in the American continents; Portugal being party to same. Part of the agreement between Great Britain and France included a mutual restoration of territories in India, recognition of British rule by the French in territories such as Bengal. France could maintain neither troops nor build forts in Bengal; this weakened their military presence in the Indian sub-continent. Additionally, the Nawab of Arcot, Mohammad Ali Khan Wala-jah (r. 1749 – 1795 AD), an ally of the East India Company, who was hostile to Mysore was recognized as the Subedar of Deccan. Mohammad Ali put claims on Mysore territory and thus began the First War of Mysore (1767-1769 AD). The Nizam of Hyderabad betrayed Hyder. In spite of reverses Hyder Ali prevailed and drove the invaders right to the gates of Madras. The first war was concluded with the Treaty of Madras. The Second Mysore War (1780-1783 AD) was a united effort by rulers of Poona, Mysore and Hyderabad against East India Company. Bangalore, at the time, was home to 45,000 cavalry, 30,000 infantry and 10,000 *pālēgār* on foot and 100 big guns imported from France. There is an account of mass prayers held at Hindu and Muslim religious places for victory. Hyder Ali, in his time, avoided direct conflict with the British; instead he chose to thwart the enemy by isolating the various camps. Col. Baillie was defeated in the Battle of Polilore, though the conclusiveness of the battle is contested, Baillie was then detained at Śrirangapaṭṇa in a dungeon in the Fort (fig 2). Arcot was taken by Hyder along with Wandiwash, Vellōre, Ambūr, Permakol, Chengalpēṭ(ē); these actions threatened Madras.

Hyder Ali died in the midst of his campaign. Pressures from Marāṭhas and the Nizam including the efforts of the two peace commissioners of Lord McCartney, Governor of Madras brought the war to an end by the treaty of Mangalore with Tipu Sultan. Hyder had successfully contained the Marāṭhas and Peshwa Madhava Rao. The Marāṭhas who considered themselves as successors to the Bijapur kingdom and sovereign rulers of the lands that formerly belonged to Bijapur had by virtue of authority from the Mughal Emperor campaigned against Mysore and collected levy/ *chowth*. Eight years of peace prevailed. The East India Company was vigilant about Tipu during this period. Tipu however had no time to effectively re-organize his army or keep pace with military science developments in Europe due to constant engagement of his attention by Marāṭhas, Nizam of Hyderabad, insurgency in Coorg and Malabar. This worked to the Company's advantage. Mysore and the Company engaged in four wars in total. The latter learnt of Tipu's dispatch of embassies to Turkey and France to obtain aid (see chapter 3.2). Tipu also attacked Travancore, the Rāja of Travancore, who was an ally of the East India Company. Thus began the Third Mysore War in 1790 AD which forever changed the fate of Bangalore. Hasan describes the war at length

in his book.⁸⁷ Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General of Madras, managed to secure Marāṭha and the Nizam of Hyderabad in a military alliance against Tipu. He was not satisfied with the commander-in-chief of the Madras Army General Meadows' efforts as he was slow in progress while Tipu invaded the Carnatic (southern States of India). He now took the command of the army himself and had maps of Mysore prepared with the aid of intelligence officers and carefully planned his attack on Bangalore.

Dilip da Cunha and Anuradha Mathur give a detailed account of route surveying methods pertaining to peninsular India and inlands facilitated by East India Company route surveyors for military rather than mercantile purpose. Not only did they produce nearly accurate maps using compass and perambulators (wheels of 6'0" - 7'0" in diameter),⁸⁸ they supplemented them with line drawings and water colours. These archival records giving visual documentation of life in the 1790s are important resource material supplementing our understanding of the city and its environs at the time. In the course of his rise from soldier to ruler, Hyder Ali emerged as the defender of the last standing country in the peninsular against the Company. Thereafter, Tipu Sultan continued to give the Company a cause for worry with his marches in the Carnatic. Eventually, Major Alexander Beatson, head of Corps of Guides under the leadership of Lord Cornwallis conducted a number of sketch surveys from 1777 AD in order to enable them to get on to the elevated Mysore land (Balaghat) from land below the passes (Payenghat) avoiding hill fortresses. Mathur and Da Cunha explain the terrain as follows:-

The word, ghats, is today popularly understood as the hill ranges along the east and west coast – the Eastern and Western Ghats. However, route surveyors in the 1700s found that it referred as much to the passes through which the interior was accessed. The ambiguity of a threshold – divider and unifier – captures the frontier-like milieu of route surveyors in the Carnatic. Their skill would be tested here between the Payenghat – land below the passes – and the Balaghat – land above the passes.⁸⁹

Lord Cornwallis used the Moogly Pass, on benefit of these surveys, a six miles trek to enter this land from the north while diverting Tipu to the South by planting false intelligence. The British Army first invested the old fort of Pēṭē breaching the Halasūr Gate driving away the Mysoreans and planned attacks on the oval Fort from there. This was through 7th and 8th of March 1791. Pēṭē could not be recovered by Tipu's gallant army. Hasan relates that Lord Cornwallis mounted an offensive on the oval Fort in the midnight of 21st March 1791, and was supported by intelligence from men in the Sultan's employ (Section 2.1 includes a map of Bangalore Pēṭē and oval Fort drawn by Robert Home showing the plan of the attack on the Fort using strategic positions in the Pēṭē).⁹⁰ The two Khilledars of the Fort died fighting. Hasan quotes Kirmani, the author of *Nishān-e-Haidari*, referring to the hardship faced by the

⁸⁷ M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries* (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970) pp. 96 – 111.

⁸⁸ Anuradha Mathur and Dilip Da Cunha, *'Deccan Traverses - The Making of Bangalore's Terrain'*, First Edition (New Delhi, Rupa & Co, 2006), pp. 14-17.

⁸⁹ Mathur and Cunha, pp. 14-17.

(They refer James Renell, *Memoir of a Map of the Peninsula of India*, (London: W. Bulmer and Co. 1793).

⁹⁰ Hasan, p. 105.

civilians during the plunder of their property by the victors.⁹¹ Few graves that exist today from the large litter of graves converted to dargahs are the result of this war and are known to be that of '*shahid's*', a term for martyrs in war.⁹²

Śrirangapaṭṇa was taken by Gen. Wellesley in 1799 AD where Tipu finally fell (fig. 1.6.1). Col. Baillie and Sir David Baird who were prisoners of war from the Battle of Polilore, the former held in the dungeons (fig. 1.6.2) at Śrirangapaṭṇa and latter in Bangalore (see Section 3.2), led this assault.⁹³ A pictorial account of the Battle of Polilore is presented as a mural on the walls of the Daria Daulat Palace at Śrirangapaṭṇa. The British army restored the territories of Bangalore to the Mysore king Chama Rāja Woḍeyar VII. It also transferred Śrirangapaṭṇa to Mysore on the payment of 50,000 Rupees annually to the Madras Government which Mysore did even though it burdened the exchequer until the end of 1861 AD. The Company which was stationed at Śrirangapaṭṇa until 1809 AD moved to Bangalore in favour of the weather and established a cantonment there towards the north of the Pēṭē with the permission of the Mysore Durbār. This soon grew to house officers and their families and shopping streets and formed into a City-State. The British Commission wrested power from the Mysore King during 1831-1861 AD, the reign of Krishna Rāja Woḍeyar III, although this was challenged by the latter in Court and his power restored. Bangalore became the capital state from which the British Commission administrated the kingdom. They improved sanitary layouts in the old town and added many extensions in the Cantonment area. Colonial bungalows with pediments and public offices buildings and parks came up. Sir Mark Cubbon, C. B. Saunders and Lewin B. Bowring are remembered for their administrative services. The Cantonment and the Pēṭē were under two municipal boards until 1949 AD after which they were merged. Many later extensions and improvements saw Bangalore turning into the Capital city of the new State of Karnataka after the Independence of India.

⁹¹ Hasan, p. 102.

⁹² Hasan, p. 111.

⁹³ Hasan, p. 119.



Fig. 1.6.1 Place where Tipu finally fell at Śrirangapaṭṇa



Fig. 1.6.2 Col. Baillie's dungeon, Śrirangapaṭṇa

Conclusion to Chapter 1

This chapter works to provide a historical, political and social backdrop to the inception and development of Bangalore. Bangalore was founded by Kempē Gowḍa I in the year 1537 AD as discussed in this chapter. The Gowḍas hold sway until its investment by the Bijapur Army under the command of Ranadullah Khan in 1638 AD. Bangalore which is then handed over to Shahji Bhonsley, a Marāṭha and second-in-command to Ranadullah Khan, comes under Marāṭha rule which lasts until 1687 AD until the capture of the city by the Mughal Army in 1687 AD. The Mughal Army under the command of Khasim Khan occupied Bangalore until 1690 AD when the city was sold to Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar. Khasim Khan retired to Sira as the Governor of Mughal Province in the Deccan. From this time Bangalore remains under the rule of the Mysore State, though it was administered by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan for over three decades (1761 – 1799 AD).

The chapter details the rapid changes of rulers and the manner in which it affected the city as well as establishment of new religious nodes. It also explains patronage of the town and of important buildings of the town that have survived. An attempt to read the city without these tools would be not only incomplete, but also devoid of relevance and links. For example, it is Kempē Gowḍa I's deep religious beliefs and efficient economic governance explained in Section 1.1 that manifested in the patronage of large temples and tanks. The zoning method which was based on segregation different groups of people with an emphasis on their trade, employed by him, is discussed broadly in Section 2.1.

The contention made earlier that every political change brought about a similar effect in the function of the city is validated through this chapter. The idea is explained in the introduction to this research where I discuss the change in primary function of the city from mercantile to that of defence. This is further explained in the study of the oval Fort. This Fort, built after a smaller one constructed by Kempē Gowḍa I, was built by Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar as explained in Section 1.4. It was further re-built in stone and strengthened primarily due to the focus on military training during Hyder Ali's rule as explained in Section 1.5 (see Sections 2.2 and 3.3).

It can also be observed from a study of this chapter that this affected a social change that led to a change in built-form, like the Sangeen Jama masjid that came up during Mughal occupation of the city (see Section 3.2) and introduction of Muslim populace whereas earlier temples were the socio-religious focal nodes.

Whereas Bangalore was not the founder's capital city, it gradually grew in importance partly due to its location and surroundings as well as convenience of trade in secure environment. The layout of the city and its architecture is discussed respectively in later Chapters 2 and 3. Initially planned as a hub of commerce with a defensive structure by Kempē Gowḍa I, its strategic location turned it into a military capital. This began with its investment first by

Bijapur military, and later by the Mughals. However, the finale was achieved under Chikka Dēva Rāja Wodeyar, when he purchased it to use it as a first line of defence to capital city of Mysore.⁹⁴ His vision was strengthened later on by Hyder Ali's endeavours. Tipu continued to use it both for commerce, and increased military training.

⁹⁴ M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries* (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970) p. 70.

Chapter 2

Town Planning and Settlement Patterns

List of topics

Introduction to Chapter 2	p. 65
2.1 Organization of the Pētē	p. 67
2.2 The Military Aspect – Establishment of the Oval Fort	p. 94
2.3 Other Forts and their Layouts	p. 107
2.4 A meeting of cultural practices	p. 124
2.5 Growth of the city and the City-State (Cantonment)	p. 133
Conclusion to Chapter 2	p. 137

Introduction to Chapter 2

In the preceding chapter, historical references have been given with respect to the establishment and growth of Bangalore. This chapter is a study of the town-planning and settlement patterns from 1537 AD to 1799 AD chiefly, though Section 2.5 gives leads to development thereafter. A detailed study of the town is presented in Section 2.1. Here the ‘place’ and ‘content’ are discussed where the latter is introduced as a categorisation of social classes but which is based on commodity of trade. An attempt has been made to draw on American urban planner, professor, and author, Kevin Lynch’s theory of *imageability* in order to understand the plan of the town, the Pēṭē using the five types of ‘elements’ – paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks he introduced to map contents of a city in *The Image of the City*.⁹⁵ The method of organisation of social classes around religious ‘nodes’ is discussed in Section 2.1 as well as man-made tank bunds and lakes are read as ‘nodes’ of utility. Such religious nodes form later landmarks. Two major paths running north-south and east-west are emphasised, while extensions to these paths and outgrowth from there are used as markers for comparison while discussing the spatial growth of Bangalore. A concept of sub-Pēṭēs, smaller areas not unlike districts within the walled enclosure, is put forth while discussing the layout within. This concept develops around social and commercial classification of the space within the boundary edge of the Pēṭē.

Although we can read the city with these aids, a question arises as to the basis of such a layout. Some reasoning for the method can be found in medieval South-Indian texts such as the *Mānasāra* and *Māyamata*. However, whether these formed rules of reasoning for urban planning cannot be argued in absence of documentation to the effect.

The boundary edge of the Pēṭē makes an intersection with that of the Fort towards the south of the Pēṭē. Section 2.2 elaborates on the Fort and its form and layout, as well as its rise and decline which should be read with the background of history detailed in Chapter 1. Dagens, translating *Māyamata*, elaborates on the conditions set forth in the medieval text with relation to the form and layout of a city.⁹⁶ The boundary can be according to one of twelve layouts (listed in Section 2.1), while the shape can be square, circular, rectangular or elliptical. The shape of Bangalore Fort is elliptical or as it is later maintained in Section 2.2, oval. This boundary rampart is required to be ‘very big’ and ‘very high’ and impregnable. The Fort is to store a large quantity of artillery and food grains presumable to last out a siege. A moat is suggested, with a hidden path as means of escape. Such a path cannot be discerned in the present case. The walls of Bangalore Fort were heavily guarded with gates with stairway access as suggested and as was the case generally. More detailed is the description of doors to such gates, that they should be double-leaved with four bars, bolts

⁹⁵ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1960) pp. 46-48.

⁹⁶ Bruno Dagens, *Mayamatam*, Fourth Edition (New Delhi and Delhi, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2007) Vol. I, p. 99, p. 101.

and a cubit high clamp. The gateways have a hipped roof, one of the types mentioned in the text. The requirement of height being twice as width and conformity in present case is not always true. For example, the height at entrance of Delhi Gate is about 33'0" while the width is about 28'9" while the width of inner rampart reduces to about 17'0". The towers are to be well connected with a camp around the boundary and this can be discerned from Home's plan of Bangalore in the year 1791 AD. The condition of a well provided fort, with a palace within, resided in by people from diverse classes can be compared based on observations by Rice after Buchanan.⁹⁷

Section 2.3 presents other Forts from fifteenth to seventeenth centuries in the vicinity of the oval Fort of Bangalore, and in comparison to the latter. In Section 2.4, the festival of *Karaga* is studied with respect to the changes in the social fabric of the Pēṭē. Not only does this draw on a religious node, the Dharma-Rāya Swāmy temple, it also brings into focus the importance of lake nodes in religious settings and discusses the cultural link formed with another religious node, the Tawakkal Mastān *dargah*. Later changes in the two areas of Pēṭē and Fort, following the occupation of Bangalore by the British Army until independence, are discussed briefly in Section 2.5.

⁹⁷ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, 2 vols (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 46-48.

2.1 Organisation of the Pēṭē

Spiro Kostof⁹⁸ in *The City Assembled* elaborates on establishment of “the city edge”⁹⁹ and asserts that such delimitation “may precede settlement or follow it.”¹⁰⁰ A probable theory is that the founder of Bangalore set the course of delimitation of the Pēṭē (town) boundary prior to the settlement. Kostof acknowledges that this was a “solemn” event and that “plowing [ploughing] furrows where the city boundary is to be, after a ritual examination of the site, figures in both Indian and Etruscan traditions.”¹⁰¹ How then was such an event observed? Kostof refers *Mānasāra* for such details and various accounts by Rice, Hasan and Annaswamy which follow popular local version of the founding of Bangalore city concur. He states that “the *Mānasāra* instructs the architect in charge of the limitation procedures to meditate on the two oxen as the sun and the moon, on the plough as the boar-god (Vishnu) and on the builder as Brahma.”¹⁰²

Architecture of Town and Fort according to *Mānasāra*¹⁰³ and *Māyamata*¹⁰⁴

Bangalore Pēṭē was organized in a mud fort in an elliptical shape with a ratio of 1:2 (fig.2.1.2, fig. 2.1.9), and is believed to have been laid by historians like Hasan according to treatises of medieval period *Mānasāra* and *Māyamata* by Kempē Gowḍa I¹⁰⁵ (see Section 1.1), a feudatory ruler/ *pālēgār*, with the permission of the Vijayanagara Emperor in 1537 AD. He could be called the ‘architect of the town.’

While the development of Bangalore is some centuries later than the classical Indian canonical texts on architecture and town planning, traditional South-Indian texts such as the *Mānasāra* and *Māyamata* do seem to shed light on ways of city building that persisted in this region. Prasanna Kumar Acharya explains that the canonical architectural text called *Mānasāra* classifies villages, towns and forts in a similar way. He asserts that this was probably written during the same time as *Brihat – Samhita* of Varahamihira of Gupta

⁹⁸ Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2005).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.11.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, Manasara Series Vol. II, Second Edition (New Delhi, Munshiram Manharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1996), pp. 34 – 40.

¹⁰⁴ Bruno Dagens, *Mayamatam*, Fourth Edition (New Delhi and Delhi, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2007) Vol. I.

¹⁰⁵ M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore through the centuries*, First Edition (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970), p. 2.

Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, Manasara Series Vol. II, pp. 34 – 40.

Dagens, *Mayamatam*, Vol I, pp. 89 – 111.

dynasty around 550 A.D.¹⁰⁶ However, present day scholarship is more inclined to agree with Dagens's dating of being between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁰⁷

In a plausible translation of Town planning described in *Mānasāra* and *Māyamata* to the plan of the Bangalore Pēṭē, one could relate the plan of the Pēṭē to a *nigama* type i.e., a town comprising traders or to a *paṭṭaṇa* which is also a *kharvata* (surrounded by mountains – hills in this case – and inhabited by people from all classes) or a *janastahanakhubja* (heavily populated). Dagens translates *paṭṭaṇa* as follows:-

A *paṭṭaṇa* is a town where products from other countries are to be found; it is inhabited by people of all classes; there are shops and an abundance of merchandise such as precious stones, grains, fine cloth and perfumes; it is situated by the sea and extends along the coast.¹⁰⁸

Bangalore Pēṭē conforms to most parts as a *kharvata* type, whether this is intentional on part of the founder cannot be confirmed due to non-availability of (factual) documentation of the time. Dagens following *Māyamata* mentions a class (type of classification) called *sēnamukha*. This is “a place where people of all classes are mixed; it contains a royal palace and is provided with a well fortified garrison.”¹⁰⁹ This can be applied to Bangalore taking Pēṭē and Fort as being planned simultaneously by Kempē Gowḍa I. However, in the manner of street layouts, Bangalore corresponds to *kartāri-daṇḍaka* plan in which a major street running east-west crosses another major street “coming from the north.”¹¹⁰ Figure 2.1.1 is a diagram drawn by Bruno Dagens in his work, *Mayamatam*, in which he has translated and edited the Sanskrit text of *Māyamata*. Most of the layouts start with Brahma at the centre and squares or pāda of relevant deities all around enclosed in a bigger Maṇḍala square. In this figure, a chariot path or *maṇḍalavīthi* is assumed all around marking the periphery of the town/ city, with “houses of merchants on its inner side.”¹¹¹ The organisation of various commodities in this figure corresponds with that of the Pēṭē. For example, Akki-Pēṭē is situated in north-west side in the Pēṭē where rice was sold, this in the place allocated as shown in fig. 2.1.1. Same applies to Araḷē-Pēṭē in which cotton was sold situated south-west to Brahma (centre). This is true of the most of the other sub-Pēṭēs. Iron-mongers, potters etc are distributed in the eastern section of the town. We come across eight gates specified in the layout as well as four sewage disposal outlets. The number of gates, eight, mentioned in the diagram correspond to the number of gates in the mud fort of Bangalore Pēṭē.

The definition of a town is expressed as follows by Acharya in his interpretations of the *Mānasāra*:-¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ Acharya, ‘Indian Architecture’, Manasara Series Vol. II, pp. 34 – 40.

¹⁰⁷ Dagens, ‘Mayamatam’, Vol. I, p. xiv.

¹⁰⁸ Dagens, ‘Mayamatam’, Vol. I, p. 95.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p.107.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.109.

¹¹² Acharya, ‘Indian Architecture’, Mānasāra Series Vol. II, pp. 34 – 40.

According to *Mānasāra*, there is not much difference between a village, a town and a fort. All are fortified places intended for the residence of people. A town is an extension of a village. A fort is in many cases nothing more than a fortified town, with this difference that a fort is principally meant for purposes of defence, while a village or a town is mainly intended for habitation.¹¹³

Following this definition, 'Forts' are classified into eight main types here. They are -

1. Shibira – A tent/camp/residence
2. Vāhini-mukha – Fortified city situated at the 'mouth' i.e., entrance of a water channel.
3. Sthāniya – A city/ a fortress founded by a king, inclusive of a royal palace and a large garrison, and comprised of 121 equal squares.
4. Droṇaka - A fortified city situated along a river-bank, if a town frequented by traders and comprising of all classes.
5. Samvidhdha or vardhaka – A fortified city which contains the residence of the freeholder Brahmins, is situated next to a large village and is itself furnished with a small village.
6. Kōlaka. This might be read as *kotmakolaka* of *Māyamata*, which is set inside a forest and inhabited by *colas* who are tribesman.¹¹⁴ Also, samvidhdha is called kōlaka when it contains the palace of a Maharāja in the centre.
7. Nigama – Town inhabited by traders and comprising a market, and according to *Māyamata* a town where all the four castes – *Brahmana*, *Kshatriya*, *Vaishya* and *Shudra* – or classes are present, and includes many artisans.
8. Skandhaavaara – Situated near a forested region or a river according to *Māyamata*, is heavily populated and houses a royal palace, next to which is a suburb of *Brahmins* and weavers.

Mānasāra further divides forts (*durgas*) into seven types based on location according to Acharya. However, according to *Māyamata*, which Dagens dates a little earlier than the *Mānasāra*, the previous classification refers to towns and following to forts (see Section 2.2 which elaborates on the oval Fort of Bangalore). They are:-

- a. Giri-durga – Mountain fort, on a high level and supplied by water, further classified in three ways depending on whether it is built on a mountain top, in the valley between mountains, or on the slope of the mountain. One can probably assume same applies to hill forts.
- b. Vana-durga – Forest fort, surrounded by thorny bushes/ cluster of trees/ forest.
- c. Jala-durga – Water fort, surrounded by sheets of water.
- d. Ratha-durga – Chariot fort.
- e. Deva-durga – God's fort, a divine or natural fort.
- f. Panka-durga – Marsh fort.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Dagens, '*Mayamatam*', Vol I, p. 97.

- g. Mishra-durga – Mixed fort, having both (a) and (b) characteristics.

The Pēṭē – Layout and Imagery

The elliptical town-fort of Bangalore called the Pēṭē encompassed what can be categorized as a number of ‘sub-Pēṭēs.’ I assert here that this organization was based on the idea of a mercantile arrangement of space inside the town, a system of zones based on type of trade of a particular commodity. Perhaps this was so in inception and what was observed later on a natural progression.

The town was laid along the two main arteries of the town from Doḍḍa-Pēṭē and Halasūr-Pēṭē running in north-south and east-west directions and either marked out from as Annaswamy asserts¹¹⁵ or intersected at the town square or *chowk* (fig.2.1.2, fig. 2.1.3).¹¹⁶ The north-south arterial road was the High-street¹¹⁷ (fig.2.1.4 and fig. 2.1.6 showing view of the street and southern ending of the street respectively from archival records from 18th century AD, fig.2.1.5 showing view of the street in 2007 AD), as observed by Rice in his time. He also states that this street separated “the two comprehensive divisions (residential and mercantile plausibly, see Table 1) of Dēshada-Pēṭē on the west from Nagārtha-Pēṭē on the east.”¹¹⁸ Figure 2.1.7, based on Survey of India’s map of 2005 AD, shows the main streets and other streets of importance in the Pēṭē area. The boundary limits were set by four watch towers by the founder’s son towards the four cardinal directions (North, South, East, and West). This mud fort, as shown in figure 2.1.6 and after Home’s drawing in figures 2.1.8 and 2.1.9, was surrounded by a soap-nut hedge, a deep ditch (fig. 2.1.6) and had eight gates (*bāgilu* in Kannada which actually translates to door), an orthodox number with respect to eight cardinal points (N, NE, NW, E, W, S, SE, SW).¹¹⁹ Of these, *Yelahanka* gate opened to the north, *Sondēkoppa*, *Baḷē* and opened towards north-west, *Kengēri* gate to the west, *Halasūr* gate to the east and *Agrahāra*, *Mysore* and *Ānēkal* (called *Fort* gate by Rice¹²⁰ and pronounced *Ānē-kallu* in Kannada which translates to elephant stone) gates to the south (fig.2.1.3). One such gate, where Col. Moorhouse fell during the Third War of Mysore is shown in fig.2.1.10. Rice asserts that the market that existed in his time (the now K.R. Market) between *Mysore* and *Ānēkal* gates (fig. 2.1.6 shows southern end of High-street, the *Ānēkal* gate) was built over Siddi-Kaṭṭē, a part of town where Brahmin (caste to which priests and teachers belonged) officials lived and was also home to an old tank.¹²¹ He believed this to be the site of an old tank, which can actually be observed in Home’s drawing (fig. 2.1.8, fig. 2.1.9), built by a lady named Siddi from Kempē Gowḍa I’s family.¹²² Rice

¹¹⁵ T. V. Annaswamy, *Bengaluru to Bangalore* (Bangalore: Vengadam Publications, 2003), p.115.

¹¹⁶ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, 2 vols (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 44.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

observes that the reasons the streets in the Pēṭē are narrow and irregular is because it passed through various hands, and due to its rapid growth.¹²³ This is especially true of the subsidiary (secondary) streets branching off at right angles from the main arteries even today (fig. 2.1.7, fig. 2.1.15, fig. 2.1.16, fig. 2.1.17, fig. 2.1.18). Further narrow tertiary streets with a width of a few metres serve as links between secondary streets; the pattern of layout of streets being completely rectilinear make grids of various sub-Pēṭēs as seen in aerial views in fig. 2.1.16 and fig. 2.1.17. Photographs of the secondary and tertiary streets are presented in fig. 2.1.18. The hierarchy of these streets is visually apparent in terms of their comparative widths when we observe fig. 2.1.18 in comparison with photographs of the High-street in fig. 2.1.4 and fig. 2.1.5. Lynch asserts that in case of Boston streets (paths) “characteristic spatial qualities were able to strengthen the image of particular paths [streets]. In the simplest sense, streets that suggested extremes of either width or narrowness attracted attention.”¹²⁴ He observes that the prominence of a street may also be the result of the concentration of a special activity along the particular street.¹²⁵ He argues that “trusting” to the principal (main) streets weighed by its greater width “became automatic and that in Boston, the real pattern usually supports this assumption.”¹²⁶ This holds true in relation to the layout of the Bangalore Pēṭē where the principal axial streets dominate the pedestrian and vehicular movement by their greater width as well as concentration of commercial activity.

A story of ‘self-sacrifice’ that surrounds the installation of the door frame of *Ānēkal* gate is discussed by Annaswamy.¹²⁷ Legend goes that this installation was tried many times and wouldn’t stand through the night. As a remedy, it was suggested to Kempē Gowḍa I by astrologers that the area was haunted by an evil spirit who could be appeased with the sacrifice of a pregnant woman. The founder’s daughter-in-law Lakshamma was pregnant at the time and took it upon herself to mitigate this problem. Following her self-sacrifice in the night, the door frame was found standing firm the morning after. Indebted to her, Kempē Gowḍa I built a temple in her honour at Koramangala, towards the south of the town-fort.

Robert Home (1752-1834 AD), a British oil painting artist, accompanied Lord Cornwallis and the British (East India Company) Army to Bangalore in the Third War of Mysore, 1791-1792 AD and produced about 22 drawings on the subject. A drawing by Home, figure 2.1.10, shows a mud Gate along the Pēṭē’s boundary wall. This drawing was later used by Home to provide backdrop to his oil painting, ‘Death of Colonel Moorhouse’ during the storming of Halasūr Gate, which was commissioned by the Freemasons of Madras in 1794 AD. The boundary consisting of mud wall, ditch and the ‘thorny’ soap-nut hedge is acknowledged by Rice to have served as defence against Marāṭha cavalry.¹²⁸ Rice also asserts that the Doḍḍa-

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (USA: The MIT Press, 1960), p. 50.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 51.

¹²⁷ Annaswamy, p.115

¹²⁸ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, pp. 44-46.

Pēṭē Street running north-south from earlier Yelahanka gate to Fort gate as the Pēṭē's 'high street.' Today, this been renamed Avenue Road (fig. 2.1.4, fig. 2.1.5) and has a status equivalent to that of a high street. This elliptical town-fort encompassed what can be categorized as a number of 'sub-Pēṭēs,' about twenty in number, which is discussed later on.

A detailed description about the town-planning of Bangalore necessitates a study of historical records of that time, and in this particular case such a record does not exist. However, observations based on epigraphical studies by Rice in the 19th century assisted by R Narasimhachar shed some light on Kempē Gowḍa I's successor and administration relating to religion.

The Pēṭē is described by Rice as "a lively specimen of a Hindu town, the main streets being generally crowded with pedestrians, among whom vehicles of all kinds, from the carriage or brougham of the high official to the rude *jaṭ[t]ka* of the merchant trader and the slow and heavily-laden bullock-cart, thread their difficult way by dint of continual vociferous shouts."¹²⁹ The *jaṭka* mentioned here is a local form of horse-drawn carriage, mostly driven by Muslims. A lot of road-widening and installation of stone drains along the sides of the main streets were undertaken by the British during Residency in 19th century.¹³⁰ Rice notes that wealthier locals maintained "substantially built and imposing edifices"¹³¹ in the Chikka-Pēṭē area (plausible reference to Dēshada-Pēṭē) and a few other parts lamenting that their "effect is a good deal lost from their scattered positions."¹³² Perhaps this is a reflection on the time spent during the nascent days of the town by the founder and his builders or a hurried system of building augmented by the approach and settlement of various traders and nearby villagers.

Rice notes the presence of "open stalls or bazaars on either side of the Doḍḍa-Pēṭē and other thorough-fares" which "display their wares arranged on tiers of shelves, all within the reach of the owner, who sits comfortably ensconced among them."¹³³ He observes that the "customers stand in the street to make their bargains, or squat on a small ledge in front of the shop for a preliminary chat with the proprietor."¹³⁴ The observation throws to sharp light the nature of land use as well as projects the trade shops as a public space with a lively exchange of social life rather than being limited to a purely commercial purpose. The 'ledge' that Rice speaks of is called *jagali* in Kannada and is commonly found as an outdoor verandah space in rural houses. One of his observations is that people of the same trade arranged themselves in a particular area, "so that many shops containing the same

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 45.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

description of goods will be found side by side.”¹³⁵ Rice states that Taragu-Pēṭē was a grain market and Araḷē-Pēṭē a cotton market.¹³⁶ This gives credence to the idea of a mercantile arrangement of space inside the town; a system of zones based on type of trade or rather a particular commodity. Perhaps this was so at the inception and what was observed later on a natural progression.

Organisation of the Pēṭē according to social class and trade

The good names of various sub-Pēṭē's are literal translations of what they mean in Kannada based on which the specific item of trade of each zone can be understood, as shown in Table 1. This Table compiled by me is based on information from Annaswamy's and Hasan's works and relates to the plan of the town as shown in fig. 2.1.3. I hope to establish from this that the Pēṭē followed a social organisation based on commercial concerns. The Pēṭē area was organized into sub-Pēṭēs, social 'content' (different castes and professions) being the organizing factor. This social content was sometimes organized around a religious centre or 'node.'

For example, Muthyāla-Pēṭē was habited by pearl-vendors, cowherds and Brahmins, and the area was organized around the Ranganātha Swāmy temple (fig. 3.1.14) with presiding deity Vishnu (this is the oldest temple in the area (fig. 2.1.2). There are residents belonging to Brahmin community as well. They were provided with shops with food/ trade products relevant for the particular community located near the area set aside for them. Towards south-east is another temple with significant cultural bearing, the Dharma-Rāya (Yudhistira, eldest of Pandavas from *Mahabharata*, so called since he was just) Swāmy temple (fig. 2.1.12) located in Tigaḷara-Pēṭē, an area inhabited by *Tigaḷa* (Kannada word to denote Tamil speaking Vannēru people) community who call themselves Vanhi-kula Kshatriyas of Tamil origin. They were mainly horticulturists, and worshipped Draupadi, born of Agni/ *Vanhi*, who is the consort of Dharma Rāya. A festival *Karaga*, in which one of the Tigaḷa priests of the temple dresses up as Draupadi and goes forth in a procession across the Pēṭē with a visit to Tawakkal Mastān dargah (fig. 2.1.13), is a symbol of cultural exchange between the Hindu and Muslim communities. The Doḍḍa-Pēṭē and Chikka-Pēṭē streets were the main arteries of this region, the shorter one being Doḍḍa-Pēṭē street which passes perpendicularly through the Pēṭē area, now called Avenue Road (as discussed earlier), and is still a commercial hub selling most products from paper to paint at whole-sale rates.

Table 1

Name	Item traded	Caste	Temple
1. Akki-Pēṭē	Rice	Middle and Upper classes	
2. Anchē-Pēṭē	Postal		

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

	Communication		
3. Araḷē-Pēṭē	Cotton	Gonigas - gunny bag weavers	
4. Baḷē-Pēṭē	Bangles	Balijas, Telugu origin	
5. Chikka-Pēṭē	E-W Principal Street Gold and Silver Jewellery	Wealthy merchants	
6. Doḍḍa-Pēṭē	N-S Principal Street Handicrafts	Akkasala s/ Goldsmiths, sub-sect of Panchalas	Kalikamba, located in Nagartha-Pēṭē
7. Gaṇigara-Pēṭē	Oil	Gaṇigas/ Oil pressers	Chennigarāya
8. Halasūr(u)-Pēṭē	Area behind Halasūr Gate	Halasu in Kannada refers to Jack- fruit	
9. Huriyo-Pēṭē	Yarn	Yarn makers	
10. Komaṭi-Pēṭē	Various trades	Vyśyas, traders	Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy on Doḍḍa- Pēṭē Road
11. Kumbāra-Pēṭē	Pots	Kumbāras, Potters	
12. Manavartha-Pēṭē	Groceries	Bulk traders	
13. Mutyāla-Pēṭē	Pearl	Yerra/ Kilari Gollas, Cowherds and Brahmins	Ranganātha Swāmy
14. Nagartha-Pēṭē	Trading post	Nagartha, Mercantile guild and Devāngas, weavers towards the north Togaṭas, coarse cloth weavers	Chowdēshwari
15. Patnool-Pēṭē	Silk fabrics, Cotton carpets/ <i>Jamkhāna</i> , Woollen carpets	Patnoolkarans of Vijayanagara, Weavers	
16. Rāgi-Pēṭē	Rāgi grain	Staple food of	

		working class	
17. Suṇkal-Pēṭē	Lime-stone (<i>suṇṇa –kallu</i>), mortar	Building industry	
18. Taragu-Pēṭē	Spices and Jaggery, Household articles	Shops	
19. Tigaḷara-Pēṭē	Horticulture	Tigaḷas, Horticulturists	Dharma-Rāya Swāmy
20. Uppāra-Pēṭē	Salt, Building construction materials	Vaishṇava Uppāras, Salt traders Gārē uppāras – plastering Suṇṇa uppāras – Whitewashing Kallu kuṭige Uppāras – Stone masons	Chennakēshava

Annaswamy does not mention Māmūl- Pēṭē which accommodates bulk traders of garments now and Dēshada-Pēṭē along the arterial street intersecting the High-street in this discussion. However, these are mentioned in the accompanying illustration (fig. 2.1.3).

Residences

Yelahanka Gate is shown by Home as the Gate stormed on 7th March 1791 in his drawing, Plan of Bangalore 1791 (fig. 2.1.8, fig. 2.1.9) which was drawn supporting the Third War of Mysore. The drawing also shows agricultural fields around the town and few tanks which perhaps were chiefly irrigational in nature. This view gains strength in the light of the presence of about three stepped wells inside the Pēṭē area which would naturally be the chief drinking water sources. Artist sketches appearing in Hasan’s and Annaswamy’s works are based on this particular drawing. Houses lining the streets can be observed to be thatched, flat-roofed with a low-ceiling height from archival photographs from 19th century AD (fig. 2.1.4, fig. 2.1.6 contemporary with Rice) which seem at the time to open directly onto streets, sometimes with one or two steps leading off from the plinth.

A glimpse of residential lifestyle can be discerned from Rice’s description of such parts in the Pēṭē.¹³⁷ Noting that these were naturally “quieter,” he elaborates that “the floor and ground at the entrance to the houses will be seen carefully washed with purifying cow-dung, and

¹³⁷ Ibid.

pleasingly decorated with numerous geometrical figures (such sketching is done using stone powder and are called *rangōli* in Kannada), which are drawn afresh by women with lines of white chalk (stone powder) every morning, while the lintel of the door is decked with mango leaves strung on a thread (called *Tōraṇa* in Kannada) as a sign of welcome.” The “outdoor lifestyle” of the people is captured by Rice in terms of what he calls “universal babel” in his description of purveying of water in jars and brass vessels by the women-folk, in the method of carrying laundry in baskets to tanks in the Pēṭē, mendicants who travelled the streets with their conches and “peculiar odours of eastern bazaars,” in a way not entirely excluded from the trade zones.¹³⁸

Observing archival photographs from the 19th century (fig. 2.1.4, fig. 2.1.6), residences on the peripheries appear to have flat thatched roofs while the residences along the High-street have sloped, tiled roofs. Presently, one can observe few old buildings that have survived like a random dilapidated building (fig. 2.1.19), and the Rice Memorial Church, situated on the Avenue Road, from early 20th century which is painted in red and white, a popular colour pattern followed by British colonial settlers (fig. 2.1.20). Residences on tertiary streets are now built right up to it, leaving no room for ventilation (fig. 2.1.18). Their balconies often project onto the street spatially narrowing an already narrow street. The appearance of residences in the 16th century would be a matter of speculation. The appearance of the High-street presented in figure 2.1.4 may be compared with scenes of high-streets in villages in the region now, as at Banavāsi (fig. 2.1.21). Here, the street leading from Madhukēshwara temple presents residences with double storeyed barrel tiled roofs. Pedestrian side-walks are not discernible though the street itself is broad. Some residences in villages surrounding Mysore like Bannūr and Huṇasagahaḷḷi consist of inner courtyards; the courtyard is lined by eight or sixteen wooden columns set on a higher, wide plinth forming a colonnaded passage. Rooms surround this courtyard and are accessed through this passage while entrance to the house itself is through a tripartite opening made by four wooden columns set on higher plinth, the door being receded and set in the centre accessed by steps and flanked by *jagalis*. Whether this was followed to some extent in the Pēṭē of Bangalore cannot be determined.

Rice states that in 1894 Bangalore occupied an area of 8.25 square miles, keeping in mind the extensions to the Pēṭē along with the Cantonment, there were “10800 houses” in Bengaluru, “of which 537 were terraced, 8992 mud-roofed and 834 thatched.”¹³⁹ This means that the population of Bangalore averaged at about 100,000 people. The annual rental value was estimated to be 4, 59,000 Rupees.

Water supply and Drainage

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

The chief source of water supply to the Pēṭē in north-west areas was Dharmāmbudhi Tank/ Kerē (fig. 2.1.3), while north-eastern areas derived water supply from Sampangi Tank/ Kerē (fig. 2.1.11). Though the term *Kerē* actually translates to a lake, here it refers to man-made tank bunds. Rice states that water “was laid on to the streets and drawn out by the people as required from the square troughs or basins constructed at convenient points.” The gentle slope from this Tank, now the City bus-stand, evidenced by differing altitudes of the areas abutting Kempē Gowḍa Road would have facilitated water supply by this method. The other side of this road houses the famous ‘*tuḷsi-kaṭṭē*’ (fig. 2.1.14) which is a plantation of Tuḷsi (Indian Basil). Sampangi Tank was converted into a polo ground by the British later on. Water in the wells, by Rice’s time, is stated by him to be “blackish” and not fit for consumption. The Kanṭṭeerava Indoor Stadium stands in this location while a little portion has been reclaimed now as a water body and landscaped. Drainage of Pēṭē was collected into a single channel and let off to the south at a distance of about three miles, near Suṇṇakal tank, where it was applied for “agricultural purpose.”¹⁴⁰

Smriti Srinivas, in her book *Landscapes of Urban Memory*, proposes that such tanks “were perhaps one of the most crucial elements of spatial order (presented as nodes in chapter 2.3 and 2.4) and had in their vicinity several temples (these are identified as religious nodes).”¹⁴¹ She asserts that urban planning of Bangalore might have followed the mode of forming a settlement near man-made tanks. The existence of water bodies whether natural or man-made are crucial to settlements, what was causal could be proved by the order of the antecedent. One such example is the Dharmāmbudhi Tank which is of Hoysaḷa origin (this is discussed in ‘Introduction to Chapter 1’).

Superimposition of Home’s plan on present day top view of Pēṭē as shown in figure 2.1.15 presents some interesting facts. This has been done to present a pictorial depiction of changes in the Pēṭē area over 221 years as well as to imply the urban density of this space. While the N-S, E-W main thoroughfares are maintained, the sub-Pēṭēs now witness a change in the layout of streets. Even if we assume that Home might have left out true to scale subdivisions of streets which may have been as irregular then as seen in present circumstances, the fact remains that the connectivity and shape of the secondary streets presented in the plan have changed. The wall, hedge and moat of the Pēṭē have all been claimed by rapid urbanization. Their streets lead onto the Mysore highway and spaces are occupied by commercial establishments, most of which cater to building industry.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Smriti Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2004) p. 42.

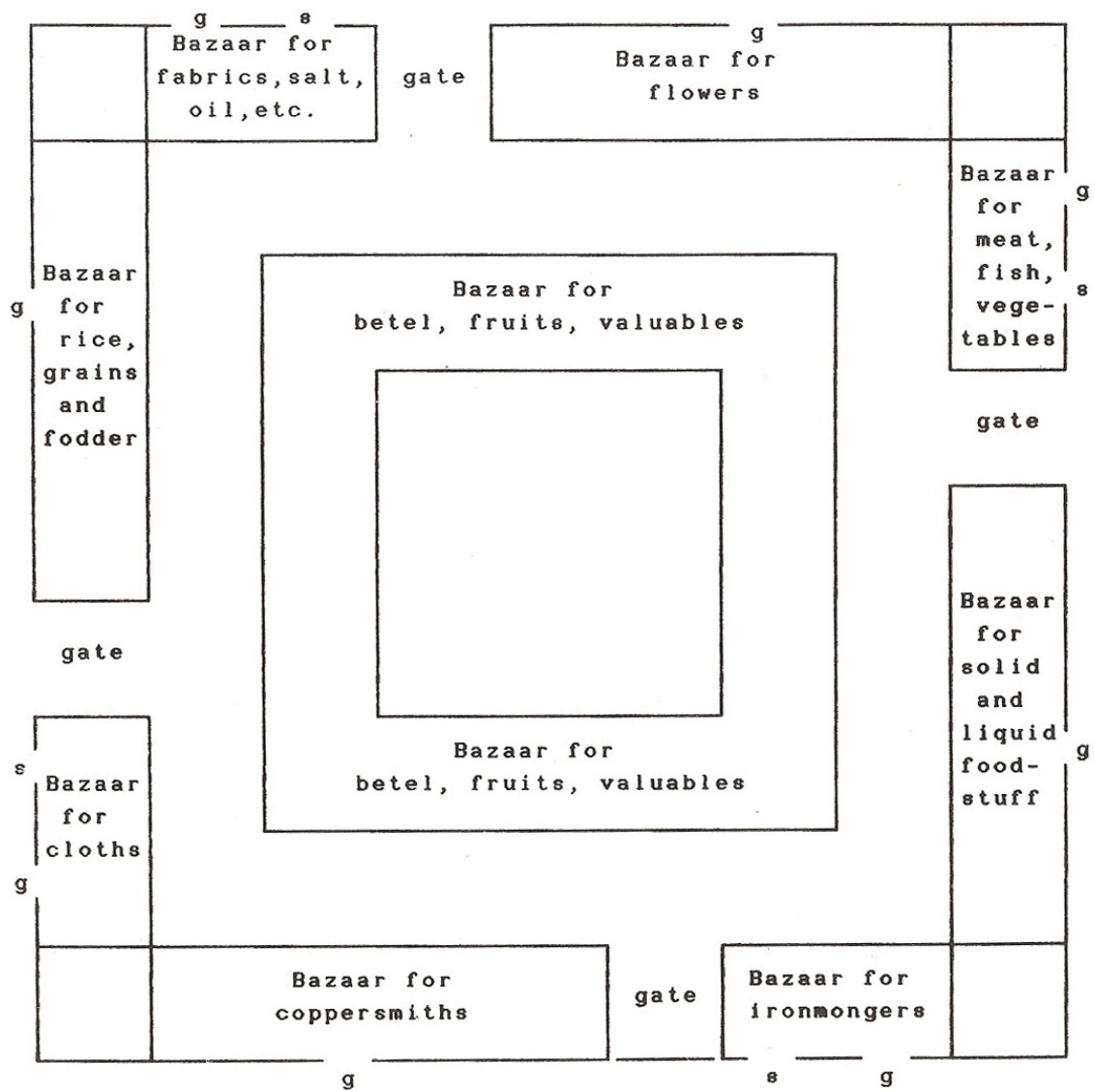


Fig. 2.1.1 Town Layout by Bruno Dagens, *Māyāmata*, p. vi, g = small gate, s = sewage outlet

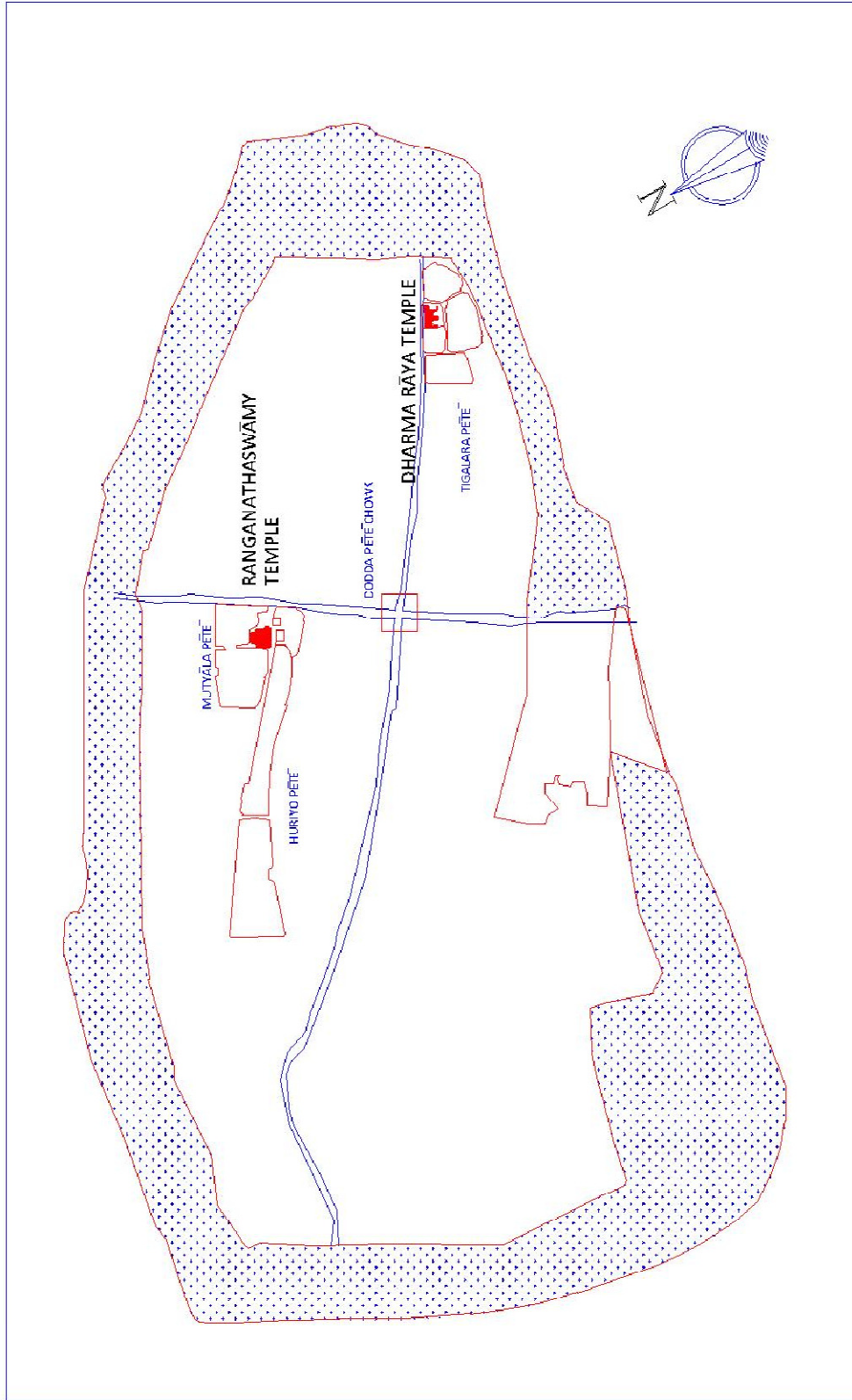


Fig. 2.1.2 Plan showing main arteries of the Pēṭē and location of Dharma-Rāya and Ranganātha Swāmy Temples within it, presented earlier as fig. 1.1.1

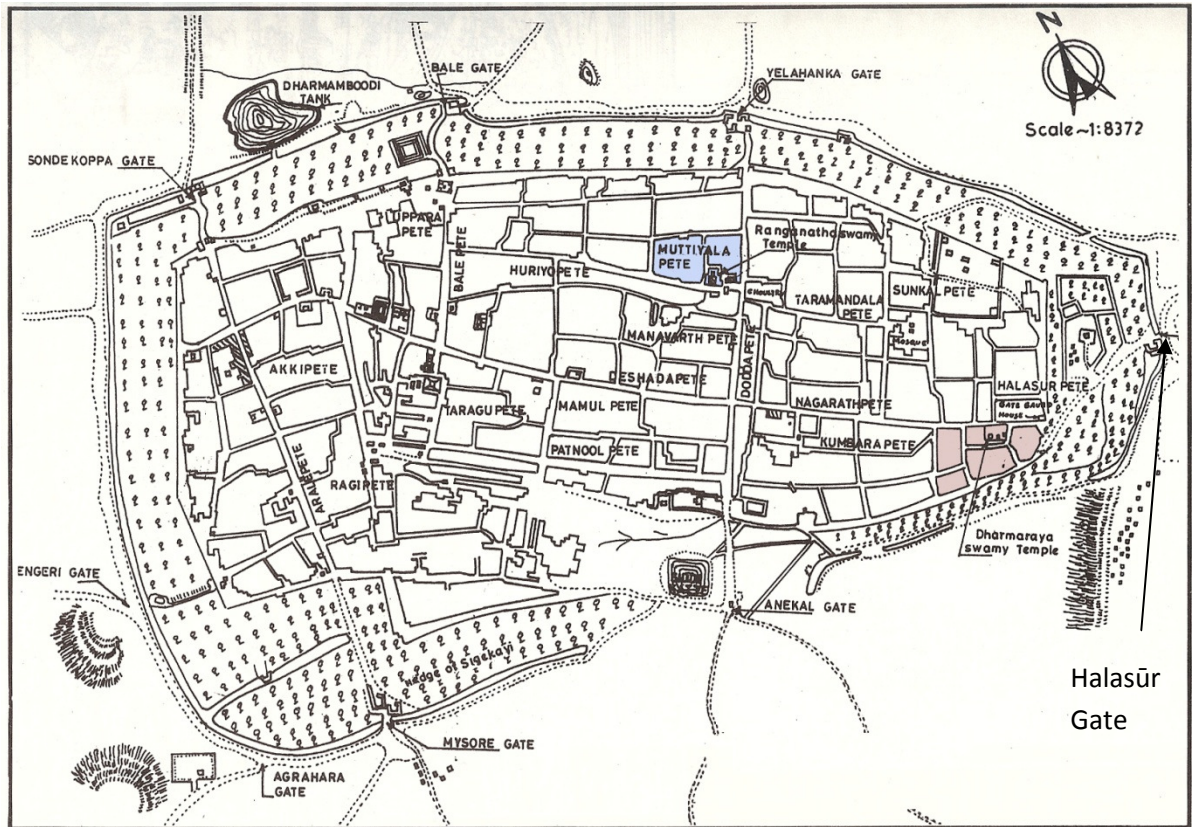


Fig. 2.1.3 Bangalore, as planned by Kempē Gowḍa I, from T V Annaswamy, *Bengaluru to Bangalore*, p. 113



