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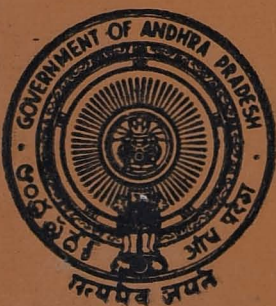
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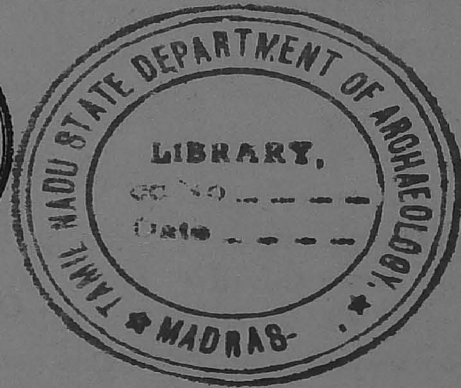
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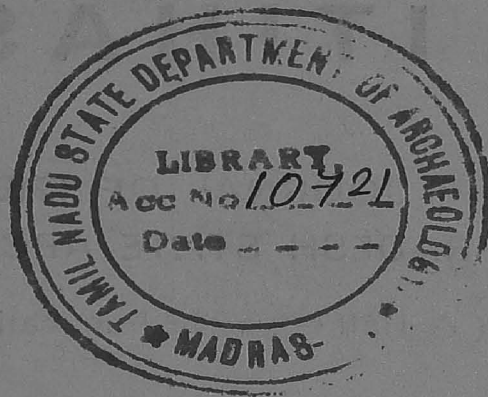


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THE MEGALITHIC CERAMIC INDUSTRY OF SOUTHWESTERN ANDHRA PRADESH

V. Rami Reddy

I. INTRODUCTION

Southwestern Andhra Pradesh, situated between $13^{\circ} 40'$ and $15^{\circ} 58'$ N. latitude and $76^{\circ} 50'$ and $78^{\circ} 30'$ E. longitude, comprise for our purposes the western part of Kurnool district and the whole of Anantapur district. The area was archaeologically little known before the middle of the last century. Since then the relics of Early Man in this part of the country have been brought to light by some well known geologists and amateur archaeologists. Of all the investigators, Robert Bruce Foote (1817, 1914 and 1916), a professional geologist, discovered a large number of sites from where he collected a vast quantity of antiquities belonging to the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Megalithic cultures. My work (Rami Reddy 1968 and 1969) undertaken in connection with my doctoral and post-doctoral programmes yielded a good deal of fresh evidence besides providing a sound stratigraphical proof for the surface evidence at the site of Palavoy in Kalyandurg taluk of Anantapur district (Rami Reddy 1976).

The first piece of evidence for the megalithic culture of the area was found by C. J. Pelly followed by Captain Meadows Taylor (1852 and 1862) in the form of several megalithic tombs in Rayadurg and Dharmavaram taluks of Anantapur district and Adoni taluk in Kurnool district. These structures were later described in the Bellary (Francis 1904) and Anantapur (1905) District Gazetteers. They were also visited by some members of the Southern Circle of Archaeological Survey (1912-13). My recent explorations added many new structures from several places and these along with the earlier discovered ones have been discussed in a separate paper (Rami Reddy 1977). In this paper an attempt to elucidate the pottery wares, types and designs and their significance, if any, of the area has been made.

II. THE CERAMIC INDUSTRY

The evidence of Pottery for the study consists of a total of 203 sherds from 13 surface sites (Fig. 1). It is all wheel-made. Only some sherds yield shapes and designs. On the basis of external surface colour, six main wares are distinguished: 1) black ware, (2) black-and-red ware, (3) red-and-black ware, (4) red ware, (5) chocolate slipped ware and (6) coarse grey ware. Red ware is most common and accounts for a little less than half the total (101 sherds; 49.75 %) collection. Black ware and red-and-black ware each consisting of 35 sherds (17.24%) are the next common wares in the collection. The remaining 32 sherds include black-and-red ware (17 sherds; 8.38 %) chocolate-slipped ware (12 sherds; 5.91%) and coarse grey ware (3 sherds; 1.48%).

The bulk of the pottery comes from Mudigal (63 sherds; 31.03%) while the smallest number of sherds ranging from one to ten have been found at Idukul, Pillalapalli, Uravakonda, Kunduripi, Havaligi, Gulapalyam and Andepalli. The remaining sites, Nagaladinne, Bastipadu, Chitnepalli, Katamadevudu Hill and Rayachoti yield between 13 and 30 sherds. However, no site yielded all the wares.

II. 1. Black Ware : (Fig. 2)

This ware, characterised by black colour on both external and internal surfaces was found at six sites. Burnishing on the external surface of the vessels of this ware is a common feature while in open bowls and dishes the burnishing is extended to the internal surfaces as well. The ware is made on a slow wheel. The clay is gritty, occasionally mixed with quartz and sand grains over which a thin wash of ochreous slip seems to have been applied. The sherds are not well finished. They are fired under a reduced temperature. The thickness of the fabric varies from 0.5 to 1 cm.

The common shapes in it are wide shallow dishes, rimless bowls, basins, vessels with concave neck and wide mouth, carinated vessels with short concave neck, narrow-necked carinated pots and ring-stands.

TYPES

T. 1 Rim-fragment of a shallow dish with rounded edge and sides getting thinner towards the concave base (KDH. 4). Variant 1a has sides of uniform thickness (MGL. 6).

T. 2 Fragment of a shallow bowl with external carination below bulging sides, probably with a flat base (MGL : 4).

T. 3 Fragment of a basin with beaded-out rim, an externally undercut at the neck and slightly outgoing sides (CHP : 1)

T. 4 Rim-fragment of a wide-mouthed vessel with concave neck, beaded-out excurved rim (KDH : 2)

T. 5 Part of a small shallow short concave necked vessel with wide mouth and everted rim. Both internal and external surfaces burnished (MGL : 1). Variant 5a is smaller in size (KDH : 1).

T. 6 Fragment of a narrow necked pot with carination on the shoulder and beaded-in rim cut internally. Both sides burnished (MGL : 2)

T. 7 Part of a ring-stand possibly of circular plan, over-hanging surface of the edge, externally double-grooved with a flat ridge in between. Both sides burnished (APL : 1).

II. 2 Black-and-red ware (Figs. 2-3)

This ware, coming from four sites, is distinguished by black colour on the interior and black-and-red on the exterior. The red colour is found all over the base and to nearly half the length of the sites. This was achieved by inverted firing. There are only 17 sherds (8.38%) in the collection. Thirteen of these came from Mudigal. The ware is wheel-turned, brightly coloured and consists of fine clay mixed with quartz and sand particles. The pots are well baked. The technique of inverted firing has effected in reducing the inside and the upper portions of the rim while the lower parts of the external surface got oxidised. Reduced parts turned black while oxidised parts turned to a typical and, or sometimes to orange or buff colours

even. The surfaces are burnished and shining. The thickness of the fabric ranges from 0.4 to 0.8 c.m.

The common shapes are a shallow dish, rimless bowls consisting of shallow and deep varieties and a miniature pot. On the external surface of a deep bowl and another formless sherd are seen graffiti marks, the significance of which is discussed elsewhere.

TYPES

T. 8 Nearly half of a shallow dish, 15 cm. in diameter, slightly curved sides make carination with an almost flat base. Edges rounded, thickness uniform throughout. Both inside and outside burnished (MGL : 9).

T. 9 Fragment of a bowl, 8.6 cm. in diameter, with round edge and convex-curved outgoing sides. Uniformly thick all over, on sides 0.5 cm. below edge in one centimeter width four horizontal grooves are visible. Both sides burnished (MGH : 5). Variant 9a has slightly convex outgoing sides and without grooves (APL : 1). Variant 9b has a diameter of 10.6 cm. at the mouth which is convex out-turned and outgoing sides ; pobably with a round base (IKL : 1).

T. 10 Nearly half of a deep bowl, 10.6 cm. in diameter at the mouth and 9.2 cm. deep, with a somewhat sharp edge and almost vertical sides—convex in the middle of the vertical length—and making carination with the roughly flat base. Externally 1.5 cm. below at the edge is a thin ridge. The sides are marked with a graffito of rectangular shape. Inside black, and base and more than half of the length of the vertical sides red outside. Uniformly thick and both sides burnished (MGL : 1).

T 11 Rim-fragment of a miniature pot with a slightly out-turned rim, concave neck and a rounded profile. Its diameter at the mouth is 9.4 cm (KDH: 11)

T. 12 A sherd, probably belonging to the belly of a pot, the external red surface of which is marked with a graffito of three slanting lines making angle with one another at one end (MGL: 6).

II. 3. RED-AND-BLACK WARE : (Fig. 3)

Unlike the black and red ware, this ware is characterised by red colour inside and black outside. The external surfaces are usually slipped and burnished. There are 35 (17.24%) sherds in the collection majority of which are fragmentary. All are known from nine sites. The clay is fine, some times mixed with sand particles. Its thickness measures between 0.4 and 0.9 cm.

The shapes in this ware are limited. They comprise a globular pot, a basin, a miniature pot with concave neck and rimless bowls.

TYPES :

T. 13 Fragment of a bowl with tapering edge and slightly convex sides (UKD : 1). Variant 13 a has a slightly flaring mouth and sharp edge (GPM : 1)

T. 14 Rim-fragment of a wide-mouthed miniature pot with concave neck and convex flaring rims having a sharp edge. Both sides burnished (RCH : 1)

T. 15 Rim-fragment of a globular pot with concave neck and out-turned clubbed rim. Burnished (MGL : 1)

T. 16 Rim-fragment of a big basin with an incurved clubbed rim and out-going sides. Both sides burnished (GPM : 2)

II. 4. RED WARE (Figs. 3-5)

This ware consisting of 101 sherds (49.75%) occurs at ten sites and is the highest proportion of the collection. The ware is distinguished by red colour both inside and outside the pots. It can be divided into two sub-wares on the basis of surface treatment. They are : (1) coarse red ware and (2) slipped redware.

(i) Coarse Red Ware : (Fig 3 and 5)

This ware is easily distinguishable by the coarseness of the core and dull red to brown surface colour. The fabric has a thickness of 0.8 to 1.7 cm. The core, which is also red, is full of sand particles and occasional quartz pieces. The surfaces do not bear

any slip or wash. Only eight sherds (3.94%), all burnished, are known from four sites. One sherd from Andepalli bears an incised chevron design. All the sherds are fragmentary excepting a solitary piece belonging to the rim of a basin

TYPE :

T. 17 Fragment of a big-sized basin with incurved clubbed rim (CHP : 1)

DECORATION :

Incised Design :

D. 1 Fragment, probably belonging to the shoulder of a globular pot, the external surface of which has two rows of incised chevrons opening to the right on either side of the horizontal ridge. This decoration might have been executed by a pointed instrument (APL : 7).

(ii) SLIPPED RED WARE (Figs. 3-5)

This ware bears a red slip on its external surface and is slipped, the colour of the slip varying from pale red to bright red or at times even crimson. The interior is however dull red showing wheel striations and occasionally scratched marks. The core is mostly smoky grey to black and rarely red. The general thickness varies from 0.5 to 1.2 cm. The clay is gritty mixed with lots of quartz and sand grains and some times even husk is added. The ware includes a large number of sherds (93 or 45.81%) all burnished, from ten sites but predominantly at Rayachoti, Mudigal, Chitnepally and Bastipadu. Of these, 85 sherds (41.87%) are undecorated while only eight (3.94%) bear incised and impressed decorations. The pot types are dishes, rimless bowls, globular pots with high or short concave necks, or constricted necks, various types of basins and a wide trough.

TYPES :

T. 18 Fragment of a shallow dish with convex sides of uniform thickness, inturned rounded edge. Both internal and external

surfaces are highly burnished and polished (GPM: 1). Variant 18 a is the belly portion of a dish, sides tapering towards the mouth as well as base making an angle at the externally grooved carination. Core black and gritty. Only outer surface slipped and burnished (MGL: 1).

T. 19 Fragment of a shallow bowl with a sharp edge and convex and outgoing sides of uniform thickness. Both inside and outside burnished (MGL: 1.). Variant 19a with edge sloping to the interior. Fabric thicker (RCH: 1).

T. 20 Almost a complete piece of the rim and shoulder of a high concave necked globular pot with a diameter of 12.4 cm. at the mouth. Flat edge and convex outgoing sides of uniform thickness. The external surface below neck is marked by a graffito of three slanting lines converging at the base of the neck. Outside completely burnished, and rim and neck portions internally (MGL: 1).

T. 21 Rim-fragment of a globular pot with short concave neck externally cut rounded edge and slightly convex flaring mouth (MGL: 2). Variant 21a with a beaded-out rim (BPU: 3). Variant 21 b with a clubbed rim (RCH: 1).

T. 22 Rim-fragment of a globular pot with constricted neck, convex flaring mouth and rounded edge. Diverging sides getting thinner below neck (RCH: 4). Variant 22a with a beaded, bevelled-in rim and bulging-out sides (BPU: 1).

T. 23 Fragment of a wide basin with concave neck, beaded-out rim and thick sides. Both sides burnished (RCH: 3). Variant 23a has an externally grooved clubbed rim (CHP: 1). Variant 23b has bevelled-out rim and convex sides. Black gritty core (MGL: 2).

T. 24 Fragment of a wide trough with a beaded-out lugged handle externally, thick convex sides, externally slipped and burnished while the interior is pale red. Gritty core grey (BPU: 1).

DECORATION :

Eight sherds from four sites bear decoration. Two types of decoration—incised and impressed—are known. These sometimes occur in combination with each other. So three types of designs—(1) incised (2) impressed and (3) incised and impressed—can be seen. The decoration is confined to rim, shoulder, but sometimes extends to even belly. They mainly belong to big globular pots with constricted or concave neck.

(i) INCISED DESIGNS: (Fig. 5)

D. 2 On the shoulder of a pot below its constricted neck at the base of the multiple grooves there is a horizontal row of incised zig-zag y-designs : (BPU: 2).

D. 3 Overhanging rim and shoulder of a constricted necked pot decorated with triangular incisions (BPU : 1).

D. 4 Fragment of the grooved shoulder of a globular pot decorated with oblique incisions probably with a finger-nail when the pot was green-hard (MGL : 1).

D. 5 On either side of the groove of a sherd there are incised chevrons opening to the left in an oblique fashion (GPM : 1).

(ii) IMPRESSED DESIGN :

D 6 Impressed rope design on one of the raised ridges between a pair of grooves of the rim of constricted necked pot (KDP 1).

(iii) INCISED AND IMPRESSED DESIGNS :

D. 7 There are three sherds, probably, all of the body of a globular pot, depicting this design. The design consists of a plant with stem, branches, buds and fully bloomed flowers. The stem and branches have been incised while the buds and petals of flowers are impressed (BPU : 1 to 3)

II. 5. CHOCOLATE SLIPPED WARE : (Figs. 4-5)

This ware, distinguished by chocolate slipped and burnished outer-surface, and dull-brown to red coloured inner surface, includes a dozen sherds (5.91%) found at Andepalli and Mudigal. One sherd from Andepalli is decorated with pressed chevron designs. The core is black and the clay is gritty mixed with sand particles, and quartz pieces, the thickness among these sherds ranges between 0.5 and 0.9 cm.

The three rim fragments belong to concave necked globular pots and basins.

TYPES :

T. 25 Fragment of a globular pot with concave neck and clubbed rim (MGL : 1). Variant 25a has convex flaring rounded rims (MGL : 2).

T. 26 Fragment of a wide basin with concave neck, beaded rim, externally grooved and ridged above convex outgoing sides. Thickness uniform (APL : 1).

DECORATION :**Impressed Design :**

D. 8 External surface of a sherd of possibly a globular pot pressed with a row of irregular chevrons opening to the right (APL : 2).

II. 6 COARSE GREY WARE : (Fig. 4)

This is a de-luxe, sturdy ware well-fired and emits a fine metallic sound. The black core is gritty. The fabric has a thickness of 0.4 to 0.7 cm. The collection includes only three (1.48%) sherds, one each, from Bastipadu, Katamadevudu Hill and Mudigal. All the sherds are burnished and belong to concave necked globular pots.

TYPES :

T. 27 Fragment of a globular pot with short concave neck internally carinated and straight flaring mouth, edge with a curved slope towards inside. Externally ridged above neck (BPU : 1). Variant 27a

with a collared-rim and multiple grooves on the shoulder externally (KDH: 10). Variant 27b with a concave-convex rim having a pair of ridges and grooves on the exterior while the interior is flat (MGL: 10).

III. GRAFFITI ON THE MEGALITHIC POTTERY:

The graffiti on the South Indian megalithic pottery have long attracted the attention of a number of scholars. They were incised on the surface of the pots usually after firing, which shows that they were marked by the users of the pots. These markings have been variously called 'Potters' marks', 'owners' marks' and 'tribal marks' (Hunt 1961: 180-224, 1924: 140-156; Richards 1924: 299-314). Hunt attached symbolic significance to these while Yazdani (1916-7: 5-8) thought that the graffiti are the representations of a kind of script indicative of ideas. Yazdani further compared these with the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Lal (1960: 2-24) who made a systematic study of these in the light of those on the Harappan and post-Harappan chalcolithic pottery thinks that these markings had a definite purpose in the mind of the maker.

No typological or regional classification of the graffiti is available after that of Yazdani (1917: 64-9). Nineteen graffiti with different structure were found on the black-and red-ware, black ware, red ware sherds recovered in the excavations at Maski (Thapar 1957: 86-8, Fig. 29) and thirty from Brahmanagiri (Wheeler 1948: 244-5, Fig. 31).

As our pottery came from surface the graffiti on them can not be assigned to any type of megalithic monuments. Only three graffiti occur on the external surfaces of a deep bowl and a sherd both of black-and-red-ware, and a concave necked globular vessel (Fig. 3, types 10, 12 and 20). All the three symbols are illustrated below:

1) A mark of two vertical parallel lines between which there is a width of 4.6 cm. covered by a straight horizontal line on the exterior of a deep vertical sided open-mouthed bowl of black-and-redware. No analogues available.

2) A mark of an 'arrow head' on the exterior of a black-and-red ware sherd. A variant of Yazdani No. 16 and Thapar No. 10 (1957: 88).

3) A mark of an 'arrow-head' on the shoulder, externally, of a high-necked globular pot of red ware. Resembles No. 16 of Yazdani and Wheeler (1948: 24-5, Fig. 31) respectively.

IV. SUMMARY

The evidence of megalithic pottery is summarised in the following lines. The evidence for the megalithic ceramic industry of southwestern Andhra Pradesh comes from 13 sites. The site of Mudigal yielded the largest quantity of pottery. All the main wares excepting the coarse red ware are present here. But only one decorated sherd was found here. The site is extremely rich in red-slipped ware, black ware and black-and-red ware. Also, chocolate-slipped ware which is the most rare fabric is well represented at this site. Other significant sites are Rayachoti, Katamadevudu Hill, Chitnepalli and Bastipadu. The last mentioned is richer in decorated sherds than any other site. Rayachoti is the richest site in red-slipped ware and next to this come Chitnepelli and Bastipadu, while Katamadevudu Hill is the most extensive in black ware. Red ware is the dominant ware at all the sites excepting Havaligi, Idukul and Uravakonda. Other important wares include black ware and red-and-black ware. Black ware is more common at Katamadevudu Hill and Mudigal while red-and-black ware is irregularly distributed.

Shallow dishes occur in black ware, black-and-red ware and slipped red ware. Rimless bowls occur on these three wares and red-and-black ware. Basins are known in all wares save for black-and-red coarse grey wares. Globular pots with concave or constricted necks and beaded-out, clubbed or bevelled rims, etc. occur in all excepting black-and-red ware. Carinated pots with everted or beaded-in rims and a ring-stand are restricted to the black ware while a deep vertical-sided flat-based bowl is confined to only black-and-red ware. Miniature pots are the characteristic feature of black-and-red ware and red-and-black ware only, while a big trough with lugged handle occurs in red-slipped ware.

In tables 1-3 are given the lists of wares, types and designs at various sites.

TABLE-1

WARE-AND SITE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF MEGALITHIC POTTERY

WARES	S I T E S													TOTAL %
	APL	BPU	CHP	GPM	HVG	IKL	KDH	KDP	MGL	NDN	PPL	RCH	UKD	
I Black ware (B)	1	2	2	—	—	—	14	—	15	1	—	—	—	35 17.24
II. Black-and-red ware(B)	1	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	13	—	—	—	—	17 8.38
III. Red-and-Black ware(B)	—	1	5	4	2	—	4	—	7	4	—	6	2	35 17.24
IV. Red Ware :														
1. Coarse (U.B.) :														
i.) Undecorated	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	4	—	7 3.45
ii.) Incised	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 0.49
Total of coarse red ware sherds	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	4	—	8 3.94
2. Slipped (B)														
i) Undecorated	2	12	17	3	—	—	3	—	18	8	1	20	—	85 41.87
ii) Incised	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4 1.98
iii) Impressed	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1 0.49
IV) Impressed and Incised	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 1.47

WARES

S I T E S

TOTAL %

APL BPU CHP GPM HVG IKL KDH KDP MGL NDN PPL RCH UKD

Total of slipped red ware
sherds

2	18	17	4	—	—	3	1	19	8	1	20	—	93	45.81
---	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	----	---	---	----	---	----	-------

Total of all red ware
sherds

3	18	18	4	—	—	4	2	19	8	1	24	—	101	49.75
---	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	----	---	---	----	---	-----	-------

V. Chocolate slipped ware

i) Undecorated.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	11	5.42
ii) Impressed	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0.49

Total of Chocolate slipped
ware sherds.

4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	12	5.91
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	------

VI. Coarse Grey ware (UB)

—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	1.48
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	------

Total Sherds of All Wares :	9	22	25	8	2	1	25	2	63	13	1	30	2	203	100.00
	4.43	10.84	12.32	3.94	0.99	0.49	12.32	0.99	31.03	6.40	0.49	14.78	0.99	100.00	

The bold figures represent percentage

Note :- The capital letters B and UB in the brackets indicate whether particular ware is burnished or unburnished.

TABLE - 2

WARE-AND SITE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF DECORATIVE PATTERNS IN MEGALITHIC POTTERY

WARES	S I T E S				
	APL	BPU	GPM	KDP	MGL
1. RED WARE :					
1. Coarse red ware :					
Incised	1	—	—	—	—
2. SLIPPED RED WARE :					
Incised	—	2,3	5	—	4
Impressed	—	—	—	6	—
Incised and Impressed:	—	7	—	—	—
II. CHOCOLATE SLIPPED WARE:					
Impressed :	8	—	—	—	—

TABLE - 3

WARE-AND SITE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES
IN MEGALITHIC POTTERY

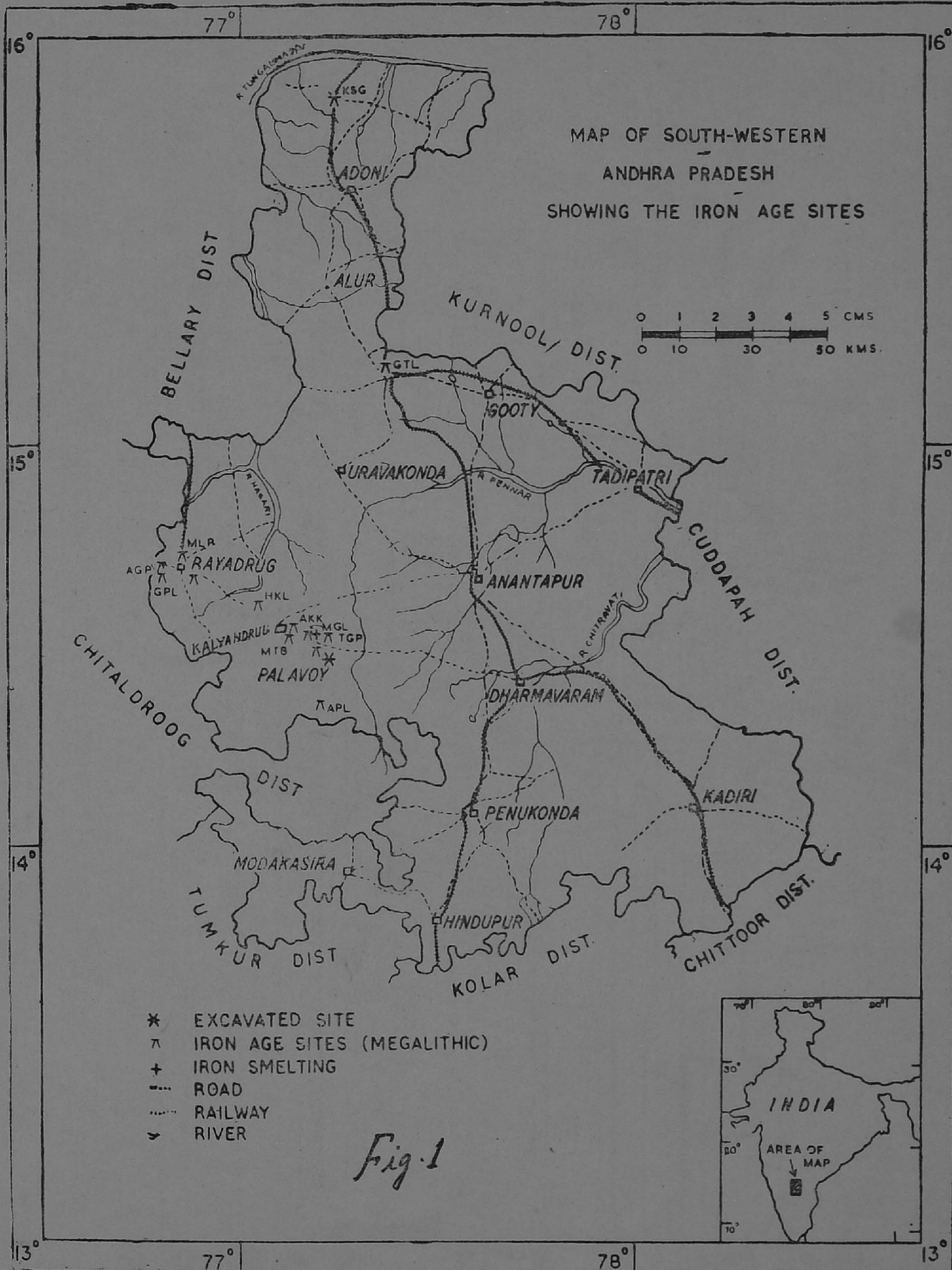
WARES	S I T E S									
	APL	BPU	CHP	GPM	IKL	KDH	KDP	MGL	RCH	UKD
I BLACK WARE	7		3			1,2, 4,5a		1a,2, 5,6		
II BLACK-AND- RED-WARE	9a				9b	11		8,9, 10,12.		
III RED-AND- BLACK-WARE				13a 16				15	14	13
IV RED WARE :										
1. Coarse			17							
2. Slipped		21a, 22, 22a, 22b, 24	23, 23a	18		22		18a,19, 19a, 21a, 20,21, 21c, 22, 21a, 23b 23,23a		
V CHOCOLATE- SLIPPED WARE	26							25,25a		
VI COARSE GREY WARE	27					27a		27b		

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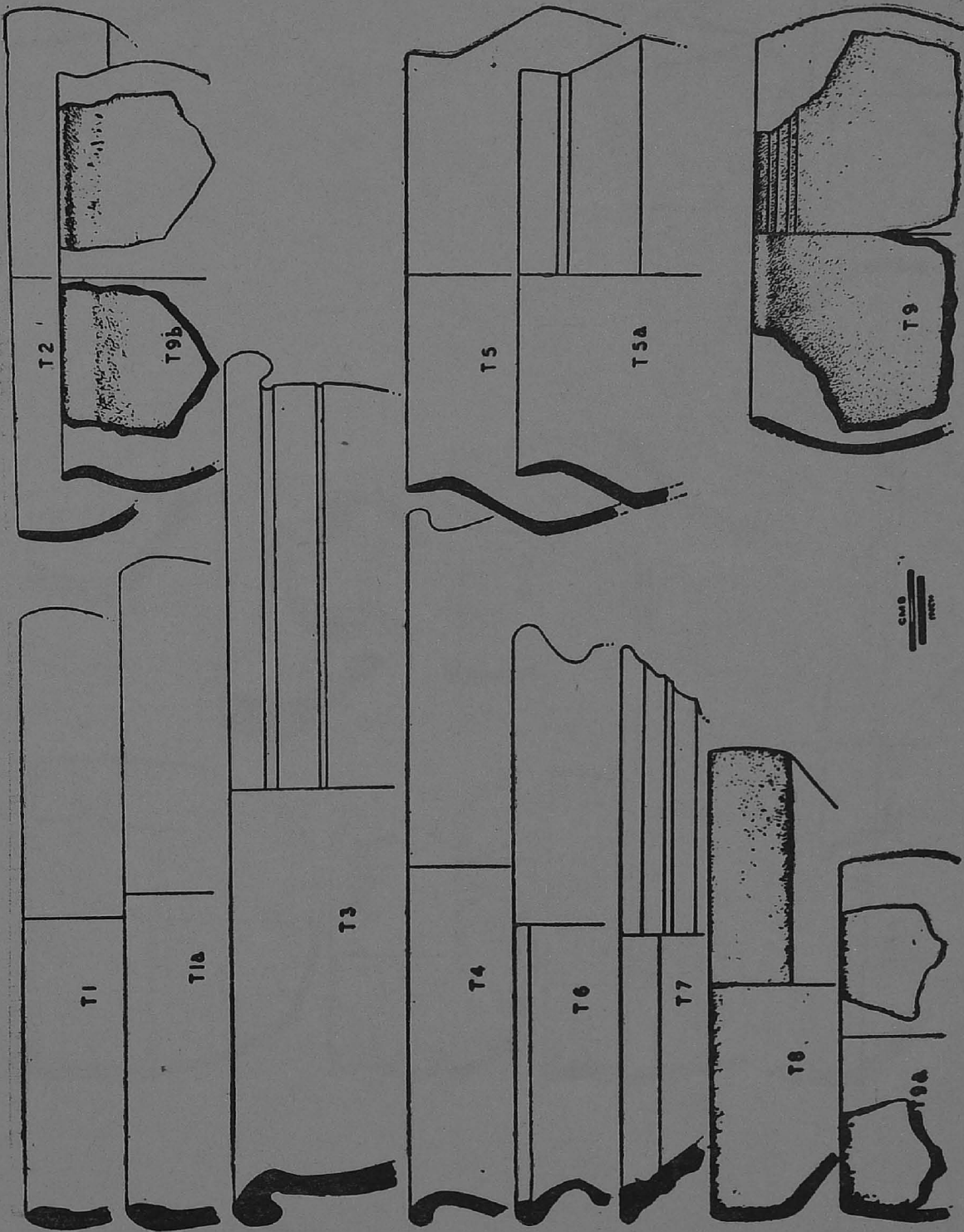


