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STATE ARCHIVES (INDIA)

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M. V. S. PRASADA RAU, I.A.S.



DIRECTOR OF STATE ARCHIVES

GOVERNMENT OF ANDHRA PRADESH

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1978.

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A view of the buildings complex housing the stack area and archival repositories of the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Tarnaka, Hyderabad (India).

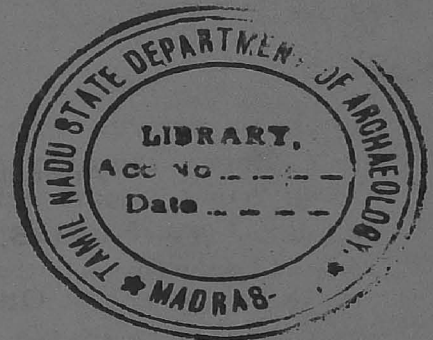
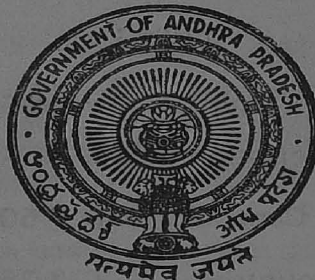
BACK COVER

The archival repositories of the Andhra Pradesh Archives, Tarnaka, Hyderabad (India) — a side view.

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SOME UNIQUE EAR-ORNAMENTS FROM GANGETIC VALLEY AND THEIR TECHNO-CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE ¹

C. Margabandhu

INTRODUCTION :

Ear-ornaments, identified as such, have not been reported in large numbers from the Gangetic Valley sites. Quite a few of them from regular stratified levels are distinct, unique and stand comparison to those found and identified in central, western and south Indian sites. They have been sorted under minor objects and were wrongly identified. In a chronological and cultural study of small but minor antiquities, they are very important and are of potential significance. A few of them, are discussed here, since they are distinct, but specific types. Comparison with those found elsewhere indicates a close cultural impact of contemporary society, in the diffusion of technological traditions.

Broadly they fall into three categories :

- I. Ear plugs, discs or spools ;
- II. Pulley or channel-shaped ear-ornaments; and
- III. Crescent - shaped ear-ornaments.

In all the three types, shapes are same and similar and also purpose is definitely unitary. But the decorative and ornamental features vary. In view of their use being for a specific purpose, they culturally fall together in a group.

Ear-plugs or discs :

The simplest one is an ear-plug called variously as disc, spool, stud or reel. It consists of a flat plain surface, circular in shape, with

concave sides to fit in closely in the ear-lobe. It is prepared predominantly from semi-precious stones, though they are reported in terracotta also. A few made in ivory or bone are not uncommon. Those prepared in stone are elegantly polished and highly finished. They are in selective colours preferably in darker shades. The stones used include agate, banded and plain, carnelian, jasper black, red and yellow, rock-crystal, chert, steatite and others. Some have been found decorated ranging from simple lines to elaborate patterns. They have been identified as *Tā'amka* in Sanskrit literature. The *Tā'amka* is always described as, "circular in shape, heavy in weight and inserted in between the lobes."

Literary references and parallels :

Extending the ear-lobes by enlarging the holes was very much a fashion during the Early Historical times. The *ketakī* flower - strip was used for this purpose. It was known as *patra - kuṇḍala*. If a gold strip was rolled like the flower strip it was called *kāñchanatālapatra* or *kanakapatra* and was regarded as a fashionable piece of jewellery. They were also called *avakasaka* of the shape of drum inserted in ear-lobes.

C. Sivaramamurti² refers to them from literature such as the *dantapatra* (ivory leaf) for young women and *muktāphalapatra vesana* (pearl-leaf scroll) or the *pairakuṇḍala* which represent the costly ear-ornaments in gold on the rolled palm-leaf model. Representative sculptural depictions are also cited from Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta.

Various types of ear-plugs or discs are referred to in early literature. *Gāthāsaptasatī*³ refers to jewels for ear and are of various names, each with a distinguishing name. The usual ornament for the ears of the woman was the *tālapatra*, a small strip of tinted palm-leaf. *Kālidāsa* refers to *kanakakamala*, circular ear-rings with full blown lotus patterns. Those set with gems are referred to as *ratna-kuṇḍala* in *Silpa* texts. It is known from the *Arthasāstra* that the jeweller knew the art of setting jewels on gold surfaces. The proficiency of jewellers, art in setting gems on metal surfaces did not escape the notice of classical scholars like Strabo.⁴

The description in literature and the contemporary sculptural depictions demonstrate the utility and function of ear-plugs or discs. This ornament was originally intended to serve as ear-lobe extender but later it denoted any wheel-like ear-ornament in any material. The paucity of any other type of ornaments for ear denotes the use, and very likely it served the purpose of ear-lobe extender as well as ear-ornament.

Hastinapura⁵ has yielded the finest of them from the levels of Painted Grey Ware. They are made from red jasper, chert and steatite and one of them has been prepared in bone. They have been designated as 'weight' thought, one of them has been identified as ear-ornament. That made in red jasper bears a smooth and polished-surface and is of darker hue. Steatite ones have been minutely decorated with concentric lines. One of them made in bone⁶ is a fine specimen, soft, smoothly polished, having concave surfaces identified originally as 'weight.' The earliest occurrence in well stratified levels of Painted Grey Ware at Hastinapura is indeed quite significant. Supporting evidence of its occurrence at Alamgirpur⁷ comprise of small reel-shaped discs of black jasper, vitrious paste and bone from Painted Grey Ware levels confirm its earlier origin.

Vaisali⁸ (Pls. I, II) is another important site which has yielded rich type of ear-ornaments beginning from the sixth-fifth century B.C. to the sixth century A. D. Many of them are wrongly identified as 'weights,' especially those made of semi-precious stones. Some have also been called 'discs.' These ear ornaments have been made from stone, terracotta and bone. They are cylindrical in shape, having concave sides and depressed in mid section.

Ear plugs of stone are made in red jasper, steatite and soapstone. They have been identified as 'weights'⁹ of different sizes and denominations. They have depressed round section, slightly lengthier with concave sides and well polished (Pl. I). Some have been decorated with concentric circles on both sides. This type of ear-plug continues to occur during the time-span of C. 600-500 B.C. -600 A. D. Such type of ear ornaments¹⁰ have also been reported to occur in early levels associated with N.B.P. and other contemporary antiquities

at Ahichchhatra,¹ Pataliputra, Kausambi, Rajghat, etc., but supporting published evidence is yet to be known.

Ear plugs of terracotta¹¹ (Pl. I, II) of identical shape occur in levels of c. 200 B.C.—600 A.D. They are cylindrical or circular with a deep profile. Most of them have plain ends, while quite a few have been decorated. The decorations consist of incised floral motifs. Some have knobbed ends perhaps for easy insertion in ear-lobes.

Some of them¹² (Pl. I 7; Pl. II 4-6) though ear-plugs, are identified as 'ear-rings' with central horizontal perforation, and having decorations of concentric circles at both terminals.

Ear plugs¹³ made in bone are also similar in shape. One of them has been decorated with an incised linear border on the frontal side. They belong to c. 200 B.C. -400 A.D.

Ear ornaments of semi-precious stones : comparison and parallels :

Elsewhere similar polished ear-ornaments made in semiprecious stones have been extensively reported at sites in central and western India and northern Deccan. Ear-ornaments with plain surface occur from about the fourth-third century B.C. The typical and early stratified specimens among them include one with mirror-like polish from Bahal,¹⁴ spool-like ear-ornament of jasper from Kayatha¹⁵, polished ear-discs of black and red jasper from Nagda¹⁶ and a few of crystal decorated with gold at Prabhas Patan¹⁷ (Pl. III). At Ujjain¹⁸ they are made from agate and jasper, whereas at Tripuri¹⁹ they are of polished jasper. Many plain ear-discs with brilliantly polished surfaces have been found from Mauryan strata and later at Kaundinyapura²⁰ made in black jasper and crystal. From the second century B.C., they are quite common and are prepared from polished stones of darker shades in central and western India from levels of "Satavahana" and "Indo-Roman" periods such as at Bahal, Brahmapuri, Kaundinyapura, Kondapur, Maski, Nagda, Nasik, Nevasa, Paithan, Piklihal, Prakash, Rairh, Taxila, Ter, Ujjain and so on.

An aspect of chronology is to be stressed. The earliest of them are reported in Painted Grey Ware levels at Alamgirpur and Hastina-

pura datable to C. 700-600 B. C. and even earlier. Later, in many of the Ganga Valley sites they continue to occur in the N. B. P. levels of C. 300 B. C. and after. Its availability in central and western Indian sites, where it occurs from the third-second century B. C. to the second century A. D. point out clearly to the early origin in north India especially in the Gangetic Valley and its spread to other places by possible diffusion of trade and cultural exchange. Further evidence will reveal its origin and epicentre of production, if the minor antiquities are published from various Gangetic Valley sites and elsewhere.

Pulley or channel-shaped ear-ornaments :

The second variety consists of an ear-ornament with disc face and conical-shaped ends, at times flat with a channel in the middle like a pulley. Some of them resemble gamesmen with a cylindrical stalk and perforation at centre. In general they have plain surfaces, but invariably many of them are decorated. Mostly they are made in terracotta only, suggesting their cheap production and mass consumption.

Literary Parallels :

This type of ornament has been referred to often in early literature and represented profusely in early sculptural art. It is known as *trikaṅṅāka* and *balika*; the former, as its name implies, has three tips with the end pointed, having cylindrical mid-section and cone side. *Bāṅabhaṅṅā* alludes to this in *Harṣacarita*. The *balika* is also a cone-shaped tubular ear-ring. It is seen even now worn in south India, especially in regions of Mangalore, and is also to be found in the jewellery of the fisherwomen of the Konkan coast. C. Sivaramamurti²¹ refers to them and identifies them in sculptures of Amaravati.

They are prepared in gold and terracotta, the former specimens are very few whereas those in terracotta are numerous.

Vaisali²² (Pl. IV, V) has yielded some of the finest gold ear-ornaments of this variety from the strata datable to C. 200 B. C.-200

A. D. In view of their find from late levels they are likely to belong to the first and second century A. D. They were found together with other gold objects put in a miniature pot containing debased silver amulets and beads of semi precious stones.

The two gold ear-ornaments²³ (Pl V) were prepared from thin plate rolled to cylindrical shape and their interiors were filled with copper; the ends were prepared separately of the shape of cone and decorated with artistic stepped up patterns perhaps in *repoussé* and later they were joined at both ends.

Identical ones have been reported in abundance in terracotta from the Ganga Valley beginning from the fourth-fifth century B. C.

At Atranjikhhera²⁴ it is found in levels C, 600-200 B. C. The finest of them at Pataliputra²⁵ dates to the N. B. P. and Mauryan times. The decoration consists of concentric circles on both the ends with projection in the front side and depression at back. In another specimen the back is plain. One of the sub-types²⁶ comprises of simple concentric circles at both ends with perforation at centre. It continues to occur in Kushan²⁷ levels also.

Vaisali²⁸ (Pl. I. 6, 10, 11-15; Pl. II. 1-3) has yielded some of the finest of them. This site is cited in view of the fact that extensive details of the excavated finds have been published. The early ones are known in level of NBB, viz, 400-200 B. C. They have a cylindrical stalk thicker and bigger, pointed terminal marked with partly grooves of spirals and partly with those of squares. They continue in Kushana levels upto the sixth century A. D. Shape remains the same. Many of them have one end broken. Identical²⁹ ones also occur at Ahichchhatra, Rajghat, Sonpur³⁰ etc. Two fine specimens are known from Hastinapura³¹ in the time-span of C. 150 B. C. -100 A. D. Both of them are reel-shaped with lengthy flat channel having decorated concentric circles. One has been perforated horizontally. Both were prepared from moulds. A few also come from Bhita³² decorated with concentric circles datable to the Gupta Period. It continues to be found during the time-span of the fourth-fifth century A. D. at Kumrahar³³.

Sisupalgarh³⁴ (Pl. VI 1-3) is the type site where the largest number of them (72 Nos.) were reported. They are profusely decorated with repertoire of designs prepared from moulds datable to the time-span of C. 100-300 A. D. Decorations consist of concentric circles, frills of *appliquē* work round the base, foliate patterns and other designs. Almost the best varieties have been adopted by the ceramic craftsmen in preparing them with neat finish and soft surface. Though they were on mass scale, the execution depicts the patient work of artisans.

Its availability in south India at Maski³⁵ in levels of C. 150 B. C. 100 A. D. is to be noted with significance. Further evidence of its finding in other excavated sites in central and western India is yet to be published.

The earliest occurrence of this type from about the sixth-fifth century B. C. in the Gangetic Valley sites, is to be emphasised. None of them is recorded earlier elsewhere, thereby confirming its earlier origin here. Further evidence, if published, will add more information to this study of small finds. It is also to be recorded that similar ear-plugs in stone and terracotta have also been found here from about the sixth-fifth century B. C. indicating the beginning of a trend that spread quickly to other places.

Crescent shaped ear-ornaments :

As the name itself suggests, it comprises of the shape of a crescent ending in a point. In many the loop of the crescents approach each other leaving very small gap in between. In the Gangetic valley, so far it has been reported only from one site viz.. Vaisali³⁶ (Pl. IV top row). It is significant to state that it is made in gold. Two of them have been found together. It is quite likely that their ends were tied round with very thin gold wire. Externally it has been decorated with gold threading with *repoussē* dots. There were two small holes, one on either side. Some kind of hook for attaching ear-pendant or ring must have passed through these holes. These two ear-ornaments at Vaisali were kept in a small pot, in addition to them there were

“two ear-discs, two humped bulls, a standing human figure in Kushana–Mathura style and a hair clip, the last three with hollow tubes behind.” None of them in gold has been reported in the Gangetic Valley sites. Hence are open questions as to its origin and source of supply from elsewhere.

Moreover it is significant to add that some ear-rings were made solid, whereas others were made hollow and filled with copper reels. Since these ear-rings were found in association with two cone-shaped ear-ornaments earlier, it is quite likely that both processes were adopted by jewellers in the preparation of such ornaments. In order to save metal, in bigger objects they were prepared hollow. It is clearly testified by the gold figure of bull and hair-clips.

The only other site where similar ear-ornament in gold has been reported is Taxila where it is datable to the Mauryan Period. It comes from a hoard discovered at Bhir Mound.³⁷ Taxila, of about C. 300 B.C. The object is called a “Dispendant” with elaborate decorations. The decorations comprise of double border of bosses in *repoussè* arranged crescent-wise round a circular gap. There are two small holes, one on either side of the gap reinforced with wire rings on the obverse side. Some kind of hook for attaching the pendants must have passed through these holes. Along with this pendant were found, other ornaments of gold and silver, gold beads, coins etc., all belonging to the third century B.C.

Apart from this similar and identical ones in gold are reported predominantly in terracotta. Taxila³⁸ (Pl. VII) has yielded the finest of them. Exactly identical discs with such design and similarly pierced, together with moulds for making them have been found at the Bhir Mound³⁹ (C. 300 B. C.). Similar ear-ornament in gold continues to occur at Sirkap⁴⁰ datable to the first century A.D. It has been called “ear-rings of heart-shaped type”. Though it differs in decoration, its shape more or less falls in crescent form.

But quite characteristically these crescent shaped ear-ornaments in terracotta have been reported in large numbers at many sites, ascribable to the Satavahana Period, in regions of central and western

India, Deccan and South-east coast. They are reported at Brahmapuri, Kondapur, Nagarjunakonda, Nasik, Nevasa and Sisupalgarh. Kondapur⁴¹ is a classic site where this type has been found in literally tens of thousands. Very likely it was an important manufacturing centre for ornaments and jewellery. They were prepared from moulds on a mass scale. They consist of two types viz. simple and decorated. Simple ones bear several thread marks or ladders ending in a point. Some of them have been decorated with a series of raised platforms on top of either of which a rosette with a central knob surrounded by dots appear on the side. The whole area is included in a crescent-shaped platform surrounded by dots near the margin. The design is repeated on both sides of the amulet. At Sisupalgarh⁴² (Pl. VI 13-15, 16-18) they consist of simple ones with raised bands at ends and others with rows of beads and spiral patterns. Identical ones come from Brahmapuri⁴³ the later specimens belong to Ikshvaku period. At Nasik⁴⁴ and Nevasa⁴⁵ they come from "Indo-Roman" levels datable to the second century A.D.

At Vaisali, as detailed earlier, ear-rings of this type come from a hoard of jewellery of gold and silver kept in a pot, in which many other silver amulets and gold ornaments were found. All of them are quite new. None has any comparative material in Indian context. Since they come from a hoard, very likely they belong to a jeweller and brought from elsewhere for sale. Their source and provenance can be traced back to the north-west since gold ear-ornaments of this type have been reported so far only at Bhir Mound, Taxila. Its origin there has been traced back to the Parthian and Graeco-Roman sources.

Vaisali has yielded the gold ear-ornaments in the *eachē* datable to the Kushana period. They are unique by themselves, and such have not been found elsewhere so far. Their provenance can be traced back to the north-western parts of India especially Taxilla, where such type of ornaments and figurines in gold are known in large numbers.

The occurrence of a large number of them prepared in terracotta from many Satavahana sites as well as in towns on the south-

east coast lends supporting evidence to their origin from elsewhere. They are all definitely later than those reported from Taxila. In view of their find at these sites in 'Indo-Roman' levels and with many other objects of Graeco-Roman influence the find of this type of ear-ornament can also be traced back to the same source. Further evidence will add more information.

A study of the first two types indicates their earlier origin in the Ganga Valley as early as the period of Painted Grey Ware. At all other sites they occur during later times. This testifies to their spread to other places from Ganga Valley. However, more evidence is needed to postulate their centres of manufacture from where they were distributed to other regions.

As regards the crescent shaped ear-ornaments, it is clear that the specimens at Vaisali were brought perhaps from the north-west. It is to be carefully observed whether there are any specimens so far reported in any other sites of Ganga Valley, in the absence of which its origin has to be traced to an outside source. Further material evidence would be welcome.

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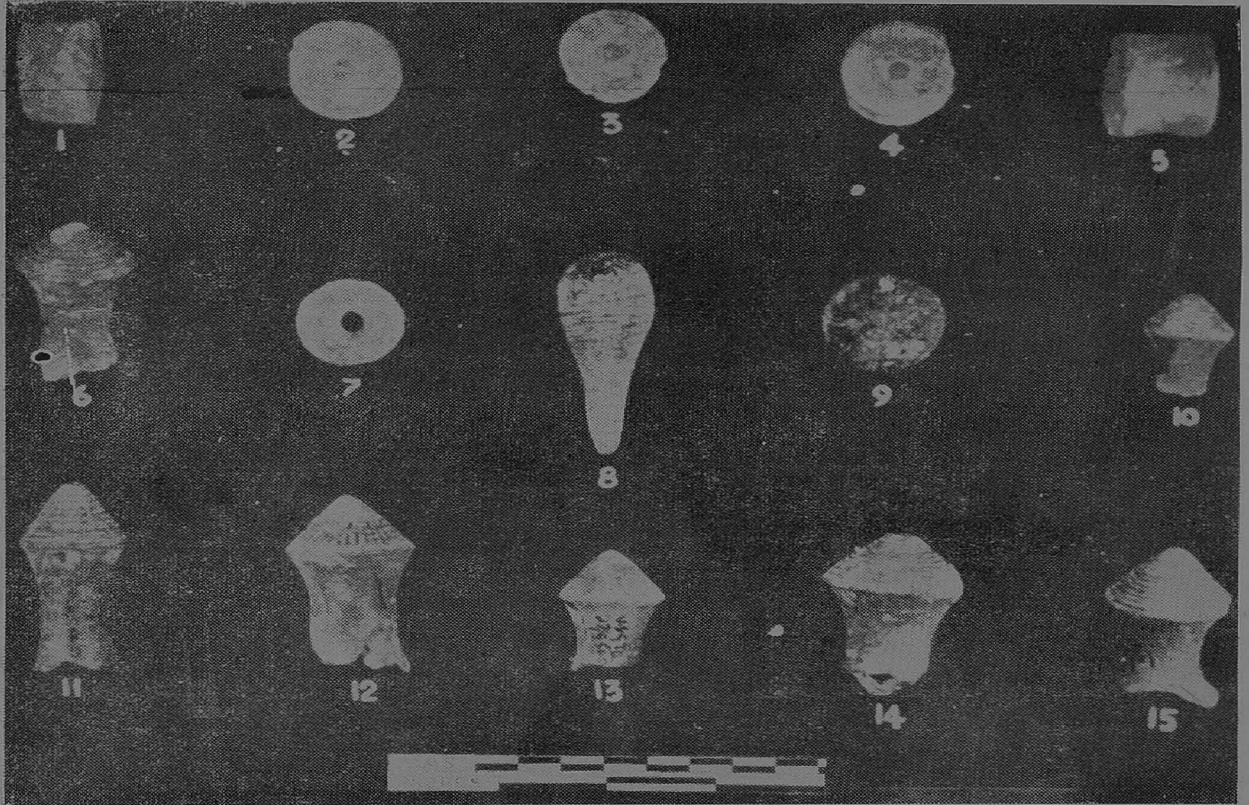
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11. *ibid.*, *op. cit.* (1969). pp. 191-82, Pl. LXXII, 1, 5, 9; XCVI, 1, 3, 4, 9 and 11.
12. *ibid* p. 192, Pl LXXII. 7.
13. *ibid.* p. 205; Pl. XCVI, 2, 5, 10, 12.
14. *IAR*, 1956-57 p. 25.
15. *IAR*, 1967-68, p. 25.
16. *IAR*, 1955 56, p. 19.
17. *IAR*, 1956-57, p. 17, PL. XVIII. A.
18. *IAR*, 1957-58, p. 36; *Annual Administrative Report of the Archaeological Department of Gwalior State, 1938-39*, Pl. XXVII (a).
19. Dikshit, M. G., *Tripuri*, 1952, pp. 110-11, F. 40. I.
20. Dikshit, *op. cit.*, (1968), p. 129.
21. *op. cit.* (1956) p. 109. Pl. VIII. 3.
22. Sinha and Roy, *op. cit.* (1969), p. 195; Pl. LXXV, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12; LXXVII-C.
23. *ibid*, Pl. LXXVII-C.
24. *IAR*, 1962-63, pp. 34-36, Pl. LXVII. 1-3.
25. Sinha, B. P. and Lala Aditya Narain, *Pataliputra Excavation.* Patna (1970), p. 46, Pl, XVIII, A. I.
26. *ibid*, 2, 4, 5.
27. *ibid*.
28. Sinha and Sita Ram Roy, *op. cit.*, (1969), p. 192, Pl. LXXII, 6, 8, 10-15; Krishna Deva and Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 57, Pl. XIX. C. 1-4.
29. Krishna Deva and Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
30. *IAR*, 1956-57, p. 19, Pl. XXIII.
31. Lal, *AI* 10-11 (1954-55), p. 89, Pl. XLIX, 6-7.
32. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.* 1911-12, p. 40, Pl. XXXII-40.
33. Altekar A. S., and Mishra V. K., *Report on Kumrahar Excavations: 1951-55*, Patna, (1969), p. 129, Pl. LXVIII. 14.

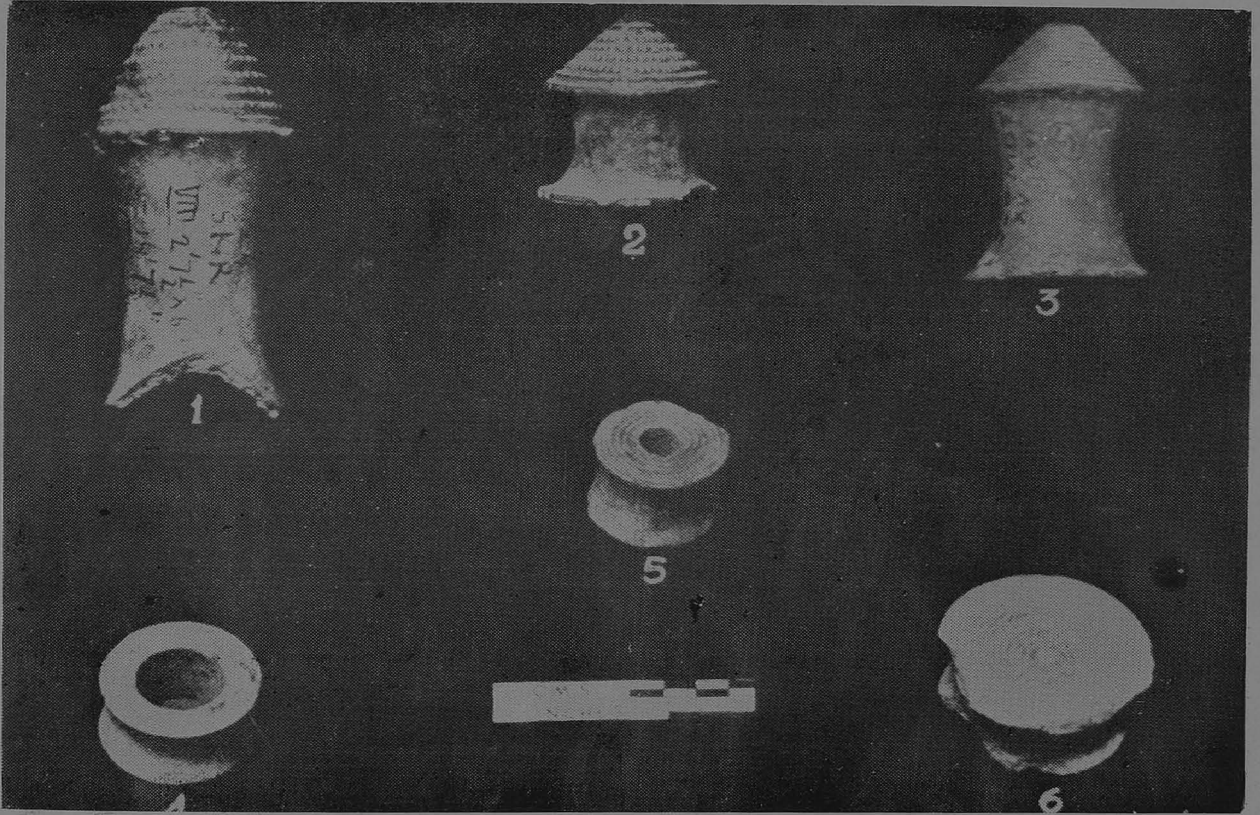
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36. Sinha and Sita Ram Roy, *op. cit.* (1969), p. 195, Pl. LXXV 5-6; *IAR*. 1958-59, p. 12, Pl. X-B.
37. G.N. Young, "A new hoard from Taxila, (Bhir Mound), *Ancient India (AI)* No. 1, 1946, p. 32. Pl. IX. I.
38. *op. cit.*, *AI* I (1946), Pl. VIC
39. Marshall, *Taxila*, (3 Volumes), 1951, II. p. 461; III; Pl. 136, h.b; *AI-I* (1946) p. 32, Pl. VI. C.
40. Marshall, *op. cit.*, II, P. 626: III, Pl. 191-G.
41. M.G. Dikshit, *Some beads from Kondapur (SBK)*, Hyderabad. 1952, pp.24-25, Pl. V, 252: VI 261.
42. Lal, *op. cit.* *AI*. 5 (1949), p. 90, Pl. XLVII, 13.6.
43. Sankalia, H D, and Dikshit, M. G., *Excavation at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur)*, 1945-46, Poona, 1952, pp. 96-97. Pl. XXVI, B.2, No. 2294.
44. *IAR*, 1956-57, p. 38, Pl. LXI.
45. Cited by Dikshit, *SBK*, p. 24; Sankalia H. D., Deo S. B., Ansari Z. D., and Sophia Ehrhardt. *From History to Pre-History at Nevasa*. (1954-56), Poona. 1960, pp. 390, 396; Fig. 117-12.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

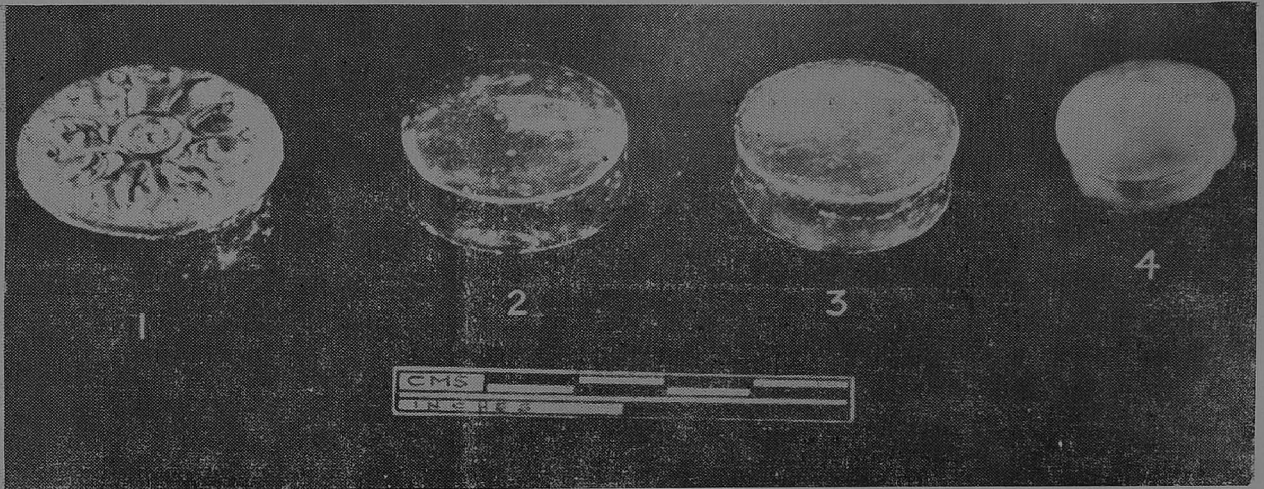
1. *Vaisali* : Ear-ornaments of stone and terracotta.
2. *Vaisali* : Ear-ornaments of terracotta.
3. *Prabhas Patan* (Somnath) : Ear-ornaments of semi-precious stones.
4. *Vaisali* : Gold ear-ornaments.
5. *Vaisali* : Ear-ornaments of gold.
6. *Sisupalgarh* : Ear-ornaments of terracotta.
7. *Bhir Mound, Taxila* : Terracotta mould and ear-pendant (crescent-shaped).