Fig. 2.1.4 Pētē High-street View by unknown photographer in the 1890s, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 430/41(88)



Fig. 2.1.5 Photograph of Avenue road, High-street, 2007



Fig. 2.1.6 Presented earlier as fig. 1.5.2 photograph of fort in about 1855 AD by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 254/3(65)

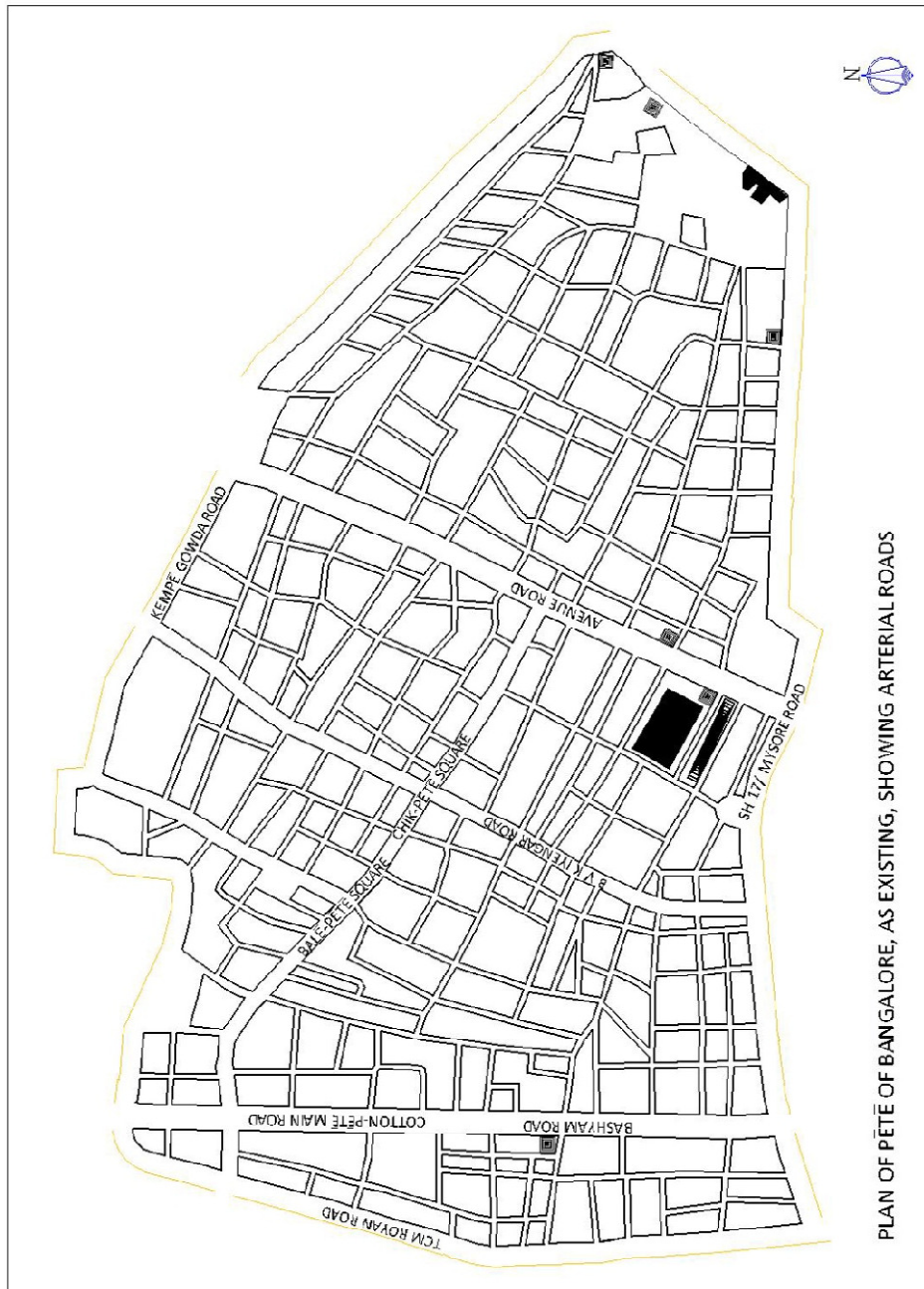


Fig. 2.1.7 Plan of Pētē of Bangalore based on Survey of India's plan of 2005



Fig. 2.1.8 Plan of Bangalore 1791 by Robert Home, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (26)



Fig. 2.1.9 Digitally enhanced image by Author of Robert Home's Plan of Bangalore, 1791, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (26)



Fig. 2.1.10 Bangalore Pētē 1792, Robert Home, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (9), 9



Fig. 2.1.11 Pētē and Sampangi Tank/ Kerē

Sampangi Kērē



Fig. 2.1.12 Dharma-Rāya Swāmy temple in Tigaḷara-Pēṭē, Bangalore



Fig. 2.1.13 Entrance of Tawakkal-Mastān Dargah, Bangalore



Fig. 2.1.14 Tuḷsi-katṭē, Kempē Gowḍa Road, Bangalore



Fig. 2.1.16 Photoshop edited image showing street pattern around the Dharma-Rāya Swāmy and Ranganātha Swāmy temples in the Pētē



Fig. 2.1.17 Present street pattern of the Pēṭe area



Fig. 2.1.18 Secondary and Tertiary streets of the Pētē area



Fig. 2.1.19 Dilapidated building on Cubbon-Pêṭē main road



Fig. 2.1.20 Rice Memorial Church on Avenue Road



Fig. 2.1.21 Banavāsi Madhukēshwara Temple street

2.2 The Military Aspect – Establishment of the oval Fort

Architectural Historian Barry Lewis states in “Village Defences in Karnataka”¹⁴² that Southern India was witnessing a struggle for power between the Mughals, Marāṭhas, Mysore rulers, the British and the French between the period that saw the fall of the Vijayanagara Empire (1565 AD) and that of Tipu Sultan (1799 AD). Lewis classifies village defences in Karnataka (Old Mysore) region into *malnāḍ* (forested mountains of Western Ghats) and *maidān* (scrub jungle plateau of central Karnataka) types. In the former instance, he states that the villagers relied on the “ruggedness of the terrain” and took shelter in the forests in the event of an attack where as in the case of the latter defensive works were constructed with a “*hudē*” (round tower in the middle of the village) or in case of bigger towns, a citadel giving shelter to fleeing villagers.¹⁴³

Although this period is referred to as that of post-Vijayanagara and rise of the Nāyakas, attention must be paid to the rise of the *pālēgārs* (feudatory rulers) of whom one was Kempē Gowḍa I. The defences Kempē Gowḍa I planned for Bangalore were twin-fold and belong to Lewis’ *maidān* classification. The first defence work was planned for the Pēṭē in the form of a boundary hedge of thorny bushes, mud wall with gates, a moat and a ditch, and the second for a citadel which might have been on similar lines but cannot be evidenced. Dr. S. K. Aruni, Director of Indian Council of Historical Research, asserts that Bangalore was modelled on the town-citadel complex.¹⁴⁴ He elaborates that this was a popular practice of the rulers in the Deccan in the 16th century, and cites Bidar as an example.¹⁴⁵ This view was asserted by him during our discussion on the subject of Bangalore. However, historian Helen Philon, who specializes in Islamic Art and Architecture, asserts that the stone-walled city (Town) was not built by the founder of Bidar, Ahmad Shah Bahmani (r. 1422 – 1436 AD) but was the work of his successors who were albeit inspired by his vision.¹⁴⁶ Rice, in his work in 1876 AD on Mysore, states that the villages in this country were “generally surrounded with a thick hedge of thorn, a protection in former days against attacks of the Mahratta cavalry.”¹⁴⁷ He further states that “most important villages have a considerable fort of mud or stone, also the erection of former troublous times, when every gauḍa aimed at being a *pālēgār*, and every *pālēgār* at becoming independent.”¹⁴⁸ The distinct features of the Fort and Pēṭē are explained by him in the following manner. “The

¹⁴² Barry Lewis, published as [Village Defenses of the Karnataka Maidan, AD 1600–1800](#), *South Asian Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 1 (January 2009) 91-111.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Dr. S. K. Aruni, *Yelahanka Nadaprabhugala Vāstu-shilpa mattu Shipla-kalē* (Bangalore: Bangalore University, 2007), p. 10.

¹⁴⁵ Meera Iyer, A battle saga, one March night, *Deccan Herald* (2013)

<<http://www.deccanherald.com/content/147597/a-battle-saga-one-march.html>> [accessed 13 June 2013].

¹⁴⁶ Helen Philon, ed. *Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan* (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2010), p. 44.

¹⁴⁷ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, 2 vols (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 263.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

fort is the quarter generally affected by the Brahmans, and contains the principal temple. The Pēṭē or market, which invariably adjoins the fort at a greater or less distance beyond the walls, is the residence of the other orders.”¹⁴⁹

During Chikka Dēva Rāja’s rule, the first line of defence to the north was the fortified town of Bangalore along with the hill-forts of Sāvana-Durga and Dēvarāyanadurga (see Section 1.4). To him is attributed the construction of the oval Fort as we know it from Home’s Plan of Bangalore. Whether there was an older mud fort at this location for him to go by can be answered by applying to works of historians like Rice who have attributed the construction of an original mud Fort next to the Pēṭē to Kempē Gowḍa I. However, Hasan asserts that the mud Fort built by Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar “was not a renovation of the old Kempē Gowḍa (I) fort but entirely a new one.”¹⁵⁰ Rice states that “under its Hindu masters, namely the Māgaḍi gaudas, the Mahratta governors subordinate to the Adil Shahi princes of Bijapur, and lastly the Mysore Woḍeyars, the Fort retained its old character, with no doubt some additions to its strength.”¹⁵¹ Subsequently, the mud Fort built by Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar was enlarged and outer wall rebuilt in stone by Hyder Ali (fig. 2.2.5, 2.2.6). This Fort was inward looking with two main gates; this is discussed later on in this chapter. In a probable translation of Fort types described in the *Māyamata* the plan of the oval Fort (*Durga* in Kannada) discussed in Section 2.1, one could relate the plan to that of a *Jala-durga* although the sheet of water here is actually a moat. Bangalore was drafted as a recruiting and training ground for the military by Hyder and Tipu effectively changing the character of the city to that of defence.

The alterations were carried out in 1761 AD by Khilledar (Commanding Officer) of the Fort Ibrahim Khan as discussed earlier in Section 1.5. The area of the oval Fort was approximately 12 hectares - 119,989.3 m², and had a circumference of 1.62 km, and was strengthened with outer works and a parallel exterior rampart at lower level which had four openings. Hyder Ali, impressed by French combat methods introduced French officers from Pondicherry in order to train his regiment in Bangalore. These events, Hasan asserts, turned Bangalore into a centre of military activity.¹⁵² He, like his father, used the service of French mercenary soldiers to train his army. The ‘mysore rocket’ which had a range of 914.40 meters is a discovery attributed to Tipu Sultan. He established a foundry which manufactured brass cannon and other military equipment and built magazines and godowns (warehouses) in order to store both grain and gunpowder as discussed in Sections 1.3 and 1.5. In the Pēṭē, Tāramanḍala- Pēṭē (fig. 2.2.1) housed the manufacturing units of iron and brass cannon located within and production units for the rocket as well as a huge arsenal of sword and muskets next to the Sangeen Jama Masjid (explained in Section 1.3). Tāramanḍala translates to ‘collection of stars’ in Kannada, and can be read as direct reference to the ‘commodity’

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Hasan, p. 63.

¹⁵¹ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 263.

¹⁵² Hasan, p. 84.

manufactured in this sub-Pēṭē. Kalasipalyam towards the east of the oval Fort contained the Mysore cavalry barracks and the stables.

Layout

The shape of the Fort was oval or elliptical. Rice records it in 1876 AD¹⁵³ as a fort “with round towers at proper intervals”¹⁵⁴ which was surrounded by a moat. He further states that the Fort had “five powerful cavaliers, a fausse-bray(e), a good ditch and covered way without palisades,”³ but that “the glacis was imperfect in some parts”¹⁵⁵ when the British troops stormed it in 1791 AD. From figures 2.2.5 and 2.2.6 we can discern the two main gates, the Delhi Gate (fig. 2.2.2, 2.2.7, 2.2.8, 2.2.9) which opened north towards the Pēṭē, and the Mysore Gate (fig. 2.2.10, 2.2.11) that opened south towards Mysore city. Figure 2.2.7 shows a representation of Delhi Gate by Home in 1792 AD, while figure 8 is a painting by James Hunter in 1804 AD. Of the Delhi Gate (fig. 2.2.2), Rice remarks, that it “was a handsome structure in the best style of Muhammadan military architecture, and consisted of several gates surmounted by traverses.”¹⁵⁶ However, in the absence of ditches between gates, Rice notes that the “torturous entrance through seven gates”¹⁵⁷ had “ready communication.”¹⁵⁸ This would have been to the advantage of an invading army. This entrance of seven gates was replaced with a straight entrance that “pierced through the wall at the side of the Delhi Gate”¹⁵⁹ (fig. 2.2.6).¹⁶⁰ Two such internal gates are shown in the sketches by James Fittler and James Hunter in figures 2.2.12 and 2.2.13. Figure 2.2.13 shows the same Internal Delhi Gate as in the photograph of figure 2.2.4. Entrance from the Delhi Gate through seven gates was done away with, and a direct path which went through the side wall of the Delhi gate was constructed in the 1830s by the British. Another path running in east-west direction was also laid by making openings in walls which in turn led to building development along its length. A representation of the introduction of these roads is shown in figure 2.2.6.

Figure 2.2.14, an archival water colour painting by an unknown artist in the 18th century shows the Fort against the back drop of Pēṭē. Photographs dating to 1855 AD and 1860 AD shown in figures 1.5.1 and 1.5.2 respectively in Section 1.5 give evidence to the fact that the Fort was retained completely until that time. However, only a part of the Delhi Gate survives today, this is documented in Section 3.2. After the restoration of the Fort to Tipu in 1792 AD, he dismantled it. After the final Mysore war of 1799 AD which ended with the death of Tipu Sultan, the Fort was restored completely by Purṇaiah, Dēwān of Mysore. The British garrison was removed from Śrīrangapaṭṇa in 1809 AD, after which some of the troops took

¹⁵³ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, p. 46.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p.46.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p.46.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p.46.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p.46.

¹⁵⁹ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, pp. 46-47.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p.46.

residence here along with the General Commanding and many European residents who were living in the Fort. Of the many structures it housed, the most famous one is Tipu's Palace, a small portion of this palace remains today which I discuss later on in Section 3.3. Besides this, it also housed the Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple (documented in Section 1.4 and discussed in Section 3.1), situated next to the palace. The Fort was handed over to civil authorities on October 2nd, 1888 AD.

An attempt has been made to identify and trace the area occupied by the Fort is shown in figure 2.2.17 by means of overlapping Home's plan with present day Google Earth imagery of the area. The north side of the fort remains traceable in shape in the pattern of the street to some extent whereas it is completely replaced in other areas by urban settlements. On the left (west) side, we can discern the original shape along the avenue of trees that has replaced Fort walls. The main streets forged by the British as discussed earlier are the Tipu Sultan Palace road/ Albert Victor road in east-west direction and Krishna Rāja (K.R.) road in north-south direction. K. R. circle marks the entrance to Mysore Gate. The area in front of the palace along K. R. road is taken up by medical colleges and hospitals. The rest has been claimed by urbanisation in later times.

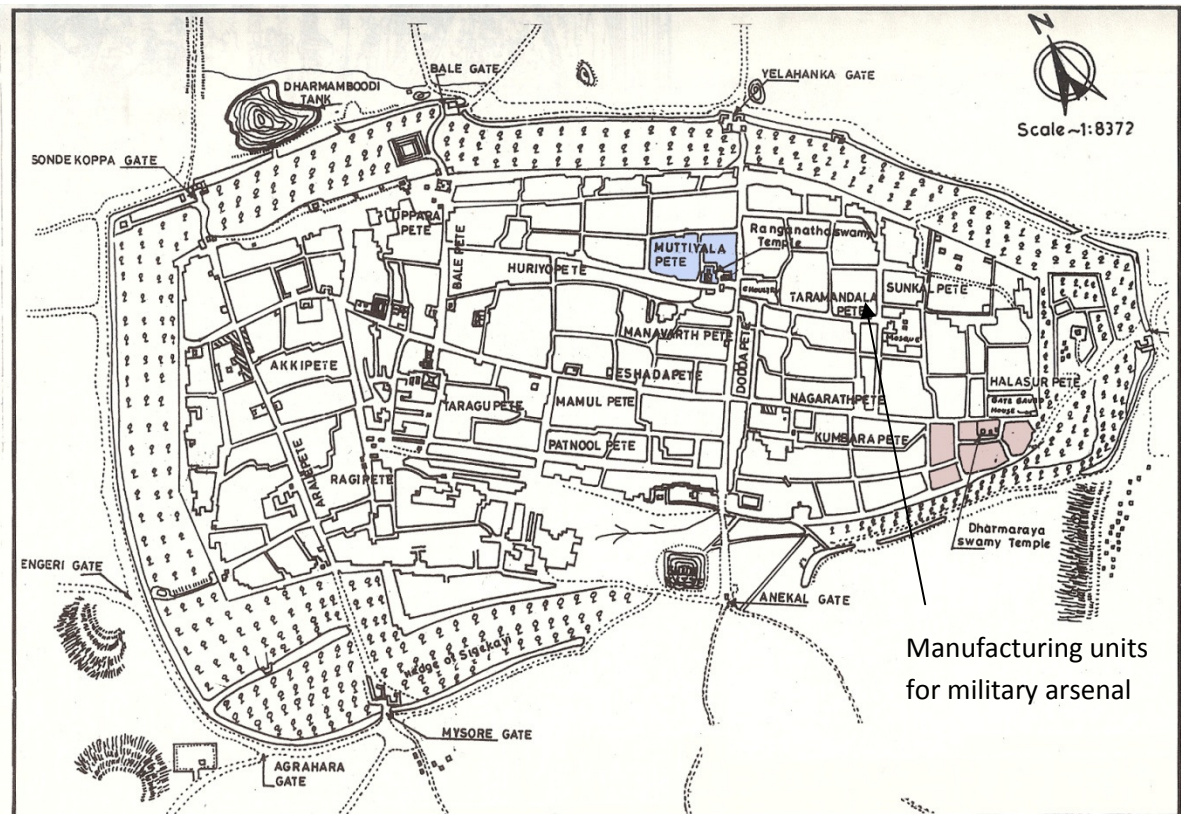


Fig. 2.2.1 Plan of 18th century Bangalore/ Bengaluru town by T V Annaswamy, presented earlier as fig. 2.1.3



Fig. 2.2.2 Entrance of oval fort – Delhi Gate



Fig. 2.2.3 oval Fort, Internal Gate perpendicular to Delhi Gate



Fig. 2.2.4 Oval Fort, Internal courtyard leading onto 3rd Internal Gate from Delhi Gate

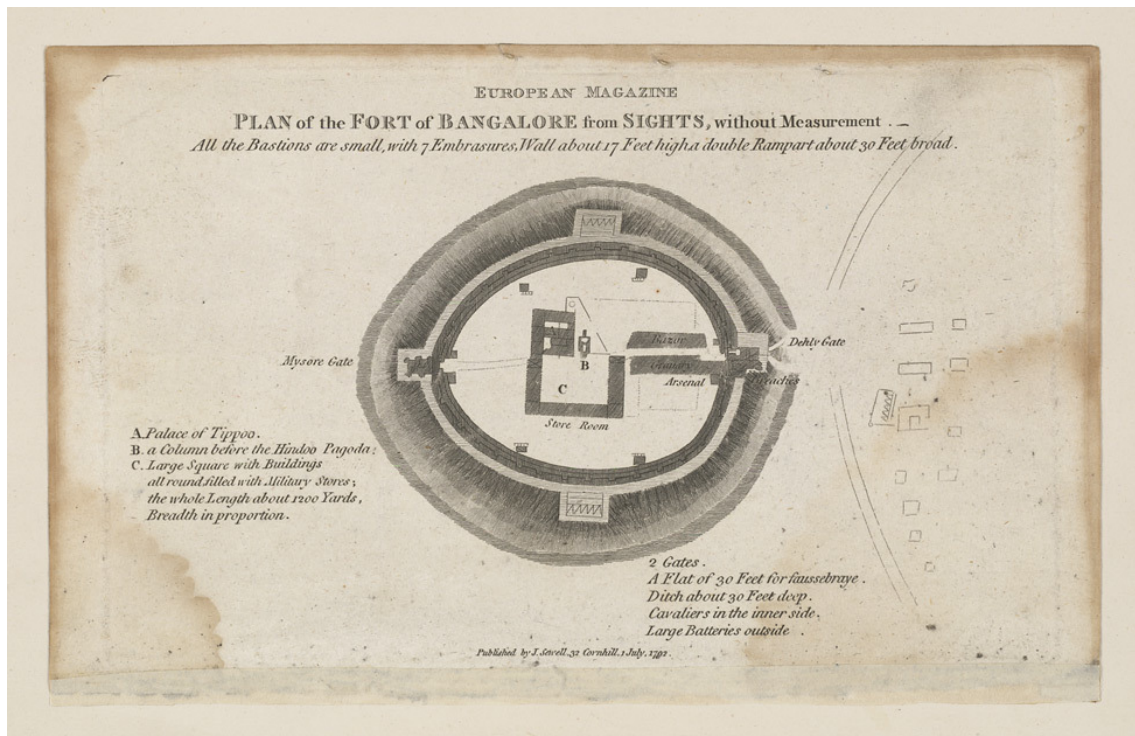


Fig. 2.2.5 Sketch plan of oval Fort from sights without measurement by Claude Martin, British Library, Shelfmark - P255

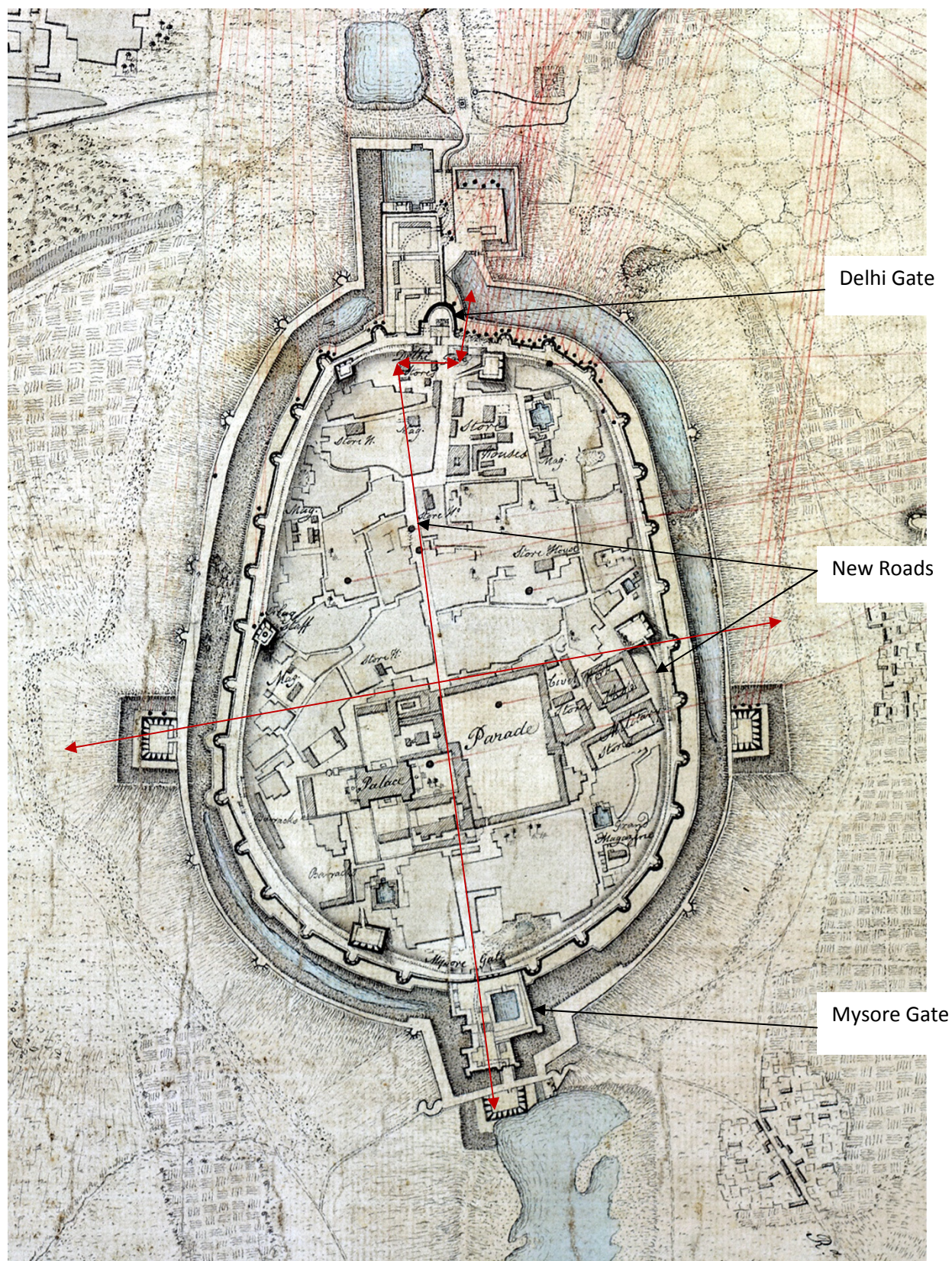


Fig. 2.2.6 Digitally enhanced image of the Fort by Author from 'Plan of Bangalore' by Robert Home, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (26)



Fig. 2.2.7 Wash drawing of the Delhi Gate of oval Fort, Bangalore by Robert Home, 1792 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775(7), 7



Fig. 2.2.8 Delhi Gate by James Hunter, 1804 AD, British Library; Shelfmark - X768/3(16), 30016



Fig. 2.2.9 North entrance leading to Delhi Gate by James Hunter, 1804 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - X768/3(15), 30015



Fig. 2.2.10 South entrance leading to Mysore Gate by James Hunter, 1792 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - X768/3(17), 30017



Fig. 2.2.11 Mysore Gate by James Hunter, 1792 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - X768/3(14), 30014

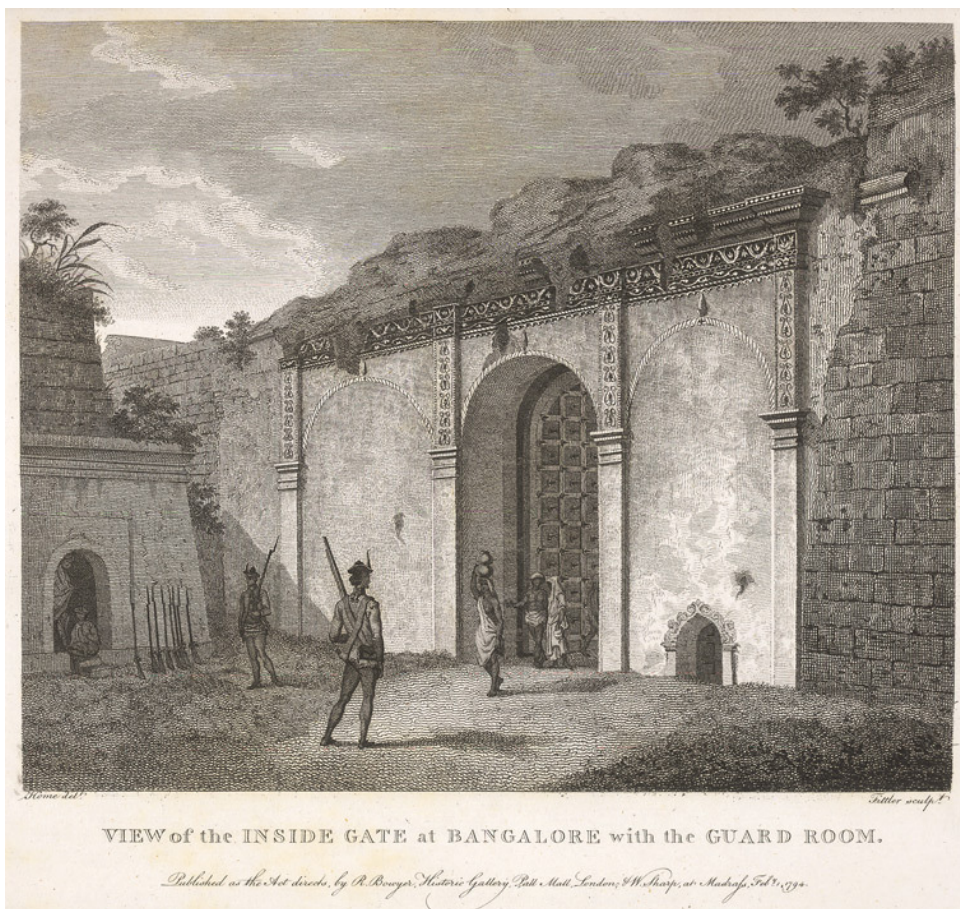


Fig. 2.2.12 Etching with line-engraving of a view of the inside gate at Bangalore with the guard room by James Fittler after sketches by Robert Home, 1794 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - W2567/4



Fig. 2.2.13 Third Delhi Gate (Internal) by James Hunter, 1804 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - X768/3(18), 30018

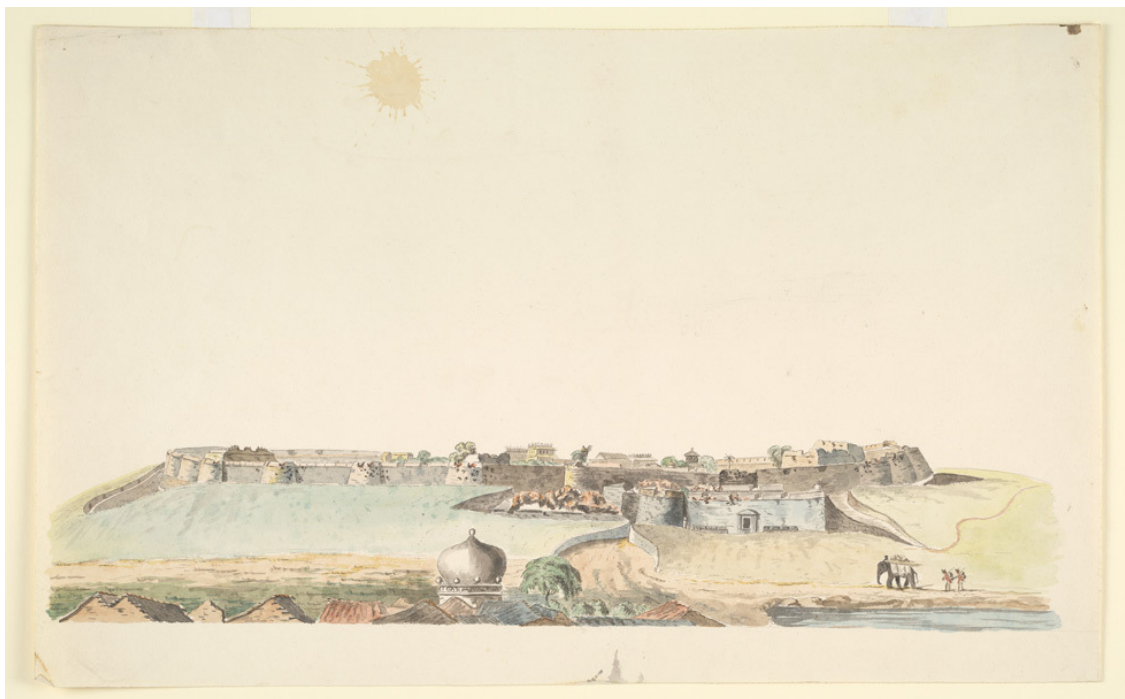


Fig. 2.2.14 Water-colour painting of the oval Fort of Bangalore by unknown artist, from a village outside the main gate, c.1790 – 1792 A, British Library, Shelfmark - WD4106

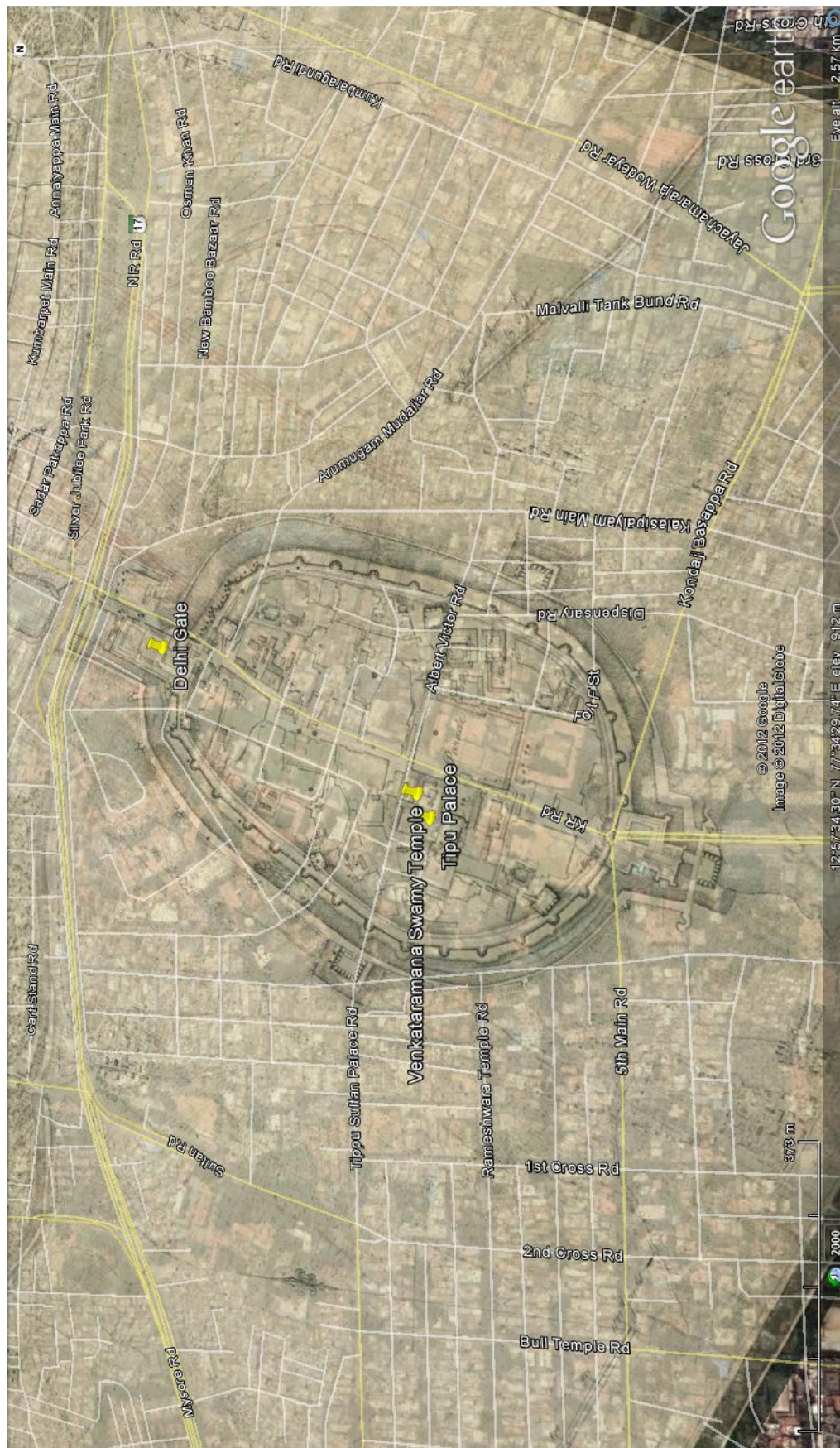


Fig. 2.2.16 Plan of Bangalore 1791 overlapped on existing built environment

2.3 Other Forts and their Layouts

Dēvanahalli Fort

This Fort is in close vicinity to Bangalore situated about 37 kms (kilometers) to its north, and was originally constructed by Malla Bairē Gowḍa in 1501 AD after he obtained consent of Dēva Gowḍa, the headman of the place (fig. 2.3.1).¹⁶¹ This consent was given after the headman was duly compensated and with a promise that the new town should bear his name, and hence the town took the name, Dēvanahalli. Rice asserts that Dēvanahalli was originally a small village called Devandoḍḍi after the headman. This older Fort was still seen within the boundary of the elliptical Fort constructed by Hyder Ali in Rice's time.¹⁶² The Fort was subsequently invested from the Gowḍas of Dēvanahalli by Nanja Rāj, commander of the Mysore army in 1749 AD. In this siege, Hyder Ali was a volunteer horseman in the Mysore army and he impressed Nanja Rāj with his skills. It was here that Tipu was born (fig. 2.3.4). Hyder commenced rebuilding the Fort in stone and in an oval shape as at Bangalore though the walls between the bastions themselves are linear (fig. 2.3.2, fig. 2.3.3), where as that of Bangalore was curvilinear as observed from archival drawings (see Sections 2.2 and 3.3). Rice observes that the Dēvanahalli Fort was "flanked with circular bastions and two cavaliers on eastern face, and was not quite completed when invested in 1791 AD by the army under Lord Cornwallis."¹⁶³ This Fort is spread over 20 acres, enclosing many temples and residences, and has thirteen circular bastions in all (fig. 2.3.3).

Rice asserts that when the Fort was constructed, the old town surrounding it on southern and eastern sides was levelled to prevent its sheltering besiegers. A new town called Sultan Pēṭē was erected on the western side instead. This was soon abandoned for the old town after the capture of the Fort by the British army. Today, the Dēvanahalli Fort stands at a distance of about 15 kms to the north of the new Bangalore International Airport (fig. 2.3.7), and its exterior entrance Gate can be seen from the national highway (fig. 2.3.5, fig. 2.3.6). While the exterior treatment does not resemble Bangalore Fort much the interior facade of the Gate is strikingly similar although the height of the entrance door is reduced (fig. 2.3.6). The oval shape of this Fort and that which existed in Bangalore is strikingly similar, though the one at Dēvanahalli is not a true ellipse and the connecting walls are in fact linear. In the Dēvanahalli Fort, the principal axial street runs east-west connecting the entrances in these directions. The street leads out to the Town on the east. The alignment of Bangalore Fort, however, was north-south.

Sira Fort

¹⁶¹ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, 2 vols (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 66.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

The Fort of Sira is situated in Tumkūr district in the state of Karnataka, and is located at a distance of about 122 kms from Bangalore. The construction of the Fort and Town of Sira (fig. 2.3.8) is attributed to Kasturi Rangappa Nayaka I (r. 1602 – 1652) of Chitradurga. However, Ranadullah Khan, General of Bijapur Army (seen Section 1.2) conquered Sira in 1638 AD before the Nayaka Paḷēgār could complete the construction of the Fort. Subsequently, Malik Rehan, who was appointed the Governor of Sira by Ranadullah Khan, completed its construction as well as built a mud wall around the Town. Malik Rehan remained Subedar of Sira from 1638 AD to 1650 AD. It was then taken by the Mughal Army in 1687 AD, and was administered by a series of Mughal Governors, the last of whom was Dilavar Khan. Under him Sira attained highest prosperity and housed 50,000 residences. His palace, which was ruined at the time of Rice and which does not exist anymore was the model for the palaces built by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan at Bangalore and Śrirangapaṭṇa. A garden also existed called the Khan Bāgh during Rice's time. Rice speculated that this may have suggested the Lāl Bāgh at Bangalore. Dilavar Khan was defeated by the Marāṭhas in 1757 AD. Hyder Ali took over the place after conquest in 1761 AD. The Marāṭhas held the place again for a brief period from 1766 – 1774 AD when it was retaken by Tipu.¹⁶⁴

The Fort is square in plan with two Gates in the northern and southern directions (fig. 2.3.9). Rice observes that it is built with stone and is surrounded by a moat and glacis. He notes the ruins of a large quarter called Latāpura traditionally to the north-west of the Fort. The Jama masjid, constructed in stone in 1696 AD, and tomb of Malik Rehan dated to 1650 AD and located in its vicinity are both situated to the south-west of the Fort in the Town.¹⁶⁵ The rectilinear form of the Fort is very unlike the oval form of Bangalore Fort, though the number of gates is. The Town-Fort (citadel) concept is common to both.

Śrirangapaṭṇa Fort

Śrirangapaṭṇa is located about 137 kms south-west of Bangalore, and is part of the district of Mandya (near Mysore) in the state of Karnataka. It measures about 3 miles (4.83 km) from west to east and about 1 mile (1.61 km) in breadth from north to south.¹⁶⁶ The foundation of Śrirangapaṭṇa is attributed to Tirumalaiya (pronounced Tirumalaiah) in about 894 AD during the reign of Gangas. He is generally believed to have built two temples, one to Śri Ranganātha Swāmy and another to Tirumala Dēva, and enclosed them with a wall. This walled enclosure was named Śri Ranga pura or paṭṭaṇa, which has now been corrupted to Śrirangapaṭṇa.¹⁶⁷ Subsequently, the place is supposed to have passed into the hands of Rāmānujāchārya and his followers in 1117 AD by way of a grant from the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana (r. 1108 – 1152 AD). This was administered by officers of the king called Prabhus and Hebbārs. One such Hebbār who administered Nāgamangala obtained permission from the Vijayanagara Empire to construct a fort at the place in 1454 AD. He also

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 198-199.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 199.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 294.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 295.

enlarged the temple of Śrī Ranganātha Swāmy. His descendants held the Fort until it passed into the direct possession of Vijayanagara kings until the time it was invested by Rāja Woḍeyar (r. 1578 – 1617 AD) in 1610 AD. The place was subsequently usurped by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan until the death of the latter in the Fourth Mysore War (see Section 1.6). The Fort abuts the Town (called Ganjam) on its eastern side (fig. 2.3.10). In this manner, it is similar to the layout of Bangalore, that of the oval Fort and Pēṭē. However, the shape and direction of alignment are very different.¹⁶⁸

The Lāl Bāgh that housed Hyder and Tipu's residence was located in the eastern end of the Town. This does not exist anymore; it now houses their mausoleum (see Section 1.5). Buchanan in 1800 AD observed, "Though built of mud, it possesses a considerable degree of elegance, and is the handsomest native building that I have ever seen."¹⁶⁹ However, the Daria Daulat Palace (also called Daria Daulat Bāgh) still exists in the northern side of the Town. Rice relies upon the account given by Major Dirom, a Staff Officer with the British army for a description of Śrirangapaṭṇa in 1792 AD during hostilities with Tipu Sultan:-

The fort and outworks occupy about a mile of the west end of the island, and the Lāl Bāgh or garden about the same portion of the east end. The whole space between the fort and the Lāl Bāgh, except a small enclosure, called the Daulat Bāgh, on the north bank near the fort, was filled, before the war, with houses, and formed an extensive suburb, of which the pettah of Shahar Ganjam is the only remaining part, the rest having been destroyed by Tipu to make room for batteries to defend the island, and to form an esplanade to the fort. This pettah or town of modern structure built on the middle and highest part of the island, is about half a mile square, divided into regular cross streets, all wide, shaded on each side by trees and full of good houses. It is surrounded by a strong mud wall, and seemed to have been preserved for the accommodation of the baza[a]r people and merchants, and for the convenience of troops stationed in that part of the island for its defence. A little way to the eastward of the pettah is the entrance into the great garden or Lāl Bāgh. It was laid out in regular shady walks of large cypress trees, and full of fruit trees, flowers and vegetables of every description. The fort, this situated on the west end of the island, is distinguished by its white walls, regular outworks, magnificent buildings and ancient Hindu pagodas, contrasted with the more lofty and splendid monuments lately raised in honour of the Mahomedan [Mohammedan/ Muslim] faith. The Lāl Bāgh, which occupies the east end of the island, possessing all the beauty and convenience of a country retirement, is dignified by the mausoleum of Haidar [Hyder Ali], and a superb new palace built by Tipu. To these add the idea of an extensive suburb or town, which filled the middle space between the fort and the garden, full of wealthy industrious inhabitants, and it will be readily allowed that this insulated metropolis must have been the richest, most convenient and beautiful spot possessed in the present age by an native prince in India.¹⁷⁰

The river Kāvēri forms Śrirangapaṭṇa into an island, the Fort (fig. 2.3.11) is surrounded by the river on the northern and western sides. Rice notes that the construction was unscientific, the walls being straight and long, the bastions square and glacis steep enough to shelter an assailant although he asserts that this was remedied by deep ditches carved through granite, massive walls and lofty cavaliers. The southern entrance called the Elephant Gate used to be the principal entrance. The principal temple located inside the

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 302.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 298.

Fort is that of the Śrī Ranganātha Swāmy, the deity from whom the city takes its name. Rice observes that a more convenient gateway made to the west of this entrance was used by the British later on, after they invested the Fort in 1799 AD. Buchanan notes that the streets in the Fort were narrower and more confused in comparison with others he had seen since he left Bengal. The British troops occupied this Fort until the time they moved to Bangalore in 1809 AD (see Section 2.5). They removed the inner ramparts and filled up the inner ditch of the Fort in 1800 AD; a line of tamarind trees were planted along the course of the closed inner ditch. Rice asserts that the fall of Śrirangapaṭṇa and rise of Mysore were parallel developments.¹⁷¹

Bangalore shares the Fort (citadel) and Town concept with Śrirangapaṭṇa. The shape of the Fort of Śrirangapaṭṇa is an irregular oval dictated by the landscape and the dividing river rather than an outcome of deliberate thought.

Bidar Fort

Bidar is situated about 690 kms to the north of Bangalore (fig. 2.3.1). That the Bidar Fort (citadel) and Town model shares similarity with the layout of early Bangalore i.e., the Pēṭē and the oval Fort as asserted by Aruni has been discussed in Section 2.2 earlier. However, unlike Bangalore, Bidar's Town came about a little later (see Section 2.2). The shape, however, is irregular unlike the smooth elliptical of the oval Fort of Bangalore. Klaus Rötzer, Architectural Historian and South Asian history specialist asserts that functional aspect of Forts of the Deccan sultans were mostly military, intended for the ruler, and were in tandem with walled cities for inhabitants belonging to the upper crust of the social ladder (fig. 2.3.12 and fig. 2.3.13). Commenting on changing relations between the ruler and the inhabitants, Rötzer observes that this changed depending on the political, economic and cultural conditions at particular time. For example, later sultans like Ibrahim Adil Shah II (r. 1580 – 1627 AD) were rulers by birthright unlike the predecessors who ruled by virtue of military command. Such rulers furthered their divine reputation by means of building impressive forts, palaces and promotion of religious ceremonies.¹⁷²

The construction of Bidar Fort is attributed to Ahmad Shah Bahmani and was inaugurated by him in 1432 AD.¹⁷³ It measures roughly 4.1 kms in circumference and has an irregular form and is situated 100 metres above the plains of river Manjira, which flows about 10 kilometres away (fig. 2.3.14).¹⁷⁴ Rötzer explains that the main gate is Gumbad Darwaza.¹⁷⁵ This is in the south wall of the Fort and faces east. The interior space of this gate is octagonal and is topped by a huge dome. Two rooms along north-south axis adjoin this

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 300.

¹⁷² Klaus Rötzer, 'Fortifications', in *Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan*, ed. by Helen Philon (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2010), pp. 26-33 (p. 26).

¹⁷³ Helen Philon, ed. *Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan* (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2010), p. 44.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

Rötzer, 'Fortifications', pp. 26-33 (p. 26).

¹⁷⁵ Darwaza denotes 'door' in Urdu language.

space and have *jāli* windows opening into the inner space. Rötzer asserts that another window on the eastern facade could have been used by the ruler to give audience for there is a square for assembly of people located in front of the eastern facade. He argues that the camp of sultans who were themselves engaged in warfare were natural settings for courtly settings and that this reasoned the setting of Gumbad Darwaza as a ceremonial space. This square was connected by four secondary gates to roads. The first of the roads came down the Manjira valley, the second connected to the abutting Town, the third led around the exterior most ditch to the royal camp, and the fourth led around the interior most ditch to Karnatik Darwaza.¹⁷⁶ Bidar Fort is attached to Town on southern side. Philon observes that the Township consists of “religious, commercial and public institutions, as well as elite residences.”¹⁷⁷ She asserts that Ahmad Shah and his successors “fused local traditions and symbols of powers with other imported from western Islam, and evinced new and direct linkage with Central Asian decorative techniques.”¹⁷⁸ This is a pattern that is later observed in buildings in Bangalore sponsored by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, examples of which are the oval Fort and Tipu Palace which are further discussed further in Sections 3.3 and 3.4.

Bijapur Fort

Bijapur, located about 520 kms from Bangalore, shares the Fort-Town concept of the latter and precedes its foundation (fig. 2.). However, the layout here is concentric as against Bangalore where the Town or Pētē opens to the oval Fort on the latter’s northern Delhi Gate. Rötzer asserts that the circle was a strong symbol of power during the 16th century and that circular layouts were dominant before and after the Bahmani period. He observes that the capital city of Bijapur where the sultans resided in the central citadel Fort surrounded by the walled city is clearly circular (fig. 2.3.15, fig. 2.3.17).¹⁷⁹ Philon notes that a “capital and secondary capital plus suburb scheme evolved under the Adil Shahis at Bijapur, Shahpur and Naurasapur, with a royal suburb and resort at Ainapur and Kumatgi respectively.”¹⁸⁰ She contends that circular fortifications were earlier seen in Devagiri, capital of Yadavas (850 – 1334 AD) in Maharashtra, and in Warangal of Kakatiyas (1083 – 1323 AD) in Andhra Pradesh in southern India.¹⁸¹ Architectural Historian Mark Brand asserts that the Adil Shahi Sultanate here provides the “most comprehensive record of a dynasty’s palatial architecture and its urban architecture.”¹⁸² Here, the royal complex was enclosed by the Fort which was surrounded by a moat (fig. 2.3.16, fig. 2.3.18). This was encircled by the city which was fortified by a wall itself. Bijapur was complimented by a secondary capital called Naurasapur briefly (1599 – 1624 AD) which shared its concentric approach in planning.

¹⁷⁶ Rötzer, ‘Fortifications’, pp. 26-33 (p. 30).

¹⁷⁷ Philon, p. 20.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 40.

¹⁷⁹ Rötzer, ‘Fortifications’, pp. 26-33 (p. 28).

¹⁸⁰ Philon, p. 17.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Mark Brand, ‘Bijapur under the Adil Shahis (1490 - 1686)’, in *Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan*, ed. by Helen Philon (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2010), pp. 66-77 (p. 66).

The central citadel Fort housed palace cum audience halls for court ceremonies, a feature which is later seen in royal residences like Tipu's Palace in Bangalore.