Fig. 2

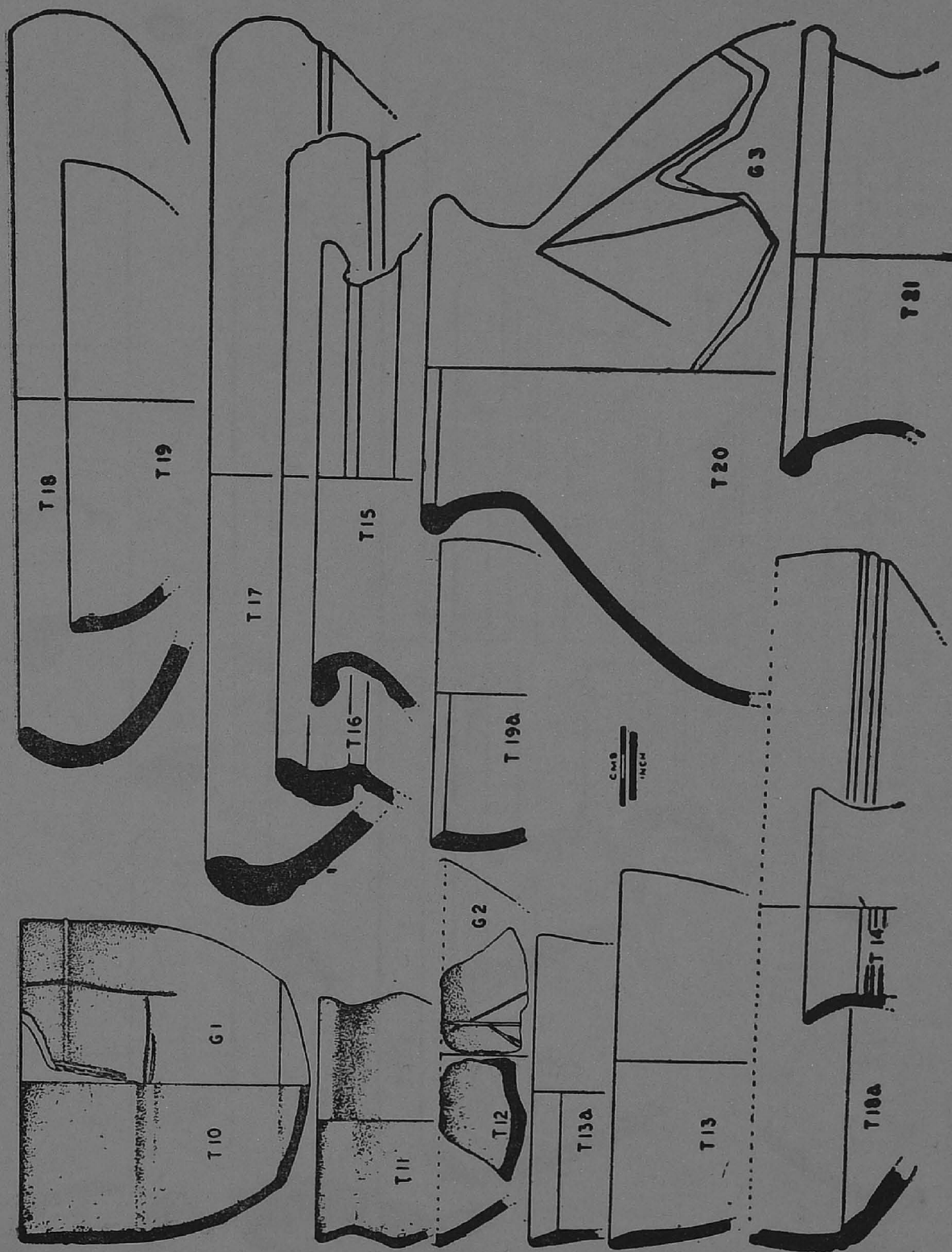


Fig. 3

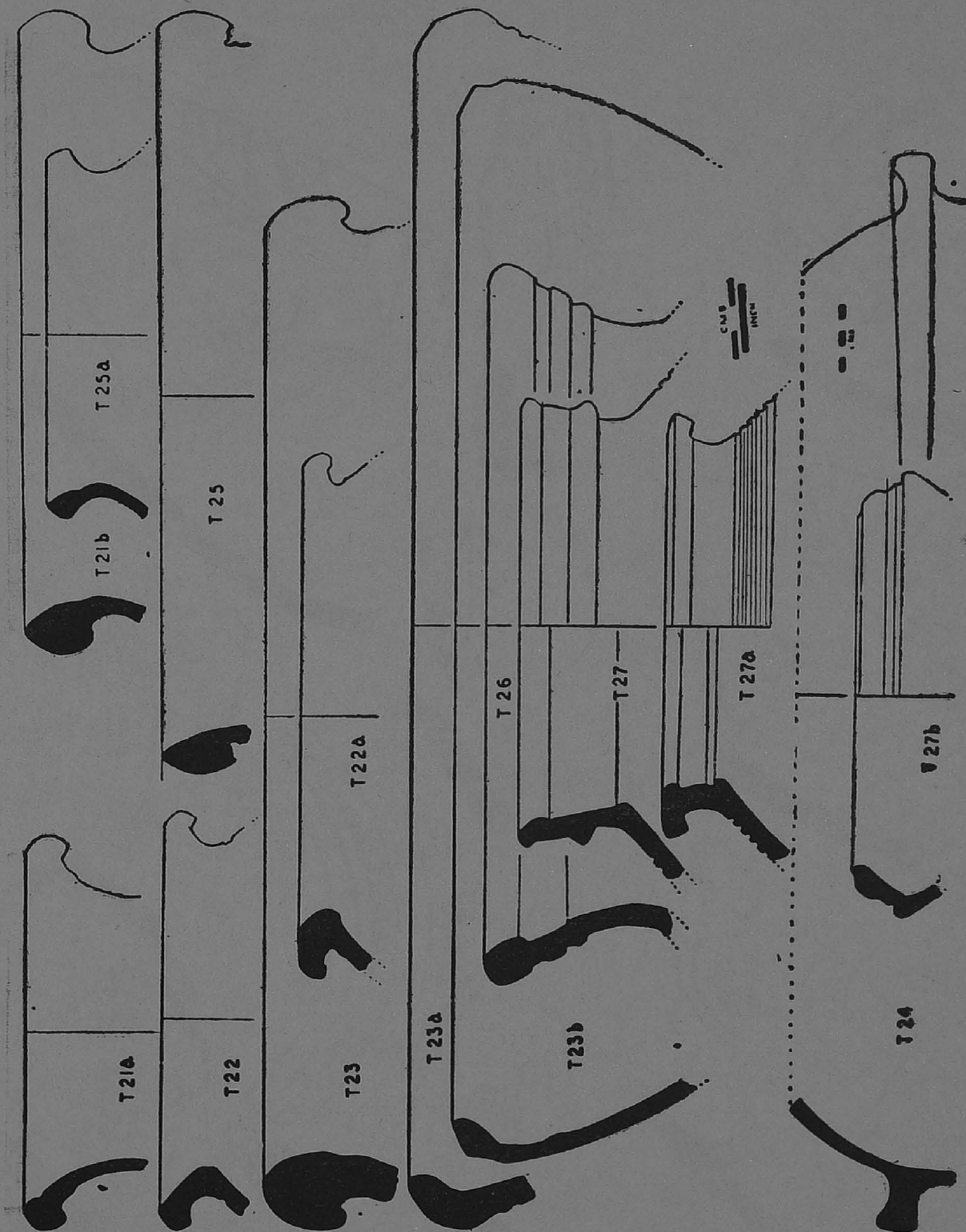


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

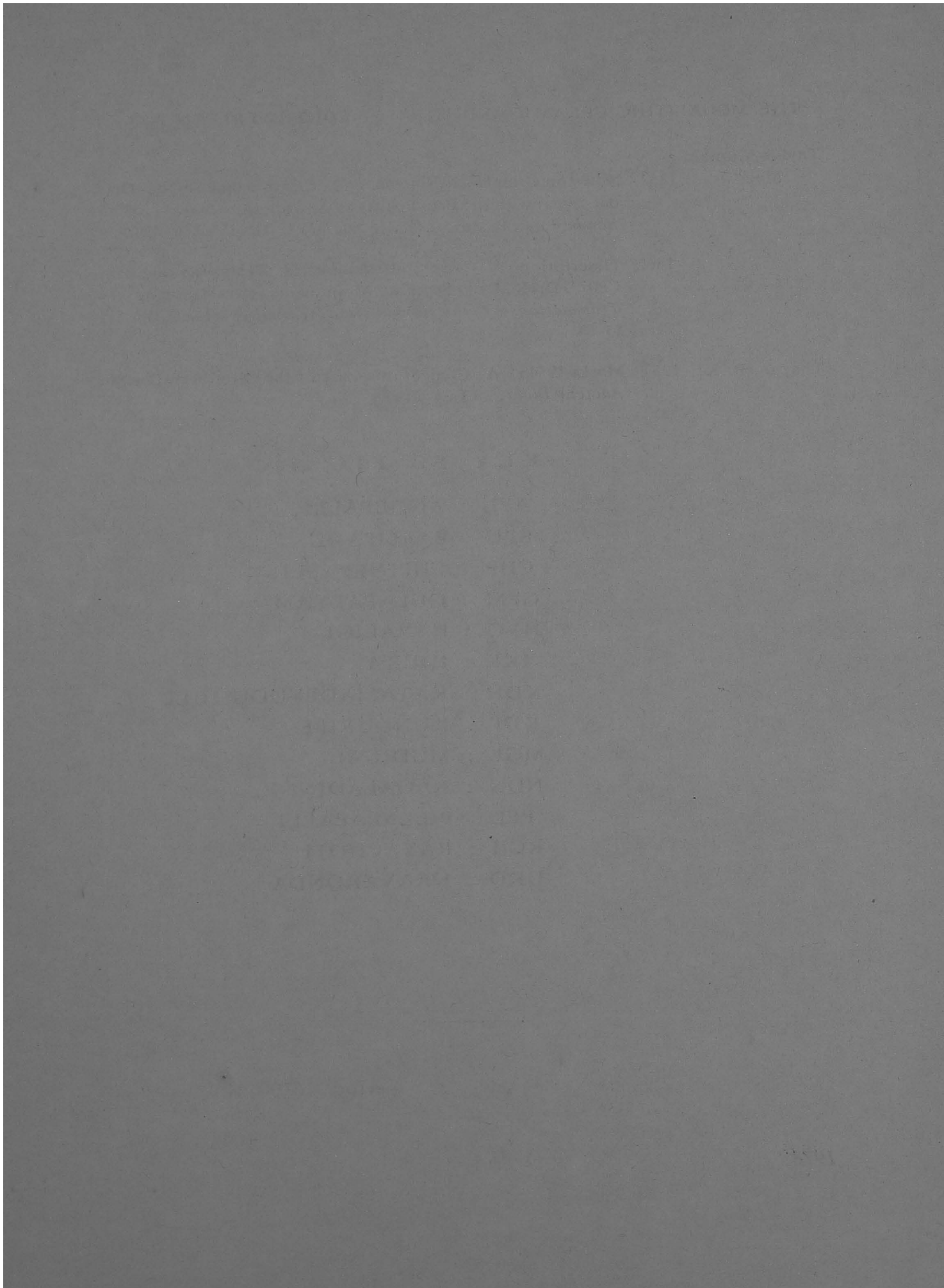
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KEY TO FIG. 1

- APL : ANDEPALLI
 BPU : BASTIPADU
 CHP : CHITNEPALLI
 GPM : GULAPALYAM
 HVG : HAVALIGI
 IKL : IDUKAL
 KDH : KATAMADEVUDU HILL
 KDP : KUNDURIPPI
 MGL : MUDIGAL
 NDN : NAGALADINNE
 PPL : PILLALAPALLI
 RCH : RAYACHOTI
 UKD : URAVAKONDA



TILAK-JACOBI CHRONOLOGY— A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

S. B. Roy

The Vedic chronology proposed by Tilak and Jacobi will be subjected to a critical scientific analysis. It is unfortunate that one school (the school of philologists led by Whitney) has vehemently criticised and summarily rejected it : on the other hand, another school—the Indian school—has taken it as wholly correct. Neither school, however, examined it astronomically which, in our opinion, was the only method to be applied. It is necessary to find which of the conclusions of Tilak – Jacobi are scientifically justified if at all, and which are not.

Before proceeding further, a general shortcoming of their method would be pointed out. Neither Tilak nor Jacobi supported his dates by any collateral data or evidence. It has been pointed out⁽¹⁾ that there are five distinct methods of scientific chronology (Literary-dynastic, archaeological, radio-carbon, astronomical and cross-contacts), but neither Tilak nor Jacobi supported his dates by any other method. We shall, therefore, apply all the five methods to find the correctness or otherwise of their dates which may be summarised as under :

Tilak's Chronology

- | | |
|--|---------------------|
| 1. Vedanga Jyotisha or Dhanishtha period | = c. 1400 B.C. |
| 2. Krittika period | = c. 2500 B.C. |
| 3. Orion period | = c. 4400–4100 B.C. |
| 4. Aditi period | = c. 6100 B.C. |

As Tilak himself felt the Aditi period (6100 B.C.) to be conjectural, it need not be considered here.

Whitney's approach^(1a)

Whitney put the matter upside down and started attacking the highest date first. He attacked the Orion period, and alleging it to be wrong, rejected the entire scheme. He ought to have demolished the period of Vedanga jyotisha first, and *then only* gone backwards, but he did not do so, for the simple reason that it was impossible to scientifically reject it. No less an authority than Colebrooke who identified the *nakshatras* (bright time measuring stars—27 in number), and made astronomical observations himself, determined the colour of the Vedanga period at c. 1391 B.C.⁽²⁾. All that Whitney said was “The Hindus could not have made these observations”. Is it scientific criticism? We have refuted all the objections raised by him and others in detail astronomically^(2a). Further, we have shown that *six different observations were made in the Vedanga period*⁽³⁾—all independent—and no other country did so. Hence, the date of c. 1400 B.C. for the Vedanga period may be taken as *conclusively* proved. If any one has any astronomical objection he may produce it—but an argument that Vedanga Jyotisha was composed in 200 B. C., because it was written in verse* (this is all that Max Mueller, Keith, Whitney and others have said) is too trite to need refutation. However, those who would like a detailed refutation, may look into the pages of *Ancient India* cited above⁽⁴⁾ for the same.

2 Krittika period: The basis of Krittika period is the knowledge that at some distant past, ‘the Vedic observers noticed that the equinox was taking place at Krittika and composed hymns thereon’ To make the meaning of this statement clear by an example, we shall determine afresh the date of the very first hymn of the Rigveda.

This hymn (R. V. I 1) was composed by Madhucchandas, the son of Viswamitra. The dynastic chronology shows that Madhucchandas was born somewhere in 2573 B. C., and his dynastic number was 34⁽⁵⁾. Let us, for the sake of argument, assume the

* Be it noted that Max Mueller arrived at the date of 200 B.C. on the sole evidence of a ghost story given in the *Kathasaritsagara* (see D.M.B., p. 2; 18-21; Goldstucker's Panini, p. 91)

widest possible margin of error in this statistical estimate viz. ± 500 years @ ± 5 years in the age differential. The hymn composed by Madhucchandas should then lie somewhere between 3000 B. C. to 2000 B. C.

It would now be necessary to explain to the non-astronomers as to what is exactly meant by the phrase '*Krittika period*'. The phrase means and indicates the period when Krittika was the autumn star i.e., when Autumnal equinox took place and the sun rose exactly due east if, and only if, the moon was full at Krittika. When the sun itself was at Krittika (i. e. when the new moon (*darsha* or *amavasya*) took place at Krittika,) it was vernal equinox. Krittika is the star Alcyone (of the constellation pliedias) whose longitude in the base year 1970 A. D. is about 60 degrees (exact long. 59.54° in 1970 A. D.)

In 1970 A.D., the equinox takes place (*by definition*) at 0 degree. Hence, the precession is 60 degrees.

The rate of precession is 72 years per degree.

Hence, the time lapsed
$$= 60 \times 72 \text{ years}$$
$$= 4320 \text{ years}$$

$\therefore$ the epoch
$$= (4320 - 1970) \text{ B. C.}$$
$$= 2350 \text{ B. C.}$$

Assume that there is an error of three tithis in observations. This is the *maximum* for a trained eye. As the sun moves through about one degree per *tithi*, the margin of error is about three degrees i. e. 216 years or, say about ± 200 years. (By repeated triennial observations over thirty years. it could be determined with great accuracy i. e. ± 72 years)

Thus, the astronomical epoch when Krittika was the autumn star was about $2350 \pm 200 \text{ B. C.}$

One can now examine the first hymn of the Rigveda attributed to Madhucchandas, the son of Viswamitra I. The Rigveda opens thus⁽⁶⁾ :

R. V. I. 1. 1. "I adore Agni, the *purohita*, the divine *ritvija* of the sacrifice, the invoker, who holds the treasure most auspicious".

Here the words *deva*, *ritvija*, *purohita*, *hotāra* and above all, *Agni* are to be properly understood in their astronomical, cosmic or scientific sense, if any. As Prof. Wilhelm Rau of Germany has said while commenting on Roy's *Prehistoric Lunar Astronomy*: 'the *adhidaivika* interpretation of many Vedic passages probably means cosmic, celestial interpretation or, speaking scientifically, gives the astronomical significance thereof. It is a pity that the Vedic philologists have in the past hardly ever been acquainted even with basic astronomy' (*Personal Communication*).

Astronomical Glossary :

Deva == Bright cosmic being or a heavenly i.e. celestial luminary :
It could be a star.

Ritvija : Literally, it means 'the knower of the seasons'. Its extended meaning, therefore, is 'one who knowing the seasons, determines the proper time of a sacrifice.' In short, he is the time-keeper. By implication, it also means the knower of *Ritam*, the grand cosmic law⁽⁷⁾.

Purohita : Technically, it means (as per the *pado-patha*) *purah hitam* i.e. 'Placed in front'. In the present context, it means placed first in the circle of the stars (*nakshatra mandala* or 27 time-measuring stars).

Hotā : Invoker; here divine or celestial invoker.

Agni : In Astronomy, Agni is the deity of the nakshatra Krittika, and Colebrooke⁽⁸⁾ says that :

Agni means and indicates Krittika

(Agni denotes Krittika in a special way but the explanation thereof is highly technical, and could be followed only by one who continuously follows from year to year the Purnimas at Krittika in the Vedic way for effecting intercalation. However, we may ignore this special sense and only point out that this significance is related to the *TRIKADRUKA SOMA* and Vishnu's *tri-vikrama* i.e. a tennial *yuga* of the *nakshatra-darshas*. An astronomer who wishes to examine the

matter in depth, may look into the chapter IV of the Prehistoric Lunar Astronomy for further information)

The non-astronomers may take it that Agni, in the astronomical sense, means *Krittika* i.e. the star *Alcyone* (of the constellation *pleiades*) of which it is the presiding deity. Hence, the amplified translation of the *mantra* would be "I adore Agni (Lord of *Krittika*), the divine celestial luminary, placed in front (i.e. first in the circle of the twenty seven time measuring stars), the divine time-keeper (knower of the seasons) of the cycle of the sacrifices, the divine invoker and keeper of the treasures." (*Explanations in the brackets supplied*)

It means that

- Agni = a) a divine celestial luminary
 b) Lord of *Krittika* i. e. Lord of *Alcyone*
 c) Divine or celestial time keeper—being the knower of the seasons.
 d) Placed in front i. e., the first in the circle of *nakshatras* (or time keeping stars).
 e) Celestial invoker of the cycle of sacrifices.
 f) Keeper of treasures.

The hymn is an injunction to begin the year's festivals or works at *Agni* (— *Krittika*) and worshipping Agni, so that the treasures are obtained from the keeper of the treasures.

In other words, it is a calendar making astronomical hymn which enjoins one to begin the yearly cycle of sacrifices at *Agni* (*Krittika*).

The cosmic, divine, heavenly or celestial interpretation can be supported also from the eighth *mantra* of the hymn itself, in which *Agni* is said to '*Ritasya Gopa*' i.e. *keeper or guardian of Ritam*, (i.e. the keeper of the grand cosmic or heavenly law). The earthly fire cannot of course, be the guardian of the cosmic law. On the other hand, a star in the heavens can very well be the guardian of the cosmic law and the divine beacon for annual sacrifice; he is the keeper of the *Ritam*, because the seasons (*ritu*) strictly follow him;

there is always - invariably always-autumn when the moon is full there (for the epoch of 2350 ± 200 B. C.). The point in heavens is often called *Sukritasya yoni* (Viz. fount of good works) in the Rigveda—indeed a very apt description,⁽⁹⁾

Thus, there is a perfectly good sense in giving an astronomical colouring to the hymn R. V. I. 1, *which requires no straining of the words at all*: This interpretation gives *inter alia* the epoch of Madhucchandas, his observation, and the hymn at 2350 ± 200 B. C. (as already computed above).

For making a fine-structure study of the dates, one has to find a cross contact with a dated foreign king. A detailed cross-contact with the dated kings of Mesopotamia has been found at the dynastic numbers 63-68⁽¹⁰⁾. This cross-dating is possible *if, and only if*, the date of birth of Madhucchandas is taken at 2573-2533 B. C., and the age differential is taken to be 18 years per generation. All the five determinations are satisfied, if the Krittika period is placed at "c. 2600-2200 B. C." The epoch of equinox at Alcyone is generally taken to be 2350 B. C. by the ethno-astronomers.

Incidentally, this explains why Krittika is the first star of the Vedic⁽¹¹⁾ system, and also why Maghā (= Regulus) was the star of the solstice at this period⁽¹²⁾. The Vedic people had actually made a model of the cosmic time-wheel with 27 bricks: It began with Krittika :⁽¹³⁾ *Pole star*

Jacobi⁽¹⁴⁾ took note of the fact that Ashwalayana enunciated a *mantra* for the marriage ritual in his *grihya sutra*, where the bridegroom shows the pole-star to the bride. As there was a pole star (α. Draconis) in 2800 B. C., Jacobi said that this proved that the Vedas go back to 2800 B. C. Two objections were raised: The objection of Winternitz was that there was also a pole-star (K = Draconis) in 1300 B. C. Hence, the presumption of the antiquity of 2800 B. C. is misplaced: The second objection was that the *mantra* belongs to the Vedangas and hence must be late: The objections are valid, *but the deductions are not.*

The correct solution to the problems of Winternitz is that this was an observation made by Ashwalayana and hence, *it gives the date of Ashwalayana at 1300 B.C.* This date of Ashwalayana is supported by his dynastic number which is 98, giving his date of birth at 1388 B.C.⁽¹⁵⁾. Colebrooke has accurately (more accurately than Jacobi) computed the date when K-Draconis became the pole star (¹⁶) at 1326 B. C. The date of birth of Ashwalayana and his observations are thus perfectly concordant.

The second objection is that this mantra does not represent the date of the Rigveda but of the Vedanga which comes to c. 1300 B. C. Indeed, this is only a confirmation of Roy's theory!! ALAM

Tilak, however, said further that the Kritika period (c. 2350 B. C.) represents the Brahmana period. The fundamental defect of his method (as already pointed out) is that he does not give the name of the observer or show by other evidence that the observer lived in 2350 B.C. On the other hand, we know that the *Satapatha Brahmana* is a compilation and that the compilation was made by Yajnavalkya who was born⁽¹⁷⁾ in 1472 B.C. Hence all that could be said is that the mantras of the Brahmanas *represent ancient traditions*. The date of compilation of the Satapatha Brahmana is the date of Yajnavalkya (c. 1400 B. C.) and the traditions were ancient traditions – some going back to the Kritika period (c. 2350 B.C.). This is further explained as follows :

When Kritika was the star of the equinox (in c 2350 B. C), it was on the celestial equator and rose exactly due east. This was noticed and it was correctly enjoined that the rising of the Kritika marked true east : that Kritika was the East star. This injunction of 2300 B. C. was taken over as such and inserted in the Satapatha Brahmana. It only shows an ancient tradition even though given in the present tense (see below) : it is not a contemporary observation made by Yajnavalkya.

In other words a vedic hymn or a mantra of a Brahmana only shows that *an observation was made at a certain time* (which can be calculated). To establish the date of a text in which it appears—which

may be quite different from the date of the observation—*something more is necessary*. One must show in addition that the observer—if his name is known—did belong to that epoch. Otherwise, all that could be said is that the text contains an ancient tradition. Hence, we can say that 1) Yajnavalkya belonged to c. 1450 B. C. 2) He compiled the Satapatha Brahmana as mentioned in the text itself in 1400 B. C. 3) He collected one mantra which says Kritika rises in the east. It never swerves. It is an ancient *mantra* which was created or composed when Kritika was the East star i.e. somewhere around 2300–1800 B. C.

In other words, if the date of Yajnavalkya (independently computed) tallies with the date or the epoch of the observation (also *Independently* computed) — then, and only then, can an unequivocal conclusion be drawn viz. “Date of Yajnavalkya = Date of observation”. On the other hand, if the date of Yajnavalkya is 1400 B. C. and the epoch of the observation is 2000 B. C., then all that can be said is that Yajnavalkya collected a *mantra* whose epoch of observation was 2000 B. C.

Jacobi’s hypothesis that the year beginning at Falguna shows the epoch of 4000 B. C. is also vitiated for the same reason. At best, it shows only an ancient tradition, but no concurrent observation.

Orion period or Rohini period ?

It is for this period that the divergence between Tilak and Roy is the widest. The question may be framed astronomically thus “Is it the Orion period or is it the Rohini period?” Or, “which is the key star—Orion or Rohini” ?

Interpreting the key hymn X. 61.5, which is acknowledged to be an astronomical hymn on all hands – ancient or modern – Tilak says that the hymn represents equinox at Orion. Roy on the other hand, says that it represents equinox at Rohini or Aldebaran ⁽¹⁸⁾

The hymn X. 61.5 is by Nabhanedishtha, the son of Manu. It says that there was an incestual union between father and daughter in the mid-heavens. As it is a phenomenon of the mid-heaven it is obviously an astronomical legend. There is no difference of opinion

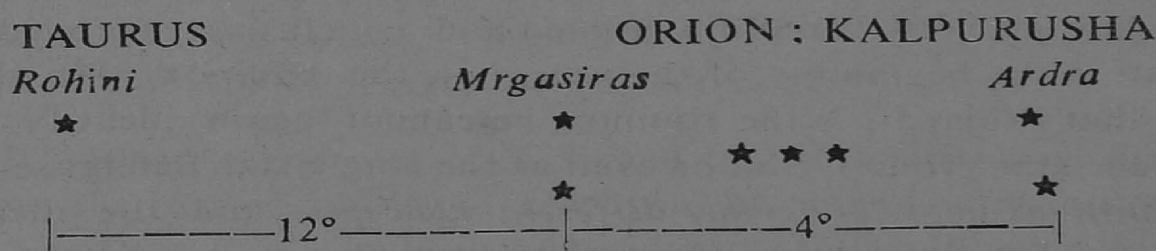
among the authorities (ancient or modern) that it is indeed astronomical hymn. It is also agreed upon by all authorities (ancient and modern) that the daughter is Rohini (= Aldeharan), and that the father is Prajapathi. Colebrooke⁽¹⁹⁾ identified Rohini as Aldebaran (Long, big 69.5°).

Tilak⁽²⁰⁾ (following Whitney) says that Prajapathi is Orion, while Roy, on the other hand, says that Prajapathi is equinox⁽²¹⁾. This is the only difference and the readers will have to only decide whether Prajapathi is equinox as Roy says or whether Prajapati is Orion as Tilak following Whitney contends. The rest follows as a matter of simple arithmetic.

To explain the problem to a layman, we give below a schematic representation of the stars and the star groups involved. As Dirghatamas said in his hymn R. V. 1-164.39 "*the riks are written in the high heavens: what shall he do with the earthly riks-he who cannot read the heavenly ones?*"

We have, therefore, to look up at the heavens to solve the most ancient problem—because in astronomy *it is the observation alone that matters*. *Candrārkau yatra sākṣinau*.

The schematic representation of Orion and Rohini is as follows:



In figures (which will be necessary for further discussion), the picture would read as follows:

Group	Star	Longitude (degrees)	Epoch
Orion	Betelguse (Adra)	84.5	4400 B.C.
Orion	L-Orionis (Soma)	81	4100 B.C.
Taurus	Aldebaran (Rohini)	69.5	3100 B.C.

One can now appreciate the weakness of Tilak's theory:

Orion is not one star but a constellation i.e. a star-group. It is not possible to have one sharp date for the supposed event with a group of stars. It would be 4400 B.C. with Betelguse but 4100 B.C. with L-Orionis—both belonging to Orion

The distance between Orion and Rohini is wide. A mere look up at the sky will show that they are wide apart—as much as thirteen degrees apart—even at their nearest. A mere look will also satisfy the observer that a sexual union is NOT possible at this distance. No ! it is not possible even for the gods. Hence, the theory of sexual union between Orion and Rohini is not possible even with Whitney's brilliant portrayal where he calls Prajapati, to be "THE KNAVE in full career behind the lovely Rohini !!"

The identification of Prajapati with Orion is purely a figment of Whitney's imagination. No other authority (ancient or modern) said so. Without some material howsoever tenuous, this identification—the critical identification for chronology—is not permissible.

