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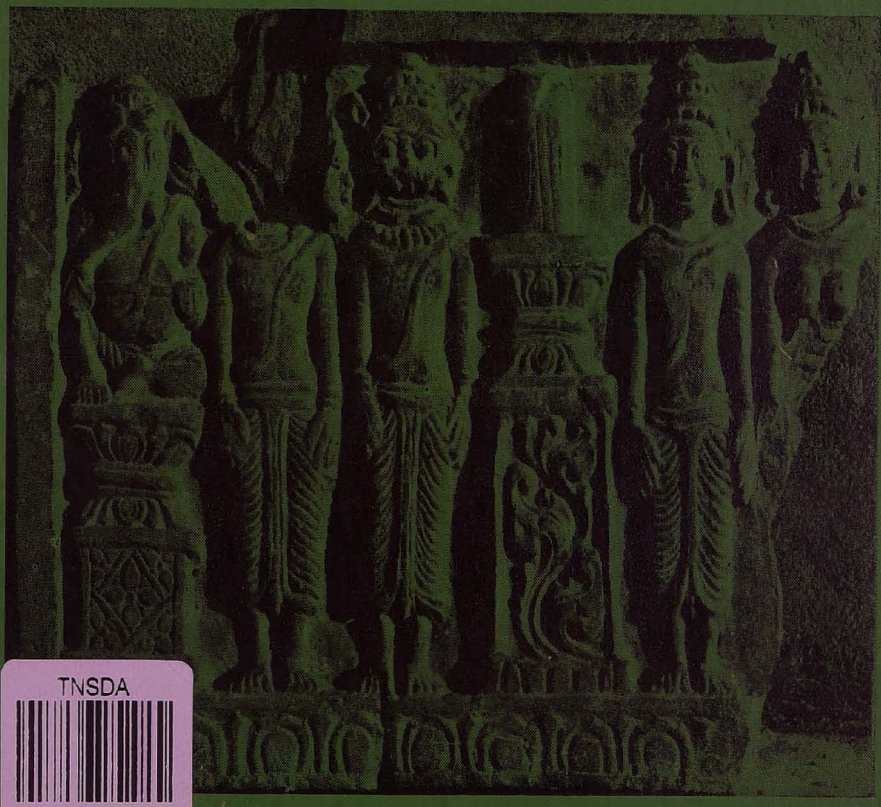

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Director General of Archives,
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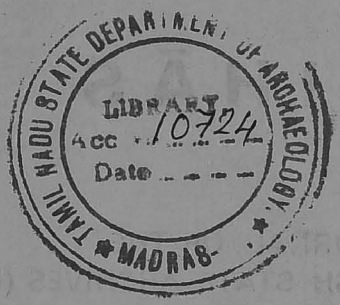

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THE EARLY PALLAVA KING SIMHAVARMAN II AND HIS TIMES

V. Sundara Rama Sastry

Simhavarman II was one of the early Pallava kings and far the greatest among them, who played a very important part in the early south Indian history. His penetrating imfluence was felt in Karṇāṭka and Āndhra countries, as he could establish the Pallava paramountcy over the regions. But his place in the early Pallava genealogy and chronology, not to speak of greatness, remained conjectural till recent times. In my earlier note on the early Pallava genealogy and chronology [1] the king has been assigned to the period, A. D. 436-478. I propose to discuss in these pages the problems of the identification and assigning him his due place, from a closer stance and highlight the personality of the king in the period.

The two copper plate grants of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa [2] of the dynasty introduce the Mahārāja Simhavarman. The two records of the Yuvamahārāja are dated in the regnal year of the Mahārāja.[3]

For a long time the existence of the Mahārāja Simhavarman remained a matter of controvesy, because none of the records, except the two records, mention him among the kings in their genealogical portions, but separately mention him in the date portion only. While editing the Uruvapalli plates, Dr. Fleet [4] made a prophetic suggestion that the Mahārāja might be an elder brother of the Yuvamahārāja. On the contrary, Prof. Hultzsch, while editing the Pīkirā grant of Simhavarman,[5] preferred to identify the Mahārāja with the donor of the plates. The donor of the Pīkirā plates is the son of the Yuvamahārāja. The learned Professor supposed that, for some unknown reasons, the succession to the throne must have passed from Skandavarman, the father of the Yuvamahārāja the latter's son.

The recently discovered Vēsanta[6] and Sakrepaṭṇa[7] copper plate grants had established the identity of Simhavarman, beyond any doubt. The two grants are among the most significant epigraphical discoveries in recent years, so far as the south Indian history is concerned.

Dr. N. Ramesan,[8] who has edited the Vēsanta grant has opined that the writing of the record is identical with, that of the Uruvapalli plates of the Yuvamahājāra Viṣṇugōpa and belongs to the same period. He has concluded that the grant belongs to the so-called Nellore-Guntur line of the Pallavas, but, issued from the city of Kāñcī.[9] More significant is that the genealogical list given in the record is totally identical with that of the Uruvapalli plates. The following table would clearly illustrate the point.

Ōmgōḍu (set I)[10] plates.	Uruvapalli and Neḍuṅgarāya plates.	Vēsanta Plates.
1. Kumāraviṣṇu		
2. Skandavarman	1. Skandavarman	
3. Vīravarman	2. Vīravarman	1. Vīravarman
4. Vijaya Skanda-varman (donor)	3. Skandavarman	2. Skandavarman
	4. Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa (donor)	3. Simhavarman (donor)

The Sakrepatna plates of Simhavarman, throw much more light on the life and achievements of the king. Dr. G. S. Gai, [11] has written that the record closely resembles the Māṇgaḍūr, [12] Pīkirā [13] and other charters of the early Pallavas. The record gives the following list of kings in succession.

1. Skandavarman
2. Vīravarman
3. Skandavarman
4. Simhavarman (donor)

Basing on the lists of kings of the Ōṁgōḍu (set I), Uruvapalli, Neḍuṇgarāya, Vēsanta and Sakrepaṭṇa charters, the genealogical succession of the kings may be arranged as shown below :

Kumāraviṣṇu
|
Skandavarman
|
Vīravarman
|
Skandavarman
|
(or Vijaya Skandavarman, the donor of the Ōṁgōḍu (set I) plates,)

Siṁhavarman (the donor of the Vēsanta and Sakrepaṭṇa plates. He was the king of Kāñci in whose regnal years, the two records of the Yuvamahārāja are dated.)	Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa. (the donor of the Uruvapalli and Neḍuṇgarāya copper plates.)

So far as the identification of Siṁhavarman, as the elder brother of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa, Dr. Ramesan has done the job admirably.[14] But, the time he has assigned to the king's reign and the place alloted to him in the whole of the early Pallava genealogy, are not plausible.

Dr. Ramesan's scheme of the early Pallava genealogy rests upon the identifiication of the Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa with the *Kāñcēyaka* Viṣṇugōpa of the Allāhābād Praśasti.[15] He argues soley on the basis of the similarity in the method of dating of the Ōṁgōḍu (set I) and Prakrit grants.[16] He suggests that the Yuvamahārāja, who was the son of the donor of Ōṁgōḍu (set I) charter can be assigned to about A. D. 350 and identified with the Kāñcēyaka Viṣṇugōpa. He argues in support of the conclusion that it would avoid the inference that there was one Viṣṇugōpa, a son or any younger brother of śivaskandavarman, whose existence cannot be established by any means of positive evidence.[17] Accordingly, Siṁhavarman was also assigned to the same time.

But, the learned doctor fails to note that the same palaeography on which he has based his theory goes contrary to it.[18] Dr. Fleet has quite reasonably assigned the Uruvapalli plates of the Yuvamahārāja to about the fifth century A. D. on palaeographic grounds. Also the date admirably tallies with circumstantial evidence, as we shall see below.

Secondly, the Yuvamahārāja was apparently, ruling over the Muṇḍa-rāṣṭra, as the two records he has issued go to suggest.[19] He had nothing to do with Kāñcī where his elder brother, Simhavarman was ruling as Mahārāja. If at all the contemporaneity of the Yuvamahārāja with Samudragupta is accepted, as suggested by Dr. Ramesan, the king of Kāñci would not be Viṣṇugōpa, as required by the statement in the Allāhābād *prasasti*.

Another point of his argument is that the Vēsanta grant closely resembles in respects of palaeography and language, with the charters of so-called Nellore-Guntur branch of the early Pallavas.[20] But the record being issued from Kāñci, disproves the earlier theories that the loss of Kāñci and the political shift of dynasty from the Tamil country to Southern Āndhra country.[21] He has thus, concluded that the early Pallavas formed a single line of descent and all ruled from Kāñcī. The learned doctor, ostensibly, has been under the impression that the theory of the collateral Pallava line is based on the theory of the loss of Kāñcī.

But it should be noted that later records of the Pallavas expressly state about the existence of one or more collateral lines of the dynasty.[22] Nandivarman Pallavamalla has been chosen from a branch line to ascend the throne of Kāñcī. Some of the kings mentioned in the Vāyalūr pillar inscription[23] and also the kings known from inscriptions like that of the Amarāvati pillar,[24] must have surely belonged to collateral lines.[25]

There are several pieces of evidence, which can help us in fixing the date of Simhavarman and his place in the early Pallava genealogy, on a more secure ground. Besides, they give an insight into

the political condition of the Deccan and South India, justifying the existence of two branches of the Early Pallavas, one ruling from Kāñcī, the other functioning in southern Āndhra country.

The first is the colophon of the Jain treatise, *Lōkavibhāga*,[26] which states that the work was completed in the Śaka year 380. It was also said that the year was 22nd regnal year of Simhavarman, the king of Kāñcī.[27] We know only one Simhavarman as king of Kāñcī, between the grantor of Mañcikallu inscription[28] and another who issued the Pallankōvil copper plate grant.[29] Obviously, none of the two can be placed at the time, when the Jain work was completed. Hence the king of the colophon must be identified with the donor of the Vēsanta and Sakrepaṭṇa charters, whose palaeography also suggest the king, the same date.[30]

The second one is the reference to Simhavarman and Skandavarman, in the Penugoṇḍa plates of western Ganga king Mādhavavarman, *alias* Simhavarman.[31] The record mentions that Mādhavavarman and his father Ayyavarman were installed on the Gaṅga throne by the Pallava kings Skandavarman and Simhavarman, respectively.[32] Mādhavavarman's surname as Simhavarman is an evidence by itself, that his father accepted the overlordship of the Pallava suzerain of the same name. The record thus indicates that the Pallava kings Simhavarman and Skandavarman too, were most possibly father and son, who successively influenced the Western Gaṅga politics. The Udayēndiram plates of the Pallava king Nandivarman,[33] gives the names Simhavarman and Skandavarman in that relationship. Moreover, the record refers to the Mahārāja Simhavarman as the son and successor of Skandavarman. The latter is no doubt identical with the donor of the Ōmgōḍu (set I) charter.[34]

The Sakrepaṭṇa plates confirm the conclusion that Simhavarman the donor of the grant and also the Vēsanta plates was the same Pallava king, who installed Ayyavarman on the Ganga throne. The charter was issued from the victorious camp on the banks of the river Maudgalī,[35] in Syēndraka rājya. The region is often referned to in the Kadamba records as Syēndraka-viṣaya.[36] The grant, thus indicates that the Pallava king Simhavarman, in his 41st regnal year[37]

undertook an expedition against the Kadambas. The fact is a clear evidence to the time and achievements of Simhavarman.

A close study of the Kadamba history in relation to the Pallava would illustrate the point, in unmistakable terms. The Kadambas of the Kanarese country were divded into two lines and began to quarrel among themselves, after Kākusthavarman. The main branch continued to rule from the city of Vaijayantī and the other had, apparently, ruled from Triparvata.[38] Some of the inscriptions of the main branch clearly report about their victory over the Triparvata branch.

Mṛgēśavarman, the son and successor of Śāntivarman in the main line, claimed[39] to have uprooted the family of the Gaṅgas and proven to be the fire of destruction to the pallavas. His son and successor was Ravivarman, who had also similar claims for victory over the Pallavas. He is said to have defeatnd a Pallava king, named Caṇḍadaṇḍa and also kings like Viṣṇuvarman.[40]

Viṣṇuvarman, who was defeated by Ravivarman was a member of the rival Kadamba line of Triparvata. The statement that Ravivarman defeated kings like Viṣṇuvarman indicates that there were some other members also that suffered the defeat of whom the Pallava king Caṇḍadaṇḍa has already been referred to.

The conjectures and surmises about the identification af the Pallava king Caṇḍadaṇḍa may now be dispensed with, as we are in definite knowledge about Simhavarman's participation in Karṇāṭaka politics from the Sakrepaṭṇa plates. The king must be same with Caṇḍadaṇḍa. The record if studied together with the Penugoṇḍa plates of Mādhavavarman and the Kandamba records metioned above give the picture of the political alliance between the ruling families of the period. The Western Ganga king Harivarman (or Ayyavarman) and Viṣṇuvarman of the Triparvata branch of the Kadambas must have formed an alliance. Simhavarman, or Caṇḍadaṇḍa must have supported and perhaps, led the confederacy. The Pallavas were the traditional supporters of the Western Gaṇgas against the Kadambas and the latter's allies, namely the Bāṇas. The division in Kadamba kingdom seems to have specially promised the Pallavas, a right opportunity to reduce the former's power.

As the Sakrepaṭṇa plates indicate, the confederacy Victoriously marched upto the banks of the river Maudgalī. But the Situation must have turned against them later on, as the circumstantial evidence points out. It may not be improbable to suppose that the Pallava king and his western Gaṅga ally lost their lives in the battle. The Kadambas of Vaijayantī, seems to have reduced their junior branch of Tri parvata to vassalage.

Under these circumstances, the son and successor of the Pallava king Simhavarman, namely Skandavarman ascended the throne of Kāñci and also had to come to the rescue of the Western Gaṅga ally, Mādhavavarman. The Gaṅga king married a Kadamba princess of Triparvata branch, who was the daughter of Simhavarman and sister of Kṛṣṇavarman II.

These alliances and expeditions, though ultimately ended in disaster, speak the greatness of Simhavarman as a master of war and diplomacy. It is signifiicent to note in this context, that both the aliies, the Western Ganga and the Kadamba kings named their sons after the Pallava suzerain.[41] The defeat and death of Simhavarman might not have affected the Pallava kingdom, because of his strong system of administration, that can be understood from the title Caṇḍadaṇḍa, borne by him.

These events, suggest clearly thht Simhavarman II has to be assigned to the middle of the fifth century A. D. Hence, Dr. Ramesan's theory of dating the king to abaut A. D. 350, or distinguishing him from the homonymous of the *Lōkavibhāga* colophon are not acceptable. Mahārāja Simhavarman, whom Dr. Ramesan has taken to be the king of the colophon and mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates, is actually a member of the Nellore-Guntur branch of the Pallavas. The identifiication of Simhavarman with the overlord of the Western Gaṅga king Ayyavarman, is supported by the statment in the Vesanta charter itself, but overlooked by Dr. Ramesan. The rceord describes the king as the *avasanna rājavaṁś-odharaṇa savyāpāraḥ*.[42] This statement doubtlessly points out the part played by Simhavarman in the Ganga-Kadamba politics of Karṇāṭaka.

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On the basis of the above observations and patching together different pieces of evidence, the following points emerge:

1) The donor of the Vēsanta and Sakrepaṭṇa grants was the son and succesor of the donor of Ōṁgōdu (set I) plates viz.. Vijayaskandavarman. He was the elder brother of Yuvamahāraja Viṣṇugōpa; and in his regnal years the Uruvapalli and Neḍuṅgarāya copper plate grants are dated.

2) He was also the king of Kāñcī, when the composition of the Jain treatise *Lōkavibhāga* was completed. Hence, his initial year of rule was A. D. 436. The Sakrepaṭṇa plates give his latest regnal year as 41. Thus, he must have ruled, upto A. D. 477-78, at the latest.

3) He was the Pallava overlord, who placed Ayyavarman, on the Western Gaṅga throne and was identical with the homonymous, mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman.

Incidentally, the above conclusions make it necessary to revise the date of the Penugoṇḍa plates, of Mādhavavarman. After a careful palaeographic study of the record, Dr. Fleet assigned it to A. D. 475.[43] Following the disasterous expedition of Simhavarman, together with Ayyavarman, about the year A. D. 477-78, the accession of Mādhavavarman on the western Gaṅga throne is not possible before A. D. 475. Hence its date may be slightly altered to about A. D. 485.

Simhavarman II and Āndhra Country : Back-ground.

The glorious career of Simhavarman II constitutes an epoch of expansion and paramountcy in the history of the early Pallavas. His successful policy of expansionism and political expediencies profoundly influenced the history of Āndhradesa too.

Simhavarman and his ancestors were honoured with the prefix "Vijaya" in the Vēsanta plates[44]. The honorific frequently appears in the records of the Pallavas and śālaṅkāyanas of the period. Especialy, the donor of the Ōṁgōḍu (set I) plates and the śālaṅkayana kings Vijayadevavarman and his sucessors held the title[45]. This

title is so far, taken by historians with no special significance. But, it appears to have been assumed by, or attributed to, the kings after some definite military exploits to their credit. The contemporaneity of the kings and the contiguity of their kingdoms, suggest the possibility of such conflicts of interests and contests for supremacy. Besides it gives a clear picture of the life and achievements of Simhavarman II.

The Pallava overlordship probably crossed the river Kṛṣṇā[46], in the north and included a large part of Karṇāṭaka in the west under Sivaskandavarman (c. A. D. 333-350) of the prakrit plates. But, during the later part of his reign, from about A. D. 340, the Pallava suzerainty was assailed by the Kadambas under Mayūraśarman, the Śālaṅkayanas under Hastivarman[47], and the Bṛhatphalāyanas under Jayavarman[48].

About the same time, the Ābhīras began to intrude into the Southern Āndhra country. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the Ābhīra king Vasusēna[49], is a clear evidence to this fact[50]. It appears that the Pallavas also had fallen prey to the Ābhīra menace. Sivaskandavarman appears to have made a strenuous effort to ward off the Ābhīra incursions and seems to have failed[51].

These developments, must have resulted in the dislodge of the Pallavas from Āndhra country south of the river Kṛṣṇā. It may not be improbable to suppose that the Ābhīras dispossessed the Pallavas, at one stage, even of their capital city. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of the later Pallavas report that Kumāraviṣṇu recaptured Kāñcī[52] and Skandaśiṣya seized the Brāhmin *ghatikā* from a king Satyasēna. These reports may well, suggest that the Pallavas had protracted warfare with the Ābhīras, until they could resurge their power in Southern Āndhra country.

The Ābhīras stripped of their power, not only by the Pallavas, but perhaps, by the Ānandagōtra kings as well. The dynasty rose to power, probably about A. D 375[53] when the Pallavas lost the southern Āndhra country. Two kings of the dynansty are known by

two copper plate grants[54]. The records refer to an earlier king, named Kandāra, who was perhaps the founder of the dynasty[55]. The extent of their kingdom is not precisely known[56], but the two kings must have ruled upto the river Pennār in the south and Nallamalai ranges in the west. The Ānandagōtra kingdom must have expanded at the cost of the Ābhīra power, before it was finally destroyed by the Pallavas.

The Pallava kings Kumāraviṣṇu and Skandaśiṣya may be identified with the kings of same names, mentioned in the Ōṁgōḍu (set I) plates. The first king may be identified with tde great-grandfather of the donor of the charter, mentioned at the head of the list of kings given in the record. He was described as an *aśvamēdhayājin*[57]. The title supports the conclusion that he was a great conqueror and in all probability was the king who recaptured Kāñcī and the sacrifice might have been celebrated in commemoration of the event. Skandaśiṣya is said to be the son of Vīrakūrca[58]. I have previously suggested the identification of Vīrakūrca with Vīravarman, the father of the donor of the record[59]. Vīravarman and Skandavarman are mentioned in the Vēsanta grant with the prefix 'Vijaya'[60] Vijayaskandavarman was attributed some other titles in addition, like *Sakala dakṣi-nāpatha yaśa-sīāpita trisamudra Kūlasya* and *Rājādbhutasya*[61]. These epithets also supports the conclusion that the kings Viravarman and Skandavarman were mainly responsible for the revival of the Pallava overlordship in Southern Āndhra country. This Skandavarman was the same with donor of the Ōṁgōḍu (set I) Charter, issued ftom Vijaya Tāmbrāpa[62], in the 33rd regnal year[63]. Vijayaskandavarman must have reduced the Ānandagōtra to vassalage and occupied the country upto the river Kṛṣṇā. The year 33 of the reign of Vijayaskandavarman corresyonds to the year A. D. 433.

Kuḍur-āhāra was annexed by Hastivarman I, after supplanting the Bṛhatphalāyanas, but the region seems to have formed a part of the Ānandagōtra kingdom towards the close of the 4th century. The successful expeditions of Vijayaskandavarman about the year A D. 433, seems to have resulted in the Pallava occupation of the territory. Thus the extention of the dominion upto the river Kṛṣṇā.

brought in its turn, to the Pallavas, a contest for supremacy with Śālaṅkāyanas. The śālaṅkāyanas might have determined to re-annex the region, or the Pallava king might have attempted to push his conquests across the river Kṛṣṇā, into the former's dominions.

The śālaṅkāyana contemporary of the Pallava king Vijayaskandavarman was Vijayadēvavarman (c. A. D. 422-437), the donor of the Ellore Plates[64]. The grant describes the king as to have performed a horse-sacrifice[65] and thus suggests that the king was a conqueror. Probably he could repel the invasion of the Pallavas, appropriated the honorific 'Vijaya' and performed the *aśvamēdha*. It can be observed that Kudūrāhāra formed a part of śālaṅkāyana kingdom throughout their subsequent rule, as indicated by the records of the family[66]. The Pallava-śālaṅkayana contests in the Kṛṣṇā valley may be dated between A. D. 433 and 455[67].

Simhavarman and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins :

From the foregoing observations, it is clear that the Pallavas were struggling hard to regain and retain their overlordship of the Southern Āndhra country, at the teeth of opposition from the śālaṅkāyanas. Under those conditions, in the year A.D. 436 Simhavarman II ascended the throne. He was a determined conqueror, as his exploits in the Kanarese country demonstrate.

Following the death of Vijayadevavarman in c. A. D. 437, the śālaṅkāyana kingdom began to grow weak, because of the internal dissensions. The civil war between the last two kings of the dynasty, Skandavarman and Nandivarman II, resulted in the rāpid decline of the śālaṅkāyana power. It was also the time of the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins under Gōvindavarman (c. A. D. 435-475) to pre-eminence.

Simhavarman II, seems to have determined to make a bold bid to strengthen the Pallava overlordship over the Southern Āndhra country against the decadant śālankāyana opposition and rising Viṣṇukuṇḍin expansionism. He appears to have appointed his younger

brother Viṣṇugōpa, in the capacity of Yuvamahārāja, to arrest the further expansion of the enemies and to bring back the country into the Pallava suzerainty. This event must have taken place some time before his eleventh regnal year, as Viṣṇugōpa was ruling in Muṇḍarāṣṭra, at that time, as the Neḍuṅgarāya plates of the Yuvamahārāja report.

The two grants of the Yuvamahārāja indicate that the Pallava overlordship was still limited to Muṇḍarāṣṭra, in the 12th year of the resign of Simhavarman[68]. But, by the 19th year of the king's reign, when he issued the Vēsanta plates[69], the Pallava conquest of Karmarāṣṭra was a *fait accompli*. The grant registers the gift made by Simhavarman in the Nādattapāṭi-viṣay[70]. The viṣaya has been supposed to be identical with the Nattripāṭi-viṣṣaya[71], in which the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Vikramēndravarman II, made a gift[72]. The last mentioned region is identified with the present day Nandigama taluk of the Krishna and Madhira taluk of the Khammam districts of Andhra Pradesh. The Vēsanta grant is, therefore, considered as an indication that the Pallavas were not only successful in pushing their conquests upto the river Kṛṣṇā, but also further north across of the river. This may look rather exaggerated, but there cannot be any doubt as to their annexing the Southern Āndhra to their kingdom. The year A. D, 455, which is the date of the Vēsanta plates corresponds to the disappearance of the Sālaṅkāyana kingdom at Vēṅgī[73]. Thus, the extension of the Pallava suzerainty accross the river Kṛṣṇā, may also be accepted.

The disappearance of the Sālaṅkāyana kingdom might have afforded the Viṣṇukuṇḍins an opportunity to annex the Vēṅgī and launch the policy of expansionism. Govindavarman of the dynasty, the first great king among them, was to launch the policy of territorial expansion, which was scrupulously followed by his successors. There followed a dynastic warfare between the two royal houses, that has been scarcely recognized by historian.

The Tummalagūḍem (set I)[74] charter of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Gōvindavarman, dated in his 37th regnal year, registers the village, Peṅkapaṛa[75], to a Buddhist vihāra. Dr. Sankaranarayanan has identified the village with either Peṅkabaṇḍa or with Paṅkerā, in the Ramannapet taluk of Nalgonda district of Andhra Pradesh[76]. But, it can be found among the villages enumerated as boundaries to the gift village Ōṁgōḍu, in the Ōṁgōdu (set II) plates[77]. Hence, the village must be looked for somewhere near Ongole, the headquarters of the present day Prakasam district. Thus, shortly after the victorious expedition of Simhavarman II and under the viceroyship of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa, the Pallava suzerainty was shaken by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin expansionism. Gōvirdavarman could annex the southern Āndhra country, at least upto the modern town of Ongole, by the year A. D. 472[78].

Gōvindavaraman's son and successor was Mādhavavarman II (c. A. D. 475-515) who was one of the greatest empire-builders in the early South Indian History. was a performer of eleven aśvamēdhas[79]. He was thus a great conqueror and some of his victories and eventual horse-sacrifices, were probably in his contest with the Pallavas. In fact, the Vēlpūrū stone inscription expressly states that he was at war with some Pallava king[80]. Of course, the date of the inscription, 33rd regnal year of the king falls out of the period of Simhavarman II and corresponds to A. D. 508 Between the years A. D. 472 and 508, several wars might have taken place between the Pallavas and Viṣṇukuṇḍins, altering the boundaries of their kingdoms several times[81].

Simhavarman II, must have realised that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin onslaughts under Mādhavavarman II, cannot be successfully met from a distant place like Kāñcī. He seems to have wisely granted autonomy to the line of Viṣṇugōpa so that they could consolidate their position and put up stiff resistence to the Viṣṇukuṇḍin expansionism. This explains the assumption of independant titles of Mahārāja by Simhavarman and Vijaya Viṣṇugōpavarman, the son and grand son of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa, and issuing charters without reference to the overlord at Kāñcī[82].

Thus, the existence of a separate Pallava line, ruling in Southern Āndhra country, referred to as the Nellore-Guntur branch by earlier scholars, was a circumstancial need, and beyond any doubt. The kingdom comprised of the territory between the rivers Guṇḍlakamma and Pennār, now included in the Prakasam, Nellore and Cuddapah districts. The kings of the line seem to have commenced their rule from about A. D. 470[83]. The foundation of the Southern Āndhra branch of the Pallavas to keep their authority over the country, may be compared to the foundation of the Eastern Cālukyan kingdom, following the conquest of Pulakēśin II. These facts indicate the Geo-political importance of coastal Āndhra, in the Ancient history of Deccan and South India.

The Viṣṇukuṇḍin counter-poise to the foundation of the Southern Āndhra branch of the Pallavas seems to be the creation of a military fief around Trikūṭa mountain, south of the river Kṛṣṇā. The history of the Trikūṭa branch of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins makes a separate reading.

REFERENCES

1. *A Study of Early Pallava Genealogy and Chronology, Itihas*, Vol. VI, No. 2, PP. 21-43.

2. The Nedunagarāya grant, *Epi. And.*, I, Pp. 1–15; and the Uruvapalli grant, *Ind. Ant.*, V. Pp. 50-53.

3. The Uruvapalli grant, Text 11. 33–34, reads : *Simhavarmma mahārājasya Vijaya saṁvatsare-Ekādaśa Pausyamasa Krsna Pakṣa daśamyāṁ*. The Nedunagarāya grant, 11. 34–36, reads : *śrī Simhavarmma mahārājasya Vijaya saṁvatsare dvādaśame Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa trayodasyāṁ*

4. *Ind. Ant.* (*Opp. cit.*). P. 50. Sri Mallampalli Somasekhara sarma (*Jour, Madras Uni.*, XII, P. 135) accepted and followed the suggestion.

5. *Epi. Ind.* VIII, Pp. 159–163.

6. *A. P. G. A. S.*, No. 6, Chapter XVIII, Pp. 211 ff.

7. *Epi. Ind.* XXVIII, Pt. III, Pp. 99–103 ff.

8. *A. P. G. A. S.*, No. 6, (Opp. cit.) P. 212.

9. All the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas, except the Udayendiram plate of Nandivarman (Epi. Ind., III, Pp. 142–147) and Chendalūr plates of Kumāraviṣṇu (*Ibid.* VIII, Pp. 233–36) were issued from places like Tāmbrāpa, Palakkaḍa and Menmāṭūra and Daśanapura. These places, some of them identified and others uncertain as to their identification, are to be found in Southern Āndhra country. Thus, the earlp Pallava kings, who issued their charters from Southern Āndhra country were called a branch of the dynasty and designated as the Pallavas of Nellore-Guntur districts. *Vide Infra*.

10. *Epi. Ind.*, XV, Pp. 246 ff.

11. *Ibid.* XXVIII, P. 99.

12. *Ind. Ant.*, V, Pp. 154–157.

13. *Epi. Ind.*, VIII (*opp. cit.*)

14. *Ibid*. and the genealogical chart in P. 227.

15. *C.I.I.*, III, No. 1, 11, 19.

16. *APGAS* No. 6 (opp. cit.) Pp. 228-229. The method of dating the Prakri inscriptions was in terms of seasons and *Paks.as*. The Ōmgōḍu (Set I) was dated like: *Vijaya Sam̃vatsara trayas-trim̃se 30 3 Hēmanta Paks.e tr.tīya 3 trayōdasyām̃*.

17 *A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6 (opp. cit.) P. 229.

18. Dr. Fleet writes about the palaeographic features of the Uruvapalli plates (Ind. Ant., V, P 50) as: "as far as we may judge from the forms of the letters used, I would allot the inscription to the fifth eent ury A.D."

Uruvapalli plates, text line 17 and Nedunagarāya grant, 11.21. See also *SEHA*. p. 84 and 93. Dr. Ramarao, referred to Simhavaraman as Simhavarman I and placed him in the period between A.D. 528–558, which is not acceptable.

20. *A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6, P. 212. He writes that the language in the *Praśasti* portion of the grant "is slightly different" from the *Praśasti* of other Sanskrit charters of the dynasty. In fact, most of the epithets employed in the Vēsanta grant to describe the kings in 11.2–3, 4–8 and 9–15 are quite unusual, with a finer literary value and more historical significance. *Vide Infra*.

21. Earlier scholars supposed that the Pallavas were driven out of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Cōlas. *Vide* Mr. V. Venkayya, *Ind. Ant.* 1908, P 284 and T. G. Aravamudan. *The Early Pallavas of Kāñcī*, Pp. 64-65, *H.C.I.P.*, III, Classical Age, P. 264.

22 *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 135. Nandivarman Pallavamalla was elected from a collateral line. The genealogical accounts of the late recorde of the Pallavas are of confusion of legendary and real names of kings on one hand and the names of kings of many colleteral dynasties on the other.

23. *Epi. Ind* XVIII, Pp 145–152, Vide Dr. D. C. Sircar's opinion on the names given in the record, *H.C.I.P.*, III, The Classical Age, P 276 and Prof. T.V. Mahalingam, *Kāñcīpuram*, P. 34.

24. *S.I.I*, Vol I No. 32; and *Epi. Ind*. X. Pp. 43-44.

25. Prof. T.V. Mahalingam, *Opp. Cit*

26. *Mys. Arch Rep*. 1922, P. 23.

27. *Ibid.*, 1910, P. 46. the relevant verse reads as follows :

Saṁvatsarē tu dvātriṁśē
Kāñcīśaḥ Siṁhvarmmaṇaḥ
Asity-agrē śak-ābdānāṁ
Siddhim-ētat-cchata trasyam.

28. *Epi. Ind.*, XXXIII, Pt. II, Pp. 87 ff. is a Prakrit record and its donor is assigned to the time close to the down-fall of the Ikṣvākus.

29. *T.A.S.S.I.*, 1958-59, Pp. 41-83. The king who issued the charter was the grand father of Mahēndravarman I and is assigned to about A. D. 525-565. *Vide. Itihas*, VI, No. 2. (*opp. cit.*) P. 35.

30. *Vide Supra*, Note No. 18 and *A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6, P. 212.

31. *Epi. Ind.* XIV., No. 24, Pp. 331-336.

32. *Ibid.* Text lines 7-8 and 10-11.

33. *Epi. Ind.*, III, Pp. 124 ff.

34. *Vide Supra* genealogical tables.

35. *Epi. Ind.* XXXVIII, Pt. iii, Pp. 99-105.

36. Dr. G. S. Gai, *Ibid.* P, 103.

37. Text lines 30-32.

38. *H.C.I.P.*, III, The Classical Age, Pp. 272-3 ; *A History of Karṇāṭaka*, ed. Prof. P. B. Desai, (Dharwar) P. 59.

39. *Ind. Ant.* VI, No. XXI, Pp, 25 ff line 8, reads, *tuṅga Gaṅga Kul-ōtsādī Pallava Pralay-ānilaḥ*.

40. *Ibid.* Vol. VII, No. XXVI, 11. 3-4. *Sri Viṣṇuvarmma Prabhṛtirnna-rēndrān-nihitya Jitvā pṛthīviṁ samastāṁ. Utsādya Kāñcīśvara Caṇḍadaṇḍaṁ* etc.

41. Dr. D. C. Sircar, *H.C I.P.*, III, P. 278. But the learned Doctor supposed that the *biruda* was borne by Nandivarman, or one of his successor, most probably of Śāntivarman. But the name Śāntivarman is not reported by any of the pallava charters to far available.

42. Text line 13-14, also *vide* note no. 20.

43. *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, P. 482.

44. The grandfather of the donor is called *Vijaya* Vīravarmaṇ in l. 4, and his father is called as *Vijaya* Skandavarman in l. 8. The latter himself claimed the honorific in his own Oṁgōḍu (set I) plates, 1. 9. The donor of the Vēsanta grant calls himself as *Vijaya* Siṁhavarman, in l. 17 of the text

45. Vijayadēvavarman of the Ēlūru plates, and Skandavarman as well as Nandivarman, the donors of the two sets of the Kantēru plates ond Kollēru plates elaim the title.

46. Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi (Epi. Ind., XXV, Pt. i, No. 7) has rightly suggested that Aṁdhāpathā of the Mayidavōlu plates might have included territories beyond the river Kṛṣṇa. His conclusion is based on the stationing of a Vyāpṛta, or provincial governor of the Pallavas at Dhānyakaṭaka, whose headquarters might have been centred in the province. Aṁdhapatha, the Pallava province mentioned in the grant is only the land of Āndhras alluded to in literature as the region of the mouths of the rivers Kṛṣṇā and Gōdāvarī. The Śālaṅkāyanas, Bṛhatphalāyanas and som unknown princely families might have accepted the Pallava suzerainty, for some time, during the reign of Śivaskandavarman.

47. The author's article on the genealogy and chronology of the Salankayanas, *Itihas*, V, No. 1, Pp. 1–15.

48. *Ibid* P. 9.

49. *Epi. Ind.*, XXXVIII. Pp. 197 ff. and *Itihas*, VI, No 2, Pp. 21 ff. Note No. 48

50. Dr D. C. Sircar *Epi. Ind.*, XXXVIII, Pp. 197 ff and *I. H Q.* XXXVI, Pp. 23–28.

51. The British Musuem plates of Carudevi, the queen of Yuvamaharaja Buddhavarman, register a gift she had made in Karmarastra. It indicates that the Yuvamaharaja had been camping in the region for some time, ostensibly, being assigned by Sivasksndavarman to counteract some one that had threatened the Pallava power in the region. Buddhavarman cannot be taken to have ruled after Sivaskandavarman, perhaps, being killed in the operation.

52. South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, Pt. V, pp. 501–517, vv. 5–8.

53. Scholars are of divided opinion about the genealogy and chronology of the Anandagotra kings. Some scholars postulate some interval betveen Attivarman and Damodaravarman, while their relatlons are not yet precisely settled. For different schemes of genealogy and chrcnology of the dynasty, see Dr. M.