Comparison with Bangalore Fort

The purpose of the construction of a Fort or citadel in addition to a Town settlement comes across as a common practice in the sixteenth century in the Deccan. The concept of having a stronger Fort (citadel) in the centre or abutting the Town served two purposes; the first was to house the ruler, the upper class and the military, and second to provide shelter to fleeing citizens in times of war as discussed in this and preceding sections. Figure 2.3.19 shows the Forts listed above in comparison with the oval Fort of Bangalore. In some instances like Bidar, the walled township was the result of later rulers while the citadel itself came about earlier (Section 3.2). In places like Dēvanahalli and Bangalore, later rulers, Hyder and Tipu, enlarged and re-built Forts in stone. The shape of the Fort of Bangalore was completely oval as discussed in earlier section. Hyder and Tipu seem to have taken to the elliptical shape like the Bahmani sultans emphasized circular shape as in the concentric layout of Bijapur Town and Fort. Circular fortifications have been observed in southern India from 9th century as discussed earlier. Hyder and Tipu could have been inspired by an old, smaller Fort constructed by Kempē Gowḍa I next to the Pēṭē. It is also probable that they might have been influenced by the elliptical layout of the Pēṭē. This cannot be investigated in absence of documentation to the effect from the particular period. While the alignment of the Bangalore Fort is North-South, the alignment of the Dēvanahalli Fort is East-West, the latter probably reflecting on an earlier layout. In contrast, the Sira Fort is completely rectilinear. The shape of the Śrirangapaṭṇa Fort is an irregular oval and dictated by the forking river, Kāvēri, which surrounds this island city.



Fig. 2.3.1 Locations of Bidar, Bijapur, Sira, Bangalore and Śrirangapaṭṇa in Southern Peninsular India



Fig. 2.3.2 Dēvanahalli Fort and surrounding Town



Fig. 2.3.3 Closer look at Dēvanahalli Fort



Fig. 2.3.4 Tipu Sultan's birth place in the Dēvanahalli Fort, Wikipedia image



Fig. 2.3.5 Dēvanahalli Fort, interior view, Wikipedia image



Fig.2.3.6 Dēvanahalli Fort, exterior view, Wikipedia image

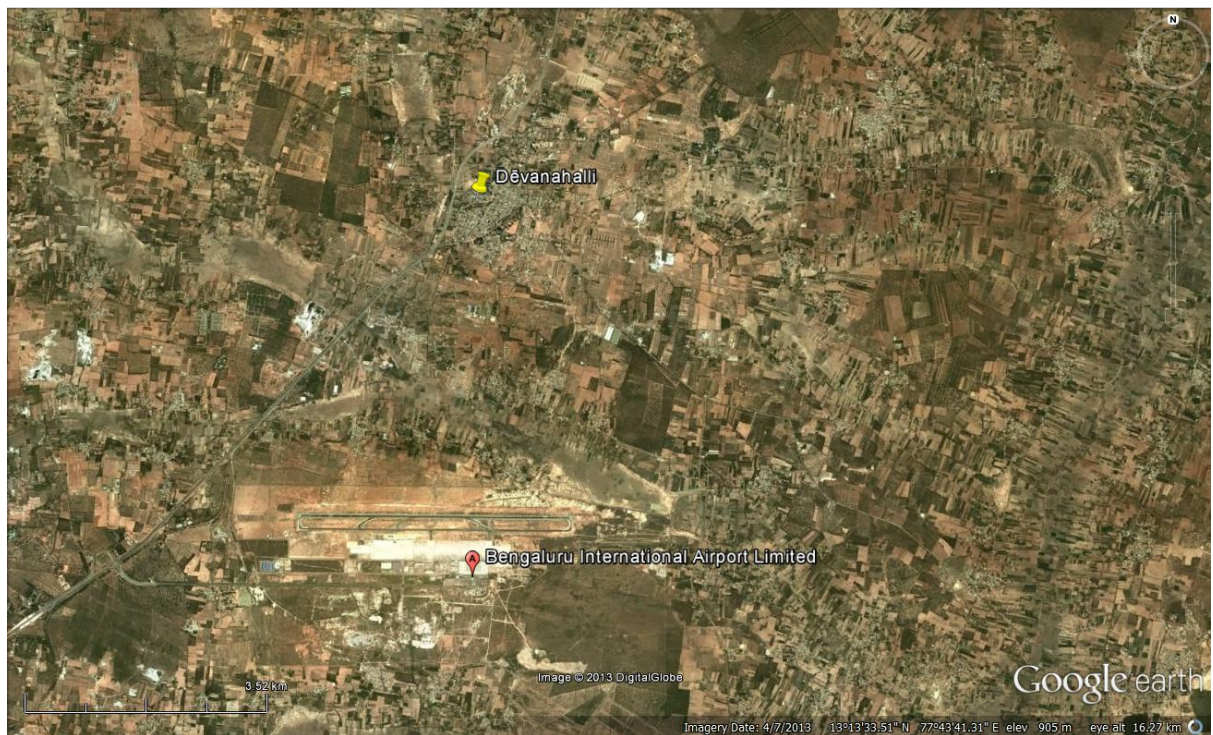


Fig. 2.3.7 Location of Dēvanahalli Fort with respect to Bangalore International Airport



Fig. 2.3.8 Sira Fort and Town along with the two lakes



Fig. 2.3.9 Closer look at the Sira Fort

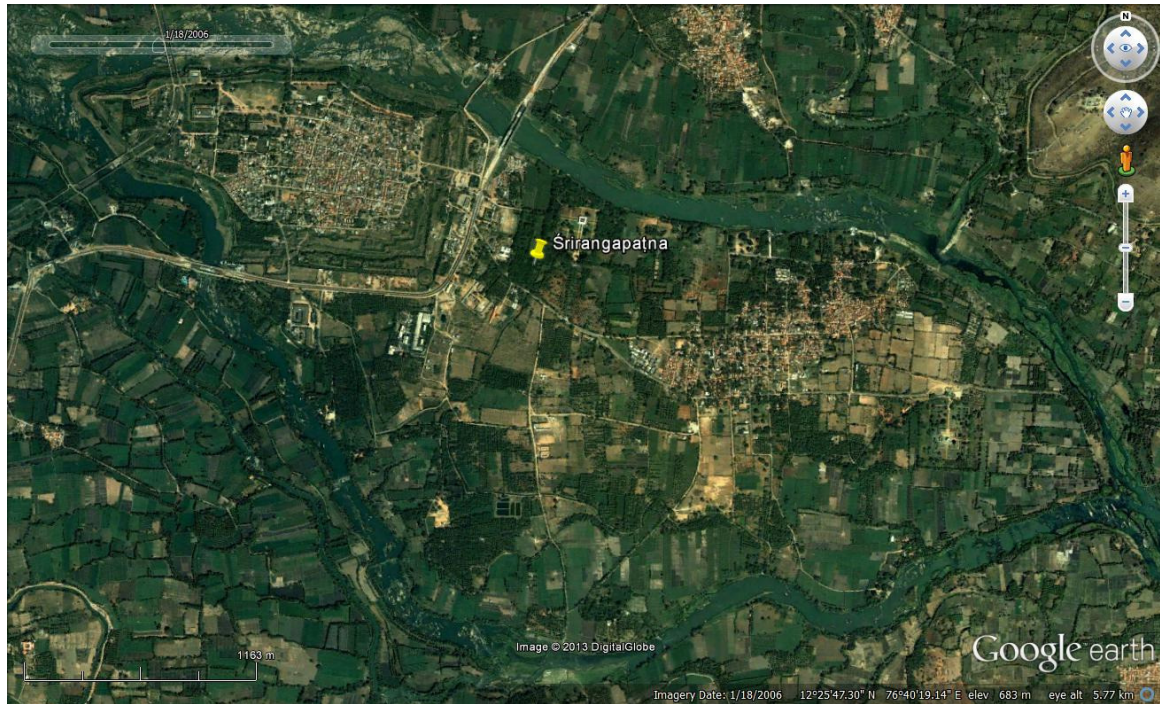


Fig. 2.3.10 Śrirangapaṭṇa Fort and surrounding areas

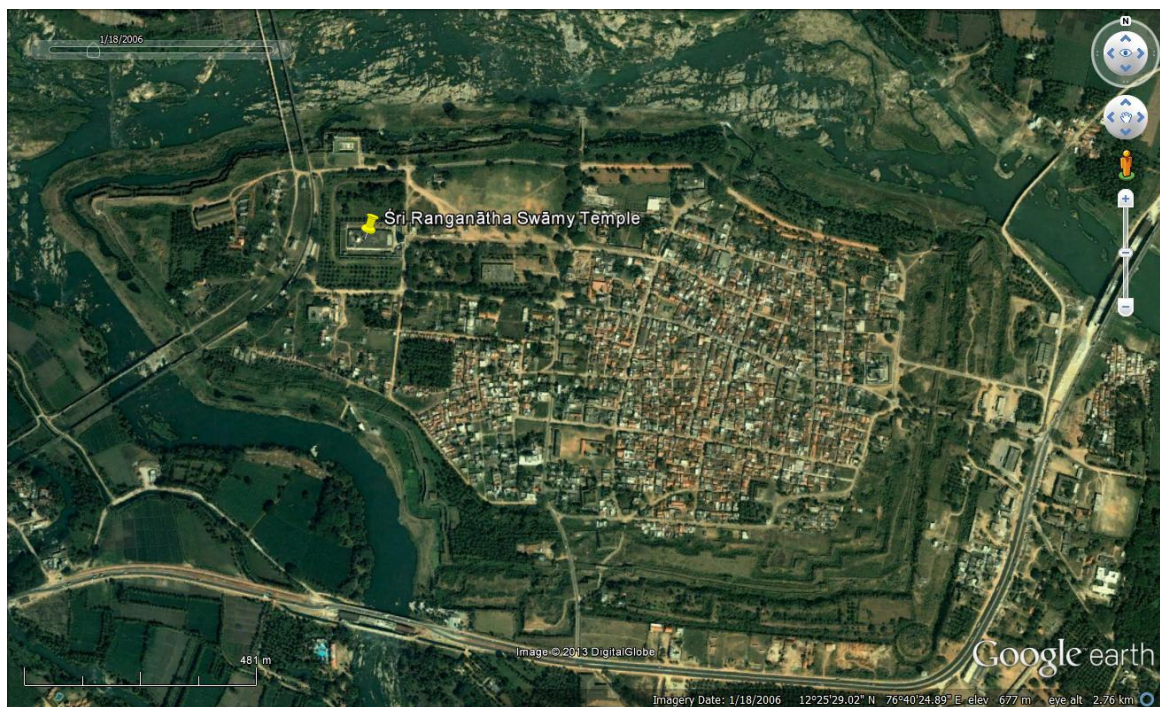


Fig. 2.3.11 Closer look at Śrirangapaṭṇa Fort

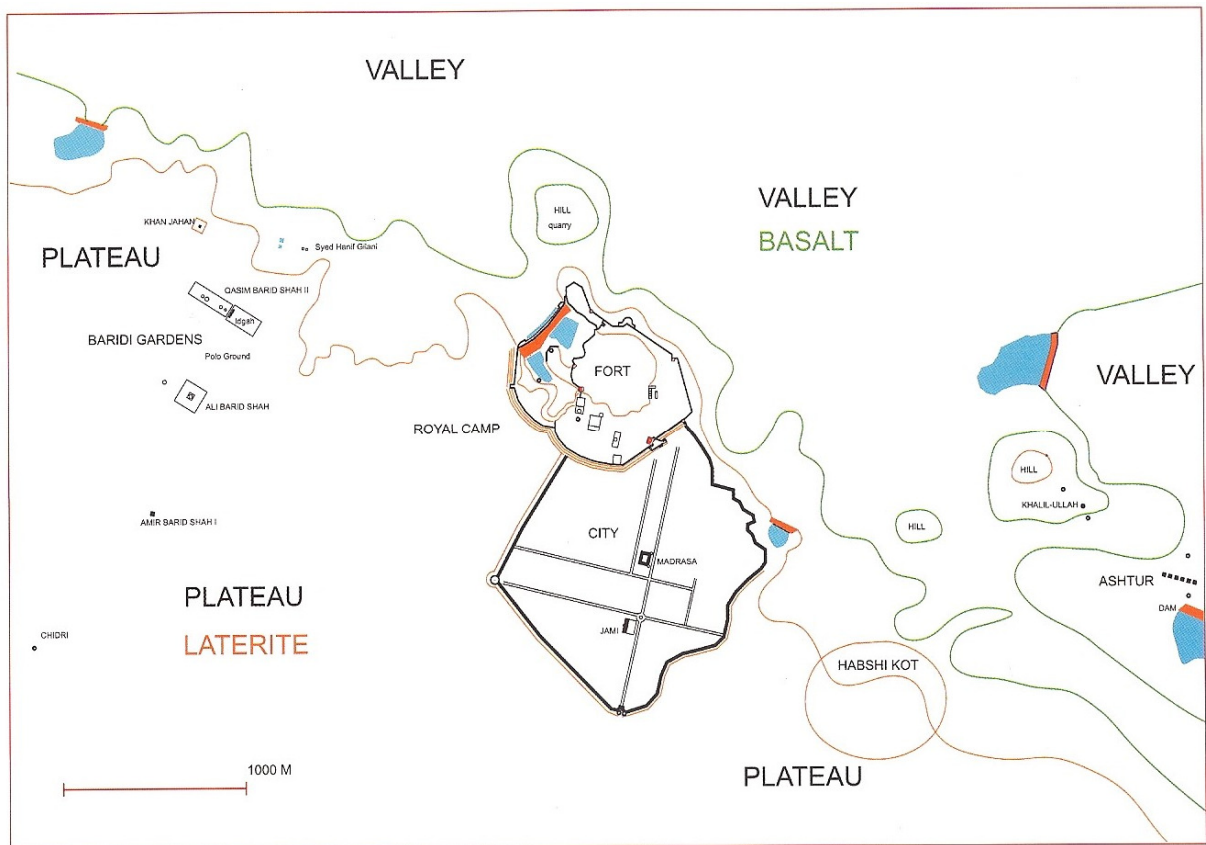


Fig. 2.3.12 Bidar Fort and City by Klaus Rötzer in *Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan*, p. 123



Fig. 2.3.13 Bidar Fort (citadel) and Town as seen today



Fig. 2.3.14 Closer look at Bidar Fort (citadel) as seen today

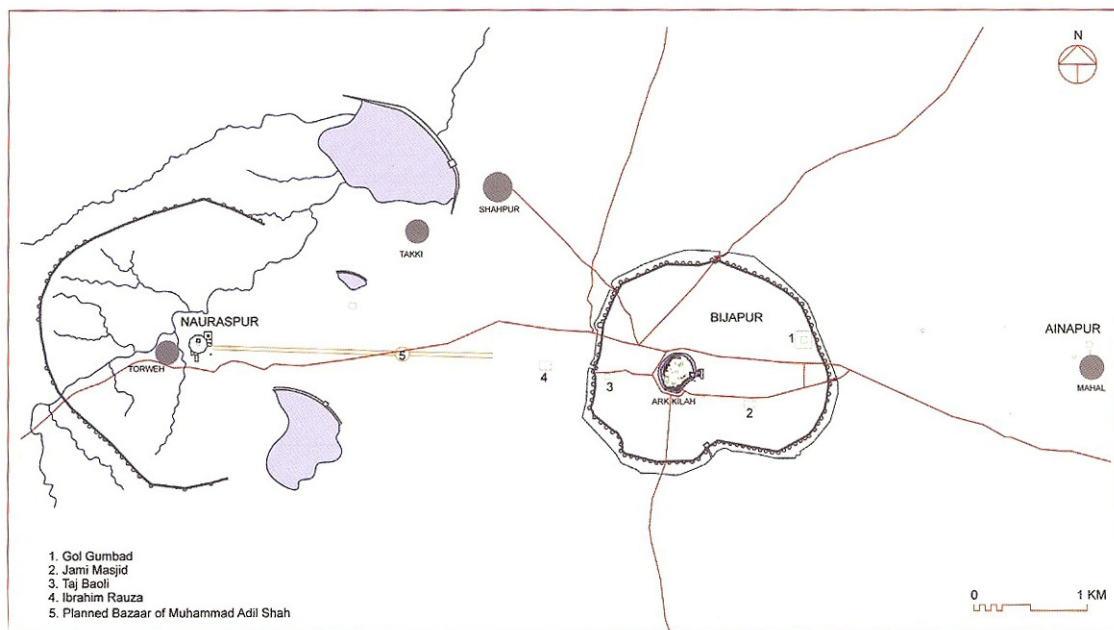


Fig. 2.3.15 Bijapur with its secondary capital Nauraspur 1599 -1624 AD and royal suburb of Ainpapur after 1651 AD by Klaus Rötzer in *Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan*, p. 134

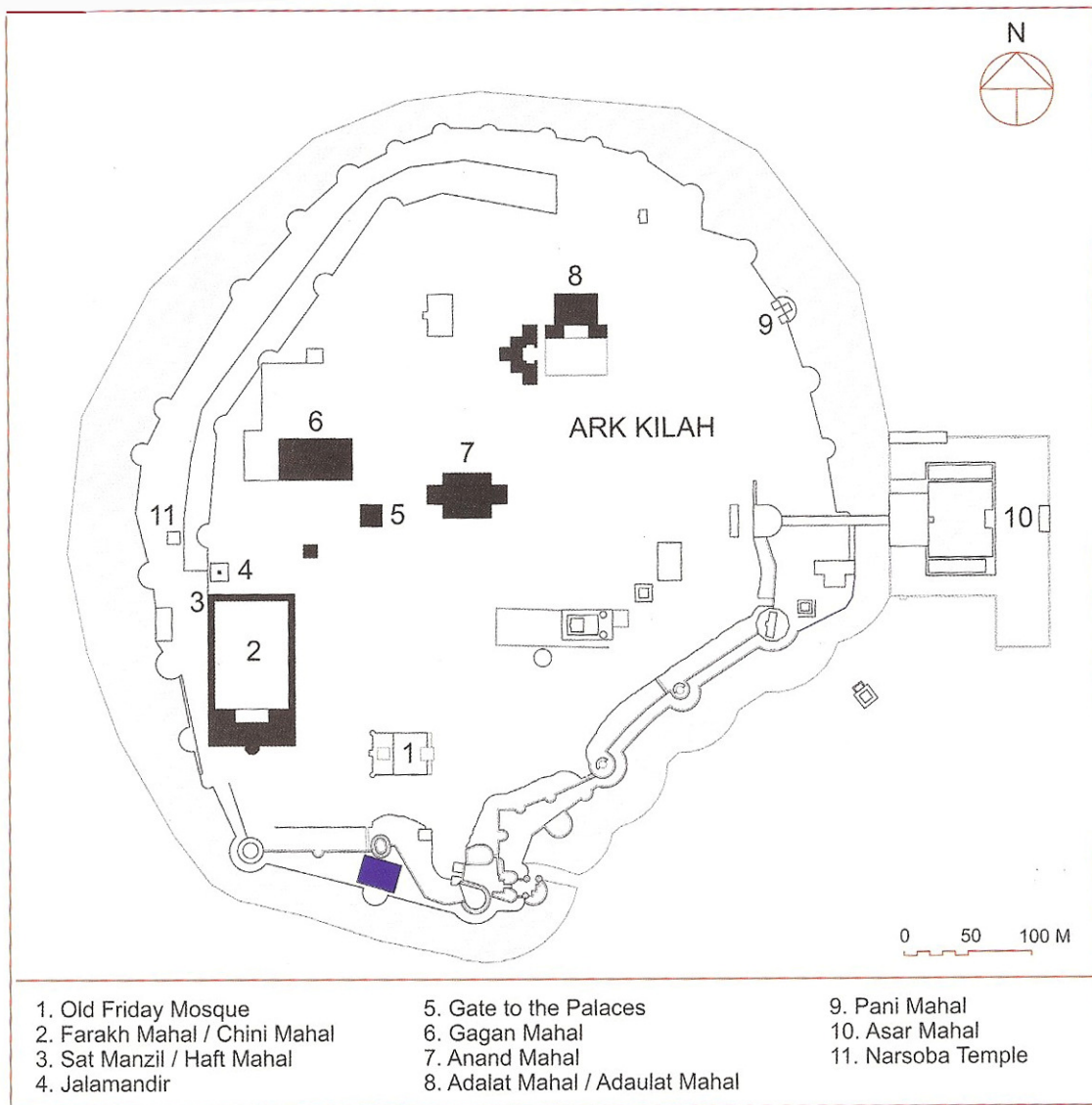


Fig. 2.3.16 Bijapur Fort (Citadel or Ark Kilah) by Klaus Rötzer in *Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan*, p. 134

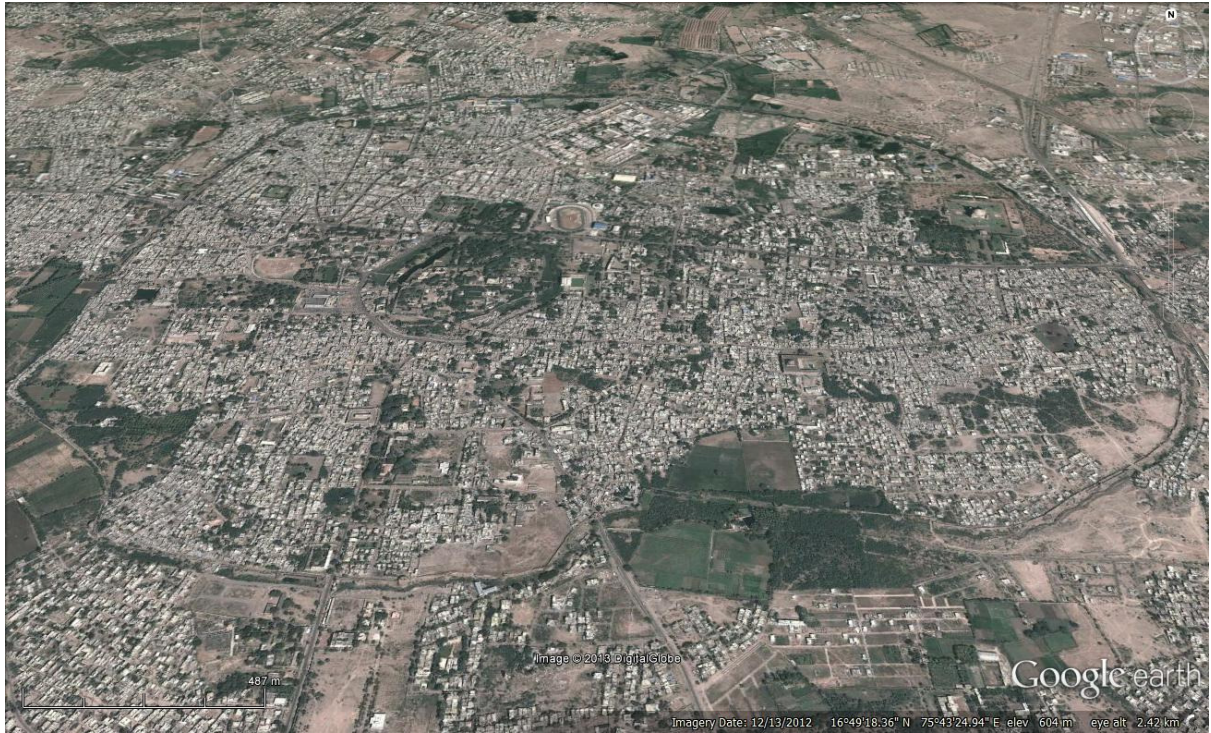


Fig. 2.3.17 Bijapur Fort (citadel) and Town Fort as seen today



Fig. 2.3.18 Closer look at Bijapur Fort (citadel) as seen today

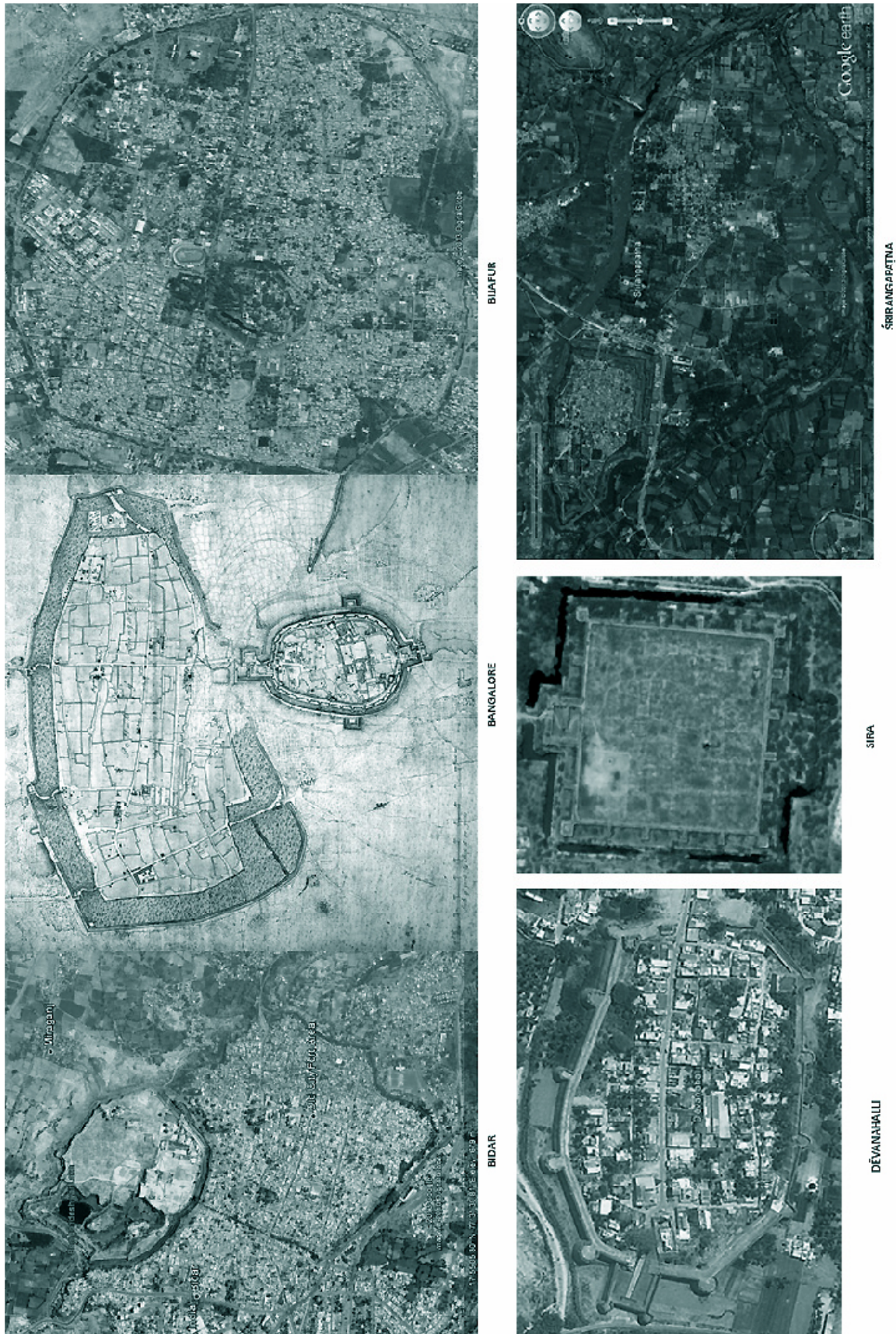


Fig. 2.3.19 Image showing forts in comparison with that of Bangalore; Plan of Bangalore is by Home, rest are Google Earth images

2.4 A meeting of cultural practices

The Sacred and the Civic

The idea of religious centres as nodes causal to settlement of particular communities has been discussed earlier in Section 2.1. A connection between Hindu and Muslim religious centres is brought to focus by *Karaga*, a major festival of Bangalore dedicated to Draupadi, the consort of the five Pandavas from the Mahabharata, worshipped as a Goddess in this case. This festival is celebrated each year at the Dharma-Rāya Swāmy temple (fig. 2.1.12) in the Tigalāra-Pēṭē (see Section 2.1) during full moon in either March or April month (the seventh day of the Hindu month *Chaitra*), and brings together people from Hindu and Muslim religions in a unique way. Srinivas asserts that the start of the festival corresponds to the beginning of the Tamil New Year.¹⁸³ One of the temple priests (from the *Tigalā* community who were originally horticulturists) dresses up as Draupadi (fig. 2.4.4), consort of Dharma-Rāya and the other Pandavas who is worshipped as *Ādishakthi* (Mother Goddess in *shakthi*/ power form), traverses through the main streets balancing an extensive headgear decorated lavishly with jasmine stopping en-route at the Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān *dargah* (*sūfi* shrine,¹⁸⁴ fig. 2.1.13) to pay respects to the saint (fig. 2.4.5, also see Section 3.2). The festival revolves around Draupadi's manifestation in the earth mound called *Hasi Karaga*, subsequent emergence in the priest carrying the *Karaga*, and containment of the Goddess' heat with her marriage with Arjuna (the third Pandava) as well as appeasement from 'cool' offerings like fruits, lemon juice and jaggery by the devotees. While Draupadi *Karaga* festivals are not uncommon in south India, the coming together of Hindu and Muslim religions in Bangalore is noteworthy. Associations between Sufi festivals and goddess' festivals either appearing together or where one has a "symbolic role within the structure of the other" existed in south India.¹⁸⁵ A similar symbolic gesture is seen in Bangalore during Muharram when Hindu tiger dancers perform during this period of mourning associated with Prophet Mohammad's grandson Hussain's martyrdom.¹⁸⁶ Srinivas refers Jackie Assayag pointing out his study of a Muslim shrine and a goddess temple in Belgaum (pronounced Belgāvi in Kannaḍa) in northern Karnataka and his assertion regarding usage of similar terminology describing ritual practices in both cases. In this instance, a tomb in a Muslim complex (*mazar*) is referred to as *samadhi*, a word used in the context of Hindu philosophers, and the term *shakthi* which is synonymous with the power of the goddess is used to describe the power and blessing of the Muslim saint. Srinivas quotes

¹⁸³ Smriti Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2004) p. 159.

¹⁸⁴ Some people from *Sunni* Muslim sect are followers of *Sufism* which explores the philosophical, mystical aspect of *Islam*

¹⁸⁵ Srinivas, p. 83.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Assayag's assertion that for both groups of Hindu and Muslim religions "cultural duality is respected through barely differentiated behaviour."¹⁸⁷

The Legend

This practice traces its origin to many legends as usual. One legend relates that the *Karaga* while passing the Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān *dargah* came to an abrupt halt and moved forward only when the saint tied a thread on the foot of the priest carrying the *Karaga* and pulled him.¹⁸⁸ Another legend goes that the saint was knocked down and injured during the procession incurring his curse. This was remedied after application of turmeric paste brought from the temple and the *Karaga* which stopped following his curse could move forward, and so the procession stops at the shrine to pay homage to the saint. A third legend relates that the priest carrying the *Karaga* died from its weight when it first began, though this squarely dates the festival to the saint's period, the saint then asked the priest who replace him to chant 'Din, Din', *din* meaning religion and he was able to do the task. This is given as the reason why the troupe stops at the shrine every year in this account. When this practice was abandoned in a later year, the *Karaga* flew off from his head and went to the shrine, and was rescued when the act was remedied. Srinivas relates a similar legend surrounding Hazrat Hamid Shah Auliya in temple folklore in Kanchipuram. He is said to have freed the immobilized Kanchipuram temple chariot during the town festival.¹⁸⁹

Urban Morphology and Karaga

In the preceding chapters, the urban morphology of Bengaluru and possible references has been discussed. The axially of the Pētē has been explained in the context of town-planning and economic zoning. The idea of temples as significant 'nodes'¹⁹⁰ of culture paradigm is discussed here albeit with a singular reference, that of the *Karaga* which denotes Draupadi as primal power invoked in the priest as well as the earth mound (*Hasi Karaga*) decorated with jasmine and the earthen pot holding water carried by the priest.¹⁹¹ The procession is called *jātrē*. Srinivas explains that the procession itself marks 'paths' to other 'nodes' which are ritual sites such as Tawakkal Mastān *dargah* to the west of Pētē, the *Annamma* temple, a boundary Goddess patronised by Ganiga (oil presser) community, near what used to be Dharmāmbudhi Kerē to the north of Pētē, another to the *Kōṭē* (fort) *Anjanēya* (Hanumān) near Delhi gate of the Fort linked to an exit from the Pētē and another temple to the same God towards the north of Pētē, all outwards from the nodal centre which is the Dharma-Rāya Swāmy temple. Figure 2.4.1 is a representation of these nodes on an overlay of Home's plan on Google Earth image of the area. The focus of this chapter is not so much on the religious aspect of the festival as the linking of axial paths and nodes through the

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 24-25.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. xix.

medium of a sacred practice. This is depicted in Fig. 2.4.2 in red line where as the blue line traces the boundary of the Pēṭē.

Srinivas explores how this culture aesthetic or religious practice relates to the urban fabric of the Pēṭē area. She asserts that “it is possible to demonstrate, first, that sacred arenas offer models of the civic through articulations of landscapes of urban memory, and second, that the secular, in many cases, is a staging of deeply ritualized actions.”¹⁹² Srinivas discusses the first idea, and the second idea, though not discussed by her in the book, relates to the theory pursued in this research that the secular in Pēṭē was a deliberate attempt of finding a ritualistic component uniting different religious practices prevalent in the time. Another reference is the importance attached to water bodies and flowers which is directly linked to the erstwhile profession of the *Tigaḷa* community which was that of horticulture. They were responsible for the upkeep of water bodies, tanks in this case. Construction and maintenance of these tanks were essential in a town devoid of natural water sources. A link between the tanks where surplus water flowed by way of gravity from one to the other is observed. Some of them like Dharmāmbudhi and Kāranji also fed the moat around the Pēṭē and the Fort respectively.¹⁹³ Srinivas observes that during the nine days of the festival, the troupe travels to nine different sites, and performs pūja. “If the location is a garden, the altar is a tree. If it is a temple, most of the ritual is performed in its vicinity.”¹⁹⁴ This vicinity was marked often by lakes/ ponds/tanks, most of which have now disappeared. The *Karaga* festival also gives an introduction to the Pēṭē-Fort complex which might be read as contemporary of one another if we assume that the *Kōṭē Anjanēya* temple to be one of the boundary Gods of the Pēṭē.

The jātrē

The festival begins at the Dharma-Rāya Swāmy temple which is richly decorated with lights for the occasion. Music, devotional, from movies, plays on loudspeakers, is heard throughout the neighbourhood and presents a cacophony of sounds along with that of the devotees themselves. Srinivas asserts that the festival flag of the temple is yellow and mounted on a long bamboo pole with 101 rings, sometimes 56, which is brought from Jaraganahalli forest on the southern side of Bangalore city by twenty-five *Tigaḷa* (Vanhi-kula Kshatriya or Virakumaras) families before the festival begins.¹⁹⁵ The *Karaga* jātrē or procession begins with the raising of the flag on the first day of the festival carrying five colours of the five Pandava brothers on the seventh day (*saptami*) of the Hindu month Chaitra with a corresponding lunar progression.¹⁹⁶ The festival continues for eleven days and concludes with the lowering of the flag on the final day. After the flag is raised, religious rituals are performed in the Dharma-Rāya Swāmy temple on the second, third and fourth

¹⁹² Ibid., p. xxviii.

¹⁹³ Ibid., pp. 42-44.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 185.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 149.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 159.

days. On the fifth day, ladies from *Tigaḷa* families who are invited to the temple by four bands of musicians bring lamps to the temple for Ārati Deepa. The following day, *Hasi Karaga* occurs at Sampangi Tank when the shakthi of Draupadi is manifested in an earth mound, and concludes at the Dharma-Rāya Swāmy temple (fig. 2.4.3). Srinivas asserts this as the stage of ‘incarnation’. The priest who is in a turmeric (yellow) coloured waist drape called *dhoti* and jewellery becomes the bearer of the *Karaga*; it is said that the *Karaga* ‘sits’ on his waist by its own power while the priest holds a sword in his right hand and a stick in the other. The frenzy of the crowd is increased as the priest begins swaying and dancing in a pattern exclusive to him. Initiation of new Virakumaras (heroic sons) is conducted on this day. Virakumaras who accompany the priest are men from the community (usually one from each family) who are trained in wrestling; they take a vow to protect the deity either at the beginning of the festival or on the day of manifestation of *Karaga*. They are attired in white pants and turbans laced with gold thread and red and white checkered scarves, and carry swords. Firecrackers lanterns and torches are lit outside the temple and children from the community perform acrobatics and swordplay. Sweet rice brought by the ladies from *Tigaḷa* families is distributed among devotees in the temple on the seventh day. The next day, being a full moon day (*poorṇima*), marks the Pētē *Karaga* when the procession is taken through the Pētē area; the priest is now in a turmeric coloured saree and blouse carrying the headgear which includes the *Hasi Karaga* which is now richly decorated with jasmine and insignia of the Goddess and is now the *Karaga* himself (fig. 2.4.4). This, Srinivas asserts as the stage of ‘personification’ of the festival. The legend surrounding the festival is recited at a place called Ēḷusuttinakōṭē,¹⁹⁷ where there is a circular temple housing deities relevant to *Karaga*. Srinivas identifies the place as an open space within the perimeter of the new Corporation building in front of the *Anjanēya* temple. She argues that this stage can be termed as the stage of ‘localization’ of the festival. On this day, a black goat is sacrificed in the Dharma-Rāya Swāmy temple to *Pōtha Rāja*, the brother-in-law of Pandavas in the localized version of the story of Pandavas. The following day marks the end of *Karaga* when the men from *Tigaḷa* community play games with turmeric-coloured water brought by the ladies from same community in the Dharma-Rāya Swāmy temple. The festival flag is lowered after midnight concluding the festival. Srinivas observes that all events occur after sunset and before sunrise.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ meaning seven ringed fort in Kannaḍa.

¹⁹⁸ Srinivas, pp. 158 -163.



Fig. 2.4.1 Karaga procession and the religious nodes

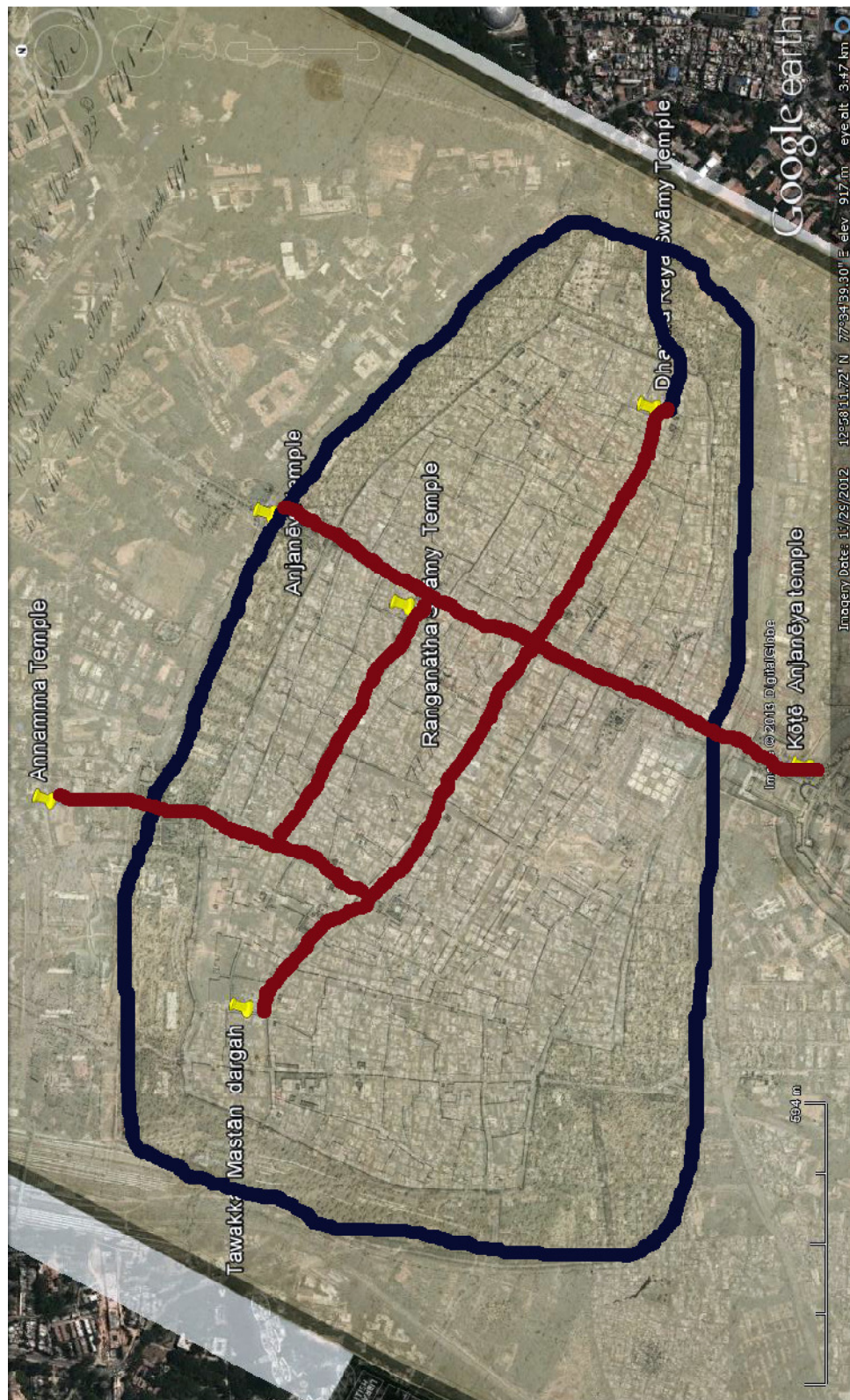


Fig. 2.4.2 Karaga procession route



Fig. 2.4.3 The priest mounting the Hasi Karaga on top of his head, Wikipedia image



Fig. 2.4.4 The priest as Draupadi during procession through the city, Wikipedia image



Fig. 2.4.5 Karaga procession stopping at Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān dargah, Wikipedia image

2.5 Growth of the city and the City-State (Cantonment)

The British Army stationed at Śrirangapaṭṇa since the Fourth War of Mysore (see Section 1.6) was moved to Bangalore in 1809 AD largely in favour of its climate over that of the other city and also since a number of its soldiers' health suffered owing to the mosquito infested swamps of Śrirangapaṭṇa. The Madras Government controlled by the British had approached Mysore Durbār in 1807 AD to set up a Cantonment of subsidiary troops in Halasūr, 4 miles north-east of Pēṭē. Due to this however, Mysore treasury suffered losses to the tune of 50,000 rupees a year from August 1831 AD to December 1861 AD as payment in consideration of transfer of Śrirangapaṭṇa fortress to Mysore administration. This military settlement soon developed into a Civil and Military Station which was to develop as a City-State in later years marking a bi-focal method of town-planning, that of the Pēṭē and the Civil and Military Station. Hasan terms the latter "a spot of England in India."¹⁹⁹

The Cantonment slowly turned into a permanent settlement with new streets, churches, market, parade ground, hospital and park. With the British administrators, the supporting classes of āyahs (maids), mālis (gardeners) and bearers may have come from Tamil Nadu and settled around the Sōmēshwara temple at Halasūr. This might explain the presence of a large Tamilian settlement in this area. In the year 1831 AD, the Mysore Maharāja, Krishna Rāja Wodeyar III (*Mummadi* in Kannada) was divested of power and a British Commission established with headquarters in Bangalore to look over the affairs of Mysore State which existed until March 1881 AD Rendition which transformed the Cantonment (*Danḍu* in Kannada, *Lashkar* in Deccan Urdu). This effort I believe marked Bangalore for the capital city it was later to become (post Independence of India).

Figure 2.5.1 is a plan of Bangalore in the year 1924 AD. Here, the Pēṭē and Cantonment separated by a green buffer, the Cubbon Park named after Sir Mark Cubbon who became the (British) Commissioner of Mysore state in 1834 AD, can be observed. New extensions such as Malleshwaram towards north-west of Pēṭē and Basavanagudi, Chāma Rāja- Pēṭē, Shankarapuram towards south of Pēṭē abutting the Fort have sprung up by this time. Also, note-worthy are the extensions around the Cantonment like Richards town, Frazer town, Cleveland town, Richmond town which in turn have their own nodal references such as the Halasūr tank, Sankey tank, Miller's tank, Hebbal Lake and religious nodes/ references such as the old Sōmēshwara temple of Halasūr, and Trinity Church constructed by the British. This has been identified on top view of Bangalore as at present in Figure 2.5.2. If one were to substitute the Kannada word for town, which is Pēṭē, this is another development of sub-

¹⁹⁹ M Fazlul Hasan, '*Bangalore through the centuries*', First Edition (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970, p. 125.

Pēṭēs not unlike the original settlement where the language of the original town is translated to the new settlers.

After the Rendition and transfer of power back to the then Mysore Maharāja, Chāma Rāja Woḍeyar X, the “Assigned Tract of Bangalore for the purpose of perpetuating the British Cantonment was treated as an independent area under the direct control of the Imperial Government.”²⁰⁰ This Assigned Tract area, which compromised 15 villages, was under Mysore and not under British rule per se, but jurisdiction lay with Madras Government. The newly formed executive head, the British Resident, was responsible for administration of the area. Krishna Rāja Woḍeyar IV (*Nālvaḍi* in Kannada) demanded the area be restored in 1933 AD. Jurisdiction of the area was finally transferred to Mysore State on 26th July, 1947 AD just before India declared Independence.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 127.

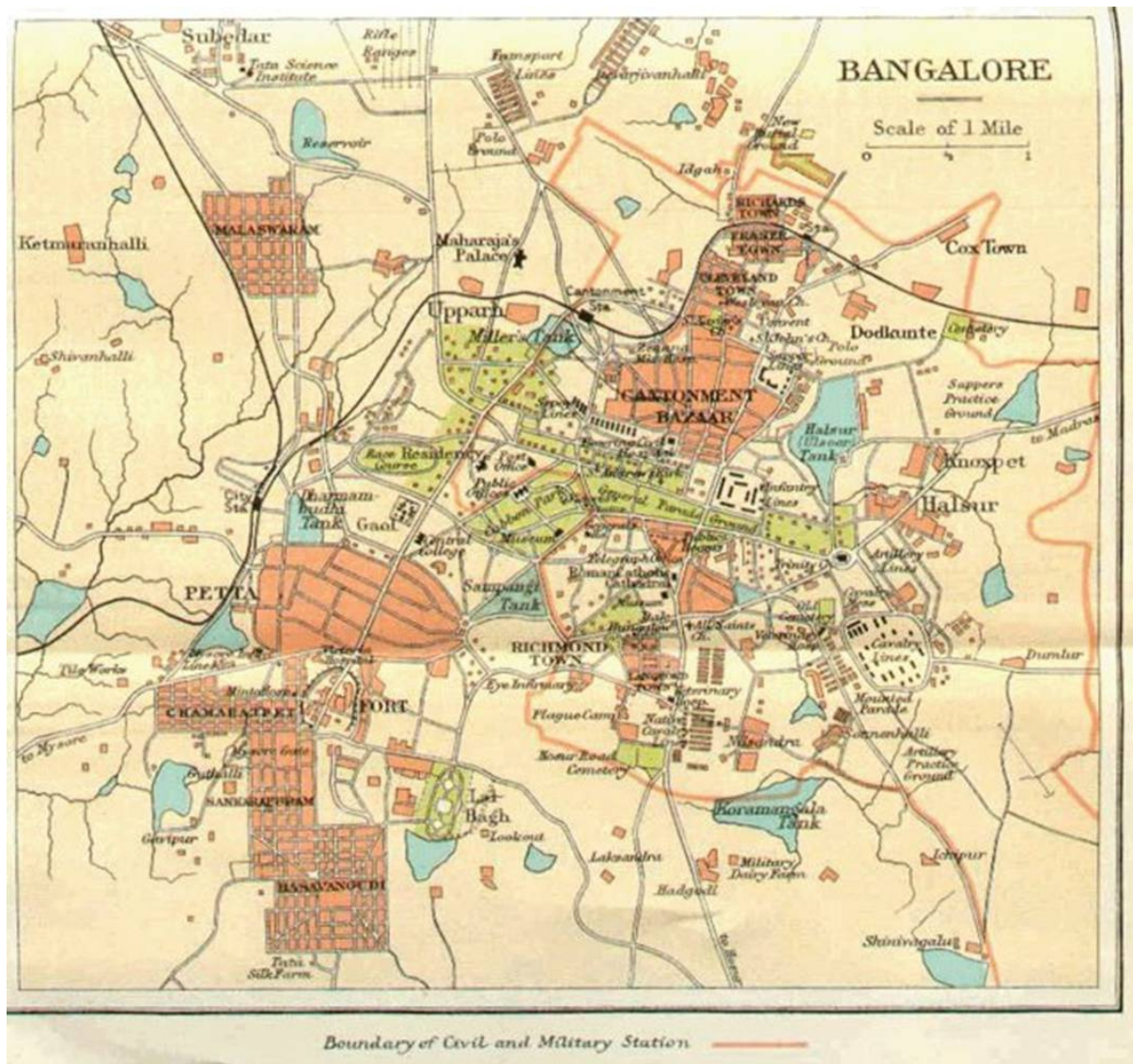


Fig. 2.5.1 Pēṭē and Fort of Bangalore with Cantonment, 1942 AD, Rice, Mysore, Vol. II

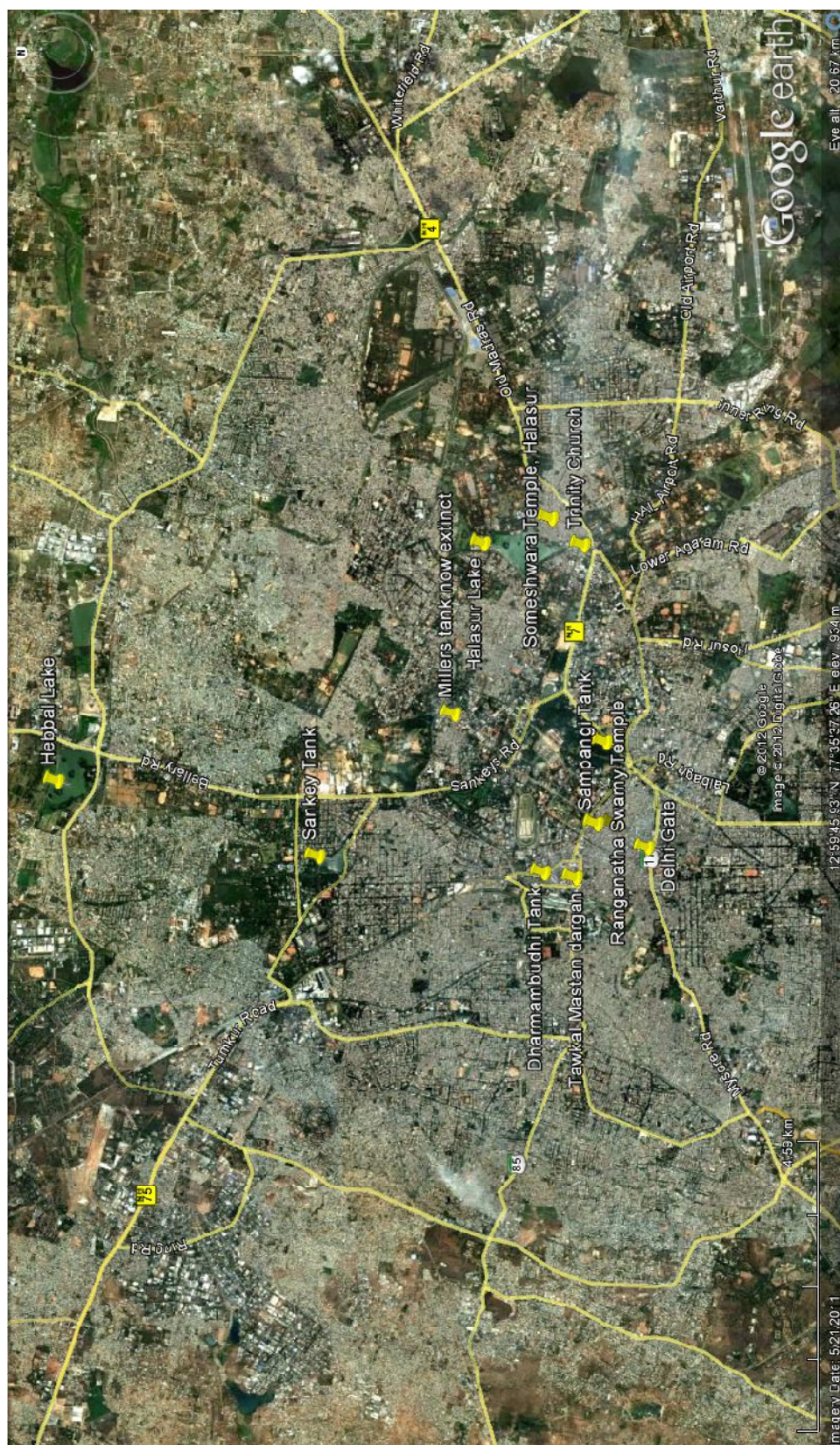


Fig. 2.5.2 Present top view showing religious and tank/ lake nodes of 1924 AD

Conclusion to Chapter 2

This chapter is a study of settlement pattern of Bangalore's earliest urban area, that of the Pēṭē and the Fort with a background of its history from Chapter 1. I have asserted in the introduction to this research that a diverse population was introduced at the formation of this city. The layout of the town and diversity of the population and changing dominant function of the city is explained in Section 2.1 from its nascent stage, while links translating diversities between Hindu and Muslim religions is discussed with the aid of a cultural phenomenon, the *Karaga* which takes a unique trans-religious character in Bangalore, in Section 2.4. Most importantly the role of the Fort, its layout, strength and attractions and the manner in which it came to be a scoring point between the Marāṭhas, Nizam, Mysore rulers and the British has been discussed in Section 2.2. Other Forts in peninsular India, situated in the vicinity of Bangalore have been discussed in Section 2.3 for a comparison in shape and layout. The gradual transformation of the town into a capital city is touched upon briefly in Section 2.5.

