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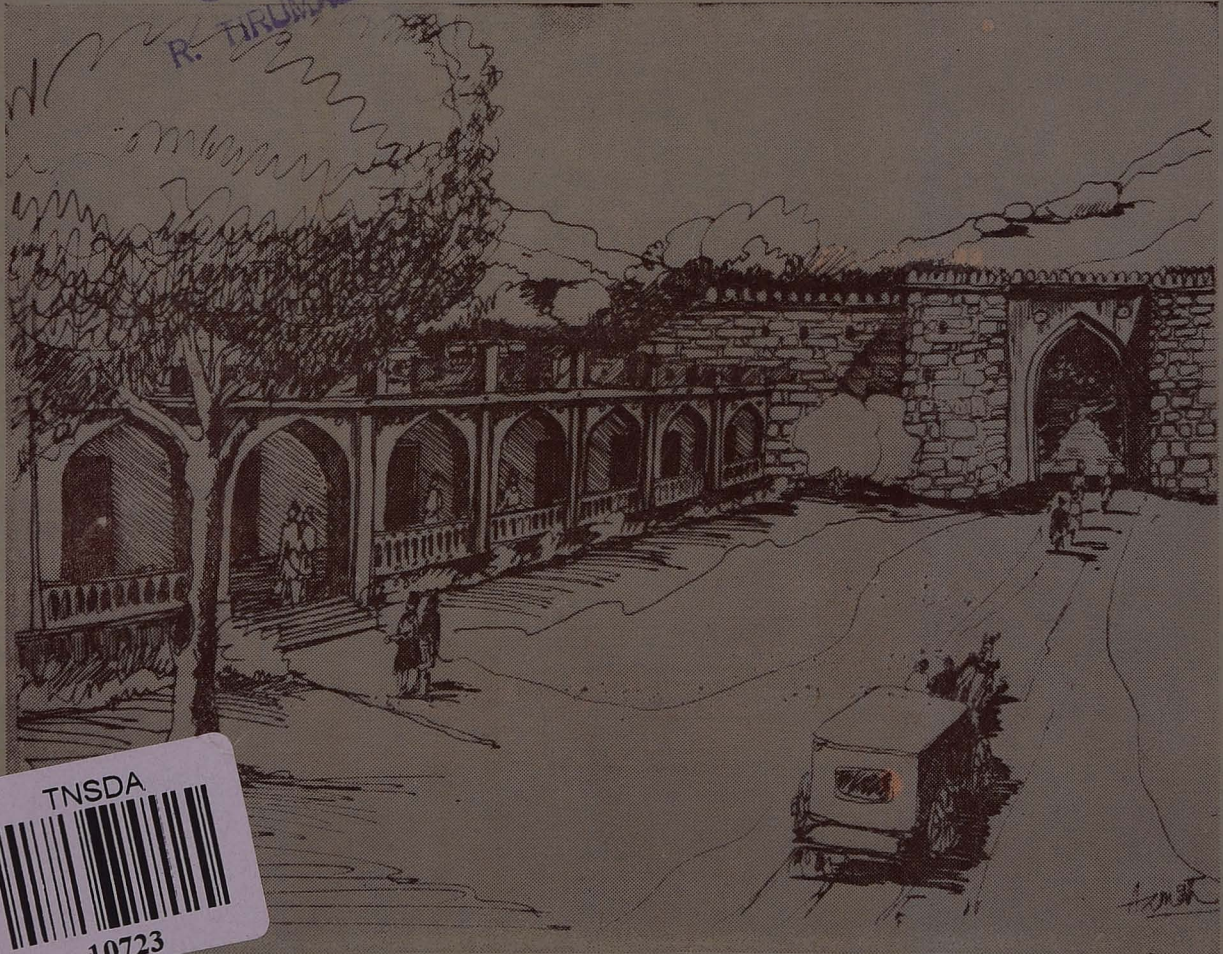
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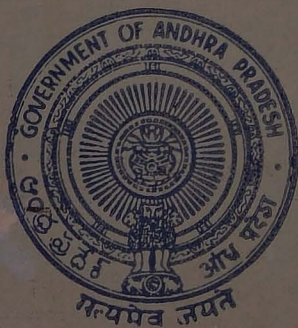
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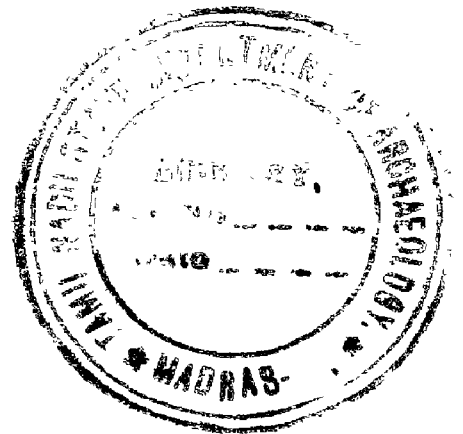
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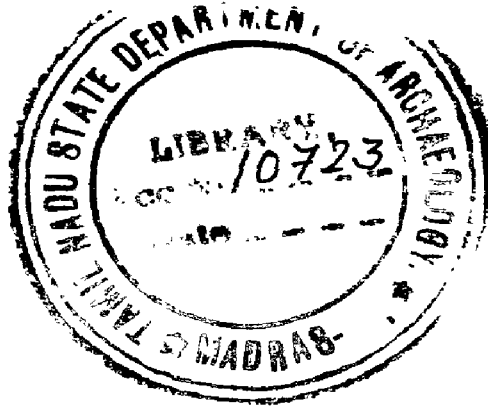
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GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS

D. C. Sircar

In the year 1933, shortly after my entry in the field of Indological research nearly half a century ago, I published a few notes. Amongst them, one was on the genealogy and another on the chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings¹ who ruled primarily over a tract comprising the present West Godavari District and the adjoining areas in what is now Andhra Pradesh². The notes were later incorporated first in my dissertation on 'The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Daccan'³ and later in my work entitled *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*.⁴

In the said notes, I drew the attention of scholars to the fact that, in the inscriptions of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins known at the time, a king bearing the name Mādhavavarman was endowed with epithets attributing to him the unique achievements of the celebration of no less than eleven Aśvamēdha sacrifices and one thousand Agniṣṭōmas or Kratus (minor sacrifices) and that the previous writers on Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy who had generally attributed the said epithets to different rulers named Mādhavavarman were wrong because it is not possible to believe that more kings bearing the same name, belonging to the same family and flourishing in the same age should have performed exactly equal numbers of such sacrifices as the Aśvamēdha and the Agniṣṭōma (Kratu).

The peculiar epithets of Mādhavavarman as found in his own records as well as in those of his successors were then pointed out by me as follows :-

1. Ipur (Tenali Taluk, Guntur District) plates⁵ (first set) of the 37th year of *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman, son of *Mahārāja* Gōvindavarman (devoted to Lord Śrīparvatasvāmin) and father of

prince Mañcyanna-bhaṭṭāraka, describing the donor of the grant as *Trivarnagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya-nandana*, *Agniśṭōmasahasrayājīn*, *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* and *Ēkādoś-āśvamēdhāvabhṛtha-Vidhūta-jagat-kalmaṣa*

2. Polamuru (Ramachandrapur Taluk, East Godavari District) plates⁶ of the 40th or more probably 48th regnal year of *Mahārāja Mādhavavarman*, son of *Gōvindavarman* and grandson of *Vikramahēndra* (correctly either *Vikramamahēndra* or *Vikramēndra*) who is described as a devotee of Lord *Srīparvatasvāmin*. The donor of the grant, i.e. *Mādhavavarman*, is endowed with the epithets *Trivarnagara - bhavana - gata-parama-yuvati - jana-Viharaṇa-rati*, *kratusahasrayājīn*, *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* and *Ēkādoś-āśvamēdhāvabhṛtha-snānavigata-jagad-ēnaska*.

In these two charters issued by king *Mādhavavarman* himself, besides the two epithets attributing to him the performance of eleven *Āśvamēdhas* and one thousand other sacrifices he is endowed with two other epithets, viz. *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta* and *Trivarnagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati hridaya-nandana* or *Trivarnagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-rati*, which are not found in the records of *Mādhavavarman's* successors. As regards the epithet *Hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta*, I tried to show how its interpretation offered by Fleet and Hultzsch were defective and how it really means 'one who was born from the *Hiraṇya-garbha* (golden womb)', i.e. a performer of the *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna*⁷. The second epithet is found in the two records in two slightly different forms with a little change in the implication, the first saying that the king was the dilighter of the damsels living in the houses of *Trivarnagara* and the second speaking of the king's pleasure in enjoying them. On this claim, I said that *Trivarnagara*, which was probably the capital of a king named *Trivara*, was 'no doubt a city that the *Viṣṇukundin* king claimed to have subdued'⁸. Although the claim has been variously understood by different scholars, there is no doubt about the correctness of the above interpretation which is supported by similar description of heroes found elsewhere. Thus the *Bilhari* inscription of *Kalacuri Yuvarāja II* describes his grandfather *Yuva-raja I*, both flourishing in the tenth century

A. D., as *Gaudī-gādha-manō-manōratha-kara* (one who fulfilled the ardent desire of the Gauda girls), *Karṇāta-kāntā-kuca-krīdā-śaila-tatīvihāra-hariṇā* (one who was a deer to sport on those pleasure hills that were the breasts of the Karṇāta damsels), *Lāṭīlalāt-āspada* (one who ornamented the foreheads of the Lāṭa women), *Kāśmīri-vihāta-smara-vyatikara* (one who was engaged in amorous dalliance with the women of Kāśmīra) and *Kaling-āṅganāsad-gāna-vyasanin* (one who was fond of the charming songs of the Kalinga girls).⁹

3. Ipur plates¹⁰ (second set) issued in the 47th year by a ruler named Mādhavavarman (II) mentioned as *Trikūtamalaya-ādhipati* (lord of Trikūtamalaya) and as the dear son of Dēvavarman and the dear grandson of *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman (I) who is described in the record as *Ēkādaś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛth-āvadhūta-jagat-kalmaṣa* and *Agni-stōma-sahasra-yājīn*. Mādhavavarman II, who issued this damaged record from a city named Amarapura or Kudūrapura, and his father Dēvavarman enjoyed no royal title. This may not be of a great significance since the Viṣṇukundin records are not very particular on this point. However, there is mention in the record of a *Viṣṇukundy-adhirāja*, probably meaning 'the overlord belonging to the Viṣṇukundin family'. It is therefore possible to suggest that Mādhavavarman II ruled the province of Trikūtamalaya as a viceroy of his grandfather Mādhavavarman I with his viceregal headquarters at Amarapura or Kudūrapura in Trikūtamalaya and issued the Ipur plates (Second set) during the 47th regnal year of his grandfather's reign.¹¹

4. Ramatirtham (near Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam District) plates¹² of the 27th regnal year of *Rājan* Indravarman who was the dear son of *Rājan* Vikramēndra (an ornament of the two dynasties of his father and mother), the good son of *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman who was devoted to Lord Srīparvartasvāmin and is endowed with the epithets *Ēkādaś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛtha-vidhauta-jatat-kalmaṣa* and *Kratu-sahasra-yājīn*.

5. Chikkulla (West Godavari District) plates¹³ of the 10th regnal year of *Mahārāja* Vikramēndravarman II who was the eldest son of *Mahārāja* Indrabhattārakavarman, grandson of Vikramēndravarman (an ornament of the Viṣṇukundin and Vākāta or Vākātaka

dynasties), and great-grandson of *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman described as *Ēkādaś-āśvamēdh-āvādhouta-jagat-kalmasa* and *Kratu-sahasra-yājin*. To these epithets are added in this record *Sarvvamēdha āvāptasarvva-bhūta-svārājya*, *Bahusvarna paundarika-purusamēdha-vājapēya-yūthya - ukthya-sōduśi - rājasūya-prādhirājya-prājāpaty-ādy-onēka-vividha - prthu - guru-vara-śata-sahasra-yājin* and *kratu-var-ānusihān-ādhisthita-pratisthita-parmēsthitva* which show that, as time was passing, fictitious achievements were gradually being attributed to Mādhavavarman, the great performer of sacrifices. Thus a legend was apparently developing around the name of this great king. This is further supported by other records as we shall see below

I was fully convinced that the typically large number of sacrifices, viz; eleven Aśvamēdhas and one thousand Agnistōmas (Kratus), should be assigned to only one Viṣṇukuṇḍin king named Mādhavavarman so that I expected the suggestion to be generally accepted by scholars. However, I was rudely shocked when I had to defend my view against the comments of a young man to whom it appeared to be 'not a strong argument'.¹⁴ There have been other later writings with the same idea of more than one Mādhavavarman of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty having performed eleven Aśvamēdhas and one thousand Agnistōmas or Kratus; but I had occasion to comment on only one amongst them, which came from a reputed historian whose views on the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy were, however, the same as those of the young man mentioned above.¹⁵ This was because I was waiting to see, like Bhavabhūti who said *utpatsyatē- 'tra mama kō' pi samāna-dharmā*, if some one would agree with me since, as Bhavabhūti also said, *kālō hy = ayam nir-avadhir = vipulā ca prthvī*. I am glad therefore to find, after all these years, that a young investigator named V. Sundara Rama Sastry of the P. A. S. College, Pedanandipadu, Guntur District (Andhra Pradesh), has recently noted, in his paper on the Polamuru plates read at the Andhra Pradesh History Congress held about the middle of 1978 at Vijayawada, the difficulty 'to believe that two Mādhavavarmans, in the same family, performed alike eleven Aśvamēdhas and one thousand Agnistōmas'.¹⁶

6 Khanapur plates¹⁷. Two carelessly engraved copper plates of a set of three issued by a *Mahārāja* named Mādhavavarman was

discovered at Khanapur in the Taluk of that name in the Satara District of Maharashtra and were published some time ago. The inscription records the grant of the village of Rēṭṭuraka lying to the south-east of the Kṛṣṇabēṇṇā, identified with modern Rēṭarē Budruk (Bigger Rēṭarē) in the Karhad Taluk of the Satara District. The charter recording the gift was issued by the king described as *Puṇdari (rī) ka-bahusuarṇa-aikādaśa-yājīn*,¹⁸ on the basis of which the donor has been identified with the great Viṣṇukuṇḍin performer of sacrifices. It will, however, be seen that the celebration of Pauṇḍarīka and Bahusuarṇa is not attributed to Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavarman (I) either in his own records or in those of his two grandsons (viz; Mādhavarman II of the second set of the Ipur plates and Indravarman of the Ramatirtham plates) but only in those of his great-grandson (viz; Vikramēndravarman or Vikramēndrabhattārakavarman II). That is why I was doubtful about the proposed identification.¹⁹ It seems, however, possible to regard the Khanapur plates as a forgery committed by people who do not only knew that a great king named Mādhavarman celebrated numerous sacrifices and invaded the satara region, but were also familiar with the epithet regarding his performance of eleven Pauṇḍarīkas and eleven Bahusuarṇas, which was a claim fabricated during the reign of his great grandson about a century later as we now find from the Tundigrama grant (Kandulapalem plates) mentioning Mādhavarman as *Bahusuarṇa-aikādaśa-yājīn* and *Ēkādaśa-pauṇḍarīka-prāpta-sarv-ardhi*.

6. Velpuru stone pillar inscription.²⁰ A damaged inscription engraved on a pillar standing at the entrance of the Rāmalingasvāmin temple at Velpuru in the Sattenapalle Taluk of the Guntur District, was raised in the 33rd regnal year of Mādhavarman who was the son of Gōvindavarman, described as a devotee of Lord Śrīparvatasvāmin and a scion of the Viṣṇukuṇḍi-gōtra (Viṣṇukuṇḍin family).²¹ This is no doubt a genuine record, but does not mention Mādhavarman as a performer of eleven Aśvamēdhas and one thousand Agniṣṭōmas or Kratus apparently because it contains the eulogy of a feudatory ruler who belonged to some other dynasty and had no reason to feel especially proud about the celebration of sacrifices by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king.²²

7. Tundigrama grant, discovered at Kandulapalem in the Ramachandrapuram Taluk of the East Godavari District,²³ was issued in the 14th year of Vikramēndrabhattāarakavarman II (i.e. Vikramēndravarmān II) who was the son of *Mahārāja* Indrabhattāarakavarman (i.e. Indravarmān), the grandson of *Mahārāja* Vikramēndrabhattāarakarman I (i.e. Vikramēndravarmān I), who was an ornament of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Vākātāka dynasties, and the great-grandson of *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman described as *Ēkādaś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛth-āvadhautā-jagat-kalmasa* and *Kratu-sahasra-yājīn* to which are added *Sarvamēdha-āvāpta-surva-bhūta-svārājya*, *Bahusvarṇ-aikadāśaka-yājīn*, *Ēkādaśa-paundarīka-prāpta-sarv-ardhi*, *Yathāvidhy-anusthita - rājasūy-ōpapādit - ādhirājya*, *Purusāmēdh - ādy-āśesa-kratv-anusthāna-janita-pāramēsthya* and *Dēvātideva*. It will be seen that the present inscription, which is only four years later than the Chikkulla plates of the same king, exhibits further development of the Mādhavavarman saga. That the great king Mādhavavarman obtained the status of a *Paramēsthīn*, which means a spiritual teacher or an Arhat of the Jains and is also epithet of the gods Brahman, Viṣṇu, Siva and Agni as well as of the divine bird Garuda, is already mentioned in the Chikkulla plates; but the present record goes one step further in stating that he was *Dēvātideva*, i. e. the Supreme God. This shows that by the 14th year of his great-grandson, Mādhavavarman, the performer of sacrifices was not only deified, but even identified by some with the Supreme God.

8-9. Tummalagudem plates, first and second sets.²⁴ The discovery of the two sets of Buddhistic copper plates at Tummalagudem in the Ramanapeta Taluk of the Nalgonda District has created certain fresh problems for the students of Viṣṇukuṇḍin history. The first of the two sets was issued in the year 37 by the Buddhist *Mahārāja* Gōvindavarman who was the son of *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman and the grandson of *Mahārāja* Indravarmān and records the grant of two villages in favour of a Buddhist monastery built by his chief queen named Paramamahādēvī on the full moon day of the month of Viśākha. The second set was issued by Vikramēndrabhattāarakavarman II surnamed Uttamāśraya who was the son of Indrabhattāarakavarman Satyāśraya, the grandson of the *Paramasaugata Mahākavi Mahārāja*

Vikramēndra I (born of the Vākātaka-mahādēvī, i. e. the queen hailing from the Vākātaka family), the great grandson of *Mahārāja* Mādhavavarman and the great-great-grandson of the Buddhist *Mahārāja* Gōvindavarman. Interestingly enough, the inscription describes king Mādhavavarman, great-grandfather of the donor, as *Ēkadaś-aśvamēdha-bahusuvarṇa-pauṇḍarīka-vajapēya - kratu-sahasra-sarvamēdha - rajasūya - puruṣamēlh-ady-aharahas-samyag-aunṣṭhita-śruti-vihit-aśēṣa-duskara-kāmya-karmmanusthāna* which shows that the king in question was no other than the celebrated performer of sacrifices and reminds us of similar descriptions of the king in the Chikkulla plates and Tundigrama grant (Kandulapalem plates) of the donor of the present charter. The grant is dated in year 11 of the king's reign as well as in the Saka year 488 corresponding to 566-67 A.D. It is stated that while the king was at the Paramabhattārikā-mahāvihāra built by Paramabhattārikā-mahādēvī at Indrapura, Vikramēndrabhattārakavarman II granted a village for the enjoyment of the Buddhist monks apparently of the said monastery. Paramabhattārika-mahādēvī is described as the mother of Mādhavarāja and as the wife of Gōvindavarman. She is further described as adorning the Prthivīmūlarājavamśa (literally, 'the family of king Prthivīmūla) which seems to suggest that she was the daughter of Prthivīmūla. She has been identified with Paramamahādēvī of the first set of Tummalagudem plates.

Thus the genealogy offered by the Ipur (first set) and Polamuru (first set) plates of Mādhavavarman I, the performer of sacrifices himself and the Ipur (second set) and Ramatirtham plates of his grandsons Mādhavavarman II and Indravarman or Indrabhattārakavarman respectively as well as the Chikkulla plates and Tundigrama grant (Kandulapalem plates) of his great-grandson Vikramēndravarmān or Vikramēndrabhattārakavarman II is as follows :-

Vikramahēndra (Vikramamahēndra or Vikramēndra I)

Mahārāja Gōvindavarman Vikramāśraya

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman I Janāśraya, performer of 11

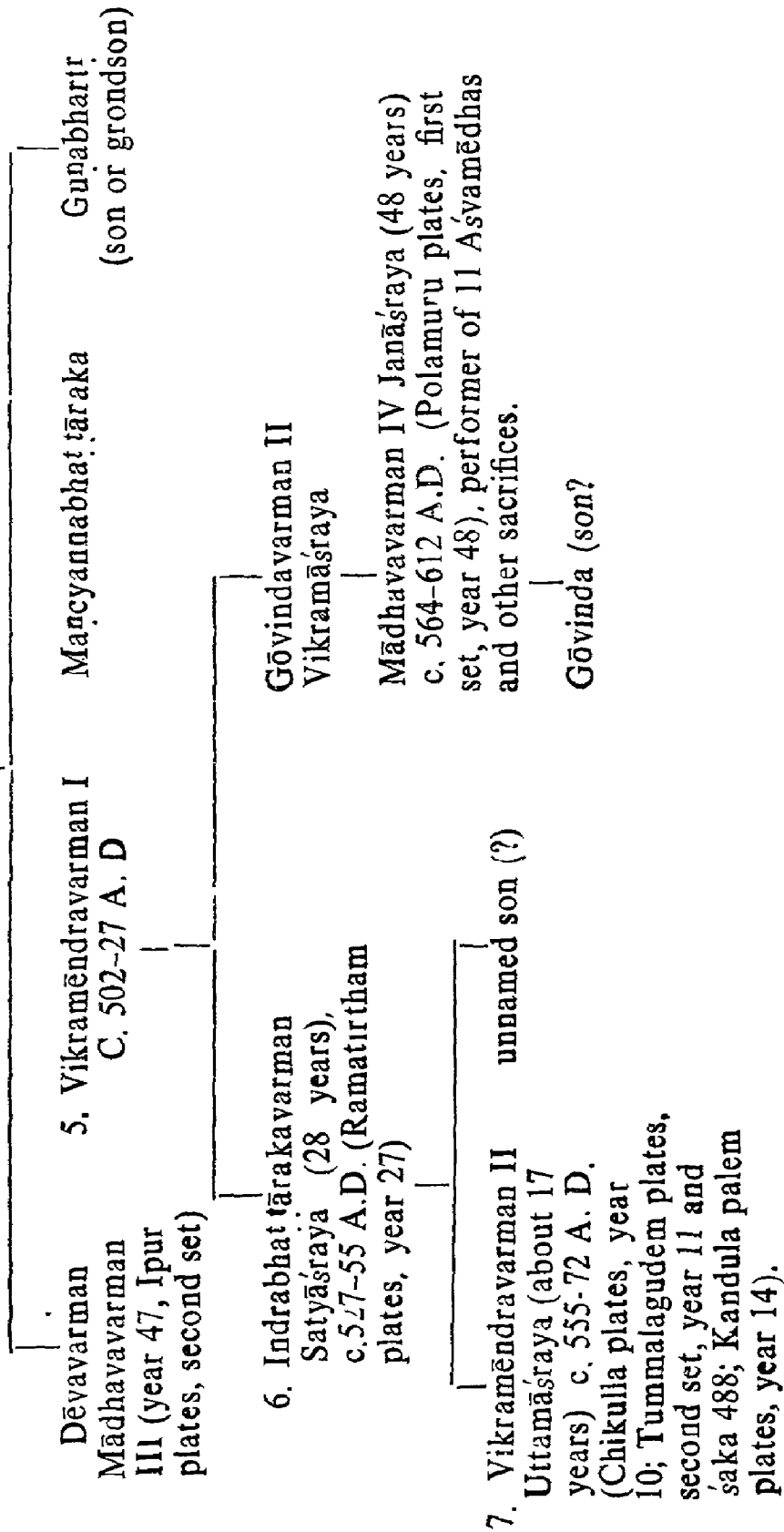
Vikramēndrabhaṭṭāarakavarman II Uttamāśraya, donor of Tummalagudem plates (second set, year 11 and Śaka 488, 566-67 A.D.); subduer of Pallava Simhavarman.

We see that king Mādhavavarman, the great performer of sacrifices, who was the son of Gōvindavarman and grandson of Vikramahēndra (Vikramahēndra or Vikramēndra) according to the Polamuru plates, is represented in the Tummalagudem plates as the son of Gōvindavarman, grandson of Mādhavavarman and great-grandson of Indravarman so that the name of his father is the same in both the cases, but the name of the grandfather is different, being Vikramahēndra (i. e. Vikramamahēndra of Vikramēndra) in the first but Mādhavavarman in the second. That is why S. Sankaranarayanan, who has edited the inscriptions, as well as others have observed that the performance of equal number of sacrifices by two different kings of the same name and dynasty must now be accepted as certain and not as impossible as was my suggestion which indeed was the backbone of my views on the genealogy of the Viṣṇukunḍins.²⁵ At the same time, he has observed that the date Śaka 488 (566-67 A.D.) quoted as the equivalent of year 11 of king Vikramēndra (II or III) disproves my suggestions about the chronology of the Viṣṇukunḍins according to which the said Viṣṇukunḍin king was ousted by Cālukya Pulakeśin II in the first half of the seventh century A.D.; about half a century later.²⁶

As regards the problem of genealogy, Sankaranarayanan would identify Vikramahēndra of the Polamuru plates with Vikramēndra-varman I, the grandfather of his namesake who was the donor of the Chikkulla plates, Tummalagudem plates (second set) and Tundigrama grant (Kandulapalem plates) thus making eight kings of seven generations of rulers before the Cālukya conquest as follows:—²⁷

1. Indravarman, c. 375-400 A.D.
2. Mādhavavarman I, c. 400-22 A.D.
3. Gōvindavarman I (40 years), c. 422-62 A.D.
(Tummalagudem plates, first set, year 37)

4. Mādhavarman (40 years), c. 462-502 A.D. (Velpuru inscription, year 33 : Ipur plates, first set, year 37 : and Khanapur plates, without date : performer of 11 Aśvamēdhas and other sacrifices)



In connection with the above genealogy, I observed in short as follows while reviewing Sankaranarayan's work entitled *The Visṇukundis and their Times*: "The greatest problem in the history of the family is the determination of the correct genealogy. The author has made a serious attempt to improve upon the different views on the subject ; but a few problems remain unresolved, and only future discoveries can help in their solution. Thus his Mādhavavarman II (c. A.D. 462-502) of the Velpuru inscription (year 33), the Ipur plates (first set, year 37) and the Khanapur plates is described in the second of the three records as the performer of eleven Aśvamēdhas and one thousand Agniṣṭōmas and as delighting the damsels of Trivaranagara, while his Mādhavavarman IV (c. A.D. 564-612), who has been taken to be the great-grandson of the earlier king, is similarly described in his Polamuru plates (first set, year 48) as the performer of one thousand Kratus (Agniṣṭōmas) and eleven Aśvamēdhas and as delighting the girls of Trivaranagara. It is difficult to understand why two kings of the same name out of many in the family described themselves with exactly similar epithets after the interval of a century. There may be difference of opinion as to whether this difficulty is explained away by the two sets of Polamuru plates, the first recording Mādhavavarman's grant made in favour of Śivaśarman in his 48th regnal year and the second registering the gift in favour of Śivaśarman's son by Eastern Cālukya Jayasimha I in his 5th regnal year. How, again, do we explain the absence of the epithets in the Velpuru and Khanapur inscriptions? Dr. Sankaranarayan's suggestion that Trivaranagara was the capital of the dynasty to which the said kings belonged (p. 229) is improbable because, in that case, it was expected to be found at least in some other records of the family."²⁸ A point to be specially emphasised is that Mādhavavarman of the Ipur (first set) and Polamuru (first set) plates have not only strikingly similar epithets but both of them are represented as the son of Gōvindavarman. Is it possible to regard the two Mādhavavarmans as separate personages under these circumstances?

The suspicion in the above passage was expressed on the background of what I said long ago about the difficulty in placing the

beginning of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule in the coast land between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī in the fourth century A. D. It is well known that, according to the genealogy and chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins proposed by K.V. Lakshmana Rao and accepted by R. Sewell, the first king Mādhava I ruled in c. 357-82 A.D. and the ninth ruler Maṅcyanabhattāraka began to rule in 610 A. D. ; My comment on this was : “The absurd nature of this chronology is proved by the fact that about the middle of the 4th century not the Viṣṇukuṇḍins but the Śālankāyanas were ruling over the Veṅgī region.”²⁹

If it is believed that the original home and capital of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins was modern Vinukonda in the Krishna District, which is about 60 miles to the east of Srīśaila (Śrīparvata with which the tutelary deity of the family was associated) and 50 miles to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, is it possible for us to prove satisfactorily that the rule of the early kings of the family, who are endowed with high sounding, epithets as well as the title *Mahārāja*, was confined to the Vinukonda region? If, again, the early Viṣṇukundin *Mahārājas* were as important as the Śālankāyan *Mahārājas* of Veṅgi (Poddavegi near Eluru in the West Godavari District), some *Vaiṣṇukuṇḍika Maharaja* was probably expected, like Vaingēyaka Hastivarman, as the adversary of Samudraçupta (c. 335-76 A.D.) in the Allahabad pillar inscription. It seems under the circumstances that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins rose to power with the decline of the Śālankāyanas about the middle of the fifth century A.D.

Another point to be noted in respect of Sankaranarayanan's views is that there seems to be no justification for regarding Gōvindavarman Vikramāśraya father of Mādhavavarman Janāśraya of the Polamuru plates, as a prince only and not as a king because he is not called a *Rājan* or *Mahārāja*. In the first place, our analysis of the epithets of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings above would show that the royal title is omitted from the description of kings in many cases. Secondly, even in the same Polamuru plates (first set) Vikramahēndra, the father of Gōvindavarman and grandfather of Mādhavavarman, is not called a *Rājan* or *Mahārāja*. Thirdly, as we shall see below, the same description is applied to Gōvindavarman and Viṣṇuwardhana respecti-

vely in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Eastern Cālukya charters from Polamuru. In the said Cālukya grant, the donor Jayasimha I and his grandfather Kirtivarman I are not endowed with any royal title although the name of the donor's father is quoted as Viṣṇuwardhana-mahārāja. The title Vikramāśraya applied to Gōvindavarman only in the Polamuru plates (first set) loses its importance when we find that Indravarman and Vikramēndravarman II are called respectively Satyāśraya and Uttamāśraya only in the Tummalagudem plates (second set) and in no other records.