Tilak unfortunately was taken in by Whitney's brilliant language.

Further, Tilak is inconsistent inasmuch as he has taken great pains to show that Prajapati is the beginning of the year : indeed, he has himself very forcefully argued and conclusively proved that Prajapati is the beginning of the year, i.e., the equinox ⁽²²⁾ Having proved that Prajapati is the equinox, he cannot again identify Prajapati as the star group Orion or even as the single star Betelguse. *The two definitions imply altogether different concepts, and the identification is NOT permissible.*

Finally, the most important argument. It is impossible either physically or astronomically for Orion and Aldebaran to be in conjunction. On the other hand, the equinotical colour (the line of the equinox which determines the new year's day) slowly but surely sweeps the sky once in 26000 years—and it will be in exact conjunction with Rohini at some epoch. This is a precise law and it *must* happen. It was indeed once in exact conjunction or exact union—picturesquely called a 'sexual union' by Nabhanedishtha. This event

TILAK-JACOBI CHRONOLOGY-A CRITICAL APPRECIATION

happened around 3070 B.C. * Further, it is known independently, that Nabhanedishtha, the son of Manu, had the dynastic number of 2 and his date of birth was 3149 B.C. Hence, there is no inherent improbability in inferring that Nabhanedishtha himself observed the phenomenon of the *equinox* (Prajapati) *uniting with Rohini* (daughter), and that thereafter he himself composed the (obscure!!) hymn R.V.X. 61. 5-9.

There is neither any inconsistency nor any inherent improbability in Roy's analysis and suggestion that Rohini (and not Orion) is the critical star. In fact, it was suggested already by Weber, but he could not pursue it further because of loud remonstrations of Whitney.⁽²³⁾ Neither Weber, nor Max Muller nor Whitney were observational astronomers!! only Colebrooke was.

Tilak's identification of Prajapati with Orion is not only inconsistent with his convincing proof that Prajapati is equinox, but the conjunction of Orion with Rohini is physically impossible. In fact, *Tilak's interpretation and dating cuts Rohini (Aldebaran) out of the picture completely. THIS IS CERTAINLY NOT PERMISSIBLE, BECAUSE THE DAUGHTER HAS THE YONI or THE FOUNT; viz. the exact point of the sexual union.*

The readers now have all the materials, *pro et contra*, between the respective views of Tilak and Roy. A reader with basic elementary knowledge of observational lunar astronomy will see the correct position for himself by merely looking up at the sky.

It should be very carefully noted that this criticism does not point out the inadmissibility of *astronomical method* of chronology as such. Far from it It only seeks to identify the critical datum star exactly. The proposed interpretation is rigorously correct in philology and grammar also, if one accepts the father (Prajapati), as the year beginning at the equinox. Further, it is not only not in conflict with any other material, but, in fact, *makes a synthesis of them all*. As Roy puts it, one will see the elephant through Rohini, where the others have so far seen only the trunk, the tusk or the tail. (P.L.A., p. 64, see also D.M.B., p. 59:)

* The exact date can be computed to a day, but obviously, it is not necessary in the present context: We take the margin of error to be three degrees or ± 200 years.

If it be suggested that the observation belongs to Indo-Iranian period or Indo-European period, then we only say that that is certainly possible: that further investigation is necessary to find as to the place *where the observation was made*. (This investigation is already in process under a computer programme, and the likely place is somewhere near the river Amu Darya. However, this matter is under investigation, and we need not anticipate or speculate).

It is tempting to identify the epoch of *Kaliyuga*. viz. 17th Feb 3102 B.C. as the date when Nabhanedishtha observed the equinox at Rohini. However, the date of 17th February gives the precession of only 57 days, and the epoch of about 2034 B.C. It appears that Kaliyuga was indeed connected with equinox at the Rohinis (3070 ± 200) B.C. but the exact date of "midnight of 17th-18th February was only a back-calculation and, therefore, not admissible material.

Conclusions :

1. Vedanga or Dhanishtha period (c. 1400 B.C.)

The date of about 1400 B.C. proposed by Tilak-Jacobi for the Vedanga period is perfectly sound, and has been accepted by all astronomers including Colebrook.

The objection of Max Mueller-Whitney viz. that 'Vedanga jyotisha is written in verse' is not at all germane in scientific and astronomical analysis. Suryasiddhanta is not a *kavya*: it is astronomy. Further, six independent observations of the Vedanga period are known: the period of their observers are also known independently. They all lie between 1424 B.C. to 1270 B.C.

Hence, proved.

2. Krittika period (c. 2350 B.C.)

Many hymns of the Rigveda, particularly those by Viswamitra, Dirghatamas,⁽²⁴⁾ Madhucchandas, the son of Viswamitra, were indeed composed in the period when Agni, the Lord of Krittika (= Alcyone) was the divine time-keeper. The dates of the observers (the rishis above mentioned) are known independently, and they all belong to 2600-2200 B.C. having dynastic numbers 32-44. ⁽²⁵⁾

These dates are in full concordance also with the dates of kings who had the dynastic numbers 63-68. (2000-1900 B.C.) and whose dates have been verified by cross contacts with the dated kings of Mesopotamia.

Tilak's further finding that some of the Brahmanas were *composed* in the Kritika period, however, is not fully borne out, because the names of the observers are not known. The mantras of the Brahmanas quoted by Tilak and Jacobi probably represent ancient traditions i.e. ancient methods which were valid in the Kritika period but were carried over and inserted in the Brahmanas.

Rohini period (c. 3100 B.C.)

The correct interpretation of the *mantras* of the R.V.X. 61.5-9 by Nabhanedishtha is that the equinox then took place at Rohinis. Tilak's interpretation that this *mantra* suggests equinox at Orion is not sustainable as shown in detail above.

The date of birth of Nabhanedishtha, the son of Manu is independently known from the dynastic chronology to be about 3147 B.C. Hence, Roy's interpretation satisfies all known facts. Whether it belongs to the Indo-Iranian or Indo-European period is a matter of further investigation and the matter is being looked into separately.

However, even if the Rohini period be kept pending for further judgement, there is no material or reason whatever for rejecting the claim that many hymns of the Rigveda (e.g. those by Viswamitra, Madhucchandas, Dirghatamas) were composed in the Kritika period i.e. about 2400 ± 200 B.C. In fact, Winternitz has already suggested this very time bracket⁽²⁶⁾.

The great contribution of Tilak and Jacobi was that they established that the chronology of the Vedic period can indeed be worked out scientifically by means of astronomy. In fact, Colebrooke promised to determine the Vedic dates astronomically but could not proceed with his promised task beyond establishing that the Vedanga period belongs to about 1400 B.C.

However, the astronomical method looks deceptively simple; actually, it requires not only the knowledge of the rate of precession

but also a deep knowledge of the Vedic lunar astronomy and calendar making, in addition to a knowledge of Vedic language and symbolism. In particular, it is essential to identify the basic datum stars properly before any dating is attempted.

Further, it is desirable to ascertain the date of the rishi-observer *independently* to afford some collateral check. Otherwise, it will be justifiably said that the *mantra* is merely a collection of an old tradition.

And, finally, it is possible to draw up a complete chain of dates of kings and seers of the vedic period from 1. Manu Vaivasvata to 103. Suci, (= 1890 years for 103 kings i.e. about 18 years per king) which is not only conservative and self-consistent but which broadly satisfies all the five techniques of scientific chronology. Be it carefully noted that *the astronomical observations are self-dating and hence their strength.*

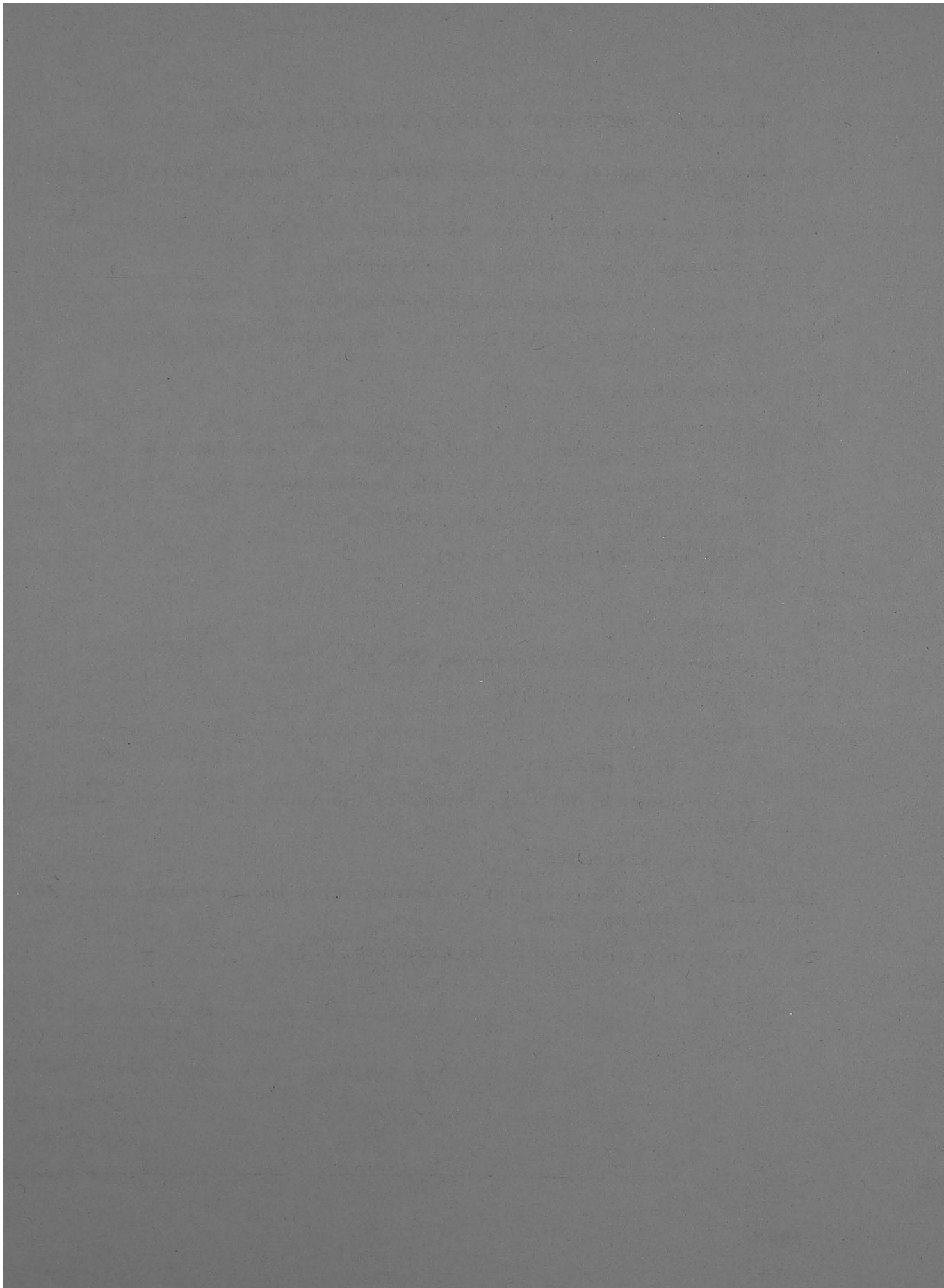
To Sum up :

The determination of the chronology of the Vedic period by ethno-astronomy is a perfectly satisfactory method, because the method is scientific, objective and is in tune with all the other techniques of chronology. Tilak-Jacobi method, should, therefore, be appreciated as a valid *first order* approach—although one may differ from the individual dates determined by them beyond the Krittika period (c. 2350 B.C.)

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THE ROLE OF TRADERS AND GUILDS IN INDIAN SOCIETY

O. P. Verma

One of the postulates of ancient Indian economics is the acceptance of group organizations as normal form of economic life. Such a corporate activity is not merely an ordinary feature of ancient Indian life, but it was the chief secret of its economic success, as it has been in the case of western civilizations in comparative recent times. While in the modern world, the industrial organization is largely the result of natural growth and of voluntary effort in ancient India the economic organization was imposed on society as a consequence of social and religious life of the age. It is remarkable indeed that in spite of a comparative lower stage of trading enterprise and lack of fluid capital for the investment, the economic life of the early periods of Indian history evinces a higher state of co-operative activity.

Max Weber (¹) and more recently several other scholars have remarked on a fact often overlooked in studies of ancient Indian history. Contemporary with the rise of powerful territorial states appeared the capitalist enterprise. The Ganges provided a natural trade route, and wealthy nobles, beginning to move to urban centres to spend their rent, provided a market. The city which had begun its development in the eighth and seventh century B.C. ceased to be primarily a fortress as opportunities for the accumulation of wealth through trade expanded. This resulted in the rise of new classes in the Gangetic basin during the sixth century B.C.

Rise of the class of 'Gahapati'

Of these the class called 'gahapati' (skt. grihapati) appeared in the Buddhist period. The expression is exactly similar to the word 'Vaiśya' and is often met with in the Pali Literature. According to its etymology, it means "a householder, head of a household" and denotes generally, if not always, a landlord or merchant-prince of high birth

and wealth. Richard Fick (2) points out that we see in these 'gahapatis' partly the gentry of the land, the lower land-owning nobility, in contrast with the nobility which is related to princely houses, the Kshatriyas, and partly the high and rich middle class families of the big cities which can be compared with the patricians of the imperial and industrial cities of the Middle Ages. Like the Kshatriyas, the gahapatis also seem to have distinguished themselves from the great mass of the population by a certain consciousness of position and by pride in their Aryan descent. On account of their importance and wealth, the gahapatis played a significant part, in the imperial court and appeared permanently in the retinue of the king(3). Kosambi(4) points out that the gahapati of the *Jatakas* is a man generally of the Vaisya caste who follows all professions from finance, trade and farming to carpentry, but is always gifted with wealth and social prestige.

The Śreshthi

The most important and aristocratic representative of the gahapati class is the *seṭṭhi* or *śreshthi*. The term is derived from the word for the 'superior' or 'pre-eminent'. The '*śreshthi*' was actually a financier or a banker, sometimes the head of a trade guild. Even absolute despotic kings treated these shreshthis with respect though they had no direct voice in politics. There is a reference in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (5) to the position of the sreshthi (the chief of the guild) who favours with a draught from his goblet to anyone whom he likes. In the *Ramāyana* (6) among the persons who accompanied Bharata in his quest for Rama are mentioned the gem-cutters, potters, weavers, armourers, ivory workers, well-known goldsmiths, the foremost merchants and citizens of all classes. The *Mahabharata* (7) mentions a prince who defeated in battle and ashamed to return home exclaims, "For what shall I have to say to my relatives, to the priests and to the heads of the guilds."

In the *Jatakas* (8) *seṭṭhi* stands mostly in close proximity to the royal court. For the management of the finances of the state, for paying the army and the officials, for military operations, for construction of public buildings, etc., the king obviously consulted the opinion of a businessman familiar with the trade affairs of the land.

while on the other hand, the business community got its interests represented in the court through the *śreshthi* who watched carefully the legislation and administration affecting the trader. Just as his social rank was hereditary, so also, the office of the father passed as a rule on to the son. One of the *Jatakas* speaks of the Bodhisattva born in a setthi family (⁹)

An important period of Buddha's life is intimately associated with the great merchant families of Benaras. Their recognized social position and influence enlisted on behalf of the new faith contributed materially to its popularity and propagation in the early and critical stages of its career. Many of these merchants were like millionaires of modern times. There is an interesting anecdote of a merchant of Rajagriha who had done good service both to the King and to the merchants' guild. Once when he could not be cured after a protracted illness for seven years and his condition was declared hopeless, Bimbisara, the king of Magadha, was prevailed upon by a merchant to depute his physician-in-waiting, Jivaka, for treatment. This particular merchant was so rich that he paid 200,000 Karshapanas as medical fee which was shared between the physician and the king. Anathapindika, the merchant prince famous for his munificent gift to the Buddha of the Jetavana park is mentioned as the *Mahā-setthi*.

The Mahāsālā

Among the traders, the richest magnets were called mahasālā, heads of the great patriarchal households who could be Kshatriyas and brahmins as well as gahapatis by caste, for each type of mahasālā is so labelled explicitly in Pali literature. These constituted the ruling class of the contemporary society. The pura-janapadas and the still older *śreyas* are not mentioned, from which we can draw the assumption that the tribal remnants were forgotten by this time. The mahasālās would mostly be residing at country seats, presumably running plantations and other estates as the well-to-do gentry. One comes across frequently in the *Jatakas* the discussion among the parents about the choice of a profession for the son from a wide range. Caste would have fixed the profession if the smṛiti injunctions were followed. But change of occupation at will, independently of caste

is a common phenomena in the *Jatakas*, where the brahmins (as in the panchatantra) may take to trade without a qualm about the *āpaddharma* (law of the hard times) excuse of the smṛiti literature. A merchant's slave is as well brought up as a son who marries the daughter of another rich merchant but is not exposed by the former master when he discovers the deceit. They all live happily ever after.

In the later historical period, the big merchants rivalled the kings in their affluence and their way of living was quite imperial. In the Maharajaparajaya of Yasahpala, the opulence and grandeur of the mansion of a millionaire (Kotisvara) merchant is described. Huge banners with ringing bells were hoisted over the mansion to proclaim the owner's status as a kotisvara. He maintained alms houses and owned a large number of horses and elephants. The main building was approached by a stair-case of crystal. The mansion included a temple with crystal floor and its walls were adorned with religious paintings. The temple enshrined an image in emerald. Even the king Chalukya Kumarapala when he visited the mansion was wonder-struck to see the rich stores of gold, silver and jewels.

The Guilds : Origin in Europe :

We shall now proceed to discuss the guilds and their role in the ancient Indian society. Guilds are generally understood to be the associations of merchants or craftsmen for the mutual benefit of their members, having as their ends protection, monopoly of the trade or craft, good workmanship, and fraternal and religious benefits. In the Middle Ages, these associations served to train men in business ethics, to develop personal relationships, and to harmonize the interests of producer and consumer. The word 'guild' is derived from the old Germanic root—*gelt*, *geld* or *gild*, with an early meaning of "payment" or "offering". The etymological argument suggests that the earliest guilds would be associations of men grouped together to pay money for a common object. By the twelfth century when evidence first survives in quantity, the Western European guilds were already bodies of widely differing degrees of organization, directed at a multiplicity of aims. Although any attempt to classify these associations is bound to distort the complicated realities of the medieval situation, most of them can be said to fall within one of the following four classes:

(1) frith (peace) guilds; (2) religious guilds ; (3) merchant guilds: and (4) craft guilds. All the four categories contained a strong religious element. Only in the case of the last two was the aim predominantly or primarily that of economic regulation and control.

Indian background :

In India economic groupings of various kinds are met with in ancient literature which has yielded words like *sreni*, *puga*, *gana*, *vrata* and *sangha* which deserve to be carefully examined. All these were called *samuha* (groups) or *varga* but its exact connotation has been explained differently. *Sreni* has been defined as a guild of merchants, artisans, bankers, Brahmins learned in the four Vedas (*Medhatithi*) or a guild of merchants and husbandmen (*Govindraja*). It was an assembly of persons following a common craft or trade and a common duty. *Kautilya* uses the word '*sreni*' in the sense of a guild of workers (II.IV). Yet, at another place, he applies this term to the corporation of people subsisting on agriculture, trade and military work (XI. i). According to *Mitāksharā* and *Vīramritodaya*, *sreni* is a combination of the people, differing in caste, who maintain themselves by the sale of one kind of merchandise. *Narada* interprets *sreni* as a corporation of industrialists. *Mahābhārata* uses the term in the sense of a guild of merchants. The *Mitāksharā* explains that while *puga* is an association of people of different castes and different occupations that stay in one locality, a *sreni* is a group of people of different castes that subsist by the same kind of labour. According to *Yajñavalkya* (II 30) *pugas* and *srenis* had authority to investigate disputes and that the *puga* was a higher tribunal than the *sreni*. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains that *vratas* are groups formed by men of various castes with no fixed means of livelihood but subsisting by the might of their bodies (V.2.21). While *Sangha* is defined as a union of individuals pursuing common aims and interests, not a mere chance collection or a confused medley of individuals, *gana* is explained as meaning peoples or guilds (*Manu* III:164). Originally *gana* was an assemblage of families or a fraternity, but later it became a political corporation. (*Yaj.* II. 230). *Sangha* was simply any association for the realisation of common ends. As for *Naigama*, it was an association of citizen-merchants of the same city.

Co-operative enterprises :

Apart from the organisation of the type whose permanence as guilds is indicated by their being made trustees and custodian of charitable endowments, we have references to co-operative enterprises (*Sambhūya-Samutthāna*), and 'occasional' combines such as that of traders for the purpose of causing a rise or fall in prices. We have abundant evidence in our literature in regard to the possession by these group organisations of definite constitutions and suitable administrative machinery. Besides these, there were schemes of associated enterprise.

The guild was properly speaking a merchant association and was originally distinguished from the craft and vocational organisation. The latter known as *sreni* was an occupational group found in villages and towns and organised for the pursuit of a common economic objective by its members. It may have been composed of persons of the same vocation but of different castes. Kautilya however suggests that this corporation was based at first on blood ties. In the *Arthaśāstra*⁽¹¹⁾, *sreni* is used to denote a former tribal association that had become an occupational grouping. Kosambi⁽¹²⁾ considers the *sreni* discussed by Kautilya to be an organisation intermediate between tribe and caste whose members took to a general profession, but could also bear arms. Its members were not yet absorbed into the caste hierarchy.

The guilds may originally have been confined to economic objectives, but by the early Mauryan period they had acquired broader social functions. Indeed these corporate groups appear to have embraced every sphere of human activity and to have exercised controls over non-economic aspects of their members lives. In this respect the guild resembled its medieval European counterpart. Both exerted a closer regulation of human behaviour than would be countenanced in the modern State. Expulsion from the guild could ofcourse prevent an individual from practising the trade or craft of his family.

Each of the corporations that composed ancient Indian society had its own tradition of law. Each combined the legislative, executive and judicial functions of Government. These bodies were governed,

typically, by boards of from two to five persons. Removal of an executive officer for a misconduct need not always be sanctioned by the King, although it was necessary that he be consulted, and in cases of serious conflicts between the parties concerned, the King could issue a verdict. But dismissal was generally the task of the guild assembly.

Merchants, craftsmen and even unskilled workers were organised into associations, membership of which tended to become hereditary. Guilds of soldiers, musicians, farmers, artisans, doctors, fishermen and priests appear in the chronicles. Even highwaymen and beggars seem to have been organized. The political and economic strength of the people was due in large part of the effectiveness of these organisations.

The King and the Guild :

Narada, the theorist of monarchical absolutism goes so far as to say that the king must uphold even those prescriptions of the guilds which go against his and the community's best interests⁽¹³⁾. Other authorities are mindful of the guild's function as money lender to the prince. Yajnavalkya assigns to the state the responsibility for ensuring that the guilds deal equitably with the people and that they do not gain 'disproportionate' power or quarrel among themselves. Nor could guild be organised without state approval. The state recognised the judicial rights of the guild over its members. Most of the smritis have justified the intervention of the State in trying and punishing guild members when the guild itself was clearly unfair in its treatment. The question of compatibility between guild regulations and sacred law was generally left to the king who exercised a type of judicial review and whose authority was final.

Guild as a Challenge to the State :

In actual practice, the State seems to have interfered with the affairs of the guilds when their actions prejudiced the general welfare or when they disagreed among themselves. Although in ancient India, the State intruded only infrequently in the affairs of the various associations that made up the community, with the accumulation of wealth and the development of commercial centres, the State saw the

guild as a challenge to its own power. An active conflict developed between the economic and political agencies as the State sought to control the corporations. Guild organisation was however incapable of challenging State intervention. The State was ultimately triumphant in curbing the guilds, at the same time curtailing the opportunities for capitalist expansion.

In the epics these corporations are described as representative assemblies, and they acted as constitutional checks on the King. It is possible that members of the guilds also bore arms. By the third century B.C., these organizations of workers had become less influential than the merchant guilds dominated by the wealthy families on whom the State had come to depend as the Renaissance prince would later rely on the great banking houses. Village settlement was expanding, encouraging a lively trade in necessities. A luxury market had also emerged. And the State beset with problems of administration sometimes had no choice but to distribute among the guilds functions it had formerly reserved for itself.

The guilds possessed a distinct organization of their own claiming and commanding a recognised position of importance and influence in the society. They formulated their own laws and by-laws to regulate their work and activities and were fully permitted to do so by the ancient jurists. To quote Gautam "Cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artisans have authority to lay down laws for their respective classes (xi.20)". Manus says, a King who knows the sacred law must enquire into the laws of the castes (जाति) and districts of peoples (जानपद), guild-laws and family laws" (viii, 41). The King was bound to respect the laws of the guild. According to Kautilya (II vii), the King's accountant must enter in his books the laws, the manners, and the customs of castes, families, guilds and localities.

Caste and Profession

We shall now turn to the much discussed aspect of relationship between caste and profession. There is a definite relationship between caste and profession. This is not simply an identity. As Dumont⁽¹⁴⁾ observes, the traditional caste system is not purely and simply a professional system. The caste is not the same as the trade guild. The relationship between caste and profession has given rise to

difficulties and misunderstanding. Much of the difficulty disappears if one admits with Hocart that caste and profession are linked through the intermediary of religion which is obvious in the case of the ritual specialists like the barber and washerman. But this link is perceptible only in certain cases. There are some religiously neutral professions which are followed by a number of different castes. The link between caste and profession is therefore primarily a matter of status.

Nesfield insisted that occupation must be taken as the sole basis of caste⁽¹⁵⁾. Its beginnings were quite independent of religion. Blunt⁽¹⁶⁾ and Dahmann follow this interpretation, the latter arguing that the three major orders—priest, noble and ‘bourgeois’—could be found in every community that had made any advance at all. From these he postulated that smaller groups based on occupational and kinship ties gradually formed and in turn caste took shape—the corporation being the intermediate and essential stage⁽¹⁷⁾. But Dahmann’s explanation of caste as petrified guild is inadequate since, as Bougle points out, it cannot account for the hereditary transmission of occupation.

Senart, in answering Nesfield and those emphasising occupational specialisation as the crucial factor in the emergence of caste, contended that they had ignored the obvious fact that men might practice the same occupation but belong to different castes. The truth that lies in the occupational theory is simply that there are professions which a member of a caste cannot practice without losing status. Hocart and most recent writers on the subject follow Senart in questioning the conclusion that a man was always predestined to an occupation by heredity because of the obvious association of caste with profession or trade. Even in that monument of orthodoxy, the *Manusmriti*⁽¹⁹⁾, we find that the brahmin was permitted to find his livelihood in agriculture and trade, if he could not support himself by his traditional vocation. Hoysala records make frequent reference to merchants of Brahmin descent who carried on trade in horses, elephants and pearls and in the words of these records, ‘transported goods from the east to the west and from the north to the south and vice versa’.⁽²⁰⁾ As Dieckmeier⁽²¹⁾ has rightly observed, men did cross caste and occupational barriers.

Guild as a stereo-typed institution

In the early centuries the bond of union in the guild was adherence by the members to the same occupation though they might otherwise belong to different castes, but later the guilds became rather stereo-typed and birth in the same *Jāti* counted as the only unifying factor in the guild. Sulaiman⁽²²⁾, a careful Arab observer of the ninth century AD states that in all the kingdoms that he had visited, the profession never went out of caste. Barbosa,⁽²³⁾ a Portuguese writer of the early sixteenth century, remarks that sons of washermen perforce followed their father's trade. An inscription of the reign of Kulottunga⁽²⁴⁾ tells us that the occupation of the rathakaras went by heredity.

Types of Guild

Broadly speaking, the guilds may be divided into five main categories, viz., the traders' guild, the artisans' guild, the craft guild, the agriculturists' guild and the caste guild. There was a clear distinction between the traders and merchants on one side, and the artisans and the craftsmen on the other. While the hereditariness of the profession was of essential importance for an artisan or a manufacturer, with the traders it was not so rigid. Of the five types of guild, the traders' guild was the best organised. Although the Buddhist literature does refer to such guilds, it was not so well organised as in the early medieval period. In the Pali literature, we frequently hear of caravans consisting of 500 carts laden with goods travelling across the country. There the rank of *Sāṛthavāha* or caravan-leader, seems to imply some sort of federation⁽²⁵⁾. As the term *Sāṛthavāhakulam* indicates, the position of sarthavaha was apparently hereditary⁽²⁶⁾.

The merchants' Guild

The earliest known record relating to the traders' guild is a Kannada inscription in the characters of the eighth century found in Dharwar District which refers to 500-svamis of Ayyavole (Ainnurruvar). This guild of merchants comprised indigenous (svadesi), foreign (paradesi) and itinerant (nānādesi) members. They claimed to be the children of the Gods Vasudeva and Mulabhadra or Virabhadra, and worshipped the goddess Bhagavati, also referred to as Kandali, Padmavati or Paramesvari.

They had many sub-divisions coming from '1000 districts' of the four quarters, 18 districts or 32 prosperous coastal cities, 18 patti-nams and 64 trade assemblies. They visited all the countries in India from Cera, Cola and Pandya in the south to Nepala in the north and by land or sea penetrated into the six continents²⁸. They were extolled as the lords of Aihole from where they emigrated all over the Deccan. A eulogy speaks of them as possessing truthfulness, pure conduct, agreeable behaviour, policy, courtesy and intelligence, pure in the maintenance of the *Virabalanju* code (dharma) of which they were the protectors. Carrying a banner of a hill, they exalted in valour and were wedded to the pursuit of the Dharma, Artha and Kama, by the sale and purchase of articles.

The articles in which they traded included salt, paddy and rice, beans, red gram, green gram, castor seed, arecanut, pepper, turmeric, ginger, onions, cumin, mustard, honey, gunny bags, silk seeds and yarn, yak-tails, camphor oil, perfumes, cattle, horses and elephants. To this may be added saffron, beads, tiger skin, lead and tin. Obviously such a list indicates an advanced state of commercial progress and economic prosperity in the early medieval period. The guild of 500 maintained mercenary armies, the leader of which resembled the *conditieri* of the medieval Italian city states. They were designated as *mummuridandas*.