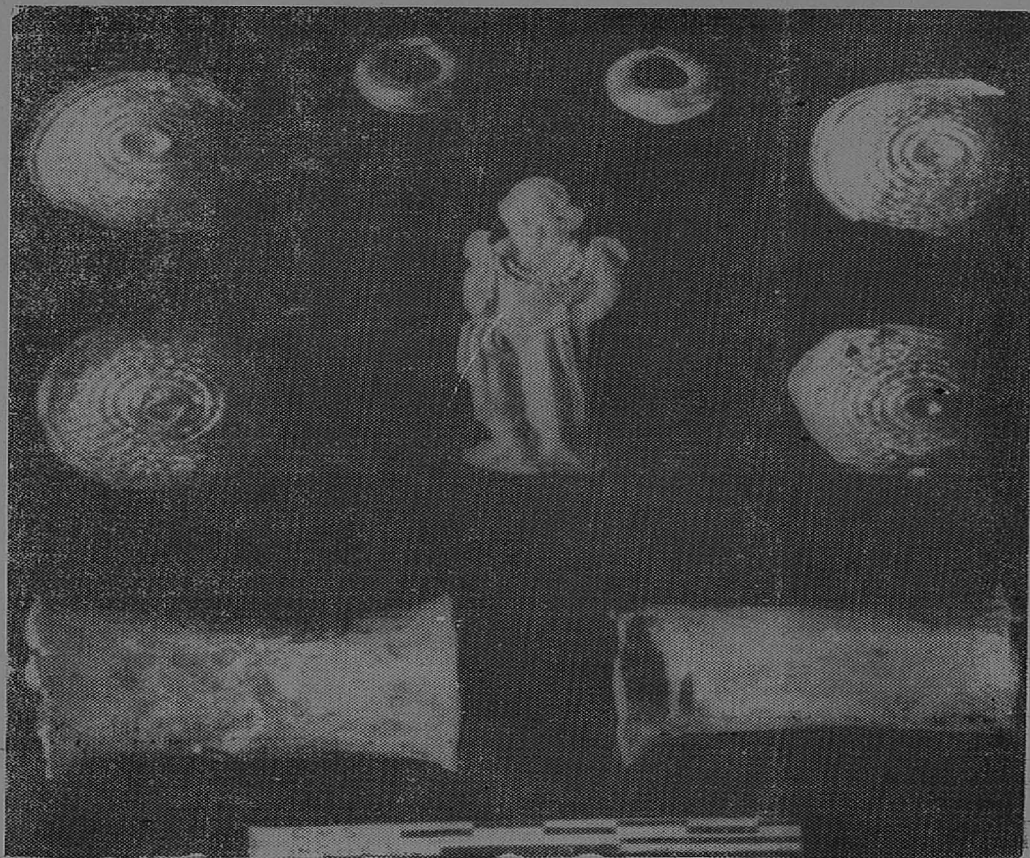
PL. I VAISALI Ear - ornaments of stone and terracotta



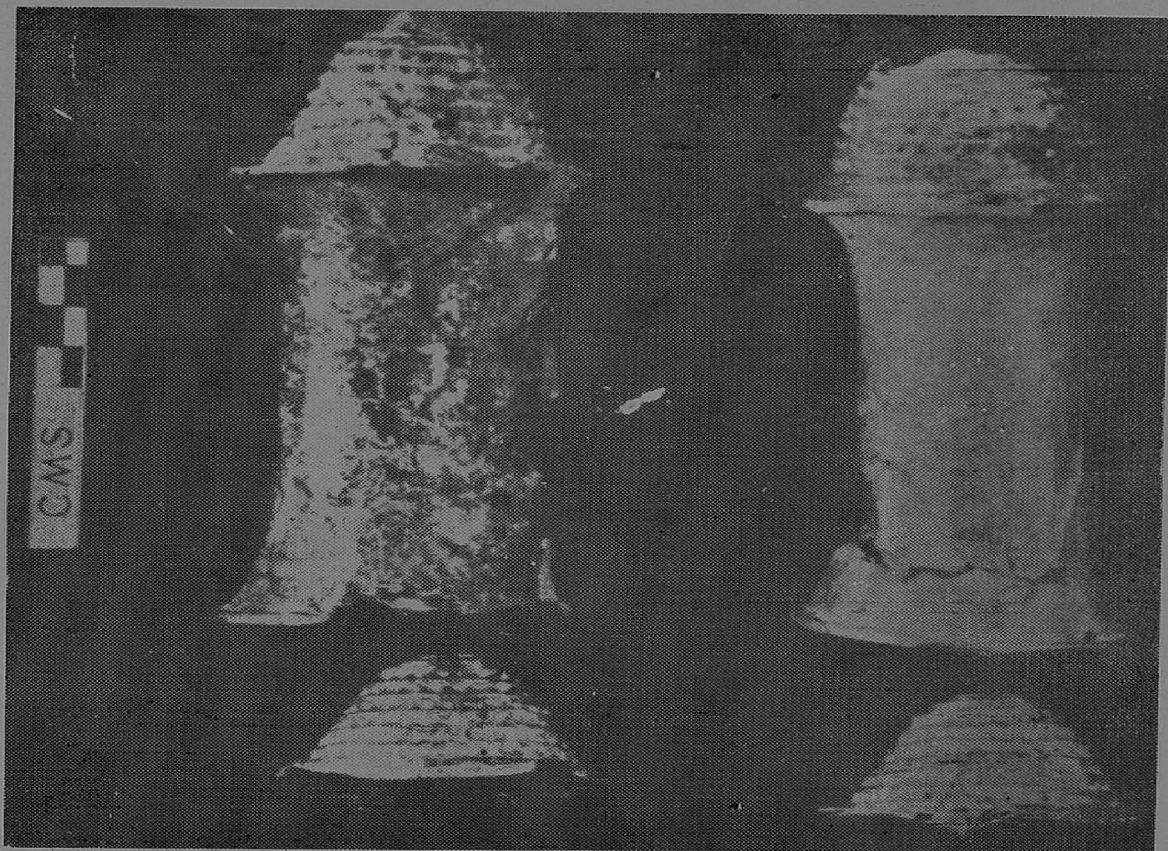
PL. II VAISALI
Ear - ornaments of Terracotta



PL. III SOMANATH (PRABHAS PATAN)
Ear-ornaments of semi-precious stones



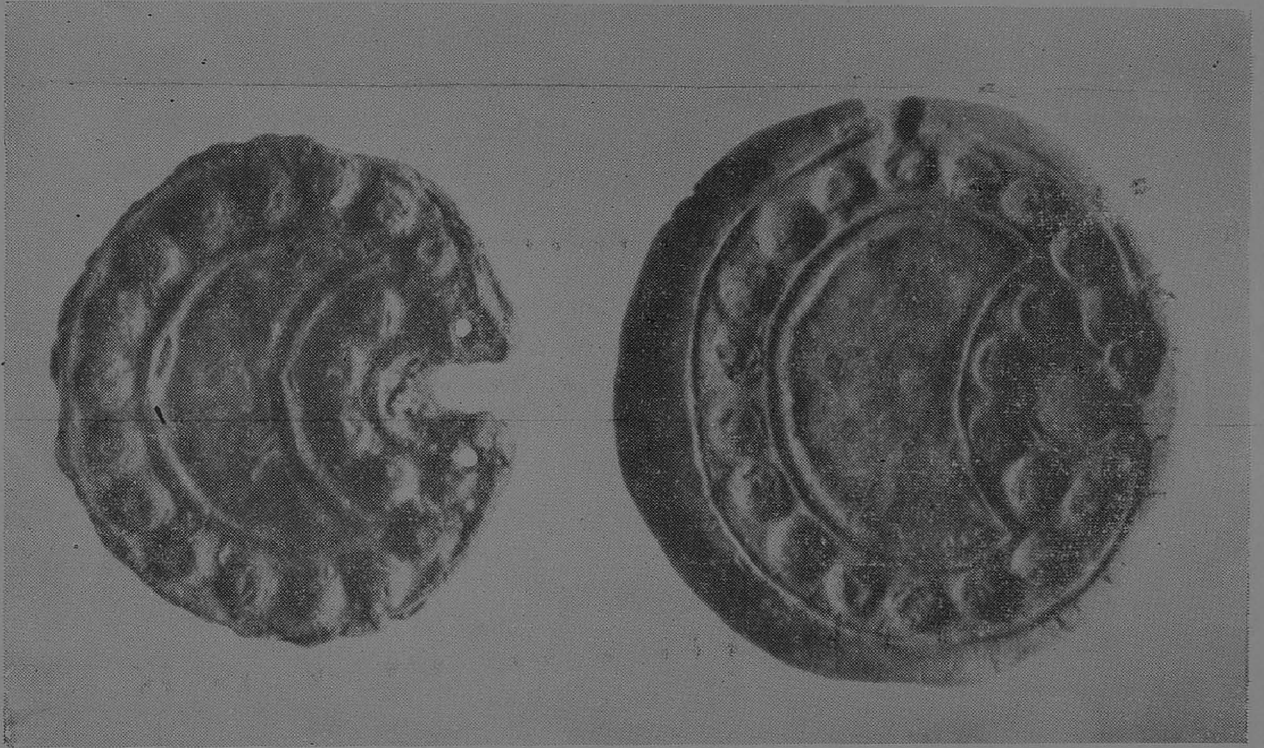
PL. IV VAISALI
Gold ear - ornaments



PL. V VAISALI
Ear-ornaments of Gold.



PL. VI SISUPALGARH
Ear - ornaments (Terracotta)



PL. VII BHIR MOUND, TAXILA

Terracotta Mould and ear - pendant. (Crescent shaped)

THE LATER NALAS

Nisar Ahmad

The Nalas established their sovereignty over Koraput district in Orissa and Bastar in Madhya Pradesh and later on extended their sway over the adjacent areas of Andhra Pradesh. Their kings were Varāha, Bhavadattavarman, Arthapati and Skandavarman, in succession. They ruled from the seventh decade of the 5th century to the end of the third decade of the 6th century A.D. The Nalas who came after Skandavarman are referred to in the records of the Imperial Chalukyas. Again they are also known by their Rajim stone and Pandiathar copper plate inscriptions, These Nalas are called here as the later Nalas.

In the Aihole inscription of the Imperial Chālukya king Pulakeśin II his father Kīrtivarman I (566-7 to 597-8 A.D.) is called 'the night of destruction' to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas¹. In the charters of the Later Chālukyas, he is also credited to have destroyed the residence (*nilaya*) of the Nalas². However, it is somewhat difficult to agree with the view of B.V. Krishnarao that the Western Chālukyas gave a final blow to the Nalas about the middle of the sixth century,³ i.e. in the time of Kīrtivarman I, as we know that the Mauryas and the Kadambas, who met with the identical fate, survived Kīrtivarman⁴. Although there is no mention of the Nalas in the list of the royal powers subdued by Pulakeśin II it is not impossible that the Nalas like the rulers of Kośala and Kalinga surrendered to him or they had already become the feudatory of the Chālukyas before Pulakeśin II came to the throne: and, the later is more probable. It may also be added here that the Chālukya-Nala struggle seems to have begun prior to Kīrtivarman I. His father Pulakeśin I (535-66 A.D.) is described to have adopted the title of *Mahārāja* and performed *Hiranyagarbha*, *Aśvamedha*, *Agnihishtoma*, *Agnichayana*, *Vājpeya*,

Bahusuvarna and *Paundarika* sacrifices⁵. Further, the subversion of the Nalas by the Chālukyas echoed in the later records of this family⁶ most probably suggests that the Nalas were their traditional enemy. So the encounter between the Nalas and the Imperial Chālukyas in the time of Pulakeśin I may be presumed.

This long enmity between the Imperial Chālukyas and the Nalas is definitely the proof of the continued political existence of the Nalas as well as their significant royal status⁷ after the death of their ruler Skandavarman. But it is highly unfortunate that the names of their kings who flourished during this period are not known to us because of the fact that they could not find opportunity to issue charters before the 8th century A.D. However, the domain over which these Nalas ruled can be marked out. Reverend Alexander Kyd Nairne locates it in Konkan on the occurrence of the name of the Nalas along with the Mauryas.⁸ Fleet on the basis of the reference of the Nalavādi - *vishaya* in the Kurnool grants of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I (655-81 A.D.) suggests that the territories of the Nalas 'lay in the direction of Bellary and Kurnool districts.'⁹ B. V. Krishnarao observes: "The reference to the Nalas in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II indicates that they were the enemies of the Chālukyas on the east. That indicates also that the Nalas were, about the middle of the sixth century, ruling on the bank of Tungabhadra. But whence did they come there? It would appear that they existed there as a ruling power from about the middle or first quarter of the sixth down to the middle or the first quarter of the seventh century."¹⁰ He further adds: "The Vākātaka king Harisena" would seem to have destroyed Skandavarman and broken up the power of the Nalas. "And, that" the Nalas apparently were forced to leave their country, migrated to new territories. Probably a branch of the Nalas thus uprooted from sovereignty and driven from their home in west Kosala and Bastar moved further south and settled on the banks of Tungabhadra."¹¹ Thus according to him the kingdom of these Nalas was situated at the north of the territories of the Kadambas. But the occurrence of the names of the Nalas and Kadambas together does not prove that they were the neighbours. Further, there is no evidence to suggest that these Nalas occupied the banks of Tungabhadra. We know that the early Nalas had their sway

mainly on the region extended from Koraput to Bastar and, therefore, it is more justified to presume that these Nalas also held those areas in continuation of their predecessors. C. R. Krishnamacharlu rightly suggests that "the mention of the Nalas in the Aihole inscription may be taken to indicate that they were the enemies of the Chālukyas on the north-east while the Mauryas of Konkan and the Kadambas of Vaijayanti were their enemies on the north-west and the south-west respectively."¹²

These Nalas are also known by their own record which is discovered in the left hand wall of the *mandapa* of the Rājivalochana temple at Rajim in Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. This inscription reveals the existence of three Nala kings, Prithvīrāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatunga.¹³ They "were in all probability father, son and grandson."¹⁴

The date of the Rajim stone inscription is proposed differently. Cunningham favours to place it "not later than the 8th or 9th century A.D."¹⁵ but later on he seems to be more precise by suggesting its date as 'about 8th century.'¹⁶ D.R. Bhandarkar ascribes this Nala epigraph to 'about the middle of the 8th century A.D.'¹⁷ Mirashi assigns it to 'about 700 A.D.'¹⁸ Krishnarao at one place considers it to have been issued about the middle of the 8th century A.D.¹⁹ but at another place he suggests its date as 'the later part of the seventh century A.D.'²⁰ Thus all these scholars hold its date some where between the 8th and the 9th century A.D. But in the opinion of P.L. Mishra this record was engraved at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century A.D. He says: "The Nala kings of south-Kosala had disappeared from this region by the end of the 5th century A.D. and the Śarabhapurias established their sway [over it in the following century. The Nalas devoid of their former glory and prestige were now passing their time in obscurity, somewhere in the Bastar state of old C.P. and Berar. They continued to live up to seventh century as mentioned in the Chālukya records, but only to suffer perpetual disgrace and humiliation at the hands of foreign invaders. He also adds. "And as the rule of the Nala dynasty came to an end after the death of Bhavādatta's successors"²¹ in 480 A.D.²² and "the Nala kings who followed

Bhavadatta and his sons were passing their days in obscurity.” the rulers “mentioned in the Rajim inscription then must have preceded Bhavadatta.” He further keeps them after king Mahendra of Kosala mentioned in the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta. As Samudragupta ‘reigned from C.320 to 375 A.D. Mahendra is considered by him to have flourished from C. 325 to 350 A. D. As such he places Prithvirāja and Vilāsatauṅga in between C.350 - 370, 370-390 and 390-410 A.D.²³ But this epigraph palaeographically belonged to the 8th century A. D.

The first known king of this Nala document, Prithvirāja, perhaps the grandfather of Vilāsatauṅga, “was pious and popular and therefore he is compared to the sacred river Rewa (the modern Narmada). He was born in Kaliyugaan era which though marked with material prosperity was nevertheless accompanied by religious decline. Therefore, like Māndhātā, he was created by God to show the people the path of virtue and purity.”

King Virūparāja, the son of Prithvirāja, “is said to have been very popular with his subjects by whom he was universally praised. His fame as a great warrior and skilful general pervaded the whole earth. He was regarded as the very incarnation of truth.²⁴” A king named Prithvivyaghra appears to have celebrated an Aśvamedha sacrifice. He is called *Nishada-pati* in the Udendiram grant of Palavamalla²⁵. About him, Sircar writes: “Supposing that the form *Nishada* is a mistake for *Nishadha* and not for *Nishāda*, Prithvivyāghra may possibly be associated with the epic *Nishadāpati* Nala.” Therefore, Prithvirāja of the Rajim inscription may be identified with this Prithvivyāghra as both of them flourished about the same time.²⁶

Vilāsatauṅga, the last king of the Rajim charter, was ‘apparently a successor’²⁷ and ‘most probably the son of Virūparāja.’ In the inscriptions the verses which contained the history of this ruler are unreadable due to the defacement of the place of the stone where they are written. Nevertheless, ‘it appears that the kingdom had attained stability’,²⁸ and the king devoted ‘himself to peaceful activities.’ Its attestation is provided by the standing beautiful temple now called Rājīvalochana, which is erected on a peculiar plan.²⁹ Definitely this

temple is constructed in the time of Vilāsatunga, as it is dedicated to Vishṇu and the above inscription fixed in this temple also speaks of the building of a temple consecrated to this deity. The deity worshipped in it is the representation of Vishṇu with his well known attributes, i. e. mace, disc, conch and lotus.³⁰ A.E. Nelson also writes that it is 'a Vishnuite shrine' and is 'first built about 8th or 9th century';³¹ Mishra remarks that this proposed date is most probably based on the assignment of the Rajim inscription to 'about 8th century' by Cunningham and therefore he holds that it "was first built by Prithvirāja" in the third quarter of the 4th century A. D.³² But Cunningham does not appear to be clear regarding the date of the construction of this temple. Sometimes he puts it in the 5th century and sometimes in the 12th century A. D.³³ And the date given by Mishra to this temple certainly has to be regarded as a layman's suggestion in the history of Indian architecture. Undoubtedly both, the temple and the inscription, belonged to the same time, i. e. the 8th century A. D.

The Nalas seems to have met with a favourable time "for expansion when the Chālukyan Kingdom was over run by the Pallavas at the end of Pulakeśin's reign" and they consolidating their power, came out of their home—the region consisted of Koraput and Bastar. These people invaded the country of the Somavamsis, "whom they drove to the east"³⁴ in the end of the 7th century or the beginning of the 8th century A.D. under the leadership of any of the above three Nala kings, and held the Raipur district. They probably made Rajim as their provincial headquarters.³⁵ Thus they regained their political glory. But in this newly conquered territories their rule, must have ended towards the close of the 9th century when the Kalachuri, Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavalā, the son of Kokalla I' conquered the country of Pali from the lord of Kosala."³⁶ We do not know if the Nalas were responsible for the disappearance of the powers of the Vākātakas of Vatsgulma and Rāshtrakūtas of Manpur but Sircar says that this suggestion is not altogether improbable.³⁷

Further, the copper plates grant discovered from the village of Pandiathar, about six miles to the north-east of the Aska town in the district of Ganjam,³⁸ contains the name of the king Bhīma-

sena who was born in Nala family (*Nala vamsodbhavakula*)³⁹. This record bears the year of its issue as 'Samva (t) 189'. For it Satyanarayan Rajaguru writes: "Now the question is whether this Samvat is to be taken as Gaṅga era, used in Kalinga, or the Bhauma era, used in Toshali or the northern parts of Orissa whenever the ganga era is mentioned, as a rule, the name of the era is always given, But, in the case of the Bhauma era, it is in each case written as 'Samvat'". As such he takes the present Samvat as the Bhauma Era. And, for the commencement of the Bhauma Era, he suggests the date as 736 A.D. Thus the date of the present document corresponds to $736+189=925$ A. D.

This date can also be corroborated on the palaeographical grounds. The letters of this epigraph are drawn beautifully in developed forms. Two armed *Ja* has its left arm elongated with a bend inwards. *Ta* is also inscribed with right limb prolonged having inwards bend. *Da* has a big tail. *Ma*, *Ya*, *Sha* and *Se* are engraved with right arm extended downwards. *Ro* with tail is represented in a well developed shape. All these features are not noticed in the Rajim inscription and are the later developments.

The pandiathar grant is issued from Bhīmapura, which is identified with the present Bhimanagar. This was probably the provincial seat of the Nala king Bhīmasena. He "gained merit including strength to control the infinite Sāmanta-Chakras by worship at the feet of (the god) Śrī Yamalingeśvara." He calls himself Mahārajādhirāja and Parameśvara⁴⁰ which are definitely the testimonies of his independent and elevated status. Again, the fact that this praśasti is a mere copy of that used by some of the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga,⁴¹ leads us to hold that Bhīmasena regarded himself at par with the Gangas. Perhaps he also continued to govern his family's old territories and had his capital at Pushkarī and from there he stretched out the realm of the Nalas upto the ganjam district in Orisra, in the 10th Century A.D.

This charter refers Khindiraśringa Maṇḍala. Although Khindiraśringa is labelled with the term Maṇḍala but here its use does not appear to have been applied in the restricted sense, as it (spelt out as Khindiraśingha) is also mentioned in the Madras Museum plates

at the time of Narendrahavala where it is said that Rāṇaka Ghonghāka of Nāga dynasty granted a village by purchase in Gomuṇḍa-Maṇḍal, a part of Khinḍiraśiṅgha of Narendrahavala.⁴² Thus it is evident that Khinḍi raśiṅgha being consisted of various Maṇḍalas formed the part of the Nala dominion.

FOOT NOTES

1. *EI*, VI, pp. 1 ff.
2. *IA*, VIII, p. 13.
3. B. V. Krishnarao, *A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 666.
4. See verses 20 and 21 of the Aihole Inscription.
5. *IA*, VI, p. 363; VII, p. P. 161.
6. *IA*, XVI, pp. 15 ff.
7. The Western Chalukyan record refers to 'the glory of the Nalas' (*IA*, VIII, p. 11) and this also attest to the above suggestion.
8. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, part II/1, p. 11.
9. *Ibid*, I, part 11/2, pp. 282.
10. *Op. cit*, p. 657.
11. *Ibid*, pp. 665-6.
12. *EI*, XIX, p. 155.
13. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 49-58.
14. *IHQ*, XXXVI, p. 254.
15. *ASIR*, XVII, p. 7.
16. *Ibid*, p. 18.
17. *PRASWI*, 1903-4, p. 48.
18. *EI*, XXVI, pp. 49 ff.
19. *Op. cit*; p. 658.
20. *Ibid*, p. 666.
21. *IHQ*, XXXVI, p. 250.
22. *Ibid*, pp. 252-58.
23. *Ibid*, pp. 251-54.

24. *IHQ*, XXXVI, p. 254.
25. *IA*, VIII, p. 276.
26. *EI*, XXVIII, p. 15.
27. *The classical Age*, (Ed) p. 190.
28. *IHQ*, XXXVI, p. 254.
29. *ASIR*, XVII, p. 18.
30. *Ibid*, pp. 6-20.
31. *Raipur District Gazetteer*, p, 66
32. *IHQ*, XXXVI, pp. 254-5.
33. He first writes, "I would, therefore, assign the foundation of the temple to Rāma Chandra under his title of Rajīvalochana, to the time of Jagatpāla" whose inscription is dated "in the year 896 of the Chedi Samvat, equal to A. D. 1145" (*ASIR*, XVII, p. 7). Then he says that it can be dated to the 5th century A. D. "if the copper plate inscription of Tivara Deva refers to it" (*Ibid*, p. 9). At the last he mentions: "I am strongly inclined to assign the temple itself to the time of Tivara Deva, between A. D. 452 and 450" because the copper plate of Tivara Deva was found some 5 or 6 feet underground, close to the temple of Rajivalochana (*Ibid*, p. 18).
34. *EI*, XXVI, p. 53.
35. Mirashi thinks that they had their capital at Sirpur (*Ibid*, p. 55)
36. *Ibid* p. 54.
37. *The classical Age*, (Ed.), pp. 190,201,229 *EI* XXXVIII, p, 14.
38. *OHRJ*, V. pp. 97 ff
39. *Ibid*, p. 100.
40. *Ibid*, pp. 98,102.
41. *Ibid* p. 99.
42. *EI*.XXVIII, pp. 44-50

A STUDY OF THE EARLY PALLAVA GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY *

V. Sundara Rama Sastry,

The history of the early pallavas is one of the glorious but much controversial subjects in the ancient history of South India. Their early history and origin have not yet been satisfactorily settled. However, it has been widely accepted by scholars that, Āndhra country has been a stage in their sojourn, before they settled in Tonḍaimandalam.¹ More important than this, the recovery of the bulk of their Prakrit and Sanskrit charters from the southern Āndhra country intimately connects them with the history of that land. They ruled a part of Āndhra and maintained relations, friendly or otherwise, with their contemporary dynasties in the rest of the land. The political and cultural influence of the Pallavas was felt by Āndhra till it was swept by the Western Chālukyan invasion led by Pulakēśin II, in the first quarter of the 7th century A. D.

The Pallava genealogy and chronology has been previously studied by scholars like Prof. G. Jouveau [Dubreuil,² Rev. H. Heras,³ R. Gopalan,⁴ D. C. Sircar,⁵ H. Krishna Sastri,⁶ and B.V. Krishna Rao.⁷ But there have remained some outstanding problems, because of the conflicting theories presented by them. Recently, a few more Pallava epigraphs have come to light,⁸ making the works of the above mentioned scholars, out of tune. The Pallava history has been studied afresh, in the light of the new records by D.C. Sircar,⁹ N. Ramesan,¹⁰ Prof. T.V. Mahalingam,¹¹ besides certain others. Dr. Sircar's work is more specific and also piece-meal. Ramesan's arrangement of the

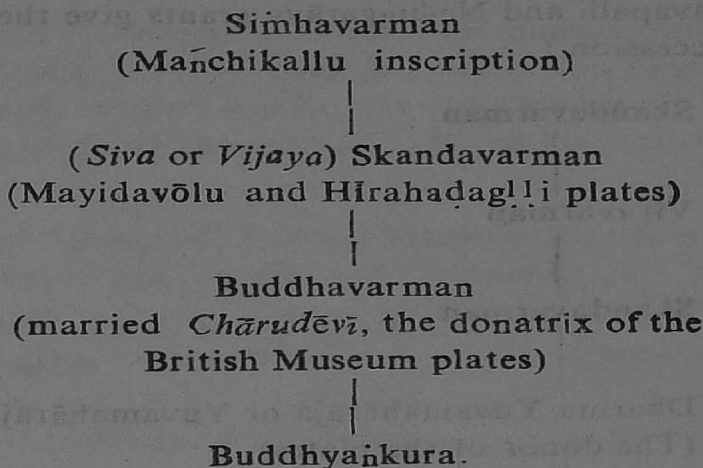
* The author expresses his sincere thanks to Dr. B.R. Subrahmanyam, M.A., Ph. D., Reader in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Nagarjuna University, Guntur: for his kind guidance in preparing the article.

genealogy and chronology raises several objections. Prof. Mahalingam has not noticed the Sakrapatṇa plates and thus his scheme of chronology needs a revision. Hence, an attempt at the reconstruction of the early Pallava genealogy and chronology, in brief, is made in these pages.

Of the four Prakrit inscriptions¹² of the early Pallavas, only the British Museum plates of Chārudēvī provides us with a genealogical list. With the exception of the Mañchikallu inscription, all the records are dated in regnal years of the ruling *mahārājas*¹³ Hence, but for paleography, we have no other means of arranging them in a chronological order. Dr. D. C. Sircar assigns the Prakrit charters of the Pallavas to the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.¹⁴

The Mañchikallu inscription of Simhavarman is assigned to a date about the close of the third century A.D. and supposed as the earliest of the Prakrit charters of the Pallavas.¹⁵ It is palaeographically similar to the Ikshavāku records on the one hand and the Mayidavōlu and Hīrahadagaḷḷi plates of Sivaskandavarman on the other. Hence it is the missing link between the end of the Ikshavāku rule and the beginning of Pallava rule in the Kṛishṇā valley. Dr. Sircar opined that Simhavarman may be the predecessor of Sivaskandavarman; probably his father, who had been referred to as the *Bappabhātṭāraka* in the Mayidavōlu and Hīrahadagaḷḷi plates. The Palaeography of the Mañchikallu inscription as well as the circumstantial evidence make the theory acceptable.

The British Museum plates, issued by Queen Chārudēvī of Yuvamahārāja Buddhavarman and the mother of Buddhyaṅkura, were dated in the reign of *Mahārāja* Vijayaskandavarman.¹⁶ Scholars generally take him to be identical with the *Mahārāja* Sivaskandavarman, both *Vijaya* and *Siva* being honorifics.¹⁷ The Pallava genealogy on the basis of their Prakrit charters can be arranged as follows :



There are fourteen Sanskrit copper plates of the family.¹⁸ They include the solitary plate of the Darśī grant. A few of the Sanskrit charters are issued from Kāñchī,¹⁹ but most of them were issued from places like Daśanapura, Palakkada etc., located in the prakāśam and Nellore districts.²⁰ The Sanskrit charters, more or less, give a continuous line of succession of kings. But they too are dated in regnal years only. Therefore we have to depend upon palaeography and other historical synchronisms to arrange them in a precise genealogical and chronological order.

The Oṃgōḍu plates (I set) is supposed to be the earliest of the Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas²¹ and it gives the following pedigree, in father-son relationship.

1. Kumāravishṇu
- |
2. Skandavarman
- |
3. Vīravarman
- |
4. (*Vijaya*) Skandavarman
(donor of the record)

The Uravapalli and Nedunġarāya grants give the following list of kings in succession :

- 1 Skandavarman
- |
2. Viravarman
- |
3. Skandavarman
- |
4. Dharma Yuvamahārāja or Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa
(The donor of the plates)

The first three members of these two grants tally with the latter three members of the Oṃgōḍu (1st set) plates, except for the honorific 'Vijaya' held by its donor. The two grants of *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpa, were dated in the reign of *Mahārāja* Siṃhavarman. As the donor was only a *Yuvamahārāja*, it is proper to date his records in such a way. But scholars till recently were divided on the identification of the *Mahārāja*.²² Now, the controversy is set at naught, with the discovery of two copper plate charters viz., *Vēsanta* and *Sakrapatna* grants. The grants were issued by *Mahārāja* Siṃhavarman, and give the following line of Succession.

Vēsanta plates

Viravarman
|
Skandavarman
|
Siṃhavarman

Sakrapatna plates

Skandavarman
|
Viravarman
|
Skandavarman
|
Siṃhavarman

The predecessors of the donor Siṃhavarman, of the two plates, are totally in agreement, with those of the *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpa,

mentioned in his two charters. Thus, the Simhavarman can be taken, beyond any doubt, as the elder brother of the *Yuvamahārāja*. He succeeded Skandavarman and he was the *Mahārāja* Simhavarman, in whose regnal years, the *Yuvamahārāja* dated his records.

The next group of Pallava Sanskrit charters were issued by *Mahārāja* Simhavarman, the son of *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpa. They are the Māṅgaḍūr, Pīkīra, Omgōḍu (II Set) and Vīlavetṭi copper plate grants. They give, in common, the following genealogy :

Mahārāja Vīravarman
Mahārāja Skandavarman
Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa
Mahārāja Simhavarman

Mention may be made in this context, about the Darśī fragmentary copper plate. It is only the first plate of the charter, the remaining plates being lost. The extant portion contains the name of the donor's great-grand father, Vīrakōrchavarman and the epithets attributed to him. As the donor's name is in the lost portion, it is difficult to identify the Vīrakōrcha. Later records of the family name one Vīrakūrcha, who is described to have obtained royalty, along with the hand of a Nāgā princess.²³ Scholars are tempted to identify the Vīrakōrcha of the Darśī fragmentary charter with the Vīrakūrcha of the later records.²⁴ Palaeographically the record resembles the Uruvapalli, Māṅgaḍūr and other records of the later half of the fifth century A. D.²⁵ As such, the record may be taken to the grant of Simhavarman, the donor of Māṅgaḍūr group of charters. He was the great-grandson of Vīravarman, who may be identified with the Vīrakōrcha of the Darśī fragmentary charter.

The Churā grant of the *Mahārāja* Vijayaviṣṇugopavarman, gives the following genealogy. It tallies with the Māṅgaḍūr and other charters of Simhavarman, for the first three generations.

Mahārāja Kandavarman

Mahārāja Vishṅugōpavarman ²⁶

Mahārāja Simhavarman

Mahārāja Vijayavishṅugōpavarman

There remains the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman, and Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṅu. Both the records were issued from Kānchīpuram and scholars like Dr. D. C. Sircar²⁷ and K. R. Subrahmanyam,²⁸ take the kings mentioned in these two charters as constituting the main line that ruled from Kānchi. They supposed that the lists of kings mentioned in other Sanskrit charters as the collateral, Nellore-Guntur line of the Pallavas.

The Udayēndiram plates give the following line of kings in succession :

Skandavarman

Simhavarman

Skandavarman

Nandivarman

It is to be remembered at this place that the Penukoṇḍa²⁹ and Kūḍalūr³⁰ plates of the Western Gaṅga king Mādhavarman say that he and his father Ayyavarman were anointed by Pallava kings Simhavarman and Skandavarman. Obviously, the Pallava kings also must be son and father respectively. Such line of succession is met with in

the Udayēndiram plates only. Again the identification of Simhavarman, mentioned in the Gaṅga records, with one of his homonymous kings of the Pallava line was a much discussed problem before the discovery of the Sakrapatṇa plates. B. V. Krishnarao identified him with the donor of the Amarāvati pillar inscription,³¹ whom he assigns a period of rule some time after Vijayavishṇugōpavarman.³² But the Sakrapatna plates record a gift made by its donor in Sēydraka *Vishaya*, the heart of the Kadamba kingdom. It only proves that the Simhavarman of the Gaṅga records was no other than that of the Sakrapatṇa plates. The record was issued from the military camp³³ and the war was obviously undertaken against the Kadambas, who must have supported the rivals of Ayyavarman. So, the Udayēndiram plates, issued from Kāñchī extends the Pallava genealogy from Simhavarman of the Vēsanta and Sakrapatṇa plates, by two more generations.