As regards the nature of the Polamuru plates, I observed, "The language and orthography of this record are bad, and the characters are rude and late. The authenticity of the grant therefore may not be quite certain. But we are not definite, as some time we also get copies of older records."³⁰

I now find that Mr. Sundara Rama Sastry, who believes like myself that two kings of the same name and dynasty and represented as the son of persons bearing the same name, can hardly be believed to have performed uniquely equal number of sacrifices has tried to solve the problem created by the evidence of the Tummalagudem plates and that of the Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman by an attempt to prove that Mādhavavarman's copper-plate grant is a forgery. He has drawn attention to the great influence exhibited, by the inscription, of Eastern Cālukya grants in general and Jayasimha's Polamuru plates (second set) in particular such as the same description of the donor's father in both the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Eastern Cālukya grants from Polamuru³¹ and concludes, "..... .. it appears that Polamuru plates, as they have come down to us, are not the original record of Mādhavavarman. He might have issued the charter; but the present one is forged or a restored one and hence a spurious record. In its composition and execution, it is definitely an imitation of the later Viṣṇukuṇḍin and early Eastern Cālukya records The name Vikramahendra and his royal epithets are then quite fictitious, and the attributes to other kings are not at all authentic. Hence the polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman needs no

serious consideration in matters of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy and chronology."³² He does not refer to my views on the subject probably because he had no opportunity to study my book published nearly four decades ago.

Whether Sastry's views are acceptable to scholars or not, it is no doubt one way of solving the problem. It must, however, be admitted that, if the evidence of the Polamuru plates of Mādhavarman is suspicious, that of the two sets of the Tummalagudem plates appears to us by far more dubious. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings were undoubtedly followers of the Brāhmanical faith as their devotion to *Bhagavat* śrīparvatasvāmin, the claim of two of them to have been staunch devotees of Mahēśvara (Siva) and their pride in extolling the celebration of Vedic sacrifices including the Aśvamēdha by one of them clearly prove, so that they have been wrongly described in the Tummalagudem plates as Buddhists. Moreover, even Sankaranarayanan admits the doubtful character of the first of the two records from Tummalagudem when he says, "..... king Gōvindavarman who issued the set I was the great-great-grandfather of Vikramēndravarman II, the issuer of the set II. However, the palaeography of the set I as well as the language of its text, if studied along with those of the other known charters of the family, seem to indicate that, in point of time, this set I might not have been far removed from the set II. This fact appears to suggest that the set I was probably prepared during the time of Vikramēndravarman II on the basis of an original charter that had probably fallen in disuse and that the present text had been composed by the Buddhist monks of the Paramabaṭṭārikāvihāra, most probably basing on an earlier text and it got the royal sanction."³³ It is not explained, however, how we can prove that the ruling authority gave its sanction to the document which was forged and apparently engraved by the Buddhist monks and whether that was possible at all.

However, Sankaranarayanan makes a further admission when he says in continuation: "Moreover, the texts of all the other known charters of the family are in the form of orders of the respective royal

donors. addressed to the residents, officers, etc., of the respective grant villages informing them of the royal gifts. But the text of the set I consists of a simple statement that the villages were gifted away by the king to the Ārya-saṅgha. A parallel instance may be found in the case of the Pallava charters like the Omgodu plates of Simhavarman, the Udayendiram charters (set I) of Nandivarman I and (set II) of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, etc., which, unlike the other charters of that family, contain mere statements of facts that the respective kings had gifted away the respective villages. It is to be noted that the characters of these charters are to be assigned to the ages much later than that of their respective royal donors, and that scholars are of opinion that these may be the later copies of their respective originals.³⁴ And he concludes: "It is not unlikely that these (i.e. the first set of the Tummalagudem plates of Gōvinda-varman) too are not *true* but *adapted* copies of their originals."³⁵

Admittedly therefore the Tummalagudem plates of Gōvinda-varman are a late forgery for which there could not have been any royal sanction. However, Sankaranarayanan has not noticed that the characters of both sets of the Tummalagudem plates appear to be somewhat later than those of the Chikkulla plates and Tundigrama grant (Kandulapalem plates) of Vikramēndra II so that both the sets may have been forged sometime after the reign of the said Viṣṇukuṇḍin king.

The family deity of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins was śrīparvatasvāmin who is generally identified with Siva Mallikārjuna worshipped on the Srisāila particularly because Indravarman in his Ramatirtham plates and his son Vikramēndravarman in his Chikkulla plates and Tundigrama grant (Kandulapalem plates) claim to have been a *Paramamāhēśvara*. As, however, was pointed out by me elsewhere, the names of Siva in his Liṅga form generally end in the word *īśvara* while the word *svāmin* is noticed at the end of the names of other Brāhmanical images especially those of Viṣṇu.³⁶ It has also been shown that often kings were not particularly attached to the family deity³⁷ so that there is no conflict between the devotion of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family to some other deity (probably Viṣṇu) and that of

two of its members to Śiva. As we have observed, the records of the Viṣṇukunḍins other than the Tummalagudem plates (first and second sets) show that they were all Brāhmanical Hindus. The Thummalagudem plates (first set) suppresses Govindavarman's devotion to Śrīparvatasvāmin and emphasises his Buddhist learnings while the second set of the Thummalgudem plates mention him as *śad-abhijñā-prātihārya-darśan-ānugraha-janita-Sugata-śāsan-ābhiprasāda* which speaks of his faith in the Buddha's doctrine. His grandson Vikramēndra, grandfather of the donor of the latter charter, is called *Paramasaugata*, i.e. a devout Buddhist, such concoctions merely pointing to the spurious nature of the two grants.

From what has been said above, it will be seen that the evidence of the Tummalagudem plates is at least equally, if not more, dubious than that of the Polamuru plates so that, just as Sastry is inclined to ignore the evidence of the latter, another investigator may, at least with equal justification, ignore the evidence of the former. If the grants recorded in these documents were actually made but their texts were fabricated at a later date to cover up the loss or destruction of the originals it is no doubt difficult to be sure whether particular items of information offered by them should be accepted as genuine or not. This brings us to the question whether the date śaka 488 = 566-67 A.D. equated with year 11 of the reign of Vikramēndra II (or III) suggesting the king's accession in 555-56 A.D. should be accepted. Supposing, on the basis of this date, that (Vikramēndra II or III) ascended the throne about the middle of the sixth century A.D. and also that three among his six or seven predecessors (whose total reign period of about 25 years each would roughly cover 150 or 175 year), viz., Gōvindavarman ruled at least for 37 years, Mādhavarman (the performer of sacrifices) at least for 48 years and Indravarman at least for 27 years so as to cover at least 112 years, we shall have to place the beginning of Viṣṇukunḍin rule to the early part of the fifth century A.D. against which our objection has been indicated above. We are therefore doubtful about the genuineness about the Saka date quoted in the second set of the Tummalagudem plates because we are inclined to believe that the Viṣṇukunḍins established

their hold on the West Godavari region, as already indicated above after the decline of Sālankayana rule at the place about the middle of the fifth century A. D. If the six or seven generations of Viṣṇu-Kuṇḍin Kings ruled at least for about 150 or 175 years, Vikramēndra-varman II (or III), who has to be regarded as the latest known king of the family in our opinion, must have begun to rule about the close of the sixth century A. D. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins must have ruled in the lower valleys of the Gōdāvari and Kṛṣṇā between the fall of the Sālankayanas and the Cālukya conquest of Vēṅgi, i. e. during the century and a half roughly between the middle of the 5th and the first or second quarter of the 7th century A. D.

In any case, if the suggestion regarding the forged character of the Polamuru plates of Mādhavavarman is one way of solving the problem of Visnukundin genealogy, another way to solve it is to emphasise the dubious nature of both the sets of the Tummalagudem plates as we have just seen. In case, however scholars are inclined to accept the evidence of both the Polamuru plates (first set) and the two sets of Tummalagudem plates on the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy as genuine in spite of the suspicious nature of the records, there is possibly a third way to solve the problem. That is by regarding Vikramahēndra, grandfather of Mādhavavarman (performer of sacrifices according to the Polamaru plates) to be really Vikramamahēndra (i. e. probably different from the name Vikramēndra) and by supposing that Vikramamahēndra was a title or second name of Mādhavavarman who was the grandfather of Mādhavavarman (performer of sacrifices) according to the second set of the Tummalagudem plates.

REFERENCES

1. S. Sankaranarayanan (*The Viṣṇukundis and their Times*, p. 1) prefers to call them Viṣṇukunḍi.
2. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IX, pp. 273ff. (Genealogy of the Viṣṇukunḍins), 957ff. (Chronology of the Viṣṇukunḍins).
3. *Journal of the Department of letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. XXVI, 1935 (pp. 1-126).
4. Calcutta University, 1939. pp. 97ff. 105ff, I now prefer the spelling 'śātavāhana'.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 334ff.
6. *Journ. Dept. Let.*, Vol. XI, pp. 31ff ; *Journ. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. VI, pp. 17ff.
7. See *JRAS*, October, 1934, pp. 729ff ; also *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 50ff., and elsewhere,
8. See Sircar in *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, 1954, p. 208; cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 129, note.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 265, verse 24.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 334ff
11. *The Classical Age*, p. 209.
12. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 133ff
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 193ff
14. See V. S. Ramachandramurthy in *JAHRS*, Vol. X, pp. 193ff., and Sircar, *ibid.*, Vol. XI pp. 129 ff.
15. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. XV, pp. 13ff ; cf. also Sastri in *The Classical Age*, pp. 223ff., and Sircar, *ibid.*, p. 206, note.
16. *Proceedings*, p. 12.
17. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVII, 1947-1948, pp. 312ff ; Sankaranarayanan, *The Viṣṇukundis and their Times*, pp. 161ff.

18. The suggestion that the intended reading for *bahusuvārṇaikādaśa* is *bahusuvārṇa-śodaśi* (*Ep. Ind.*, *op. cit.*, p. 316, note (8) is wrong. Cf. *Bahusuvārṇaikādaśaka-yājñin* in the Tundigrama grant or Kandulapalem plates of Vikramēndrabhaṭṭarakavarman (II), great-grandson of Mādhavavarman, to be noticed below.
19. Cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 210, note.
20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 128ff. ; Sankaranarayanan, *The Viṣṇukundis and their Times*, pp. 157-58.
21. The interpretation of the word *gōtra* here as 'a hill' see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 127) does not appear to be quite happy. The reading of the description of Gōvindavarman here is *Bha(gavac-Chrīparvatasvā)mi-pād-anuddhyāta-Viṣṇukundī-gōtra-ōtprabhavasya Gōvi(ndavarmanah)*.
22. Sankaranarayanan rightly takes the ruler responsible for the inscription to be Mādhavavarman's viceroy of the Velpuru region, but identifies him with the king's grandson Indravarman or Indrabhaṭṭarakavarman on inadequate and doubtful grounds. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVII, pp. 127 and 128.
23. *Ibid*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 7ff.
24. *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. II, pp. 4ff ; also Sankaranarayanan, *The Viṣṇukundis and their Times*, pp. 153ff. , 172ff.
25. *Ep. Andhr.*, *op. cit.*, p. 7 and note 2; cf. Sircar, *Suc. Sat.*, p. 102.
26. *Ep. Andhr.*, *loc. cit.*, and note 5; cf. Sircar in *The Classical Age*, pp. 206-07, 223-24.
27. *The Viṣṇukundis and their Times*, p. 13.
28. *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. III, No. 2, January, 1971, pp. 425-26.
29. *Suc. Sat.*, p. 102, note 1; cf. also *Quart. Journ. Myth. Soc.* , Vol. XV, pp. 299f.
30. *Suc. Sat.*, p. 131, note.
31. The epithet *anēka-samara-saṃghaṭṭa-vijayinah para-narapati-makuṭa-manī-mayūkhāvadāta-carāṇa-yugalasya* in the description of the donor's father of both the sets of the Polamuru plates. See Sircar, *Suc. Sat.* , p. 335, text lines 4-6; p. 340, text lines 4-5.
32. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.
33. *Ep. Andhr.*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

34. The references cited in support of the statement are *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p.252; *Thirty Pallava Copper-plates* (Madras), pp.108, 332, 350; and Sircar, *Suc. Sat*, pp. 199 and 209.
 35. *Ep. Andh.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.
 36. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp.304 and 305, note 1. Cf. A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rājatarāṅginī*, Vol. I, pp. 111-12 (III. 453-54, 457).
 37. Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Rel. L. Anc. Med. Ind*, pp. 253ff.
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DID GAUTAMĪPUTRA SĀTAKARṆI PERFORM AŚVAMEDHA ?

B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao

The Sātavāhana dynasty rose to power at a time when a wave of ritualism was sweeping the entire subcontinent. Sātakarṇi I, the third king in the family excelled his North Indian contemporary, Puṣyamitra Sunga by performing numerous Vedic sacrifices including Aśvamedha and Rājasūya¹. His queen Nāganikā took pride for having participated in all the sacrifices and described herself as *Yajñahuta dhūpana sugandhayā*. The royal *vaidika* couple named one of their sons as Vedi Siri (The Glory of Altar). But this enthusiasm of Sātakarṇi and Nāganikā for rituals was not shared by their successors. The latter came to lay greater emphasis on *vrata, dāna, kṣetra and bhakti*. In fact, the very Nānaghat inscription of Nāganikā which enumerates the sacrifices of Sātakarṇi records an invocation to Sankarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, the cult gods of the Bhāgavatas. So Bhāgavatism was pre-Sātavāhana. As a result, we rarely come across Vedic sacrifices during the Sātavāhana period after Sātakarṇi I. One such rare instance of course comes from the time of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. The word Śrī Yajña itself means Glorious Sacrifice. It could be his personal name as in the case of Vedi Siri or a title. The Chinnaganjām inscription of Śrī Yajña's reign contains the word *Yājñā*, but neither the name nor the nature of the *Yajña* is known. On the other hand Chinnaganjām is a reputed Buddhist *Kṣetra*³ in those days and the inscription appears to be a Buddhist record, beginning with the words *siddham namo*. There is a strong Buddhist tradition⁴ which would have us believe that Śrī Yajña was a patron of Ācārya Nāgārjuna, the renowned exponent of Mahāyāna Buddhism. There is practically little positive evidence in support of the view that Śrī Yajña was a *Somayāji*.⁵ No one else among the Sātavāhana kings — excepting the above two — is ever associated by either

archaeological or literary evidence with the performance of any Vedic sacrifice. As the names ⁶ of most of the later Sātavāhanas would indicate they were devoted to the worship of either Śiva or Viśṇu. The name itself, more so were it a title, re-inforced by "Yajnā" applied to Sri Yajña in the Chinnaganjam record is sufficiently positive to prove him as a Somayaji. His name could not be any less indicative of his affiliations than the names of the later Sātavāhanas.

But in his recent paper on the Sātavāhana Coins,⁷ Mr. I. Kartikeya Sarma expressed the view that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The assumption of Mr. Sarma appears to have been based mainly on the horse type coins of Gautamīputra. He writes: "Gautamīputra performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice and issued the unique horse type coins which was especially under circulation in coastal Āndhra."⁸ He seems to derive further support to his theory from the Nāsik inscription of Pulomāvi's time⁹ issued by Gautamīputra's mother Bāla Śrī which describes Gautamīputra as *digvijayi* and as a proud champion of Brāhmanism (*Ekabrāhmaṇa*).

A careful study of the available materials would only show that neither the evidence of inscriptions nor that of coins is in favour of Mr. Sarma's conclusion. There are a few inscriptions ¹⁰ of Gautamīputra's reign but none of them makes even the slightest reference to his Aśvamedha. More important is the above mentioned Nāsik record of his son's reign and it is rightly described as the funeral oration of a disconsolate mother. It gives a vivid pen-picture of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The mother consoles herself by recollecting the great and noble qualities of her deceased son and by proclaiming to the world his accomplishments and achievements. He was described as a conquerer of great distinction, who having extinguished the Power of the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas and Kṣaharāṭhas extended his empire between the three seas. He was a profound scholar in the *āgamas* and a stout champion of Brāhmanism. But it is highly interesting that the inscription is totally silent about the Aśvamedha attributed by Mr. Sarma to Gautamīputra. Performance of Aśvamedha was considered as a proud occasion to be acclaimed and widely publicised. None of the Aśvamedhins ever shunned publi-

city for his Aṣvamedha and even the entire dynasty used to take credit for its performance by one of their illustrious ancestors.¹¹ Earlier, Nāganikā vividly described the Aṣvamedha and other sacrifices of her husband, Sātakarṇi I. Later Śrī Chāntamūla of the Ikṣvaku family was hailed by his descendents as an Aṣvamedhi.¹² But the fact that the very inscription which poured in eloquence so many encomiums on Gautamīputra as *digvijayi ekabrāhmaṇa* is silent about his Aṣvamedha only indicates that he did not undertake to perform any such sacrifice.

The military achievements of Goutamīputra, no doubt, deserved to be celebrated with the performance of one or more horse sacrifices. But Goutamīputra's abstention, as clearly revealed by the Nāśik record, might largely be due to the radical transformation which Brāhmanism had undergone by his time. Goutamīputra appears as a typical representative of the newly developed neo-Brāhmanism. With a view to meet the challenge of the heterodox religions, Buddhism and Jainism and to absorb the foreign races like the Greeks and śakas into its own socio-religious system, Brāhmanism made compromises with the Bhāgavata system and gradually developed into Purāṇic theism. The writer wrongly equates Brahmanism with ritualism. This vitiates his views on his "Neo-Brahmanism" and "Purāṇic theism." The latter or the neo-Brāhmanism laid emphasis on *dāna*, *vrata*, *kṣetra* and *bhakti*, upholding at the same time the caste system with the privileged position of the Brāhmin. As already observed, the Nānaghat inscription of Nāganikā is the earliest epigraphical evidence of the compromise and by the time of Gautamīputra, as evidenced by the Nāśik record, the neo-Brāhmanism made considerable progress. If Nāganikā took pride for having participated in the numerous sacrifices of her husband, Bāla Śrī calls herself as *tapo-dama niyama upavāsa tātparyāyā* and takes pride in being a *rājarṣi-vadhū*. This shows that importance came to be shifted from the performance of vedic rituals to the practice of ethical virtues. Are Vrata, Tapa, Kṣetra and Bhakti ethical virtues? The Kṣaharāṭha inscriptions¹³, which come in point of time between the above two records indicate how faith in *dāna* and *kṣetra* was assiduously cultivated and developed. They further show that the Purāṇic theism has more than vindicated its emergence by successfully weaning away

the foreign races from the attraction of the heterodox religions and by absorbing them into the Brāhmanical fold. The many *kṣetras* visited by Dakṣamitrā, the daughter of Nahapāṇa and her husband Uṣavadāta and the various *dānas* they made reveal the anxiety of the Brāhmanists to develop Purāṇic theism in preference to Vedic ritualism. The *Gāthāsaptasatī*, the core of which belongs to the same age, also reveals a similar tendency. The work appears to be a typical product of the age in which a synthesis of diverse religious practices was attempted under the hegemony of the Brāhmanical priests and was sanctioned by a large quantity of theological literature. The *Saptasatī* almost overlooked both Vedic ritualism and Buddhism. In spite of the fact that Buddhism was popular at that time with large and powerful sections of people in the Deccan, only a single *gāthā*¹⁴, out of seven hundred, makes reference to the Buddha. No better treatment was accorded to Vedic rituals as only one *gāthā*¹⁵ records a passing note of sacrificial fire. On the other hand, there are in the work numerous *gāthās* with epic or Purāṇic themes. The mention in the Nāśik record of epic and Purāṇic heroes such as Rāma (Balarāma), Keśava (Kṛṣṇa or Vāsudeva), Arjuna, Bhīma, Nahuṣa, Nābhāga, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, Rāma (the hero of Rāmāyaṇa) and Ambarīṣa is a clear proof of the enormous growth of Purāṇic literature as an authority on neo-Brāhmanism by the time of Gautamīputra and its wide popularity. The description of Gautamīputra as *vinivartita caturvarṇa samkara, dvijavara kuṭumba vivardhana, āgamānām nilaya and ekabrāhṇa* is quite consistent with the new religion. The term *āgamānām nilaya* may suggest the growth of the *āgamās* as a branch of Purāṇic literature which are essentially sectarian by being either śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite. The term *dvijavara kuṭumba vivardhana* may be taken to mean that like Kṣaharāṭha Uṣavadāta, whom he probably vanquished, Gautamīputra got many a Brāhmin youth married (*Kanyādāna*) and gifted to the new Brāhmin families thus arisen, land (*Bhūdāna*), cattle (*godāna*) and gold (*suvarna*).

The Nāśik record which compares him mostly with the Vaiṣṇava heroes of the epics and the conch and the *swastika* symbols¹⁶ of his coins suggest that Gautamīputra was more inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism, and that he was a Brāhmanist of the Bhāgavata type. It may

be recalled that Bhāgavatism originally developed as a reaction against the overgrowth of Vedic ritualism.

It may be added that Sātakarṇī's mother, Gautami Bala Śrī was favourably inclined towards Buddhism. As an obedient son who took delight in serving his mother (*avīpana mātu susūkasa*), he respected her religious beliefs and even joined her in making gifts to the Buddhist institutions.¹⁷

Further, Buddhism was popular with the rich merchant and artisan communities in the Deccan. As a ruler who was engaged constantly in wars and campaigns, Gautamīputra should have realised it prudent not to hurt the religious feelings of the powerful communities that constituted one of the main sources of state revenue. This may be interpreted as a deliberate attempt of Gautamīputra to build up the Brāhmin aristocracy, dependent upon agricultural economy, to counteract the influence of the commercial classes—merchants and artisans—who were predominantly Buddhist and it was probably for the same reason he was described as a unique champion of Brāhmanism. The King is said to build a landed Brahmanic aristocracy to counteract the influence of these communities. This attitude of Gautamīputra may reflect in the statement of Nāśik record that he shared the weal and woes of his subjects (*porajana niviseṣa sama sukha dukkhasa*).

Thus we learn from inscriptions, that Gautamīputra's personal faith was largely shaped by the socio-religious conditions of his times. His pro-vaiṣṇava piety, his respect as a faithful son to his mother's religious ideas and his statesmanship as a ruler not to hurt the religious feelings of the rich and powerful sections of his subjects should have prevented Sātakarṇī from celebrating his military achievements by performing Aśvamedha.

Even the evidence of numismatics, which is the main plank of Mr. Sharma's theory is not in his favour. In the first place, the view that the horse type of Gautamīputra is unique is not supported by facts. Gautamīputra was not the first or the only Sātavāhana king to issue the horse type. Among his successors,

Vāśiṣṭīputra Pulomāvi,¹⁸ Vāśiṣṭīputra Sātakarṇi,¹⁹ Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi²⁰ and Chandra Śrī²¹ issued the horse type. But it may be argued that these later Sātavāhanas imitated their illustrious predecessor Gautamīputra and prided over his achievement. However, these later Sātavāhana kings did not abandon the other Sātavāhana symbols such as the lion, the elephant and the so called *Caitya* and it only indicates that they did not attach any special significance to the horse symbol. Further it is to be noted that the horse symbol was not limited to Gautamīputra and his successors. Among the early Sātavahana kings Meghasvāti²² and Svāti²³ are also known to have issued coins with the horse symbol. The former is the tenth in the lists of the Purāṇic kings and the latter is his immediate successor.²⁴ Several horse type coins without any legend are also discovered²⁵ and they are generally attributed to the early kings of the dynasty.

Horse is the symbol or one of the constituents of royalty and the Sātavāhanas, right from the beginning of their rule adopted it on their coins. Gautamīputra used the horse along with other traditional Sātavahana symbols on his coins. There is nothing unique about his horse type coins which are almost similar to those of his predecessors or successors. Hence the horse type coins of Gautamīputra do not warrant the assumption that he performed *Aśvamedha* and issued them to commemorate that event.

More convincing evidence against the theory of Mr. Sarma is supplied by a coin of Sātakarṇi I which has been recently discovered.²⁶ It is a circular silver coin found at Junnar in the Poona district. This is indeed a unique coin as it conforms to what may be called the *Aśvamedha* type. It may be added that so far the coin is the first of its kind in the history of Indian numismatics.

The coin contains on the obverse the legend *rāmno siri Sata (ka)* and below it in an oblong enclosure the legend *Nāganika* and the figure of a horse to the left of the legends. On the reverse it has the Ujjain symbol with *swastika* in each of its orbs. To the left of the Ujjain symbol there is a spear-like object, representing the *sūcī* which according to the Texts, the queen uses in piercing the body of the sacrificial horse.

This coin compares well with the Aśvamedha coin of Samudragupta (c A.D. 350), though the latter is in gold, artistically better executed and contains more ritualistic details.²⁷ Commenting on Samudragupta's coin, R. K. Mookerji observes that its inspiration was indigenous²⁸ and we may not be wrong in stating that it was supplied by the above coin of Sātakarṇi. It is rightly remarked that Samudragupta during his *digvijaya* campaign saw the coin of Sātakarṇi I and adopted the idea in his own Aśvamedha Coins.²⁹

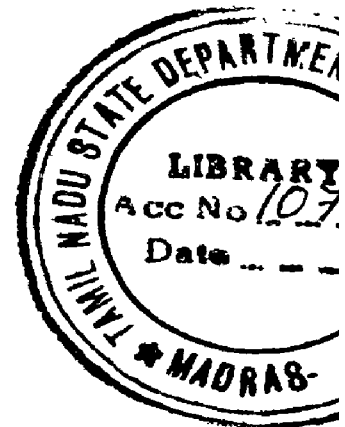
This Aśvamedha Coin of Sātakarṇi-Nāganikā sets at rest many a controversy in their history with which we are not concerned here. For the present, it may be said that Sātakarṇi I had set the pattern for the Aśvamedha type coins which was followed even as late as the 4th century A.D. by Samudragupta. It follows that if Gautamīputra really celebrated Aśvamedha and issued coins to mark the occasion he would have certainly adopted the coin of his illustrious predecessor as his model. The queen who plays a prominent part in the sacrifice and the *sūcī* with which she works on the occasion are prominently depicted on the coins of both Sātakarṇi and Samudragupta, but they are quite conspicuous by their absence on the horse coins of Gautamīputra. Therefore it is clear that the coins of Gautamīputra do not conform to the Aśvamedha type and the inevitable conclusion is that they were not issued to commemorate horse sacrifice. On the basis of the doubtful evidence of such coins it is not reasonable to argue that Gautamīputra performed horse sacrifice.

We may therefore conclude that the evidence of inscriptions and numismatics and the evidence of the contemporary socio-religious developments as gleaned from literature and inscriptions do not warrant the view that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi performed Aśvamedha.

R E F E R E N C E S

1. Nānaghaḥ Inscription of Nāganikā, *Select Inscriptions*, I, P. 184.
2. *E.I.*, I, pp. 95-96.
3. 'Buddhist Antiquities recently discovered at Uppugundur', B.S.L. Hanumatha Rao, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1957*, pp. 75-78. The antiquities are found in a mound situated between the villages of Uppugundur and Chinnaganjam.
4. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, '*Foreign Notices of South India*' p. 97.
5. J.K. Sarma's paper entitled 'Fresh Light on the History of the Satavahanas', *Itihas*, III, 1, p. 8.
6. We come across names like śivaīrī. śivasvāti, śivakkanda and Kṛṣṇa.
7. I. K. Sarma, 'Regional Distribution, Sequence, Chronology and Historical Significance of the Satavahana Coinage', (*Satavahana Coinage*) presented at a Numismatic Seminar held by the Nagapur University in Nov. 1970 (Nagapur University 1972)
8. Ibid.
9. *E.I.*, VIII, Nasik, No. 2.
10. Ibid. Nos. 4, 8, and 10.
11. Though Pulakesin I was the only member of the Cālukyan dynasty who is known to have performed Aśvamedha, his successors described themselves as "Aśvamedhāvabhṛtasnāna pavitrīkṛata vapuṣām.
12. *E.I.*, XX NKD. Ins. B2.E, C2, H etc.
13. *Select Inscriptions* I. pp. 157-166.
14. IV, 8.
15. III, 27.
16. *Satavahana Coinage*.

17. *E.I.*, VIII, Nasik No. 5.
18. *J.D.H.C.* II, 2, p. 80; *J.N.S.I.*, XXII, p. 164.
19. *J.D.H.C.* II, 2, p. 75; *I.A.*, XI, p. 173.
20. *J.N.S.I.* XVII.p.257. pl. XI, No. 7.
21. *J.N.S.I.*, XXII, p. 164; *J.D.H.C.* II. 2. No. 9.
22. *British Museum Catalogue*, p. 28.
23. M. Ramarao, *Select Satavahana Coins in the APG. M. No. 99.*
24. Yazdani (Ed) *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 112.
25. *J.N.S.I.* VIII, p. 7.
26. *Ibid*, XXXVIII, (1976) pt. 7, pp. 6-11.
27. A.S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 61-69.
28. *The Gupta Empire*, p. 36.
29. *J.N.S.I.*, XXXVIII, pt. 7, pp. 6-11.



INVESTIGATION INTO THE ACHEULIAN PHASE OF PALERU VALLEY—PRAKASAM DISTRICT

V. V. Madhusudhana Rao

Paleru is one of the important rivers of Coastal Andhra. The valley lies between $15^{\circ} 15'$ and $15^{\circ} 30'$ N. latitude and $79^{\circ} 15'$ and $80^{\circ} 5'$ E. longitude. The river originates in the Velikonda hills near the village Rallapalle on the eastern flanks of the hills at an altitude of 180 meters above the sea level. It drains through Kanigiri and Kandukur taluks and flows directly into the Bay of Bengal after an easterly course of 112 km. The valley floor slopes down gently from west to east and hence the eastward drainage system of the river. The landscape has a smooth profile.

Two of its major tributaries Mekeru and Narellavagu, the former originating in the Podili hills, flow into the river. Besides these major tributaries, several seasonal rivulets (July to October) about one meter deep and 5 to 10 meters across drain the monsoonal flow into the river. The area receives an average rainfall nearly 740 m.m. and is covered with thorn, scrub-forest.

The writer has undertaken intensive Archaeological Investigations with a view to explore and locate prehistoric sites in the valley as a part of his doctoral work. In the course of this surface survey a large number of sites ranging from lower to upper palaeolithic (many of these in primary context) have been discovered indicating that the Paleru valley formed a favourable habitat of Early Man in Prehistoric times.

The Stone Age sites are located on the gravel fans emanating from the adjoining hills composing Cuddapah conglomerates and other sedimentary rocks. The gravels are composed of a variety of pebbles

of different quartzites, the most common being the red and light yellow and green varieties. Besides, there is a considerable proportion of pebbles of vein quartz and less of granite and metamorphic types.