The cultural priorities of the population become merged or linked, changing the nature of the urban fabric. That residential settlements around a particular temple were often inhabited by people belonging to the particular community patronising the deity to whom it is dedicated is validated through the concept of sub-Pēṭēs. The emphasis on trade in urban planning method employed by Kempē Gowḍa I, and suitable environs (*durgas* – hill fortresses) surrounding the town, later on city, has been outlined in Section 2.1. When compared, place-names of sub-Pēṭēs as existing now with that presented in Home's plan of the Pēṭē and Fort drawn in 1791 AD haven't changed very much except that new sub-Pēṭēs such as Cotton-Pēṭē have been added as a result of its investment and management by the British post fourth war of Mysore. Accepting this as a natural progression, I assert that the Kannada place-names of the sub-Pēṭēs are ones retained from the days of the founding of the city.

That change in the functional aspect of the city propelled a change in the form is further established here. The dominant mercantile function is replaced with that of 'defence', this effectively shifted the focus from the Pēṭē to the Fort, and the latter was enlarged and rebuilt in stone. The city evolved in response to the political, socio-cultural and economic changes, sometimes benefitting in the process. For example, the coming of age of Bangalore's defence was augmented by military techniques of the French. The city as argued earlier is clearly a melting pot of various cultures and built-forms.

The relevance of paths forged by the Pēṭē and the Fort can be seen through later maps of the city in 1924 AD (fig. 2.5.1), and present (fig. 2.6.1, 2.6.2). While in 1924 AD, we see a marked divide as shown in fig. 2.6.1 with the creation of a Civil and Military station to the north-east of the Pēṭē and the Fort, the green patch of Cubbon Park introduced might be

regarded as a silent buffer between the local settlement and European/ Eurasian one, creating two focal areas. The N-S axial path that runs through the Pēṭē and Fort follows through Cubbon Park over to the 'other' focal area, while E-W path stretches to Halasūr on eastern side and western path extends with bits of urban sprawl alongside. A boundary route replacing the fort of Pēṭē connects it to Madras (now Chennai) on eastern side and Mysore towards west.

The centrality of the earliest areas is emphasized in the present day street map (fig. 2.6.1) and bus-route map (fig. 2.6.2) of Bangalore. In the former, a continuing dominance of the N-S axial path of the Pēṭē is shown marked in blue connecting it with national highway roads. There is a shift in E-W axial path as this is now taken over by the southern boundary path of the Pēṭē which was forged replacing its mud fort. This path travelling towards Halasūr earlier is seen transformed into another national highway road in that direction while it naturally connects to the Mysore ring road in the other direction. A new concept of ring roads introduced in Master Plan 2003 and carried on presently end up bringing into focus the centrality of the earliest urban areas. Figure 2.6.2 supports this centrality. As this is a bus-route map, it acts as a visual guide to dominant movement of urban population around this central core. In both figures, we begin to see a reflection of the shape of the Pēṭē.

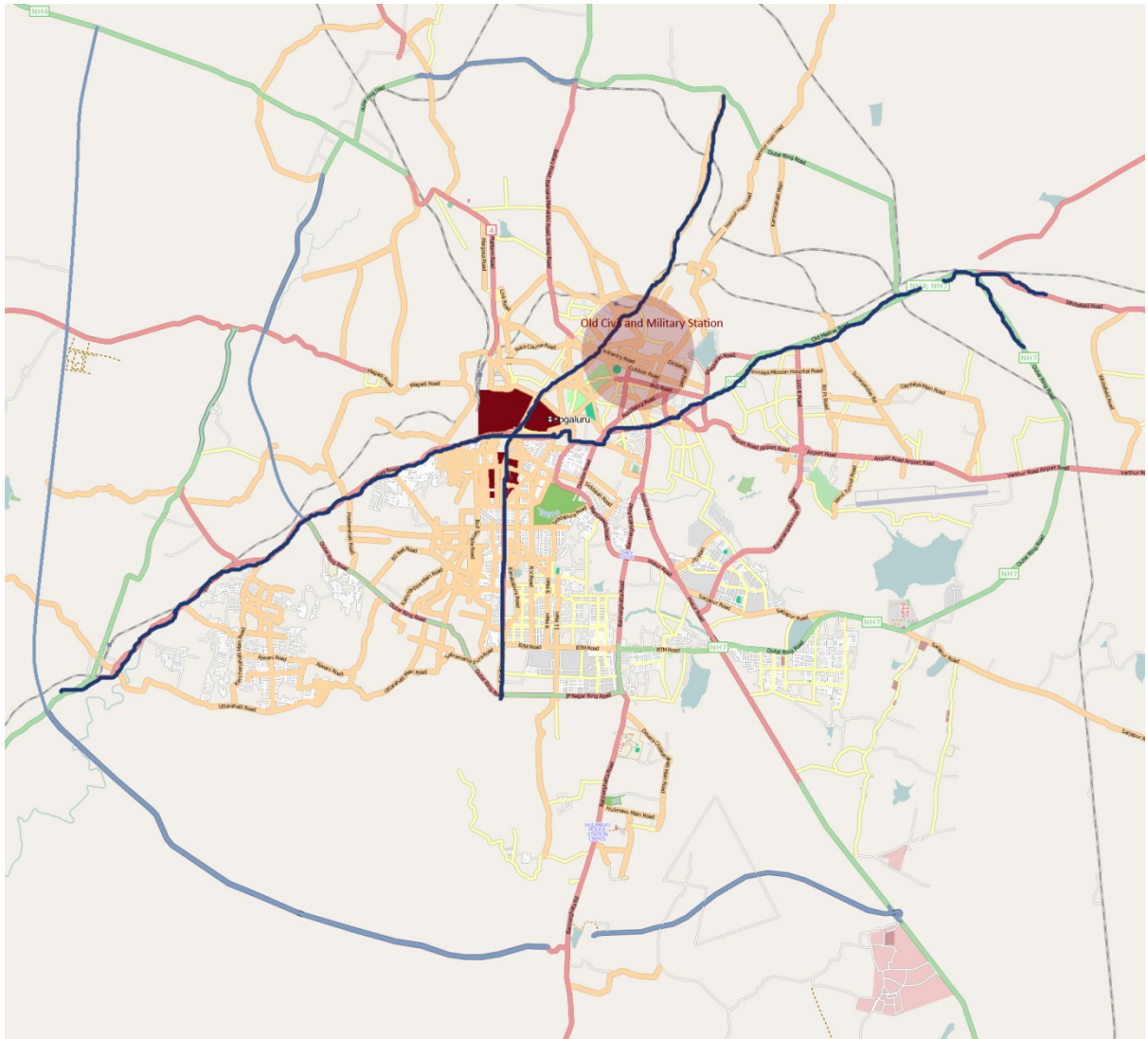


Fig. 2.6.1 Pēṭē and Fort marked on present street map of Bangalore

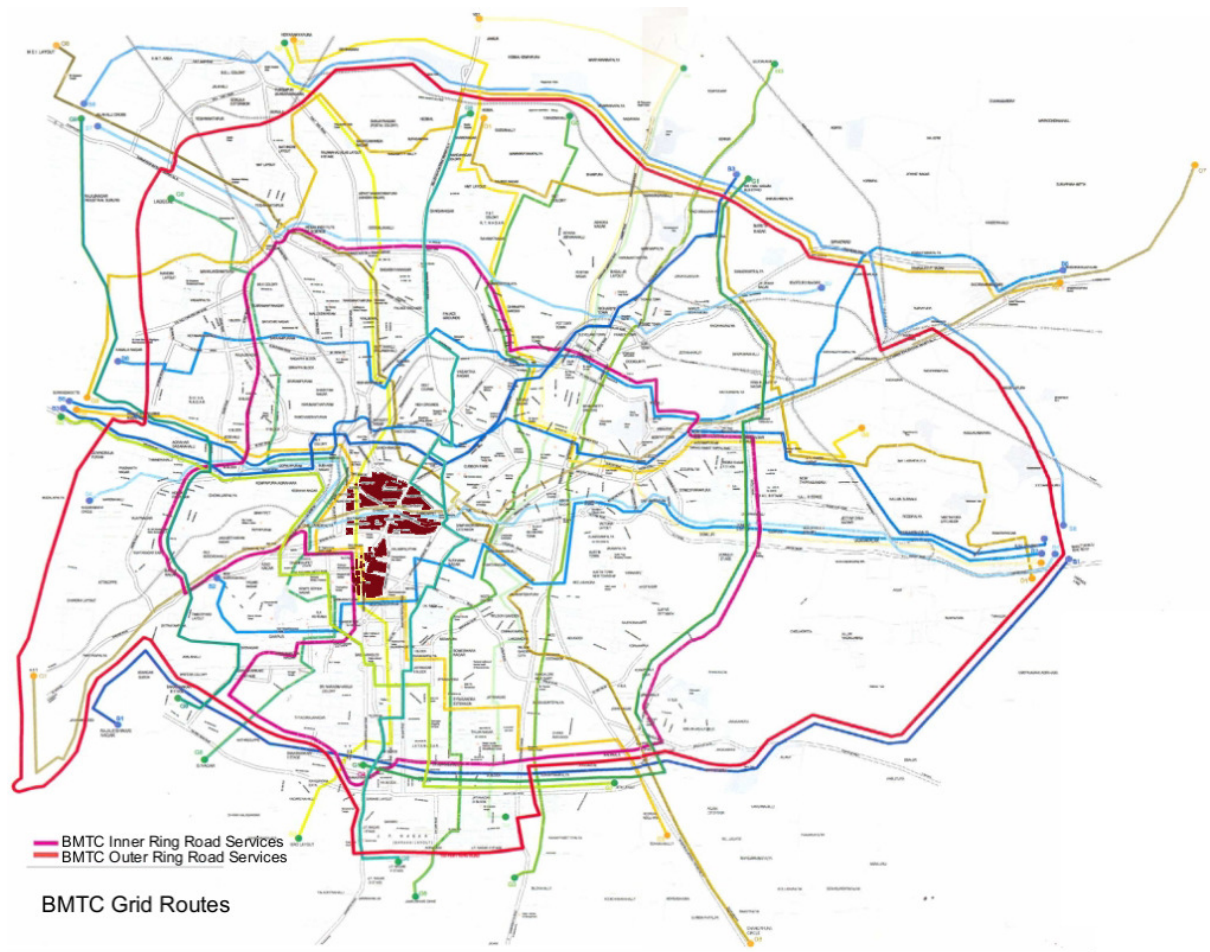


Fig. 2.6.2 Pēṭē and Fort marked on present bus-route of Bangalore

Chapter ARCHITECTURE

3

List of topics

Introduction to Chapter 3	p. 142
3.1 The Temples	p. 145
3.2 Masjid and Dargah	p. 183
3.3 The Fort	p. 190
3.4 The Palace	p. 209
3.5 Lāl Bāgh	p. 242
Conclusion to Chapter 3	p. 255

Introduction to Chapter 3

The previous Chapters 1 and 2 provide a historical background and town-planning method as well as settlement patterns. Chapter 3 documents in detail surviving buildings of historical value in terms of their architecture, a few of them have been documented recently though not in such detail. The diverse populace belonging to Hindu and Muslim religions and links of Sacred between them have been discussed in the preceding chapter. Whether these links translated into architectural terms can be established by examining particular elements of construction. In this instance, I have chosen to detail columns of Hindu and Islamic patronage. The former is related to religious nodes i.e., temples documented in Section 3.1 and latter to a royal node, Tipu's Palace documented in Section 3.3. An adherence to the Vijayanagara Empire, which fell in 1565 AD, led the *Pāḷēgārs* of Yelahanka, and subsequently Woḍeyars to attempt similar religious architecture, on a smaller scale, in Bangalore. These, I have classified as belonging to **Later/ Post-Vijayanagara** style. The temples documented in Section 3.1 are the Halasūr Sōmēshwara and Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy. Composite columns of the Ranganātha Swāmy temple have also been presented in photographs.

Section 3.2 presents the oldest mosque of Bangalore and the Tawakkal Mastān *dargah*, the latter assumes cultural significance with its association to the *Karaga* festival. The Woḍeyars built a defence structure, an oval Fort, in reference of a smaller earlier mud fort built by Kempē Gowḍa I to the south of the Pēṭē. This was subsequently re-built in stone by Hyder Ali. The oval Fort was torn down to make access routes and much disassembled after its investment by British troops, so much so that not many Bangaloreans are aware that a Fort existed in that part. The lone structure that calls attention to this bit of history is the surviving part of the northern entrance of the Fort called the Delhi Gate by British historians. This structure is presented in detail with measurements in Section 3.3, while explaining its strategic importance and the changing nature of the city. A mixed motif appearing on walls of the oval Fort, as explained in Section 3.3, gives credence to an architectural dialogue between the Hindu and Islamic traditions.

Tipu's Palace (shown on map of oval Fort in fig. 2.2.6, in Section 2.2), which was located in the lost southerly part of the oval Fort, had been studied in detail and a probable reconstruction presented in drawings in chapter 3.4. This palace takes inspiration from a palace at Sira (fig. 3.1), a taluk of Tumkūr District which is located north-west of Bangalore, and Shivappa Nayaka's palace at Shimoga (fig. 3.2). The audience hall, with the viewing gallery for the ruler, in particular resembles that of the latter (fig. 3.3). The columns of the palace and the design of the parapet change tone under Islamic influences as patronage changes. An artistic statement is made through gilded art work on the walls. Section 3.5 discussed garden planning techniques in reference to the Lāl Bāgh of Bangalore.

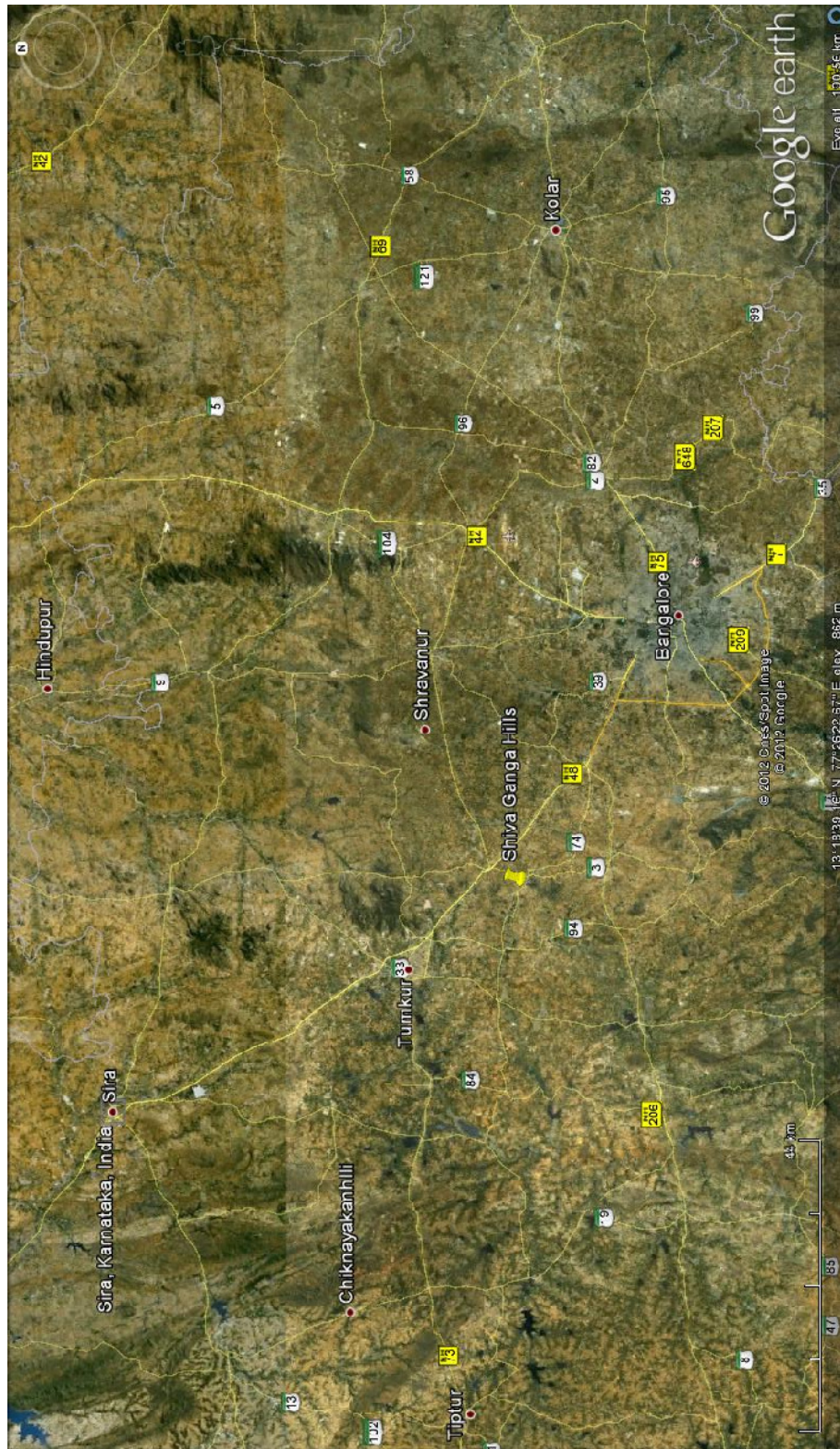


Fig. 3.1 Image showing location of Sira in relation to Bangalore, Google Earth image



Fig. 3.2 Shivappa Nayaka's palace, Shimoga



Fig. 3.3 Audience Hall, Shivappa Nayaka's palace, Shimoga

3.1 The Temples

The pattern of religious nodes, or the sacred, set among utility nodes such as tanks in terms of the urban layout forging a relation with the civic and the associated cultural practices has been discussed in Chapter 2. These tanks were not part of the sacred complex but ones that were used for water-supply to the town etc.

In this section, two temples, Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy inside the Fort area and Halasūr Sōmēshwara to east of Pēṭē are presented in detail, with an emphasis on its architectural features specifically columns, while others like the Ranganātha Swāmy and Dharma Rāya, situated in the Pēṭē, Gavi Gangādharaśwara and Basava situated to the south of the Pēṭē are presented in photographic survey. From Chapter 1 we observe that Kempē Gowḍa I and his family remained staunchly loyal to the perception of the ‘Empire’ even after the fall of the Vijayanagara (city of victory) Empire. Their religious and political adherence to the Vijayanagara ruler continued despite him being contained in a much smaller country. These events are explained extensively in the Chapter 1. Such an adherence is reflected in their pursuing a similar type of architecture, particularly with temples which were smaller in size than their important counterparts yet, which can be classified as ‘**Later Vijayanagara**.’ One such temple built during the reign of Kempē Gowḍa I, and later on expanded by his son Kempē Gowḍa II, is documented in this chapter; this is the Sōmēshwara temple at Halasūr. That the Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple was constructed by Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar, and supported by endowment from his son Kanṭṭeerava Narasa Rāja Woḍeyar II, is explained in Sections 1.1 and 1.4. Both temples, though built in the nature of Vijayanagara temples, and classified here as belonging to **Later/ Post-Vijayanagara** style, are modest in size and features. The objective in this Section is to identify such buildings and examine them in context of the history and resultant architectural landscape, and to understand their significance by studying the manner in which they were applied to a particular location. The columns of these temples (fig.3.1.1), which demand attention, have been classified and studied in detail.

George Michell, author and architectural historian, treats temples of both Gowḍas and Woḍeyars together (see fig. 3.1.29 for locations of temples constructed by Gowḍas and Woḍeyars), them being “stylistically akin.”²⁰¹ He asserts that the religious projects of Gowḍas and Woḍeyars are conventional, and that they are built in a “derivative style that imitates the mature Vijayanagara idiom [fig. 3.1.30]” at a lesser scale.²⁰² A similar assertion is made in this Section earlier. To explain the Vijayanagara Karnāṭa idiom, five temples from the period of reign of the Sāḷuva and Tuḷuva rulers of Vijayanagara Empire (1485 – 1570 AD)

²⁰¹ George Michell, ed. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase Ca. AD 1289-1798* (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 2001), Text, p. 172.

²⁰² George Michell, *Architecture and Art of Southern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 69.

are presented in fig. 3.1.30. The temples presented are the Virūpāksha (Hampi), Viṭṭhala (Hampi), Bālakrishṇa (Hampi), Paṭṭābhirāma (Kamalāpuram), Tiruvengaḷanātha (Hampi) in comparison with a smaller scale plan of the Halasūr Sōmēshwara. In all these examples, a *rangamanḍapa* opens onto an open *mahāmanḍapa* replete with composite columns with colonette and figural additions to the basic block column. Michell observes that the main shrine of the Viṭṭhala temple “presents a prototype that regulates later projects at the capital.”²⁰³ He notes that the temple consists of a *garbha-griha*, *antarāḷa*, and connecting chamber “contained within a rectangle of walls, creating a *pradakshiṇāpatha* on three sides. The adjoining *rangamanḍapa* has sixteen columns in the middle and three doorways on the periphery, those at the sides leading to single-bayed porches. This scheme is repeated most often in a diminished version by omitting the *pradakshiṇāpatha* and reducing the *rangamanḍapa* columns to four, as in the Virūpāksha temple at Hampi, and the nearby Bālakrishṇa”²⁰⁴ Michell asserts that the walls of the *garbha-griha*, *antarāḷa*, and *pradakshiṇāpatha* sometimes have recesses set into them with or without carved icons. The wall-pilasters usually consist of “part-octagonal or fluted shafts with double capitals, and *pushpa-pōṭikā* brackets.”²⁰⁵ The *adhiṣṭhānas* of these temples “present varied sequences of pettaled *padma*, *jagati*, *kumuda* with *tripaṭṭa*, multi-faceted or ribbed sides, *kapōta* or *paṭṭikā* between double *kanṭhas* with shallow bands, and inverted *padma*.”²⁰⁶ *Shikaras* over the *garbha-grihas* are either *Brahmacchanda* or *Rudracchanda*. The *gōpuras* of the Tiruvengaḷanātha temple consists of pilastered niches topped by “*śālās* on the *kandharas* of the *upapīṭhas*”²⁰⁷ and the *gōpura* of the Paṭṭābhirāma temple has a “worn, unrestored tower rising in five diminishing storeys.”²⁰⁸

Michell asserts that the Gowḍa and Woḍeyar temples demonstrate “the survival of the Vijayanagara Karnāṭa idiom [fig. 3.1.30] into the 17th and 18th centuries” in a modest scale with the exception of temples at Kōlār and Nandi.²⁰⁹ The main shrine of the temple at Kōlār consists of a *garbha-griha* that faces east and *antarāḷa* besides a *rangamanḍapa* opening onto a *mahāmanḍapa* which consists of seven bays in width and seven bays in length. Michell observes that the central bays are larger in both directions. He notes that the outer two rows are raised on an *upapīṭha* which results in the creation of a central hall of six by five bays. The central three bays extend in a row towards the east marking the entrance (fig. 3.1.28).²¹⁰ The absence of historical documentation with respect to the foundation of many Gowḍa and Woḍeyar temples is noted by Michell, validating similar observation in this research.²¹¹ Michell observes “that temple architecture in these centuries was lacking in

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 82.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 82-83.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 83.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 89.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 172 – 173.

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 179.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 173.

invention is obvious from the repetitive modes preferred for shrines, imitating in simplified form the layouts and elevational schemes of earlier times.”²¹² However, he acknowledges that the treatment of the exterior walls of the temples with decorative friezes to be an instance of original contribution to the tradition in later times.²¹³

Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple

This temple is located almost centrally in the Fort area, next to the Tipu’s Palace. It is referred to as *kōṭē* Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple after the location, *kōṭē* meaning fort in Kannada. The temple (fig. 3.1.3 showing plan, fig. 3.1.9 showing photographs) dates to the end of the 17th century when Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar assumed control of Bangalore. Hasan dates the completion of the temple to 1695 AD.²¹⁴ Hyder and Tipu (see Section 1.5) are generally believed, as related by local people’s reminiscences, to have followed a practice of paying obeisance to the deity here before going to war (In the case of Śrīrangapaṭṇa, they did the same at the Ranganātha Swāmy temple there). This may have to do with the diplomacy of appealing to a Hindu majority population. The *Garuḍa-gamḇa* (Garuḍa pillar) which one sees at the entrance (fig. 3.1.10, photograph showing Garuḍa pillar), directly in front of the temple complex, situated on the pedestrian path is a replica of the one that took the canon fired by the British aimed at the palace during the third war of Mysore (see Section 1.6), while the original was shifted to the Bangalore Museum. The original pillar is documented by Hasan as set at a distance of around 80 feet from the temple.²¹⁵ The original, Hasan asserts, had a square base and a tapering octagonal shaft. He opines that Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar’s zeal for Vaishṇavite traditions (see Section 1.4) seeded the construction of this temple in Bangalore upon its acquisition by the Woḍeyars, which predominantly hosted Shaivite temples as a result of the patronage of Gowḍa rulers (see Section 1.1).

A plan of the temple is presented in figure 3.1.3 showing the composite pillars of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*²¹⁶, set on a simple plinth or *adhiṣṭhāna*, having either colonettes or figural additions with central aisles having greater width than surrounding bays. The inner composite columns, which present vivid imagery, are a novelty in the sense that they have seated additions (fig. 3.1.2) of warriors on carved lion figures holding their reigns and these lions stand on elephants, on all four sides of the central pillar.²¹⁷ The capitals of these columns are carved with birds such swans and parrots, sometimes two-headed figural compositions. Hasan asserts that “the temple, though small, is a fine structure built in the

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ M. Fazlul Hasan, ‘Bangalore through the centuries’, First Edition (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970), p. 69.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ pronounced *maṇḍapa* in Kannada.

²¹⁷ Archaeologist Prof. Rangaraju, H.O.D., Mysore Archaeology Department, opined during our discussion on the subject that these carved animals are horses with kirti-mukhas. However, an examination of the paws of the animal confirms it is a lion.

Dravidian style of architecture.”²¹⁸ He further elaborates that “it possesses a Mukha Mantapa [*mahāmaṇḍapa*] which is embellished with ornamental pillars erected on a stylobate. The pillars have exquisitely carved lion brackets. On the bracket lions, which tread on elephants, are seated heroes holding reins of chains. This Mukha Mantapa [*mahāmaṇḍapa*] appears more like a *navaranga maṇḍapa* as there are nine ankan[ṇ]as. There are two sukhana[ā]sis and a *garbha-griha* – the sanctum sanctorum – in which is located the image of Venkat[ṭ]araman[ṇ]a Swa[ā]my with *kirit[ṭ]a mukuṭa* and Torana [*tōraṇa*] made up of same stone. Around the temple’s monolithic walls are carved images of Vishnu, Brahma and Shiva riding on their vehicles.”²¹⁹ The *maṇḍapa* is *navaranga* meaning it has nine bays. The *garbha-griha* contains an idol of the deity, Vishnu. Hasan states that the story of ‘*girija kalyāṇa*’/ marriage of *Girija* or *Parvati* to *Shiva*, and figures ‘*sapta rishis*’/ seven holy sages and ‘*sapta matrikas*’/ seven wives of the seven holy sages are depicted on the external walls surrounding the *garbha-griha*. He adds that “layers of garish lime so thoughtlessly applied, in recent years (1970 AD), on the ornamental pillars and their finely carved figures have spoiled the natural beauty of the temple.”²²⁰ While this has been remedied now, images presented in figure 3.1.10 show that the floor of the *adhiṣṭhāna* has been unfortunately claimed by new mosaic flooring, again applied without thought and deliberation. Besides the basic ‘block’ column (fig. 3.1.5.a), the *mahāmaṇḍapa* is composed of composite columns which are three-corner colonette (fig. 3.1.6) and four sided figural (fig. 3.1.8.b). The basic block column makes the central core and the figural and colonette additions spring from it making outwardly dramatic projections. An examination of the basic and composite columns (fig. 3.1.1 shows plans of different types of columns) situated in the *maṇḍapa* is presented later on in the chapter. Michell observes that the *vimāna* is a three-storeyed renovated structure with an octagonal *Rudracchandra-shikhara*.²²¹

Halasūr(u) Sōmēshwara Temple

This temple, located in Halasūr, is the largest religious construction undertaken by Kempē Gowḍa I (see Sections 1.1, 2.4) in the vicinity of Bangalore Pēṭē, which was later on expanded by his son in this city (fig. 3.1.3, fig. 3.1.11, fig. 3.1.12). The shrine contains an east-facing *garbha-griha*, *antarāḷa* and a *mahāmaṇḍapa*. The *mahāmaṇḍapa* is composed of thirty-five bays or *ankanas* i.e., seven bays across and five bays in depth with an extension of three central bays at the entrance. Michell mentions a single bayed extension in front, it is however three as seen in fig. 3.1.13.²²² He notes that the central aisles are wider in both directions of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*.²²³ This leads on to an inner chamber or *antarāḷa* with a circumambulatory space beyond which lies the *garbha-griha* housing an idol of Shiva. Figural composite columns, single (fig. 3.1.5.b, fig. 3.1.7.b), line the perimeter while

²¹⁸ Hasan, pp. 70-71.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Michell, *EITA: South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase Ca. AD 1289-1798*, Text, p. 182.

²²² Ibid., p.175.

²²³ Ibid.

the corner spaces are occupied by composite colonette columns, which have colonette additions in three corners with respect to the central core (fig. 3.1.6). Dr. Aruni of ICHR opines that this temple is of Chola origin and that it was expanded by the Yelahanka rulers later on.²²⁴ He argues that the columns of the inner sanctum are replacements and that this is evident from the capital to beam joints where there is chipping and damage. However, on account of this temple not being under the central wing of ASI, the temple has not been broadly investigated by state authorities and cannot be corroborated.²²⁵ Michell observes that the earlier, inner portions have been completely renovated, rendering such an investigation an impossible undertaking.²²⁶

Rice describes Halasūr and the origin of this temple as follows:-

One of the suburbs of the civil and Military Station of Bangalore (under British Administration after Third Mysore War, see chapter 1.6, 2.4), situated north-east of the cantonment, close to the large tank of the same name. It appears to have been founded by Kempe[ē] Gauda [Gowḍa I], under the following circumstances. The surrounding country was then covered with forest, into which he had wandered from Yelahanka in pursuit of game, and being much fatigued, laid himself down under the shade of a tree. In his sleep the god Somesvara [Somēshwara], formerly worshipped on that spot by Mandava rishi, and which lay buried in the sand, appeared in a dream, and revealing to him the existence of a hidden treasure, bid him therewith erect a temple, promising at the same time the divine favour. He accordingly secured the treasure and built the Somesvara [Somēshwara] pagoda, employing, it is said, a sculptor from Bēlūr, a descendant of the famous Jakanāchāri, to ornament the walls with scenes from the marriage of Siva [Shiva] and Parvati [Pārvathi]. The *gopura* [*gōpura*] is an imposing structure in the Dravidian style [fig. 3.1.11]. The village of Halasūr [Halasūr] was also built, containing residents for the attendant Brahmans, and made the *kasba* (group) of 33 villages, from each of which one *koḷaga* for each *kanḍaga* (measures) of grain was appointed to be given as an endowment for the maintenance of religious services. There is another temple on a large scale, dedicated to Subba Rāya, but unfinished. The village is a prosperous one and contains several wealthy residents of Tamil origin.²²⁷

This observation is of course in Rice's time in late the 19th century, and the Tamil population might have been the result of patronage of colonial residents besides old settlers. Nevertheless, a religious node seeding a residential settlement is substantiated in these observations. Kempē Gowḍa I's tribute to Shiva might however have been a direct result of his conversion to *Shaivism* (see Section 1.1).

Michell notes that the circumambulatory space or *pradakshina-patha* walls around the shrine are set on a shallow *adhiṣṭhāna*, or a simple plinth which has a ribbed *kumuda* and decorated *paṭṭika*. He observes that though the walls themselves are without projections, they have regularly placed niches, three on the west and four on the northern and southern

²²⁴ Dr. S. K. Aruni, *Yelahanka Nadaprabhugala Vāstu-shilpa mattu Shipla-kalē* (Bangalore: Bangalore University, 2007).

²²⁵ Note: In the year 2010 AD, a kalyani has been unearthed (on-going work) adjacent to the temple in the north-east corner. This is evidence of the temple being part of larger ambitions in the past. The kalyani being in the process of restoration, access to this area has been restricted.

²²⁶ Michell, *EITA: South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase Ca. AD 1289-1798*, Text, p. 175.

²²⁷ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, p.72.

sides which are covered by *kapōta* overhang and *śālās*. While the *kumbhapanjaras* on either side are topped on “squat” pilasters which stand in pots, full-height pilasters are topped by double capitals where the top capital has side brackets with rolled ends. The walls which end in a *kapōta* cornice with elaborated *nāsis*, are decorated with figures of divinities by themselves or on *vāhanas*, *gaṇas*, *rishis*, devotees, musicians and dancers. Of the *vimāna* over the *garbha-griha*, while contending that it has been restored in later years, he asserts, that it is topped with an octagonal *Rudracchanda-shikhara*.²²⁸

Noting that the *mahāmaṇḍapa* has a similar *upapīṭha*, Michell observes that it is not continuous with *pradakshina-patha* walls. Of the columns, he notes “that they are raised on *adhiṣṭhāna* blocks, repeating similar sequence at the base of the shafts.”²²⁹ The setting of composite columns in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* (fig. 3.1.4) is along the boundaries on north, south and east sides as well as central aisle from east entrance. The various types of columns in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* are explained later on in this section. The brackets are extended *pushpa-pōṭikās*, Michell terms them “double-curved leaf-like brackets.”²³⁰ These, he asserts, support an eave overhang, which is curved in three stages on the underside and the ends are decorated with coiled *nāgas*.²³¹ Additional brackets are introduced below the beams to raise overall height. The beams are decorated with a leaf-frieze band. The doorways of both *garbha-griha* entrance and the ornate *gōpura* are decorated with creepers atop figural compositions. A *balipīṭha* and a *dīpastambha* lead one from the *gōpura* to the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, both of which are richly decorated with elephant friezes, an ornate *kapōta*, *kanṭṭha* (neck), a ribbed *kumuda* with *paṭṭika*, and a floral *jagati* (fig. 3.1.14). Michell notes the similarity of the *gōpura* to that at Kōlār, and notes that the tower here has been slightly altered. A smaller shrine dedicated to Kāmākshamma is located north-west of this shrine.²³²

In temples like the Somēshwara, it seems as if the *palēgār* is trying to reach for similar glory of the Vijayanagara Empire by way of constructing them and in stone so they are *ever-lasting* as the divine. While basic column resembles the carved black stone pillars of the Hazāra Rāma temple (fig. 3.1.15), the composite columns – figural and colonette carry their influence from the ones seen in the *kalyāṇa-maṇḍapa* of the Viṭṭala temple in Hampi. The ornamented composite columns with fluted colonettes as many as twelve and riders on lions set in bigger scale are carved from single blocks of granite in the Viṭṭala temple. The bases of these columns are rendered with carved mouldings and the top brackets more ornate and fluted. The founder of Bangalore, Kempē Gowḍa I and subsequent rulers are generally believed to have derived inspiration from here for temples in his city. Though the granite temples in his city are smaller in scale, each column being about eight and half feet the resultant effect of an ever-lasting presence of the divine is achieved. The sculptural

²²⁸ Michell, *EITA: South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase Ca. AD 1289-1798*, Text, p. 175.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 176.

²³² Ibid.

captivity of the temples is somewhat diminished when they stand in comparison to those in Hampi but to a population governed by a feudatory ruler they might have the same overwhelming effect (fig. 3.1.12). It is significant how the temple is laid out, leading the worshipper from a larger entrance and bigger scale to a smaller hall with mythical creatures rising to an even smaller doorway to the sanctum housing the idol of the god. While the temple is an outwardly projection from the source of divine energy (sanctum), for the worshipper it becomes an inward quest. This progression induces humility just as the celestial figures and creatures rising all around create a festive atmosphere.

Gavi Gangādhārēshwara Temple

Annaswamy speculates four temples in and around Bangalore to be of Chola origin based on “architectural features, sculptural style and myths and legends associated with the Cholas.”²³³ These are the Sōmēshwara temple in Ulsoor/ Halasūr(u) to north of Pēṭē (figs. 3.1.11, 3.1.12), Gavi Gangādhārēshwara Temple in Gavipuram (fig. 3.1.17) and Basava (Bull) Temple in Basavanagudi, both to the south of Pēṭē and Vasantha Vallabharāya Swāmy Temple in Vasanthapura located off the Bangalore - Kanakapura State Highway. Of these, I have surveyed the first three. Rice attributes all three temples including the Gavi Gangādhārēshwara Temple to Kempē Gowḍa I.²³⁴ Michell concurs that the building is commonly associated with Kempē Gowḍa I.²³⁵

Described as a Moorish mosque by an officer of the East India Company, James Hunter, this temple situated south-west of the Pēṭē evokes interest firstly because it is a ‘cave’ temple, and secondly due to the fourth monolithic elements about 24 feet high adorning its entrance.²³⁶ Of the four, two are *Shaivite*, namely the *Trishūla* (trident), *Ḍamaru* (two-sided drum) and the other two *Vasihṇavite*, namely *Sūryapāna* and *Chandrapāna* referring to the Discus of Vishnu (fig. 3.1.18), and are set on on circular shafts. (*Shaivite* denotes the worship of the Hindu God Shiva, *Vaishṇavite* that of the Hindu God Vishnu.) The terms *Sūrya* and *Chandra* refer to the sun and the moon respectively. Michell notes an associated planetary significance.²³⁷ The two *Shaivite* monoliths stand on round bases and the *Vasihṇavite* monoliths are set on rectangular bases; however, the symbols are supported by two pilasters with a *Nandi* idol atop each. The shaft topped by a small *ghaṭa* is complimented by the *Nandi* idols on two sides. All shafts are decorated by a *māla*, meaning a garland, of pearls at the top end. Both *Vaishṇavite* monoliths are mounted vertically unlike the boundary stones of Cholas called *Tiruvahikkal* that set limits of land receiving Royal grants. One such is visible on the hillock called Harihara guḍḍa (hill) abutting this temple, and is next to a temple, also named Harihara (fig. 3.1.20). Adjoining this is one of the boundary towers

²³³ T. V. Annaswamy, *Bengaluru to Bangalore* (Bangalore: Vengadam Publications, 2003), pp. 47 – 51.

²³⁴ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, 2 vols (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 21-22.

²³⁵ Michell, ed. *EITA: South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase*, Vol. I, p. 175.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

constructed by Kempē Gowḍa II (see Section 1.1). This scene is aptly captured by Thomas and William Daniell in their drawing dating to the 18th century (fig. 3.1.19).

There are two shrines inside the cave which are surrounded by circumambulatory passages. The approach to the shrines is southerly. Michell asserts that the roof towers of the two shrines are later additions. He also notes that one of the shrines contains “a small pool fed by rain water.”²³⁸ The temple is commonly believed to contain a passageway to Śivaganga/Shivaganga (pronounced *Shivagangē* in Kannada). This hasn’t been authenticated by modern scholarship.

Dharma-Rāya and Ranganātha Swāmy Temples

The effect of architecture of the Vijayanagara Empire on its feudatory rulers can be witnessed in temples like this one and the Dharma-Rāya (fig. 3.1.21) and Ranganātha Swāmy (fig. 3.1.16). These two temples are situated within the boundaries of the Pēṭē, the Dharma-Rāya in Tigaḷara-Pēṭē and the Ranganātha Swāmy in Muthyāla-Pēṭē. The former is composed of an east-facing *garbha-griha* and a *mandapa*. The *garbha-griha* has been extensively renovated and tiled in 1975 AD, nothing of the original temple (fig. 3.1.22) can be discerned here. The original superstructure over the *mandapa* has been completely reconstructed. The *vimāna* has also been renovated but retains the original design (fig. 3.1.24, fig. 3.1.22). A *shakti-pītha* is set into the floor in front of the *mandapa* though not visible in the undated photograph of the original structure filed by the temple authorities. Instead a vertical shaft about two feet high is seen. The *mandapa* is composed columns set in three bays across and two in depth. The columns are basic block type except in the projection of the central bay which is flanked by a column with a long octagonal shaft (fig. 3.1.23). The parapet is new.

In the Ranganātha Swāmy (fig. 3.1.16), the entrance is flanked by composite figural with riders on rearing horses instead of lions, nor “*vyālas*” as asserted by Michell.²³⁹ The horse is set on a group of figures consisting of sequence of warriors fighting a lion. Michell observes that these “outer columns are raised on *adhiṣṭhāna* blocks.”²⁴⁰ The temple also houses an inscription slab recording a grant by Kempē Gowḍa II in 1628 AD and a mention of the contemporary Āraviḍu ruler Rāma II of the declining Vijayanagara empire.²⁴¹ The *garbha-griha* of the Ranganātha Swāmy faces south and is surrounded by a circumambulatory passageway which is “attached to a rangamanḍapa with sub-shrines”; *dvārapalas* guard the entrance to the *rangamanḍapa*.²⁴²

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p. 176.

Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Bangalore: Mysore Government Press, 1898), Vol. IX, p. 1.

²⁴² Michell, ed. *EITA: South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase*, Vol. I, p. 176.

This space leads onto a *mahāmaṇḍapa* of five bays across and 3 bays in depth contains inner columns which are surmounted by a *ghaṭa* (pot or cushion capital) supporting a *phalaka-padma*. Michell elaborates that the east, west and central aisles are “noticeably wider.”²⁴³ The shafts of the inner columns are sixteen sided.²⁴⁴ Hardy elaborates on the basic and variant of cushion type of pillars in Karnataka and transformation of the chest block (*māla-sthāna*) of the column into a bell embellished with pearls (*māla*).²⁴⁵ Here, the top *phalaka* roundel of the *ghaṭa* has been set around a projection of the *lasuna* (neck) so as to be able to rotate on its axis. Inner beams are supported by four-sided *pushpa-pōṭikās* (an upturned bud bracket), set on the *phalaka-padma*.²⁴⁶

Michell asserts that the eaves are supported by “*kapōta* blocks and leaf-like brackets.”²⁴⁷ The balipīṭha at the entrance of the temple has carvings of elephants on its *adhiṣṭhāna*.²⁴⁸

Basava Temple

This north-facing temple (fig. 3.1.25) is built around a huge monolith of *Nandi* (Bull), vehicle of Shiva, and stands on a gneiss hillock. It is about 15 feet high and 20 feet in length. Adjacent to this is a granite pillar or *dhwaja* (flag) *stambha* (pillar) over 10 metres in height (fig. 3.1.26). Thomas Daniell titles this as a temple near Bangalore in his pencil drawing in 1792 depicting both monoliths (fig. 3.1.27). An inscription at the base of this monolith states that the river Vrishabhavati originates at the feet of “*Basavēshwara*” and flows westward.²⁴⁹ This river is a sub-tributary of river Arkāvathi, which itself is a tributary of river Kāvēri.²⁵⁰ It is not a tributary of S. Pinākini as Rice asserts.²⁵¹ It is generally believed that there was a small pond behind the temple which was indeed the source of the river.²⁵²

A groundnut fair is held annually to appease this deity for about two days sometime during November-December (last day of *kārtika* month of Hindu calendar, a full moon day). Legend has it that a farmer from this area once hit a bull that was grazing groundnuts in his field. The bull turned into stone which scared him and he prayed to Shiva, who appeared in his dream and directed him to construct a temple. The idol however began to increase in height where upon he applied to Lord Shiva once more who instructed him to arrest the height by driving a crowbar between its horns. This done, the farmer was able to atone for his sin by completing construction of the temple. Annaswamy asserts that a similar legend exists regarding the *Nandi* idol in Tanjavūr.²⁵³ It may well have been designed to function as an

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Adam Hardy, *The Temple Architecture of India* (West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 2007) pp. 152-154.

²⁴⁶ Michell, ed. *EITA: South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase*, Vol. I, p. 176.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. IX, p. 18.

²⁵⁰ <http://waterresources.kar.nic.in/river_systems.htm> [accessed 04 June 2013].

²⁵¹ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, p. 154.

²⁵² Annaswamy, p. 45.

²⁵³ Ibid.

informal market which benefitted the farmers directly, since it corresponds to the season of harvesting of groundnuts.

Basic Column

The 'basic' column type seen in temples during this period (the rule of feudatory rulers of Yelahanka) is a combination of a main vertical shaft composed of blocks (figs. 3.1.1, 3.1.5.a, 3.1.7.a), usually three, in the nature of columns of the Hazāra Rāma temple (fig. 3.1.13). They are intercepted by polygonal bands topped off by a *pushpa-pōṭikā*/ bell flower bracket supporting the beams and base with mouldings resembling plinth of a simplistic temple. On the blocks are embossed small, rough figures of gods/ goddesses, mythical creatures, commoners in positions of duel/ singers/ dancers etc. Sometimes, as in the Ranganātha temple, the columns have polygonal shafts connected by bands topped off by a *ghaṭa* and *phalaka-padma* just below the capital rather than a square block, part of which turns (fig. 3.1.15).

Composite columns

The term 'composite column' is used to describe those pillars in a temple with expanding features or outwardly projections; these are an addition to the main vertical shaft described above as the basic column (fig. 3.1.1). Sometimes these come in the simplest form of colonettes and in other instances become as complex as emerging mythical creatures – '*yāli*²⁵⁴/*yvāli*/*yvāla*', gods and goddesses, and other forms (fig. 3.1.2). Presented below is an examination of the types and architectural features of composite columns and the 'expanding form' of such columns, executed in temples during the reign of the *pālēgārs* (feudatory rulers) of Yelahanka in Bangalore during 16th-17th century AD.

The emergence of composite columns appears to be an ornamental intent as well as a means to support larger spans particularly in the central bays, outer perimeter and corners while retaining a supposed slender quality by keeping the central shaft intact. While an observer gets an interesting view with introduction of additional features all around the perimeter of the *mahāmaṇḍapa*/ pillared hall adjoining the sanctum, he is also flanked by such columns, inspiring drama as he is led to the deity. The expanded features, be it colonette extensions or figural, holds appeal with the combination of larger span beam so that the importance of the divine is emphasized.

Origin

Composite columns can be traced back to temples built in the twelfth century in Tamil Nadu and later in those of Vijayanagara. Crispin Branfoot, senior lecturer of Art and Archaeology at the SOAS, notes their origin in columns with a pilaster addition on a single side in the

²⁵⁴ This relates to the word's pronunciation in Kannaḍa language.

Airavateshwara temple and adjacent goddess temple at Darasuram.²⁵⁵ However, he attributes significant development of such columns in temples executed at Vijayanagara especially the development of figural composite columns - with rearing *yvālis*. Architectural Historian Christopher Tadgell,²⁵⁶ commenting on the inherited style of Vijayanagara architects, asserts that “the Vijayanagara builders, who worked mainly in hard stone, were heirs to the Chalukyas as well as the Cholas and Pandyas, and they further elaborated and refined these forms.”²⁵⁷ He further explains, with reference to composite columns, that “above all, they delighted in attaching highly involved sculpture groups, usually including rampant beasts, armed horsemen or portraits of kings and other patrons to the multifaceted piers, often in conjunction with superimposed shrine motifs or clustered colonettes.”²⁵⁸

The columns illustrated here are mainly from the Sōmēshwara temple in Halasūr (fig. 3.1.4). The construction of this temple is attributed to Kempē Gowḍa I as discussed earlier in Section 1.1(r. 1537 - 1569 AD). The *mahāmandapa* is lined with composite columns on north, south and east sides. Composite figural columns featuring warriors riding lions (*simhas* in Kannaḍa) are arranged centrally on all three boundaries (fig. 3.1.8.a), while composite columns with colonettes on three corners are seen at the corners of the *mahāmandapa* (fig. 3.1.6). Columns with colonette projection on a single side (figs. 3.1.5.b, 3.1.7.b) line the central aisle leading through to the *garbha-griha*. The rest of the pillars are mostly basic block type, exception being the cushion type as in the case of Ranganātha-Swāmy temple (fig. 3.1.15). I refer to Hardy here for the classification, regarding this as cushion type having a chest block without a bell.²⁵⁹

Types of Composite Columns

Composite Colonette

The composite column here comes with the expanded feature of smaller polygonal pillar/colonette spanning half of the vertical shaft (figs. 3.1.1, 3.1.2, 3.1.5.b, 3.1.6, 3.1.7.b). This colonette sits on a seated lion and the base is made up of two-tier plinths, the first being smaller in size and the second larger and merging into the base of the central shaft. The brackets on top of the colonette are usually *taranga-pōṭikās*. This is topped off by the extended *pushpa-pōṭikā* of the core column. The framing of the vertical shaft with single or multiple expansions of such colonettes creates increased visual appeal and the feeling of the deities on upper blocks shaft being enshrined becomes manifest. Composite columns with single colonette extensions often line the central aisle except on the perimeter where the

²⁵⁵ Crispin Branfoot, ‘Expanding Form’: *The Architectural Sculpture of the Indian temple CA. 1500-1700* (Artibus Asiae Vol. LXII, No.2, 2002).

²⁵⁶ Christopher Tadgell, *The History of Architecture in India* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1990).

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p.212.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Hardy, *The Temple Architecture of India*, pp. 152-154.

composite figural is the preferred type while the ones with extensions on three corners are set into the corners of the pillared congregational hall or *mukha-maṇḍapa*.

Composite Figural

A composite figural column in the temples of Bangalore consist warriors set on a rearing lion or horse bursting forth from the central vertical shaft. This in turn is set on an elephant with raised trunk (figs. 3.1.1, 3.1.2, 3.1.8.a, 3.1.8.b). The base is again a two-tier plinth with the smaller one being the base of the extension and the larger an extended base of the main shaft. The capital is a *taranga-pōṭikā* bracket with an overhanging *pushpa-pōṭikā* bracket of the core (basic) column. The rearing lions are ornamented; the mane of the lion is carved in detail and chest of the animal projecting out as if in combat with the reared claws. On this is seated the warrior looking in control of his steed as if the patron and ruler is trying to communicate to his populace that they are secure and his warriors capable of great feats. Similar are the horses in the figural columns of the Ranganātha-Swāmy temple (fig. 3.1.15) though the riders with beards are an unusual feature and probably reflect Muslim warriors.