The Chendalūr plates give the following names of kings in succession :

Mahārāja Skandavarman

Mahārāja Kumāravishṇu I

Mahārāja Buddhavarman

Mahārāja Kumāravishṇu II

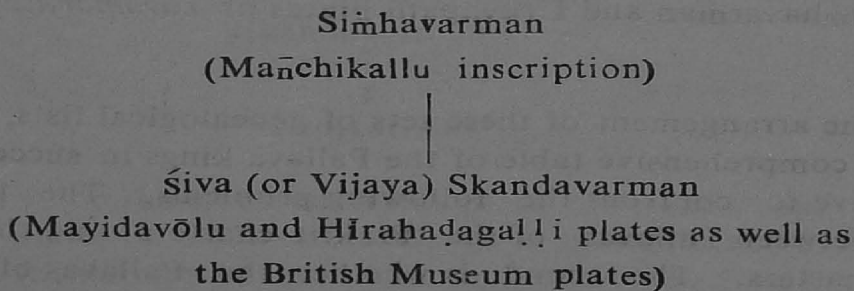
Palaeographically, the record is held to resemble the Māṅgaḍūr plates of Simhavarman and Uruvapalli plates of *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpa.³⁴

In the arrangement of these sets of genealogical lists, so as to arrive at a comprehensive table of the Pallava kings in succession, the scholars have to confront the following problems. The first is, the relation between Pallavas of the Prakrit charters and those of the Sanskrit charters. The second is whether the Pallavas of Sanskrit charters from one or two lines. In other words, had all the kings of the family ruled from Kāñchī, including the southern Āndhra country; or the kings of the family, who issued charters from places of Āndhra

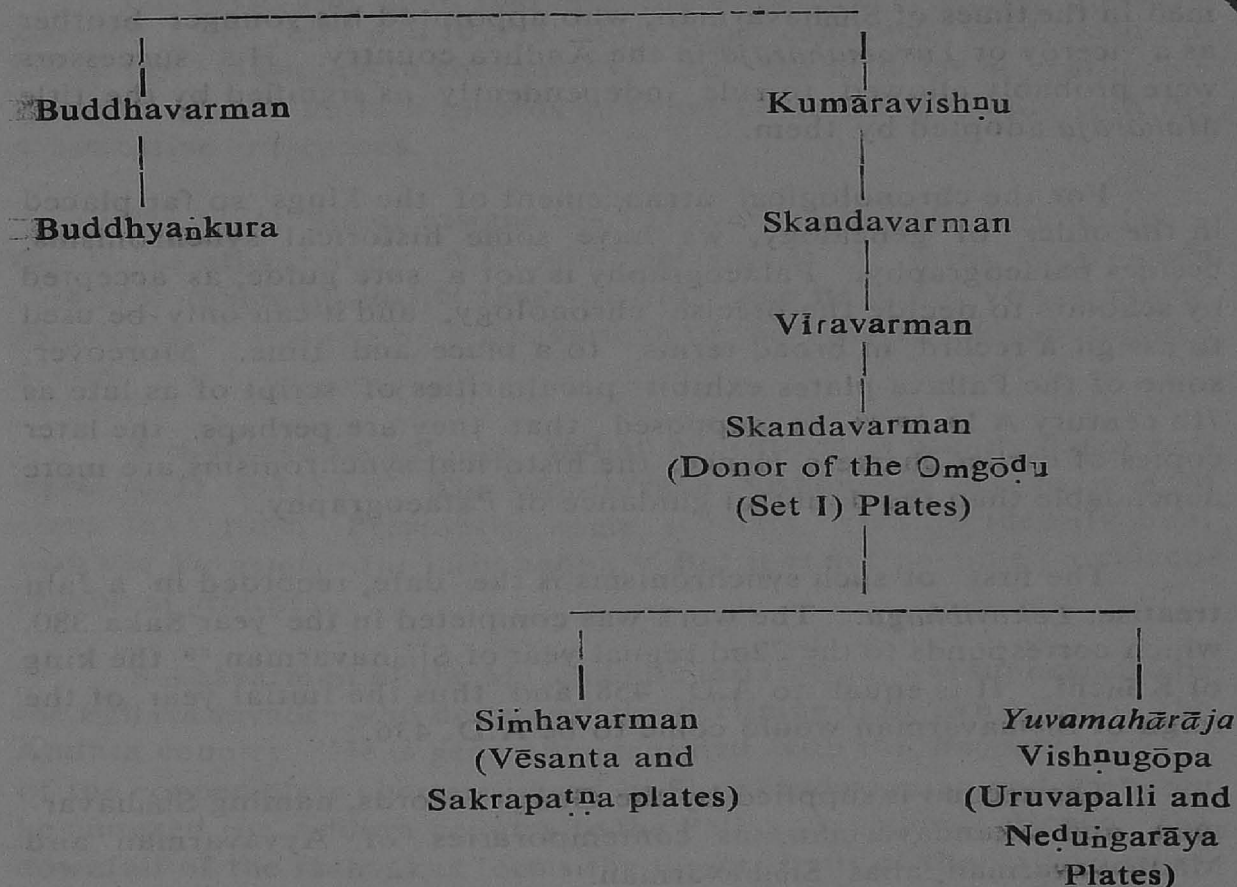
country, constitute a separate line.³⁵ The third is the finding of a place for Vishṅugōpa, who is mentioned in the Allāhābād *Prāsasti* of Samudragupta.

Palaeographically and in the method of dating the Oṃgōḍu (Set I) of Vijayaskandavarman is apparently closer to the Prakrit plates of the family.³⁶ Hence, most of the scholars take the Kumāra-vishṅu, who is mentioned at the top of the pedigree list in the record, as the successor of the śiva (or *Vijaya*) Skandavarman of the Hirahadagaḷi and the British Museum plates. However, Dr. D. C. Sircar seems to have rather heavily relied upon the honorific *Vijaya* commonly borne by the donor of the Oṃgōḍu (I set) and the *Mahārāja*, in whose regnal years the British Museum plates were dated.³⁷ His theory cannot be accepted, as the British Museum plates, being a Prakrit record must have preceded the Sanskrit charters. Again, the list of kings mentioned in the Oṃgōḍu (Set I) plates can neither be accommodated among, nor reasonably connected with, the Pallavas of Prakrit charters.³⁸

As already explained, the last three names in the Oṃgōḍu (Set I) plates would tally with the first three names of the Uruvapalli and Neḍuṅgarāya plates on the one hand and the Sakrapatṇa plates on the other. Thus we arrive at the genealogy as follows :



A STUDY OF THE EARLY PALLAVA
GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY



Now, the table is extended by the Udayēndiram and Chendalūr plates on the side of Simhavarman and the family succession seems to have been unbroken till Nandivarman of the Udayēndiram plates. There on, it seems to have passed into the secondary line headed by Kumāravishṇu I, who was perhaps the younger brother of Nandivarman,

On the otherside, Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa is followed by his son Mahārāja Simhavarman, who issued the Māṅgaḍūr group of Charters and also probably the Darśī plates. He was succeeded by his son Mahārāja Vijaya Vishṇugopavarman. This was a collateral line for-

med in the times of Simhavarman, who appointed his younger brother as a viceroy or *Yuvamahārāja* in the Āndhra country. His successors were probably allowed to rule independently as signified by the title *Mahārāja* adopted by them.

For the chronological arrangement of the kings so far placed in the order of genealogy, we have some historical synchronisms, besides palaeography. Palaeography is not a sure guide, as accepted by scholars to decide the precise chronology, and it can only be used to assign a record, in broad terms, to a place and time. Moreover, some of the Pallava plates exhibit peculiarities of script of as late as 7th century A.D.³⁸ It is supposed that they are perhaps, the later copies of earlier charters. Hence, the historical synchronisms are more dependable than the doubtful guidance of Palaeography.

The first of such synchronisms is the date, recorded in a Jain treatise, *Lokavibhāga*. The work was completed in the year Śaka 380, which corresponds to the 22nd regnal year of Simhavarman,³⁹ the king of Kānchī. It is equal to A.D. 458 and thus the initial year of the reign of Simhavarman would come to be A.D. 436.

The second is supplied by the Gaṅga records, naming Simhavarman and Skandavarman, as contemporaries of Ayyavarman and Mādhavarman, alias Simhavarman.⁴⁰

The third is, the reference to a Pallava, in the Vēlpūrū stone inscription of the Vishṇukunḍin king, Mādhavarman (S.A.D. 450–500). The Vishṇukunḍin monarch was apparently in preparation for a war against the Pallava, whose name is unfortunately lost.⁴¹

The fourth also comes from the Vishṇukunḍin records. The Tummalagūḍem plates of Vikramendrabhaṭṭāraka II refers to a Pallava king called Simha, whom the Vishṇukunḍin king claims to have defeated.⁴²

The fifth is the reference to the king of Kānchī, namely Vishṇugōpa, in the Allāhābād *Prasasti* of Samudragupta.⁴³

Of these, the first two are more or less concrete and sure grounds. The third and fourth have to be cautiously used, with the aid of the Vishṇukundīn chronology. But the fifth has no reasonable answer from the Pallava records and thus be determined only with the constructive inferences.

Dr. D. C. Sircar assigns the Pallava Sanskrit charters, in general, to the fifth century A.D. and onwards.⁴⁴ Of them, the Oṃgōḍu (Set I) is decidedly earlier than the other and its donor Vijayaskandavarman was followed by Śimhavarman of the Vāsanta and Sakrapaṭṭa plates.

Samudragupta's South Indian expedition is usually dated between A. D. 348-50.⁴⁵ The *Kāñchēyaka* Vishṇugōpa has to be fixed about that time. Previously, some scholars tried to identify him, with the *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpa.⁴⁶ But it is not possible on palaeographical grounds.

Śimhavarman of the Mañchikallu inscription, was supposed to be the Pallava invader who destroyed the declining Ikshvāku power in the Āndhra country. He is generally identified with the *Bappabhattāra* of the copper-plate charters issued by Śivaskandavarman and probably he annexed the Āndhra country to the Pallava kingdom. Hence, the downfall of the Ikshvākus forms the upper limit of the Pallava chronology. We do not know any thing reliable about his predecessors, excepting mythical and legendary accounts preserved in the later records of the family (in which probably Śimhavarman has no place). The downfall of the Ikshvākus is placed about A.D. 315.⁴⁷ Śimhavarman of the Mañchikallu inscription may thus be placed between A.D. 305-330; and the record may be placed about the year A.D. 315. His son and successor Śivaskandavarman might be assigned to the period between A. D. 330-350.

Śivaskandavarman seems to have had three sons, the eldest being the *yuvamahārāja* Buddhavarman. He is known by the British Museum plates of his Queen Chārudēvī. The provenānce of the record as well

as the gift recorded therein, indicate that the *yuvamahārāja* was placed in-charge of the *Ām̄dhāpathā*. Perhaps, he predeceased his father⁴⁸ and thus, the second son Vishṇugōpa might have ascended the throne of *Kānchī* about the year 350 A. D.

The defeat of Vishṇugōpa, at the hands of Samudragupta seem to have undermined the prestige of the family. The Pallavas, were already at war with the Kadamba Chief Mayūraśarman and the discomfiture of Vishṇugōpa might have encouraged other feudatories also to follow the Kadamba example.⁴⁹ If we give some reasonable credence to the later records of the family, we are informed in the *Vēlūr-pālaiyam* plates that Kumāravishṇu reconquered *Kānchī* and Skandaśishya seized *Ghatikā* from the king Satyasena.⁵⁰ The *Ghatikā* in ancient times was a University-like institution of Brahmanical studies. Its seizure by a king indicates its political importance also. The *Tālgundā* inscription refers to a *ghatikā* at *Kānchī* in early times⁵¹ and it may be the same as the one mentioned in the *Vēlūr-pālaiyam* plates. If we correlate the account of the *Vēlūr-pālaiyam* plates, with the description of Kumāravishṇu I in the *Oṅgōḍu* (Set I) as an *aśvamēdhayājīn*,⁵² we can conclude that :

Vishṇugōpa had to lose the capital, prestige and perhaps the territory, because of the Kadamba onslaught on the one hand and the Samudragupta's invasion on the other. His feudatories took advantage of the situation, Kumāravishṇu rose to the need of the hour and could rescue the family fortune. He could reconquer the capital and performed the *aśvamedha*, in declaration of the reconquest. His son Skandavarman was perhaps the same as Skandaśishya of the *Vēlūr-pālaiyam* plates.⁵³ He might have led the expedition, on behalf of his father, to success. He is accredited with the seizure of the *Ghatikā*, which confirmed the occupation of the capital, that is *Kānchī*

The next step in the settlement of the chronology of the Pallavas, is the date of *Simhavarman*, of the *Vēsanta* and *Sakrapaṭṇa* plates. These records have dispelled the doubt that Pallavas might have lost the *Tōṇḍaimandalam* and their rule after *Śivaskandavarman* was limited to the *Nellore-Guntur* region.⁵⁴ The *Vēsanta* grant, being

issued from Kānchī, proves beyond any doubt, that Pallavas, atleast upto the time of Simhavarman, had not lost their capital and territory, after its reconquest by Kumāravishṇu I. ⁵⁵ The Sakrapaṭṇa plates demonstrate that Simhavarman was not an ordinary monarch, but his conquests extended into the heart of the Kadamba country. ⁵⁶ There is no doubt, that he was the Pallava monarch, who installed Ayyavarman on the Gaṅga throne. His expeditions into the Karṇāṭaka were intended to subdue the rivals of Gaṅga Ayyavarman, who were supported by the Kadambas. Scholars hitherto assigned him a reign of 22 or 30 years. But the Sakrapaṭṇa plates being dated in his 41st regnal year force a revision and thereby a rearrangement of the chronology. Another important point with reference to the date of Simhavarman is the *Lokavibhāga* synchronism, referred to above. It gives the year A. D. 436 as the initial year of Simhavarman's reign which might have lasted, atleast, upto A.D. 478.

The Penugonḍa plates of the Gaṅga king, Mādhavarman alias Simhavarman, has been assigned to A.D. 475. ⁵⁷ But in the light of the information as to the long reign of Simhavarman, the Pallava, it is not possible for his successor Śkandavarman, to place Mādhavarman on the Gaṅga throne, before A.D. 475. Skandavarman's reign, has to be placed between A. D. 478-493 and accordingly, his annointment of Mādhavarman would be sometime about A.D. 485. Hence, the date of the Penugonḍa plates has to be assigned to the last decade of the fifth century.

The Predecessor of Simhavarman, namely Vijayaskandavarman, the donor of the Oṃgōḍu (Set I). is known to have ruled at least for 31 years. He may thus be placed between A.D. 405-436. His predecessors mentioned in the record are to be accommodated between A.D. 350-405

The Neḍuṅgarāya and Uruvapalli plates of yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa, are dated in the ninth and eleventh regnal years respectively of Mahārāja Simhavarman. The Vēsanta grant of Simhavarman being dated in his nineteenth regnal year, indicates that the Āndhra

country, to the south of the river Kṛishṇā remained a part of the Pallava empire. Vishṇugōpa was perhaps posted in charge of the Āndhra country, in the capacity of *yuvamahārāja* about the eighth year of the Siṃhavarman's reign and had to remain in that capacity throughout his life. This view is supported by the records of his son Siṃhavarman, the Māṅgaḍūr group of charters, which designate Vishṇugōpa only as *yuvamahārāja*. But his grandson *Mahārāja* Vishṇugōpa, in his Churā plates calls him as a *Mahārāja*, but it might be a scribal error or the result of enthusiastic veneration and glorification of his ancestor by the donor of the grant.⁵⁸ The conversion of the viceroyalty to a full-fledged kingdom, indicated by the Māṅgaḍūr group of charters,⁵⁹ might have taken place sometime after the date of the Vēsanta grant, but obviously with the permission of the *Mahārāja* Siṃhavarman. The event is comparable to the foundation of the Eastern Chālukyan Kingdom at Vēṅgī during the later times. *Yuvamahārāja* Vishṇugōpa may be placed between A.D. 445-460 and his son *Mahārāja* Siṃhavarman may be assigned to the period between A.D. 470-495. His son and successor Vijayavishṇugōpavarman of the Churā grant, may be placed between A.D. 495-525.

Coming back to the main line at Kāñchī, Skandavarman, the son and successor of Siṃhavarman, may be placed between A.D. 478-493. Fifteen years of reign assigned to him is reasonable in view of the long reign of his father. He was succeeded by Nandivarman, the donor of Udayēndiram grant. It was dated only in the first year of his reign, which might not have lasted more than a decade, and placed between A.D. 493-500. It appears that, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Kumāravishṇu II, who is mentioned at the top of the list of kings in the Chendalūr plates. Some scholars take this Kumāravishṇu, to have been the homonymous, that reconquered Kāñchī, as his son Buddhavarman was described as the submarine fire to the ocean like army of the Chōḷas. Hence, they think that the Chōḷas dislodged the Pallavas from Kāñchī and it necessitated the Pallavas to reconquer their capital. This theory had been disapproved and no longer holds ground.⁶⁰

In this connection, it may be recalled that some early inscrip-

tions of the Chōla Kings of Rēnāḍu⁶¹ name a certain Nandivarman as their progenitor. This fact may suggest, the Rēnāḍu branch of Chōlās, were the Pallava feudatories upto the time of Nandivarman, the donor of the Udayēndiram grant. They might have risen to, independence and probably intruded into the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam during the reign of Kumāravishṇu II.⁶² His son Buddhavarman, might have led the Pallava armies against them and put down their rising. The kings mentioned in the Chendalūr plates, following Nandivarman, may be placed between A.D. 500-560, as follows :

Kumāravishṇu II	...	...	...	C. A. D. 500-520
Buddhavarman	...	...	...	C. A. D. 520-545
Kumāravishṇu III	...	...	...	C. A. D. 545-560

The Vāyalūr pillar inscription of Rājasimha, though rejected to be unreliable regarding the early members of the family, is supposed to be trustworthy as it reports about the immediate predecessors of Mahendravarman.⁶³ Thus Simhavarman, No. 46 of the Vāyalūr list and who appears as the grand father of Mahendravarman is identified with the *Mahārāja*, who issued the Pallankōvil copper plate grant. He is preceded in the Vāyalūr list by Vishṇugōpa, No. 45. Scholars think that this Simhavarman belonged to the collateral family ruling in the Āndhra country, and that he succeeded *Mahārāja* Vishṇugōpavarman of the Churā plates. Perhaps, he came to Kāñchī, as the Pallava throne fell vacant under some exigent circumstances, most probably due to the death of Kumāravishṇu III, without an heir.

Simhavarman might have succeeded Vishṇugōpa, about A.D. 525 and his rule might at least have lasted upto A.D. 560, when he was called upon to ascend the throne of Kāñchī. He was perhaps at an advanced age, as the Pallankōvil grant indicates. The grant merely mentions the reigning monarch, but describes in glowing terms the greatness of his son, Simhavishṇu, who was *de facto* ruler in the capacity of *yuvarāja*. The reign of Simhavishṇu after Simhavarman may be placed between A.D. 565-600.

Thus, the discovery of some new epigraphs of the early Pallavas have enabled us to solve some persistent problems, as to the beginning of their ascendancy and the course of their fortunes. In the light of the new source material the Pallava genealogy and chronology can be more satisfactorily presented as follows :

I. **Siṃhavarman I**

(Of the Mañchikallu inscription of about A. D. 310)

C. A. D. 305-330.

2. (*Śiva* or *Vijaya*) **Skandavarman**

(Of the Mayidavōlu and Hīrahadagaḷḷi Plates)

C. A. D. 330-350.

Yuvamahārāja
Buddhavarman
married Chārudēvī
(of the British
Museum plates)

Buddhyaṅkura

3. Vishṇugōpa
(Referred to in
the Allāhabād
Prasasti)
C. A. D. 350

4. Kumāravishṇu I
C. A. D. 350 - 370.

5. Skandavarman II
C. A. D. 370-390.

6. Vīravarman
C. A. D. 390-400

7. (*Vijaya*) **Skandavarman III**
C. A. D. 400-436

(Donor of the Oṃgōḍu (Set I) Plates.)

From this place, starting from about the eighth year of the reign of Simhavarman II, the two cognigible branches of the Pallava family begins.

The Pallavas of
Kānchī.

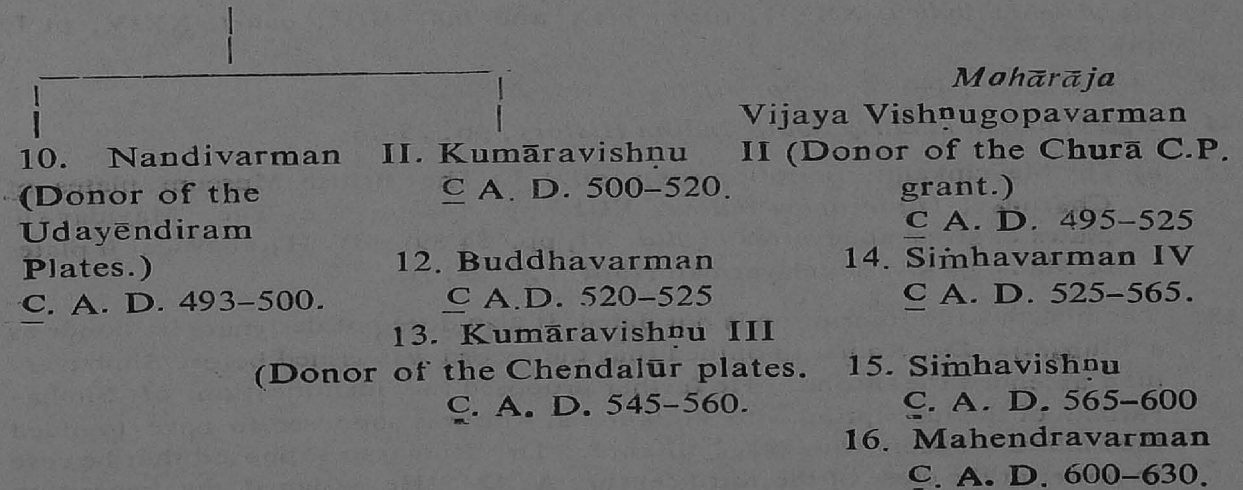
The Pallavas
of Nellore-Guntur region

8. Simhavarman II
(Donor of the Vēsanta and
Sakrapaṭṇa plates. His
reign synchronises with the
colophon recorded in the
Lokavibhaga.
C. A. D. 436-478.

9. Skandavarman IV
(His reign synchronises with the
Penugonda plates)
C. A. D. 478-493

Yuvamahārāja
Vishṇugopa
(Donor of the Neḍuṅgarāya
and Uruvapalli plates)
C. A. D. 445-770.

Mahārāja Simhavarman
(Donor of the Māṅgaḍūr, Oṃgōḍu
(set II) Vilaveṭṭi and
pikirā plates.)
C. A. D. 470-495.



N. B. The serial numbers indicate the succession of the kings on the throne of Kanchi,

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2. *Ancient History of the Deccan* (1920), *Pallavas* (1917) translated into English from French originals by V.S. Swaminatha Dikshitar.
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8. Mañchikallu inscription of Simhavarman, (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXXII, pp. 87 ff.) Vēśanta grant of Simhavarman, (*A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6, Ch. XVIII, pp. 211-238) and Sakrapaṭṭa plates of Simhavarman / *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVIII, pt. III, pp. 99-105)
9. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXII, (*opp. cit.*) and *Ind. Hist. quart.* XXIV, pt. I, pp. 23-28.
10. *A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6, (*opp. cit.*).
11. *Kāñchīpuram in Early South Indian History*, pp. 25-76.
12. a) The Mañchikallu inscription (*opp. cit.*), b) The British Museum plates of Chārudēvi (*Epigraphia Indica*) VIII, pp. 143-6); c) The Mayidavolu plates of sivaskandavarman (*Ibid.* VI, pp. 84-89); d) Hīrahaḍagaḷi plates of Maharaja śivaskandavarman (*Ibid.* I, p. 2-10).
13. The Mañchikallu inscription is not dated. It also does not designate its donor as a Mahārāja. Dr. Ramarao opined that the record was issued before Simhavarman ascended the throne. He further proposed the identification of Simhavarman of the inscription with Virakurcha, who was supposed to have founded the Pallava kingdom with Nāgā alliance. Dr. Ramarao supposed that he rose to power at the close of the third century A. D. He assigned the record to A. D. 295. See his *Ikshvakus of Vijayapuri* (Tirupati, 1967) p. 48.
14. H.C.I.P., Vol. III, *The Classical Age*, pp. 275-76.
15. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXII, (*opp. cit.*) pp. 87-88.

16. Line 1 of the Text. But the numeral, indicating the regnal year is so badly obliterated, that it cannot be restored.
17. B. V. Krishnarao, *Early Dynasties* (opp. cit.) p. 174. N. Ramesan *A.P.G.A.S.* (opp. cit.) p. 216, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 216, Prof. T. V. Mahalingam, *Kānchīpuram* (opp. cit.) p. 26. For the news of Dr. D. C. Sircar, *H.C.I.P.* III, *The Classical Age*, p. 277 (Vide Infra.)
18. a) The Darśī fragmentary copper plate inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, I, pp. 397-8)
 b) The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman (*ibid*, III, pp. 142-147.)
 c) The Pikirā grant of Simhavarman, (*ibid*, VIII, pp. 159-63).
 d) The Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishnu (*ibid*, p. 233-36)
 e) Two sets of Oṃgodu plates (*ibid*, XV, pp. 246-255).
 f) Vilavēti plates of Simhavarman, (*ibid*, XXIV, pp. 296-303).
 g) Churā grant of Vijayavishnugopavarman, (*ibid*, pp. 137-143).
 h) Sakrapatna plates of Simhavarman (*ibid*, XXXVIII, Pt. III pp. 99-105).
 i) Vēsanta grant of Simhavarman (*A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6 opp. cit.)
 j) Uruvapalli plates of yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V. P. 50-53).
 k) Māngadūr plates of Simhavarman (*ibid*, p. 154-157).
 l) Nedungarāya plates of Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa (*Epigraphia Āndhrīca*, I, pp. 1-8). It was earlier published in *Bharati* (Telugu) XVIII, pp. 698-711), as Singarāyakonda plates.
 m) Pallankovil plates of Simhavarman, (*Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1958-59 and 1962-63).
19. The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman and Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishnu.
20. The Sanskrit charters were mostly issued from places like Palakkadā, Dasanapurā, Tāmbṛāpā and Menmatura. Most probably the Palakkada was identical with the Pālakka of the Allāhābād *Prasasti*. But it is presently difficult to identify the place. Even though scholars earlier, proposed various theories of identification, none seems to be sure and satisfactory. But, it must be somewhere in the modern prakasam district, because it stood as a provincial capital created to keep an effective hold on the Āndhra country. Again, the gift villages and localities mentioned in the charters issued from the place also support the surmise. The Dasanapura and Tāmbṛāpā are

however satisfactorily identified with the Darsi in Prakasam district and Chēbrōlu in the Guntur district, respectively. However, the Menmāturā is also yet to be satisfactorily identified. It must also be in the same region, as it was also a place, wherefrom a record of the collateral line was issued (*vide infra*).

21. *Vide Infra*.
22. Dr. Fleet suggested that the Simhavarman might be the elder brother of the yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa hitherto unknown by the Pallava charters (*Indian Antiquary*, V, pp. 50-53). Prof. E. Hultzsch suggested that Simhavarman, was the son of the yuvamahārāja and the donor of the Māngadūr group of charters. He supposed further that, for reasons unknown, Vishnugopa remained a yuvamahārāja and his son ascended the throne, instead (*Epigraphia Indica*,) VIII, pp. 159-163).
23. VēlūrPālaiyam plates, *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, Pt. V. pp. 501-17.
24. B. V. Krishna Rao, *Early Dynasties*, opp. cit.) p. 176. But. D. C. Sircar (H. C. I. P. III, *The Classical Age*, p. 279), and Prof. T. V. Mahalingam (Kānchīpuram, p. 41.) supposed that the Virakūrcha might be "an otherwise unknown member of some collateral line", as he is mentioned in the record issued from Daśanapura.
25. Prof. E. Hultzsch, *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 397.
26. His description as a Mahārāja, is not more than a scribal error (*vide infra*).
27. Dr. D. C. Sircar (*opp. cit*)
28. K. R. Subrahmanyam, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra, and Andhra history*. 225-610 A. D., p. 101. The view that Skandavarman, the son of Kumara-vishnu I or any other before the Simhavarman (who was known only by the records of yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa), branched off from the main line are not acceptable in the light of the Vēsanta grant. See the view of Prof. T.V. Mahalingam, *Kānchīpuram*, p. 40.
29. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIV, No. 24, pp. 331-336.
30. *Mysore Arch. Rep.* 1930, p. 259, No. 88.
31. *Sli.*, 1 No. 32, p. 25 ff.
32. *Early Dynasties*, pp. 244-46.
33. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVIII, Pt. III, p.p. 79-105, Text line. 1
34. *Ibid.* VIII, No. 23, p. 234.
35. See notes Nos. 27 and 28.
36. Text line 14-15. *Vijaya Samvatsare trayas-trimise 30 3 Hemanta pakshhe tritiye 3 trayodasyam*. The date, with reference to seasons and Pakshas was the custom of the Prakrit charters. See also *Epigraphia Indica*, XV (*opp. cit.*)

37. H.C.I. P. III, *The Classical Age*, p. 277, see also *Ind. Hist. Quart.* XXXVI, pt. I. pp. 23-28. His scheme of genealogy and chronology looks mere conjectural, lacking of convincing reason.
38. *Epigraphia Indica*, III, p. 143, *Ibid.* XV, p. 252 and *M.A.R.* 1914, p. 82.
39. "Samvatsare tu dvātriṃse | Kāñchēsē Simhavarmanah" āsit-yagrē sak-ābdānām | Siddhi-mētac-chatatrayam"
40. Penukonda plates (*opp. cit.*) of Mādhavavarman alias Simhavarman, 11. 7-11.
41. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVII, Pt. III, pp. 125-130. Text line 6, refers to a king of Pallava *kula*, whose name is unfortunately lost. The donor Mādhavavarman issued the record from a Skandhavara, obviously was in a war preparation. The charter records the installation of an image of Viuāyaka, as the editor takes was customary before the initiation of war preparations. The record, obviously suggests that the Vishṇukunḍin king came to give a battle to the Pallava king.
42. The Tummalagudem plates of Vikramendrabhataraka, 11.41-42.
43. *C.I.I.*, III, No. 1. line 19.
44. H.C.I.P., III, *The Classical Age*, p. 276. Prakrit was ousted by Sanskrit from South Indian Epigraphy in the later half of the fourth century.
45. Prof. Mahalingam, *Kāñchipuram*, (*opp. cit.*) p. 27.
46. M. G. Pai, *J.A.H.R.S.* VII, pt. I., P. 15 and VIII, Pt. I, p. 1. He placed the reign of Vishnugopa between A. D. 315-40 and the Southern expedition of Samudragupta about A.D. 320-22.
47. The Ikshvāku Chronology adopted here is as follows :
- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|------------------|
| Vāsithīputa Siri Chāmtamūlu | ... | C. A. D. 220-250 |
| Māharīputa Siri Vīrapurisadata | ... | C. A. D. 250-275 |
| Ābhīra interregnum | ... | C. A. D. 275-280 |
| Ehuvala Chāmtamūla | --- | C. A. D. 280-305 |
| Ruluprisadata | --- | C. A. D. 205-315 |
48. It appears that the closing years of Skandavarman I were full of troubles. In the west of their dominions, the Kadambas under Mayūrsarman were revolting against the Pallava suzerainty, during the period about A.D. 340-60. In their eastern dominions too, their paramountcy was shaken, as we find Satyasena was in possession of Kāñchi, and one Ugrasena was ruling from Pālakka, as was referred to in the Allāhābad *Prasasti*, along with Vishṇugopa of Kāñchi. It is gratuitous to assume that he was a Pallava or

to take his name as Ugravarman, to identify with some mythical progenitor of the family or to some how accommodating him in the family genealogy. The 'sena' suffix of these rulers is strikingly interesting against the 'Varman' held by contemporary Pallava or any other Āndhra and Karnāṭaka ruling dynasties. The suffix is seen held by Ābhiras of the Western Deccan, whose intrusion into the Āndhra country is suggested by the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of Abhira Vasusena. Taking from the Ikshvāku times of about A.D. 278 to the ascendance of Kumāravishnu I on the Pallava throne, in about A.D. 350, there might be some Abhira principalities, established at the cost of the Pallava suzerainty.