The Acheulian industry characterising the lower palaeolithic is made on reddish and light yellow coloured quartzites and to a lesser extent on quartz. The tools are mainly made out of waterworn pebbles and from the flakes detached from them. Some of the tools appear to have been worn out or weathered due to association with reddish clay. Otherwise the tools are not rolled or abraded. The Acheulian industry hails from the gravel conglomerates resting on the rock and is topped by a thin red silt (Fig. No. 2). When the location of the sites is checked in relation to their immediate environment, it may be pointed out that most of the sites were close to water sources (Fig. No. 3). During this period man depended on hunting, and gathering and the vicinity of the sites undoubtedly abounded in game and edible plants of the 13 Acheulian-type sites (Fig. No. 1) explored so far the material culture represented from three sites is presented in this paper. In general, there is a strong homogeneity in the physical condition of the tools, the raw materials used, in their dimensions and in the technique of manufacture. Interestingly their forms are more or less alike. All these features are indicative of one assemblage representing a single cultural tradition. Hence the material from these three sites are treated as such for the purpose of this article. The sites and typewise distribution of artifacts are given in table No. 1.

TYOLOGY AND TECHNOLOGY

Three main, or primary classes of artifacts are recognized.

(1) Shaped tools, (2) Utilized pieces and (3) Waste.

1. Shaped tools :

According to M. R. Kleindienst (1962) Handaxes, cleavers and knives are all large shaped implements characterized by cutting edges, their general form being controlled by a primary linear rock mass, usually a large struck flake.

a) **Handaxes :** (107 specimens, Fig. No. 4 and 5)

These constitute the largest shaped tool category in the collection. The majority of the handaxes are made on flakes or split pebbles and a few on quartz pebbles and chunks. Most of the handaxes exhibit careful and exact flaking. The shapes are remarkably symmetrical. The flake scars are regular, flat and shallow. The marginal retouch is very fine; in many specimens the edges are remarkably straight, free from sinuosity, forming an almost straight line. Some of the handaxes show stepped scars of careful secondary trimming. The technique was so much mastered that the most obstinate raw material like quartz has been dressed into some of the beautiful handaxes. Particular mention may be made of a flake made oval handaxe which was beautifully fashioned and is a rare specimen of its kind.

The handaxes are usually flaked all around although in several specimens part of the cortex has been retained on a portion of the ventral surface, usually at the base near it. But this does not impair the accomplished plan form of the handaxe. Further it may be assumed that the retaining of the cortex was done intentionally which served to facilitate grasping of the tool, as all the other parts of it are carefully worked. In plan form 42 specimens belong to ovate category, 18 to lanceolate category, 14 to cordate category, 12 to triangular, 9 pear shaped, 6 discoidal 4 to limande and the other two double-pointed. The working edge shows prominent use marks in majority of the specimens. The transverse cross section is plane-convex, biconvex, oval and triangular.

Some metrical analysis of handaxes were carried out for determining an index of refinement using the ratio of thickness/breadth (T/B) after Roe (1964, 68). He considered this as a more convenient ratio than thickness over length because where implements are broken, length is the measurement most often effected by the damage. According to him a high value of T/B show unrefined forms. He has however, further stated that the refinement could not be allowed to depend solely on index T/B as sometimes it gives misleading high values. To avoid this confusion he has determined the index T1/L

where T1 is the thickness at a point one fifth distance of L (length) from the tip. The collection under study gives some what low values of T/B (0.415) thus suggesting more refined forms as the tools are thin with shallow flaking.

b) Cleavers : (26 specimens, Fig. No. 6)

Except for 3 specimens made on angular blocks, all are fashioned on flakes-8 on side-struck flakes, 6 on end-struck flakes, 4 on obliquely struck-flakes and the rest on indeterminate flakes. Usually the cutting edge (often called the bit) is formed by the intersection of the lower face with a large flake scar on the upper face. In a few specimens, the cutting edge is shaped by small flake-scars, perpendicular to the cutting edge. In one specimen both the dorsal and ventral surfaces are beautifully worked with shallow, skimming scars. Generally the flake-scars are small. To regularize the shape of the cleavers some of them are subjected to trimming on both longitudinal margins which proceeds in a step-like fashion.

In plan view 5 specimens are parallel-sided, where the side edges are essentially straight and parallel to the implements long axis. 4 specimens have convergent margins, where the cleaver edge is narrow, and side edge converge to meet it from a low point of maximum breadth and 17 specimens have divergent margins, where the side edges diverge from the base to accommodate a wide cleaver edge. To adopt Roe's terminology the base is squared in 4 specimens pointed in 6 specimens, rounded in 12 specimens and truncated convergent base in 4 specimens. The working edge is straight i. e., more or less perpendicular to the long axis of the artifact in 10 specimens, convex in 9 specimens concave in 3 specimens, gouge like in one specimen, guillotine in 2 specimens and broken in yet one specimen.

c) Knives : (22 specimens, Fig. No. 7)

These are shaped cutting tools, most often bifacially worked and usually of medium to large size. In most cases they are generally handaxe like but have characteristic feature of "backing" (artificial or natural bluntness) along the major part of one long edge, or sometimes the whole of it. The knives have pointed or irregularly rounded

or squared tips, which are flat if the backing does not reach them; the butts may be worked or unworked. 8 specimens from this collection show natural backing of the butt and the remaining 14 specimens show that butt is obtained by intensional flaking from the ventral surface. The working edge is naturally formed in 6 specimens and the remaining 16 specimens show unifacial trimming. The shape is either convex (10 specimens) or straight (12 specimens). In overall form, 14 specimens are pointed, and the rest have parallel margin with convex or squared ends. The transverse cross section is triangular or varied.

d) Choppers : (18 specimens)

6 specimens are made from blocks of quartzite and the rest on sub-angular pebbles and cobbles. Mrs. Leakey (1971, p. 4) has distinguished 5 types of choppers, viz , side, end, double-sided, pointed and chisel-edged choppers. The present collection includes 8-side category, 5-end category, 4 double sided and one pointed. The working edge is flaked bifacially in 7 specimens and the rest have unifacially worked edges.

e) Discs : (32 specimens, Fig. No. 8)

These from an interesting element in the Acheulian collection from the Paleru valley and form the second largest type of the assemblage. These are characterized by neat radial bifacial flaking and vary in diameter. A few of them were made on quartz. 18 specimens were plano-convex, with flat under surfaces and relatively high backs. 14 specimens are biconvex in cross-section. Most of the specimens are usually well made and symmetrical, with regular and evenly spaced radial trimming scars and a series of crush notches on the circumference, forming a denticulated edge.

f) Scrapers : (26 specimens, Fig. No. 7)

7 specimens are made on chunks, 14 on flakes and 5 on cores. In secondary working and regularity of shape these artifacts are beautifully fashioned and resemble the scrapers of the middle

palaeolithic industry, from the valley. 18 are side scrapers (including 4 double side-scrapers) and the remaining 8 are end scrapers. The working edge is straight in 12 specimens, convex in 8 specimens and concave in 6 specimens. 14 are heavy duty tools i. e., those exceeding more than 4" in greatest length and the rest are light duty tools.

2) Utilized pieces :

a) Hammer stone : (1 specimen, Fig. No. 9)

The only specimen is made on a rounded quartz pebble. The whole of the periphery show unmistakable marks of battering and crushing, which has sometimes resulted in the detachment of splinters and flakelets.

b) Utilized flakes : (8 specimens)

These artifacts show scarring and bruising along the edges, which might have resulted from their use in cutting, scraping and such other operations. Three specimens are end-struck, two are side-struck and the rest are indeterminate pieces. The shapes are varied : squarish, triangular, parallel-sided or irregular.

3) Waste :

These constitute the debitage and belong to the following four types :

1) Cores	6 specimens
2) Indeterminately worked nuclei	... 8 specimens
3) Flakes	16 specimens
4) Waste products	... 38 specimens

Conclusion :

The occurrence of handaxes, cleavers, and knives (forming nearly 65% of the shaped tools) as the principal types and the lower

percentage of the choppers places the Acheulian character of the assemblage beyond doubt. Further the low values of T/B index for refinement and the extensive use of soft hammer technique and the miniature size of the tools would prompt to ascribe the present industry to the Upper Acheulian (or Late Acheulian). Viewed from purely techno-typological point of view, the present industry resembles those evolved Acheulian industries from Gangapur in Maharashtra (Sankalia, 1952), Renigunta region in Andhra Pradesh (Murty, 1966).

Secondly, the presence of a hammer stone in the collection strengthens the view that the sites are in primary archaeological context and possibly some of them are factory-cum-living sites.

Thirdly, tools made on quartz are relatively rare in the lower palaeolithic of the Indian Sub-continent and Acheulian collection from the valley is unique in this respect. Quartz is an uncertain and refractory material to handle, and handaxes in the country while abundant on other material are rare in quartz.

Lastly, at Pedda Alavalapadu, Agraharam and Muppalla the Paleru river cliff-sections (Fig No. 10) showed an implementiferous conglomerate gravel bed resting on the rock clearly indicate the sinking gradient of the river bed. The geomorphological features in this valley show that the gradient of the river had undergone changes during the Stone Age. An interesting evidence of ancient sea level is available near the village Vaviletipadu situated at an altitude of about 8 m. above the present sea level. Here the coastal sand dunes are seen around the village. These fluctuations seem to be related to changes in land and sea relationship in this part of the coast during Quaternary.

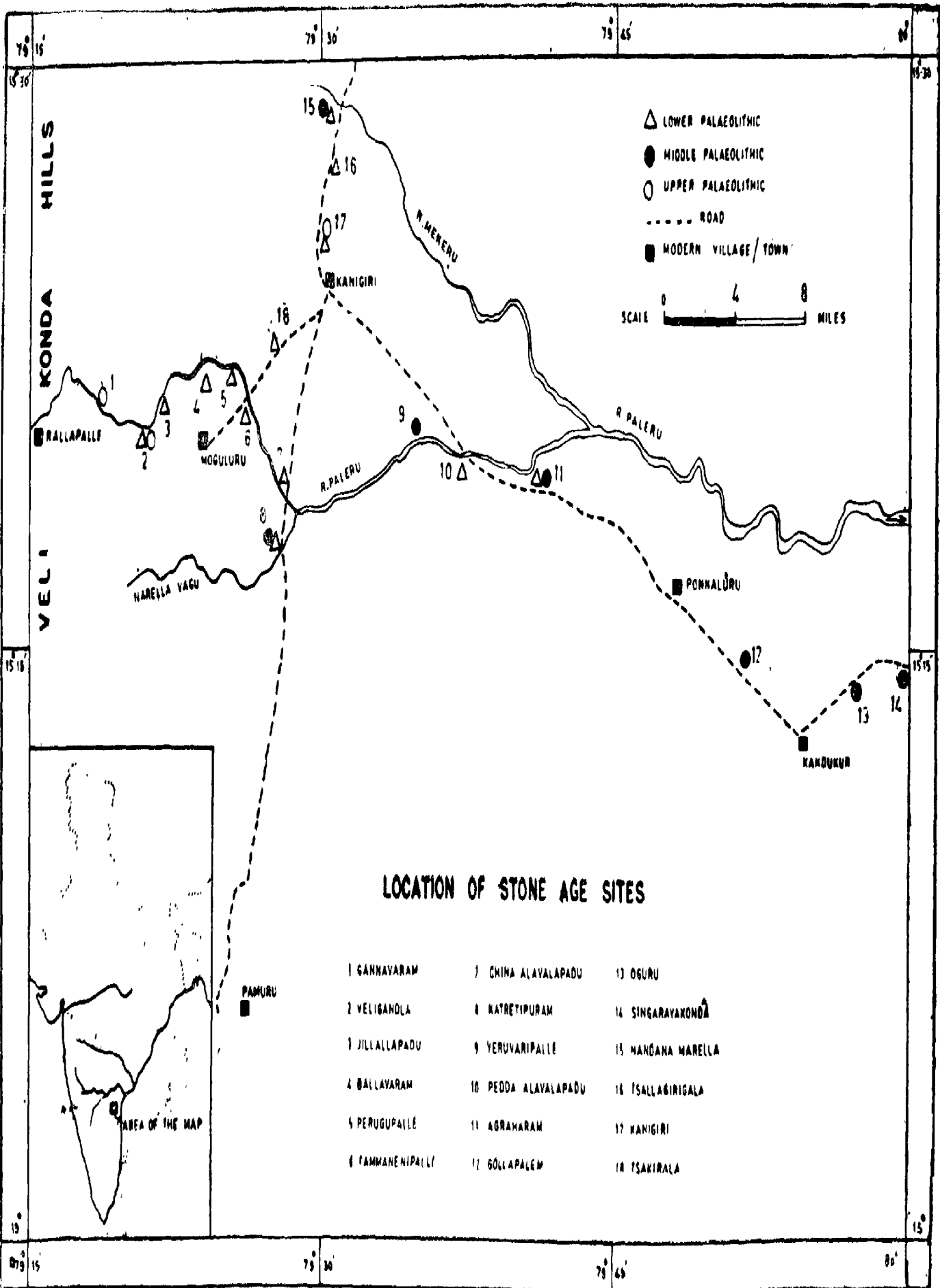
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TABLE—I

Site and typewise distribution of Artifacts :

A—shaped tools	Tammaneni- palle	Katreti- puram	Agraharam	Total
1. Handaxes	42	36	29	107
2. Cleavers	12	11	3	26
3. Knives	8	12	2	22
4. Choppers	8	6	4	18
5. Discs	14	12	6	32
6. Scrapers	12	10	4	26
 B—Utilized pieces				
1. Hammer stone	1	—	—	1
2. Utilized flakes	4	3	1	8
 C—Waste				
1. Cores	4	1	1	6
2. Indeterminately worked nuclei	5	2	1	8
3. Flakes	10	5	1	16
4. Waste products	20	14	4	38
Total	140	112	56	308



LOCATION OF STONE AGE SITES

- | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1 GANNAYARAM | 7 GHINA ALAYALAPADU | 13 OGURU |
| 2 VELIGANOLA | 8 NATRETIPURAM | 14 SINGARAYAKONDA |
| 3 JILLALLAPADU | 9 YERUVARIPALLE | 15 MAHOANA MARELLA |
| 4 BALLAYARAM | 10 PEDDA ALAYALAPADU | 16 PSALLAGIRIGALA |
| 5 PERUGUPALLE | 11 AGRAHARAM | 17 KANIGIRI |
| 6 PAMMANENIPALLI | 12 GOLLAPALEM | 18 PSAKIRALA |

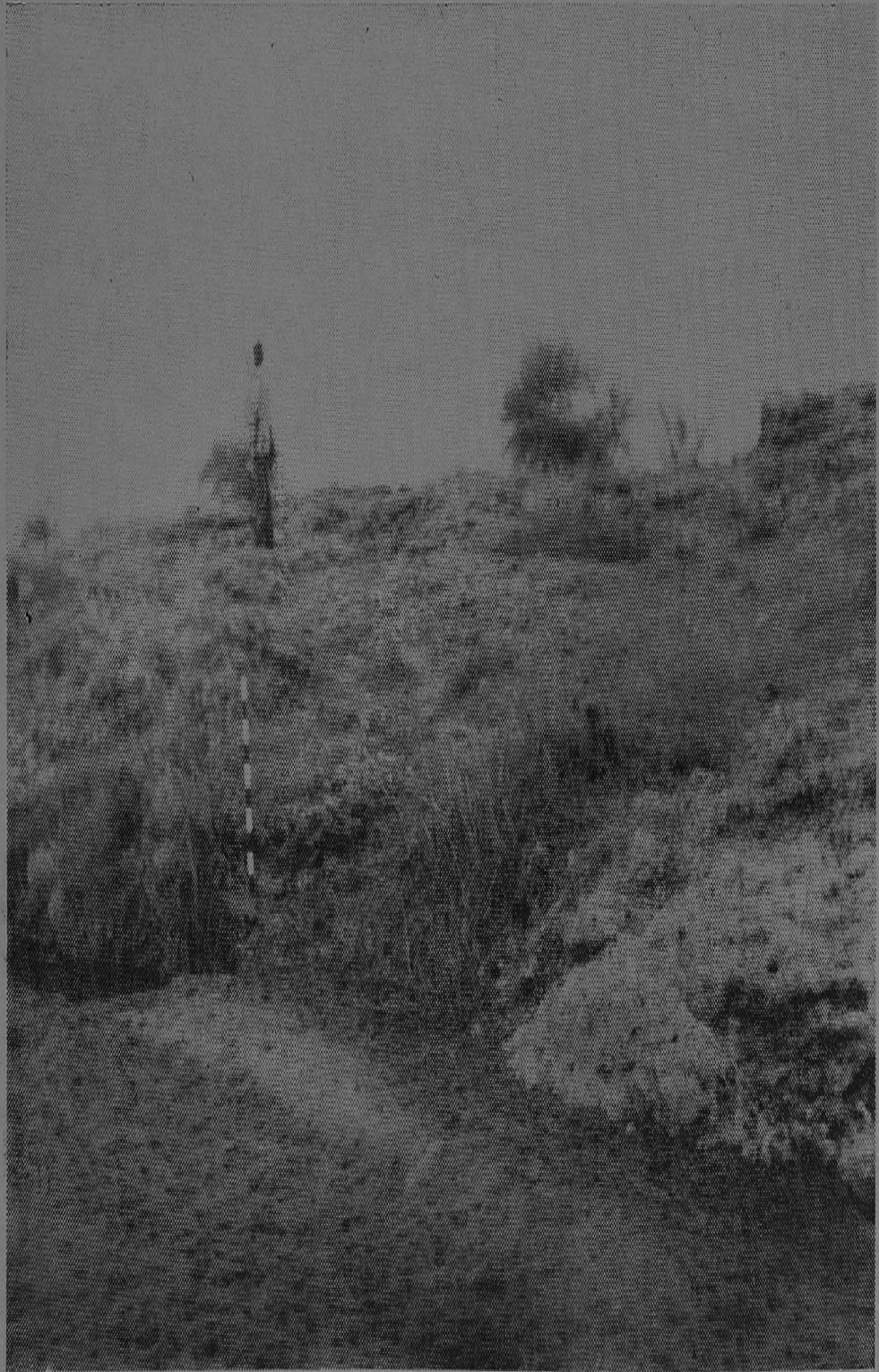


Fig. No 2

IMPLEMENTIFEROUS LOCALITY AT AGRAHARAM

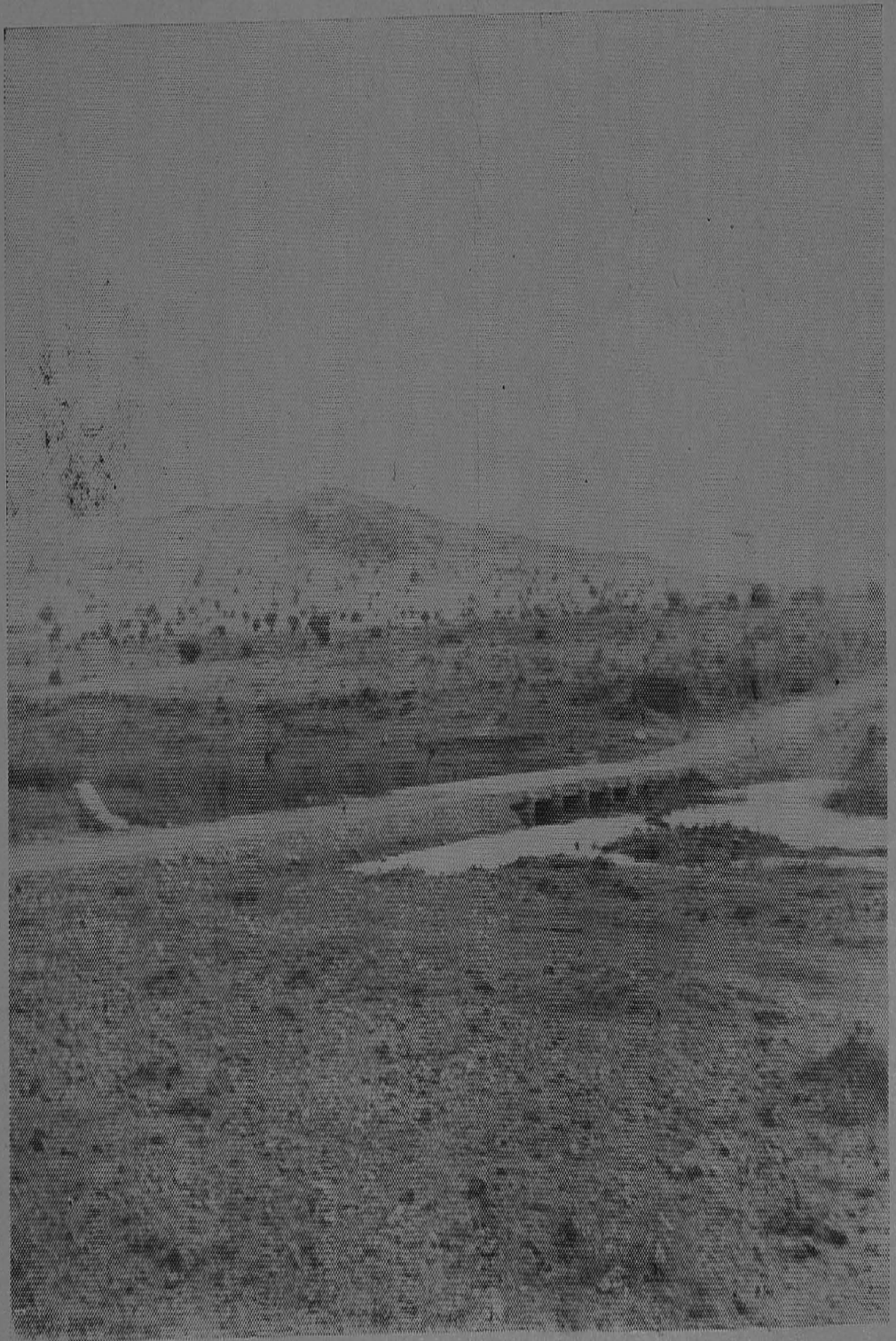


Fig. No. 3  OPEN — AIR LIVING SITE AT TAMMANENIPALLE



Fig. No. 4

QUARTZ HANDAXE

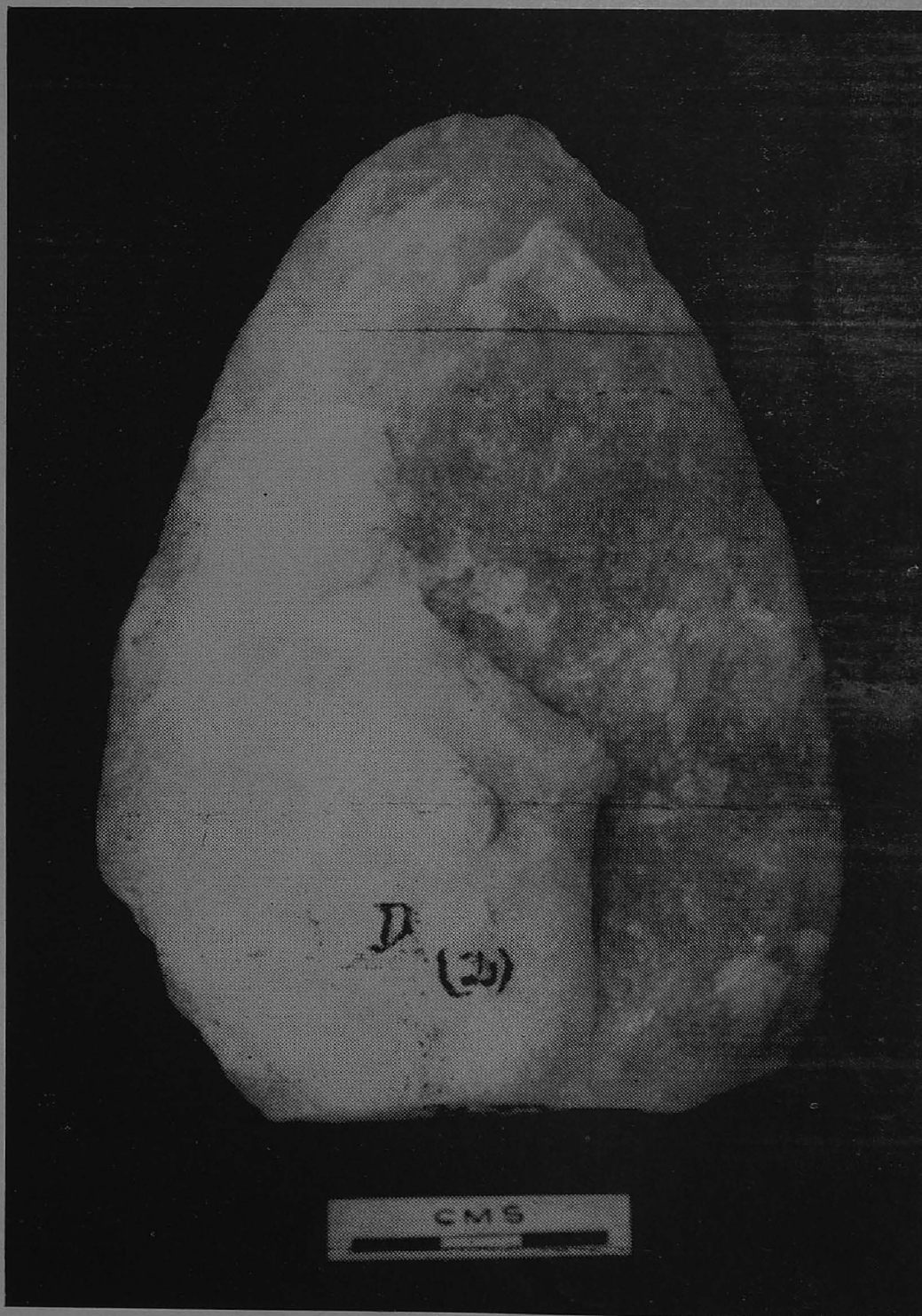


Fig. No. 5

QUARTZ HANDAXE



Fig. No. 6

PARALLEL SIDED CLEAVER

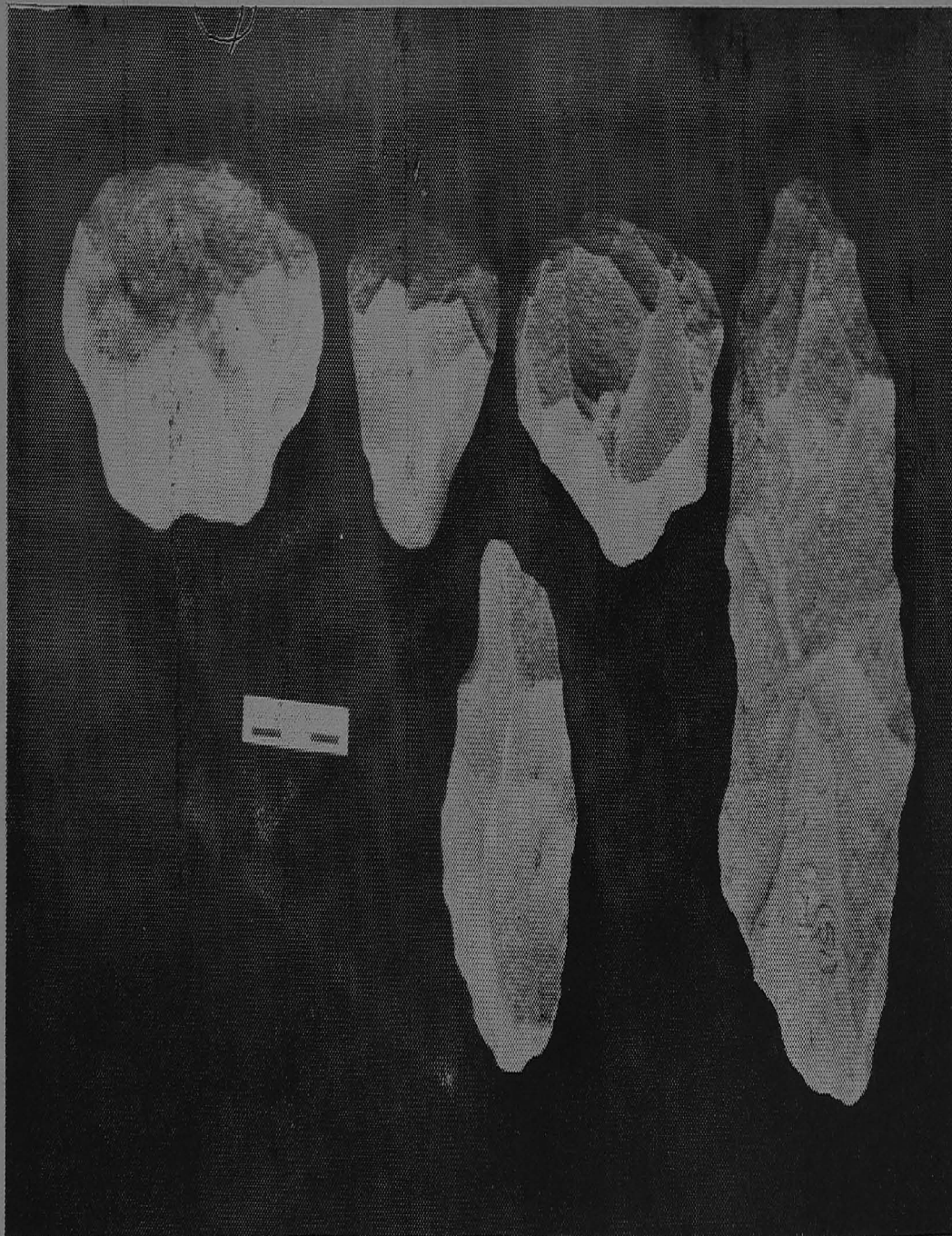


Fig. No. 7

KNIVES & SCRAPERS



Fig. No. 8

DISCS, CHOPPER & CLEAVER

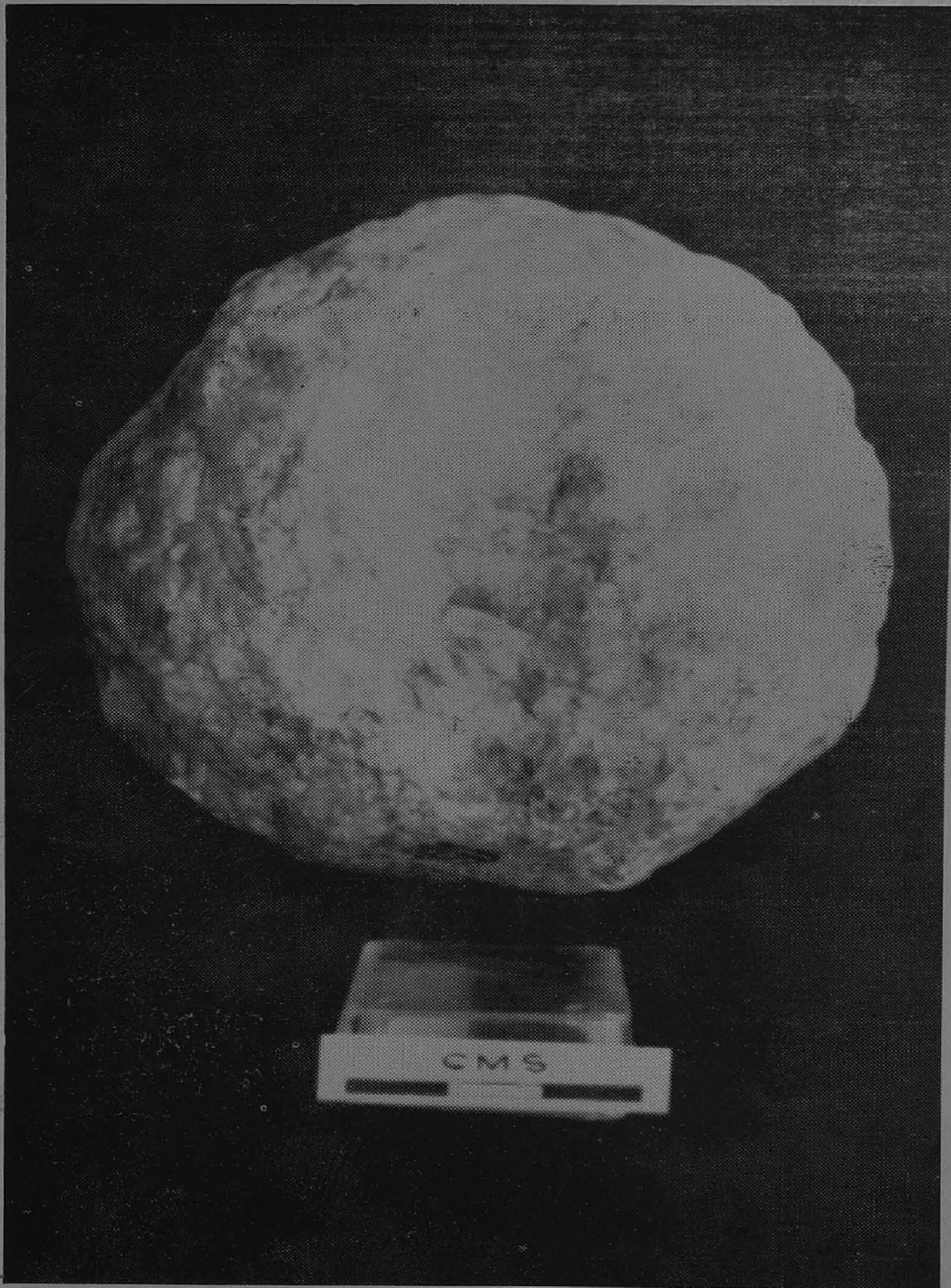


Fig. No. 9

HAMMERSTONE (Quartz)