Ramarao, *S.E.H.A.*, (1971) p. 93; Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, *E.D.A.D.*, (1942), pp. 326 ff Pro. O. Ramachandriya, *S.A.S.* (2978), p. 42 etc. They are supposed to have ruled between A.D. 375-430, ia the following order of succession.

Kandara	... ...	c. A. D. 375—400.
Attivarman	... ...	c. A. D. 400—425.
Damodaravarman	... ...	c. A. D. 425—433.

54. The Gorantla plates of Attivarman, *Ind. Ant.*, V, pp. 102-3 and the Mattepadu plates of Damodaravarman, *Epi. Ind.* XVII, pp. 327-330.

55. The Gorantla plates describe the donor Attivarman (11. 2-3) as to have born in the family of the king Kandara. The Mattepad plates of Damodaravarman are issued from the city of Kandarapura (1.1) which was perhaps named after the earlier king Kandara, or might have been built by the king of the same name.

56. The Chezerla stone inscription says that the king Kandara was the lord of two *janapadas*, in the region of Trikuta. Thus, scholars like Dr. Ramarao(*S.E.H.A.*, P. 90) Dr. K. Gopalachari (*E H.A.C.*, P. 194) and Prof. O. Ramachandriya, (*S A.S.*, P. 40) and othdrs supposed that the Anandagotra rule extended over some parts of, or the whole of Guntur district of the present day. The provenance of the two copper plates grants also seems to support the conjecture. But the stone inscription is of a very late date and cannot be relied for the determination of the extent of the Anandagotra kingdom of the earller time.

57. Omgodu (set I) plates, (*opp. cit.*),), Text lines 1-2.

58. The Velurdalaiyam plates (*opp. cit.*).

59. *Itihas*, VI, No. 2, (opp. cit.) P. 25.

60. Text lines 3-4 and 8.

61. Text lines 7-8.

62. Text line 1. Tambrapa had been identified by.Sri M. S. Sarma with Chebrolu in present day Guntur district.

63. Text lines 14-15, reads: "*Vijaya rajya Samvatsare trayastrimse 30 3 Hemanta pakse trayodasyam.*

64. *Epi. Ind.*, IX, pp. 56-59.

65. Text line 5.

66. The two Kanteru charters and the Kolleru plates of Skandavarman and Nandivarman and Nandivarman II record gifts in Kudur-ahara.

67. The two years are the dates of Omgodu (set I) charter of Vijayaskandavarman and the Vesanta grant of his son and successor Simhavarman, respectively.

68. The date of the Uruvapalli charter of Yuvamaharaja Visnugopa, who was ruling in Mundarastra, as the viceroy of Maharaja Simnavarman.

69. Text lines 25-26. *Asmad-vijayarajya samvatsare Ekonavimsati Magha masa suklapaksa dasamyam.*

70. Text line 18.

71. Dr. S. Sankaranaryaran, *The Visnukundis and their times*, pp. 82-83. He was followed by Mr. Aditya Sarma. in *Bharati* (Telugu) October, 1977, P. 52. However, the indentification is not convincing. Natra (or Natri) pati *visaya* can be found in medieval inscriptions as Natavadi, after the *repha* consonant being dropped in popular usage. It is rather unnatural to suppose that the *repha* was added to Nadattapadu and made Natripadu. Such transformations take a long time and connot be expected in such a short span of time of even less than a century.

72. The Chikkulla plates, Epi. Ind., IV, P. 193 ff. Text line. 19 says that the gift village was situatad in *Natrapatyam*.

73. The chronological scheme of the Salankayanas adopted in these pages is like:

Hastivarman I	... ...	c.	A. D.	340—365.
Nandivarman I	... ...	c.	A. D.	365—405.
Acandavarman	... ...	c.	A. D.	405—420.
Hastivarman II	... ...	c.	A. D.	420—422.
Devavarman	... ...	c.	A. D.	422—437.
Skandavarman	... ...	c.	A. D.	437—440.
Nandivarman II	... ...	c.	A. D.	440—455.

74. *Epi. And.* II, P. 4 ff. and *Bharati* (Telugu) 1965, June, pp. 14-28.

75. Text lines 23-24.

76. Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan *Epi. And* II, (*opp. cit.*) p. 8 and *The Visnukundis and their times*. p. 39.

77. *Epi. Ind* XV. (*opp. cit.*) Text lines. 19.

78. The thirty seventh year of the reign of Govindavarman, whose period of rule is placed between c. A.D. 435-475.

79. The two sets of Ipuru, Ramatirtham, Chikkulla. Polamuru, Tundi and Tummalagudem (set II) charters of Madhavavarman and his successor unanimously accredit him with the performance of eleven *Asvamedhas*, among other numerous and various sacrifices.

80. *Epi. Ind.* XXXVIII, pp. 125–130. Text line 3 contain the date of the record, *Trays-trimsat-samvatsare*; line 4 says that the king was *(sa)ha skandhavara gate.*, and line 6 contains the term *Pallava kula*.

81. Between the date of the Tummalagudem (set I) charter (A.D. 472) and the Velpuru stone inscription (A. D. 508), that mark the Visnukundin victorious expansions, we find the Pallavas registering gifts of villages, as recorded in the Mangadur and Chura grants. Obviously, the Pallavas could push their dominions into Karmarastra, right upto the river Krsna. There may be some more but not presently known victories, on both sides, viz. the Visnukundins and the Pallavas.

82. The four copper plate grants of Simhavarman, viz., the Omgodu (set II) Pikira, Mangadur, and Vilavetti and the Chura copper plate grant of his son and successor Vijayavisnugopavarman, are dated in the regnal years of the respective kings, unlike the two grants of Yuvamaharaja Visnugopa.

1979

EARLY HISTORICAL VESTIGES AT VIJAYAWADA AND SOME TRIMURTI CULT PLAQUES (x)

I. K. Sarma

Vijayawada is known as vijayavāṭa[1], Bejavāḍa Pechchevāḍa[2] and Rājendrachōlapura in inscriptions[3]. Rich traditions and literature glorify the hill of Indrakīlādri-which has several historical vestiges all around cresented with celebrated temples of Kanakadurga, and Mallēśvara. The standing historical remains, mostly "cut-in" architectural ventures fall mainly under two groups (1) Akkanna-Mādannna and (2) Mogalrājapuram. These caves are assigned variously to the early Pallava[4], Vishṇukuṇḍi[5], Eastern Chalukya[6] etc. But, most of these caves are long pillared-halls with triple shrines at the back wall and smaller niches over the side walls containing the minor deities. These cells and niches appear to be later innovations to find place for various Brāhmanical deities. The pillars are massive, plain shafts with octagonal middle sections, a squarish unworked base and a top recalling the cruder counterparts in the Western Indian cave sites. Certain art-motifs like the *pūraṇghaṭa* decor on the pillar shafts and beam sections, dwarf figures in relief carrying garlands (*mālāvāhakas*), rows of geese (cave no. 5), *prastara* cornices revealing rafter ends, the simyle *chaītya-kuḍus* with spade like finials (Cave no. 3) both at Mogalrajapuram, recall Buddhist patterns inherited from Ikshvāku art style.

There existed a Jaina Temple called Neḍumbi Bāsaḍi at this place closely contemporary with the cave, and caused originally by Ayyanna Mahādēvi, the queen of Kubja Vishṇuvaradhana[7] (624-641 A. D.). This is the earliest authentic instance citing royal patronages to Jainism in this area. Hiuen Tsang provides us with a graphic account of the topography of this place, and he appears to

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have stayed thereabout in a "Buddist monastery[8] for several months in 639 A. D."

1. Early Historical and Buddhist vestiges :

While describing the five caves known as (1) Govinda, (2) Rāmānuja bila, (3) Durga, (4) Akkanna-Mādanna and (5) twin cave, all on Indrakīlādri hill range, A. Rea states that these caves "may have been excavated during the early days of the christian era and the place was at one time a strong-hold of Buddhism[9]. The upper cave at the Akkann-Mādanna group, facing east, has a rectangular hall, measuring 11.5 x 8 8 metres on octagonal pillars, the triple shrine relegated to the back wall. In the year 1968–69 R. Subrahmanyam[10] discovered on the floor of this cave some letters in Brahmi characters assignable to *circa* first-second century A. D. These letters, being too much worn-out, nothing could be read out of them. But, undoubtedly, they roused the curiosity on the dating and origin of the caves. A recent attempt of earth-clearance at this spot revealed that the top ledge of the cave, had a huge *chaitya*-fronton suggesting its Buddistic affilation. We may bring in here the reported discoveries of Black-and-Red-Ware and Black-ware pottery from the deposits near the caves by (Late) M. Venkataramayya[1], which presuppose an early historic sequence at the site.

2. Mogairajapuram :

The imposing hill containing the cave no. 5, facing east, has several ancient remains on its top terraces and at various heights. A recent exploration undertagen by us revealed extensive ruins in the form of bricks and pottery over the flattish terraces. A little clearance and observation have lead to the discovery af circular *stupa*-like alignments (Pl. I-A), and *vihāra* cells. A broad scrap of rock contained series of *stupas* in bas-relief (Pl. II A & B), besides a "cut-in cave with plain rectangular entrance containing a monolithic cut-out *stupa* at the centre (Pl. I-B). Circular rock-cut troughs for water storage could also be seen. In view of the brick sizes and the extremely simple and plain rock-cut *stupas* a date coeval with the Sātavāhana period would be justified. Since the rock is badly weathered, large chunks have cleaved-out disfiguring the shape of the carvings.

It is fairly well known that the entire tract close on either bank of Krishna is studded with Buddistic vestiges and Vijayawada proper could, under no circumstances, remain isolated. But. it has to be admitted that no impressive architectural and sculptural vestige of this faith survived and almost every hill is linked up with the epic heroes. As they stand, the rock-cut remains are of Brāmanical order. This overwhelming renaissance of Brāmanism soon after the Ikshvāku period deserves to be studied in greater detail.

3. A sandstone plaque in front of Kanakadurga Temple and Pedda-mudiyam plaques :

During a recent visit of mine (1974) to the famous temple, I happened to see two sandstone plaques measuring 15 x 10.5 cms, kept under the tree in front of the closed *agramaṇḍapa* of the main shrine. These two plaques were smeared with turmeric and *kumkum*, obviously in worship. Only one plaque exists now and the fate of the second one is unknown and even this is badly defaced (Pl. III-A). This is the earliest object suggesting the worship of the Hindu triad and caves below succeed this relic in point of time.

The plaque contains a medley of divinities carved in bas-relief, from left to right, starting with Vinayaka over a high pedestal; Śiva-*liṅga* on a square *pīṭha* with Nandī inset below; skanda standing with his spear; Narasiṁhā and finally Durgā-Mahishamardini, at the right extreme. The plaque instantly reminds us of the one reported by Sivaramamurti and erroneously attributed to Kaveripakkam by Jitendranath Banerjea in his monumental work[12]. It is certainly from Peddamudiam[13] (Cuddapah District) (the ancient *Muḍivēmu agrahāra*) of Chālukya fame. This place has certain remarkable temples of the early Telugu Chōḍa and Chālukyan times and such syncretic plaques of red slate and sandstone were frequently found (Pl. IV-1 to 8) either loosely on the mound or fixed in the wall faces of the main temple called Kōdaṇḍarāma. The panelling of the deities also differ considerably. However, the deities arrayed are Trimukha Brahmā, standing or seated on lotus; Vishṇu standing in human form

or lion-head Nārasihaṁa; śiva-liṅga; on high pedestal or śiva seated with Pārvatī on a high *mancha* type couch and Skanda standing with Dēvāsēna by his side or simply Pārvatī standing by the side of Śiva-*linga* with Skanda; Lakshmī in human from seated or standing over a *Guhya*(Pl. III-B), head portion shaped as a pettalled-lotus with prominent calyx or in the semi-symbolic form with *śrīvatsa* body and the human face; *śrīvatsa* over lotus (Pl.IV-7), and at extreme corners, Vināyaka over a high pedestal at the right, and Durga Mahisha-mardini at the left, finishing the demon, the severed hands and legs stretched up and down (Pl. IV-2, 5). The form of *śrīvatsa* – with *Kalpalata* and railed below is indeed a rare depiction.

4. An early Trimurti plaque from Kunidene :

These plaques, as far as their present distribution is concerned, appear in coastal Ānhdradēśa and ancient Toṇḍamanāḍu region, besides at Peddamudiyam, which has yielded the largest number of specimens, (kept in the South-Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India), at Cuddapah and at Hyderabad. T.V.G. Sastry[14] has published a very early and fine specimen of this class from Kunidene, a village in Narasaraopet Taluk, Guntur District. It is of greenish Palnad lime-stone measuring 26.7 x 19.1 Cms. and the carving bears a distinct mark of Ikshvāku craftsmanship. The figures depicted on this piece, however, are few and confine to the Hindu Trinity. They are from extreme left (Pl. III-B) Trimukha Brahmā seated on lotus bud in *vyākhyāna-Mudra*; śiva-*linga* (*Purusha* symbolised here), and Nandī below; the form of Pārvatī with lotus head in *paryankāsana* over *Guhya*. She is here the symbolic mother-goddess and also Śrī. Kārtikēya standing with spear (*saktidhara* in *samabhaṅga*), very much resembles the stone and copper images from Nagarjunakonda. At the right extreme is the seated Nārasiṁha with animāl head and human form. It may be noted that Vināyaka and Mahishamardinī Durgā are conspicuously absent here. The stone media, the style of the carving and features portrayed evidently suggest a date of late 4th-mid 5th century A. D. to this object.

5. From other regions :

Besides the stray example at Vijayawada noted above, similar plaques were reported from Madugula[15] (Macherla Taluk, Guntur District). A lone example was noticed by me at the famous Bhīmēśvara temple at Samalkot – Bhimavaram, East Godavary District. Here it is of soap stone and was found fixed to the *maṇḍapa* wall face, near the entrance leading to the upper storey of the temple.

Their date and distribution-pattern alike, raise interesting issues. Speaking on Peddamudiyam (Pl. IV) examples, Sivaramamurti[16] suggests a pre-Pallava origin. He says that "the deities here represented are among the earliest known to South Indian Hindu iconography as also the most popular at the time. Gaṇēśa occurs here with only a single pair of arms as also Brahma, Nārasiṁha, Vishṇu and Dēvī. Both śiva-*ling* and Sōmaskanda with the bull occur here. śrī or Lakshmī āppears in her semi-symbolic form, so also Mahishamardini. The *śrīvatsa* symbol here explains the origin of the later Pallava figure and constitutes the link between the symbol as it is represented in late Amaravati and the Pallava sculptures" There should be no dispute on the views of this learned scholar and the plaques are quite early and found broadly in the territories ruled by the Early Pallava, Vishṇukuṇḍī, Renāṭī Chōla and Early Chālukya dyanasties. Panels of slightly bigger size(30 x 20 Cms.) were recently reported from Tondaimandalam at the sites of Munnur (South Arcot), Manimagalām, Madhurantakam Uttiramerur, Tenneri (Chingleput), Ukkal and Brahmadesam (North Arcot). There is some variation in grouping of the divinities and are cruder in finish. For example Vināyaka and Durga are present at the terminals in all the cases unlike the early Andhra specimens Brahma is the same *Trimukha* without consort. In the *Umā-Mahēśvara*, śiva is either in the human form or *liṅga*. Lakshmī is also in the symbolic śrīvatsa śrī. In Nārsiṁha only the face is animal-like. They are seated on pedastals of more or less of same height. The *liṅga* is cylindrical over a square *pīṭha*, the top chambered to resemble a flower or some sort of *Ushṇisha*. The Madhurantakam specimen depicts *Sōmaskanda*, seated Brahma Laxmīnārayaṇa and Ardhanāri standing.

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All these specimens are assigned to Pre-Mahendra and Mahendra (I), period and displayed a hormonious blending of the Trinity and the cults linked with them. Undoubtedly Pallavas, as their titles indicate were *Parama-māhēśvaras, Parama-Brāhmaṇyas Parama*-Bhāgavatās, all at the same time[17], and the very first cave temple at Mandagapattu was described as *Brahmēśvara-Vishṇu--Lakhitāyatanam*, aithough we do not possess the figures, even painted remnants, in the vacant cella.

6 Religious sgnificance :

Are they cult objects? J. N. Banerjea held them as cult objects and syncretic plaques[18]. He further points out that *Smārthas* evolved a kind of worship described as *panchāyatanapūja*, wherein all deities of the five approved Brāhmaṇical cults were venerated. When this custom came into vogue is not possible to fix. It may be noted, at the outset, that none of these plaques depicted Sūrya, even suggestively, and hence cannot be taken to belong to that type of worship called Panchāyatana.* Even among these, there appears to be a marked evolution. Firstly these plaques contained the three principal gods in symbolic and human forms as in the examples of Kunidene (Pl. III-B) and Madugula In the succeeding century a medley of deities signifying important creedal variations were included It appears a sort of liberalism prevailed in which many Hindu sub-divinities and their aspects were emphasized and worshipped. Together these plaques seem to be the precursors of the *shanmata* worship-śiva, Vishṇu. Sūrya, Kārtikēya, Gaṇēśa, Durga, enunciated by Saṁkarachārya, the great *shanmata-sthāpanāchārya*, who flourished in the middle[19] of 7th century A.D However the emphasis was on śiva and other Gods were subordinated as in the case of standing Brahma and Vishṇu-Nārasiṁha but rarely these were also provided with *āsanas* or high pedastals (Pl. IV-8) and with *Kiṟīṭamakuṭās*, they equalised the great God. Such of those plaques from Tondaimandalam are later. At Tirupparankunram cave temples only five out of the six deities

* The Siva-pancayatana does not include Surya, but the Vtsnupancayatana does -Ed.

were found. The inculsion of Sūrya in this scheme should therefore reasonably be taken as a post-7th century A. D. development.

Coming to the Brāhmanical caves of Vijayawada, in particular, we have shown how a simple *vihāra* of Buddhistic origin was suitably appropriated by cutting cells and niches at the rear rock face and intermediary wall portions to place varlous divinities, predominantly śaiva also emphasizing the syncretism underlying the Vaishṇava and śākta elements.

The foundations for this religious upheaval appears to have been well laid by the Ikshvākus (3rd Century A. D.) of śrī-parvata Vijayapurī, who were the most blessed devotees of *Kārttkēya*. We find separate *dēvakulas* and *Prāsādas* housing the various Brāhmanical deities, like Kārtikēya, Dēvasēna, Durga and the great God śiva conceived as Mahādēva, Pushphabhadra, Nōḍagiśvara and so on. A unique temple complex described as *Sarvvadēvādhivāsaṁ*[20] (abode of all gods), was found to contain smaller shrines at the southern and yeeastern wings, fronted by a multi-storeyed(*talavaravaraṁ*)pavillion on columns and a spacious porch (*bhadra*), the entire complex termed aptly in the inscription as *śrīviśālaṁ*.

With the heralding of a new political order under the śālankāyana, Vishṇukuṇḍī, Early Pallava and Vēngi-Chālukya dynasties, there was a spurt of activity resulting in the building of temples of a variety of Brāmanical deities, big and small. This trend got soon consolidated under the esoterism of *Shanmata* cult, later on.

The syncretic plaques from Andhra, on their present showing, though meagre and unevenly distributed, are sufficient indicators to track the nature of this cult and its ramifications. However, in later times this *Shanmata* (six fold) deities were seen nicely represented at Ellora (*Gaṇēshlēṇa*) in Western Deccan and at the Pallava rock-cut lower caves of the time of Mahēndra (I) at Triuchirapalli in farther south[22], where other deities were superimposed over an existing Trimurti scheme introduced for the first time in Tamil countrv, again by Mahendra Pallava himself, at Mandagapattu cave temple.

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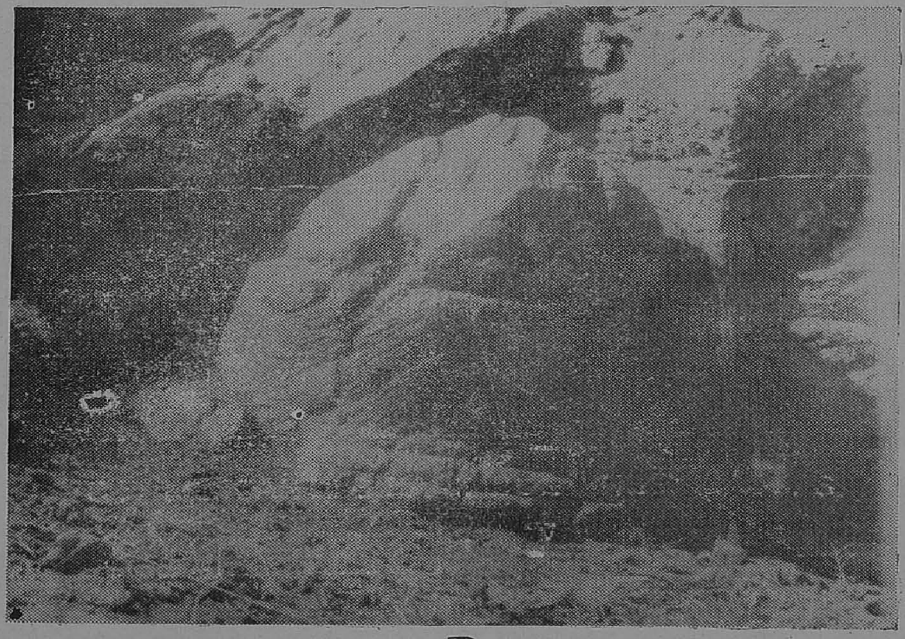
A

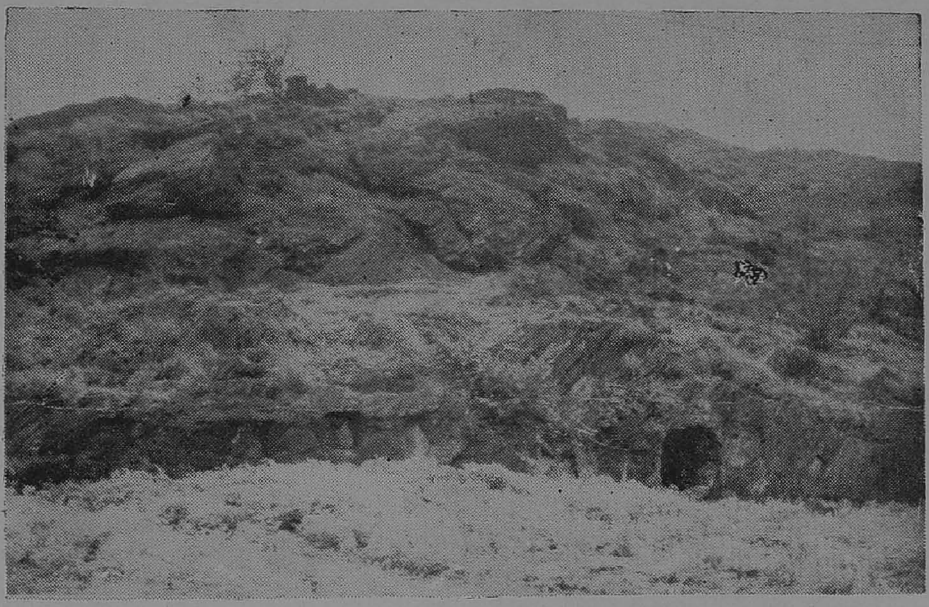


B

I VIJAYAWADA : MOGALARAJAPURAM :

A : Brick *Stupa* over the hill top of Cave No. 5

B : Close view of cut-out monolithic *Stupa*,



A

B

II VIJAYAWADA : MOGALARAJAPURAM :

A : General view of the rock-cut cave and carved face.

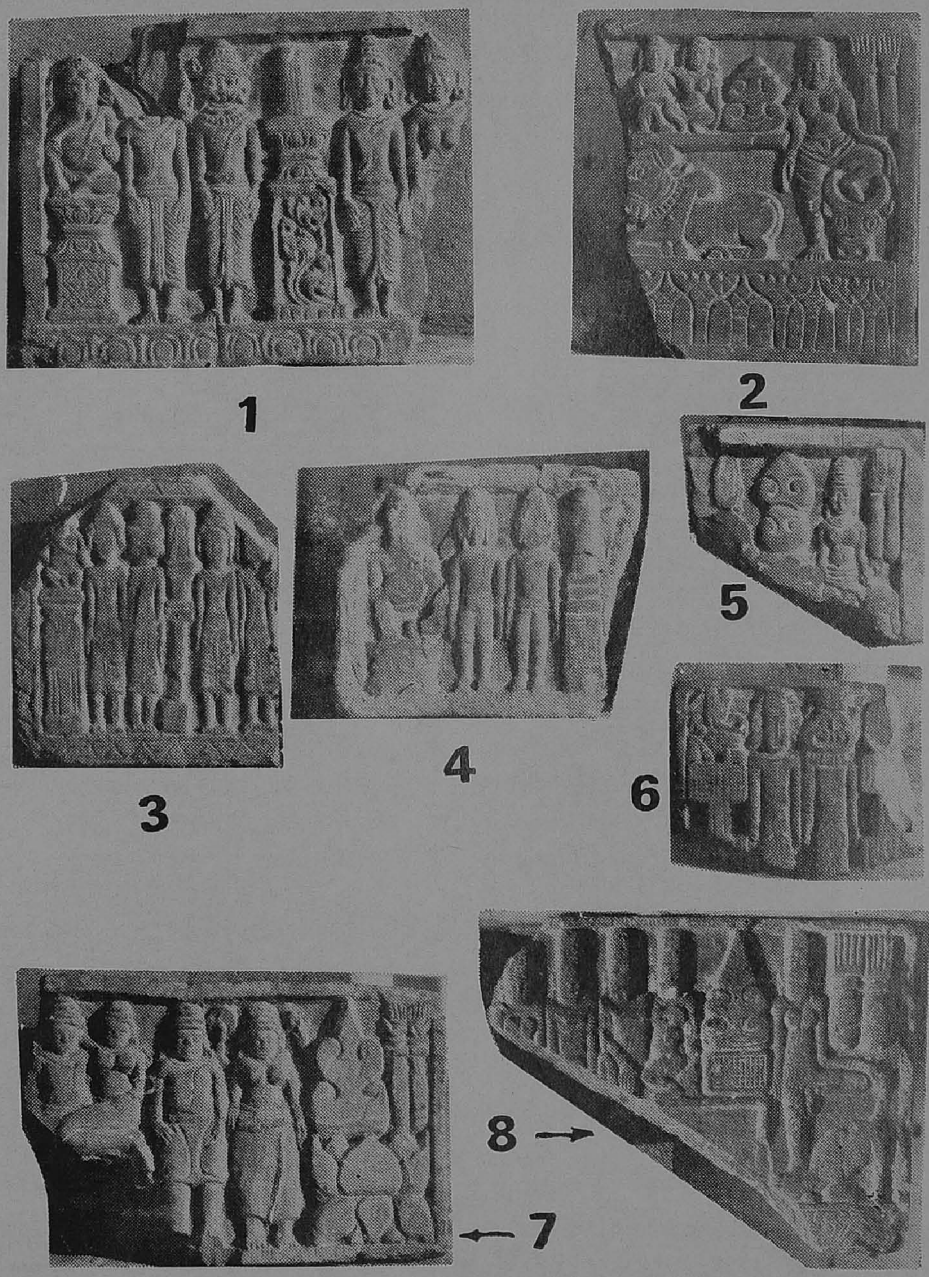
B : Close view of the ***Stupa*** reliefs

B

A

III A : Vijayawada : Stone plaque, relief figures fully coated with turmeric.

B : Kunidene : Early Trimurti, lime stone Plaque.



IV Peddamudiyam : Stone plaques with cult deities (1-8).

INDO-EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE IN MADRAS

C. T. M. Kotraiah

The modern period of Indian History had its beginning, in a sense, at the site of Fort St. George and its present Museum building. The companies of the Portuguese, the English, the Dutch, the French and the Danes had set up trading factories and establishments here and there on the Indian soil, but their influence was peripheral, limited to certain small areas or pockets and their main pursuit related to commerce only. The epoch-making event took place in A. D. 1639 when Francis Day and Andrew Cogan, the two Englishmen from the establishment of Armagon (now a small village about sixty-five miles north of Madras on the coast), arrived at the site, examined and negotiated successfully for building the Fort St. George at this site with a view to establish a trading centre. Initially a small fort was raised out of mud walls. Within a hundred years from then, the English sufficiently carved out a niche in the local political struggle, taking advantage of the splits of the local rulers. In this process, the French, the formidable rivals of the English receded to the background and lost a commanding position they had gained in this region The other European powers too paled to insignificance or else shifted their scene of activity elsewhere. Thus the English enjoyed an unrivalled position. Their clever diplomacy, superior and well-disciplined military strength soon started paying dividends. This political development led to an important change in the cultural life the people. Naturally, Madras was the first place in India which received the impacts of the English settlements and their rule. The aim of this paper is primarily to study the new architectural trends that were introduced in the make up of the city of Madras, of the British period.

Students of history are well aware that man by nature takes with him, wherever he goes, his habits, his manners, his customs and institutions. In short he takes his culture with him, Similarly when the English came to India in the 17th century, they also did so. But to start with, they had to be content with the existing local traditions and styles. Once they achieved political ascendency, by the close of the 18th century, they felt a sense of superiority and security and started asserting themselves with full vigour and started introducing and nurturing their own institutions.

The English, during their occupation of this country introduced a style of architecture which was later termed as Indo-European. This is because we see clearly Indian versions of the Boroque or prototype of the Neo-classic type of Europe. Of course, adopting the Neo-classic or the Composite style in India meant some adjustments due to local conditions like climate, monsoons, materials, artisans and so on. In turn, this composite style itself was the result of a harmonious fusion of the early schools, such as Tuscan, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian. This Composite style when adopted to Indian conditions could formulate certain individualistic features.

The main features of this style are the long but high colonnades, projecting open porticos, flat roofs, facades with triangular pediments, high doors and windows with Venitian blinds, magnificent interiors open corridors all around and others.

Before we proceed with a detailed discusssion of this interesting school of architecture as developed by the English during their stay in India, we shall peruse some of the accounts of the contemporary travellers, wh looked at the growin Madras town.

"The English town, rising from within the Fort St. George has from the sea a rich and beautiful appearance ... They (buildings) consistof long colonnades with open porticos and flat roofs and offer to the eye an appearance simlilar to that what we may conceive of a Greecian city ....." writes William Hodges who visited Madras in A. D. 1781.

Another account given by Maria Graham in a journal of Edinburgh published in A.D. 1882, states '..... the public offices and store-houses which line the beach are fine buildings with colonnades to the upper storeys supported by rustic bases arched, all of the fine Madras chunam, smooth, hard and polished as marble .....' These are only two of the many such descriptions of Madras of the English period. A look at any of the contemporary Picture (aquaprints) displayed in the Fort Museum, Madras, confirms of the impressions of the above as well as many other travellers of those centuries.

This sort of impression induced the artists like Thomas Daniel, William Daniel, Francis Swain Ward, Edward Orme, J. B. East, and others to draw pictures of Madras town and others and publish them in their country. Many of these pictures came to India to decorate the walls of the residences and offices of the settlers as well as of the local gentry.

The buildings raised by the English were, on functional basis, mainly of five types The first was the military or defence nature. This group includes the Fort with its bastions, batteries, barracks, arsenals, fort-gates etc. The second group was of public buildings like the Government house, Assembly hall, Exchange, Banqueting hall and so on, Private residential bungalows popularly known as 'garden-houses' in those days and which were used by the officers and merchants of the Company, form the next group. The fourth one was of religious nature like churches and convents. The church-yards, other burial places and some other commemorative edifices worth noting in our present study form the last of these five groups It is needless to state that this is just a broad but convenient classsfication, on functional basis, in our study of this school of architecture. On the other hand quite a number of the private buildings, in course of time. became public buildings, best examples being the present Raj Bhavan, the Egmore Museum building. etc. These were repaired or remodelled quite often. Thus every building has its own special features requiring more elaborate study. What is attempted here is just a survey of a few examples.

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Military Architecture :

Fort St. George is the most important of this class. The fort, in the beginning was just of mud only and in the most simple and local fashion. It was nothing more than a small enclosure. In the early days of the Company, the English remained as a trading community only without asserting any of their own. They built factories and the fort, for reasons of security and protection to life and property. As they progressed and prospered in their trade, they felt the need for better security arrangements. This forced them to strengthen it. With the attainment of political as well as commercial supremacy, the British built the Fort in their own taste and design. A glance at the chart showing the development of this Fort, now exhibited in the 'Fort Museum', Madras, makes the point clear. The evolved fort with many basitions, ramparts, under ground cellers, ditch all round, came to stand and is preserved almost in tact even to this day. The arrangement of draw bridge equipment can be seen even now at the George gate and the Wallahjah gate of the fort.

The walls of the fort, were constructed to be shell-proof. They were to withstand the charge from the cannon, mortars and other fire-arms. The walls look rough and rugged and extraordinarily massive, designed and constructed by the military engineers of the Company.

Here we may recall the account of Madras in the seventeenth century (circa 1673 A. D.) from the pen of Dr. John Fryer, Surgeon in the E. I. C. ' ..... the Fort. As it looked on the Water, it appeared a Place of good force. The outwork is walled with Stone a good height, thick enough to blunt a Cannon-bullet, kept by half a dozen Ordnance at each side the Water-gate, besides Halfmoon of five Guns. ..... ' etc.

Even the early buildings within the fort, have been constructed by the same military engineers. They are arranged in the form of rectangular blocks or barracks, with the inetention of having better protection from enemies, specially during the early days of the Company. Further, almost the whole community had to be huddled

or accommodated in the limited space available within the fort only. Hence, even residential buildings within the fort look like military barracks. Here one can see a peculiar mixture of military and commercial life in these buildings within the fort. Even the civil buildings, specially the ground-floor portions appear so rustic and are so masssive that they themselves look like fort-walls. The walls of the ground-floor of the Museum building are the examples and they were shell-proof. The walls, though of stone were subsequently well-plastered over with the locally available lime plaster and the wall surface was marked with horizontal bands of groves to give the appearance of strong fort wall built of stones.

The plan of the fort itself is peculiar to India. It is with multi-pronged or pointed projections forming bastions, ramparts and batteries. It is roughly star-shaped, except on the sea-side. Under-ground cellars were provided in the thickness of the ramparts, for purposes of keeping the arms and amunitions, for retaining the enemy-prisoners etc. All these features were new to India and these were introduced by the Europeans utilising the locally available materials.

In course of time the fort came to be self-contained. St. Mary's church was constructed in A. D. 1680 for meeting the religious needs of the dwellers within the fort. A bank which subsequently became the Imperial Bank of India and finally the State Bank of India, was located and functioned in the Museum Building. The same building also served as an Exchange where merchants both native and foreign could display their goods and exchange them amongst themselves. The rooms and the halls were designed and constructed keeping this point in view. The long hall of this building served as the banqueting hall. Sometimes it served, with its wooden flooring, as the hall for ball-dancing and public entertainments. The terrace of this building, had a light-house erected in A. D. 1796 which functioned till A. D. 1841.

Within the fort there was an open space for purposes of parades and this was known as Fort Square.

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In the centre, on the front line, were the Company's offices or Council rooms which is now occupied by the Secretariat. The black granite gneiss pillars, now adorning the central portico of the first floor are of Tuscan order and the entablature with the triangular pediment on the top is also of the same style as adopted by the Neo-classical school in England. These black pillars were once part of the covered passage from the sea-gate of the fort to the water front. They were trophies of war between the French and the English later on.

There were arsenals within the fort at suitable places and with strong walls where they could store their arms and amunitions, safe from the enemies and for use in times of need.

The residential rectangular blocks that appeared like barracks were arranged along the streets that were wide and running straight. Even the township for others, that came up outside the fort, in the early days, had the same feature. Study of any contemporary map proves this The residential areas within the fort were well planned and the streets were running parallel to each other. European order is strikingly noticeable in the building activity of the English.

Government Buildings :

We have already seen above the important characteristics of different types of buildings constructed by the English in Madras. While describing other buildings within the fort, government and residential ones, have also been dealt with. The same features hold good for others that were raised outside the fort. Therefore one of the most important government buildings alone is discussed here. Of those that were built outside the fort was the one now known as the Rajaji Hall. This was known originally as the Triplicane Garden House. After some repairs in 1762 and extensive repairs under the directions of Clive at a cost of about 1,70,000 pagodas, in its present form came to be known as Banqueting Hall. This finishing was done by one engineer named John Goldingham around A. D. 1800.