From the eighth to the seventeenth century, we learn that their activities extended from Kolhapur, Miraj and Bijapur in the Deccan to Tinnevely in the south. It should not be forgotten that they left colonies of their men in charge of fortified marts protected by troops in Siam, Burma, Sumatra and Ceylon. They supported different groups of artisans and controlled all the chambers of commerce in the Deccan and South India-carrying an immense banking business and controlling production and industries but chiefly engaged in their distribution.

The Figure '500' Conventional:

The use of the figure '500' led R.C. Majumdar⁽²⁹⁾ to think that this organisation consisted of five hundred members. T. V. Mahalingam⁽³⁰⁾ feels that their extra territorial organisation was managed by an executive committee of five hundred members. Appadorai⁽³¹⁾ too holds a similar view when he states that the most important personages were

constituted into a board called the five Hundred svamis of Ayyavole. L.D. Barnett's opinion is that this corporation had their central body at Ayyavole which was the seat of their Board of Directors, consisting of a council of five hundred members. All these opinions are based on the interpretation of the term *Ainnurruvar* which deserves close examination. It seems rather too much to expect the *Ainnurruvar* to have been such a unified body with continuous history of nearly ten centuries and with branches all over South India and even abroad. Such an organisation is too modern a concept and may not be applicable to this period of South Indian history. The figure of 500 has to be taken as a conventional number from which this mercantile community has derived its name. Naming guilds and other bodies after what may have been considered as their numerical strength is not unusual in Indian history. In the *Jatakas*, we get references to carpenters and robbers organized in guilds of five hundred. As for the occurrence of Ayyavole it seems to be a reminder of the place of origin rather than a reference to its headquarter. After the tenth century AD when Ayyavole declined as a centre of mercantile activity we begin to get their records in other places.

During the period of Chola dominance, the guild of 500 traded extensively along the principal trading routes of northern Ceylon. Undoubtedly the Chola occupation of Ceylon created favourable conditions for these gains. The most significant aspect of Indian merchant involvement in medieval Ceylon is military. The Chola army relied heavily upon mercenary groups. We do know that after the expulsion of the Cholas, bodies of Tamil mercenaries calling themselves *Velaikkarar* troops and identifying themselves as servants of the *Ainnurruvar* were employed by kings of Ceylon. Furthermore, these troops, according to their own statements, were drawn from both the 'right' (velangali) and 'left' (idangai) blocs of non-Brahmin castes in southern India⁽³²⁾.

Craft Guilds :

The Buddhist texts mention several guilds of craftsmen and artisans who were both the producers and the sellers of their own goods or articles. The texts mention about eighteen craft guilds which were organised under a head called *pramukha* or *Jetthaka*. The following characteristics may be noticed in the craft guilds :

1. Hereditariness of the profession : From his early youth, the son was apprenticed to the craft and art of his father. The manual skill, the talent for particular craft, was an inheritance of the family from generation to generation.
2. Localisation of industries : This was an important factor which greatly contributed to the organisation of particular branches of industry. These localisations are seen mainly in three features : inside the cities, outside but in the proximity of the cities and in the isolated parts of the country.

Within the towns and cities, we see that certain streets if not quarters, were fixed for certain artisans and tradesmen. For instance, the dantakāra-vṛthi, was the street of the ivory-workers, the rājaka-vṛthi, that of the dyers, the tanta-vitatthanam was the weavers' place and Surāpāna was the place of the liquor shops. So were the florists' and the perfumers' bazars. The potters' craft seems to have been located mostly outside the towns or cities in their proximity. A village in the vicinity of Benaras was inhabited by the potters. These craftsmen's villages or settlements in the immediate neighbourhood of a big city could find an easy market for their products and could also supply themselves with their ordinary needs, such as clothes, foodstuffs, implements and the like, from the city.

Mobility of the Guilds

An interesting sidelight thrown by a *Jataka* story on the organisation of such guilds states that the carpenters living in a certain village once failed to carry out the orders placed before them for which they had received large advances. Consequently they were harassed and summoned to fulfil their contract. But, instead of doing that, they built a mighty ship secretly, and emigrated en masse with their families slipping down the Ganges by night till they reached a fertile region where they ultimately settled^(33.) That this mobility was not given up in later historical periods is attested to by a Mandasor stone inscription⁽³⁴⁾ of Kumaragupta and Bhandhuvarman. It relates how a guild of silkweavers, originally settled at Lata immigrated in to the city of Dasapura, attracted by the virtues of the king of that place. Here many of them took to different pursuits. While some learnt archery and became good fighters, others adopted the reli-

gious life and discoursed on religious topics. The prudent among them learnt astrology and astronomy while a few gave up all wordly concerns and took to an ascetic life. Among the rest while a number of them adhered to the hereditary profession of silk-weaving various other professions were also followed.

Agriculturists' Guild :

A temple record of South India⁽³⁵⁾ speaks of a guild of agriculturists. Significantly enough, the slabs on which these records are engraved bears the sketches of a plough (*meli* in Tamil) together with other figures such as the bull, serpent, drum, *Purna kumbha*, etc. From the description of the record, it appears that members of the guild called themselves as the 'sons of the soil'. What is of interest to note is that they belonged to all the four varnas⁽³⁶⁾ and were well versed in the science of polity in which they have acquired great proficiency. The necessity of acquiring proficiency in subjects like polity for an agriculturist can be gauged by the fact that these guilds had under their jurisdiction as many as 79 divisions which must have included fairly a large territory. The guild exerted control over the production and distribution of the agricultural produce. Besides their role as promoters of agricultural wealth of the country, the members of this guild served as benefactors and trustees of religious institutions. Members of other castes associated with the Chitrameli guild or supported by it bore their name or their sur-name. We hear for instance, of a goldsmith name Chitrameli, of a dancing girl named Chitramelinangai, of a Brahmin of the Kashyapagotra, Chitrameli-battan, and a district administrator Chitrameli-malaiaryan. Groups of villages under this guild were called Chitrameliperiyanadu. Brahmin villages under the protection of the Chitrameli corporation were called Chitrameli Chaturvedimangalam.

The Chitrameli guild is indeed a grand attempt at organizing production in the districts and villages under the purview of this association and consolidating holdings to facilitate cultivation and the pooling and selling of the produce, so as to ensure large scale production and good profits for the members.

Caste Guilds :

This type of guild was composed of certain occupations such as barber or skinner of dead bodies which ultimately turned

into a caste. About the first centuries of the Christian era, such castes as woodworkers, oilmen, betel sellers and weavers that are at present very low in the hierarchy of caste had very efficient caste guilds, so famous for their organisation, integrity and stability that people deposited with them thousands of money for permanent services to objects of charity. Abhira king Isvarasena deposited 1000 *Kārshāpanas* with a guild of potters, 500 with a guild of oilmen and 2000 with a guild of washermen for medicines to be given to the sick bhikshus^(37.) The Junnar Buddhist cave inscription⁽³⁸⁾ refers to an investment of monies with the guild of bamboo-workers and of braziers. We read about whole villages (especially near Benaras) settled by basket-makers, potters, smiths, weavers, and the like. These artisans, though kinship groups, generally formed guilds (*śreni*) naturally with a tribe-like organisation inherited from their own past. This process is still visible in semi-tribal areas, e.g. Assam. Normally each such profession forms a caste⁽³⁹⁾

Various functions of the guilds

In order to assess the proper role of the guilds, it is necessary to review their functions. As stated earlier, the functions of the guild were not confined to economic matters alone. They played a prominent role in matters concerning social, religious, administrative, fiscal and judicial affairs of the territory, thus arrogating to them a role equal to an imperial authority. Primarily, they acted as trustees of both the ruler and the ruled, receiving endowments of money or land. Such endowments were made for different purposes. It may be for planting of the trees or excavating a tank or a canal or it may be for feeding the ascetics during a fixed period or for the maintenance of a lamp in a temple. The endowments became ultimately the perpetual property of the guilds.

The guilds laid down rules in respect of properties left by persons without any descendants. They permitted the diversion of the canals of the tank towards the fallow land. They had the power to grant remission of the entire taxes to the artisan families. They helped the imperial governor of the territory in matters of administration and acted as arbitrators in serious disputes between the imperial governor and residents of the locality. They could even challenge the authority of the imperial governor. They investigated into the murder cases

and used to pronounce a verdict on the criminals and supervised the implementation of their judgement. They mortgaged the land of individual persons in return for payment of gold. They imposed on themselves a tax on articles of merchandise for making an offering to religious institutions. They could levy customs on all the articles of merchandise passing through the district.

The guilds possessed their own seal of authority. The well-known guild of 500 had their own seal depicting '*mahishasuramardini*'⁽⁴⁰⁾. At Basarh near Vaisali⁽⁴¹⁾, numerous seal inscriptions referring to the guilds of bankers, traders and merchants have been found. The seals bear the legend depicting the symbol of a money chest thereon. The guilds had their own coinage. The four coins from Takshashila⁽⁴²⁾ discovered from excavations were struck by the four different negamas. Sometimes, even the individual merchants had their favourite coins⁽⁴³⁾.

Conclusion

In conclusion, examining the role of the guilds in Indian history, through social, political, economic and judicial dimensions, the following points are borne out :—

1. As trustees of the people in general and the rulers in particular, the guilds received endowments of money and land spending the interest thereon on religious and secular purposes.
2. They acted as constitutional checks on the kings who respected the laws and conventions established by the guilds.
3. Although caste system is not wholly an organisation of trade guilds, the fact that its foundation was formed by the productive organisation is one beyond question.
4. They laid down rules regarding properties of the dead persons leaving no descendants and arbitrated in boundary disputes.
5. They assisted the local administrators in the local matters and had the power to oppose them.
6. They were free to levy taxes on merchandise passing through the territory without consulting the local governor and granted remission to the families of the artisans.

7. They monopolised inland and overseastrade and had established number of centres, acting in the same manner as the multi-national corporations of the modern times.
8. They possessed their own military forces which they lent to the rulers from time to time on a mercenary basis.
9. They had the power to issue their own coins and seals of authority.
10. They acted as judicial courts and adjudged civil and criminal cases.
11. The members of the guild were well-versed in matters other than those relating to their trade and acted in full concord.
12. They were a State within the State.

FOOT-NOTES

1. *The Religion of India*, 1958, pp 86 ff
2. *The Social Organisation in North East India in Buddhist Time*, 1920, p 253
3. *Mahavagga* I, 22.3 (Vinaya Pitaka ed Oldenberg, Vol. 1, p 35)
4. *An Introduction to the study of Indian History*, 1975, p. 277
5. III. 30, 3
6. II. 83, 12, 13
7. III. 248, 6
8. I. 269, 349 : III, 119, 299 : IV 63
9. IV. 627
10. Act III, pp 53 ff
11. XI. 1
12. *An Introduction to the study of Indian History*, 1975, p 232
13. *Naradasmrithi* X. 2. Narada further rules that custom is powerful and overrules the scared law.
14. *Homo Heirarchicus*, 1970, p 93
15. *Brief view of the Caste System of North West Provinces and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1885,
16. *Census of India*, vol XV, 1911.
17. Dahlman, J, *Das Altindische Volkstum and seine Bedeutung fur die Gesellschaftskunde*, Koln, 1899

18. Hocart, A.M. *Caste*, London, 1950
19. *Manusmriti* IV, 2 ff ; X, 82, but the following verse counsels the Brahmin to avoid agriculture as it causes great pain and is dependent on other creatures. Gautam (X, 5 ff) considered agriculture a legitimate occupation if the Brahmin did not do the work himself. Brahmins engaging in trade must not deal in certain goods.
20. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V, Arisikere, 22
21. *Kingship and community in early India*, California, 1962, p. 76
22. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its historians*, London, 1867, I. 4.
23. Barbosa, *An account of the countries bordering on the Indian ocean and their inhabitants written by Durate Barbosa and completed about the year 1518*. Translated with Notes by Longworth Dames, London, 1918
24. *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, 479 of 1908
25. I, pp 88; II, p 335; III, p 200
26. Ibid
27. *Indian Antiquary*, VI, p 138
28. Of Tamil inscriptions at Taku-apa in Siam, at Labae Toewa in Sumatra, at Pagan in Burma and in Ceylon
29. *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 1920, p 82
30. *South Indian Polity*, p 392
31. *Economic Conditions of Southern India*, 1936, p 394
32. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, No. 38
33. IV, p. 159
34. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 86
35. *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*, 1953-54, B 6
36. A prasasti of the guild runs as below :

स्वस्तिश्चो श्रीमतां भूमिपुत्रानां श्रमत् गोक्षीरजाविनां
 सर्वलोकं हितन्याय चित्रमेकस्यशासन जीयतां जगतां एतत्
 पालनं राष्ट्र पोषणं शासनं भूमिपुत्रानां चातुर्वर्ण कुलोद्भव ॥ — *ibid*

37. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, p 88
38. ASWI, IV, p. 97
39. Kosambi, D D , *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*, 1975, p 125
40. *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. IV (ed. A. M. Annigeri) No. 55
41. Mookerjee, R. K , *Local Government in Ancient India*, 1958, p 112. Dr. Bloch remarked, "It looks as if during those days, something like a modern Chamber of Commerce existed in Upper India at some big trading centre, perhaps at Pataliputra."
42. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p, 63
43. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVII, pp 277-276

AN EARLY MEDIEVAL TEMPLE AT TERALA

D. Hanumantha Rao

The temple under reference is situated on the slope of a low hill range, 13 kms. south of Macherla (by road) and 8 kms. as crow flies and 1 km. north of the Village Terela proper in Palanadu taluk of Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh.

The surrounding area is rocky, with a cluster of low hillocks (off-shoot of Nallamalai ranges) spread east-west. At some places, there are plain alluvial grounds through which several small nullahs and rivulets are flowing and joining ultimately the river Chandravanka, a tributary to the river Krishna. The temple under reference is actually located on the bank of one such nullah (above 500' contour).

The temple is locally known as Rūpalammagudi and once it should have flourished as an ideal place of worship. At present it is standing in a tank-bed largely covered up with silt to its ceiling (Plate-I)¹, brought by the stagnated back-waters of the nearby tank which was perhaps built at a later period. The water marks and the other evidences on the temple walls suggest that the surrounding area gets inundated annually, and allows the basal portions and walls of the temple complex to remain under water for a major part of the year. This recurring feature is causing an immediate danger to the temple, which can only be prevented to some extent, if the nearby tank is desilted.

At present, only the *śikhara* and portions of the top of *antarāla* and *mandapa* of the temple are visible (Pl. II). According to the information given by the local people, some fifty years back, some of the main components of the temple, such as *antarāla* with richly decorated door *śākhās* and a pillared *mandapa* in front, embellished with

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sculptures of artistic exuberance were visible. The whole complex was surrounded by an enclosure wall, and the sanctum had a life-size image of a Dēvi locally known as *Rūpāḷamma*. This was true even in 1881,² when Robert Sewell visited the place. He reported that the temple was standing in a tank-bed much silted up, enshrining a life size image of Durga of eighteen hands. At present, save the superstructure and some traces of *antarāla* and *maṇḍapa*, neither the image of Durga nor the greater part of the edifice is visible.

The superstructure is an admixture of both northern and southern styles that were in vogue in some parts of coastal Andhra³. The *śikhara* is of 5.80 m. square at the bottom and 10 to 11 m. in height. It is divided horizontally into eleven tiers, or bands (*Bhūmīs*) arranged in receding fashion. The *śukhanāsa* is also noticeably absent (a southern feature)⁴. The outer-face of the elevated bands is decorated with *Chaitya* - window motif at regular intervals, some of which are filled with human heads (Gandharva) inside as in Pallava architecture⁵. The recessed bands (*Bhūmīs*) are also fully decorated with a series of small niches, often filled with geometric designs and floral decorations. In each cardinal side of the superstructure there is a *bhadra* projection or *bhadra-rēkha* beginning from the top of a *Dēva-Kōshtha* and extending upto *grīva* level, dividing the *śikhara* height vertically into two halves which is evidently a northern feature⁶. It is embellished with a series of *Ghaitya*-window motifs, some of them being filled with human heads⁷, arranged in receding

2. R. Sewell *Lists of the antiquarian remains in the Presidency of Madras*, 1882, I, appendix-A, pp. XXIII and XXIV.
3. K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Indian temple styles* (The personality of Hindu Architecture) New Delhi, 1972, p. 67.
4. Rajan *op. cit.*, p. 19., also R.S. Gupta *The art and architecture of Aihole*, Bombay, 1967, p. 53.
5. K R. Srinivasan, *Cave temples of Pallavas*, 1964, Pl XIV.
6. Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, New Delhi, 1969, p. 4.
7. The *Kudu* design filled with a human head is a pallava creation, starting with Mahabalipuram monuments, continued during Chola period and remained empty in Vijayanagara monuments, C. Sivaramamurti, *Chola temples*, 1960 p. 8., Fig. 2, also G. Jouveau Dubreuil, *Dravidian architecture*, New Delhi, 1972, p. 30, fig 21 (Nos. 2)

fashion and finally capped with a larger one, with the carving of *śimhalalāta* motif. Then the last horizontal band below the *grīva* is decorated with couchant *śārdūlās* seated back-to-back (*Dōpichhāśimhās*)⁸ at the corners. This feature can be seen even in orissan temples. Finally on the top, a pondorous *āmalakaśila*, quite akin in its form and size, to that of the Chalukyan ones at Alampur⁹ is placed. The *stūpi* or the *Kalaśa* is missing. The entire structure is of pinkish sand-stone which is not locally available and therefore probably is imported from a distant place.

The *śikhara* is well proportioned recalling to some extent the plan and elevation of the Madhukēśvara and Bhīmēśvara temples at Mukhalingam¹⁰ in Srikakulam District, but its *āmalakaśila* has a closer resemblance to the one on the Svargabrahman temple at Alampur¹¹.

On the southern wall of the temple, below the cornice, the figures of flying Gandharvās (Pl. III.) are carved. They are resembling in style and artistic merit to the ones depicted on some of the Chalukyan temples at Aihole, Pattadakal, Cave No. 16 at Ajanta¹² and also at Alampur. The loose sculpture of Mahishamardani of 75 × 40 × 10 cm. size of pinkish sandstone lying in the precincts of the temple is a noteworthy example of the Chalukyan art.

Though there is no recorded evidence of the date of its construction the art and architectural features of the temple undoubtedly suggest an early medieval date, most probably 8th-9th Centuries of the Christian era.

It is undoubtedly an unique example of temple architecture in this region, which links up the gap between the Alampur group of temples on the one hand and the Mukhalingam group on the other, in the realm of early medieval temple architecture of the region.

This temple deserves to be protected archaeologically for its artistic merit, and as being a unique example of temple architecture

8. D. Mitra, *Bhuvaneshwar* (a guide), New Delhi, 1958, p.51.

9. Dr. M. Radhakrishna Saram, *Temples of Telingana*, Hyderabad, 1972, p. 48, pl. II & 56.

10. Douglas Barret, *Mukhalingam temples*. Bombay, 1960, p.9, pl. 38.

11. Radhakrishna Sarma, *op.cit*, pl, 56.

12. D. Mitra, *Ajanta* (a guide), New Delhi, 1958, pl, III, B. also R.P. Gupta, *Art and architecture of Aihole*, Bombay, 1967, p. 113.

in this region possessing an amalgam of northern and southern architectural styles in the *Sikhara* elevation and plan. An immediate salvage operation is highly essential to prevent further damage to the temple from the stagnated waters and silt of the nearby tank in which the temple is half buried since many decades.



Pl. I. Close view of the early Medieval Temple at Terala



Pl. II. General view of the temple showing the traces of *mandapa* etc.



Pl. III Close view of flying Gandharvas on the temple wall and a loose Sculpture (Mahishamardani) lying near the temple

THE BRAHMAPURI IN MEDIEVAL DECCAN

A. Nagabhushanam.

An attempt is made in this article to explain the role of a Brahmapuri and Sivapuri in the Deccan during the medieval period. The construction of the Barhmapuris and Sivapuris by the Chalukyas of Kalyani, Yadavas of Devagiri and Kadambas of Goa at several places in the Deccan, the qualifications and functions of the Brahmins attached to them are explained. The difference between an Agrahara and Brahmapuri and a Brahmapuri and Sivapuri is also explained. It is evident from the records available that the Brahmapuris and Sivapuris were in a flourishing condition during the early medieval period of Deccan.

Brahmapuri was the residential locality of the Brahmanas. It was a part of a town or city. It flourished in capital towns like Balligave¹, Vikramapura², Sūdi³, and Annigere⁴. The difference between an agrahara and the Brahmapuri is that the former was a village inhabited by the Brahmanas and other classes of people and the latter was a locality inhabited exclusively by the Brahmanas in a town. The similarity between them was that both were educational institutions.

Like the agraharas, the Brahmapuris were also established by the kings, queens and other members of the royal families. The Chalukya Vikramaditya VI established a Brahmapuri near the village of Sirivola⁵. Padmaladevi, the crowned Queen of Kadamba Mallikarjuna II established a Brahmapuri in Hullungur and installed the images of Prasannakesava, Narayana and Madhava and granted it to the 64 Brahmanas of different gotras⁶. The Chalukya Someswara IV established⁷ a Brahmapuri at Jeurage and granted the same to the Brahmanas. Kelima, an official of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla⁸, also founded a Brahmapuri⁸.

Some of the Brahmapuris were palced under the control of the temples. The temples of the gods Brahmeswara at Alampuri⁹, Sangameswara at Akkalkot¹⁰, Gopaladeva at Ingaleswara¹¹, Vishnu at the capital city of Vikramapura¹² and Prasannakesava, Madhava and Narayana at Hulgur¹³ had Brahmapuris under their control. The Brahmanas of these Brahmapuris were aasociated with the duties of performing worship in the temples.

Sometimes a town or city was attached with more than one Brahmapuri. For instance the town of Annigere¹⁴ had five Brahmapuris and the town of Balligāve had seven¹⁵.

Like the Mahajanas of the agraharas, the donees of the Brahmapuris were also highly qualified and learned. Records generally eulogise them as in the case of the Mahajanas of the agraharas. The mahajanas of the Brahmapuris performed similar functions as the mahajanas of the agraharas. For example a record dated A.D. 1166 describes the Brahmanas of the Brahmapuri at Lakshmeswar as learned in various branches of learning like the Vedas, Tarka, Vachaspatya, Vyakarana, Pānini, Dasagrantha etc.¹⁶

As in the case of the agraharas, again, the number of the Brahmanas in the Brahmapuris also varied in different places. For example there were 22 Branhmanas in the Brahmapuri at Belagavarti.¹⁷ 70 in the Brahmapuri at Sūdi¹⁸, 64 in the Brahmapuri at Hullungur¹⁹ and 42 Brahmanas in the Brahmapuri at Vikramapuri (modern Arasibidi.)²⁰.

The kings and nobles frequently made gifts of land or money or both to the inhabitants of the Brahmapuris for the services, for the proficiency in the Vedas and for the maintenance of temples, feeding houses and educational institutions. For instance the Brahmanas of the Brahmapuri established by Kelima held the following hereditary offices of the royal household such as Paurāṇika, Astrologer, Superintendent of religious affairs, priest, preceptor, educational instructor and a specialist in sacrificial rituals ²¹ Padmaladevi, the crowned Queen of Kadamba Mallikarjuna II granted to the 64 Brahmanas of the Brahmapuri at Hullungūr, devotees of Vishnu and proficient in all the Vedas, a shop, an oil mill, a potter,

a washerman, cowherds and all incomes of Prasannapura.²² The Mahapradhana and dandanayaka Madhavabhatta, with the consent of Anantapala Dandanayaka granted money out of the achhupannaya for the feeding house in the Vishnu temple of the Brahmapuri situated in the capital city of Vikramapura²³. Mallisetti, the officer of Yadava Simhana granted land to 56 Brahmanas for maintaining a satra (choultry), for a Khandika and balasikha (Education for children).²⁴ The general Bichisetti constructed houses and granted to the Brahmanas of the Brahmapuri at Ritti^{24A}. The Brahmanas of the Brahmapuris were often exempted from the payment of taxes though they paid the taxes occasionally. The Brahmanas of the Brahmapuri at Sannikheda were given land with the exemption of taxes.²⁵ In another instance, the dandanayaka Kesiraja remitted the taxes on the lands of the Brahmanas of the five Brahmapuris at Annigere²⁶. It is known from another instance, that a grant of land was made to the mahajanas of the Brahmapuri at Sūdi by 6 Gavundas and 8 Settis of the place. It was a land grant for their personal enjoyment (bhatabhaga) but the donees were asked to pay the tax (ārūvaṇa) on the land.²⁷ Padmaladevi exempted the payment of taxes such as sunka (toll on articles) Sakshavi and ranamauneyam (tax due to war).^{27A}

While making grants to the Brahmanas of the Brahmapuris, the establisher of a Brahmapuri stipulates certain conditions for the enjoyment of the endowments. Kelima, the establisher of a Brahmapuri laid down certain conditions according to which all the lands and houses of the Brahmapuri were to be treated as common property and the income therefrom was to be shared equally by the recipients of the endowments and the sale of land was prohibited. The seller or purchaser or both, if sold or purchased even a part of it, were liable to a fine of 500 coins. A member was entitled to his share as long as he remained in the settlement but when he vacated the post or place his portion was to be enjoyed by the rest; and the deserter was liable to be punished if he claimed his share. A new person could be accommodated in his place with the consent of all the residents in general and the neighbours in particular.²⁸ The 6 Gavundas and 8 Settis of Sūdi Agrahara stipulated that the Brahmanas of the Brahmapuri of the place could enjoy the gift so long as they lived in the Brahmapuri.²⁹

The shares of the Brahmanas and their servants in a Brahmapuri are also known from a record which were as follows :

For the followers of Kapila in the Hullungur Brahmapuri:

- 8 Nivartanas for Sri Gopaladeva
- 2 Nivartanas to Hariharabhatta
- 1 Nivartana to Vasudeva.

For the followers of Atri :

- 16 Nivartanas to a person
- 7 Nivartanas to Brahmadevabhatta
- 5 Nivartanas to Janardhanabhatta
- 3½ Nivartanas to Iswarabhatta
- 3 Nivartanas to 3 person (each one)

For the followers of Kasyapa :

- 36 Nivartanas to 6 people
- (9 + 8 + 1½ + 8 + 6 + 3½ Nivartanas)

For the followers of Srivatsa :

- 3 Nivartanas to Kesava
- 2½ Nivartanas to Kallideva Kravinta
- 4 to 2 persons
- 4 to 4 persons (each one)

For the followers of Vasishtha :

- 6 Nivartanas to Vishnu Kravinta
- 6½ Nivartanas to Sripatibhatta
- 4 to another
- 6 to 2 persons
- 10 to 5 persons (each two nivartanas)
- ½ Nivartana to Harihara & Virupaksha.

For the followers of Visvamitra :

- 4 Nivartanas to Sarvajna Vaijanatha and Govindabhatta
- 5 Nivartanas to Chandra of Haisa
- 3 Nivartanas to one person
- 2 to another person.

For the followers of Sandilya :

3 Nivartanas to Anantadasa.

For the followers of Gautama :

5 Nivartanas to Vithaladasa

4 Nivartanas to Madhusudhana Kravinta .

2 Nivartanas to Chikkana Kravinta

22½ Nivartanas to the followers of Mudgali, Agastya
Bharadwaja and Vardhrishi.

For the services (Viniyoga) : 39 Nivartanas were given

6 Nivartanas to a shop keeper

12 Nivartanas to an oil miller

12 Nivartanas to a potter

4 Nivartanas to a washerman

5 Nivartanas to a cow boy who looked after the cow herds.³⁰

It is clear from the above that the Brahmanas of the Brahmapuris rendered services in the royal households, carried rituals in the temples, maintained feeding houses, imparted education to children and endowed with all the virtues with yama, niyama, dhyana, dharma, maunanushthana, japa, samadhi and were proficient in the six systems of logic.³¹ They as a body received land, income from taxes etc., and hence like the mahajanas of the agraharas, they managed the estates; but their part in the administration of the town was much less than the part of the mahajanas in the administration of the agraharas because there were other agencies also in the former to look after the administration of the town. In Balligāve, there was a superintendent of Brahmapuris and for the administration of the town there were mayors and various other bodies to help them.³²

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CORPORATE LIFE IN MEDIAEVAL ANDHRA VILLAGE

T. S. N. Murthy

Corporate life was an essential element in mediaeval Andhra Village. Every village consisted of a number of functional groups which expressed themselves in terms of castes. Though the membership in a caste group was determined in course of time by birth, as long as the same type of economic activity was in force the caste system continued in its original form. When there was a change in the economic activity, the caste system also tried to adapt itself to the new development by breaking up itself further into sub-castes. There was always a continuous process of new castes being formed as new occupations developed. Thus the basis of the caste group and functional group continued to be identical in mediaeval Andhra.

Epigraphical sources mention these groups as 'Samayas', the number of which was generally eighteen and the entire people of these eighteen *samayas* were called *Ashtadasa-prajalu* (1), *Padunenimidi jatula prajalu* (2), *Padunenimidi samayalavaru* (3), and *samasta-samayalavaru* (4). They included *Mahajanulu* (brahmins), *Srivaishnavulu* (priests of Vaishnava temples), *Komatlu* (traders), *Kampulu* (protectors and cultivators of land), *Telikivevuru* (oil mongers), *Salevaru* (weavers), *Gollavaru* (shepherds), *Akkasalavaru* (smiths), *Sanivaru* (courtesans), *Vadrangulu* (carpenters), *Kummarulu* (potters), *Vastrachchedakulu* (tailors), *Charmakarulu* (shoe-makers), *Rajakulu* (washermen), *Kshurakarulu* (barbers), *Balinja-setti kandru* (toddy-tappers), *Boyalu* (hunters and guardsmen) and *Kammarulu* (black-smiths). However, it cannot be said that every village consisted of these *samayas* only; some villages might have contained more or less number of and even different *samayas*. Streets or particular sections of the village came to be inhabited by the people of one and the same *samaya*. They were called *vadas* such as *Akkasalavada*, *Sanivada*, *Nakarapuvada*, etc.