LONGITUDINAL PROFILE OF RIVER PALERU (ANDHRA PRADESH)

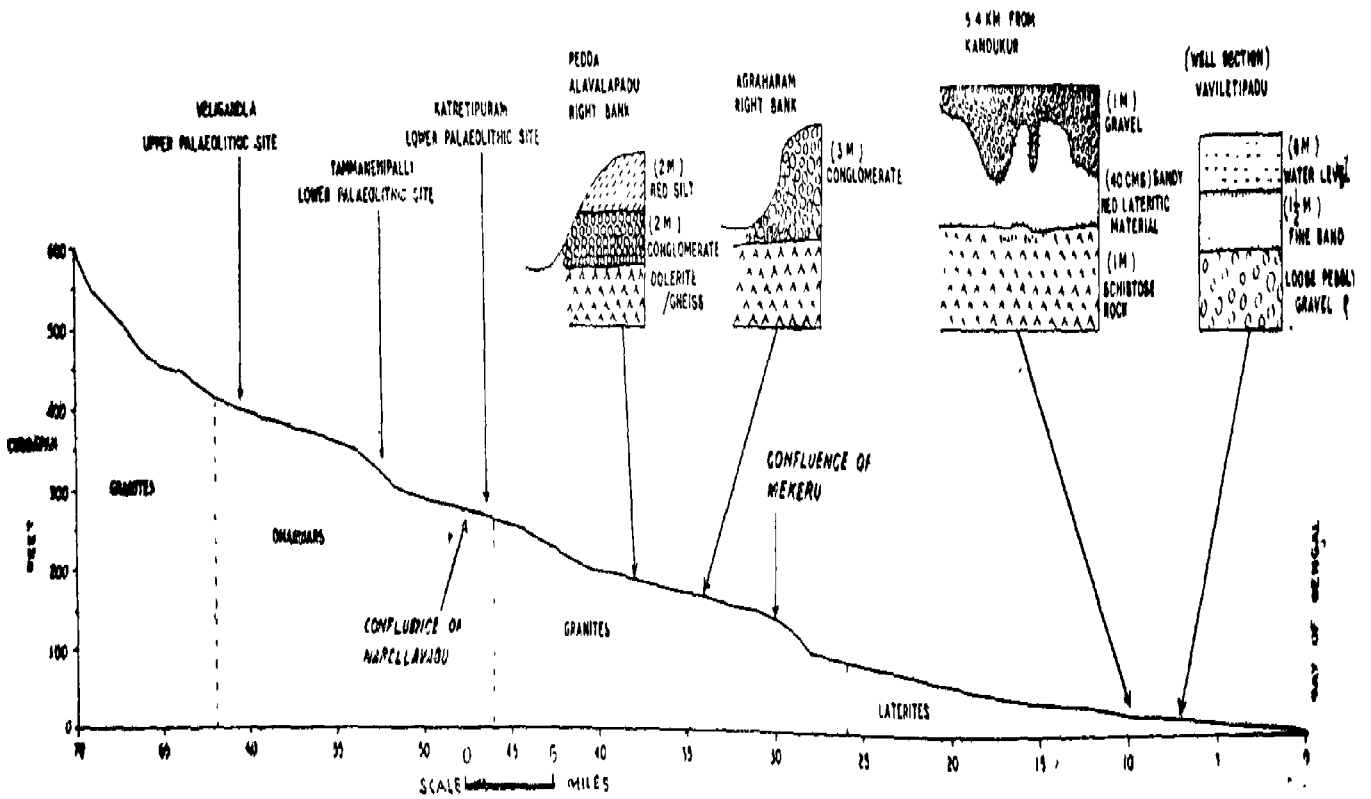


Fig. No. 10

BADA MAHARAJA PRITHVI NARAYAN SHAH OF NEPAL : A RE-APPRAISAL

Asha Mishra

The story of Maharaja Prithvi Narayan Shah is the story of the emergence of Nepal in Modern times out of the Shell of medieval times. In the 12th century as the result of the Muslim invasion, several branches of the reigning dynasty of Udaipur (Modern Rajasthan) left their ancestral areas, and one branch of the family settled at Palpa on the hills in Western Nepal. They conquered Gorkha in course of time and derived the name of Gorkhali. The name Gorkha has been derived from the name of the Patron saint - Shri Gorakh Nath. The principality of Gorkha was situated on the north-eastern portion of the basin of the Gandak. It included the whole tract of the area lying between the Marsiangdi and the Trisulgunga river.¹ The term Gorkha is not limited to any particular class or caste. It is applied to all those whose ancestors inhabited the region of Gorkha and who from it, as a fatherland, subsequently extended their conquests far and wide over the eastern and western hills.

Nepal is the name originally applied to the valley of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. The valley is not only the political and administrative centre of the kingdom of Nepal even today, but it is Nepal in the sense that the inhabitants of the surrounding mountainous region refer to the entire valley as Nepal. The Malla dynasty ruled Nepal from 1200 to 1768 A.D. The kingdom of Nepal was divided by Yaksamalla in 1472 into three parts² — Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon. Kritipur and Thankote were under the suzerainty of Patan. The division of authority started the process of disintegration of the kingdom of Nepal. The jurisdiction of the three principalities extended beyond the confines of the actual valley itself as far as the

Dudh Kosi river in the east and the river Trisulganga to the west. The principality of Gorkha lay on the west. To the west of Gorkha and extending as far as the Kali river, the country was divided into 46 principalities, each under a separate ruler. All these principalities were nominally tributary to the Raja of Jumla.³

There were twenty-two principalities called the Baisi in the basin of the Kali and twenty-four known as the Chau Bisi situated in the Sapta Gandaki region which were independent of the government of the valley. All these principalities paid tribute to the Raja of Jumla. The tribute was often only nominal which consisted of fish but it was offered to him as a mark of homage⁴ and as the head of the state. Palpa, Tanhouns and Lamjung were the principal principalities of the Chau Bisi. Jumla was the largest and the most powerful principality of the Baisi. The Sen Rajputs originally came from Chitor and established their authority over Palpa, Tanhoun and Muckwanpur.

The principality of Gorkha was conquered by Dravya Shah⁵, the son of the Raja of Lamjung in 1559. In 1716 Narbhupal Shah became the ruler of Gorkha. He decided to conquer the valley of Kathmandu. But he could not do so. He died in 1742 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Prithvi Narayan Shah⁶ who ascended the throne at the age of 12. His small principality was quite insignificant and his capital was a borough of eight to ten thousand souls at about 60 miles from Kathmandu.

Prithivi Narayan Shah was a crafty politician,⁷ a valiant soldier and a far-seeing tactician, cautious in the working out of his plans and stubborn in executing them. He was also a fierce and turbulent ruler devoted to war and plunder. To the most consummate cunning and want of faith, he added an inhuman cruelty. While still a young boy, he had an imperial instinct. He wanted to conquer the valley of Kathmandu. He reorganised his army and decided to occupy Nawakot. He proceeded towards Nawakot in 1748 and divided his army into two wings - one of which was kept at Gorkha and with the other he marched towards the east and arriving at Khehichet, encamped

there. He had a number of advisers and top military personnel with him. Kalahanda was his close adviser.

Prithvi Narayan's army remained stationed at Khehichet for sometime. One day Kalananda told Prithvi Narayan that any one putting a killa (a pin) into the Mahamandala⁸ of Nawakot would take possession of it. When no one came forward, he offered his own services saying: "You may blacken my face and turn me out of the country. Then pretending to be a victim of your oppression, I will defect to the enemy camp and accomplish the task." Accordingly, Kalananda was expelled from the Gorkha camp and cursing Prithvi Narayan Shah, he came to Nawakot. There he was well received. He narrated his concocted ill-treatment by the Raja of Gorkha, and on a fixed day finding an opportunity went into the Mahamandala (situated at the top of the mountain of Nawakot) and performed his task. At midnight he left Nawakot and after crossing the Trisulganga arrived in the Gorkha camp. He received from Prithvi Narayan Shah the village of Dhar Khurk as Birtha or Free land⁹, for this daring deed.

After sometime, on Saturday, according to the advice of Kalananda who had proclaimed the hour as fortunate, Prithvi Narayan Shah crossed the Trisulganga and encamped on the otherwise. He divided his army into two portions. A small force was kept to guard the encampment. One portion of the army was ordered to march by the route of Gorkha under the command of Chautria Dalmardan Shah and the second portion was sent via Dharmapani under the command of Chautria Kirti Mahodam Shah. After a bloody battle in the Mahamandala, Nawakot¹⁰ fell into the hands of the Gorkhas. After this conquest, he wanted to occupy the Asthan of Bhairava. Jayant Rana was the petty ruler of that place. He had taken shelter at the fort of Belkot. Prithvi Narayan attacked the fort. Jayant Rana was defeated, arrested and killed. The Saidha was occupied. The conquest of Saidha disturbed the ruler of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakash Malla. He sent Kasiram Thapa to oppose Prithvi Narayan Shah with a force of 8,000. The ruler of Gorkha

sent forces to fight Kasiram who was defeated and fled from the field of battle.

The ruler of Gorkha now became the ruler of Nawakot. These conquests made him more ambitious. He realised that without occupying Bhatgaon¹¹ it was difficult to move eastwards. Ranjit Malla was the ruler of Bhatgaon. He wanted to conquer Naldum and Mahadev Pakhari which belonged to Jaya Prakash Malla. Ranjit Malla was an intelligent man. Prithvi Narayan Shah was very tactful. He helped Ranjit Malla in the process of conquest. Ranjit Malla got Naldum and Prithvi Naryayn Shah retained Mahadev Pakhari.

Jaya Prakash Malla was unnerved at this event. At this time a rumour was circulated that all the Chau Bisi rulers would combine against Prithvi Narayan Shah. He joined hands with Ranjit Malla and recovered both the places which he had lost. Prithvi Narayan Shah then sent a force to occupy Dahchowk, which was under Jai Prakash Malla. It easily submitted. Then Naldhum was occupied. He also fought against the ruler of Parbat. Though the Raja of Parbat received help from Lamjung, he was defeated and the people of Lumjung were punished.

Prithivi Narayan Shah then decided to march towards the east. Ruder Sahi was appointed as the Commander of the forces and was sent towards Lamjung. He came to the conclusion that it was not an easy task to conquer Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon without collecting full information about the political system of the valley. So he sent Tularam Panda, Jay Kishan Thapa, Dev-Raj Kotwala, Ranjit Thapa, Bali Panth and others to Kathmandu on intelligent¹² service. But it was told that they were going to Kathmandu on a mission pretending peace. While they were secretly busy with their own business, the king was informed that they had not come on a mission of peace but to collect secret intelligence. The king ordered them to be imprisoned. Some of them were killed, one fled away from the police custody and some of them stayed there.

There had been friendly relations between Prithvi Narayan and Ranjit Malla. Ranjit Malla wrote a letter to Prithvi Narayan Shah

for his permission to re-occupy Naldum.¹³ But this was refused and a promise of Changu in place of Naldum was held out to him. This gratified Ranjit Malla who decided to send Pursuram Thapa at the head of an army to assist the Gorkhas in taking possession of Changu. Parsuram Thapa did not like that Changu should fall into the hands of Gorkha and Bhatgaon. So he informed Kathmandu and Patan about the proposed possession of Changu. Parsuram Thapa did not join the forces of Prithvi Narayan. Hence Prithvi Narayan Shah fought single-handed and sustained defeat. Prithvi Narayan Shah held Ranjit Malla responsible for this debacle. So he sent Kaji Kula Pandey with an army to meet Ranjit Malla at Palanchouk.¹⁴ But Ranjit Malla did not come at the fixed place. He doubted the sincerity of Prithvi Narayan Shah. This created differences between Gorkha and Bhatgaon.

Prithvi Narayan Shah was a hardy, ruthless military leader who knew how to exploit the weakness of the refined but rather degenerate Newars. Now he wanted to occupy Kirtipur (Town of Glory). It had a strategic importance and it was considered as the gateway to Nepal. Prithvi Narayan had a discussion with his advisers. Kala Pandey, Kulanana Jaisia and Hari Bans Upadhyia advised him to move cautiously. He was told that the rulers of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon would combine against him. So they forbade him to proceed in the matter. But he did not listen to them and ordered Kalu Pande to march to Kirtipur. It was his first attack on Kirtipur in 1757.¹⁵ The ruler of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakasa Malla, attacked the rear of the Gorkha army and the forces of Patan and Bhatgaon were in the front. In the bloody battle that followed prithvi Narayan's forces were defeated and he himself escaped miraculously. Kalu Pandey was killed. Prithvi Narayan took shelter at Nawakot. He was greatly demoralised. He remained silent for two years and then occupied Sivapuri hill, Palanchouk,¹⁶ Kabhraya and Chaukote in quick succession.

Prithvi Narayan Shah was not a man to be deterred by his failure. On the advice of Jaysram Thapa who had been offended by Jaya Prakash Malla, Prithvi Narayan Shah decided to occupy Muck-

wanpur. He had been married to the daughter of Hemakaran Sena, the Raja of Muckwanpur.¹⁷ At the time of marriage, Hemakarana had given a Chandrahara (a diamond necklace) to his daughter for the purpose of astonishing the Gorkhas, and after consulting his wife, he had decided not to send his daughter for two or three years as she was quite a child. On the pretext that he had not yet received the dowry (Diamond Necklace and Ekdente elephat) Prithvi Narayan Shah decided to attack Muckwanpur. He sent his Bharadars to Muchkwanpur and he demanded the articles of dowry. Digbandan Sen, his brother-in-law, refused it and with a haughty answer sent back Gorkha Bharadaras empty handed. At this turn of events Prithvi Narayan Shah decided to teach a lesson to Muckwanpur.¹⁸ He sent an army in 1762 against Muckwanpur under the command of Chautria Dalmardan Shah, Kaji Daljit Singh, Kaji Surpratap Shah and Kaji Bansraj Panth. The ruler of Muckwanpur was defeated and the royal family fled to Hariharpur. Prithvi Narayan's forces pursued Hem Karana Sen at Hariharpur and defeated him. He also occupied two tappas of Sumrach, Roteahut and Puchrukhi, ruled by Abdullah.

Next Prithvi Narayan had to fight against Mir Qasim's forces at Muckwanpur. The Nawab of Bengal had made Monghyr (in Bihar) his capital. He decided to attack Nepal in order to test the efficiency of his army. He came personally to Bettiah. Perhaps the king of Muckwanpur Digbandan Sen and his Minister Kanak Singh had fled to Bettiah and requested for help from Mir Qasim. So Mir Qasim sent forces under Gurghin Khan to attack Muckwanpur¹⁹. Prithvi Narayan Shah sent an army under Nandu to fight the enemy. The Nawab's forces were completely defeated and Prithvi Narayan's dominion was secure. He then conquered Dhulikhel, Chaukot and Pahauts. Jawalakhel was also occupied. The Chau Bisis were defeated by him. It was a great success and added to his prestige. In this way by 1764 Prithvi Narayan conquered Bahepa, Renichok and Penga.

These conquests encouraged Prithvi Narayan Shah to attack Kirtipur for the second time in 1765. It was an administrative zone of Patan. But as the king of Patan under whose jurisdiction lay

Kirtipur did not protest, Jai Prakash Malla, the king of Kathmandu organised resistance. Prithvi Narayan's forces were defeated and fled from the battlefield.²⁰ This second attempt to conquer Kirtipur also failed. However, he had made a full study of the political situation of the valley. There had been no friendly relations between Bhatgaon and Kathmahdu. Ranjit Malla, the ruler of Bhatgaon did not like Jai Prakasa Malla, of Kathmandu. So after his debacle at Kirtipur, the king of Gorkha came to the court of Ranjit Malla for shelter. It was a diplomatic move on his part. But Ranjit Malla could not understand that Prithvi Narayan wanted to achieve diplomatically what he had lost in the battle field. Ranjit Malla gave him shelter out of compassion. It was a herculean blunder on the part of Ranjit Malla to extend hospitality to Prithvi Narayan Shah. This ill-calculated step on the part of Ranjit Malla not only sealed his political fate permanently but the independence of the valley was eclipsed after sometime. Subsequently, he discovered his folly and planned to expel him from his kingdom. He concluded an alliance with Kathmandu and Patan. But Prithvi Narayan Shah was a great tactician and strategist. He adopted the policy of cutting off all supplies into the valley. He sent 2000 Brahmans for religious propaganda²¹ in the valley stirring up differences between the three principalities with liberal promises of rewards for those who lived with Gorkha.

Not satisfied with these steps, Prithvi Narayan Shah set up a blockade and posted his Gorkhas on each of the seven tracks into Nepal, with orders to hang every man, woman or child who approached with food, salt or cotton into the valley. He expected that this economic blockade would compel Kirtipur to submission. He also made friendship with several mountain chiefs. With their assistance he laid siege on the city of Kirtipur. With the help of Jai Prakash Malla the people of Kirtipur once again defeated Prithvi Narayan Shah. The economic blockade and the blunt diplomacy did not help him to succeed. As an act of appreciation the people of Kirtipur requested Jai Prakash Malla to head the Government but he refused to accept the offer.²²

In course of this expedition, Jai Prakash Malla sought help from the English. Prithvi Narayan Shah had attacked Kathmandu in 1767. Fearing that the trade between Bihar and Tibet would be dislocated the Calcutta Council decided to help Kathmandu. Later, the Home Government concurred in this decision. So Kinloch was sent in the rainy season of 1767²³ from Patna. Kinloch came up to Sindhauli and Hariharpur. The hilly rivers became treacherous in the rainy season and there was an outbreak of Malaria in Kinloch's contingents. He also ran short of food. Hence he could not proceed further and returned. Thus the Kinloch expedition failed.

Now Prithvi Narayan Shah attacked Kirtipur for the last time in 1768. Jay Prakash Malla again resisted but he could not defeat the Gorkha Raja. It may be said of Prithvi Narayan Shah, as is often said about the British, that he lost every battle except the last. He was quite undeterred by reverses and single-minded to the point of ruthlessness. To a boundless ambition Mr. Levi comments: "He added a tenacity of purpose²⁴ which never tired. He saw a situation at a glance, made his decision at once and acted with cold determination. He was also a master of intrigue." After six months of fighting the Gorkhas entered into the streets of Kirtipur. Even so, the defenders retired to an inner apartment and might have continued the struggle. But when they received the promise of a general amnesty and safe conduct, they finally surrendered in Sept. 1768. The promise was given by Suruparatana, Prithvi Narayan's brother, in good faith. But contrary to the promise, two days later he sent orders from Nawakot to cut-off the lips and nose of each male inhabitant of the town except infants at the breasts. Eight hundred sixty-five persons were thus mutilated, whose noses and lips were weighed and found to be 86 pounds. The name of Kirtipur was changed into Nasaktipur²⁵ the city of the cut noses. Father Giusappe who with other Jesuits visited Nepal in the very thick of the contest, says, "It was a most horrid spectacle to behold so many people hanging on the trees in the road and that the inhabitants of Kirtipur, after a obstinate resistance of six or seven months, surrendered on the faith of a general cruelty."²⁶

After the fall of Kirtipur, Patan which was still the largest town in the valley, was attacked. The inhabitants of Patan were threatened

with the loss not only of noses and lips but their right hands, if they did not immediately surrender. The city was given up to plunder and it was destroyed. Thereafter, on the Kumari Yatra day on the 20th Sept. 1768²⁷, Prithvi Narayan Shah took advantage of the confusion to penetrate into the town of Kathmandu, where the people and the soldiers were dulled by drunkenness. These soldiers made a faint effort to oppose the conqueror but to no purpose. Jay Prakash Malla fled to Bhatgaon and stayed with Ranjit Malla. Prithvi Narayan Shah sat on the throne erected at the entrance of the Durbar, wished the Kumari, received her homage and gave orders for the feasts to continue. He was proclaimed king. Then Patan was brought under subjection and the five Pradhanas of Patan were hanged. After this event, he went to Patan, took possession of the throne and proclaimed himself the king of the place. Prithvi Narayan also made an attack on the city of Bhatgaon in July 1769 but was wounded in the leg. Jaya Prakasa Malla, the ex-ruler of Kathmandu and Tejahar Simha of Patan had taken shelter at Bhatgaon. Prithvi Narayan entered the Durbar and set fire to the building which perished in the flames. But Bhatgaon escaped the plunder and maltreatment which had been experienced by Kathmandu and Patan.²⁸ All the three ex-rulers were now at the mercy of Prithvi Narayan Shah. Jaya Prakasa Malla was sent to Aryaghat in the vicinity of Pashupati Nath, where he died after sometime. Ranjit Malla, the ruler of Bhatgaon was sent to Benares to spend his remaining days and Raja Tejanarasimha was thrown into prison at Lakshmipur where he expired.

Thus Prithvi Narayan conquered the territory of the three kings. He transferred his capital from Gorkha to Kathmandu in 1769 and constructed a large conical building called Basantpur. Gorkha and Nepal were united into one kingdom under one ruler. Prithvi Narayan Shah came to be known as the king of Nepal²⁹. He then despatched an army under one of his chiefs, Kahar Singh Bisnit, to take possession of the eastern country as far as Vijayapur³⁰ and its Terai of the west as far as the Sapta Gandaki, and of the north as far as Kerrong, all of which were accomplished. The conquest of Morung and the Darjeeling area was completed in 1773-74. He wanted to occupy Sikkim but he could not do so. He died on 10th Jan. 1775³¹ at Mohan Tirtha on the Gandaki river.

During his life-time Prithvi Narayan Shah had also thought to make Kathmandu economically strong. His one aim was the re-establishment of Kathmandu as the principal entrepot³² in the trans-Himalayan trade system, but on quite different terms than those the Malla had enjoyed. He was determined to gain a virtual monopoly on the trade between India and Tibet by 'closing the roads through the east and the west'. Through the constant wars Nepal's treasury had been exhausted and he wanted to replenish it. He devised new techniques to derive revenues from the trade system. He established a trade mart at Parsa Garhi on the main route from India to Kathmandu and several points on the Tibetan border. This arrangement continued till 1770.

Notwithstanding his de-merits in character Prithvi Narayan Shah deserves a high place in the modern history of Nepal. Practically, Nepal had no central government before 1768. It was due to his efforts that a centralised government was established at Kathmandu. He defeated all the petty rulers of the country. Prithvi Narayan Shah was himself a petty ruler in 1742; but by dint of his organising capacity and diplomacy he made himself the ruler of the country. He was indebted for success to the introduction of firelocks³³ which until his time, were totally unknown among the hills. He also introduced European discipline, the value of which he fully appreciated. His jealousy of the Europeans always prevented him from employing any of them in his service and he is said to have strongly urged his successors to follow him in this respect. This defect certainly prevented his troops from making considerable progress in tactics or in a dexterous use of their arms though they were otherwise well organised.

His greatest contribution was that he completed the process of the unification for his country. He is regarded as the 'founder and builder of Modern Nepal.' Both called him "the Builder of Modern Nepal. He was the founder, both of Modern Nepal and of the Gorkha nation as well as of the fighting prowess of that highland people. He is the national hero of Nepal."³⁴ He established a system which raised Nepal to a great height. His conquests marked the birth of the Nepalese State as it is known today. Balchand

Sharma has called him '*yug prabartak*'⁸⁵. Certainly an age of unity, expansion and glory started with him.

Nepal provides one of the recent examples of the subjection of a great urban civilization by a less sophisticated but more virile and dynamic population of hill peasants. In the field of architecture no less than in the refinement of crafts and the pursuit of a farflung trade the Newars of the Nepal valley remained unsurpassed even during the two centuries following the Gorkha conquest. The Gorkhas excelled in the organization of government and succeeded in bringing the whole of Nepal under the control of a central authority. It was only after the Gorkha conquest that the principle of a centralized authority gained general and unquestioning recognition.⁸⁶

There are people in the valley of Kathmandu who compare Prithvi Narayan Shah with Bismarck of Germany. But this comparison suffers from fallacies. Bismarck had to confront diverse difficult problems which could not be fairly compared to those faced by Prithvi Narayan. Moreover, Prithvi Narayan Shah had not to face any foreign enemy. The Kinlock's expedition was an isolated exception. The internal powers were also very weak from the military point of view. The forty-six states were all weak and disunited, while Kathmandu, Patan and Bhatgaon were not strong enough militarily. Prithvi Narayan showed a better organising ability than the decadent Newars. Though there are points of dissimilarities between Bismarck and Prithvi Narayan, one thing was common in both of them i. e. determination. Like Bismarck, Prithvi Narayan was undeterred by reverses, a quality that ultimately earned success for him.

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 27. Wright, *Op.cit.*, P. 114. S. Levi, *Nepal*, Vol. II, P. 305. Balchand Sharma says that it was 25th Sept.,
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**PUBLIC OPINION AS REFLECTED IN THE VERNACULAR
PRESS IN ANDHRA* DURING THE PERIOD
1885 TO 1905**

A. Jagannadham

“Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspaper or newspaper without government, I would not hesitate for a moment to prefer the latter”; thus observed Thomas Jefferson underlining the importance of the press for a democratic society. The Press is at once the Educator and interpreter, the real link between the Government and the people. The need for full and accurate information for the people to form their opinions on burning questions of the day can hardly be overestimated. More so, it is the case in a welfare state, where the development of the individual personality is the task of the State too. Further, responsibility of the press increases in a society where the public are not very articulate.

The two decades from 1885, the year of the formation of the Indian National Congress, witnessed the gradual consolidation of the forces of nationalism in India. It also was the period in which the seeds of development were sown in every sphere of life. The growth of the press in India as a force in the political, social and economic life during this period was in a large measure due to the traditions of the British press in England. Due to the healthy and encouraging attitude shown by the government the press became a strong force in the emergence of healthy Indian nationhood.¹

In the Andhra Area* of Madras Presidency, the period saw the gradual emergence of a new class of intelligentsia vigorously attuned

* Andhra refers to the Te!ugu speaking Districts which formed the part of composite Madras Presidency.

to the national sentiment and active in the Indian National Congress. District Associations, started on the model of the Indian National Congress began to hold annual conferences from 1892 onwards at the district level to discuss local problems, thus accentuating political consciousness among the different sections of the people. They organised many meetings to make the Government aware of their attitude on matters of public importance and to protest against the oppressive policies of the government. This led to their playing a prominent role in the Swadeshi movement of 1905. The Telugu Press was a powerful weapon in the hands of the intelligentsia and became the most effective exponent of popular grievances during this period.

The native newspapers to a great extent represented native feelings and scholars consider their utterances not merely as fulminations but as factual grievances. They had circulation among a wider audience and even the illiterate could understand the news when read to them. Indeed the vernacular newspapers were considered to be the best and surest index to know the mind of the people.² This was recognised by the powers that be. Mr. Robinson, Secretary to the Government of Madras considered the vernacular press as a "useful barometer of native feeling and excitement". The then Governor of Bengal held the vernacular press "to be useful indication of the under-currents which may be running through the masses of Indian population". According to Viscount Graxe Broke, all the most experienced Indian administrators feel the great difficulty of ascertaining the fact of social condition and political sentiment and the vernacular press was always considered a valuable means of getting at those facts.³

The press by and large did yeoman service in fostering Indian Nationalism and patriotism. The number of vernacular newspapers steadily increased in the post Ripon period and these expressed the views of the intelligentsia on social, religious and political matters. In those days the government suspected that vernacular papers were much more dangerous to the stability of their rule than the English newspapers. Even the English Newspapers and periodicals owned

by the natives were suspect. Beginning from 1870 the Assistant to the Government in the Special Branch of each provincial Government was entrusted with the duty of watching and incorporating the objectionable passages from articles of a seditious and scurrilous tone in a fortnightly report on native newspapers with the help of the translators to the Government. These were known as "Confidential Vernacular Newspaper reports" and were prepared in each of the provinces. These were in essence translations or summing up of select passages from the vernacular newspapers. These were prepared and circulated among different branches of government, officers in the districts as well as to the Central government. Finding that the criticism by the newspapers of the administration was becoming vehement day by day, the Government of India directed in 1901 *inter-alia* the Government of Madras to submit weekly reports on native newspapers instead of fortnightly.