This is an important building having distinct characteristics of the Indo-European style of architecture. Its features and appearance are so similar to that of Parthenon of Athens in Greece. "It is formed as a long hall for public receiptions and entertainments: columns in two tiers and these are of Tuscan-Doric order'. There is a group of war-trophies shown in plaster in the centre of the pediment, now replaced by the emblem of the Government of Tamil Nadu. The new features in this magnificent building such as running, wide and colonnaded corridors all around, provision for servants quarters and offices in the basement, floral ornamentation in the square panels of the entablature are few that are local, (Photograph A : Rajaji Hall).

The old Assembly Halls, near this, which were used by the governors as their town-residence, are equally interesting in our present study. Here the pillars are coupled or clustered and are arranged all along the corridors. In the corners of the portico, they are in clusters of three or four. All these are again Tuscan-Doric order. The entablature in this case is quite plain and each floor including the terrace is provided with running balusters of terracotta showing the shape of pot with high but narrow neck.

Some other important government buildings constructed outside the Fort St. George, by the English are the following in their chronological order. The list cannot be exaustive so also the minor details of architectural variations, here. It is sufficient to say, that the features discussed above hold good generally in these cases also.

1.	Old Government Hospital ...	1772
2.	Pantheon (Egmore Museum) ...	1778
3.	Memorial Hall ...	1858
4.	Old High Court (Collector's Office) ...	1861
5.	Moor Market ...	1887
6.	Victoria Public Hall ...	1887
7.	Present High Court ...	1892
8.	Rippon Building (Corporation) ...	1913

Apart from the above, a walk along the road opposite the Beach Railway station, even now, will make one see this style of architecture adopted in the buildings that were constructed during the days of the English here. Therefore it is not a wonder, if a traveller of those days saw an European town here in Madras. At present these buildings have been used by Government agencies as well as private companies for different purpose. (Photograph B ; Mercantiie Bank Buildings).

(Somc of the constructions like the present State Bank of India building, the Senate House of the Madras University, the palace of Nawab of Carnatic (Chepauk palace), Victoria Public Hall, Moor Market, Rippon Building (Corporation office), the University Examination Hall on the Marina, the palace of the Maharaja of Travancore on the Poonamalle High Road. were old buildings where one can discern the assimilation of the Hindu, Islamic and European features of the last two centuries.

Another feature that has to be taken note of is that even in government constructions, as seen in the old Railway Headquarters office, near Rayapuram, the Boroque style was not followed blindly. The designer or the engineer had his own say. First and foremost, they had to be guided by the terms of the local conditions and then the functional aspects. The pillars in the building are somctimes plain like the Tuscan, sometimes fluted like the Doric order. The capitals are either of Doric or of the Composite order. Pediments are not seen here. The one which is tyrically characteristic of the Indo-European style in Madras is this building and needless to stress that its preservation aad protection is most essential (photograph C : Old Railway Headquarters Office).

Residential Bungalows :

It has already been stated above that with the establishment of military superiority, political authority and commercial prosperity during the last quarter of the 18th century the English induced the

foreign settlers to desert the fort and construct their residential bungalows away from the sea and on spacious grounds. They did so as per their tastes and desires. They constructed on spacious lands with gardens around. They were built luxuriously providing maximum comfort and enjoyment. Thus the areas in Egmore, the Poonawalle High Road, Adayar, Guindy and others came to be studded with larger but elegant residential bungalows, owned privately by the English merchants and officers.

Some of these buildings like the present Egmore Museum building, Raj Bhavan and others originally owned by private individuals and taken over by the Government for public purposes, have already been examined in the preceeding paragraphs. However, we may see some common features of these buildings.

They were large and elegant. They were not like rectangular blocks as seen within the fort. They had open porticos with columns coupled in two or three. All round they had wide colonnaded corridors. The order was generally Tuscan-Doric and sometimes the Composite type. Some of these buildings had apsidal corridors as seen in the Pantheon (presently Museum theatre in Egmore) which was once a private bungalow. They had a long but high hall in the centre with extended wings on either side and at the rear for living and other purposes. Generally, the walls and the pillars were plastered over with the local lime plaster. The doors and windows were provided with Venitian blinds and sometimes with double shutters for having a choice depending on the variations in climate and seasons. These doors and windows with Venitian blinds when arranged for cross ventilation, could ensure free flow of cool breeze which was already passing through covered corridors. Thus the climate-factor set the pattern for these private dwelling mansions. Even the erratic monsoon conditions also influenced the designing. In addition the buildings were located within vast areas covered by thick gardens and the residents had pleasant time. Steen Bille who visited Madras in 1845 states 'one can ride and drive as one will, the roads are excellant, one flies ones way, the air we breathe is

balsmic, invigorating. We drive past one villa after the other. All are situated in beautifully laid out and well kept parks and gardens'. Examples of this group are numerous but the best ones are the present Raj Bhavan, Egmore Museum Building and the Adyar Club House.

The same features were adopted by the local gentry, in their residential buildings in various degrees as permitted by the financial and other considerations. One of the recent constructions accommodating these Indo-European features is the palace of the Maharaja of Travancore on the Poonamalle High Road (at present occupied by the N. C. C. office). Two-tiered Corinthian pillars, cluster of pillars at corners, coffered ceilling in the adjacent corridors and verandas, Tudor arches for windows in tce ground-floor walls, round arches in the portico, simple and plain entamblature and a triangular pediment showing Gaja-Lakshmi surrounded by floral ornamentation seen in this mansion. make this a typical example of the Indo-European style of architecture that flourished during the days of English rule. (Photograph D : Palace of the Maharaja of Travancore).

Religious Architecture :

Here again the chief features are as in the prototype of the Neo-classic school of Europe which have been already explained above. Apart from the churches built by the Portuguese in Mylapore and St. Thomas Mount, the earliest Church built by the English was in A. D. 1680. That is St Mary's Church, even now in use and seen to the south of the Secretariat and in in front of the Clive building in the fort. Though it was constructed in A. D. 1680 the typical steeple was added around A. D. 1795. The steeple is octagonal in section and each face is fluted as in the pillars of Ionic order. This was constructed by the military engineers as a result, it bears the characteristics of military architecture in the sense that the walls of the ground-floor are shell-proof as in the case of other structurc of the front line within the fort (photograph E : St. Mary's Church).

As it happened in the case of the residential buildings, more and more new churches came up outside the fort when the settlers

deserted the fort and built bungalows or garden-houses away from the fort. The churches were planned nearer to the residential areas. Amongst these, notable are the St. Andrew's church in Egmore and the St. Gorge church on the Mount Road, (photograph F : St. Andrew's church).

In both the cases Thomas De. Havilland, an engineer, in the service of the Company was responsible for their erection. By and large, the Boroque style was adopted with certain variations in ornamental details. The interiors are vast and magnificent. 'Ionic portals and aedicules on the long sides and numerous columns in the main portico are some of the distinct features .... " That is to say, that the elements of the Neo-classic school of architecture appear to have been coalesced to form the Christian church in India. In short, the variations regarding the details are more while the theme remained the same in the construction of the Churches.

The convent buildings also, like the other examples, appeared as a prototype of England or Europe. But they were simple even outwardly and purely functional.

Tombs and other Memorials :

In the churchyards or cemetries, one can notice few edifices built over the buried. They are also quite varied but most of them resemble only spire of a church in miniature form.

Under this class we may mention the shelters provided over the statues of heros, since they also provide an interesting architectural composition. Prominent among these are the pavilion or cupola now seen infront of the present Customs House on the first line Beach and the other by the side of this Museum building to the south. Both these were meant to provide shelter to the statue of Cornwallis, which is now inside the Fort Museum, Madras. The former is octagonal in plan and at each corner of it are arranged Tuscan type of pillars in clusters of three. The top is vaulted.

The second one which is near the Museum is circular and the pillars are of two tiered Composite order. It may be noted here that the order adopted in these two monuments, is either Tuscan or Composite and the arrangement is Neo-classic but Indian in plan and purpose. Thus, thep also form an interesting class by themselves.

Thus in this short survey of Indo-European buildings in Madras during the rule of the English, we see some interesting European prototypes in architecture on the Indian soil. Many of these edifices are facing neglect and fast disappearing. A detailed study and documentation is urgently called for.

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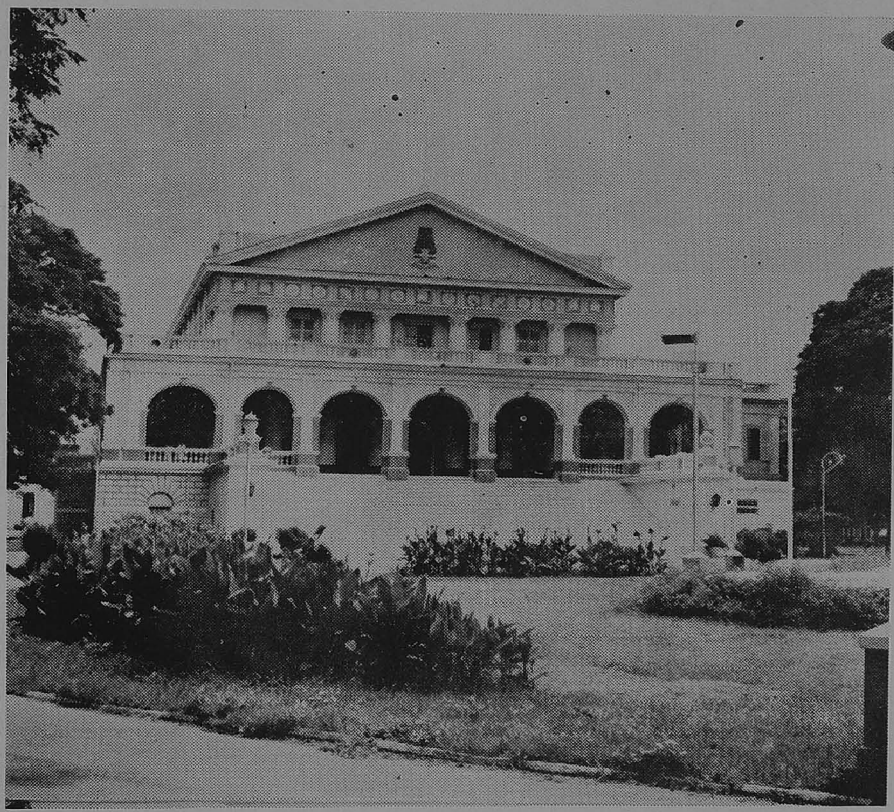
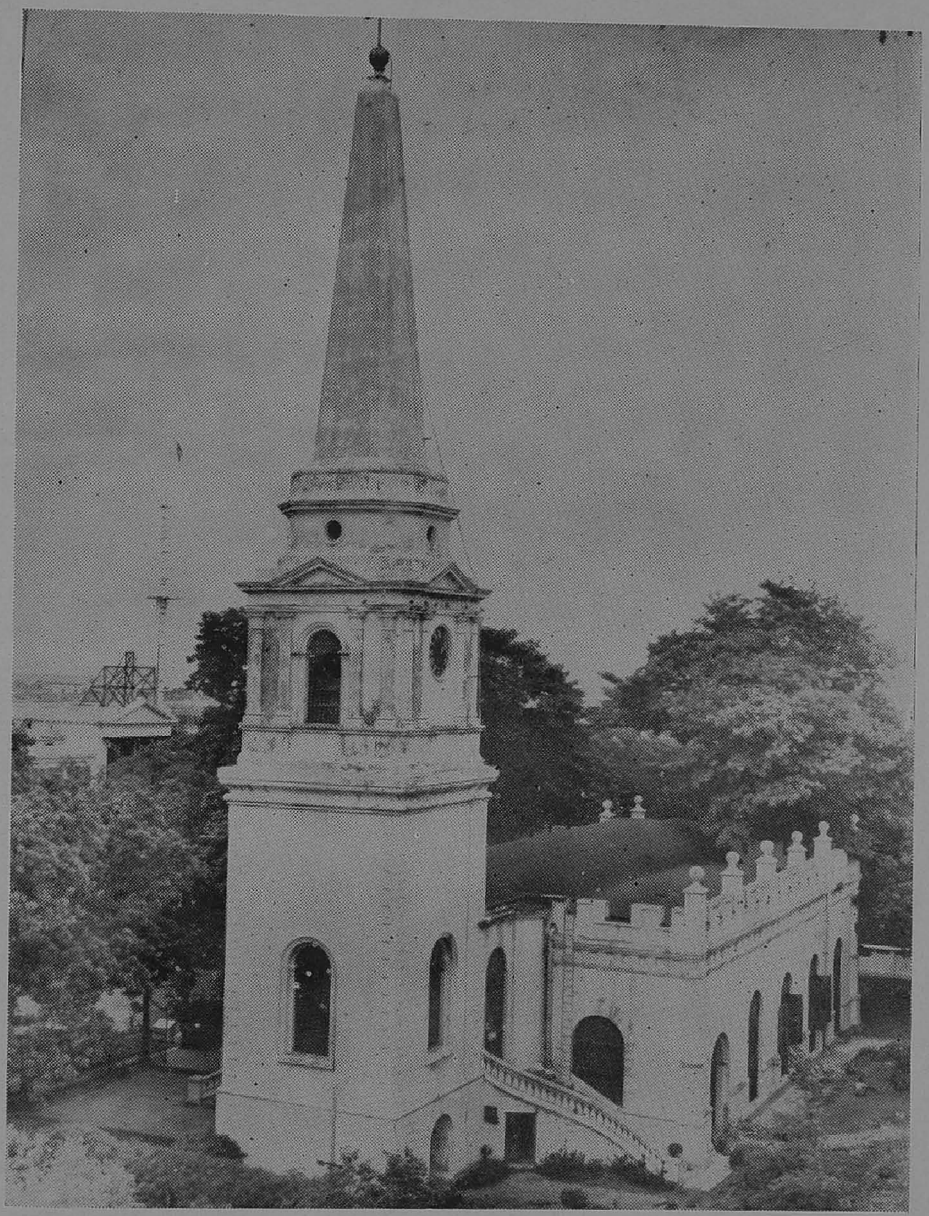


A : RAJAJI HALL, MADRAS.

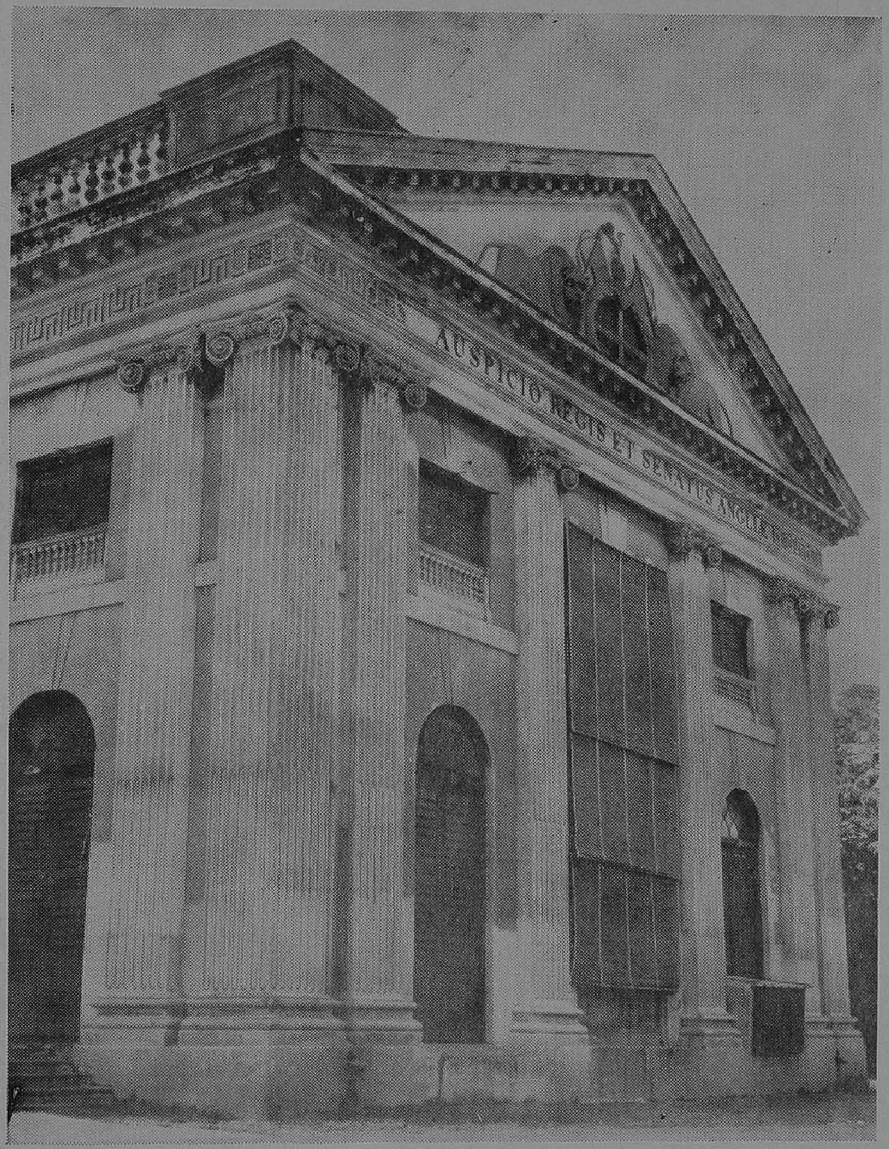
B : MERCANTILE BANK BUILDINGS, MADRAS.

C : OLD RAILWAY HEADQUARTERS OFFICE.
RAYAPURAM, MADRAS.

D : PALACE OF THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE, MADRAS.



E : ST. MARY'S CHURCH, MADRAS.



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LAND TENURES IN MEDIEVAL DECCAN

A. Nagabushanam

It was a common practice in the Ancient and Medieval Deccan that the kings and nobles used to grant villages and lands on different tenures to a number of people for the services rendered to them. A study of the importance and significance of the land tenures in Medieval Deccan is imminent. An attempt is made in this article to explain the importance of each tenure. The following were the tenures under which a number of villages and lands were given to the people for their services.

Ownership of Land : The land acoording to Vijnānēśwara and other writers belongs to the king[1]. But some modern writers are of opinion that there was private ownership of land and cite in support of it inscriptions describing transactions dealing with the gifts, sale and purchase of land by officials, private individuals etc.[2]. For instance the Perggade Chandimayyanayaka took the consent of Chalukya Jayasimha II in order to make a gift of land for the Mulasthanadeva[3]. Kalideva, the Urodeya of Nimbarage, included in Alande-1000, granted the village Sivarajanahalli owned by him for the worship and offerings of three deities i. e. Siva, Vishnu and Sun-God. The grant was made after the approval of the king Bhulokamalla and his crowned Queen and at the request of Mahāpradhāna and Daṇḍnāyaka Kālimarasa[4]. Kamaladevi had to secure a formal consent from her husband Kadamba Sivachittadeva before she granted Degamve village as an agrahara to Brahmanas[5]. Though the above donors took the consent of the kings it does not mean that the kings exercised their rights over the properties of the private individuals. Hence the opinion of the Modern Writers still holds good.

Tenures : Inscriptions mention a number of land tenures prevalent in the Ancient and Medieval Deccan which were as follows : Manneya, Umbaḷi, Aṅgu-Jivita, Kumāra-Vritti, Tala-Vritti, Tribhōgābhyantara Siddai, Dasabandha, Namasya and Sarva Namasya, Bhatta-Vritti, Akkarige-Vritti, Purāna-Vritti, Gana-Vritti, Jyotir-Vritti, Bīlu-Vritti and Biḷānu-Vritti.

Manneya : Manne and Manya were two different types of tenures under which lands and villages were given to Manneyas, and Brahmanas, gavundas and others for rendering certain service to the king.

Manneya was a subbordinate chief who was requied to render military service whenever called upon by the king to do so. He was entitled to collect fees called "Manneyasvamya" (also known as Sāmantike) from the villages which were granted to him in lieu of salary. An inscription dated 1071 A. D. refers to the manneya-savamya of Kottagannuru due to the manneya of Kōgalinadu[6]. Several manneyas worked under the Calukyas of Kalyani. For instance Mahasamanta Chakrasa of Sinda family was the manneya of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI[7]. The mahasamanta Bhattiyarasa was the manneya of Chalukya Someswara II and Vikramaditya VI[8].

Mānya means land given on a trifling rent to Brahmanas, gavundas and others for rendering certain services In A. D. 992 Chalukya Āhavamalla (Tailapa II) granted land as manya to the Brahmanas, gavundas, settis and five mathas headed by Stanadhipati Gandharadeca for rendering services[9].

Mānya was of different kinds. They were 1. Stāna-Mānya, 2. Eka-Manya, 3. Sarva-Manya and 4. Gudde-Manya. The Stāna-Manya means land given to a temple for its maintenanc[10]. Eka-Mānya means land enjoyed by one person[11]. Sarva-Mānya means the land granted free of tax to a group of people[12]. The meaning of Gdde-Manya is not known. Vijjarasa is said to have enjoyed 500 Mattars of land as Gudde Manya[13].

Umbali : According to Dr. Kittel Umbaḷi denotes a rent free grant of land or village[14]. Wilson says that Umbalige, a variant of the term Umbaḷi or Umbaḷi-grama was a form of tenure under which land or village was granted by the government rent-free, 15 as a reward for, or in consideration of, public services. But the following examples show that the Umbaḷi land was granted by the private individuals also to persons for the service rendered in the village. The Mahasamanta Kadamba Harikesari ruling over Banavasi–12,000 and his wife Lachhaladevi granted the village of Pallavura situated near Bankapura to the following people.[16]

Gavundas	:	12½ Matters
Drummer	:	10 Matters
Troops of Public women	.	24 Matters
Keeper of Public women	:	5 Matters
Manager of God	:	12 Matters
Priestly Official	:	6 Matters

Masaḷeya Bomma, at the instance of the 1000 Mahajanas of the Tilivaḷḷi Agrahara, fought against the persons of Manneya Maharaja who lifted the cattle of the Maharajas but died in the fight. The thousand mahajanas of the agrahara granted a piece of land as Umbaḷi to the hero's children[17]. In the agrahara of Gudigere, Srinandi Pandita gave 111 Matters of land to the 12 gavundas as Umbali for their services in the village[18]. Thus the opinion of Wilson is narrow as he states that land or village was granted only by the government to an individual for his services. Kittel has not mentioned the purpose for which the land or village was granted and by whom it was made.

Aṇugu-Jivita : The term Aṇugu means a follower. Aṇugus or Aṇagas were companions who devoted themselves to the personal services of the king. The villages allotted for their maintenance were described as Aṇugu-Jivita or a territory assigned to Anugus for

their subsistence. The Anugus were more generally known by the name Lenkas. This is made clear by a reference to the villages granted to Lenka Sāsirvaru headed by Daṇḍanāyaka Tikkanna as anugu-Jivita, in an inscription dated A. D. 1045[19]. The Mahamandaleswara Jemarasa ruled over many towns including Poṭṭiyur, Elavatti, Niṭṭasangi and Handiyar as aṇugu.Jivita[20]. Personal followers of the king (Anugus) by virtue of their meritorious services or as a token of appreciation of their loyalty were raised to higher positions in the state such as Dandanayakas.

Kumāra-Vritti : Vritti is a term of wide application. It means livelihood, maintenance or means of subsistence. It is applied to lands given dy the kings to princes and other dependents for their maintenance. It is also applied to lands given to Brahmanas by the kings and nobles as a reward for their learning or services and to the land given by a village community to the village servants for the services rendered.

Kumāra-Vrittiti means land given to a prince (Kumara) for his maintenance. Vikramaditya Ganga Permadi son of Someswara I, is said to have been enjoying Gangavai-96,000, Banavasi-12,000 and Nolambavadi-32,000 as Kumara-Vritti[21].

Kumara-Vritti also means land that was given to the Lenkas or the companions of the king who belonged to the noble families in the kingdom. These Lenkas, who dedicated themselves to the services of the king and enjoyed the lands granted to them, were expected to kill themselves, when the king died as they believed thāt their services were needed by him even after his death. Lakshmidhara Dandadhisa, a subordinate of Hoysala Vira Ballala II styled himself as Kumara of the king and on the death of his master, following the dharma of the Lenkas, became a garuda by immolating himself[22]. The Mahasamanta Joyiyarasa and Mahamandaleswara Vikramadiyadeva held the villages of Pottiyur and Hosahalli as Kumara Vritti repectively[23] & [24]. It is likely that they were the Lenkas, or the companions of the king as they enjoyed the villages under Kumāra Vritti.

Another gift of villages was made as bhatta and Kutumba Vritti which may be synonymous with Kumara Vritti. Bhattagrama means a village given for the personal enjoyment of the queens and nobles. The term Kutumba Vritti means land given for livelihood. Abbaladevi, queen of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, is said to have been administering the village Linga in Karadikal-4000 as her bhattagrama[25]. The Mahasamanta dhipati Nagadeva, a steward of the Royal Household and general, was administering Kisukadu-70, Toragare-60 and many bhattagrame[26]. Lakkarasa, son of the great August General Anantapalarasa, was administering Belvola-300, Purigere-300 including bhattagrame and Kuttumbitti[27].

Tala-Vritti : Tala-Vritti or Sthaala-Vritti is defined by Mr. Dinkar Desai as the form of land held for which payment was made in kind from the produce[28]. But this is not correct as the available evidence points out in a different direction. Lands were granted to temples for the feeding of ascetics, Brahmanas and students and for the repairs on Tala-Vritti tenure. They were also granted to Brahmanas and heggades for carrying on services in the temples on the same tenure The Mahāmaṇḍalēśwara Karkarasa madd a grant of land and villages to the temple of gods namely Sōmanatha, Bhōrēśwara and Prasanna Bhairava for the feeding of ascetics Brahmanas aad and students and for the repairs of the temple[29]. Malala Mahadevi, senior queen of Kadamba Jayakesi II gave a piece of land on Tala-Vritti in Kundur to the Brahmanas and temple of the god Lakshmaneswara[30]. The heggade Māyideva held land on the same Tenure[31]. The donors at the time of making grants of this type did not stipulatate that any amount of tax in kind or cash should be paid out of the land.

Tribhogabhyantara Siddhi: The term Tribhog Abhyantara Siddhi means enjoyment of a gift with three bhogas namely dāana, ādhamana and vikraya. Mr. Dinkar Desai says that tribhogabhayantara siddhi means a kind of tenure of land enjoyed by three persons-private persons, god or gods and Brahmanas[32]. An inscription dated A. D. 1070 states that Bhuvanaikamalla Nolamba Permadi Singhanadeva was ruling Kisukadu-70 and Kisuvolal-6 according to

tribhogabhyantara siddhi[33]. Suggaladevi, sister of Bhuvanaikamalladeva and Vishnubhatta were enjoying the Nidgundi and Muttage agraharas respectively under the same tenure[34]. These instances show that a single person was enjoying the village or villages according to tribhogabhayantara siddhi. Thus the definition given by Mr. Dinkar Desai is untenable.

The term Sarva Abhyantara siddhi means a grant of land made without stipulating any condition for the complete enjoyment of the tenure[35].

Dasabandha : The term Dasabandha also known as Dasavandha or Dasavantam means one-tenth[36]. In the inscriptions of the Madras Presidency the term occurs in the sense of a tax or an allowance of land or revenue given as compensation for the construction of a tank, or well or channel[37] Mr. H. H. Wilson says that dasabandha was a deduction of 1/10th of the revenue on account of compensation for some public work such as the construction of a tank etc.[38] An inscription dated A.D. 1118 states that Ketoja and Ganga granted the dasavandha income (1/10) from the smithy of the god Bharateswara to a temple.[39] Similarly another record refers to that the illustrious Madhuvaparasa and Lokarasa serving the Chalukyas enjoyed the dasavandha lands[40] It is evident by the above that dasabandha or allowance of revenue or land was given for maintaining a smithy in the temples and for rendering military and other services to the King. As such the definition given by Wilson and the sense of the term occured in the Madras Presidency inscriptions cannot be applied in this context.

Namasya and Sarva Namasya : The term Namasya means surrender or paying homage to the donees by making them to enjoy a part of the taxes payable to the king on various items noted below. In A.D. 1069 a grant of land was made as namasya by Chālukya Bhuvanaikamalla to the god Mahadeva in Kisuvolal.[41] In this way a number of examples can be multiplied, if necessary. The donee was permitted to enjoy the income from the taxes on houses, trees, grass and

wood and from fines levied on offences with the exception of taxes on merchants. The king's officers were forbidden to enter the namasya villages.[42]

The term Sarva Namasya means the right to enjoy over the nidhi (treasure), nikshepa (trust money), gold mines (tejah), water, stones and gardens with income realised from tolls, fines, and tax on artisans.[43] It also denotes a perpetual grant of a village. The King's servants were also forbidden to enter the Sarva Namasya villages. The difference between the namasya and sarvanamasya grants is that the donees of the former were allowed to enjoy the income of the village with the exception of nidhi, nikshepa and tax on artisans while the donees of the latter were entitled to enjoy the village completely. Another distinction between the two is that the former was the grant to be renewed from time to time while the latter was a perpetual or permanent grant. The illustrious agrahara Jeurage was granted by Chalukya Tribhuvanamalla as sarvanamasya.[44] The village of Kukkanur was granted by Kalachuri Singhana to 1002 Brhamanas as sarvanamasya.[45] Occasionally sarvanamasya grants were made to Brahmanas and temples on certain conditions. For instance the 1000 of Devangeri. 14 Parivaras, 60 Okkals and the 12 Hittus headed by Māṇasagavunda and Ichhagavunda jointly made a grant of land to the temple of god Tribuhuvanesvara on sarvanamasya tenure on the condition that the priest of the establishment should avoid women.[45A]

Bhatta-Vritti and Akkarige-Vritti : Bhatta means land given to the Bhattas or learned Brahmanas for the study and teaching of the Vedas, Sastras and Puranas. In the Ummachige Agrahara, a Bhatta was given 50 Mattars of land and one house site who could expound Nyasa and Prabhakara.[46] Chalukya Vira Nolambādhiraja gave at the request of the chief officers of the Nāḍu, 22 members of the Nādu and the Brahmanas of the mahagrahara Narugunda land to Bhattas as Bhatta Vritti for their learning.[47] The Perggade Kirtiraja gave land and house sites as Bhatta Vritti to Brahmanas for reciting the Puranas.[48]

The word Akkare, the tadbhava of Sanskrit Akshara, means a letter of the alphabet. Akkariga therefore refers to a man well-versed in the alphabets. Akkariga Vritti means the land given to educa-

ted men for their proficiency in language and literature. In the Ummachige Agrahara Nāgadesiga who could teach and compose works on Prosody, Poetics, Grammar, Mathematics aod Astronomy was given 25 mattars of land and one house site as Akkariga Vritti.[49] It is interesting to note from the above instance that the Bhatta received more land than the Akkariga. Besides, the Akkariga had to feed and clothe his pupils studying under him.

The tenures such as Purāṇa Vritti, Gaṇa Vritti, Jyotir Vritti and Bilu Vritti and Bil.ānu Vritti refer to lands given to the Mahajanas and others for reciting the Puranas in the temples, for their learning (Gana means group. Grants were made to groups of people for oommon enjoyment.), for proficiency in Astrology and for military service.[50]

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FAMINES IN MEDIEVAL INDIA
(16th and 17th Centuries)

Jagadish Narayan Sarkar

1. Difference between medieval and modern famines :

'Famine', observed Sir Harcourt Butler, 'lies broad written across the pages of Indian history'. V. A. Smith, refering to the harrowing picture of the Gujrat famine of 1630-32 complacently contrasts the conditions during the hey-day of Mughal rule under Shahjahan with those under the benign modern British rule. Moreland proudly reiterates that 'the very idea of food famines has been banished' during British rule except in inaccessible tracts[1].

Such chauvinistic claims of British writers to prove the superiority of British rule over Indian governments, ancient and medieval, are not wholly true. The history of 200 years of British rule would show that it almost opened with the notorious Bengal famine of 1770-71, which took a toll of one-third of the people there and that it almost closed with another Bengal famine of 1943-4 when nearly 3.5 million men died amidst 'modern' horrors which put even the medieval age to shame. Both were equally man-made.

The significance of the term 'famine' has now changed from what it was before. (i) In the first piace, modern famines are mostly work famines or money famines, i. e., emergencies which, on account of unemployment and in the absence of a general poor law, requires state intervention or special relief measure. The famines of 16th and 17th centuries were not work famines but dire food famines, caused generally by total failure of crops or exceptionally by

deliberate withdrawal of food resources and causing total dearth of food, starvation, even cannibalism and mortality. These might occur in any season in varying scales. The question was how to get food, not so much how to pay for it.

(ii) The second difference between medieval and modern famines arises from the phenomenal extension of communications in modern times. Medieval famines might be essentiallly local, confined to particular regions, suffering from intense distress. In modern times the area of distress ceases to be local. By providing quick and cheap transport of foodgrains from areas of plenty to those of scarcity, railways and steamships and aeroplanes have reduced the acuteness of distress, though these, by equalising prices, extend the area of distress. A net work of canals also helps production and easy transport. But during medieval times, a local shortage of food could not be so relieved because of prohibitlve cost of land transport of foodgrains and provisions or because of comparative absence of facilities of river or coastal transport. During the Gujrat famine in 1530-32 Sironj was well-stocked with food but Gujrat was 'none the nearer'. Thousands died on the Coromandel coast in 1647 though sufficient supplies were available elsewhere.

(iii) The third difference relates to famine relief. Relief system has almost been revolutionised and government has made commendable efforts to perfect the machinery. It has become more elastic. Tee administration is abler than before to grapple with the problems, on acccount of a developed system of agricultural intelligence, increased knowledge of social conditions, and of railways and telegraphs etc. which make control of relief operations more efficient. Again now-a-days private agencies might also bring in food where required, but this was not possible during medieval times.

2. Causes of famines :

The frequency of famines during the period under review varied much in different areas. It must, however, be borne in mind

that our information in published chronicles is not complete. These have to be supplemented by European commercial correspondence, Dutch, English, French, etc. While Bengal and Malwa were generally free from scarcity, the Indus valley, the upper Gangetic area, Gujrat and the Mughal Deccan including the Coromandel were very much susceptible to famines. Besides occasional local dearths, acute and widespread famines were of frequent occurrence, accompanied by acute misery and death.

A famine is a characteristic disease of all agricultural countries depending on periodic rainfall. There was incidence of famines in Europe too, in the past. India's climate in the 16-17th centuries was practically the same as now. The autumn or *Kharif* harvest (of millets and rice) and the spring or *rabi* harvest (or more valuable wheat, barley, pulses) respectively depended then, as now, ou the south-west and the north-east monsoon. Therefore, the occurrence of scarcity or of famine, resulting from partial or total failures of crops was perhaps natural, especially because the power of insurance or resistance of the people, who were extremely poor, was scanty. Crops might fail either on account of deficient or excessive rainfall, or be destroyed by ravages of locusts and mice or of exigencies of war. Occasionally there might be a combination of all these factors Sometimes again crops might not be available because of large scale engrossing of corn by merchants or officials. The areas affected might either be extensive or local.

These factors are analysed below :

(i) The most important factor was failure of crops due to drought or deficient rainfall:

(a) in Northern India or Hindustan, 1554-6, 1578-9, 1658-63 (preceded by war), 1596 (general drought);

(b) in the Punjab up to Delhi, 1589-90 (Bhakkar); 1614-6 (up to Delhi); 1636-7; Delhi (1694-5, Kharif failed);

(c) in Kashmir, 1597;

(d) in the Deccan, 1630–2, 1684, 1702–4 (great);

(e) Gujrat, one of the richest provinces and generally reputed for its immunity from famines as the 'garden of the world' suffered frequently, 1563–7, 1574-5, 1630-2, due to combination of drought, unfavourable crops for 3 years, mice, locusts and excessive rain; 1659-60, 1663, 1682, 1695-5, 1696-7 (also Marwar);

(f) Eastern India, Bengal (Dacca) 1662-3; Bihar, 1670-'71

(ii) Cases of destruction of crops due to flood or excessive rainfall :

(a) in Kashmir (*Kharif*, 1640) ;

(b) in Bengal 1584-85, 1644-45, 1648 (sugar cane);

(c) in the Punjab 1650 (preceded by drought);

(d) in Multan (*rabi*, 1651);

(e) in Balaghat delayed and then heavy showers damaged *Kharif* 1655;

(f) in the Deccan (1702-3, *Kharif*), also 1703 (*rabi* wheat)

(iii) Destruction of crops due to ravages by locusts or mice: in Bhakkar (1587-8); in Gujrat, 1631 (also mice); in Multan 1650 (*rabi* crop)

(iv) *War*. The ravages of the War of Succession among Shahjahan's sons, 1658, caused scarcity.