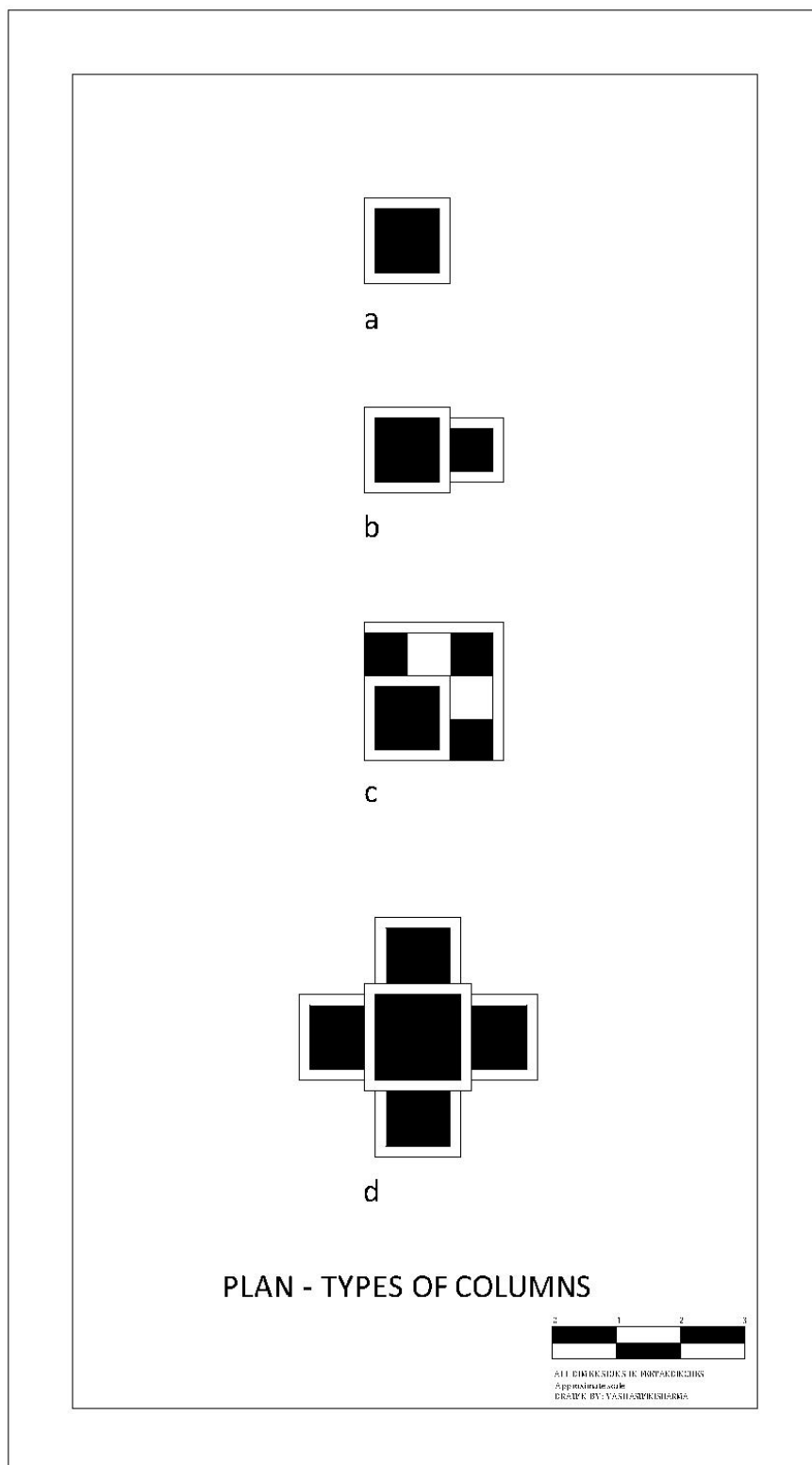
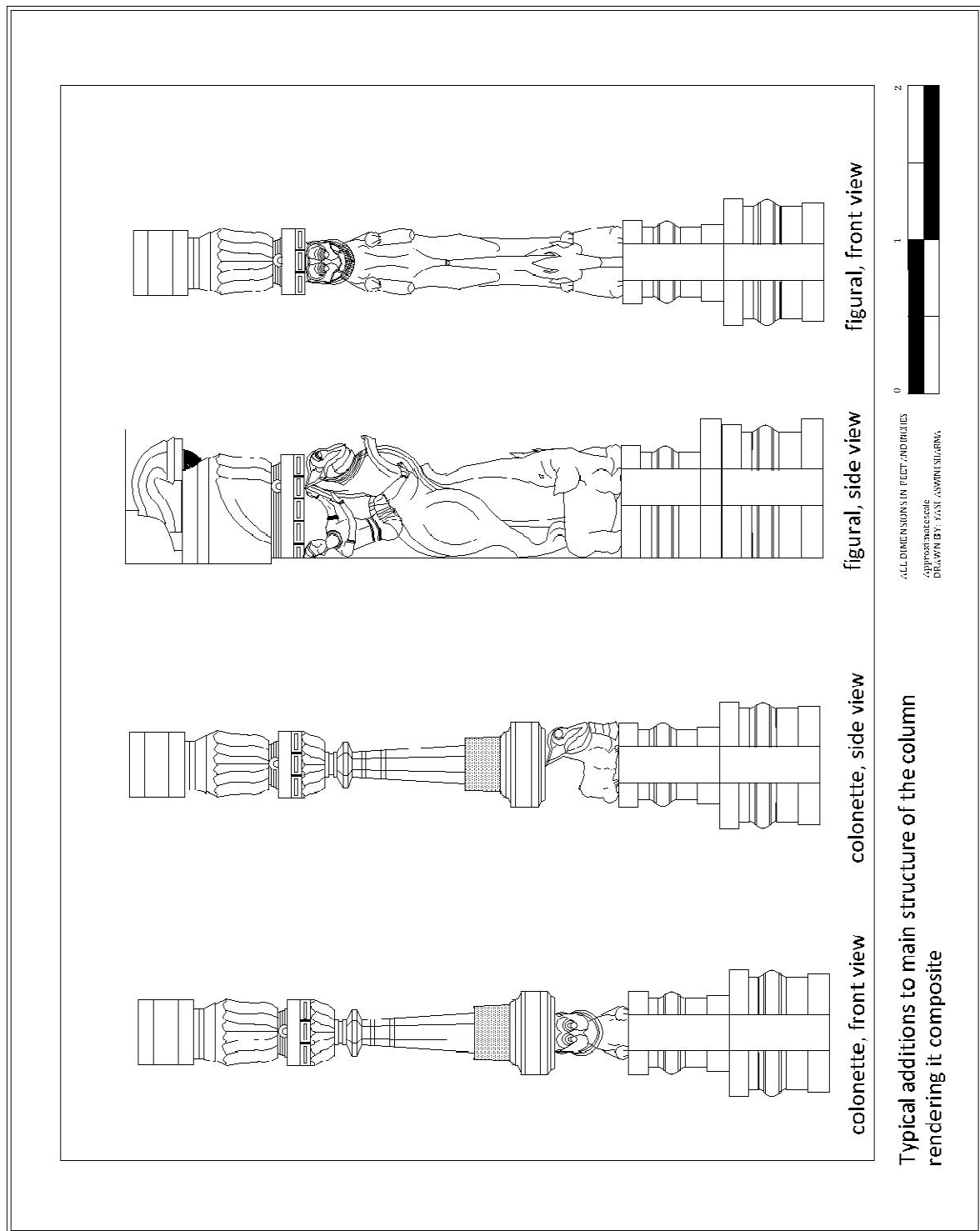


Fig. 3.1.1 Types of columns in Bangalore temples

1.a) Basic column structure, 1.b) Addition on single side - this can be either colonette or figural with soldiers on lion/horse, 1.c) Colonette projections on three corners, 1.d) Lion figural composite column with projects on all four sides

Fig. 3.1.2



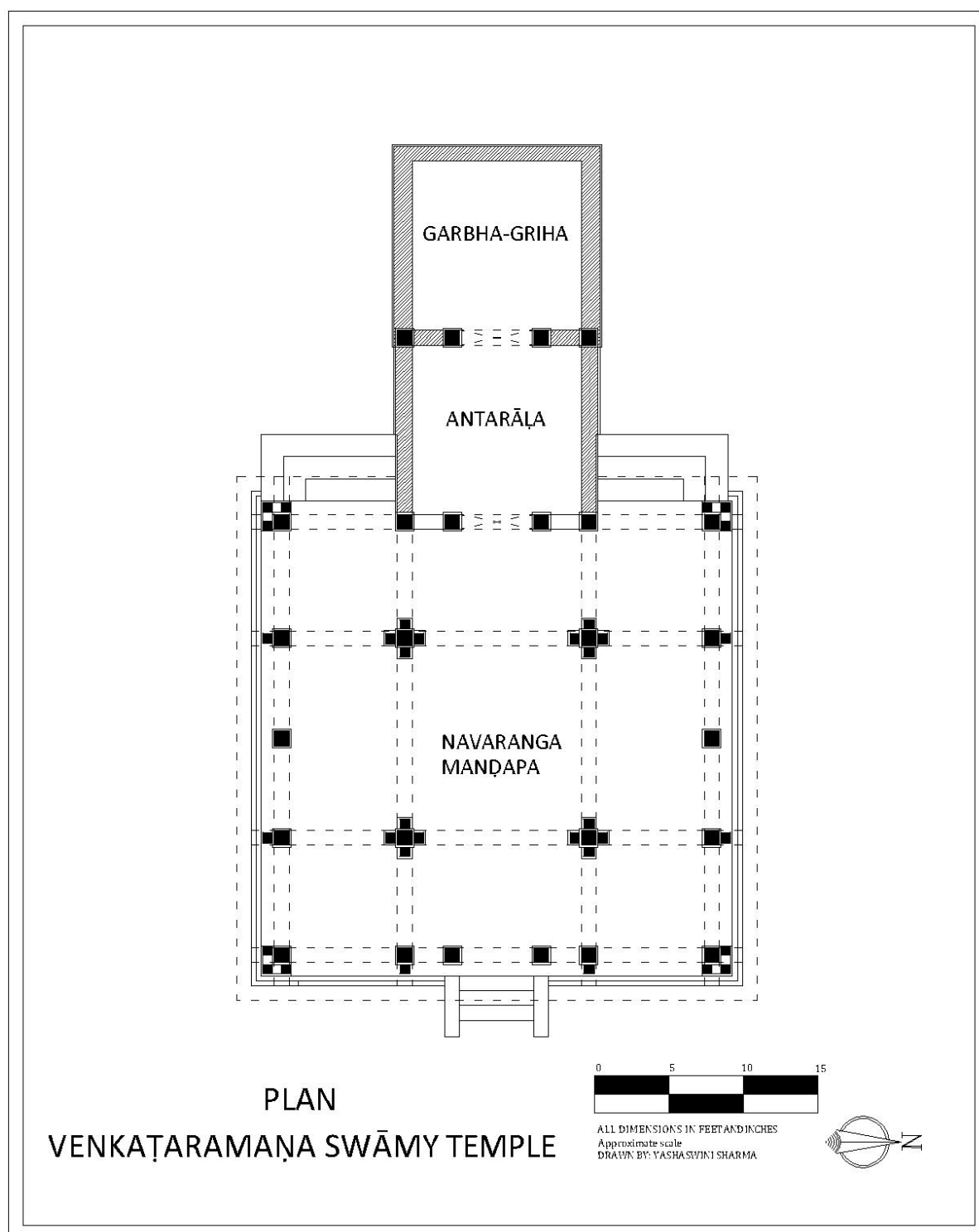


Fig. 3.1.3 Plan of Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple, K R Road, Fort area

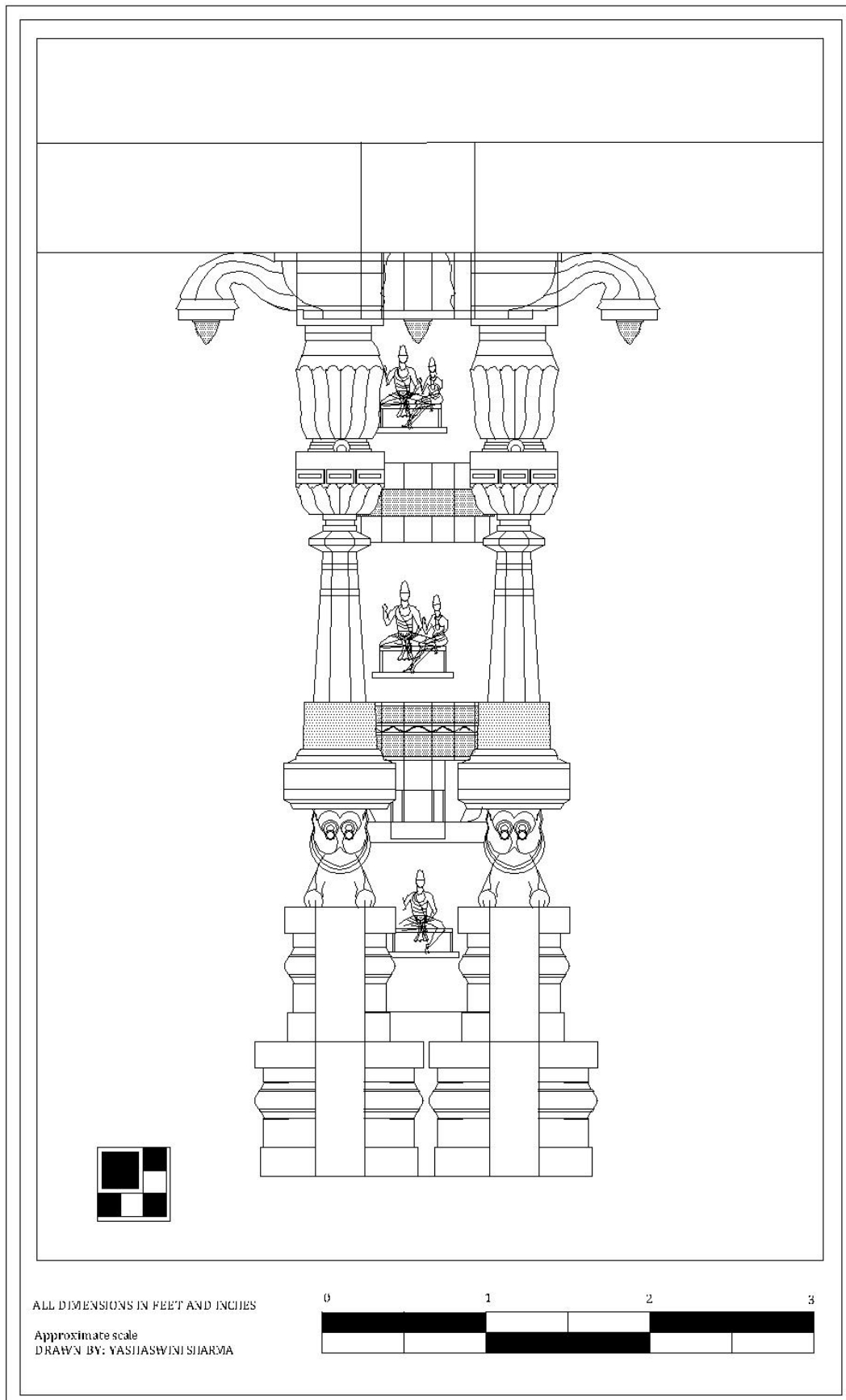


Fig. 3.1.6 Composite column (corner) with colonettes on three corners

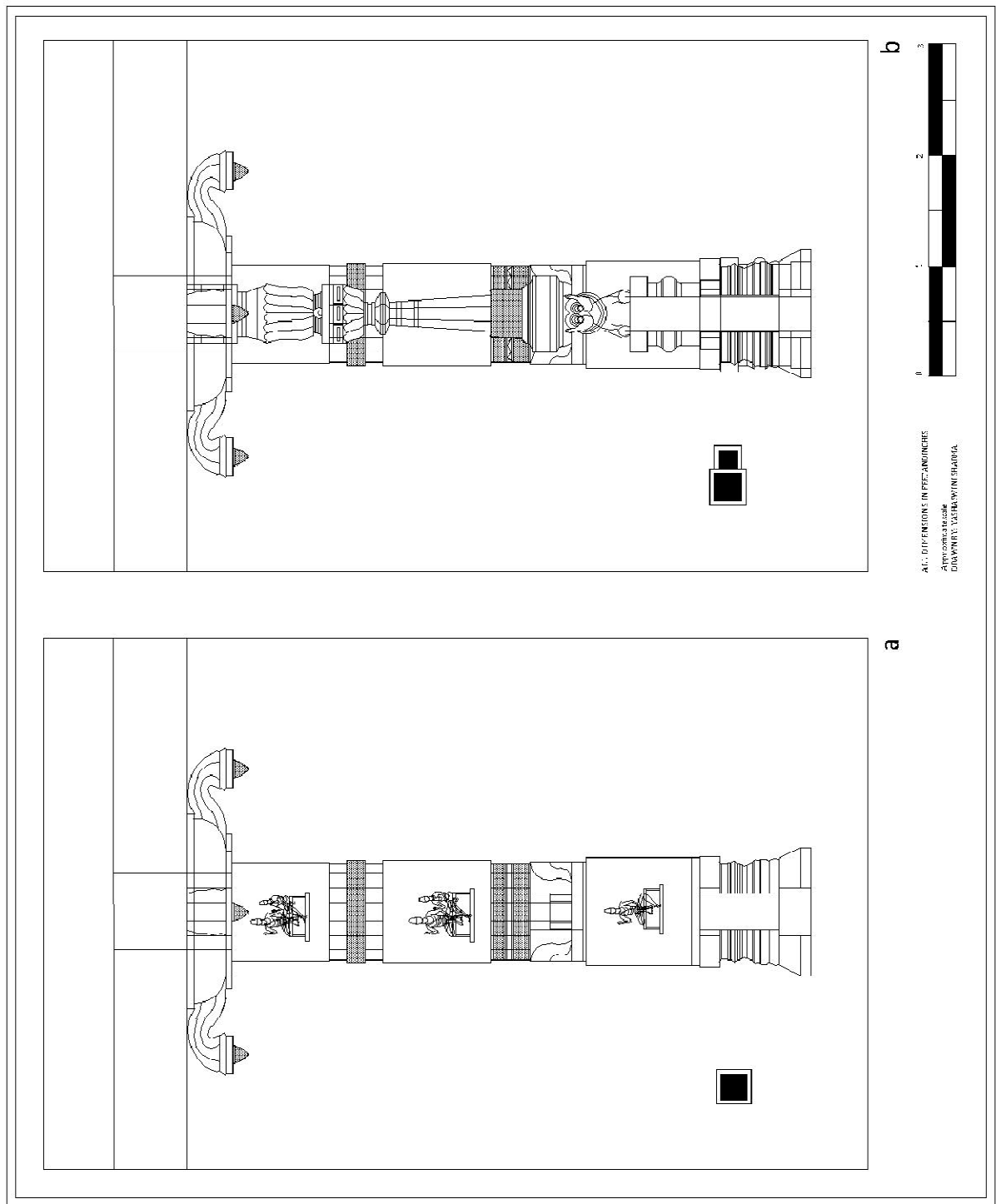


Fig. 3.1.7.a) Basic column

Fig. 3.1.7.b) Composite column with colonette projection in front view



Fig. 3.1.9 Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy Temple near Oval Fort, K R Road – Images showing basic and composite columns with colonettes on three corners and figural additions on all four sides



Fig. 3.1.10 New Garuda-gamḇa, Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy Temple, abutting KR Road in erstwhile Fort area



Fig. 3.1.11 Photograph of front elevation Sōmēshwara temple taken in 1890s by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 430/41(25)



Fig. 3.1.12 Halasūr Sōmēshwara temple – Images show basic and composite columns - single and three corners colonette, and single figural columns



Fig. 3.1.13 East entrance of Halasūr Sōmēshwara temple



Fig. 3.1.14 Gōpura, balipīṭha, dīpastambha and Nandi maṇḍapa of Halasūr Sōmēshwara temple



Fig. 3.1.15 Columns, Hazāra Rāma temple, Hampi, courtesy Adam Hardy



Fig. 3.1.16 Image shows photographs of Ranganātha Swāmy temple, Ballapura-Pēṭē – entrance to temple flanked by composite figural columns and inner mantapa



Fig. 3.1.17 Gavi Gangādharaśwara Temple, Bangalore



Fig. 3.1.18 From top left, Two Vishnu Discus, Trident and Drum of Shiva, Gavi Gangādhara temple, Bangalore



Fig. 3.1.19 A view of Gavi Gangādharaśwara temple, British Library, Thomas and William Daniell's 'Oriental Scenery' called 'Antiquities of India,' plate 18 from the fifth set



Fig. 3.1.20 Harihara temple, situated adjoining the Gavi Gangādharaśwara temple



Fig. 3.1.21 Dharma-Rāya temple, renovated entrance gōpuras



Fig. 3.1.22 Dharma-Rāya temple, an undated file photograph from temple trustees showing the old structure



Fig. 3.1.23 Dharma-Rāya temple, Maṇḍapa



Fig. 3.1.24 Dharma-Rāya temple, vimāna



Fig. 3.1.25 Photographs of Basava (Bull) Temple, Basavanagudi



Fig. 3.1.26 Dhwaja- stambha of Basava Temple, Bangalore



Fig. 3.1.27 Pencil Drawing of Basava Monolith, by Thomas Daniell, British Library, WD219, 219

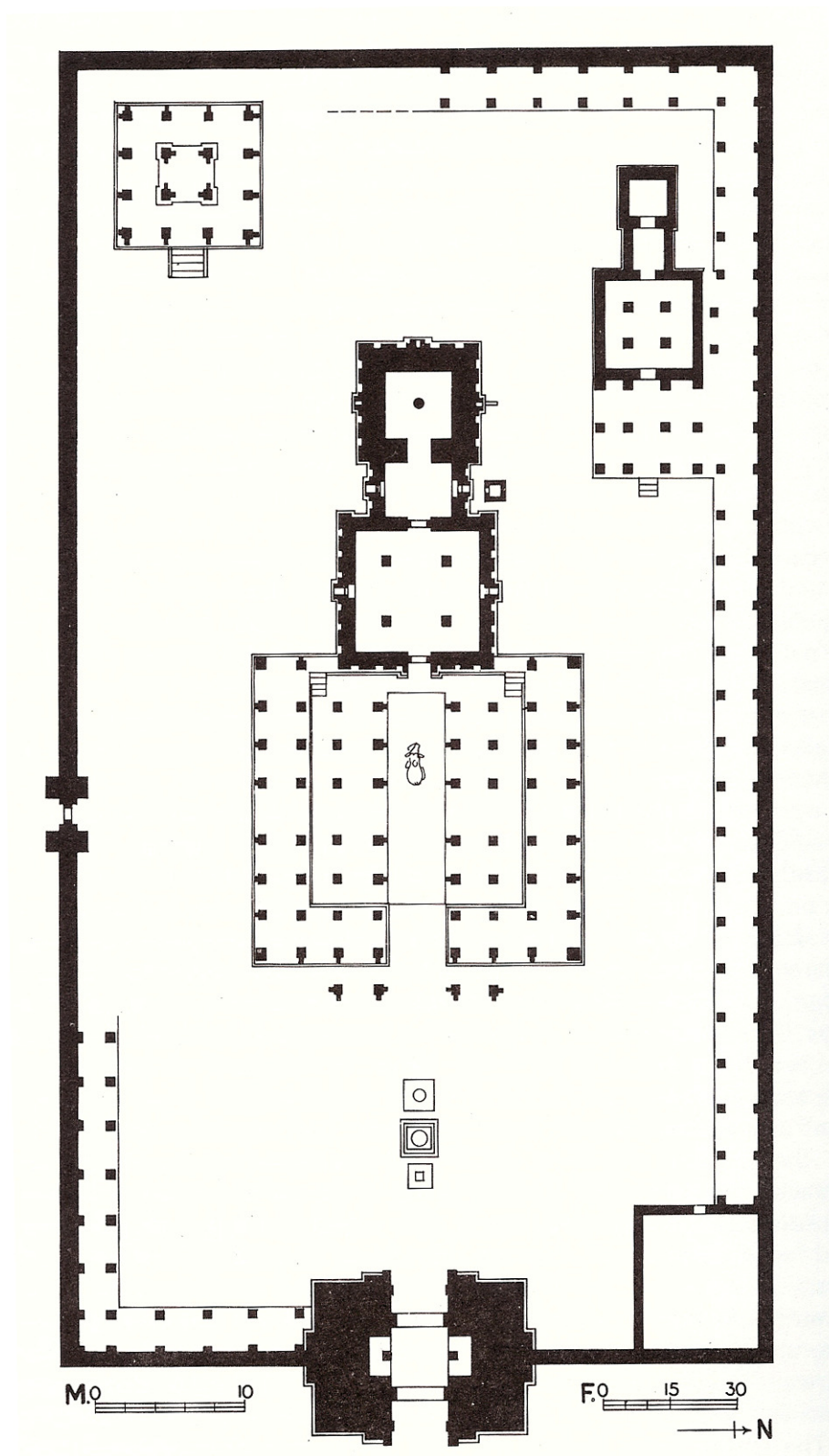


Fig. 3.1.28 Kōlār Sōmēshwara Temple by George Michell in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase Ca. AD

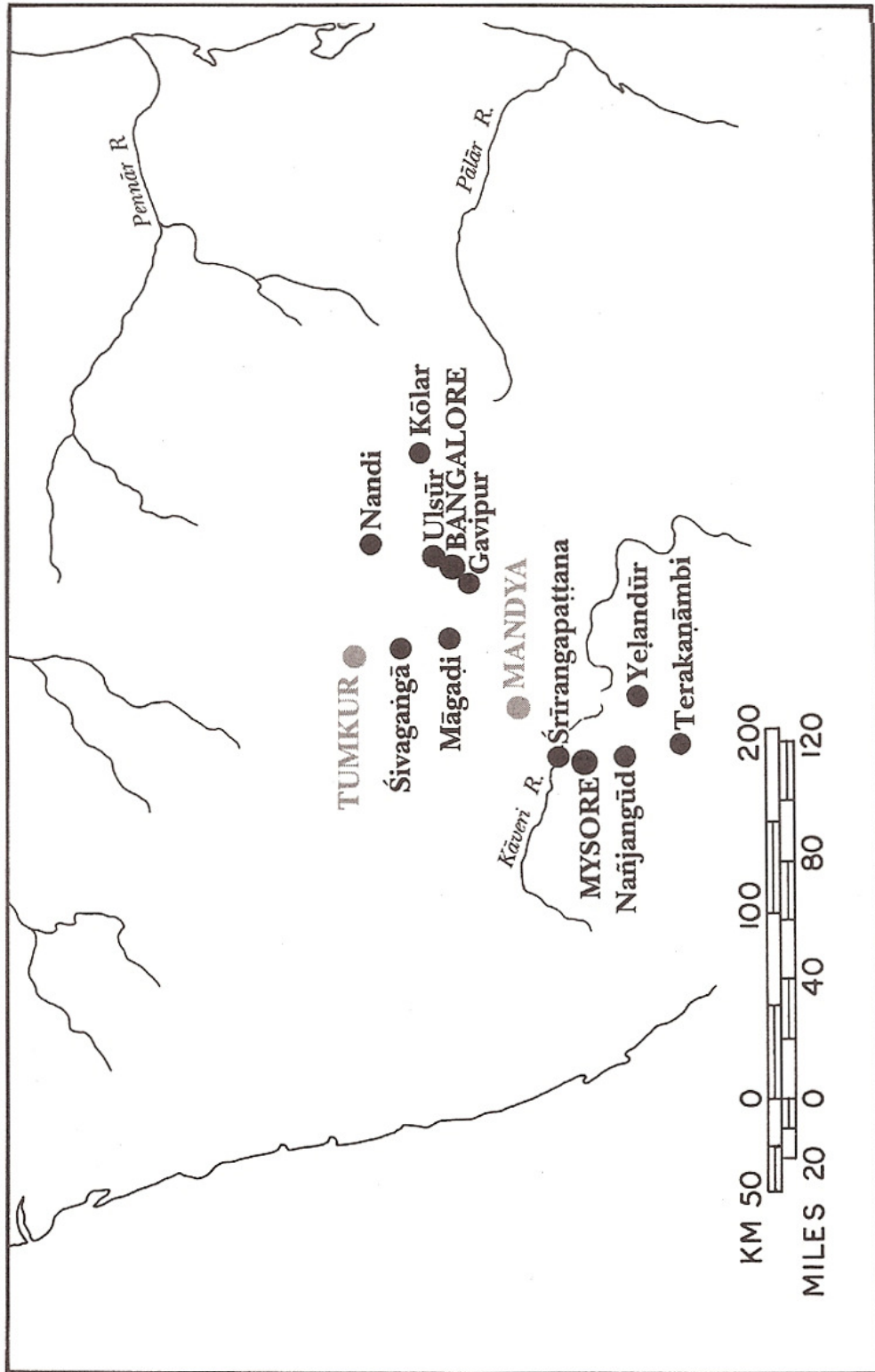


Fig. 3.1.29 Places where Gowḍas of Yelahanka and Wodeyars of Mysore constructed temples in peninsular India by George Michell in *EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase Ca. AD 1289-1798*, p. 170

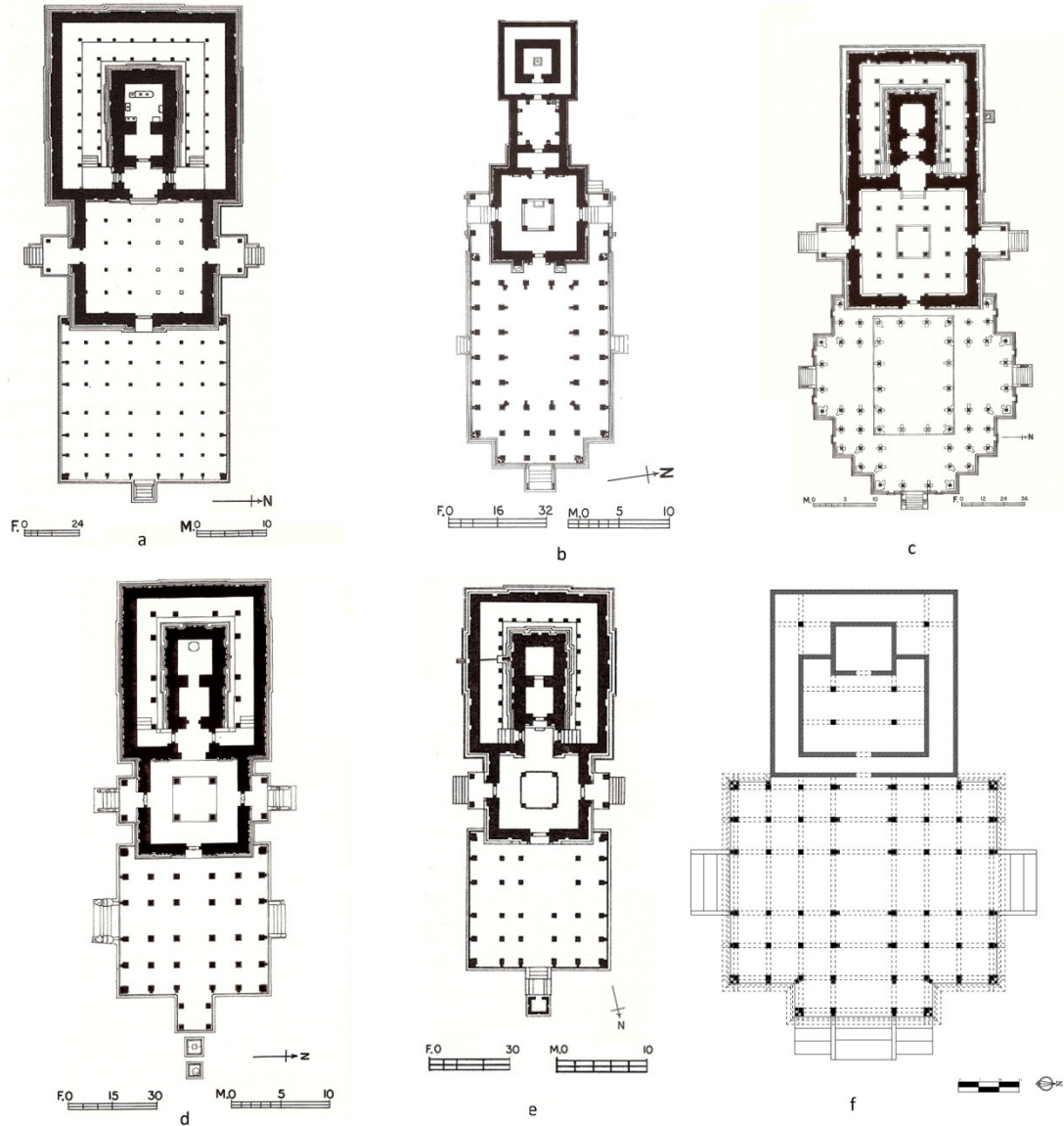


Fig. 3.1.30.a Plan of Paṭṭābhirāma temple, Kamalāpuram, from Vijayanagara Research Project in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, AD 1289-1798, p. 115

Fig. 3.1.30.b Plan of Virūpāksha temple, major shrine, Hampi, from Vijayanagara Research Project in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, AD 1289-1798, p. 92

Fig. 3.1.30.c Plan of Viṭṭhala temple, major shrine, from Vijayanagara Research Project in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, AD 1289-1798, p. 104

Fig. 3.1.30.d Plan of Bālakrishṇa temple, from Vijayanagara Research Project in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, 1289-1798, p. 108

Fig. 3.1.30.e Plan of Tiruvengaḷanātha temple, from Vijayanagara Research Project in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, AD 1289-1798, p. 113

Fig. 3.1.30.f Halasūr Sōmēshwara temple, Bangalore

3.2

Masjid and Dargah

Rice assigns the settlement of Muslims in Mysore region firstly to the Bijapur conquest of Bangalore under Ranadullah Khan in 1637 AD, and secondly, to the Mughal invasion led by Khasim Khan in 1687 AD when the province of Sira was formed.²⁶⁰ He asserts that “by settlement, conquest, and conversions there were considerable numbers of Muhammadans (Muslims) employed in the military and other services in the territories of Mysore.”²⁶¹ A reminder of the Mughal presence during 1687 AD - 1690 AD used to be the oldest mosque in Bangalore, the Sangeen Jama Masjid at Taramandala-Pētē which was built by a Mughal Khilledar, a subordinate of Khasim Khan.²⁶² Annaswamy dates the construction of this past structure to 1687 AD, probably in reference to the city’s investment by the Mughal army.²⁶³ SrFigure 3.2.1 is a photograph of the building around 1970 AD. Since it is the only reminder of the Mughal investment of Bangalore, a description of the building and the associated history as recorded by Hasan is presented below, along with documentation of the building standing in its place today.

Sangeen Jama Masjid²⁶⁴

This masjid (mosque) gets its name from its building material, for *sangeen* is an adjective of the noun *sang* which means rock/ stone in Urdu. This was earlier called Sangeen Jumma Masjid since prayers were held only on the day of Jumma (Friday). Later, it was renamed Sangeen Jama, since prayers were held every day and it took a more socially responsive stature in the community. Today, nothing of the old masjid remains for it was demolished a few decades ago, since the building had become extremely fragile according to the Trustees of the masjid. The roof was damaged during the Third Mysore War in cannon fire from East India Company troops; this was subsequently renovated by Mohiyuddin Ali Khan Mēkhri, Bakshi of Mysore (Royal) Court in 1836 AD.²⁶⁵

²⁶⁰ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, two volumes (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. I, pp. 479-480.

²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 480.

²⁶² M. Fazlul Hasan, *Bangalore Through the Centuries* (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970) p. 57.

²⁶³ T. V. Annaswamy, *Bengaluru to Bangalore* (Bangalore: Vengadam Publications, 2003), p.153.

²⁶⁴ When I visited the masjid in search of documentation, I was hoping to see some remnant of the past. That was not the case, although the field visit yielded some pleasant surprises. I must confess to an unnecessary anticipation of restrictions regarding entry into the masjid. The Trust members were very forthcoming and extremely helpful, especially the Secretary with whom a discussion yielded some interesting facts. Syed Sultan Ahmed, Internal Auditor of the masjid, explained that around the old masjid were situated a number of tin-sheds, the purpose of which was the manufacture of artillery material and the famous ‘rockets’ of Tipu Sultan (see chapter 1.5). These would have been natural targets for the invading East India Company army during war with Tipu Sultan, and the masjid was caught in the cross-fire during the raid. The bonhomie existing between Hindus and Muslims settled in the Pētē and the cultural significance of Karaga festival which brings together both religions (see chapter 2.1) was discussed among other things.

²⁶⁵ Hasan, p. 57.

For an account of the old Masjid, I rely upon Hasan's description. The photograph published in his book (fig. 3.2.1) is the only visual evidence left of this structure. However, this shows a structure considerably altered from its original form.

A fine structure, it possesses an aura of antiquity. Its outer walls are built with well-cut massive stones. The ornamented tall granite pillars of the mosque which adorn an elevated prayer hall, though not so exquisitely executed have, however, an imposing appearance. The mosque's diminutive minarets do not appear to be the part of the original construction.²⁶⁶

The new structure (fig. 3.2.2) houses a madrasa, school besides the new Sangeen Jama Masjid. From Siddanna Lane in Nagartha-Pēṭē is an entrance through the madrasa which opens into a large courtyard, to the right corner is the masjid built in the place of the old structure, the central path continues leading to its entrance. The masjid itself is clad with gneiss stone keeping in with sentiment attached to the old. The present masjid situated to the right of a courtyard is elevated in the same manner of the old, though much bigger in size, the latter having been about 10'0" x 10'0" in internal dimension which is the size maintained between the central columns of the present (fig. 3.2.2). The windows around the prayer hall are topped with cusped arches. A stone shaft behind the masjid marks the spot where five martyrs from the Third Mysore War are re-buried. Originally, they were buried in front of the old masjid and were discovered during construction of the present structure. A courtyard to the right of the central entrance through the madrasa leads us there while the courtyard itself is surrounded by a school. This school is mainly run for underprivileged children from the Muslim community.

Regular and cusped arches spanning across columns, jāli-work in windows and onion domes become regular features later on in Tipu's Palace, the Oval fort (discussed in Chapter 3), as well as other buildings such as the palaces in Mysore. These architectural features perhaps made their initial appearance during this period in Bangalore, though cusped arches do find a mention in *Indian Architecture*,²⁶⁷ a work explaining the classical Indian canonical text, *Mānasāra*, by Prasanna Kumar Acharya. In this text, they are called *pushpa-tōraṇa*.²⁶⁸ They are also seen in wooden palaces like that of Shivappa Nayaka's, while jāli work in windows was one of the features of Hoysala temples of Karnataka.

Tawakkal Mastān *dargah*

A *dargah* is a Sufi shrine. Srinivas dates Sufi presence in south India to the fourteenth century and notes a variety of orders such as Chisti, Suhrawardi and Qadriya.²⁶⁹ The Tawakkal Mastān *dargah* (fig. 2.1.13) is about three hundred years old. Tawakkal Mastān, a Sufi of the Suhrawardi order of Penukonḍa, is believed by some people to be one of the nine

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *'Indian Architecture'*, Manasara Series in seven volumes, Second Edition (New Delhi, Munshiram Manharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1996).

²⁶⁸ Acharya, *'Indian Architecture'*, Manasara Series Vol. V, Second Edition, sheet no. CXXXII.

²⁶⁹ Smriti Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2004) p. 82.

hundred disciples of a Turkish saint.²⁷⁰ He is said to have introduced coffee seeds to this country. There is another view that the saint may have been an Iraqi. The secretary of Sangeen Jama masjid relates that Mastān belonged to the party of invading Mughals who took residence in the city to spread the religion's philosophy. However, a clear foundation date of 1777 AD marking the saint's death in an inscription below his tomb traces him to rule of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan.

The Tawakkal Mastān *dargah* is tied by many legends to the festival of *Karaga* as discussed earlier in Section 2.3. The shrine houses the tomb of the saint (fig. 3.2.5) and is greatly renovated (fig. 3.2.3). It is a place of worship for both Hindu and Muslim communities. It is surrounded by houses and shops which sell food, incense, flowers, pictures of the tomb, and is visible from the East-West principal axial road. People from both Hindu and Muslim religions come to the shrine seeking amulets. A similar crowd collects at the Annamma temple, situated on the road along the north face of the Pēṭē who come seeking a cure for their children suffering from 'pox.' The artwork on tiles, and walls that are stuccoed, is painted and not gilded (fig. 3.2.4). The older parts that haven't been renovated such as the annexe housing tombs of other saints (fig. 3.2.6) betray influences of Hindu temple architecture in pilaster designs. The entrance (fig. 2.1.13) is marked by an opening with a cusped arch, *jāli* work in upper storey openings and parapet and topped off by an onion dome.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., pp. 86-87.

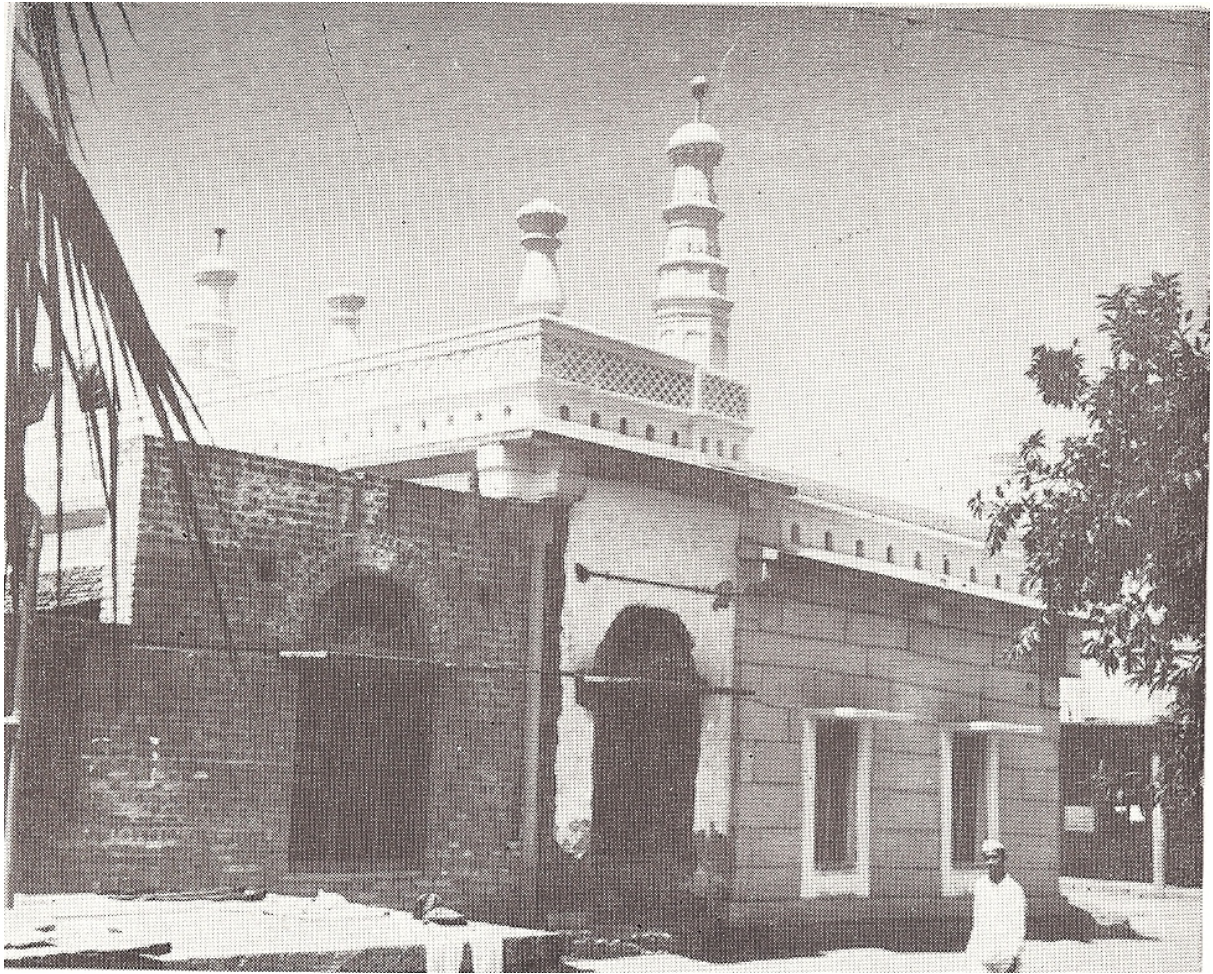


Fig. 3.2.1 The old Sangeen Jama Masjid, published in Hasan's Bangalore Through the Centuries, p. 57



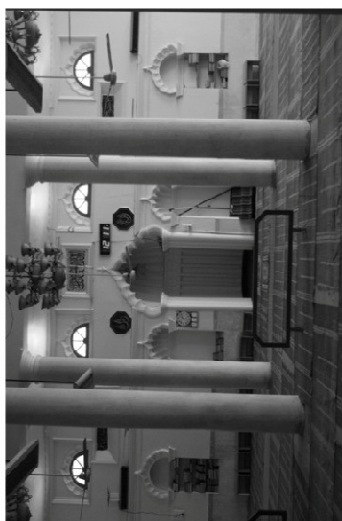
Entrance through Madresa



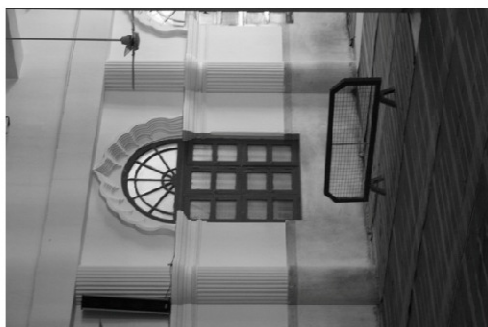
External (North - West) View of new masjid showing minaret



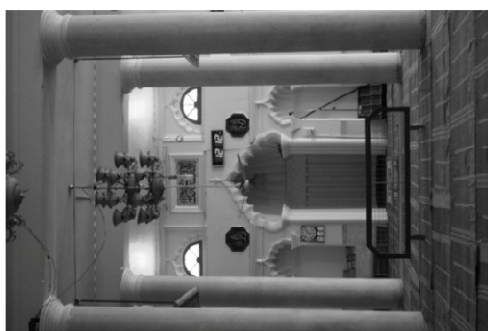
Sangeen Jama Masjid, the bulge towards right corner indicating west



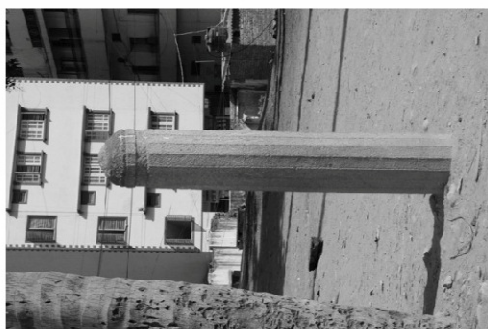
Prayer Hall



Cusped arches topping windows around the prayer hall.



Between the central pillars of the prayer hall stood the old mosque/ masjid



Granite shaft indicating place of burial of martyrs' bodies recovered during construction of new mosque

Fig. 3.2.2 The new Sangeen Jama Masjid, Taramaṇḍala-Pēṭē



Fig. 3.2.3 Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān dargah, presented earlier as fig. 2.1.13



Fig. 3.2.4 Artwork on tiles in Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān's dargah



Fig. 3.2.5 Tomb of Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān



Fig. 3.2.6 Annexe to the main shrine at Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān dargah

3.3

The oval Fort

An introduction to the establishment of the oval Fort has been documented in Section 2.2 while its patronage has been discussed in Sections 1.4 and 1.5. In these chapters, it has been documented that during the reign of Hyder Ali (1761 AD – 1782 AD) and subsequently that of Tipu Sultan (1782 AD – 1799 AD), the town of Bangalore was drafted as a recruiting and training ground for the military. During the first year of his reign, Hyder Ali, who was bestowed with Bangalore as *jāgir* by Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar, re-built the oval Fort (fig. 3.3.1, fig. 3.3.8), previously constructed in mud, entirely in stone and enlarged. The oval Fort (fig 3.3.1, fig 3.3.6) of Bangalore to the south of the town-fort (pettah) was conceived as a mud fort (the ramparts were composed of mud) for purpose of defence, firstly by Kempē Gowḍa I, and later by Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar after purchasing of Bangalore/ Bengaluru town from Mughals in 1690 AD. The ramparts of the remaining portion are both high (30'0"-33'0" varying height at Delhi Gate) and thick (about 41'6" at bastion). Hasan states the oval Fort/ Citadel was principally built to check the frequent raids of the Marāṭhas.²⁷¹ The layout, shape and defences of the Fort have been discussed in Section 2.2. The Fort seems to conform to the prescriptions of *Māyamata* as discussed in Section 2.2 in terms of the elliptical shape, surrounding moat and ditch, gates with stairways both hidden and otherwise, doors with double leaves, hipped roof etc. (fig. 3.3.1, fig. 3.3.6, fig. 3.3.8), and might well have been adopted by the Mysore king, and consequently by Hyder Ali. This citadel housed the palace of the king, Brahmins as well as an army contingent, and was supplied with various goods.

Elaborating on Chikka Dēva Rāja Woḍeyar's efforts for Bangalore, Hasan observes that "he was the first Mysore ruler who correctly assessed the strategic military importance of Bangalore and undertook measures so as to make best use of it in the defence of his territories. If the Mysore kingdom, in later years, withstood creditably the many onslaught of the Marāṭhas and the British on Bangalore in the course of their wars with it, it was only due to the foresight of Chikka Dēva Rāja, who spared no effort to make it a strong citadel. To him belongs the idea of making Bangalore the first line of defence of the Mysore kingdom along with Sāvanadurga and Dēvarāyanadurga, two strategic hill forts which are situated within a radius of 30 miles from Bangalore. To him also belongs the idea of using Bangalore as a decoy to contain the forces of the northern invaders in order to keep them away from the fertile regions of Seringapatam (Śrirangapaṭṇa) and Mysore, until the main armies of the realm found time to organize and stage a spirited defence."²⁷²

Existing portion of the oval Fort

²⁷¹ M. Fazlul Hasan, '*Bangalore through the centuries*', First Edition (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970), p.63.

²⁷² Ibid., p. 68.

A complete southerly view of the Fort is presented in fig. 2.2.14 in Section 2.2. This is a drawing by Robert Home during the 18th century, more precisely at the time of the third war of Mysore (1791 AD); it is dated sometime during 1790 AD - 1792 AD. The circumstances of the third war of Mysore which carried on for 15 days from the 7th of March 1791 ended in the conquest of Bangalore by the East India Company have been documented in Section 1.5. Lord Cornwallis was the head of this army. The cause of alarm for the English was mainly Tipu's overtures to Turkey and France soliciting help to oust the East India Company from his country invasion of Travancore, an English ally. Preparations for this war lasted for over a year; Lord Cornwallis sent an offer of alliance with to the Marāṭhas and Nizam of Hyderabad through the Resident at Poona (Pune) against Tipu Sultan in early 1790 AD. The failure of Captain Meadows of Madras Army in achieving quick progress despite Captain Read's intelligence achievements and forging friendships with local *pālēgārs* (who were defeated by Tipu during his extensions to his country) made it necessary for the Governor General, Lord Cornwallis, to step in. One must remember here that it was quite imperative for Lord Cornwallis that he should succeed in securing the Company's fortunes in the South of India, after having suffered through a surrender of arms at York Town during the American War of Independence, 1778-1783 AD. While the Pētē fort (referred to as lower fort/ second fort in Mir Hussain Ali Khan Kirmani's *Nishani-i-Haidari*²⁷³) was pounded on from Halasūr Gate (see Chapter 2), the citadel was bombarded with canons for 14 days in a row to force an opening.²⁷⁴

The portion of the Fort that remains standing today (fig. 3.3.2, fig. 3.3.3) is a dim reminder of the third war of Mysore (1791 AD). It refers to a part of what was called Delhi Gate (of the inner rampart of the Fort) in the East India Company Records, maps (fig. 3.3.1, 3.3.4). This portion is roughly 293' 0" x 204' 0" in dimension and mainly consists of barracks for soldiers (fig 3.3.3, fig 3.3.5) besides deep dungeons to hold prisoners of war. This is where Sir David Baird (discussed earlier in Section 1.6) was held during his imprisonment. The thickness of the exterior walls is greater than 25'. The door openings are proportionately built to allow passage of elephants. The original entrance was through seven gates forming three enclosures as discussed earlier in chapter 2.2. These have been identified on Stokoe's plan of the north face of the Fort (fig. 3.3.4). The outward enclosure opened onto an entrance ramp from north, abutting the moat. This led onto a second enclosure which finally opened into the enclosure that survives today.