Only a few of the vernacular papers and the English newspapers run by the native gentlemen survive today. Some of them are preserved in Goutami Library, and Hitakarni Samajam in Rajahmundry and Saraswati Nilayam at Vetapalem. Had all of them been available, a survey of public opinion on the basis of these papers would have been quite comprehensive. For the purpose of this article, we are concerned with the public opinion as expressed through Telugu Newspapers in Madras Presidency. In the last quarter of the last century there were in all about 40 weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies in the Telugu language and they devoted themselves to educating the public on matters relating to social reforms, spread of education, state of economy and the defects in the British administrative system.⁴ These Telugu papers also published literary contributions of eminent writers like Veeresalingam Pantulu, Kokkonda Venkataratnam Pantulu and several others who rendered great service to the growth of Telugu literature and also for social reforms. Confidential Vernacular Newspaper reports containing *inter-alia*, extracts from Telugu newspapers and periodicals are preserved in the Tamil Nadu Archives at Madras. This paper is based on these extracts.

The editors and founders of the vernacular newspapers were really patriotic and broadminded. The journalism, the editors pursued

was not for profit or self. They were inspired by the richest ideals a man could cherish. They attacked the many social evils, which were the bane of Indian Society, fearlessly and with a rare missionary zeal and braved in the process the wrath of British officials.⁵

The role played by Telugu Press in this period in awakening the political consciousness among the people is underestimated by Dr. Sarojini Regani. According to her, prior to 1905 the Telugu Newspapers were confined largely to the discussion of social, economic and education matters.⁶ But according to Dr. Baliga the political agitation started with some vigour in Madras soon after the inception of the Indian National Congress (1885). By this time several newspapers in English as well as the Indian languages had come into existence both in the city of Madras and in the Districts and these became no mean instruments in the hands of Nationalists. For example, we find in 1886 the press was criticising the salt tax as "the most unjust and cruel of all the taxes imposed on the country". It also attacked the conduct of several officers including that of the Government.⁷ Dr. B. Keshavanarayana holds similar views and states that towards the end of the century, the press especially the the vernacular press has paid greater attention to political affairs.⁸

There were numerous Telugu Newspapers like Andhra Prakasika, Sasilekha, Krishna Patrika, Suryodaya Prakasika, Vivek Vardhani, Rasikollasini, Desabhimani etc., published in Andhra during the period 1885-1905. Prof. Venkatarangaiya observed that they all gave expressions to ideas which were popular with the intelligentsia. They boldly and freely criticised the policies of the Government and its administrative measures. They exposed the defects in various branches of administration and put forward various suggestions in regard to the reforms to be effected. By 1905 their tone became highly militant in several respects. The Government attached a great deal of importance to public opinion as expressed in these papers.⁹ Further Prof Venkatarangaiya observes "nothing illustrates better the changed outlook of the people than the trend of the public opinion as expressed by the Telugu Newspapers."¹⁰

The third session of the Indian National Congress held in Madras in the year 1887 passed a series of resolutions to promote the political education of the people by distributing tracts and pamphlets, by holding public meetings and by arranging lectures throughout the year. Under the impact of this Congress propaganda both the press and public became more national minded and more and more critical of British administration.¹¹

The public opinion whose nature and growth are examined in the article may be broadly classified under the following heads.

1. Administration
2. Economic Condition of the people.
3. Social Reforms and Education.

It is not possible or even necessary to summarise all the references to the public opinion in respect of the subjects classified above. What is attempted is a sort of sampling from 1885-1905.

Administration :

In the beginning of the 20th century the vernacular press started criticising the British policies of Government. The 'Gautami' referring to an advertisement which wanted a mussalman clerk for an acting post in the Chief Office of the Inspector General of Police, Madras, comments that such an advertisement-proceeding from such a high official of the Government.....whose duty it was to suppress all racial differences, would not only create prejudices between one race and another but also induce people to entertain doubts regarding the just administration of the country".¹²

The administrative system introduced by the British in India was manned by bureaucracy with a strong centre. It had suffered from serious defects. The administrative frame work was wooden, unpersonal and unresponsive to public opinion. The good that flowed was due to the personal qualities of some of the administrators rather than to the system itself. Further there was a disinclination to appoint Indians to important posts. This was serious defect bec-

ause the foreigners, inspite of their best intentions, could not understand the real needs of the people. The disinclination of the Government to appoint Indians as Presidents of the District Boards* was resented by "Sasilekha", and 'Vivekavardhani' 'protested against over-Europeanisation in posts of higher administration overlooking the claims of the Indians. 'Sasilekha', in April 1900 pointed out that when the Judges look at white Gentleman they grew very kind."¹³

The 'Vrittanta Chintamani' of the 15th May 1901 in commenting on an article in the "New Age", remarks thus, "the people of India can never get what they want from Government unless they unite together and make known their wants. In European countries the people are, in fact, their own rulers, and their representatives keep a watch over state expenditure. Whenever the executive officers of the Government go wrong, they are called to account by the representatives of the people."¹⁴ The "New Age" points out that is all due to the apathy of the people themselves, and thinks that if the Government do not take early steps to ameliorate the condition of the people they will become discontented and will be a source of danger to the state.¹⁵ Apart from what the "New Age" might say, there can be no doubt that the cause of India's low condition is want of unity among her sons.¹⁶

"Suryodaya Prakasika", of the 11th May 1904 referring to the paper read by Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji in England on the "Poverty of India" observed that under the British rule India was becoming poorer and poorer day by day. The fault lay not with any individual official but with the principle of the administration itself. If India had been ruled in accordance with the principles of equality and with the promises made in the proclamation, nobody would have found fault with the administration.¹⁷

Thus the first stages of political agitation took the form of a demand for a greater association of Indians in the administration of the country.

* District Boards are broadly defined as local bodies authorised to decide and administer a limited range of public policies within a relatively small territory which is a sub-division of a Regional or National Government.

Land revenue was the most important head of the Government of British India, yielding maximum income and involving numerous issues. In the ten years ending 1887, the total gross income of the government of India land revenue amounted to more than 218½ crores of rupees. In the next ten years ending 1897 it rose to more than 244 crores of rupees.¹⁸ In other words the land holders of India found their burden increased to the tune of twenty six crores of rupees within a brief period of ten years and that it ultimately reacted on the economic conditions of the peasantry.¹⁹ 'Sasilekha'* which played a notable part in the early years of the Andhra Movement severely criticised the procedures for the collection of land revenue employed by the British *dragons*. It observed that in the year 1894-95 Rs. 6,05,00,000 were collected by issuing 58,74,474 notices and selling the property of 14,198 ryots in which were included 54,584 acres which brought in 55,762 though valued at Rs. 7,16,612/-²⁰ while there were 1,12,420 defaulters in Madras Presidency whose lands or personal properties were sold off in the seven years ending 1894, in the five years ending 1902-3, 2,71,516 acres of land were put up for auction in the Presidency.²¹

It was reported that in the Nellore District cattle were either sold or attached to clear off outstanding revenue dues.²² Failure of the payment of revenue at assessed rates resulted in the eviction of the ryots from the land. These factors discouraged the ryots to bring under cultivation new land or fertilise the one already assigned to him and threw several cultivators into the arms of unscrupulous money lenders who charged exorbitant rates of interest. The ryots were crushed by huge unredeemable debt.

Commenting on the Coronation ceremony of 1902 the same paper wrote on 18th July 1902 'it has been *wired* that the expenses incurred by the Secretary of State for the reception given to the Indian Princes would be debited to India. It has been resolved to spend 50 lakhs of the revenue collected from the poor people of India

* Sasilekha originally started as a weekly in 1894 by G. Seshacharyulu and later converted into daily.

for sending the army to England and receiving the Indian Noblemen there for the grand coronation ceremony as well as the forth-coming Delhi Darbar. Poor India does not regret spending such a large amount on such an occasion. But it feels very much for being slighted while the colonies were greatly honoured by the Government, for the representatives of the colonies were entertained at the expense of the state while the reception charges of the Indian Princes were debited to India.²³

In the Police Department out of 230 district superintendents only 3 were Indians upto the year 1897. The total number of judges in India was 125 out of which only five were Indians.²⁴ In the army also the recruitment of Indians was very insignificant in number. The employment of natives in the public services was overlooked on the plea that the natives are incompetent.²⁵ In view of this deplorable situation, the vernacular press doggedly fought for the basic rights of the native population in employment in different fields. The *Hindu-janasamskarini* advocated the appointment of a native additional judge in Madras High Court.²⁶ The *Andhra Prakasika* was strongly critical of the partisan attitude of the Government in preferring Englishmen for the jobs. It observed that the high offices in this country were filled by a number of Englishmen who in England were considered to be nobodies and opined that natives can do as efficiently and more cheaply the work which Englishmen perform.²⁷ It also deplored that 'no native of this country however good a soldier he may be, is allowed no opportunity to distinguish himself. His (native) meritorious services are ignored, while an European is rewarded and promoted for similar or even inferior acts.'²⁸

A competitive examination was held on the 3rd June 1901, for selecting a probationary Assistant Police Superintendent. But the applications of all the native candidates were rejected while the European applicants were allowed to compete without exception. Revealing this the "Andhra Prakasika" asked the Government to publish all the circumstances connected with the competitive examination

The vernacular press had firmly stood by the people's rights. The press had rightly and forcefully voiced for the "mere justice". During the period under review, the administration of justice came in for strong criticism by the press. The Judge's partisan attitude was brought to the notice of the public. For example, the "Lokopakari" in April 1897 referred to an incident of an Indian being convicted and meted out harsh punishment for mis-appropriation of a paltry sum whereas an European who had embezzled Rs. 200/-, a handsome amount in those days, was not even booked for the offence.²⁹

"Krishna Patrika" in its editorial dated 1st August, 1904 had bitterly criticised the role of the corrupt European judges. It wrote "Instead of giving justice the judges have been doing injustice by taking bribes and thus they have been lost their morale and integrity. Eventhough their offences are not proved directly, but the people well knew their role in their hearts." The editorial suggested to dismiss such ruffian judges from the Government service and they should be convicted. If this had ben done the rest of them may behave with fear.³⁰

The vernacular press had also 'highlighted' the police atrocities. Extortion of money, implications of the innocent and torture and cruelty were considered to be the essential attributes of the police organisation which was considered to be the bane of society.³¹ In view of this situation, the "Goutami" had called for reforms of the police organisation.³² It Stated that a station house officer whose salary was Rs. 14 to Rs. 25/- was obliged to supply milk, eggs etc to his Superintendent during the visits of the latter. It observed that under such circumstances it was useless to tell the station house officers to be honest.³³

Economic Condition :

Taxes imposed by the Government sapped the economic resources of the people. The salt tax of Re. 2.80 per Maund added to the difficulties of the middle and lower income groups. Professional tax was imposed on potters and other professional classes.

Income tax was levied on all non-agricultural incomes of over Rs. 500/- per annum.³⁴ The 'Varta Darsani' of Nellore commenting on these levies wrote in 1895 with a perversity that can find no parallel in this or any other district with a cruel determination at which old Shylock, were his shades invoked from the grave, would blush, the representatives of our benign British Government in this district are sucking the life blood out of us by levying on us income tax irrespective of our financial capabilities³⁵

According to "Andhra Prakasika" the price of salt rose in Nellore e.g. to Rs. 7/- a maund and for two days no salt at all was procurable. The tax at various places was from 500% to 2500% on the production expenses of the article. Andhra Prakasika also gave a vivid description of one woman who travelled from one British place to another to escape salt tax. But finally she was fined at Madura for having in her possession salt intended for consumption on her journey. Undoubtedly, there were millions of men and women and children who had 'their' lives shortened, their physique stunted, their moral and intellectual faculties blunted by lack of cheap salt.

The editor of 'Andhra Prakasika' suggested a poll tax imposed on all classes to avoid the transgressions of salt officials.³⁶ The "Krishna Patrika" strongly castigated the government of India for imposing the duty on salt. Remarking that in no other civilised country there is such duty on salt which is absolutely necessary for both men and beast; it pleaded for its discontinuance as there was surplus budget.³⁷

The vernacular press had expressed its annoyance at the colonial plunder by the British. The editor 'Lokaranjani' observed that "the poor among the ryots suffer from seed and money, not being advanced to them by the Government as heretofore". Further that the heavy taxation oppresses the people much, that while they are totally unable to pay kist on cultivated lands for want of rains and the consequent failure of the crops they are taxed for lands not cultivated³⁸

In the early days of East India Company the British were the purchasers of the Indian manufactures. But from 1700 their attitude towards India underwent a change. The use of the Indian cloth in Briton was forbidden on pain of a fine of Rs. 75/- and gradually various restrictions were imposed upon the importation of several Indian articles to England.³⁹ This policy was strongly objected to by Dadabhai Naoroji in his work on the poverty of India. The national newspapers joined him in this protest against the abnoxious economic and trade policies of the British. The Suryodaya Prakasika of the 11th May, 1904 wrote in support of the views of Dadabhai Naoroji.

The attitude of the British during the famine years was extremely inhuman and treacherous. The vernacular newspapers vehemently criticised the callous and indifferent attitude of the British. The real cause of the famines in India according to 'The Vrittanta Chintamani' of the 24th April, 1901 was not the failure of rains or the increase of population but the negligence of the British and the heavy taxation imposed upon the people. The famine was one of money and not of food stuffs. If there was money in hand, it felt any quantity of food stuffs could be purchased and when there was no money in hand it was no wonder that famines should occur. The Chief cause of the poverty of the people lay in the crushing nature of the taxes. It complained that the English did nothing to improve the material condition of the people of India.⁴⁰

The native press had vehemently criticised the languid attitude of revenue officers during the Jamabandi, particularly the Deputy Collectors and Tahsildars had exercised an undue and detrimental authority over the poor people.⁴¹

The vernacular press had strongly appealed to the British Government not to allow the opening of toddy and arrack shops. The British Government had also encouraged the opium trade for its own benefit. "The existence of numberless toddy and arrack shops

in public places and at marts", lamented the Andhra Prakasika "simply serves as a temptation to the wayfarers and makes them deliberately work at their own ruin.⁴² It strongly criticised the government which did not take notice of the repeated requests of the municipalities not to allow taverns to be kept in objectionable or public places.⁴³

Educational and Social Reforms :

The vernacular press had rightly and forcefully brought to the notice of the Government the necessity for the promotion of education. The vernacular journals had encouraged literary aspects among the natives. By 1905 four out of every five villages were without a school and seven children out of every eight were growing up in ignorance and darkness and with all the moral and material helplessness that followed.⁴⁴ The British government in India had raised the school fees as if to make the matters worse. 'Rasikollasini' deplored the system of high school fees and term fee and condemned the recommendation of the Finance Committee aimed at reducing the grants-in-aid to private schools.⁴⁵

By observing the low educational standards, the editor of "Sanmargadarsini" suggested to the sub-committee of the public service commission to reform the entire education system and requested the British Government to appoint competent school Masters. The same paper pleaded for setting up of model schools, one for the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts, another for the Godavari and Krishna Districts and a third for Nellore, etc.⁴⁶ The native press had also advocated high salaries to the teaching staff. The press also brought to the notice of the British Government the pathetic conditions of the school teachers. That the teachers in the schools in the Madras Presidency were not paid even as much as coolies⁴⁷ was the telling comment of "Sasilekha".

During the period under review, the British had showed an extremely partisan attitude towards Europeans in providing employment

opportunities. The British had shown stern indifference for the employment of educated Indians. Typical of this attitude was the opinion of Sri John Stratchy, who said : "It will be the beginning of the end of our empire when we forget this elementary fact, entrust the greater executive powers to the hands of the natives, on the assumption that they will always be faithful and strong supporters of the Government."⁴⁸

The vernacular press tried its level best to mould the public opinion against the social evils like child and widow marriages, sati and forced marriages, etc. Many newspapers voiced the demand for sweeping changes in our social fabric. Kandukuri Veeresalingam's famous "Vivekavardhani" started in 1874, highlighted the evils that existed in the society. According to Reghupati Venkataratnam Naidu this little weekly "Vivekavardhani" richly deserved its ambitious name. It was the surging stream with which this Hercules Cleansed the Augean Stables of the Indian life of his time. It was also a ray of light and a chant of hope which this 'good man of God' carried into the dare retreats and dreary solitudes of ignorance and despondence. It was all an incense of the sound kindled at the shine of Divine Inspirer.⁴⁹

"Hindu Janasamskarini" expressed its strong anguish at early marriages. It wrote "As very young girls are often married to a very old men, a wish is expressed that Government should interfere and pass an Act, to prevent such marriages."⁵⁰

The vernacular papers also emphasised the need for unity. 'Amrita Bodhini' in April 1888 asked "If we had put unity among ourselves, would India have proved an easy conquest to the English? Would we tamely submit to all the inequitious taxes by them."⁵¹

In short in a land of mass illiteracy the Press helped the educated section of the people to assimilate progressive ideas and to pass these on to the general masses.⁵²

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A STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF MADANAPALLE.

K. S. S. Seshan

Climate and the Physical features :

Built on the banks of the river Bahuda at an altitude of 2231 feet above sea-level, the town Madanappalle lies on the Madras-Bombay Trunk Road and is 90 K. M. west of Chittoor in Andhra Pradesh. The latitude of this town is 13°-30' N.¹ It is a spacious town with tree-lined streets and a cool and salubrious climate unmatched anywhere in the state. It is because of this enchanting climate, Madanapalle is rightly acclaimed as the "Poorman's Ooty". Rabindranath Tagore on his visit to this town in 1919 praised it as the "Shantiniketan of the South". Madanapalle is also regarded as the "Pensioners' Paradise". This quiet town, framed by a chain of rugged granite hills like Nooru Kuppala Konda, Basini Konda, Madinikonda Mallayya Konda etc. has, in addition to its natural beauty, a chequered and distinguished history.

Many firsts :

Madanapalle, to its credit, has many firsts in our country. In 1889, W. I. Chamberline, a missionary from America, started here the Christian Endeavour Society, the first of its kind in India. Dr. (Miss) Louisa H. Hart in 1909 started the Tuberculosis Sanatorium here which is hailed as the third best in the world. The Women's India Association was first started here.² It was in Madanapalle again that the campaign to provide Art Galleries for all major towns in India started. The first woman Magistrate of India was Mrs. Margarate Cousins³, an inhabitant of this town. The B. C. G. Vaccination for the first time in the whole of South East Asia was

inaugurated here in 1948 by the then Union Health Minister Rajakumari Amirth Kumar. Madanapalle is the birth-place of the great philosopher, the famous Theosophist and the adopted son of Dr. Annie Besant, Mr. Jiddu Krishnamurthy who is regarded as the "World Teacher". Dr. Annie Besant made this town her second home and started in 1915 the Besant Theosophical College, the first College in Rayalaseema area. In 1916 the first Scout troop in South India was formed here by Sri G. P. Aryarathna of Ceylon. The Hockey game could find greatest support in Madanapalle from where it soon spread to all other parts of the country.

The Original Site :

According to F. A. Coleridge,⁴ a member of the Civil Service who was Sub-Collector in Madanapalle during 1902-7, the original town was around the Siva temple i.e. behind the College play grounds and the Muslim burial ground. At present, these are all agricultural fields, but the scattered hero-stones, there speak about the existence of the town in that area. All these hero-stones containing inscriptions were removed and carefully preserved in the Besant Hall of the Theosophical College by James H. Cousins during 1933-37, when he was the principal of the College.⁵ It is clear from these inscriptions that this area was constantly troubled by highway robbers, and in safeguarding the lives, properties and cattle of the inhabitants. many warriors must have been killed.

New Town :

As the town was thus exposed to raiders and not conducive for smooth and secure habitation, the new town on the present site was built in 1618 A. D. (Saka era 1539). Mr. F. A. Coleridge, in his "Brief history of Madanapalle describes how he came across an old history of the town written in Telugu and preserved by one Reddy Kasim Sahib who belonged to one of the oldest families of Madanapalle. It gives an account of the establishment of the town". When Srimat Rajadhi Maharaja Parameswara Sri Vira Pratapa

Sri Venkatapathi Rayalu Deva Maharajalu garu was ruling in Penugonda. Sriman Yalagiri Ahobala Nayani Garu was ruling at Madanapalle otherwise called Marayda Ramana Kshetram.

“He having found that the lives of men and cattle were not safe on account of the unhealthy condition of the locality, sent for the elders of families and conferred with them as to the shifting of the town to some other healthy locality.

“Rajini Nayani Garu and the elders of the families sent for two astrologers Udayagiri Siddambhattu and Gurramkonda Josyulu, and told them that they intend forming a new town near Chukkalavarthi Dinne and requested them to pray the Dharma Devastha. Then they duly worshipped the Nagari Cows and drove them with a view to from a town in the place where they should stop. They stopped near Chukkalavarthi Dinne.

“So Rajini Nayani Garu ordered the astrologers to select a good thidhi, vara nakshatram, for the formation of the new town. Then the astrologers selected the year Pingala, Vaisaka month, Sudda 10th Uttaranakshatra, 5½ ghadia, Chandra muhurtha of the Salivahana Saka 1539 (1618 A. D.). The astrologers after calculating the nakshatra found out that the town would continue to be prosperous for 500 years.

“They then laid out the boundaries of the fort and the present town. The astrologers were than granted some inams for their labours”.

It is also related by another account that the Chief, selected the present site for the construction of the town because once when he was returning from hunt with his foilowers, he saw a hare hunting two wild dogs. He said to his foilowers, “See how strong must be the soil of this place when it breeds hares that hunt their enemies, the dogs. This is the place to build a city and rear a powerful race”.⁶

Name :

There are many versions as to how the name Madanappalle is derived. It is said that the town was first known as 'Madanapalle'. The great jurist (according to the folk-lore) Maryadaramanna is said to have belonged to this area and thereby it came to be called 'Maryadaramanna Kshethram' or Maryadaramanna puram'. J. D. B. Gribble who was the sub-Collector during 1873-77 has given an interesting interpretation that Madanapalle is 'Manmadapalle' or 'Cupid's Town'.⁷

Town walls and the Fort

When the new town on the present site was established, a Fort was built and around it the residential houses were put up. A massive wall around the town was erected for the protection of the dwellers. The town wall ran behind the Boya street; Appa Rao Street, behind the Mosque and Dakinpet Street; and along the East Kamma Street to the Siva temple. The wall had a bolt-hole near the present Appa Rao street which was used as an emergency exit during times of trouble. In 1904 the wall at the Mosque was cut through when a new road was formed towards Bangalore bus stand. Gradually, as the town extended in every direction, the town-wall was cut through and as a result, it will not now be possible to trace the wall though some stone steps are found in one of the places. Even by 1911 the remnants of the wall around the town were clearly seen on all the four sides, as was described by F. A. Coleridge. This town wall was maintained by a grant of land from the Government and continued till the end of the last century.⁸

What is now called the Fort, was the central strong-hold inside the town-walls. There were originally four bastions on the four corners of the Fort. One bastion alone is still to be seen to the North-west of the Municipal Hope Upper primary School commonly known as Kotabadi or Fort School. On this bastion is situated the 'Bethala, Shrine and a peepul tree'.⁹ The second bastion must have been behind the Makamvari Choultry where even to-day the curve of

the erstwhile fort-wall could be seen. The third and fourth bastions must have been situated at the two ends of the Sepoy street. The Fort-wall on the western side is clearly seen from over the western compound-wall of the Hope Upper Primary School. There are also a few trees right on the wall to-day. The 'Fort street' was the only way in those days that led into the Fort. The small path with a flight of steps leading to the Thyagaraja street from behind the Dhyanamandir¹⁰ was cut open in 1904 by F. A. Coleridge, the then Sub-Collector. Now the Fort-wall is completely erased on all the three sides though the western side is kept intact. The steep ascent of the road at Vasavi Bhavan and a similar descent near the Municipal Hope Upper Primary School indicate the extent of the Fort (North-South) in those days.

There was also a big ditch or moat *Agadtha*, just outside the Fort-wall in the north. When J. D. B. Gribble was Sub-Collector in (1873-77) this ditch was filled in as a famine relief work. The Agadtha Street, where it stands to-day was the site of the erstwhile ditch.

Down the ages :

The earliest known history of Madanapalle is that it was included in the Chola Kingdom under Parantaka I (907-955 A. D.) who revived the greatness of the Chola dynasty after wresting Tanjore. Parantaka annexed the territories of the Pandya King Rajyasimha who ran away to Ceylon for safety. He assumed the title 'Madurai-konda' to commemorate his victory over the Pandya king. He also swept away all traces of Pallava power and pushed his authority upto Nellore in the North. The Western frontiers of the kingdom under Parantaka touched Melpadi, Punganur and Madanapalle.¹¹

Madanapalle, in the later years formed a part of the dominion under the Yadavanayaks and the Hoyasalas who were predominant after the decay of the Pandyas but before the establishment of the Vijayanagar empire. It is stated that when Gurramkonda was attacked by the

forces of Krishna Deva Raya, one Nagappa Nayanivaru, an influential nobleman of this region, fought for him, and in recognition of his service, he was granted a 'jageer' of sixteen villages. He was to pay 10,000 Pagodas and was to maintain one thousand armymen. Thus Nagappa Nayanivaru became the founder of the family of Poligars which ruled Madanapalle. But after the defeat of Vijayanagar in the Battle of Tallikota in 1565 at the hands of the combined forces of the Bahamani Sultanates, Golconda assumed charge over this area and the Poligar of Madanapalle was allowed to retain about fourteen villages paying only 421 pagodas as annual tribute. He was exempted from maintaining an army.¹²

In 1642 Shahji, the Maratha, Chief, took both Punganur and Madanapalle. The poligar of Madanapalle made terms with Shahji and received Punganur as well as Madanapalle. But poligar of Punganur immediately went to Hyderabad and made terms with the Nizam who restored Punganur to him. By then, Golconda assumed sway over Gurrankonda area and the two poligars settled on their respective regions probably after a compromise.

In 1713, Abdul Nabi Khan, the Nawab of Cuddapah while going to Baramahal (12 Mahals) in Salem District, captured Madanapalle. The Nawab gave them to his Diwan, Shankarji Pant, who gave them back to the poligar after taking a big ransom,¹³

During the period of Balaji, the Peshwa, Madanapalle was occupied by the Marathas. In 1755 the South Indian expedition of Balaji was conducted on a very large scale. He attacked Srirangapatam, had a meeting with Bussy and attacked even Bednur. He then proceeded against the Afghan Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kurnool. A severe battle was fought near Savanur, where the Nawabs were defeated. It is said that the Poligar of Punganur who went to the aid of Cuddapah Nawab, was killed by Mudhoji, son of Raghoji Bhonsle the great Marata leader on the battle field. In 1757 September, Balaji Baji Rao again took out an expedition, to the south. The Nawabs of Kurnool and Savanur also came to the aid of Cuddapah, but the Nawab of Cuddapah was killed in the battle, and the

town was looted. His cousin and heir Nabi Khan gallantly defended the rest of the Cuddapah territory but finally agreed to surrender half of his dominions.¹⁴ Thus the Marathas acquired Sira, Bangalore, Oscotta, Kolar, Balpur, Madnnapalle. etc.

The third battle of Panipet in 1761, and the subsequent death of Peshwa Balaji was an irreparable blow for the Maratha cause. The war with Nizam Ali and internal dissensions also reduced the Maratha power considerably and in the process, Hyder Ali of Mysore became impregnable. Balaji was succeeded as Peshwa by his second son Madhava Rao known in history as Madhava Rao Ballal. He was a lad of only sixteen years, but was endowed with ripe judgement, a high spirit and the talents both of a soldier and a statesman.

Madhavarao, the gallant young Peshwa, with thirty to forty thousand horse and an equal number of infantry, early in May 1764, attacked Hyder Ali in the Carnatic region between Savanur and Bednur. The Mysore armies were defeated and the Marathas occupied Bednur, Ikkeri and Anantapur. Hyder Ali came to peace terms and as a result the fortress of Gothi and the surrounding districts were given up. He also agreed to give up all claims on Savanur; and an indemnity of 32 lakhs of rupees was paid by Hyder.

In 1766, Hyder Ali, occupied Madanapalle and also much of the area given to Marathas in 1764. Madhavarao decided to march against Hyder Ali in the winter of 1766.

But Hyder Ali who never wanted to risk a war with the Marathas concluded a treaty and agreed to vacate the occupied areas and to pay thirty five lakhs of rupees. In March 1767, half of the amount was paid and for the remaining seventeen and a half lakhs, the district of Kolar was pledged. After two months, when the balance was duly paid, Kolar was restored to Hyder Ali. In 1766, Mir Sahib, brother-in-law of Hyder Ali, joined hands with the Marathas and by surrendering Sira to them, got the governorship of Gurramkonda. He later deserted the Marathas and joined Hyder Ali.

In 1771 Hyder Ali made an attempt to defeat the Marathas, but unfortunately, the Mysore forces were defeated by the Maratha soldiers under the command of Trimbakrao. In June 1772 Hyder Ali sued for peace. The conditions of the treaty were very severe. He was forced to surrender all of Shivaji's former conquests, including Kolar, Bangalore, Ouscotta, Balapur, Sira, and Gurramkonda. Thus Madanapalle which was in the Gurramkonda sub-division passed on to the Marathas. But within five months after this treaty, the Peshwa, Madhavarao Ballal died at the age of twenty seven. Hyder Ali reoccupied all the possessions including Madanapalle.

After the death of Hyder Ali in 1782 his son Tipu succeeded as the Nawab of Mysore. Kummer-ud-din was put in charge of Gurramkonda and he gave a sanad to the poligar of Madanapalle. But this poligar revolted against Tipu when Gurramkonda was attacked in 1791 by the combined armies of the Nizam and the British. During the attack, the lower fort fell on 7th November to the British Captain Reid. But the fort was retaken by the Mysore Commander Ghazi Khan and Futteh Hyder. The English however succeeded in capturing it during the following year.¹⁵ In 1792 the treaty of Srirangapatnam was concluded by which the whole of Gurramkonda sub-division including Madanapalle went to the Nizam of Hyderabad. During the siege of Gurramkonda as the Madanapalle poligar supported the allied forces as against Tipu Sultan's army, captain Reid sanctioned a sanad of 16 villages to him. When Ghazi Khan retook the fort, he took away a few villages from the poligar. But, when Madanapalle passed on to the Nizam in 1792, he cancelled all the rights of the poligar over those villages. Thus the poligar of Madanapalle was stripped off these villages and remained thus till 1799 when he could get back all the sixteen villages.

The poligar held those villages only for a short period as in the year 1800 the whole area was ceded to the British. By the introduction of the Subsidiary Alliance Treaty, by the then Governor-General Lord Wellesley, many Indian States that agreed for it, became 'subsidiary' to the British 'Paramount Power'. The Nizam of Hyderabad

was one among the first to enter the subsidiary Alliance Treaty. Accordingly he ceded the Districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur to the British on 12 October 1800. As Madanapalle was in Cuddapah District in those days, it thus came directly under the British administration.