(v) **Combination of several factors** :

Sometimes several factors combined to aggravate the misery of the people. As regards the Gujrat and Deccan famine 1630-2, rains failed completely in 1630; next years the crops were favourable but were eaten by mice and locusts and then destroyed by heavy rain. In the Deccan drought persisted. In the Northern India famine 1658-63, scarcity due to war was aggravated by failure of rain for 4 or 5 years, leading to the destruction of *Kharif* crop in Malwa.

(vi) **Man-made famine :**

The only instance of a man-made famine during the period under review is that in Bihar(1670-71) though there was also failure of *Kharif* : the Bengal famine of 1770-1 was also man-made according to Abbe Raynal. He recorded that during the Bengal famine of 1770-71, the chief agents of the East India Company and the Council of Calcutta 'kept locked up in their magazine a part of the harvest, and carried on the most odious and most criminal of all monopolies'. Crops failed completely in 1769 and partially in 1770. But the Council of Calcutta, for the sake of a few millions of rupees, 'devoted to destruction several millions in Bengal due to their cruel monopoly'.

Though not a direct cause of famine, administrative or revenue oppression, which deprived the peasants of their economic reserves, loomed large at the bottom as a factor which aggravated their misery. On account of this they could hardly fight scarcity. Akbar's *zabti* or regulation system safeguarding the peasants' interests with all its strictness did not long survive his death and the first signs of its breakdown were visible under Jahangir. The state demand rose from 1/3 of average produce to $\frac{1}{2}$ under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Even duting the so-called golden age of Shahjahan's reign, revenue oppression became so galling that peasants left their lands and migrated to dominions of Hindu rajas, if we believe Bernier. During the first decade of Aurangzab's reign his two *firmans* to Rasikdas Krori and Md. Hashim, Diwan of Gujrat, clearly refer to the breakdown of Akbar's system, and growing flight of peasants leaving their lands uncultivated and leading to loss of revenue and efforts to increase it by applying force on the peasants, if persuasion to return failed. Living on the margin of subsistence, the peasants could hardly accumulate reserves of grain to meet a rainy day.

3. Incidence of famines.

In considering the incidence of famines, it is necessary to distinguish between a famine and a scarcity, which Moreland has not done. While all cases of famine implied scarcity, scarcity by itself

need not necessarily constitute a famine. Failure of crops involving scarcity might be caused by failure of rain in one year or for successive years (i. e. prolonged drought). So the failure might be complete or partial. Destruction of crops, on the other hand, might result from excessive rain or floods or ravages of locusts or mice or by movements of armies. Again the need of feeding the army during war might reduce the stores or supplies of grain, As our country is vast, any of these factors might have been operative. It should however, be borne in mind that the extent of damage might not always reach such a level as to cause a full famine. Even all famines were neither equally extensive nor of equal gravity. We have to consider first the geographical distribution and extent of the affected areas, whether the famine was general, affecting wide expanses or local or regional, affecting particular areas. In fact area studies would perhaps yield a truer picture than India as a whole but unfortunately statistics, regional or otherwise, is not always available. The phraseology of the sources (e. g. Hindustan, the Deccan etc.) has got, if possible, to be examined. It is further necessary to bear in mind that full details of all instances of famines or scarcity are not always available. Even the list supplied by Moreland which, as Brij Narain thinks, is intended to darken the picture, is not exhaustive and many more instances can be found out. But numbers do not always tell the true story. Moreland's conclusions, argued with his innate acumen, but based on incomplete data, are bound to be inconclusive.

The accompanying table seeks to study the record of famines and scarcity etc, as far as available, during the 150 years from Akbar to Aurangzeb (1556-1707), so as to arrive at a balanced assessement of their respective frequency, over all India, and/or in particular areas.

Akbar

During Akbar's half a century long reign (1556-1605) there were 10 instances of famines and scarcity on record. If we include the famine of 1554-56, continuing from earlier times, there were 6

famines, one generai in Northern India, two in Gujrat and three in isolated areas, and 4 regional cases of scarcity.

(1) 1554–6. Akbar's accession took place in the midst of a 'grievous famine', which lasted for two years in all the eastern parts of Hind' (excluding Bengal and probably Bihar too). Both Agra (with Bayana) and Delhi, along with neighbouring areas were devastated and mortality was enormous, heightened by an epidemic in its trail. A favourable rabi crob relieved the scarcity by 1556[2].

(2) 1563-7 : Severe scarcity in Gujrat

(3) in or about 1572-3 ; acute famine round Sirhind.

(4) 1574–5 : Gujrat suffered severely for six months from famine, followed by pestilence. Timely showers averted an apprehended drought in Northern India.[3]

(5) 1578-9 : Scarcity in some parts of Hindustan.

(6) 1583-84 : Abul Fazl makes a vague reference to high prices on account of 'the dryness of the year', when 'the means of subsistence of many people came to an end'. No details have been given and the areas affected have not been specified. From the context, however, it appears that it was Bengal that was affected. It is difficult to agree with Smith that it was a serious famine, followed by pestilence and heavy mortality.

(7) There was also a heavy inundation in the Meghaa Delta affecting the whole of the *Sarkar* of Bakla (Bakarganj) taking a toll of nearly two lakhs[4].

(8) 1587-8. Crops destroyed by locusts in Bhakkar territory.

(9) 1589-90 : drought and famine in the same area[5].

(10) The famine of 1595-98 was caused by scarcity of rain, 'dispersal of the husbandmen', arrival of the imperial army (in Kashmir) and rising prices. About its real nature the evidence is

somewhat conflicting, Abul Fazl's account is couched in general and vague terms. Since he is the official historian, it is possible to hold that he seeks to minimise the severity of the distress and save the credit of the government. On the other hand Nurul Haqq Dihlavi who wrote towards the end of Jahangir's reign, represents it as a "fearful" famine raging in Hindustan i. e. Northen India, continuously for three years or four years, followed by pestilence, acute sufferings depopulation of houses, villages and cities and cannibalism. But Faizi Sirhindi, whom Nurul Haqq generally follows for events, till 1601, does not give such a dismal picture. It is therefore, just possible that Nurul Haqq's account was exaggerated. This view is strentghened by the absence of any reference to famine conditions in the Indo-Gangetic plains in the accounts of the Jesuit Missionaries who were with Akbar in Kashmir from May 1595-1597. They referred to the famine, pestilence in Lahore and Kashmir in 1597. However, the accounts of Father Xavier, Du Jarric and other Jesuit missionaries re: the famine in Kashmir were indeed very gloomy. Their description of Akbar's measures to alleviate suffering as well as Abul Fazl's own account of famine relief would prove the severity of the famine as far as Kashmir and Lahore were concerned. We may, therefore, conclude that while the gravity of the famine in 1595-98 cannot be doubted, the extent of the area affected was very much smaller than what Nurul Haqq stated. Hence the generally current view that this was the most terrible famine in Akbar's reign and that its horrors equalled those of 1554-56 over whole or Northern India must be discounted. But no contemporary source gave specific details, and definite idea of the extent of havoc, or the process of recovery[6].

Jahangir :

There were two famines during the time of Jahangir, in two scattered areas, the Punjab and in the Deccan.

(1) The Punjab to Sirhind, the Doab and Delhi were affected by famine (1613-15) on account of drought, followed by pestilence (bubonic plague 1614-16) (Punjab-Delhi).

(2) 1618-9 : The Coromandel coast (and part of Vijayanagar, Pulicat and its neighbourhood) was visited by extreme dearth and famine[7].

Shahjahan .

There were at least 27 instances of failure of crops, (of seven famine and twenty cases of drought, destruction of crops and war) during Shahjahan's reign of 31 years as against 11, noted by Moreland. In the thirties of the 17th century Gujrat, Sind and the Deccan were affected repeatedly and the Punjab once. During the forties there were three famines in Kashmir, South Coromandel and Marwar, while scattered areas from Kashmir to the Deccan and Agra repeatedly were affected by drought or excessive rain. Moreland's view that the record of the decade 1640-50, though admitttedly imperfect, has not been surpassed in any modern decade, has already been shown to be wrong and based on insufficient material by Prof. Brij Narain and need not be discussed again. The instances relate to isolated cases of scarcity or famine with only two cases in Coromandel. As compared to this, the records of the decades 1861-70, 1891-1900, 1901-10 were sufficiently dark, if not more depressing, and the famines of 1896-97, and 1899-1900 were general and widespread[7a]. In the fifties of the 17th century there was no famine as such though drought or excessive rain affected scattered areas.

(1) 1630-32 : Of all the known instances of famine during the period the most widespread and destructive or the severest famine was that in 1630-2, known as the Gujrat famine, which affected not only Gujrat but also Sind and most of the Deccan (e. g. Vijayanagar, Masulipatam, Armagon). Even the bare necessities of life were not available and suffering was great as pestilence followed the famine[8]. Recovery was not full even till 1646-7, according to Lahori.

(2) 1633-34 : Deccan and Gujrat.

(3) 1635 (Surat and Golkonda) : Severe famine in western districts of Golkonda and some scarcity near Masulipatam due to failure of rains[9].

(4) 1636-7 : Famine and scarcity in the Punjab,

(5) 1640 : The forties were marked by failure of rains both in the Deccan and Hindustan, deficiency of rain near Pulicat and Madras, but no acute famine.

(6) 1640 : Excessive rain and floods destroyed *Kharif* crop in Kashmir[10].

(7) 1641 : Unfavourable cotton crop in Northern India and Ahmadabad.

(8) 1642 : Kashmir : famine conditions due to rain and floods.

(9) 1642-3 : Extraordinary drought near Pipli (Orissa and Bengal) : rice scarce[11],

(10) 1644 : Failure of rains in Agra.

(11) 1644-5 : In Bengal, excessive rain, destroying sugarcane.

(12) 1645-46 Punjab drought.

(13) 1646 Agra drought.

(14) 1646 Ahmadabad drought.

(15) 1645-7 Intense famine in South coromandel coast (Pulicat, S. Thome and Madras),

(16) 1647 Failure of rains and famine in Marwar in Rajputana.

(17) 1648 'Partial failure of rains in Agra: failure apprehended in the Coromandel coast but rains in time.

(18) 1648 Bengal excessive rain destroying sugarcane.[12]

(19) 1650 Drought or failure of rains, general in India ("in all parts of India") but not intense and did not amount to famine,

(20-21) Dearth of corn in Oudh (in Oct.) Agra, Ahamadabad (Gujrat).

(23) 1650 . Punjab, drought, excessive rains.

(24) 1650-1 Multan *rabi* crop destroyed by locusts and floods; *kharif* by excessive rain.

(25) 1655 : Balaghat : *Kharif* crop damaged by delayed and havy showers.

(26) 1658 : Surat : want of rain.

(27) 1658 : Sind : heavier drought 13.

Aurangzeb.

As compared to the reign of Akbar, the equally long reign of nearly 50 years of Aurangzeb had a longer record of famines and scarcities, - 11 famines and 10 scarcities. The first two regnal years were marred by a famine of intense severity due to want of rain and effects of war in Northern India, including even Malwa, and causing indescribale misery. Famines in the East Coast and Sind and drought in scattered areas (twice in Gujrat and the Deccan respectively and one in Bengal also marked the first decade. The second decade witnessed a severe famine in Bihar and drought in isolated areas (Lahore and the Deccan). The third decade saw two famines each in Gujrat and the Konkan and two cases of scarcity in the Deccan. During the fourth decade Bagar was affected by famine, while drought affected Gujrat twice and also the area round Delhi. In the fifth decade the Deccan and Maharastra suffered from famine.

(1) 1658-60 Northern India (Agra, Delhi, Lahore), Marwar and even Malwa, noted for plenty.

(2) 1659-60 Sind, hard hit by famine and plague.

(3) 1659-60 Gujrat : want of rain.

(4) 1659-61 East coast : famine of unusual extent. scarcity experienced in Masulipatnam.

(5) 1659-61 : Negapatnam in Far South : deficient rain and demand for supplies for armies in field.

(6) 1662-3 Bengal : Decca : drought.

(7) 1663-64 Gujrat : want of rain another failure of rain was apprehended in 1664 that would "utterly dispeople all these parts"14

(8) 1670-1 Bihar (Benaras to Rajmahal) failure of *Kharif* and engrossing.[15]

(9) 1678 Lahore, rise of grain prices, but details of distress not available.

(10) 1678 Deccan drought.

(11) 1682 Gujrat 'famine and scarcity, 'bread riot' against Governor at Ahmadabad.

(12) 1683 Konkan famine during Aurangzeb's Deccan wars: grain not available.

(13) 1684 Deccan failure of crops.

(14) 1686 Deccan famine due to war ravages and failure of rains.[16]

(15) 1685-91 Gujrat. 1685-scarcity conditions, riot against Qazi 1686-high prices, 1691 famine and pestilence.

(16) 1694-5 Gujrat, scarcity.

(17) 1694-5 Famine in Bagar tract (ne. of Thar); scarcity round Delhi.

(18) 1696-97: Gujrat scarcity.

(19) 1696-97: Marwar (drought between Pattan-Jodhpur)[17]

(20) 1702-4; Deccan: famine due to excess rain (both *kharif* and *rabi* affected).

(21) Maharashtra foilowed by plague.[18]

18th Century: Post-Aurangzeb Period

In the 18th century down to 1769-71 there were 10 cases of which that in Bengal and Bihar of that year was the most severe.

(i) 1709-11: Madras scarcity.

(ii) 1709-11: Bengali scarcity.

(iii) 1717-18: Coast and Bay Dts. Ahamadabad and Surat.

(iv) 1722: Bombay.

(v) 1728: Madras and Bombay

(vi) 1731-4: Madras

(vii) 1737; Madras

(viii) 1747: Bombay, Surat, Ahmadabad and Aurangabad

(ix) 1751: Bengal

(x) 1769-70: Bengal and Bihar.[19]

4. Socio-economic results of faimes.

Sharply contrasting with the magnificience and luxury of the imperial court, famines cast a dark spell on the life of the people' Thc distress the people suffered needs no emphasis. Harrowing details, sometimes exaggerated, of the dire socio-economic effects of these, including starvation, mortality. slavery and cannibalism, have been left by contemporary chronicles, European factory records and travellers' accounts. These may conveniently be analysed into the following categories : (i) Food shortage and rise in prices, (il) break-up of family life, sale of women and children and voluntary enslavement, (iii) cannibalism (iv) migration (v) pestilence, (vi) death and depopulation (vii) ruination of agricuiture, (viii) paralysis of industries, (ix) effects on marketing conditions, (x) disruption of inland transport and trade, (xi) dislocation of foreian trade, (xii) lasting effects, if any. It is possible to work out these effects with reference to individunl famines, But perhaps most of these were illustrated during the Gujrat famine of 1630-2, the most devastating and hence

the most representative of all the known clamaities of the period. While the loss of life and intensity of human misery, leading to deaths from starvation, and suicide, the break-up of family life, — aimless wandering, voluntary enslavement and sale of children, will primarily interest the social historian, these also had a significant bearing on economic life. The economist, however, would primarily be interested in the loss of agricultural capital (especially of the peasants' working animals), in the decline in the level of industrial skill and knowledge, the resultant disrepute in foreign markets and general dislocation of trade and commerce. In fine the agrarian, industrial and commercial life of the country was completely thrown out of gear.

(i) Food shortage and food prices :

All famines, whatever the cause, led to shortage of normal food and consequential rise of food prices which made peasants unable to pay full revenue. Living below the subsistence level, men were compelled to take to the use of non-edible articles. During such occasion of 'great scarcity', says Frayer, 'the ordinary people' found their 'common Food' in 'grass roots'. During the 1554-6 famine 'the common people', says Badauni, 'lived on the seeds of Egyptian thorn (acacia), wild dry grass and cow hides'. In 1596 'high prices plunged a world into suffering'. On account of shortage of fodder horses and cows had to consume breaks of trees, as Nizamuddin says. As agaisnt the normal price level of 80 or 85 lbs. of wheat a rupee, the English purchased it at Surat at 13.3/4 lb. (November, 1630) and 6 lbs. in September, 1631. The highest level was reached during the famine of 1930-2. Ordinary people ate hides of cattle and dog's flesh. Abdul Hamid Lahori remarks : 'Life was offered for a loaf (*Jane ba nana*) but none would buy; rank was to be sold for *ghaifi* but none cared for it '. In 646 famine foodgrains sold at high rates in the Punjab. During the famine of 1659-60 there was in Marwar, 'no longer distinction of caste, and the Shudra and the Brahmin were undistinguishable . Fruits, flowers, every vegetable thing, even trees were stripped of their bark, to appease the cravings of hunger, nay men ate men ...'' (Tod). During the Gujrat drought in 1659-60 and 1663 prices of corn rose so high that another failure in 1664 was apprehended to ''utterly

dispeople all these parts". While the normal price of rice was 1-2 mds, a rupee, it sold during the Patna famine at the following rātes :

(a) One Patna seer (27 oz.) of rice a rupee (1670), and even at that rate it was not available.

(b) November, 1670. Rice costs half a rix dollar for 6 seers or 916 Dutch weight while in ordinary years 60, 70 or more lbs. could be bought for the same amount.

(c) August 1671 : rice sold at 5 seers a rupee and even 'very scarce to be bought for that price.[20]

(ii) Break-up of family life and slavery

Famines disrupted family life and increased the trade in slaves, though high mortality would restrict it. With rising prices of foodgrains and increasing pangs of hunger, men began to desert their wives and children. Such women and mothers sold their children and the deserted children, too, sold themselves as slaves. Parents would also often sell their children for trifles, as during the Gujrat famine (1563-7). The destitute people of Kashmir unable to nourish their children 'exposed them for sale in the public places of the city' in 1597. Slaves were plentiful in Pulicat at the time of the famine of 1618 : but when by 1622 rice was cheap, slaves were hard to procure. The supply then revived but shortly after the great famine of 1630 business was brought to a standstill and the bulk of the trade was transferred to Arakan[21], During the great Gujrat famine 1630–2 parents had to sell their children so that they might live. Mundy records that children were sold at 12 d. 6 d. or (?) pence and piece. In 1634 the factors at Pulicat reported that slaves were unprocurable owing to great mortality and years later from the same place, the buyer still met with limited success, as the surplus population was disposed of by death and voluntary enslavement during the famine so that no volunteer came forward and the Indian dealers could get slaves only by occasional kidnapping. In February 1646 the 'indigent' were compelled to sell their children on account of high prices of grains in the Punjab. In February 1646 the indigent were compelled to sell their children on account of high prices of grains in the Punjab.[22]

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Parents also sold their children for next to nothing during the Bihar famine of 1670 at Patna. There were cases of voluntary enslavement also. In the scarcity of 1694–5 around Delhi (Bagar tract) the people sold their children. During 1702-4 in the Deccan hungry fathers offered children for sale 'for a quarter to a half of a rupee and yet forced to go without food, fiinding no one to buy them[23]. About the great Bengal famine (1770–71) Hari Charan Das observed that in Bengal and Azimabad 'about 3,700,000 men were starved to death and many sold their sons and daughters for grain, or for 4 or 8 as. per piece[24].

(iii) Cannibalism :

Unable to bear the pangs of hunger, the famine-stricken people took recourse to eating their own kind, living or dead. Both Abul Fazal and Badauni, eye witnesses, refer to acts of cannialism during the famine 1554-6. During 1595-8 men ate their own kind, the streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies and no assistance could be rendered fon their removal,. Such cases became common during the famine of 1630-32. Lahori remarks 'Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. Men on streets and travellers on highways stood in danger of being kidnapped, killed and eaten. 'They form themselves into parties to carry off solitary individuals for their food". Human flesh was sold in open markets[52]. In Bagar (east of Thar, 1694-95) the famished people ate carrion.

(iv) Migration

Famines caused men, sometimes with whole families, to leave their homes in affected areas and migrate elsewhere. During 1554-6 the affected parts near Agra, Bayana and Delhi became desolate, cultivators and peasants disappeared and rebels plundered the towns. During 1574-5, many people, both 'lowly and respectable' left Gujrat to escape starvation. During the Bhakkar famine, 1587-8, "most people migrated and the Samija and Baluch plundered both sides of

the river" sparing no inhabited place. During the Gujrat famine of 1630-2 people moved *en masse* away from the affected āreas but many were overtaken by death on the way, the roads became blocked with corpses. In 1642 about 30,000 men fled in distress from Kashmir to Lahore. In 1647 people fled from famine-affected Marwar. The inhabitants of Bagar migrated elswhere in 1694-5. In 1702 people had to migrate from their ancestral homes in Sangamner (Aurangabad province)[26]. Famines proved the instinct of social mobility of the Indians.

(v) Pestilence

Jahangir refers to a view that there was a close association between drought and pestilence (plague). The belief commonly held. was based on experience, Pestilences usually followed the trail of the larger famines and even of the lesser scarcities. Malaria infected Bengal and Gaur in 1575. The area from the Punjab to Delhi was affected with bubonic plague, 1614-16, During the Gujrat famine 1630-2 plague, fever and pestilential diseases like cholera, prevailed in every house. Even the English merchants in Gujrat did not escape from these.

The Deccan fell a victim to pestilence in 1682[27].

(vi) Death and Depoulation.

Large scale migration, combined with high mortality figures, accounted for depopulation. Statistics are indeed rare. In the famine of 1554-56, followed by an epidemic, "people died in groups of tens and twenties and more, the dead getting neither graves nor coffins". In Bengal famine 1584-5 about two millions died. During 1630-2 the poor died at first: but the rich did not also escape, their turn came next. During Jan-Oct. 1631, three millions died in Gujrat which suffered the most, and one million in Ahmadnagar. The cities of Gujrat were reduced to almost 1/10th of their former state by death or flight. The villages hardly fared better. 'The parganas of Sultanpur, Bidar, Mandu, Ahmadabad and indeed the province of Khandesh and some parganas of Balaghat were rendered utterly desolate. It became necessary to settle peasants from other provinces.

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During the Gujrat famine Mundy, travelling from Surat to Agra, found that a vast area from Surat to Burhanpur was so thickly strewn with corpses that there was no space even for ā small tent. In 1647 the areas round Marwar were 'either (by) mortality or peoples flight, became wholly depopulate and impassable[28].

Famines acted ās a great leveller. Describing the effects of the famine of 1659-60, Tod writes: "There was no longer distinction of caste, and the Sudra and the Brahman were undistinguishable .. Cities were depopulated. The seed of families was lost, the fishes were extinct and the hope of all distinguished". During 1659-60 Sind suffered ācutely, as the local factors wrote, due to famine and plague which 'swept away most part of the people' and 'the living being hardly able to bury the dead'. During the Bihar famine 1670-1, 90,000 were estimated to have died in Patna alone ānd of the towns near it some had become 'quite depopulated without any inhabitans (103,000 according to another estimate). Thousands died in Bagar in 1691. Many villages of Sangamner (Aurangabad province) became desolate in the Deccan in 1702[29].

The saving grace was that all scarcities were not as serious as full fledged famines spread over several years, causing heavy mortality. The latter were infrequent. Nothing like the North Indian famine of 1554-56 and the Gujrat famine of 1630-32 happened for a long time, enabling the areas to recover from their ravages.

(vii) Ruination of agriculture

The famine illustrated the utter lack of economic reserve of the people (peasants and artisans). It is almost a platitude to say that famines were runious for agriculture. Failure of rain, or excessive rain, the destruction of seeds sown and of saplings, the consequent food shortage, all led the starving peasant and his family to abandon their home, village and fields and migrate elsewhere. Many died. The ground remained untilled. Those 'lands which were famous for their fertility and plentry retain no trace of productivity'. The peasant also suffered a serious loss of agricultural capital when

their working animals died for lack of fodder and pestilence. As relief was either inadequate or ineffective, the peasant had ordinarily to bear the burden himself unaided, except in cases of effective remission or reduction in revenue demand[30].

(viii) **Paralysis of Industries and urban centres :**

With dislocation of production and death of peasants, master craftsmen, weavers and artisans, different industries were hard hit: their outturn diminished. 'With materials and labour scarce, and foodgrains at famine rates, manufacture came of course to a standstill.' A few illustrations are given below.

(a) **Indigo :**

The crop could not be harvested owing to lack of workers. So the people had to promise half of the crop to harvestors.

By October, 1630, impending scarcity of indigo was realised in Surat; arrangements were made for its procurement in Agra instead of Ahmadabad. The yield of indigo in Gujrat was 1/20th of normal, and only old refuse was available. In September, 1631, the cost of indigo became prohibitive as indigo was rotting on the ground for want of men to gather it.

(b) **Cotton :**

In November, 1630, scarcity of cotton goods was felt at Masulipatam. Weavers, washers, dyers departed for more prosperous places. In December, inferiority of Armagon cloth was partly due to fourfold rise in cotton price. In September, 1931, the cost of cotton goods became prohibitive : the places in Gujrat which yielded 15 bales of cloth a day could now produce barely 3 bales in a month.

(c) **Quilts :**

Cambay was specially noted for production of quilts. But the famine caused its stoppage in Combay, Surat and Navasari. Only Ahmadabad continued to produce it. (Hamilton i. 143).

(d) Several cities were also adversely affected by depopulation. Ahmadabad was half ruined. The neighbourhood of Broach was 'dispeopled',. Mundy has vividly described this desolation.

(e) **Bullion :**

In November, 1630, there was a fall in price of gold and other imports, while in December, gold was falling in price as the Poor were selling and the rich could not buy.

(f) *Spirits* were unprocurable by November, 1630, as distillers "departed into the parts of more hoped plenty".

Industries were affected as the hungry artisans abondoned their homes, migrated from the places of work or perished as in December, 1630[31].

Thus Gujrat, 'the garden of the world', was turned into a wilderness, with few or no cultivators and artisans.

(ix) Effect on Marketing Conditions :

The marketing conditions were deeply affected by adulteration and engrossing:

Adulteration :

Unscrupulous traders took advantage of the famine conditions to adulterate the food. For a long time, during the famine of 1630-2, 'dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold'.

Profiteering/Engrossing :

Unscrupulous officers and local traders utilised the occasions for engrossing, as in Gujrat 1630–2. Bihar 1670 and in Ahmadabad 1685. There was a riot against the qazi suspected to be in league with engrossers. The Europeans also made large purchases and hoarded.

Smuggling :

Famines tended to restrict smuggling activities of the English East India Company. Saltpetre, though a prohibited commodity, was carried away surreptitiously as sugar. So during the famine the Companies's authorities warned their factors in India not to pass off saltpetre through inland customs as sugar, lest the bales of sugar might be seized (as provisons of food materials) and the fraud detected[32].

(x) Disruption of Internal Transport and Trade :

With agriculture and industry affected and breakdown of law and order internal trade was also seriously disrupted. The cost of transport grew prohibitive. That between Ahmadabad and Cambay soared up 4 or 5 foid. The English could not get carriages for sending goods, the charge being Rs. $2\,^{3}/_{4}$ for a small maund between Ahmadabad and Surat. As no porters were available, they had to engage their mariners at Surat.

Roads became unsafe and messengers stood in danger of being murdered. Even local chiefs with local bands at their beck and call attacked traders and exacted levies. Special precautions were necessary to protect provisions on the way to ships from assault by poor starved people (October, 1630 the task of feeding the imperial army at Burhanpur interfered with the transport of grains by the *banjaras* to Gujrat from Malwa and beyond :

Early in 1631 the coast of land transport increased. Ships were advised to lay in rice on the voyage. In 1642 the drought in Orissa, dislocated the normal export trade in grain to Coromandel. During the Decca famine (1662–63), the distress was aggravated as officials demanded exactions and obstructed the transport of food-grains on the highways[33].

Coastal Trade :

Owing to virtual stoppage of productive activities for three years, coastal trade of Gujrat suffered (ēsp. with Malabar, either way

1631-2), The English E.I.C. complained of non-availability of goods of Western Indian in Surat for export to Europe and Asian markets (e.g, Malabar pepper by end of 1630). The English had to purchase 'Priamon pepper'. So they began to develop coastal trade with Maharashtra from their Gujrat bases and the Dutch with Malabar. Owing to the decline of the Portuguese and inability of Gujrati merchants in the post-famine period the Europeans were in a advantageous position. Thus 'port-to-port trade ceased to be the monopoly of the Indians' (Balkrishna). The English started building ships at Bassein and Diu for coastal trade on the West coast at the cost of Indian merchants, Even after recovery they had to cooperate with the English and Dutch,

Again after 1630–2 famine the Europeans became the exclusive carriers of Gujrat–Maharashtra trade, Similarly the famine temporarily stopped the Gujrat-Sind trade[34],

(xi) Dislocation of Foreign Trade

The famine togethar with war in the Deccan had 'disjointed all trade out of frame'.

Import Trade :

The Gujrat famine changed the pattern of import trade of Surat. From being an exporter Gujrat became an importer of provisions from Iran. (December, 1631-rice and provisions from Iran imported by Gujrat by E I,C. January 1633-foodstuffs from Iran brought by English for sale in Gujrat markets). The European Companies had to face growing difficulty in finding adquate consignments for shipping. Before 1630 Gujrat's exports to Europe were textiles and indigo (and saltpetre). But as a result of the famine there was scarcity of goods, whether agricultural or manufactured for export, The death of master craftsmen caused a perceptible decline in quality and quantity of Gujrati textiles. So the English and the Dutch both found alternative sources in East coast and Bengal (five peicegoods as compared to coarse Surat fabrics. In the second half of the 17th century export of Gujrat indigo to Europe stopped,

The bad effects on industry had their repercussions on the Company's trade. By Novembar, 1630 the Surat factors had the rare experience of having more funds than could be invested owing to the shortage of cotton goods and indigo and so they were suggesting importation of rice from Macassar (in Celebes) and reducing the rations allowed on English ships. Lading for next year's home return was doubtful.

A Dutch factor wrote then that he saw no hope of trade for 3 years to come[35].

(vii) Lasting effects :

One of the most lasting effects of the fearful famines was the lowered level of skill resulting from the death of expert peasants, artisans and workmen, and the cotton goods of Gujrat suffered in reputation owing to this cause for many years after 1632.

5. Famine Relief Measure in Mughal India

Some European writers have sought to blame the Indian governments, Hindu or Muslim for the absence of any famine relief policy. Sir Wm. Foster observes that epidemics and famines constantly swept away large numbers and their advent found the authorities fatalistic and impotent. V, Smith writes ; "The governments, Hindu or Muhammadan, did nothing as a rule, in the way of famine relief". Both the King of Kashmir in the 10th and Hemu in the 16th century showed heartless indifference to the sufferings of the people.

In 1555-6 Hemu, the general of Sur King Adil, is accused of utter indifference to the distress of the people. While they resorted to cannibalism, Hemu fed his elephants with rice, butter and sugar. The Mughals are also accused of not making any comprehensive effort to provide relief. Before passing any stricture it is necessary to bear in mind that in an agricultural country it was a wholly unmanageable evil and that man cannot prevent drought or floods from causing famine, he can only restrict or allay the suffering. When we remember that even during British rule no definite famine relief

policy could be evolved eailier than 1877 i. e. before more than a century had elapsed after its establishment, we cannot very well accuse the Mughals of indifference to the sufferings of their subjects and of failure to provide for any comprehensive or long-standing relief programme. A double objective was sought to be achieved by the British, remedial, relieving distress; and protective, protecting the people against drought. The policy of saving human life any how, even at enormous cost, was accepted by three famine commissions in 1880, 1898 and 1901. Even then the mortality figures in the famine of 1900 were gigantic. The Famine Commission of 1880 had the courageous frankness to admit that "we must not permit ourselves to be deceived by the vain hope that the famines of recent years have been more different to deal with than those of the past, nor have we any right to suggest that those who have gone before us were less humane than ourselves, for there is direct evidence to the contrary"[36]. One cannot, therefore, deride the ancient and medieval governments outright, without considering the limitations under which they 'had to work'. What is important is to understand the spirit actuating the governments. Certainly indifference to suffering is to be condemned but honest efforts, however circumscribed in nature and effect, cannot. Among the immediate relief measures of the Mughals may be noted the opening of public kitchens and alms houses, distribution of cooked food, remissions of taxes, allocation of money for gratuitious relief, and distribution of surplus grain from other regions.

It speaks volubly of the forethought of some of our enlightened medieval rulers to have conceived of some protective measures, however, inadequate, against emergent famine or poor relief. Following the example of Sher Shah, Akbar also established grain stores in every district with the *dahseri tax* (or 10 seers of grain on every bigah of cultivated land). This may be regarded as a 'permanent famine insurance and poor relief' scheme. These stores supplied food to live-stock of the government, distributed grain-seeds to poor peasants and sold cheap grain to the poor during famine. Further Akbar established charity houses for supplying food to the needy, the departmet being manned by a superintendent (*darogha*) and a staff.

In 1583, Akbar opened three free kitchens outside Agra to distribute food to the Hindus, to the Muslims and to the *jogis*, called respectively Dharmpura, Khairpura and Jogipura.

Unfortunately adequate details are not available for assessing the extent of actual relief. But even the brief incidental references that we get enable us to know that Akbar made commendable attempts to ameliorate the distress of the famine-stricken people. He opened more kitchens (*langars*) and alms houses, in addition to the three establishments outside Agra, for distributing food to the poor (1583). In 1595-6 he placed Shaikh Farid of Bokhara, a man of generous disposition, on special duty to superintend relief operations. Free kitchens were ordered to be opened in every city. With limited facilities and organisation the only thing he could do was to provide some food to the people in some towns or cities. Akbar asked a few rich men (*khwastadaran*?) to feed a few beggars. Relief to the poor was rendered by appointing able officers "to every place" (i.e. affected areas). In 1597-98 more elaborate measures on similar lines were taken in Kashmir. Twelve places were selected at Srinagar for feeding "great and small (i. e. young and old)". The programme was probably broadcast in a general proclamation in the 'Idgah and food and peasants' were distributed according to the applications of the needy, numbering approximately 80,000. The unemployed were sought to be provided with jobs in the construction of the fort there. To give some relief to the hard-pressed husbandmen, 55 "Censurable custom" were abolished, according to Abul Fazl, one of these being that on saffron[37].

The picture of the Gujrat famine during the reign of Shahjahan drawn by the Dutch Van Twist is horrible indeed but he says nothing of state relief measures. Mundy sarcastically remarks: 'no course is taken in this country to remedy this great evil, the rich and strong engrossing and taking perforce all to themselves." Of the actuai relief measures we can have some idea from contemporary chronicles like Lahori's *Padshahnama*. The famine of 1630-2 affected Golkonda, Ahmadnagar, Gujrat and some parts of Malwa. Shahjahan directed the officials of Burhanpur, Ahmadabad and the country

of Surat to establish *langars* or free kitchens and almn-house not only in those three cities but also in other major cities throughout the destitute. These were not merely 'Soup-kitchens', as derisively described by Smith, but places where quantity of soup and bread were daily prepared and rations distributed to the hungry. During the Emperor's stay at Burhanpur, Rs. 5000/-was distributed among the poor every Monday (day of Shahjahan's accession) for 20 weeks. At Ahmadabad city which sufferred more than any other place, another sum of half a lakh was distributed. Thus a total sum of 1.1/2 lakhs was distributed at both these places. Surplus grain was sought to be brought from elsewhere for distribution. Large scale remissions of land revenue were made in Ahmadabad. Lahori clearly states that the emperor remitted 70 lakhs of rupees out of the total revenue of 2 krors rupees (80 krors of *dams*) of the *khalsa* of Gujiat (which was 1/11th of the total imperial revenue). In other words the remission amounted to about 1/3rd. The emperor also ordered the nobles (i.e. the *jagirdars* and *mansabdars*) to follow the same rate of remission. This was far better than what the early British administrators did during the Bengal famine of 1769-70. The net revenue collection in 1771 was more than in 1768[38].