This third enclosure comprises three gates (fig. 3.3.6), numbered 5 (fig. 3.3.9), 6 (fig. 3.3.8) and 7 (fig. 3.3.7) following Stokoe's drawing (fig. 3.3.4) from north face. The entrance that has been most documented is number 7 which leads into what used to be Fort area. The plan of these gates is presented in fig. 3.3.6. The entrance leads into an archway, which is embellished with floral, fish and bird motifs besides sun and moon on either side of the arch (fig. 3.3.11, fig. 3.3.12), the motifs appear on the other entrance gates too. Set into the walls

²⁷³ Hasan, pg 96-111.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 96-111.

of the entrance archway (gate 7) are stations for soldiers which are embellished with *jāli* work in the windows. Such stations are common features across all surviving gates. Wooden doors (fig. 3.3.10) of gates 5 and 7 survive; they are covered with iron spikes externally and are held in place with hinges with long braces. On the rear-side (fig. 3.3.13) of the entrance arch (gate 7, fig. 3.3.7), *makara tōraṇas* appear along the arch as well as the soldier station, though the figural at the end of the *tōraṇa* is less of a *makara* (crocodile) and more of a *yvāli* (mystical creature which is a combination of 3 or more animals). A temple to *Ganesha* (fig. 3.3.14) is seen on approach from gate 7 which appears to be a later addition. It is embellished with the *ganḍa-bherunḍa*, a two-headed bird and symbol of the Woḍeyar dynasty. This is now the official symbol of the Karnataka State. The roof of this temple is over-laid with Mangalore tiles which are dated to have been manufactured in 1883 AD. The *garbha-griha* houses an idol of *Ganesha* (fig. 3.3.15). Other deities in the temple take over two soldiers' stations as indicated in figures 3.3.2, 3.3.3, and 3.3.5.

Following the stairs left of gate 7, one gets onto the rampart with two surviving bastions, one small and one large; the larger one bursts forth from the courtyard formed by gates 5 and 6. Set under the roof of the larger bastion are the dungeons (fig. 3.3.16, fig. 3.3.17) which housed prisoners of war and are accessed by a series of steps. A layout of the dungeons set in a rectangular layout measuring 49' 1/2" x 27' 9" is presented in figure 3.3.16. This can be seen in relation to the surviving part of the Fort in figures 3.3.2, 3.3.3, and 3.3.5. A larger dungeon (fig. 3.3.18) set in the left portion is set at a further lower level accessed by more steps. We are informed by a plaque set into the wall that this housed Sir David Baird of East India Company, a prisoner of war as discussed before in Section 1.6. Food was given to the prisoner through a small opening next to the entrance door of this dungeon. All dungeons have slightly sloping walls with an arched roof.

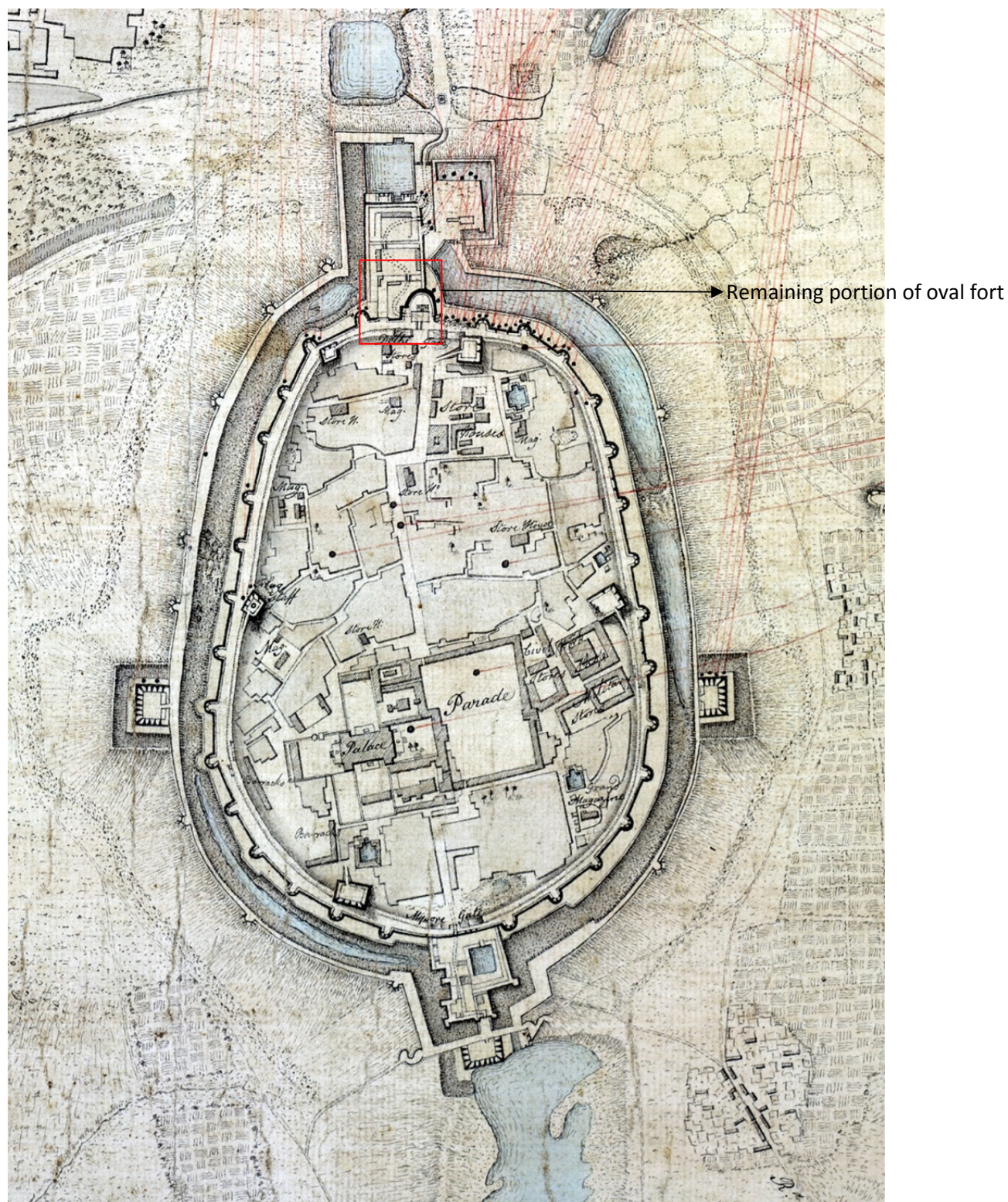


Fig. 3.3.1 Digitally enhanced image by Author of plan of the oval fort by Robert Home, Plan of Bangalore (with the attacks) taken by the British Army under the command of the rt. Honble. Earl Cornwallis March 22nd 1791, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (26)

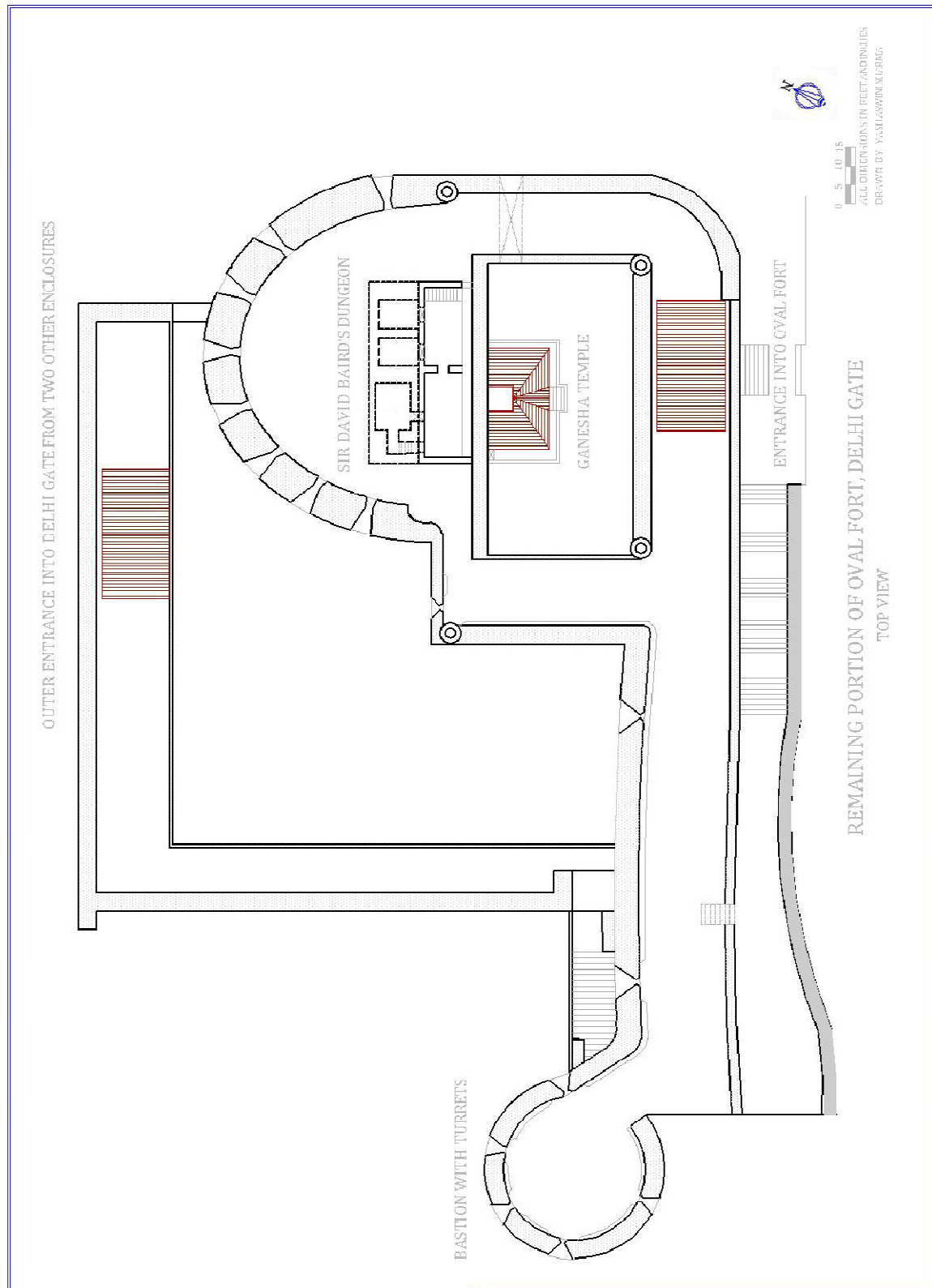


Fig. 3.3.2 Top view of remaining portion of the oval Fort – Delhi gate, Bangalore

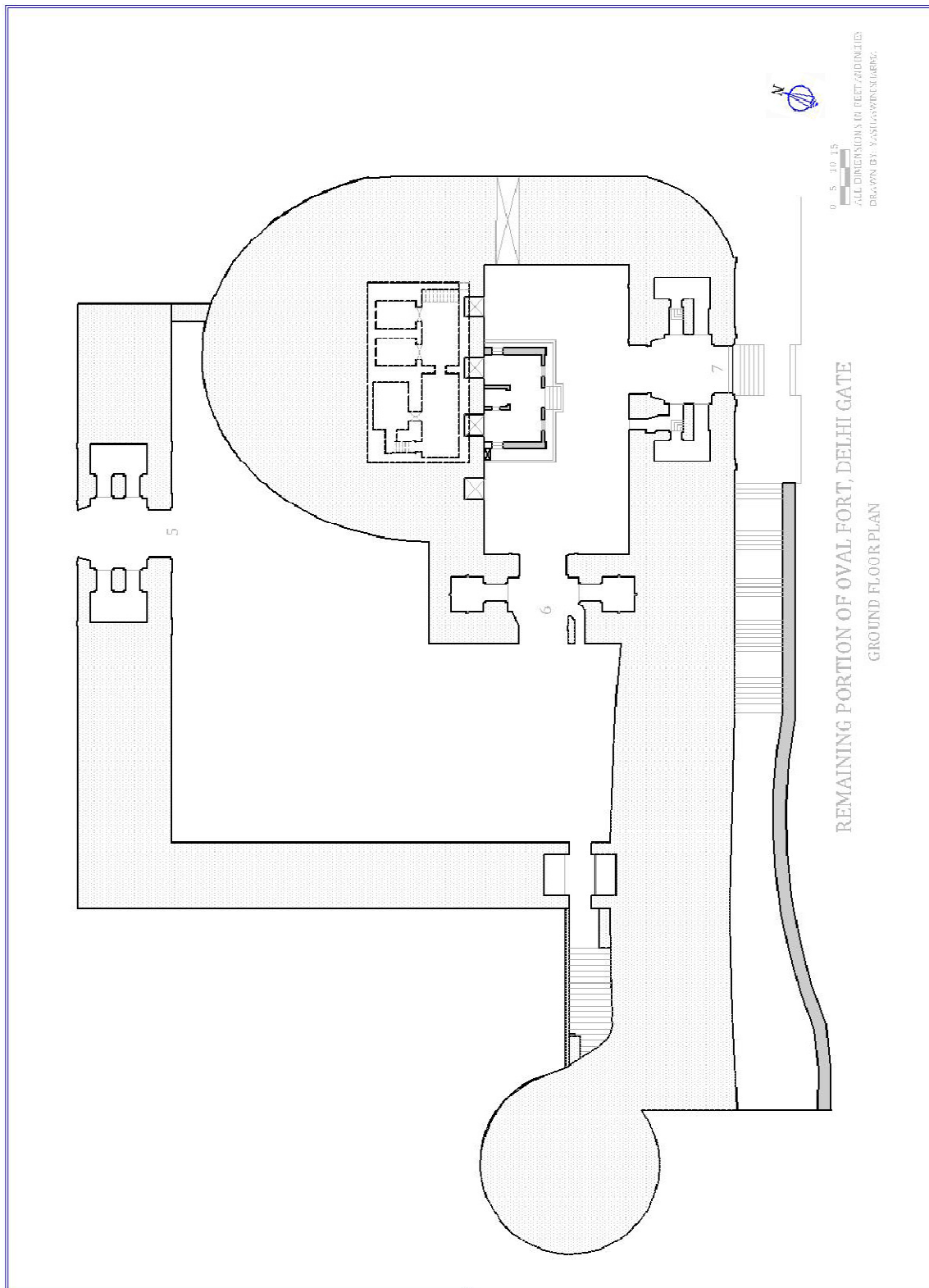


Fig. 3.3.3 Ground Floor Plan, remaining portion of oval Fort – Delhi Gate, Bangalore

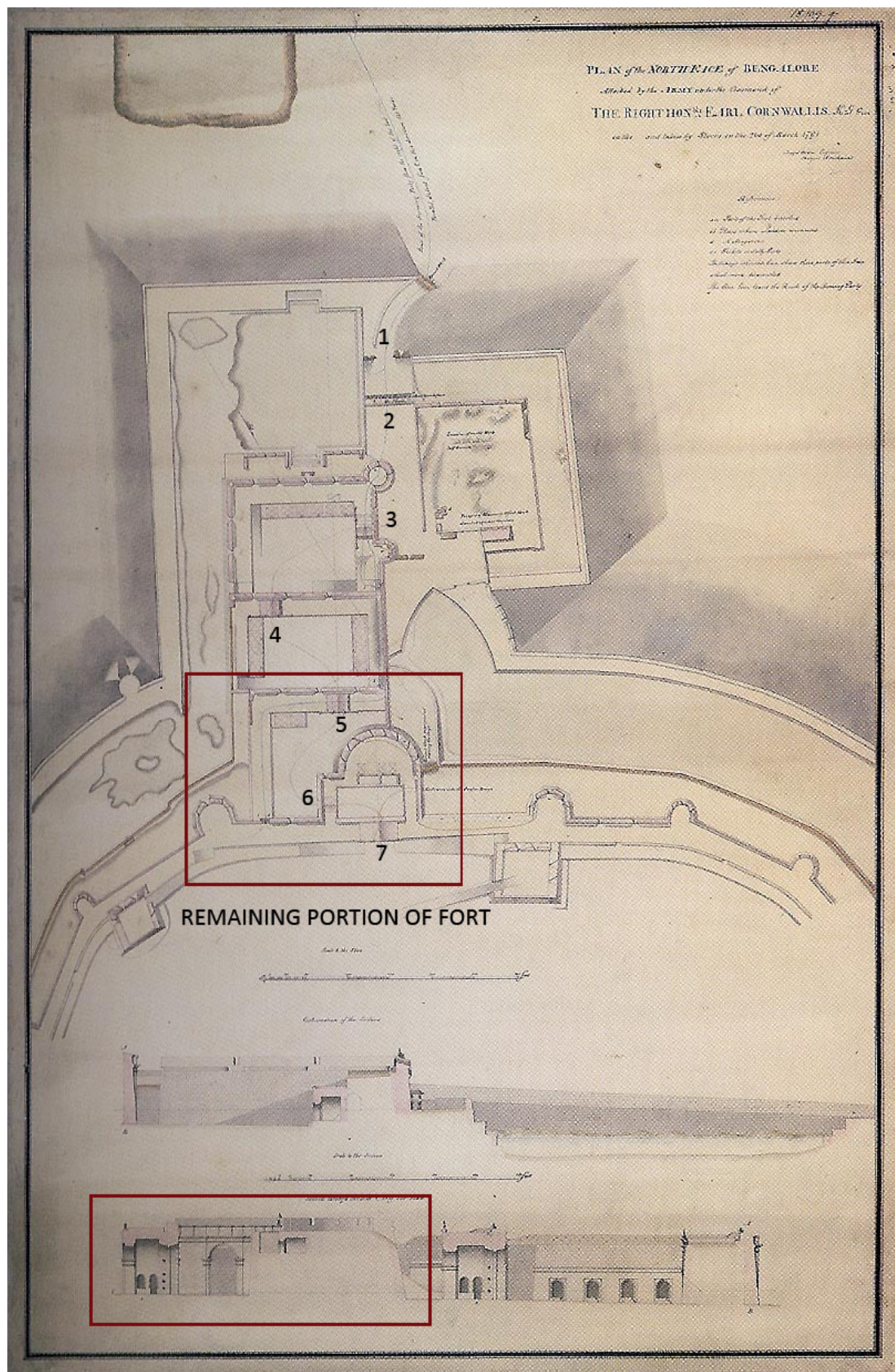


Fig. 3.3.4 Joseph Stokoe, Plan of the north face of Bangalore taken by Storm 21 March 1791, British Library, Shelfmark - Add 18109-g, scan copy from Da Cunha and Mathur's Deccan Traverses

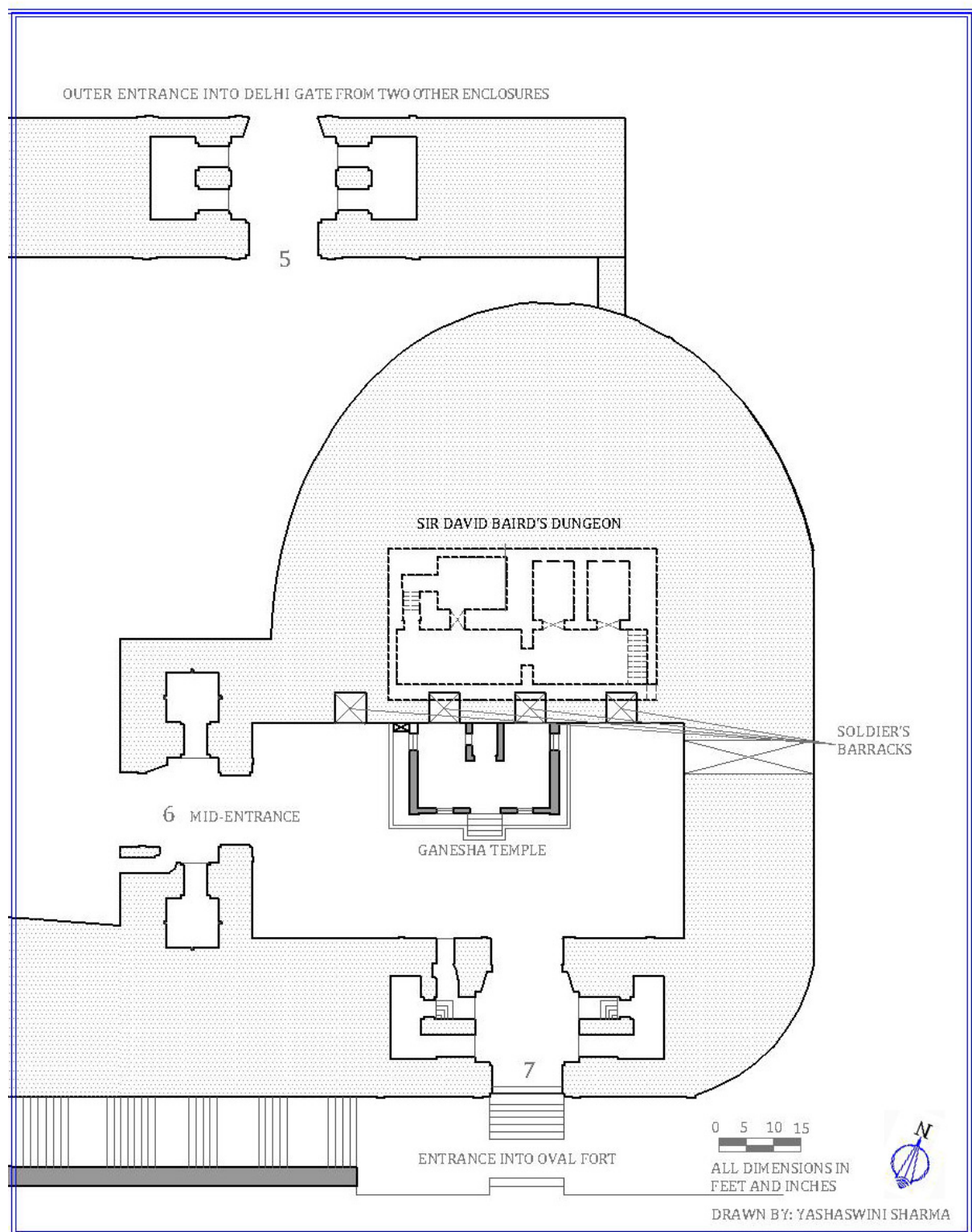


Fig. 3.3.5 Closer look – Ground floor Plan, Remaining portion of oval Fort –Delhi Gate, Bangalore

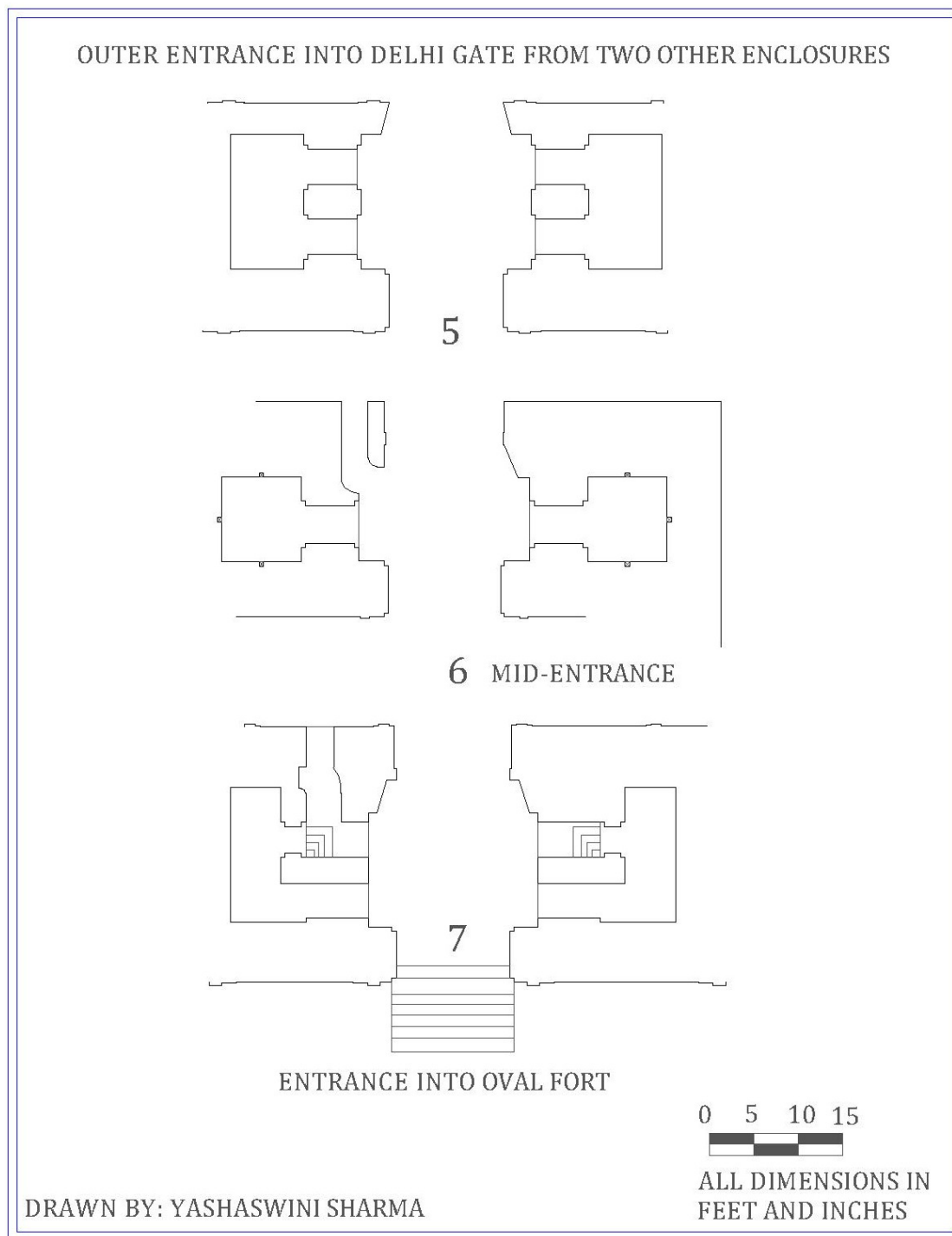


Fig. 3.3.6 Surviving Gates 5, 6, 7, 7th, being the entrance from within the Fort area.



Fig. 3.3.7 Gate 7, Entrance from within the Fort



Fig. 3.3.8 Gate 6, Inner Gate leading into courtyard



Fig. 3.3.9 Gate 5 from what used to be exit towards Pētē



Fig. 3.3.10 Door of Gate 5



Fig. 3.3.11 Motif above Entrance Arch, Gate 7



Fig. 3.3.12 Floral Motif, Gate 7



Fig. 3.3.13 Yvāli motif, Entrance Arch, Gate 7



Fig. 3.3.14 Ganesha Temple with Wodeyar symbol



Fig. 3.3.15 Garbha-griha of Ganesha temple

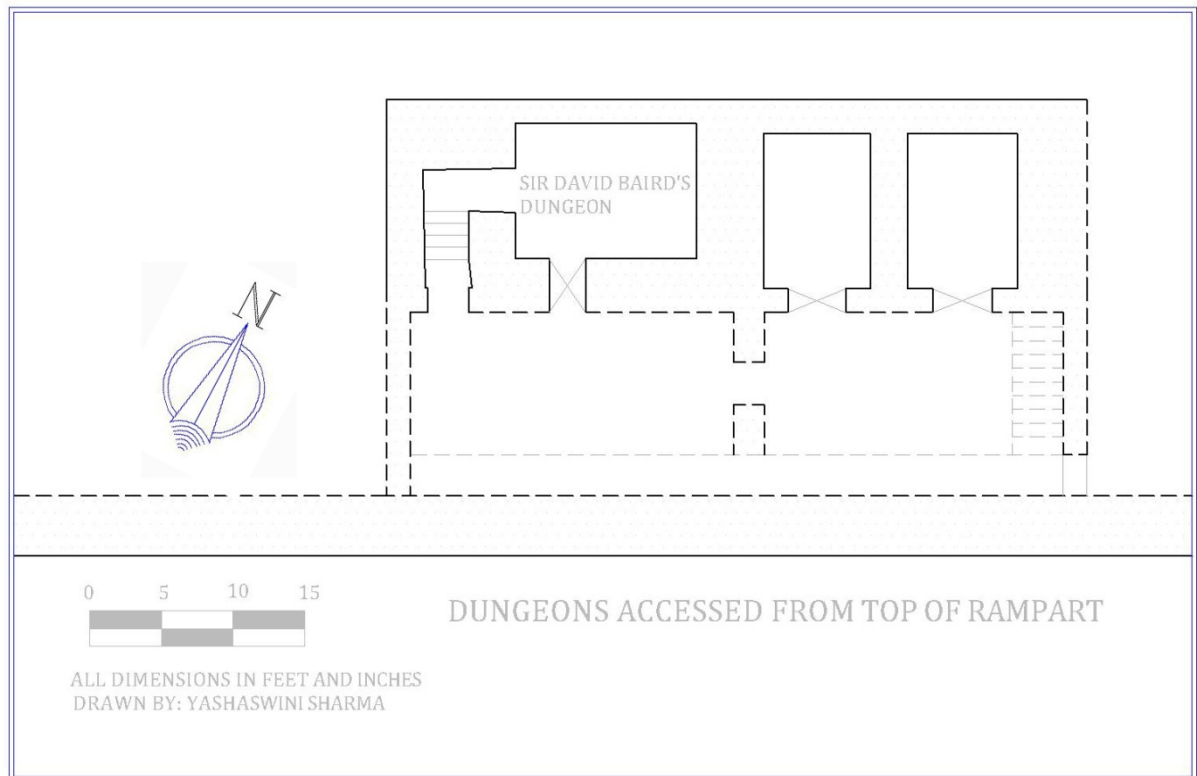


Fig. 3.3.16 Layout of dungeons



Fig. 3.3.17 Dungeons



Fig. 3.3.18 Sir David Baird's dungeon

The palace

The wooden palace of Tipu Sultan (fig. 3.4.1), as discussed in the preceding chapter as well as Sections 1.5 and 2.2, is located adjacent to the Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple (fig. 3.4.18) in what used to be the southern part of the oval fort, though it appears almost centrally located within the oval Fort, and is accessed from the northern road. Tipu Sultan was known to offer prayers in this temple making an example of religious tolerance and faith. It may not have been in vain for during the Third War of Mysore against the East India Company, in the year 1791, the entrance pillar (*garuḍa-gambha*) of the temple famously took a cannon-hit intended for the palace.²⁷⁵ The pillar has since been moved to the museum and a replica erected in its place.

Layout

The palace building, built entirely in wood, was conceived by Hyder Ali in 1781 AD and was completed by Tipu in the year 1791 AD (fig. 3.4.2, fig. 3.4.14). There were four such palaces built by Hyder Ali during his reign, the inspiration for which, as mentioned earlier, comes from the palace at Sira that does not exist anymore,²⁷⁶ and shares significant features with Shivappa Nayaka's palace at Shimoga as discussed later on in this section (fig. 3.4.4). It was probably natural for Hyder to be inspired by the architecture of the palace at Sira. Hyder captured Sira in 1761 AD and held it until 1766 AD when he lost it to the Marathas. Tipu captured the place again in 1774 AD. This preceded the construction of the palace in Bangalore. Hyder also captured Shimoga during his invasion of Bednur in January 1763 AD. He and subsequently Tipu could have probably been inspired by the architecture Shivappa Nayaka's palace.

A translation of the Persian inscription on a wall at the palace from Rice's work *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Vol. IX, Bangalore) which gives an insight into builder's grand perception of the structure:-

As soon as the foundation of the Palace was laid, its head was raised to heaven with joy. Oh, what a lofty mansion, a home of happiness, its summit being above the skies. It is a house of glass in purity, all who see it are struck with wonder. In magnificence, it rivals the sky which hangs down its head with shame. The description alone of this place, when heard by Faridun caused him to go his long sleep. I sought by computation according to Zar (date system introduced by Tipu) for the date and an unseen angel said, 'A house of happiness', 1196 (1781 AD). When the painting of this new Palace was finished, it cast the beauty of

²⁷⁵ M. Fazlul Hasan, '*Bangalore through the centuries*', First Edition (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970), p. 71.

²⁷⁶ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, 2 vols (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 46.

China into oblivion. I sought the date from Khizir, the wise, who said, 'Doubtless it is envied by heaven', 1206 (1791 AD).²⁷⁷

In fact, Tipu renamed Bangalore as '*Dar-us-Saroor*' which translates into home of happiness. The other palace built on similar design by Hyder and Tipu is the lost Lāl Bāgh Palace, at the eastern end of the island of Śrirangapaṭṇa (discussed later on). One can glean an impression of palace complexes and the lifestyle of the Sultan from Buchanan's description of the Lāl Mahal Palace, their main palace at Śrirangapaṭṇa which is now in ruins:-

The palace of the Sultan at Serirangapatam is a very large building, surrounded by a massy and lofty wall of stone and mud, and outwardly is of a very mean appearance. There were in it, however, some handsome apartments, which have been converted into barracks; but the troops are very ill lodged, from the want of ventilation common in all native buildings (fig. 3.3.6). The private apartments of Tippoo formed a square, in one side of which were the rooms that he himself used (fig. 3.3.5). The other three sides of the square were occupied by warehouses, in which he had deposited a vast variety of goods; for he acted not only as a prince, but also a merchant. These goods were occasionally distributed among the Amildars, or governors of provinces, with orders to sell them, on the Sultan's account, at a price far above their real value; which was done by forcing a share of them upon every man in proportion to his supposed wealth. This was one of the grand sources of oppression, speculation, and defalcation of revenue. The friends, or wealthy corruptors of Amildars, were excused from taking a large share of the goods; while the remainder was forced upon poor wretches, whose whole means, when torn from them, were inadequate to the estimated value of goods; and outstanding balances on this account were always large. The three sides of the square formerly used as warehouses, are now occupied by the five younger sons of Tippoo, who have not yet been removed to Vellore. They are well looking boys, and are permitted to ride, and exercise themselves in the square, when they are desirous so to do: they are also used to view the parade, and to hear the bands of music belonging to the troops in garrison. The apartment most commonly used by Tippoo was a large lofty hall, open in front after the mussulman fashion, and on the other three sides, entirely shut up from ventilation.²⁷⁸

Tipu's Palace in Bangalore is not far removed from this description (fig 3.4.7), especially the *zenana* as discussed later in the chapter. The existing part of this wooden (Bangalore) palace includes private quarters (fig. 3.4.2, fig. 3.4.3), public *Durbār* (audience) halls (fig.3.4.8), stores and the *zenana* (ladies' quarters). The northern entrance as in fig. 3.4.8, drawing of which is presented in fig. 3.4.14, leads to the public *Durbār* hall while a similar entrance at the southern side leads to the private *Durbār* hall. Rice documents that a "large open court in front (of the palace) was surrounded by a corridor, in the centre of which, opposite the palace, was the *naubat khāna* or raised band stand."²⁷⁹

The existing structure (part of the palace) measures roughly 103' 11.5" x 107' 5 1/2" (fig. 3.4.2, fig. 3.4.3) in dimension. Additional to this were four ground extensions in each direction (fig. 3.4.7), barracks for soldiers and a parade ground towards the east. An interesting feature of this palace is the gilded art and in-lay work.

²⁷⁷ T. V. Annaswamy, *Bengaluru to Bangalore* (Bangalore: Vengadam Publications, 2003), pp.206-210. Annaswamy adds that Faridun was an ancient model king of Persia. Khizir was a Prophet.

²⁷⁸ Francis Buchanan, '*A journey from madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*' (Delhi: AES, 1988) Vol. 1, p. 69.

²⁷⁹ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, pp. 46-47, and Buchanan, p. 47.

Ground Floor

The ground floor is divided into five equal bays width-wise and seven equal bays length-wise formed by larger columns. The bays each measure 12' 8 1/2" x 14' 7". The central bays are composed of rooms and they divide the rest of the area into public and private *Durbār* halls which are two storeyed, as discussed earlier. The western wing housed the *zenāna* and is similar to northern and southern wings except that it has lost some columns and bays now. In each room, one can still see inlay work on the wall surface with golden vines and green creepers with flowers with a background of red paint. The walls have several niches (for lamps, fig 3.4.10), and each niche (fig. 3.4.5) is treated with differently patterned gilded work.

The entire palace is made of wood and lime plastered mud walls. The flat roof is held up by fluted columns in the hall on either side which are two-storey high and the space between these columns is further divided into three internal bays at corners enclosing the private quarters of the Sultan, the inner columns having single or double-trunks that support fluted arches which together with the wooden beams hold up the roof (fig. 3.4.2, fig. 3.4.3, fig. 3.4.8, fig 3.4.9, fig 3.4.11).

While the *Durbār* halls receive adequate light and ventilation, it is the very opposite in the case of the private quarters of the western wing. The *zenāna* in particular is seemingly without ventilation (fig 3.4.6), the massive doors have but a small flap door through which the residents of these quarters could see outside. It was also perhaps a system to regulate visitors to the *zenana* which was made up of mostly eunuch guards of the *zenāna* and ladies maids beside the Sultan's ladies and the Sultan himself. Buchanan documents the plight of some of the ladies who were taken away from their families when they were children and converted to Islam. He says since some of them were too little when they separated from their families and brought up in a confined fashion. Consequently, they knew nothing of the world outside and were too reluctant to embrace free life and preferred to stay indoors when the doors of the *zenāna* were finally opened at the end of the third war of Mysore (in 1799 AD).

First Floor

Wooden staircases along the eastern and western walls from the ground floor lead to the upper central gallery with two rooms with adjacent galleries formed by single bays and smaller columns (fig. 3.4.3). This overlooks the double storeyed *Durbār* halls like the audience hall in Shivappa Nayaka's Palace (fig. 3.4.26). Rice asserts that "the upper storey of the palace contained the public and private apartments of the Sultan and his ladies, with two balconies of state from which he gave audience. Paint and false gilding decorated the walls."²⁸⁰ Small protrusions in the central gallery (fig. 3.4.1), drawn in dotted lines, mark the spot from where the Sultan addressed people and royal office bearers from the central

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

gallery. This pattern of central gallery is very similar to that of the upper storey of the audience hall in Shivappa Nayaka's Palace, though in case of the latter the storey width is larger i.e., almost twice that of the column spacing (fig. 3.4.27). Similar layout is mirrored in the western wing which can be assumed true of the lost eastern wing from archival records presented in fig. 3.4.7.

A description of the first floor of Tipu's Palace at Bangalore is given by Buchanan as seen in 1800 AD which gives a glimpse of the lifestyle of the ladies of the *zenāna*; this is documented by Rice²⁸¹ as well. "Although this (palace) is composed of mud, it is not without some magnificence. On the upper storey it contains four halls, each comprising two balconies of state for the prince, and each balcony faces a different *Cutchery* or court for giving audience (fig. 3.4.20). No persons, except a few trusty guards, were admitted into the hall with the Sultan; but at each end of the court was erected a balcony for the officers of the highest rank. The inferior officers occupied a hall under the balcony of the prince, open in the front, and supported by columns as high as the roof of the upper storey. The populace were admitted into the open court, in which there were fountains for cooling the air. At each end of the hall are private apartments, small, mean and inconvenient. The public rooms are neatly painted, and ornamented with false gilding. The offices are mean; and the bath consists of a small room, in which a person may sit, and have water poured over him. The same bath seems to have served both the prince and his women, as it communicates with their apartments by a small court, which contains the huts that served for kitchens, and for lodging the female slaves. There were two apartments for the ladies. One, for the principal wife, contains a *cutchery*, where, like the Sultan, she gave audience to the concubines, and to the ladies of the Musalman chiefs. The other apartment belonged to the concubines. It is a square court, having at the two sides a corridor, under which the women sat at their meals and amusements. Behind the corridor are their sleeping rooms, which are mean, and dark, being about twelve feet square, and without any air or light, but what is admitted by the door, or in some by a hole about a foot wide. Lowness of roof is a fault prevailing over the whole structure."²⁸² The square court and corridors of the *zenāna* described by Buchanan do not exist presently. The small rooms at the corners of the central hall measure 12' 6" x 12' 8" in dimension while those at corners measure 22' ½" x 11' 8", one of these rooms located right of northern entrance is used by Archaeological Survey of India as an office and for holding meetings.

An examination of archival records (fig. 3.4.7) and of buttress supports on side walls suggests existence of similar entrance porches on the sides as well as outer walls enclosing courtyards in front of each entrance porch. Towards the east outer wall enclosure is a Parade ground, two views of which have been rendered by James Hunter in 1792 AD, marked as North entrance erroneously in archival records. A viewing gallery can be observed on the top floor set into a central projection of this compound wall. Two entrances

²⁸¹ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. II, p. 47.

²⁸² Buchanan, p. 46-47.

leading onto streets can be observed in the north and south walls enclosing the Parade ground. Eastern wing of the palace has also been recorded showing entrance porch on that side, as presented in fig. 3.4.7.

A probable reconstruction of the ground floor structure of Tipu's Palace is presented in fig. 3.4.16 and 3.4.17 based on Robert Home's drawing (fig.2.2.6, presented again without drawing analysis as fig. 3.4.18) and other archival records presented in fig. 3.4.7. This includes an eastern wing on similar lines as the western wing housing the *zenāna*, overlooking a hall not unlike the Durbār halls, assuming the palace was built symmetrically. Rooms are assumed in ground and first floors as in the western wing. A viewing gallery is also assumed overlooking the two storeyed hall. The outer extension of ground opened onto parade grounds on this side. This is shown in fig. 3.4.7, in the two archival drawings by Hunter.

Fresco on walls

The alluring gilded art work (fig 3.4.5) on all walls of the palace is in striking colors and intricately patterned creepers appear on a background of red colour. The material and method of this art work can be accessed from Buchanan's description of similar art work at the Daria Daulat Palace of Śrirangapaṭṇa. The method of construction of gilded art is described by Buchanan, as he learnt from the principal workman employed by Colonel Close in 1800 AD in repairing the Lāl Bāgh palace in Śrirangapaṭṇa. He says that though the gilded art makes a false appearance of much gold being employed in the art, gold is not actually employed in the skill. Instead it was made up of false gilded paper which was cut into shapes of flowers etc and pasted onto walls; the interstices were then filled with oil color of European preparation.²⁸³

The method of making false gilded paper is documented in detail by Buchanan.²⁸⁴ I am presenting a short summary of the method. Lead (any amount) was first beaten into very thin leaves. Three parts of English glue were added to twenty-four parts of these leaves, dissolved in water and beaten together until they were united. This was cut into cakes and dried in shade. They were then spread thin like water soluble paint on writing paper which was then put on a smooth plank and rubbed with a polished stone to acquire a metallic luster, the edges were then pasted down on board and smeared with *gurna* oil.²⁸⁵ This is exposed to sun to acquire a brass-yellow color. Lime plaster and clay were used along with soap-stone powder to white-wash the walls.

Columns

Here, the columns are set in two scales and executed in wood - smaller columns (fig 3.4.9, fig. 3.4.11) spanning the height of a single floor and larger columns (3.4.13) spanning two

²⁸³ Buchanan, p. 75.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Linseed oil + chunderasu (milky juice of ficus gonia) + musambra (country aloes).

floors, the latter ones donning entrance bays. The difference in features from earlier ornate temple columns (see chapter 3.1) is very apparent. Twin columns (larger) are seen along the width in the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 6th bays (length-wise bays) (fig. 3.4.12). All columns are connected by a series of cusped arches in the manner of the Shivappa Nayaka palace (fig. 3.4.4) at Shimoga.

Smaller columns (fig. 3.4.9, fig. 3.4.11, fig. 3.4.12)

The capital resembling the Greek Corinthian capital is entirely made up of acanthus leaf motif as is the bottom of the shaft) and the stem of the column is fluted. The column rests on a stone base measuring 1' 7.5"x 1' 7.5". While the height from ground level to top of the beam is about 8' 11", the column itself measures a little over 6' 0" in height and the fluted arch about 2' 0" in height. The depth of the wooden beams is roughly 10".

Larger columns (3.4.13)

These columns flank the two existing public (north) and private (south) Durbār entrances (fig. 3.4.2, fig. 3.4.3, fig. 3.4.11, fig. 3.4.12, fig. 3.4.13) and span about 19' 0" from ground level to top of the beam. They support fluted arches of about 7' 0" inclusive of the beam depth (about 10"). These columns are set on a stone base. The entire shaft is composed of a single trunk of tree. Acanthus patterns at the base of the shaft differ slightly between the front and rear (south and north) Durbār halls. The larger beams rest on mud wall buttresses all around (fig 3.4.15) with a height of 23' 0" - 25' 0". These supports are two stepped and are topped off by onion domes typical of buildings built under an influence of Islamic architecture. The columns support wooden beams and are supported in turn by oblique supports fashioned in the form of an elephant's head which hold the roof overhang (fig. 3.4.19, fig. 3.4.20).

A new book on the art and architecture during the rule of Hyder and Tipu by Anupa Pande and Savita Kumari, *The Heritage of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan*, was published this year. The authors discuss buildings patronized by them in Bangalore and Śrirangapaṭṇa with particular emphasis on mural art work and techniques. Architectural investigations of the Palace and oval Fort in Bangalore in terms of drawings are minimal comprising of two plan drawings of Tipu's Palace without scale, the other two being topographical surveys by the A.S.I. However, they describe existing Palace building in Bangalore in detail in text.²⁸⁶

Pande and Kumari give a glimpse of the lost Lāl Bāgh Palace of Śrirangapaṭṇa, which now houses the mausoleum containing Hyder's and Tipu's tombs as mentioned earlier (see Section 3.5 for image of associated garden), through a careful study of an archival drawing, *Garden Gate* of Lāl Bāgh, coloured aquatint painted by James Hunter in 1792 AD (fig.

²⁸⁶ Anupa Pande and Savita Kumari, *The Heritage of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan – Art and Architecture* (New Delhi: National Museum Institute of History of Art, Conservation and Museology in association with Aryan Books International, 2012) pp. 33-56.

3.4.21).²⁸⁷ They note that the representation of the dovecotes which remain at the entrance to the mausoleum is realistic and hence, conclusions may be drawn from the drawing regarding the architecture of buildings patronized by (Hyder and) Tipu. They assert that the image showing a gateway with a “trefoil arched entrance”²⁸⁸ was probably flanked by chambers that were preceded by the verandah or colonnaded and tripartite *jagali* (see Section 2.1). The four columns of this *jagali* support a *chajja* or roof overhang and are topped by a parapet featuring *guldastas* at regular interval. Rest of the parapet is decorated with “diaper pattern”²⁸⁹ which Pande and Kumari interpret as a representation of lattice work, much like what is seen in remaining portions of Tipu’s Palace in Bangalore. This palace crumbled in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Buchanan has noted in his travels that this palace, built of mud, occupying the lower end of the island was elegant and the handsomest local building he had ever seen. Pande and Kumari assert that “the palace had two storeys with apartments and balconies and was decorated with paintings rendered on the walls plastered with shell lime.”²⁹⁰ They note, after Parsons, that after palace was repaired for Colonel Barry Close in 1799 AD and he left after occupying it for a while, it was abandoned and crumbled to dust except for a foot of low mud wall which marked the site. The wood work was retrieved and sent to Ooty so as to be used in the construction of beams and columns in St. Stephen’s Church, the construction of which was begun on April. 23, 1829 AD to coincide with King George IV’s birthday. The stylistic details on the wood work associating it with the palace were carefully removed. Other material from the palace was used in the construction of public building in Nilgiris.²⁹¹

The other palace built by Hyder and Tipu in Śrirangapaṭṇa is the Daria Daulat which is constructed on a raised platform of about five feet. The palace is preceded by tanks flanked by steps in each direction in front of the central narrower tripartite entrance; Pande and Kumari observe that these probably are a representation of the *Hawd al-kauzar*, the celestial tank of abundance which according to traditional Islamic belief is the tank in which Prophet Mohammad stands to plead for the Faithful before God on the Day of Judgement (fig. 3.4.22, fig. 3.4.23). An entrance arch flanked by two dovecotes and a water way through the garden leads us to the palace (fig. 3.4.23, fig. 3.4.24). Two more large partitions made by columns on either side can be observed on each side (fig. 3.4.23). Pande and Kumari note that the richly decorated “palace is square in plan and is surrounded by a pillared verandah”²⁹² made up of twenty-eight columns. The bases of columns here are made up of single blocks of timber, unlike that of Bangalore where the base is made up of stone while the column itself is made up of timber (fig. 3.4.25). Acanthus leaf motifs appear on the base and capital of the columns here. The bases and capitals of the columns are

²⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 149 – 153.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 151.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 152.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid., p. 159.

painted in yellow which Pande and Kumari assert imitated the decorative false gilding and contrasted with the dark shaft much like the columns in Tipu's Palace in Bangalore. They note the exquisite ornamentation on arches, lintels, roofs and walls of the building. The predominant colours are red, yellow and sky blue on a white background, floral scrolls in black on lintels which according to Pande and Kumari imitated Bidri metal work. They note the floral and geometrical patterns painted on fabric and stuck onto ceiling with particular interest.

Pande and Kumari, comparing the palaces in Śrirangapaṭṇa and Bangalore, observe that both central portions form a grid of nine parts. Here, the central part is a rectangular on either side (north and south), which in case of Tipu's palace in Bangalore transforms into many pillared audience halls like that of Shivappa Nayaka's Palace in Shimoga (fig. 3.4.26). The staircases of the Daria Daulat are hidden by doors. The separate *zenana* wing observed in the palace in Bangalore is missing probably because the ladies were housed in the Lāl Mahal palace. Twin pillars supporting cusped arches leading to the audience hall are similar to the ones in Bangalore palace, and more beautiful. The audience halls are double-storeyed in height, another similarity, and were used to entertain select officials and foreign emissaries. The decorations and paintings, like the one depicting Colonel Baillie's defeat in the Battle of Pollilur in the Daria Daulat Palace, are more intricate.