These *samayas* were organised into self-governing institutions that performed a wide range of functions. The individual was considered to be an integral member of the group and he was expected to sacrifice his personal interest when it came into conflict with that of the *samaya*. The members who violated the decisions of the *samaya* were branded as *samaya drohis* and were severely punished. According to a copper-plate grant, dated A. D. 1304, from Nellore District, the merchants of the place combined themselves to make certain rules for trade. One of them, who turned to be a traitor, was murdered, and the merchants' *samaya* gave a charter-grant to the murderer allowing him to carry on his merchandise in future free of duty, thus expressing its gratitude (5). The *samayas* had their own leaders, and the fact is testified by a number of inscriptions. An epigraph dated S.1041 mentions one Potinayaka as the *peddi* i.e., the leader of the *Telikis*, and Eriyama Nayaka as the leader of the *Kampulu* of Bandini Village (6). An epigraph from Simhachalam dated S. 1213 refers to *Srivaishnavanayakulu* (7) and two inscriptions from Srikurram refer to *Vaishnavanayakulu* (8). An inscription of Kulotthunga Choda refers to a *peddakummari* who must have been evidently the head of the potters' *samaya* (9). But no definite information is available to determine the process through which the leaders of the *samayas* came to occupy these responsible positions.

The main functions of the *samayas* can be described as: (1) maintenance of corporate property; (2) protection of the rights and privileges of the *samayas*; (3) arbitration in disputes among their members; (4) enforcement of the common code of professional and social conduct; and (5) participation in the maintenance of village administration.

One of the features of the mediaeval Andhra village economy was the rapid growth in *samaya* property mainly in the form of land. It was received by the *samaya* as a remuneration for its collective service to the ruler; or as a purchased commodity, or in the case of the cultivators' *samaya* new lands were brought under cultivation by way of deforestation. Mediaeval Andhra rulers granted lands or entire villages to Brahmins for their maintenance and successful discharge of their duties. A typical example of this type of gift can be

found in an epigraph from Peddatumbalam, dated S. 1070, which states that one Racarasa gifted a village to the *Mahajanulu*, after dividing it into *vrittis* and it further states that the *vrittis* were neither saleable nor mortgageable (10). In a large number of land grants it was stipulated that the donee or donees were not entitled to mortgage or sell their *vrittis* by which it can be inferred that the ownership of land belonged to the ruler and the donees were entitled to enjoy the rent of it. But as the donees began to sell their right of enjoying rent, ownership of the ruler turned to be a theoretical concept and virtual rights on land were enjoyed by the *samaya* or an individual that received it. A record from Panchadharla registers the sale of some land by the *Pancalulu* and *Nayilu* of that place to one Buddhasani (11). One Bairisetti installed in the village Peddapariyala the Gods of Baireswara, Sakaleswara and Nageswara and endowed them with one-third of the produce in the land irrigated under the tank Sakala Samudra newly constructed by him. The remaining two-thirds is said to be the share of the King. Bairisetti purchased some *vritti* lands of the Brahmins and made a gift of them to the same temple (12). It is evident from the above two epigraphs that the *samayas* owned lands and even *vritti* lands were, in practice, saleable. Hence, it can be inferred that *samayas* owned, and maintained lands; but no valuable information is available to ascertain the mechanics of its management.

The *Samaya* discharged the functions of a trust and accepted money deposits or held lands in trust for the maintenance of a specified religious purpose, such as supplying oil for a perpetual lamp. The *Kampulu* of Talanda Twelve accepted a deposit of 10 *madras* in one case (13) and one and a half *puttis* of land in another case (14) towards the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in each case. An epigraph from Simhachalam dated S. 1213 states that one Narayana Senapati, a Kalinga *pariksha* deposited six *madras* with the Pancadhi *Srivaishnavanayakulu* towards feeding thirty Brahmins daily in a *matha* built by him (15). An inscription dated S. 1063 states that one Prolipanda made a gift to the temple of Vasukuravi and the *Munnuru Sanis*, along with others, were entrusted with the task of properly maintaining the gift (16). Two epigraphs from Mukhalingam regis-

tering cash gifts for lamps in the local temple, state that they were entrusted to the care of the *Telikis* of Bandinigama and Coda gangapenta (17). Another example can be found in an epigraph from Mukhalingam which states that cash gifted for a lamp in the local temple was entrusted to the *Nayakas* of *Nakarapuvada* with the stipulation that they were to maintain the lamp from the yield of two *puttis* and ten *tumus* of land (18).

Some epigraphical records of mediaeval Andhra bring into light instances where the *Samayas* collected taxes from its own members and others. According to the copper-plate grant from Nellore District dated A. D. 1304, mentioned above, the *samaya* of the traders of the place issued a charter grant to the murderer of the *samayadrohi* allowing him to carry on his merchandise in future free of duty. The same guild presented a grant in 1322 A. D. to a person who murdered two toll-collectors. In another case, the *Mahajanulu* of Garagapadu transferred to the local temple the marriage fees granted to them by Ganapamba (19). Another epigraph states that the *Mahajanulu* and several merchants of Bhojanavuru, a village, made a gift with the tax levied on the sale of cloth, arecanut etc. (20). An epigraph from Srikurmam states that the *Telikivevuru samaya* exempted an oil-mill from Ari for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the local temple (21). According to an Amaravati record, the *Pancanamvaru* of Dharnikota and Amareswaram sent taxes as a gift to Kamatheswara of Dharnikota (22). From the evidence of the records mentioned above it is clear that the *samayas* were entrusted with the responsibility of collecting taxes from their members and from others and they were empowered to exempt a member from payment of tax or to contribute tax to a temple. And this must have been done of course with the consent of their ruler.

The *samayas* made extensive grants to temples. One epigraph from Srikurmam dated S. 1167 records a gift of cows to the local temple by *Kampulu* of Indapuram (23). An epigraph from Cimata, dated S. 1234 records a gift to the local temple by *Kampulu* and *Karanalu* (24). An epigraph from Mattewada states that one Mallisetti and his son Vennisetti, on behalf of all the *Dharma Saliyajanulu* of

Matiyasthala and neighbouring places, instituted Ganapeswara in the name of *Saliyajanulu* and Sakaleswara in the name of all devotees (25). It is evident from this record that the two merchants who might have been the purchasers of cloth, collected contribution from the weavers for constructing the temple of Ganapeswara. In A. D. 1216 at Velpur, Kings Bhima and Rudra on the one side and the priests and Sanis on the other entered into an agreement with regard to the incomes of the temple (26). The above epigraph throws light on the important role played by the *samayas* of priests and *Sanis* in the maintenance of temples. There were many instances where the people of all the *samayas* in the village joined together and registered gifts to the local temple ; and a typical example of this type of gift can be found in an inscription from Katukur dated S. 1225 in which the details of the contributions were described (27). One epigraph from Nagulapadu dated S. 1225 states that all the people of the eighteen *samayas* of the place gifted to the local temple for the merit of Prataparudradeva (28).

The significant role played by the village *samayas* and their leaders cannot be underestimated in the management of the village affairs. Their presence and consent were required whenever a gift was made by the rulers of the day. One record from Maktal dated S. 1242 states that in the Magatalasthala, Gundayani and his *pradhani* gifted with the consent of all the *samayas* including the *Srivaishnava samaya*, a tax called *singanadam-pannu* (29). Similarly according to an epigraph dated S. 1230, *Mahapradhani*, *Puravari Nayakulu* gifted, with the consent of the *Ashtadasa prajalu* of Tekumbedla to the local temple, a part of the income from the land tax (30). An undated epigraph from Panugallu states that King Tonda granted to a temple two *nivartanas* of paddy land and five kha (of dry land) in each of the villages of Kanduri *vishaya* with the consent of the *grama-nayakulu* (31). In this case, the consent of the *grama-nayakulu* was obtained. Who were these *gramanayakulu* ? We have to admit that as far as mediaeval Andhra is concerned the materials discovered so far do not enlighten us on the composition, the leadership and the functions of the village council. In the absence of such evidence we have to presume that the *gramanayakulu* mentioned by

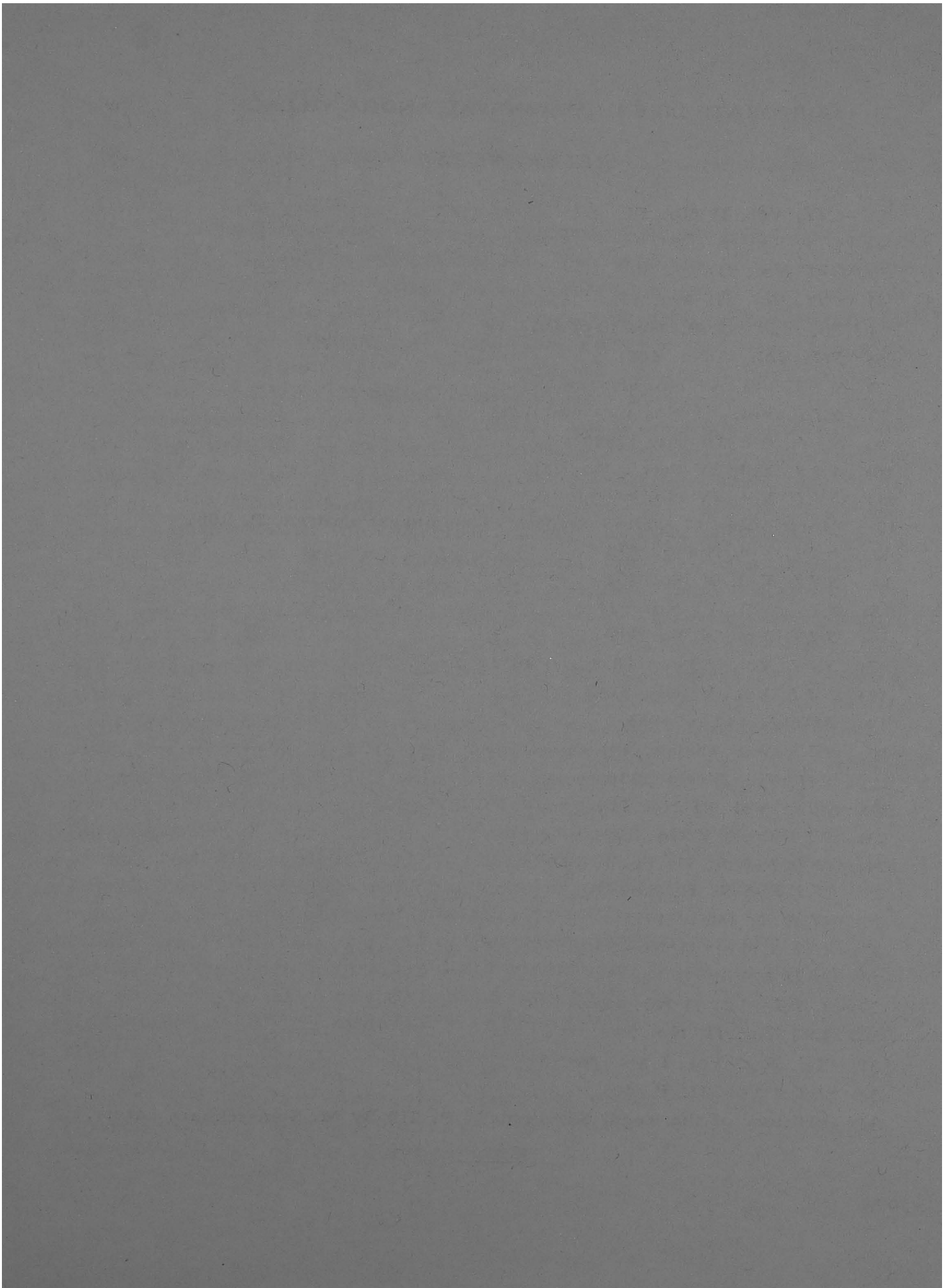
the above epigraph were no other than the leaders of the village *samayas*.

The leaders of the *samayas* engaged themselves in active participation in the village administration. In mediaeval times, a new type of village administrative system known as *Ayagara* system was evolved in which the leaders of the *samayas* enjoyed semi-official status. The Prabhuparru grant of the Eastern chalukya monarch Saktivarman I which states that the *gramani* of the village was dismissed by the King (32) would testify to the extension of the state administrative machinery to the village. Later on Reddi and Karnam were appointed by the Government to look after the village administration. *Raddi* or *Reddi* as the head of the village superintended its affairs. He was the King's representative in the village and was made responsible for the collection of land revenue and maintenance of law and order. The *Karanam* measured the fields, estimated the crop, determined the King's share of produce, each *arikapu* had to pay, and maintained registers regarding their transactions. Under the *Ayagara* system, which came into vogue in Andhra during the Kakatiya period and took a definite shape in later times, "every village consisted of a number of servants who were remunerated for their services to the village commune by *manyams*, grants of tax-free lands, *meras* and *mirasis* (fees). They were commonly called *ayagars* or *grama bhatas*, and their land-grants, *bhata vritti manyams*. They were hereditary officers. Generally their number was twelve though the exigencies of work, rural economy and the size of the village determined the number" (33). The *Ayagars* were : *Reddi, Karnam, Talari, Nirukattu*, gold-smith, black-smith, carpenter, *purohit*, washerman, barber, potter and shoe-maker. Apart from *Reddi, Karanam, Talari* and *Neerukattu*, the rest of the *Ayagars* had no official designations except their professional nomenclature. In view of the above fact they can be taken as the leaders of their respective *samayas*. And the legacy of this system can be found in the present day village administration.

The Corporate life of the mediaeval Andhra village, thus, expressed itself through a wide range of economic, social and administrative functions of the village *samayas*

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PRAŚASTI OF THE VĪRA BALAÑJAS

T. Venkateswara Rao

Introductory :

The merchants who were known as the protectors of the Vīra-Balanja-Dharma organised themselves into a number of autonomous trade guilds during the medieval period. These merchants were not confined to the geographical limits of Āndhra but were to be found practically in all places of commercial importance in Āndhra, Karnāṭaka and Tamilnāḍu. While trade was the main function of these merchants, they performed a number of corporate functions. They possessed their own praśasti, insignia and traditions. Hence the study of the praśasti of the Vīra-Balanjas.

PRAŚASTI:

Epigraphic records from nāyakallu of S.889, Polasa of A.D. 1108, Chintapalli of S. 1162, Kūciman'ci of S. 1182, Yenamadala of S.1191, Tripurāntakam of S. 1214, Alampur of S. 1225, Chittapur of the reign of Kākatīya Pratāparudradēva, Taṅgeda of the reign of Komaragiri Reddy and Peḍakaḍumūru of the reign of Kālachūri king Ahavamalla-dēva mention the praśasti of the protectors of the Vīra-Balanja-Dharma. It helps us draw the following observations.

THEIR ORIGIN :

The Praśasti traces their mythical origin to the Celestial Beings. They were born in the race of Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍali and Mūlabhadra (Vāsudēva-khaṇḍali-Mūlabhadra-vaṁsōdbhavulu). They were ornaments to the kula of Manu (Manu-kula-pavitrulu).

THEIR ORIGINAL HOME :

They claimed to have belonged to the city of Ahichchatra (in the North). Ayyāvoḷe was the place of their settlement and the centre of their mercantile activities. They described themselves as the lords of the city of Ayyāvoḷe (Ayyāvoḷe-puravarādhīśvarulu). The epithet of Ahichchatra-Vinirghāṭalu (emigrants from Ahichchatra) cannot be explained.

THEIR VIRTUES :

They were stated to have possessed many virtues (Anēka-guṇa-gaṇālimkṛita). They were endowed with good conduct, truth and piety (satya-saucācāra-cāritra). They possessed humility, purity and wisdom (naya-vinaya-Vipulavijnāna). They were friends of all and enemies of none (Ajāta-śatrulu-samjāta-mitrulu). In practising generosity they were like Karna, in enjoying happiness they were like Indra, in possessing prowess they were like Arjuna, in maintaining truth they were like Harischandra, in showing tactfulness they were like Nārāyana and in keeping up the premise as well as in maintaining purity and celibacy they were like Gāṅgēya.

THEIR WORSHIP OR FAITH :

They devoted themselves to the worship of Brāhmins, gurus and gods (samasta-dvija-guru-dēvatā-bhakti-mārga-tatparulu). They were the recipients of boons from the goddess Bhagavati (Bhagavatiya-diviya-labda-vara-Prasādulu). They were the custodians of Varnāśrama-Dharma (Cāturvarṇāśramadharmā-Pratipālītulu). They were the worshippers of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva (Brahma-Vishnu-Mahēśvara-ārādhakulu). They built temples for the worship of god Gavarēśvara and gave gifts for service in the temples of both Hindu and Jaina gods. Thus they worshipped all gods of all religions of India. Sri R. S. Panchamukhi draws an inference that they were Jainas, as they were closely associated with the goddess Bhagavatidēvi, Baladēva, Vāsudēva, Khaṇḍali and Mūlabhadra. Dr. P. B. Desai opines that allegiance to the faith of Lord Jina forms a part of the creed of the corporation of the Vīra-Balanjas.

THEIR WARLIKE QUALITIES :

They were a brave, courageous and chivalrous people. They had their broad chests embraced by the goddess of victory, Lakshmi (samālabdha-Vīra-Laksmisamāliṅgita-visāla-vakṣasthala). They were well known for their valour in the three worlds (tribhuvana-parākramōnnata). They were fierce fighters in battle (Kadana-pracaṇḍarum). They were virtual Rāmās and Bhīmas in battle field (raṇaraṅga-rāmulu-saṁgrāma-Bhīmulu). They were the holders of weapons (Daṇḍāyudha-hastulu). They were experts in riding on chariots and bulls.

They were the men of many achievements. In fact the prefix Vīra indicates their heroism or adventurous life in trade.

Prof. K.A.N. Sastry observes that the merchant guilds in South India of this period maintained their own mercenary armies to protect their merchandise in transit or at their warehouses and they were designated Mummuridaṇḍas, Munaivīrar, Eṛi-vīrar, etc. A Basini-koṇḍa record of A.D. 1050 bears this out.

THEIR RICHES :

These merchants possessed abundant wealth. They were in possession of plenty of horses, elephants, gold, cloth, riches and grain (Haya-gaja-āmbāra-svarṇa-dhana-dhānya-samruddhulu). They possessed carts drawn by bullocks (Anadvāha-radha-ārūḍhulu). They had many valuable ornaments (nijābharanulu). They were good in their past-times and were a very happy people (krīḍā-vinōdapārāyanulu). These epithets speak of their self-sufficient economic life which they enjoyed as traders.

THEIR PHILANTHROPY :

Being rich merchants and socially advanced, they were very generous in giving for charity to the needy and the poor. Their munificent gifts made to temples and other charitable institutions will serve as an index to their philanthropic activities. They called themselves as virtual Karnas in Philanthropy. It may be said that the guilds served as mutual aid societies.

THEIR LEARNING :

They claimed to have been well versed in several branches of learning. They possessed knowledge in different subjects like Vēda, Vēdāṅga, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Kāvya and Tarka. They were experts in many vocations. They were good in the professions of Viśvakarma and Tēṭakāchārya (Viśvakarma-Tēṭakācārya-pravīṇulu). They knew mercantile principles and business organisation.

THEIR PRIVILEGES :

They claimed to have obtained the Five Hundred Vīra-śāsanas. Vīra-śāsanas might mean either the edicts of knights (Vīra) or the edicts of true virtues. As they were the merchants of good conduct, the Vīra-śāsanas might mean the edicts of the virtues of the merchants extolled in the five hundred edicts. They might also mean the edicts of privileges enjoyed by the merchants in trade and commerce. This meant that these merchants were considered every where as men of ideals and principles in trade. Hence their claim (samasta-Bhuvna-Jana-vikhyāta-paṁcāśata – Vīra-śāsana-labdhānēka-guṇa-gaṇālam-krutulu).

THEIR SAMAYA DHARMA .

Samaya means the guild. Samaya-Dharma might mean Vartaka-dharma (principles of mercantile business). Dharma means a code of morals. Vīra-Balanja-Samaya-Dharma might mean the code of morals to be followed in business by the members of the guild of the Vīra-Balanjas. Vīra-Balanja-Dharma-Pratipālanulu might mean the strict followers of the code of morals promulgated by the guild of the Vīra-Balanjas. That is, the Balanja merchants had set up the code of conduct that guided the business of the mercantile communities. Those who had followed this code of conduct in trade, came to be known as the protectors of the Vīra-Balanja Dharma. Hence the expression “samasta-Bhuvana-Vikhyāta-Vīra-Balanja-samaya-dharma-pratipālakulu”.

UBHAYA-NĀNĀDĒŚI :

These merchants are said to be the Ubhaya-Nānādēśi. A Bellary record of A. D. 1177 refers to a meeting of the Nānādēśi, the members of which belonged to Lāta, Chōḷa, Malayāḷa, Telugu and Kannada regions. A Chintapalli record of S. 1162 mentions that the Ubhaya-Nānādēśi, Mummuridaṇḍas and Gavaṇes were the protectors of the Vīra-Balanja-Dharma. Thus the guild of the Vīra-Balanjas included the merchants coming from the Chōḷa, Malayāḷa, Kannada and Āndhra regions.

THEIR NUMERICAL SUFFIX :

The Vīra-Balanjas possessed their own numerical suffix. They described themselves as Nānādēśi-pekkamḍru or the Five Hundred of Ayyāvoḷe-Aivattu-Ainnūruvar). This expression of theirs, found in the records of these merchants, may be taken to mean the conventional belief of the guild.

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DECLINE AND FALL OF MAHARANI LAKSHMI DEVI IN NEPAL

Shree Govind Mishra

Prithvi Narayan Shah, the king of the Gorkhas and a crafty politician, succeeded in conquering the whole of Nepal by 1769, and establishing a central government at Kathmandu. After his death in 1775, a long series of minorities left the Child king in the dreadful hands of either an uncle, or a mother or a minister interested in prolonging the child's complete exhaustion by precocious debaucheries. The Prime Minister became the Mayor of the palace. Two families - the Thapas and the Pandeys - fought for power. After the murder of Damodar Pandey, Bhim Sen Thapa was appointed the Prime Minister of Nepal in 1804.¹ But his power began to wane after 1832.

Rajendra Vir Vikram Shah, a boy of 18 years, ascended the throne in 1816. He had two wives. The kings of that period were weak and incompetent. In the absence of a strong ruler, the rival factions of Pandeys and Thapas fought against each other for the administrative control. The two Queens were very ambitious and they were inclined to interfere in the administration of the country. Party strife was at its height in the valley. Brian Hodgson was the British Resident in Kathmandu from 1829 to 1843, a period which was a troubled one in the internal history of Modern Nepal. Hodgson did not just watch from the side lines. He was a spectator, a player on different sides and sometimes referees as well.²

It should be noted that petticoat influence was again at this period a predominating feature of the politics of the country. The year 1837 was one of revolution and counter-revolution. But the year 1838 was one of palace intrigues. The first Maharani was an adherent of the Pandey's faction and the second one that of the

Thapas and Bhim Sen. It follows therefore that the positions of the two rival factions very largely depended on the influence and power enjoyed at the moment by their respective adherents at the court. At this critical time the infant son of the Senior Maharani died suddenly on July 24, 1837.³ This was the pretext utilised for undermining Bhim Sen. This news spread that the child's death had been caused by the Prime Minister, Bhim Sen. As the result of this rumour, Bhim Sen, his nephew Mathabar Singh and several other prominent persons were imprisoned and their properties confiscated. Bhim Sen's political opponent Ranjung Pandey was appointed Prime Minister. But soon he had to make room for Raghunath Pandey. At this turn of events, the Junior Maharani, Lakshmi Devi intervened and all the prisoners were subsequently released and their properties were restored to them. Though temporarily restored, Bhim Sen was fast losing his influence. The dissensions between the two Maharanis only served to increase the general confusion that existed in the country. Disputes in the palace flared up in 1838. The Senior Maharani expressed her opinion that Ranjung must be appointed Prime Minister. As nothing happened, she left the palace and repaired to Pashupati Nath.⁴ However, the differences were soon patched up and the Queen returned to the palace. By July 1838, the senior queen quit the capital in a rage, declaring that she would never return unless the king abdicated in favour of her son and Ranjung was appointed Prime Minister. The differences were again somehow patched up. But this compromise could not work and the senior queen again left the capital. Unfortunately she died on oct. 6, 1841 on her way to the plains at Hetora.⁵

The death of the Senior Maharani Samrajya Lakshmi Devi made confusion worse confounded. Now there were three distinct parties in Nepal : First, the feeble Raja (Rajendra Vir Vikram Shah) supported by the peace Ministry of royal collaterals and the spiritual chiefs ; second, the heir-apparent; and the third, the surviving queen (Lakshmi Devi), who was working for the suppression of the heir-apparent Prince Surendra Vikram Shah, on the plea of his insanity in favour of her eldest son. The situation in the year 1842 was confusing. The death of the senior queen had left king Rajendra Vikram Shah, wholly under the thumb of the Junior Queen. The heir-

apparent was quite young and was very cruel. There was a universal movement throughout the valley.⁶ Several meetings were held on the Tundikhel parade ground to discuss the affairs of the State. The people complained that they could not obey two masters. They adduced numerous instances in which they were punished by the Prince, of course, at the connivance of the Durbar for obeying the orders of the king. At one of these meetings attended by about 8000 persons, a committee was constituted to draw up a petition for submission to the Maharaja for the protection of the legitimate rights of his subjects. The Chiefs suggested that the youngest and the only surviving queen should be invested with full powers as Regent. It was finally decided that the Draft of this petition, the 'Petition of the Right' as it was called, should be submitted to the Ministers, Chiefs, municipal authorities and the whole body of officers of the army stationed at Kathmandu.⁷ It was unanimously approved and it was directed that the petition be presented to the Maharaja for signature.

The 'Petition of the Right' was signed by the following categories of civilians and military officers. The numbers were as follows:

Gurùs and Purohits -	5
Choutarias -	2
Kajeas -	5
Kupurdar -	1
Sirdars -	5
Mint Master -	1
Head Khurdar -	1
Raj Physicians -	3
Subhas -	11
Officers of the Udalat - ⁸	10

Military Officers

Colonels -	5
Captains -	18
Lieutenants -	23
Subedars -	19
Khurdars -	13
Officers of the Mily. Udalat-	3
Jamadars -	170
Store Keepers -	17
Adjutants -	17
Majors -	17
Pay Master -	3
Line Havildars or officers through whom orders are given to the Regiments -	18
	323

The above list comprised of all the different classes present at the capital, to the exclusion only of the few that were absent.

On the 7th of Dec. 1942,⁹ the Draft of the 'Petition of the Right' was carried by a large deputation to the Maharaja in open Durbar, where it was sanctioned, signed and duly ratified by the King. By this document considerable executive authority was transferred to the Junior Queen. The Chiefs hoped that the king would thus be effectively controlled by the queen who was an able lady but whose temperament resembled like that of a tigress.

The transfer of power ¹⁰from the Maharaja to the Queen was completed after twelve days of anxiety and deliberations among the leaders and representatives of the various parties in the state, who united and sought the common platform and enabled the transfer without any act of violence, riot or disturbance on either side. The

king, in Jan, 1843, formally invested the queen, Laxshmi Devi with full political rights promising that in all matters connected with the government of the country, he would take her counsels and act in accordance with her advice. The proclamation which the prominent people made the king to sign and issue in Jan. 1843 was as follows¹¹:-

“To all my people and subjects in Nepal. Let it be known to all that from today, Maharani Lakshmi Devi *should be considered the sovereign in Nepal* and all should carry out her orders. I have willingly consented to this proposal. I am giving full powers in the administration to my wife voluntarily and agreeably. In these affairs, I will do nothing against the consent and the order of my wife. I pledge myself to this. I order you that you will never carry out the orders, will be liable to punishment by the orders of my wife. From today the following will be under the charge of my wife”¹² :- (1) Power to inflict imprisonment, cutting of limbs, transportation, death and loss of office over all subjects except members of the royal family, (2) Power to appoint officers of State, dismissing them, transferring, promoting and degrading them, (3) Power to deal with Foreign States like China, Tibet and Britannia, and (4) Power to enter into treaty relations to war, with the above named foreign states as times dictate.”¹³

This document is of great constitutional importance and indicates to what extent the public opinion could exert itself even in an Asian Monarchy. The people of the valley had eagerly hoped that the political change would bring a period of stability and progress for the country. They had put their faith in the political wisdom of the Junior queen, Maharani Lakshmi Devi. Had she ruled without any bias or prejudice, she might have proved a successful ruler. But she had her own plans which impelled her to adopt a policy which was prejudicial to the common interest and finally led to the Kot Massacre of 1846. Choutaria Fateh Jung¹⁴ continued in office as the Prime Minister of the country but a natural indolence of his character made him a mere tool in the hands of his able brother Guru Prasad, who was always apposed to the Queen.

On the 8th of Jan, 1843, a deputation consisting of the Choutaria Guru Prasad, Kaji Rangur Thapa and Jung Bahadur waited on the Resident to inform him that Her Highness Lakshmi Devi, the sole

surviving wife of the Maharaja (who with her two sons had been in exile for some months) has been established in her full rights as queen and had been invested with some political powers. This was the first mention about Jung Bahadur made in the residency records, who was destined to play a leading part in the subsequent political transactions of the country.¹⁵ The restless and vacillating character of the Maharaja and the heir-apparent, the constant dissensions among the courtiers and the ambitious aims of Maharani Lakshmi Devi, who was busy in usurping the rights of the heir-apparent (under the plea of his supposed insanity) in favour of her elder son, made the affairs complicated.

Meanwhile the Pandey clique lost the favour of the King. Their prediction about the downfall of the British in China and Afganistan did not come true, which undermined the ruler's confidence in their political sagacity. The Pandey faction was also in league with the heir-apparent. The death of the late Maharani,¹⁶ who was a supporter of this faction, also weakened its position.