Siva Skandavarman seems to have kept his son yuvamahārāja Buddhavarman in the Amdhāpatha obviously to ward off the Ābhira invasions. But it seems that the yuvarāja lost his life in his encounters with the Abhiras, as indicated by the Ugrasena's rule at Pālakkāḍā, about A. D. 350. Taking advantage of the turmoils after the Samudragupta's invasion, another Ābhira adventurer Satyasena, seems to have dispossessed the Pallavas of their very capital city. It was to be reconquered by Kumāravishnu, who perhaps set aside his elder brother, Vishṇugopa and usurped the throne. The victories in many battles accredited to Viravarman and other Pallava rulers that followed Kumāravishnu, were thus, the successful battles waged by them, in order to expell the Ābhiras on the one hand and other dynasties, rising to power in the wake of their discomfiture. It appears that Vijaya Skandavarman, the donor of the Om̄gōḍu I plates, who could again take the Andhra country into Pa llava suzerainty, as indicated by the grant issued from Tāmbraṇpasthana or the present day Chēbrōlū in Guntur district.

49. See above, note No. 48.

50. Vēlūrpalāiyam plates (*opp. cit.*)

51. Text line, 4, verse 10.

52. Text lines 1-2

53. The Vēlūrpalāiyam plates say that Skandasishya was the son of Virakūrcha, but not Kumāravishnu. But, it is an accepted fact, that the genealogical accounts of these late records, as to the early members, were full of confusion and contradiction, apart from being legendary. Hence it may not be wrong to identify the kings of the early inscriptions, with their suitable and probable attributes reported in later records, so as to understand the Pallava history in general.

54. *Vide supra*, for the views of Dr. D. C. Sircar and K. R. Subrahmanyan and their refutation.

55. N. Ramesan, *A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6 (*opp. cit.*) p. 224.
 56. The Sakrapatna plates record a grant made by the king Simhavarman in Sēydraka *rajya*, often figures in the Kadamba records as Sēydraka *visaya*. It corresponds with the region around the present day Shimoga town, *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVIII, Pt. III, p. 103.
 57. J. F. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1914, P. 82 & also quoted in the *Epigraphia Indica*, XIV, No. 24, p. 331.
 58. *Vide Supra*, note No. 26.
 59. The Māṅgaḍūr group of charters of Siṁhavarman, the son of yuvamahārāja Viṣṅuḡopa, call the donor as Mahārāja, without any reference to the overlord at Kānchi. Uruvapalli and Neduṅgarāya plates of the Yuvamahārāja Viṣṅuḡopa.
 60. H. C. I. P., III, *The Classical Age*, p. 264 and 278.
 61. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVII, p. 120-26.
 62. Dr. M. Rama Rao *Studies in the Early History of Andhradesha*. p. 87.
 63. Dr. D.C. Sircar, H.C.I.P., III, *Classical Age*. p. 32. Prof. T.V. Mahalingam, *Kānchipuram*, *opp. cit.*) p. 32.
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JINN OR JAINS

M. Amjad Ali

Prophet Mohamed started preaching Islam in early 700 A.D. in Arabia. Chapter 72 of Quran "Al Jinn", in my opinion, deals with the Jain sect.

Maulvi Mohamed Ali¹ in his Translation of Quran gives this Sura of "Al jinn", the title of "Foreign Believers" and in his general remarks writes "This chapter speaks of the protection which is granted to the prophets against their enemies". Later he adds "The revelation of this chapter is generally ascribed to the time of Holy Prophet's return from Taif which took place two years before Hijra... when opposition had reached its climax.....under these circumstances an assurance was surely needed". He asserts that "Beyond an assurance we are told here that there are believers other than the Arabs too". Maulvi Saheb elaborates this point by adding "About the existence of Jinn or etherial beings like angels (the former being the spirits of evil and the later spirits of good), is a question quite distinct, but it is clear that the Jinn spoken of here did not belong to this class (etherial)". He quotes Razi narrating a report of Ibn-i-Masud that he heard them beating their drums, like females do, and saw them hiding the Holy Prophet in their midst. He commits that "These words show that they were in all respects like other men". Discussing the meaning of word "Jann" he quotes E. W. Lane translating it in his lexicon as "Moazam unnas" معظم الناس meaning the great or revered among human beings, which can be aptly applied to Mahavira. Maulvi Saheb concludes: "In mouth of an Arab, who considers his own people as distinct from the rest of the world, it would mean only foreigners.² He further elaborates this point about Jinn that "the reason foreigners being called "Jinn" was because they were concealed from the eye of an Arab and adds that the word "Jinn" is derived from "Jainn", according to Raghib, meaning

concealing or veiling". This description of "Jinn", veiling their faces, is of importance to us. We know the Jains were indoctrinated to wear masks on a religious basis. Maulvi Saheb's conception of their being jews cannot be accepted as Jinn were one of them and not the foreigners as suggested. These foreigners could be only jains with their habit of seclusion and odd rituals intriguing the Arabs taking them as being quite different from "Bashar or mankind", what Arabs thought of themselves. Jinn was supposed to be made of fire³ where-as the Bashar from "dust". This conclusion might have been reached by a misconception, as the Aryan races to whom the Jains belonged, claimed their origin from Surya (Sun). The Quranic verses⁴ say that Jinn was even invoked by the men as a deity. This gives an indication of worship of Tirthankaras. There are clues in Verses⁵ that they listened to what passed in Heavens. Maulvi Saheb elaborates it in his note⁶ as a reference to their (Jinn) knowledge of stars and heavens as astrologers, and their indulgence in priestcraft and black magic. Marmaduke Pickthal⁷ quotes the remarkable work in Urdu, the "Kitabul Huda" of Yaqub Hasan of Madras mentioning Jinn as something akin to "clever foreigners", in the case of Jinn who worked for Solomon.⁸ The Old Testament gives the King's name as Hiram of Tyre who helped "To build an house into the name of Lord". Even Hiram's Navy brought to Solomon four hundred twenty Talents of gold from Ophir. Sir Alexander⁹ Cunningham in his work on coins of Ancient India records, "From all these facts I feel convinced that the gold of Ophir, which was known to Job as dust and which was brought by Phoenician ships to David and Soloman, must have been obtained in India". This indicates Ophir may be a place in India and Hiram, the (Jinn) King might have helped Solomon in building the Haikale-Sulaimani and also fetched gold from India, where Jainism flourished. The Jains might have migrated from India and formed small states in the Middle East as early as the time of Moses¹⁰ about second millennium B. C. These Aryan races with the Jain faith, worshipping Mahavira ... the Jina might have been taken as Jinn in Mohamedan Mythology. Some Muslim Scholars believe that Buddha is mentioned in Quran too as "Zulkifl"¹¹, one of the patient prophets, like Ismael and Idris. They are of opinion, as recorded in Quran, that God has sent his messenger to every country speaking their own language. Zulkifl is identified as "Kifl"

standing for Kapilavastu, the birth place of Buddha, and "Zul" meaning "of" or "belonging to".

SUMMARY

1. The Lexographic meaning of "Jinn" is one who is revered among the human beings but commonly taken as a "Clever foreigner".
2. Mahavira - the revered hero of mankind was called "Jina"
3. The Jinn was invoked as a deity by the Arabs—Probably the "Jina", Mahavira.
4. The Jinn were well acquainted with astrology and were diviners.- We can take it as a clue for their Indian Origin.
5. The Jinn were great builders. We are aware of accomplishments of Jain architecture in India.
6. Al Jinn (Chapter 72) deals with Jinns as being similar to "Bashar" in every respect. The Jinn, bad and good, get the same treatment as bashar of being thrown in fire or rewarded by Heaven.
7. The "Jinn" mentioned in this chapter are said to be wearing "Veils", a Jain religious custom.

CONCLUSION :- In all probability the Jinn mentioned in this Quranic chapter were the followers of Janism. In City Mecca still a mosque "Masjid-e-Jinn" is named after them which was remodelled during the Turkish occupation. The sites near Meccā and around are worth exploration from archaeological point of view, specially the sites named as places of "Satan". This may reveal the proto and prehistory of Arabia. These may be the settlements of Satan Tribes whose leadar was Iblis. They were displaced by Arabs in Neolithic and later periods.

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7. The Glorious Quran Vol. II P. 768, 1938
8. Quran 27 : 17 and 34 : 12
9. 1King chapter, 5:1 and 9:27
10. P. 7 (5) 46:29-31
11. 2:1:8 and 38:48

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R. THOMAS

TEMPLES AT YADAMARI : THE TRIVENISANGAMAM OF THE SOUTH

A, Gurumurthy *

Yadamari, otherwise called as Vedamur, is a small village situated at a distance of $9\frac{1}{2}$ K.M. to the south-west of Chittoor on Gudiyattam road. Both traditionally and historically it is an ancient village as well as a great religious centre for the Hindus. The Varadarajaswamy temple and the temple dedicated to Rama are the more important among the other structures from the architectural point of view. The place is the confluence of three rivers called *Saraswati*, *Gayatri* and *Savitri*, which flow from west to east, which is acclaimed as *Trivenisangamam*¹. The village is situated to the north of the river and the Varadarajaswami temple to the south of the river. The temple of Rama is at the eastern end of the village. Two beautiful hillocks called *Sobhanadri* and *Anjaneyadri* stand close to the Varadarajaswamy temple in the south-east direction.

There are two traditions regarding the origin of the name of the village Vedamur. According to the first, long back a female devotee of Vishnu, from Western part of India, used to go to Kanchi every year to attend *Garudaseva* of Vishnu, during the month of *Vaisakha*. Once, she was pregnant but that could not stop her from going to Kanchi. When she came to this place *Yadamari*, she gave birth to a child behind a *Yadapoda*. She felt very unhappy for she could not attend the *Kanchi Garudaseva* because of her confinement. Vishnu, who was very much pleased at her great devotion, gave *darsan* to her seated on his usual *Garudavahana* and thus enabled her to fulfil her desire. It is believed that in memory of this incident the people constructed a temple for *Varadaraja*, and the place was named as *Yadamari*

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in commemoration of *Yadapoda*, which served as an abode for the devotee².

The second tradition i.e., the *Sthala purana* claims that this place was known as *Indrapuri* for, Lord Indra is said to have built this town. It is also believed that *Indra* and other Gods of heaven who learnt the very precepts of the *Vedas* here, themselves hailed it as *Vedamari*, the place which taught *Vedas*. However, this place which was known earlier as *Indrapuri*, later changed to *Vendanpuri* (*Vendan* = *Indra*, *puri* = *City*) due to Tamil influence. The present form *Yadamari* or *Vedamur* is believed to be only a corruption of *Vendanpuri*.

Brahmanda Purana gives a vivid description about the sanctity of this place under the name *Indrapuri Mahathmyamu*. According to it, once *Devendra* and other Gods of Heaven were defeated by the powerful demons of the under-world. Unable to withstand, he appealed to *Brahma*. *Brahma* asked *Indra* to acquire the lost power by praying and doing penance to *Srihari*. *Indra* obeyed him and found a place of importance, where *Sobhanadri* and *Anjaneyadri* were situated at a distance of five *Yojanas* to the South-west of *Srisailam*. It was the place where the perennial flowing of waters made the whole region evergreen. Sweet fragrance of flowers and fruits pervaded the place. Animals and birds added beauty to it. To the North-west of the hills, in the midst of the thick forest then existed was the place of the said *Trivenisangamam*. On the south bank of the *Trivenisangamam* *Indra* is said to have done his rigorous penance for *Mahavishnu* for a period of thousand years.³

Vishnu, the lover and well-wisher of his devotees, appeared before *Indra* with his two consorts *Sridevi* and *Bhudevi*, and bestowed many boons on him. So he was named as *Varadaraja*, the King among the bestowers of boons. *Indra* in commemoration of the event, ordered the architects of Heaven to build a temple in which *Varadarajaswami* and his two consorts were enshrined. *Indra* with devotion celebrated *Brahmothsavam* for nine days and *Pushpayagam* for one day in every year during the month of *Vaishakha*, starting from the day on which

Vishnu appeared to him. A village was also constructed there by *Indra* which was called as *Indrapuri*.

Indra's devoted service to *Varada*, the *Vedamurti* made him very powerful. As *Vedamurti* made *Indra* and other Gods powerful and well-versed in *vedas* at this *Indrapura*, it came to be regarded by them as *Vedamari*.⁴

Varadaraja Swami Temple :

Varadaraja swami temple is a west-facing *Vishnu* shrine. There are five inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period in Tamil script, inscribed on the walls of the closed *mukha mantapa* and on the north wall of the *Udaiyavar* shrine. The earliest inscription belongs to the year A.D. 1379.⁵ Three other undated inscriptions in the charters of the 15th century A.D., refer to some grants for the daily offerings of the deity.⁶ The other inscriptions of *Srirangaraya maharaya* refers to some endowment providing for several offerings to God *Edirkonda Varadaraja* and also for the repairs to the temple.⁷ In 1947 renovation was conducted to this temple. In this renovation work the antiquity of the *Vimanas* over the main sub-shrines was destroyed, and completely new *vimanas* were built using modern materials. As this is a living temple, the originality of sculpture on pillars etc; has been shadowed due to regular white washing and painting every year. At present the temple is under the administration of the Endowment Department of Andhra Pradesh, with the help of a Trustee.

ARCHITECTURE :

The *Varadarajaswami* temple has an enclosure wall in a rectangular plan with a *gopura*-gateway in the west wall. This enclosure wall is in a dilapidated condition. The usual *gopura* above the gateway that we find in any temple is not to be traced here. But the trustee members have started the construction of the superstructure only in 1976 with the aid of the government of Andhra Pradesh. The main shrine with the sanctum and *antarala* is facing west, and there is a closed *Pradakshina patha*. A closed *mukhamantapa*, open pillared

mantapa, a small *garuda* shrine facing the main shrine, *Dwajasthamba* and *balipitham* are situated one after the other to the west of the main shrine. There are three sub-shrines in this temple. *Lakshmi* shrine and *Andal* shrine facing east are situated in the south-west and north-west corners of the temple respectively. A flat roofed *udaiyavar* shrine built abutting the open pillared *mantapa* is facing south, having an entrance from the open pillared *mantapa*.

SANCTUM AND ANTARALA (MAIN SHRINE) :

The Sanctum and *Antarala* stand on a high *adhishtana*. It has the following members upwards *upana*, *Patta*, *tripatta*, *gala*, *patta*, *gala*, *padma* and *alinga pattika*. The wall portion of the sanctum and *antarala* is decorated with five *sala-kostas* and pilasters with lotus corbels on either side of the niche. The wall portion just below the cornice is decorated by a row of lotus petal carvings. There is a *Pranala* or gargoye in the north wall of the sanctum, through which the *abhishekam* water flows out. The *Kapota* or the cornice above the wall portion of the sanctum and *antarala* has the carvings of gables with human heads inside.

The renovated *vimana* above the sanctum is an *ekotala vimana* with a round *sikhara* decorated with *simhalalata* gables and a *kalasa* above. On four sides of the *vimana* various forms of Vishnu are represented. *Vishnu* with his consorts *Sridevi* and *Bhudevi* are shown both in seated and standing poses on the western face of the *Vimana*. On the northern side of the *Vimana*, *Vishnu* is shown seated as well as standing, with his consorts, under the hood of *adisessa*. *Varaha* seated and *Bhudevi* seated on his left lap and *Varaha* standing with his two consorts *Sridevi* and *Bhudevi*, are represented on the eastern face of the *Vimana*. On the southern face of the *Vimana*, *Narasimha* is shown sitting with his consort *Sridevi* seated on his left lap. Another figure of *Narasimha* with his two consorts *Sridevi* and *Bhudevi* are represented on the same face. Eight human figures, two on each side, are shown as holding the complete weight of the *Sikhara* on their backs.

On either side of the door-way of the *antarala*, there are two *dwarapalakas* having four arms each. The sanctum houses beautiful stone images of *Varadarajaswami*, with his two consorts *Sridevi* and *Bhudevi* to his right and left respectively.

Mukhamantapa and Pradakshina Patha :

The *Mukhamantapa* has six pillars, three in two rows. A wall runs round this *Mukhamantapa* and the main shrine, with a door way in the western wall into the said *Mukhamantapa* from the open pillared mantapa.⁸ Thus it provides a closed *Mukhamantapa* and also a closed *Pradakshinapatha*. This plan has striking similarity to the plan of *Ramalayam* at Tirupati. On either side of the doorway of the mantapa there are two massive *dwarapalakas* which are the replicas of *dwarapalakas* at the entrance of Main shrine already referred to.

At the bottom of the door jambs of the *mukhamantapa* small *dwarapalaka* figures have been carved. Two female figures carved at the bottom of the door jambs facing each other, stand cross-legged with one hand raised above the head and another keeping on her *Kati* or hip and in *tribhanga* pose. These are superposed by beautiful emanating creepers. The two female figures are representations of the river goddesses *Ganga* and *Yamuna*. The creepers represent the ripples of river water coming down from heaven. "To look at them is equal in effect to the ritual bath in their waters, especially in the most sacred water of the Ganges"⁹. This is a favourite motif of the Vijayanagar sculpture used on the door Jambs of temples.

The pillars of the *mukhamantapa* are carved into a lower rectangular block with petal shaped ends, two square blocks and two interconnecting octogonanal sections. These pillars are surmounted by the usual Vijayanagara Lotus corbels or *Pushpapotika*. A variety of beautiful sculptures have been carved on the faces of the blocks, The central part of the ceiling has the carvings like a crescent moon, sun and crawling serpents, The two serpents are attributed to *Rahu* and

Ketu, the two demons, they seem moving to swallow the moon and the sun,

Open Pillared Mantapa :

The mantapa built on a square plan has 30 pillars. The pillars have the usual members like the lower rectangular block, two square blocks and octogonanal sections with 16 sided parts in the middle. Each face of every block is containing a deity sculpture or some other sculpture of animals, human figures, floral designs, etc. The cornice of this mantapa shows a double flexture of a lower convex and an upper concave. There is a flight of steps into the mantapa on the western side and on either side of this step way there are parapet walls lined by proboscis flowing out of the mouths of the vyalas at the top of the step way.

On the Western side of the roof portion of this mantapa, three *Salakoshtas* were built in recent times. The middle niche which is bigger than the other two, houses the figure of *Vishnu* with his two consorts. The niche to the left of the central one has the figure of *Vishnu* seated on the shoulders of *Garuda*. The right side niche houses *Gopalakrishna*.

Garuda Shrine :

This seems to have been built during the renovation period of 1947. It is a small shrine surmounted by a four sided *Nagarasikhara* and facing the main deity. It enshrines a small *Garuda* figure in human form with his hands in *anjali* pose. To its west is a *dwajas-tambha* of recent times and a small *balipitha*.

Udaiyavar Shrine¹⁰ :

It is a flat roofed one with an entrance from the open pillared mantapa, situated to the north of the same mantapa. The doorway has the usual female figures (*Ganga*, *Yamuna*) and creeper design motif. The figure of *udaiyavar* is placed in the sanctum.

Lakshmi Shrine :

The Sanctum and *Antarala* are built on a common *adhishtana*. This *adhishtana* is simple and has the following members: *upana*, *patta*, *kandhara* and *alinga patta*. The *Mukhamantapa* has a similar *adhishtana*. The *Andal* Shrine also has the *adhishtana* with the similar members.

There is a *pranala* coming out from the north wall of the sanctum. The wall portion of the sanctum and *antarala* is decorated by five niches, surmounted by semicircular *citra torana* with *simhalalata* at the top with a woman's head inside the *torana*. The *Vimana* above the sanctum is a single storeyed *vimana* topped by a round *sikhara*. Figures of *Lakshmi* are placed both in sitting and standing poses on the four sides of the *vimana*.

The *mukhamantapa* of the *Devi* shrine has sixteen pillars with Chola style corbels. Each pillar has the members like three square blocks and two interconnecting octoganal sections in between them. There is no figure-carving on the faces of blocks except some designs in a circle. The corbel above the pillar is a rectangular block with its lower ends bevelled so as to leave a tenon-like projection or triangular projection. The ceiling of this *Mukhamantapa* has the carvings like fish, lizard, lotus petal designs in a circle, etc.

Andal Shrine :

The *Andal* shrine is a replica of the Lakshmi shrine except in the features of the *Mukhamantapa* and the niches. Here the wall portion of the sanctum alone has niches three in number. The niches are surmounted by semicircular *Pushpatorana* (polianthes) with *simhalalata* at the top and a beautiful woman head inside. On the four sides of the *vimana* above the sanctum, there are the figures of *Andal* with two hands in standing as well as in sitting poses.

The porch in front of the *Andal* shrine has four pillars of the Vijayanagara order with lotus corbels and figure carvings on the faces of square blocks. *Dwarapalika* figures at the lower end of the door jambs, the two beautiful women figures facing each other and creeper

design running over, are beautifully represented at the door-way of this shrine.

Sri Kodandarama Swami Temple :

The temple of *Sri Kodandarama Swamy* on the eastern side of the village facing west into the main street running east-west, is another important temple at *Vedamur*. Traditionally it was believed that the images of *Rama*, *Sita* and *Lakshmana* were installed by *Hanuman*. In *Indrapuri Mahathmyamu* while explaining about the origin of the names *Sobhanadri* and *Anjaneyadri* to the hills at *Indrapuri*, it is mentioned that *Anjaneya*, at the end of the *Tretayuga* unable to bear the agony of separation from *Rama*, came to this sacred place, worshipped *Indravarada* and made a rigorous penance for his master *Sri Rama* for hundred years. *Raghurama* along with *Sita* and *Lakshman* gave *darsan* to *Anjaneya* and asked him to install their images, and named the hill as *Anjaneyadri* which *Anjaneya* used as his abode later. Obeying his master, *Anjaneya* installed the images, worshipped with devotion and celebrated *Brahmotshavam* and *Pushpayagam* for ten days.¹¹

An inscription of *Srikrishna Devaraya* dated A. D. 1529 on a stone standing near the temple of *Rama* records a grant of land as *tiruvidayattam*¹² to the deity by one *Kumara Chinna-Timmanayaka*. It also mentions *Mahanayankachariyar* of *Tilappalli* in *Iruvarapparru* in *Tuyyanadu*¹³. The antiquity of this temple is well preserved as no renovation work was done.

Architecture :-

Gopura - Gateway :- The *Rama* temple is built in a rectangular plan with an enclosure wall of stone and bricks. The gopura-gateway is in the western wall. The gopura-gateway is built on a square plan. It is raised over a simple *adhistana* with the members, *upana*, *patta*, *kandhara* and *alinga patta*. The lower part of the wall portion is arranged to look like an *adhishtana* with its usual members. The wall portion has two niches on each side with a *sala* above them. These are flanked by pilasters. The three-storeyed *gopura* above the gateway

is headed by an *Ayatasra sikhara* and five *kalasas* of stucco. In each *tala* there are two *Vishnu* figures.

Sanctum :

The sanctum is built on a low and plain *adhishtana* without any members like *Tripatta, gala, padma* etc. The wall portion of the sanctum is also plain. The *Vimana* above the cornice is an *ekatala vimana* headed by *ayatasra sikhara*¹⁴ and *Kalasas* of stucco. *Simhala-lata* gables at either ends of the *Sikhara* with floriated designs add beauty to the *Vimana*.

Four human figures below the *Sikhara* are shown as carrying the complete weight of the *Sikhara* on their backs. On each face of the *vimana* there are two forms of *Vishnu* figures, one below the *sikhara* in sitting posture with consorts and the other on *sala* of the single *tala* in standing pose. The standing *Vishnu* figure on the eastern face of the *Vimana* has four hands. He carries *sankha, chakra* in the two upper arms and keeps the two lower arms in *varada* and *katyavalambita* poses. The other *vishnu* figure shown on the *phalaka* is accompanied by his consort *Sridevi* seated on his left lap. The figures represented on other sides—*varaha* seated with *Bhudevi* on his left lap, *Vishnu, Rama, Narasimha* and *Venugopala*.

The porch and *mantapa* in front of the sanctum are closed by a wall. The *mantapa* is in two sections. The front portion is at the ground level and the back portion raised above the ground level. Two different types of pillars are used in this *mantapa* and porch. The pillars of the porch and a few pillars of the *mantapa* are of the same order which were used in the closed and open pillared *mantapa* of the *Varadarajaswami temple*. The pillars of the front portion of the *mantapa* has a lower rectangular block and an upper square block with a long and tapering octoganal shaft in between. All these pillars are surmounted by *Pushpapotika* or lotus corbel. The cornice of this *mantapa* shows a double flexture of a lower convex and an upper concave.

Sub Shrine :

Devi and Alvar Shrine :- The two sub-shrines one, the *Devi* or *Sita* shrine and the other of *Alvar* shrine, situated in the south-west and north-west corners of the temple respectively are both facing east. Both these temples have a square sanctum and a four pillared porch and no *antarala*. Leaving the figures of *Devi* and *Alvar* over the *vimana* the other art and architectural features of these two sub-shrines are similar.

The *adhishtana* of the sanctum has the following members *upana*, *patta*, *kandhara* and *alinga patta*. The wall portion is decorated with *pilasters* and *sala koshtas*.

Above the cornice of the sanctum is a single storeyed *vimana* headed by a round *sikhara* of *vesara* order and a *kalasa*. The pillars of the porch have the members like the lower rectangular block, two square blocks, and two octoganal sections connecting them. The corbel placed above the pillar is a single *taranga* corbel.

A *vahana mantapa* renovated in recent times, is situated to the west of the *Rama* temple and to the south of the main street. There are also many other temples at this village like *Agasteswara* temple, *Ekambareswara* temple and *Anjaneyaswami* temple but without any architectural importance.

Sculpture and Iconography : Varadaraja Swami Temple

Varadaraja or Vishnu with his two consorts (Main shrine)

The image of *Varadaraja swami* has four hands. Among the four arms of *Vishnu* the upper arms carry *sankha* and *chakra* and the lower right arm is in *varada* and lower left arm in the *katihasta* pose. *Sridevi* who stands to the right of *Varadaraja* carries *Padma* in one arm and the other arm is in *lola hasta* pose. On the other side *Bhudevi* stands with two arms one carrying lilly and the other in *lola hasta* pose.

Sculptures on the pillars of the closed and open pillared mantapa :

Narasimha : *Narasimha* is shown with a human body and head of a lion. He has four arms and is in the standing pose. The upper

arms carry *sankha* and *chakra*. One of the lower arms carries *padma* and the other is in *khatyavalambita* pose.

Krishna as Kaliyamardana : In this form the right leg of Krishna rests on the hood of *Kaliya* the serpent and the left leg is raised and bent in a dance pose. The right hand is in *abhaya*, while the left is out stretched and holds the tail of the serpent.

Kodanda Rama : *Rama* with two hands carrying bow and arrows in the quiver.

Govardhana dari : *Krishna* is shown here with two hands, one lifting up the mountain and the other in *abhaya hasta* pose.

Kurmavatara : The figure is that of *Vishnu* above the girdle with four arms, while below the girdle is the shell of tortoise. The god holds *chakra* and *sankha* in the two upper arms and keeps the lower right arm in *abhaya* and carries *gada* in the lower left.

Lakshmi : *Lakshmi* is shown with four hands and in standing pose. The two upper arms carry lotus buds and the lower arms are in *abhaya* and *varada* poses.

Figures of *Alvars*, animals, female figures and other designs are beautifully carved on the pillars.

CONCLUSION : It can be said that the *Varadarajaswami* temple and the *Rama* temple at *Vedamur*, were built probably during the Vijayanagar period, as the art and architecture of these temples represent Vijayanagara features. The wall portions are provided with simple decorative motifs like *sala-koshtas*, and pilasters. The niches on the wall portion of the Lakshmi and Andal shrines, are surmounted by *Citra torana* and *patra torana* with *simhalalata* at the top and with a female head inside. But the niches are not housing any deity figures.

The sculptor of this period has selected pillars and vimanas as medium of expression of his artistic designs. The underside of the edge of the kapota is cut into a row of lotus buds a feature which is found in kakatiya, Vijayanagara and Kalinga temples. River

Goddesses *Ganga* and *Yamuna* and creeper design running over them are represented on the door ways of the *Varadarajaswami* temple which is a favourite motif of the Vijayanagara sculptor. The architects of the Vijayanagara period assimilated all the styles of their predecessors and used them freely in their temples. The Chola corbel in the *mukha-mantapa* of the *Lakshmi* shrine of *Varadaraja* temple and single *taranga* corbel on the pillars of the porches of *Sita* and *Alvar* shrines in *Ramalayam* are the best examples apart from many others. Human figures shown in the attitude of supporting the *Sikharas* of the *Vimana* and *Gopura* is a special feature of this period. The *simhulalata gable* seems to be the favourite decorative motif of this period which were elaborately used on the *vimanas* and *kapota*. The double flextioned *kapota* or cornice over the mantapas is exclusively a Vijayanagar feature.

R E F E R E N C E S

1. Venkata Subramanyam, *Yadamari yanu Indrapuri Mahathmayamu*, (Chittoor, 1940) (Sthalapuranam).

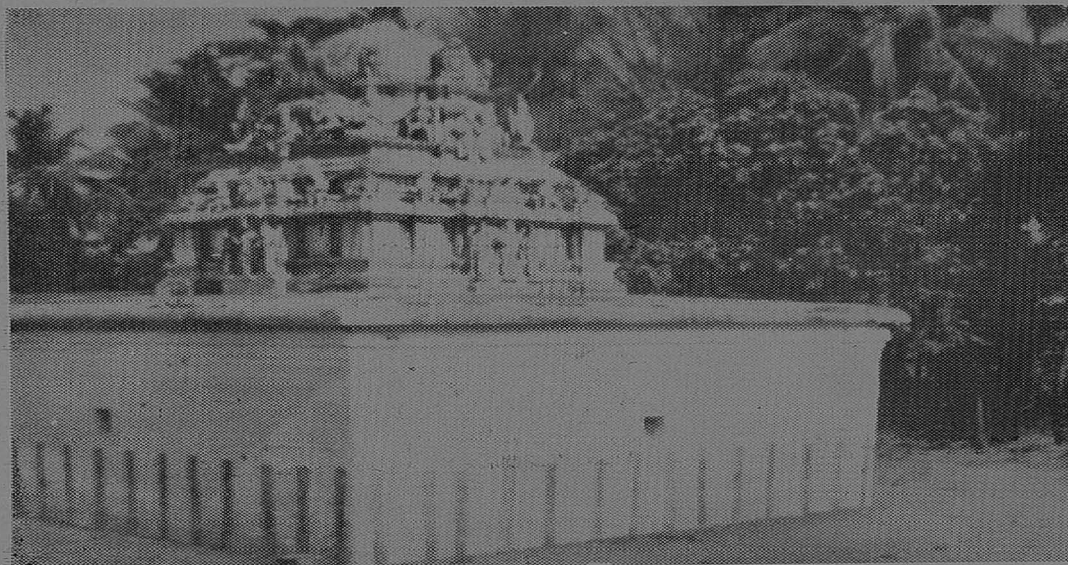
In *Sthalapurana* of Yadamari, it is claimed that this *trivenisangamam* is more sacred than the *trivenisangamam* of the North, because here the confluence of the three rivers takes place quite distinctively. It is obvious that the Northern *trivenisangamam* is a confluence of two rivers *Ganga* and *Yamuna*. While the third river *Saraswati* is believed to be flowing under neath and joins the confluence unseen.

2. Ibid. *Peetika*
3. Ibid. pp. 2-5.
4. Ibid. pp. 7-10.
5. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 69 of 1958-59.
6. Ibid. 65, 66 and 68 of 1958-59.
7. Ibid. 67 of 1958-59
8. The inscriptions already cited are found on this wall portion.
9. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. 1, (Calcutta, 1946) p. 315.
10. *Sri Ramanujacharya* A. D. 1017-1137. He was the exponent of *Srivaishnavism* and *Ubhayavedanta*. Many sub-shrines were built for him in *Vaishnavite* temples during the *Vijayanagara* period.
11. Venkata Subramanyam. *Yadamari yanu Indrapuri Mahathmayamu*, pp. 14-18.
12. *Tiruvidaiyattam* means *devadanamanyam* or donation made in the name of God.
13. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 70 of 1958-59.
14. It is believed that *Vimana* with *ayatasra sikhara* should be built over the sanctum enshrining either the reclining image of *Vishnu* or *Devi*. Here the sanctum enshrines *Rama* which is a special feature.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the United States, from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is divided into three volumes, the first of which contains the history of the discovery and settlement of the continent, the second the history of the colonies, and the third the history of the United States from the Revolution to the present time.

The second part of the book is devoted to a general history of the world, from the beginning of the world to the present time. It is divided into three volumes, the first of which contains the history of the world from the beginning of the world to the time of the birth of Christ, the second the history of the world from the birth of Christ to the present time, and the third the history of the world from the present time to the end of the world.

The third part of the book is devoted to a general history of the United States, from the discovery of the continent to the present time. It is divided into three volumes, the first of which contains the history of the discovery and settlement of the continent, the second the history of the colonies, and the third the history of the United States from the Revolution to the present time.