During the scarcity of food in Kashmir in 1641, about 50,000 people left the country and migrated to Lahore where the Court was staying at that time. They appeared in a body before *Jharokha* window to represent their misery to the Emperor. Shahjahan sheltered them under the fort walls, ordered that 100,000 rupees should be distributed among them, and cooked food worth 200 rupees should be daily provided to them. He sent 30,000 rupees to Governor Tarbiyat Khan to be spent on famine relief work in Kashmir, and ordered him to establish five kitchens to distribute soup and bread. But Tarbiyat Khan failed to manage the situation and was replaced by Zafar Khan. The Emperor gave the latter another 20,000 rupees for relief work in Kashmir. The entire expenditure was met by him and not from the Treasury. Later on the emperor ordered the distribution of 50,000 from the provincial funds among the poor and the famine-stricken peasants of Kashmir for rehabilitation purposes[39].

In 1646 scanty rainfall caused a severe famine in the Punjab. By order of the Emperor ten kitchens for distribution of cooked food were established in the province and Sayyid Jalal was commissioned to distribute Rs. 10,000 among the poor and destitute. In February, 1647, Shahjahan sanctioned another 30,000 rupees for relief measures in the Punjab[40].

During the prolonged scarcity 1658-63, which was quite as severe as that in 1630–2, Aurangzeb (i) established free kitchens (*langars*) on a large scale in or before the 4th regnal year in the cities of Agra, Delhi and Lahore (ii) issued orders remitting a large number of taxes and cesses and prohibiting their collection: *rahdari* (toll) collected on every highway frontier and ferry: *pandari* a ground or house cess paid by individual tradesmen, dealers, butchers, potters; green-grocers, drapers, jewellers and bankers, the tithe of corn, and about 80 other imposts. But the imperial order was not carried out; *faujdars* and *jagirdars* not only collected but even increased these for their own benefit, as Khafi Khan says.

The Mughal government took steps against adulteration of food, Lahori tells us that when cases of selling adulterated food e. g., dog's flesh as goats and mixing powdered bones with flour, were detected, 'sellers were brought to justice[41].

Again, there is at least one recorded case where the government sought to restore sold children. In 1646 sold children were ransomed by the government at the original price and restored to their parents. Habib thinks that the rise of prices was temporary, pending the *rabi* harvest, that the scarcity was limited and that large numbers were not involved. This is likely but not conclusive. It might be the number of sales was limited. In any case there is no evidence that such a humane concession was granted either before or later on[42].

Another form of relief granted was the remission of all duties on food grains in Gujrat in 1685 on account of soaring prices[43].

But the effect of these measures was trifling. These were, as Moreland says, "admittedly inadequate and tardy". These might have helped to improve the distribution of available stocks, but could not bring grain into the country and so could not counteract actual deficiency of food. There was surplus grain in northern India. But overland cost of transprt was very high. It was difficult to move adequate number of pack animals through affected areas without water or fodder so as to satisfy the needs of the emergency. Again the action of the leaders of the people also tended to aggravate rather than alleviate their suffering. First, the Deccan wars and the location and the needs of the Mughal armies at Burhanpur across the route of grain supply to Gujrat from Sironj, well stocked with food. also limited the extent of food supply available. Secondly, selfish and unscrupulous persons, described by Peter Mundy as "the rich and strong, took to engrossing and taking perforce all to themselves"[44].

Casual references in letters of 1631 and 1632 show that the English merchants had ordered large quantities of grain from Persia but the course of shipping imposed narrow limits on such supplies. Sind was affected; the Malabar coast oridinarily imported a large portion of its food ; the East coast was starving and it is doubtful whether the best humane administration in the world could have organised imports by sea sufficient to meet the situation[45].

As there was no economic reserve or margin of insurance against adverse days, famines in Mughal India caused distress and mortality than they need have, as discussed earlier. But it would be unhistorical and unjust to condemn the Mughal government for having failed to avert the calamity and not doing anything to alleviate suffering. Even Moreland admits that it is difficult to suggest 'what more could have been done'. That the Mughal state was solicitous of the welfare of the people will be attested by the measures adopted, though it must be admitted that these proved to be inadequate on account of the inherent limitations of the environment. – state demands, corruption, greed of the civil service, and, above all, want of rapid communications. The last factor, the problem

of transporting food grains, was the most crucial, posing as insuperable a difficutly in saving human lives even in the 19th century before the advent of railways as in the 17th century. Mortality was as terrible at Kanpur in 1837 famine as in Gujrat 200 years earlier. As a long term or remedial measure the construction of the Ravi canal near Lahore 'benefitting the cultivatian of the country through which it should pass' and the repair of the Jamuna canal in the Khizrabad pargana and excavation of the 30 *kos* long new channel from Safiudun to Shahanabad deserve to be mentioned.

6. Recovery :

The process of recovery of the affected area from the effects of the famine (1630-2) was naturally very gradual and slow. It is briefly traced here.

The economic life of a village, a town, or a district, when once broken up by migration, disease and death, could not quickly be renewed. Lands famous for fertility and plenty took time to recover productivity. The people, who began to aimlessly wander and migrate in search of food, would return on the advent of a favourable season and the old life would gradually be restored, but the recovery was a tedious business and it may be delayed by the 'tyranny and covetousness' of the governors. President Methwold of Surat observed (end of 1634); "The villages fill but slowly, yet it betters with them also and if the excessive tyranny and covetuousness of the Governor of all sorts would give the poor people leave but to lift up their head in one year's vacancy from oppression, they would be enabled to keep cattle about them and so to advance the plenty which the earth produces'. In 1631 rains became promising and activity was renewed, cloth was comming in at Broach and Baroda, 'with the help of a *ser* or corn delivered out to the weavers on every piece bought'; and there were hopes of making up some sort of cargo for England. But by September things became worse again and the year closed in desolation. However, by end of 1631, *banjaras* or grain carriers were coming through the sea-trade was helping, and the needs of the reduced population were not too great to be provided by ordinary course of trade, though at prices still abnormal. Early in 1632 the

tide of distress began to recede, Supplies became available from remote areas and prices began to fall as grain arrived from outside. The worst was over. But the restorarion of industry and commerce was a matter of years. The slow progress may be traced in the reports of the English merchants.

The recovery of commerce was marked by a Surat letter of December, 1635, 'prices were falling, grain was becoming cheap; people were returning. Bút the process of recovery was unequal at different places. By September, 1635 steps were taken to reestablish factories at Ahmadabad and Baroda. But Broach was still 'not well peopled with weavers and a separate establishment there was considered useless. So Gujrat could not supply all goods, wanted by the Surat factors. The latter had to extend their operation to Sind and Northern India, where supply was abundant and prospects were encouraging. In January, 1636, freight goods for Persia were being offered by Indian merchants and the English factory correspondence began to record activity of pre-famine days. By March, 1637 price of grain came below normal: in April, foodgrains and raw cotton were sent from Surat to Masulipatnam (because of Golkonda drought of 1635). Baroda was able to produce good cloth but not Broach (brokers). The "marks" of the famine were visible even in 1638-9. Some signs of properity were visible only by 1639[46]. But cultivation had not become normal even till 1646-7, as we learn from Lahori[47].

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. IG. 1907, iii. ch. x. 475. Buddhist Jatakas refer to famine; several famines occurred in every age, e.g. towards the end of the reign of Chandragupta Maurya (Lastng for 12 years; in Kashmir in the 10th century A.D.; also during Musiim rule in different parts of India. Smith, O.H.I. (1923), 394; Moreland, *From Akber to Aurangzeb* 210.

2. AKN. iii. 475, Abul Fazl, then 5 years of age had a 'perfect recollection', AKN ii. 35; Bad i. 428-9; ii. 186.

3. *Gujrat*, Caesar Frederici, *Purchas*, x. 90 (visiting Cambay); *Sirhind*, Faizi Sirhindi in Habib, *Agr. Sys. in Mugal India*, 101; Nirzamuddin, ii. 301 (silent re: mortality); E & D.V. 384; Bad. ii. 186 (assumes countless deaths); Srivastava, *Akbar*, i. 169-70. *Gujrat*, (1574-5): AKN. iii. ch. 74 p. 625: iii. 106-7, Smith Akber, 398.

4. *1578-9*: AKN (Tr) iii. 316. The same source (p, 625) mentions both flood and dryness' in 1583-84. But the *Ain* (J.S. ii 135-6) dates the flood in 29th year (1584-85), which has been accepted by Smith, *Akbar*, 338-99. It is safer to follow the *Akbarnamah*.

5. Masum, *Tarika i Sind* ed. Daudpota, referred in Habib, 102.

6. AKN. Tr. iii 1063-64 1087; Faizi Sirhindi, in Habib; *Zubdut ut Tawarikh* (E & D. VI. 193), Accouuts of Jesuitxavier, Du Jaric (Payne, 77-8) and others; Smith, *Akbar*, 397-8; Saran, 398n; Srivastava. *Akber*, i. 408-9.

7. Tuzuk, i. 161-2 Moreland, FAA. 207-13. (Coromandel).

7a. Moreland, FAA. 210; Brij Narain, 88-89.

8. Among *Persian* sources, both Aminai Qazwini and Sadiq Khan were eye-witnesses of the Gujrat famine, being present at Burhanpur, where the Emperor then was. Lahori i. 362-63, is a summary of Qazwini, while Khafi Khan (i. 444-9) plagiarises from Sadiq Khan with some changes. The English version of Lahori is in E & D. vii. But this is incorrect at places, and has been corrected by Saran (*Prov. Govt. of Mughals*, 402-3)

European sources are the English factors, EEI (1603-33) *passim* : Mundy. ii Van Twist (JIH XVI. 65-69). They are all eye-witnesses. Sir Richard Carnac-Temple has collected the evidence of all English travellers re : the famine (*Travels of Mundy*, ii. App. A).

9. Surat also, according to R.K. Mukherji, *Ind. Ec. Hist.* 21.

10. Lahori, ii. 29. (Punjab), 204-5. (Kashmir), FAA.

11. Kashmir, Lahori, ii. 382-3 : KK. i. 587 : Orissa, FAA, 208 : Raychoudhuri, *Jan. Co. in Coromandel*, 142; Bengal? (RKM 21)

12. Agra, E. Fl, 1624-5, p. 205; Punjab, Lahori ii. 489; Agra & Ahmadabad, E Fl, I646-50, pp. 62, 99; Marwar, *ibid*, 192-3; Agra, *ibid*, 219; Bengal, Raychoudhuri, 240;

13. General: EF 1. 1646-54, 29; Oudh, Agra & Ahmadabad EF1, 1651-54, 29; Oudh, Agra and Ahmadabad EFl. 1651-54 9-10, 26, punjab, Waris and other sources in Habib, 106; Multan, Adab 202; Balaghat, *ibid*, 54b, 55b, Habib, 106n.

14. (i) *Alamgirnama*, 609-11; KK. ii. 87, 124; Bernier, 433: Habib, 107.

(ii) E Fl (1655-60), 210, 307N.

(iii) and (vii), *ibid*, 306-7, 320; 1661-64, pp. 25, 200, 257, 329, 320-21.

(iv) & (v), Moreland. FAA, 209.

(vi) Talish, in my *Mir Jumla* (2nd. ed.) ch. 6.

15. See my, *Glimpses of Medieval Bihar Economy*, Calcutta, 1978 pp. 111-114 for detailed discussion.

16. *Ma 'asir i Alamgiri*, 169 : Tr ; Habib 107; *Mirat*, i. 300-1; EFI. N.S. iii, 277.

17. *Mirat*. i. 309, 315, 325, 329-30; 335-6; Habib, 108.

18. Habib, 108-109 based on *Akhbarat*, Bhimsen, Khafi Khan and others ; *Ma 'asir in Alamgiri* 477, *Storia*, iii 423; iv. 97.

19. This is based on Mukherji, *Ind. Ec. Hist.*, ch. 2 and in *Maratha Supremacy* ed. R.C. Majumdar ch. 21.

20. Fryer, ii 119 ; *Akbar* : AKN. ii. 35; Badaoni, i 428-9; E & D iv. 490 ; v. 384 (Nizamuddin). *Shahjahan* 1630-2; Lahori, i. 362-3; E & D vii. 24 translates *ghaifi* as a cake. Literally it means a 'flock of birds', hence derivatively as insignificant a meal as a cake. *Marwar*: Tod (Crooke), i.

455; *Gujrat*: EFI (1661–64), 320–1. *Patna*: Bowrey, 236; De Graaf in Bowrey, 227n; John Marshall, 125–27, 149–56.

21. *Akbar*: Caesar Frederici, Purchas x, 90; Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, 77–8; *Jahangir*: FAA.

22. *Shahajahan*: Mundy, ii. 38; FAA, 77–8; Lahori, ii. 489.

23. *Bihar*: See my *Glimpses*. *Bagar:* Habib, 108, based on Yahya kh. *Tazkirat al Muluk*; *Deccan*: *Story*, iv. 97.

24. *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, E & D. viii, 229.

25. Dr. Saran opines (*Prov. Govt*.....1973, pp. 403–4 that the references of cannibalism in Lahori and van Twist were unreal, based on hearsay or a desire to create a literary effect. This has been ably refuted by Dr. Habib (pp. 103–4) as such cases also occurred under Akbar. *Akbar*: AKN. ii. 35; Badauni i 428–9 (eye-witness). Faizi Sirhindi 121a–122a. *Shahajana*: Lahori in E & D, vii. 24–5, Van twist in FAA. Mundy ii. 276; Sadiq Khan reports that a women complained to the *qazi* of Ahmadabad that she allowed her own son to be killed by a neighbour but that the latter did not share the flesh with her. The *Sunday Statesman* (June 3, 1979) reported that after an aircrash in Saskatchewan (N.W. Canada), the corpse of an aged person was used as food by his daughter and her brother-inlaw.

26. 1554–6: AKN. ii. 35; Bad. i. 428–9; 1574–5, Nizamuddin ii. 301; E and D. V. 384; 1587–8; AKN. iii. 224; 1630–2, Mundy, ii. 276; EFI (1630–33), 180; 1642 and 1647; Habib. 106; E FI (1646–50). 192–3; 1694–5 and 1702; Habib, 108.

27. Tuzuk (R) i. 330, 342; E and D. vi. 346; EFI (1630–33); Smith, 399 (Bengal). Habib, 107 (Deccan). Roe's party fell a victim to plague at Ahmadabad in May, 1616.

28. 1554–6; AKN. ii. 35; Bad. i. 428–9; 1630–2: the mortality of the poor as well as of the rich in the first and second year respectively has been referred to both by by Sadiq Khan (quoted by Habib, 103–4), and van Twist (Moreland,) Mundy. ii. *passim*. *Marwar*: EFI (1646–50), 192–3.

29. Todd (Crooke) i. 455; *Sind*: EFI (1655–60), 210, 007n; *Bihar*, my *Glimpses*. *Bagar*, and *Sangamner*; Habib, 108.

30. Mukherji, 22–23.

31. Thease details are collected from *English Factories in India* See also A, Hamilton i. 143 and S. Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujrat*.

32. *Adulteration* : Lahori i; E and D vii. 24: *Engrossing*: Mirat, i. 309; *Smuggling*, EFI (1630–33).

33. EFI (1630–33), *passim*; *Orissa*, FAA, 208; Raychaudhuri, *Jan. Co.*,....142, Dacca: Talish (AS) 79b-80a, 110b-111a.

34. EFI (1630–33), *passim*: S. Gopal, *op. cit.*, Balkrishna, *Com. Rel* 86.

35. These facts have been collected from *English Factories in India passim.*

36. Badaoni (Ranking) i. 549–51; E & D.V. 490–1; Smith, *Akbar*, Moreland *India at Death of Akbar*, FAA. 208. The British government (a) studied danger signals and (b) made standing preparations – study of meterological conditions ; weekly reports of crops and prices; monthly reports of birth and death rates; annual revision of relief programmes formation of relief circles; stocking reserves of tools and plants, preparing statistics of persons requiring relief; arranging matters in advance; moblization of relief by telegrames etc. *Imp. Gaz.* iii. ch. x. 478 ; Smith, *Akbar* 399 Cf. the views on the early relief measures of the British Government.
Famine Com. Report 1880. sec. 86.

37. Dahseri Tax : *Ain* B & P. i. 199–200; Charity houses : *Ibid.* 210–11. 285–6; Relief, AKN. Tr. iii. 1064. 1087; E & D.V. 490–1.

38. Lahori, i, 362–4; E & D. vi. 24–5 (incorrect re: remission, followed by Smith, OHI. 395); *Mirati Sikandari*, 83b, quoted in Saksena, *Shahjahan*; Mundy. ii. 49, 50, 56. see Saran, Prov. Govt. 405n, 406n, Habib, 10. E & D's (vii 24–5) translation re: remission of revenue is incorrect. It is not "1/11th of the assessment", as Smjth, relaying on this, indignantly states, but 1/3rd. In 1769–70, when 35% of the cultivators perished, not 5% of the landtax was remitted and 10%was added to it for 1770–71 (Hunter, *Annals*. of Rural Bengal 1897- p. 39). Banerji, *E. I. Finance*, 132; R. C. Dutt, i. 52–3; Moreland, FAA. 214; Habib (ch. VI. 250–51 charaterises Shahjahan's remissions to be the most liberal on record.

39. Lahori, ii. 282–3. During the Kashmir famine the *jama*., assessed on the peasants was ordered to be reduced (acc. to Sadiq kh) In Lahore province the *jama* of *Khalsa* was specially reduced during scarcity – (acc to Waris) Habib, 250–1.

40. Lahori ii. 289, 632; Md. Sadiq, £. 116 quoted in Saksena (1st edn.) 292–3; Saran (399) writes that the governor was also asked to distribute food worth Rs. 200 daily.

41. Khafi Kh. E & D. vii. 248.

42. Lahori ii. 489; Habib, 105.

43. Mirat, i. 309.

44. Moreland, FAA.

45. Eng. Factories in India 1630-33.

45a. Brij Narain 90n.

46. FFI (1634-36.), 65; Moreland, op. cit., Commisariat, Mandelslo, 7.

47. Lahori ii. 711-12 says that the assessed revenue of Gujrat and the Deccan showed no increase. See Habib 105n, Moreland, *op. cit.* 217-8.

APPENDIX

Sl No.	Period	Famine affected areas	Failure of crops due to drought / scarcity	Destruction of crops due a) to exces of rain, floods.	b) Locusts, mice	War / Engrossingly
1		2	3	4a	4b	5
	AKBAR					
1.	1554-56	'Eastern parts of Hind				
2.	1563-67	Great scarcity Gujrat (famine?)				
3.	c, 1572-73	round Sirhind				
4.	1574-75	Gujrat				
5.	1578-79		Some parts of Hinustan			
6.	1583-84		Bengal			
7.	Do			Bengal		
8.	1587-88				Bhakkar	
9.	1589-90	Bhakkar	drought			
10.	1595-98	Kashmir (1597)	general insufficiency of rain 1596			arrival of army

1	2	3	4a	4b	5
JAHANGIR					
1. 1613–15	Punjab, Sirhind, Delhi, and Doab	drought			
2. 1618–9	Coromandel Coast and part of Vijayanagar	extreme dearth			
SHAHJAHAN					
No record					
1. 1630–32	Gujrat, Sind and most of the Deccan	drought			
2. 1633–34	Deccan and Gujrat				
3. 1635	Surat West Golkonda	Scarcity near Masulipatam			
4. 1636–7	Punjab	Scarcity			
5. 1640		Deccan (near Pulicat and Madras)			

1	2	3	4a	4b	5
6. 1640			Kashmir (Kharif)		
7. 1641		North India and Ahmedabad (cotton)			
8. 1642	Kashmir		rain and floods		
9. 1642–33		Pipli (Orissa) and Bengal			
10. 1644		Agra			
11. 1644–45			Bengal (Sugarcane)		
12. 1645		Punjab			
13. 1646		Agra			
14. 1646		Ahmedabad			
15. 1645–47	S. Coromandel Coast (Pulicat-Madras)				

1	2	3	4a	4b	5
16. 1647	Marwar	Failure of rains			
17. 1648		Partial failure in Agra			
18. 1648			excessive rain Bengal (sugarcane)		
19. 1650		'in all parts of India' but not famine			
20. 1650		dearth of corn in Oudh, Agra, Ahmadabad			
21. 1650		Punjab	Punjab		
22. 1650–1		Multan	Multan (rabi)	Multan (rabi)	
23. 1655			Balaghat (Kharif)		
24. 1658		Surat			
25. 1658		Sind			

1	2	3	4a	4b	5
AURANGZEB					
1. 1658-60	Northern India (Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Marwar) Central India Malwa				War
2. 1659-60	Sind				
3. 1659-60		Gujrat			
4. 1659-61	East Coast	Masulipatam (Scarcity)			Supplies for army
5. 1659-61		Negapatam			
6. 1662-73	Bengal	(Drought)			
7. 1663-64		Deccan, Gujrat			
8. 1670-1	Bihar	(failure of Kharif)			(Engrossing)
9. 1678		Lahore			
10. 1678		Deccan			
11. 1682	Gujrat	(Scarcity)			

1	2	3	4a	4b	5
12. 1683	Konkan				War
13. 1684		Deccan			
14. 1686	Deccan	(Failure of rains)			(ravarges (war)
15. 1685-91	Gujrat	(Scarcity)			
16. 1694-5		Gujrat			
17. 1694-5	Bagar area	Round Delhi			
18. 1696-7		Gujrat			
19. 1696-7		Marwar			
20. 1702-4	Deccan		Both kharif and rabi affected by excesss rain.		
21. 1702-4	Maharastra				

LAND SYSTEM AND MUTTAS IN THE VISAKHAPATNAM AGENCY

J. Mangamma

The hill areas of Visakhapatnam and Godavari districts along with Jeypore and other areas of Orissa originally formed the Agency and were administratively under the Agent to the Governor of Fort St, George. Considering the number of hands the area has changed from the time of the Mugals. the history of Northern Circars in Andhra Pradesh is interesting. The Northern Circars passed on to Aurangzeb from the rulers of Bedar in 1687 and to the subaship of the Nizam in 1724, During the Carnatic wars the area was granted to the French in 1752 and it eventually came under the British in 1765,

The English Company got a firman from the Mugal emperor to this effect[1],

".....the English Company did expel the French therefrom: We, therefore in consideration of the fidelity and good wishes of the above high, mighty ..... English Company have from our throne, the basis of the world, given them the afore mentioned Circars by way of Inam or free gift from ..... the month, April 1762 .. .. Looking upon this high firman as an absolute and positive order, obey it implicitly.

dated 12th August, 1765."

At the back of the firman there were two orders from the Mugal, the first supposed to be in his own hand, addressed to his son, 'Mirza Mahomed akbur Shah Behauder' asking him to comply with the contents of the firman and the other directing that the English Company be under his son's command or in his ressaula.

Since the five Northern Circars were under the subaship (immediate control) of Hyderabad, the Nizam Ally Cawn obeyed the firman (order) of 12th August 1765 and issued a sanad to the English Company dated 12th November 1766, actually handing over the authority to them. The sanad was as follows[2].

"Be it known to the Deesmohees, Deespondees, Muccaddems, Husbandmen and Inhabitants of the Circars of Rajahmundry, Ellour, Mustephanagur, Seccacole and Murtezanagur, belonging to the subaship of Hyderabad, that out of our great favour and goodness, from the .....12th of November 1766, the whole of the said Circars (the Jaghir of the Mustephanagur, alias Condapille Fort and the usual villages appertaining to the diamond mines excepted) are now given to, and carferred upon the European English Company, by way of Inam or free gift, for ever and ever agreeable to their petition signed by us. In return for which, they the English Company, are to pay the annual sum of nine lakhs of rupees and to stand to all Sebbendy charges, and whetever earthly or heavenly mischances may happen. You therefore our above mentioned Deshmohees etc. are hereby required. with contented minds, to live in obedience to the above Company's Deputies and to pay the proper revenues at the fixed and stated times.

Looking upon this as a positive order, obey it accordingly.

dt. 12th November 1766."

Lands in the Northern Circars were mostly under Zamindars with hereditary tenures. When they came under the muslim rule their assigned duties included apprehending of thieves, murderers and other violators of the laws and assisting their sovereigns in case of invasions and helping them in suppressing a rebellion: any expenses in this regard could be reimbursed by them from the rents they collected. In a general letter of the 8th March 1769 Fort St. George defined Zamindaries as 'lands held by certain rajas or chiefs as their hereditary estates, paying a certain tribute to the government and being subjects to suit and service, in manner very similar to the ancient feudal tenures[3].'

The Court of Directors in their letter dated 12th April 1775 gave explicit orders to their Governor and Council of Fort St. George[4] : "One object of the early attention of the Governor and Council must be to acquire complete knowledge of those territories which had been granted to the Company on the coast of Coromandel and to establish a judicious and permanent system for their future management, stating certain reasons why it is expedient to increase their strength in their own possession without diminishing the resources for investments and for carrying on the government : and that they are well assured the Jaghire lands and Northern Circars, especially the latter would be found capable of answering that desirable purpose, if duly explored and properly regulated."

Accordingly a committee of the council of Fort St. George with five members was to circuit Northern circars and ascertain the facts which would assure regular income to the Company[5]. "They should ascertain with all possible exactness the produce of the country, the number of inhabitants, the state of the manufactures, the fortified places, the gross amount of the revenues, the articles from which they arise. the mode by which they are collected, the charges of collectiou. the specific proportion usually received by the Rajah or Zamindar and that which custom and usage alloted to the cultivator as the reward of his labour ; and that the Committee of Circuit also particularly enquire what security the native had for his property, what courts there were for the administration of justice and how far similar regulations to those then lately established at Bengal by the President and Council of that Presidency might with properiety be introduced into the northern Circars : that it was by no means their wish to deprive the hereditary rajas or Zamindars of their annual iucome : on the contrary, that they meant to secure it to them without leaving them under the necessity of keeping an armed force to compel payment thereof ; and also that it was their earnest desire to deliver the inhabitants, so far as it might be in their power from undue exactions and oppressions."

On the expiry of the then existing leases, the Committee of Circuit was to let out the lands for a term of years in the same

manner as at Bengal. One express condition in every lease was that the farmers who exacted more than their due proportion from their under tenants were to forefeit their farms. Accordingly the Committee toured the area in 1775 and the Zamindars were called to Madras in 1778. For a period of five years the amount fixed for them to pay to the Government was raised by 12½%. Next year the committee was reappointed and the settlement extended upto 1789, that is for a ten year period. Assesment of the Zamindaries was raised to $^3/_4$ of their gross revenue. On top of it famine ensued making collection of revenue very difficult. Within two years the zamindars fell into arrears. The Government appointed district collectors in 1787 with a recommendation to rent out villages singly. In the oldest Zamindaries like Polavaram, Gutala and the adjacent hills a number of disturbances ensued. Military authorities had to interfere to keep them in check.[6]

The collectors came to a sattlement with the head inhabitants of the villages. The head inhabitant in turn sub-rented every field and came to an agreement about the land rent each cultivator had to pay. Thus they became jointly and severally responsible for the aggregate demand upon the village. The cultivator class had protection neither from the Zamindar nor from the government. Collectors became very important and land became 'beneficial or destructive according to the character of the individual appointed to superintend it.'[7]

Survey of the Hill areas :

There was no regular survey of the hill areas for a long time : uncultivated and waste lands were given to the Zamindars perpetually and without extra rent. The collectors were asked to constitute all the viliages, watered from one tank in any estate into one mutta. When land survey was arranged in the Agency in 1792 the Court of Directors particularly ordered thus[8] :

'.....this should be a *mere land survey*, expressing the kind of land, without any reference to the value, which might raise jealousy and discontent.'

Towards the end of 1815 a small survey party was sent to the Northern Circars. The survey officer reported as follows about the wilderness of the country beyond Rajahmundry[9] :

"The tract of the country among the hills.....constituting a part of the northern boundary is wild and uncultivated with here and there a few huts huddled together, not deserving the name of villages, and thinly inhabited by a race of people as wild as the country..... The difficulty of procuring supplies, the wild and inaccessible nature of the country, with the want of roads and its .....noxious climate, have rendered the survey hazardous and laborious.

.....

"Gunjam, Vizagapatam and Rajahmundry are countries different from all other territories dependent of Fort St. George, chiefly because, bounded to the westward by a wide tract of hill and jungle, inhabited by civilized and indeed unconquered barbarians, many of them not ever nominally dependent on any government : their climate and their poverty have secured them from conquest ..... nobddy seems even to know the boundary ..... this tract has never been explored ... . there is a blank here left in the maps..... "

Though one survey party made a preliminary visit in 1815 the actual survey of this difficult terrain began in 1820 and continued for fifteen years. The fever ridden jungles gave them a very hard time. At the end of the Rajahmundry survey in 1824 one of the surveyors wrote as follhws[10] :

"It is to be regretted there is a blank space in the map which should have been occupied by the Rumpah Jagire, but the tract being considered very unhealthy, the survey of it was never undertaken ....."

Revenue system :

The haveli (Government) lands were apportioned into muttas and sold at public auction subject to the terms of the Permanent

Zamindari tenure. The muttadar depended on his peons who were quite merciless when they went out for collections. The muttadar was at once like a great proprietor and stood between the Government and the peasant though he himself got no remissions in the rent. Because of the muttadar, the burden on the revenue officers as also the collection charges lessened for the Government. Munro condones the ignorance of the European Officers when he says this[11] : "We proceed ia a country of which we know little or nothing, as if we know everything and as if everything must be done now and nothing could be done hearafter ..... We endeavour to get rid of the difficulty by precipitately making permanent settlements which relieve us from the troubled task of minute or accurate investigations and which are better adapted to perpetuate our ignorance than to protect the people." When it became difficult for the Government to collect revenue, troops were called in. A member of the Board of Revenue, Whites, in his minute of 25th March 1793 described how difficult it was to maintain troops in the area[12].

'The want of a sufficient force in the circars and the danger to be apprehended to the health of the troops in pursuing refractory dependants among the hills are in general the reasons assigned for not acting with vigour and effect on occasions of disobedience..... It will perhaps appear highly proper to restrict the Zamindars to the internal duties of their lands and not to trust them in any instance with a large body of military for the purpose of defence, but who in fact are oftener employed in resisting the orders of Government.

87 villages in Visakhapatnam district were rented out and most of them were hill villages neither surveyed nor touched by the settlement department.

Money lenders in the hills :

The revenue fixed for payment by the Zamindars and muttadars was more than what they could pay. Whenever the ryots of even the Zamindars found it difficult to collect money it was inevitable for them to borrow from the money lenders against their own lands.

When the debtors failed to repay the the amounts they were dragged to the Courts on the plains. The tribals interpreted this as injustice done by the Government.

Sir Thomas Munro as Governor of Madras attributed much of it to the attempts of Government to enforce the traders and other money lenders on the people of those areas. He wrote thus[13]:

'.....they (the landholders) consider themselves disgraced by seeing the abodes of their ancestors became the property of a low trader. As the Regulations now stand we must, whenever a sowcar obtains a decree against a Zemindar for a part or the whole of the Zamindari support him by force both in getting and maintaining possession of it; and hence we are every day liable to be dragged into a petty warfare among unhealthy hills, where an enemy is hardly ever seen, where numbers of valuable lives are lost from the climate, and where we often lost but never gain reputation."

Muttas in the Visakhapatnam Agency :

Groups of villages in the inaccessible and backward hill tracts became revenue units called 'muttas' and the intermediary who collected the revenue and paid a certain amount of it to the Government was a muttadar. The muttadar of Golugonda received a sanad in 1802 and agreed to pay Rs. 10,000 as peshcush to the East India Company. To collect such a huge amount year after year was not possible, the mutta fell into arrears and offering it for sale the Company purchased it for a nominal amount of Rs. 100 in 1837.

No hereditary right to the office of muttadar was recognised and on the death, resignation, dismissal or removal of a muttadar, the agent to the Governor was to personally investigate all claims and submit his report where upon the government selected the successor. Being a farmer of revenue and not a cultivator, the muttadar had neither time to cultivate nor supervise the cultivation of his own land. The muttadar collected revenues as determined by the government and retained for himself one third of the rents collected from the pettandars in the mutta subject to a minimum but was not entitled to

enhance the rents payable by the pettandars. A muttadar had powers to suspend any munsif for not more than twelve months and could even dismiss him but could not impose any fine on the munsif.

A muttadar was to assist authorities in the upkeep of roads and travellers bungalows and in keeping the principal forest paths cleared so as to enable the elephants to move up and down with loads. When the government wanted labour to carry loads it was for the muttadar to supply it. He had no right to the revenue from duties, abkari or taxes on th sale of spirits and liquors or from fairs, a muttadar was to maintain the register of births and deaths in the villages and was responsible for discipline in the area. He kept a watch on the arrival of strangers or suspicious characters and also on the activities of the agency people.

Though a muttadar had no right to the forests, he had to render every assistance to preserve the forests from destruction by felling or fire. This implied the prevention of podu cultivation and encouragement of settlers to take up permanent cultivation. He was to act as an informer and give timely information of any disturbance or offence against law. A muttadar was responsible for the law and order situation and was expected to apprehend robbers, rebels and other bad characters and deliver them upto the authorities. When called upon, the muttadar was to present himself at the camp of the Agent or his assistants. Whenever there was a disturbance or uprising, the mutta involved was resumed by the government and handed over to some one else while such muttadars were often deported under Agency warrants.

In the Golugonda hills there were ten muttas which were leased out to hereditary mokhasadars : Dutcherti (Rs. 1,200); Makavaram (Rs. 500); Koyyur (Rs. 400); Gudem with Dharakonda (Rs. 357); Antada Kottapalli (Rs. 130); Guditur (Rs. 80); Lotugadda (Rs. 30); Chittempadu (Rs. 30); Bandivalasa (Rs. 20). There were as many as 253 villages in these muttas and when they came under the British the Governor of Madras wrote as follows : 'a system which is adapted to distrlcts where the authority of Government is paramount cannot

fail to be applicable to those mountainous tracts where upto the present period, after a lapse of more than thirty years, we in truth possess no police and no power.'

Dutcherti and Guditur muttas were transferred to Rampa Agency in the Godavari district in 1881. (Even though the sanads were revised in 1918 the villege demand among the ryots was not regulated. Gudem hills which were a part of the Visakhapatnam Agency were attached to the Rampa sub-division in 1921.) Upto 1914 a reserve of 14 constables was kept at Chintapalli and the area under this police station was divided into five muttas namely Peddavalasa, Gudem, Darakonda, Lothugadda and Lammasingi. Chintapalli was the main police station of the araa.

In November 1918 an extensive redistribution of the muttas was undertaken when Gudem Pathaveedhi was arranged as Peddavalasa and Kothaveedhi as Gudem mutta. After transferring some villages Lammasingi became a single mutta and sanads were issued to this effect. The five muttas of Gudem, Lothugadda, Lammasingi, Peddavalasa and Makavaram were up in arms in 1922 along with the Golugonda Agency.

The Zamindaries and estates of the hill areas were taken over with the Act of 1839 and the collectors of Ganjam and Vizagapatam became agents to the Governor. After the disturbances in the Parlakemedy area in 1839, the rules that applied to the district were to apply to the hill tracts also. If by the Regulation II of 1819 the Governor in Council had powers to arrest and commit to jail by warrants, by the Act XXIV of 1839 the district collector got powers to deport men from the Agency. This power was used to the utmost during any uprising or rebellion. The Madras Government had to quell almost an unbroken series of disturbances and rebellions till 1865.

The 1879 rebellion was the cumulative effect of all the discontent in the Rampa area. The Mansabdar of the area created a general belief that his collecting excess rents and cesses was supported by the Government wherein the tribals were harassed. The peons and

Police exacted as they liked while the sub-renters raised a heavy tax. The mansabdar wanted to collect even more for himself. In the rebellion of 1879 several encounters took place between the tribals and the police forces. When the rebellion was controlled the next year, the mansabdar was deposed and the muttadars began to deal with the government directly. Lands were distributed to them and the sanads laid down two important conditions that-a stipulated annual quit rent was to be paid to Government and the muttadar was to be loyal and assist in maintaining law and order.