Maharani Lakshmi Devi now lent her support to the Thapas. The death of the senior Maharani had destroyed the 'Balance of Power' in the palace. Lakshmi Devi instigated her husband against her political opponents and managed to get nearly all the powers of the state in her hands and her partisans. Her object was to set aside her two step-children, the heir-apparent and his brother and secure the Crown for the elder of her two sons. To effect this task, she wanted to reinstate the Thapas in power and decided to appoint Mathabar Singh Thapa¹⁷ to the office of the Prime Minister of Nepal. She succeeded in convincing her husband that the Thapas were the only family on whom reliance could be placed for the proper government of the country. Mathabar Singh, who had been residing at Simla, was informed privately that his return to Nepal in the present unsettled state of affairs would secure his own advancement.

Mathabar Singh was appointed the Prime Minister and Commander-in-chief on Dec. 25, 1843.¹⁸ The first difficult task before Mathabar Singh was to understand the complicated administrative pattern. The state power was vested in three bodies—the King, the

Queen and the heir-apparent. According to Lawrence, there were three parties at this time in Nepal, the king himself, the heir-apparent and the surviving second queen – as Henry Lawrence called them, “Mr. Nepal, Master Nepal and Mrs. Nepal”.¹⁹ But soon Maharani Lakshmi Devi found that Mathabar Singh would not help her in her nefarious game. So she planned for his assassination. Gagan Singh, her paramour, was a party to this conspiracy. On the night of the 17th of May, 1845, he was summoned to the palace at 11 O’clock on the pretence that the Maharani had a fall and was seriously hurt. So Mathabar Singh came to the palace and was shot dead²⁰ and a new Ministry was ultimately formed with Fateh Jung as the Prime Minister on the 23rd of Sept. 1845.

In 1846, owing to the intrigues of the Junior Maharani and the weakness of the Prime Minister, Fateh Jung, complete disorder prevailed in Nepal. Maharani Lakshmi Devi was making frantic efforts to secure the succession for one of her sons, Ranendra Vikram. She was then the virtual ruler of the country and exercised her power through her favourite, Gagan Singh, who had risen from the position of an obscure menial in her house hold to the position of Confidential Advisor to Her Highness. A weak king, an intriguing queen with a lover and a prevaricating Prime Minister could not but lead to one end, namely another blood bath. On the night of the 19th September at 10 O’clock General Gagan Singh was shot dead in a chamber of his own house, while he was offering prayers.²¹

Gagan Singh’s son, captain Wazir Singh immediately carried the intelligence to the Maharani, who was in her own apartment in the Hanuman Dhoke palace. The Maharani was deeply grieved at the news and immediately went to Gagan Singh’s house on foot accompanied by four female attendants. She put Ganges water, Tulsee leaf and a piece of gold in the mouth of the dead General. She then directed his three sons, Captain Wazir Singh, Sher Singh and Kharagbir Singh, to arrange for the funeral, granting one lakh of rupees from the royal treasury to meet the funeral expenses.²² She then walked back to the *Kot* (hall of public business) and sent for General Abhiman Singh Rana, whose house was at hand. She ordered him to have the bugle sounded for the attendance of all the civil functionaries and the

troops with their officers. There she sat down in the second storey of the kot and vowed that until the man who had assassinated so faithful a Minister was discovered and put to death, she would take neither food nor water.

Jung Bahadur heard the signal²³ and understood the reason. He at once reached the Kot at the head of three regiments, accompanied by all his brothers and relatives with rifles and swords. The Maharani was surprised at this step and directed Jung Bahadur to explain his conduct. He replied in a most convincing way : "I beg to submit that I have taken the precaution in the belief that your Majesty's life is in jeopardy at the hands of the same people that have caused the death of Gagan Singh, for it is a well known fact that he was a great friend of mine and a valuable officer of the State."²⁴ The Maharani was satisfied with this specious explanation.

In the meantime, General Abhiman Singh Rana went to inform the Maharaja of what had happened and conducted him to the Kot. All the officers had assembled in the Kot in pursuance of the Maharani's order with the exception of Fateh Jung. The Maharani directed Kajee Bum Bahadur (Jung Bahadur's brother) to go and bring Fateh Jung. At the same time she ordered Abhiman Singh Rana to put Kajee Bir Kishore Pandey in irons,²⁵ which was accordingly done. Then Bir Kishore was questioned as to who had assassinated Gagan Singh and whether he had not abetted the crime. He denied all Knowledge of the matter. The Maharani, finding that Bir Kishore would confess nothing, gave her own naked sword to Abhiman Singh, desiring him to kill Bir Kishore Pandey. The General taking the sword then asked for the Raja's orders. The Raja some what angrily replied that without enquiry and proof no one could put to death such an old and able servant of the State. General Abhiman Singh returned to the Maharani and laying down the sword at her feet, said, "As one Sarkar ordered the execution upon suspicion and the other ordered that it should not take place without the proofs of guilt I will do nothing".²⁶ The Maharani observed that as the Maharaja had given her full power to act on all occasions, it was unnecessary to take his special order for everything that was to be done. To this

Abhiman Singh replied, "To yield obedience to a Rani when the Raja was present was not in accordance with the rule of good government." He then left her presence.²⁷

The Maharani then sent for General Jung Bahadur and asked if Kajee Bahadur had brought Fateh Jung. He answered that they had not yet come. But the Maharani without waiting longer gave orders that all the Sardars and officers should assemble in the large western hall below and that until they could name the murderer of Gagan Singh none of them should be permitted to leave.²⁸

On the approach of Fateh Jung Choutaria and his party, General Jung Bahadur advanced from the Kot to meet them. After relating what had occurred, Jung Bahadur said to Fateh Jung that the Maharani violently suspected Bir Kishore Pandey and she caused him to be ironed and then ordered General Abhiman Singh Rana to put him to death. But the General did not obey the order which had rightly incensed the Maharani. Jung Bahadur then suggested that to appease the Rani and to bring matters to a peaceful end, it would be necessary to do away with both these persons. So Jung Bahadur sought his help and proposed: "You may administer the affairs of the revenue and territorial department (in their place), whilst I remain in my post of Jungee General (Commander of the forces), and to act under your orders."²⁹ In reply to this Fateh Jung said that nothing should be done without due inquiry and deliberation, and that they ought rather to exert themselves strenuously to discover the assassin of Gagan Singh than destroy innocent persons which would do no good.

Fateh Singh then proceeded into the small Dalan on the north side of the Kot and General Jung Bahadur went to meet the Maharani. Fateh Jung possibly reported to Abhiman Singh what he had heard from the General Jung Bahadur. Abhiman Singh by way of precaution asked the officers of his regiments to be vigilant and to keep their muskets loaded.³⁰ When General Jung Bahadur saw from the second floor of the Kot that the soldiers of General Abhiman Singh were loading their muskets, he reported the matter to the Maharani, who immediately came down with a drawn sword and entered the

large Western Dalan below. Then she angrily asked Fateh Jung, Nur Nuru Bikram Shah, General Abhiman Singh Rana, Kaji Dalbhajan Pandey and the other Sardars and officers assembled, "who has killed my faithful General? Name him quickly."³¹ No one answered but Fateh Jung requested her not to precipitate matters and that he would settle the matter to her satisfaction. On hearing these words, she became more excited and attempted to strike Bir Kishore Pandey with her own sword. But Fateh Jung, Abhiman Singh Rana and Kaji Dalbhajan Pandey stopped her. Trying to pacify her they went with her towards the second storey. At that moment while the party was slowly following, shots were fired from the upper stair case. Fateh Jung and Kaji Dulbhajan Pandey fell down dead and Abhiman Singh Rana was wounded: The latter returned to the Dalan "exclaiming that Jung Bahadur had done this treacherous act"³² and endeavoured to get out and join his regiments. But Colonel Krishna Bahadur Kunwar (brother of General Jung Bahadur) with one stroke of his sword, nearly cut him in two and he fell down dead. At that time Choutaria Kharak Bikram Shah, the son and Sardar Bir Bahadur Shah, a younger brother of Fateh Jung Shah, with many more Choutarias, Kajees, Sardars and Captains were present in the Dalan. They immediately retaliated and there started a fight to the finish between them and the forces under Jung Bahadur supported by the queen. The queen called out in an imperious voice to the soldiers - "Kill and destroy my enemies". The fighting now became a slaughter. Both sides fought desperately. The Massacre of the Kot was long and bloody.³³ Most of the Chiefs and Sardars in the Dalan were shot dead or cut down.

In the thick of the Kot Massacre Jung Bahadur was invested by the Maharani Lakshmi Devi with the Wizarut and the command of the regiments in the capital.³⁴ After the massacre the Maharani with Jung Bahadur possessed supreme power. But the Government was professed to be carried on by the King, the Queen and the Heir-Apparent jointly. The Maharani had appointed Jung Bahadur for her self-interest only. She liked that Jung Bahadur should kill the heir-apparent and declare one of her sons as king of the country. She issued a written order to Jung Bahadur to assassinate the two princes

born of the Senior Maharani who had died a few years ago. Refusing to carry out the illegal orders of the Maharani Jung Bahadur sent a reply to her as follows :-

"I received your Highness'³⁵ letter. I consider it a grievous sin to carry out what you have been pleased to order me in this letter. It is my duty to inform you resolutely. And today I place before you that proper intimation. The proposition brought forward by you is wholly improper. Who would not assent that any attempt to secure or place on the throne a younger brother while the elder brother is alive is against the 'Shastras' and our royal traditions. By this, your soul and 'your' dharma will be strained and a horrible sin will be committed. This is why I have been obliged today to submit to you that I will be unable to carry out your orders. You are only the regent, and my duty also extends towards the country and the State. I must attend to these also. Therefore forgetting this, I am unable from personal considerations to carry out your orders. I am convinced that I must serve the country and the State. I therefore feel responsible to do what I feel is proper. I inform you that if I get another order like this from you, you will be liable for the punishment which is awarded to those who attempt to commit such murder."³⁶

This changed attitude on Jung Bahadur's part unnerved her. She decided to remove him from the present post. So a plot was engineered to murder Jung Bahadur by the Queen on the morning of Saturday, the 3rd October, 1846. But she failed in her nefarious³⁷ game. This conspiracy was arranged in the presence of a Pandit named Bijini Raj. He revealed everything to Jung Bahadur. Now Jung Bahadur decided to take stern measures against the Maharani. He was authorised by the Maharaja to take proper steps to destroy his enemies. So in the evening General Jung Bahadur waited upon the Maharani by order of the Heir-Apparent. He delivered to her a message purporting that since she had become his bitter enemy, even to death, her residence in Nepal was no longer desirable and that she and her two sons must prepare to quit the country for the plains without delay.³⁸ The Maharani, who was in a state of great alarm for

the failure of her scheme made no demur. She left her Basantpur palace and proceeded with her two sons to the house of the late Krishna Ram Pandit and commenced preparations for going to Benaras.³⁹ In course of time, she succeeded in fixing the irresolute Maharaja in the resolve to go to Benaras to expiate the bloodshed of the 19th of September, 1846. The Maharani and her party including the King set out on the 23rd November, 1846 on the journey's end.⁴⁰

Thus Lakshmi Devi played a dominant role in the political history of Nepal from 1843 to 1846. Her personal ambition dragged her to her inevitable ruin. If she would not have planned for the political ascendancy of one of her sons, she might have ruled over the country for sometime more. If she had intelligently handled the political situation created by the murder of Gagan Singh, perhaps the emergence of Jung Bahadur in the political field would have been delayed. Jung Bahadur proved a strong master for her. Lakshmi Devi's power began to wane after Jung Bahadur's rise. The heir-apparent and the King also did not like the stance of the Maharani. The people of the Valley had brought Lakshmi Devi at the top of the administration. But after sometime she lost the confidence of the people. If she would have remained strong in 1846, she would have punished Jung Bahadur for disobeying her order. But she could not do so. Jung Bahadur was her political creature. She had appointed him as the Prime Minister of the country. But illfate had overtaken her. She was ordered by Jung Bahadur to leave Kathmandu. She could not murmur, she could not protest. She accepted his order. Thus the Prime Minister succeeded in expelling the political head from the country to establish a new era of power structure in Nepal.

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GOPALA KRISHNA GOKHALE

R. Suryanarayana Murty

Mahatma Gandhi declared that Copala Krishna Gokhale was his "Political Guru" and called his master "Gokhale the Good". What attracted Gandhi in Gokhale was not his political genius or achievements but his high moral fervour. Gokhale was no doubt a great patriot who spoke on a hundred platforms, and on a hundred occasions in India and abroad, but one can get at his soul only when one can know his moral qualities and moral accomplishments. Gokhale's moral fibre was chiselled and fashioned by his great Guru, Mahadev Govind Ranade who was for sometime Judge of the Bombay High Court and later settled in Poona. Of Ranade's saintly qualities Gokhale said thus: "It is no exaggeration to say that younger men who came in personal contact with him felt as in a holy presence, not only uttering nothing base, but afraid of thinking unworthy thoughts while in his company. One of the most prominent of Ranade's great qualities was his utter unselfishness-- He was incessantly working in several fields, but never did he seek the least recognition, never did he think of his getting credit for this or thatIt was as though the first person singular did not exist in his vocabulary... One more great quality of his... was his help especially to those who were weak and oppressed. He was accessible to all--even to the humblest -- at all hours of the day."²

Gopala Krishna Gokhale was born in a Village called Kotluk in Chiplum Taluk of Ratnagiri District on May 9, 1866. The famous Maharatta General, Bapu Gokhale who fell while fighting the British in the interest of his master Baji Rao II belonged to the same clan. The Gokhales were known for their strength of character and scrupulous dealings in money matters. Gokhale's father

1. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry- My Master Gokhale

2. T. V. Parwate - Gopalakrishna Gokhale.

was Krishna Rao who was a humble clerk at Kagal. His mother named Satyabhama was pious and entirely devoted to her husband and family. Gokhale had an elder brother by name Govind and had also four sisters. After their father's death in 1879 their uncle Anant took care of his brothers' family and was able to secure a small job for Govind at Kagal on fifteen rupees per month. Govind took care of his younger brother and Gokhale was fully conscious of the tremendous sacrifice which his noble brother was making for him. Gokhale had his early education at Kolhapur and after passing his Matriculation examination in 1881, he was able to continue his University education, as his brother's wife offered to sell all her jewellery to enable her brother-in-law to carry on his studies. Gokhale studied for some time in the Rajaram College in Kolhapur and for some time in the Deccan College, Poona, and for some time in the Elphinstone College in Bombay from where he completed his graduation in 1884 with Mathematics as his optional subject with high second Class. Though he was not an extraordinarily brilliant student he was known for his great feats of memory and hard work. He joined as a teacher in New English School in Poona, on a salary of Rs. 35/— per month and for sometime was running classes for coaching candidates privately for the Public Service Examination. He also studied first year law course in the Deccan College though he could not complete the course, inspite of his great desire to do so, due to financial circumstances as he was trying to pay back his debt to his brother as much as possible out of his salary income. Gokhale aspired to study Engineering for sometime and even go to England for writing the I. C. S. Examination but destiny willed it otherwise as it was as a teacher and the discipline he built up that way that he was to become a great leader of the country at a later date.

The New English School was started by the Deccan Education Society which later started the Fergusson College in Poona. The same society started the 'Kesari' and 'Maharatta' in Marathi and English languages respectively as weeklies. There was a new awakening and patriotic spirit among the people of Maharastra at this time, and great leaders of men began to educate people and mould the public life using all their wealth and leisure like Ranade, Telang, Bhandarkar and Joshi among the seniors and Tilak, Agarkar and

many others among the juniors. The New English School and the news papers were the symbols of the determination of these men to infuse a new spirit among the people in the country. The members of the Deccan Education Society have to take a vow of poverty and Gokhale joined in it as a permanent member in 1886. He was already known for his contributions to the columns of 'Maharatta', though was never so aggressive in his views or in language as Tilak. Gokhale joined the staff of Fergusson college as a lecturer in English on a salary of Rs. 75/- per month in 1886 and made a name as a great teacher. One of his students T.K. Sahani who later became professor commented about Gokhale's lectures on Burke's French Revolution as nothing short of an intellectual treat fit for an assembly of gods³. Later Gokhale worked in the same college as a Professor of Economics and History and retired in that capacity in 1902 when he wanted to enter public life and become member of Viceroy's Legislative Council. Gokhale developed his firm convictions and views on various Indian economic problems during this period, of which he was to become such an able exponent later on. He was more fond of teaching History of Europe and England while he considered teaching of Indian History as not of much value to derive any useful lessons⁴.

Differences grew in Deccan Education Society between Tilak and Agarkar and Agarkar who felt isolated started his own Anglo-Marathi weekly named 'Sudharak' in 1888 and Gokhale now started to contribute articles to 'Sudharak'; later Gokhale started another weekly of his own 'Dhyna Prakash'. Gokhale joined Sarvajanic Sabha started by Ranade and in due course he became the Secretary of the Sabha and also contributed articles to its quarterly journal. For fourteen years Gokhale had the unique privilege by sitting at the feet of his great master Ranade under whose guidance he studied documents, wrote memoranda and minutes, prepared memorials and representations to Government, went here and there and made direct enquiries upon one problem or another. When Gokhale complained

3. T. K. Sahani-Gopalakrishna Gokhale

4. R. P. Paranjpye-Gopalakrishna Gokhale

to Ranade once of what use it was in taking all the trouble and submitting the memorials to Government if it did not care to say anything more than that they have noted the contents of the letter or petition, Ranade replied, "You don't realise our place in the history of our country, These memorials are nominally addressed to Government; In reality, they are addressed to the people, so that they may learn how to think in these matters. This work must be done for many years without expecting any results, because politics of this kind is altogether new in this land"⁵

Constant association with Ranade, editorship of the quarterly journal of the Sarvajanic Sabha and equally constant association with the 'Sudharak' and 'Dhyna Prakash' enabled Gokhale to acquire mastery over the English language and also to put forth the grievances or the demands of the people in their columns. He also became an impressive speaker in that language as well as Marathi. In 1889 he attended the Indian National Congress session for the first time and ever since was not only an active participant in its activities but also a strong exponent of the Congress view point at its various sessions. The Congress during this early period of growth was asserting itself as highly critical of government policies though always in a constructive way, while professing loyalty to the government and the Emperor in England all the while. Gokhale's speeches delivered at the congress sessions or the meetings of Bombay Provincial Conference as a member of that body, revealed his firm grasp of the problems of the people and the failure of the government to solve their problems. Referring to the distress of the people who did not get adequate help from the famine relief works in Bombay Presidency in his speech at the Calcutta Congress of 1896, in support of a resolution passed there, he said, "Those poor creatures have fled from starvation and death to the relief works but they are starved also on the relief works and when complaints of their treatment are made to the Government, they are coolly told that if they are not satisfied, they may complain to their superior authorities or if they prefer it, leave the work." Speaking about the inexorable burden of the salt tax in the Calcutta

session of the Congress in 1906 in which he moved a resolution for the reduction of the tax, he described the condition of the peasants as "the starving, shrunken, shrivelled up Indian ryot, toiling and moiling from dawn to dusk to earn his scanty meals, patient, resigned, for-bearing beyond measure, entirely voiceless in the parliament of his rulers and meekly prepared to bear whatever burdens God and Man might be pleased to impose upon his back."

Not only in the Congress organisation but also in the public life of Poona Gokhale became an important figure and after the exit of Tilak due to differences, he became the leading spirit of Deccan Education Society and in that capacity made the Fergusson college a very popular and universally admired institution with eminent professors on its staff though he himself never became the Principal. Tilak meanwhile was able to secure hegemony over the Sarvajanik Sabha in 1896 ousting Ranade and Gokhale from its control. But meanwhile the Deccan Sabha was started and Gokhale shifted to it as its Secretary with Ranade still as its chief inspiring angel. The Deccan Sabha professed liberalism and moderation as its mottoes while Tilak's party was labelled as conservative and extremist. Though the public life of Poona was vitiated by these bickerings, it can be said that both the parties or the Sabhas worked in a truly liberal spirit both for social reforms and for political and economic advancement of the masses.⁶

Gokhale's greatest debut in the early part of his career was made when he went as a representative of the Deccan Sabha to present India's case before the Welby Commission in England along with Dinshaw Edulji Wacha who was sent as the representative of the Indian National Congress. The Royal Commission was appointed by the British Parliament presided by Lord Welby in 1896 in view of several representations of the Congress to investigate the various grievances of the people regarding the British administration in India. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was a member of British Parliament at that time was responsible largely for the appointment of this commission,

6. T. A. Parwate - Gopalakrishna Gokhale.

through his efforts in the Parliament and outside in England with the help of great Indian sympathisers, like Sir William Wedderburn and others. Almost every aspect of Indian administration was discussed threadbare and its defects exposed before the members of the Commission and Gokhale deserves great praise for his tremendous mastery of facts and figures and their able exposition from the Indian point of view. Some of the points made out by Gokhale before the Welby Commission were :

1. In Government's expenditure the interests of British Industry and commerce prevailed over those of Indian industry and consequently there was lot of wasteful expenditure which did not in any way contribute to the welfare and prosperity of the people.

2. The revenues of India should not be used for military operations beyond the natural frontiers of India, excepting in cases of actual or threatened invasion, as it was found that most of the wars were fought in the imperial interests of England. The expenditure on the army should also be reduced as it was calculated that nearly 35% of the Indian revenues were spent on the army while other countries like Russia, France and Japan spent only 21%, 19% and 16% respectively. Government should also provide facilities for Indian officers to be employed in the Indian army and there should be a greater amount of Indianisation of the army.

3. There should also be a greater amount of Indianisation of civil services as there was a practical monopoly by Europeans of the higher branches of the services in India and lack of opportunity to display their talent, even for the most talented men, was resulting in a kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race reducing them into hewers of wood and drawers of water.

4. Government expenditure on public education was niggardly since only four millions out of 35 millions of children of school going age were going to primary school and consequently 88% were growing up in darkness and ignorance.

5. The salary of the Secretary of State for India should be paid from the imperial exchequer and not from the Indian exchequer.

6. The free trade policy that had been thrust on the country killed all the industries in India resulting in the people becoming

poorer and poorer who had to fall back on agriculture for their existence making the economy backward. In spite of excellent presentation of India's case by Gokhale and others before the Commission the British government failed to take any steps for the redressal of the grievances on a majority of the points.

While Gokhale was in England the plague epidemic made its appearance in Poona whose horrors increased every week. British troops were employed to impose stringent conditions like segregation, disinfection of houses, inspection of infected localities and compulsory evacuation of people etc., The soldiers acted without respect for popular feelings or their sentiments and made people strip their clothes and even indulged in destroying their property. Popular fury reached a breaking point which resulted in the assassination of two English officers Mr. Rand and Lt. Col. Ayerist. Gokhale was receiving letters from India about the behaviour of the soldiers and one story that was current at the time was that two women were violated by the soldiers. Gokhale grew restless on hearing such stories and putting full faith in the reports received from his friends from India, he gave an interview to a representative of the 'Manchester Guardian' and later wrote a letter to the paper condemning the incidents relating to the soldiers. This created a tremendous sensation in England. The Bombay government after instituting an enquiry sent a telegraphic report to the Home Government stating that the indictment of Gokhale of British soldiers was false, malicious and wicked. Gokhale and his friends like Sir William Wedderburn now looked mean and contemptible in the eyes of the British public and he was adversely commented in the House of Commons also.⁷ Gokhale was afraid of revealing the names of those who had given the information about the atrocities of the soldiers, as those persons might be severely dealt with by the Government. His sensitive temperament felt sore at the strong criticism by the London news papers and he even became unnerved. After returning to India he found no way of proving his innocence as there was none to come forward to support him and Tilak who only had the moral courage to support him, was prevented from seeing

7 T.V. Parwate - Gopalakrishna Gokhale

him and was even arrested on a charge of criminal offence in a case known as the Tai Majaraj case. Taking counsel from Ranade, Gokhale tendered an unqualified apology and signed a draft which was even published in the 'Times of India' and the 'Manchester Guardian' for having made 'grave and unwarranted charges' against the soldiers who were engaged in plague relief operations.⁸ Though the issue ended peacefully thus and though Gokhale received considerable sympathy and support from several Englishmen like Wedderburn, A.O. Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress, Mr. John Morley and Indians like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjee, not to talk of Ranade, the issue went deep into his heart and for several years he did not venture to participate actively in the sessions of the Indian National Congress. His critics felt at the same time that he had humiliated the whole country by offering his apology. Gokhale after the apology incident became so very sceptical about his work in India that he expressed a desire to Ranade to go to England and work there on behalf of his country like Dhadabhai. But Ranade dissuaded him, speaking to him thus: "Was the work in India finished that other places should be sought for one's activities? Who was to do the clearing of the heaps of rubbish with which ages of corruption, tyranny and misery had thickly encrusted this ancient land? And who was to dig the foundation, build the basis and rear the walls of the new structure that the land was to present to the world?"⁹ Gokhale accepted the judgement of his Master and decided to remain in India and work for the service of his countrymen. Even the British Governor of Bombay, Lord Sandhurst who poured scorn on Gokhale during the apology episode was later gracious enough to appreciate his services in connection with Plague relief work.

Gokhale was elected to the Bombay Legislative Council in 1899 and was there for two years where he proved himself as a polished debater and parliamentarian and showed by his knowledge of affairs that he was head and shoulders above most of his colleagues. He was able to advocate the cause of the poor cultivators by urging that there

8. T. V. Parwate-Gopalakrishna Gokhale.

9. *Ibid.*

should be a reduction in the state demand of land revenue and strongly opposed the Land Alienation Bill which produced a fierce controversy as the state tried thereby to take away the land from those who were unable to pay the land revenue or redeem their debts to the money lenders. He suggested that the Government may start agricultural banks and thus provide for the ordinary needs of the agriculturists and reduce thereby their dependence on the sowcars. But the bill was passed with the support of the official majority in the Legislative Council and Gokhale along with Pherozeshah Mehta and others walked out of the house on protest. Gokhale was a believer in total Prohibition and several times he opposed the Abkari Policy of the Government in his budget speeches. He criticised the levy of high duties and said that thereby, there would be no reduction in consumption of liquor as it would only result in more money taken out of the pockets of the consumers which would add the misery of starvation to the misery of vice¹⁰.

In 1902 Gokhale was unanimously elected to the Imperial Legislative Council at Calcutta mostly with the help of Pherozeshah Mehta who was his predecessor in the same body. In those days the elected members had no power to attack any items in the budgets or suggest cuts or move resolutions on them. But they had the liberty to discuss as elaborately as they liked, not only any of the items in the budget but even others though they were not included in it. The result was their contributions to the discussions were rather of an uninteresting character. Pherozeshah Mehta however proved to be an exception and built up for himself a reputation as a man of ability by outshining many European officials. Gokhale's first Budget speech delivered on March 26, 1902, as a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council came as a revelation to everyone in the country as nothing like it had ever been heard before. Even the Viceroy Lord Curzon was forced to say that Gokhale was endowed with extraordinary abilities and that he freely placed them at the disposal of his country. Prior to joining the Viceroy's Council, Gokhale resigned from the Deccan

10. Refer Gokhale's speech at a meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council held in Poona on 22nd August, 1901

Education Society, after working in it for 18 years and also retired from his professorship in the Fergusson College on a pension of Rs. 30/- per month. Gokhale remained as a member of the Viceroy's Council for 12 years and came to be regarded as 'an Imperial statesman' and as 'leader of His Majesty's Opposition' and 'the perfect man on the political field'.

The Viceroy's Council enabled Gokhale to display his talents and espouse the cause of his country in various ways. In his budget speech in 1902 he pleaded for the reduction of salt duty saying that it was a heavy burden on the poorest of the poor of the community, and infact succeeded in getting the salt duty reduced from Rs. 2-8-0 to 2-0-0 a maund¹¹. Even the reduced rate was considered as a heavy burden on the poor people, and Gandhi had taken his cue from Gokhale when he started his struggle against this impost by his Satyagraha campaign of 1930.

Gokhale in his speeches in the Imperial Legislative Council stressed again and again the problems besetting the country. He stated that the bulk of the population was becoming poorer day by day due to the play of economic forces and could conclusively prove the same by his detailed study and graphic analysis of the situation, giving the following pointers:—

1. Decline in the growth of population.
2. Increase in the death rate.
3. Decline in the consumption of salt.
4. Decline in the area under various crops.
5. Perishing of cattle in large numbers

He suggested that remedial measures should be taken immediately for the improvement of the people. He advocated that there should not be periodical revision of land revenue in the ryotwari

11. Refer Gokhale's first Budget Speech in the Imperial Legislative Council delivered on 26th March, 1902.

areas but it should be fixed as in the lands under Permanent Settlement. He said that the free peasantry in India was sinking to the level of serfs unable to pay the land revenue which left no margin for them for enjoyment. Emphasising the importance of Primary Education he said that nine children out of ten were growing up in darkness and ignorance and four villages of every five were without a school and contrasted the picture with that of England where every child of school going age must attend a school. He therefore suggested that the government should accept without any reservation a scheme of mass education immediately so that atleast in the next 25 or 30 years appreciable advance in that direction might be secured. He argued that the expenditure on the army in India was far too heavy and since the army was in excess of India's own requirements and mainly required for the maintenance of the British rule it is necessary that a portion of the cost should be borne by the British Government. Still Gokhale was a firm believer in "the utility, desirability, efficacy and potentiality for good of Indo-British co-operation and association on a basis of common citizenship of equality within the British Empire."¹² He even pleaded for a 'new composite patriotism', and 'a true spirit of Imperialism' not the narrow imperialism where one race establishes its hegemony over others, but the nobler Imperialism where all races included in the Empire would share equally in its blessings and honours and expressed his wish that India and England should march hand in hand as allies, as equals for mutual benefit. He put his faith in the goodness of the British as Gandhi also did for some time. Gokhale was however only too aware that such an equality could not be built up either in the near future or foreseeable future. He suggested that wider employment opportunities to Indians should be given in the higher branches of public services. Hitherto the civil services and even several other services, not to mention the armed forces, were practically a monopoly of the Englishmen. He pointed out giving statistics that in several departments like Postal, Telegraphs, Survey, Forests, Customs, etc., there were either no Indians or just one or two drawing a salary of above Rs. 500/-. Such virtual exclusion of the sons of the soil, in so many departments, argued Gokhale, would

12. T.V. Parwate-Gopalakrishna Gokhale.

not only cause much dissatisfaction and discontent, reducing their employment opportunities but went contrary to the declared government policy of giving equality of treatment stated in the Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858.¹³

Gokhale was one of the strongest critics of Lord Curzon's administration, though he recognised also the good points in him. In his Presidential address to the Banaras session of the Indian National Congress held in 1905, he spoke thus about Curzon : "His wonderful intellectual gifts, his brilliant powers of expression, his phenomenal energy, his boundless enthusiasm for work-these will ever be a theme of just and unstinted praise. But the gods are jealous and amidst such lavish endowments they withheld from him a sympathetic imagination without which no man can ever understand an alien people, and it is a sad truth that at the end of his administration, Lord Curzon did not really understand the people of India." Referring to the partition of Bengal effected by Lord Curzon in the same speech, he said, "A cruel wrong has been inflicted on our Bengali brethren and the whole country has been stirred to its deepest depths with sorrow and resentment as has never been the case before. The scheme of partition concocted in the dark and carried out in the face of the fiercest opposition that any Government measure has encountered during the last half a century will always stand as a complete illustration of the worst feature of bureaucratic rule, its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom, its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people, the mockery of its appeal to a sense of justice, its cool preference of service interest to those of the governed..." Still Gokhale showed his human nature by writing to Curzon when the latter lay stricken with pain of a great affliction and said in the letter in touching terms "The heart of all India would go out to him in profound and reverent sorrow".¹⁴ This reminds one of Gandhiji's dealing with his own enemies and shows how both Gandhi and Gokhale had similar characteristics in matters of spirit.