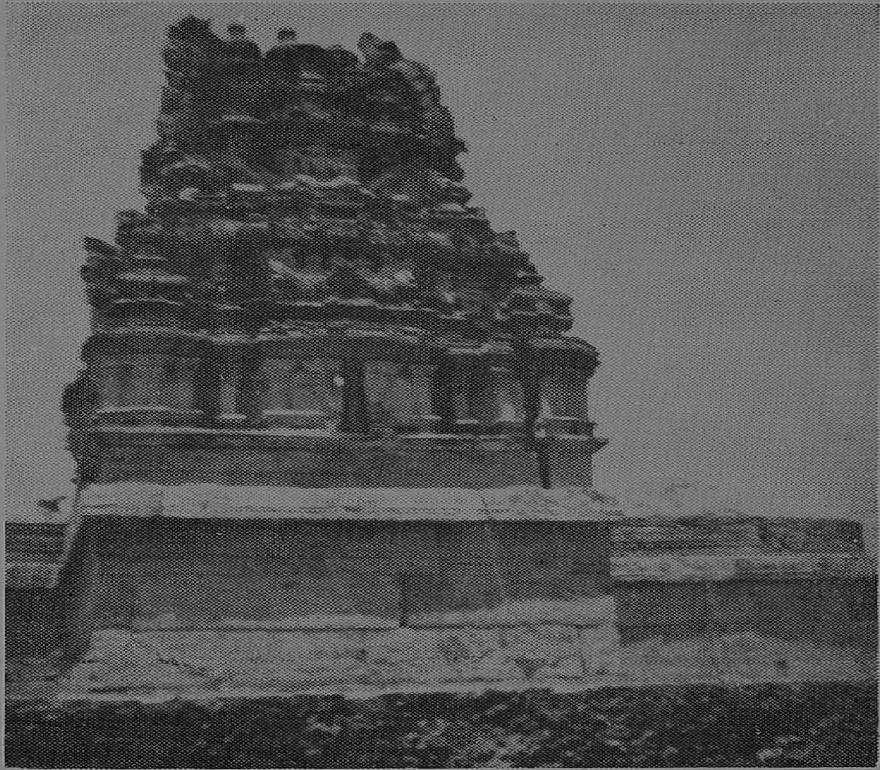
ANDAL SHRINE Pillars of the open Pillared Mantapa
Varadarajaswami Temple.



VARADARAJASWAMI SHRINE Back view.



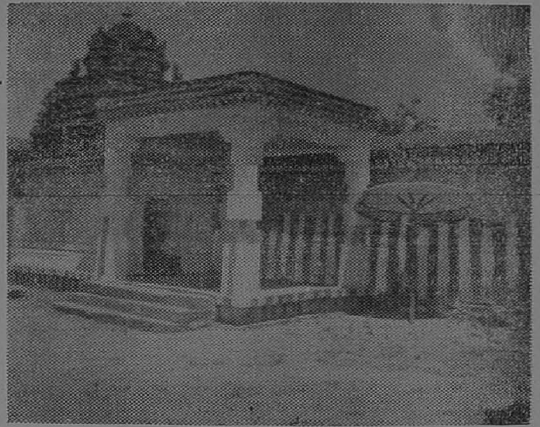
GOPURA - Gateway, Sri Kodanda Rama Swami Temple.



SANCTUM AND VIMANA
(Back view) Kodanda Rama Temple.



Pillared Mantapa (Front view)
Varadarajaswami Temple.



Alwar Shrine
Kodanda Ramaswamy Temple



Pillared Mantapa
Varadarajaswami Temple

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN THE EASTERN DECCAN IN EARLY BRITISH RULE.

M. P. R. Reddi

British Indian administrators in the first half of the nineteenth century were struck by the unique organization of the village community. Munro, Metcalfe and Elphinstone noticed the immemorial features of this institution, which apparently survived the wreck of empires and dynastic revolutions. It was in the Fifth Report published in 1812 that the constitution of this self-contained 'republic' was described for the first time, and since then English statesmen and scholars have written in praise of the "little republics" which sustained the agrarian economy through the ages.¹

The First Report described it as a "little Republic" or rather a corporation. The traditional office bearers were the headmen called Gauda, Peddakapu, or Reddi, who superintended the affairs of the village, collected revenues, attended to magisterial, police and judicial functions; the Karnam, who kept the accounts and the registers of lands and of the extent of cultivation, the Talari or village watchman, who detected crimes and escorted persons travelling from one village to another, the tottie or vettivadu, who guarded the crops and assisted in measuring them, the nirganti, who distributed water to fields; the boundary man, or kavalgar, who preserved the limits of the village, the purohit, who announced the auspicious or inauspicious periods for sowing and threshing; the Brahman, the temple priest who conducts the temple ceremonies; besides there were the schoolmaster, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the potter, the washerman, the barber, the cowherd, the doctor, the dancing girl, the musician, the poet, and the shroff who discharged their respective duties and served the village community.²

Usually the village servants were twelve in number 'Panniddarayagandlu or Barabalwant, the traditional minimum number required for a developed village. Their remuneration consisted of grants of

land, or land revenue or a share of the annual crop, called manyams or panulu manyams.³ Assignments of land were known as Nelaman-yams or sarvamanyams. These lands were granted by the Community and the grantees were entitled to possess them so long only as they were in office. These offices became hereditary in course of time, subject to the incumbents' loyal service. Assignments of land revenue were called tirymanyams.⁴ The grant of land or land revenue was supplemented by fees in grain, mera or mirasi.

This organization of the village community continued to exist with the same constitution and functions within the frame-work of the caste system, unaffected by the political changes that took place from time to time. It was this apparently unchanging characteristic that amazed the British administrators.

“The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered and through the villages themselves have been sometimes injured and even disolated by war, famine and disease, the same limits, the same interests, and even the same families have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about the break-up and division of kingdoms; while the villages remain entire, they care not to what power it is transferred or to what sovereign it devolves, its internal economy remains unchanges, the patel is still the head inhabitant and still acts as petty judge and magistrate and collects the revenues of the village”⁵

Broadly speaking the above description was true of most of the village communities in South India. Rev. Cald Well, a great authority on Dravidian civilization observes that every Hindu village was an organized municipality⁶ and contrasts it with contemporary English villages which were mere collections of houses without any bond of connection or corporate life, without office bearers and without any organization for the preservation or advancement of the common interests.

Sir Henry Maine thought that the differences between the village communities in the West and the East were not accidental but

were basically due to climatic and other causes.⁷ Lewinsky maintained that the village community represented a stage in the development of agriculture all over the world.⁸ Yet another school of thought representing British Indian administrators including Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir William Hunter, Dr. Mclean and Badenpowell denied the existence of village communities described as "little common wealths, independent, self-acting organised social groups"⁹ Dr. Mclean argued that besides the republican or oligarchic type, there was also found in large areas another type, a non-republican, severalty or individual type where there was no claim to a joint area, and the government exercised the right of assigning waste lands for cultivation to strangers.¹⁰ Elaborating this theory Badenpowell maintains the non-republican type was a Dravidian one, while the republican type was the result of colonisation, conquests or grants. The absence of republican village communities in South Kanara, Malabar and the Northern Sarkars is said to confirm the view.¹¹ We learn however from the Godavari District Manual that village communities of the republican type existed in the maritime coasts on the plains.¹² The existence of visabadi villages in which land was frequently redistributed, has been often referred to by administrators.¹³ The republican type however desintegrated in course of time due to conquests or colonization. Kinship might have been the core of the original community of settlers, but the intrusion of strangers, the division of labour on the basis of the caste system, and the encroachments of farmers of revenue broke up the old community of republican peasants, and the severalty or individual type predominated.¹⁴ So long as the land was the bond of union, it created an artificial relation of brotherhood. But the lapse of time had obliterated marks of harmonious brotherhood.

The individual peasant family held its own land, but it was responsible to the village community or its elders [for its share of the produce, and the whole community in turn was responsible to the state for all the revenues due from the village. This collective responsibility was recognised by all early British administrators, for it was the line of least resistance and most convenient for both sides.

“The collective responsibility was accepted by the community so long as they had the right of redistribution and control over their lands; and they prevented the introduction of strangers, claiming the right of preemption in the case of alienation by one of the members¹⁵” When under the ryotwari system every family was asked to state the extent of land it could occupy and pay the assesment, or to give up the surplus land depending upon its capacity and resources the doors were thrown open to the introduction of strangers who were allotted the surplus lands by the state. Thus the immemorial custom of the village community either to redistribute the lands periodically or to regulate the ownership, sale or mortgage of lands was done away with a result of the fiscal measures introduced by the British government. This encroachment of the State on the privileges of the village community, under the compulsions of fiscal reform, in the wake of the village settlements, during the permanent zamindari or ryotwari settlements was one of the predominant over-riding causes of the disintegration of the so called republican brotherhood.¹⁶ Moderate assesment was one of the conditions permitting the communal ownership of lands. “As long as it was low and the lands yielded landlords’ rent, the members cultivated all their lands by themselves but when the assesment became so high as to absorb the landlords’ rent, no tenant would undertake to cultivate lands...¹⁷ Further the interference of the British Government in the internal organisation of the village community by taking over the power of appointing village officers and fixing the rates of remuneration for village servants was another blow struck at the very roots of the republican oligarchical system in the village community.

“Thus in localities where Mohammaden dominion began first and lasted longest, as in the Northern Sarkars, no traces of the existence of village community are to be found except faint echoes of their former existence, but in localities where Hindu dominion lasted longest, they survived, though not in their pristine vigour.”¹⁸

Besides the shocking jolts given by the Mohammaden farmers, renters and speculators to the village community in the seventeenth

and early eighteenth centuries, the revenue settlements of the British administrators shook the foundation of the self-contained communities, through the methods of assessment and collection adopted by them. Formerly, that is, when the whole village was liable to the fixed lump sum assesment, the self-governing village community distributed the demand among themselves according to the capacity of each individual family. The community elders (kula Peddalu) knew the resources of each family, and the apportionment was based on custom and local tradition enshrined in the memory of the community. Secondly, when the individual responsibility was fixed by the district collectors, the powers of the village elders were drastically curtailed. The district officials of the East India Company had also unconsciously taken over the function of the village panchayat though the individual responsibility was fixed with the assistance of the village munsiff and the Karnam. At this stage the government did not interfere with or enforce the distribution of lands among the peasant families. The distribution was done by the village elders themselves. The final blow at the village community was dealt by the ryotwari system, under which the government compelled the villagers to declare the number of acres of land each of them would possess and pay the assessment. The remaining lands were proclaimed to be at the disposal of the State. Thus the revenue regulations bound the village community to the State, which snapped the apparently inextricable link between the self-governing community and the ryot. When the government discontinued the practice of allotting rent free land or revenue to the village servants and collected a special fees or cess from the peasants and earmarked the amount for the remuneration of village officilas, the village community ceased to exist in the eyes of the law. Further, when the State assumed the power of amalgamating two or three villages or hamlets, village offices were drastically abolished and their jurisdiction redistributed for administrative convenience. No wonder the vlllage community in its ancient form was consigned to the limbo of things. Where the Mirasi tenure with its joint ownership of lands by co-sharers persisted, as in the Carnatic Jaghir, (Chungalput District) they continued to exist with a semblance of self-government, despite the rude shocks of foreign conquest. But

they too were destroyed by the new revenue settlements introduced by Sir Thomas Munro. The self-contained organism of the village received an irretrievable blow and withered away under the compulsions of a colonial economy. Despite Munro's able defence of the village community, his revenue measures destroyed the very fabric of the body politic which he professed to preserve in all its pristine vitality.

Village Community and land ownership :

The question of the origin of the village community and land ownership has been a subject of hairsplitting arguments among Indologists and agrarian reformers during the last one hundred years. The debate, which still goes on inconclusively, has enlivened the pages of volumes of sociological research by such acute thinkers like *Sir Henry Maine*, *Karl Marx*, *Badonpowell*, *Romesh Chandra Dutt*, *Radha Kumud Mukharjee* and *Kosambi*.¹⁹

The village community has been the recipient of copious panegyrics from *Munro*, *Elphinstone* and *Metcalife* while another school of thought has subjected it to carping criticism. Among the latter *Karl Marx* has roundly denounced it as the solid foundation of 'oriental despotism' with its crippling effects upon the expansion of the human personality. All of them however have described it as a self-sufficient unit of agricultural production which sustained kingdoms and empires. At one time no doubt it was a brotherhood of peasants, but all human institutions have inevitably undergone an evolutionary process by efflux of time, thanks to changes necessitated by the social and economic circumstances. Even the so-called stagnant economy of the village community could not remain untouched by the impact of the conquerors' greed or the pressures of colonial incursions and the 'storm clouds of the political sky'.

The peasant clans, which cleared forests and reclaimed land for cultivation, were no doubt a brotherhood, But the requirements of the division of labour within the framework of the caste system militated against any degree of idyllic harmony among the proverbial noble savages. The wooden plough, the spinning wheel, the handloom, the bullock cart, sickle, axe and hammer constituted the irreducible

minimum of equipment for settled communities of peasants. *Gorden Childe* observes

“The social surplus derived primarily from subsistence agriculture by irrigation was concentrated in the hands of a narrow circle of priests and officials whose limited expenditure limited also the growth of the urban industrial and commercial population”²⁰

The self-sufficient village economy with its primitive agricultural methods and handicrafts as the means of food production was the basic characteristic of the village community. But the self-sufficiency had its severe limitation in the shape of the need for metals and salt, which were not available in most of the villages and hence the need for exchange of goods by barter or coins. Further, all production was for consumption and distribution within the village except for a fraction of the produce handed over to the State as revenue or rent. The caste system provided the framework of the economic relations as also the division of labour within the village. It was in respect of the services provided by the various castes and sub-castes that there was a self-sufficiency worth mentioning, and the hierarchial caste system, the traditional Varnasrama Dharma, had its *raison d'être* as the organizational framework of services in the village community. In so far as the pattern of land ownership itself was the basic foundation of the superstructure of the village republic or oligarchical community the character of the community was governed by the relations of agricultural production and the distribution by the surplus produce.

In order to understand the structure of the rural society, it is necessary to discover who owned the land, and the bulk of the produce available for distribution for various services rendered by the castes.²¹ *Mount Stuart Elphinstone* observed that single families and their descendants held the villages in South India and that they enjoyed the rights collectively, the property of extinct families returning to the community.²² *Sir Henry Maine* draws our attention to the resemblance between the Indian village and the Russian *Mir* in the matter of

communal ownership and periodical redistribution.²³ *Badenpowell* had found 2,18,170 square miles of joint villages as against 5,75,313 square miles of ryotwari villages in British India.²⁴

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Madras Government started an investigation of land tenures in a district called the Jaghire, later known as Chengalput district; Lionel Place, the Collector observed "throughout the district, and indeed in a considerable area round it, there was in most, if not in all the villages a class of persons who claimed to be owners of the entire area of village lands in shares". The earliest revenue settlement was made by Place with these co-sharers, called the mirasdars. It appeared from the enquiries of *Ellis* and others that the co-sharing bodies claiming rights over the villages existed in several districts of the presidency.²⁵ The existence of a class or caste of hereditary co-sharers called mirasdars, claiming privileges over the peasantry, was considered advantageous to the administrators for settling with this privileged group for the assessment and collection of revenue in the village. Place in 1799 enumerated 2241 mirasi villages in Chingleput. There were as many as 15,994 mirasi shares held by 8587 sharers, and the latter could be subdivided into minor shares.²⁶

"I draw my first argument in favour of the hereditary right of the indigenous natives and husbandmen to the usufructuary property of the soil—from the division of the land into shares... these divisions are supposed to have taken place at the original settlement of each village whereto a greater or small-number of labouring servants that they brought with them.... the latter doomed to the meanest offices can acquire no property in land".²⁷

In his letter to the Board of Revenue, *Thomas Munro* confirmed the existence of similar co-sharers in the visabadi villages of Cuddapah district, which formed about one-third of the Ceded districts. In such villages lands and rents were divided and subdivided into sixteenth shares in proportion to the agricultural stock and labour force of each family, "giving to each man the positions which he has the

means of cultivating and fixing his share of rent"²⁸ The custom of periodical redistribution of lands among co-sharers and the proportional rent rates were confined to the higher caste families who descended from the original settlers. It was the prevalence of such ancient tenurial conditions in South India which might have probably suggested to *Munro* the main principles of the Ryotwari system. He improved the system however by throwing open to the peasantry without distinction of caste community, religion or race, the vast extent of waste lands, for cultivation according to their needs and resources a truly egalitarian gesture that ultimately broke down the age old customary monopoly of the caste caucus that controlled the distribution of land in the village community. The good intentions of *Munro* were thwarted later by the half-hearted support of the Board of Revenue, and the caste caucus in the village in collusion with several high caste subordinate officials in the district. The letters of the Collector *Travers* from Nellore clearly show that the village landed oligarchy continued to exploit the lower caste peasants, and used their privileged position to keep the best lands for themselves and to deny the landless lower caste peasants of the right to occupy and own waste lands for cultivation²⁹ Colonel Mark Wilks in his *Historical Sketches of South India* (1810), and James Mill in his *History of India* (1817) commented upon the Indian land tenures: They seemed to have agreed with *Bernier's*³⁰ view that the king was the owner of all land. This view was repeated even by a discerning thinker like *Karl Marx* who remarked that *Bernier* had discovered the basis of Asiatic society, namely the absence of private property in land, which was the "real key to the oriental heaven"³¹ *Marx* modified his view in his subsequent letter.

"In the hill country south of Krishna property in land does seem to have existed. In any case it seems to have been the Mohammaden who first established the principle of "no property in land throughout the whole of Asia"³²

In his magnum opus, *Capital Marx* describes the ancient Indian village communities as being "based on possession in common of the

land and "unalterable division of labour" ' In those of the simplest form, the land is still in common and the produce is divided among the members The simplicity of the organization for production in these self-sufficing communities that constantly reproduce themselves this simplicity supplies the key to the secret of the unchangeableness of Asiatic societies, and unchangeableness in such striking contrast with the constant dissolution and refounding of Asiatic states and the never-ceasing changes of dynasty. The structure of the economical elements of society remains untouched by the storm clouds of the political sky."

In an article published in the New York Daily Tribune Marx had written about *Elphinstone* and *Munro* as men of genius who had sympathy for the Indian people.³³ He has also observed that "the land did not belong to the government the greater proportion of it being private property"³⁴ and proprietary rights already existed almost on every acre of land" His remarks on the common property in land possibly refers to the visabadi and mirasi villages of which *Munro*, *Place* and *Ellis* had written in their minutes. What Moreland describes as the brotherhood of peasants "held together by a tie of common ancestry, each individual having separate possession of the land which he cultivated but the whole body acting together", existed in North India as well as South India, but a few members of the brotherhood "acted as a dominant clique to the detriment of their weaker brothers" who were often outwitted by the headman and his close relatives with the result, in these 'harmonious republics', the majority of peasants were landless labourers and artisans the hewers of wood and drawers of water through the ages.³⁵ Moreland concludes that at one time the brotherhood was a universal institution and all the cases where it is not found are to be explained as instances of disintegration.³⁶ A leading writer on Mughal agrarian history has observed "the peasants belonged not only to the same caste but also the sub-caste and claimed the same ancestry".³⁷ The bhaiyachara brotherhood or fraternity of North India can be compared to the Kamtammdars of the South Indian visabandi or mirasi villages. The resident strangers who also tilled the lands of the community known as the paikaasht have their Counter parts the Paikari peasants of the South Indian

villages. Irfan Habib's view that no evidence exists for communal ownership of land or even a periodic distribution and redistribution of land among peasants³⁸ is not true of South India, as the evidence of visabadi villages in the Rayalaseema of *Munro's* time as well as villages in South Coastal Andhra, proves the existence of the practice of redistribution of lands at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Newly formed colonies of settlers had need of collective labour and action as cited above.

The first great inroad into the autonomy of the village community and its control over the lands of the peasants, was made by the permanent zamindari settlement. When rent collectors, farmers of revenue, and speculators whether they were called zamindars or poligars were entrusted with the whole villages or estates on a proprietary basis, a fatal blow was dealt at the self governing village community. What was already happening under various regimes in the eighteenth century was now sanctified by a systematic law. *Lord Cornwallis'* belief that private persons should be endowed with the rights of property was actually the transfer of thousands of private persons in the community to the tender mercies of the Zamindar and Poligars imposed from above. "Nothing could be so ruinous to the public interest as that the land should be retained as the property of the government."³⁹ The Governor General did not care which member of the Community paid what amounts so long as the government received the lumpsum, the fixed assessment from the whole estate through the influential zamindar. "It is immaterial to government what individual possesses the land, provided he cultivates it, protects the ryots and pays the public revenue."⁴⁰ Even when *Sir Thomas Munro* introduced the ryotwari system he was bringing about a basic transformation in the proprietary interests of the village community. Indirectly, by a legal operation, he was depriving the village community of its custom to supervise the division of lands among the inhabitants of a new village or to undertake the periodical redistribution of lands as in visabadi villages. In other words, it was a veritable agrarian revolution that he unconsciously brought an out at the opening of the nineteenth century in the Andhra districts. The patta regulation, by a stroke of the

pen, divested the kulapeddas (caste elders) or peddakapus or the village community leaders, of the privilege of regulating the economic organization of the village community. The state asserted the absolute sovereign right to grant lands and to enable people to form new village communities on the basis of peasant proprietorship. Large joint families of upper caste kulapeddas who could command more resources and manpower voluntary services or forced labour-by virtue of the reddikam, or headship, and other official privileges, still wielded more influence and lorded it over the rest of the community. But they could not, legally speaking, have a law unto themselves, in respect of proprietorship of the soil within an old community, or new community. Though the headman and accountant could still assume a thousand subterfuges to embezzle the state, they were now to function, by remote control, and answerable to a superior law and liable to rules and regulations of land in the new law courts. The land laws uprooted the age-old social order and millions of peasants were now proprietors by the possession of a legal document, not because they were members of the village community. One of the earliest modern Indian administrators and scholars *R. C. Dutt*, pignantly refers to the causes of the fall of the village communities in the following words :

“Happy it were if the British administrators of India had preserved and fostered and reformed these ancient institutions and thus continued to rule the people through their organized assemblies. Two causes however reoperated from the commencement of the British rule to weaken the old village communities. An extreme anxiety to enhance the land revenue to its very utmost limits induced the administrators to make direct arrangements with every individual cultivator. An equally unreasonable anxiety to centralize all judicial and executive powers in their own hands led the modern rulers to virtually set aside those village functionaries who had so long exercised their powers within the limits of their own villages, deprived of their functions the village communities rapidly fell into decay.⁴¹

Instead of lamenting the disintegration of the village community, it is necessary to recognise the fact that due to the inexorable

law of economic evolution, the village community with its immemorial customs and ussages, its insular existence and autarchy, would have been inevitably thrown off its ancient equilibrium by the impact of the industrial revolution and the consequent formation of a national market in the wake of British rule. The age old combinations of agriculture and handicrafts, and the distribution of village produce, according to the needs and capability of the community, sustained the balance of productive relations within the frame-work of the caste system. There was however no possibility of the ancient brotherhood of peasants, of kith and kin, living in idyllic harmony when the caste system grew in rigidity and the upper castes shifted every burden of high assessment on to the shoulders of the myriads of peasants and and artisans. The romantic conception of brotherhood, often conjured up by the advocates of the village community, was long buried in the past, and the peasants of the early nineteenth century were divided by caste as well as privileged class of officials. The high castes to which the renters or officials belonged, had a monopoly of the most fertile land, and enjoyed the privileges and perquisites, inseperable from the traditional society of castes and outcastes. The agrarian reform of the British government, no doubt threw open peasant proprietorship to all and sundry, and every one, the ancient inhabitants and strangers, could own land and pay the annual assessment, and their rights were guaranteed by the regulations and safeguarded by the new law courts. While the social security of the village community within castes and between the castes was to some extent disturbed the new reformers generated individual enterprise, and introduced as element of economic progress. Inequality between individual families on the basis of their resources, manpower and land holdings was perpetuated, by the new laws, and all semblence of brotherhood that survived was consigned to the dustbin of history. It was an inevitable stage in the development of every society. The village community which was "an unresisting tool of superstition" and provided the "solid foundation of oriental despotism" was now drawn into the world market as a unit of production. Its surplus produce could be exchanged for gold and silver. The spinners and weavers, who produced the famed patterns of beautiful muslins for European

markets, swelled the millions of unemployed artisans, whose 'bones bleached the plains of India,' during the decennial famines and epidemics that decimated the peasants and artisans. It was only on the ruins of this old order that a regenerated community of peasants, with mobility of labour, freedom of occupation, despite caste regulation, released the latent energies of the ryots for economic and social progress not with standing the regressive role of imperialism.

R E F E R E N C E S

1. Fifth Report Vol. 11, p. 13.
2. The Board of Revenue described a Telugu village in 1818 as follows: "A Telinga village in regard to its internal constitution and the community of interest which units its inhabitants is precisely the same as the one in the Tamil Country. Its lands are also divided in a similar manner into waste and cultivated land; the lathe is also subdivided into manyams or lands on which the whole of the government tax has been so alienated, and lands upon which the full tax is paid to the government. The nature of the tax payable on the land sums also originally to have varied, as in the Tamil Country, with the nature of the crop. On the maganee or lands cultivated with a wet crop the Koroo or government share of the produce was taken. On the memainder being the madipalu or ryot's share, literally the share of the plough handle and on land cultivated with a dry crop or with garden or plantation produce fixed money rent was generally paid in the same manner as in the southern provinces but in some cases the revenue on dry crops was rendered in kind. Revenue Selections 909 Minute of the Board of Revenue dated 5th January 1818. See also Vizagapatam District Manual p. 112.

3. Nellore District Manual, P. 274.
4. Maclean, Manual of Administration, Vol. I. P. 159. (Madras. 1905)
5. Fifth Report Vol. II, P. 13.
6. Quoted in Godavary District Manual P. 246
7. Maine, Village Communities in East and West, P. 103.
8. Lawinsky, Origin of Property P. 56,
9. Sundararaja Iyyengar, land Tenures in the Madras Presidency Pp. 88-89.
10. Mclean, Op. cit Vol. P. 112
11. Badenpowell, Village Communities, Pp. 366-367
12. Godavary District Manual, P. 167.
13. Nellore District Manual, P. 477.
14. Maine, Opcit., Pp. 64 and 72.
15. Sundararaja Iyyengar, Op. cit., P. 92.
16. Ibid. P. 92.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid, Pp. 92-93.
19. D. D. Kosambi : An introduction to the study of Indian History (Bombay, 1950). Sir Henry Maine, Ancient Law (London 1861 ; reprint 1946) Karl Marx, Articles on India, New York Harold Tribune, 1953. (People's Publishing House, Bombay 1951) P. 67. Baden Powell, Origin and Development of Village Communities, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, Economic History of India under British Rule (1901) 2 Vols.
20. Gordon Childe, What happened in History (H'worth, 1946) P. 23.
21. The texts of ancient jurisprudence have often been quoted to prove the existence of communal ownership as well as the individual proprietorship. Jalminis' aphorism "that earth can not be given away as it is common to all" has often been mentioned. Another commentator Savara it known to have said in connection with kings' right to give away his knigdom in the sacrigice known as Viswajit that earth is the common property of all human beings (Mimamsa Bhasha VI. 7.2.) Savara stated that the soil is the common property of all (Nayamalavistara 358). The non-Aryan khonds considered land as common property (Hunter. Orissa II P. 203) A. similar claim prevailed among the Todas of Nilgris (Nilgiri District Manual P. 329) Medhatithi affirmed that theearth was the common property of all men (Sarva sadharana) to be equally enjoyed by all and kings could claim a share for their offer of protection. Sundararaya Ayyangar, Op. cit. Pp. 3-4.
22. Elphinstone, Histosy of India, P. 126.

23. Maine, Ancient Law, P. 215.

24. Badenpowell, Indian Village Community, P. 8.

Indian Village

Joint Village.

Severalty (ryotwari village.)

1. Influential headmen (often still possessing certain privileges) is part of the natural Constitution.
2. Holdings entirely separate and not of a unit estate.
3. No joint liability for revenue, each holding separately assessed on its merits.
4. No jointly owned area of waste or common land belongs to the village, or is available for partition.

1. No headman originally but a panchayat. In modern terms and official headman appointed to represent the community.
2. The holdings sometimes joint as shares of a unit estate.
3. Liability (joint or severalty for the revenues always assessed in a lumpsum.
4. The Village site and usually an area of waste land is common, and is available for cultivation.

Ibid. Pp. 19-20.

25. B. H. Badenpowell, The Indian Village Community (Reprint, Delhi- 1972). P. 362 ; papers on Mirasi Rights, Madras 1862.
26. The Reports of the existence of the mirasi villages all in Mirasi Papers, Place (1796) P. 36. His final report in 1799 covers 75 paragraphs pp. 38-70 Ellis (1816) Pp. 172-217. B. Sankarayya P. 218. Graene P. 393. Smalley (1822) P. 424. See Badenpowell Opp. cit. Pp. 370-3. The findings of Place all included in the Fifth Report also (Fifth Report II P. 314.)
27. Fifth Report Appendix 16. Report of Mr. Place respecting the land tenures in the Jaghire 6th June 1799)
28. Extract of Proceedings of the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George 5th Jan. 1807) Letter From the Principal Collector of Ceded District, 30th Nov. 1806. Fifth Report II P. 351.
29. Selections from the Records of the Nellore District No. III Nellore 1876. Travers to Board 10th June 1803, Rundall's Report of Revenue Settlement Para 5 15th Dec 1870, Boswell : Nellore District Manual Pp. 503-4)
30. Bernier Travels in the Mughal Empire.
31. Bernier P. 234-32, Marx to Engels 2 June 1853).

32. An analysis of pre-colonial social formations: Ralh Gunanvardana (Marx to engels 14th June 1853 cited in the Indian Historical review Jan. 1976 Vol. II No. 2.
 33. Marx. The Native States New York Daily Tritbune (NYDT) 25 July 1853.
 34. NYDT 3 April 1858.
 35. W. A. Mor land, The Agrarian System of Moslim India : 1929 Reprint Allahabad, Pp. 012-3.
 36. Ibid. P. 179.
 37. Irfan Habib : The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay 1963. P. 123.
 38. Ibid P. 123.
 39. Minute of the Governor General 18th September, 1789, cited by S. Gopal, The permanent Settlement, P. 17
 40. Ibid.
 41. R. C. Dutt, The Economic History of India under British Rule, (London 1907) Pp. 119-120.
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THE EFFECTS OF THE 1970-71
WINTER ON THE WINTER

1. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 1) - 1971-72
2. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 2) - 1971-72
3. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 3) - 1971-72
4. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 4) - 1971-72
5. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 5) - 1971-72
6. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 6) - 1971-72
7. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 7) - 1971-72
8. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 8) - 1971-72
9. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 9) - 1971-72
10. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 10) - 1971-72
11. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 11) - 1971-72
12. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 12) - 1971-72
13. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 13) - 1971-72
14. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 14) - 1971-72
15. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 15) - 1971-72
16. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 16) - 1971-72
17. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 17) - 1971-72
18. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 18) - 1971-72
19. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 19) - 1971-72
20. The effects of the 1970-71 winter on the winter of 1971-72 (Part 20) - 1971-72

SUBRAMANIA SIVA—A MILITANT NATIONALIST (1884-1925)

P. B. Gopalakrishnan

Subramania Siva* alias Subramania Aiyar was born on 4th October 1884 in a small village called Vathalagundu, in Madurai District. He was the son of Rajam Aiyar and Nagamma. He had two sisters—Ganamma and Thylamma and a brother Vaidyanatha Aiyar. Siva had his early education in his native hamlet. He had a flair for philosophy and developed a liking for religious works.¹ Due to a family feud Rajam Aiyar left for Trivandrum depending on a choultry for his livelihood. Siva continued his education there. There was a marked change in his behaviour. A reticent, suave and temperate Siva now became garrulous and magniloquent. He crossed swords with his teachers too frequently which created rumpus in the classroom. Because of his behaviour, he became an anathema to the teachers. Due to his popularity among the students, Siva was elected as the secretary of the School Association and in that capacity he invited persons well versed in religious learning to speak on important occasions. While at school, Siva visited his maternal uncle at Dindigul, who became a source of inspiration to him. He himself admits in the preface to his book 'Sachidananda Sivam' his love and adoration for his uncle called 'Ootham Samiyar'.²

Siva got married in 1899 to Meenakshiammal.³ Supported by his mother-in-law he joined St. Michael's College at Coimbatore in 1900 to pursue his studies. After his failure in Matriculation examination Siva fell out with one of his teachers and left the college in search of a job. His first appointment was that of a Clerk in the office of the Police Superintendent at Sivakasi.⁴ Siva developed an aversion for the job and resigned it. He left for Trivandrum where he came under the influence of a saint called 'Sachidanandha Swami'. Siva

* Hereinafter referred to as 'Siva'.

visited several places with his mentor. He returned home but because of scolding by his father for living in an irresponsible manner, he left the house in a huff. Again he went to his Guru and spent the next few years learning yoga and metaphysics from him. Prompted by a desire to see his family, Siva returned home only to see the demise of his father. Now the responsibility of running the household fell on his shoulders. Siva reached Tuticorin and got a job as an attender in the Tuticorin Sub Divisional Office. As he was indifferent, his service was terminated after a short while. Disappointed by these adverse trends Siva "assumed the garb of a Sanyasi which role he found did not suit him".⁵

At this juncture, Siva came under the influence of V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, a militant nationalist and an associate of B. G. Tilak. Enamoured by his personality and impressed by his stand on National issues, Siva decided to plunge into the mainstream of the National Movement and resolved to exert himself to spread the message of Swadeshi and boycott so that they could spread to the grass-roots in villages. In 1907 Siva left for Trivandrum and stayed there till November 1907. Thereafter, he resumed his journey, visited many parts of Tamil Nadu delivering lectures on Swadeshi, boycott, Swaraj and National education.