Golugonda muttadar drew up a plan for rebellion in 1891 with the aesistance of a man who had taken part in the Rampa rebellion. This time about 200 men were collected and on 22 May they looted the house of a policeman who had shot a leader of the group. They moved over to the Krishnadevipeta police station, killed five constables and carried off all the arms and ammunition. The station was set on fire before the rebels marched back to the hills and the police could not trace them out even for a month. As their leader suddenly died they dispersed but not a single muttadar gave any assistance to the authorities. In the prevailing revenue system it was not difficult for the government to resume the two muttas of Chittampad Bandivalasa and Koyyur. The muttadars of Lammasingi Kothavidhi and Lothugadda were removed from power and instead their heirs were appointed. The muttadar of Gudem Kothavidhi, Sobilan Dora was arrested and deported under an agency warrant. Lammasingi Patavidhi mutta was resumed in 1886, Lothugadda in 1895 and Antada in 1907.

Thus five out of the ten muttas in Golugonda agency came under the government while the remaining five namely Lammasingi, Kothavidhi, Makavaram, Guden Pathavidhi, Gudem Kothavidhi and Dharakonda continued under the muttadars.

Muttas involved in the 1922 rebellion under Alluri Sitarama Raju:

The five muttas of Gudem, Lothugadda, Lammasingi, Peddavalasa and Makavaram were up in arms in 1922. There was discontentment in each one of the muttas.

Gudem mutta: After 1879 Rampa rebellion was over the mattadar of Gudem, Chinna Veerabhupati, left Gudem and reached Golugonda. Gudem mutta was divided into two namely Gudem Pataveedhi and Gudem Kothaveedi. Under the orders of the Agent to the Governor, the former changed to Peddavalasa in 1914 while the Kothaveedhi retained the name Gudem mutta. Before leaving to Golugonda Chinna Veerabhupati had nominated Mottadam Sanyasi Dora as muttadar of Kothaveedhi and Taggi Gantam Dora as muttadar of Pathaveedhi. Sanyasi Dora was succeeded by his son Sobilan Dora who defied the British authority in 1891 and was imprisoned at Visakhapatnam. His son, Mottadam Virayya Dora, a minor was given charge of the mutta in 1912. During the Lagarai movement in 1916, the rebels had camped at Yerragonda for six months. Since Virayya Dora didnot send in information about this, the Agent to the Governor interned him at Narasipatnam in 1917. He escaped and visited his family in Gudem Hills but was caught and this time interned at Vizianagaram from where he again returned to the hills. This time he was caught and charged under section 176 IPC and was put in the police lock up at Rajavommangi. In the 1922 rebellion, Sitaramaraju and his men-acquired arms and ammunition at Chintapalli and Krishnadevipeta from where they marched to Rajavommangi and released Virayya Dora on 24th August. Virayya Dora joined the rebels but was caught and imprisoned. He later died in prison.

Peddavalasa mutta:

Originally a part of Gudem, but was formed as a separate mutta in 1879 The muttadar paid half of the collected rents to the government. Kankipati Nadipi Padal was muttadar for 10 years but resigned in 1919, Yendu Padal became a claimant to the mutta but failed to get it. The main cause of the trouble was the appointing of muttadars as per the will of the Agent. In 1920 Gadapala Veeranna Padalu of Rinthada was appointed Muttadar of Peddavalasa and the following year it was given to Kankipati Sarabhanna Padal. The village munsifs of Peddavalasa, Antarla, Ebulu and Jerli

resented this. Under the leadership of Yendu Padal all these villages were actively involved in the 1922 rebellion.

Lothugadda mutta:

This mutta was under Chinna Veerabhupati of Gudem till he changed his residence to Golugonda in 1879. Sarabhanna Dora the muttadar joined the Santhabhupati fituri of Rampa in 1879 and was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 1 1/2 years. Before Sagina Ramannā Padalu became the muttadar of Lotugadda in 1916 half a dozen men heid the post of mutta munsif on a monthly pay of Rs. 20/-. In the 1922 rebellion Ramanna Padal supported the rebels by supplying food and giving them protection. He was dismissed and Taggi Nadipi Dora was appointed muttadar. Ramanna Padal died in the rebellion. Taggi Nadipi Dora had two sons but his son-in-law, Sagina Yerra Padal who was managing the mutta, himself became the muttadar. Even two years after the rebellion the police kept a watch on him and ālso on the son of Ramanna Padalu who was the village munsif of Bailukunchangi. In this mutta Balapam was a very important place and the police parties from Chintapalli, Konda Kamberu and Pader met here on their rounds.

Lammasingi mutta:

From Downuru at the foot of the hills Lammasingi is 8 miles on ghat road. A road leads from here to Gangaraju Madugula. Around 1836 the Raja of Gudem had two Divans under him. To these two Divans, Bonangi Karri Padal and his brother Ganganna Padal, the Raja gifted the Lammasingi mutta. After their death Ganganna Padal's son, Narasanna Padal became the muttadar. In 1886 when there was a rebellion in Golugonda area 30 men got together, went to Gudem where they looted and burnt the police station and the rest house. They were dispersed while proceeding towards Lammasingi and were captured later on. On the pretext that the muttadar of Lammasingi had shown sympathy to the rebels or had not helped the police, his mutta was forfeited. The grandson of

Narasanna Padal began living at Downuru and got his sanad in 1914. He handed over the mutta to his son Bonangi Potharaju Padal. The lower agency villages were transferred from Chintapalli to Narasipatnam police station.

Lammasingi played an important role in the rebellion of 1922. The muttadar sided the government while the village munsifs supported the rebels. Saramanda Borra Dora (Borrayya), Dopuru Balanna and Chintala Pedda Ramanna were interned at Krishna Devi Peta for one month under agency warrant as they were suspected of supplying rations to the rebels, collecting money in the village for the rebels and sending false reports to the police station proclaiming their ignorance about the where abouts of the rebels.

Thus the organising and reorganising of the hill muttas caused a lot of discontent among the muttadars and was one of the causes for the 1922 Gudem rebellion.

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ASPECTS OF AGRARIAN CHANGES IN NELLORE DISTRICT 1800–1820.

M. Pattabhirami Reddy

The military diplomatic dealings of the Fort St. George Government in Madras, in the second half of the eighteenth century resulted in the complete occupation of the Carnatic districts of the Nawab of Arcot by the Company troops. The financial bnnkruptcy of the Nawab, in the wake of the enormous debts, amounting to 1,371,906 pagodas in 1755-56, incurred by him, compelled him to mortgage his dominions to his creditors, Paul Benfield and other English and Indian money-lenders. By the treaty of 1792 he surrendered the civil administration of his dominions to the company and agrecd to receive one-fifth of the revenues annually as his allowance and to pay twenty-two lakhs of rupees annually for the liquidation of his private debts. After the Mysore Wars, the political exististence of the Nawab had become so impracticable that the entire civil and military administration of his dominions was made over to St. George authorities by the treaty of 21st July 1801. This was the inevitable culmination of an effete and corrupt regime that carried on its precarious survival during the half century of Anglo-French rivalry in India and Europe[1].

All the Poligars, who until then acknowledged the sovereignty of the Nawab, surrendered to the Company and receieved fresh sanads, which specified the tribute payable by them. The hierarchy of renters who collected the revenues from the village communities now engaged to fulfil their annual contracts under the supervision of English Collectors. The Collection of revenue at the old rates of over fifty percent of the gross produce by the usurious money

Idnders and renters had produced South India to "an egg shell from which the contents had been taken out", in the picturesque phrase of Romesh Chandra Dutt. The earliest collectors Dighton and Stratton, found Nellore District in this pitiable plight, and their successors Travers and Frazer tried a series of experiments in revenue settlements begianing with the Muttahdari, a variation of the Cornwallis, system, and the village settlement with the Peddakapus, until the Munro System of ryotwar settlement in 1820. Through all these vicissitudes, the collectors encountered passive resistance. Non-co-operation and mass flight of peasants with firmness and tact. The revolt of the Peddakapus and their machinations were tackled by means of conciliatory measures.*

When Dighton took over the administration of the Nellore District from the Nawab temporarily in 1790, mainly for the collection of revenue on behalf of the Company, and the moneylenders, like Paul Benfield, he divided the district into 110 farms or muttahs, each of which consisted of a few villages. Each muttah was auctioned to the highest bidder who was expected to collect the revenue from the village headmen who contracted to pay a fixed share of the produce every year. As the contract at all levels was only for one year the farmers and renters tried by every means at their command to squeeze the maximum from the surplus produce of the peasants, The foujdar and amildars themselves were the ijaradars and contractors of revenue even under the Nawab. The object of Dighton in Nellore and Erskine in Ongole was to exceed the collections made by the Amildars of the Nawab, but the renters generally non-co-operated with the Company officials, with the result that Dighton had to depend upon the village headmen to collect the revenues. The village headmen were asked to pay the kist in monthly instalments. Tahsildars in the parganas looked after the interests of the Company. The plight of the peasants, in the face of this oppression of the hierarchy of ijaradars, foujdar, amildars and their retinues of armed peons and hangerson-was described by Erskine as follows. "Thus the wretched inhabitants were oppressed beyond the power of sufferance and in consequence fled from the villages and fields leaving the produce of their labour to rot on the ground. Entreaties and promises

brought them back to reap the remaining harvest. That the renters also joined the poor peasants in their flight from fiscal oppression is brought to light by an interesting letter of Narasimhareddi, a renter of Kandukur quoted by Travers; "In fusli 1207 the inhabitants of Kandukur pargana took flight for about four months and proposed to return to the district provided I restored to them the Muchalika they had given for the former two fuslis and likewise to manage the district under ..... amani ..... I therefore complied ..... His Highness having been pleased to favour me with an inayatnama desiring me to offer him 10000 pagodas more under the denomination of nazzer besides the stipulated rent I told him I could not pay. I then resolved to go and in the interval Nazar Muhammadkhan was appointed to the management of the Nellore Mutta where upon the inhabitants of Nellore Mutta took flight to Bapatla villages in the Nizampatam Circar. I accordingly repaired thither and joined the inhabitants"[2] Erskine observes that 27 out of 150 villages in Karempudi pargana had become desolate and depopulated "so that at present on the spots where many villages stood, scarce a vestige is to be traced and the fields dependent on them are now become unprofitable jungles"[2-a]. The deshpandes of the five pargans told him that during the last twelve years the population had fallen by one-third, mainly due to the flight of peasants, as a consequence of fiscal oppression[3].

The revenue of each village was fixed with the concurrence of the principal inhabitants, and it had always been a share of the crop[4]. After the assumption of Company sovereignty the Collector Travers reported that out of the gross produce of the village the government share was 55 percent, the village fees accounted for 3.75 percent, and the ryot's share was 41.25 percent[5]. The headmen of villages-the principal inhabitants of the upper castes-were mainly responsible to the government for the collection of revenue. They controlled agricultural production and the major portion of arable and pasture lands were in their occupation. They were known as Kadim ryots, who had mirasi right over lands, originally most villages were jointly owned by the upper caste inhabitants and hence the visabadi system

of periodical redistribution of lands survived in Nellore District till the beginning of the nineteenth century, Stratton wrote to the Board of Revenue on 14 December 1800 that Visabadi system prevailed in several villages in this manner. "the lands of the village would be held by the community in common, and shares allotted to the members in quarters, eighths, sixteenths, thirty seconds and sixty fourths-it was customary for the residents of a village periodically, say every five or six years to exchange all their lands so as to secure an equal division of the soils, good and bad,—but with the introduction of the revenue survey the greater number of ryots are glad to take the opportunity of coming forward to have individual holdings for the first time demarcated and recognized in their pattahs"[6]. Even though land could not be alienated without the consent of the village community, the Board of Revenue assumed that property in the soil was vested in the government. The customary rights of the principal inhabitants showed that mirasi right (hereditary right) was the original privilege of the village landlords. In 1801 two thirds of the ryots were the Kadim class of hereditary permanent farmers and the rest were Payakaris or under tenants. The Kadims received 36.75 percent of the crop, and the payakaris 42.5 per cent.[8] The Mirasidars or the head inhabitants had superior rights and often oppressed the Payakaris by levying contributions on frivolous grounds, by under-assessing the lands of their relatives, over-assessing the lands of poorer cultivators, by demanding forced labour from poor peasants, commandeering the produce at lower prices and selling it at a profit, and misappropriating village communal funds[9].

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were certain families of poligars, who wilded great influence by virtue of their superior rights over villages and lands as well as their close association with ruling powers in the previous centuries. They were the Zamindars of Venkatagiri, Kalahasti, Chundi, Muthyalapadu, Sydapuram, Zupalli, Udayagiri Jagirdar. Turravari Poligar, Turiaboyana poligar, Chittetivari poligar, and the Buchireddipalem family. Among the holders of superior rights were the poligars, or kavalgars who were hereditary police officers (Achukavali) charged with the functions of apprehension of offenders and recovery of stolen property. They

received 6 7/8 percent of the revenue of the village they protected. Besides, the poligar of Venkatagiri and Sydapuram, collected the entire revenue and paid peshkush or tribute to the sovereign power. They held villages as mokassa or rent free. Their police establishment was called Kattubadi[9a]. The Company took over the police functions and relieved the villages of the overriding authority of those overlords, who used to appropriate a portion of the surplus produce of the poor villagers. The Thanadars of the several parganas were to become salaried officials of the company.

When the Company annexed Nellore district and set about the task of organizing revenue administration, the following parganas are mentioned in their communications. Nellore, Kota, Sarvepalli, Allur, Gandavaram, Gudur, Kandukur, Pakala, Inamalamallur, Ongole, Chandalur, Podalakur, Kaligiri, Duttalur, Jaladanki, Chennur and Duvvur, Mahimalur, Kaluvoya, Gudlur[10]. There were 800 villages in Nellore and 218 in Ongole divisions, a total of 1018 villages which were settled, classified, and enumerated by the Collector Frazer in 1814.

The revenue settlements were bringing far reaching changes in the agrarian society of rural India. When the British Collectors, set in motion agrarian surveys of the material resources and means of production of the village communities they were unconsciously disturbing the ageold privileges and prerogatives of a host of overlords who had for centuries dominated the rural society. What Munro and Read contemplated in Baramhal in the last decade of the nineteenth century and Munro later inaugurated in the Ceded Districts was destined the old order of rigid land system. Right from the earliest attempts at understanding the rights of various agricultural classes and their respective rights and obligatons in the village communities the Collectors of Nellore geve a jolt to the entrenched vested interets in village society. The renters and sub-renteres principal ryots, headmen accountants, Reddis and Karnams and a horde of speculatators and parasites maintained by the former regimes were persuaded and compelled to fall in line with the rule of law introduced by the British Government. The Collectors Travers and Frazer who were incharge

of the revenue administration of Nellore District during the first two decades had to encounter the oppossition of the influential and wealthy headmen and rich peasants whose interests were sought to be regulated. Throughout the annual, triennial, sexennial or decennial settlement experiments, the British Collectors were often at their wit's end to find the modus operandi for conciliating the privileged classes and safeguarding the customary rights of the poorer peasants against the monopoly and encroachments of the Peddakapus (landlords) of the village.

The system of renting out whole villages and parganas to contractors was to be given up. The first collector Travers who entered on his duties on 2 August 1801 tried his experiment of settling with actual cultivators in each village, but such a procedure was not easy mainly because of the lack of knowledge regarding the various land tenures and the bewildering nature of the rights and interests in the old land system. He was disposed to settle directly with the peasants but the resistance of the village renters – the mirasdars, the village leaders and privileged tenure holders had to be encountered. In his letter of 27th August 1804 Travers referred to the general opposition of the head inhabitants to the new system of revenue settlement – "a system calculated to secure the inferior ryots the produce of their industry by defining the land tax payable in each description of land occupied and limiting the demand to the amount of the tax. the principal Reddis and others deprived of the undue influence and profits they had enjoyed ..... used every means in their power to embarass the collector.[11] Travers discovered that the intrigues of the powerful inhabitants of each village who monopolised all advantages at the expense of the mass of the cultivators had to be foiled before he could be successful. The village headmen and their co-partners occupied the best lands, advanced the kists of the lower peasants, regulated cultivation, seized the produce of the village at concessional prices and made a profit by selling the grain at higher prices, made exaction under the head of grama kanchulu, and shared the surplus produce of the peasants with the corrupt revenue officials. Their self interest in the perpetuation of the old

system coupled with the ignorance and apathy of the poor cultivators was the formidable obstacle in the way of any reform.[12] Travers fixed money assessments on the lands, called makta rents and clear demarcation of lands to individual peasants according to their resources, He wanted to render the poorer peasants independent of the head inhabitants, and to promote the stimulus of private interest as against the monopoly of Pedda Kapus who ruled the roost and thwarted revenue settlements. According to his first settlement the royt received 41.75 percent, and the government 55 percent, leaving 3.75 percent of the gross produce of the village.[13] Travers introduced fixed money assessments or Mukta rents based on a further survey of each village and the classification of soils and their yields. Waste lands were parcelled out to cultivators. giving them proprietory right, thus to prevent them from falling into the hands of the rich peasants in the name of community.[14] The possession of detailed information about the lands, soils and yields in the village, the grant of Pattas defining the respective rights of peasants headmen and government, helped to check 'the former usurpation on the part of individuals". Travers preferred a long lease of five years instead of one or three, and proposed the formation of small estates of groups of villages.[14 a] The Board of Revenue felt that the Ryotwari system was not condusive to improvements in agriculture or facility in the collection of revenue. They opted for the system of leasing villages to the principal inhabitants. This was a clear concession to the vested interest of the peddakapus of the village and a proof of the breakdown of the earlier liberal distribution of lands and pattas to the peasants.[15] The famine of 1806-7 and the consequent fall in collection of revenue by 60 percent in Nellore and 27 percent in Ongole convinced the authorities of the futility of individual settlements, and the necessity of making up the loss by auctioning the rent of each village to the higher bidders or the village leaders themselves; when local leaders did not undertake the renting, villages were leased to outsiders, who were non-resident speculators.[16] Frazer completed the triennial settlement in the district by June 1810. "Not withstanding the untoward conduct of the great proportion of the inhabitants who preserved obstinately for a considerable period of time in their

opposition to the village renting system.[17] Thus the Ryotwari Mukta settlement ended in 1807-8. after six years of experimentation and the system of village rents - triennial settlement was concluded at the end of which in 1810-11, it was replaced by the decennial settlement. The decennial engagements were terminated in 1817-18 and the way was clear for the ryotwari system proposed by Sir Thomas Munro, in 1820. The remaining decennial contracts were given up in 1821-22 (fusli 1231) and the Roytwari field assessment was adopted as the fundamental policy for all those areas where the permanent zamindari settlement had not be enforced. Where the perfect Ryotwari was found impracticable immediately, Frazer devised the Putticut system in which the ryots collectively settled the assessment and apportioned the total sum among the several holdings, especially in the dry villages. The annual ryotwari field assessment was adopted for the irrigated villages and in many instances apparently it was a joint arrangement amongst the ryots in conformity with the Visabadi Kamatams or system of joint interest in the cultivation according to fixed shares.[18]

In the early years of British rule in Nellore District the wealthy headmen generally non-cooperated with the new regime because, their customary practices of fraud and exploitation of poorer peasants were sought to be exposed in the course of detailed survey and measurement of laads, and investigation of the respective rights of the sovereign power vis-a-vis the village community. The Collector Frazer was confronted by vexatious and disobedient conduct of the original wealthy inhabitants of the village who not only refused to undertake the collection of revenue and even instigated the inferior ryots to keep out of the settlement[19]. The conduct of the headmen, who formed the rural oligarchy in possession of customary privileges and prerogatives, embarsassed the district administration. In a letter dated 11 August 1813 Frazer Stated that ' the conduct of Manubolu Kistareddi in refusing to enter into any sort of agreement with the British Government was by no means singular, many other wealthy inhabitants practising the same non-cooperation or call it passive resistance. The misconduct of the village renters is nearly universal, hardly any of them.....comprehending the principles

upon which they ought to transact their affairs with under cultivators"[20]. The upper caste leaders could always rally the poor peasants in defence of their traditional practices against the alien intruder, who closely investigated the distribution of the village produce, and appeared to expose their methods of exploitation. Frazer had to confess" I am sorry to say that experiment failed almost in every case .. deception was sometimes successfully practised upon me"[21].

Frazer's indictment of the wealthy inhabitants of Kavali and Brahmanakraka, who resisted the new assessments and renting system, and wanted to have the assessment reduced on their own terms, shows how the leading farmers non-cooperated with the regime and refused to undertake cultivation of lands, despite the hardship caused to the poor peasants. Frazer felt that the offer of the wealthy men of Brahmanakraka could not be accepted, unless the poor peasants also agreed to the terms, for the bolder among the cultivators came forword to expose the exploitation resorted to by the Peddakapu and exactions collected by him. contrary to custom. Frazer observed "that it is now requisite to protect the underpattamdars and other inhabitants". He carried out tank repairs neglected by the village leaders. The principal ryots of Kavali also resisted the new settlement, for as Frazer observes "such are the great gains of the head people or capitalists in a favourable year that they are indifferent about cultivation in a year following a good season and... in order that their hoarded grain may find ready and favourable market"[22] With the connivance of the headmen, cultivation was held up, grain was removed from fields before the assessment was collected, and tribal people were employed to steal the grain from the fields. The Collector wrote to his superiors in Madras that "for none of these practices have I been able to procure any redress or to bring the offenders to punishment"[23]. The benevolence of Frazer is evident from this statement. 'I think it not improper to assert that I would not knowingly be the instrument of accomplishing measures tending to the advantage of my employers at the expense of the just rights and privileges of the inhabitants in general for the sake of my own credit or advantage'[24].

As part of the general movement of passive risistance to the renting system the influence of the headmen interested in subverting it was exerted to overturn the system as the collections were in progress. The Karnams gave wrong information regarding the means of cultivation thus causing inequalities in the assessment: cultivators avoided the demand and absconded others wilfully neglected cultivation. The headmen in most of the western villages left their village habitations[25]. A.D. Campbell member of the Board of Revenue wrote to the Nellore Collector on 9 Febraury 1818 informing him that orders have been received from England reverting to the ryotwari system of settlement, Frazer informed the Board on 18 Nov. 1820 that steps were being taken to introduce the ryotwari settlemnnt and to have the fields valued according to their average produce. Sir Thomas Munro stated that out of the gross produce 45 per cent was the government's share, and he recommended a reduction of 25 per cent, thus making the assessment 33 3/4 percent[26].

The English Collectors no doubt antagonised the headmen of villages by their revenue settlements, which were preceded by systematic enquiries through Indian agents into actual resources and means of production at the disposal of the village leaders, farmers of revenue, mirasdars, inamdars, and several other similar groups enjoying customary privileges at the expense of the numerous class of cultivators. For a decade or two there was wide spread passive resistance to these revenue innovations of the Company. But at the same time these classes profited from these settlements because, after conciliating steps were taken, the same groups saw the advantages of accepting the terms and conditions offered to them from instincts of self-preservation and self-confidence in their tested methods of fraud and dissimultation. As Burton Stein observes "Tax farming and village lease arrangements under the company permitted, wealthy influential groups to exploit weaker groups within village and locality and to expropriate public funds from under the noses of the first English agents'[27]. The widespread monetization of agricultural economy, the steep decline in prices, and the droughts and famines in the years 1797-1800, 1804-7, 1811-12, 1824 and 1833-34 impoverished the

peasantry. Insufficient attention to repair of irrigation tanks, over assessment, and illegal exations, and corruption in the administrations at all levels also worsened the conditions of the rural masses, The collectors were under pressure from Fort St. George to furnish maximum collection of revenue from the peasants, agrarian surplus. The ryotwari system with its emphasis upon making land a saleable commodity by enlarging the scope for the growth of peasant proprietorship with legal safegaurds, and judicial arrangements, set in motion an agrarian revolution[28].

The Ryotwari system did not sweep away the village elite groups although their former monopoly and sole control of the lands and resources of the village was broken, The lower caste ryots could not have abandoned their customary occupations, remunerated by mera or mirasi lands, nor could they hope to come forward with an offer to cultivate waste lands and pay the tax just like their upper caste headmen. Even before the Ryotwari Sytem the lower caste poor evoked the sympathy of collectors like Travers and Frazer as cited above. Frykenburg's statement that the Collectors were unfavourable to village headmen and regarded them as pests is an exaggeration because the collectors had to depend upon the same headmen and karnams to carry out the new revenue settlements. The collectors certainly criticised the attitude of the headmen, but they never thought that "they could free the ordinary ryot from the power of the village leaders"[29]. The passive resistance to the renting system under the Company which assumed serious proportions in the time of Travers and Frazer cannot be described as "a minor social revolution". It was a bargaining posture only to get favourable terms of contract and when they were confronted by the competition of outsiders invited by the collector the local headmen and renters relented and cooperated with the Company officials. Such minor tensions were observed in all the ryotwari districts, when "admission of lesser ryots to equality" was opposed by the elite groups. The reformed ryotwari system in the second half ot the century favoured the richer peasants, and it was the policy of the British Government to appease the Landlords at any cost. Their paternalism had shed the early

egalitarian and liberal tendencies of Munro and his followers. But it cannot be gainsaid that the Ryotwari System not only ushered in agrarian enfranchisement of the lower caste peasants but also offered legal equality and safeguards, never before dreamed of by the peasants.

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2. Boswell. *Op. cit.* P. 483. Travers, Letter to the Board No. 57, 27, April 1803.

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7. *Mirasi Right Papers*, Para 388.

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9a. For instance the Urtavarikavalgar had jurisdiction of superior rights in the villages of Nellore, Gudur, Atmakur and Rapur (Nellore 64, Sarvepalli 49, Kota 12, Tummalatalupur 6, Talamanchi 3, Sangam 2, Revur 3 - 149 circar and srotrium villages. He himself was lord or mirsadar of four villages. Chittetivari Kamalgar excercised jursidiction in 36 village of Kota. 10 in Servepalli, II in Tummalatalupur, I in Nellore, I in Sangam, I in Gundavolu, the number of circar and strortium villages being 64 including 3 vadapattu villages. The Turravar Kavelgal had police powers in II circar vilages in Rapur and 77 in Sydapuram Zamindari (He was appoinied by the Golconda government on the petition of the inhabitants of Gundavolu mutta to protect them from robbers infesting the Rapur Ghuat (Boswell op. cit. P. 491–2.)

10. *Selections from the records of the Nellore Collectorate Hukunnamas* dated 19th, 27th February 1801, 11th Nov. 1801 ; 26th Dec., 1801.

11. *Selections* – Traver's letter to Board, P. 60.

12. Rundall's *Report*, para 6 of Revenue Settlemcnt 15th December 1870) pars–5 Travers to Board 10 June 1803) (Boswell : op. cit pp. 503–4.)

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THE IMPACT OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT'S RAILWAY POLICY OVER NATIONALISM IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY (1885–1918)

Ch. Muthyalayya Naidu

Railways, like the arteries of the human body, are important carriers. They carry not only the passengers and goods from one place to another but also bring about greater affinity and understanding between the people of those places. During the freedom movement days of the pre-Gandian era, the British Government, unaware of the benefits that the railways brought about, used them as a sort of medium to tighten its stranglehold on the masses and to perpetuate its imperialistic rule. But strangely this policy resulted not only in rousing the masses from inaetivity but also inspired them to extremist activity. Thus the Government and the masses, by the time of the advent of Gandhi, stood at logger heads in a state of challenge and response.

Auctually this crisis began to develop as soon as the East India Company decided in 1844 to introduce railways in India within a span of just 20 years since 'the railway mania overflowed the shores of Britain.' But the Government's policies in the beginning were more concerned with the defence of their regime than to look after the amenities of the public, Further, as the revolt of 1857 had played a crucial role shaking the bases of British imperialism, the Government felt that it was highly imperitive on its part to lay down railway tracks as early as possible in order to transport military and ammunition to the places where disturbances were suspected and to quell them in their evolution.[1]

But gradually the Government changed its mind and allowed the railways to be used as also for commercial purposes since they, popularly known as a nation of shopkeepers, were badly in need of India's raw materials. Hence the Government with a view to exploiting the resources of India laid down railways first at Bombay in 1853, next at Calcutta in 1854, and afterwards at Madras in 1869. Slowly as the railways began to multiply, carrying a heterogenous variety of goods, raw materials and finished products, fulfilling the requirements of the British capitalist, and added to this as the Anglo-American relations also got deteriorated, Indian Indian market became an extension of their London market to dispose of the finished products from the rapidly growing industries in England.[2]

Further, with the growing networks of railways all over the country, the British were mystified to find that the railways not only served as an industrial concern but also a sort of cultural forum. As fairs and pilgrimages were not unknown to Indians since ancestral times, the railways became an incentive to the masses to mobilise themselves and get into touch with one another. An assembly of travellers or pilgrims, irrespective of the caste, race, and colour distinctions in railway stations or compartments with a kind of warmth, affection, and mutual understanding often projected a kind of image that was not experienced by the foreigners before. It is a clear manifestation of the upward trend towards higher value and ideals.

Even in times of scarcity and famine, the railways became a sort of blessing, as they gave immense relief to the tension minded and famine stricken people. Formerly, due to lack of accommodation and transport, food packets and medicines could not be carried to the destined spots and so famine wore dreadful shape causing untold misery to the masses. But now as the railways produced necessary succour to the victims even in far off places, covering a wide range in a short span of time, the very sight of railways boosted tremendous confidence in them Hence it is not surprising that famine commissions also suggested railways as one of the remediable measures to cope with famine[3].

So the role of railways either in their early days or in subsequent times was a complex one, helping the British as well as Indians ambidexterously. Still further, another strange feature is that the same railways under the impact of the British Government's arbitrary administeative policies provoked a high sense of nationalist consciousness throughout the country. How this nationalism was permeated in the minds of Madras presidency people under the impact of the Madras Government's railway policies is studied in detail in this essay.

The railways were introduced in the Madras presidency in 1869 from Madres, the capital city, to Arkonam, a small village, over a distance of just 16 miles. Slowly as their intrinsic worth was realised by the Government, more and more railway lines were laid down which changed the physical appearance of many a village, sometimes even beyond common man's comprehension. Thus by 1918 the total number of miles covered was 3,825 at the rate of 75 miles per day.

But unfortunately the first casuality to suffer due to the development of railways was the irrigation works in the presidency. Since the British officials were quite aware that railways would expedite the export of requirements of the western man, they preferred to disburse as much funds as they could in completing existing railways and paid scant attention over irrigation which would have fed the millions of hungry masses. The Madras Government's determination to start and complete a railway track along the east coast from Madras to Cuttack is itself an index of this policy to boost the railway at the expense of throwing away irrigation works[4]. Perhaps, the British thought that a journey along the east coast would afford an eye feast while looking at the verdure vegetation and scenic beauty on either side. But the masses were not so gullible as not to ascertain that behind this extension of railways into the interiors of villages, there was a strong urge on the part of the Government to drain raw materials[5] like cotton out of the presidency from stations like Kakinada, Visakhapatnam, Chicacole, Ganjam, Berhampur and finally to London via Bombay port. But the paradox is that this

foreign trade was not a one sided affair, as the raw materials like cotton returned to India in the form of finished products, were sent to the villages and sold at cheaper rates than locally made goods. The outcome was that weavers, who were largely dependant on the traditional industries. deserted them and migrated to capital cities for better livelihood or at times starved and perished.[6]

Further, even in exporting raw materials, the Imperial Government took steps in such a way that the trade at Bombay port flourished at the cost of weakening the Madras port trade. As Anantapur, Kurnool and Cuddapah districts, whlch existed almost centrally between Bombay and Madras, and as Bombay was a better window to the west than Madras, the Imperial Government reduced the freight charges of the Bombay presidency luring the merchants of those districts into its fold. As a result. the Madras port agents, whose livelihood was largely dependant on the export of those goods, became upset[7] and even represented their grievances to Lord Cross, the then Secretary of State. through the Madras Chamber of Commerce. But the high dignitary as usual turned it down without evincing any signs of humanitarian considerations.

Thus while from the economic point of view masses like weavers and Madras port agents sang their swan song, from the social point of view the railway passengers too were unhappy and could not escape from the side effects of the Madrar Government's railways policies. Late arrival of trains and carefree attention on the part of railway officials in fulfilling minimum formalities like testing, coupling, screwing of internal and external parts of the engines got the passengers vexed and made them wonder as to when they would go or reach.[8] Besides, over crowededness and dumping of luggage into compartments also made the railway journey unendurable. Hence B. N. Sarma, a popular Congress leader, took this issue in the Imperial Legislative Council and questioned the Government as to how such overcrowding was allowed contrary to the sectsons of 93 and 97 of the Indian Railway Act IX of 1890.[9] The Government did not give an apt reply except appointing the

Pilgrim Committee which just admitted the naked truth that overcrowding had existed in compartments without suggesting remediable measures.

Thus as the Government exploited the weaker sections of Indian society with its arbitrariness, the Congress leaders too did not remain inert but equally hammered on this crisis by criticising vociferously in and out of their annual Congress sessions and at times in the Legislative Council. Their objective was to champion the right cause and serve the right purpose. Once the masses of the three districts of Madurai, Malabar, and Coimbatore, having suffered a great deal with lack of transport, represented their grievances to the Government to lay a railway track between Dindigal and Palaghat. But when their efforts proved fruitless, B. N. Sarma, a Congress leader raised in the Council that if the Government was so disinterested, it could have entrusted the constructive work to the railway boards of the three districts.[10] G. S. Arundale too added that if funds were the problem, the Government could have drawn from the £9 million fund collected and interest on the capital paid by India and lent by England for the Indian railways.

Besides pinpointing the loopholes in the adminitration, the Congress leaders also brought to the attention of the officials of the accidents that often created a nightmare in the hearts of passengers. Once when an Indian lady travelled along with her old maid servant, a group of dacoits attacked and deliberately robbed all her valuables. In this skirmish the ladies bypassed their place of destination but when they alighted at the next station, the ticket collector, instead of expressing his sorrow, collected surcharge from them. No sooner this incident was narrated by F. Rangachariar in the Madras Legislative Council, than the words of "shame, shame" echoed all round.[11]

Thus it is quite obvious that the Government gave top priority to its ambitions and objectives and for that purpose held all strategic railways under its grip. But the Government was unaware that

the same railways did tremendous service interlinking distant parts of this subcontinent, brought together diverse minded people with reduced commnnal hatred and prejudice, and promoted a sense of unity and brotherhood.

REFERENCES

1. Lord Dalhousie realised the importance of railways and so issued a minute in 1853 to lay down railway lines for military purposes but nothing was done in this matter at that time because the Government was busy with other urgent matters. Yet by the time of the Afghan campaign of 1878–79 the officials' minds were engaged preparing railways for military purposes. Refer : M. A. Rao, Indian Railways, P. 30.

2. Even Karl Marx also said., "I know that the English autocracy intends to endow India with railways with the exclusive view of extracting at diminished expense the cotton and other raw materials for their manufactures". Quoted by M. A. Rao, Indian Railways, P. 13.

3. During the years 1874–79 India was ravaged by a series of widespread famines in Bombay, Madras and Mysore. They resulted in the death of more than 4 million people. If there were communications to transport food and give succour to effected areas, perphaps much of the calamity could have been prevented. So the famine commission of 1880, having realised the importance and utitlity of railways, recommended that '5,000 miles of lines were urgently needed and that the country could not be safe from such calamities in the future until the Indian railway system could show an aggregate of 20,000 miles.' Quoted by M. A. Rao, Indian Railways, p. 29.

4. Perhaps it was because of the reasons such these that Sri Arthur Cotton, the famous builder of the Godavari canal, told a parliamentary committee thus: 'My great point is that what India wants is water carriage, that the railways have completely failed, that they cannot carry at the price required, and that they cost the country three million rupees a year and much more to support them.' Quoted by M. A. Rao, Indian Railways, p. 12. Further, the administrative reports of Madras presidency point out that the railways were not much lucrative because of the increase in the number of accidents from 163 in 1885–6 to 541 in 1906–7. Refer: Reports of the Administration of the Madras Presidency 1885–6 and 1906–7.

5. The Madras Government introduced a new type of locomotives with cog wheels of ABT system to facilitate the passengers a more comfortable journey in the Nilgiri hills. But the passengers found that this system was neither comfortable nor useful to them. On the contrary they realised that the motive of the Government was to exploit the coffee and indigo resources of the Nilgiris. Refer: *The Madras Mail*, editorial, Sept. 27, 1890
,, ,, June 17, 1898

6. Even the case of farmers, during the pre-railway days, surplus grain used to be stored in godowns and withdrawn in times of scarcity. But now as the railways intruded into villages, merchants got tempted and sold grain at high prices offered by foreign buyers or their representatives. So it is not the foreign buyers but the merchants who should be held as scapegoats for these scarcities.
Refer: *The Madras Mail*, editorial, April 10, 1901.