Munro :

Before 1800 A. D. there was not much influence of the Europeans on Madanapalle, though some Britishers visited the town even before Sir Thomas Munro. Captain Reid who led the expedition against Gurramkonda and laid siege to the fort was the first European visitor to Madanapalle. He also bestowed a Sanad to the Poligar here. Some Catholic missionaries came to Madanapalle from Pondicherry, but they moved towards the west and settled at Ghattu, a village beyond the Rishivalley. Sir Thomas Munro who was appointed as the Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur with the Headquarters at Cuddapah, visited Madanapalle in 1801. The cool climate here as against the unbearable hot weather of Cuddapah attracted Munro, who at that time was aged about 48 years, and being charmed at the natural beauty of the town, he decided to build a house to live in summer months. He put up a thatched house on the site where there is the drawing room of the Sub-Collector's Bungalow. Thomas Munro during his term of office as Collector upto 1807, often made visits to Madanapalle. That year he went to England, but soon came to Madras as its governor in which post he continued till he died in 1827 at Pathikonda of Cholera.¹⁶

There are certain local traditions about Munro in vogue. It is said that he had extraordinary long arms reaching below the knees. It is generally held that only great men have such long arms. F. A. Coleridge however refutes this.

It is said that when Munro first came to Madanapalle he camped in the tank bed (Gottigani chervuvu) near Basinikonda. That night, there was a great storm and in order to prevent the tent being blown up, he cut down some branches of the vavili bushes and planted

them around the tent for its protection. The next day Munro removed the tent and went away. but the vavili branches have grown there. There is the thick growth of Vavili plants in that area even today.

Set Backs :

Though Madanapalle steadily grew in size and importance after the advent of the British in 1800, there were several occasions when the town experienced severe setbacks on account of famines, floods and Plague. In 1803 there was a famine which occurred in this region. In the next year there was a big cyclone and because of heavy rains, about 1000 tanks have breached in the Madanapalle Sub-division. In 1866 occurred severe famine which lasted for two years and the people suffered a lot during that period. It was during this famine that many of the roads in this area were laid as a part of famine relief work. In 1874 a big cyclone ravaged the sub division. Within three days i.e., on October 20th 21st and 22nd, it recorded a rainfall of 20 inches.¹⁷ The whole area was flooded and many tanks breached. Lachchareddy tank which breached during that time was repaired only in 1906. Other tanks were also repaired later during famine periods. But the tank at Nakkaladinne remains without repair even to-day.

The year 1876 witnessed the outbreak of the 'Great Famine' which lasted for two years. It is on record that not a single drop of rain fell during those two years. This famine was spread all over the country. It is estimated that during this famine, about 55 lakhs of people died in British India due to starvation. The Cuddapah District was very much affected by the famine. There were many famine relief camps established throughout the District and particularly in the Madanapalle sub-division. Many of these camps were run by the British Officers who were specially deputed from Bengal. In 1877 the Famine relief camp at Madanapalle was visited by Sri Richard Temple. Many new roads were laid and irrigation works taken up. Huge earthen bunds were put up near the jungles only to create some work for the famine-stricken people and they only serve as permanent memorials for those who suffered in those days.¹⁸

In order to look after the famine relief work in and around Madanapalle, Mr. Cooper worked under the Supervision of Mr. Gribble, the Sub-Collector. F. A. Coleridge recorded the recollection of Mr. Gribble as narrated to him personally. According to it, when new works were taken up, men flocked in such large numbers that the roads had to be divided into several sections. For each section, separate camps were set up with sanitary and water supply arrangements. It was only during this period that the road from Madanapalle to Nimmanapalle; the road connecting C. T. M. road with Punganur Road; the road to Pentchpad and also the road from Mushtur to Vayalpad were all laid.

Inspite of all the relief works, the distress of the poor people was so great that children were abandoned on the roads by their parents as they could not provide enough for them. A 'Poor House' was established two miles from Madanapalle on the Angallu road where many such orphans were also looked after. Mr. Engledow was incharge of this poor House and in recognition of his work during the famine, he was later taken into the Police Department. Captain Money an officer of the Bengal Staff Corps was incharge of general supervision of all poor Houses in this region. Coleridge describes as to how corpses being eaten by jackals in broad daylight were seen for every furlong on the road. Mr. Cooper, the Famine Officer himself had shot hundred such jackals and with the help of coolies the remnants of the corpses were buried. It was also difficult to give proper burial and it was not possible to make big pits as the soil was very hard. Such deaths were very common along the Gurramkonda and Tsadum roads. The starving people generally ate 'Devadaru' leave which in turn brought a kind of diaohrea and caused several deaths.

Starvation deaths were very common in Rayachoti area also, in addition to the outbreak of small-pox which was very severe there at that time. Mr. Mathew, who later became the Local Fund Engineer of Krishna District, narrated to Mr. F. A. Coleridge as to how a famine officer in Rayachoty who read the funeral service over the grave of a child who had died of small-pox, was himself struck with

that disease. He was buried in the small graveyard outside the Rest House at Rayachoti.

During 1891-92, there was a famine in this region. At that time, the sub-Collector of Madanapalle Mr. J. N. Atkinson had undertaken many famine relief works. (Mr. Atkinson opened the M. L. L. Hospital in 1911 when he was a member of the Governor's Executive Council at Madras). It was during this period that Lord Wenlock, the Governor of Madras visited Madanapalle in order to inspect the famine relief works. There were also famines in 1897 and again in 1900. But they were not severe and no starvation deaths were reported in the Madanapalle sub-division.

In 1903, November, about 18 inches of rain fell within five days. As a result many houses in the town collapsed. Bahuda river was literally in spate. Communications were out off from the C. T. M. station (now known as Madanapalle Road Station). Taluk Office and B. K. Palle could be reached only by swimming across Bahuda. It was estimated that about four hundred tanks breached in Madanapalle sub-division at that time.¹⁹ After the floods, many streets were widened and straightend and when new houses were built, better walls were put up. It was only during this period that several of the bridges on the station road were built.

After the end of world War I, in 1918, there was again a period of scarcity, and food grains were not easily available. At that time T.E. Mayer was the Commissioner for Civil Supplies. Licences were issued for those who were permitted to trade in foodgrains. Rice and other grains were brought from Madras and sold here. Mr. R. Venkatappa Naidu who had such a licence recalls that the cost of rice in those days was Rs. 15 per bag, and the broken rice was sold at four measures a rupee. (It should be remembered that the value of rupee in those days was relatively much higher than what is at present).

Among the recent famines, the 'Rayalaseema famine' which occurred during 1947-'52 was quite severe. It is also known as 'Five Year Famine'. Failure of rains caused a great panic among the agri-

culturists. The Government started many gruel centres in and around Madanapalle and people flocked in large numbers for the gruel which was cooked with red maize. Many private institutions in America came to the aid of the people affected by this famine. Several organisations like 'Church World Service' 'Care Corps', 'Meals for Millions' etc.,²⁰ sent foodgrains and milk powder to the poor and needy. During the last two years of the famine, conditions were very severe and the International-Organisation, UNICEF collected Famine Relief Funds and sent for aiding the victims.

Though several steps were taken by the government, private organisations and others, the people in general found it hard to make a living. Many people of this town moved to Kolar Gold Fields, and several others settled on coffee estates in Mysore state. By 1953 there were regular rains and the people were gradually relieved of the famine conditions. Several of those who migrated to other places started coming back. The District Board authorities took to several welfare activities in order to provide enough work for the famine affected people. Mr. N. P. Chengalrayanaidu, the then President of the District Board caused the repair of many old roads and several new ones were also laid. The road on Horsely Hills were laid by him as a part of famine relief work. He was also responsible for the digging of several tube wells for the purpose of drinking water.

Madanapalle witnessed the outbreak of Plague in 1904 on a large scale. On January 15th, the first case of Plague occurred in the Tyagaraya Street then known as Barber Street, just below the Fort wall on which the present Hope Upper Primary School is situated²¹. Soon it spread like wild fire in the town and the people were panic-stricken. The inhabitants started moving away with their families by night in every direction and the town was completely evacuated. Madanapalle thus remained deserted for about three months. Important offices like the Taluk Office, Post Office and the Treasury were all shifted from the town to a place near the Basikonda hill, where at present is the rectangular shaped well (Panthula bavi) belonging to Nemali family. There were several temporary sheds and tents put up for accommodating the offices and the people. In order to prevent

outsiders entering the town, fences out of thorny bushes were laid and all the roads and paths leading to the town were almost sealed off.

During the period of Plague, the Sub Collector Mr. F. A. Coleridge took several effective steps with the help of the Plague Officer Mr. H. F. Graham for the arrest of the deadly disease. From the 88th Carnatic Infantry one hundred sepoy were rushed to Madanapalle and they were employed under the Sub-Collector and the Plague Officer for disinfection work. Every house in the town was disinfected and several sanitary works were carried out by these sepoys. Uneven places were all levelled up and the congested areas were opened by laying new roads. The Sepoy street was laid by pulling out many houses by these sepoys and that is the reason why it is called 'Sepoy Street'. It was only at this time that a small lane was cut on the Fort wall in to the Thyagaraja Street. (Behind the Ganesa Temple near Dyanamandir). In order to provide against future congestion a new extension of the town beyond the Mosque, which runs through to the present Jyothi theatre, Hope High School and the church was laid by Mr. F. A. Coleridge and it is known as 'Coleridge Avenue' even to-day. Another new extension was also opened behind the Kamma Street. Back passages were provided for every house for the use of private scavengers. During the period of Plague, a big fire also broke out in the Thyagaraya Street as a result of which the whole street was burnt down. When new buildings were put up, the streets were much widened.

During the Plague in 1904, there were 186 deaths out of 222 cases of attack. The Post-Master, the V.M. of Kammapalle the Lady Doctor Mrs. Gnanamani were among the victims of the disease. Mrs. Gnanamani's services during the epidemic were beyond praise in her memory an attractive cross was erected in the Christian Cemetery near Basinikonda. There is also a window set up in the 'Chamberlain Church' in her memory².

In 1911 there was another occurrence of Plague in Madanapalle. But effective steps were promptly taken and it was not allowed to spread. All the houses in the town were disinfected. People were

given soap cakes which were similar to carbolic soap, for usage. Chemicals were also sprayed and the disease thus was arrested.

In 1916 a fire broke out in the Thyagaraya street. An anguished mother in securing her valuables left her infant son inside the burning hut. At that time Mr. G. P. Aryarathna of Ceylon who organised the first Scout Troop of South India in the town helped to fight the fire. The brave Mr. Aryarathna pouring a bucket of water over himself, rushed into the flames and after a moment of terrible suspense came out with the infant in his hands. A prize was later awarded by the Police to Mr. Aryarathna. Later Dr. Besant took up the Scout movement and started the large scale scout organisation in South India, the Madanapalle troop having the honour of being the nucleus²³.

In 1932 Cholera broke out in Madanapalle, and several deaths were recorded. During 1948-49 there was an outbreak of Plague but its impact was quite negligible.

Though the famine, Plague and fire put the people of the town into untold miseries, it must be said that the town in a way was benefited, as many improvements were undertaken from that time. Drainage was given utmost importance immediately after the Plague. Mr. J. N. Atkinson, the Sub-Collector had begun providing drainage in 1891, but it was only on one side of the Kamma street and practically nothing was done elsewhere. In 1903 the work was undertaken in the main bazar by Mr. F. A. Coleridge, the Sub-Collector. From then onwards every year has seen steady improvement. Almost all the Sub-Collectors gave great importance to the Sanitation of the town. Daily market for vegetables was built in 1903 and the meat market was constructed in 1905. Many wells were dug or improved. Till recently Madanapalle was only a major Panchayat and it was only on April 1, 1961 it was made a municipality²⁴. Even as a Union, Madanapalle was 'One of the squald towns' of the Ceded Districts. It was "almost a model Union and an exceedingly pleasant place to live in". It could "put to shame most of the rich municipalities of the Presidency".

High School :

Dr. Jacob Chamberlain soon after coming to this town in 1863 set up a school in his own house in the Mission Compound. This was a boarding school but was limited only to the poor students. Later Jatti Nariyappa, father of Jatti Krishnaiah one of the early Vakils of Madanapalle, opened a pial school where there is today the Municipal Hope Upper Primary School. It was called Fort School (Kotabadi) for it was well within the fort. Hariyappa sold the school to the Mission in 1889 which later raised in to the level of High School.

The credit of establishing a regular school for the first time in the town goes to Mr. C. Murugesu Mudaliar, a retired overseer and a leading citizen of the town, In 1878 he started an elementary school teaching upto IIIrd class and Mr. Arumugam Mudaliar was its first Head Master. In the same year the Government transferred the Middle School at Anantapur to Madanapalle. In 1884 this school was handed over to the Local Board and in 1887 was raised to the status of a High School. Mr. V. Ramanuja Rao B. A., the Head Master of the High School had started the 'Madanapalle students Union' with the object of training young men of the town in the art of Public speaking. Mr. Rayachoti Giri Rao B. A., succeeded Ramanuja Rao as Head Master of the school on August 2, 1887.

In the meantime, a few citizens of the town had started the Town High School. In 1888 the Congress workers in Madanapalle decided to start a "Congress High School" to commemerate the great success of the Indian National Congress, the meeting of which was held in Madras that year. The Board School was closed down and the buildings were given over to the Town High School. All the teachers and students went over and joined the Congress school. Thus the Congress High School was established on March 15, 1888 in a small rented house in the Thyagaraya street. This Congress School might be regarded as the real parent institution of the present Giri Rao Theosophical High School and the Besant Theosophical College.

Soon the disadvantage of having two High Schools in a small town like this was realised and at the intervention of Mr. J. N. Atkinson the Sub-Collector, the two schools, the Congress school and the Town school got amalgamated into one, and named in 1891 as the "Town Congress High School". In 1892 the school was named as 'Madanapalle High School' on the amalgamation of the Mission school which was started in the previous year.²⁵

About this time the Jignasa Lodge of the Theosophical society was started in Madanapalle and Mr. O. L. Sharma, the then manager of the school became its first President. Mr. Giri Rao, the Head Master himself was an ardent Theosophist. In 1896, use of the cane to punish pupils was banned and instruction in morals, religion and physical culture was given much importance. Mr. O. L. Sharma died in 1901 and the government's grant was too small to run the institution. But the self sacrifice of Mr. Giri Rao who was the most outstanding personality in those days kept the school going. In 1903 he was awarded a certificate of merit by command of the Viceroy in recognition of his work as an educationalist.²⁶

The Madanapalle High School, because of men like Mr. Giri Rao kept close contacts with the Theosophical movement. A well-known theosophist Mr. F. T. Brooks visited the school in 1909 and in the next year Dr. Annie Besant herself paid a visit to the town. She was very much impressed by the work of Mr. Giri Rao and his school. The Theosophical Society took over the school and Dr. Besant established the Krishna Vidyalaya to manage the school.²⁷ By 1913, the Theosophical Educational Trust was founded with Mrs. Besant as its president and the school in Madanapalle was entrusted to the new Trust. Mr. C. S. Trilokikar, M. A., who had formally worked in the Central Hindu College Benares, came to Madanapalle in 1913. In the same year Mr. Earnest Wood secured a donation of Rs. 5,000 from Manchester and started the Construction of Besant Hall.

Besant Theosophical College :

In 1914, the Theosophical Educational Trust wanted to upgrade the school into a College and applied to the University of Madras

for affiliation. The people of the town largely welcomed the proposal of starting a College here and several meetings were also held to express their gratitude to Mr. Giri Rao and Mr. Wood.

At the invitation of Mrs. Annie Besant, Lord Pentland the Governor of Madras came and formally opened the Theosophical College in July, 1915. It was the first College for the whole of the Rayalaseema area.

Mr. C. S. Trilokikar was appointed as the first Principal. Prof. B. Rajagopalan who is spending a quite retired life; Dr. D. Gurumurthy, a student of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan; M.V. Venkateswaran (who later was in charge of the Indian Branch of the League of Nations) were few among the early members of the staff. Mr. R. Bindu Rao (an octogenerian, Correspondent of the G. R. T. High School breathed his last on November 9, 1973 after being ill for a few months) was the first librarian and his brother Mr. R. Giri Rao himself was the first correspondent which post he held till his death in 1918.

In 1916 Dr. Besant started the Home Rule movement and the Madanapalle Theosophical College became a great centre of Nationalist activities. The students and staff of the College exhibited intense patriotic fervour when the news about the imprisonment of Dr. Besant on 16th June, 1917 reached and a huge procession was taken out in the town. Mrs. Besant was released in September but the college was disaffiliated by the University of Madras. Undaunted by such an act of the government, Mrs. Besant named the College as Wood National College and got it affiliated to the National University which was organised by the S.P.N.E. (Society for the promotion of National Education). Dr. Ravindra Nath Tagore was the Chancellor of this new University and the constituent colleges were the National Women's College Benaras; the National College Hyderabad (Sindh-Pakistan) Wood National College, Madanapalle and the College of Agriculture and Commerce, Madras²³.

Tagore's visit :

In 1919, an important event occurred in the history of the College when it was visited by the world poet Rabindranath Tagore, during his South Indian Tour. On 25th February, 1919 the special carriage arrived at Madanapalle Road Station in which the Noble laureate arrived. He stayed in the cottage behind the Olcott Bungalow, which has since then borne the name of the poet. Here, he met the students and taught them his well known song 'Janaganamana' which he had written in 1911. The song was sung in almost unrecognisable and even comical way all over the country, and the actual way of singing it, was learnt by the students and staff members from the very poet. He also gave a lecture and read from his 'Message of the Forest' in the Besant Hall. One day when it was arranged to stage his "Sacrifice", a serious fire broke out in the village Chippili. The students of the College rushed to put out the fire and the drama was as a result abandoned. But Tagore recited another play in lieu of 'the Sacrifice'.²⁹ The proceeds went to the affected villagers. Also that day, he received a cheque for a poem in a Japanese paper which he handed over to the fire relief fund.

During his stay here Tagore translated his famous Bengali song Janaganama into English 'The Morning Song'. The original copy of the translation in the poet's own beautiful handwriting was presented to Dr. D. Gurumurthy as a memento of his visit. Later it was sold to an American for a high price which was added to the College fund. However a photostat copy of it was made by the Principal Dr. J. H. Cousins which is still preserved in the College library.

On March 2, having regained his health, Rabindranath Tagore left Madanapalle, what he called as "Santiniketan of the South"

In 1921 the strength of the College dwindled and as a result it was transferred to Madras and was merged with the National College, Adyar. The school also was closed in the next year. The properties of the College and the school were looked after by Mr. R. Seshagiri Rao.

In the meantime, Dr. Besant was very keen on reviving the educational institutions in Madanapalle and restore them to the Theosophical Educational Trust. Sri C. P. Ramanswamy Iyer was also one among the friends of this College who worked for its revival. Finally in July 1923 the College was opened in Madapalle after a lapse of two years with its old name, the "Theosophical College" and Mr. C. S. Trilokikar was the Principal again.

In 1924, the foundation for a Girls' Hostel named Rukmini Vihara, was laid and was completed in 1928. In the meantime, the College was raised to first grade in 1926 and B. A. course was first introduced. On the opening of the Andhra University in 1927, the College was affiliated to it, but in 1929 it went back to the Madras University on the delimitation of the Andhra University. In 1954 the College was brought under the Andhra University after the partition of the State in the previous year. With the inauguration of Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati in 1956 the Besant Theosophical College in Madanapalle finally came under the new University in the same year.

Hope High School :

In 1881 Dr. Jacob Chamberlain, founded a lower secondary school which in course of time developed into the present Hope High School. In 1891 his son Rev. L. B. Chamberlain took charge of the school and in 1910 he built the first block of buildings in the present school compound. The next year the school was upgraded into a High School. In 1915 Rev. John D. Muyskens a graduate of the Hope College in America came as the Head Master and had the name changed as Hope High School on securing a big donation from the students of the Hope College (America). In 1925 the Hope High School was downgraded as a Higher Elementary School and the High School was amalgamed with Voorhees College, Vellore³⁰. It remained thus till 1948 when it was upgraded again to a High school and continues to be under the management of the Mission.

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4. F.A. Coleridge, a cousin of Poet Coleridge and the Sub-Collector of Madanapalle.
5. James H. Cousins was the Principal of the Theosophical College for three terms viz. 1918-'19, 1920-'23 and 1933-1937.
6. This story is akin to the account as to how Hari Hara and Bukka Raya, selected the site for Vijayanagar on seeing the hounds being chased by hare.
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 25. Cole ridge, F.A. *A Brief History of Madanapalle* 1911.
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 27. Madanapol. Besant Theosophical School Magazines back numbers.
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BELL-WETHER OF CHANGE : THE ROLE OF TELUGUS IN TIMES OF TURBULENCE AND TRANSITION.

R. E. Frykenberg

Amid the complexities of those processes which have served to accelerate the political integration of India, the role of Telugus is fascinating. Is it more than idle curiosity which prompts one to ask how often and in what measure the actions of Telugus have been like a bell-wether for major changes in the direction of political processes within the subcontinent? There was a time, centuries ago, when Telugus ruled over most of the southern peninsula. Then, after the disintegration of their last Vijayanagara dynasty and of their great Nayaka families (in such places as Gingee, Thanjavuru, and Madurai), Telugus fell prey to predatory powers coming from the north. As struggles for hegemony and succession mounted — first between Bijapur and Golkonda, then between Mughals and Marathas, and finally between expanding European enclaves — some Telugus joined the English. While the part which Telugus played in erecting a more orderly world within the framework of the Indian Empire is a longer tale than can be told here, that they played such a part is in itself significant. Whatever their motives might have been, Telugu merchants, princes, and warriors became pillars in the structure of the Company's first city-state. Telugu *dubashis* sought its prosperity and Telugu sepoys marched to its drums. It is now sometimes forgotten how, from its earliest beginnings, Madras was the 'Gentu' (or Telugu) City'.

A century later, within that matrix of rapid, even revolutionary changes which served to increase the pace of social mobilization and the degree of political consciousness in India, Telugus became unsettling harbingers of other new trends. Conscious of new "civil rights" and "constitutional guarantees" as found in the

Carnatic Treaty of 1801, Telugu leaders were among the first to protest against violations of "equal protection", "where prejudice to race, color, religion, or place of birth should be replaced by a system where "selection to office [would be] dependent on qualification placed within the attainment of all." Under thousands of signatures, memorials of such "new men" boasted that "Hindu blood [had] freely flowed" in sacrifice for the new "All-India" world.²

Yet as the 19th century progressed and came to its end, Telugus were again among the disturbed of the land. Within the larger perspective of the integration of modern India, leaders among the very highest of Telugu communities, most notably among Niyogi Brahmans and like-minded elites, grew alarmed as they saw themselves farther and farther behind in general competitions for placement and for positions in the highest, most important and powerful levels of "public" life, both official and non-official.

Factors leading to this state of affairs are very complicated, moreover, much more research must be done before firm conclusions can be drawn. Yet, some things seem clear. In combination with a tiny elite of British rulers, the imperial bureaucracy of early 19th century South India had first been ruled by an equally tiny group of Maratha Brahmans (Desasthas & Vyaparis).³ After the mid-century transition from "patronage wallah" to "competition wallah" policies of recruitment and selection and promotion (in services and professions), however, the small diaspora of Desasthas thinly scattered across the peninsula was virtually swamped; and, in consequence, their power dissipated. With more and more university graduates coming up, by the end of the century the preponderance of strong educational institutions in the deep south began to count more and more heavily in favor of Tamils (and Malayalis). The ascendancy of Tamil Brahmans, Ayyars and Ayyangars, can be traced to these institutions.⁴ By the early 20th century, Madras Presidency had almost become a "Brahman Raj." But with Tamils predominant, Telugus felt more bypassed.

Reaction to this new predominance took several forms. In the deep south, it was the Non-Brahman movement which ultimately gained greatest headway. But to the north, where Telugu Brahmans felt at least as deprived as Non-Brahmans, other movements also became strong. Behind all of these movements lay a common factor — namely, a sense of insecurity engendered from feelings of “backwardness” and helpless frustration. In terms of focus, origin, and sequence, subregional labels may conveniently be applied to these separatist movements. Thus, one can speak of the Andhra Movement (led mainly by Brahmans of coastal or “Circari” Andhra), the Rayalaseema Movement, and the Telangana Movement. (The Communist or later “Naxalite” Movements in Telangana and Andhra, may be considered in some respects an outgrowth of these movements and, in other respects, are an altogether category, perhaps a bell-wether of more radical movements yet to come). It is in such contexts that two books by Dr. K. V. Narayana Rao, (published 1972-73)* have relevance. Data therein serve to illustrate the argument of this essay in more recent times.

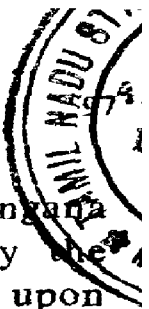
Narayana Rao shows us how the Andhra Movement began as an attempt to bring moral improvement, self-strengthening and modernization to Telugus. Called “social reform” and concerned mainly with such issues as concubinage, female education, child marriage, widow remarriage and other social evils which were having pernicious effects upon the elite castes, its aim was to change society by reforming the behavior of Telugus, especially those in the highest and most privileged families. Early emphasis was placed upon the melodic beauty and the literary heritage of the Telugu peoples. Perhaps no single Telugu leader did more to restore to Telugus a sense of their own hignity (and destiny) as the Niyogi poet, reformer and teacher Kandukuri Viresslingam Pantulu (1848-1919),⁵ At the same time and while finding expression in a movement to revitalize the Telugu language, a regional reaction against Tamil dominance and

* *Telangana : A study in the Regional Committee in India* (Calcutta: The Minerva Associates 1972, xv, 422, &c); and *The Emergence of Andhra Pradesh* (Bombay : Popular Prakashan, 1973, xi, 350 pp. Bib. Index).

Tamil "exploitation" gathered momentum. This crystallized in the formation of the Andhra Mahasabha (1906, and 1911). Thus, what had begun as a campaign for the rejuvenation of Telugu peoples developed into a clamour for a separate political identity. This in turn brought a demand for a separate Telugu province.

But, from the plethora of descriptive detail found in these volumes, some profound ironies become manifest. It seems clear that Telugu peoples have had very little if any literary (or literate) culture of their own. A rich oral tradition from Old Telugu did survive the onslaughts of one expansive culture after another. The brilliance of alien cultures tended to captivate and attract the patronage of local Telugu chiefs. Thus, while their original oral culture was submerged, such Telugu literature as did survive seems to have been almost exclusively Sansritic and Brahmanical in its orientation. The result has been that, by and large, to this day, Andhra culture is Brahman culture.⁶ As exemplified in poem and song, it reflects the preserves of Niyogi and Vaidiki dominance (Niyogis and Vaidikis, evenly divided, comprise about nine-tenths of all Telugu Brahmans; moreover, in sectarian terms, they are Smarthas in comparable measure). The impacts of Persian-Urdu and of English (Western) culture upon Telugus has been comparable to that of Sanskrit, if not quite as pervasive and deep. Rayalasima Telugus, feeling as threatened by the cultural and educational advantages of the coastal Andhras (especially in English) as those Andhras felt threatened by the superior English of the Tamils, demanded safeguards before they would allow themselves to be drawn into the Andhra Movement. Even so, despite the special arrangements of the Sri Baug Pact (1937), Rayalasima Telugus never showed the same degree of enthusiasm for the creation of an Andhra state as coastal Andhras. Likewise, Telangana Telugus had good reasons for anxiety over what they considered to be the "imperialistic" ambitions of the Andhras on the coast. Centuries of accommodation to the attractions of Islamic and Mughal culture, as expressed in the idiom of Persian and Urdu, left these Telugus with a life-style very different from that of Telugus on the coast. Even in everyday matters of dress, food, and speech, what one Telugu people found fine and fastidious, the other would find

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repulsive. Andhra Telugus despised the crudeness of Telangana Telugus; and Telangana Telugus found their nerves grated by the habits of the Telugus of the coast. Both in turn looked down upon the Rayalaseema people and found such attitudes reciprocated.

When translated into political behavior, therefore, the role of Telugus in the 20th century has been contradictory. Whereas in the past their very lack of a strong indigenous culture tended to make them open to all outside influences — whether Sanskrit, Persian, or English — in the present century this has been countered by a opposite tendency toward inward looking, narrow, and offensive attitudes, (at least by Brahmans). Openness, as symbolized by the culture of the eastern Deccan (Golkonda and Hyderabad; or Madras) gave Telugus an electric and syncretistic tradition, making them broader than the geographic perimeters of Telugu country and more outward looking than the narrow confines of their own language and ethnicity. Their support for an "All India" imperial system was transmuted during this century into support for Indian nationalism.

But here the dilemmas intrinsic to the positions of Andhra and Telangana become manifest. Not wishing to upset their Establishment, nor to stir up more troubles than they could manage, the British were content to overlook (or deny) the Andhra Movement and hoped that it would go away. Not so, the Indian National Congress. In 1917, with the advent of Gandhi and "mass movements," a deliberate attempt was made to reach behind the English-speaking gentry of the country. The regional reorganization of the Congress along "linguistic principles" was deliberately undertaken so as to reach masses of people in their own vernacular languages. This action was seen by Andhras as a "magna carta," binding the Congress to a solemn pledge of Andhra statehood. Here was another "post-dated cheque," to be redeemed after Independence. But once this assumption was accepted and its momentum reinforced, leaders of Rayalaseema (and later, of Telangana) became worried in their turn. Pandora's box was opened, the consequences of which could not be predicted. Moreover, once the Partition was over and Pakistan was an established fact, interests of the ruling Congress in

the *real politique* of integration were found to be as much at odds with the "fissiparous tendencies" of the "linguistic principle" as had been the inclinations of British rulers before them. Yet, the expectations build up by the Andhra Movement and generated by mounting violent protests after 1950 (leading to the death fast of Sriramulu on 19th October, 1952) could no longer be denied. Telugus, who until then had not made very good chauvinists, became the first people of India to gain their own, more parochial state.

Nor was this the end of the Matter. Now it was the turn of Telangana leaders to be heard. Apprehensions prior to the merger of Circari Andhra with Rayalaseema and with Telangana, (so as to bring about the formation of Andhra Pradesh), led to a series of safeguarding arrangements;— e. g. the Sri Baug Pact (1937), Akola Pact (1947), Sachar Formula (1949), Nagpur Agreement (1953), and Gentlemen's Agreement (1956). All these guarantees had meant to assuage fears. In addition, Article 371 of the Constitution of India, as amended in 1956, provided for the creation of the Andhra Pradesh Regional Committee. Made up of Members of the Legislative Assembly and Government, its task was to provide for an equitable distribution of funds, educational facilities, employment opportunities, and development schemes so as to make sure that Telangana (and also Rayalaseema) did not become exploited, a "step sister" region in the politics of the new state. But any account of factors leading to the formation of this Regional Committee; to the way in which it functioned or malfunctioned; and to the shortcomings of Congress leadership which inevitably led to the agitations (1969, 1974) for a separate Telangana State, is not complete unless it also gives due weight to the historical legacy which was peculiar to Telangana's earlier place within Hyderabad.