Siva reached Tuticorin in 1908 when it was a period of efflorescence as for the National Movement is concerned, Siva addressed several gatherings on the 11th, 16th, 19th, 24th and 25th February 1908. He spoke about the "Dangers arising from a foreign Government" and cited many examples to show, how it had marred the National economy. He pointed out to the examples of Mymensing, Jubbulpore and Comilla, where riots brokeout against the aliens. Siva wanted the public to emerge from the quagmire of factionalism and free themselves from petty squabbles and join together to face the challenge posed by the British. He referred to the economic condition of India and how money drained out of her coffers to England which was used for helping the poor in that country. He questioned the action of Englishmen and in an emotional outburst he said, "If five crores of Indians came out to sacrifice themselves, Swaraj would

be theirs".⁶ Siva was struck with remorse to see the treatment meted out to persons who espoused the cause of India.⁷ These speeches of Siva generated great interest amidst the public and stirred them up from their corpor of ignorance.

Siva was not devoid of any extraneous influence. He adored B. G. Tilak and admired B. C. Pal for their indomitable courage. Some of the festivals started by Tilak were accepted by the militant nationalists of Tamil Nadu. B.G. Tilak started the Ganapati festival in 1893. He thought religion could be used as an effective tool to bring together all the different sections of Hindus. But it did not produce the desired effect and Tilak started the Shivaji festival in 1895.⁸ This form of propagating nationalism through festivals became a simple cover for Tilak's political activity. Above all, Tilak reached the culminating point of his political extremism in the years 1905-1908,⁹ and therefore no wonder B. G. Tilak's virulent personality attracted Siva to a great extent. Siva refers to the Shivaji festival in one of his speeches.¹⁰ Secondly, Siva's political views had a religious base. This may be owing to the influence of the Bengal radicals. Because Bengal became more or less a leader of the National Movement and especially, after its partition in 1905 it became, "the temporary cynosure of Indian Politics"¹¹ where people swore by Kali. In the speech that he delivered on 23rd February 1908, Siva said, "The Bengal people of Tuticorin to swear before Kali that they would support Swaraj."¹² Thirdly, Siva laid greater emphasis on the role of the workers and if they don't turn up for work it will have severe impact on the English economy. In fact, he instigated the workers to lay down their tools and demonstrate against the English. Siva said that if "the Indian coolies struck work for a fortnight the mills would be closed and Manchester would strave".¹³ He wanted the workers to be militant and demand "a higher pay".¹⁴

The tirade against the British through speeches continued in March of the same year. Three speeches made by Siva and others in Tuticorin became historic. The Police became very cautious and Inspectors were sent incognito to record and report the proceedings.

The first meeting was held on the 4th of March 1908. It was an Ashe Wednesday and a crowd of about 2,000 strong attended the meeting. When the mob saw Siva and V. O. Chidambaram Pillai their exuberance knew no bound. In their exultation, they shouted "Bande Mataram". Siva requested the audience not to make noise since it was an Ashe Wednesday. He asked them "not to shout Bande Mataram", but remember the words in their hearts and remain quiet.¹⁵ Siva spoke about "Atma Sakti", the power of the soul and pointed out that no power can destroy Atmasakti. He wanted the public to adopt the policy of righteousness. After dabbling in matters of philosophic nature, Siva passed on to political issues. Siva reminded the Government of its responsibilities. In the early stages of his political career, he shunned violence. According to Siva, "I told you about the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution and other things simply to show you, that we should be patient and quiet in order to obtain Swaraj".¹⁶ This statement of Siva shows his irrevocable faith in passive resistance. However Siva became more violent in his speeches after his release from prison in 1914.

Siva advocated not only 'Boycott, A negative concept, but also 'Swadeshi'. In fact, Siva differed from V. O. Chidambaram Pillai* regarding the application of these concepts. V.O.C. wanted to start local industries and Siva wanted employment of local people and insisted on a fair wage for the workers. Government in its confidential report called Siva a "Sedition-Monger".

A careful study of his speeches will show that he was more or less a precursor of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1908 itself, Siva advocated Panchayat system to settle disputes amicably, and also laid emphasis on self-reliance. He wanted the masses not to pay taxes nor go to courts of law. Siva did not stop with this. He pointed out the condition of the workers who were at the nadir of poverty and haunted constantly by economic depression. Siva showed the disparity in their wage structure. The workers got a paltry amount of 10 or 15 rupees whereas Police officials and public servants got paid more for helping the Government by feeding them with information about the nationalists. Siva appealed to their national sentiments and ques-

* Here in after referred to as V. O. C.

tioned "why should they do so for 15, 20, or 50 rupees?". This statement of Siva clearly reflects the condition of the then society where a cross section of the public sold their national spirit for a few chips. In his preroration Siva said, "Let all the people of India, Europeans and anti-Swadeshis know that if anything is done against Swadeshis the Gods' Sakti will spoil, ruin and destroy them".¹⁷ It became a common practice with Subramania Siva and Subramania Bharathi,¹⁸ to invoke the blessings of "Sakthi". V. O. C. who spoke next laid stress on starting local industries which will ultimately banish the alien commerce out of our soil.

Another meeting was held in the same place on 5th March 1908. The crowd swelled to 3,000. Encouraged by the response he had at the last meeting, Siva began his speech with a request to the public to "think always of swaraj and not that we are under para raj". He pointed out to the chaotic condition of industries at Tuticorin and the tussle between the workers of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company and the British Steam Navigation Company. Siva chided the Government for having failed in their endeavours to solve the problem. Then he referred to the release of B. C. Pal,²⁰ on 9th March and said that he wanted to celebrate that 'memorable occasion' by taking out a procession. Siva expressed his desire to bring out his paper 'Swaraj' on that day and also planned to open a Swadeshi medical hall at Tuticorin.

The release of B. C. Pal generated a lot of interest in every nook and corner of the Madras Presidency, 'Kisana Patrika', published from Masulipatnam, wrote a leading article captioned 'Welcome to Babu Bipin Chandra Pal',²¹ so was 'India' a Tamil journal of Subramania Bharathi.²² No wonder a radical of Siva's type developed a strong liking for B. C. Pal. These circumstances made Siva more emotional. He became very popular and received letters addressed as "Subramania Sivam who has obtained Swaraj in Tuticorin". Siva's questions and arguments were very fundamental and simple. He gave simple examples to drive home his point, hence he became very popular among the masses.²³

The District Magistrate visited Tuticorin and after a detailed enquiry, he was convinced about the political crime committed by Siva and others. Notice was served on Siva, V. O. C. and Padmanabha Aiyengar at about 6 P. M. on 8th March 1908 and they were asked to appear before the District Magistrate at Tinnevelly on the following day at 10 A. M.²⁴

The arrest of the trio caused great tension in Tuticorin and in adjoining areas. Reaction could be felt in far-off places like Kakinada where protest meetings were held. Some papers lambasted the Government for these arrests and also for having "destroyed the last shred of public confidence in British fairness and justice", whereas most of the other journals supported the Government's stand. The "Wednesday Review" published from Trichinopoly in its issue dated 11-3-1908 states that, "we are afraid too much significance is being attached to the doings of Messrs Chidambaram Pillai and Company at Tuticorin.....There is nothing very alarming in all these".²⁵

The Newspaper reports are not to be accepted at their face value, as they were lopsided. In fact, the arrests of the 'nationalist Trinity' created a razzle in Tinnevelly, and gradually spread to Veeraghavapuram and Palamcottah. Mobs of several thousands went around the Tuticorin town and reached a state of delirium. Street lamps were broken. The Principal of the Hindu College and the Agent of Messrs. Parry and Co; were stoned,²⁶ Tinnevelly police station was set on fire. Telegrams were sent to the I. G. of Police, Madras, informing him about the developments. Instructions were issued to watch the movements of the Maravars,²⁷ because the British suspected that the Maravars were behind the riots. Fresh orders were issued cancelling arms licenses in Tinnevelly District.²⁸ Police fired to put down the rioting which resulted in the death of a few. Siva, V. O. C. and Padmanabha Aiyengar were produced before the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly. They were sentenced to deportation and on appeal, the sentence were confirmed but the number of years was reduced. Radical Philosophy started spreading like locusts after this event. Meetings were held at Karur, in Coimbatore district and the audience were asked to follow the Tuti-

corinexample.²⁹ Scribblings of revolutionary writings appeared on the street walls and in the train compartments.³⁰ Efforts were made by some at Coimbatore to make bombs and “filling them with stones and throwing them into the first and second class carriages of the night passenger train”.³¹ Letters full of abuses and slander were sent to the Governor.

Siva was sent to the Trichinopoly Jail. The arrival of Siva changed the complexion of the Jail. The Superintendent of Police, Trichinopoly reported that the arrival of Siva has resulted in unrest in the Central Jail. Siva's charismatic personality appealed to the native staff of the Jail, who helped him surreptitiously. In fact, a party consisting of officials was sent to enquire into this matter. According to a C. I. D. official, Siva was heard telling other convicts, “Look here, if I am not acquitted on appeal, you may be sure of a serious riot in the Jail and in my native place, Tuticorin”.³² Some warders in fact posted the letters written by Siva. However one such letter] addressed to a High Court Vakil residing at Tanjore fell into the hands of the Police.³³ The prisoners of the Tinnevely riot case were known as ‘Bande Matarm’ prisoners. Siva was well informed about the political developments through such correspondence.

Two years passed on. Siva's wife Meenakshiammal sent a petition to the Governor in Council, Fort St George requesting him to release her husband. She defended Siva and said that, “he (Siva) did not believe that he was acting disloyally or doing anything wrong”.³⁴ She had stated in her petition that Siva was afflicted a nasty skin ailment and a much longer incarceration meant premature death. She requested the Government to release Siva on health grounds and gave the assurance that, “it would be her life-long endeavour to see that he (Siva) never again offends the Government, the protector of all”.³⁵ But the Government did not pay any heed to her petition.

Siva's condition worsened. Not able to stand the agony of his ailment he submitted a petition in September 1910 to Government wherein he said that he was suffering from leprosy. He prayed for his release and pointed out in his petition that he is having an “old mother

and a young wife without protection of provision".³⁶ To check up the details contained in the petition, the Government sought a medical report which clearly showed that Siva was suffering from "Anaesthetic leprosy". On the recommendation of the doctor Siva was transferred to the Salem Jail. At first, the Government did not react favourably to the transfer, but a later D. O.³⁷ approved of this transfer.

The news regarding Siva's health reached the public. It was raised in the Legislative Council of Madras by P. Kesava Pillai. He sought information regarding Siva's health.³⁸ Not satisfied by the reply given by Government, P. Kesava Pillai again raised the issue in a subsequent meeting of the Legislative Council, but received the same reply.³⁹

Failed in his efforts to get released Siva could do nothing else. Siva was a Prolific writer but the Jail rules did not permit him to write. So he sought the permission of the Inspector General of Prisons to permit him to publish the book, which he had written before his prosecution. The permission was granted and Siva published his book "Sachidananda Sivam". However, the Inspector General of Prisons was asked by the Government to report the circumstances under which the permission to write and publish a book was granted to Siva. The Inspector General of Prisons assuaged the fears of Government and sent a note that "there is nothing objectionable in the book".⁴⁰ Yet the Government did not give its consent because it felt that the book "may circulate and spread an impression that such a good man is incarcerated".⁴¹ This shows the morbid fear the Government had of Siva.

The Government remained obdurate. P. Kesava Pillai again raised this issue in the Legislative Council. He wanted to know whether Siva was reduced in weight by 60 lbs and requested the Government to reconsider its decision regarding Siva's release.⁴² The Government gave the information that Siva, "weighed 111 pounds on admission to the Palamcottah Jail and now he weighs 111 lbs."⁴³ and it refused to "consider the question of his release".⁴⁴ Smt. Meenakshiammal wrote a letter to the 'Hindu' where in she made mention about her dire financial condition and her intention of starting a maga

zine that will deal with matters, related to philosophy and gave the assurance that, 'politics of any kind is strictly excluded from the journal', 45 and pleaded for subscriptions. Siva did not respond to the treatment and his condition deteriorated. Government revised its stand and Siva was released in 1914.

Siva, immediately after his release 'continued his political activities. He travelled extensively and mobilised support for the movement. Srinivasa Varadhan, his wife Padmasini Ammal, Dr. Varadharajulu Naidu, Thiru V. Kalyanasundaram, etc., became his close associates. Siva started Tamil Journals, *Gnanabhanu* (1912), *Prapancha Mitran* (1916) and *India Desanthiri* (1919)⁴⁶ and propagated the message of nationalism through their columns.⁴⁷ Subramania Bharathi contributed articles to '*Gnanabhanu*'.⁴⁸

Siva took part in labour movements. When the workers of Tramway struck work in 1920, Siva took a leading part in this and tried to evolve an amicable settlement. He went to Madurai in 1920 to participate in the meetings organised by the workers of the Harvey Mills. In 1921, Siva founded, the "Bharata Ashram" at Madras. Many youngmen were enrolled in this organisation. The members of the Samaj visited Kumbakonam during the Mahamaham festival (1921) and gave many inspiring speeches. The work of the 'Samaj' was praised by poet Ramalingam Pillai, C. Rajagopalachari and others.⁴⁹ Siva's followers swelled to thousands. T. Sadasivam and Thyagaraja Sivam of Madurai joined him at this stage. Bharathi's songs were sung by the Ashramites and they enacted many patriotic plays like "Desingu Rajan" and "Shivaji". These plays had remarkable reception and were staged in almost all the important centres of Tamil Nadu.

Siva visited Karaikudi and staged high plays there. He then left for Madurai. On the way, he addressed the gatherings at Tirupattur, where he persuaded the people not to bid at toddy auctions. Siva stayed in Madurai for a month and during that period, every evening he addressed meetings. In one of his speeches, Siva said that, 'If (the audience) they were legitimately born to their father and

mother they ought to do certain things". The Government took strong exception to these speeches and a text of the speech was sent to the Advocate-General who returned the same with the note that it was offensive in character⁵⁰. In the meanwhile, Siva visited Rameshwaram, Manamadurai, Sivagangai and Pudukkottai. He addressed gatherings and he then reached Thanjavur. In a speech that he made on 3-9-1922, Siva made a pointed reference to the Jallianwala Bhag massacre. Finding the tone seditious, the Government authorised the filing of the complaint against Siva.

Siva was not aware of these developments. He planned to march on foot with his Ashram people to Ahmedabad in 1921 to attend the Congress session. But he was arrested and sentenced to two and a half years imprisonment. Many of his associates were also prosecuted. His disciples led by R. Srinivasavaradhan and Sadasivam picketed the liquor shops at Ghoripalayam, Madurai and were sentenced to 15 months imprisonment.

The prison environment was not conducive to Siva. He developed complications and his health started deteriorating. Siva's brother Vythianatha Sarma wrote a letter to the Governor and pleaded that Siva should be released. The entries found in the non-official visitors book at Trichinopoly Central Jail, testifies to the bad state of his health.⁵¹ The Medical Officer, Central Jail, Trichinopoly, clearly stated in his report that, "... Subramania Siva, is in my opinion dangerously ill, suffering from advanced leprosy ... he will have a fair chance of recovery if he is released".⁵² Government released him on health grounds. However an impression was created that Siva gave an undertaking that in future he would abstain from taking any part in politics. Siva refuted this and cited a part of the release order wherein it was clearly stated that, "the Government in Council is pleased to remit the unexpired portion of the sentence of convict Subramania Siva unconditionally".

After his release, despite his health, Siva continued his political activities. He attended the Tamil Nadu Provincial Conference held at Salem under the Presidentship of George Joseph. On that occasion, Siva announced his desire to build a temple of Bharatmata at the

Bharatashramam near Papparappatti in Salem District. Deshbandhu Das laid the foundation for the temple planned by Siva. But unfortunately, Siva's dream did not materialise.

Siva toured Dharmapuri. In Dharmapuri, his troupe staged 'Shivaji' in which Siva appeared as Ramdas. Then, along with ChidambaraBharathi and a few others Siva visited Tiruchi, Srirangam, Mannargudi, Tiruvarur, Thanjavur and other places. The Railway Police served an order on Siva banning his travels in trains since he was suffering from leprosy. Siva was not disheartened. In fact, this ban proved to be a blessing in disguise to Siva. He travelled in bullock cart and visited Mayavaram, Sirkali, Kumbakonam and other places. Siva reached Chidambaram where he wanted to stage his 'Shivaji'. But an order under Section 144 Cr. P.C. was served banning the play. This issue was raised in the Legislative Council at Madras by T. Adinarayana Chettiar and S. Satyamurthi. Finding the tide of public opinion turning against it, the Government withdrew the ban order.

Siva then went to Thiruvannamalai. He had a dharshan of Ramana Maharishi. From there, he went to Madras halting at Arni, Vellore and Gudiyatham. He addressed many meetings there. Siva stayed in Madras for 6 months and made speeches on the beach. In October 1924, he was served with notice under Section 124A. Siva defended himself.⁵³ The case was withdrawn and Siva returned to his native place. On his way, he halted at Arakkonam, Ambur, Vaniyambadi and Thirupathur and spoke about Swadesei Movement.

This strain had an adverse effect on Siva's health. He was afflicted with Malaria, yet he wanted no respite. He left his native place and reached Madurai. He addressed the gatherings at Udumalpet, Dharapuram, Palani, Dindigul and Cholavandan. He reached Madurai on 9th April 1925. His health took a turn from bad to worse. Siva could smell it and he wanted to return to Papparapatti. His friends advised him against it but Siva managed to return to his Ashram where he breathed his last on 23rd July 1925. Thus ended the saga of militant nationalist, who lived and toiled for the cause of nationalism but did not live to see his dream materialise.

Siva occupies a unique place in the annals of the History of the National Movement in India. No doubt he was influenced to a great extent by the views of the radicals of Bengal and Maharashtra. He accepted their symbols and festivals. But when he conveyed the same to the masses in Tamil Nadu he gave his own touch to them and made them very popular. He toiled hard for the cause of workers and instigated them to be more militant and get their demands fulfilled. When many of his colleagues gave up political activity after their release from the prison, Siva despite his deteriorating health perused his activities with greater zeal. He went to every nook and corner of Tamil Nadu and preached the gospel of Nationalism. He was like a pillar of strength to other nationalists who drew inspiration from his deeds.

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3. Meenakshiammal was the only child of her parents. Her father was Clerk in a Government office When she was married to Siva, she was hardly nine years old.
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17. Ibid., p. 19.
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PUBLIC AWAKENING IN THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY.

Y. Vaikuntham

Public awakening in any Country is a complex and difficult process. The social and religious reform movements, intellectual assimilation and literary expression, economic and political change, are all manifestations of the social transformation and are indications of public awakening. This helps not only in the fast assimilation of new ideas but also leads new forces and movements to operate in favour of the emergence of a new society. This awakening was not uniform throughout India. It was slow and arduous in the Nizam state, an important princely state in the Deccan, whereas in British India it was quick and fast as a result of the direct impact of the western ideas and institutions. This is evident from the fact that public awareness to political, economic, educational, social and religious reforms were in the formative stages by the end of 19th century in the Nizam state while such reforms were already under way in British India. In this paper an attempt has been made to examine the process of public awakening brought about in the Nizam state in the second half of the nineteenth century.

1. Political Awakening :

The Nationalist impulse to create a democratic and welfare state was active, very late in the princely state of Nizam. The task of preparing Hyderabad State for political and social upliftment seemed very stupendous. There was no law and order, and insecurity for life was more in Nizam state than in British India¹. Pindaris frequented the various parts of the state. The feudal and aristocratic class among both Muslims and Hindus were very powerful. The Govern-

ment policies were mostly influenced by the British Resident in Hyderabad. The pro-British attitude of the Government and its anti-people attitude led to a number of out-breaks in the 19th century.

The British policy, was as Col. Sleeman said, that princes will "act as break-waters". The princes were deliberately nursed by the British for long years as obstructors to collective national progress. This policy paid great dividends to the British in dealing anti-British forces, using Hyderabad as a base² and in the suppression of the revolt of 1857.

Speaking on the integration of Indian States, Sardar Patel said, Hyderabad, was "a cancer in the belly of India"³ It was more true in 1857. When the local leaders were by and large in sympathy with the leaders of the National revolt of 1857, Nizam stood with the British and helped them in their victory.

Hyderabad became a centre of serious disturbances, when the news of the great revolt of 1857 in North India, were flashed in the state. It created great stir in the army in Aurangabad. Wall posters and pamphlets appeared, instigating the people to revolt against the British, inspite of the steps taken by the Nizam to control the situation.⁴ Anti-British forces lead by Tura Baz Khan and Maulvi Allauddin attacked the British residency in Hyderabad. Narkhed village in Bidar under patwari Ranga Rao (1857), Phizapur in Aurangabad district under Govinda Rao Despande (1858), Raichur under Bhim Rao (1858), Utnoor taluq of Adilabad distrist under Ramji Gond, Mahboobnagar Panduranga sayanna revolted against British in 1860 in the Nizam State. Hyderabad leaders had contacts with Nanasaheb and Tantia Tope.⁵ These revolts were mostly led by local leaders, and not by the Rohillas or Arabs, which was the case earlier.⁶ This revolt caused considerable political momentum among the people in the state, one to associate with the rest of the nation, secondly to eliminate the British influence, which caused political awakening in this part of India, subsequently.

The expenditure on the Hyderabad contingent, anti-British feelings of the people, caused the revolts in Miraj, Kolapur, Sargund, Kobbel, Raichur, Sholapur etc; Rekapalli rebellion in 1880 in Badrachalam taluq, Kakepalli in Madhira taluq, Vuddigudem near palvancha in Khammam district, continued upto 1883. According to Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao the period, from 1857 onwards, till the end of the century, was a great period of people's movements in Hyderabad⁷. But these movements were sporadic and illorganised. Though the people, jagirdars, maulvis, soldiers, managers of the press continued their anti-British attacks through out the 19th century⁸, they were not of much consequence ! nevertheless they reveal the increasing discontent on the one hand and the awakening of the people on the other. In fact all these revolts were not the result of great awakening as has been supposed by some writers, but they were the causes for the political awakening in the state subsequently.

The pro-British policy, the surrender of Berar, Osmanabad and Raichur to the British in 1853 for the maintenance of Nizam's contingent, the money lending policy and patronage to Rohillas, Arabs and Marwadis, etc., were criticised. The anti-Nizam attitude of the people or local leaders was suppressed under the high heels of autocratic government. The press ordinance of 1891, the religious and educational policy, the induction of outsiders (non-mulkis) into administrative services were questioned. Even the limited scope of the administrative reforms of 1893 (The Qanoon-cha-i-Mubarak) under Sir Viqar-ul-Omrah, Legislative Act of 1900, created a general feeling of discontentment among the educated public⁹, since they gave only limited powers to councils. Therefore the incompetence and indifference of the Nizam government was responsible for political awakening.

Thus the echo of 1857 revolt, anti-British and anti-Nizam movements due to Nizam's indifference, and his bad policies, caused political awakening in Society, in the latter half of the 19th Century.

2. The Press :

The Press is a great instrument for the communication of ideas. The growth of public opinion and people's movements depends on the role of press. The later half of the 19th century was characterised by journalistic activity in Hyderabad and a number of news papers and journals in Urdu, Persian, Telugu, Marathi and English were started¹⁰. *Gulbarga samachar*, *Nizam Vaibhav*, *Bhageshya Nagar*, *Sri Bhageshya Vijaya* and *Champavati* in Marathi and *Dina Vartaman* in Telugu, were a few of them. But their circulation and reading public were limited. Among the English Journals the *Hyderabad Telegraph* (1886), *The Deccan Standard* (1889), *The Deccan Times*, *The Hyderabad Record* (1891), *The Deccan Budget* (1897), *The Deccan Mail* (1898) and the *Hyderabad Chronicle* at the end of the century made their appearance. But the number of Journals in Hyderabad State were very few when compared to the number of Journals in the various presidencies in British India during the same period. By 1901 there were only 14 periodicals in the state,¹¹ Whereas in 1900 there were 161 papers in Madras presidency, 178 in Bombay presidency and there were 111 papers in Bengal in 1905.¹² From any standards, journalistic activity was very slow in Hyderabad state when compared to the various presidencies in the rest of India.

In spite of the limited journalistic activity, the Hyderabad press published various regional and national news. For example, it published news on the proposed Chanda Railway scheme and the agitations that followed. It also gave wide publicity to the activities and the consequent deportation of Dr. Agornath Chatopadyaya, M.A. Qayyum, etc., who lend the agitation. At the time of passing of the Ilbert Bill in 1885, the Urdu press called all the pro-English Indians as "Mulki namak haram". *Hazar Dastan* a periodical published captions like "who is a traitor" and called every body who defied the bill as traitors. It also published another article titled "Dil Saf Kahanse Ho Ke Insaf Nahi" and tried to awaken the Hyderabad people on such policies.¹³ It also praised Lord Ripon through its columns, for passing the bill. The press in Hyderabad, both Urdu and English, was openly critical of the policies of Anglo-Indians in the country and

did not hesitate to take up the case of Indians in the famous Ilbert Bill controversy. *The Hyderabad Record* published the news on various activities of the Indian National Congress and championed the cause of the National movement. It gave coverage to the attempts of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk to belittle the nationalist movement.¹⁴ The independent and bold role of the press in Hyderabad was one, of the factors leading to public awakening in the state.¹⁵

When the press was critical of the anti-national and pro-British policies of the Government on oneside while appealing to the public for alertness on the other, the Nizam's Government imposed a number of restrictions on its freedom in 1891. Asman Jah, the Prime Minister, attempted to control the press. The editors, through a circular, were asked not to publish anything that might "threaten an injury to a Government servant or tend to prejudice the mind of the people against H. H. Nizam's Government or any of its officers."¹⁶ The editors were also forced to sign an agreement to comply with the regulations. *The Deccan Times* commenting on this circular observed that, to sign such an agreement, was "to expect him to accomplish what is impossible, and to think that any man with a modicum of self-respect will subscribe to such a ridiculous "agreement", is to count too much upon the 'hectoring or terrorising policy' of the Government. It further said that the circular was primarily meant for "thick coating" the officials. The paper also said that the censorship was like that under the Czars of Russia.¹⁷ *Shaukat-ul-Islam* called it a bad law, and a gagging circular and said it was to enslave the press or rather public opinion itself. It further commented, "that public opinion it does not matter by whom guided-is gaining in volume and strength day by day. The agitation for justice, which was an unknown factor formerly, has given his Government, endless trouble".¹⁸ This paper also refused to sign the agreement, since it was intended to muzzle the independence of the press, as a result of which the paper was forced to discontinue its publication in the state.

The difficulties of papers in those days were very many. *Safiri Dekhan*, a urdu daily, reporting a murder case was put to a number of

difficulties. The press in general was also instructed not to publish anonymous letters. The attempt to gag news papers was really "not a step on the road of progress but a harking back to barbarism which should ever be abhorred by a state."¹⁹

The Hyderabad press regularly discussed the implications of various revolts in the state as well as the policies of the government, the attitude of the British Resident, the service matters, and the promotions granted to non-mulkies. The English and the Urdu press also discussed the employment of non-mulkies in the services of state, and protested against the preference given to them as against the natives of the state. As a result of the efforts of the press, and of the Hyderabad leaders "the avenues of the State services were widely opened to Hyderabaders".²⁰

The limited number of papers, and the government regulations controlling their freedom, the low percentage of literacy, were mainly responsible for the slow pace of the journalistic activity in the state. In spite of these limitations, the Press of the day contributed to a limited extent to the awakening of the people during the last two decades of the 19th century.

3. Socio-Religious Movements :

The Nizam's state was a Muslim state, in spite of a majority of the population belonging to the Hindu community. The society in general was suffering from many social rigidities, like superstitions, caste, and the domination of Zamindars etc. Purdah was common among the women of both Muslims, and Hindu aristocracy. Polygamy was common among the Muslims. Child marriages, prohibition of widow remarriages, were common and sati was practised.

Hindus suffered under the autocratic rule of the Nizams. Muslims, because of their atrocities could not attract the sympathies of Hindus and the gulf between them widened. For this state of affairs government was mostly responsible.²¹ It was a strong hold of imperialistic intrigue and a trump card in the hands of the British Government for suppressing the rising tide of people's movement. It

was the domination of feudal reaction and imperial tutelage²² that was responsible for the state of backwardness in the socio-religious conditions in the State.

During this period a number of individuals took the lead and established a number of organisations to bring about social transformation and to mould public opinion on various socio-religion problems. Even the Muslim government took some measures to eradicate certain of the social evils.

The social policy of British India was copied, and the practice of sati was banned in the state in 1848. Selling of children was banned in 1856.²³ Mulla Abdul Qayum and his friends started a society called 'Ikhwan-us-sufa', to discuss and take up educational and social reform activities through their monthly meetings. A monthly magazine was published by them to discuss the social and educational problems.²⁴ Qayum attacked the nobility, and opposed the special favours granted to Muslims. He was also responsible for organising "Anjumen-e-Maref" which aimed at developing social, intellectual and economic life of the people. He pleaded for Hindu-Muslim unity and was called a pioneer of renaissance in Hyderabad²⁵. Mohib Hussain, the editor of "*Maullim-e-Shafiq*" was another social reformer in the state.

Dr. Agoranath Chatopadhyaya's contribution to the social awakening of Hyderabad was substantial. He pleaded for the education of girls. His wife, along with a couple of enlightened women, started a girls school in the city. He preached for the emancipation of women, abolition of child marriages and the introduction of widow remarriage. He practised castelessness and all his domestic staff were drawn from the depressed classes. He pleaded for intercaste marriages. He started 'Young Men's Improvement Society' in 1879 and "Anjumane-ikwan-us-Sufa" (The Brotherhood Society) to bring about social reforms²⁶. Through his precepts and practices he brought about tremendous awareness of the need for social reform in Hyderabad city as well as in the state.

The Theosophical society was established on 26th December 1882, by Ramaswamy Iyer in Chaderghat. A Society hall was constructed and opened on 7-1-1906 by Mrs. Annie Besant. This society was a centre for discussion on religious and cultural matters and attracted the elite of the city.²⁷

The contribution of Arya Samaj to the social awakening in the state was magnificent, though in the 19th century it was limited. In 1891 it was started at Dharur in Bhir district. In the following year it was established in Hyderabad, after Swami Giranand Saraswati's lectures in Hyderabad, under Kamta Persad as President and Mahatma Laxman Desji as its Secretary. Non-mulkis, Particularly the Maharastrians were responsible for spreading its activities. The Samaj appealed to Muslims as well as untouchables. Ganesh Utsav was celebrated with all enthusiasm, on the model of such celebrations in Maharastra, started by Bala Gangadhar Tilak, from 1895. Bhajans, melas and the popular Ganesh Utsav thus entered the Nizam State, and the week long celebrations and Bhajanas helped as a great means for the socio-religious awakening in the state. Gymnasiums organised by the Samaj also helped in social awakening. Thogh, Sanatana Dharma Maha Mandal was organised in opposition to Arya Samaj, it was not popular outside the Government circles. The Arya Samaj served as a training ground for workers in the constructive activities and helped to rouse public opinion. Keshav Rao Koratkar, S. D. Satwalekar, Agornath Chatopadhyaya were its great organisers and patrons. Koratkar in particular became a great pioneer in political, social and educational reforms in the state.²⁸ The efforts of these individuals and associations continued and by the end of 19th century they were a very strong force. "Malwala Sabha" and the "Hindu social club" under Raja Murali Manohar Bahadur were organised in Hyderabad city and began to take part in public affairs. The member of 'Hindu social club', viz., Murali Manohar, Krishnamachari, Ramachandra Pillai etc. criticised the Governments policy of appointing a committee of orthodox and ill-informed men to decide on a religious point whether the Hindu students could cross the 'Kala Pani' the good knowledge of persian and urdu to offer himself for Government scholarship to go abroad, as conditions preventing Hindus

going abroad for studies, and of denying the Hindus, Government scholarships.²⁹ The Chaderghat social club also sent a memorandum in 1890 to Governor-General, praying that the age of consent be raised to 14 years.