Fig. 3.4.1 North-side external and internal views, Tipu's Palace, Bangalore



Fig. 3.4.2 Author, Tipu Sultan's Palace as existing, Ground Floor Plan

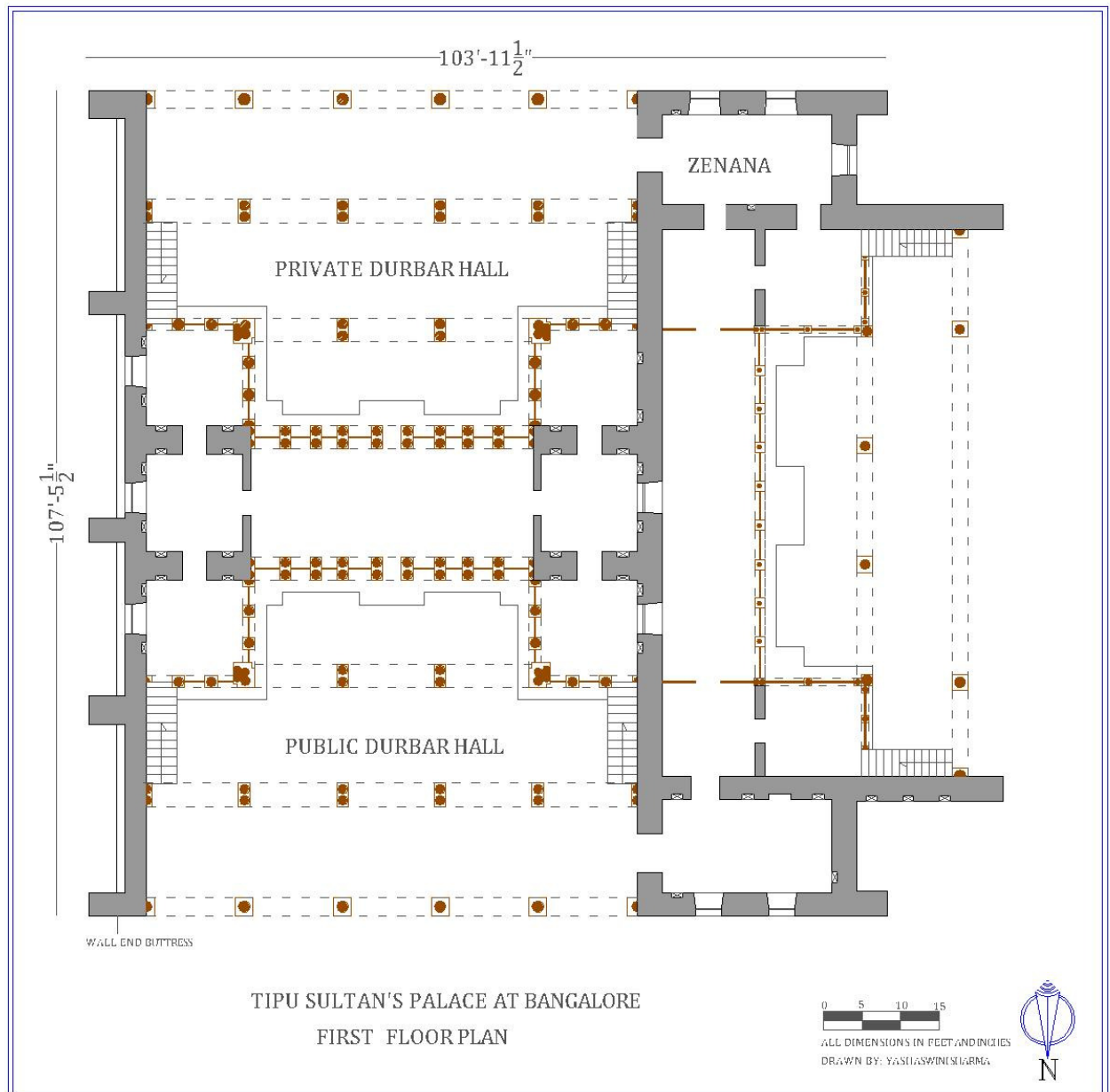


Fig. 3.4.3 Author, Tipu Sultan's Palace as existing, First Floor Plan



Fig. 3.4.4 Shivappa Nayaka's palace, Shimoga



Fig. 3.4.5 Niches in the wall for lights/ diyas

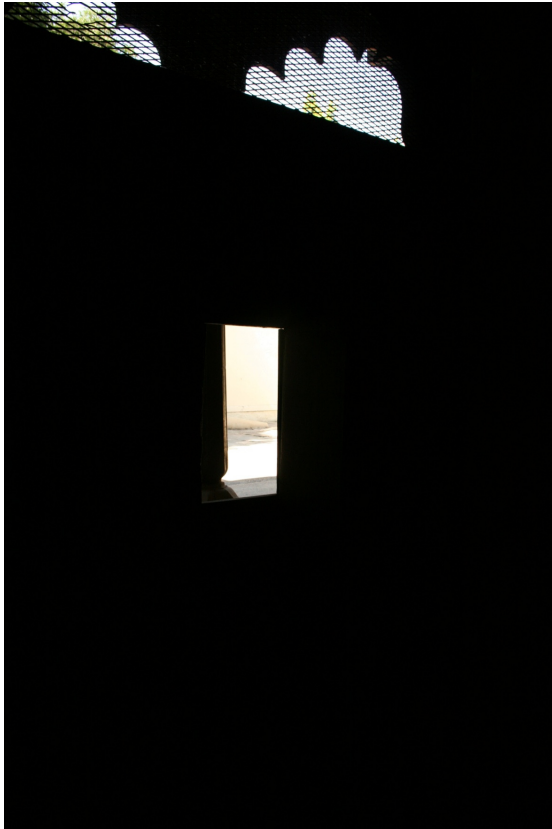
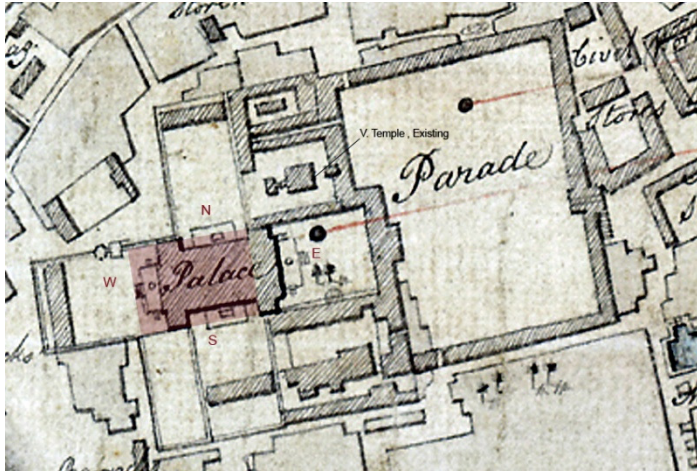


Fig. 3.4.6 Entrance of Zenana – Ladies quarters



Existing portion of Tipu's Palace marked in red shade, after Plan of Bangalore by Robert Home



Two drawings of the entrance through Eastern Compound and Parade Ground of Tipu's Palace, James Hunter



Western Wing of Tipu's Palace by James Hunter

Eastern Wing of Tipu's Palace by James Hunter

Fig. 3.4.7 Tipu's Palace seen through archival drawings (1791-92), British Library, Shelfmarks from left, anti-clockwise - WD3775(26), X768/3(12), X768/3(13), X768/3(10), X768/3(9)



Fig. 3.4.8 North entrance, Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

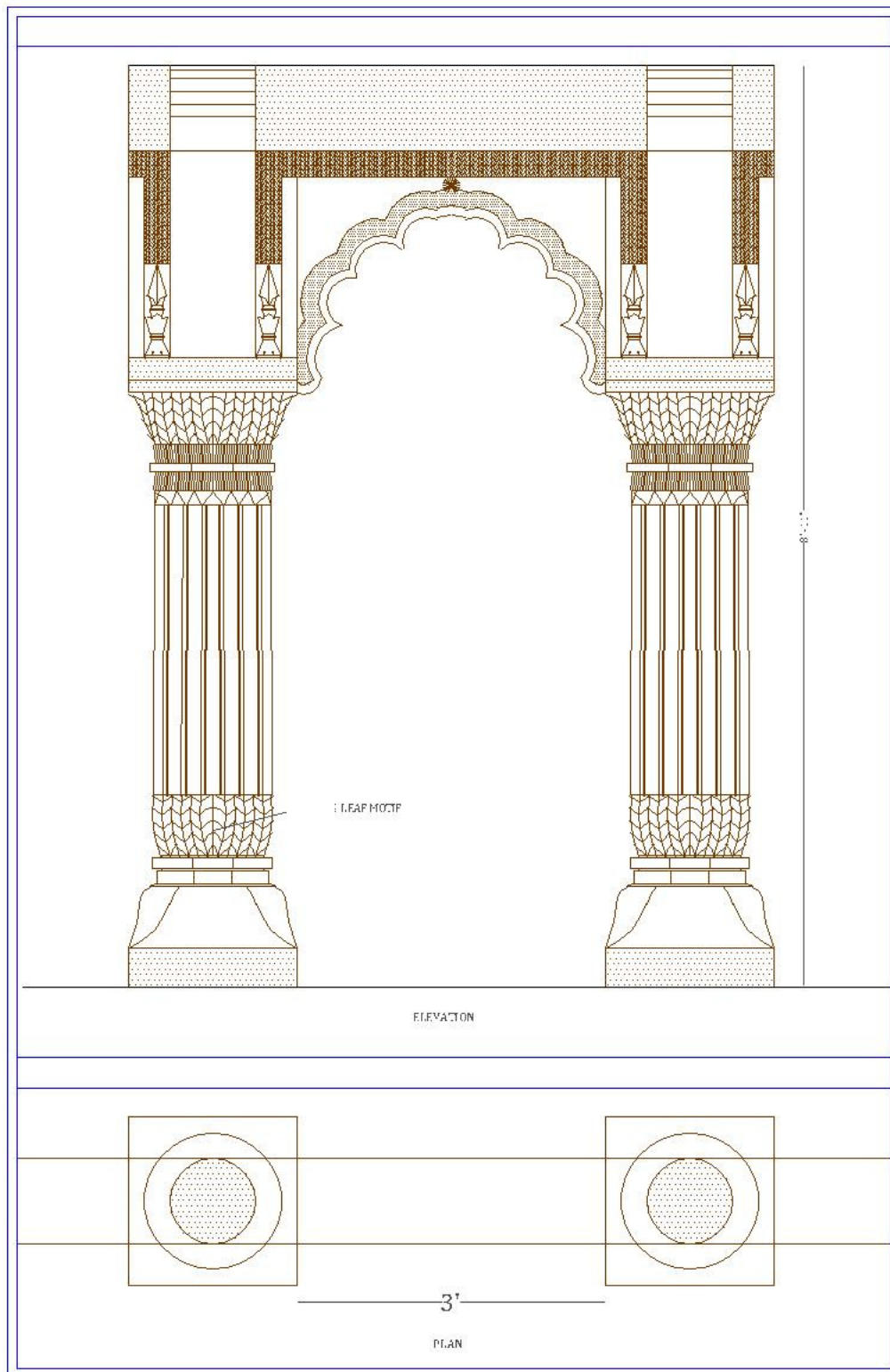


Fig. 3.4.9 Author, Smaller wooden columns, Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

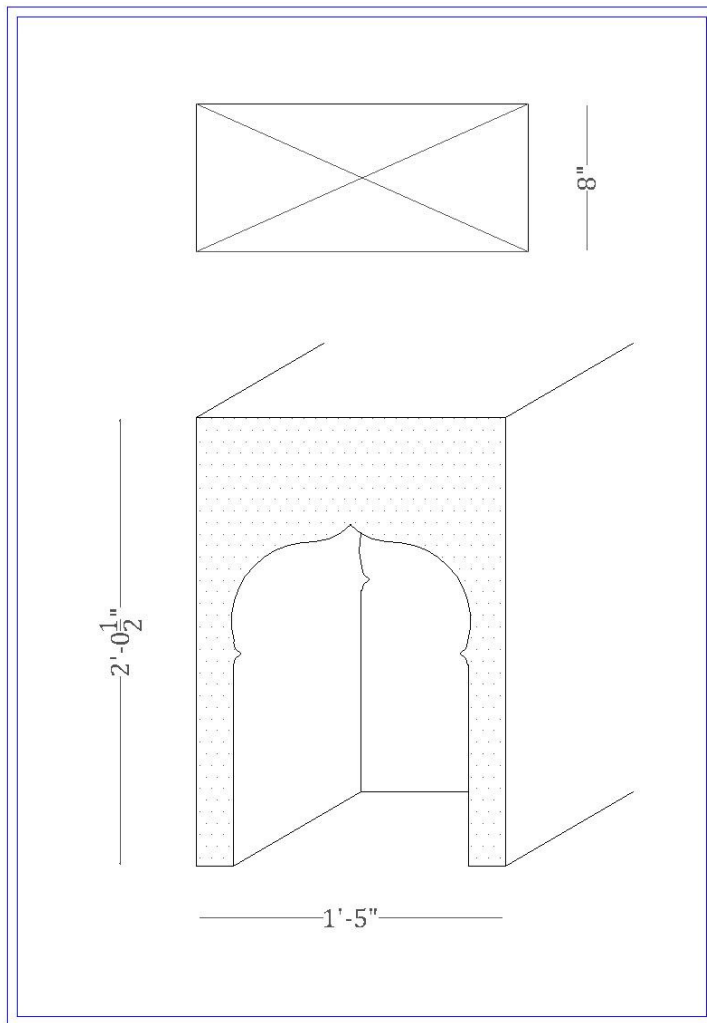


Fig. 3.4.10 Author, Niches for lamps, Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

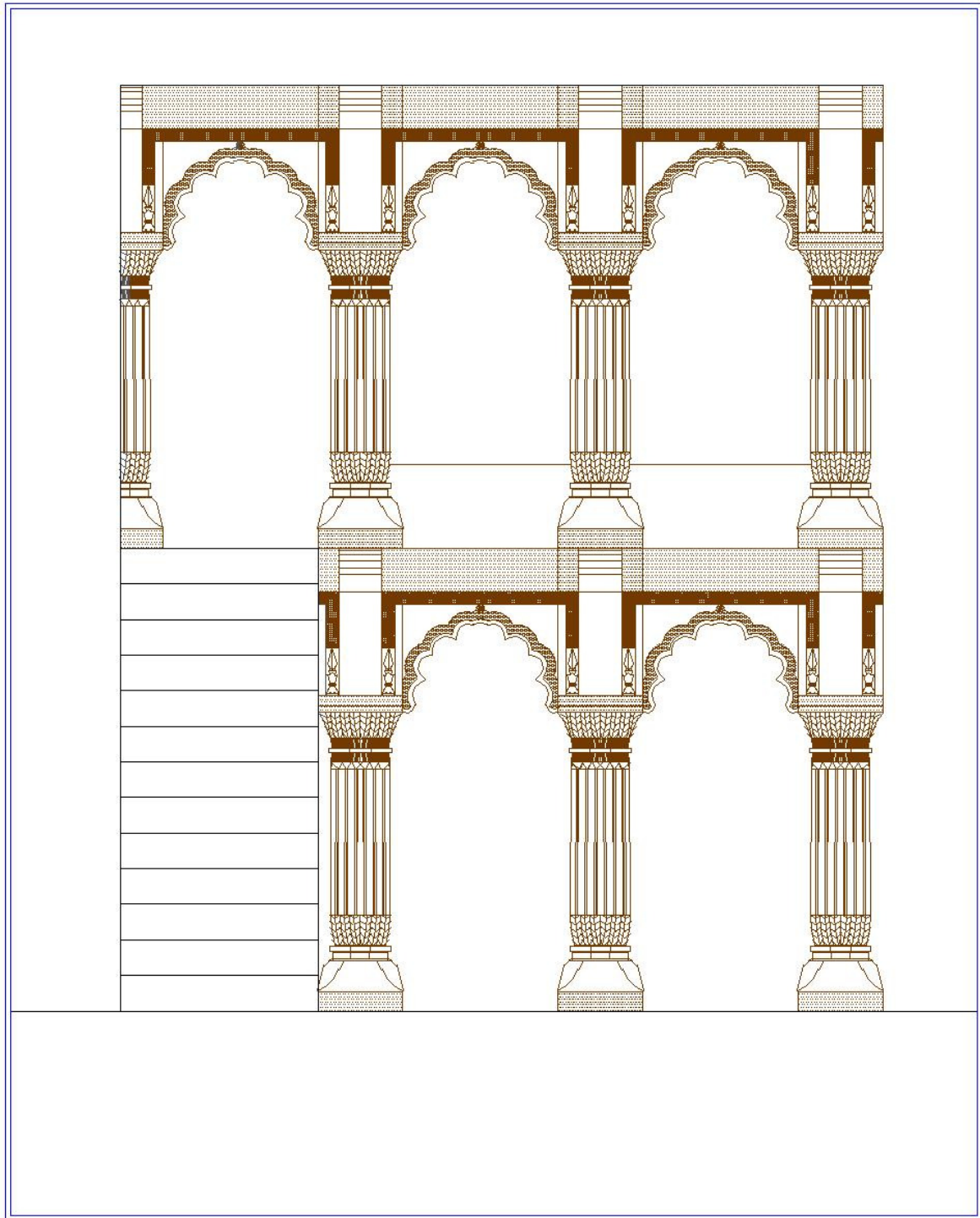


Fig. 3.4.11 Elevation of columns in internal Bays, Tipu's Palace



Fig. 3.4.12 Internal bay showing smaller and larger columns

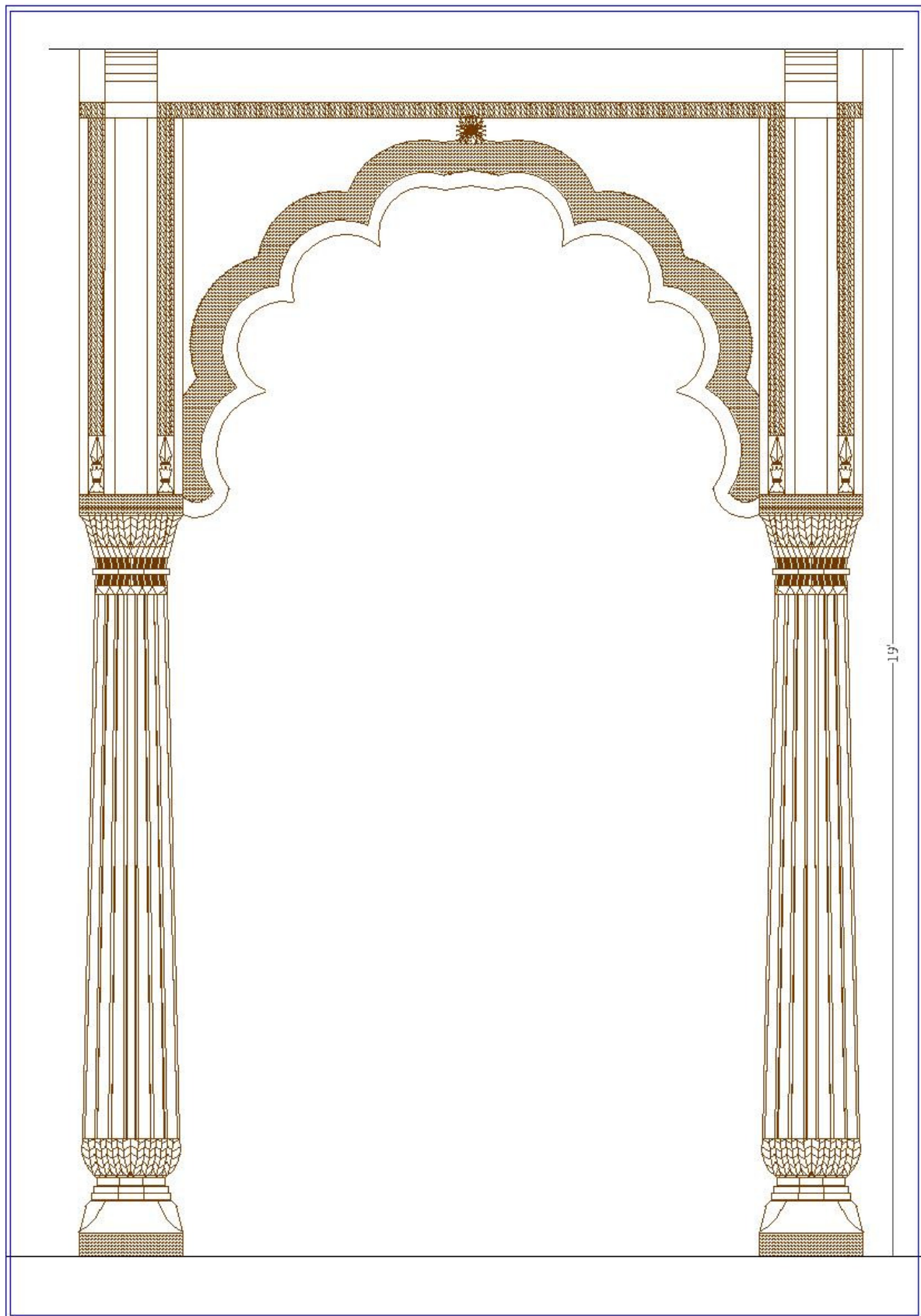


Fig. 3.4.13 Larger columns flanking northern entrance bays, Tipu's Palace

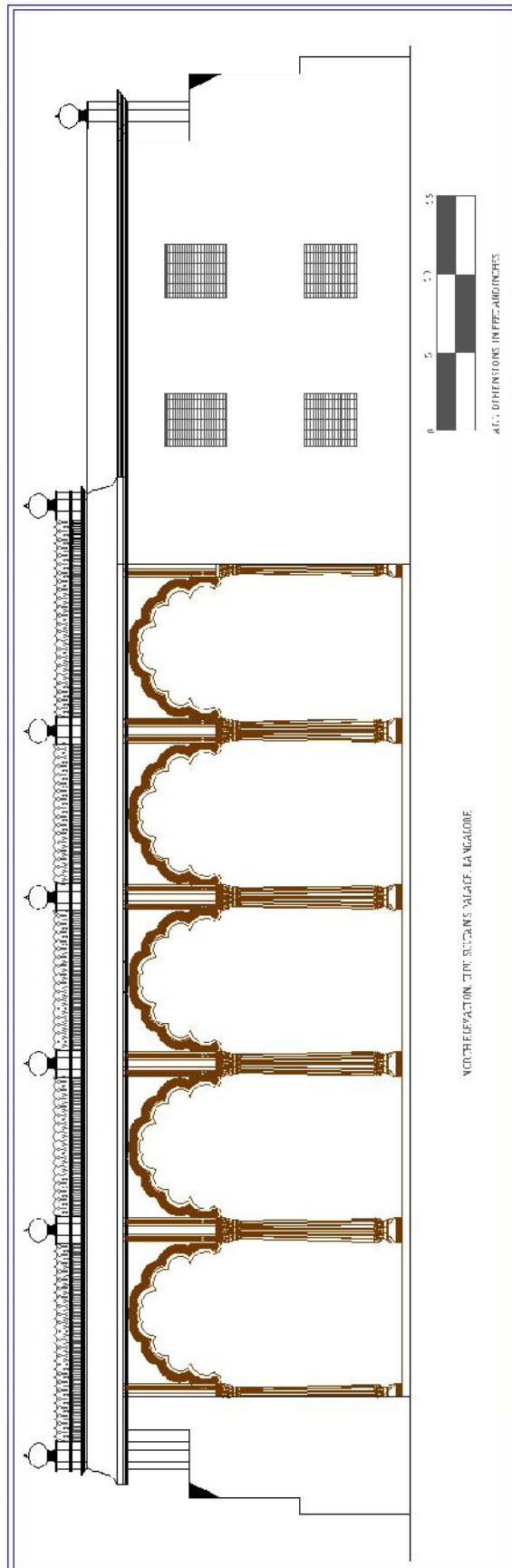


Fig. 3.4.14 North Elevation, Tipu's Palace

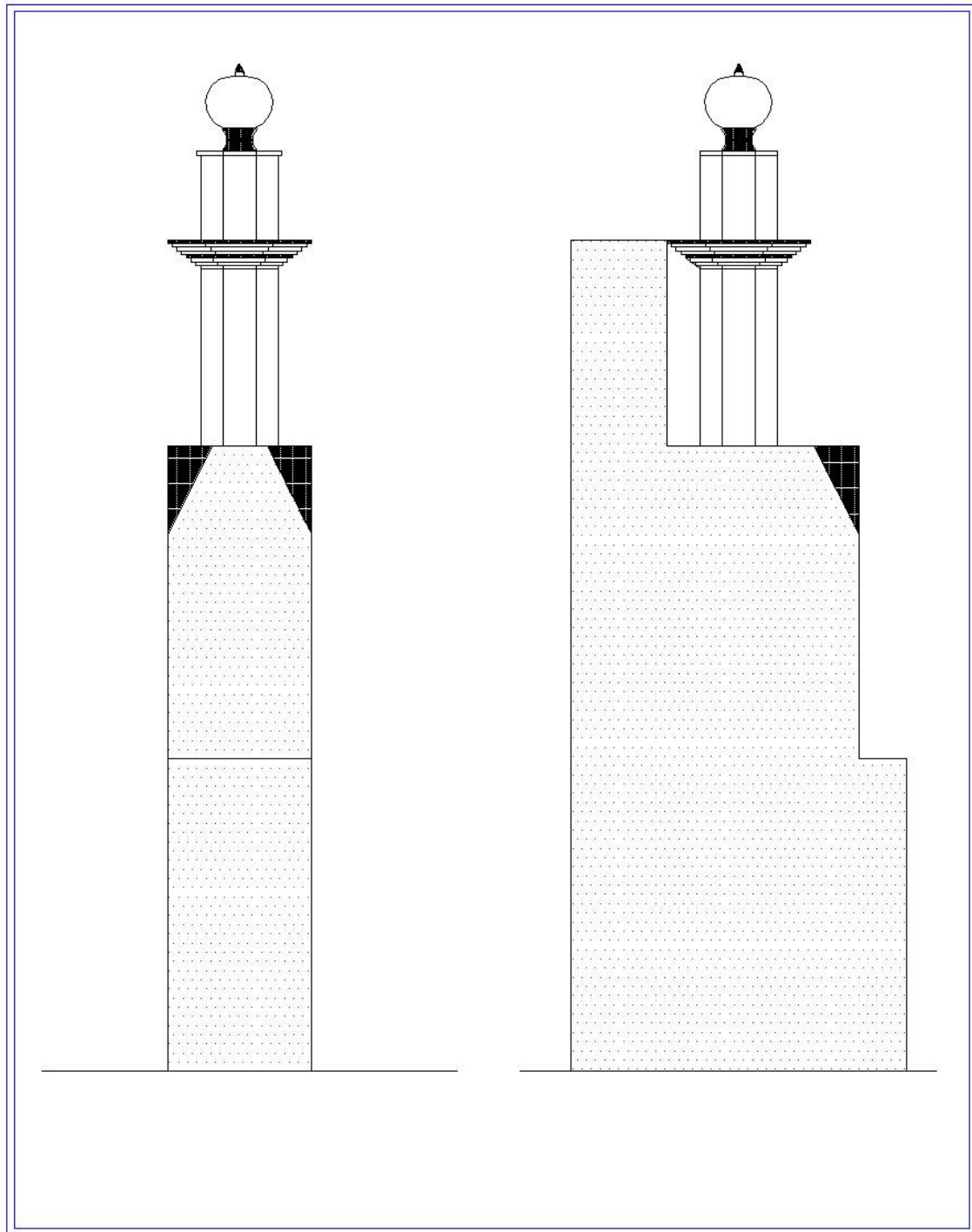


Fig. 3.4.15 Wall end buttress support, Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

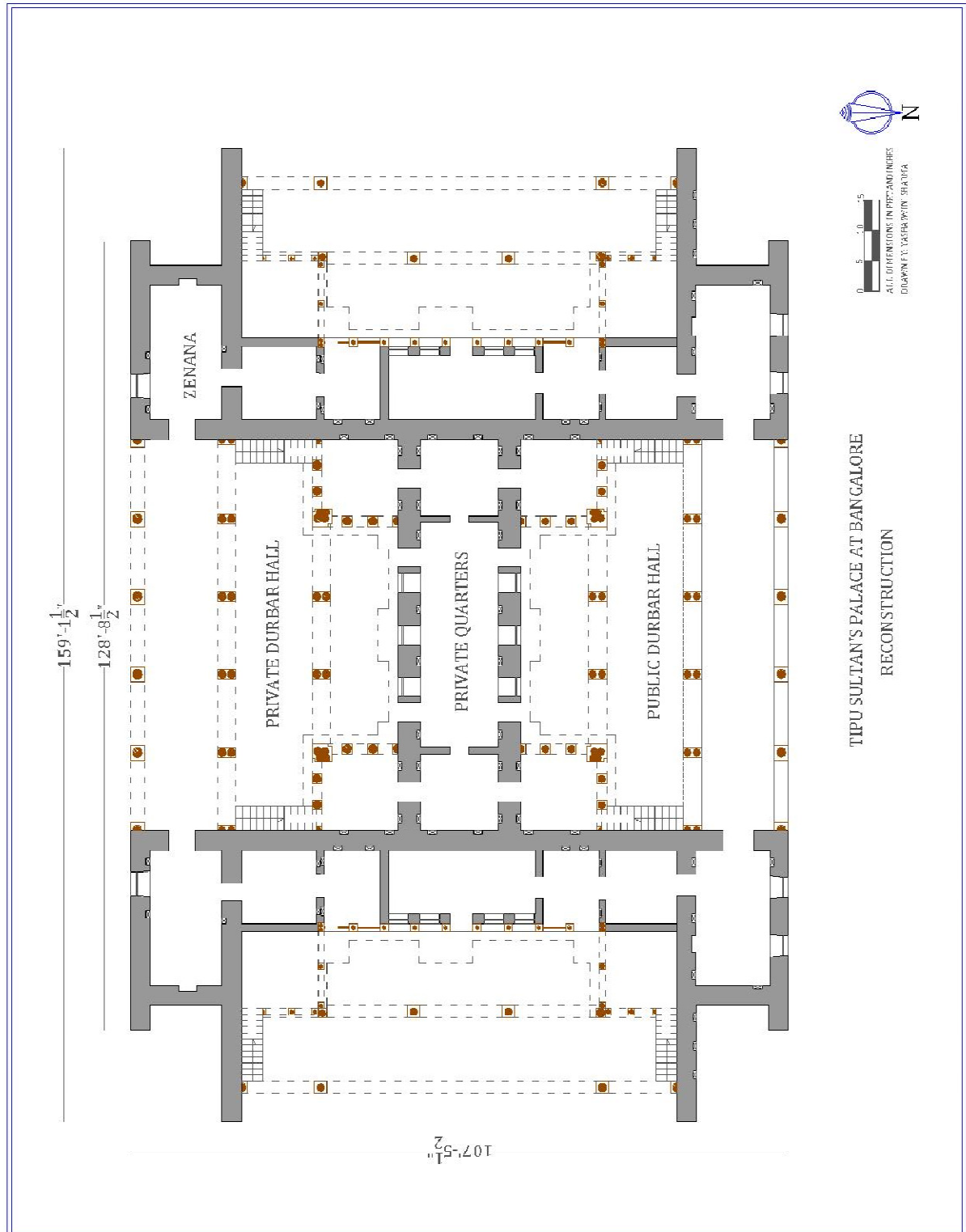


Fig. 3.4.16 Reconstructed Plan of Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

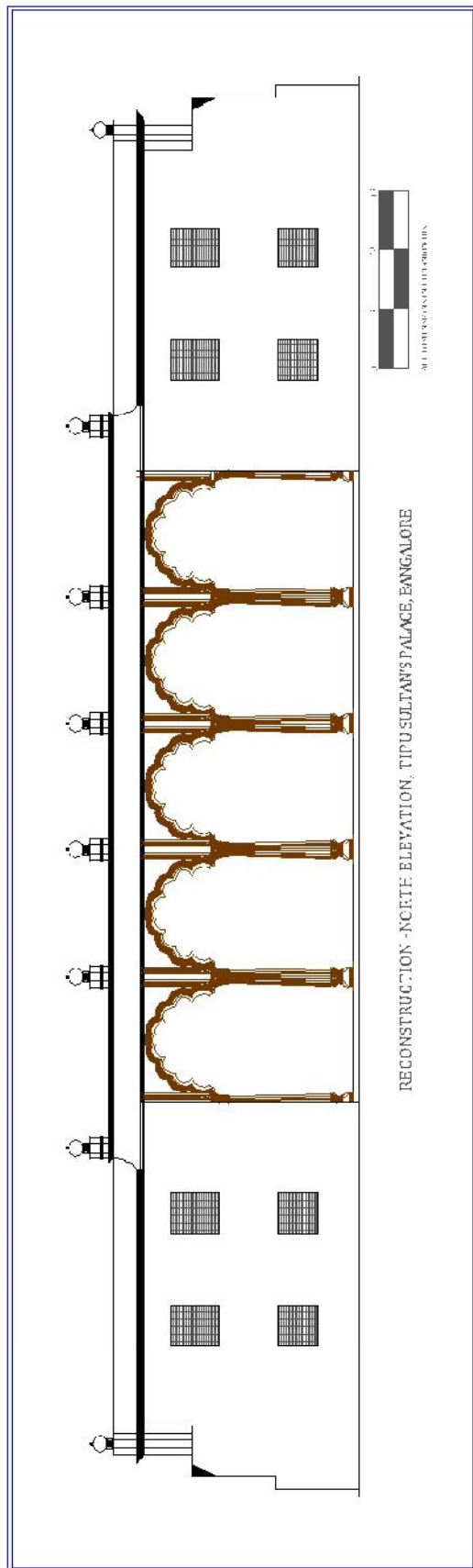


Fig. 3.4.17 Reconstructed northern elevation of Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

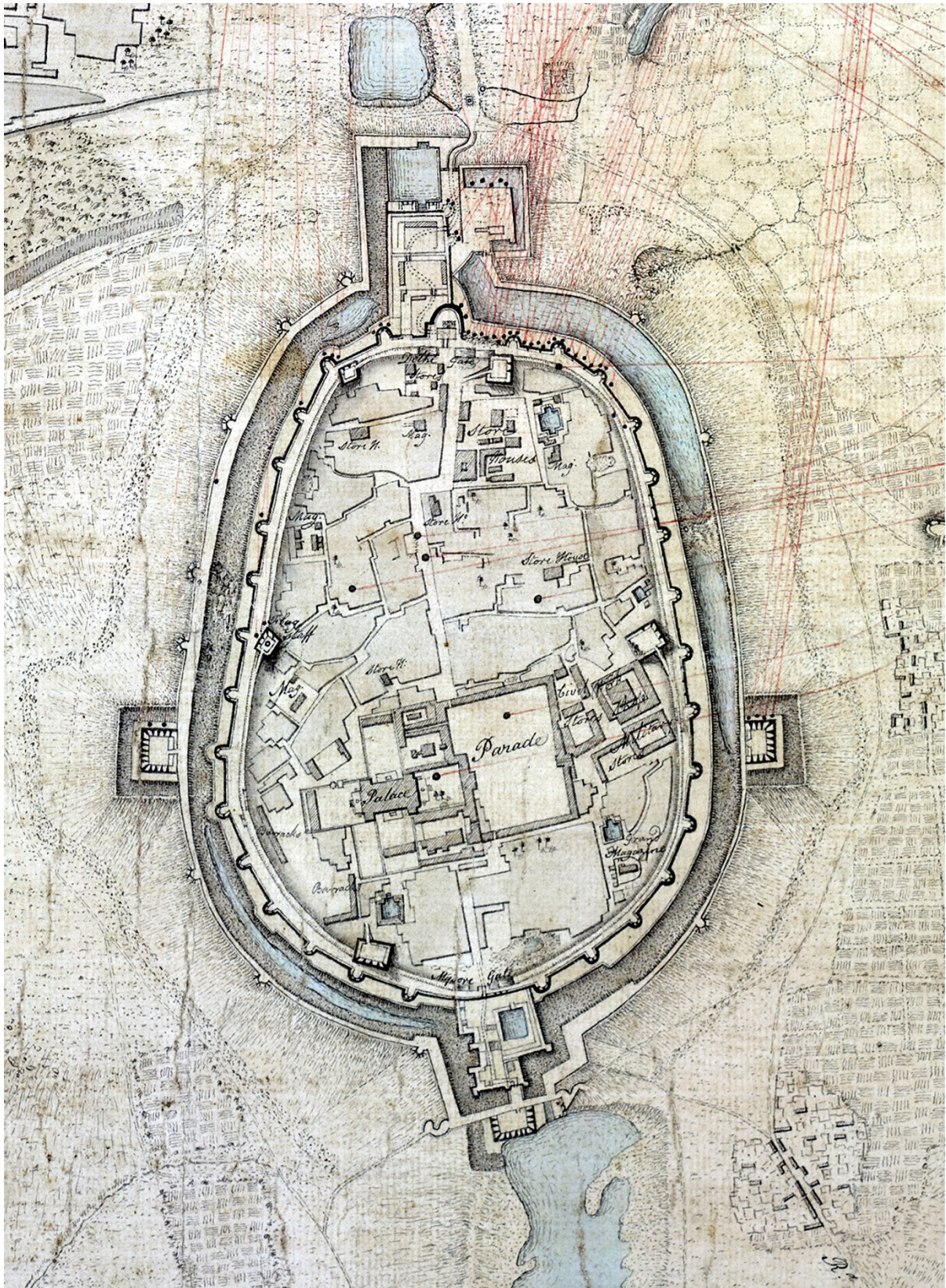


Fig. 3.4.18 Digitally enhanced Image of 'Plan of Bangalore' by Robert Home, British Library, WD3775(26)



Fig. 3.4.19 Overhang supported by elephant brackets

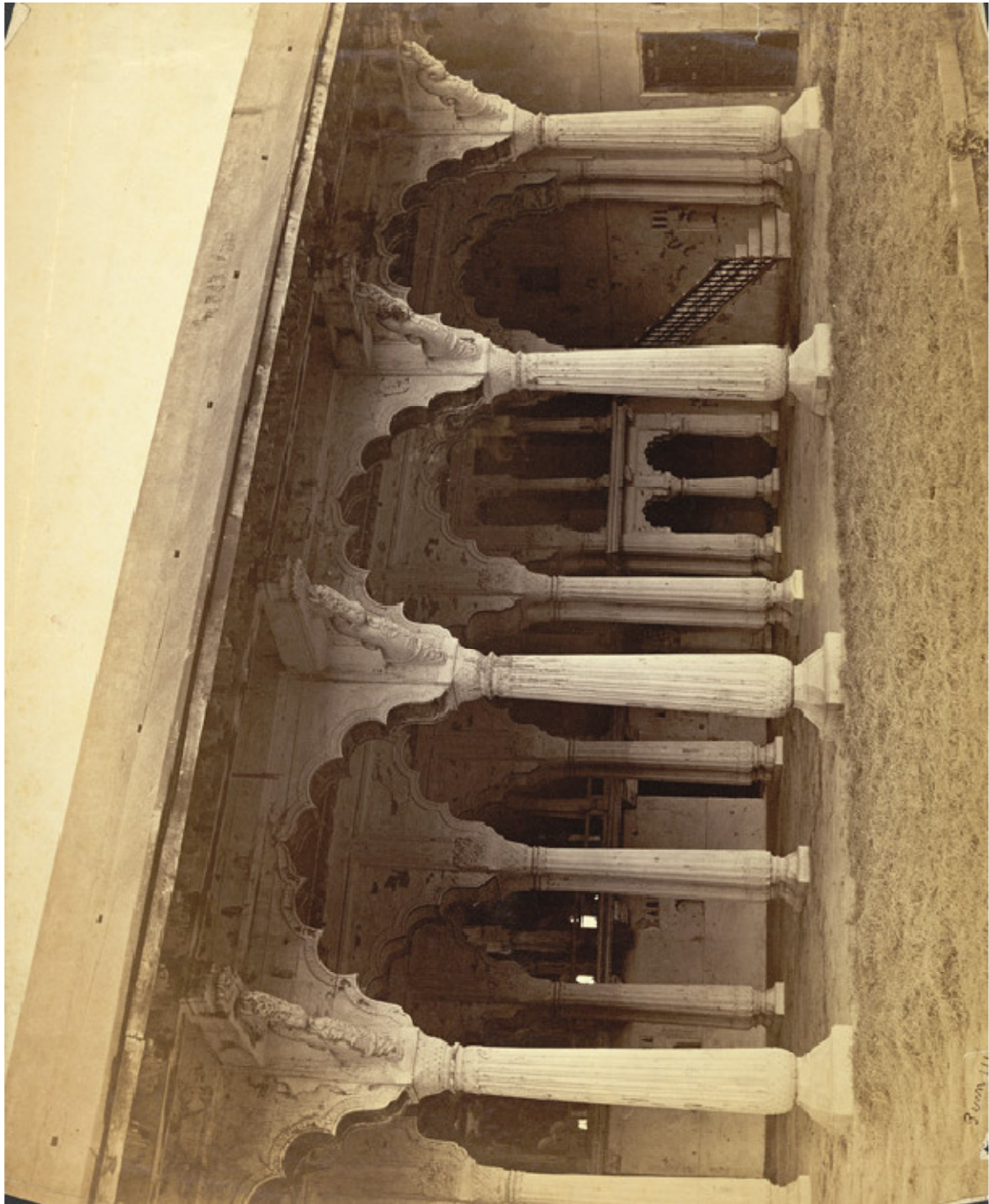


Fig. 3.4.20 Tipu's Palace photograph showing audience hall by Albert Thomas Penn in 1870 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 254/4(4)



Fig. 3.4.21 Garden Gate of Lalbagh, Śrirangapaṭṇa by James Hunter in 1792 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - X768/3(6)

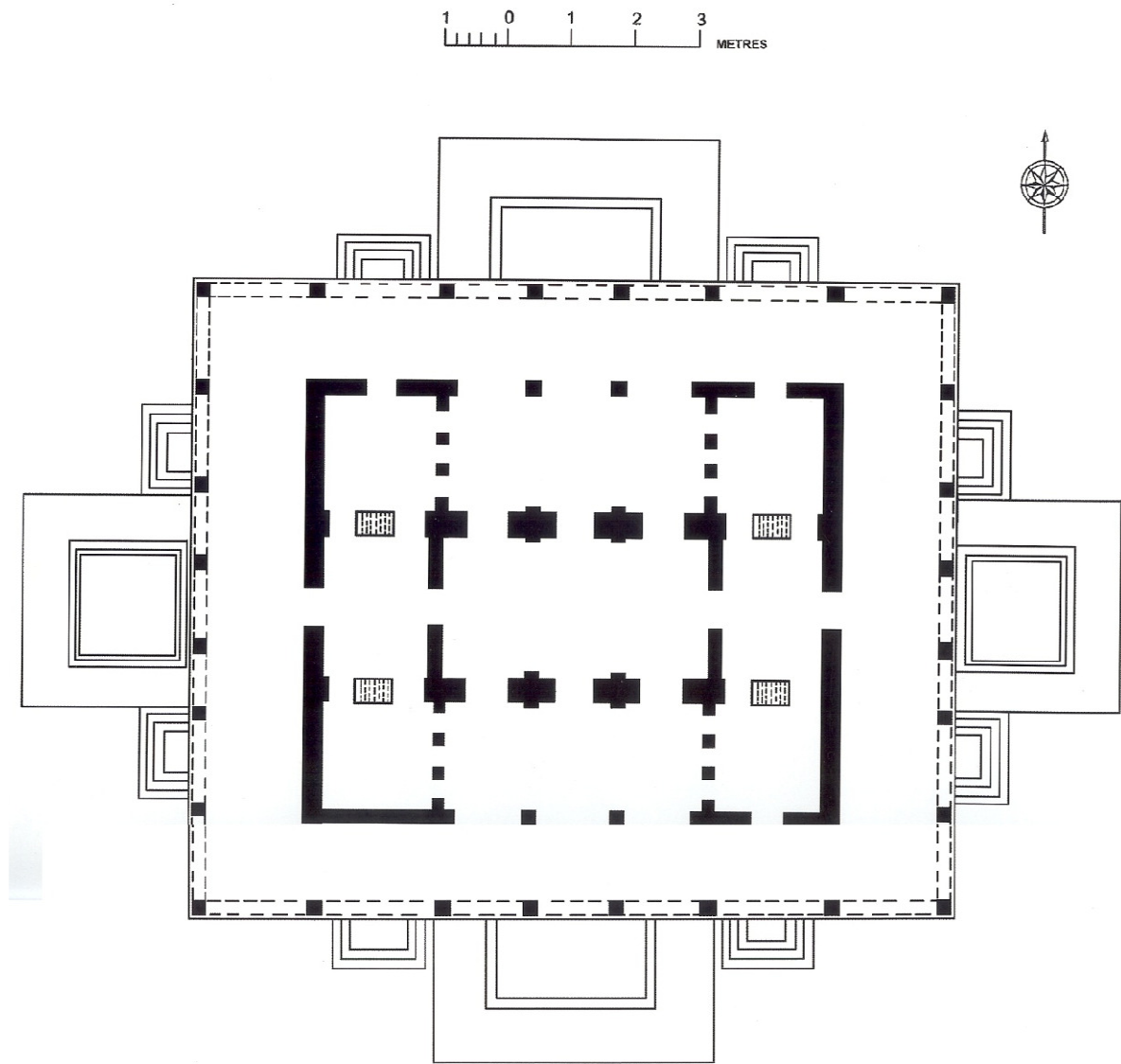


Fig. 3.4.22 Ground Plan of Daria Daulat palace, Śrirangapaṭṇa by Pande and Kumari in The Heritage of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, p. 158



Fig. 3.4.23 Front Elevation of Daria Daulat palace, Śrirangapaṭṇa



Fig. 3.4.24 Dovecote at the entrance of Daria Daulat palace, Śrirangapaṭṇa



Fig. 3.4.25 Column of Daria Daulat palace, Śrirangapaṭṇa



Fig. 3.4.26 Audience Hall, Shivappa Nayaka's Palace, Shimoga



Fig. 3.4.27 Upper storey, Shivappa Nayaka's Palace, Shimoga

Lāl Bāgh in Bangalore was originally a garden of cypress trees (fig. 3.5.1) and rose plants was constructed by Hyder Ali, later expanded by Tipu Sultan. It is generally believed that it was laid out axially in typical *charbagh* (quadripartite) style of Mughal Gardens. Pande and Kumari assert that the Lāl Bāgh in Śrirangapaṭṇa was also designed in a similar fashion. They elaborate that “in this type of garden, the plot was divided into four parts by narrow waterways that had symbolic significance. The gardens were associated with paradisaical imagery [presented in the *Qu’ran*] and the flowing water in four channels symbolized four heavenly rivers of honey, milk, wine and water.”²⁹³ They refer to Constance E. Parsons’ observation on Tipu’s efforts in gathering plant species for the Lāl Bāgh garden in Śrirangapaṭṇa (fig. 3.5.9) that “he spent immense sums of money on the garden and lavishly planted it with fruit and ornamental trees from far Kabul and Kandahar, mention is made in contemporary record of peaches from Persia in such abundance that no one could be found to taken them away; of rose apples and custard apples, mangoes, limes, pomegranates, mulberries, oranges and apples, the ‘lacott and the pumplemose’.”²⁹⁴ The garden at Śrirangapaṭṇa used to house a garden palace called the Lāl Bāgh palace as mentioned in Section 3.4. It now houses Hyder and Tipu’s mausoleum (Section 1.5). The Daria Daulat Palace in Śrirangapaṭṇa was constructed within a garden of about 46 acres (fig. 3.5.10). The entrance to this garden is marked by two *kabōtarkhānas* or dovecotes of approximately 16 x 16 feet (4.80 x 4.80 m). Pande and Kumari assert that Tipu made extensive use of pigeons for communication, and refer to a painting on the eastern wing of the Daria Daulat Palace substantiation of the claim. Hence, an elaborate lodging seems logical. The garden is set in a quadripartite style with the garden being divided into four parts by water channels which source water from river Kāvēri, and are bordered by cypress trees in perfect symmetry. This is approached by a series of wide granite steps on the northern side. Noting that the planning is Indo-Islamic, Pande and Kumari argue that the connection made by the garden with the river bank is reminiscent of bathing ghats abutting temples. The garden here was also replete with many varieties of fruiting and flowering trees, the seeds of which Tipu procured from around the world.²⁹⁵

For an earlier reference, one might look to the gardens patronized by the Deccan Sultanate (fifteenth to seventeenth centuries). Historians Klaus Rötzer and Pushkar Sohoni consider two types of garden, the royal and the funerary, with respect to Bidar. Analyzing the royal garden below the Takht Mahal in the western part of the Bidar Fort built by the Bahmani

²⁹³ Anupa Pande and Savita Kumari, *The Heritage of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan – Art and Architecture* (New Delhi: National Museum Institute of History of Art, Conservation and Museology in association with Aryan Books International, 2012) p. 105, p. 110.

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 105.

Reference used by Pande and Kumari - Constance E. Parsons, *Seringapatam* (Mysore: Oxford University Press, 1931) p. 92.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 153, p. 159.

Sultans in the mid-fifteenth century, they observe that this area is presently covered by vegetable gardens that are well-irrigated and a tank, called *tālāb* in Urdu. The garden, formed on two low lands and bordered by a dam, abuts the royal residence on its southern side. Rötzer and Sohoni assert that the lower level which is now cultivated housed another *tālāb*. A now ruined leisure space was lodged between the sluice and the dam (fig. 3.5.11). This garden was watered by two wells, two *qanāts* (horizontal wells formed by carving tunnels into the aquifers) and two *baolis* (step wells). Water was drawn up from wells and *baolis* by animals, a system adopted by Tipu later. The second type, the funerary garden is explained by analyzing the Barīd Shāhi funerary complex (fig. 3.5.12). This consists of the royal cemetery consisting of tombs of the Bahmani dynasty. The layout, being geometrically precise, is aligned along the east-west axis. The royal cemetery is surrounded by *baolis*, irrigated land besides trees. A residential unit abutted the garden on the south-western side. The garden was irrigated by wells located outside its boundary.²⁹⁶

Rötzer and Sohoni explain the wells in Bidar gardens consisted of square or rectangular vertical shafts, a raised platform to lift water with the pulley fastened to wooden beams fixed in basalt stones, and a parapet of masonry for safety (fig. 3.5.13). The depth of the wells was usually about 20 metres (about 65 feet) and they were accessed by pegs set into holes carved at an angle for maintenance. Leather buckets attached by ropes, like the *capily* used in the garden of Tipu, were used to draw water; the ropes were pulled by bullocks going down on a ramp. Rötzer and Sohoni assert that many of these wells were situated deliberately outside the garden so as to be of use to both the owner (the royal) and the public.²⁹⁷

The East India Company developed the Lāl Bāgh in Bangalore as a ‘botanical garden’ in the later years (fig. 3.5.6, fig. 3.5.7, fig. 3.5.8). The Glass House (Albert-Victor Conservatory) inside the garden is a colonial contribution, its metal skeleton with glass canopy is used to house flower shows which have been running annually to date, although it is now held in January and closes on the Indian Republic day (Jan. 26th). However, the Bandstand in the garden is set in a way of *fused* architecture, in the sense that it combines Islamic and Hindu motifs. Buchanan observes in 1807 AD that:-

“They [the separate gardens designed by Hyder and Tipu in the same area] are extensive, and divided into square plots separated by walks, the sides of which are ornamented with fine cypress trees. The plots are filled with fruit-trees, and pot-herbs. The *Mussulman* [Muslim] fashion is to have a separate piece of ground allotted for each kind of plant. Thus one plot is filled with rose trees, another with pomegranates, and so forth. The walks are not gravelled, and cultivation of the whole is rather slovenly; but the people say, that formerly the gardens were well kept. Want of water is the principal defect of these gardens; for in this arid country everything, during the dry season, must be artificially watered. The garden of *Tippoo* [Tipu] is supplied from three wells, the water of which is raised by the *capily*, or leather-bag, fastened to a cord passing over a pulley,

²⁹⁶ Klaus Rötzer and Pushkar Sohoni, ‘Water in and around Bidar’, in *Garden and Landscape Practices in Precolonial India: Histories from the Deccan*, ed. by Daud Ali and Emma J. Flatt (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011) pp. 54 – 73 (p. 65).