Prior to 1948, Telugus had comprised nearly half of the population (of 18.7 million) and had occupied more than half of the land within the "feudalistic" structure of the Nizam's dominions. They had shared, howsoever minimally, in a "public" life where Urdu was dominant and where both Marathi and English enjoyed far greater

respect than Telugu. In 1922, the Andhra Jana Sangham of Hyderabad had been formed after an attempt to win public recognition for Telugu had been shouted down by Maharashtrians. People of Telangana had participated in the Mulki Movement during the early 1930's when acute unemployment caused by the Depression had been made infinitely worse (at least in local eyes) by the competitive advantages of "Outsiders" (Non-Mulkis or Non-Hyderabadis who had flocked into positions within the state). And then, after Independence (and partition). Telugus had simultaneously suffered the ravages of the Razakars (1947-48), the Communist Uprising (1947;51), and the "Police Action" (September, 1948). It is no small wonder, therefore, that Telangana leaders, sensitive to any whiff of usurpation or exploitation by Non-Mulki Telugus from coastal Andhra, kept alive their hopes for a separate "Independent" state.

No study of recent Telangana history can be complete which does not touch upon agrarian unrest, radical politics, and violent revolution. In the minds of many, Telangana like Naxalbar has become synonymous with extremist movements under the leadership of China-oriented Communists (Maoist or CPI-ML). That this should be so is due to another social movement which has left a profound legacy among Telugus, the final ramifications of which may yet be unknown. This movement reached not the highest but the very lowest peoples. For reasons far from quickly explainable, Malas and Madigas and other "outcast" ("untouchable") Telugu communities have been especially open to the winds of change. Perhaps nowhere in India did Christian missionaries receive such a hearing and perhaps nowhere was their impact so sudden and sweeping. It was here that the large "mass movements" of conversion occurred. Even by conservative estimates, at least a million people, mostly low caste, became Christians during the last quarter of the 19th century. Not only has this process continued during the 20th century but, since the departure of foreign missionaries (almost entirely), it seems to have accelerated, inasmuch that the numbers of Telugu Christians have been estimated to run as high as four million or more (perhaps accounting for one-tenth of all Telugus). (This question is sensitive and touchy, fraught with census politics).

The significance of mass movements among the most deprived, stigmatized communities lies in their revolutionary implications. Radical cultural transformation, accompanied by strong lateral-linkage and "class-conscious" identification, rapid education, and upward mobility can have a profound impact in any society. High ideals of universal humanity, dignity, equality and liberty for all men, when combined with concerted efforts to increase the sum of individual benefits and to provide help for weaker "brothers", through schools, hospitals, and welfare programs, can have a disturbing influence upon existing institutions. Many who have benefited from the status quo have felt threatened and have reacted violently. Yet, so long as such movements were peaceful and so long as economic development in the countryside could absorb such upward mobility, there was little cause for alarm.

But once the propensity for revolutionary mass movement within parts of the Telugu population became known, other causes and other doctrines could be introduced. While social mobilization of elite classes involved them in a heady political consciousness of "All-India" or national dimensions, such mobilization at lower levels of society was more likely to result in an organized striving for a more equal distribution of wealth and for a restructuring of dignity within society. This is where the appeal of Marxist doctrine came into the equation of social change. Indeed, looked at solely in terms of ultimate social and economic goals, Marxist ideals could be seen as essentially Christian (at least in part). But as soon as questions of means were raised and as soon as views of anthropology (and theology) were compared, sensitive and thoughtful Christians parted company with Marxists. Yet, the fertile ground for more violent mass movement, once found to exist, could be cultivated. Crops of violent protest and rebellion have already been brought to harvest on several occasions; moreover, the seed for further radical change finds fertile soil in Telugu country. Here again, the role of Telugus as harbingers of radical change, may eventually prove to be in advance of the nation at large.

All of these and many other intriguing pieces in the puzzle of Telugu politics during the twentieth century have been brought

together by the patient research and painstaking scholarship of Dr. Narayana Rao. Within his two volumes lies a wealth of detail and documentation surrounding the events which have moved and shaken the peoples of Andhra Pradesh during the 20th century. If at times his analysis of these events is cautious and his synthesis of data, somewhat thin, this may perhaps be attributed to personal modesty and to the scholarly tradition within which he has been trained. Reflecting the guidance of the late Professor R. Bhaskaran of Madras under whom he studied, his research is carefully restrained. Rarely lifting his discussion far from the empirical data, he has left statements of larger significance and bolder flights of abstraction for others to pursue.

ENDNOTES

1. H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, and of Useful Words Occuring in Official Documents relating to the Administration of the Government of British India* (London : Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1855), p. 172, indicates that the term was derived from the Portuguese *Gentio* for gentile or Heathen. Hence, it was generally applied to mean "a Hindu, or a native of India". However, the term also acquired a particular meaning, applying to Telugu-speaking peoples especially, and to their language. This rendering is distinguished and traced in *Hobson-Jobson : A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases.....* (London : 1886; 1968 new edition), pp. 367-369. Fort St. George Consultations, 29 January. 1679. Usage of the term is the theme of J. Mangamma. "Gentoo — The Telugu language," *Itihas : Journal of the Andhra Pradesh Archives* January-June 1974), Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 18-25. Finally, it was B. Schultze, the Tranquebar missionary and grammarian — translator, who wrote to his colleagues that Madras was "the Gentu" (Telugu) City, as can be seen in *It Began at Tranquebar : A History of the First Protestant Mission in India* (Madras : CLS, 1956), by E. Arno Lehmann, pp. 113, 115-19, 130-37).
2. Memorial of the Madras Hindu Community to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, dated 7 October 1845. Original Mss. copy is found in the India Office Records, "Board's Collections" 109.457. Reprinted the following year, as : *Proceedings of the Meeting of the Hindu Community Held in the Patcheapah's Institution, On Wednesday the 7th October 1845* (Madras : 1846), paragraph 2. This petition quotes from provisions of the Carnatic Treaty of 1801 and from the 1833 Charter Act (Section 87).

3. This is a major underlying theme in *Guntur District, 1788-1848 : A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India* (Oxford : 1965), by R. E. Frykenberg.
 4. Most recently, this has been carefully documented in M. A. thesis by Richard Devitt (Madison : Wisconsin, 1977). Previously, the most rigorous and thorough treatment of this theme was by R. Suntharalingam, *Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India, 1852-1891* (Tucson : 1974), to which must now be added the work of David Washbrook, *The Emergence of Provincial Politics : The Madras Presidency, 1870-1920* (Cambridge, U. K. 1976).
 5. As is shown in *Kandukuri Viresalingam, 1845-1919 : A Biography of an Indian Social Reformer* (Madison : University of Wisconsin, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, 1970).
 6. See work done and being being done by Velcheru Narayana Rao, and by his student, Gene H. Roghair, especially his "*The Epic of Palnadu*" : *A Study of and Translation of the "Palnati Virula Katha"*, *A Telugu Oral Tradition as Sung by Alisetti Galeyya* (Madison : University of Wisconsin Ph. D. Thesis, 1977).
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*** CHECKS AND BALANCES IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION**

V. Narayana Rao

Most citizens are familiar with Government, a large number of them work for a part of Government but it is not always that citizens in general or Government officials in particular take the trouble of seeing Government as a whole. Each one of us in a separate way will be familiar with a small portion of Government as a small cog in the whole machinery but it is very rarely that we sit back and think what exactly is the structure of our Government, what exactly are the factors, that make Government work. We are always tempted to think that Government is something very powerful and that Government can do or undo many things but in reality there are checks and balances all through and it is very rarely that anybody can predicate that something shall be done in a particular time. There are constraints and it is knowledge of the constraints related to the whole system that will give us a fairly comprehensive idea of why public policy has to be shaped within particular limitations.

Most of us are familiar with the three broad divisions of Government, viz., the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary. These three have inter-relationships which we must try to find out and understand before we know why things happen in the particular way they are actually happening. Let us look at the concept of the organization itself. The people under the constitution are the sovereign body. Again this sovereign body does not include everybody in the population, it is only adult human beings above the age

* This article is based on the speech delivered by the author at the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad, on 9-3-78, under the Lecture Programme Series scheme of the APSA.

of 21 that are eligible to exercise their franchise. It is this group of people not the general city of people that elect the legislatures, whether it is the parliament or a corresponding agency, the legislative assembly. Now this scheme of a Central Government and States in a federal structure has resulted in the areas of all Government activity being split into three groups; one group exclusively within the competence of the Central Government, another group exclusively within the competence of the State concerned and the third group where both the State Legislature as well as the parliament can make laws, provisions for their applicability in States such as that where Parliament has made a law such a statute will be valid superceding the State Law if any made earlier on the subject or that a particular law will take effect in a state only after a resolution of the legislature. That is how we have a state list, a central list and a concurrent list i. e. there is an inbuilt check on the legislative powers of the elected bodies whether at the Centre or at the State. This is one of the first limitations we must recognise. After that the legislature from out of a like thinking majority membership constitute the policy making agency what may be called the political executive. This political executive is expected to be responsible and responsive to the legislature which has given them their existence itself but the legislature does something more than that also. The entire financial competence of the political executive is derived by the note of the legislature except in respect of charged expenditure provided in the constitution itself. So on one side the political executive gets its birth from the legislature and its financial capacity also by a vote rendered by the legislature. That is the second limitation. The political executive cannot come into being except through membership of the legislature with the solitary exception that anybody can be appointed a Minister for six months but he cannot continue in office for more than six months except by in the meantime becoming a member of one of the two houses. The legislature also gives specified amounts of money to the political executive to shape their policy and to execute it. Now, a political executive by itself will be a small body. Even the largest ministry in a State is not normally more than a small proportion of the entire strength of the assembly. That means in a State like Andhra Pradesh we are apt to think that 33 or

44 will represent the largest number of ministers that we may possibly have. Now Government is such a vast thing that ministers by themselves can shape the policy but to execute it they need somebody else. That is where the entire body of public servants come in. The entire body of Public Servants constitute the civil administration of the State. Similarly for the purposes of the Central Government the Central Government also is organised into several departments and where the concurrent list is concerned we will find the dichotomy similar people working in the States as well as in the Centre dealing with identical subjects. Now the job of the administration is quite simple, a portion of it assists in the formulation of the policy at a relatively high level in the administrative set up and a substantially larger group functions at the implementation level.

There is a clear area where a public servant may help the political executive in formulating policy. What may look good from a very theoretical point of view may not necessarily be right in the particular context of the place and at that particular time. What is unexceptionable purely as a matter of theory may not be practicable at a given point of time. So, the role of the top levels in the administration in advising the political executive about what can be done at a given time and what cannot be done at a particular time also constitutes another constraint not spelt out but necessary to recognise as a part of the system. Once policy is settled the administration has the job of implementation and for that implementation, programmes are to be formulated and have to be coordinated for the very simple reason that more than one person will be incharge of different aspects of its administration. So the job of formulating programmes and coordinating them so that a successful implementation is possible remains one of the key functions of the administration. Just as a few people cannot hope to administer a policy a few people sitting either at Delhi or at Hyderabad cannot execute all programmes with their bare hands. That is why we go to smaller administrative units. Some states have plumped for a group of districts as a middle level. Many states do not have a middle level, from the state they go direct to a district. Whether we have a structure with only districts or another structure with regions the result is the same. The district

administration actually executes a policy within the frame work that has been given to them and the district administration again has to function through a large number of executive functionaries. What is it that these executive functionaries do? They regulate the activities of the people in specific areas. It will be seen that there is a whole cycle of action and responsibility - the people elect a Government, and ultimately the Government through its subordinate administrative agencies regulates the activities of the people themselves. The only difference is that at the stage of electing the representative legislatures, it is that portion of the people who are eligible to vote under the adult franchise formula that elect the membership of a legislature out of which springs a Government as the political executive to command and direct the administrative body. But the activities of the Government at the lowest level may embrace the entire population, not merely the voters. But basically the concept is that the people administer themselves, give shape and voice to what is important to them and to achieve their ends elect a legislature. It formulates the policies which are responsible and in tune with their aspirations but right down at the lowest level the administration in effect becomes an enforcing agency for the vital aspirations of the people as reflected by the political executive. This is the structure of the executive portion of Government. Simultaneously we have two other wings. The more popular—the more well known of the two is the legislature. It was already mentioned in the very beginning that the legislature does two things, it creates a political executive and it gives money to the political executive within the limits of which the political executive can work. The third aspect is that the legislature has to make laws. The authority of the administration to execute a programme to implement a policy derived from the statutes made by the legislature ends within the statute generally a rule making power is embodied so that the detailed working of the policy again is rendered possible not with a reference to the legislature every time but so that the executive Government can frame rules. Because this power to make detailed rules (what is called subordinate legislation) is embodied in most of the statutes the legislature has also the responsibility to see that these rules are within the ambit of the power that has been delegated to the executive and therefore one of the vital duties of the

legislature apart from voting money and making statutes is to examine rule making. Because they have voted money for specified subjects in specified amounts it is the duty of the legislature to scrutinise appropriations. These items of work are taken care of by the legislature through appropriate committee work. That is how we find in addition to the committee on privileges or the House Committee which looks after special functions, we will ordinarily find in every legislature an estimates committee that applies itself to the problem of priorities in shaping executive policy. a committee on assurances that makes sure that what is promised by Government is faithfully done as quickly as possible and a committee on Public Accounts which goes into the details of the expenditure actually incurred in executing a programme. The vital functioning of the legislature is thus in two forms – one form takes the shape of making statutes where all the members of a legislature are involved but the rest is committee work where groups of legislators are assigned the responsibility of checking, keeping track of and finally deciding whether what is done is done as it is proposed to be done or not. Most of the arduous work is done by the committees. We have also another kind of committee—a committee which we call a Select Committee of either one house or a joint Select committee of both the houses that are formed to ascertain public opinion in respect of matters where it is possible that no clear mandate is available to the Government in respect of a legislative proposal. One can imagine the kind of situation where certain issues are definitely projected as part of the programme by the political parties when they go for elections but the largest portion of the legislative programme does not necessarily attain the level where it becomes an election issue. Most of us will agree that where in respect of the personal laws of different communities, any legislation that is proposed to be undertaken is unlikely to become an election issue. These matters which are fairly disassociated from active politics are the areas where ascertaining the public opinion becomes a very important issue and a large portion of work of ascertaining public opinion in relation to legislative matters is generally handled by the Committee of the legislature who have before them a draft of a bill and about its specified provisions they are entitled to record evidence, meet people and ultimately submit a

report and it is on the basis of such a report that the detailed scrutiny of the proposal in the legislature is taken up. In this type of committee work the functions, of the legislature are very closely interwoven with the functions of the political executive.

Now we go to the third aspect, the third aspect of polity the Judiciary. Courts have two specific responsibilities. The first of the several responsibilities of courts is to examine the validity of the statutes made whenever a doubt is cast on any specific provision or somebody challenges the validity of the legislation. Now we have specified limits in the legislative bodies as mentioned already. Supposing a State makes a law in relation to a subject which is in the Central List in the constitution automatically it has no legal validity but it is necessary that a court should say so formal act of the legislature can be struck down wholly when its legality and validity in terms of the constitution is decided upon by the court. The same authority extends in respect of the rule making power because that also is subordinate legislation. But courts have a further responsibility. Even if the law is right and the rule made under the law is reasonable the detailed executive instructions may cause difficulties, and so a court will be eligible to look into the executive instructions flowing under the law also. A second aspect of the same thing is the law is right, the rules are right, the executive instructions are right, but Mr. X public servant may make a mistake the only redressal available to a citizen who is affected by that is a formal appeal to a higher authority in the executive itself but assuming that that mistake goes uncorrected by the executive levels, the man has only one option to go to court. So in the entire process of law making to rule making to executive instructions to implementation of the executive instructions, wherever a fault may occur, an opportunity is there, for the person who is affected to go to the court. Second aspect of the working of the courts is to settle issues which have nothing to do with the government but between individuals. If two private individuals have a difference that difference will have to be settled by the court in terms of the law. We all are familiar with the Penal laws Society for its survival makes certain laws prohibiting certain actions of individuals they go beyond a level where an absolute prohibition is made and anybody who violates that prohibition is proposed to be

punished. These are our penal laws. Most of the penal laws are not necessarily very harsh. A large number of our laws are there only to ensure public order, most of the traffic laws for instance or the laws dealing with explosives kept in particular places. These are laws which regulate primarily to ensure that innocent people are not hurt. The absolute prohibition invariably is where a moral stigma is also attached. That is how we will see that the Indian Penal Code deals comprehensively with all absolute prohibitions. The perpetration of any single act covered by that automatically leads to a statutory stipulated punishment. Other laws are regulation in nature and the penalties levied need not necessarily be harsh. Sometimes we will find that a warning by a court that this particular type of conduct is not correct is all that happens. But we will see that the totality of the structure of these three will touch a citizen at some level or the other. No human life can possibly be such that there is no impact of government, at some time or the other. If we buy kerosene in the market we know that there are regulations about its supply, about its storage, about its distribution and about its price. That is a solitary example but almost any field of activity we take up we will find that in the interest of peaceful living and for a sort of well co-ordinated wellknit society with definite objectives of improvement, laws exist covering that field of activity. Laws are very comprehensive and wherever some area is not touched by legislation we will find that legislatures are applying their minds to it, that there may be a law on it in future. This roughly represents a complex organisation in which an effort is made to give the popular will the majority will, a shape and a formulation and that it is provided with the hands and fingers with which it is actually implemented.

**BOOK
REVIEWS**

Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-al-Lubab by: Anees Jahan Syed. Published by Somaiya Publications Private Limited., 172, Mumbai Marathi Granhasangrahalaya Marg, Dagar, Bombay - 400014. Price Rs... PP.XXXII+427+4 pages of Persian text. Format 25 × 18. 5cms.

Muntakab-al-Lubab or *Tarikh-i-Khafi Khan* is a Voluminous history from the Muhammadan conquest of India to the fourteenth year (1733) of the reign of Mohammad Shah. The first volume from the Muhammadan conquest to the end of the Lodi dynasty was perhaps never completed except in the rough and is very scarce. The third volume deals with local dynasties and is also scarce. The second volume comprising a full account of the Mughals in India from the conquest of Babur to the reign of Muhammad Shah, is the best known part of the work and is chiefly valuable for containing an entire account of the reign of Aurangzeb, with which portion we are now concerned.

The author, Muhammad Hashim S/o Khwaja Mir is better known as Khafi Khan. He was brought up in Aurangzeb's service, and was employed by him in political and military situations. He served as *amil* in the Deccan during Aurangzeb's reign. When Nizam-ul-Mulk became *subedar* of the Deccan in 1713 he appointed him as *Diwan*, and a few years later Muhammad Shah bestowed on him the title of Khafi Khan.

Muntakhabul-Lubab is not only a valuable specimen of Persian historiography of medieval India, but is a very valuable contemporary source for the political events and administrative changes which took place during the period. It is also valuable as it is a non-commissioned, non-official work done probably by six officers who, with the exception of Khafi Khan wished to remain anonymous but were anxious to communicate their view to a private circle of friends and posterity. Thus Khafi Khan has bodily incorporated the works of some officials of the reign of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb collectively known as 'Sadiq Khan' and 'Mamuri'.

The book under review is a study that consists the translation in English from relevent sections of *Muntakhab-al-Lubab* (upto 1688 A.D.) along with a running comparison of Khafi Khan with Sadiq Khan and Mamuri. Though the translator does not mention the MSS, she has utilised but it is apperent from her *Introduction* that he has translated from the Persian text printed by Bibliotheca India, Calcutta.

The present work under review has an *Introduction* by the translator and four parts of the text as follows :

- Part I *Early Career of Aurangzeb* (1618-57) in five Chapters;
- Part II *War of Succession* in eight chapters ;
- Part III *Aurangzeb in Northern India* in twelve chapters ;
- Part IV *The Conquest of Bijapur and Golconda* in six chapters; plus two appendices, a bibliography and an index.

In the *Introduction* of 21 pages Anees Jahan S;ed critically analyses the work of Khafi Khan and also mentions about her family and the circumstances under which he compiled the work.

Khafi Khan's eye-witness account of political, administrative, socio-economic donditions of India for 52 years brings out the following high lights : That the two great pillars of the Mughal Empire—the *mansab dari* organization and the agrarian system virtually collapsed in the last quarter of 17th and first quarter of 18th Century He was disturbed about the degeneration of the Mughal bureaucracy which had become corrupt and clique ridden. He rightly beleived that the Mughal empire could only be preserved if the Government machinary was in competent hands However, he did not live to see the day when Nadir Shah ransacked Delhi in 1739.

He writes that unable to defeat the armies of Bijapur and Golconda in a 'Cossack Warfare' Shah Jahan started the programme of destroying fields, hamlets and townships of the helpless peasantry. Khafi Khan thus draws a horrifying picture of the Mughal soldiers' behaviour during Shah Jahan's Deccan invasion of 1630-1.

Writing probably in 1720-21, after giving an account of the reforms of Todarmal, Khafi Khan comments tellingly on the contemporary grim conditions of the peasantry, the agricultural land being laid waste due to revenue farming, and the consequent decline in cultivation. He also protests against the sale of hereditary lands and property of the peasants by the revenue officials.

Describing the revenue settlement of Murshid Quli Khan in the Deccan, Khafi Khan condemned the Mughal administration for ruining the prosperity and the desolation of the rural areas.

Khafi Khan's work acquires greater importance for the appraisal of the later part of Aurangzeb's reign and his early successors. He was a witness to the tottering political and social fabric, and portrays vividly the gloomy picture of the misery of the soldiers and the poverty of small *mansabdars*, low salaried employees and other dependents on official patronages.

After commenting on the ill conceived action of Aurangzeb in the imposition of *jizya* on non-Muslims, Khafi Khan estimates the income from this source at fifty-two *lakhs*, and probably more than this was spent on the cost of collection.

Thus, Khafi Khan's account is honest and impartial and is not motivated by any prejudices nor compiled to please any high official or the Emperor, as he himself confesses. "Apart from speaking the truth, the author of these pages has no *Amir* or *Wazir* to please".

Lastly a word of praise to Anees Jahan Syed is essential as she has done a wonderful job for non-Persian scholars by translating into English this valuable work. Her erudite translation in lucid English with profuse footnotes, especially her running comparison of Khafi Khan's account with that of Sadiq Khan and Mamuri and her critical analysis of different aspects throughout the voluminous book is highly commendable and she deserves earnest congratulations from scholars of medieval India. The work may remain a last word for quite some time to come. With this work Anees Jahan has joined the band of selected great scholars who have translated original Mughal histories into English, *viz.*, Elliot, Dawson, A. S. and H. Beveridges, King, Ranking, Leynden, and Eryskine, Wosley Haig, Sri Jadunath Sarkar etc.

On the whole the book provides extremely rich original source material and a few blemishes found here and there can be overlooked. E. g. the date of 14th regnal year Mohammad Shah's reign is 1733 and not 1723 as mentioned by Anees Jahan at the first page of her *Introduction*. The present reviewer does not agree with Anees Jahan in the reckoning of the regnal years of Aurangzeb in the light of facts recorded in the contemporary sources. In the fourth chapter of part II entitled "Aurangzeb's First Coronation", at P. 106, it is mentioned that the First Coronation of Aurangzeb took place on Friday, 1st Ziqada 1068 H. (July 31, 1658). But in her Appendix B (P. 375) while tabulating the Regnal years of Aurangzeb (based on the *Ma-asir Alamgiri* she reckons the first regnal year from 1st Ramazan 1068 H. (June 2, 1658) that is before the Coronation, which is incorrect. Regnal year has to be reckoned from the date of Coronation.

In chapters VI of part II, entitled "The Second Coronation", at P. 132, it is mentioned that Second Coronation took place on 21st Ramazan 1069 H (June 12, 1659), while in the Appendix B she again reckons incorrectly from 1st Ramazan 1069 (May 23, 1659).

Again she makes incorrect statement at P. 195 footnote 1, that "Aurangzeb's first four regnal years began on the first day of Ramazan". Thus she is contradicting her own statements.

Further, at P. 375 she states that the Appendix on the Regnal Years of Aurangzeb is based on *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*. But the *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Trans. Bib Indica, Calcutta 1947) clearly mentions at page 4 that the first coronation of Aurangzeb took place on 1st Ziqada/wednesday 21st July and that the second coronation took place on 24 Ramazan/5th June 1659.

Like wise a comparative study of the dates given in *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* and those given by Anees Jahan based on the same source show numerous discrepancies.

The book is an achievement of Anees Jahan Syed.

Dr. M. A. Nayeem.

K. Krishna Murthy, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa: A Cultural Study: Concept Publishing Company, Delhi, 1977. Pp. 289. Pls. 35 and Figures 13, Price Rs. 150-00.

The power of the Sātavāhanas, who had held sway over wide regions of the Deccan for nearly three centuries, declined about the close of the first quarter of the third century A.D. and their extensive dominions crumbled to pieces. On the ashes of the extensive Sātavāhana empire a number of small principalities, some of them carved out by the erstwhile subordinate chiefs or servants of the Sātavāhanas (styled Andhrabhṛitya in the Purānas) came into existence. Judging by the number of epigraphic records and remains of their artistic achievements, the Ikshvākus, with their capital at Vijayapurī, now known as Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, were one of the most important powers that shared the wide dominions of their erstwhile overlords amongst themselves. They ruled over the Kṛishṇā basin comprising the Guntur and adjoining region of Andhra Pradesh for nearly a century from about 325 A.D. to the early years of the fourth century A.D. To all appearances, the Ikshvāku kingdom enjoyed peace and prosperity, born, *inter alia*, of brisk maritime trade with the West, which provided the necessary incentive for peaceful pursuits including fine arts. Religion served as another source of inspiration for efflorescence of plastic art. The glimpses of this unparalleled artistic activity can be had in the remains salvaged at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and at some other adjacent localities.

As we know from the numerous epigraphic records from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the Ikshvāku rulers were followers of Brahmanical religion and took pride in performing Vedic sacrifices. Their queens and some other members of the royal household, on the other hand, were votaries of Buddhism and built numerous monasteries and other religious edifices and for their upkeep and maintenance made lavish donations. As a result of this catholic attitude in regard to religious matters both Vedic religion and Buddhism flourished side by side in

their realm and structures belonging to both the religions have been brought to light by the archaeologist's spade. However, there is hardly any doubt that Buddhism occupied a predominant position and numerous Buddhist sects like Theravādā, Mahāsaṅghika Māhīśāsaka, Bahusrutīya, Lokottaravāda, Aparamahāvanaśāila, etc. received liberal patronage and had a good following. Nāgārjunakonda, under the Ikshvākus, appears to have attained great renown as a centre of Buddhistic Culture. Buddhist monks from far and wide, including foreign lands, thronged to this place. The Ceylonese monks had their own establishmant called Simhala Vihāra whence they carried out their proselytising activities in distant regions. The artistic creations of the Buddhists, though depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha and the Jātaka stories and primarily intended to serve their religious aspirations, draw quite a lot from the daily life of the different sections of the people and it is here that a social historian gets material required for his study. The work under review aims at studying the Ikshvāku Culture of Nāgārjunakonda from this angle and tries to present a dependable account of contemporary life in its various aspects. Dr. Krishnamurthy has, for this purpose, studied all the sculptural material thrown up as a result of archaeological excavations carried out in 1927-31, 1938, and 1954-60 and preserved in different museums in India and abroad. He has utilised not only the sculptural but also other antiquities and architectural remains to make his account fuller and comprehensive. At most of the places he has availed of the literary data for corroboration. The outcome is a vivid and lifelike picture of all the different facets of contemporary material culture. And as the valley of Nāgārjunakonda has been submerged once for all under Nāgārjunasagar an amount of finality attaches to this study.

The dissertation is divided into fourteen chapters. The opening chapter, which is intended to provide a historical perspective to this study, gives a brief account of the history of the Ikshvākus and contains general observations on art and religious condition. In the following thirteen chapters are delineated architecture, both secular and religious, and town-planning dress and ornaments, hair-styles and head-dresses, household articles of daily use, items of furniture,

musical instruments of different kinds, weapons, both of offence and defences means of transport, both animals and man-made devices, toys, games and other pastimes, emblems of royalty, and flora and fauna as gleaned from the Nāgārjunakonda sculptures and other antiquarian remains encountered in excavations,

It is beyond the scope of a brief review of this kind to touch upon each item of life dealt with in the book. But the grandeur and tremendous variety of practically all the items of life are simply astounding and reflect great credit not only upon the artist who brought popular life in its entirety within the frame-work of his creation but also upon the author who has exploited it fully to present a dependable exhaustive picture of the entire gamut of the entire gamut of the varied life under the Ikshvākus.

What strikes even a casual reader is the continuity of cultural traditions. It has been rightly pointed out that both the progressive and primitive types of the chenchus inhabiting the surrounding area at present have found a place in the Ikshvāku sculpture and many of the items of daily use in vogue among them have been delineated and transformed into art forms. It is equally interesting that the varieties of ornaments and other articles of daily life represented in the Nāgārjunakonda sculptures are still in common use today after a lapse of over sixteen centuries. Another interesting feature which has been brought to fore is the willing acceptance by Indians of certain imported items of dress and personal adornment and the like in their daily life.

Attention may be invited here to a few points. The *nishka* as a neck-ornament may be equated with the *Urattha-dīṇārā-mālā*, not with *Urattha-dīnāra-mālayā*, as stated by the author (P. 80), which is really the instrumental singular of the former expression. In connection with the head-bands it may be pointed out that the *Brihatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira contains a short but interesting chapter on the head-band called *paṭṭā* (see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Brihatsamhitā* of Varāhamihira, pp. 229-30) and there are references to various kinds of *paṭṭās* in other texts as well which could have been

profitably utilised in the description of the head-bands at pp. 57-60. Similarly it would have been desirable to refer to literary sources in connection with the description of the game of ball (p. 221), cock-fighting (pp. 225-26) and umbrellas (pp. 232 ff.). The evidence for regarding cock-fighting as of foreign origin (p. 225, fn. 29) is not quite adequate. In connection with the depiction of one-scale pan (p. 228) it would have been instructive to make reference to the Ayodhyā (Allan, BMC, AI, p. 129, pl. xvi. 8-10) and Taxila (*ibid* pp. 214-15) coins where also we come across representations of similar pans. The stick-play (p. 226) is probably the same as the famous *garba* dance of Gujarat. These and similar other points may be taken care of by the author as and when an opportunity to revise the work for a future edition presents itself.