Yet the work of all these organisations as Madapati Hanumanth Rao has rightly pointed out was limited and the efforts were not successful in opening the eyes of the people³⁰ Thus social and religious awakening of the people was in the formative stages as compared with the movements in British India, by the close of 19th century.

4. Language and Education :

Language and education were the two factors that kept the majority of the people of the state in ignorance. Under the high heels of Nizam's autocratic Government, the language of the people was suppressed and this was criticised by the Urdu News Papers of the state.³¹ Persian was replaced by Urdu, as the language of administration in 1884. It was extended to courts and to all branches of administration in 1886. Both these languages were not the languages of the majority of the people. The introduction of Urdu had a profound effect on the progress of education in the State.³² Urdu, Arabic and Persian, were taught even from the elementary school level. The mother tongue and regional languages like Telugu, Marathi and Kanarese were ignored and Hindus suffered educationally and lost their place in administration.³³ Education was backward compared to British India. In 1898, only 5.8% of the boys and 0.51% of girls of school going age were in schools. Whereas in British India in 1901-02 literacy was 10% among the male population and 7% among the females.³⁴

There was one first grade college with 66 students, one second grade college with 4 students and both were affiliated to Madras University. One Oriental college with 83 students was affiliated to Punjab University. There were 13 high schools and 49 middle schools with

3,425 and 8,635 pupils respectively. There were 707 primary schools for boys and 67 for girls with 46,581 and 3,812 scholars respectively.³⁵ There were only 25 boys and 5 girls above the age of 5, out of a 'mille' were literates in the state.³⁶ The above statistics clearly show how backward the state was in education.

From 1879 the Pan-Asian Missionary Syed Jamaluddin Afghan through his writings to the press, pleaded for Urdu as the medium in schools in Hyderabad. He pointed out that progress of the nation depended on the progress of the language of the country and impressed this upon the educated classes in the city of Hyderabad. His work developed Journalism and awakened the interest in educational and social reforms. One of his colleagues Mohib Hussaini became an ardent Social Reformer.³⁷

W. S. Blunt, who was against the imperialist designs of the British, submitted proposals in 1884, for a Muslim University to the Nizam, which the Government supported enthusiastically. But the scheme could not be implemented due to differences between the Nizam and his Minister. Blunt's plan was to make Hyderabad a centre of Islamic Culture. Though the scheme failed, the fillip which it gave to educational activities, continued and resulted in the establishment of the Nizam College in 1887.³⁸

The encouragement of non-mulkis in various services stimulated education. The non-mulkis were responsible to bring about educational reforms. Salar Jung I invited some very qualified non-mulkis from Northern India to man the important departments of the state. In the department of education too, well qualified outsiders were preferred who were responsible for a lot of educational activity. But all these led for murmurings among the state people.³⁹ The agitation against the non-mulkis, caused great awakening. The *Hyderabad Record* was great supporter of the Mulkis and appealed to the exclusion of the non-mulkis from all posts.⁴⁰ The *Deccan Times* dated 29-8 1885 quoted that proportion of Hindustanees to Hyderabaddees was 12 to 1, about 92% of the former and 8% of the latter.⁴¹

Mulla Abdul Qayum, working in the education department of Nizam's government, formulated a scheme for compulsory education of the children of landlords, Inamdars and Jagirdars. Due to his efforts Madras-e-sardaran, was inaugurated in Gulbarga in 1888, for the sons of Jagirdars, and Inamdars. His famous book "A Plea for Compulsory Education in Urdu" in 1894 was a land mark in the development of education in Hyderabad. These proposals were rejected by the government on trivial grounds viz., that it will spread discontent among the people, that the scheme was premature, that compulsion interfered with the rights of family, that educated people would provoke insurrections and rebellions against the government, that it would remove the distinction between the nobility and masses, and create unemployment, discontent etc.⁴²

By 1885 Hyderabad was well set on the road to progress, in the field of education. A number of educational institutions sprang up in cities and outside. Darul-ulum High School, the City High School, the Chaderghat High School, the Madras-E-Aliya, etc. along with missionary high schools like All Saints School, Grammar School, Wesley School, St. Anne's Convent etc. Dharmavant high school, the Key's High School for girls and the Mahboob College. Secunderabad and Mufeed-ul-anam high school under the private effort opened in twin cities by the philanthropists, were a few of them. Key's high school and Mahboob College owed their foundation to public spirited men like Somasundaram Mudliar and Ramchandra Pillay.³⁴ professional institutions were also established.

The Malwala Sabha propagated the advantages of education. The Sabha organised a lecture of Mrs. Shevanti Bai Trimbak Canaran, a lady of the Bombay Congress on "Female Education".³⁴

Due to these institutions a number of educated persons were attracted to Hyderabad from various parts of the country and helped in the intellectual awakening;⁴⁵ The educational organisations which started schools, particularly Viveka Vardhini School and Marathi Speaking Primary School in Residency Bazars, Hyderabad in 1901, helped in the great movement

Though Urdu was the state language, the establishment of English and Vernacular schools, provided greater opportunity for the education of all, including villagers. In a state with staggering illiteracy, all these educational efforts, as well as the efforts of men of letters, and the language controversy, all led to a great intellectual awakening in the later half of the 19th century. These early efforts of the 19th Century ultimately led to the establishment of Osmania University in 1918.

5. The Library Movement :

Libraries are the store houses of knowledge. Public opinion can be moulded by supplying books or periodicals to them. The starting of libraries created a great attraction for mother tongues.⁴⁶ It helped the various movements to spread rapidly. The Library movement gradually became a cultural movement, and the renaissance which followed, resulted in the political movement.⁴⁷ Through the efforts of the Mulla Abdul Qayum, the State Central Library was established in 1892. But public opinion in Telangana in particular, and in the state in general was developed by the opening of Sri Krishna Deva Raya Basha Nilayam in 1901, with the efforts of Komarraju Lakshman Rao, Gadicharla Harisarvothama Rao, Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao, N. Venkata Ranga Rao, and Ravichettu Ranga Rao, Adipudi Somanath Rao etc. Sripada Demodara Satwalekar and Kesava Rao Koratakar were responsible in starting a Marathi Library, in Sultan Bazar, Hyderabad, in 1901. The starting of Vignana Chandrika Mandali in 1906, Sri Raja Rajanarendra Bhasha Nilayam in 1904 at Hanamkonda, the Andhra Samvardhini Library at Secunderabad in 1905 helped, in the intellectual awakening.⁴⁸ The Albert Reading Room, Secunderabad, was also prominent during the period. The starting of the Library movement helped in the cultural and political revival in the state. Thus we find that the seeds for the cultural revival in the state were sown as early as 1901, but due to the peculiar suffocating conditions prevailing in the state, one of them being the educational backwardness of the people in general, and of the Telangana people in particular, it took a long time, for the seeds to sprout. However, as Dr. Sarojini Regani rightly said. "We find that Hyderabad was also getting affected by the breeze of national renaiss-

sance pervading in British India and this resulted in the spurt of social and cultural activities,"⁴⁹ and the awakening of Hyderabad state.

6. Communications and the Economic Policy :

In the princely state of Nizam, the feudal system was predominant. In Marathwada and Karnatak area, there was comparatively less monopoly of land by the big landlords, whereas in Telangana either a monopoly of land by the big landlords or excessive fragmentation, and scattering of the land holdings were the characteristics.⁵⁰ Economic exploitation, Vettichakiri, Ill-treatment of agriculturists by Zamindars were very common. The squeezing of money by Arabs, Rohillas and Marwadi merchants affected the state economy. Frequent famines, added to the troubles.⁵¹ The debt of the government increased. Government borrowed from the Hindu-Muslim aristocracy and Arab and Marwadi merchants⁵². All this led to economic discontent and protests from the public in the last decades of 19th century.

Communications in the state were steadily improving. Hyderabad-Sholapur Road was completed by 1860. The Bombay-Madras Railway line had touched parts of the state at Gulbarga and Wadi by 1868. By 1878 the city of Hyderabad was connected by a broad gauge Mail line running from Hyderabad to Wadi with the Bombay-Madras Railway.⁵³ Under the economic strains "the Chanda Railway Scheme⁵⁴ attracted public attention and this also led to an agitation in the state in May 1883. Agoranatha, Qayum, Hoshang etc. led the agitation. The line was completed inspite of the public agitation in 1886, and it was called the 'Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway'. In the development of public awakening in Hyderabad the agitation against Chanda Railway scheme in 1883, can be taken to be the starting point. From this date onwards we notice a steady growth of public consciousness among all the communities of the state⁵⁵, on various state policies. Thus the discontent due to economic policies, the Zamindari System and the communications policy, all caused awakening among the Hyderabad people. Improved communications, made the country closer and helped in furthering the growth of public opinion.

7. The Indian National Congress :

The genesis of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was a great event in the modern history of India. The congress had influence in Hyderabad State also. It had great supporters in Agornath Chato-padyaya, Mulla Abdul Qayum, Ramachandra Pillay, Mohib Hussain, Syed Akhil etc. while the Hyderabad administration under Mehdi Ali Mohasin-ul-Mulk, Imad-ul-Mulk Bilgrami, Vaqar-ul-Mulk, and Mehdi Hasan Fateh Nawaz Jung, under the influence of the socio-political thought of Sir Syed Ahmed, were highly critical of Indian National Congress. The public opinion was more sympathetic to the former group and along with this grew new political awakening. Urdu papers were also very critical of British Policy and they welcomed this new development. Mulla Abdul Qayum wrote articles in support of Congress to "*Safir-e-Deccan*", and distributed a pamphlet entitled "A Spirited Defence of the Congress", written by Ayodhyanath Kunzru, in reply to Sir Syed Ahmed, Nawab Intesar Jung Bahadur, political and financial secretary, to H. H. Nizam on the advice of the minister took objection to it and wrote a letter to Qayum asking him to desist from supporting that "Patriotic Association"⁵⁶. The Congress attracted a large section of the educated classes in the state.

People took interest to bring the Congress activities to light, in Hyderabad. In October 1888, a small committee of influential persons circulated the handbills and placards for holding a meeting to popularise the organisation. It found publicity in the local press. When the Hyderabad people failed to get permission from the Resident to hold a meeting at Chaderghat, on 21st Oct. 1888, it was held in Secunderabad. About 2,000 people attended it and this gave it a representative character. Ram Chandra Pillai, Edulji Soorabji and many others attended and addressed the meeting and spoke in favour of extending support to the national movement. *The Hyderabad Record* covered the meeting. This was considered as a memorable day in the history of Secunderabad. After a few months Mr. Fardely Norton delivered a lecture on "The National Congress" in Mohboob College hall, which was presided over by Gulam Dastagiri Khan.⁵⁷

Mulla Abdul Qayum became a great champion of the Congress. He attended many congress meetings and appealed to Muslims to actively participate in it. Various papers published from the state also supported the congress.

The missionaries like Rev. Gilder of the Chaderghat Methodist Episcopal Church supported the congress, at the end of 1889.⁵⁸ Thus Congress gained roots in Hyderabad and served as a factor in awakening the people and in making them understand the national problems.

8. Conclusion :

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the growth of journalism and the strong reaction against the British policies in India and the Middle East. The growth of communications, and education, helped in the growth of public opinion in the State. The reforms of Sir Salar Jung I and the induction of fresh talent of non-mulkies into the state in various capacities, led to mulki and non-mulki friction. The general awakening in the state was caused in no small measure by the people who had been drawn to Hyderabad from outside"⁵⁹. The establishment of Arya Samaj, the Ganesh Utsav and the spread of Swadeshi Movement, followed by the establishment of private educational institutions, resulted in increased political consciousness in the state.

The contribution of Dr. Agornath Chatopadhyaya, Mulla Abdul Qayum, Ramachandra Pillai, Barister Rudra, Keshav Rao Koratkar, Waman Naik, Mohib Hussain, etc. to socio-religious reforms, the spread of education, political and journalistic activity, and their efforts to mould the public opinion, for social awakening in the state was substantial.

The influence of great national leaders like Tilak, Gokhale, Ranade, Malabari, Nauroji, Bhandarkar, Savarkar and the associations like Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, was more in the Maratwada areas of the Nizam state. Hence social awakening in the Marthwada area of the state was greater than in the Telangana part of the state.

By the close of the 19th century or by the beginning of 20th century, the movements in British India in particular, and the activities of national leaders in general influenced the thinking of the people of Hyderabad. This led to the library movement. The echo of Vandemataram and Swadeshi Movements, political and educational reforms, congress activities etc., in British India were received well by the people in the State by the beginning of 20th century

In spite of the great work in various spheres, by persons and organisations in the state, the public awakening was in the formative stages, when compared to British India. Obviously the policies of the Nizam's Government, educational backwardness, socio-economic set up, all contributed to this slow transformation and consequent slow pace in social awakening in the state even by the close of the 19th century. This apart, certain of the movements organised in various parts of the state were suppressed by the autocratic government. This was another contributory factor for such a slow process of social transformation in the state.

To conclude, the autocratic government of the Nizam, the influence of British Resident on its policies, the language between the ruler and the ruled, the feudal basis of society, lack of even elementary educational facilities, absence of sustainable inner vitality in society, bulk of ignorant and helpless people, the alien character of government made the social transformation very difficult. The progressive elimination of Hindus from government service, non-mulki domination, suspicious attitude of government towards even the constructive social efforts lead to an unbalanced political life, glaring inequalities in civil rights between the Hindus and Muslims and their economic backwardness.⁶⁹ This was glaring contrast to the conditions in British India where the socio-religious reforms, the growth of the press, spread of education, the great revolt of 1857 and consequent transfer of power from the company to the crown, the formation of Indian National Congress, all helped in rapid public awareness.

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11. There were 22 Papers before the end of 19th century.

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16. *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad* Vol. III 1885-1920, *op. cit.* p. 40
17. *Ibid*. pp. 40-41.
18. *Ibid*, pp. 41-42.
19. *Ibid*. p. 51,
20. Sajanlal K. "The Mulkis and Non-Mulkis Question under Salar Jung Regime His Arzdashts and Ahkams of Asaf Jah VI", *Itihas*, Journal of Andhra Pradesh Archives, Vol. II No. 1, January-June 1974. pp. 129-132.
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23. Pratap Reddy Suravaram, *op. cit.* p. 443
24. *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*, Vol. III, p. 62
25. *Ibid*, pp. 68-73
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27. *Ibid*, p. 17
28. *Ibid*, pp. 54-61
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33. Ramanuja Rao. D., *op. cit.*, p. 44
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IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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42. *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*, Vol. III, pp. 62-65.
43. *Ibid* : Vol. II. p 311.
44. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 22.
45. See for more details, *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*, Vol. III, p. 311
46. Hanumantha Rao Madapathi, *op. cit.* Part I, p. 16.
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50. Kesava Iyenger, "Economic Investigation in the Hyderabad State" Vol. I, 116, Quoted in Sarojini Regani, *op. cit.* p. 179.
51. "The Hyderabad Problem-The Next Step", *op. cit.* p. 29
52. Pratap Reddy Suravaram, *op. cit.* , pp. 440-443.
53. *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad*, Vol. II, *Op. cit.* p. 254.
54. Under Chanda Railway Scheme, the Railway running from Hyderabad to wadi to be extended on one side to Bhadrachalam or Besawada and on the other to Chanda, under a British Co., on the capital raised by the Government in 1883. It was to give guarantee certain interest, and Railway was to be named as the Nizam's guaranteed State Railway, : In the absence of the details

it was widely believed that it will result in financial loss. The leaders of the agitation, Agornath Chatopadyaya, Mulla Abdul Qayum, Avasaji Hoshang were deported and the railway was completed by 1886.

55. *The Freedom struggle in Hyderabad*. Vol. II, *op. cit.* pp. 285-294.
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Andhralo Swatantrya Samaram (Freedom Struggle in Andhra)
by Acharya Mamidipudi Venkata Rangaiah and Sri N. Innaiah,
Published by Department of Cultural Affairs, Government of Andhra
Pradesh, Hyderabad. pp. 163—Price Rs 2/-.

The heart of the Telugu man throbs and reacts to any impulsive happening, any movement around. It openly accepts good coming from any corner. It is not surprising that the Telugu man sacrificed himself at the alter of freedom struggle in India which shook the entire nation and had its impact even outside India. It is but natural for a Telugu man to react.

The freedom struggle in India started in the later half of the eighteenth century itself with the revolt of the local rulers and Zamindars against the British sovereigns. But this movement was led by a handful of powerful rulers in order to protect their own interests and failed to inspire the people at large. It was far from being a people's movement. The movement assumed great dimension in the year 1885 A.D. with an active participation by people belonging to all classes, and continued for a period of six decades in order to achieve its goal of getting Swaraj. This, movement underwent many changes in different stages.

This struggle was called Congress Movement during the years 1885-1905 A.D. The elite who learnt English alone participated in it. It was aimed at getting some concessions from British Government only at this stage. These elite held meetings, seminars and sessions and submitted different memoranda to the appeal however was rejected. But this resulted in the political awakening in the country.

The movement led between 1905-1911, is called Vandemataram Movement. British Government divided Bengal much against the public opinion at that time. A movement was led by people against this suicidal division. Even the so called middle class joined its hands with the elite at this time. Boycotting the foreign goods, increased

use of Swadeshi goods and opening of National schools comprise the main part of this movement. The government had to yield to the public pressure and unite Bengal in the year 1911. Thus this movement which started with a definite purpose ended.

The struggle extending between the years 1911-1917 can be named as Andhra Movement.

In the years 1916-17 a big movement was led by Loka Manya Bala Gaekhadra Tilak in Maharashtra. During the same period "Home Rule" movement was started by Mrs. Annie Besant the President of Theosophical Society, in Madras. "Home Rule" movement was aimed at gaining independence for the country in the internal affairs. As a result of this movement, the government brought some reforms in administration in 1919 A.D. These reforms were used as a stepping stone for the achievement of total independence.

A new era started in this struggle with the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the field in 1919 A.D. Gandhiji aimed at complete independence and sought the public co-operation in all the indigenous fields of activity like The Khadi Movement and Satyagraha strengthened by non-violence. People co-operated with him whole-heartedly and continued the struggle for twenty five years from 1919-1944 A. D. This quarter-century fight can be divided into three stages :-

First Stage :- The Non-Co-operation Movement of 1921-22;

Second Stage :- The Salt Satyagraha of 1930-34 ;

Third Stage :- The Quit India Movement of 1942-44.

I feel that this struggle is in no way inferior to the French, Russian and American Revolutions. In a way it is far greater than them because it helped Indians to get liberation from the hands of the most powerful empire where the Sun never set.

The Britishers learnt a bitter lesson and realised an unpalatable truth that it is impossible to rule India against the will of its people.

They had to yield and declare India Independent on 15th August, 1947. With this they retreated back to the pavillion.

In this Independence struggle the Andhras played an important and distinct role which matched with others role in the country sometimes, and excelled them at other times. They have exhibited great valour and courage, lost wealth and lives. Many women created history by proving their mettle as the mothers and wives of valiant fighters. Andhra Kesari Tanguturi Prakasham, Desabhakta Konda Venkatappaiah, Viswadata Kasinathuni Nageshwar Rao, Doctor Bhogaraju Pattabhi Seetharamaiah, Maharshi Bulusu Samba Murthy and Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh are the front ranking fighters of this age.

This book describes from a historical point of view the part played by Andhras in this great struggle.

The authors were in their introductory remarks that it was not possible for them to go into more details within the short span of time fixed by the Government for the completion of this book.

The book records, the beginning of British rule in Andhra from 1744 A.D. and the successive revolts against them right from the beginning amongst which the Freedom Struggle of 1857-58 was prominent in the early stages. Later during the Company Rule, Andhra was jointly ruled by the Britishers as well as the local rulers.

The important chapters in this book are-The Congress Movement, The Vandemataram Movement, The Andhra Movement, Home-Rule League, emergence of Gandhiji in the horizon and with him, the Non-cooperation movement on one hand and many constructive activities on the other, entry into the legislature council, the revolt of Alluri Seetha Rama Raju, un-rest in the political front for sometime followed by boycotting Simon-Commission, Salt Satyagraha through its first stage and second stage, the problems in the political front during 1934-37, which resulted in giving power to Congress during 1937-39, the leftist parties in Andhra, the Quit India movement, the success of the people and finally the achievement of Independence. The book is divided in to twenty two chapters including the introductory chapter.

The Telugus participated in all the above movements with great fervour and enthusiasm. The Vandemataram movement resulted in instituting the National colleges like that at Machilipatnam and Ashrams at Sitanagaram and Pallepadu. Andhras have been fortunate in having amidst them brilliant leaders like Duggirala Gopalakrishnaiah who created history in Chirala and Perala with public cooperation and surprised the Government by the No-Tax Campaign. The revolt against forest-law in Palnadu and the No-tax campaign led by the people at Pedanandipadu became famous throughout the country. The Andhras have exhibited singular courage and valour and proved that they can go to any extent in self-sacrifice in the historic Salt Satyagraha movement. When Simon Commission visited Madras a procession was led by Sri T. Prakasham against the Commission. When the police prevented him from marching forward, this great hero opened front buttons of his shirt and challenged the military to fire at his bare chest. Absolute faith in the work done by him and great courage only helped him through this crisis. Alluri Seetha Rama Raju attacked the Britishers from the Agency area in Visakhapatnam District in 1922-24. This revolution was a treacherous blow on the government. Maharshi Sambamurthy with an iron-will did not loosen his fist containing salt even after receiving several blows from the police in the Salt Satyagraha movement. The service done by Smt. Grummadidala Durga Bai at several levels and her chivalrous call to the nation rings in our hearts even now. All these great persons have found a permanent place in the history of the freedom movement in India.

Within a limited scope and time the authors have collected valuable details pertaining to this historic struggle. Their appropriate comments on different movements has helped to enrich the subject. The Telugu people must be grateful for their service.

It is but natural that some incidents and details escaped the notice of the authors mainly due to lack of time. In the chapter dealt on the revolt against the Britishers, the authors have prevailed on the revolt of many Poligars and Samsthanas. It would have been apt if they had included the incident which took place in Ananthapur District in a Samsthan called Tadimarri. The ruler of Tadimarri chased away the Britishers and ruled for one whole week and thus

created History. The vindictive Government destroyed the whole dynasty later. This revolt was encouraged by my great grand father Tirumala Tadimarri Ramacharyulu, a native of that Samsthan and Spiritual teacher of those rulers. I used to hear this story in my childhood with raft attention when it was being narrated by my grand father Sri Narasimhacharya. The Tadimarri fort stands still at least in ruins. The great Sipoy Mutiny might have indirectly influenced this revolt.

There is yet another instance which is glorified by the Telugu poets like late Allasani Ramanatha Sharma and Vidwan Viswam. It should have found its due place in this book. The hero of this incident is a humble husbandman called Hampayya who lived in a village in Ananthapur District near Gooty. Four British soldiers tried to molest a village belly who was saved by Hampayya sacrificing his own life. Kesava Pillai the great Congress leader brought this incident to the notice of the Government and public and got a stone slab engraved at that place. There might have been many more Hampayyas who were left unsung.

Madduri Annapurnayya was a class-mate and close associate of Alluri Seetha Rama Raju. I was with him in Tiruchirapalli Jail in 1932. He used to recall some glorious pages from the early life of Sita Rama Raju. While at school also the great patriot resisted the British domination. On the birth days of the British kings the Union-Jacks (The British flags) were also distributed along with sweets to the students, and they were expected to put them in their button-holes. Seetha Rama Raju, as a young boy also hated this domination and used to pin the flag exactly on the left side of his chest and comment that this flag is pricking his heart, he wanted to uproot it, and that he hated it whole heartedly. The manouvring ability and dynamism in Seetha Rama Raju could be traced back to this tender age.

Another big hero is Palanati Elamanda who was involved in "Rampapituri" case. The poet Adavi Bapiraju has written a wonderful lyric on him which runs as 'O Palanati Elemanda Kalavaristava Jailu Kottallo' This lyric became famous due to the nobility in the subject, its artistic elegance and dignity in style. Bapi

Raju had composed this lyric probably in Cannanoor Jail. Elamandas, sketch should have found its place in this book.

In the second stage of Salt Satyagraha, the authors have dealt with the details of the movement district-wise. They should have recorded the Chittoor-Tirupati Movement also in which one Mr. Srinivasa Rao had twice broke the law and was arrested in the year 1932. I was a student of the Venkateswara Sanskrit College, and had created furore in the whole district by courting arrest. My contemporary leaders were all praise for me because I was persuing an orthodox pattern of education in the Sanskrit College while being fully conscious of the modern movements and could rise to the occassion. It was a thing for the Sanskrit students.

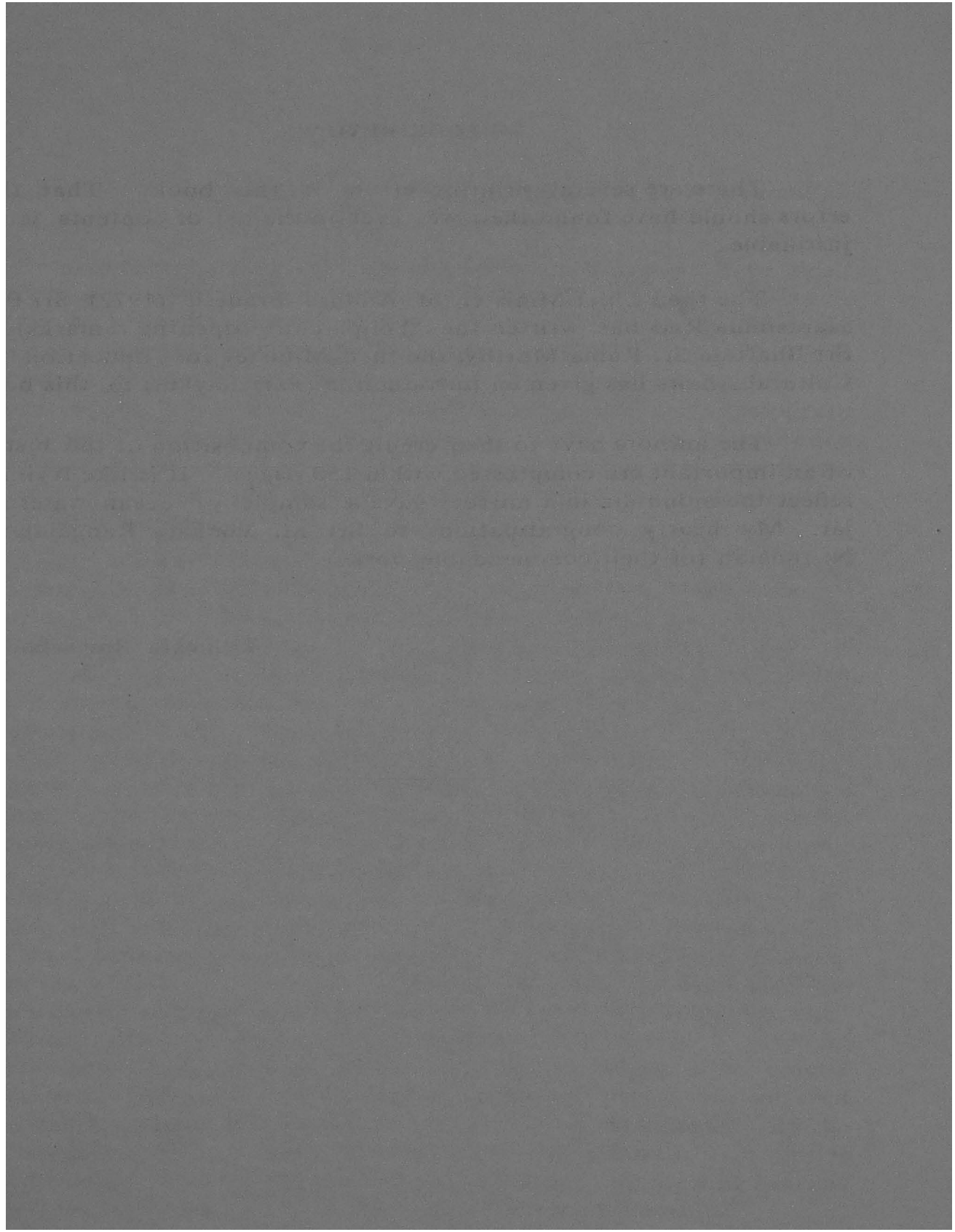
In a chapter on "the political life during 1934-37", the terrorist movement has been described. In that chapter the authors should have included "The Madras conspiracy case", which is a more serious one than the Kakinada case. The accused in this Madras case hailed from Andhra, Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Kerala States. But Telugu people were more in number. I was also one of the accused. The Telugu country has its vital contribution in this case. The seeds for this case were sown in our deliberations during our stay in Tiruchirapalli and Cannanoor Jails. Most of the accused in this case were young people. The Marxist leader Jivanlal Chatterji, Pratul Chandra Ganguli, Surendra Mohan Gosh, Batkeswara Dutt and Kundanlal who were the Detenues at Tiruchirapalli jail at that time were behind this band of youths Mr. Ganguli joined the army and made the army revolt against their sovereign. Mr. Ghosh was the personal secretary to Aravinda Yogi, Kundanlal and Batkeswar Dutt were the accused in Bhagat-singh's case. Under such stalwarts this case was bred. 'The Madras Conspiracy Case' is recorded in his "History of the Freedom Movement" by Surendra Mohan Ghosh. Mr. Tanguturi Prakasham who gave up practising law a decade ago, entered the court once again to defend this case in the special court and high court and saved the accused from death sentence and transportation of life to Andamans. By the able arguements of this great man we were all relieved with minor punishments. Sri Bachchu Jagannatha Das, and the present Marxist leader, Sri P. Rama Murthy assisted Sri Prakasham Pantulu.

There are several printing-errors in this book. That these errors should have found their way even in the list of contents is not justifiable.

The then Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh (1972) Sri P. V. Narasimha Rao has written the 'Tolipaluku' (opening remarks) and Sri Bhattam Sri Rama Murthy, the then Minister for Education and Cultural Affairs has given an introduction (Parichayam) to this book.

The authors have to their credit the composition of the history of an important era compressed within 150 pages. It is like trying to reflect the mountain in a mirror, gave a sample of ocean-water in a jar. My hearty congratulations to Sri M. Venkata Rangaiah and N. Innaiah for their commendable work.

Tirumala Ramachandra



Finance and Fiscal Policy of Hyderabad State (1900-1956) by Dr. B. K. Narayan, (Regular Monograph Series of Andhra Pradesh State Archives No. 2 Published by Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad 1973, Price Rs. 5-35.