13. Refer Gokhale's budget Speech delivered on 25th March, 1903.

14. Lord Ronaldshay-Life of Lord Curzon.

1905 may be described as the most glorious year in the career of Gopala Krishna Gokhale. He was not only elected as the President of Indian National Congress that year but he also started the "Servants of India Society" his great legacy to the country of which he became President or the first member. He also along with Lala Lajpat Rai went to England in the same year as a representative of the Congress and addressed various meetings to educate the British public opinion on the eve of General Elections in England, regarding Indian affairs and set many an Englishman and English woman at thinking on the injustices and indignities to which people in India were subjected and the need for introducing political reforms in the country.¹⁵ He was also elected President of the Poona Municipality his home town and he also collected funds for running 'India' the weekly propaganda paper conducted in London by the British Congress Committee and also for the 'Ranade Memorial' after the death of Ranade in 1901 in the form of 'Ranade Economic Institute' opened in Poona.

Sivaram Hari Sathe who introduced Gokhale to Ranade laid the foundation stone of the 'Servants of India Society' on June 12, 1905. Admission to the Society was open only to graduates of distinction and high calibre and each member has to undergo a 5 year period of preparation under the tutelage of Gokhale who would be their absolute master. Each member has to take seven vows at the time of his admission, viz., 1. That the country will always be first in his thoughts and he will give to her service the best that is in him. 2. In serving the country he will seek no personal advantage for himself. 3. He will regard all Indians as brothers and will work without distinction of caste and creed. 4. He will be content with what is provided for him and his family by the Society and will not devote his energies for earning money for himself. 5. He will lead a pure personal life. 6. He will engage in no personal quarrel with anyone. 7. He will always keep in view the aims of the Society and watch over its interests with utmost zeal. Some of the important members admitted to the Society were Natesh Appaji Dravid. Anant

15. Refer Gokhale's speech at the New Reform Club, London on 14th November, 1905.

Vinayak Patwardhan, Gopalakrishna Deodhar, Srinivasa Sastry, Dr. H. N. Kunzru, P. Kodandarao and A. D. Mani. The idea is to train men for the work of political education for the service of India with a truly missionary spirit. The Servants of India Society in a way resembles the 'Society of Jesus' started by Ignatius Loyola in Spain which became a bastion for the Roman Catholic Church. It filled a void in the political field of the country and its services were appreciated by several eminent persons both in India and abroad. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stated in his Autobiography how he was attracted by Gokhale's idea of whole time dedication of one's life to the service of the motherland.

The Banaras Session of the Congress was a stormy affair as the new forces represented by Lal-Bal-Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bala Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal who represented the radical or extremist section of the Congress at that time, had their presence felt and Gokhale had to deal with them using all his tact and understanding. Gokhale in his presidential address expounded the doctrine of 'Swadeshi'. Quoting his great master Ranade who was the first to emphasize the importance of economic development of the country, Gokhale said "The political domination of one country by another attracts far more attention than the more formidable, though unfelt domination which the capital, enterprise and skill of one country exercise over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an insidious influence which paralyses the springs of all varied activities which together makeup life of a nation. The question of produce is a question of capital, enterprise and skill and in all these factors, our deficiency at present is very great. Whoever can help in any one of these fields is therefore a worker in a Swadeshi cause and should be welcome as such." The goal of the congress for India set out by him was a form of government similar to what existed in the self-governing colonies of the British empire. He said "For better, for worse, our destinies now are linked with those of England and the Congress freely recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the Empire itself".¹⁶

16. The Congress session was held at Banaras on 29th & 30th December, 1905.

Gokhale continued to be member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council under Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge. The agitation for annulment of partition of Bengal was continuing during this period and many terrorist activities were taking place in Bengal. Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the Lieutenant Governor of East Bengal was using his executive authority to put down the agitation ruthlessly by arresting many people including school boys. Even raising the slogan 'Vandemataram' was considered an offence. Surendernath Banerjee, one of the foremost leaders of the country, was arrested and fined for addressing the Provincial Conference at Barisal and the Conference itself was broken up. Gokhale, inspite of his being a Moderate, was fully conscious of the gathering storm in the country and how the younger generation was thoroughly dissatisfied with the state of affairs in the country. He pleaded strongly for change in the British policy in the country, condemned the administration of Fuller in East Bengal and described the arrest of Surendranath Banerji as "an incredible criminal folly".¹⁷ Referring to the far-reaching change taking place in the public opinion of the country he said "I fully believe that it is in the power of the Government to give a turn to this feeling, which makes it a source of strength and not of weakness to the Empire. One thing, however, is clear. Such a result will not be achieved by any methods of repression. What the country needs at this moment above everything else is a Government, national in spirit even though it may be foreign in personnel, a Government that will enable us to feel that our interests are the first consideration with it and that our wishes and opinions are to it a matter of some account".¹⁸

Gokhale's budget speeches in the Legislative Council continued to attract wide attention and he was making his demands on the government to improve sanitation, expand education, relieve the burden on the ryots, reduce duties like those on salt and cloth and many such things. During this period he became a good friend of Mr. Morley, Secretary of State for India and Lord Minto, the Viceroy.

17. Refer Gokhale's speech delivered at a meeting of London Indian Society on 5th May, 1906.

18. Refer Gokhale's Budget speech delivered in Imperial Legislative Council on 28th March, 1906.

His frequent visits to England helped him in establishing close contacts with many eminent public men in the Parliament and outside. Of Morley he said "We never had so true a friend of our aspirations in a responsible position since Lord Ripon's day." He was for taking full advantage of his sympathy for Indian aspirations and he never lost the hope that India would attain her goal of self-government by lawful and constitutional means with the goodwill and co-operation of the British government.

The Partition of Bengal and the Boycott movement of British goods started in that connection enabled the militant section of the Congress known as the Nationalists to get a strong hold on the Congress organisation but the older leaders like Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha and many others were very particular that the power should not slip out of their hands and were in fact not in favour of the Boycott movement and other radical measures advocated by the younger leaders. At the Calcutta session of the Congress held in 1906, Dadabhai Naoroji was brought all the way from England by them to preside over the same. But Dadabhai though a Moderate, and came to be regarded as the 'Grand Old Man of India', put fire into his speech by condemning partition of Bengal and upholding Swadeshi and above all by demanding self-government for India. Dadabhai was able to satisfy both the Militants and Moderates by his conciliatory speech. But the situation in the country was going from bad to worse due to constant spurt of violence and arrests of several people on flimsy grounds including great leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh in 1907 in Punjab who were deported to Mandalay prison though after a few months the deportation was cancelled and Lajpat Rai and Singh were released. It was under these circumstances the Surat session of the Congress was held in 1907 for which Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose was elected as President. Tilak however held the President's election as unconstitutional and very much wished that Lajpat Rai should become the President who had the halo of a martyr due to his recent incarceration in prison. Pherozeshah Mehta who dominated the Moderates, was for complete severance with the Militants in the Congress, as he felt the differences irreconcilable and succeed in seeing that Ghose was elected as President resulting in a split. A new

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Constitution for the Congress was prepared which would completely exclude the Militants from the organisation thereafter. Gokhale was not for split in the Congress but in all such major matters of policy he invariably yielded to the judgement of Pherozeshah Mehta as his superior. As Tilak remarked "Gokhale's heart was with the Militants but his head pulled him towards the Moderates". Gokhale was also influenced by the views of Morley and was afraid of offending the government when some political reforms were contemplated. In fact he was consulted frequently before what were called Minto-Morley reforms were introduced in the country.

Meanwhile some Europeans were killed at Muzaffarpur in Bengal and this was followed by the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act and Press Act and a policy of repression resulting in the closing down of various news papers and arrests of many leaders including Tilak who was sent to prison in Mandalay for six years. Gokhale felt helpless in the face of the repressive measures adopted by the Government as he knew that men like Lajpat Rai and Tilak though they advocated militant action were essentially constitutionally minded and were opposed to anarchy in the land.

There was however a feeling in the country that the Moderates were hands in glove with the Government. The introduction of Morley Minto reforms enabled the Moderates to get into the Legislative Councils in the Centre and in the provinces, while most of the Extremists were either in prison or were declared ineligible for elections. The Moderates continued to dominate the Congress Organisation and the public life. Gokhale was vehemently criticised in some Bengali papers, as responsible for the prosecution of Tilak though the charge was baseless and Gokhale had actually to resort to court to vindicate his honour. Though Gokhale was happy due to the introduction of the political reforms, he found that the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act and the various ordinances issued for preventing meetings and above all the Regulations issued for the implementation of the reforms had reduced their significance and this made him feel bitter. He was frequently giving expression to his strong resentment of the policies of the Government in his speeches in the Legislative Council and actually opposed most of these laws,

though without success. Talking about Seditious Meetings Act he said that it gave enormous power to the police who were not known for good behaviours and gave instances of how he and members of the Servants of India Society were frequently shadowed by the members of the Criminal Investigation Department, though their activities were purely innocent. While talking against the Press Bill he paid a compliment to the Indian Press in general stating that it was a potent instrument of progress, quickened national consciousness, spread ideas of justice and equality among the people, stimulated public spirit and set high standards of public duty, and said that it would be wrong to criticise barring a very few exceptions, any section of the Indian press as seditious.¹⁹

Gokhale was a strong believer in giving more powers to the provinces under a scheme of decentralisation and suggested that provinces should have more powers of raising their own revenues and making their own laws to manage their administration. Gokhale was also for decentralisation of power at the district level with each village having its own panchayat, each town its own Municipality and each district its own Board with sufficient funds at their disposal and he also suggested that the Collector should no longer function as a kind of paternal authority over the district but should be assisted by a council which would consist of the important public men whom he should consult in all important matters. Thus Gokhale believed building of Democracy and representative institutions from the bottom as it would help people to get trained in the art of Self-Government.²⁰

Gokhale was blamed for the introduction of separate electorates for the Muslims under the Reform Act of 1909. Actually the demand for separate electorates for the Muslims was made by His Highness, the Aga Khan, leader of the Muslim community in India. Gokhale however conceded that where there were deficiencies and

19. Refer Gokhale's speech delivered on the Press Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council on 8th February 1910.

20. Refer Gokhale's speech delivered on 27 February, 1912 in the Imperial Legislative Council when he brought a Resolution before the House recommending creation of District Advisory Councils.

inequalities in the general elections resulting in minority communities not getting adequate representation, they might be favoured with special separate electorates to the extent of the deficiency. Gokhale actually favoured elections on territorial basis in the best interests of public life. He even opposed giving more representation than what was due to the Muslims on the basis of their population, by investing them with a special importance.²¹ Gokhale was ever sceptical about uniting Hindus and Muhammadans on a common political platform though he very much realised the need for Hindu-Muslim unity. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was a great friend of Gokhale and after she attended the Muslim league meeting held in 1912 at Lucknow where they sounded a note of co-operation with the sister community, expressed her opinion that the Hindu and Muslim in India would be united in less than five years. Gokhale on hearing this, remarked "Child, you are a poet ; but you hope too much. It will not come in your life time or in mine. But keep your faith and work for it if you can."

Gokhale's greatest service to India was however in the field of education. He introduced a bill in 1911 for providing free and compulsory primary education for all the children in the country. Though the bill was not passed Gokhale's views on education became the basis for all reforms in that field introduced by different provincial governments subsequently. In the words of T.V. Parwate, Gokhale showed the zeal of a crusader and the mental attitude of a Yogi on the question of free and compulsory primary education. Gokhale suggested that as in England or Japan or any advanced country, the principle of compulsion should be adopted for achieving rapid progress, though in the case of girls he was not for compulsion in the initial stages in view of the peculiar circumstances obtaining in the country. He suggested that primary education should be free, otherwise it would prove to be a hardship on the poor people. In view of the limited provincial finances he suggested that

21. Refer Gokhale's speech delivered in Poona on 11th July 1909 under the auspices of the Deccan sabha on Hindu Muhammadan question. Also refer his Budget speech delivered on 29th March, 1909.

education should be divided on a joint head under the centre as well as the provinces. Though the education bill of Gokhale was not passed, Gokhale was not unhappy and made one of his classic statements in this connection. "I have often said that we of the present generation in India can only hope to serve our country by our failures. The men and women who will be privileged to serve her by their successes will come later. We must be content to accept cheerfully the place that has been allotted to us in our onward march. The bill, thrown out today will come back again and again till on the stepping stones of its dead selves a measure ultimately rises which will spread the light of knowledge throughout the land".

Another achievement of Gokhale was regarding alleviating the sufferings of the Indians who emigrated to South Africa. A large part of the labourers in South Africa was from India and they were actually taken there for working on the European plantations as indentured labour under an order of Government of India though some of them after working for some years on the plantations became free persons. Such persons and other Indian settlers naturally claimed the right of citizenship in that country, but the white Africans both English and Dutch called the Boers, were opposed to extend rights of citizenship to Indians and in fact subjected them to various humiliating restrictions like imposing on them an annual poll-tax, not allowing them to have any fixed properties in the localities occupied by the whites, compelling them to pay registration tax for carrying on any trade, not allowing the Indian children to study in the public Schools, not allowing Indians to secure accommodation in Hotels and not allowing them to purchase any land. In short Indians were treated as worse than the depressed classes in India. It was under these circumstances that M. K. Gandhi later to become the Mahatma organised a Satyagraha, in 1907 to protest against the colour bar and safeguard the rights of the Indians on the plea that they still continued to be 'British Subjects' even in South Africa which was a British Colony. Gandhiji already drew the attention of the Indian leaders like Gokhale, Mehta, Tilak and others to the problem of Indian settlers in South Africa when he came to India in 1896 and discovered in Gokhale his Political Guru and a strong friendship developed between the two.

Gandhiji said "Pherozeshah appeared like the Himalaya and Tilak like the Ocean but Gokhale was as the Ganga. The Himalaya was unsalable and one could not easily launch forth on the sea, but the Ganga invited him to its bosom."²² The South African question figured in the discussions of the Indian National Congress at the Lahore Session in 1909 where Gokhale saw that a resolution was passed, congratulating Gandhiji and his followers for the struggle they put forth for the preservation of India's honour and self-respect. Gokhale also moved a resolution in the Legislative council in 1910 for prohibiting the supply of indentured labour to the British colonies outside India. According to T. V. Parwate "Gokhale's utterance on the question of indentured labour remains to this day a classical and a perfect treatment for any student of the question of Indians abroad." Though the resolution was accepted by the Government to the extent of South Africa this did not prevent the South African Government from continuing its policy of repression. Further South Africa became a Dominion in 1907 and the issue was no longer under the purview of the Home Government. It was at this juncture that Gokhale decided to visit South Africa at the request of Gandhiji and even Morley, Secretary of State for India approved of Gokhale's mission and in fact the South African Government was informed by the India office of the high rank of Gokhale in the public life and the esteem in which he was held in India. A strenuous programme was arranged for Gokhale in South Africa and he addressed various meetings at Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Zanzibar and various other places and was received well even by the Europeans. In his speech at Pretoria he said: "You (Indian settlers) have by no means an easy position here and it is not impossible that it may grow even worse. But, whatever happens, do not lose faith or give way to despair. I pray to God that such a struggle as you found it necessary to wage in the Transval during the last three years may not have to be waged again. But if it has to be resumed or if you have to enter on other struggles of a like nature for justice denied or injustice forced on you, remember that the issue will largely turn on the character you show, on your capacity for combined action, on your readiness to suffer and sacrifice in a just cause. India will no

22. M.K. Gandhi-Autobiography.

doubt be behind you".²³ Gokhale had a talk with the important ministers and he felt satisfied about his mission and told Gandhiji that the South African Government promised to repeal the Black Act, the Racial Bar and the Three pounds Tax on Indians. Actually the promises were not kept after Gokhale's return to India. Gandhiji acknowledged the debt which the Indian community owed to Gokhale as the visit boosted their morale and enabled them to launch a fresh struggle with greater confidence. Gokhale strained much during the few months he spent in South Africa and his health which was not alright had become worse. The Karachi session of the Indian National Congress held in 1913 protested against the violation of the promises made to Gokhale by the South African Government. The cruel treatment given to the Satyagrahis by the South African Government even moved the Viceroy Lord Hardinge who made a statement condemning the repressive measures and even justifying the stand taken by the Indian settlers.²⁴ It was at this juncture on the instruction of the Home Government in England a Commission was appointed to enquire into the problem of South African Indians and Gokhale also, inspite of his poor health was fighting the issue of the South African Indians in England during his visits to that country and stood by their cause, inspite of Gandhiji's unwillingness to yield to the entreaties of Gokhale to suspend Satyagraha during the course of the investigation by the commission. Meanwhile General Smuts entered into a provisional agreement with Gandhiji known as "Smuts-Gandhi settlement of 1914" which conceded some of the demands of the Indian settlers in South Africa. It was at the instance of Gokhale after this settlement that Gandhiji agreed to come away to India and lead the country in 1915. Though segregation of Indians continued, the South African struggle brought out the indomitable will and the spiritual qualities of Gandhiji as a political leader. Gokhale who could see in Gandhi a transparent soul spoke of him thus even much earlier. "I can tell you that a purer, a nobler, a braver, a more exalted spirit has never moved on this earth. Mr. Gandhi is one of those men who

23. Refer Gokhale's farewell Speech delivered at a meeting held in his honour in Pretoria by the Indian Community on November 14th, 1912.

24. Lord Hardinge-My Indian years.

living an austere simple life themselves and devoted to all the highest principles of love to their fellow beings and to truth and justice, touch the eyes of their weaker brethren as with magic and give them a new vision. He is a man who may be well described as a man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot among patriots and we may as well say that in him Indian humanity at the present time has reached its high water-mark.²⁵

Gokhale was involved in a very important piece of work at the time of his death as a member of Royal Commission on the Public Services in India, which was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Islington in 1912. Gokhale was advocating all through his public life the need for giving greater opportunities to Indians for appointment to the various higher services in the country and this membership enabled him once again to put forth his views, though unfortunately he died before the work on the Commission was completed on 19th February, 1915 at the early age of forty eight. While he was working hard on the Commission with a very poor health, his indomitable will compelled him to pay attention to other issues as well like the South African Question and above all bringing unity between the Moderates and the Extremists. Gokhale was convinced that both these groups should be united once again particularly after the Home Rule Movement launched by Annie Besant and Tilak which gained tremendous strength and popularity. But Gokhale was strongly opposed by Pherozeshah Mehta and others even at this juncture in his attempts to bring about this rapprochement. Gokhale agreed for a compromise resolution on the eve of the Madras Congress session held in 1914 but unfortunately he wrote a letter withdrawing his stand which negatived the efforts at unity and nullified the resolution. This no doubt produced another controversy and there was much criticism of Gokhale and Tilak by each other in their respective papers 'Dyana Prakash' and 'Kesari'. The controversy no doubt proved another reason for causing further deterioration in Gokhale's health resulting in

25. Refer Gokhale's speech in moving the Resolution dealing with Indian struggle in South Africa at the session of the Indian National Congress held at Lahore on December 29, 1909.

his early demise. But inspite of their strong political differences Tilak and Gokhale had great regard for each other, and when some one was speaking disparagingly of Tilak on one occasion, Gokhale objected and spoke of Tilak thus: "Tilak may have his faults, I have many accounts to settle with him. But who are You? You are nowhere near him. He is a great man. His natural endowments are first rate. He has improved them for the service of the country. Although I do not approve of his methods, I never question his motives. Believe me, there is no man who has spent so much for the country, there is no man who has in his life to contend against the powerful opposition of Government so much as Tilak, there is no man who has shown grit and patience and courage, so rare that several times in the course of these struggles, he lost his fortune but his indomitable will put it all together"²⁶ Ultimately the Extremists and Moderates reunited but only after the death of Gokhale. Tilak, inspite of his many differences with Gokhale, had regard for him and in his obituary note on his death, said "Gokhale was endowed with many qualities, but the supreme quality among them was his selfless and complete dedication to the service of his motherland at a very young age."

Gokhale's religion was an enigma to his contemporaries. He once called himself an agnostic and that description appears to be quite appropriate. It can be said of him that his religion was the love of Motherland and his country was his God. He did not perform the "Sandhya" or the "Sradha" of his parents, nor was he found visiting temples. But he was wearing the sacred thread as a matter of habit for a long time and when Mrs. Ray a highly cultured Brahmo lady made remark against its use which smacked of his caste predilections, he took the remark seriously and next morning he cut the sacred thread into two and sent the same in a sealed cover to her with the following remarks on a paper, "Many thanks for rousing me to order. I own that I had no business to wear my sacred thread when I did not believe in it. Hence forth I shall try to act according to my convictions, forgive". Gokhale no doubt came under the influence of Brahmos during his stay at Calcutta which extended over ten years and

26. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry—My Master Gokhale.

this had great effect on his social and spiritual life. For sometime he was mistaken to be a Theosophist, a cult which was then very popular among the educated classes. But he himself openly denied his adherence to the same on one occasion. Mr. K. Natrajan Editor, 'Indian Social Reformer', once found on Gokhale's table an inscription, in bold letters "God is Love" and Gokhale confessed his adherence to that definition of God. Gokhale may be said to be religious in the true sense of the word as Gandhi stated "A man who leads a dedicated life, who is simple, in habits, who is the very image of truth, who is full of humanity who calls nothing his own-such a man is a man of religion, whether he himself is or is not conscious of it!" Gokhale certainly satisfied the definition of Gandhi. Gokhale was a strict vegetarian and a strict teatotalter. The Servants of India Society showed his desire to work for the progress of the country with a singleness of purpose. He said, "Public life must be spiritualised and love of country must so fill the heart, that all else shall appear of little moment by its side"²⁷. As Sir Valentine Chirol observed, "Gokhale exemplified in himself the higher social and religious system of Hinduism and he had too much self-respect to depreciate lightly the ancient civilization in which India lived and moved and had her being from the very dawn of History".²⁸ Gokhale also refused to receive the great honour which the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge wanted to get conferred on him, the title of K.C.I.E. It speaks highly of his modesty and lack of desire for high sounding titles.

Gokhale's eloquence became a matter for varied comments. No doubt he was a gifted speaker but he did not have the grand manner of the great orators like Surendranath Banerjee or Lal Mohan Ghose. He had undoubtedly persuasive eloquence and close reasoning power. His forte was finance, and in his budget speeches the Finance ministers found in him a foeman worthy of their steel. It can be said of him in the words of Mrs. Naidu that he represented the spirit of true Yoga or Wisdom in Action. He would have shone

27. Refer the original draft of the constitution of the Servants of India Society drafted by Gokhale.

28. Sir Valentine Chirol-Fifty years in a Changing World.

as a great Indian statesman, had his role been not cast in the Legislative Chamber as a leader of opposition but on the Treasury Bench. His family life was quite simple and his daughter Kasibai served him well in his latter days. With all his misgivings, he believed in Hindu-Muslim unity and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, then a great nationalist, said he would like to be regarded as a "Muslim Gokhale". He no doubt stood for the continuation of the British connection though he conceded the right of the Congress Extremist leaders to demand secession from the British Empire. He was not a patriot cast in the mould of a Mazzini or a Parnell as he did not languish in British Jails nor was he mistaken for a political suspect. Though he lacked militancy he was undoubtedly a great nationalist and he could accomplish great work overcoming the surroundings of an alien rule.

Gokhale's death produced comments of high praise from various public men in India and abroad. Various condolence meetings were held in London, in South Africa, in Bombay, Poona, Madras and other places bemoaning his death. H.A.L. Fisher said of him, "Even in India, whose saints are not uncommon, Gokhale's saintliness shone with a peculiar lustre, for not only was he utterly disinterested in his pursuit of patriotic ends, caring nothing, for wealth and station, but his rare spiritual intensity was united to subtlety of mind, a quiet grasp of detail and a gift for action.....".

Pherozeshah Mehta's reference to him at the condolence meeting in Bombay was most pathetic and picturesque. He said "For many many a long day, some of us will only be able to give out the sore, the bitter, and the pathetic cry as we miss him day by day, oh! for the touch of a vanished hand, for the sound of a voice that is still." Mr. E.S. Montagu said "His grasp of things both in essentials and details was not the least laudable of the assets which he brought to the service of his country. It is not too much to say that his annual contribution to the debate on the budget proposals in India, to quote only one example was one of the outstanding features of the proceedings of the Viceroy's Council and was eagerly awaited even by those who could not see eye to eye with him".

Mr. Mazharul Haq speaking about his forensic skill in the Legislative Council said "He was never aggressive and would not fight

willingly ; but when the occasion arose there was no better fighter than Mr. Gokhale. It was a sight for the gods to see as he dealt blow after blow straight from the shoulder and discomfitted opponents, officials, and non-officials alike."

Sir C. Y. Chintamani who regarded Gokhale as his political Guru said of him : "He emphatically condemned the immoral doctrine that the end justifies the means. Rather did he believe that the prize was in the process. He was scrupulously conscientious in every transaction in life."

Though Gokhale named no one as his successor, Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastry was regarded by many as having inherited the mantle to manage the affairs of Servants of India Society, who in his "Lectures on Gokhale" gave a vivid picture of this savant and statesman. "Gokhale is rightly regarded as Prince of Parliamentarians. While Dr. R. L. Majumdar, the great historian characterised him as Prince among the Moderates". Many worthy men were trained by Gokhale in the school of public life and the Brotherhood of workers started by him in the service of their motherland was his greatest legacy to the country. He always remembered the advice of his great master Ranade "We must not do a thing of which we may have reason to be ashamed". That is why he was opposed to violence as Gandhiji was at a later date. Gokhale will be remembered by posterity as a man of great urbanity and culture and as one who filled a most difficult role in the early history of the Freedom Movement and as one who left a blaze of glory for others to emulate, to fight for the emancipation of the country.

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BOOK - REVIEWS

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Bharatha Svatantra Udyama Caritra. (Part. I.) By Acarya Mamidipudi Venkatarangiah, 80, Nehru Nagar, Secunderabad-26, 180 pages + iii, 2 Appendices. 1974. (Telugu) Price Rs. 15/-

This is one of the three parts covering the very important event in the History of India...viz-Freedom Movement in India. It is a masterly work in Telugu undertaken by a veteran Historian of India. The author was in the pedagogic line in this country and worthily earned the reputation of a great professor in History and Politics. His Lectures in Telugu and English always were charged with the virtues of lucidity, analysis, facile presentation of facts and scholarship of the first order. His first major work is a Translation in Telugu of Kautilya's *Artha Sastra*. It remains as a great classic in Telugu. Now this Book, (of which Part I is under Review) covers an important subject of National Movement of the country, which is phenomenal and attained the status of epical significance.

The first covers topics divided into eight chapters. Each chapter is further divided into sub-sections. The first Chapter (Adhyaya) spread over six sections gives a lucid picture of the country during the 18th Cen. A.D. The opening sentence reveals the glorious fact, as to how India has shattered away the foreign yoke and attained full Independence. Thus the title of the book is explained. The Seven Years war-EDENDLA PORU of Europe remains a significant event in History. The Rulers of England lost the American Colonies, *but* curiously gained a firm foothold in India. Sub-section 3 contains facts about the economic conditions and the analytical narration is worthy of note. Several European Nations ran a race under the pretext of commercial ventures and carrying on trade in a passive manner with the Eastern Countries, succeeded in acquiring strong footholds and slowly developed building of forts and dominating in applied politics of the colonies. It was a race and the English, though late starters, gained an Empire in India. The fourth section deals with the nature of trade carried on the inability of the native merchants to cope up with the mercantile methods of the westerners. Their scientific knowledge

gave them an upper hand and the native in-a-way lagged behind. In the fifth section, the author traces the obsolete traditional learning, which could not be modified to run abreast of the changing times under the impact of the foreign methods and techniques. The sixth mentions about the loss of the thirteen American Colonies. Two observations of the author need some more elucidation. i) at page 16, the author opines that there are only a few instances where people rebelled against the misrule of the Rulers. The same has to be understood as there were instances where the delinquent rulers were invaded and dethroned by other stronger Chiefs who HAD always the following of the people in general and the military under their control. 2) page 17. There is a paucity of the number of kings that built temples and constructed irrigation reservoirs. Purusharthas and the follow up of the ideals contained in that great tenet and canon are known as Sapta santanas. King and the people alike, to the best of ability and status (Yatha sakti) scrupulously and with piety followed them and bestowed danas, philanthropic acts.

The Second Chapter, the Attainment of the Empire by the British covers two sub-sections. The first deals with the nature of these foreigners, who under the pretext of carrying on trade peacefully, were always followed by military armaments. Their dormant ulterior motives were 1) to benefit by commerce and 2) gain political domination over the new country. Moreover the above two motives were inextricably combined with the proselytising zeal of an aggressive attitude. These events are very well narrated by the author and in fine their entry can be compared to the entry of a tiger with the mask of the head of a cow into the herd of docile and peace-loving cows. (gomukha vyagrah pravesam).