The book compares favourably with any standard cultural study of sculpture and decidedly forms one of the major Indological tomes published in the recent years. No student of the cultural history of ancient Indian can afford to miss the valuable material enshrined in this volume which is a mine of information on various aspects of early Indian life and culture. We are perhaps not wrong in expecting many more similar works from the pen of Dr. Krishnamurthy.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Sardar K.M. Panikkar by Tarasankar Banerjee: Ratna Prakashan: Calcutta-27,157 pp.

The full title of this work is *Sardar K. M. Panikkar, the profile of a Historian, a study of Modern Indian Historiography*. Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee, the author, claims in the preface that the present work is perhaps the first of its kind in India and is an attempt at an examination and evaluation of Panikkar as a historian. Tarasankar Banerjee, of the Visva Bharati University, is one of our promising historians. He has made a name for himself by his writings on the economic history of Modern India. He has been fascinated by K. M. Panikkar as a historian. He has written on him in two or three other places during the last dozen years.

The introductory chapter contains a thumbnail sketch of the eventful career of Panikkar. Educated in Kerala, Madras, Oxford and London, Panikkar served first as a lecturer in history in Aligarh and then as Editor of *Swarajya* and *Hindustan Times* and also acted as a representative of the Indian National Congress in the Akali Satyagraha. In the second part of his career, Panikkar began as an advisor to the Maharaja of Kashmere and ended his service to the Indian Princess as Dewan of Bikaner. In the last part of his career, Panikkar represented free India in the United Nations and was ambassador to China, France and Egypt. In spite of the diverse field of his activity, Panikkar throughout remained a scholar. He was a creative writer in his own mother-tongue, Malayalam. But in English the majority of his works are on different aspects of Indian and Asian Histories. He is an authority on the History of Kerala and on the problems of Indian States and on Indian Constitutional History. He was interested in the subject of the influence of Geography on Indian History and has correctly assessed the part played by the Himalayas and the Indian Ocean on our country's past. He was the first Asian to write on Asia in the modern world from the point of view of the Asians. His *Survey of Indian History* is probably the best of its kind.

After surveying the historical writings and classifying them as above, Banerjee goes on to study Panikkar's Historical Methodology. Panikkar differed from both British and Indian Historians of India. The former concentrated on political and military history and approached it from the point of view of England. This imperialist attitude led to anti-imperialist writing on the same subject by Indian Historians. In opposition to both, Panikkar emphasised the part played by the people instead of the rulers in our country's history. In his view, "the history of a country has little value unless it deals with the conscious effort of a people to achieve a civilization, to reach better standards, to live a happier life". "The history of India has therefore to be a history of social growth and development and not primarily a political history". Panikkar also cared more for presentation than what was to be found in purely research-oriented histories. Banerjee thinks that the two great qualities of Panikkar as a historian are his unique presentation of facts and his superb style of presentation.

After fixing Panikkar's place among historians and his methodology, Banerjee studies his bias. These are his alleged Hindu bias and his bias against Christian Missionaries. Banerjee's handling of Panikkar's bias is the best part of his work because it shows how well he has understood him. In his view, Panikkar appreciated the achievements of the Hindus, but he was not a revivalist nor was he anti-Islamic in his outlook. Similarly, Banerjee correctly explains why Panikkar was opposed to the Christian Missionaries. It was because they were hand in glove with the Western imperialists and shared their sense of racial superiority towards the coloured people.

In a chapter called Historian's vision, Banerjee has pointed out how Panikkar's works have opened new vistas to students of Indian History. One such field is the history of the Indian Ocean. A fresh evaluation of the historical part of this region may be attempted in the light of the present day experiences. Another field opened up by Panikkar is Asian History. In his study of Asian History, he has something to contribute both to Indian Historians who have neglected its study and also to Western Historians to whom his views should come as an eye-opener to the Asian view. Lastly, Panikkar appeals

to the Indian Historians to rise above the narrow practice of glorifying their regions. In his view, every region of India has contributed to our common heritage.

While Banerjee appreciates the greatness of Panikkar for his methodology and vision, he is not blind to his defects. Owing to his long association with the Princes, Panikkar imbibed their view with regard to the future of India and said that the small states fulfilled a function which was of immense value to the diversified life of the motherland'. It is astonishing, says our author that Panikkar could not visualise that these numerous fragmented states would be an anachronism in New India. Similarly, when Panikkar said in a work that the Chancellorship of the Maharaja of Patiala will stand out in Modern Indian History as a period of great achievement, Banerjee comments that the uncritical nature of the work cannot escape the notice of a serious reader.

Panikkar has written so many works that any student who wants to study them, is bound to miss one or the other, Banerjee is no exception. He has not taken into account one of Panikkar's last works probably posthumous, entitled *Studies in Indian History*. His two essays in them one on Civil Services and the other on Vatsyayana's Kamasutra are typical examples of Panikkar's wide scholarship embracing as it did his acquaintance with both Western Studies as well as Eastern Studies on their subject-matter.

Critical studies of modern Indian Historians are completely lacking in our country. Tarasankar Benerjee's pioneering work is a worthy example to students who want to evaluate the work of other modern Indian Historians.

G. S. Dikshit

History: Its Theory and Method by B Sheik Ali: Published by the Macmillan Company of India 1978 PP 472 Price Rs 32 50.

The author is Professor and Head, Department of Post Graduate Studies and Reserch in History, University of Mysore. The book shows how encylopeedic his learning and scholarship are. He takes the readers through every nook and corner of the subject. He has a reflective mind which according to him and many other authorities is so necessary to transform the dead 'Past' unto the 'living Present'. Many years of patient effort should have gone into the collection of the material for the book and for writing it in an attractive and interesting style. No other Indian has produced a book like this on the subject, a book which so comprehensive and detailed. Even among Western scholars there are very few who can be compared to him.

The title does not convey a complete idea of the contents of the book. Besides Part I on Theory of History (PP. 1-104) and Part II on Methodology (PP. 105-208) there is Part III which gives an exhaustive account of the History of Historiography from the earliest times down to the present day. (PP 208-461). This covers more than half of the book. Indian scholars will find the account of the History of Indian Historical writings in Ancient, Medieval and Modern periods most valuable. The section brings out the merits as well as the short comings of the work done by eminent historians in Europe, the Arab World and India and [serves as a useful guide to those who are likely to take to historical writing at the present day.

There are as many definition of History as there are standard writers on the subject. After discussing nearly twenty definitions the author gives his own definition which is descriptive in character. According to him : 'History is the record of those events which indicate the growth of Man's mind, man's intelligence and how he used them to discover better ways of living and to build up orderly societies which we call civilisation or culiure. Culture is that complex

whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, customs and any other capabilities or habits acquired by man as a member of society". He is of the view that a historian has to discharge three functions. The first is "to get at the truth, to know the entire human past as it actually happened and to be sure that solid facts are at hand". The second function is "to interpret the facts, to assess, to evaluate and to explain their significance". The third is "to present the facts in a clear and attractive manner". In judging the work of a historian readers will be justified in raising the question to what extent he has discharged these functions satisfactorily and effectively.

The author raises many questions in the section on theory and gives well considered answers to them. Is history a science or an Art". It is both in his view. Should a historian be quite objective? Though he should aim at this it is an ideal which is not practicable or even desirable. In selecting the facts and in interpreting them a historian's judgment is coloured by his own personality. Moreover, all historians are influenced by the spirit of the Age in which they live and the philosophical ideas which prevail in it. Religious beliefs, Rationalism, Nationalism, Darwinism, Romanticism, Posilivism, Idealism, and Materialism have influenced the historians to a great extent. No one can escape from the dominant intellectual climate of the day.

The author brings out the distinction between History on one side and the philosophy of history on the other. The latter was a phrase coined by Voltaire the eminent rationalist who lived in the 18th Century. From that time on different schools of philosophy came into existence. Among their leaders were Hegel, Marx, Splenger, Toynbee, Vico and Croce to mention only a few names. These were not interested in particular events or movements. They tried to point out the direction and meaning of the Historical process as a whole. The author deserves credit for giving a detailed account of the ideas of such thinkers. In addition to this, he explains the relation of history to other sciences like Economics, socialogy, geography, ethnology, anthropology, archaeology etc. and how all these help the historian in carrying out his work.

Part II dealing with the method of history is quite exhaustive. To beginners in historical research it is of special value. It tells them how they should choose their subject. No one should choose a subject unless one is sure that he can say something new about it—News as regards facts or their meaning and significance. He should be equipped with certain intellectual and moral qualities (pp 112-17). He should begin with the preparation of a bibliography on the subject then make out a plan or synopsis and subject the original documents (source materials) to two kinds of criticism. One is external (Heuristics) and the other internal (hermenentics). Details of these critical operations are given by the author which according to him constitute the core of historical methodology and enable the historian to find out the correct facts and then to group them under a definite plan which results in the form of a book. Every such book should have a concluding chapter containing observations in the form of a formula, a generalization, a doctrine, a principle or a law. This may be taken as the crowning feature of the history written. There are many youngsters to day who are anixious to get a Ph. D. degree on the basis of a Thesis on a subject of historical research undertaken by them. They will do well to follow the methodology as laid down in the book under review.

In part III the author deals with the history of historiography at great length. It gives to the readers an idea of the kind of historical writing which was produced in ancient Greece and Rome, in the medieval period in Europe and the Arab World, and in the modern period in England, France, Germany and Italy. There is a critical examination and appreciation of the work of Herodotus and Thueydides who belonged to ancient Greece, of Livy and Tacitus who belonged to Rome. Reference is made to other historians also like xenophen, Polybius of Greece, Cato the censor and Julius Ceasar. The contrast which the author draws between Greek and Roman historiography is highly interesting. The Greeks had a genius for history, the passion to make it a substance of philosophy. The Romans were second rate, lacking in sharpness perception and sensibility. The early Romans (Cato) wrote not in Latin but in Greek, for history was not native to Rome but brought from Greece". He further adds "The modern

parallel is Indian Historiography where even to-day a good number of historians use English for *Magnum Opus* although it is quite some time since the British left this country? We should however note that Romans did not continue the practice of writing in Greek. They switched over to their own language. Livy and Tacitus the greatest of Roman historians wrote in Latin and this was the case with Caesar and other Roman historians. On the contrary we continue to write mostly in English.

Medieval historical writing was the work of Churchmen who were the only literate class. They were not interested in the worldly affairs and did not care to write books on history. All the same in St. Augustine the Church produced a great historian, a philosopher, a teacher and a profound political thinker. There were some books on history written by other Churchmen. They were concerned mostly with explaining the ways of god to man and they were based not on reason but on faith and belief. From the days of Charlemagne the churchmen took to a new type of historical literature namely *Annals and Chronicles*. Of these, the latter give full accounts of the contemporary happenings in a particular place. Of them the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is the most famous

In contrast to churchmen the Arabs who were also staunch believers in the Supremacy of Divine Will did not make any distinction between religious and secular affairs and this is the reason why they turned to historical writing. The most famous among Arab historians was Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406 A.D.) who was born in Tunis and died in Cairo. He is known by his great work on Universal history. He equated the science of history with the science of culture. So monumental was his work that Toynbee started that his philosophy of history could be rated as the greatest that has been ever created by the mind of man at any time and place. Another great name among Muslim historiographers is that of Alberuni who lived in the court of Mahmud of Ghazni and who wrote a book entitled "The surviving monuments of past generation". He also wrote 'India', a history of India which in subject and scientific method stands alone Arabic literature'. He learnt Sanskrit and translated

several Hindu books into Arabic, and Greek works into Sanskrit. The Arabs also produced a large amount of travel literature which is of great historical importance. Ibn Batuta is the best among them.

It is not possible within the brief space of a review to summarise all that the author says about the richness and variety of modern historiography as it developed in Europe from the days of Renaissance and Reformation under the influence of various schools of philosophy like Rationalism, Romanticism and Posilivism. It gained both in depth and width. Not only Europe but the East also attracted the attention of historians. To illustrate the broad features of modern historiography the author selects from England Gibbion, the author of 'The decline and fall of the Roman Empire', Carlyle the author of 'French Revolution', Buckle, the author of the "History of Civilisation in England" and Arnold Toynbee, the author of "A study of history" in twelve volumes. Sheik Ali brings out clearly what is unique in each of these historians and notes also some of the defects in them. From France he selects Voltaire who wrote a well documented narrative on Charles XII and another book on the Age of Louis XIV after 20 years of research. Comte known for his philosophy of positivism and as the founder of the science of Sociology is anoter representative of the French school of History. Among the representatives of the German shool are Hegel, Karl Marx, Ranke and Oswald Splenger. The author regards Ramke as the foremost historian Germany has produced, weo inaugurated a new era in historiography and who has been rightly called the father or 'Columbus' of modern history. His collected works' comprise fifty four volumes. Another German historian is Oswald Splenger the author of 'Decline of the West' which proved to be one of the most influential, controversial and incisive masterpieces of the present century in the realm of social science, pure philosophy and philosophy of history. From Italy the author selects Vico and Croce for his intensive study. 'Vico was the first and foremost thinker of modern times who extended the dimensions of history and who ssigned it a new method of enquiry. He exercised great influence on Marx. Engels, Croce, Collingwood and Toynbee. The main work of Croce was 'The Philosophy of spirit'. It is in four volumes the first dealing with Aesthetic,

the second with Logic and third with Philosophy of conduct which includes economics and ethics and the fourth with the theory and history of Historiography. He liberated history from the clutches of both philosophy and science and he gave it a place higher than these. He also regarded all history as contemporary history because it is the revival of the past in the historian's mind who is in the present. It is the idea of the past as understood by the present.

With this the author concludes his attempt to write the history of historiography in Europe. The only question which one is entitled to ask him is Having recognised the distinction between History and the philosophy of history is he justified in including philosophers of history like Hegel, Marx, Comte, Vico and Croce among historiographers

The last two chapters of the book give an exhaustive account of the history of Indian historiography. In the ordinary sense of the term no history except Kalhana's *Raja Tarangini* (written round about 1148 A.D.) was produced in Ancient India. The author explains why this was the case and at the same time points out that the Epics and Puranas say a great deal about social, economic and the cultural conditions in ancient times and these constitute the real core of history. With the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate attention was paid to the writing of history in the true Arab tradition, as modified by Persian historiography. Historians were attached to Royal courts and they wrote histories which recorded the achievement of kings and Nobles especially in the fields of battle. Nothing was said about the condition of the ordinary people. The Sultans were also praised for their religious fervour which led to the conversion of Hindus into Islam. Among the prominent writers were Amir Khusru (1253 - 1325) Ziauddin Barani, Afif and Sirhindi).

In the Mughal period historiography was entirely transformed. We have histories not only dealing with Emperors but also with administrative system, the institutions of the people, the progress of civilization and the growth of ideas. Among the most famous of the historians was Abul Fazal attached to Akbar's court who wrote a volume on Administration (1593) and *Akbar Namah* (1598) a com-

plete and authentic account of Akbar's reign. "What Thucydides was to Greece, Tacitu to Rome, Ibu Khuldiu to Arbas, Abul Fazal is to the Mughals". Other eminent historians of the period were Badauni (a harsh critic of Akbar's policies) Nizamuddin Bakshi', Mutanid Khan who wrote a history of Mughals from Babar to Jehangir, Lahori the author of a history of Shahjahan's reign, Mustard Khan the author of a history of history from Ghoris invasion to 1733. Mention should be made Babar's and -Jhangir's memoirs which are of greate historical importance. Coming as they do from the emperiors themselves, Aurangazebe's letters contain a good deal of historical information.

With the establishment of British rule we enter on the modern period and it is prolific in historical writings. They fall into two categories, those written by Britishers and those written by Indians. The author speaks of five schools of thought among Britishers – the schools of James Mill which nad nothing good to say about Hindu and Muslim – Cultures and which came to the conclusion that India could achieve progress only under the enlightened despotism of the British, the school headed by Sir William Jones, Cunnigham, Wilkins, Munro, Malcolm and Elphinistone who took a more sympathetic view of Indian society and institutions; the third was the school of Evangelicals like Shore and Grant who backed the activities of Missionaries and justified British rule as an event that was divinely conceived and preordained for redeeming a condemned humanity and they tried to change Indian society through conversion to Christianity. The fourth school consisted of scholars like Lyall, Henry Maine and William Hunter who viewed British rule as an interaction of Western and Eastern forces and took keen interest in the study of Indian institutions and society; the fifth school consists of modern scholars like P. E. Roberts' T. G. P. Spear. C.H. Philips, Holden Furber, Professor Ballhatchet and others who adopt Ranke's technique of writing history through a very careful and critical study of sources and present the information in as objective a manner as possible. The author examines in detail the history of India by James Mill and by Elphinestone, the writings of Duff on Maratha history the easays on Clive and Warren Hastings by Macaulay, the works on economic history by Moreland, Sir William Hunter's the Rulers of India (edited

by him) and the works produced by the fourth school referred to above.

Provoked by the attacks on Indian culture and society by British historians like James Mill and by Christian missionaries, Indians took to historical writing though a little belatedly. Among them also there were different schools. There was an extremist school represented by Rajanarain Bose, Chandranath Basu, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, A. C. Das, K. P. Jayaswal, B. G. Tilak, V. D. Savarkar and several others who asserted the superiority of Hindu over European culture. Secondly there was the Rationalist school of Rajendra Lal Mitra, R. C. Dutt, R. G. Bhandarkar, Rayachaudhri and others who viewed events more objectively to correct the errors committed by British and other Western historians. The third school represented by Major Basu, A. C. Majumdar, C. Y. Chintamani and Surendranath Banerjee exposed the economic exploitation of India by the British with a view to strengthen the hands of nationalists in their struggle for the country's freedom. The fourth school consisted of historians like Hiren Mukerjee, Palme Datt, professor Kosambi and others who were influenced by Marxism and who tried to explain the problems of Indian history from a Marxist stand point. They have been able to influence historians like professor Muhammad Habib, professor Nurul Hasan, professor Ramilla Thapar, Dr. Bepinchandra, Dr. Harbans Mukhia, professor Irfan Habib and others. The fifth school consists of historians who kept aloof from all ideological conflict and tried to present a Ranke type of history. Among them are Jadunath Sarkar, S. N. Sen, Shafat Ahmed Khan, S. Krishna swami Iyengar and C. S. Srinivachari. The author examines in detail the work of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, K. P. Jayaswal, H. C. Rayachaudhari, Jadunath Sankar and R.C. Majumdar.

There is also a special study of Muslim historiography with special reference to the work of Sir Syed Ahmed who turned the attention of Muslims towards Islamic and religious history and Abul Kalam Azad who focussed attention on Political history. In the view of the author the highest place in this field has to be accorded to Professor Muhammed Habib who gave a correct view of the invasions

of Mahmud Ghazni. He says that the invader does not deserve to be called a true Muslim. He did not fight for Islam. His object was to carry away the treasures from India to fight his central Asian enemies. After India became free Professor Habib became a convert to Marxism and interpreted Muslim rule in Medieval India in terms of Marxism.

The author has a section on Maratha Historiography and gives it a high place. Rajwade, Vasudeva Sastri Khare, Parasnis and Sardesai did much to write Maratha History on the basis of original sources so as to throw fresh light on all aspects of Maratha life and culture. The author has also reviewed the contribution made to the history of south India by South Indian scholars like Krishnaswami Iyengar, K. M. Panikkar, Nilakanta Sastry, Shama Sastri the discoverer of Kautilya's Artha Sastra, Aga Abbas Shustri, Dr. Srikant Sastri, Dr. K.N.V. Sastri (the last four belong to Mysore), Dr. C. V. Minakshi and Dr. T. V. Mahalingam. It is however a matter for regret that he has completely ignored the work of M. Somasekhara Sarma and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya whose researches into the history of Telugu country in general and the Kingdoms of Vengi, the Kakatiya empire of Vijayanagar in particular are of an outstanding character.

In these days when books have become highly costly the book under review is cheap when we take its size and quality into consideration. The author and the publishers deserve the thanks of the reading public in this connection.

M. Venkatarangaiya

Literary Autobiography of C. P. Brown : Chief Editor, G. N. Reddy, Editor, Bangorey. Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati 1978, P. P. 168, Price : Rs. 30=00.

C. P. Brown (1798–1884) is rightly regarded as the Father of Telugu Literary Renaissance. When he came to Madras on August 4, 1817 to join the East India Company's service he had, as was the practice of the time, to learn two Indian languages as a trainee in the Fort St. George College. The languages selected were Telugu and Marathi though personally he preferred Hindustani to Marathi. He underwent training in these languages and passed out of the college in June 1820 and was posted as assistant to the collector, Cuddapah. Later he served in Masulipatam, Rajamundry and Chittoor. Except for one year when he served in Trichinopoly he spent most of his official life in the Telugu country.

In the convocation address which Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, delivered to the students of Fort St. George College in 1820, the year when Brown passed out of it he pointed out the importance of the company's servants learning Indian languages when he stated? "The Study of languages is in all countries an accomplishment, but in this it is to be regarded not merely as an accomplishment, but as an essential part of the great science of public affairs, without a knowledge of which all other qualifications can be lent of little avail The advantage of knowing the country's language is not merely that it will enable you to carry on the public business with greater facility, but that by rendering you more intimately acquainted with the people, it will dispose you to think more favourably of them to relinquish some of those prejudices which are all at first too apt to entertain against them, to take a deeper interest in their welfare ; and thus to render yourselves more respected among them. The more you feel anxious concern in their prosperity, the more likely you will be to discharge your duty towards them with zeal and efficiency, and the more likely they will be to return the benefit with gratitude and attachment" (pp 116-17)

In his autobiography Brown refers to this speech and says "It gave offence to some seniors in the service. One of the juvenile hearers, a fellow student of mine, coming out of the hall derided the governor's statements. This led me to reflect that the speech was by an eminent and venerable personage. This consideration, perhaps, gave me the first inclination to study the language". It proved to be a turning point in the literary career of Brown. He points out the contrast between him and some of his coenals who obtained high honours in the college. "But during thirty years that have since elapsed, no one of that number ever attained more than a moderate skill in the language which it was our duty to learn".

Brown wrote three literary autobiographies. They were 'literary' in the sense that he confined himself in them to describing the events of a purely literary character and said little about his official work. The first autobiography was written in 1854. It was not printed. His hand written copy is now found in the Minnesota University Library, U.S.A. Bangorey managed to get a xerox copy of it and it is now printed on PP 69-81 of the volume under review. It is a slender book of duly 12 pages in print. In 1866 he brought out a longer autobiography for private circulation. He revised it in 1872 and published it. The complete text of the autobiography he wrote in 1866 is included in the present volume and the modifications he introduced in 1872 are given within brackets. Even this runs to only 44 pages including the elaborate foot notes given by the editor. If the foot notes are excluded the length of the autobiography comes to about 24 pages. The revised edition was subsequently printed as an introduction to the revised edition of his English-Telugu dictionary in 1895. Till now all scholars including Mr. V. R. Narla (and also the present editor) had mistaken it for the 1866 edition. When they were actually quoting from the 1872 edition they were attributing it to 1866 edition" (p 12)

Till 1824 Brown was interested in preparing a Telugu translation of the new Testament. He spent his leisure hours in reading Latin books. It was in 1824 that he was induced to commence a regular study of the Telugu poets, and he read them steadily for seven years. His Brahmin instructors exhorted him to learn by rote long

vocabularies framed in verse but he rejected this preferring the European method of study. He learnt Telugu Prosody from one of his teachers. Another teacher led him to read and translate Nannaya Bhattoyam a most intricate Sanskrit treatise'. He made this grammar the basis on which he built for 30 years extending it greatly. He observes : "The Hindus fancy that reading a sacred book (as the Ramayan or Bhagavath) confers merit both on the pupil and on his teacher; while it is needless to have an exact acquaintance with the meaning. My preparatory reading in mythology had taught me the truth regarding Hinduisim; and the books which I have printed show my opinions regarding the system of idolatry priest craft and superstition". He remained an orthodox christian observing sabbath strictly. His approach to telugu literature and language was secular. His interest in christianity made him ultimately the translator of the Bible into Telugu. He found this work of translation rather difficult". To translate the Bible in to any one of the peninsular language is a task resembling that of making bricks without straw. The words required in important passages do not exist in Telugu".

When he began a serious study of Telugu he says he did not possess a single Telugu Volume. He became acquainted with the name of Vemana a rustic epigramanalist, through Abbo Dubois 'Account of the Hindus. He was so attracted by Vemana that he printed Vemana with an English translation in 1828. It was while reading Vemana that as Bangorey says he began facing the question of solving some textual probelems. To overcome this he had to seek the aid of prosody and in March 1825 he submitted his monograph, "prosody of Telugu and Sanskrit languages explained" to the College Board and it was printed in 1827.

When he began the study of Telugu poetical works none was printed and none was free from errors. He therefore collected several copies of each poetical work written on palm leaves and caused a new correct copy prepared. For this purpose he employed some excellent scholars (poets, grammarians and critics) living in poverty mere mendicants : and they were glad to be thus employed on wages as moderate as those we give to menial servants'. Most of them worked

in the Bungalow purchased by Brown in Cuddapha and it came to be known as Brown's college. He not only got correct texts prepared but also made the Pandits write commentaries in the easiest style "The commentaries prepared at my expense have been greeted with much applause as illustrating and perpetuating Telugu Literature". This enabled even ordinary people to understand the difficult poetical works like Vasu charitra. These were his great services to telugu literary renaissance.

It was in 1829 that he submitted a manuscript version of Telugu Dictionary to the College Board for publication but it was kept in cold storage. By 1844 he completed his dictionaries Telugu-English and English-Telugu and began printing them. It was only in 1854 that the printing was completed. Even when the volumes were under print he went on making additions to them. Writting in 1854 he states "Though the dictionories and Grammer appear to be completed I have never ceased making additions and improvements. Dr. Johnson made alterations in his dictlonary as long as he lived and he lived to print it 8 times.

He compared his work with that of A. D. Campbell and J.C. Morris his colleagues on the College Board to which he was nominated in 1838. "While studying Vemana I procured an interleaved copy of Campbell's Telugu-English Dictionary in which I daily noted down such words or meanings as come to light. In eight years I swelled this dictionary to fourfold it's original extent : and after words kept no account but added many thousand expressions ; most of which were based on quotations made from Telugu poems (This is a special feature of his dictionaries). Not a single quotation was there in Campbell's publication ; he was little more than the publisher" (p 71).

"Not content with writting a Telugu and English Dictionary I made several attempts to translate Johnson's English dictionary into Telugu. Mr. Morris was engaged in similar task ; but I well know that he had no skill in Telugu and that he merely lent his name to a volume, which I like Campbell's Dictionary was entirely the work of native assistants acquainted as well as natives can be (that is very

moderately) with English" (71) He further observes: "three members of the college board appeared as Authors. Mr. Campbell had printed his Telugu Grammer and Dictionary Mr. Morris had published his English Telugu Dictionary. Dr. W. Elliot had printed two essays on chronology. Six of my works superseded these six, and caused some jealous enmity". While they got rich emoluments from Government he got none. (p. 79). He had to spend a great deal from his own pocket on employing pandits to produce correct texts and commentaries and print them.

Among his contributions to Telugu language and literature were (1) Sumati Satakam with an English translation (2) Vakyavali or exercised in Idioms Telugu and English, (3) Dialogues in Telugu and English for the use of learners with gramatical analysis, (4) The Telugu Reader being a series of letters, private and on business, Police and revenue matters with grammatical analysis and lexicon, (5) A catalogue of irregular verbs in the English language explained in Telugu, and (6) English and Hindustani phraseology to learn Telugu and Hindustani with considerable ease.

Besides the dictionaries already referred to be produced a Zilla dictionary in the Roman Character explaining the various words used in the business in India and a dictionary of mixed Telugu.

He was also the author of number of historical and other prose works. Among them (1) Memoirs of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan translated from Marathi into English with anotations (2) An Emphemeris showihg the corresponding dates accoring to English, Hindu and Muslim Calanders from 1750 to 1850, (3) and (4) Two other books on chronology (5) The wars of Rajas being the History of Anantapuram (Telugu original with English translation) and (6) Tatachari tales. He also edited and published some classical Telugu poems like Nalachakravarthi katha, Ghattu Prabhu's Kuchelopakyanamu, Harichandra Kavyamu Adiparavam the first canto of Telugu Mahabharatham, Vasucharitra Manucharitra Yakshaganams entitled Sita Kalyanam and Garudachalam, Sanskrit works in Telugu character like Kavitha Ratnakaram, Bhagavathgitha and

Amara kosha and Telugu translations of the Bible and several other Christian works, and many essays in Telugu and English on subjects like Jangams, Tengala and Vadagalu, and so on. He collected as many as 2440 manuscripts — one half in Telugu and other half in Sanskrit in Telugu character and presented them to the Madras literary society in 1845. He continued the collections of manuscripts till 1855 when he retired from the company's service and donated them all to the society.

After retirement he settled in London and continued his interest in Telugu studies. By that time printing of Telugu books became lucrative and many classics were printed mostly in Madras. He read almost every book that was printed and went on adding quotations from them to his dictionaries. He was appointed Professor of Telugu in London University. In 1869 he became examiner in Telugu for the I. C. S. tests. Under the persuasion of the great Sanskritist, professor Gold Stucker who found Brown's Sanskrit prosody highly valuable, he brought out a revised edition of the book. He passed away on December 12th, 1884. When he came to Madras and began to study Telugu he found that "Telugu literature was dying out and the flame was just glimmering in the socket." By his continuous efforts he brought it again to life and laid the foundations for its further development. That a foreigner should have done this is all the more remarkable.

The Editor Bangorey deserves congratulations not only for printing the autobiographies but also for the valuable foot notes he added which throw light on many dark corners in the life of Brown, for including in the volume". "The long and most intensely and mercilessly dissecting note by Bishop Caldwell, a younger contemporary of Brown (which) reads like a classic and gives us a deep insight into the behavioural tendencies and distinguishing tracts of Brown's intellectual pursuits" (p 11), and a section on "who is who" of Westerners whose work has a bearing on Indological studies in general and Telugu studies in particular.

Brown was also the first Telugu scholar who stressed the importance of spoken Telugu as distinguished from the literary

Telugu found in books. The following observation of his in this connection is revealing : "Books alone will not teach Telugu; the living language as spoken at the present day, I therefore studied the every-day dialect in the police office or in the court wherein I presided. There cannot be a better school and whenever I had a conversation with a plaintiff, a witness or a prisoner, with a learned native judge or an ignorant menial, every one became my teacher for the time". He became a fluent speaker in Telugu. It took nearly seventy years after Brown left India for indigenous Telugu Scholars emphasising the need for making spoken Telugu the Vehicle of all literature.

In all these various ways Brown contributed to the growth of Telugu language and literature from about 1820 onwards and this entitles him to be regarded as the father of Telugu literary renaissance.

M. Venkatarangaiya.

அன்பளிப்பு
ஆயர். ஆர். திருமலை. இ.ஆ.ப.
GIFTED BY
R. TIRUMALAI I.A.S. (Late)