The monograph has preserved for posterity an authentic history of currency and finance of the erstwhile Hyderabad State for the period 1900-1956. Economic history if it is not interpreted and made the basis of theorising and testing of Hypothesis generally makes extremely dull reading. Dr. Narayan has painstakingly collected a large body of facts and gives a fairly interesting account. However, the logic of starting the study from 1900 is not very obvious. In 1878 Sir Salar Jung I introduced the budget system in the state. Perhaps this should have been the starting point of the study. The first chapter "A General Background" gives a cursory political history of the region from the period of Andhra Satavahanas and in four pages traces it to the recent times—upto the police Action in 1948. In fact this monograph is basically concerned with the history of currency and finance of the Nizam's State. There is hardly any point in going back to the ancient period and make the political history of Asif Jahi's so sketchy that it fails to provide a proper background for the study of the history of currency and finance of the state. Due to this the learned author was forced to make statements like "owing to historical reasons the Hyderabad State exercised several functions and collected certain revenues which were central in nature". A brief survey of the political history of the Asif Jahi's would have been sufficient to explain the exercise of certain powers of taxation and performance of functions by the Nizams that were denied to other princely states in India. One such prerogative that Hyderabad State enjoyed was the right of coinage. The coinage system was modernised in 1857. Sir Salar Jung I abolished the system of private mints and state monopoly to mint coins was established. The rupee coin of the state was called Osmania Scica which weighed less than the British Indian Rupee. The amount of rupee coins issued by Hyderabad Government increased gradually. Paper currency was introduced in

the state by an act in 1917-1918. Hundred rupee notes were introduced on an experimental basis. Total value of notes issued was 10.75 lakhs in 1917-18 and increased to Rs. 51.72 crores in 1947-48. The author ascribes this increase in the currency to the increase in demand for it due to the increase in "Trade and Commerce" and "Considerable industrial Development". The rate of exchange between Osmania currency and the British Indian currency was fixed according to the rules of Hyderabad currency Act. IV 1911-12. The rate normally fluctuated within narrow limits. However, from 1909-10 violent fluctuations occurred and continued throughout the 2nd decade of the 20th century. In 1923 Sir Akbar Hydri the then finance minister strengthened the Kaldar Reserve fund to contain the fluctuation in the rate of exchange. The account of how the rate of exchange between the Osmania and the British currency was maintained is quite interesting.

Chapter-III of the monograph gives a brief review of the budgets of Hyderabad state. As already mentioned in 1878 Sir Salarjung I introduced the budget system in the state. This was the beginning of the process of modernization of the financial system. The achievement of Salarjung I in this field can be judged by the fact that the state revenue which was hardly Rs. 8 lakhs when he took the reigns of office went upto Rs. 3.11 crores during the first six months of his stewardship of the state administration. In the last decades of the 19th century the state budgets were in deficit and the severe famine in 1889 was responsible for further deterioration in the budgetary position. In 1889 the Government of India gave a loan of Rs. 2 crores to the state Government to meet the budget deficits. Sri G. C. Walker was appointed as finance secretary at the beginning of the 20th century, his achievement was that by 1902 the loans were repaid to the Government of India. However, it is not clear from the monograph how this was achieved. The financial position of the state started improving from the first decade of 20th century. The decade of 1911-1921 saw an increase in public expenditure on construction of roads, irrigation works and buildings. This was an era in which Hyderabad states started changing its entirely feudal character, and new departments such as agriculture, industries, commerce, co-

operation, archaeology, electricity, city improvement board, were established. Osmania University was started. In addition the old departments were re-organised.

Chapter-IV examines the emergence of the new budgetary system. Sir Glancy who was the finance member from 1911-1921 was followed by an equally eminent person in Sir Akbar Hydri, who piloted the state finances till 1941. During this period the Hyderabad state acquired financial stability adopted an enlightened agricultural and industrial policy. Sir Akbar initiated financial reforms in 1922, with a revised classification of receipts and expenditures and departmentalisation of finances. A separate industrial reserve was created to provide financial aid to industrial concerns and interest earned here was to be utilised in giving financial help to "small and cottage industries". It goes to Sir Akbar's credit that he introduced a novel technique in budgeting called the triennial contract. The finance department was entrusted with the job of estimating the normal revenues and expenditure for a three year period. Each department's budget was based on a contract for a 3 year period. This enabled the departments to plan their expenditure with a greater degree of confidence as they knew their allocations for a period of three years. Further the departments were in no hurry to exhaust their grants every financial year, as their unspent surplus could be diverted to their own-recurring expenditures at the end of the period. "An element of planning formulation and programming of expenditure was introduced into the budget of the state. The triennial contract in a way resembled the present day planning in India. It is interesting to note that the soviet plans came much later, and in the initial stages they were annual plans" "The planning or contract was unknown to the Democratic West, at any rate in the form in which it was introduced in Hyderabad." This scheme of departmentalisation was in operation from 1922-23 to 1943-44. A further achievement of the forties of the present century for the state was the establishment of the Hyderabad State Bank in April 1942 which performed some central banking functions. "But it was not the intention of the Government of Hyderabad to create a full-pledged central Bank in the state".

War and after (chapter V) 1921 to 42 were eventful years in the history of the world, as well as that of the Hyderabad State. In April 1930 Railways which were owned and managed by a private company were purchased by the Government of Hyderabad. The impact of the 2nd world war was felt on the economy of Hyderabad from 1941. The state had to adopt anti-inflationary measures during the war period. Hyderabad also participated in the war efforts of the Government of India. "The Hyderabad State provided not less than Rs. 9 crores in the form of direct and indirect payments for the war". "The financial help rendered by means of Investments in Government of India loans which stood at Rs. 50 crores in 1945 was in no way negligible". The author has not explained how funds for this purpose were raised, and what was the impact of it on the financial stability of the state in particular and its economy in general.

The expenditure pattern of the state was typical which defence, police and general administration enjoying a loans share. However, it was gradually changing its hue and the shares of education, medical and health services, agriculture co-operation veterinary services, industries and commerce were increasing.

Hyderabad had few large scale industries. As early as 1912-13 industries department was started with an expenditure of rupees eight thousand which increased to Rs. 4.88 lakhs by 1945-46. The policy of the state was not in favour of "non-mulkies" establishing industries in the state. In this background for industrial development of the state Sir Akbar Hydri constituted the Industrial Trust Fund in the year 1928-29 with an initial capital of Rs. 55.12 lakhs. The state Government help took various forms like purchasing of majority share, minority shares and grant of loans to industrial concern.

The capital outlay for the period 1922-23 to 1942-43 was Rs. 83.47 and all of it was out of revenue surpluses, and major heads of expenditures were irrigation, construction of buildings and roads. This outlay is commendable.

In the analysis of the expenditure the learned author has confined his attention so exclusively to Hyderabad state that one does

not get any idea whether the Hyderabad State was less or more progressive than the British Indian provinces or other princely states of its times. The impression that one gets by this account is that the state was not entirely medieval in its approach and was in fact quite progressive judged by the standard of the times.

The analysis of the sources of revenue of the state is interesting. It had a mixture of the provincial and central sources of revenue in it. This was due to the unique position the Nizam's state had amongst the princely states of India. Land revenue and state excise had a very important place in the sources of revenue. Railway was another important source of income. Income - tax and sales-tax were introduced only in 1947, customs was a special privilege of the Nizams. Central excise tax and postal receipts were not important sources of revenue for the state. Table 27 is useful as it shows at a glance the relative importance and behaviour of various heads of revenue of Hyderabad State.

The state had a sizable public debt in the 19th century. After Salarjung I took over order was brought to the state finances and the burden of public debt was reduced. During the II war public debt was used for containing inflation on the one hand and providing funds at low interest rates for development.

An interesting feature of fiscal management of the state was that a number of funds were created from time to time to give stability to state finances. Sir Akbar Hydari's contribution in this field was noteworthy. He constituted the following reserves. 1. Railway Reserve (1922-23), 2. Industrial Trust Fund (1928-29), 3. General Reserve (1922-23), 4. O. S. Stabilization Reserve (1922-23), 5. Paper currency Reserve (1917-18).

The author draws interesting inferences in the last chapter of the monograph and provides us with rare insights. The amount of interest Hyderabad Government took in the industrial development of the state was definitely against the orthodoxy of the times. However the explanation for this is simple. The states policy was to discourage outsiders to start Industries in the state and local initiative was lacking,

so the state was forced to take interest in this field. The state took interest in such industrial concerns as the Nizam Sugar Factory, Sirsilk paper Mills, Praga Tools and Allwyn Metal Works.

The Hyderabad State seems to have adopted consciously a policy of surplus budgets and an attempt was made to keep the expenditure under strict control. This checked the growth of unproductive expenditure eliminating the need for additional taxation which necessarily would have been regressive due to the structure of taxation of the state.

Dr. Narayan has carried the study to 1956, till the reorganisation of the states. The story really ends in 1948 with the Police Action. There were fundamental administrative, political and constitutional changes after Police Action and the account of the finances of the state from 1948-1956 could have been dealt with in a separate chapter. Clubbing it with the earlier period is not justified.

This monograph preserves for posterity the record of the attempts and achievements of the administration of the Nizam's State in the field of Public finance.

The monograph is of special interest to the old generation of Hyderabadees for whom this will evoke old memories and bring to mind names that are fading fast with the relentless march of time.

Dr. Narayan's treatment is sympathetic, scholarly and unbiased.

M. Naimuddin

The Gandhāra Sculptures : A Cultural Survey by K. Krishna Murthy. Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1977. pp. 146, pls. 26. Price Rs. 100.00.

The concept of history has undergone a revolutionary change during the last few decades and there is a noticeable shift of emphasis in favour of socio-economic history. And it is only by piecing together all the different available evidences, literary and archaeological, that a comprehensive picture of the socio-economic life in the past can be drawn. A welcome outcome of this awareness is to be seen in the publication, in recent years, of valuable cultural studies of the writings of such celebrated writers as Pāṇini, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira, Bāṇabhatta, Harishēṇa, Dāmodaragupta, Śrīharsha, Somadevasūri, etc., as well as of the Kalpasūtra, Jātaka, Purāna and Avadāna literature, and it is generally admitted, and rightly so, that these works have shed welcome light on the cultural history of ancient India. However, similar studies of plastic art, though initiated and ably nurtured by well-known art-critics like B. M. Barua, V. S. Agrawala and C. Sivaramamurti, did not evoke an equally active interest till recently. It is therefore heartening to find some serious students of early Indian art devoting themselves to a study of plastic art including sculpture and painting from a cultural standpoint. Artistic remains at Sanchi, Bharhut, Mathura, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Ajanta have received such a treatment, and it may be reasonably hoped that more such studies will be undertaken in near future. From this point of view the Gandhāra region (now in Pakistan) possesses a unique importance. This area fell prey to the expansionist designs of foreign invaders early, and from the sixth century B. C. it was ruled in succession by the Achemenids of Iron, the Indo-Greeks, the Indo-Scythians, the Indo-Parthians and the Kushānas and became consequently a meeting point of the Indian culture and those represented by these foreign aggressors. As a result of this exposure to alien impact, particularly Greek, popular life in the north-western region of Bhāratavarsha underwent great modification. And this modified

way of life in all its aspects is graphically reflected in the Gandhara sculpture which also is more Greaco-Roman than Indian in form though the spirit underlying it is admittedly Indian. In fact, it is only through the Gandhāra sculpture that the picture of the life of the people in that region during a few centuries before and after Christ can be reconstructed. But curiously enough no such study was attempted so far though its importance was obvious. The work under review fulfils this longfelt desideratum and as such we welcome it warmly.

The present work is divided into twelve chapters of unequal length depending upon the volume of material available on various aspects of life besides an epilogue and a bibliography. The inaugural chapter presents Gandhāra in a historical perspective and justly emphasises, albeit briefly, the importance of the Gandhāra art in the art history of the Indian subcontinent and thereby provides the necessary historical background. It has been rightly pointed out that its form is strongly Hellenistic while the matter is Indian and that the religious manifestations created in Gandhāra deeply influenced the Buddhist art of Central Asia, China, Japan, Indo-China and Indonesia. In the following eleven chapters different aspects of material culture like architecture, both secular and religious, dress, ornaments, coiffure and head-dresses, house hold articles, musical instruments, pastimes, means of transport, weapons, both of defence and offence, royal insignia and flora and fauna as depicted in the Gandhāra sculptures are expatiated in detail.

It is indeed rewarding to go through this penetrating study which not only familiarises the reader with the various facts of contemporary material culture as in vogue in the Gandhāra region and reflected in its artistic creations but also brings home the deep impact that the alien cultures had left on contemporary Indian life and the receptivity of the Indians. It must be said to the credit of the author that he has spared no pains to make the book exhaustive. He has utilised all the important publications on the Gandhāra sculpture and those on the sculptural creations of other parts of the subcontinent with a view to offer a comparative study.

In so far as the sculptural material from Gandhāra is concerned the work is quite exhaustive and dependable. But just as literature unsupplemented and uncorroborated by contemporary archaeological evidence does not suffice for reconstructing a full account of the popular life of a period so also the plastic art alone cannot be depended upon for getting a correct perspective. The Gandhāra sculptures may be said to represent generally the life of the North-Western region of India during the Kushāna period. It would have perhaps been profitable to know what the literary works of the period such as the *Buddhacharita*, the *Saundarananda* and other works of Aśvaghosha, the *Lalita vistara* and the Avadāna literature and similar other texts have to say on the various aspects of life dealt with by the author.

We may now draw attention to certain minor points which the author may take into consideration when he has an opportunity to revise the book for the second edition. Some spelling errors of a serious nature which stand in need of rectification include *antepura* (for *antahpura*), p. 11, line 16; *yagnopavīta* (for *yajnopavīta*), p. 24, line 14 and p. 39, line 21; *benā* (for *bindā* or *bendā*), p. 30, line 31; hallow (for hollow), p. 44, line 22; *prakostā* (for *prakostha*), p. 45, line 1; accanthus (for acanthus), p. 68, line 3; *dundhubhi* (for *dundubhi*), p. 87, line 30; and *Kharoṣṭi* (for *Kharoṣṭhi*), p. 94, line 7. In note 1 at p. 10 we find the abbreviation DHSA which is not included in the list of abbreviations given in the beginning. Some of the plate numbers given in the text do not tally with the plates. Thus IV. 15 at p. 23, line 23, is probably intended for IV. 14, XVII.5, (at p. 73) for XVIII.5 and XXI. 17 for XIX. 17. At p. 94, we have the interesting reference to a school scene in which the sage Viśvāmitra is depicted as writing *Kharoṣṭhī* letters on a board which provides visual support to the otherwise inferred fact that *Kharoṣṭhī* was the dominant script of the Gandhāra region; it would have been worthwhile to illustrate the scene. One full chapter (Ch. XII) is devoted to the royal insignia; but it is left completely unillustrated. In note 1 at p. 113, the title of B.S. Upadhyaya's work is wrongly given as *Kālidāsa in India* (for *India in Kālidāsa*). In note 7 at p. 110, there is mention of my typed thesis; it has been published in 1969, and it would have been desirable to refer to the printed book; there is, of course, no mention of

the typed thesis or printed book in the bibliography, evidently due to oversight. In bibliography, at p. 133 we have against Laver, James only (London, 1948), the title being left out. At p. 136, the initials of Dasgupta are missing and Dikshit is spelt as Dixit.

But these and other points of omission and commission are probably of a minor nature and easily rectifiable and cannot detract from the usefulness of this highly valuable work for which Dr. Murthy deserves warm congratulations. It is a welcome addition to the meagre literature on the cultural aspects of early Indian art and is bound to remain a standard work of reference for many years to come. The plates are excellent, but the price is too high for a commoner's pocket.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

H. K. Sherwani—History of the Qutbshahi Dynasty. PP. XXIV, 739, frontispiece, 16 Plates (8 pp), map, 2 plans, geneological table. Published by : Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi. 1974.

Impressive as are Sherwani's achievements in the field of knowledge, his most important and lasting contribution, in the eyes of his countrymen, is his devoted work in the field of Medieval Deccan History. Even as he was busy with the two volume history of Medieval Deccan (Vol I, 1973, Vol II, 1974) as Editor-in-Chief, he was also completing his history of the Qutbshahi dynasty of Golconda and Hyderabad published in 1974. The book actually became available sometime later, in 1975. I have written at length elsewhere about Sherwani and his work, but when I was doing that paper, his history of the Qutbshahi dynasty was not at hand. I am glad I have now an opportunity of writing about this book, the crowning glory of a dedicated career. But Sherwani is irrepressible. Even after his Golconda history was published he contributed a couple of papers at least, to learned journals, on some facts of the Qutbshahi period. As I write this I have before me a paper of his on "Townplanning and Architecture of Hyderabad under the Qutbshahis" which appeared in *Islamic Culture*, April, 1976. And when I met him in September 1977 he was busy revising his *Bahamani* and when I called on him the other day (12 September, 1978) he had just finished with the final page proofs of this revised edition. All this at the age of 87 +. What a man !

The volume under review is a history of the Qutbshahi dynasty of Golconda and Hyderabad. The Qutbshahi kingdom was one of the five succession states which finally emerged in the Deccan, after the decline of the Bahmanis, towards the close of the fifteenth century. Sultan Quli, the founder of the dynasty, did not assume royal titles even after the death of the last Bahmani ruler, Kalimullah, in 1538, as his neighbour Ibrahim Adilshah I of Bijapur did. It seems Sultan Quli's stance was a symbolic gesture, a nominal tribute to non-existent Bahmani sovereignty by a *tarafdar* who, for all practical purposes, independent.

The dynasty thus founded, towards the closing years of the fifteenth century, ruled in Splendour and in occasional Vicissitudes till 1687 when the kingdom of Golconda was conquered by Aurangzeb and the Qutbshahi dominion became a *subah* of the Mughal Empire.

We have followed Sherwani as he worked on this history of the Qutbshahi dynasty. He adopted the same technique with this history as he did with his *Bahmanis*. Over the years Sherwani published, in learned journals, papers on various facets and aspects of Golconda history. These were followed by two biographies of Qutbshahi sultans. "The Reign of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shah" 1612-1626, the first of these two, was published in 1962 in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*. Curiously enough this item does not feature in the bibliography at the end of the volume under review nor for the matter of that do some of Sherwani's Qutbshahi papers appear there. This is a curious omission. Curiously still *Websters Dictionary* is listed there (P 708). The second biography, *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, the founder of Hyderabad (1580-1611) was placed before scholars, as a monograph, in 1967. Both these biographies, as well as the other papers in depth. Whetted the appetite of students of medieval Deccan who longed to see the opus itself. This Sherwani gives us in, what we may safely describe as his definitive history of the Qutbshahi dynasty, the subject of this review.

The main history has at the end an Appendix of twenty-three pages (68/703) dealing with 'Contemporary Chronicles and other Accounts relating to the Qutb Shahi Dynasty. This is an important and informative section in which Sherwani shares with his readers his technique of garnering his vast source material. This technique is also seen in the somewhat eclectic bibliography of eleven pages (704-714). An unusual entry in the geneological table at the end of the volume should also not go un-noticed. There the famous Chand Bibi, the wife of Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur is shown as a Qutbshahi princess. Here Sherwani, like Homer, nods. This great lady of valour was a Nizamshahi princess, the daughter of Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Her marriage with Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur was a part of the preliminary negotiations and diplomatic arrangements that finally led

to the confederacy of the Deccan sultanates against Vijayanagar. This is a minor blemish and happily it is not reflected in the body of this History.

The work is divided into seven chapters. The dynasty had eight sultans and, with the exception of the two immediate successors of Sultan Quli Jamshid (1543-1550) and Subhan (1550) who share chapter II, the reigns of the rest of the six sultans are dealt with in one chapter each. After reading through this delightful and learned history one is likely to consider each chapter as a monograph in itself. This is no doubt a reasonable view, but all the chapters taken together make an integrated story which we may well describe as a model work of history and definitive which will hold the field it will be no exaggeration if I say for a long long time ; I am almost tempted to say, for all time.

Sultan Quli, the founder of the Qutbshahi Dynasty takes up the first chapter (pp 1-80) entitled "The foundation of the State". In 1956 Sherwani, after completing his great work on the Bahmanis, turned to the Qutbshahi dyanasty and his first essay in the history of this dynasty began with three papers on Sultan Quli published in the Journal of Indian History. These were followed by another paper in the same journal in 1957 and in 1958 he rounded off with "Three Problems concerning Sultan Quli Qutub-ul-Mulk" which appeared in the Sir Jadunath Sarkar Commemoration Volume. It is on this background that Sherwani builds up his account of the founder of the dynasty. The chapter is divided into three sections : Sultan Quli's rise to power and his military compaigns from the first two sections. The concluding portion (pp. 34-39) of Section II makes sad reading when we find that the founder met a grim end; In his old age he was murdered, possibly at the instigation or with the connivance of his son Jamshid who succeeded him. Sherwani discusses the *pros* and *cons* of this cruel happening, but he seems unwilling to pin the crime on Jamshid, though Ferishta and at least two Qutbshahi chronicles hold him guilty of this unfilial cut.

"A period of Uncertainty," which is the title of Chapter II, (pp 81-118) witnessed internecine or party strife in the newly founded

kingdom. But the state triumphed over this evil under Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550-1580) whose glorious reign is described in Chapter III (pp 118-256) very rightly styled "The Kingdom at its height." The reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah sees the beginning of the flowering of Qutbshahi culture. It was this cultural contribution of the Qutbshahi rulers and of the Adilshahi sultans of Bijapur that went to the making of, what we call today, Medieval Deccan Culture. It was under these rulers that a common language of communication and literary expression called Dakhni Hindi or Just Hindi developed and a large volume of literature in this language grew up in the Deccan. Sherwani gives details of this literary efflorescence in each of his chapters III to VII.

Ibrahim Qutb Shah, as a prince, afraid of the machinations of his brother Jamshid, had taken refuge at the court of Vijayanagar where he was befriended by Rama Raya, the regent and virtual ruler of that great empire. The regent was also an intimate friend of Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur, a contemporary of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. This relationship no doubt leavened the minds of Ibrahim and Ali with much liberalism. Yet these two rulers, friends of Rama Raya, turned against the Vijayanagar regent when they discovered that Rama Raya's policy towards the succession states was likely to endanger their very existence. Rama Raya aimed at the hegemony of the Deccan and it was this factor that brought out the alliance of the Deccan sultanates and resulted in the battle of 1565 till now called the battle of Talikota, the battle of Rakshas-Tagdi or the battle of the Krishna. It was Dr. Radhey Shyam who made a topographical study of this event and finally placed before scholars his view that this battle should properly be described as the battle of Banihatti. Sherwani in his papers on Ibrahim Qutb Shah had, no doubt shown the way to this identification.

The political history of the succession states is no doubt mainly the story of the internecine quarrels between these states and with vijayanagara. Each of these states aspired to the supremacy of the Deccan ; this resulted in the almost chronice warfare between them.

Thus history was merely repeating itself. The Yadavas of Devagiri, the kakatiyas of Warangal and the Hoyasalas of Dwarasamudra, who dominated the Deccan Scene in earlier period, were also engaged in wars with each other. But this state of tension, be it noted, did not seriously affect economic or cultural development of Golconda and other succession states. Under the Qutb shahs, as we have seen above, a new culture emerged, industry flourished and agriculture prospered. All these factors have been very adequately dealt with by Sherwani.

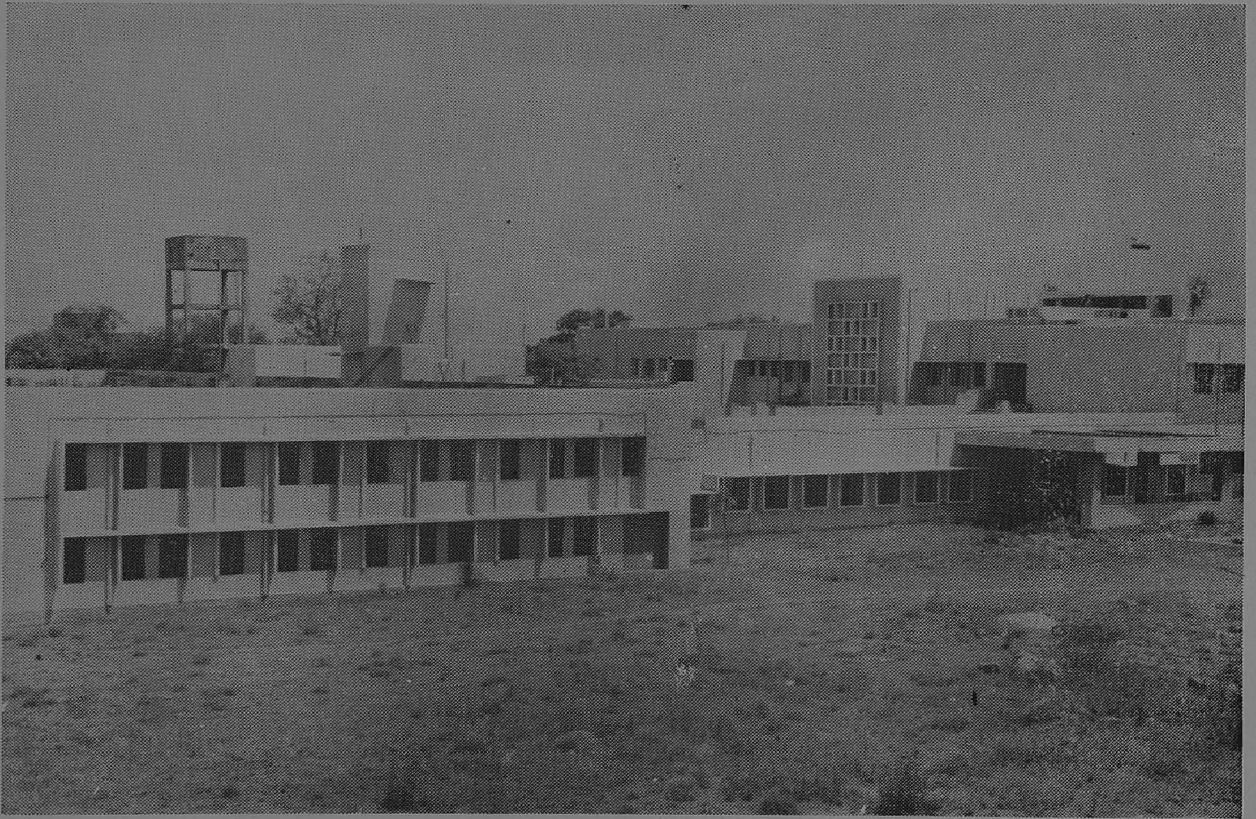
The reign of Ibrahim Qutub Shah saw the stabilization of the Qutbshahi dynasty and the emergence of Qutbshahi identity in the Deccan. In the succeeding chapters, IV to VII, Sherwani draws for us a picture of the kingdom in all its fulness and makes a fine analysis of the beginning of its decline. The Deccan sultanates attracted the imperialistic attention of the Mughal emperor Akbar about 1580; he launched on a diplomatic offensive against these kingdoms and in 1600 his armies occupied Ahmednagar and the northern part of the Nizamshahi kingdom. Sherwani deals with full understanding the Mughal advance into the Deccan which finally resulted in the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda and the annexation of these kingdoms to the Mughal empire. The other power that emerged in the Deccan under Shivaji did also threaten Bijapur; but Shivaji's contact with the Qutbshahi kingdom was more friendly and we wish Sherwani had dealt with this in some more details.

In these chapters, IV-VII, we also see the portuguese, the Dutch and the English establishing and expanding their commercial interests and obtaining from the Qutbshahi rulers concessions for setting up factories and also for minting their own *pagoda* currency. In doing this the author also discusses the trade and industry of the kingdom. A look at the topics dealt with in these chapters shows how well and ably sherwani interprets his conception or theory of history. He believes that the history of a kingdom or a dynasty is the totality of its activities, not merely a chronicle of its political doings. Thus we get to know in full measure about the art, architecture and the magnificent buildings that have their own Qutbshahi style embodying a synthesis of Indo-Persian concepts. We are given

a full account life and economic activities of the kingdom. But in dealing with the diamond mines of the kingdom an important paper on this topic seems to have escaped his usual scholarly vigilance. This paper published in about 1570 in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society was the result of an actual survey of the diamond mines in the kingdom of Bijapur and Golconda by a merchant who dealt in precious stones. This account tells us that Golconda had more diamond mines than Bijapur and that they produced better Stones.

A fine description of Qutbshahi administration is given to us, along with a good account of diplomatic practices and Golconda-Iran relations. Indeed a full and well-integrated History. An important part of this good and great work is the detailed and exhaustive notes given at the end of each chapter. These notes suggest many topics for further research and the reviewer has no doubt that young scholars of Hyderabad and elsewhere will devote their attention to these and work upon them and so continue the glorious Sherwani tradition. In this noble work and in his other significant historical writings Sherwani has fulfilled himself.

P. M. Joshi



A Panoramic view of the Andhra Pradesh Archives Buildings
Tarnaka, Hyderabad (India).

NEWS AND NOTES
of
The Andhra Pradesh
State Archives

NEWS AND NOTES

of

The Andrew P. French

State Archives

A Note on the list of Microfilms preserved in the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad.

The Andhra Pradesh State Archives is a repository of not only public records but also of valuable private collections acquired from different institutions and individuals.

The programme of acquiring private records has been taken up in Andhra Pradesh Archives under the scheme of the National Register of Records sponsored by the Government of India. The important collections of historical as well as literary value which cannot normally be handled frequently due to their brittle condition, have been micro-filmed for the use of research scholars.

List of micro-film copies available in Andhra Pradesh Archives is given at the end. A few particulars on some of the important collections in the Andhra Pradesh is given below.

1. Mackenzie, Brown and Taylors collections.

As is well known these collections are of historical as well as of literary value. They deal with the local conditions of the villages of the Circars and Ceded Districts. The subject of the collection can be classified as Kaifiyats, Inscriptions, general note on holy places, geneological account of certain rulers, etc. These collections are of immense value to historians, researchers and scholars.

Some of the microfilmed collections like Visakhapatnam District Manual, Krishna District Manual, Bellary District Records, the civic survey report of Machilipatnam, etc., contain voluminous information on the past history of the concerned districts.

2. The Vizianagaram Treaty consists of a sketch of some of note worthy facts connected with the Vizianagaram ruling family. It comprises of printed material in the English language.

The collections like Sir Thomas Munro's Diary, Hand book to the Revenue Records of the Ceded Districts, etc., possess valuable information on the subjects like historical, political, socio-economic and cultural aspects about Ceded Districts during 1800 to 1893 A.D.

3. Sir Thomas Munro's Diaries consists of two part. Parts I contains the biographical sketch of Sir Thomas Munro and his character and administration in India illustrated by P.R. Krishnaswamy. Part II contains the original text of the letters addressed by Thomas Munro to his family members in which he emphasised constantly the demoralization caused to the people of India by the policies and attitude of the British Government. This formed the burden of his letters on political affairs. It is a printed matter in English.

4. The collection of Revenue Records of the Ceded Districts deals with the records of the Collectors' offices between 1800 and 1835. The records of the old Bellary district for the above period are also available. The Cuddapah District records are available for the period 1807-1835 A.D

These records also deal with a wide range of subjects like land revenue, military operations, police and magistracy, social customs, traditions, finance and matters regarding postal, fiscal and communications. This comprises of printed material in English.

5. The "Kasiyatra Charitra" is a travel account of Sir Yenugula Veeraswamy who performed journey from Nagapattinam (Madras) in 1830 A.D. to Kashi (the present Varanasi). He has given detailed account of his observations during his journey. This collection highlight socio, economic, cultural and then several conditions of the people of various places in India during 1830's. This material is in Telugu.

6. Guruzada Appa Rao's papers.

This collection consist mainly of correspondence and the letters of Appa Rao's with others. Among this collection the play

lets named *Kondi Bhaila Kamalini*, and poetry and *Tikkana Virataparvamu* (prose) are the most worthy works of his in Telugu language in the available collection.

7. The list of collections in the India Office Library, London, which are relevant to the history of Andhra Pradesh.

This office acquired the Microfilm copies of the following collections :

- 1) Papers of Claude Clerk, Tutor to Nizam, 1874-1890 I. O. R. Eur. MSS D538 Nos. 9 to 30
- 2) Correspondence of C. B. Saunders (Resident) 1868-75 I.O.R. Eur. MSS E 190.
- 3) Papers of Arthur pearse Howell (Resident) 1889-91 I. O. R. Eur. MSS. D681/16.

These collections are valuable since they throw light on the History of Deccan.

M.V.S. Prasada Rau,
Editor, "Itihas"

**List of Microfilms preserved in State Archives of
Andhra Pradesh.**

1. Mackenzie, Brown and Taylor's collections.
2. Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library collections.
3. Kasiyatra Charitra.
4. Visakhapatnam District Manual.
5. Palm leaf manuscripts of Dharma Khanda.
6. Palm leaf manuscripts of Siddhantha Shikhamani.
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14. The civic survey report of Machilipatnam.
15. Indian States and federation.
16. Thomas Munro Diary.
17. Hand book to the Revenue records of the Ceded Districts.
18. Sri G. Kesava pillai's speeches.
19. Anfaul Akhbar.
20. Sawanch Deccan.
21. Naqal waqah Rathamber.
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28. Aniqat-ul-Rina.
29. Late Guruzada Appa Rao Diaries.
30. Materials relating to Andhra and Telangana areas of Andhra Pradesh in family papers of Europeans based at Hyderabad. (Collections from India Office Library and Records, London)
31. Krishna District Manual.

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