7. Due to this diversion, trade at Madras port deteriorated much. For example, salt trade was reduced by 50% in 1899.
Refer: *The Madras Mail*, editorial, Feb. 16, 1899.

8. *The Madras Mail*, an Anglo-Indian paper, stated that in 1886 9% of trains were late on average by 43 minutes each and the aggregate in a year was 22 days and 20 hours behind normal schedule in a year.
Refer: *The Madras Mail*, editorial, July 13, 1888.

9. Even Mahatma Gandhi also, when he travelled as a third class passenger from Bombay to Madras on 12 Sept. 1917, gave a dismal picture of the woes of the third class passengers. "The comparment was overcowded with a pestilentially dirty closet falsely so called. By neglecting a third class passenger, an opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in orderliness is lost". Quoted by M. A. Rao, Indian Railways p. 220.

10. Report of the Indian National Congress 1895, p. 147.

11. Ibid.

SOUTH INDIAN NEOLITHIC CULTURE SEEN IN RETROSPECT

V. Rami Reddy

INTRODUCTION

The Neolithic age, which succeeded the mesolithic after the Great Ice Age, is distinguished by the practice of primitive agriculture, the making of pottery and manufacture of pecked and ground stone tools. The people lived in sedentary settlements. The knowledge of metal was unknown to the people of this age, albeit there was a sporadic occurrence of copper-made implements at some sites. Childe (1955 : 66) calls this period as "the Neolithic Revolution", because its beginning was marked by a basic change in man's way of life. By revolution, he did not mean that it occurred suddenly. In his own words, "the Neolithic Revolution is not a catastrophe, but a process". On the basis of stratigraphical evindence and typological criteria, the new stone age is divisible into "Lower" or "Early", "Middle" and "Upper" or "Late" to signify successive divisions in a relative sequence.

In the Indian subcontinent we do not have at the present stage of our knowledge a pure form of neolithic culture comparable to the stage known from sites like Jarmo, Jericho, Hacilar and Chatal Huyuk in the Near East, where the culture is dated back to as early as 7000 B. C. A recurring feature of the Indian Neolithic Culture is the blade and microlithic industry based on the crested guiding ridge technique. The exact origin of this culture is not at present clear.

In the South, the first ground stone axe was picked up by Captain Meadows Taylor at Lingusgur in Raichur district in 1842. Fraser discovered the first neolithic settlement in 1872 in Bellary District of the Karnataka State. Later on, Robert Bruce Foote discovered over two hundred neolithic sites in his South Indian exploration. Majority of the artifacts came from Bellary District. Others were collected from the districts of Hyderabad, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Anantapur and Guntur in the present Andhra Pradesh State; Bellary and Mysore in the Karnataka State; North Arcot, Salem, Tinnelvelly and Trichinopolly in the Tamil Nadu State and Palghat District in the present Kerala State. Besides Foote's collection explorers like Fraser, Middlemiss, Cadrew, Gompertz, Tucker and Mangles, Wuchope, Knox, Jardine, etc. made huge collections in the South.

Recent Work :

With the help of the clues left by Foote, the existence of neolithic culture in the south has been established by the discovery of a large number of surface sites culminated in the small-scale excavation of a number of them, which present a fairly detailed picture of the neolithic culture. The excavations at Nagarjunakonda in Guntur District (Soundara Rajan 1958 : 49-113), Utnur in Mahabubnagar District (Allchin 1961) and Palavoy in Anantapur district (Rami Reddy 1976b) revealed the neolithic culture in Andhra Pradesh. Besides my discovery of some 35 sites in Anantapur and Kurnool districts (Rami Reddy 1968), Sarma of the Archaeological Survey of India (1967 : 75–94), some staff and students of the Andhra University Post-graduate centre, Guntur (personal communication), and the faculty members and students of the Department of Anthropology, Andhra University, Waltair (personal communication) have found several surface sites in Kurnool, Cuddapah, Prakasam, Guntur, Nellore, Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts respectively showing a wide distribution of the early farming communities in the coastal as well as in land tracts of the state. The distribution pattern of the sites as given above indicates that the first farmers had built their

settlements in the north-eastern, south-eastern, south-western and southern parts of Andhra Pradesh. Evidence is yet to be brought to light in support of their occupation in the rest of the state. Only systematic explorations of smaller areas will help us in tracing the nature and extent of the neolithic cultnre in this part of the peninsula.

In Karnataka, particularly in the North Karnataka, neolithic culture is much better known through explorations and excavations. Besides the classic work of Robert Bruce Foote (1914 and 1916), considerable evidence for the pattern of life of the early farmers has not only been gathered from the surface of a large number of sites but also recovered from the excavations by the Nizam's State Department of Archaeology (1936–37 and 1938–39), Gordons (1943) and Thapar (1957) at Maski; Subbarao (1948 and 1949) and Ansari and Nagaraja Rao (1969) at Sanganakallu; Krishna (1942) and Wheeler (1948) at Brahmagiri, Allchin (1960) at Piklihal; and more recently by Sankalia (1964), and Nagaraja Rao and Malhotra (1965) at Tekkalakota; Nagaraja Rao (1971) at Hallur, Sundara (1971) at Terdal; Seshadri (1971) at T. Narsipur; Paddayya (1973) at Kodekal; and Hanumantha Rao and Nagaraju (1914) at Hemmige. All these sites including the surface ones are geographically situated in the Raichur, Bellary, Chitaldrug, Dharwar, Bijapur, Mysore, Gulbarga and Belgaum districts of the state. In Tamil Nadu, the evidence has been first reported by Bruce Foote in North Arcot, Madura, Salem, Tinnevelly and Trichinopolly districts. The only site excavated by Rao (IAR 1964–65) is Bainapalli in North Arcot district (Fig. 1). Though many of the above and other districts are rich in the remains of neolithic culture, no systematic work has been done after that of Bruce Foote After Foote reported evidence for the neolithic culture in Palght district of the present Kerala State, no additional or new evidence has been found. Thus most of the evidence that speaks about the life and culture of the neolithic communities in Southern India comes from Karnataka particularly North Karnataka followed by South western Andhra Pradesh. Tamilnadu and Kerala are least known, Further explorations in these areas will help to unravel plenty of new sites.

1979

Life And Culture of the Southern Neolithic Folk

On the basis of the evidence from surface and excavated sites of these areas, we shall present in the following pages a synthetic picture of the life-ways of the people with respect to their settlement pattern, subsistence economy, technology, burial practices and so on.

Settlement pattern and ecology :

The people generally lived on the tops of granitoid hills, where they made use of the natural rock-shelters and open spaces covered by granite boulders for their abode as at Sanganakallu, Piklihal, Tekkalakota, Paiyampalli and palavoy. The flat terraces on these hills were sometimes made flat by levelling the ground and were used for habitation. The occurrence of natural water-cisterns, land for patch agriculture, fauna and flora and rocks in the form of natural trap dykes for the fabrication of pecked and ground stone tools made it congenial for their living. Occupation was, however, not confined to the enclosed areas within the hills but also to the slopes and the plains at the feet of the hills as seen at Maski and Brahmagiri. Neolithic people also lived on the river banks as at T. Narsipur and Hallur. That these folk frequented river banks in Andhra Pradesh is known from the sites of Chetnepalli and Nagaladinne on the Tungabhadra river bank in Adoni taluk of Kurnool district.

So far we do not have a clear picture of the plans of the neolithic houses because the excavations at all the above sites were conducted on a small scale. Remains of wood found at Brahmagiri, Maski, Piklihal, Tekkalakota, Hallur and Palavoy indicate that huts were raised on round wooden posts. At Piklihal, there was evidence of walls of bamboo matting plastered with mud and floors made of clay and dung. At Brahmagiri and Sanganakallu lime was also used in the marking of floors, but at Palavoy the floor was made of pale brownish soil mixed with sand. The houses were of square or rectangular and circular or rectangular plan at Piklihal and Palavoy. Further, at Piklihal there was evidence of a floor infront of a rock-shelter showing the easiest and simplest way of making houses. At

Sanganakallu, the neolithic habitation was separated from the pre-neolithic by a barren layer. There was no break in the neolithic occupation as there was evidence of several floors super-imposed one upon the other. Recent excavations here by Ansari and Nagaraja Rao (1969) have revealed the plan of a circular hut supported on Wooden posts. Within the house were found remnants of a hearth, a storage pit, a few rubbers and ground stone axes. The hill dwellers of Tekkalakota settled on flat terraces enclosed by big granite boulders. The enclosed areas provided protection from wild beasts and human enemies. The uneven surfaces were filled with reddish murum, silt, rubble and occassional boulders. Walls of mud or clay supported by wooden posts as at other sites were raised right on the murum surface. Two building phases have come to light during excavations. In the first phase, floor was levelled by rubble stones enclosed by a circular row of large boulders on which appeared to have stood screens made of split bamboo. The roof of these circular houses was probably conical. Similar circular house plans with bamboo matting werefound in phase 2 of the Neolithic period at Hallur. Living parallels of such simple huts are still prevalent among such ethnic groups as the Boyas, the Chenchus, the Savaras and so on, who are bioculturally similar in many respects to the first farming communities. Large scale excavations may help in understanding the problem better then now. The evidence of plant remains of *Acacia* (*Tumma* in Telugu) or *Dalbergia* and Zizyphus (ber. or *Regu* in Telugu) species from Palavoy excavations suggest an arid topography and dry climatic conditions when the neolithic people lived. The domesticated animals like cattle, sheep, goats and swine further add that the forests were not too dense, that the country was hilly and mountanous, and that some kind of woodland existed.

Economy:

The neolithic economy of South India was a mixed one It included hunting, fishing, primitive agriculture and pastoralism.

Direct evidence for the practice of agriculture is provided by the discovery of charred grains of horse gram *Dolichos biflorus*) from Tekkalakota and Ragi (*Eleusine coracana*) from Hallur. Evidence of

both these species besides that of green gram (*Phaseolus radiatus*) was also found at Bainapalli in Tamilnadu. The large number of querns and rubbing stones found at all sites in South must have been used for pounding and grinding grain. Farming was possibly carried out by making clearings in the surrounding jungles with the help of stone axes and fire, while mace-heads acted as weights for digging sticks. The method of sowing seeds in the holes made by the digging sticks is still in practice in certain interior parts recalling the extinct one. Microliths might have been used after hafting as knives or sickles for harvesting crops.

Certain bone specimens from Palavoy excavations like the *anchylosed* fused carpal II and III with the radial carpal of a matured normal-sized bovine, and an axially *exostosed* third phalanx examined by Professor K. R. Alur throw light on the heavy and prolonged use in agricultural operations like land-tilling as well as in heavy traction or draught work. This interesting piece of evidence supports the fact that the neolithic folk were advanced agriculturists besides being pastoralists (Rami Reddy 1968: 315-316, specimen No. 350; 369: Fig. 43, No. 12, specimen No. 284). Anchylosis of the hock joint was identified in the bones from Hallur (Sundara 1971: 116-7) and Utnur (Allchin 1969: 321) also indicating the use of cattle for heavy draft work. Besides, the bones from Palavoy (Rami Reddy 1968: 317 and 364-365), Utnur (Allchin 1961: 62) and Kodekal (Paddayya 1973:76) were recognised as those of two breeds-smaller comparable to today's variety, and larger probably used for draft and ploughing.

In addition to farming, animals were bred for food. Bones of cattle, sheep and goats, swine, dog and horse recovered from various sites show that domestication was the mainstay of the economy. Most of these bones particularly of cattle are charred and show chopping and splitting marks on their surfaces. People must have eaten the flesh after roasting as seen from the grey or black discoluration of sveral bones resulted due to auto-combustion as at Palavoy. Cattle must have been domesticated both for their milk and meat. The principal animal species was cow/bull (*Bos indicus*) known from all the neolithic settlements indicating its close association with man and

his vocation. This is also demonstrated by the bruisings, paintings and engravings of this species on granite boulders at a number of sites like Velpumadugu in Andnra Pradesh and Sanganakallu, Piklihal and Tekkalakota in Karnataka. Buffalo (*Bos bubalis*) has been reported from Maski, Nagarjunakonda, Palavoy and Kodekal only. Sheep (*Ovis vignei*) and goats (*Capra hircus*) *aegagrus*) and ass (*Eguus asinus*) were common at all the sites; only the first of the species was absent at Utnur and the second at Tekkalakota. No animal remains were found at Brahmagiri but the early stratum of period IB yielded an unbaked, roughly modelled animal figurine of pig or sheep (?) showing the dominant role of animal husbandry in the economy.

Swine, dog and horse were known to Hallur people alone. Dog was known to Maski, Palavoy and Kodekal people only. Domestic ass was present at Maski and Kodekal while hog in wild or domesticated state was known to Palavoy people only. Some other animals comprise small vertebrates like tortoise from Maski, Piklihal, Utnur and Tekkalakota; rats (*Rattus rattus*) and invertebrates like freshwater mussels (*Parreyssia sp.*) from Maski, Tekkalakota and Kodekal, and snails from Maski and Piklihal. Punctured decorations of a snake and a peacock on a lid from Tekkalakota indicate that these animals were also known to neolithic people. Such small animals must have formed a subsidiary item of food of the people of this culture.

Wild species comprise wavy horned antelope from Tekkalakota, Palavoy and Hallur; and stags or deers from Tekkalakota, Palavoy and Kodekal only. These animals were apparently hunted for their meat. The hunting of these fauna was presumably done by bow and arrow and stone missiles.

Fishing is evidenced by the finding of copper fish-hooks at Tekkalakota and Hallur. Mat-weaving formed a part of the neolithic economy. Twilled map impressions are seen on the bases of the burial pots of Tekkalakota. Mat-impressed pot sherds were also found at Kodekal. The prolific occurrence of bone tools like axeheads, points, some chisels, blades and a punch at Palavoy suggest

that some type of leather work was in practice here. Further, the bone points found at a number of sites might have been used in weaving some kind of textile or for stitching bags, or for both (Rami Reddy 1976a).

The recovery of Zizyphus seeds from Palavoy as well as from Kodekal indicates that their subsistence economy was supplemented by the collecting method besides fishing, hunting, traping, etc.

Tool Technology :

The neolithic tool technology is characterised by two lithic industries-pecked and ground stone and blade and micro-lithic, and a bone tool industry.

Pecked and Ground Stone Industry :

The pecked and ground stone industry forms a significant trait of the Southern neolithic culture. The artifacts of this industry are made of igneous metamorphic rocks like basalt/dolerite, diorite, granite, epidote granite, greenstones, schist, gneiss, quartz and quartzite, Basalts and dolerites, which occur in the form of dykes, were most commonly used in the manufacture of tools. Sandstone was also occasionally used for making tools. The techniques of manufacture consist of flaking, pecking and grinding. These were employed either individually or in combination in the preparation of a tool.

The industry is characterised by edge tools like axes, adzes, wedges, chopper-chopping tools, scrapers, chisels; and the non-edge tools comprise hammers, sling-stones, rubbers, querns, grooved hammer stones and maceheads or ring stones, anvils and so on. Pointed tools include points, borers and picks which occur occasionally. At no single site, however, all the types are represented. Axes form the most common and significant group of tools in the industryy. They are known from all the sites in South excepting Utnur and Maski. Adze which is an uncommon type is known at Sanganakallu, Brahmagiri, Piklihal and Tekkalakota. No specimens

of this type were found in Palavoy II though there are a few in the surface collection from southwestern Andhra Pradesh. Chisels are known from Sanganakallu, Piklibal and Tekkalakota but are absent from Palavoy. However, from the surface of this and other sites in Anantapur and Kurnool districts several specimens were found. Objects like rubbing stones, querns, hammer stones and slings are known from all the sites in South. Mace-heads are also known from several sitse. Grinding grooves were noticed at Sanganakallu, Piklihal and Pelavoy as well and these grooves reveal that the tools were manufactured and ground in them at the sites themselves. Most of these tools were used in agricultural and domestic activities, while some might have also acted as tool-producing tools.

Blade and Microlithic Industry :

The blade industry consists mostly of blades without secondary work Retouched tools form only a small proportion ; these include serrated or blunted back blades, lunates, triangles, trapezes, points, scrapers, etc. These are made of siliceous rocks like chert, chalcedony, jasper, agate, opal and quartz. The industry is particularly common at Brahmagiri, Sanganakallu, Maski, Piklihal, Tekkalakota, Palavoy and Hallur and is present at T. Narsipur, Utnur and Nagarjunakonda as well. At paiyampalli, the blade industry is absent in the excavations but the surface of the site yieled a few scores.

The industry is based on the crested guided rldge technique and is in this respect similar to the blade industry of the chalcolithic Cultureof the Northern Deccan and different from that of the mesolithic culture. At Maski, the blades are of a very large size, obviously due to the nature of the raw material there. The neolithic folk must have used the blades and microliths by making them compound tools by hafting method for harvesting the crops and for cutting animal flesh, vegetables, fruits, etc.

Bone Tool Industry :

Bone tools are known from several neolithic sites, but they are not very common. This shows that the people have not developed

much interest for the art of bone tool production though the source of raw material was available in great abundance in the form of different animal species. An awl with a notch at the butt end is known from Sanganakallu and a worked bone point in the upper neolithic period of Piklihal. From Utnur comes as fragment of bovine long bone ground at one end to form a flattened chisel-like blade. The founder, Professor Allchin, thinks that it was used for scraping bone-marrow. Tekkalakota yielded two chisel ends, one scraper and seven points. Besides, three antlers of wavy horned antelope and deer or stag with perforated branches were possibly used as handles by hunters. Phase 2 at Hallur also brought to light a few bone points. An edg-ground bone object from Kodekal was probably used for dressing animal skins. The bone tool industry of Palavoy is the best represented of all South Indian neolithic sites. The tools consisting of axe-heads, blades. points, a punch and a chisel account for nearly 25 per cent of the lithic industries at this site which has no parallels in South India. They were mostly made on bovine long bone splinters and scapulae. Some types like chisels and points were probably used for removing flesh and marrow from bones. Points also might have been used for stitching leather bags, and for weaving some kind of textile (?). Axe-heads were put to lighter duties such as skinning, scrapping and cutting of the hides like the iron tools of Indian cobbler of today.

Copper Objects:

Copper objects are known from the sites of Brahmagiri, Maski, Piklihal, Tekkalakota and Hallur. They are, however, scarce in comparison to stone tools. At Brahmagiri, phase IB yielded two bronze objects – a circular rod and a flat axe. At Maski, a solitary copper rod was found in the mid-level of period I. A long copper chisel and two fragments of a copper bowl occured in the upper levels at Piklihal. At Tekkalakota, a rectangular flat copper axe was recovered from the lower level of phase I and in phase II, several copper objects consisting of a spiral, a bent wire, a ring, a nailhead and a non-descript piece – were recovered. At Hallur, phase 2

yielded miniature copper axes and fish-hooks. Excepting Tekalakota (where phase I also yielded copper) copper occurs in small quantities in the late levels of neolithic culture suggesting that the knowledpe of this metal was acquired by neolithic people during the later part of the culture. But at Palavoy, the late level of neolithic culture dated by C-14 method to 1965 B. C. has yielded a fragment of an arrow-head (?), which does not appear to be an import from outside.

Pottery :

Pottery is another important item that lends stability to settled way of life. Neolithic pottery is mainly handmade, excepting at Maski where wheelmade pottery occurred in high proportion. A part of the Piklihal pottery, particularly the A4 and A5 wares of the Upper Neolithic period are reported to be turn-table made. The black-and-red ware found with burials in Tekkalakota-II was possibly made by a similar technique. The pottery from Palavoy II and from the surface of several sites in Soutewestern Andhra Pradesh is all handmade.

There are three distinct wares of Pottery : blotchy grey, dull red and black-on-red wares. It is often divided into several subwares on the basis of surface treatment, techniques of manufacture, shape and decoration. Allchin (1960 : 23) divides the Piklihal pottery technologically into five groups designated A1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 respectively. The A1 is generally black to grey unburnished were which includes a small proportion of sherds of incised, perforated and surface-roughened wares. The colour of A2 is similar to A1 ware but its surface is burnished and painted with a post-firing red ochre wash. The A3 ware has has red, black, chocolate or brown ochereous surfaces depending on the slip or dressing applied over them. The ware is both plain and painted. The A4 ware has grey, buff and mottled colours. The surfaces are fused and burnished. The A5 ware has grey, buff, olive green and black burnished surfaces approaching black-and-red ware. The A1 to 3 ware handmade, while

A4 and A5 wares seem to have been made on a turn-table. The A1, A2 and A3 wares occur in both Lower and Upper Neolithic periods, but are more predominant in the former. The small percentage of painted sherds in A3 ware are characteristic of only the lower neolithic period. The A1-3 wares were found at Utnur (Allchin 1961 : 24). The A4 and A5 wares were absent at this site from which Allchin considers the Utnur neolithic as equivalent to the lower neolithic of Piklihal and other contemporary sites in the South.

The grey ware, equivalent to Allchin's A1 or A2 were. is the most significant ware and is abundant at all sites in South. It is more predominant in the early than in the late levels of this culture. However, it is regular in all levels of Maski-I. The pale grey ware is sometimes even absent as in phase 2 at Hallur (Nagaraja Rao 1966 : 109). In Palavoy II, grey associated with other wares is in larger proportion in the Upper than in the lower levels unlike at other sites, The ware occurs both with and without slip and burnishing The dull red ware is the next common ware of the Southern neolithic culture and has been reported from Sanganakallu-II. 2, Maski-I, Nagarjunakonda, Tekkalakota-I, Hallur-2 and on the surfaces of several sites in Kurnool district (Sarma 1967 : 87-8). The plain A3 red ware from Piklihal and Utnur can well go with this ware. Like the grey ware, this to occurs both with and without burnishing.

The pottery types known at Piklihal comprise shallow dishes or platters; bewls of various sizes and shapes; lipped bowls; lugged bowls; spouted bowls; channel-spouted bowls; vessels of various sizes with narrow, wide, broad and open mouths, bases, handled pots. lips. bell-shaped jars, hollow-footed cups; carinated bowls and legged stands. Legged stands occur in A3, A4 and A5 wares but more predominantly in A3 ware. Lids, lugs and handles characteristic of A1 to 3 wares are absent in A4 and A5 wares. The most interesting and significant types are the lipped, spouted and channel-spouted bowls, the handled pots. bell-shapped jars, the legged stands and perforated pots·

A lipped bowl of painted red ware was first found at Patapadu in Kurnool district by Foote (1616 : 115, pl. 26, No. 2605-22). Similar bowls have subsequently turned up in coarse grey, dull grey and Polished brown-and-black wares in the lowest stratum of Brahmagiri IB (Wheeler 1948: 229 and 232; Fig. 21, T. 44 and Fig. 23, T. 77 and 78); in pale grey were from Sanganakallu II-1 and 2 (Subbarao 1948; pl. VIII, T. XVc, d and e); in A1 buff ware from Piklihal lower and upper neolithic periods (Allchin 1960; pl. 25, T. 14a to d); in burnished as well as pale grey were from the earliest levels of Tekkalakota-I (Nagaraja Rao and Malhotra 1965 : 41-3, Figs. 15c and 19b) in coarse grey ware from the neolithic levels at T. Narsipur (*IAR* 1961-62:35); from period I at Bainapalli (*IAR* 1964-65 : 57) and in burnisved grey ware from surface in Kurnool District (Sarma 1967 : 87, Fig. 2, No. 19). Comparable lipped bowls have been found on surface and in the excavations at Palavoy in burnished grey, dull red and painted red wares.

Spouted bowls and vessels are known from Brahmagiri, Nagarjunakonda (*IAR* 1957-58; 6, Fig. 3), T. Narsipur (*IAR* 1958-59: 32), Piklihal upper neolithic period and Tekkalakota. No comparable specimens of this type were found in Palavoy II though the surface of this and a few other sites in the region yielded fragments of tubular spouts made of dull red and grey wares. At Brahmagiri, Piklihal and and Tekkalakota these pots were found in association with burials. However, no such pots or spouts occurred with burials at Palavoy, possibly because the dead here were children.

Channel-spouted bowl is reported from T. Narsipur (*IAR* 1958-59 : 33) and Piklihal. A single specimen of this type closely parallel to that of Piklihal was recovered from Palavoy excavations also, the differecce between the two being that the Piklihal specimen is in A2 (approaching A5) ware [with red ochre band around the edge while that of Palavoy is in painted red ware. Lugged bowls occurred at Piklihal, Sanganakallu and Maski. No specimens of this type were encountered in the Palavoy excavations. However, a surface specimen belonging to unburnished grey ware from the site of Katamadevudu hill can be closely compared to those of the above sites.

Fragments of bowls or vessels with carination at the belly in burnished grey and dull red wares found on the surface of the site of Velpumadugu and from Palavoy II. These can be compared to more or less similar specimens from Piklihal and Sanganakallu.

Cylindrical handles similar to the one from Piklihal were collected from the surface of a few sites including Palavoy. But none occurred in the excavations. Broad handles, ladled handles characteristic of the surface collection of our region have no parallels from other sites in South India.

The next important type consists of perforated pots. So far only fragments of this type were recovered from the excavations at Brahmagiri, Maski, Sanganakyllu, Piklihal and Tekkalakota. At these sites, only the late levels of neolithic culture yielded these pots. The site of Palavoy did not yield any fragments of this type though other sites in the region brought to light a few comparable pieces.

Lids were found at Maski, Piklihal and Palavoy. Flat bases of vessels of cups vaguely comparable to those of Brahmagiri, Piklihal and Utnur have turned up on surface and in the excavations at Palavoy. Legged stands characteristics of A3, A4 and A5 wares and bell-shaped jars of A1 and A2 wares are known from Piklihal only.

At least five types of decoration occur upon the vessels of various wares in South India. They are : 1) impressed, 2) incised, 3) applique, 4) perforated and 5) painted. The first type is a finger-tip impressed decoration usually occurring on the rims of storage jars in single or double rows. It is known from Sanganakallu, Piklihal and Tekkalakota (Nagaraja Rao and Malhotra 1965 : 37). Such decoration occurs on an unburnished grey, ware shed collected from the surface of Palavoy and on the rims of storage jars of unburnished grey, unburnished and burnished dull red wares from other sites in Southwestern Andhra Pradesh.

Incised decoration in the form of elementary herring bone or criss-cross patterns and as irregular incisions on grey and buff slipped sherds was found in Brahmagiri IA culture. Similar decoration as vertical, horizontal and oblique lines or as finger-nail incisions on an applied band below the rim is reported throughout Maski I (Thapar 1957 : 48, Fig. 13. Pl. XXA). At Piklihal the designs are in the form of scratches in horizontal and diagonal bands on A1 ware sherds as at Maski or in herring bone patterns on A2 grey ware sherds as at Brahmagiri. Such decoration was also found in the from or irregular incisions on sherds of A1 grey brown ware at Utnur. Applique decoration is rare and is known only from Piklihal, Tekkalakota and Palavoy. It occurs individually or in combination with finger-tip impressions as at the first and last sites while at the last site it alone is found. Perforated decoration at the bases of grey and dull red ware pots from all the sites. Red ochre painted decoration in the form of horizontal and vertical bands on rim-edges, neck and shoulders of bowls and pots of grey ware is present at most of the sites. More or less similar pottery wares and shapes and decorations were prevalent at Kodekal and Hemmige.

Painted Black-on-Red Ware :

This ware in the form of lipped bowls with paintings in black was first discovered by Foote (1916 : 115, pl. 26) at Patapadu in Kurnool district. Later, Wheeler found some sherds of this ware in Brahmagiri IA. The painted ware is buff or red-slipped. The red-slipped pottery is burnished and salt-glazed. The painting was done after firing with brownish purple coloured ochre. The decorative patterns consist of simple horizontal and vertical bands, criss-cross of lattice and highly conventionalized plant patterns. At Sanganagallu, the painted pottery is characertistic of phase II-2. The ware is represented by a small number of shapeless sherds bearing designs similar to those of Brahmagiri. The painted red ware from Maski belonging to the lower levels of period I possessed black or chocolate coloured designs of vertical lines below a horizontal band and oblique line. Thapar (1957 : 24) thinks that the

painted pottery of Brahmagiri IA and Maski I "although not remarkably similar to some Indus Valley pottery as asserted by M. H. Krishna, may, nevertheless, show vague affinities with the Harappa culture through some unidentified stages".

The painted pottery at Piklihal represented by A3 burnished ware occurs in small proportion in the Lower Neolithic period. The designs consist of horizontal bands, a number of radiating triangles, etc. drawn from a band around the neck of pots. Utnur also yielded painted pottery (more than at Piklihal) of A3 ware from the Lower Neolithic period. Here too, all sherds are fragmentary except one, which is an open mouthed vessel with strokes and a single outer band.

Tekkalakota II is characterised by a few sherds of painted red ware. The types are globular vessels and high necked jars which the excavator compares with similar types from Nevasa and Jorwe. The painted designs are horizontal or vertical bands as at other sites. Nagarjunakonda yielded a solitary painted sherd, and a few sherds are known from period II (Chalcolithic) of T. Narsipur and phase 2 (Chalcolithic) of Hallur. Painted pottery is thus known in the lower levels of Brahmagiri IA, Maski I, Piklihal and Utnur Lower Neolithic period and Nagarjunakonda. At Sanganakallu, Tekkalakota, T. Narsipur and Hallur, painted pottery occurred in upper levels. At Terdal, and Kodekal painted pottery in small proportion has been found while at Hmmige the ware is completely absent. But at all sites its incidence is small and hence it has been thought that painted pottery at Neolithic sites was derived by trade from the chalcolithic sites of the Northern Deccan.

Several sites around Patapadu in Kurnool and Cuddapah districts of Andhra Pradesh (Sarma 1967 : 75-94) have yielded painted sherds. The chief type is lipped bowl. Other types include goblet bowls, wine cups and bowls with convex flaring rims, globular jars, constricted as well as high-necked vessels – all comparable to similar types of Malwa ware. The designs are geometric and sometimes naturalistic. Sama thinks that painted pottery along with other relics

like copper and gold objects and steatite beads first reached the South as imports. Further the handmade painted black-on-red were noticed at Kanigiri Kondalu and other sites in Prakasam and Kurnool districts by Sarma (personal communication) recently shows some typical types and designs like the closely banded incised designs comparable to those of the pre-Harappan levels of Kalibangar. Does it mean that there existed commercial contracts between the Harappan civilization and Neolithic communities of this period when the former imported the raw-materials of the above items?

The painted pottery from Palavoy occurs in a fairly larger proportion (about 11%), of greater antiquity than at other sites and differs from the latter in shapes and designs as well as in the nature of manufacture. It was hence thought to be of local origin. The fabric is all handmade : the common shapes are globular pots, slightly carinated pots, basin pan, lipped bowl and a few ordinary bowls which are all characteristic of blotchy grey and dull red wares also. Excepting a high cylindrical necked vessel and vertical narrow-necked pot comparable to similar types from Piklihal and Tekkalakota respectively, the rest of the shapes are unique of Palavoy. Similarly the comparable designs are simple, horizontal and vertical bands, criss–cross or lattice and diagonal lines, while the designs like zig-zag, chevrons, loops, etc. are unknown at other South Indian sites.

The pots must have been utilized for number of domestic functions : storage jars for storing grains; small-sized pots for cooking; and bowls and dishes for carrying liquids and other items of food, decorated, and lipped and spouted pots might have been used on certain cremonial occasions.

Ornaments :

Objects of ornaments mostly in the form of beads figure at all neolithic sites excepting Utnur. The commonest material is steatite, but beads of shell, terracotta, agate, amethyst, carnelian, chalcedony, coral, paste, argillite, greenstone and bone are also known. Steatite

and shell beads occur on all the sites. Terracotta beads occur at Brahmagiri, Hallur and Hemmige while those of agate were found at Brahmagiri and Maski. Maski, Piklihal and Tekkalakota yielded carnelian beads. Beads of Amethyst, chalcedony, coral and paste have been found at Maski only while those of argillite and greenstone are characteristic of Tekkalakota. Gold and bone beads were found at Hallur alone. Besides, at Tekkalakota two gold ear ornaments or pendents were found in the earliest levels of phase I while copper ornaments like spirals and bangles occured in phase II.

Explorations in Kurnool district (Sarma 1967 : 88-9) brought to light a large number of disc-shaped beads of steatite from the sites of Pusalapadu in Giddalur taluk and Rampuram in Banganapalle taluk. This richness is also reflected in the names of the sites – 'Pusalapadu' (Pusalu = beads; Padu = heap or refuse) and 'Bandipusala Chenu' (meaning 'a field of wheel-shaped beads'). No beads or other ornaments were found in Palavoy II, though the surface of the site yielded a single crudely made specimen of carnelian. From the surface of a few other sites in the region circular beads mostly of steatite and some of agate, carnelian and chert were collected.

As beads, especially those of steatite, are profuse on the Harappan sites, Allchin (1960 : 111) thinks that they were brought to the Deccan neolithic sites from the Indus Valley by itinerant pedlars. It is, however, possible that steatite beads were locally made as the limestones in Bellary, Anantapur and Kurnool districts are rich in steatite. Even agate and chert could be obtained from the Tungabhadra shingle beds.

Terracotta Objectivs :

Terracotta objects have been found at all the sites expceting Utnur, Sanganakallu, Nagarjunakonda, Kodekal and Paiyampalli. Piklihal bull figurines with long and curved horns, hump and nose indicated by small additions, fore and rear legs represented by a single cylinder are the most prominent among these figurines. Others include a human torso of grey black clay with reddish slip and a small bird

standing with closed wings. Almost sll terracottas were recoverd from the lower levels. All are handmade in A3 (reddish) ware. Allchin opines that the technique employed for making the tail of a bull from Brahmagiri is similar to that of Piklihal. Brahmagiri early IB culture yielded a roughly modelled, unbaked figurine of sheep or pig (?) but the late stratum of the same culture yielded an incompletely pierced spindle whorl.

Tekkalakota excavations brought to light a number of potsherds with ground edges and a few perforated discs along with a torso, hind parts of two bulls, lamps, dabber, fragment of a pedastal or cake, appliques, legs of vessels, lids and two thick finger-pressed burnt earth lumps. Pierced and unpierced pottery discs of terracotta were also reported from Maski. Clay objects called 'neck-rests' by Foote are characteristic of T, Narsipur and Hemmige.

The excavations at Palavoy did not yield any human or animal figurines of terracotta. The only specimen of an animal figurine, probably a bull, made of terracotta was found on the surface of the site. Though it typologically compares with the one from Piklihal the two differ in detail.

Unlike the Piklihal bull, the Palavoy specimen has a long face, a small hump and a sloping back. Tekkalakota II also yielded some bull figurines but these do not show any similarity to that of Palavoy. A potter's dabber of coarse grey fabric from Palavoy II shows a close affinity to similar finds from the mid-level of Maski I, Piklihal A1, buff ware and Tekkalakota I.

Art and its place in the Life of the people :

The art works of the South Indian first food producers survived in various forms would not only tell us about people's aptitude and skill but also their attitudes, values and beliefs, and to a great extent the socio-cultural environment in which they flourished. They range from various forms of paintings and decorations on pottery to terracotta figurines of birds, animals and men to rock-carvings, bruisings

and paintings in rock-shelters. Various types of decorations such as incised, perforated, impressed, combed, applique and red ochre paintings on pots from almost all sites stand testimony to the taste of these folk for art. Terracotta figurines of cattle, bulls and other tamed animals from certain sites like Pikihal and Palavoy indicate that these species were not only domesticated by the neolothic folk but were also held in high esteem. Other terracotta figurines were those of birds, men, etc. Red ochreous rock paintings of a tortoise and a deer from Adoni in Kurnool district, and the rock brusings of a pair of face-to-face standing bulls from Velpumadugu in Uravakonda taluk of Anantapur district. the only works of art noticed in Andhra Pradesh (Rami Reddy 1971), had probably occupied an important niche in the philosophy of their life. More or less similar examples reported from Sanganakallu, Piklihal, Tekkalakota and Kodekal further strengthen the magico-religious belief prevailing among the folk. The methods of disposing the dead males, females and children in differnt ways with grave goods and furniture from sites like Brahmagiri, Piklihal, Tekkalakota, Hallur, and Palavoy would demonstrate the burial customs practised by the people of those days as well as their belief in future life or rebirth of their kith and kin.