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

and wrought by a pair of bullocks, which descend an inclined plane [fig. 3.5.11]. This, the workmen say, is a much more effectual machine than the *yātam*. Hyder's garden is watered from a reservoir, without the assistance of machinery. The taste of Hyder accorded more with the English, than that of his son. His walks are wider, his cypress trees are not so crowded; and in the means for watering the plots there is not so much masonry, or bricklayer's work, employed. There is, indeed, so much of these in the parts of *Tippoo's* garden which he probably considered the finest, as almost to cover the ground, and to leave nothing but holes, as it were, through which the trees grow."²⁹⁸

Buchanan adds that cypress and vine were grown in large number in the garden.²⁹⁹ Rice asserts that the Lāl Bāgh suffered some time during the later part of Tipu's rule as the one of the *darogas* (officers) assigned with management failed to live up to the task. The *darogas* were father and son. While the father, Muhammad Ali, who had more powers than the son, maintained the garden well enough, the son, who succeeded him to the task, Abdul Khader, failed to do so and had limited authority.³⁰⁰ Drawing on Buchanan's observation, one might conclude that in Bangalore, walks might have replaced water channels in a quadripartite manner of garden planning, particularly as these walk-ways were bordered by cypress trees like water channels in the garden of the Daria Daulat Palace. This makes sense in this scenario as there is an absence body of river or stream that can feed such water channels continuously. Present extensions and layout can be observed in figures 3.5.7 and 3.5.8. The walk-ways might have converged around a fountain as seen in later photographs from the early nineteenth century (fig. 3.5.2). This garden was later developed into a botanical showcase when Sir Mark Cubbon handed over the supervision to the then newly formed Agri-Horticultural Society, and another garden, the Cubbon Park, added to the north of the Pēṭē (in 1864 AD) as a buffer between the local settlement and cantonment, by the British. The garden was restored to the Government in 1842 AD and on the recommendation of Dr. Hugh Cleghorn transformed into a horticultural garden. Flower shows that were held from 1840 AD in a glass house conservatory, called the Albert Victor Exhibition Hall (fig. 3.5.4, fig. 3.5.5) twice a year in August and January have continued to this day (fig. 3.5.13). Photographs from 1860 AD (fig. 3.5.2, fig. 3.5.6) and 1890 AD (fig. 3.5.3), contemporary with Rice's work, are presented here. Both photographs depict the band-stand in the background; however, in fig. 3.5.3, we can observe the reflection of the changes in patronage as the water-bodies (fountains) which are an integral feature of Mughal gardens seen in fig. 3.5.2 are replaced by bushes and small lawns. The garden is also home to one of the boundary towers built by Kempē Gowḍa II which is set on a rocky hillock near the east-entrance (fig. 3.5.14, fig. 3.5.15).

²⁹⁸ Francis Buchanan, 'A journey from madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar' (Delhi: AES, 1988) Vol. 1, pp. 45-46.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p.46.

³⁰⁰ Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, 2 vols (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 49.



Fig. 3.5.1 East View of Bangalore in 1792 AD by Robert Hyde Colebrooke, British Library, Shelfmark - WD4461



Fig. 3.5.2 Photograph of Lāl Bāgh band-stand, taken in the 1860s by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 50/1(37)



Fig. 3.5.3 Photograph of the Lāl Bāgh by unknown photographer in the 1890s, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 430/41(7)



Fig. 3.5.4 Albert Victor Conservatory, Lāl bāgh, about 1855 AD by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 254/3(63)



Fig. 3.5.5 Albert-Victor Conservatory (popularly called 'The Glass House') in Lāl Bāgh taken in 1890s by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 430/41(8)



Fig. 3.5.6 Photograph of Lāl Bāgh dated 1860 AD by Albert Thomas Penn, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 254/4(3)

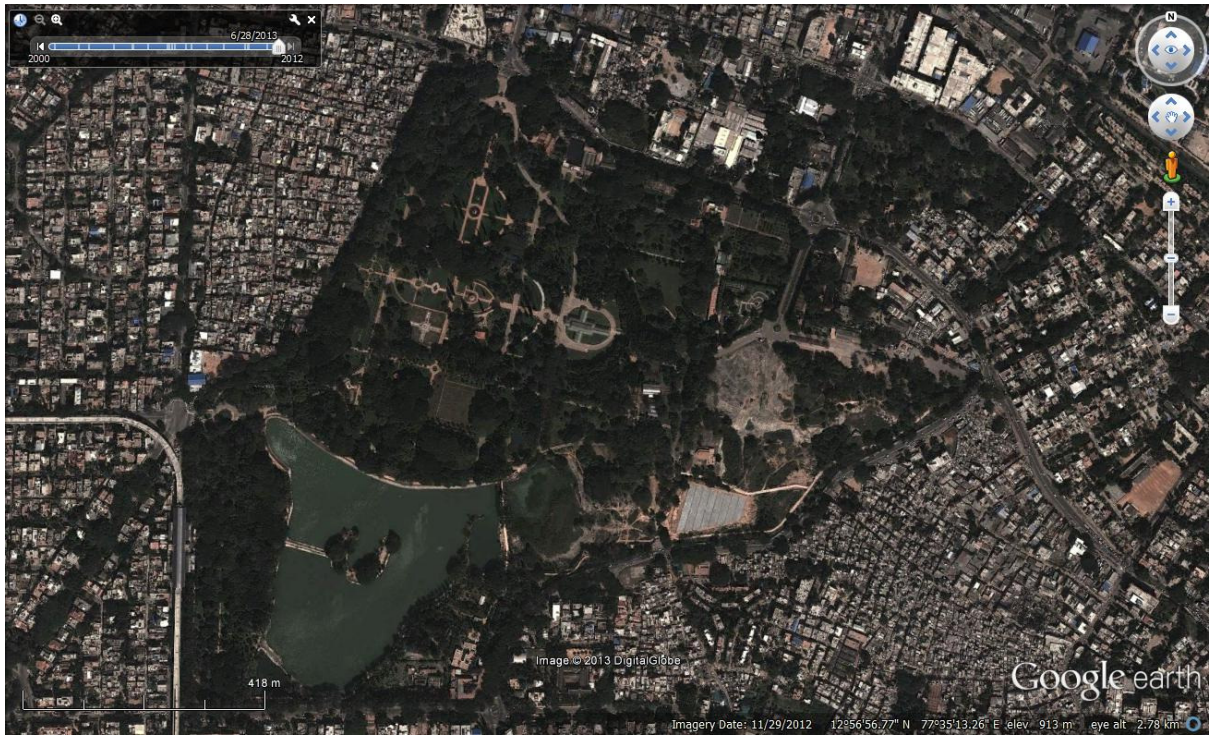


Fig. 3.5.7 Lāl Bāgh as of now

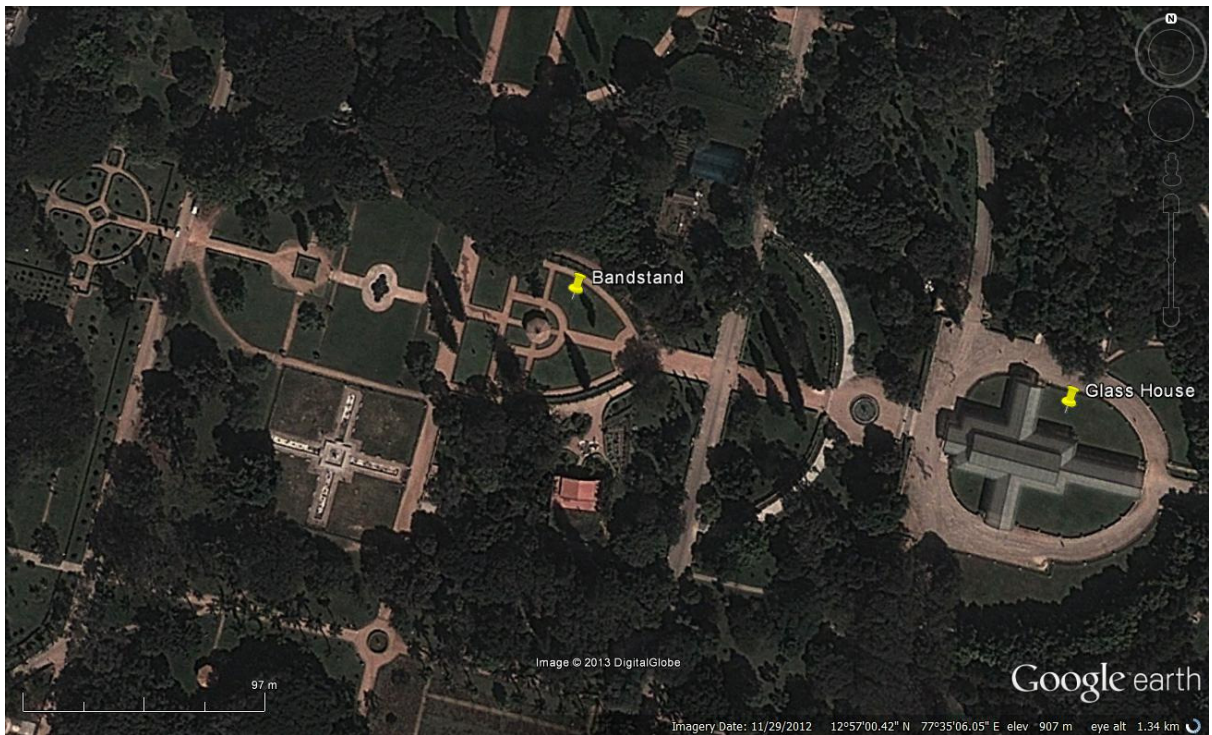


Fig. 3.5.8 Quadripartite partitions of walk ways in the Lāl Bāgh leading to the glass house



Fig. 3.5.9 Lāl Bāgh in Śrirangapaṭṇa



Fig. 3.5.10 Daria Daulat Palace and garden

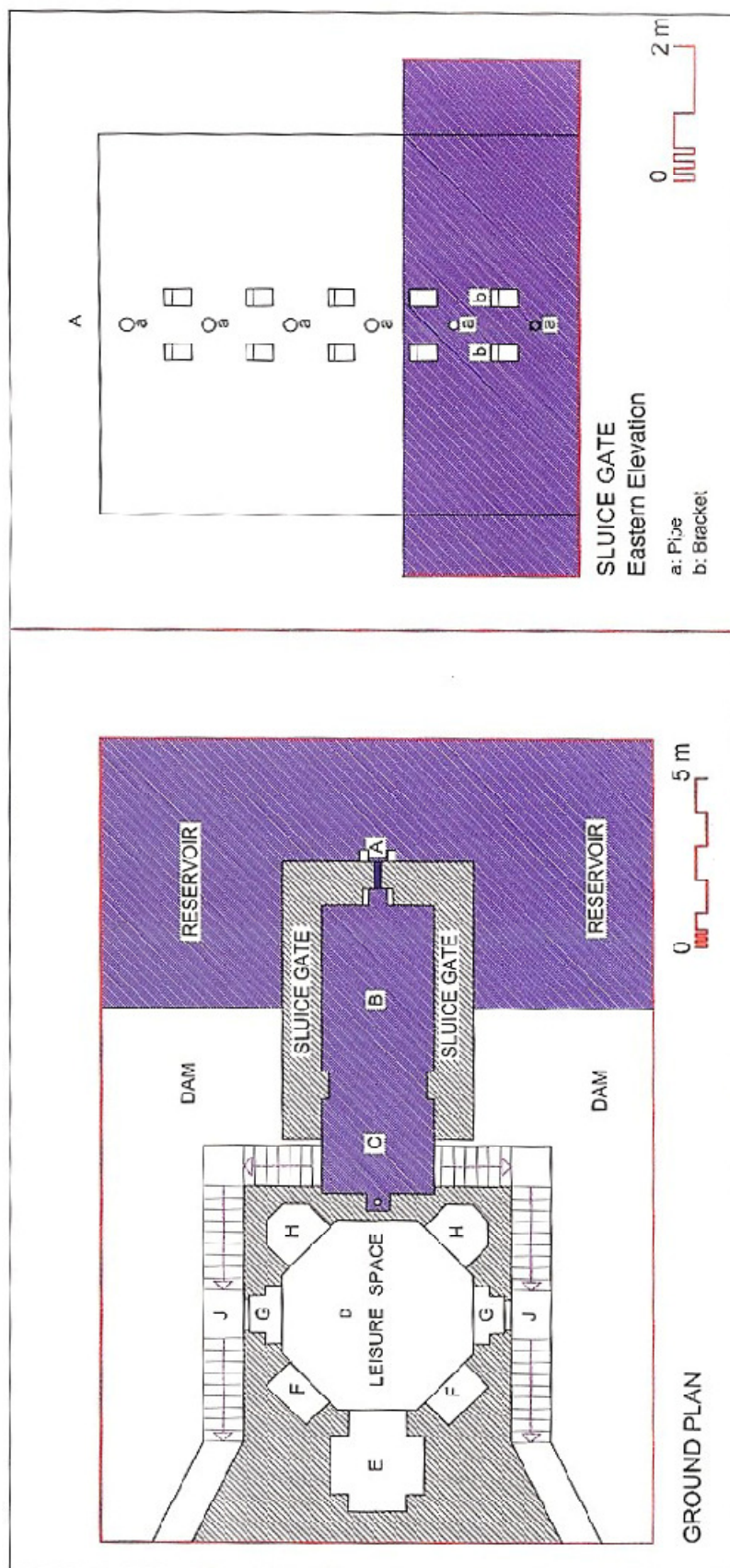


Fig. 3.5.11 Plan of western dam and sluice gate, Bidar Fort, Karnataka by Klaus Rötzer in *Garden and Landscape Practices in Precolonial India: Histories from the Deccan*, p. 58.

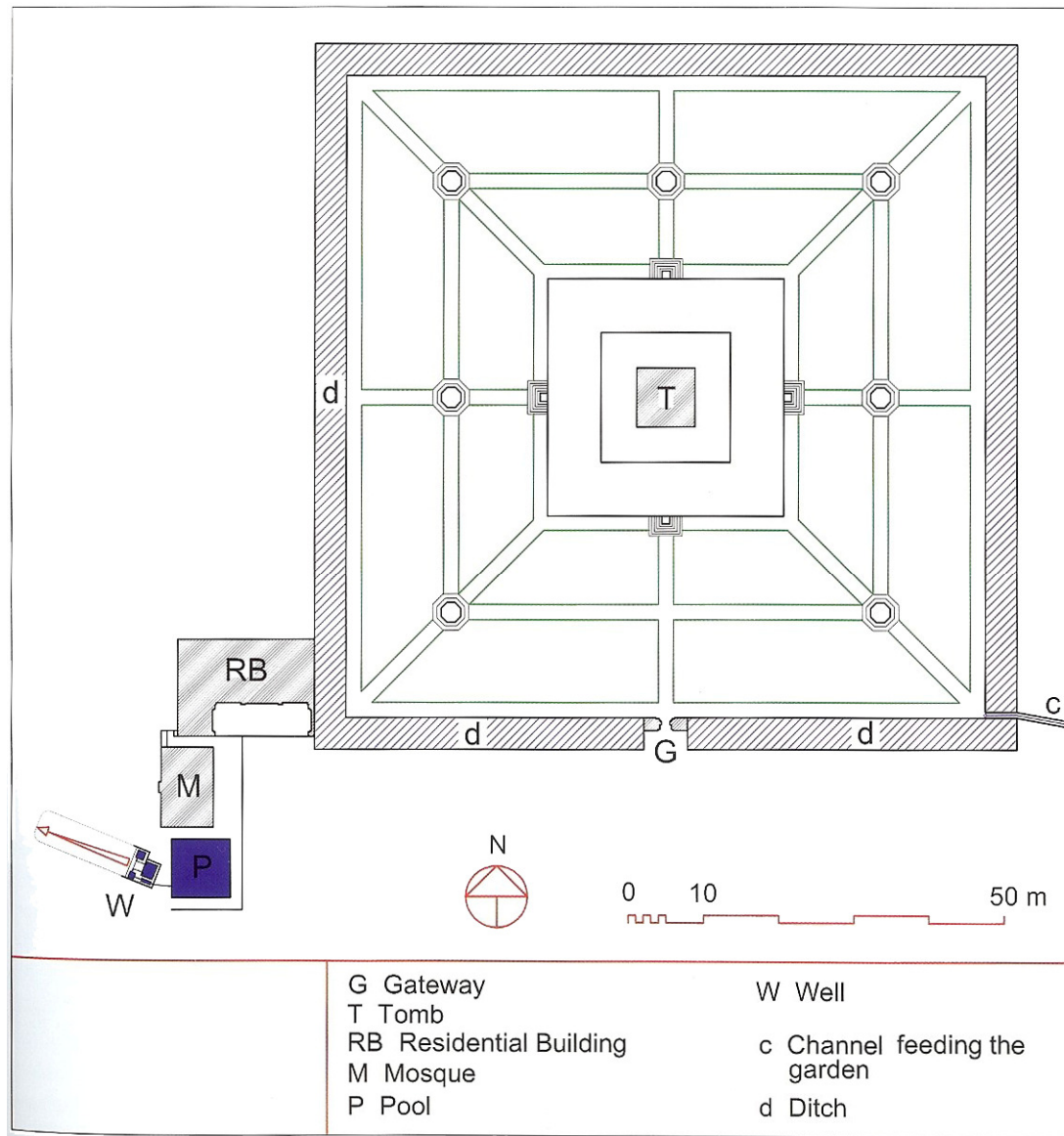


Fig. 3.5.12 Plan of funerary garden of Khan Jahan Barīd Shāh, 16th century, Bidar, Karnataka by Klaus Rötzer in *Garden and Landscape Practices in Precolonial India: Histories from the Deccan*, p. 67.

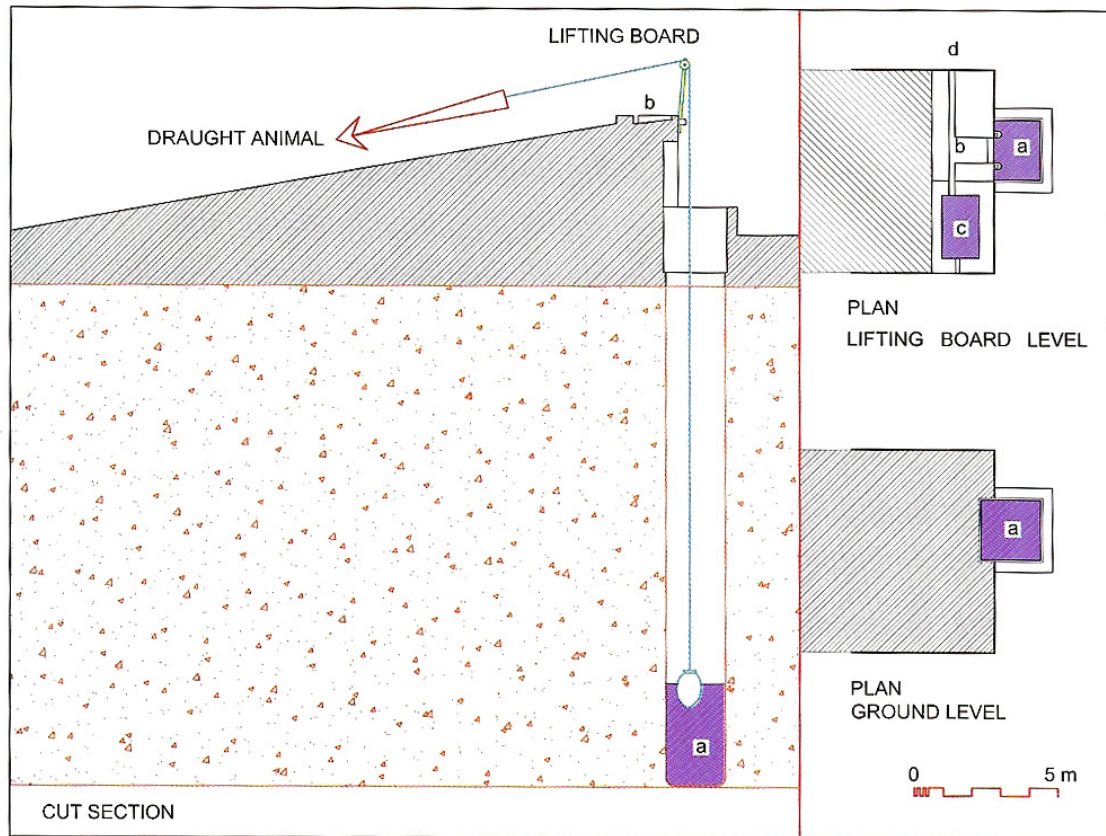


Fig. 3.5.13 Plan of well east of tomb of Ali Barīd Shāh I, Bidar, Karnataka by Klaus Rötzer in *Garden and Landscape Practices in Precolonial India: Histories from the Deccan*, p. 69.



Fig. 3.5.14 Boundary tower of Kempē Gowḍa II atop a hillock and the bandstand in the Lāl Bāgh, Bangalore



Fig. 3.5.15 Closer look at the extensively renovated boundary tower of Kempē Gowḍa II, and an arrangement of flowers at the Annual Flower Show in the Lāl Bāgh, Bangalore

Conclusion to Chapter 3

One of the research questions I raised in the introduction was regarding the the city's indigenous architectural style, and whether there is one. It is answered in part with respect to religious architecture classified as **Later/ Post-Vijayanagara**; this is discussed in chapter 3.1. Of residential architecture there aren't any surviving structures, and consequently the above query cannot be answered in this respect.

The cultural priorities of the local population and the various patronages have been explained in chapters 2.3, 3.1 and 3.4. The changes triggered by this diverse patronage in built form are explained through the study of architectural features like the columns and decorative embellishments. Elements like the column are considered to emphasize the importance of subtle introduction of a different artistry through that paradigm while essentially retaining the structural aspects from earlier patronage. These priorities of the new socio-cultural phenomenon translate into a different kind of public architecture. Not only do new religious nodes appear but axial connections are forged through the festival of *Karaga* between the existing and the new (see chapter 2.3). An addition to public architecture is the introduction of the Mughal garden planning method in the layout of the cypress gardens, Lāl Bāgh (fig. 3.5.1), under the patronage of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. Figure 3.5.1 shows two separate cypress gardens with a lake and a watchtower on a rocky outcrop. This is now part of the garden.

Conclusion

The first chapter gives historical data relating to the city, it also answers questions regarding patronage, their priorities relating to the sacred, and establishment of various religious nodes. Some of these are existing structures which are documented later on in Chapter 3 in detail. Despite lack of contemporary historical documentation during the period of its founding, the urban structure and architecture of Bangalore can be read through inscriptions and efforts of earlier scholarship. Archival maps and other historical documentation from the late 18th century augment the study later on. The method of urban zoning, as one of segregation, introduced by Kempē Gowḍa I and as documented by historians like Rice, has been discussed in Section 2.1. I have classified these zones as sub-Pēṭēs which together form the Pēṭē, as parts of the whole. With this concept and an examination of place-names the relationship between the sacred, community and the trade is discussed and explained.

The transformation of the townscape in terms of urban planning (Chapter 2) and architecture (Chapter 3) have to be both read with historical background and shifts in patronage and the sacred as discussed in Chapter 1. These changes reflect in religious and public architecture notwithstanding the transformations introduced by the royal patron in his residence as seen in the surviving Tipu's Palace structure (Section 3.4). The cultural priorities of the socially diverse population which become linked, thereby changing the nature of the urban fabric, has been discussed with the aid of *Karaga* festival in Section 2.4.

The aspirations of the later settlers gave the city a cultivated military identity quite removed from its original landscape which emphasized on the mercantile (Sections 2.2, 3.3). These changes have been discussed in all chapters in detail with respect to the history, town planning, and architecture. This shift in function from an overtly mercantile function to that of defence lead to a shift in form, and thereby to the development and expansion of military structures such as the oval Fort. The axial centrality of the Pēṭē continues to exert an influence over the expanding urban fabric of Bangalore (see Section 2.1 and conclusion to chapter 2).

The architecture in the period of founding of the city is limited in documentation to **Later/Post-Vijayanagara** religious structures with diminishing scale as explained in Section 3.1. Later Islamic influences come about in very small dose in the Sangeen Jama masjid (chapter 3.2) in the three years of Mughal occupation during the 17th century; these are quickly superseded by political ambition of the Woḍeyars to rise to the glory days of the Vijayanagara Empire. The ambition translates to religious structures, like the Venkaṭaramaṇa Swamy temple in the erstwhile oval Fort area (Sections 1.4 and 3.1), and continue well into mid-18th century when Hyder usurps power from Woḍeyars (Section 1.5). This marks a definitive start of Mughal architecture and influences in built environment of

Bangalore. A significant attempt to the effect is seen in the deliberate efforts of the patronage to introduce Mughal gilded art on walls, and replace embellishment on base and capital of columns in the Tipu's Palace. This comes to focus particularly as the palace is believed to be based on Hindu *palegār* Shivappa Nayaka's palace at Shimoga (Section 3.4). Mughal architecture is further emphasized in the plan of Lāl Bāgh (Section 3.5).

Research questions raised in the introduction have been periodically answered in conclusions to each chapter.

Later changes and resultant urban fabric

The pre-independence changes that occurred in Bangalore's layout after the conclusion of hostilities between Tipu and the British, and the political changes that ensued have been discussed briefly in Section 2.5. While central axiality of the Pētē was maintained during modifications in that area and that of the oval Fort, another development, the military and civil station (cantonment) was introduced north-east of the Pētē (fig. 2.5.1) with a green buffer zone, the Cubbon park. This led to a bi-focal development of the city for some time until the administration that was taken over by British Residency was transferred back to Wodeyars, and later Indian Republic. Post-Independence, the city was declared to be the capital of the new Mysore state which was renamed Karnataka in 1956 AD. Later investments in educational, defence and scientific establishments continued to attract diverse population to the city.

The exclusivity concept introduced in zone attribution to a particular trade and community respectively by Kempē Gowḍa I, sub-Pētēs as classified in Section 2.1, has been replaced with modern urban planning methods introduced by town planners. A different type of spatial zoning has been introduced, such as residential, public and semi-public, commercial, industrial and landscaped green zones, in modern master plans that specify town-planning regulations for the city; these are revised every couple of years. However, principles of usage tend to overlap these zones and we observe a mixed neighbourhood that do not adhere to 'exclusivity' of zones. Regardless of rules, religious structures catering to particular community are put up if members of one such reside in a majority in that neighbourhood. Residences are often rented out to commercial and industrial establishments if close to arterial roads, and are transformed into mixed zones which are increasingly difficult to administrate.

List of Illustrations

Unless specified otherwise, all drawings photographs have been done by the Author.

Fig. 1 Topographical View of Bangalore city, present environs, Google Earth image

Fig. 2 Northern boundary of Bangalore Pēṭē

Fig. 3 Internal streets, Bangalore Pēṭē

Fig. 4 Location of Bangalore city in peninsular India, Google Earth image

Fig. 5 Mrs. Shārada Byanna, desendant of Kempē Gowḍa I

Fig. 1.1 Plan of Southern India showing Bangalore from Rice, Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I

Fig. 1.2 Plan of Mysore 750 AD, enhanced using Photoshop, from Rice, Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I

Fig. 1.3 Plan of Mysore 1050 AD, from Rice, Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. I

Fig. 1.4 Nagarēshwara Temple, Bēgūr, Wikipedia Image

Fig. 1.5 Pillar in Sōmēshwara temple at Gangavāra, from Rice, Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. IX

Fig. 1.9 Hoysaḷa emblem at Chennakēshava temple, Bēlūr

Fig. 1.1.1 Plan showing Bangalore Pēṭē with main streets only as in 16th century AD

Fig. 1.1.2 Image showing location of Kodigēhalli with respect to Pēṭē of Bangalore, Google Earth image

Fig. 1.1.3 Plan showing relative position of Bēgūr to Pēṭē

Fig. 1.1.4 Plan of Mysore showing Bangalore in 1625 AD, from Rice, Mysore, Vol. I

Fig. 1.1.5 Image showing the four boundary towers built by Kempē Gowḍa II, Google Earth image

Fig. 1.1.6 View of Shiva-Ganga hill

Fig. 1.1.7 Image showing location of Shiva-Ganga Hills in relation to Bangalore, Google Earth image

Fig.1.1.8 View I of Māgaḍi fort

Fig. 1.1.9 View II of Māgaḍi fort

Fig. 1.4.1 Srikantadatta Woḍeyar of Mysore seated on the Ratna Simhasana, Wikipedia image

Fig. 1.4.2 Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple, Front View

Fig. 1.4.3 Digitally rendered drawing by Author; source - photograph by self of the Vimāna of the Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple

Fig. 1.5.1 Photograph of Fort dated about 1855 AD by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 254/3(65)

Fig. 1.5.2 Photograph dated 1860 AD by Nicholas Bros showing Oval Fort Bastions and surrounding moat, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 394/(86)

Fig. 1.5.3 Hyder's mausoleum, Śrirangapaṭṇa where both Hyder and Tipu are buried

Fig. 1.5.4 Lāl Bāgh palace in Śrirangapaṭṇa, now in ruins

Fig. 1.6.1 Place where Tipu finally fell at Śrirangapaṭṇa

Fig. 1.6.2 Fig. 1.6.2 Col. Baillie's dungeon, Śrirangapaṭṇa

Fig. 2.1.1 Town Layout by Bruno Dagens, Māyamata, p. vi, g = small gate, s= sewage outlet

Fig. 2.1.2 Plan showing main arteries of the Pēṭē and location of Dharma-Rāya and Ranganātha Swāmy Temples within it, presented earlier as fig. 1.1.1

Fig. 2.1.3 Bangalore, as planned by Kempe Gowḍa I, from T V Annaswamy, Bengaluru to Bangalore, p. 113

Fig. 2.1.4 Pēṭē High-street View by unknown photographer in the 1890s, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 430/41(88)

Fig. 2.1.5 Photograph of Avenue road, High-street, 2007

Fig. 2.1.6 Presented earlier as fig. 1.5.2 photograph of fort in about 1855 AD by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 254/3(65)

Fig. 2.1.7 Plan of Pēṭē of Bangalore based on Survey of India's plan of 2005

Fig. 2.1.8 Plan of Bangalore 1791 by Robert Home, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (26)

Fig. 2.1.9 Digitally enhanced image by Author of Robert Home's Plan of Bangalore, 1791, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (26)

Fig. 2.1.10 Bangalore Pēṭē 1792, Robert Home, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (9), 9

Fig. 2.1.11 Pēṭē and Sampangi Tank/ Kerē

Fig. 2.1.12 Dharma-Rāya Swāmy temple in Tigaḷara-Pēṭē, Bangalore

Fig. 2.1.13 Entrance of Tawakkal-Mastān Dargah, Bangalore

Fig. 2.1.14 Tuḷsi Kattē, Kempē Gowḍa Road, Bangalore

Fig. 2.1.15 Home's Plan superimposed on Google Earth top view image of present day Pēṭē

Fig. 2.1.16 Photoshop edited image showing street pattern around the Dharma-Rāya Swāmy and Ranganātha Swāmy temples in the Pēṭē

Fig. 2.1.17 Present street pattern of the Pēṭē area

Fig. 2.1.18 Secondary and Tertiary streets of the Pēṭē area

Fig. 2.1.19 Dilapidated building on Cubbon-Pēṭē main road

Fig. 2.1.20 Rice Memorial Church on Avenue Road

Fig. 2.1.21 Banavāsi Madhukēshwara Temple Street

Fig. 2.2.1 Plan of 18th century Bangalore/ Bengaluru town by T V Annaswamy, presented earlier as fig. 2.1.3

Fig. 2.2.2 Entrance of oval fort – Delhi Gate

Fig. 2.2.3 oval Fort, Internal Gate perpendicular to Delhi Gate

Fig. 2.2.4 Oval Fort, Internal courtyard leading onto 3rd Internal Gate from Delhi Gate

Fig. 2.2.5 Sketch plan of oval Fort from sights without measurement by Claude Martin, British Library, Shelfmark - P255

Fig. 2.2.6 Digitally enhanced image of the Fort by Author from ‘Plan of Bangalore’ by Robert Home, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (26)

Fig. 2.2.7 Wash drawing of the Delhi Gate of oval Fort, Bangalore by Robert Home, 1792 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (7), 7

Fig. 2.2.8 Delhi Gate by James Hunter, 1804 AD, British Library; Shelfmark - X768/3(16), 30016

Fig. 2.2.9 North entrance leading to Delhi Gate by James Hunter, 1804 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - X768/3 (15), 30015

Fig. 2.2.10 South entrance leading to Mysore Gate by James Hunter, 1792 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - X768/3 (17), 30017

Fig. 2.2.11 Mysore Gate by James Hunter, 1792 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - X768/3 (14), 30014

Fig. 2.2.12 Etching with line-engraving of a view of the inside gate at Bangalore with the guard room by James Fittler after sketches by Robert Home, 1794 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - W2567/4

Fig. 2.2.13 Third Delhi Gate (Internal) by James Hunter, 1804 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - X768/3 (18), 30018

Fig. 2.2.14 Water-colour painting of the oval Fort of Bangalore by unknown artist, from a village outside the main gate, c.1790 – 1792 A, British Library, Shelfmark - WD4106

Fig. 2.2.16 Plan of Bangalore 1791 overlapped on existing built environment using Google Earth imagery

Fig. 2.3.1 Locations of Bidar, Bijapur, Sira, Bangalore and Śrirangapaṭṇa in Southern Peninsular India

Fig. 2.3.2 Dēvanahalli Fort and surrounding Town, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.3 Closer look at Dēvanahalli Fort, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.4 Tipu Sultan’s birth place in the Dēvanahalli Fort, Wikipedia image

Fig. 2.3.5 Dēvanahalli Fort, interior view, Wikipedia image

Fig.2.3.6 Dēvanahalli Fort, exterior view, Wikipedia image

Fig. 2.3.7 Location of Dēvanahalli Fort with respect to Bangalore International Airport, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.8 Sira Fort and Town along with the two lakes, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.9 Closer look at the Sira Fort, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.10 Śrīrangapaṭṇa Fort and surrounding areas, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.11 Closer look at Śrīrangapaṭṇa Fort, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.12 Bidar Fort and City by Klaus Rötzer in Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan, p. 123

Fig. 2.3.13 Bidar Fort (citadel) and Town as seen today, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.14 Closer look at Bidar Fort (citadel) as seen today, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.15 Bijapur with its secondary capital Nauraspur 1599 -1624 AD and royal suburb of Ainapur after 1651 AD by Klaus Rötzer in Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Decca, p. 134

Fig. 2.3.16 Bijapur Fort (Citadel or Ark Kilah) by Klaus Rötzer in Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan, p. 134

Fig. 2.3.17 Bijapur Fort (citadel) and Town Fort as seen today, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.18 Closer look at Bijapur Fort (citadel) as seen today, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.3.19 Image showing forts in comparison with that of Bangalore; Plan of Bangalore is by Home, rest are Google Earth images

Fig. 2.4.1 Karaga procession and the religious nodes

Fig. 2.4.2 Karaga procession route

Fig. 2.4.3 The priest mounting the Hasi Karaga on top of his head, Wikipedia image

Fig. 2.4.4 The priest as Draupadi during procession through the city, Wikipedia image

Fig. 2.4.5 Karaga procession stopping at Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān darga, Wikipedia image

Fig. 2.5.1 Pēṭē and Fort of Bangalore with Cantonment, 1942 AD, Rice, Mysore, Vol. II

Fig. 2.5.2 Present top view showing religious and tank/ lake nodes of 1924 AD, Google Earth image

Fig. 2.6.1 Pēṭē and Fort marked on present street map of Bangalore

Fig. 2.6.2 Pēṭē and Fort marked on present bus-route of Bangalore

Fig. 3.1 Image showing location of Sira in relation to Bangalore, Google Earth image

Fig. 3.2 Shivappa Nayaka's palace, Shimoga

Fig. 3.3 Audience Hall, Shivappa Nayaka's palace, Shimoga

Fig. 3.1.1 Types of columns in Bangalore temples

1.a) Basic column structure, 1.b) Addition on single side - this can be either colonette or figural with soldiers on lion/horse, 1.c) Colonette projections on three corners, 1.d) Lion figural composite column with projects on all four sides

Fig. 3.1.2 Typical additions to the main structure of the column in Bangalore temples

Fig. 3.1.3 Plan of Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy temple, K R Road, Fort area

Fig. 3.1.4 Plan of Sōmēśhwara temple at Halasūr

Fig. 3.1.5.a Composite column with colonette front elevation

Fig. 3.1.5.b Composite column with colonette projections on one side

Fig. 3.1.6 Composite column (corner) with colonettes on three corners

Fig. 3.1.7.a) Basic column

Fig. 3.1.7.b) Composite column with colonette projection in front view

Fig. 3.1.8.a Figural composite column with figural addition on one side

Fig. 3.1.8.b Figural composite column with figural additions on all four sides

Fig. 3.1.9 Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy Temple near Oval Fort, K R Road – Images showing basic and composite columns with colonettes on three corners and figural additions on all four sides

Fig. 3.1.10 New Garuda-gamḇa, Venkaṭaramaṇa Swāmy Temple, abutting KR Road in erstwhile Fort area

Fig. 3.1.11 Photograph of front elevation Sōmēshwara temple taken in 1890s by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 430/41(25)

Fig. 3.1.12 Halasūr Sōmēshwara temple – Images show basic and composite columns - single and three corners colonette, and single figural columns

Fig. 3.1.13 East entrance of Halasūr Sōmēshwara temple

Fig. 3.1.14 Gōpura, balipīṭha, dīpastambha and Nandi maṇḍapa of Halasūr Sōmēshwara temple

Fig. 3.1.15 Columns, Hazāra Rāma temple, Hampi, courtesy Adam Hardy

Fig. 3.1.16 Image shows photographs of Ranganātha Swāmy temple, Ballapura-Pēṭē – entrance to temple flanked by composite figural columns and inner mantapa

Fig. 3.1.17 Gavi Gangādharaśwara Temple, Bangalore

Fig. 3.1.18 From top left, Two Vishnu Discus, Trident and Drum of Shiva, Gavi Gangādharaśwara Temple, Bangalore

Fig. 3.1.19 A view of Gavi Gangādharaśwara temple, British Library, Thomas and William Daniell's 'Oriental Scenery' called 'Antiquities of India,' plate 18 from the fifth set

Fig. 3.1.20 Harihara temple, situated adjoining the Gavi Gangādharaśwara temple

Fig. 3.1.21 Dharma-Rāya temple, renovated entrance gōpuras

Fig. 3.1.22 Dharma-Rāya temple, an undated file photograph from temple trustees showing the old structure

Fig. 3.1.23 Dharma-Rāya temple, Maṇḍapa

Fig. 3.1.24 Dharma-Rāya temple, vimāna

Fig. 3.1.25 Photographs of Basavanna (Bull) Temple, Basavanagudi

Fig. 3.1.26 Dhawaja- stambha of Basava Temple, Bangalore

Fig. 3.1.27 Pencil Drawing of Basava Monolith, by Thomas Daniell, British Library, WD219, 219

Fig. 3.1.28 Kōlār Sōmēshwara Temple by George Michell in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase Ca. Ad 1289-179, p. 180

Fig. 3.1.29 Places where Gowḍas of Yelahanka and Woḍeyars of Mysore constructed temples in peninsular India by George Michell in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase Ca. Ad 1289-179, p. 170

Fig. 3.1.30.a Plan of Paṭṭābhirāma temple, Kamalāpuram, from Vijayanagara Research Project in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, AD 1289-1798, p. 115

Fig. 3.1.30.b Plan of Virūpāksha temple, major shrine, Hampi, from Vijayanagara Research Project in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, AD 1289-1798, p. 92

Fig. 3.1.30.c Plan of Viṭṭhala temple, major shrine, from Vijayanagara Research Project in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, AD 1289-1798, p. 104

Fig. 3.1.30.d Plan of Bālakrishṇa temple, from Vijayanagara Research Project in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, 1289-1798, p. 108

Fig. 3.1.30.e Plan of Tiruvengaḷanātha temple, from Vijayanagara Research Project in EITA - South India, Dravidadesa, AD 1289-1798, p. 113

Fig. 3.1.30.f Halasūr Sōmēshwara temple, Bangalore

Fig. 3.2.1 The old Sangeen Jama Masjid, published in Hasan's Bangalore Through the Centuries, p. 57

Fig. 3.2.2 The new Sangeen Jama Masjid, Taramaṇḍala-Pēṭē

Fig. 3.2.3 Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān dargah, presented earlier as fig. 2.1.13

Fig. 3.2.4 Artwork on tiles in Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān's dargah

Fig. 3.2.5 Tomb of Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān

Fig. 3.2.6 Annexe to the main shrine at Hazrat Tawakkal Mastān dargah

Fig. 3.3.1 Digitally enhanced image by Author of plan of the oval fort by Robert Home, Plan of bangalore (with the attacks) taken by the english army under the command of the rt. Honble. Earl cornwallis March 22nd 1791, British Library, Shelfmark - WD3775 (26)

Fig. 3.3.2 Top view of remaining portion of the oval Fort – Delhi gate, Bangalore

Fig. 3.3.3 Ground Floor Plan, remaining portion of oval Fort – Delhi Gate, Bangalore

Fig. 3.3.4 Joseph Stokoe, Plan of the north face of Bangalore taken by Storm 21 March 1791, British Library, Shelfmark - Add 18109-g, scan copy from Da Cunha and Mathur's Deccan Traverses

Fig. 3.3.5 Closer look – Ground floor Plan, Remaining portion of oval Fort –Delhi Gate, Bangalore

Fig. 3.3.6 Surviving Gates 5, 6, 7, 7th, being the entrance from within the Fort area.

Fig. 3.3.7 Gate 7, Entrance from within the Fort

Fig. 3.3.8 Gate 6, Inner Gate leading into courtyard

Fig. 3.3.9 Gate 5 from what used to be exit towards Pēṭē

Fig. 3.3.10 Door of Gate 5

Fig. 3.3.11 Motif above Entrance Arch, Gate 7

Fig. 3.3.12 Floral Motif, Gate 7

Fig. 3.3.13 Yvāli motif, Entrance Arch, Gate 7

Fig. 3.3.14 Ganesha Temple with Woḍeyar symbol

Fig. 3.3.15 Garbha-griha of Ganesha temple

Fig. 3.3.16 Layout of dungeons

Fig. 3.3.17 Dungeons

Fig. 3.3.18 Sir David Baird's dungeon

Fig. 3.4.1 North-side external and internal views, Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

Fig. 3.4.2 Author, Tipu Sultan's Palace as existing, Ground Floor Plan

Fig. 3.4.3 Author, Tipu Sultan's Palace as existing, First Floor Plan

Fig. 3.4.4 Shivappa Nayaka's palace, Shimoga

Fig. 3.4.5 Niches in the wall for lights/ diyas

Fig. 3.4.6 Entrance of Zenana – Ladies quarters

Fig. 3.4.7 Tipu's Palace seen through archival drawings (1791-92), British Library, Shelfmarks from left, anti-clockwise - WD3775(26), X768/3(12), X768/3(13), X768/3(10), X768/3(9)

Fig. 3.4.8 North entrance, Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

Fig. 3.4.9 Author, Smaller wooden columns, Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

Fig. 3.4.10 Author, Niches for lamps, Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

Fig. 3.4.11 Elevation of columns in internal Bays, Tipu's Palace

Fig. 3.4.12 Internal bay showing smaller and larger columns

Fig. 3.4.13 Larger columns flanking northern entrance bays, Tipu's Palace

Fig. 3.4.14 North Elevation, Tipu's Palace

Fig. 3.4.15 Wall end buttress support, Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

Fig. 3.4.16 Reconstructed Plan of Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

Fig. 3.4.17 Reconstructed northern elevation of Tipu's Palace, Bangalore

Fig. 3.4.18 Digitally enhanced Image of 'Plan of Bangalore' by Robert Home, British Library, WD3775 (26)

Fig. 3.4.19 Overhang supported by elephant brackets

Fig. 3.4.20 Tipu's Palace photograph showing audience hall by Albert Thomas Penn in 1870 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 254/4(4)

Fig. 3.4.21 Garden Gate of Lalbagh, Śrirangapaṭṇa by James Hunter in 1792 AD, British Library, Shelfmark - X768/3(6)

Fig. 3.4.22 Ground Plan of Daria Daulat palace, Śrirangapaṭṇa by Pande and Kumari in The Heritage of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, p. 158

Fig. 3.4.23 Front Elevation of Daria Daulat palace, Śrirangapaṭṇa

Fig. 3.4.24 Dovecote at the entrance of Daria Daulat palace, Śrirangapaṭṇa

Fig. 3.4.25 Column of Daria Daulat palace, Śrirangapaṭṇa

Fig. 3.4.26 Audience Hall, Shivappa Nayaka's Palace, Shimoga

Fig. 3.4.27 Upper storey, Shivappa Nayaka's Palace, Shimoga

Fig. 3.5.1 East View of Bangalore in 1792 AD by Robert Hyde Colebrooke, British Library, Shelfmark - WD4461

Fig. 3.5.2 Photograph of Lāl Bāgh band-stand, taken in the 1860s by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 50/1(37)

Fig. 3.5.3 Photograph of the Lāl Bāgh by unknown photographer in the 1890s, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 430/41(7)

Fig. 3.5.4 Albert Victor Conservatory, Lāl bāgh, about 1855 AD by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 254/3(63)

Fig. 3.5.5 Albert-Victor Conservatory (popularly called 'The Glass House') in Lāl Bāgh taken in 1890s by unknown photographer, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 430/41(8)

Fig. 3.5.6 Photograph of Lāl Bāgh dated 1860 AD by Albert Thomas Penn, British Library, Shelfmark - Photo 254/4(3)

Fig. 3.5.7 Lāl Bāgh as of now, Google Earth image

Fig. 3.5.8 Quadripartite partitions of walk ways in the Lāl Bāgh leading to the glass house, Google Earth image

Fig. 3.5.9 Lāl Bāgh in Śrirangapaṭṇa, Google Earth image

Fig. 3.5.10 Daria Daulat Palace and garden, Google Earth image

Fig. 3.5.11 Plan of western dam and sluice gate, Bidar Fort, Karnataka by Klaus Rötzer in Garden and Landscape Practices in Precolonial India: Histories from the Deccan, p. 58.

Fig. 3.5.12 Plan of funerary garden of Khan Jahan Barīd Shāh, 16th century, Bidar, Karnataka by Klaus Rötzer in Garden and Landscape Practices in Precolonial India: Histories from the Deccan, p. 67.

Fig. 3.5.13 Plan of well east of tomb of Ali Barīd Shāh I, Bidar, Karnataka by Klaus Rötzer in Garden and Landscape Practices in Precolonial India: Histories from the Deccan, p. 69.

Fig. 3.5.14 Boundary tower of Kempē Gowḍa II atop a hillock and the bandstand in the Lāl Bāgh, Bangalore

Fig. 3.5.15 Closer look at the extensively renovated boundary tower of Kempē Gowḍa II, and an arrangement of flowers at the Annual Flower Show in the Lāl Bāgh, Bangalore

Bibliography

1. Adam Hardy, *The Temple Architecture of India* (West Sussex: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 2007).
2. Adam Hardy, *Indian Temple Architecture: Form and Transformation : the Karṇāṭa Drāviḍa Tradition, 7th to 13th Centuries* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publishers, 1995).
3. Alexander R. Cuthbert (ed.), *Designing Cities: Critical Readings in Urban Design* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003) – Essay by Rob Krier.
4. T. V. Annaswamy, *Bengaluru to Bangalore* (Bangalore: Vengadam Publications, 2003).
5. Anupa Pande and Savita Kumari, *The Heritage of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan – Art and Architecture* (New Delhi: National Museum Institute of History of Art, Conservation and Museology in association with Aryan Books International, 2012).
6. Anuradha Mathur and Dilip Da Cunha, *'Deccan Traverses - The Making of Bangalore's Terrain'*, First Edition (New Delhi, Rupa & Co, 2006).
7. Arun Prasad, *Vanishing blues* (Bangalore: Deccan Herald article, March 2006).
8. Dr. S. K. Aruni, *Yelahanka Nāḍaprabhugala Vāstu-shilpa mattu Shipla-kalē* (Bangalore: Bangalore University, 2007).
9. Dr. S. K. Aruni, *Bidara Rachaney Haagu Itarey Nagaragala Meley Prabhava* (Bangalore: ICHR journal)
10. Barry Lewis, published as [Village Defenses of the Karnataka Maidan, AD 1600–1800](#), *South Asian Studies*, Volume 25, Issue 1, January 2009, pp. 91-111.
11. Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, Reprint, 2 vols (Bangalore: M/s Vinayaka Offset Printers, 2004) Gazetteer.
12. Benjamin Lewis Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, twelve volumes (Bangalore: Mysore Government Press, 1898).
13. Bruno Dagens, *'Mayamatam'*, Fourth Edition 2 vols (New Delhi and Delhi, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2007).
14. Christopher Alexander, <http://www.chrisgagern.de/Media/A_City_is_not_a_tree.pdf> [accessed 30 December 2011] First published in two parts as 'A City is not a Tree', *Architectural Forum* 122.1, April 1965, pp. 58-62, and 122.2, May 1965, pp. 58-62.
15. Crispin Branfoot, *'Expanding Form': The Architectural Sculpture of the Indian temple CA. 1500-1700'* (Artibus Asiae Vol. LXII, No.2, 2002).
16. Daud Ali and Emma J. Flatt, eds. *Garden and Landscape Practices in Precolonial India: Histories from the Deccan* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2011).
17. Edmund Bacon, *Design of Cities* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967).
18. M. Fazlul Hasan, *'Bangalore through the centuries'*, First Edition (Bangalore: Historical Publications, 1970).
19. Francis Buchanan, *'A journey from madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar'*, Reprint, 3 vols (Delhi: AES, 1988).

20. George Michell, *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India, Dravidadesa, Later Phase Ca. Ad 1289-1798* (Text and Plates) 2 Vols. (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 2001).
21. George Michell *Architecture and Art of Southern India: Vijayanagara and the Successor States, The New Cambridge History of India 1.6* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
22. Gordon Cullen, *The Concise Townscape* (The Architectural Press, 2010, 1971, 1961).
23. Helen Philon, *Silent Splendour: Palaces of the Deccan, 14th to 19th Centuries*. (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2010).
24. T P Issar, *The City Beautiful* (Bangalore: Bangalore Urban Arts Commission, 1988).
25. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).
26. June Gaur, *Royal City in Transition* (Bangalore: The Hindu Article, October 2006).
27. Jyoti Sharma, *Case study of Shahjahanabad*, PhD thesis, (De Montfort University, 2005).
28. Kevin Lynch, *'The Image of the City'* (Massachussets: The MIT Press, 1960).
29. A S Kodandapani, *Planning of Bangalore city* (Bangalore: Real Estate Report).
30. P.V. Krishnamurthy, *KempaRāyana Jayaprashasthi: Ondu Charitrika Parisheelaney* (Bangalore: ICHR).
31. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961).
32. Marianne de Nazareth, *Birthplace of the Tiger of Mysore* (Bangalore: Deccan Herald article).
33. Col. Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the History of Mysore*, first published in 1810, Reprint, 2 vols (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989).
34. K. S. Niranjana (ed.), *Jnana Gangotri - Bharatada Kathe* ([Bangalore: Karnataka Co-operative Publishing House Limited, 1976](#)), Vol. 7.
35. Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1915).
36. Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *'Indian Architecture'*, Manasara Series 7 vols, Second Edition (New Delhi, Munshiram Manharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1996).
37. R. P. Patwardhan and H. G. Rawlinson, *Source Book of Marāṭha History* (Kolkata: K. P. Baghchi and Company, 1978).
38. Rebecca M. Brown, published in the *Archives of Asian art*, Volume 55 as Patna's Golghar and the transformations of Colonial Discourse, pp.53-54.
39. A SatyanaRāyana, *History of the Wodeyars of Mysore (1610-1748)* (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1996).
40. SCE-CREOCEAN India, *Metropolitan Spatial Data Infrastructure for Bangalore* (Bangalore: courtesy BDA, Jan 2004).
41. Smriti Srinivas, *Landscapes of Urban Memory* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Private Limited, 2004).
42. Soumya Sitaraman, *Ancient city, modern hues* (Bangalore: Deccan Herald article, Jan 2006).
43. Spiro Kostof, *'The City Assembled'* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2005).
44. Spiro Kostof, *'The City Shaped'* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2005).
45. Surendra Nath Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati* (Kolkata: University of Calcutta, 1920).

46. Prof. Suryanath U. Kamath, *Karnataka State Gazetteer: Bangalore rural district* (Bangalore: Government Press, 1989).
47. Vikram Sampath, *Splendours Of Royal Mysore: The Untold story of the Wodeyars* (Delhi: Rupa & Co., 2008).