The victory gained at the battle of Buxar in 1764, secured manifold political benefits. The British continued their venomous spreading of acquiring political supremacy, e. g. the invasion over Sind in 1843 and the defeat of the Amirs extended their political hold in that western part of the northern India. With Ranjit Singh, the leader of the sikhs held out courageously against the British, but his death in 1839 brought reverse effects to the Sikhs. Thus by 1856 the

land covered by the four boundaries viz. from Himalayas to Kanya Kumari and Sind to Assam came under the British domination.

The third chapter deals with the part played by the British Parliament in the affairs of the E.I. Coy. in India. In five sub-sections the facts are narrated. The British officers in India were poorly paid and they acquired trade-interests in their personal capacities. The British Parliament issued Charters to the Company periodically.-1773, 1784, 1793, 1813, 1833, and 1853. These were in the form of guidelines for the conduct of the Company in India. Thus began the tradition of ruling the country in accordance with the provisions of some statutory authority. In 1784 there existed a Board of Control in England, with a Chairman, to supervise and control the Officers in India. Slowly control over the Indian affairs was secured, not in India responsible to anyone Indian but in England by the British Parliament through a Secretary Member of the British Parliament who was in full charge of the Indian affairs. This political control of the Indian from England slowly worked out a break in the traditional ways, custom and other institutional ways of social and commercial living. Gradually, the Indians were led to think that traditional canons could be changed by the people and this feeling slowly gave rise to the Legislative Bodies. The fifth sub-section tells us about the change brought in the Judicial System.

Chapter FOUR, in six-subsections deals with the changes effected by the Company's Rule. Two motives guided the British in India. The first was to strengthen their political domination by organising well planned administrative authority. The other, more important was squeezing out wealth to the maximum proportions, with alacrity, cleverness and veiled cunningness. All high offices were filled by British and other European personnel. Top heavy salaries and pensions were paid to them. They further introduced burdensome Revenue Collections, varying with the regions. Zamindari and Ryotwari systems were introduced. Their effects on the general public was not well taken care of. The native industries were satisfied with. The artisans of extraordinary skill and ability were compelled to give up their vocations. Education was introduced for enlisting lower grades of administrative personnel.

Seven Sub-sections are in the Fifth Chapter. The Chapter covers the changes that were brought over in the Religious, Educational and Social spheres. During the early stages of their occupation, the British restrained themselves from interfering with the religious life of the Indians. They were forced to follow this policy of non-interference because, the Portuguese followed that proselytising methods in a cruel manner and incurred the greatest displeasure of the people. The British were wiser in their methods. But the evangelical activities of Sir Charles Grant persuaded several Englishmen to take to Proselytisation. Later on in spite of opposition, the Company allowed the missionaries to actively work for the spread of the Christian religion in India. This religious conversion, Grant explained would be a safer bond of loyalty between the people of India, *the ruled*, and the British Rulers in England. Educational schemes were introduced, chiefly championed by Lord Macaulay. The attitude of the British in these two fields is very well explained by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, a Master Mind of our age, in his address, 'For what heritage and to whom the English-speaking peoples responsible?' given at the Kenyon University, OHIO, 1947. The pertinent excerpts are quoted here, "wherever you may go think of yourselves never as masters, never even schoolmasters, but as guests and act accordingly, ask for hospitality, but do not demand the sincerest flattery".

An Educational system envisaged by Lord Macaulay was introduced in India more to manufacture clerks of Indians and the missionaries implemented the spread of the English language, more to impress on the natives that it was the best medium of expression of the Christian religion and also added, whenever possible that it was the Rulers' language and this resulted in turning out on a large scale two or three generations of Indians into westernised beings, 'Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals and in intellect' and this made them untether the COW and try to milk the peg. Further Dr. A.K.C. projected the idea that this led to the demolition of the tradition of the country and turned the ruled into a non-descript personage as having lost all the roots and belonging neither to the past nor to the present nor to the East nor the West... a degradation for which the English must ask for forgiveness and grati.

tude. He further said that the Americans have no culture in the traditional sense, but have only a newspaper and magazine culture spent on pornography on a large scale and when viewed from the standards of ancient India's traditional culture the westerners are culturally illiterate.

The author has dealt in this chapter all the details of the strides made by the British in the fields of Education and Social Reform. In the Economic field Transport became an important factor and the rulers took steps to lay roads and building railway lines.

Chapter six consisting of five sub-sections deals with the dissatisfaction of the people and their sufferings. In quick succession the British introduced the abolition of sati, the remarriage of the widows, denying the right of adoption of sons by the Native Rulers and other changes. The spread of English Education also has taken a large scale turn. The military recruitment of the three army units at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras has given rise to dissatisfaction. All the higher officers were all whites. The salaries paid to the Indians in the military were very meagre. All the courage, valour and loyalty shown by Indian soldier was not recognised and this indifference shown by the Britishers lead to a grave provocation. The frequent increase in the taxation has further resulted in suffering of the people.

The Britishers in India were puffed up with racial superiority and this contemptuous and condescending attitude towards the Indian people worked out a cleavage not only in the military ranks but also in the civilian population. In 1806 at Vellore a small revolt took place, but it was put down. But it had its effects of proliferation of disaffection throughout the length and breadth of the country. The rise of the Santals in Bengal had its significance.

The seventh chapter deals with the attitude of the Educated elite. Their main and chief aim was to educate the people in ideas of constitutional means and through the existing statutory... institutions, to bring pressure on the Government, here in India and also in England and the British Parliament. Their main purpose was not to drive away the English, because that may result in the coming to

power of the Marattas (Peshvas) or the Moghuls and this they thought will result in chaos. The Newspapers became the medium wherein the educated voiced their protest. Societies were formed to carry on the peaceful fight through the constitutional means.

The eight chapter gives in detail the course of events that happened during the phenomenal years 1857—1858.

In 20 sub-sections the author has meticulously dealt with the revolutionary events that happened. This is a glorious chapter written from the Indian Historians view point.

At page 112 the sub-section must be numbered as 2 instead of 7. Page 27, the last paragraph, [its] correct reading must be **simhasana cyuti** and **NOT bhyuti**. The printing is fine. The book is bereft of guide maps and an Index.

These volumes are bound to be popular and authoritative texts on the subject.

N. S. Krishna Murthy.

Selections from Brown Letters Relating to Cuddapah District,
General Editor, Prof. G. N. Reddy, Editor, Bangorey, Published by Sri
Venkateswara University, Tirupati — 1977 : PP. XXVIII+103+93 —
Price Rs. 10/—.

This is the second volume of Selections from Letters in Brown Collection published by Sri Venkateswara University as a part of the publications of the special Brown Research Project under the General Editorship of Prof. G. N. Reddy, the Head of the Telugu Department and the Editorship of Bangorey the Research Officer in the Project. The Volume is devoted to Letters relating to Cuddapah district for the publication of which a grant was given by the District Collector. There are four sections in the volume. The first contains the general introduction by Prof. Reddy ; the Second a Foreword by Bangorey; the third a narrative account of the events referred to in the letters and of Brown's Bungalow and Garden in Cuddapah in which the scholars employed by him carried on their literary work; and the fourth the text of fortyone letters out of the eighty copied. There are also two appendices; the first gives a list of unpublished books in Telugu and Sanskrit which were fair-copied under the guidance of Brown and the second a list of foreign words appearing in the letters. There is also a classified bibliography of published and unpublished sources which Bangorey used in writing the narrative account. Every effort had thus been made to make the volume quite omprehensive. But it would have been more useful if space had been found to publish all the letters copied. This could easily have been done by ommitting the irrelevant digressions and repetitions which do not add to the value of the book. It is not known whether another volume will be published. As it is, it fulfils only in part the purpose for which the grant was made by the District Collector.

In his introduction the general editor examines the style of letter writing adopted by the writers of letters. The style of those who wrote letters to Brown is different from the style in which Brown wrote to his correspondents. The former are highly laudatory and flattering while the latter are simple and business like.

This was natural because the former were written by those who were in the position of clients seeking favours from Brown. Brown himself did not like that particular kind of style. The analysis of the style of writing made by the general editor is scientific and objective. He does not enter into unnecessary controversies. This should have served as a model for Bangorey but he did not care to be guided by it.

Bangorey devotes his foreword not to an elucidation of his own work but to a criticism of historical writing in Andhra and to an enumeration of the serious defects he finds in Andhra Historians. He also delivers a number of sermons and homilies to them as to how they should write books on history. Reference will be made below to the charges he levels against them and how baseless and hollow they are in most cases.

Section three deals with four topics referred to in the letters. The first gives a detailed account of the revolt of Narasimha Reddy, a pensioned poligar against the East India Company. The second gives an account of the Guntur famine of 1832-33 which broke out when Brown happened to be the Collector of the district; the third topic dealt with is the murder of Sub-Collector Macdonald by Muslim fanatics of Cuddapah when he tried to put down their riot on June 15, 1832. The fourth topic is the literary work carried on by the Scholars appointed by Brown to prepare correct copies of Telugu and Sanskrit books from the palm-leaf manuscripts which were in a dilapidated condition. He used the Bungalow which he purchased in Cuddapah for this purpose. It was through the work carried out here under his direction and guidance that he became the father of Telugu Renaissance. It is worth while noting that the account given about these matters by Bangorey are not based entirely on the letters in the volume. He makes use of other sources of information especially in dealing with the first three topics.

After telling his readers that though Brown served for only five years in Cuddapah he became firmly attached to the district and made it the centre for his literary activities, Bangorey devotes one whole chapter of 21 pages to the revolt of Narasimha Reddy a pen-

sioned Poligar. He begins his account by blaming Andhra Historians for not even fixing correctly the chronology of the revolt and not making an elaborate study of it even though there is ample source material for such a study in the form of five volumes of records published by government in 1915-19. "It is a serious defect with all our historians not to make use of the available source material and not to care for modern history. It is the intellectual food on which they have been thriving from time immemorial". (P- 12). This is an irrelevant generalisation and is also a baseless charge, an example of Bangorey's general line of criticism and repetition of the criticism as often as possible (This was made by him in his foreword, P. XIX in the harshest language). Bangorey however forgets that the subject selected for research should not depend on the material available but on its intrinsic importance. In the opinion of the reviewer the revolt of Narasimha Reddy is of minor importance.

Bangorey says that the revolt began on July 6, 1846. and ended on October 6, 1846. In this interval there were several military encounters between him and the Company's forces in some of which he own. After the last encounter he was captured and hanged after a judicial trial on February, 22, 1847 in the presence of the Collector in a most merciless manner. Two thousand persons witnessed it in deep silence without making any protest though later a number of folk-songs were composed praising him and his exploits.

Bangorey accepts the assumption of Dr. S. B. Choudari in his "**Civil Disturbances During the British Rule in India, 1765-1857**" that there must have been several social and economic causes behind the revolt which alone account for the large following of 9000 (one estimate) which he gathered around him. But neither he nor Bangorey cared to point out such causes except the order issued by Government "restricting the tenure of 'Cattubadi' Inam grants to existing lives". But this order does not explain why the majority of 'cattubadidars' were loyal to the Company and why large number of non-cattubadidars like Chenchus, Vaddis, Boyas and Yenadis, mostly forest dwellers and wandering tribes among the followers. Their real motive in joining Narasimha Reddy was the opportunity which his revolt gave to them

to carry on dacoities, torchlight robberies and other acts of Plunder. It is to these activities that the only letter on the subject included in the volume and written by one Subbiah to Brown who was then post-master general in Madras refers. There were no other social or economic causes.

Bangorey takes the present reviewer also to task (Foot Note p-10) for having accepted the traditional view that Reddy's rebellion was purely a feudal one and also accuses him for not taking history a step forward by giving it a fresh and new interpretation. He takes refuge in the views of professors Carr, Carl Becker and Croce that the present should be used to explain the past and that the reviewer has not done this in the account he gave of Reddy's revolt in his History of the Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh Vol-I. Bangorey's interpretation of Reddy's revolt in that is similar to the Freedom Movement in India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, that it is like the Naxalite movement of to-day and that Reddy was a great revolutionary: These are all farfetched comparisons and interpretations. Reddy had no idea of National Freedom which emerged only after 1858; he had no Philosophy like Maoism which inspires the Naxalites who murder only landlords and moneylenders. Reddy's followers murdered and plundered even innocent people in rural areas. He was not a revolutionary as he did not have any ideology and as his aim was not to create a new political, social or economic order. Bangorey misuses these terms-National Freedom, Naxalism, and Revolution without understanding their real meaning and significance.

In the next chapter Bangorey deals with the hardships suffered by the people in Guntur famines of 1832-33. There is only one letter on the subject-that of Krishna Reddy in whom Brown has great confidence as he was incharge of Brown's Bangalow in Cuddapah, the centre from which the scholars employed by Brown carried on their literary work. Krishna Reddy refers to the drought and scarcity of water due to the failure of rains, the starvation deaths and the need for opening feeding centres and requests Brown to provide funds for the purpose. Bangorey gives an elaborate account of the famine which was not confined to Guntur but affected all the districts from Madras

to Krishna. Such an elaborate account is unnecessary as many books on the History of the period deal with it on a fairly large scale. A briefer account would have enabled him to find space for printing more letters. The only new facts brought out by him are (1) the warning which the authorities in Fort St. George issued to Brown against his use of the word 'Famine' to describe the economic situation while milder words like "drought" or "Scarcity" would be more appropriate and (2) the work of Enugula Veeraswamiah in opening centres in Madras for feeding One Lakh of people and more per day. He also deals with the opportunity taken by Christian missionaries to convert people to Christianity and quotes from the letters of missionary, Howell to his superiors in London.

The next chapter deals with the Murder of Macdonald, the sub-collector of Cuddapah by Muslim fanatics who broke into a riot when they found the dead body of a pig in the Mosque in Cuddapah – an act of sacrilege which they attributed to Christian converts and missionaries. They directed their fury against them and when Macdonald went to pacify them he was murdered. Bangorey gives an elaborate account of the riot and murder. He makes it clear from Howell's letters that while normally it was the Hindus that took objection to the activities of missionaries, it was the muslims that were infuriated on this occasion.

The longest chapter in Bangorey's introduction is that on Brown's Bangalow and the garden which he raised round it. It becomes the centre of the Literary activity initiated by him and carried on by the numerous scholars employed by him. Bangorey rightly calls it a research University. Though Brown's salary was low he spent a good deal of it in maintaining these scholars, in supplying them with a variety of materials like pens, paper, binding materials etc., so that the work done by them might acquire permanence. He got the books on palm-leaf manuscripts carefully copied; in several cases many copies of the same book were prepared from different manuscripts, correct readings were discovered and for some of the difficult works like Vasu Charitra word for word meanings and commentaries were written. This made it possible for even people outside the ranks of learned pandits to understand and appreciate their

beauties. It was in this way that Brown became the father of Telugu renaissance. This is the best chapter in the book; of the Forty one letters in the book thirty three are concerned with Brown's Bangalow and Garden.

Even in writing this Chapter Bangorey could not resist the temptation to criticise other Telugu Scholars. He accuses Kandukuri Viresalingam Panthulu and Veturi Prabhakara Sastry of having kept the Andhra Public in the dark about Brown's services to Telugu Literature which is sheer ingratitude (foot note on Page No. 72) He calls Sastry a thief (chorudu) for having copied the "chatu" verses from Brown's collection without acknowledging his debt to him. This is a baseless charge. Sastry acknowledges his debt to Brown on PP 69-70 of his "Chatupadya Manimanjari" (1917 edition) and bestows the highest Praise on him for his services to the cause of Telugu literature. Sastry says that he collected the "chatus" from numerous sources besides Brown's collections. (His preface to the first edition). Bangorey does not adduce any evidence against this.

In this chapter there are also glimpses into the private and personal life of Brown, for example his addiction to drink till the age of fifty when he completely gave it up. Bangorey suspects that being a bachelor he was also given to illicit sexual intercourse (page 95). He also displayed great interest in maintaining the Bungalow and the Garden in proper condition.

The last section in the book gives the text of forty one letters.

This is in brief a survey of the contents of the book.

It is time now to examine the nature of the charges he levels—several of them quite baseless — on historians in Andhra (1) Though there are several Universities and Colleges in the state the teachers in them do not take interest in historical research. This is in contrast to many foreign scholars who visit Andhra and write excellent books. These are undeniable facts. But Bangorey who is a great admirer of Prof. Carr's "What is history" forgets that in Carr's view facts by

themselves have no meaning unless the historian explains the causes behind the facts. Bangorey does not care to explain why there is a contrast between teachers in Andhra and foreign research scholars. The latter have plenty of leisure and have vast financial resources at their disposal. (2) From one or two statements found in a book by one C.V. Ramachandra Rao he draws the general conclusion that almost all historians in Andhra rely on Secondary authorities and do not care to examine original sources. (PP. XVI-XIX). (3) Though Andhra produced some eminent historians like the late Somasekhara Sarma and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya they have an extremely narrow conception of history, write only on dynastic history and ignore social and economic history. Bangorey makes this observation in ignorance of the work of these historians. The most outstanding work of Sarma is the "History of the Reddy Kingdoms". Of the 541 pages of the book Sarma devotes 235 pages to Dynastic History including the history of Government, Crime and Punishment and Military organisation and War. He devotes 193 pages to an account of Society, Dress and Ornaments, Religion, Social Customs, Agriculture, Industry and Trade and Games and Amusements. There are ten pages on Architecture and Painting and eighty six on Literature. Does all this show that he confined himself to Dynastic history ?

Similarly the best work of Dr. Venkataramanayya is "Studies in the History of the third Dynasty of Vijayanagara". Of the 445 pages in the book only 87 pages are devoted to dynastic history. The rest of it consists of chapters on Administrative Institutions, on Trade and Commerce and on Religious and Social conditions.

Both these historians and the present reviewer were on the Editorial Board for writing Vol. III of Telugu encyclopaedia produced by Telugu Bhasha Samiti. The Volume is devoted to a study not only of political history but the history of Society and Economy and contains several sections on these topics. Bangorey entirely ignores all this. He is also ignorant that the late Prof. Narasimha Rao of Osmania University wrote on Medieval Guilds in Andhra and Dr. Alladi Vaidehi produced an original book on "Social and Economic Condition in Eastern Deccan" (1,000 A. D. — 1,250 A. D.). Dr. Kesava-

narayana's book on Political and Social Factors in Andhra (1900-1956) deals with the changing status of women, Harijan uplift, the non-brahmin movement and Temperance work. Dr. A.V. Ramana Rao wrote on "**Economic Development in Andhra** from 1766 to 1953" and Sarada Raju on "Economic conditions in Andhra in the days of the Company". There are many other books on Social, Economic and Cultural History showing that Andhra Historians' conception of history is fairly wide.

Another charge which he levels on Andhra historians is that they are interested only in Ancient and Medieval Periods and do not care to write on the Modern period. The Sole exception is Digavalli Siva Rao of Vijayawada for whom Bangorey reserves all his admiration. This charge might have been true of the first generation of historians but the Situation to-day is different. There are four volumes on the History of Freedom Struggle in Andhra written by the present reviewer. The books by Ramana Rao and Sarada Raju are on the Modern period. Very many of the candidates for Ph. D. chose topics relating to Modern Period as their subjects for research. Bangorey is evidently ignorant of all this.

Bangorey has stated that he is the first Andhra to make use of records in the Madras Record Office which is a mine of original source material and his book on Brown (1973) is the first book written on the basis of those records. He throws out as it were a challenge to prove that his statement is incorrect. The present reviewer accepts the challenge in humility. As a research fellow of the University of Madras in 1925-26 he spent a large amount of time in the Madras Record Office for Collecting material for his books (1) The Beginnings of Local Taxation in the Madras Presidency and (2) The Development of Local Boards in the Madras Presidency. Andhra was then a part of this Presidency and both these books deal with the history of Local Administration. The first was published in 1928 by Andhra University fortyfive years before Bangorey's book on Brown and the second five years later in 1933. The special Officers appointed by Government to collect source material for the History of Freedom Struggle in Andhra spent years in the Record Office in 1950's and 1960's, long before Bangorey stepped into it and it is on the basis of

the material they collected from that office that the present reviewer wrote his four volumes — the first published in 1965 and the subsequent volumes in 1969 and 1973. Dr. Ramana Rao spent several years from 1940 onwards in the Madras Record office and produced first his Ph. D. Thesis on Economic Development in Andhra in 1945 and later his volume on the same subject and published it in 1958. Several others, I am sure must have worked in the Record Office long before Bangorey, though I am not able to give their names. But the names mentioned above are quite adequate to refute the tall claim of Bangorey that he was the first Andhra to consult the Records in the Madras Record Office and his book on Brown is the first book based on those records.

Bangorey's volume on Brown is full of misleading and baseless statements like these, highly critical of all Andhra historians so much so that the volume looks more like a book on the defects of Historical Writing in Andhra than on Brown letters relating to Cuddapah district. There is a contrast of a glaring nature between the general introduction by Prof. G. N. Reddy and what is written by Bangorey, to which a reference was already made. The publication of a book by Sri Venkateswara University containing such a large number of misleading statements — and also irrelevant to the main subject of study — is sure to affect adversely the reputation of the University in general and of its Telugu Department in particular.

M. Venkatarangaiya

The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the role of the speaker in the communication process. It is argued that the speaker's role is not only to convey information but also to establish a relationship with the hearer. This relationship is based on the speaker's knowledge of the hearer's knowledge and beliefs. The speaker's role is to convey information in a way that is consistent with the hearer's knowledge and beliefs. This is done by using language that is appropriate to the situation and the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. The speaker's role is to convey information in a way that is consistent with the hearer's knowledge and beliefs. This is done by using language that is appropriate to the situation and the relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the role of the hearer in the communication process. It is argued that the hearer's role is not only to receive information but also to establish a relationship with the speaker. This relationship is based on the hearer's knowledge of the speaker's knowledge and beliefs. The hearer's role is to receive information in a way that is consistent with the speaker's knowledge and beliefs. This is done by using language that is appropriate to the situation and the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. The hearer's role is to receive information in a way that is consistent with the speaker's knowledge and beliefs. This is done by using language that is appropriate to the situation and the relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

W. V. QUINN

History of History-Writing in Medieval India, Author : Prof. Jagdish N. Sarkar, 1977.

Prof. J. N. Sarkar needs no introduction to the world of historical scholarship. He is a prolific writer and has enriched historical literature with a large number of contributions. The present volume is another learned treatise brought out by Prof. Sarkar. The book comprises an exhaustive survey of historiography in the successive periods and phases of the medieval age in India. He begins by briefly recounting the studies in this field by other scholars. The material of the book was ready, as the author says, about ten years earlier, but a variety of hindrances prevented its being put in final shape for publication. As the many obstacles and interruptions threatened to delay its publication and Prof. Sarkar grew afraid lest the credit of being the pioneer in the field might be lost, by some other scholars forestalling him, he decided to publish it without delay.

The oft repeated and almost universally blindly accepted view that Kalhan was the only historian of Hindu India approximating a scientific work is repeated. This involves also the question of our conception of history as a discipline. Our work-a-day historians confuse chronology mostly of political events as constituting the content and core of history. Consequently they treat the chronicles of "Arab and Persian" writers as true history. It is forgotten how much of exaggerations and fictitious matters, biased and tendentious writing on the part of almost all Persian chroniclers whose writings invariably suffer from the taint of a too conspicuous subjectivity, passes for sober history. Moreover no emphasis should be regarded as too great on the fact that the content of history is not confined to the very narrow limits of the needs and misdeeds of crowned heads and that the life of the people and the multitudinous forces and factors, conditions and situations, which determine the march of humanity through the ages constitute an equally important stuff if not more, of history.

As regards the historical value of the non-Persian sources I would draw the attention of Prof. Sarkar to the assessments of Tod

and Tessitori, Ojha and Sarda. The author has himself quoted the views of Forbes and Hamendorf which show that the content of history is not mere chronology.

However, Prof. Sarkar's monograph is the product of admirable industry and devotion and comprises not only an exhaustive survey, as we have said above, of the historical literature of the medieval age, but much other useful matter besides. Thus he has cast his net rather on a wide canvas. His survey is prefaced by an enlightening chapter on the character of Muslim historiography outside India.

In the course of six detailed chapters, the author has provided an excellent reference work for students of Indian history.

P. S.

The Sannyasi Rebellion, by A. N. Chandra (Calcutta) 1977.

The author has placed under obligation the students of history in particular and reading public in general by undertaking the study of a very significant episode in the modern history of India, which has remained curiously enough, completely neglected by almost all writers on modern India. He has utilised all source material that was available. In passing it may be noted that prior to him only one writer, J. M. Ghosh, had dealt with the subject of the Sannyasi and Fakir rebellion in Bengal and although ample information on this subject is found in the various types of writings referred to by the writer (A. N. Chandra), no one else ever thought it worth his while to deal with it as a subject for research.

Shree Chandra's labour has borne fruit in the shape of a handy and reliable account of the role of the Sannyasis and fakirs who bravely revolted and put up a strong fight against the early British merchant-cum-administrators who have crept upon Bengal like an octopus and were literally sucking the blood of the poor helpless populace. A tragic and shameful feature of the situation was that the Indian Nawabs themselves, whose duty it was to maintain law and order and protect their subjects, had on the contrary joined hands with the Company's factors in the ruthless loot. The most disastrous consequence of this dark period of the Company's misrule was that the renowned weavers of Bengal, and other handicraftsmen no less than the peasantry were completely ruined and uprooted. Their trade and business having been ruined, they were reduced to starvation. This period which has been admitted even by British writers as the 'darkest period of Company's rule, resulted in an appalling famine in 1770 in which more than half the population of Bengal died. It was this dreadful situation which led to the bursting up of revolutionary bands throughout the province. The various groups of Sannyasis, Fakirs and Qalandars who joined in the fight against oppression of the helpless people by those who held the power, may well be called a fraternity determined at any cost to free their countrymen from the clutches

of their tyrants and although they were finally suppressed due to the simple reason that they were no match to the might and resources of the Government, they did make the rulers realise that no people can be ruled long merely by bayonets and that the stability of a government must rest only on the peace and security of the people. The best appraisal of this fraternity of so called marauders is found in a modern work ; "The most mysterious episode of the first government of Warren Hastings is the depredations of the Sannyasis, whoever they were...." The extreme reverence of the people for them made their extermination extremely difficult. They moved stark naked in bands ; they won successes against isolated bodies of sepoys and proved hard to hunt down from the celerity with which they fled into dense jungle. The Sannyasi rebellion is obscure and a monograph explaining it from the Indian side is needed. It furnished Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the celebrated Bengali novelist, with at least part-theme of two of his stories, in which we are shown bandit-heroes who rob from a mixture of patriotic and religious motives. (Thompson and Garrett : Rise and Fulfilment of British Dominion in India" p. 127).

By bringing to light the role of the Sannyasis in emancipating the suffering humanity of Bengal from the clutches of a ruthless and selfish autocracy the author has performed a praiseworthy task and deserves the fullest appreciation and gratitude of the scholarly world. As the writers quoted above have indicated, the present work should provoke some other students to devote themselves to a study of the prevalent milieu in depth and light up other aspects connected with it so as to enable us to have a comprehensive view of contemporary society of the country.

Before concluding, it will not be out of place to point out certain deficiencies of the book which may help to improve its future editions. The lack of a suitable bibliography and critical assessment of the sources as well as of a map showing the territory covered by the activities of the Sannyasis is conspicuous. A few striking inaccuracies may also be noted.

Wrong spellings of names and words :

Incorrect	Correct	
Aurangjeb	Aurangzeb	p. 1
Zaminder	Zamindar	p. 19
Mahi and Munatil	Mahi-o-Maratib	p. 20

The author of *Dabistan-i-mazahib* has been generally supposed by almost all writers as Mohsin Fani. But the real name of the author was Mir Zulfiqar Ali (alias Mobed Shah).

P. S.

The first of these is the fact that the medical profession is not a homogeneous group. There are many different types of physicians, and each type has its own interests and its own methods of practice. The second is the fact that the medical profession is not a single entity. It is made up of many different groups, each of which has its own interests and its own methods of practice. The third is the fact that the medical profession is not a single entity. It is made up of many different groups, each of which has its own interests and its own methods of practice.

Freedom Movement in India (1858-1947), by Dr. Alladi Vaidehi,
printed at Kalakshetra Publications Press, Madras (600041) Price
Rs. 65, \$7-50, £ 4-50.

The book fulfilled the objectives mentioned in the preface to present the account of the freedom movement in India, in a manageable form. Though it is a bird's eye view, it comprehensively deals with all aspects, landmarks and events of the freedom movement succinctly and intelligibly, starting with a brief introduction of the freedom struggles in the pre-British periods. Those freedom struggles and this one were distinguished well and mentioned the factors causing that distinction. Besides this, the immediate background of the formation of India National Congress was also surveyed well and it is maintained that the history of Indian National Congress and of freedom struggle are one and the same; and as such it was the natural successor to the British regime. The role of the dissident and obstructive factors is also well portrayed. Thus, this book serves as a good introduction to the general reader and as a good last minute resort to various examinees for whose use this book is mainly intended.

But, there are one or two grammatical mistakes because of the printing mistakes and oversight in the proof-reading. However, generally the printing and get-up of the book is good. Similarly, there are also spelling mistakes which were repeated like 'Aravindo' for 'Aurobindo' : 'Swarajya' for 'Swaraj' party, etc. There is no uniformity in using terms. Thus, the Gandhi-Irvin Pact was mentioned thus at one place and as 'Agreement' at another place. There is no hyphenation also. These minor slips could be avoided and this may be done in the next edition. The index given at the end is very useful.

With regard to the bibliography, while the list of books is given is sufficient, still some more could have been mentioned 'The transfer of power to India' and 'Mountbatten's mission'.

It is felt that the freedom struggle in Andhra Pradesh treated in the two appendices, requires a full and detailed treatment requiring a separate volume. This is highly necessary as there should be similar accounts of regional freedom movement with similar treatment as made with regard to the Indian freedom movement in this book.

The authoress deserves congratulations for her very good and well-intentioned and successful effort and the publishers for bringing out the book facilitating a delightful reading.

E. S. M.

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