Disposal of the Dead :

Brahmagiri, Piklihal, Tekkalakota, Hallur and Palavoy are the only sites where the system of disposing the dead is noticed. Wheeler recognises two kinds of burials from Brahmagiri. In the first, the infant was folded up closely and then packed into a large, roughly made urn of uniform type. Such burials are numerous at Brahmagiri. The second type consists of inhumation burials in which the dead were buried in east-west direction with the head placed towards the east and earthen pots like bowls and funnel-spouted vessel were placed near the proximal ends of the femur and skull respectively.

The Tekkalakote folk practised secondary burials which are extended in nature. In these burials which came from phase 1, the

people buried the dead, probably after exposure, by collecting the long bones and skull and arranging them in a burial fashion in south-north orientation in a shallow pit dug in the murum. Besides this bones of two or three persons were placed in one burial thus focussing the evidence of a family or community burial. Children used to be buried in and outside the house in belly-shaped urns expecting rebirth. In phase 2, extended burial system was the accepted practice. Burying the dead in multiple pots was also performed at Tekkalakota. The three burials from Hallur belong to phase 2 of period I. All are double pot burials with burial furniture placed with the first burial. Four infant burials in grey ware urns came to light at Palavoy. The burials either consisted of a single pot covered with an ordinary or lipped bowl ,or two pots kept fnce to face vertically as in Brahmagiri IB and Tekkalakota I and II. The children buried were found to be below one year. The three burials found at Piklihal come from Sites VII and VIII. Two of these contained adult skeletons and the third is that of a young child. In all the cases, the dead accompanied by grave goods were buried in an extended position. However, no infant urn burials have come to light from here.

Antiquity :

Radiocarbon dates for the Southern Neolithic Culture are available from as many as nine sites : Sanganakallu Phase 2 (1490±100, 1485±100 , and 1450±100 B.C.), Utnur (2170±150, 1940 and 1925 B. C.). Tekkalakota phases 1 and 2 (1657±100, 1515±105, 1445±135, and 1510±135 B. C.), T. Narsipur (1445±105, and 1695±105 B.C.), Hallur period I (1610±105, 1330±105 and 945±100 B. C; Neolithic-Megalithic overlap phase : 1020±105 and 870±100 B. C.), Terdal (1805±95 and 1665±120 B. C.), Palavoy period II (1965± 105 B.C.), Kodekal (2335±105 B. C.) and Bainapalli (1390±100 B. C.). Allchins (1968) proposed a three-phase sequence of development for the Southern Neolithic Culture on the basis of the nature of cultural equipment and radiocarbon data : Phase 1 : 2300-1800 B. C., Phase 2 : 1800-1500 B. C. and Phase 3 : 1400-1050 B. C.

In the light of these dates, it can be stated that the south Indian neolithic culture flourished between 2400 B.C. and 900 B.C. It should however be noted that only a solitary date from Kodekal takes the lower limit to 2400 B. C. immediately followed by another earliest date from Utnur (2200 B.C.). Similiarly a single date from Hallur puts the upper limit at 900 B.C. The bulk of the dates puts the culture between 1800 and 1500 B.C,

We may now examine the horizon and antiquity of painted pottery and copper in South Indinn neolithic culture. Painted pottery was found in the lower level at Utnur dated to 2200 B. C. while at Sanganakallu, Tekkalakota and T. Narsipur, it was thrown in the upper levels between 1600 and 1500 B. C. Copper also occured in the late levels of the neolithic culture at majority of the sites though at Tekkalakota it was found at the beginning of phase 1. But at Palavoy unlike at both Utnur and Tekkalakota painted pottery occurred in the lower as well as upper levels but was common in the upper than in the lower. Besides, the upper level also yielded a copper object as well. The upper level of Palavoy has a radiocarbon date of 2000 B.C. It is significant to note that though Palavoy is one of the southerly located sites the antiquity of copper and painted pottery is 400 to 500 years more than at other sites mentioned earlier where the evidence of the above evidence was encountered in the late levels. Further, the painted pottery found in the lower levels of Palavoy II should be of greater antiquity than that of Utnur which is far more northerly located than Palavoy. The radiocarbon date for the upper level of Palavoy II lends support to the other aspects of the painted pottery from the site like larger proportion, difference in techniques of manufacture and pot forms, etc. that speak of local origin of the ware.

The lowest stratum of Palavoy II (layer 11) which yielded a rubbing stone, two fragments of querns, 55 clay objects and several animal bones, is devoid of pottery of any kind. This cannot, however, be treated as a non-pottery neolithic phase as it is not clearly demarcated from the overlying cultural level. Further, the area dug was very small and layer is also thin (about 9 to 15 cm thick). At

this stage it is not advisable to conclude whether we have a real non-pottery horizon. To test this possibility, a larger excavation is needed. This layer might be dated to about 2500 B. C.

Racial Elements and Origin :

The comparison of racial features obtained from competent and careful anthropometric analyses of the skeletal remains unearthed from excavations with those of the living populations particularly the aboriginal tribes living in out-of-the-way places on the one hand and the study of their life and culture and of the rural society of south India to find out common elements between archaeological cultures surviving primitive communities on the other would largely help in tracing the origin of the South Indian Neolithic Culture.

Brahmagiri, Piklihal, Maski and Tekkalakota – all located in Karnataka – are the only sites where the excavations yielded human skeletal remains the study of which revealed forein as well as autochthonous racial elements ranging from Scytho-Iranian to Australoid or Proto-Austolid and Mediterranian stock. Sarkar (1960 : 5-26) after examining eight skulls from Brahmagiri concluded that four of them belonged to Scytho-Iranian stock having simllar cranial indices to those of Sialk, while the remaining four, according to him, belonged to an autochthonous race of Proto-Australoid stock. Ayer's anthoropometric analysis of the two skulls from the Neolithic Period at Piklihal prompted Allchin (1960 : 134–141) to conclude that the race of the Neolithic people is closely allied to Guha's Paleo-Mediterranean strain which persists from this early period to the present day, as observable in the physical features of the existing tribal peoples of the Deccan. Similar racial elements found in Iran and Turkistan and Keltiminar people of Central Asia who belonged to the same Dravidian linguistic stock which besides spreading all over the Iranian plateau and Central Asia in Pre-Bronze Age times came to India with Dravidian languages and neolithic way of life and replaced the Pre-Dravidian or Veddoid. race. From Maski also 18 skulls have been considered by Sarkar (Sen 1967 : 186) for anthropological study. He recognises three racial types among these skulls.

They are : (1) Meso-brachycranic type (Scytho-Iranian?), (2) a type with a long head, thick and heavy bone, longer cranial capacity similar to the al Ubald type (3) probably an autochthonous Australoid type.

Malhotra (Nagaraja Rao and Malhotra 1965) studied the Tekkalakota living Boyas as well as the skeletons recovered from the excavations and concluded that they have mixed Australoid and Mediterranian features. The present day Boyas, whose anatomical features are similar to those of the skeletal remains, were a semi-hunting community, practising primitive agriculture till recently. They live in round huts made with a row of boulders and reeds, and partially plastered on the inside with clay. Similar evidence has come to light from the excavations. A nice review of the evidence from these and other sites in the north has been made by Sen (1967 : 178-205) who inclines to think that the different racial elements observed in these skeletal remains originated indigenously with regional variations.

The various hypotheses put forth by scientists on the origin of South Indian neolithic culture are as under :

According to Wheeler (1948 : 295) the earliest food producing culture of the South distinguished by pointed butt exes was introduced from the northeast India. He (1959 : 89) also thinks that the axes might have reached India from Central Asia through China. Worman (1949 : 181-201) on typological grounds has postulated a Chinese origin of the culture. He also thinks that certain Indian types of celts are earlier than the others. In his opinion the Eastern Neolithic Culture has apparently originated from the South and South-East Asian Culture. Dani (1960) also traces the Eastern Neolithic Culture from South-East Asia through Burma. Allchin (1960 : 139-143) believes in an Iranian origin on the basis of the similarity in the potting technique between Shah Tepe and Piklihal, and the occurrence at both sites of grey ware with certain common types like spouted and channel-spouted pots, and perforated vessels, and the use of tabular basalt for making axes. He believes that domestic sheep. goat and cattle were first brought to Indus Valley by the

pastoralists from the Iranian plateau and Central Asia from where they gradually moved to the South.

Krishnaswami (1960 : 25-65) thinks that the pecked and ground stone iudustry of the South Indian Neolitoic Culture is a locally developed one from a crude post-palaeolithic (microlithic) flake industry of the hunting stage. He also points out that the post-Harappan ribbon flakes, painted pottery and copper objects were brought from Northern Deccan and Central India. Sankalia also believes in an indigenous origin of this culture (1963 : 271-4). According to him, if there were folk movements from Iran their material remains such as grey ware pottery, stone axes etc. should have occurred in the vast territory between Iran and the Deccan. Save for isolated specimens these are totally absent even in areas like Malwa and Saurashtra where fine-grained dolerite dykes occur. On account of the finding of the fossil jaws and teeth of *Bos indicus* dated to the beginning of the Holocene at Nevasa on the Pravara in Maharashtra and Gonchi on Betwa in Malwa the question of bringing similar species in route Indus Valley does not arise according to him. Thapar (1965 : 93) also advances the theory of indigenous origin for the Southern neolithic culture. He thinks that the blade and microlithic industry has descended from a pure microlithic industry. He opines that an aceramic neolithic culture might have flourished in the South and from this the present state of the ceramic culture occurred.

SUMMARY

The South indian neolithic culture chiefly characterised by settled way of life as in other parts of the Old World made its beginning about 4500 pears ago but it is not known in a pure form as at sites like Jarmo, Jericho, Hacilar and Chatal Huyuk in the Near East. Following the first discovery of a ground stone axe in 1842 by Captain Meadows Taylor at Lingsugur in Raichur district, a large number of sites have been discovered in the present states of South India by amateurs as well as professionals, among whom Robert Bruce Foote's

contribution was remarkable. In this century, several scholars explored hundreds of sites of this culture geographically situated at present in the northeastern, southeastern, southwestern and southern parts of Andhra Pradesh ; northern and southern parts of Karnataka; and some parts of Tamil Nadu. The vast body of surface evidence bears a firm stratigraphical proof at a number of excavated sites such at Nagarjunakonda, Utnur and Palavoy in Andra Pradesh ; Maski, Brahmagiri, Sanganakallu, Piklihal, Tekkalakota. Hallur, Terdal. T. Narsipur, Kodekal and Hemmige in Karnataka; and Bainapalli in Tamil Nadu. Though almost all these sites were excavated on a small scale, the artifactural evidences uncovered from them in conjunction with those from surface sites facilitated the reconstruction of a fairly good picture of the life-ways of the people such as settlement pattern, economy, technology and so on.

The first food producers of South India used to live on the tops, sloped and feet of the castellated granite hills characterised by such background as rock-shelters or caves, plateax, raw materials, water spots, wild fauna, etc. and occasionally on river banks in an arid topography and dry climatic-conditions more or less similar to those of today. Their houses consisted of simple huts of square, rectangler or circular plan supported by wooden posts of *Acacia* or *Dalbergia* species with thatched conical roofs, bamboo-reed mud-plastered walls and lime, clay or mud, silt and dung - made floors. Their subsistence economy ranged from collecting - gathering, hunting, fishing to animal husbandry and primitive agriculture. The terraces on the hill-summits and slopes were cleared with the help of painted butt axes and fire, and cultivated with the help of oxen. They have grown both cereals and pulses. Among such as sheep and goats, and cattle were domesticated for their milk and meat. *Bos Indicus* was the chief among these animals. The dog assisted the people in their hunting wild animals like antelope or deer. Their tool technology consisted of peaked and ground stone and blade and microlithic industries. Pointed butt axe was the main tool type like the blade of the latter industry. Bone tools and occasionally copper ones were also made. Bone axe-heads and points occurring in large numbers indicate some kind of leather industry. The pottery was mostly handmade. The principal wares were grey

and dull red wares. Black-on-red ware like the copper was known to these folk late in their career. The common pot types are globular vessels, bowls of various sizes and spouted pots besides lids, lugs and ladles- Ochre paintcd, incised, applique, combed or impressed constitute rhe main decorations. Big vessels like storage jars were used for storing grains while small bowls and pots were used in the kitchen. Black-painted pots were used on ceremonial occasions. The objects of ornament consisted of beads, mostly disc-shaped, made out of various materials. They also made animal and human-figurines out of terracota. Their artistic skill is known from the paintings and decorations made on pots. and paintings and bruisngs produced on the rock-boulders in the vicinity of their settlements. They practised pit as well as urn burials which reveal thebelief of these folk in future life. Recially they belong to the Scytho-Iranin to the Australoid or Proto-Australoid and Mediterranean types representing foreign as well as local elements. However, brachycrany which has bcen claimed by many an Indian Physical anthropoligst as the hall-mark of the Indian megalith-builders was not only found in the skeletal record of such sites as Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, and Lothal but also in that of certain neolithic-chalcolithio sites like Maski, Piklihal and Nevasa indicating its presence even in the populations of these Pre-Iron Age cultures. Further, even the practitioners of megalithism were not uniformly brachycranic but long cranic element was also present in them besides the former as shown by Kennedy (1975 : 73-74, Figure 6) in his excellent work recently. There is thus a high degree of heterogeneity as in the case of other features of the skeletal biology of the neolithic and post-neolithic populations lived in different geographical zones. They were thus phenotypically variable and did not belong to a single racial element or polytype, as was surmised by different schools of thought on the basis of the study of limited series of skeletal remains from one or a few sites. These phenotypic patterns from this time probably contimud to the present through the megalithic forbears as could be seen in the living inhabitants of southern India. These folk although flourished for about 1500 years as known from radiocarbon dates

from many sites, their origin remains unsettled. This may however be known better only when the skeletal biology and cultural life of the Mesolithic folk is adequately documented. The need of the hour therefore is to make efforts to discover such sites where tne succesion of habitation exists from Mesolithic or even earlier to Neolithic or even later time.

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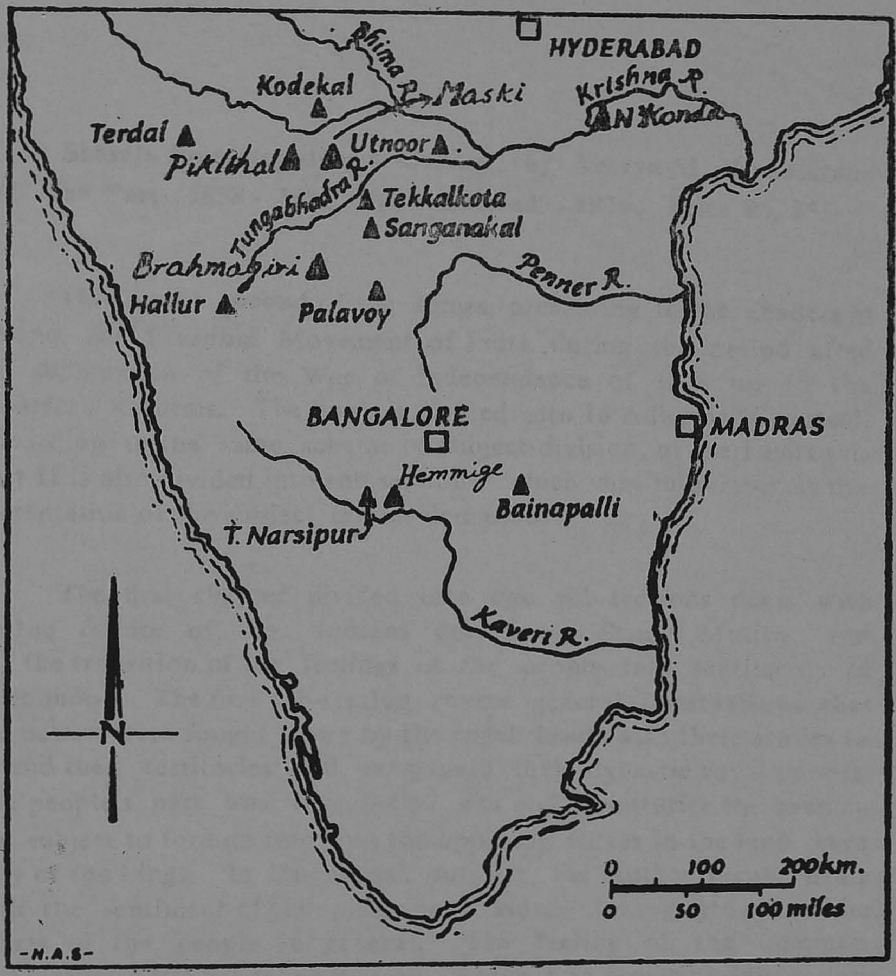

Fig. 1. MAP OF INDIA
Showing the excavated Neolithic Sites

BOOK REVIEW

Bhārata Svatantryodyama Caritra : by Ācārya M. Venkatarangiah IInd Part. 1858 - 1919. Secunderabad. 1976. Price Rs. 25/-

This is the second of the tomes presenting to the readers in Telugu, the Freedom Movement of India during the period after the suppression of the War of Independence of 1858 up to the Montford Reforms. The book is divided into 16 Adhayas (Chapter). According to the same scheme of subject-division, of the I Part this Part II is also divided into sub-sections, which vary in number as the presentation of the subject matter demanded.

The first chapter divided into two sub-sections deals with (i) the failure of the Indians during the Sepoy Mutiny, and (ii) the transition of the feelings of the people into sentiments of nationhood. The first sub-section covers general obesrvations that the battles were fought more by the royal heads with their armies to extend their territories and perpetuate their dynastic royal powers. The people's part was very little. For eight centuries the country was subject to foreign rule and the opposing forces in the land, were only of the kings. In the second sub-sec. the author nicely deals with the sentiment of the nationhood slowly taking growth in the hearts of the people in general. The feeling of the common MOTHERLAND has taken its seed. There is an excellent delineation of the philosophy of the land and projection of the FOUR PURSUITS of a human being .... PURUṢĀRTHAS. The country was deified and the people in faith believed that they all belong to one large society.

In seven sub-sections, the second chapter is presented. The general heading of this chapter is English Education and Nationality. (At page 38, the sub-section has to be numbered as 7). The educated Indians, though were in a few numbers, were mainly responsible for the spread of the ideas of nationhood in the hearts of the people. The new ideas of freedom, equality and fraternity got proliferated throughout the country, in a less decree in the Native States and firmly in the rest of India. The Age of Reason and the great master pieces written in English, were two great factors that overtook the elite of India and propelled them into politico-social activists. Poets sang their own compositions about the sacred motherland, painters and other artists symbolised the greatness of the motherland. Going to England became a common feature. During 1865–1885 about 700 went to England. Kesva Chandra Sen and Pratapa Chandra Majumdar were prominent leaders. In the second sub-sec. the narration presents the traditional concepts of the Indians ... a cultural integration (which wrongly called now-a-days religious) was present. The people of the soil made pilgrimages, to shrines, river centres and other sacred places, and this contact and intermixing of the peoples gave the people a basic feeling of unity that is essential for the modern feeling of nationality. Traders and other industrialists made tours of the whole country and people always believed that they belonged to the country. All-India consciousness was there. Transport facilities like roads and Railways helped for tnis feeling. The third sub-Sec. dealt with the employment of the Indians in the Govt. in the lessor jobs for helping the running of the Governmental machinery. Establishment of Courts, founding of hospitals, made the rulers develop contacts with the people in general. Newspapers in the native languages also gave scope for the spread of the nation-ideas. In the 4th sub-sec. the narration goes on in representing the facts of the emploment and the policies of Cornwallis regarding the services as covenented and uncovenented. The first Indian ICS was Satyendranath Tagore in 1863. The treatment of the Indians and Europeans was different, and its perpetuation in its wake brought discontent among the Indians, The unrest was taking root in the hearts of the edcated... The growth of the Press and journalism form the

feature of the fifth sub-sec. The principle of Divide and Rule adopted by the Britishers in the field of Education is covered by the 6th sub-sec. In the last sub-sec, i. e. the seventh, an account of the racial arrogance exhibited by the rulers is noted.

Economic conditions and the Nationalism form the main subject matter of the third chapters which is divided into five sub-secs. Factors of Production. Distribution and other economic features of the country deteriorated ... the main cause was the British Rule. Handicrafts ... weakened. Food became a scarcity and severe famines overran the country. The cotton and jute mills met with impoverishment. This aspect was dealt with in the 2nd sub-sec. In the 3rd sub-sec. the part played by she Britlsh merchants is narrated. The finances of the country flowed lnto the British Treasury. The burdensome expenses were deliberately imposed on the Indian resources. The striking example is that the expense incurred by the Secretary of the State of India in giving a banquet in London was made to be borne out of the Indian financial resources. The 4th Sub-sec. deals with the establishment of the native Industries. In 1867 there was an Exhibition known as the Hindu Mela. Svadeshi articles were on show. There were some kavi sammelans, Meets of the Poets. Boycott of foreign goods was on the swing. Songs were composed by Ganesh Vasudev Joshi of Maharashtra. People were induced to take oaths not to buy foreign goods. Consumption articles like soaps, candles and inks were manufactured in India only. Some technical skills were developed. In the last fifth sub-sec. deals with the levy of burdensome taxes. Agitation began to protest against the levy of various taxes and cesses. Laws to govern India were passed in England' Peoples representation in the Legislatures while passing Bills concerning taxes was the policy of the Englishmen; but in India that principle of democratic policy was given the go-by. They were levied more to enrich the pockets of the rulers than to increase the comforts af the tax-payers i. e, Indians.

The IVth Chapter deals with the Religious Movements and the Nationalism. The ancient religions and faiths of the people were

based on the Vedas, and Upanishads. These faiths had a severe shake up after the advent of Buddhism and Jainism. In the recent centuries the contact was with Islam and Christianity. The high thinking persons began to make efforts to reorient the background of the ancient faiths. Theism and atheism flourished. Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1774–1833) was a Reformist. He raised a flag of revolt against some ghastly customs like sati and Idol worship. He started a new school of thinking and it was known as Brahma Samaj. He made tenacious attempts to work out for the abolition of sati. It was accomplished in 1829, when a statute was enacted. In the 2nd sub-sec. the part played by Devendranath Tagore (Father of Ravindra) and Kesva Chandra Sen is well narrated. The pattern of thinking spread into the Telugu land and Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu worked for the spread of Brahma Samaj in the conservative society of the Telugus. Slightly differing from the Brahma Samaj tenets, Svami Dayananda, great Vedic scholar founded the Arya Samaj and this narration is covered by the third sub-sec. Apostate Hindus, who were forcibly converted or conjured into alien faiths found a way back into the ancient religion of this land, Hinduism. This process was an..... innovative step towards social and religious rehabilitation. The reconversion process was called SUDDHI Movement. His great work SATYA PRAKASIKA contains the teachings and all the principles of reform that was imminently required during the times to strengthen the Society and its faith in the ancient religion of the land. This in a way helped people to think in a secular way of life. Vedism and Aryanism came into vogue. This movement spread into Bengal, Bombay, Gujarat and other places, and Punjab was not excepted. He was also responsible in converting Col. Olcott and Madam Blavatsky into his way of thinking. Savami Dayananda propounded Dasa Sutras the TEN COMMANDMENTS, The most important of them being adherence to TRUTH, service to the humanity and all the tenets are mainly based on catholocity. Narration about the influence wielded by Sri Ramakṛṣṇa and Svami Vivekananda formed the 4th sub-sec. The 5th sub-sec deals with Vivekananda and the global conquest he made over the minds of people round the world. He also emphasised the service to humanity is worship to God. The sixth sub-sec. reveals

to the reader the founding of the THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY in 1875 at New York by Col. Olcott and Madam Blavatsky. Later the Society based its Head Quarters at Adayar .. Madras. The society spread its branches round the globe and the British Lady .. Annie Besant took a prominent part. She founded the nucleus for the Beneras Hindu University. In the 7th sub-sec. one finds mention of minor cults like, Madhva mata by Kanci Subba Rao, Govinda Cari's Vaishnava school, Smartha movement in Kumbakonam, Lingayat and other movements like the Caitanya. During this period Bhagavad Gita, the Celestial Song gained world-wide popularity. In the 8th and last sub-sec. a resume is given and we find that the word SVARAJYA was coined by Svami Dayanada, which word stood not only for heaven but also for the attainment of Independence for the mother country India.

Social Reform and Nationalism are dealt with in the Vth Chapter. In 4 sub-secs. the topics like driving out the effete traditional customs that submerged the society into depths of superstition conservatism and other regressive modes of living. The.. .. messages of Guru Nanak, Kabir, Ramananda and Tukaram instilled into the minds of people that all men are equal. Basava's Virasaivism and Ramanuja's Vaisnavism gave the favourable breezes. Viresilingham in the Telugu land spread the movement of .... rehabilitating young virgins, who were widowed into happy spousehood. Untouchability, the bane of society was also tackled by the reformers of the times. In the second sub-section we read how Bāla Gangadhara Tilak tried to keep off social reform from the field of politics. The British were vigilent to sow the seeds of dissension in the society by giving an impetus to the non-brahmin movements in Madras and encouraging Dr. Ambedkar. But all these movements entered the..... political sphere. In the 3rd sub-sec. the movement to abolish the Devadasi system is narrated. This move really brought forth in a progressive manner the reinstation of the members of *That* community into respectable social status This sub-sec. also deals with the growth of the News papers. In the last and 4th sub-sec. the uplift of woman in society and improving her status are dealt with. She was given the liberties

to own property, Polygamy was hated. One notable feature is, the practice of killing female babies at their birth was completely given up by 1872 (Rajaputana).

Journalism and Nationalism form the subject matter of the VIth chapter. The Britishers started News Papers in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras to supply news to their countrymen in India. The Rulers imposed several restrictions of the native papers. Censorship came into vogue to scuttle the journalistic .. aspirations of the Indians. A detailed account of the various Journalistic ventures are graphically given in the first three sub-secs. The fourth sub-sec. is devoted to the development of Literatures in the country. Special emphasis is given to the writing in prose. Several Englishmen learnt the local languages and brought to light several works of yore into lime .. light. C. P. Brown was a great scholar in Samskrt and Telugu. He did yoeman service to the Telugu Literature and Language. He was a pioneer lexicographer. Novel writing was also taken up by the Indian penmen Bamkim Chandar's ANANDA MUTT was one of the master pieces of the day. It contained the song, Vande Mātaram. Its publication gave rise to an explosion of all patriotic feelings in the people, chiefly of Bengal.

The 7th Chapter deals with the Political Movements and the Statutory enactments. The divergent views of the Reformists and the Sanatanists gave rise to oppposing forces at work. This propelled the country's forward march to some progress. This aspect was well dealt with in the book. The racial arrogance exhibited by the rulers in imposing a suppressing constitutional machinery was forcibly resented by the scholarly elite of the country, who copiously read the classics on Political Thought of the West. This is one chapter which is not divided into sub-secs. and the narration provides a good reading of the subject matter presented in a classic manner. An insight into the British mind at work in dealing with the matters of India. In 1883 Ilbert Bill was introduced taking away the powers of an Indian Magistrate to try the European accused in cases. This was resented by the Indian elite. Lord Ripon tried to meet the challenge

of protest by introducing an amendment The change sought was that an Indian Magistrate can try an European, but the jurors must be Europeans only. This eye-wash nature of the amendment and its true interpretation was discerned by the Indians and their protests were not heeded to The Bill met with an oppposition from the Anglo.Indian community. Though Ripon was favourable to Indian aspirations, his position was, as he felt, became irksome. Before his term of office of five years he resigned and left for home. His departure created unpleasantness in the minds of the Indians and the same was evident when he was given a mass ovation on the eve of his departure at Bombay. His leaving India was in 1884. His convocation address at the Calcutta University had its great significance. He exhorted the Indians to have one platform to discuss problems concerning country-wide-importance. Dissipation of interests by people of different regions might may not be conductive to the unity of the country and his address formed an anchor sheet for the formation of the All-India party The Indian National Congress. Such a country-wide party was founded in 1885.

8th Ch was divided into seven sub-sec. Indian society was then in several folds of existence .. ; there were the States and Zamindars, merchants, the middle class, the elite, ryots, the labourers under-privileged and the untouchables and it was really an Himalayan task to bring about the political revival conscionsness in these. It required an all-India effort. Previously, i. e. by 1858, British India Society in Calcutta, Bombay Society in Bombay and Madras National Society existed, but these could not stabilise their existences and carry on the national work to the level of a full-blown activist movement. Fissiperous tendencies crept in all these factors awakened in the minds of the people and in Dec. 1885 the great Indian National Congress was founded, The details are graphically narrated. This sub-sec, deals with the work done by the Calcutta Society. The 2 & 3 sub-secs deals with the Societies that were at Bombay and Madras, respectively. 4th sub-sec. deals with the formation of the India Society at London and the great part played by Dadabhoy Novaroj, is presented. The part played by Hume in encouraging the Indians to found the All-India...Congress are delineated in sub-secs 5. In sub-secs. 6 & 7

the work done and results accomplished by the Indion National Congress were will presented.

Ch. 9 in 5 sub-secs clearly gives a pen-picture of the first facet of the work of the Indian National Congress during the period 1885–1905. During this period the A.I,C. followed the policy off Moderation ... mitavāda. They had to collect finances and the British rulers tried their best to see that the Heads of the States and other rich people did not report to financial aids to the movement.

To cripple the Congress movement, the Britishers tried several indirect means. Some army officials insisted on banning the institution. But the British hesitated to take that extreme step. But sliyly and indirectly they influenced the Zamindars and the Muhammadans not to join this national movement. They encouraged Sir Sayad Alighar to forge an Islamic movement and cripple the strength of the national movement. From 1887 Sir Sayad started an Istamic movement. More about this movement is finely presented in the 10th Ch. in 3 sub-secs.

Thc muslims had an initial grouse against the Britishers, because the former considered the latter as the rulers that ousted them from the rulership of India. The muslims also cherished ideas of a common Islamic world and it never struck them that the Indian Muslims were the nationals of India first and that their religion should not be a consideraiion to separate them from the rest of the people of India. The Britishers imperiously followed the Machiavellian policy of divide-et-impera. They believed that the movement can be curbed and weakened by creating a split in the people by separating the Muslims. The two nation theory. its strong seeds were implanted in the minds of the Indian Muslims. In this chapter a clear account is presented as to how the Muslims conducted themselves during this period of our history. They were not united from the beginning and they had their own counter-movements in their camp. The Alighir movement had its birth during this period.

Divided into 4 sub-secs the IIth Chapter narrates the excellent part played by the moderates by their beliefs that the British Rulers alone can halp their aspirationss. But in the elite of the people, personalities like Tilak, Auravind Gosh, Lala Lajaput Roy pressed for a reorientation of the ideals for which Indians must be charged with. They identified National sentiments with the ideas of BHARATIYATA. Activist philosophy was propounded by Tilak and a silver-lining was given by Aurovinda Gosh. Bepin Chandra Pal shook the country with his oratarical talents. They laid out plans and projected their demands, like employment of the Indians in high office lessening of the army-expenditure, imposition of customs duties on all foreign imports and such other benefits. Tilak adopted the means to rouse the national feelings by conducting Ganapati festivals in PUNE. They also adumbrated the methods af passive-resistance and non-cooperation with the Laws. Lord Curzon saw through the Partition of Bengal, in spite of country-wide protests and weakened the movement by lessening the numbers of the Bengali Hindus in undivided Bengal. The author observes that Aurangazeb worked out for the fall of thc Moghul Empire by severely hating the Hindus and the Britishers too repeated the history with short-sight.

The 12th Chapter comprising twelve sub-secs covers about 43 pages, the longest in the book. Its reading provides with the most important facts about the history under survey. Every Indian must be taught about the contents of this chapter. It cleary presents the facts that led to the year 1912.

Curzon's policy of dividing Benal to weaken the anti-British, was implemented and throughout the counlry protests were made and the whole movement was translated into action. The Schools and Colleges were abandoned and new National schools and colleges were started. Repression by the police force began. Picketting was well organised and implemented. Ravindranath Tagore suggested that on a day, all Bengalis must take a bath in the Ganges, wear yellow robes wear the raksha bandhan and march in the streets singing national

songs. He composed one song and it gained great publicity. The divided Bengal bits formed into a federation. Foreign articles were boycotted. This resulted in a huge loss to the British merchants. Leading British newspapers described clearly and picturesquely the high-handed repression carried out by the British in India basing on the reports of Navinson, who toured the regions of the divided Bengal. The implemention of the division of Bengal was carried on during the Viceroyalty of MINTO.... (1905-1910). He left India as the most hated Viceroy. He was succeeded by Lord Hardinge, who worked out ways and means of alleviating the situation to win the confidence of the Indians. On the eve of the visit of King George VI, Lord Hardinge had to work out for peace. He succeeded. He announced that the Bengal would be united. This pleased all the people from the Himalayas to Cape Comerin (Kanyā Kumāri).

In 4 sub-secs, the 13th Chapter covered the Legislations which were known as MINTO-MORLEY Reforms. The electorates were estabilished and but the Indians were greatly disappointed. In the India Council, London, two seats were reserved for the Indians, one for a Hindu and the other for a Muslim.

14th Ch. dealt with the movement known to history as the HOME RULE, is dealt in four sub-secs. Prominent leaders of this movement were Tilak in Western India and Annie Besant in the rest of India. The war clouds were gathering over Europe. Favourable conditions prevailed for a unified understanding between the Hindus and Muslims and the Moderates and the Nationalists, Mita vādis and Jātiya-Vādis. Besant's efforts were multifaced. She started a newspaper, NEW INDIA, she toured the whole ountry, drew the intellectuals into her fold of understanding. visited England and with some politico-missionary zeal gave lectures and tried to gain sympathy of f the British Parliamentarians The author missed to write that she even got a draft Bill to be moved in the British Parliament. It had g ne through two readings and the Britishers somehow torpedoed the same In 1917, the English statesmen were overtaken by fear. The Russian Revolution of Lenin and their alliance with Germany and

the intentions of Germany to invade India, in a way shook the Britishers. The British began to win the hearts of the Indian army. The Indian Army helped the British. Sir Subrahmanya Iyer, a retired Chief Justice of Madras High Court sent an appeal. His appeal was published in about 1500 papers in America. He was reprimanded by the British Rulers. In protest he gave up the title of KCIE. A Branch of the Home Rule League was establsshed at New York. This is another chapter which is very important and not to be missed by any Indian.

In there sub-secs. the 15th Chapters deals with the well known Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. This was an out come of the First World war It was an act of grace on the part of the Britisher, recognising the help the Indian army did for the British. It was only a condescending concession granted by the Ruler. They recognised the principle of establishing a RESPONSIBLE Government, responsible to the people that elected their representatives. They also... recognised the principle of PROGRESSIVE REALISATION. Montague, the then Secretary of State for India toured the country followed by the Viceroy Chelmsford for about five months. In England members of the Round Table Group under the Leadership of Lionel Curtis prepared a scheme of the Reforms to be introduced. The proposed scheme was ready by April 1918. It was introducd in the British Cabinet, in July. Then it was published. The moderates were all pleased. But other Nationalists like Tilak, Besant and other felt disappointed. There were protests. But still the Ruler went on with the contemplated schemes. The Government of India Act was passed by the British Parliament and it came into force on 3rd Jan. 1921. The SOVEREIGNTY still vested in the British Government, but in its working through the British creation of Transferred Subjects a truncated from of conditioned powers were made over to the Indian members. A new idea of DYARCHY came into vogue. This is a British Statesman's conjuring political trick. The rest of the chapter deals cleary the other provisions of the Act. With this, this part ends, but another chapter of 38 pages is added, wherein graphically is described the Revolutionary movements, with violence were carried out.

The 16th chapter in 12 sub-secs. presents to every Indian reader the lofty ideals and the supreme spirit of partriotism that propelled the Indians (Mostly Sikhs Bengalis) to swing into violent activist programmes. They earned allies in other foreign contries of the west. They gathered and collected arms, They desired to uproot the British Government in India. The ethics of the means they adopted is explained well by the author. But India was destined to move in another more powerful course of action. Indian Revolutionists followed the western mode of carrying out armed rebellions. But Indians after 1920 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi adopted a unique and universal course of action which took the whole world by storm. His method of NON-VIOLENCE is based on TRUTH and TRUTH is sure to be triumphant.

Print mistake are there, and as they are only a few, they can be rectified. Lord Ripon's Convocation adddress in 1885 at the Calcutta University is unnecessarily repeated at pages 153 and 167. The whole narration is a superb treatise and the accomplishment is masterly.

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